

Application of the Good Lives Model to Street Gang Members

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Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Kent at

Canterbury for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2020

Word count: 78,591



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Publications

Data and literature from this thesis have been reported in the following journal articles.

1. **Mallion, J. S., & Wood, J. L.** (2020). Street gang intervention: Review and Good Lives extension. *Social Sciences*, 9(160), 2-24.
<https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci9090160>
2. **Mallion, J. S., & Wood, J. L.** (2020). Good Lives Model and street gang membership: A review and application. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 52(1). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2020.101393>
3. **Mallion, J. S., Wood, J. L., & Mallion, A.** (2020). Systematic review of ‘Good Lives’ assumptions and interventions. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 55(1). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2020.101510>

Data and literature from this thesis have been reported in the following conference presentations.

1. **Mallion, J. S.** (2020). Application of Good Lives Model to street gang members. *Presentation at British Federation of Women’s Graduates, UK.*
2. **Mallion, J. S.** (2020). Application of Good Lives Model to street gang members. *Presentation at London South Bank University, UK.*
3. **Mallion, J. S.** (2019). Street gang members: Good Lives Model and emotional traits. *Keynote Presentation at Home Office, London, UK.*
4. **Mallion, J. S.** (2019). Application of Good Lives Model to street gang members. *Keynote Presentation at Royal College of Psychiatry, London, UK.*
5. **Mallion, J. S.** (2019). Application of Good Lives Model to street gang members. *Presentation at Eurogang Meeting, University of Kent, UK.*

6. **Mallion, J. S.** (2018). Street gang members: Good Lives Model and emotional traits. *Presentation at Division of Forensic Psychology Conference, British Psychological Society, UK.*
7. **Mallion, J. S.** (2018). Emotional dispositions of gang members: Comparison between street gang and non-gang prisoners. *Presentation Eurogang Meeting, The Netherlands.*
8. **Mallion, J. S.** (2017). ‘Good, the bad and the ugly’ of gang membership: A Good Lives Model approach. *Presentation at Excursions Journal ‘Networks’ Symposium, University of Sussex, UK.*

Data and literature from this thesis have been reported in the following media.

1. June 2019 - Featured in the British Psychological Society’s ‘The Psychologist’ magazine, discussing application of GLM to street gangs.
2. July 2018 - Interview on Kent Tonight regarding the county lines situation in Kent.

Acknowledgements

“It is far easier to gain access to study the residents of a remote Alaskan community than to study the lives of prison inmates and/or those persons whose task it is to keep them within the prison walls” (Patenaude, 2004, p.69S).

Fortunately, my experience of prison research was much more positive than Patenaude (2004) suggests. I am incredibly grateful to the research-supportive prison governor and staff that taught me the ropes and made me feel like part of the team. My biggest thanks, of course, go to all of the participants who gave their time and effort to take part in my research.

I would like to say a big thank you to my supervisor, Professor Jane Wood. Jane’s unwavering belief in me, her encouragement and expertise has helped me through my BSc, MSc and now PhD. Six years of collaboration, with many more to come! My thanks also go to Professor Theresa Gannon and Dr. Nichola Tyler for the Research Assistant posts they gave me over the years. I enjoyed every minute of working alongside you both and am grateful for the many opportunities you gave me.

I also have a special thank you for the team at London South Bank University. Coming to the end of a PhD is a scary prospect (can no longer delay adulthood!), but you believed in me and my research. You gave me a fantastic opportunity to join your team and supported me through the last few months of my PhD.

To my lovely friends, Ellie Camber, Hannah Tummon and Natalie Gentry, thank you for your support and keeping me laughing throughout this whole process.

My office mates, Jolie Keemick and Nera Božin, thank you for always being there to provide hugs when they were needed!

My family. Mum and Dad, you have supported me more than I could have ever asked for. Mum, your endless supplies of hugs, pep talks and proof reading skills got me through the hardest of times. Thank you for always being there for me and coming to my rescue on more than one occasion! Dad, you may be a man of few words, but your gestures mean a thousand. Thank you for keeping me supplied with paper and ink and the yellow jackets for the many conferences! My turn to treat us to a dad and daughter breakfast? I love you both so much and I hope I've made you proud. As you said mum, the tassel was well worth the hassle!

Last, but definitely not least, Matt. We met on my very first day of my PhD (which also happened to be my birthday). I could not imagine how special this journey could turn out to be. By the time this thesis had been finalized, we were married, with our own home. I am so lucky to have found you and to have you by my side throughout my PhD and now for the rest of our lives, wherever that journey may take us. I love you.

Conventions used in this thesis

Numbering of Tables and Figures

All tables and figures are numbered in relation to the chapter in which they are presented. They are numbered as table or figure x, y , whereby x refers to the chapter number, and y , the order that the table or figure is presented within the given chapter.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations are described within text. However, common abbreviations used throughout, include:

ADHD: Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder

APA: American Psychiatric Association

BAME: Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic

CBT: Cognitive Behavioral Therapy

CJS: Criminal Justice System

DSM-V: The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fifth Edition
(American Psychiatric Association, 2013)

EBP: Evidence-Based Practice

FFT-G: Functional Family Therapy for at-risk or gang-involved youths

GAGV: Growing Against Gang Violence

GLM: Good Lives Model

G.R.E.A.T: Gang Resistance Education And Training

GRYD: Los Angeles Gang Reduction and Youth Development

IM: Identity Matters

MLP: Measure of Life Priorities

MST: Multi-Systemic Therapy

PTSD: Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

RCT: Randomized Control Trial

RNR: Risk-Need-Responsivity

RP: Relapse Prevention

SES: Socioeconomic Status

SLT: Social Learning Theory

TA: Thematic Analysis

TAU: Treatment-As-Usual

VIPER: Violence in Prisons Estimator

WHO: World Health Organization

Abstract

Despite being recognized as a global public health emergency, there is a lack of evidence-base supporting the effectiveness of street gang interventions. In particular, street gang interventions suffer from a lack of theoretical foundation, unclear goals/objectives, and have a negative, risk-based focus. This thesis proposes that the Good Lives Model (GLM), a strengths-based framework for offender rehabilitation, can provide an innovative approach to street gang intervention. Utilizing approach-goals, the GLM assumes that improving an individual's internal skills and external opportunities will reduce the need to belong to a street gang. Prior to implementing GLM-consistent interventions with street gang members, it was essential to first establish whether the etiological assumptions of the GLM are upheld in this population. To examine this, qualitative interviews were conducted with 30 incarcerated, adult male offenders (17 street gang, 13 non-gang). Findings support all of the etiological assumptions of the GLM: street gang participants aimed to achieve each of the 11 primary goods (i.e., universal human needs). Furthermore, as suggested in the GLM, street gang participants experienced four obstacles (i.e., problems in capacity, coherence, scope and means), which prevented attainment of primary goods through prosocial means. Critically, street gang participants were more likely to experience a multitude of internal (e.g., emotion regulation difficulties, perfectionism, and poor coping skills) and external obstacles (e.g., poor social support, and exposure to violence) across all five risk domains (individual, peer, school, family and community), than their non-gang offending counterparts. Overall, the research described in this thesis suggests that the etiological assumptions of the GLM can be upheld in a street gang population; supporting the implementation of GLM-consistent interventions with street gang members.

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Chapter 1

Public Health Approach to Street Gang Intervention

Introduction

Street gangs are a growing problem internationally, with countries including the UK, USA, Sweden, China and the Netherlands reporting a marked increase in street gang membership (e.g., Chui & Khiatani, 2018; Roks & Densley, 2020; Rostami, 2017). In the UK alone, the number of street gang affiliated youths has seen a dramatic increase over a five year period. The Children's Commissioner (2017) approximated that in 2013/14, 46,000 young people were either directly gang-involved or knew a street gang member. By 2019 this figure had increased to 27,000 full street gang members, 60,000 affiliates and a further 313,000 youths who knew a street gang member (Children's Commissioner, 2019a). Similar increases have been seen in the USA, with a 40.83% growth in the number of different street gangs between 2002 and 2012 (National Gang Center, 2020). As such, the World Health Organization (WHO, 2020) has highlighted youth violence, including street gang membership, as a global public health problem that requires an immediate international response.

Street gang membership is associated with increased perpetration of illegal activities, particularly serious and violent offences (Pyrooz et al., 2016), with this relationship stable across time, place and definitions of street gangs (Dong & Krohn, 2016). As such, street gangs are responsible for causing heightened levels of fear and victimization amongst members of their community (Howell, 2007). In addition, street gang involvement has adverse health, welfare and economic consequences for individual members, which persist long after disengagement (Connolly & Jackson,

2019; Petering, 2016). For instance, longitudinal research identified that adults who belonged to a street gang during adolescence experienced more mental and physical health issues than their non-gang counterparts (Gilman, Hill, & Hawkins, 2014). Adolescent street gang members also experience more economic hardship during adulthood than their non-gang peers, with higher rates of unemployment and reliance on welfare benefits or illicit income (Krohn et al., 2011). Furthermore, street gang involvement during adolescence has a detrimental effect on the development of long-term stable family relationships, with former members more likely to engage in intimate partner violence and child maltreatment (Augustyn et al., 2014).

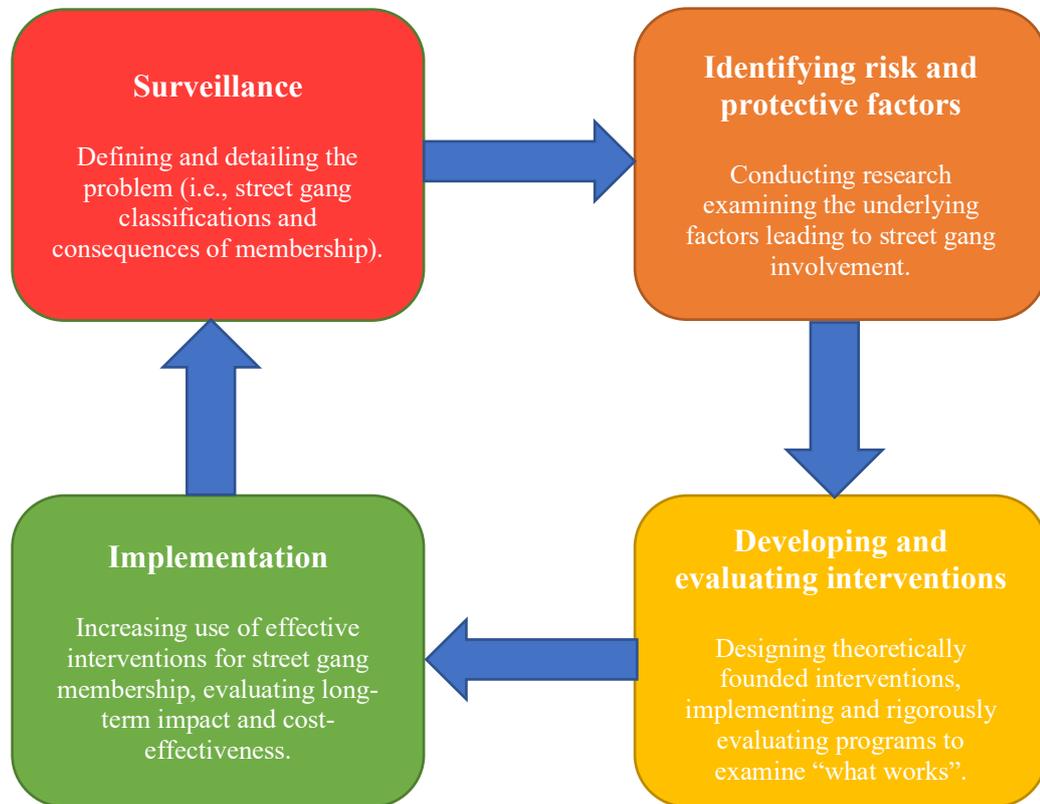
Considering these long-term and wide-ranging effects of street gang membership, it is unsurprising that there has been a proliferation of prevention and intervention programs developed and implemented world-wide. Although literature is beginning to emerge which suggests *some* therapeutic programs are effective at reducing street gang involvement (e.g., Esbensen et al., 2012; Gottfredson et al., 2018), there remains a paucity of reliable evidence to date. Highlighted by Wong et al. (2011), prevention and intervention programs for street gang membership often suffer from a lack of theoretical foundation (McGloin & Decker, 2010), clear goals and objectives (Klein & Maxson, 2006), and methodologically sound evaluation (Curry, 2010). These factors are associated with an increased risk of harmful outcomes for program participants (Welsh & Rocque, 2014), including negative labelling and heightened rates of recidivism (Petrosino et al., 2010). Thus, discovering “what works” in street gang prevention and intervention is essential.

As a public health issue, prevention and intervention strategies for street gang involvement should be approached from a public health stance (Gebo, 2016). WHO (Krug et al., 2002) suggests four key elements for a public health approach,

including: (1) surveillance, (2) identifying risk and protective factors, (3) developing and evaluating interventions, and; (4) implementation. See Figure 1.1 for an overview of each of these elements in relation to street gang prevention and intervention. Using a public health approach, street gang intervention occurs across three levels (Conaglen & Gallimore, 2014): *primary prevention* (early intervention approaches prior to initiation of street gang involvement), *secondary prevention* (interventions specifically for individuals at-risk of street gang involvement), and *tertiary prevention* (long-term rehabilitation strategies for those who have engaged in street gangs). In addition, public health interventions can be universally implemented (aimed at the general population), selected (targeted towards those at-risk of street gang involvement) or indicated (targeted specifically at street gang members).

Figure 1.1

Diagram showing WHO's public health approach to violence prevention (Krug et al., 2002), adapted for street gang intervention.



Public health approaches have seen a number of successes in reducing behaviors related to street gang membership (e.g., substance misuse, child maltreatment and youth violence; HM Government, 2019; Pickering & Sanders, 2015; Public Health England, 2015a). However, research is limited regarding the effectiveness of interventions for street gang members (McDaniel et al., 2014). The aim of this chapter is to narratively summarize and evaluate existing street gang prevention and intervention programs, within a public health approach. Aspects of the public health approach will be outlined in relation to street gang membership, including: (1) *surveillance* (i.e., street gang definitions), (2) *risk and protective*

factors, (3) current street gang prevention and intervention programs (including primary, secondary and tertiary interventions).

Surveillance

Surveillance is a core aspect of a public health approach, which informs the development and implementation of prevention and intervention programs (Richards et al., 2017). Surveillance involves establishing clear definitions regarding the population of interest (i.e., street gang members), enabling the identification of both those in need of intervention and the associated risk factors (Department of Health, 2012). By implementing surveillance measures, such as analyzing knife crime and criminal convictions data, the extent of the problem in society on a local, national and international scale can be recognized (WHO, 2010). Ongoing monitoring enables any changes in the patterns or frequencies of behavior to be quickly identified and disseminated to intervention providers, informing the decision-making process (Public Health England, 2017).

Street Gang Definition

The definition of a street gang member has been a matter of ongoing debate amongst academics, policy-makers and stakeholders for decades (e.g., Aldridge et al., 2012; Esbensen, Winfree et al., 2001; Esbensen & Maxson, 2012; Melde et al., 2016; Wegerhoff et al., 2019). This was not helped by the adamant denial of street gangs in Europe (termed the Eurogang Paradox), because they did not fit the pattern of a highly organized and violent group commonly seen in the United States (Klein, 2001). Despite increasing recognition of street gangs internationally, there is still no single, standardized definition of a street gang. The ambiguity surrounding the definition of a street gang has serious consequences for the development of effective prevention and intervention strategies. As Melde (2016, pp. 160) explains, “you

cannot manage what you cannot measure”. Without a reliable and valid definition, stakeholders are unable to accurately measure the rates of street gang members and street gang-related offending. In addition, a lack of clear definitional criteria prevents an assessment of the short- and long-term impact of prevention and intervention strategies on street gang dynamics (Melde, 2016).

To overcome this, stakeholders often devise their own street gang definition, which allows them to undertake surveillance procedures and see the impact that prevention and intervention strategies have on the local area. This has led to the development of gang databases, such as the ‘Gangs Violence Matrix’ utilized by the London Metropolitan Police (2021). Such databases, however, are highly controversial, particularly due to their reliance on vague and ill-defined concepts of the gang (Densley & Pyrooz, 2020). Due to this vagueness, police officers apply a high degree of discretion when applying the gang label. This has been cited as the reason why individuals on the matrix are disproportionately black males (Amnesty International, 2018). Amnesty International (2018) highlighted the stigmatizing effect that being on the violence matrix had, with data sharing practices leading to difficulties accessing housing, education and job centres. Concerningly, 75% of those on the matrix were *victims* of violence and 35% had never committed a serious offence (Amnesty International, 2018). As such, the validity of surveillance measures, particularly when the definition of a gang has not been established, is highly questionable.

Supporting this, definitions of a street gang often vary widely from one region to the next (Gilbertson & Malinski, 2005). For instance, each jurisdiction in the USA has its own definition of a street gang and what constitutes a street gang-related offence (for a summary of definitions, see National Gang Center, 2016).

Despite attempting to measure the same phenomenon, by using different definitions a large disparity is likely to emerge in the estimates of street gang members and rates of street gang-related offending between areas. Dependent on the definition used, an *over-identification* (incorrectly identifying an issue as related to street gang membership, when it is not) or *under-identification* (incorrectly identifying an issue as unrelated to street gangs, when it is) of street gang members and street gang-related offending can occur (Joseph & Gunter, 2011). As such, prevention and intervention strategies for street gang members may be offered to too few or too many in the local area. The differences in definitions used means the generalizability of any prevention and intervention strategies across areas is also limited.

One method of identifying street gang members is through self-nomination, whereby stakeholders simply ask individuals “are you currently in a gang?” (Esbensen et al., 2011). Past research has found self-nomination to be a valid and effective method of identifying street gang members (e.g., Decker et al., 2014; Esbensen, Winfree et al., 2001; Matsuda et al., 2012). In addition, self-nomination of street gang membership is associated with heightened levels of violent crime (Melde et al., 2016), which is consistent with the extensive research suggesting street gang members are more likely to commit serious and violent offences than their non-gang counterparts (Melde & Esbensen, 2012). However, self-nomination relies on the individual’s willingness to respond honestly, which could be reduced due to the negative impact of disclosing street gang membership (e.g., risk of incarceration or retaliation from street gang peers). Critically, self-nomination is dependent upon an individual’s subjective understanding and interpretation of the term ‘gang’ (Tonks & Stephenson, 2018). As public health surveillance requires street gang members to be identified by an objective party, self-nomination methods would not be appropriate.

The Eurogang Network, a group of the world's leading street gang researchers, attempted to establish a standardized definition of a street gang, which would allow cross-national comparative research and surveillance (Klein & Maxson, 2006). According to the Eurogang definition, a street gang is a "*durable, street-oriented youth group whose involvement in illegal activity is part of their group identity*" (Weerman et al., 2009, p. 20). Specifically, the group must: (1) include more than three people, (2) last longer than three months, (3) be street-orientated, (4) be acceptive of illegal activities, and (5) engage in illegal activities together (Matsuda et al., 2012). Critically, the Eurogang definition does not require an individual to self-nominate in order to be classed as a street gang member. The Eurogang Network avoid using the term 'gang' due to its emotive nature, instead preferring 'troublesome youth group' (Esbensen & Weerman, 2005).

Although the Eurogang definition is increasingly adhered to in academic research, policy makers and stakeholders are often resistant to its use. For instance, stakeholders have suggested that avoidance of the term 'gang' reduces their ability to effectively distinguish between a street gang and a group of individuals who happen to commit offences together (Centre for Social Justice, 2009; Pearce & Pitts, 2011). Supporting this, researchers have found that the Eurogang definition leads to an over-categorization of groups as street gangs (e.g., illegal ravers, peer groups who consume drugs; Medina et al., 2013). Aldridge et al. (2012) suggests this is due to a lack of defining criteria concerning street gang members engagement in violent crime. Despite typically used in academia as a self-report measure, the Eurogang criteria is observable (i.e., stakeholders can *see* whether a young person is in a large street-based group, committing crimes), enabling surveillance measures for identifying and monitoring street gangs (Melde, 2016). To support consistency

across surveillance measures and intervention provision, it is recommended that the Eurogang definition is used to guide a public health approach to street gangs.

Risk and Protective Factors

A public health approach involves developing an understanding of the causes of street gang membership (Local Government Association, 2018). This takes two forms, with the identification of risk factors (*increasing* the likelihood of street gang involvement) and protective factors (*reducing* the likelihood of street gang involvement). By establishing a framework of risk and protective factors, this informs the development of prevention and intervention strategies aimed at reducing involvement in street gangs. To date, focus has been placed on identifying the risk factors for street gang membership, with a paucity of research on the protective factors (McDaniel, 2012). This section will outline the risk and protective factors for street gang membership that have been identified.

Risk Factors for Street Gang Membership

Past research has demonstrated that there are a wide range of risk factors robustly associated with street gang membership. These span each of the five major risk factor domains: the individual, peers, family, school and community (O'Brien et al., 2013). The risk factors which have been related to street gang membership, across each of these domains, are summarized in Table 1. Critically, Klein and Maxson (2006) noted that a number of risk factors for street gang membership are supported by weak or inconclusive evidence. However, it must be considered that the evidence-base for street gang-related risk factors has rapidly grown since Klein and Maxson's (2006) suggestions. Yet, to complicate matters further, research has also suggested differences in risk factors *within* street gangs. Specifically, core street gang members (i.e., those that self-identify as street gang members) are more likely

than peripheral members (i.e., those that engage in street gang crime, but do not self-identify as members) to have early exposure to deviant peer groups, low impulse control, poor academic attainment and endorse antisocial attitudes (e.g., Alleyne & Wood, 2010; Klein, 1995; Melde et al., 2011). This suggests peripheral and core street gang members have different needs that require targeting in intervention programs.

Table 1.1*Examples of risk factors for street gang membership, according to domain.*

Domain	Risk Factors	Protective Factors
Individual	Offence supportive cognitions*, negative life experiences*, low self-esteem, internalizing behaviors, externalizing behaviors*, impulsivity, lack of participation in prosocial activities, mental health issues (e.g., Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, anxiety), negative attitudes towards the future, substance misuse, low empathy, high callous-unemotional traits, low trait emotional intelligence, moral disengagement, negative attitudes towards the police, hyperactivity, poor interpersonal skills, and anger rumination.	Effective coping strategies, high emotional competence, emotion regulation skills, resilient temperament, future orientation, impulse control, low ADHD symptomology, high self-esteem, intolerant attitudes towards antisocial behavior, and beliefs in moral order.
Peers	Negative peer influence*, association with delinquent peer group, victim or perpetrator of bullying, alienation from prosocial peers, strong	Interaction with prosocial peer groups, strong social skills, low peer delinquency, and prosocial bonding

emotional connection to delinquent peers, prioritizing social identity, and peers' substance misuse.

Family	<p>Poor parental supervision* and monitoring*, lack of attachment to parents, family involvement in street gangs, family involvement in crime, delinquent siblings, hostile family environment, parental substance misuse, inconsistent discipline, low familial socioeconomic status, single-parent households, childhood maltreatment, and running away from home.</p>	<p>Strong parental monitoring, control and supervision, parental warmth, cohesiveness within the family, positive parental attachment, stable family structure, and low levels of parent-child conflict.</p>
School	<p>Poor academic attainment, lack of commitment to education, lack of aspirations, unsafe school environment, suspension/exclusion, truancy, inconsistent discipline, victimization at school, inadequate teaching, negative relationships with staff, and difficult transitions between schools.</p>	<p>Positive child-teacher relationships, clear familial expectations regarding schooling, personal commitment to education, positive role models, fair treatment from teachers, safe environment, connectedness, regular school participation, and academic achievement.</p>

Community	Disorganized neighborhood, high rates of crime, exposure to street gangs and violence, availability of firearms, poverty, lack of community resources, and experiencing unsafe environments.	Opportunities for prosocial involvement, positive community role models, perceived neighborhood safety, and low economic deprivation.
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Sources include: Home Office (2015), Lenzi et al. (2018), Mallion and Wood (2018a), Melde et al. (2011), Merrin et al. (2015), O'Brien et al. (2013), Raby and Jones (2016), and Smith et al. (2019).

* Risk factors identified by Klein and Maxson (2006) as having a robust evidence-base.

The presence of a risk factor does not *determine* that an individual will join a street gang. Indeed, the status of risk factors as *causing* offending behaviour is under dispute (Ward & Fortune, 2016). Furthermore, many of the risk factors for street gang membership also predict other deviant behaviors (e.g., general delinquency and violence; Decker et al., 2013). However, the more risk factors the individual experiences, the higher the likelihood that they will engage in a street gang, beyond any other deviant behavior (Melde et al., 2011). Supporting this accumulative effect, Esbensen et al. (2010) found 11 or more risk factors were experienced by 52% of street gang members, compared with 36% of violent offenders. Street gang members are also more likely to concurrently experience risk factors in each of the major domains, than their non-gang counterparts (Thornberry, Lizotte et al., 2003). This suggests that prevention and intervention strategies need to address numerous risk factors across all domains (Howell, 2010).

Protective Factors against Street Gang Membership

In areas with a high presence of street gangs, over 75% of young people successfully avoid becoming members (Howell, 2012). This is despite experiencing similar risk factors to those who engage in street gangs, particularly across the school and community domains. As suggested above, individuals who circumvent street gangs may not have accumulated as a high a number of risk factors as those that do become members. Alternatively, these individuals may experience more protective factors than those that do become affiliated with a street gang; increasing their level of resilience. In challenging environments, where it may not be possible to remove or reduce all risk factors, focusing on adding protective factors could decrease engagement in street gangs (Howell & Egley, 2005).

However, with research predominantly focusing on the risk factors of street gang members, the protective factors have been neglected. The protective factors that have been identified so far span the individual, family, peer and school domains (for a full summary, see Table 1.1). Little is known regarding the protective factors for street gang membership in the community domain, although possibilities include positive community role models and perceived neighborhood safety (Merrin et al., 2015). Future research examining protective factors is essential, particularly as strength-based approaches to offender rehabilitation have suggested that focusing on these could improve prosocial behavior in street gang members (O'Brien et al., 2013; Whitehead et al., 2007).

Current Approaches to Street Gang Intervention

Street gang membership has typically been targeted through the Criminal Justice System (CJS), including the imposition of street gang injunctions (behaviors or activities of the street gang member are prohibited, such as going to certain areas; HM Government, 2016a). Whilst research has demonstrated reductions in reoffending rates by recipients of street gang injunctions (Carr et al., 2017), long-term negative effects have also been identified (e.g., reduced opportunities for education and employment, and less access to prosocial networks; Swan & Bates, 2017). As such, there has been a recent growth in prevention and intervention programs which are psychologically-informed (e.g., O'Connor & Waddell, 2015). These programs have more positive long-term outcomes, for both the individual and the community, than criminal justice approaches (Howell, 2010), and fit well within a public health framework. This section will outline current approaches to street gang prevention and intervention, across three levels (primary, secondary and tertiary).

Primary Prevention

In a public health approach, it is assumed that given the right conditions, any young person could be drawn towards joining a street gang (Gravel et al., 2013). By using a universal approach, primary prevention strategies attempt to protect all young people from engaging in adverse behaviors (such as violence and street gang membership), by reducing risk and increasing protective factors (Gebo, 2016).

Primary prevention strategies include the provision of services which aim to reach and support a whole community. They are typically delivered via local schools, community outreach and faith-based organizations (Wyrick, 2006). These include ensuring equal access to education, employment and housing, and improving the community space (i.e., cleaning communal areas and better lighting). Wyrick (2006) suggests primary prevention strategies enhance community mobilization, which reduces engagement in street gangs.

Primary prevention strategies are commonly implemented in schools, as it is easy to reach a large number of young people prior to the onset of any deviant or delinquent behavior. One of the leading schools-based primary prevention programs for street gang membership, is the Gang Resistance Education and Training Program (G.R.E.A.T; Esbensen, Osgood et al., 2001; Esbensen et al., 2002). G.R.E.A.T is delivered by law enforcement officers to middle school pupils, aged 11-13 years, in the United States. The original version of G.R.E.A.T targeted risk factors not specific to street gang membership, including low self-esteem and unsafe schools (Klein & Maxson, 2006). Despite program completers having more pro-social peers, negative attitudes towards street gangs, and less risk-taking behaviors, no difference was found between program recipients and non-recipients on levels of delinquency, violence or street gang involvement (Esbensen, Osgood et al., 2001).

As such, G.R.E.A.T underwent substantial changes, with the new curriculum comprising of 13 sessions targeting risk and protective factors specific to street gang membership. The Revised-G.R.E.A.T program intended to inoculate young people against street gang membership, through the development of skills (i.e., problem-solving, social and communication skills, self-management, and personal responsibility) and creation of achievable goals (Esbensen, 2015). A Randomized Control Trial (RCT) evaluation of the Revised-G.R.E.A.T program found, compared to controls, program recipients were 39% less likely to have become a street gang member at one-year follow up (Esbensen et al., 2012), and 24% less likely at four-years follow up (Esbensen et al., 2013). In addition, program recipients demonstrated less anger and expressed more positive attitudes towards law enforcement (Esbensen et al., 2011).

Recently, Growing Against Gangs and Violence (GAGV) has been implemented as a primary prevention measure in the UK, and is provided in areas prioritized in the Ending Gang and Youth Violence initiative (HM Government, 2011). Based on G.R.E.A.T, GAGV aims to build young people's resilience towards street gangs and is implemented universally to school year groups. Consistent with the Revised-G.R.E.A.T program, GAGV promotes skill development, whilst also targeting the 'push' (e.g., fear of victimization and peer pressure) and 'pull' (e.g., protection, friendship and money) factors associated with street gang membership (see Densley, 2018). However, its focus on raising awareness of street gangs and the associated behaviors is closer to the original version of G.R.E.A.T (Esbensen & Osgood, 1999).

Outcomes from an RCT, found recipients of the GAGV program had 2.72% lower odds of joining a street gang than non-recipients, at a one-year follow-up.

However, this did not reach the criteria to be considered statistically significant, meaning findings should be interpreted with caution (Densley et al., 2016). This may be due to poor retention and attrition rates at the one-year follow-up. Alternatively, as Wong et al. (2011) suggest, primary prevention strategies, such as the original G.R.E.A.T and GAGV programs, may not be effective at reducing street gang involvement as they are too generic; often failing to target risk factors most strongly related to street gang membership. Despite this, the focus on wellbeing and personal growth, rather than individual blame (Gebo, 2016), means primary prevention programs are perceived more positively by communities, schools and policy makers than targeted prevention and intervention strategies (Tita & Papachristos, 2010). As such, future research needs to consider which risk and protective factors, specific to street gang members, should be targeted in primary prevention strategies.

Secondary Prevention

Although primary prevention strategies should stop the majority of young people from joining street gangs, for those that are not ‘immunized’ (as coined by the National Gang Center, 2020) secondary prevention measures represent the next level in anti-gang strategy. Esbensen (2000) suggests secondary prevention efforts are needed which target young people who have displayed problematic behavior and, as such, are at high risk of joining street gangs. As at-risk youths are most likely to face the decision of whether to join a street gang, secondary prevention programs are often considered the most important strategy in reducing street gang involvement (Howell, 2010). Yet, systematic reviews and meta-analyses have failed to find a strong evidence-base supporting the effectiveness of secondary prevention strategies at reducing street gang involvement (Lipsey, 2009; Wong et al., 2011)

As highlighted in the ‘Surveillance’ section above, one of the key issues faced in secondary prevention strategies is the accurate identification of young people at-risk of street gang involvement. Numerous attempts have been made at creating objective measures to identify youths at high risk of joining a street gang (e.g., Hennigan et al., 2014). However, such instruments often suffer from a lack of predictive validity (Gebo & Tobin, 2012). As such, secondary prevention strategies are typically targeted at young people who have had contact with law enforcement due to delinquent behavior, or those known to have family members or peers in street gangs (Gebo, 2016). Such programs tend to be delivered in areas with high rates of street gangs, as exposure to street gangs is a strong risk factor for membership (Public Safety Canada, 2007).

Wyrick (2006) suggests three key elements that any successful secondary prevention program requires. Firstly, at-risk youths need access to alternatives to street gang membership, which are appealing, engaging and socially rewarding. For potential members, street gangs can be perceived as a source of friendship, excitement and income (e.g., Augustyn et al., 2019). By diverting at-risk youths’ attention onto prosocial alternatives, this will reduce their likelihood of engaging in a street gang. Second, programs need to aid at-risk youths with developing effective support systems. Street gangs offer a source of emotional and social support (Alleyne & Wood, 2010); if this support is provided through prosocial relationships, the need to become involved in a street gang will reduce.

Finally, Wyrick (2006) stresses that at-risk youths should be held accountable, with clear expectations for appropriate behavior set. As street gang members tend to lack parental monitoring and discipline (Pedersen, 2014), establishing appropriate behaviors in at-risk youths will reduce engagement in street

gangs. Due to the sheer number of secondary prevention programs available internationally, examples included in this section are limited to those which have shown some success at preventing street gang involvement, including Los Angeles Gang Reduction and Youth Development program, Cure Violence, Montreal Prevention Treatment Program, and Functional Family Therapy – Gangs (for an extensive review of street gang prevention programs, see O'Connor & Waddell, 2015; Wong et al., 2011).

Los Angeles Gang Reduction and Youth Development (GRYD) is a secondary prevention program designed for young people aged 10-15 years, who are at high-risk of joining a street gang. To be eligible for the GRYD program, young people must exhibit two or more of the following risk factors: antisocial tendencies, weak parental supervision, critical life events, impulsive risk taking, guilt neutralization, negative peer influence, peer delinquency, self-reported delinquency, or familial involvement in a street gang (Brantingham et al., 2017). Using a strengths-based approach, the GRYD program aims to increase resilience towards street gang membership by enhancing protective factors (e.g., support from prosocial peers and family). Evaluation of the GRYD program has had positive results, with reduced engagement in violent and street gang-related behavior at six-months follow-up (Cahill et al., 2015). Although, this effect was stronger for younger and lower-risk participants, who may be less likely to join a street gang anyway. Critically, evaluations conducted on GRYD failed to include a comparison group of at-risk youths who did not participate in the program; meaning changes in behavior may not be caused by GRYD.

A further secondary prevention program, Cure Violence (formerly CeaseFire), is based on the view that violence is a contagious disease which can be

prevented by targeting those most at-risk of ‘contracting violence’ (Skogan et al., 2009). By identifying and treating high-risk youths, intervening in conflicts and changing community norms, it is assumed that this will reduce engagement in street gangs and the associated violent behavior (McVey et al., 2014). Outcome evaluations of Cure Violence have been mixed; a sixteen-year time series analysis found, after implementation of the program, shootings reduced in five of the seven neighborhoods assessed (Slutkin et al., 2015). However, in one Baltimore neighborhood, violence-related homicides increased by 2.7 times, following the implementation of Cure Violence (Webster et al., 2012). The inconsistency in findings may be due to problems with program implementation across different neighborhoods (i.e., poor retainment of staff, lack of consistent funding, communication breakdowns and limited data sharing; Fox et al., 2015). Having been designed in the USA where rates of gun violence among street gangs are high, Cure Violence places an inordinate focus on reducing gun-related offending (Butts et al., 2015). As such, Cure Violence lacks generalizability to areas, such as the UK, where gun-related violence is low (HM Government, 2019).

Recently, researchers have explored whether Functional Family Therapy (FFT), an effective and well-evidenced secondary prevention program typically used for adolescent behavioral and substance misuse problems (Hartnett et al., 2016), could be adapted for young people at-risk of joining a street gang (termed FFT-G). FFT involves treating the family as a whole; working towards establishing better communication, family relationships and minimizing conflict (Welsh et al., 2014). In FFT-G, issues salient to street gang membership are also targeted (e.g., risk factors, retaliatory behavior, and street gang myths). Outcome evaluations have found young people randomly assigned to receive FFT-G had lower rates of recidivism at 18

months follow-up, than the control group (Gottfredson et al., 2018). Although, this depended on risk level, with program-recipients at highest-risk of street gang involvement having lower recidivism rates than control, whilst lower-risk program-recipients showed no difference in recidivism rates to the control group (Thornberry et al., 2018). This demonstrates that young people who present with the most risk factors are more likely to benefit from FFT-G. Critically, no research has yet been conducted to examine whether FFT-G is any more successful at reducing street gang involvement than the original FFT program.

The Montreal Preventive Treatment Program (Tremblay et al., 1995) has the longest follow-up period (19 years, with regular follow-ups throughout) of a secondary prevention program (Vitaro et al., 2013). The Montreal Preventive Treatment Program is targeted at boys, aged 7-9 years, who have displayed disruptive behavior. The program comprises of a parental training component (e.g., effective behavioral monitoring, crisis management and positive reinforcement) and a social skills training component for the child (e.g., self-control skills and building prosocial networks; Tremblay et al., 1991). Evidence from RCT's found program recipients were less likely to have joined a street gang at both 12 and 15 years-of-age, than the control group (McCord et al., 1994; Tremblay et al., 1996). Furthermore, at 24 years-of-age, program recipients were more likely to have graduated from high school and less likely to have a criminal record, than the control group (Boisjoli et al., 2007). This demonstrates that secondary prevention programs provided when disruptive behavior first emerges can reduce engagement in street gang membership.

Tertiary Prevention

In situations where primary and secondary prevention programs have not effectively prevented an individual from joining a street gang, tertiary prevention programs can be provided. Tertiary prevention programs target individuals who have already become a street gang member and are aimed at helping them to leave the street gang or making participation in a street gang more challenging (Mora, 2020). Typically, tertiary prevention programs are provided to those who are incarcerated or on probation, and have committed an offence related to their street gang membership. However, the provision of tertiary prevention programs is inconsistent, with demand for services far outweighing available resources (Lafontaine et al., 2005; Ruddell et al., 2006). For instance, in the United States alone, it was estimated that 230,000 street gang members were incarcerated in 2011 (National Gang Intelligence Center, 2011), meaning the vast majority would not have been able to receive any form of street gang intervention.

Despite this, attempts have been made internationally to develop and implement various tertiary prevention programs for incarcerated street gang members. Typically, prison-based tertiary prevention programs use suppression techniques, such as in-house or legal sanctions for street gang-related behavior and separation from other street gang members. Suppression techniques used to tackle street gang membership are beyond the scope of this thesis, for a national analysis see Ruddell et al. (2006). Whilst programs with a therapeutic basis (i.e., providing rehabilitation and support) are offered to a lesser extent in prisons, these are an essential component of a public health approach to street gang membership.

Di Placido et al. (2007) designed a tertiary prevention program for adult street gang members incarcerated in a maximum-security, forensic mental health

hospital, which utilized the Risk Need Responsivity (RNR; Andrews et al., 1990) approach to offender rehabilitation. The RNR approach has three key components: (1) Risk (treatment intensity should match offenders' risk of recidivism), (2) Need (treatment should target criminogenic needs, i.e., factors associated with offending behavior), and; (3) Responsivity (treatment style should utilize cognitive social learning methods that are appropriate for each individual offender, accounting for their personal attributes and abilities). In addition, Bonta and Andrews (2007) emphasize professional discretion, whereby clinical judgement can be used to deviate from the previous principles, in exceptional circumstances. The RNR approach is considered the "gold-standard" in offender rehabilitation (Fortune & Ward, 2014), with RNR-consistent interventions demonstrating considerable success at reducing recidivism (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Hanson et al., 2009).

At 24-months follow-up, treated street gang members were less likely to have reoffended violently by 20% and non-violently by 11%, than untreated matched controls. In addition, treated street gang members committed fewer major institutional offences, than controls. Whilst this program shows promise, the extent to which street gang membership continued post-treatment was not examined; meaning it is not possible to determine whether Di Placido et al.'s (2007) RNR approach is *effective* at reducing street gang involvement. Furthermore, the RNR approach has been repeatedly criticized for its demotivating nature and limited focus on non-criminogenic needs and therapeutic alliance (Case & Haines, 2015; Ward, Melser, & Yates, 2007), which are critical factors for providing an effective street gang intervention (Chu et al., 2011; Roman et al., 2017).

A new tertiary prevention program provided in the UK is Identity Matters (IM). Unlike Di Placido et al.'s (2007) program, IM was designed for use in both

prison and community settings. IM is targeted at adults whose offending behavior is motivated by identification with a group or street gang (Randhawa-Horne et al., 2019). Based on Tajfel and Turner's (1986) Social Identity Theory, IM assumes that offending behavior occurs as a result of 'over-identification' with the group. Specifically, individuals develop a collective sense of identity based on their group membership. The ingroup is viewed more favorably than outgroups, with group members holding an "us" versus "them" perspective. When social identity is salient, an individual's behavior is guided by group norms (Hogg & Giles, 2012). For street gang members, group norms typically include aggressive and violent behavior (Hennigan & Spanovic, 2011).

IM consists of 19 structured and manualized sessions which aim to address participants' offence-supportive cognitions, whilst strengthening their sense of personal identity. To date, only one study has been conducted on IM, which consisted of a small-scale process study examining short-term outcomes of a four-site pilot (Randhawa-Horne et al., 2019). Interviews with 20 program completers (14 incarcerated offenders and six on probation) were generally positive regarding the content of IM, with the majority recommending no changes. In particular, sessions which explored 'push' (i.e., community disorganization, poverty, unemployment) and 'pull' (i.e., financial gain, status and protection) factors, desistance, identity and commitment to change were perceived as most beneficial to participants.

IM was piloted in both a group and one-to-one format. One-to-one sessions were found to be most successful as participants were more engaged and the program could be tailored to the individual's needs. However, as discussed previously, demand for IM is high and far outweighs the staffing and time needed to provide the program. Despite this, the safety concerns regarding bringing together

members of opposing street gangs for a group-based intervention may overshadow the benefits of increasing recipient numbers. Prison was perceived as the most suitable environment for delivery of IM, with a lack of stability in the community, particularly surrounding accommodation and employment, leading to difficulty in intervention delivery. Pre-post measures showed an increase in participants understanding of the positive consequences of staying crime free and negative outcomes from engaging in crime. However, with a lack of control group and small sample size, it is not possible to determine whether the observed changes occurred as a result of engaging in IM. Furthermore, long-term outcome studies need to be conducted to examine whether any changes are maintained post-intervention. Alike Di Placido et al.'s (2007) research, evaluations have not yet been conducted on street gang engagement following receipt of IM; meaning it is not possible to deem this an effective tertiary prevention program.

A number of limitations were highlighted concerning the implementation of IM. Firstly, both facilitators and participants expressed difficulty surrounding the language used in IM. For instance, using the terminology 'group', whilst avoiding the term 'gang', led to a lack of clarity surrounding the purpose of the intervention. Second, participant motivation was identified as key to intervention success. As street gang members have notoriously poor motivation to engage (Di Placido et al., 2007), interventions should be personally meaningful, positively-oriented and intrinsically motivating (Fortune, 2018). Therefore, the negative orientation of IM (i.e., focusing on harmful past behaviors), is unlikely to improve participants motivation to engage in the intervention. Third, therapeutic alliance deteriorated throughout the intervention, which is concerning considering past research has consistently demonstrated that a good client-therapist relationship improves the

effectiveness of interventions (Gannon & Ward, 2014). Fourth, IM is only accredited for use with adult offenders (Ministry of Justice, 2020a). This is despite the majority of members joining street gangs during adolescence (Pyrooz, 2014a), which is a period characterized by an increased focus on peer relationships (Young et al., 2014a), and high salience of social identity (Tanti et al., 2011). Therefore, an intervention which targets social identity, such as IM, may be more appropriate for young offenders.

Whilst the majority of tertiary prevention strategies are provided in prison settings, as demonstrated in IM these can also be provided in the community. Multi-Systemic Therapy (MST; Henggeler et al., 1992) is a home-based intervention for adolescents, aged 12-17 years, that have engaged in offending behavior (Mertens et al., 2016). According to MST, deviant behavior is a product of the proximal systems (i.e., family, peer groups, school and community) that the young person belongs to. As such, MST focuses on risk factors within (e.g., parent-adolescent communication) and between (e.g., parent communication with school) these systems (Henggeler & Schaeffer, 2016). As completion of an MST program has been associated with long-term reductions in recidivism (Sawyer & Borduin, 2011) and increased contact with prosocial peers (Asscher et al., 2014), it has been recommended as a tertiary prevention program for street gang members (Madden, 2013; O'Connor & Waddell, 2015).

Findings regarding the effectiveness of MST for street gang members have been mixed. For instance, Boxer et al. (2015) found treatment completion rates were lower for justice-involved youths who self-identified as street gang members (38%), compared to their non-gang counterparts (78%). In particular, street gang members were less engaged in the MST program and were more likely to be removed from the

program due to a new arrest (Boxer, 2011). Success of MST is partially mediated by reduced contact with delinquent peers (Huey et al., 2000). As ties to a street gang tend to be strong and challenging to break (Decker et al., 2014), it is possible that MST therapists had difficulty decreasing the young person's engagement in the street gang, which reduced overall program effectiveness (Boxer et al., 2015).

Furthermore, street gangs provide access to social and emotional support (Alleyne & Wood, 2010), meaning members interpret the street gang as a positive peer network. As MST encourages the formation of positive peer networks, street gang members may be reluctant to leave their street gang (Boxer et al., 2015).

Despite limited support regarding the short-term effectiveness of MST for street gang members, findings examining the longer-term effects have been more positive. Specifically, at one-year follow-up, no difference was found between street gang members and non-gang youths on number of, or time to, re-arrest (Boxer et al., 2017). This suggests that MST appears to have a 'sleeper effect', whereby it is equally effective at reducing recidivism, over a longer time period, in street gang members as non-gang youths. This may be because reducing engagement with a street gang takes time, so changes in behavior will not be seen immediately.

However, MST is a relatively novel tertiary prevention program for street gang members, meaning further research is necessary to establish program effectiveness.

In general, this section has demonstrated that the evidence-base for tertiary prevention programs is minimal. As such, there is currently no 'gold-standard' approach to intervening with street gang members (Boxer & Goldstein, 2012).

Looking Forward: Good Lives Framework for Street Gang Intervention

The programs reviewed above represent just a small fraction of the wide range of street gang interventions available. Whilst some interventions are *emerging*

as being effective at preventing or reducing street gang involvement, the vast majority suffer from a weak or limited evidence-base. Critically, there is a lack of consistency in the provision of intervention programs for street gang members across communities. Also, Wood (2019) suggests current prevention and intervention strategies are limited by a number of therapeutic issues. Specifically, the benefits of belonging to a street gang (e.g., protection, social and emotional support, sense of identity; Alleyne & Wood, 2010) extend beyond the typical proceeds of crime (i.e., financial and material gain), and are not adequately targeted in interventions. In addition, street gang members' mistrust and lack of motivation frequently hinder such intervention efforts (Di Placido et al., 2007).

A novel approach to offender rehabilitation, termed the Good Lives Model (GLM; Ward & Brown, 2004), may provide a constructive framework for street gang interventions which overcomes these obstacles. Aligned with a public health approach, GLM-consistent interventions are framed in a manner that promotes well-being, by focusing on achieving personally meaningful goals using prosocial methods (Ward & Fortune, 2013). As a holistic and strengths-based model, the GLM aims to address the criticisms of traditional risk-focused approaches (McMurrin & 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 et al., 2009; Taylor, 2017; Whitehead et al., 2007; Willis, Prescott & Yates, 2013) and is used frequently to guide offender rehabilitation and intervention programs world-wide (e.g., Gannon et al., 2011; Harkins et al., 2012), it has not yet been applied to street gang members. As such, the

aim of this thesis is to explore the theoretical and conceptual application of the GLM to street gang members.

Summary and Thesis Outline

There has been a recent shift from viewing street gangs as a problem for law enforcement, to considering street gangs as a priority for public health (Catch22, 2013a). The public health approach emphasizes the role of research in understanding the *causes* of street gang membership, with this informing the development of primary prevention, secondary prevention and tertiary intervention programs (McDaniel et al., 2014). Whilst research regarding the risk factors for street gang membership has rapidly grown over the past decade, the protective factors preventing involvement are still relatively unknown (McDaniel, 2012). As a large number of young people successfully avoid joining street gangs, future research should focus on understanding protective factors which could guide street gang prevention and intervention programs.

A key component of a public health approach involves conducting methodologically sound evaluations of street gang prevention and intervention programs. Whilst this review has demonstrated that some programs are beginning to show *promise* at reducing street gang involvement (e.g., G.R.E.A.T, FFT-G), the majority of programs lack methodologically sound evaluation (i.e., no control group and reliance on pre-post measures). Furthermore, the use of different definitions of street gang membership across communities has impeded the consistent implementation of prevention and intervention strategies, resulting in mixed findings regarding program effectiveness (e.g., Cure Violence). Thus, to support consistency in the implementation of prevention and intervention programs, it is recommended that the Eurogang definition is used to guide a public health approach to street gangs.

Furthermore, in future, regular evaluations should be embedded into prevention and intervention programs to examine their effectiveness at reducing street gang involvement.

Critically, prevention and intervention programs often suffer from a lack of theoretical foundation and clear goals or objectives (Klein & Maxson, 2006; McGloin & Decker, 2010). In addition, the lack of focus on motivational factors for joining a street gang and risk-based nature of interventions often impede their success (Wood, 2019). As such, this thesis explores the theoretical and conceptual application of the GLM to street gang members. To clarify, when the term street gang is used throughout this thesis, this refers to the Eurogangs definition of a street gang member (Weerman et al., 2009).

To provide a brief outline, Chapter 2 explores the theoretical application of the GLM to street gang members. The existing empirical evidence concerning the GLM is systematically reviewed in Chapter 3. The empirical component of this thesis consists of qualitative interviews with incarcerated street gang members, exploring their Good Lives plans. The research aims and agenda are summarized in Chapter 4. The pilot study (Chapter 5) assesses whether the proposed methodology to examine the GLM is sufficient for participants, prior to commencement of prison-based research. Chapter 6 outlines the methodology used for the prison-study, including necessary changes identified in the pilot study. Chapter 7 focuses on the findings of the prison-based study, examining how primary goods were sought through street gang membership. Following this, Chapter 8 compares the internal and external obstacles faced by street gang and non-gang prisoners, to assess whether street gang members have any unique treatment needs. Overall findings are summarized and discussed in Chapter 9. It is anticipated that the findings of this

thesis will aid in guiding the future development of a GLM-based street gang intervention.

Chapter 2

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

Introduction

This chapter 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. Literature regarding the needs of street gang members will be utilized throughout to demonstrate the applicability of the GLM. Overall, this chapter suggests 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 street gang; it targets the various risks and criminogenic needs associated with membership, and; is easily adaptable and responsive to the needs of members. To clarify, when discussing street gang members, the Eurogang definition (see Chapter 1) is utilized.

Emergence of the Good Lives Model: Beyond Risk Need Responsivity

Based on research from various disciplines, including psychology, anthropology, sociology and biology, Ward et al. devised the GLM as a general rehabilitation framework for offending behavior (e.g., Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward, 2002; Ward & Gannon, 2006; Ward & Stewart, 2003a; Yates et al., 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 et al., 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 et al., 2009).

The GLM was designed to complement and expand upon the Risk Need Responsivity (RNR; Andrews et al., 1990; Andrews et al., 2006) model, which is currently perceived as the “gold-standard” in offender rehabilitation (Fortune & Ward, 2014). 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 et al., 2007). 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 et al., 2009), Di Placido et al.’s (2007) research is the only study to date assessing the effectiveness of RNR-consistent treatment with gang members. Yet, Di Placido et al. (2007) 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, Melsner, & Yates, 2007); all of which are important factors that need to be accounted for in street gang intervention (Chu et al., 2011; Roman et al., 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 street 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 (2003a) 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 street 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 disengagement from a street gang. As the GLM aims to utilize a strengths-based framework, whilst still incorporating the RNR principles (Ward, Melsner, & Yates, 2012), it seems that it may be a more effective treatment for street gang members than RNR alone.

General Assumptions

Although the GLM has been primarily applied to individuals who have sexually offended, Purvis et al. (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, 2003a). 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 (2002a) initially identified nine primary goods, which with empirical testing (Purvis, 2010) have been expanded to 11 primary goods (see Table 2.1). 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 2.1*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 et al., 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 2.2.

Table 2.2

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 neighborhood; providing protection for others/neighborhood; gaining a reputation/status in the neighborhood; 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 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: Densley (2015, 2018); Lachman et al. (2013); Stodolska et al. (2019)

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 et al., 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 et al., 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., 2012). 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 et al., 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 et al., 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).

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, 2003a). 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 et al., 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 et al., 2011). 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 et al., 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 et al., 2011). Ward and Stewart (2003a) 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, 2003a).

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 et al., 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 et al., 2011; Gilman, Hill, & Hawkins, 2014), psychological (e.g., increased rates of depression, anxiety, and suicidality; Wood et al., 2017) and social needs (e.g., difficulty in forming long-term romantic

relationships; Dickson-Gomez et al., 2016) 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, 2002a).

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, 2018a; 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, school, and community (Alleyne & Wood, 2012). External capacity obstacles related to the family which increases 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 et al., 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 et al., 2015; Perlus et al., 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 schooling (e.g., Berg et al., 2012; O'Brien et al., 2013).

Regarding community-based external capacity obstacles, social disorganization, high crime rates and exposure to violence, poverty, presence of gangs and feeling unsafe in the neighborhood increase an individual's risk of joining a street gang (e.g., Public Safety Canada, 2007; Swahn et al., 2010; Young & Gonzalez, 2013). Furthermore, experiencing racial discrimination in the community has been related to increased risk of joining gangs (Pyrooz et al., 2010); explaining why individuals 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) suggest 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.

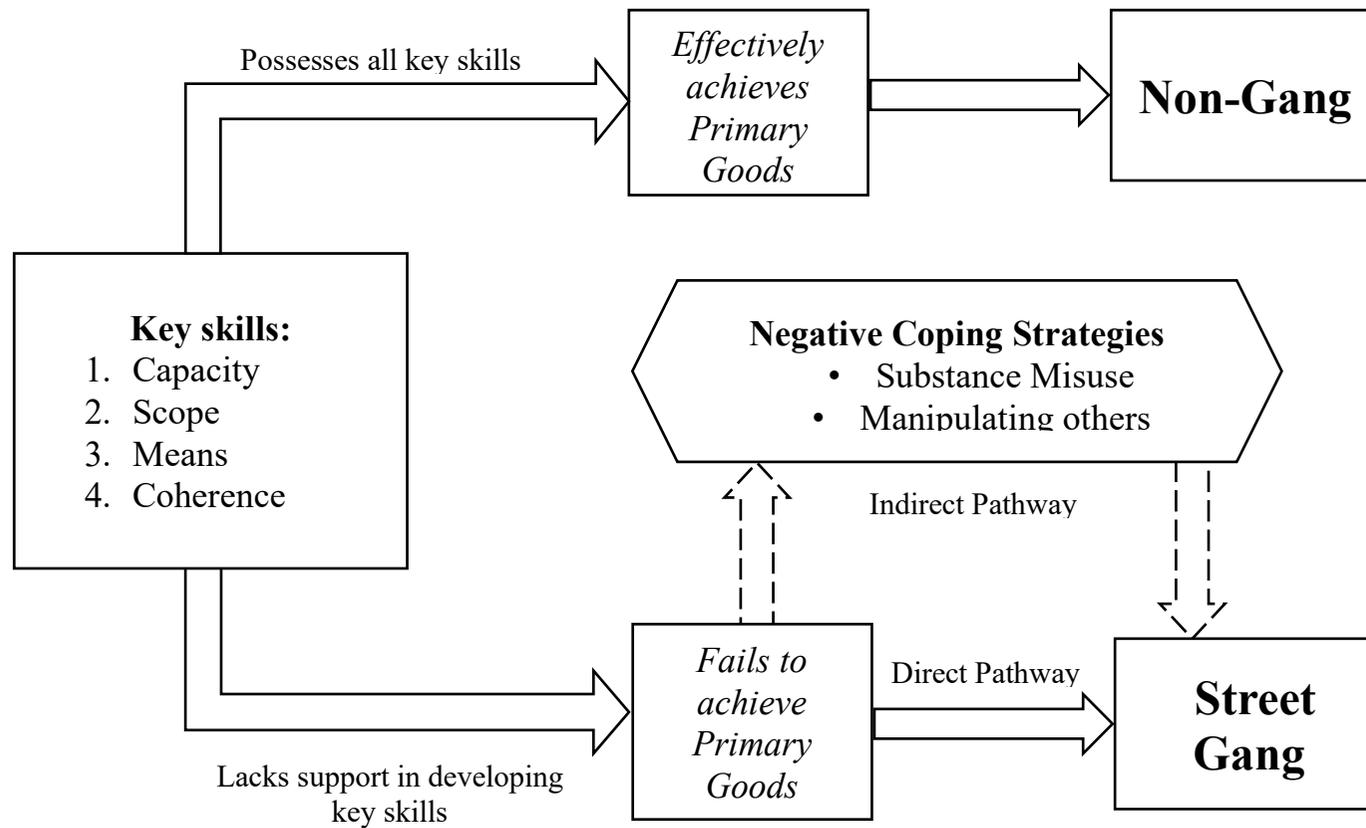
In addition to the four obstacles in Good Lives plans, the GLM suggests two pathways for the onset of offending (Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007), which are represented in Figure 2.1. The *direct* pathway suggests offending behavior is used as a deliberate means of securing primary goods. In interviews with 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, 2019). Therefore, street gang membership can arise from both the direct and indirect pathways to offending. 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 2.1

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).



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 does not specify *how* to treat offenders, rather, it guides the development and implementation of evidence-based interventions (Ward et al., 2012). Specifically, the GLM suggests ethical, theoretical (general and etiological) and treatment assumptions (Ward et al., 2012), which should be adhered to when developing and implementing interventions (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Reflecting the etiological assumptions of the GLM, the overarching aim of an intervention is to assist street gang members in achieving 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 et al., 2015; Fortune, 2018; Print, 2013; Van Damme et al., 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, 2014a) 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, Melsner, & Yates, 2007). As Ward, Melsner, and Yates (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 et al., 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 2.3. 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 2.3

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 behavior. 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 behavior. Establishing	Both 'push' and 'pull' motivations for joining a street gang should be identified (Densley, 2018; Decker et al., 2013) and related to each of the primary goods. As Fortune (2018) suggests, this gives an insight into the

- the individual's hierarchy of goods (i.e., most important goals in their life).
- 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).
- Four Identifying how the individual could achieve primary goods using prosocial secondary goods, whilst having a fulfilling and meaningful life.
- function of offending behavior; aiding in identifying alternative means of achieving the primary goods without needing to be involved in a street gang.
- 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 behaviors and conform less to peer group norms (Dumas et al., 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 behavior (Dumas et al., 2012), and begin the process of disengaging from the street gang (Decker et al., 2014).
- Street gangs are often 'glamorized' (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 (Bubolz & Simi,

Five Assessing the contexts or environments that the individual will be exposed to throughout or following an intervention.

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.

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., 2011) and often return, after an intervention, to their gang affected neighborhood where it can be challenging to avoid antisocial peers (Ralphs et al., 2009). As gang affected areas tend to be disadvantaged neighborhoods (Dupéré et al., 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 achievable steps, including (but not exclusively) resources and support needed to successfully fulfil the plan.

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., FFT, CBT, substance use groups), skills programs (e.g., work experience, 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 FFT-G and G.R.E.A.T, can be guided by a GLM framework. As identified in Chapter 1, preliminary research has demonstrated that FFT-G and G.R.E.A.T 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 individualized 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 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 et al. (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 street 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, Daffern et al., 2015; Pyrooz, 2014b). 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 et al., 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 et al., 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 et al., 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).

According to the GLM, the use of encouraging and positively-framed language is essential in interventions (Ward & Maruna, 2007). This includes focusing on the individual's strengths and skills, rather than their risks. As street gang membership is more likely amongst 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.

In accordance with a public health approach, the GLM framework can guide primary, secondary and tertiary programs targeting street gang membership (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4

Utilizing a GLM framework for primary, secondary and tertiary prevention programs.

Stage of intervention	Overview	GLM framework
Primary prevention	Universal prevention programs, provided prior to the onset of street gang membership.	Consistent with the GLM framework, primary prevention programs assist young people (regardless of their risk for street gang involvement) to achieve their primary goods through prosocial means. This involves developing the internal capacity skills necessary for primary good attainment. For instance, school-based programs supporting the development of social skills, goal making and emotional competencies can aid in the fulfilment of Relatedness, Excellence in Agency and Inner Peace. In addition, external obstacles that prevent attainment of primary goods need targeting. For example, mobilizing communities, providing opportunities (e.g., youth groups and employment) and reducing poverty will enable the fulfilment of primary goods through prosocial means.

Secondary prevention	Selected prevention programs, targeting individuals who have been identified as at greater risk of joining a street gang.	Utilizing a one-to-one format, secondary prevention programs should begin with a GLM-consistent case formulation. This involves identifying which primary goods are most important to the individual, the means they have available to them, their personal strengths and skills, and any obstacles faced in the pursuit of primary goods (Fortune, 2018). This can guide the decision-making process regarding which interventions are most suitable for the individual. For instance, FFT-G will be most appropriate for an individual who is having difficulty attaining the primary good of Relatedness, due to family conflict. Comparatively, an individual who is unable to achieve Inner Peace, because of mental health issues, may respond better to a cognitive-behavioral intervention. As individuals at-risk of street gang membership are likely to face obstacles across many of the risk domains (i.e., individual, family, peer, school and community), a multidisciplinary approach will be necessary to ensure all internal and external obstacles are targeted.
Tertiary intervention	Indicated interventions, targeting individuals who have already joined a street gang.	For a street gang member, the perceived benefits of belonging to a street gang (e.g., financial gain, protection, camaraderie), may outweigh the costs (e.g., risk of violent victimization and incarceration). As such, it is important to identify, in case

formulation, which primary goods an individual is trying to attain through street gang membership. Again, this informs the selection of appropriate interventions. Tertiary interventions should focus on providing alternative means of achieving the primary goods, without needing to rely on street gang involvement. Similar to secondary prevention programs, this will necessitate a multidisciplinary approach focusing on internal skill development and provision of external resources. Critically, GLM-consistent tertiary interventions must be positively framed; focusing on the strengths and goals of the individual, rather than their risk of returning to the street gang.

Summary

This chapter 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 considers 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 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.

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 behavior, 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 G.R.E.A.T). The GLM emphasizes 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 et al.,

2017). Chapter 3 will systematically review the current evidence-base regarding both the GLM assumptions and interventions.

Chapter 3

Systematic Review of ‘Good Lives’ Assumptions and Interventions

Introduction

The GLM has consistently been criticized for a lack of empirical evidence supporting both its key assumptions (i.e., offending as an attempt to fulfil primary goods, obstacles in the Good Lives plan, and pathways to offending) and intervention outcomes (Wormith et al., 2012). Bonta and Andrews (2003, p. 217) suggest the GLM is an ideological and intuition-based model, which is “no substitute for evidence”. Supporting this, Ogloff and Davis (2004) express concern regarding the implementation of the GLM within the CJS, as previous experience of utilizing such ‘common-sense’ models (e.g., scared-straight programs) have had dangerous outcomes. However, proponents of the GLM (Willis & Ward, 2013) suggest empirical evidence supporting both the GLM assumptions (e.g., Purvis, 2005) and outcomes of GLM-consistent interventions (e.g., Harkins et al., 2012) is beginning to emerge. Yet, a systematic review of the effectiveness of GLM-consistent interventions at reducing recidivism found no studies which met the inclusion criteria (i.e., randomized control trial [RCT]; Netto et al., 2014). Furthermore, there has been no systematic evaluation of studies assessing the GLM assumptions to date.

Study Objective

The aim of this systematic review is to examine the empirical evidence surrounding both the GLM assumptions and outcomes of GLM-consistent interventions. This will be the first article to systematically review empirical studies that assess the assumptions of the GLM. Furthermore, this systematic review will utilize broader inclusion criteria (including both randomized and non-randomized

designs) than the Netto et al. (2014) review, to ensure all relevant empirical evidence regarding GLM-consistent interventions are captured. This systematic review will also provide an update on the empirical evidence for the GLM over the past five years (since Netto et al.'s, 2014 review). As the GLM has not previously been applied to street gang members, this chapter will not specify an offence type; instead focusing on the empirical support regarding GLM assumptions and effectiveness of GLM-consistent interventions in general.

Specifically, this review aims to address the question: ‘to what extent is the GLM an ideological and intuition-based model, or an empirically supported model?’

To answer this question, two approaches will be examined:

1. What does the empirical evidence say regarding the assumptions underlying the GLM (i.e., offending as an attempt to fulfil primary goods, obstacles in the Good Lives plan, and pathways to offending)? Specifically, does the GLM have *empirically supported assumptions*?
2. What does the empirical evidence suggest about the outcomes of utilizing the GLM for offender rehabilitation? Specifically, does the GLM have *empirically supported outcomes*?

Method

Eligibility Criteria

Formulating a well-focused question, with clear and reproducible inclusion and exclusion criteria is essential in limiting bias within systematic reviews (Crowther et al., 2010). As such, the Participants, Intervention, Comparison, Outcome and Study Design (PICOS) framework was developed (Schardt et al., 2007). By utilizing the PICOS framework to guide the creation of inclusion and exclusion criteria, this improves the efficacy of database searches.

Participants. As highlighted above, the GLM has not previously been applied to street gang members. As such, no exclusion criteria was specified regarding the offence-type. Both convicted and self-reported offenders could be included. Participants could be within any setting (i.e., prison, forensic unit, or community). However, Ward and Marshall (2007) suggest that the GLM may not be used, or would require methodological adaptation, when treating individuals presenting with significant psychopathic traits. This is because attempting to build narrative identities may present the concurrent risk of providing skills for the manipulation and victimization of others. As such, adaptations made for individuals with significant psychopathic traits can lead to methodological flaws inconsistent with the assumptions of the GLM. Thus, in line with previous systematic reviews (Netto et al., 2014), studies examining the GLM in highly psychopathic individuals were excluded. No criteria were set to exclude participants on the basis of age or gender.

Intervention. Where applicable (i.e., studies examining whether the GLM has *empirically supported outcomes*), interventions must have *explicitly* stated they were using a GLM approach, with the majority of the intervention guided by a Good Lives framework. As an example, interventions which simply explain the GLM assumptions (i.e., primary goods) to offenders, without using these to inform treatment, were excluded. It was expected that a GLM-consistent intervention would have included the following:

1. Assessment of the primary goods important to the offender.
2. Identification of the internal and external obstacles which prevent achievement of primary goods through prosocial means.
3. Creation of a Good Lives plan.

4. Utilization of the Good Lives plan to inform treatment (i.e., developing skills needed to overcome the offender's internal/external obstacles).

Comparison. Fitzpatrick-Lewis et al. (2009) recommend the inclusion of studies without control groups in systematic reviews, predominantly in areas where there are limited studies available. The feasibility of RCT's are particularly questioned within forensic settings, whereby the lack of treatment given to a control group raises both ethical and legal issues concerning the risk of recidivism and public safety (Mallion et al., 2019). As Netto et al. (2014) found no studies with an adequate control group assessing the effectiveness of interventions utilizing a GLM approach, the current systematic review expanded this by considering studies with or without a control group. Therefore, no criteria was specified regarding the necessity of a comparison group.

Outcomes. Any studies reporting on outcomes relating to the focus of this systematic review were included. With regards to question 1, this includes any article examining the key assumptions of the GLM (e.g., offending as an attempt to fulfil primary goods, obstacles in the Good Lives plan, and pathways to offending). For question 2, this includes outcomes related to the effectiveness of a GLM guided intervention (e.g., recidivism, pre-post treatment outcomes, and service user perspectives).

Study Design. Although RCTs are considered the 'gold standard' in Evidence-Based Practice (EBP), in forensic settings ethical and practical reasons can seriously challenge the feasibility of conducting RCTs (Mallion et al., 2019; Prendergast, 2011). As such, in situations where RCTs are limited, non-randomized studies can provide an important insight (Reeves et al., 2019). In the case of Netto et al.'s (2014) systematic review, reliance on RCTs alone led to little or no information

yield, but this does not mean there is no evidence available (Hawker et al., 2002; Kmet et al., 2004). Therefore, both randomized and non-randomized study designs were included in the current review. To account for the risk of bias in including studies with non-randomized designs, quality analysis was conducted (see below; Kmet et al., 2004). Both quantitative and qualitative studies were included. However, due to their inherently high bias and a lack of quality assessment measure for these study designs, case reports, case studies, reconstructions and vignettes were excluded. Furthermore, to avoid duplication of included studies, previous review articles were not included.

Exclusion Criteria

1. Studies published in any language other than English, where no English translation was available.
2. Studies examining the GLM in highly psychopathic individuals.
3. Articles reporting case studies, case reports, case reconstructions, case vignettes, or literature reviews.
4. In relation to GLM *outcomes*; studies where the intervention was not GLM-consistent.
5. Studies which do not assess GLM assumptions or intervention outcomes.

Data Search

Search Process. To keep the search as broad as possible in order to identify all potentially relevant articles, the search term ‘Good Lives Model’ was entered into the following databases: Academic Search Complete, Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews, Criminal Justice Abstracts, Medline, National Criminal Justice Reference Service, Open Dissertations, PsychArticles, PsychInfo, Social Policy and Practice, Scopus, Web of Science, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global, and

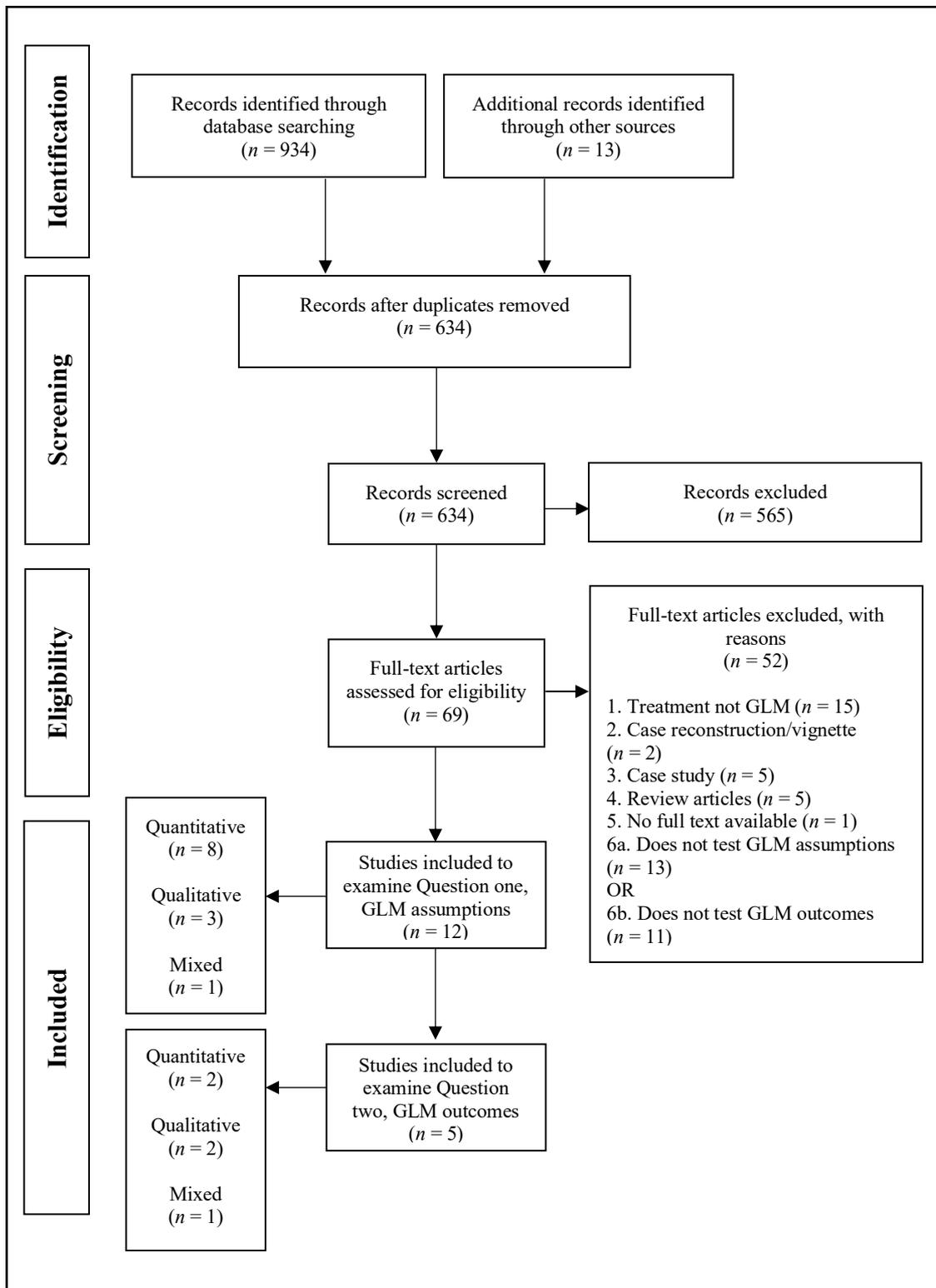
System for Information on Grey Literature in Europe. Manual searches of reference lists of all included studies, the Good Lives Model website's list of publications (<https://www.goodlivesmodel.com/index.shtml>) and relevant review papers were also examined. In addition to peer-reviewed literature, book chapters, dissertations, and unpublished material were assessed for inclusion. No limits were set regarding publication date. All searches ceased on the 1st August, 2019; eight months following the first search.

Study Selection. All potentially relevant articles were exported into EndNote (www.endnote.com) for de-duplication. The title and abstract of articles were screened by two researchers to assess whether they were relevant for review. Full texts of all potentially relevant articles were accessed and examined by the first and third authors. Full-text access to one study (Simons et al., 2006) was not available, despite contacting both the authors and experts in the field who had previously reviewed this. As bias could not be assessed, this was excluded from the review. Any queries regarding inclusion were resolved through discussion until a consensus was reached. The search process is described in Figure 3.1. A total of 17 articles were identified as meeting the inclusion criteria, of which 12 (70.59%) related to GLM *assumptions* and five (29.41%) to *outcomes* of GLM-consistent interventions. Of these, 15 (88.24%) were published in peer-reviewed journals and two (11.76%) were theses/dissertations at PhD level. See Appendix A for a list of included studies.

Data Extraction. Information extracted from the articles which satisfied the inclusion criteria, included: author(s), data source variables (year of publication, country of publication origin, publication type), study aims, sample characteristics (sample size, age, gender, offence type), design (e.g., RCT, quasi-experimental study, qualitative study), measures used, and assumption (e.g., offending as an

attempt to fulfil primary goods, obstacles in the Good Lives plan, and pathways to offending) or outcome (e.g., recidivism, pre-post treatment change, service user perspectives) variables. These are detailed in Appendix B for all included studies.

Results were summarized narratively.

Figure 3.1*Schematic overview of study selection process; adapted from Moher et al. (2009)*

Quality of Studies

Within systematic reviews, there is a need to appraise the quality, or internal validity, of all included articles; enabling bias to be minimized (Lundh & Gøtzsche, 2008). Specifically, quality assessment allows errors and biases relating to design, measurement, analysis and evaluation to be examined (Higgins et al., 2011). As such, Kmet et al. (2004) developed a standardized, empirically grounded quality assessment criterion, which was used to assess risk of bias of articles included in this review. This criterion allows the simultaneous quality assessment of various study methodologies, including both randomized and non-randomized designs (Kmet et al., 2004), and as such was the most appropriate measure for this systematic review.

The quality assessment consisted of 14 items for the quantitative criteria (see Table 3.1) and 10 for the qualitative criteria (see Table 3.2). Non-applicable items were omitted from the quantitative form only. Each item was scored as: condition not met (0), partially met (1), or condition fully met (2). For the quantitative form, overall quality score was calculated by dividing the total sum ((number of “conditions met” *2) + (number of “partials” *1)) by the total possible sum (28 – (number of “N/A” *2)). Overall quality score for the qualitative form was calculated by dividing the total sum ((number of “conditions met” *2) + (number of “partials” *1)) by the total possible sum (20), with scores converted into percentages. For quantitative bias scores of all included articles, see Table 3.3. See Table 3.4 for qualitative bias scores of all included articles.

Scores were converted into percentages, with a minimum threshold of 60% quality score set for inclusion. This is consistent with past systematic reviews (e.g., Chapman et al., 2018), which regard 60% quality score as a threshold enabling both inclusion of a sufficient proportion of articles, whilst only reviewing those of good

quality. All 17 articles met the threshold of 60%, so were included in the review. A random sample of 50% of the papers were assessed by a secondary reviewer to ensure inter-rater reliability. Any disagreement was resolved through discussion.

Table 3.1

Quality criteria for quantitative studies (Kmet et al., 2004)

Question No.	Question for inclusion of quantitative items
1	Is the question or objective sufficiently described?
2	Is the design evident and appropriate to answer the study question?
3	Is the method of subject selection (and comparison group selection, if applicable) or source of information for input variables (e.g., for decision analysis) described and appropriate?
4	Are the subject (and comparison group, if applicable) characteristics or input variables information (e.g., for decision analysis) sufficiently described?
5	If random allocation to treatment group was possible, is it described?
6	If interventional and blinding of investigators to intervention was possible, is it reported?
7	If interventional and blinding of subjects to intervention was possible, is it reported?
8	Are outcome and (if applicable) exposure measure(s) well defined and robust to measurement/misclassification bias? And are means of assessment reported?

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- | | |
|----|---|
| 9 | Is the sample size appropriate? |
| 10 | Is the analysis described and appropriate? |
| 11 | Is some estimate of variance (e.g., confidence intervals, standard errors) reported for the main outcomes and results (e.g., those directly assessing the study question/objective upon which the conclusions are based)? |
| 12 | Are confounding factors controlled for? |
| 13 | Are results reported in sufficient detail? |
| 14 | Do the results support the conclusions? |
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Table 3.2*Quality criteria for qualitative studies (Kmet et al., 2004)*

Question No.	Question for inclusion of qualitative items
1	Is the question or objective sufficiently described?
2	Is the design evidence and appropriate to answer the study question?
3	Is the context for the study clear?
4	Connection to a theoretical framework/wider body of knowledge?
5	Sampling strategy described and systematic?
6	Data collection methods clearly described and systematic?
7	Data analysis clearly described and systematic?
8	Use of verification procedure to establish causality?
9	Conclusions supported by the results?
10	Reflexivity of the account?

Table 3.3

Quality assessment for all included quantitative studies.

Author	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Total	Total	Summary
															sum:	possible	score
																sum:	(%):
Barendregt (2015)	2	2	2	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	22	22	100
Barendregt et al. (2018)	2	2	2	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	21	22	95.45
Barnett et al. (2014)	2	2	2	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	19	22	86.36
Barnett & Wood (2008)*	2	2	2	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	20	22	90.91

Bouman et al. (2009)	2	2	2	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	22	22	100
Chu, Koh et al. (2015)	2	2	2	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	2	2	0	1	2	2	19	22	86.36
Harkins et al. (2012)*	2	2	2	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	2	2	0	1	0	2	16	22	72.73
Loney & Harkins (2018)	2	2	2	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	21	22	95.45
Mann et al. (2004)	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	18	28	64.29
Van Damme et al. (2016)	2	2	2	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	22	22	100
Willis & Grace (2008)	2	2	2	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	2	1	0	2	2	2	18	22	81.82

Willis & Ward (2011)	2	1	2	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	19	22	86.36
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*Included both a quantitative and qualitative component, which are examined for bias separately, using the appropriate quality assessment measure.

Table 3.4*Quality assessment for all included qualitative studies.*

Author	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Total sum:	Total possible sum:	Summary score (%):
Barnett & Wood (2008)*	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	18	20	90
Harkins et al. (2012)*	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	18	20	90
Harris et al. (2019)	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	2	0	16	20	80
Leeson & Adshead (2013)	2	2	1	2	2	2	0	0	2	0	13	20	65
Purvis (2005)	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	18	20	90
Taylor (2017)	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0	2	0	14	20	70

Ward & Attwell (2014)	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	0	2	0	15	20	75
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*Included both a quantitative and qualitative component, which are examined for bias separately, using the appropriate quality assessment measure.

Results

Study Design

Seven (41.18%) of the included articles were written after Netto et al.'s (2014) review, from 2015 onwards. The remaining articles were written between 2004 and 2014. Ten articles were quantitative (58.82%), five qualitative (29.41%) and two were mixed methods (11.77%). Of the quantitative studies, four were longitudinal (40.0%), two were cross-sectional (20.0%), two (20.0%) used a retrospective methodology (of which one matched participants on static risk level and follow-up time), one was quasi-experimental (10.0%), and one was an RCT (10.0%). Twelve studies (70.59%) assessed the *assumptions* of the GLM (question 1). The assumptions examined included the relationship between offending and primary goods, four obstacles in Good Lives plans, and pathways to offending. Five studies (29.41%) assessed the *outcomes* of GLM interventions, including: pre-post treatment change, attrition rates, treatment engagement, and service user perspectives.

Sample and Recruitment

Sample sizes ranged from 10 to 777 participants. The majority of the studies used adult samples ($n = 12$; 70.59%), with the remaining five studies assessing adolescent samples (29.41%). Fourteen (82.35%) studies recruited male participants, with one study (5.88%; Van Damme et al., 2016) recruiting female participants only. The remaining two studies (11.77%; Leeson & Adshead, 2013; Loney & Harkins, 2018) had a mixture of both male and female participants. Seven studies recruited participants from the United Kingdom (41.18%), three from The Netherlands (17.65%), two from New Zealand (11.77%), and two from Australia (11.77%), with

one (5.88%) from each of the following countries: Singapore, United States and Belgium.

As expected, no studies were identified that examined street gang members. Over half of the included studies examined individuals who had sexually offended ($n = 10$; 58.82%), four studies examined general delinquency/antisocial behavior (23.53%), two studies examined mixed offending typologies (including sexual, violent and non-violent offences; 11.77%), and one study assessed burglars (5.88%). Although 16 of the 17 studies recruited participants from an offending population (94.12%), one study (Loney & Harkins, 2018) assessed antisocial behavior in university students. The remaining participants were recruited from prisons ($n = 5$; 29.41%), community services ($n = 5$; 29.41%), mixed prison and community ($n = 1$; 5.88%), forensic secure units ($n = 2$; 11.77%), and forensic outpatients ($n = 3$; 17.65%).

Key Findings

The following section narratively synthesizes the literature to examine whether the GLM is an ideological and intuition-based model, or an empirically supported model.

Empirically Supported Assumptions

Offending as an attempt to fulfil primary goods. The first key assumption of the GLM is that primary goods are universal to all humans, with offending and psychopathology occurring due to difficulty fulfilling the primary goods in prosocial ways. Seven studies included in this review directly examined this assumption. Firstly, Purvis (2005) interviewed 26 adult males who had sexually offended against children (25 incarcerated at the time of the interview). Findings suggest the primary goods of Pleasure, Relatedness, Inner Peace, Excellence in Play, Life and Agency,

were explicitly pursued through engagement in sexual offending. Likewise, Willis and Ward (2011) conducted interviews with 16 adult males who had sexually offended against children at one-, three- and six- months following re-entry to the community, examining the degree to which they endorsed the primary goods. Findings show average achievement of primary goods positively related to effectiveness of community re-entry (based on experiences of accommodation, social support and employment). As effective community re-entry has previously been found to be related to reduced recidivism (Huebner et al., 2010), Willis and Ward's (2011) findings suggest attainment of primary goods acts as a protective factor against offending; supporting the GLM assumption.

Taylor (2017) examined the application of the GLM assumptions to burglars ($n = 30$; 15 incarcerated), with interviews conducted exploring what primary goods were sought through their offending behavior. Findings support the assumption that offending represents an attempt to fulfil primary goods. For instance, participants reported attempting to achieve Pleasure; some received a 'buzz' through their offending, whilst financial gain allowed an indulgent and excessive lifestyle. Interestingly, burglars attempted to protect their Inner Peace by developing 'codes of conduct', whereby they only targeted those who were affluent and avoided burglarizing the elderly. Although each of the primary goods was relevant to burglary, Creativity, Spirituality and Community were not *explicitly* pursued through participants' offending behavior.

Thus far, all studies have used an adult population, but as an individuals' Good Lives plan is flexible and can change according to life stage, it is important to consider whether the GLM assumption is supported in youths. Studies of youths, assessing the assumption that offending and psychopathology occur due to difficulty

fulfilling primary goods in prosocial ways, have mixed results. For instance, compared to the six primary goods associated with adult sexual offending in Purvis' (2005) study, fewer primary goods were sought through offending behavior in Chu, Koh et al.'s (2015) retrospective analysis of 168 adolescent sexual offenders' clinical files. Pleasure (91.1% of total sample), Relatedness (35.7%) and Inner Peace (17.3%) were present in some clinical files, whilst Creativity, Spirituality and Life were not present in any; the remaining primary goods were present in less than 10% of clinical files. No differences were found according to age of victim (child vs. non-child) or nature of offence (penetrative vs. non-penetrative).

Although this still supports the GLM assumption that primary goods are maladaptively sought through offending behavior, the results must be interpreted cautiously. As the authors explain, reliance on a retrospective review of clinical files means the amount of information available is limited. It is also possible that clinicians would only have reported factors that needed targeting in interventions, meaning the presence of primary goods at the time of offending could have been underestimated in Chu, Koh et al.'s (2015) study. Critically, one reason why fewer primary goods were found to be associated with sexual offending in youths could be due to their life stage. Adolescence is characterized by impulsivity, emotional turmoil, and the development of relationships independent of parents (Dumas et al., 2012); suggesting the primary goods of Pleasure, Inner Peace and Relatedness would be the most sought after, to the neglect of other primary goods.

However, Barendregt (2015) found little support for the relationship between unmet needs and general delinquency in 172 adolescent males in secure residential care. Using the Lancashire Quality of Life Profile (LQoLP; Van Nieuwenhuizen et al., 2002), unmet needs corresponding to the primary goods were examined,

including: work and education, leisure, religion, finances, living situation, safety, family, peers, and health. Overall, unmet needs accounted for only 2.4% of variance in delinquency, with unmet financial needs positively related to delinquency. This is in comparison to risk factors across the individual, family, peer and school domains, which accounted for 13.8% of variance. When combining both unmet needs and risk factors, 13.4% of variance in delinquency was explained; although, only risk in the peer domain remained significantly associated with delinquency. This provides more support for risk-perspectives of offending than the GLM assumption that offending occurs due to difficulty in fulfilling the primary goods in prosocial ways.

Yet, Barendregt (2015) found unmet needs had additional explanatory value, beyond risk factors, in psychopathology. Specifically, unmet leisure and financial needs were positively related to Disruptive Behavior Disorders (DBD); Autism Spectrum Disorder was related to unmet health needs, and, having unmet safety and health needs were associated with Attention Deficit Disorder. This supports the GLM assumption that psychopathology can occur due to unmet needs associated with difficulty in fulfilling the primary goods. Although, contrary to the GLM assumption, and rather inexplicably, unmet health needs were associated with a lower chance of DBD. Critically, it must be noted that as this was a cross-sectional study, conclusions cannot be drawn regarding the order of emergence (i.e., whether unmet needs led to psychopathology, or vice versa). Overall, Barendregt's (2015) study suggests unmet needs are primarily associated with psychopathology, whilst risk factors are more associated with delinquency.

Similarly, using a longitudinal design, Barendregt et al. (2018) assessed whether higher Quality of Life (QoL), characterized by achievement of primary goods, in 95 male adolescents during their admission to a secure residential facility

related to lower rates of psychosocial issues and self-reported delinquency 12 months following discharge. Supporting the findings of Barendregt (2015), low scores on the QoL health domain, as measured using the LQoLP (Van Nieuwenhuizen et al., 2002), during admission predicted more psychosocial issues 12 months after discharge. No relationship was found between QoL and self-reported recidivism. Yet, as discussed below, this assumes a direct pathway from unmet needs to offending behavior. Following the indirect pathway, which was not examined in either of Barendregt et al.'s studies (2015, 2018), unmet needs could increase psychopathology, which in turn leads to offending behavior. As the majority of participants in the studies (85.47% and 100% respectively) had a diagnosed psychiatric disorder, it may be more likely that they would follow the indirect pathway to offending. Therefore, it cannot be discarded that a failure in fulfilling primary goods leads to offending behavior.

Research conducted by Bouman et al. (2009) with adult male participants ($n = 135$) who had a diagnosed personality disorder, had findings consistent with that of Barendregt et al. (2015, 2018); suggesting psychopathology influences the relationship between fulfilling primary goods and recidivism. Overall, forensic outpatients who reported having unmet needs (also measured using the LQoLP; Van Nieuwenhuizen et al., 2002) were no more likely to self-report recidivism three months later, than their counterparts who reported having a fulfilled life. However, assessing each particular domain, high satisfaction with health and life fulfilment were negatively associated with self-reported violent and general recidivism, even when controlling for level of risk; suggesting fulfilling the primary good of Life acts as a protective factor against offending. In particular, high risk outpatients were found to be three times more likely to commit general offences at three-month

follow-up if they were unsatisfied with their health, compared to high risk outpatients who were satisfied. Although, notably, less than 50% of participants completed the self-reported offending measure at three-month follow-up; suggesting the influence of unmet needs on recidivism may have been underestimated.

At a three-year follow-up, Bouman et al. (2009) reviewed official records of recidivism, finding violent reconvictions were moderately related to having unmet needs in general, and significantly related to poor satisfaction with health. In addition, property crimes related to poor satisfaction with finances, and general crimes related to poor satisfaction with health. However, when accounting for risk level, none of these relationships remained significant; providing further support for risk-based perspectives of offending over the GLM. Although, again, high risk outpatients were six times less likely to commit a violent offence if satisfied with their health, and three times less likely to commit a violent offence if satisfied with their life in general, than high risk dissatisfied outpatients. This suggests that fulfilling one's needs is associated with reduced recidivism in both the short and long-term for high-risk outpatients, but not low-risk outpatients.

Obstacles in the Good Lives plan. The GLM assumes there are four possible obstacles in an individual's Good Lives plan which cause difficulty in obtaining primary goods (Ward & Fortune, 2013). To reiterate, these include: (1) inappropriate means (i.e., use of inappropriate and/or harmful secondary goods); (2) lack of scope (i.e., focusing on some primary goods, to the neglect of others); (3) lack of coherence (i.e., conflict in the way primary goods are ordered or related to one another), and; (4) lack of capacity (i.e., problems with internal skills or external conditions, preventing attainment of primary goods). Six studies included in this review examined at least one of the four possible obstacles in a Good Lives plan.

Willis and Grace (2008) retrospectively examined the relationship between presence of secondary goods (i.e., having appropriate *means*) in reintegration plans and recidivism in 81 child molesters who had undergone prison-based treatment for sexual offending. Compared to non-recidivists ($n = 42$), recidivists ($n = 39$) had poorer quality reintegration plans, with these less likely to have included GLM secondary goods. Assessing specific offence typologies, sexual recidivists were less likely to have reintegration plans with GLM secondary goods included than non-sexual recidivists. This remained significant when controlling for IQ, and near significance for overall deviance. Although, when controlling for these simultaneously, no relationship was found between presence of GLM secondary goods in reintegration plans and sexual recidivism. Willis and Grace (2008) found no difference between non-recidivists and violent recidivists on presence of GLM secondary goods in reintegration plans; suggesting obstacles in a Good Lives plan does not increase risk of violent reoffending.

However, for general recidivism, presence of GLM secondary goods approached significance ($p < .06$), whilst for 'any' recidivism (including sexual, violent and non-violent offences), non-recidivists were more likely to have GLM secondary goods in their reintegration plans than recidivists, even when controlling for IQ and overall deviance simultaneously. As having concrete methods should aid in achievement of primary goods, this supports the assumption that having a lack of means increases risk of sexual, general, and 'any' offending, but not violent offending. Yet, this must be approached with caution as the extent to which the reintegration plans were implemented by offenders and effective means used to attain the primary goods was not examined in Willis and Grace's (2008) study.

In the only study to date which examines the assumptions of the GLM in the general population, Loney and Harkins (2018) assessed whether self-reported offending in university students ($n = 340$) was predicted by the use of maladaptive means to achieve the primary goods of Agency, Inner Peace and Pleasure. Using the Measure of Life Priorities scale (designed by the study authors), maladaptive means to achieve Agency (i.e., asserting dominance) and Inner Peace (i.e., using substances to regulate mood) were found to predict engagement in self-reported violent offending; maladaptive means to achieve Agency predicted self-reported acquisitive offending, and; maladaptive means to achieve Pleasure (i.e., use of alcohol/drugs) and Inner Peace predicted self-reported drug offending. This supports the GLM assumption that the use of inappropriate means to achieve primary goods can lead to engagement in offending behavior. This also demonstrates there are differences according to offence type in the primary goods sought through maladaptive means. However, further research is necessary to establish whether this is limited to the three primary goods assessed by Loney and Harkins (2018) or is applicable to all 11 primary goods.

Critically, Loney and Harkins (2018) also assessed whether strategies used to achieve the primary goods were perceived as effective by participants. No relationship was found between self-reported offending (acquisitive, violent or drug offending) and having a lack of effective means. Although this may imply that using ineffective means to achieve primary goods does not increase risk of offending, this may be due to participants young age ($M = 20.03$ years). Early adulthood is characterized by change and development (Arnett, 2007), meaning a lack of effective strategies may have been perceived as a temporary situation and offending behavior was not necessary to fulfil the primary goods.

Barnett and Wood (2008) are the only authors to date to have examined all of the obstacles in sexual offenders' Good Lives plans. Assessing three of the primary goods (Agency, Inner Peace, and Relatedness) which had previously been conceptually linked to dynamic risk factors of sexual offending (Ward & Mann, 2004), Barnett and Wood (2008) examined the prioritization that 42 incarcerated adult male sexual offenders assigned to the primary goods. Participants were found to assign highest priority to Relatedness, then Agency. Priority scores assigned to Inner Peace were significantly lower than those assigned to Relatedness or Agency, with no difference found between these two primary goods. This supports the GLM notion that offending occurs when there is a lack of *scope* in an individual's implicit Good Lives plan. However, when participants' Good Lives plans were categorized as either balanced (three primary goods assigned a high priority) or unbalanced (at least one primary good assigned low priority), slightly over half (52.4%) of participants had a balanced Good Lives plan. Although, as only three of the 11 primary goods were examined, this does not necessarily mean the participants' Good Lives plans were balanced overall.

Open-ended questions indicated that all four obstacles in the GLM were present in participants. For instance, issues in *scope* was evident in the lack of desire to achieve one of the three primary goods (e.g., "I enjoyed being dependent on others", p. 458, demonstrates neglect of Agency). Regarding the obstacle *means*, some participants used offending as a maladaptive method of achieving their primary goods (e.g., "Achieving agency... I was trying to control someone sexually", p.458). There was a lack of *coherence* between goods reported, particularly between Agency and Relatedness (e.g., "I put too much time into work and not enough into my relationships", p. 459). Finally, participants discussed difficulty in *capacity*

preventing them from achieving the primary goods (e.g., “I didn’t know how to express my feelings”, p. 459).

Focusing on *internal capacity* (an individual’s cognitive, psychological and behavioral skills) in more depth, Barnett and Wood (2008) found participants whose Good Lives plan were balanced had higher overall problem-solving ability than those with an unbalanced Good Lives plan. Comparatively, an unbalanced Good Lives plan was related to greater dysfunctional problem-solving scores, with dysfunctional scores highest amongst participants who assigned lowest priority to Relatedness. No difference was found in functional problem-solving scores according to balanced or unbalanced Good Lives plans, although offenders who placed high priority on Relatedness had higher functional problem-solving scores. Critically, it is unclear from this study whether functional problem-solving skills were used to aid in securing primary goods through non-offending (i.e., positive relationships) or offending behaviors. Despite this, Barnett and Wood (2008) provide support for the presence of each of the four obstacles in achieving primary goods, which could lead to offending behavior.

The remaining studies all examined the relationship between offending behavior and the obstacle of capacity. Purvis (2005) examined the internal and external obstacles experienced by men who had sexually offended in the pursuit of primary goods. Overall, a wide range of obstacles were identified. These included 20 different internal obstacles (e.g., a lack of interpersonal skills, distrust, emotional difficulties and substance abuse) and 18 external obstacles (e.g., lack of social support, poverty and lack of employment). The extent to which internal and external obstacles were faced differed between participants considerably, with some experiencing a large number of obstacles, whilst others had only a small number.

Interestingly, Purvis (2005) found the means used by participants to secure primary goods were dependent on the types of obstacles they experienced, with participants who experienced a large number of obstacles often reporting having no means to secure the primary goods.

Using a longitudinal approach, Barendregt et al. (2018) examined whether internal obstacles (examined as difficulties in coping skills) related to risk of reoffending and psychosocial difficulties 12 months after discharge from a secure residential care facility. Using active coping strategies at Time 1 related to lower self-reported recidivism at Time 2. Comparatively, using passive coping strategies at Time 1 was associated with less psychosocial problems at follow-up. This supports the GLM assumption that issues in internal capacity can increase risk of offending behavior. However, attrition was high in this study with only 95 of the 172 adolescent males tested at Time 1 completing the Time 2 questionnaires. Attrition analysis demonstrated that those who completed Time 2 were more likely to have Autism Spectrum Disorder and Reactive Attachment Disorder, questioning the generalizability of these findings.

Critically, Barendregt et al. (2018) did not directly examine the relationship between issues in capacity and attainment of primary goods. Overcoming this, Harris et al. (2019) interviewed 42 men who had been released into the community following incarceration for sexual offences, regarding their attainment of primary goods. Although some primary goods were well achieved by participants, including Knowledge (73.8% achieved), Relatedness (66.7%), Spirituality (45.2%) and Community (38.1%), the remaining primary goods were achieved in less than 10% of participants. A number of *external capacity* issues were reported which prevented achievement of primary goods, particularly toward the goods of Life, Agency, Inner

Peace and Mastery (combining both Excellence in Work and Play). These include rejection from others, difficulty securing housing and employment, and financial strain, which often occurred due to restrictions placed on the offender as part of their re-entry to the community (e.g., unable to live near children, no use of computers).

Of the primary goods most achieved, both Knowledge and Community were attained by participants through engagement in sexual offender treatment, as they faced rejection from mainstream clubs/groups. As such, it is questionable how these primary goods will be adequately achieved, in light of the barriers discussed, once the program has finished. Overall, Harris et al.'s (2019) study supports the GLM assumption that issues in capacity lead to difficulty in securing primary goods. However, as interviewees were only those who had participated in treatment, these findings are unlikely to be generalizable to those who did not receive treatment or were not motivated to engage with it.

Pathways to Offending. Only two studies have examined the GLM assumption that there are two distinct pathways to offending: a direct and indirect route. Purvis (2005) first discovered this concept in interviews with males who had sexually offended against children interviewed. Findings showed that the majority of participants expressed both indirect and direct pathways to offending. As an example of a direct pathway to offending, Purvis (2005) found participants sought an intimate relationship with others in order to secure the primary good of Relatedness. However, due to internal (e.g., distrust of adults) and external (e.g., poor relationship skills) obstacles, participants directly tried to secure the primary good through sexual contact with children. Some participants, however, only utilized indirect pathways to offending, meaning they found it difficult to comprehend their offending behavior; often because they had not engaged in any planning for their sexual offence. For

example, Purvis (2005) described how participants sought the primary good of Inner Peace, but due to internal (e.g., poor problem-solving skills) and external (e.g., lack of social support) obstacles they relied on non-offending but inappropriate means (e.g., alcohol/drug use). The inappropriate means used then led into a spiraling effect (i.e., increasing depression, relationship difficulties and financial issues), which increased risk of offending.

Van Damme et al. (2016) longitudinally examined the direct and indirect pathways to offending in adolescent females incarcerated at a Belgium youth detention center, partially supporting the GLM assumption. At admission, 136 females completed a QoL measure based on two weeks pre-detention. Six months following release, self-reported mental health issues and offending were examined in 95 adolescents (follow-up rate of 70%). Unlike Purvis' (2005) findings, there was no support for a direct pathway from overall QoL to offending behavior in this study. This difference may be due to participants age; adolescents needs are often met externally (i.e., parent/carer providing necessary resources to meet needs), meaning the desire to fulfil these may not directly underlie offending behavior. However, a positive pathway from satisfaction with social relationships to offending behavior was found by Van Damme et al. (2016). This is consistent with the developmental stage of the participants, whereby emphasis is placed on peer relationships. As antisocial adolescents tend to associate with equally delinquent peers, being satisfied with their social relationships immediately prior to admission suggests they are more likely to retain these relationships after discharge and return to their antisocial/offending behaviors.

Van Damme et al.'s (2016) findings did support the GLM's indirect pathway. Low QoL was associated with increased risk of mental health problems in the

participants, which then increased risk of recidivism. This indirect pathway was found for overall QoL, as well as each domain tested (social relationships, physical health, psychological health, and environment). Notably, the adolescents that dropped out of the study had a higher average score on the QoL domain psychological health compared to those who completed the follow-up questionnaires. As those included in this study had poorer psychological health, this may explain why the indirect pathway, which takes into account mental health issues, was supported whilst no support for the direct pathway was found.

Empirically Supported Outcomes

Comparison of GLM to Relapse Prevention Interventions. Three studies compared the effectiveness of GLM informed interventions to standard Relapse Prevention (RP) interventions for adult males who had sexually offended (Barnett et al., 2014; Harkins et al., 2012; Mann et al., 2004). Barnett et al. (2014) and Harkins et al. (2012) conducted interviews with offenders who had received community-based interventions, assessing pre-post measures of psychometric change (including self-esteem, loneliness, empathy, assertiveness, Locus of Control, relapse prevention, victim empathy distortions and beliefs about children). No difference was found between GLM and RP groups in either study on overall psychometric change and attrition rates. Harkins et al. (2012) also found no difference between groups (GLM, $n = 76$; RP, $n = 701$) on achieving a treated profile (i.e., no psychometric difference between offenders and the non-offender general population); suggesting the GLM-consistent intervention was considered to be as effective as the standard RP intervention. Facilitators and participants in Harkins et al. (2012) study reported the GLM-consistent intervention to be more optimistic and opportunity-focused. However, concerns were raised regarding consistency with all

GLM principles, as the balance between promoting goods and reducing risk was not adequate. Conversely, Barnett et al. (2014; *N* not specified) found a higher proportion of the GLM-consistent intervention completers achieved a treated profile than RP completers; suggesting they made a greater improvement overall. Yet, pre-treatment, RP completers were found to have higher dysfunctionality scores on psychometric measures than GLM completers, meaning they may be less likely to achieve a treated profile. As such, the authors suggest the GLM may be more appropriate for participants deemed ‘functional’ prior to the intervention (Barnett et al., 2014).

In the only RCT to date, Mann et al. (2004) assigned incarcerated adult males who had sexually offended to either an approach-focused (i.e., GLM-consistent; *n* = 24) or avoidance-focused (i.e., standard RP; *n* = 23) intervention. In comparison to the standard RP group, findings suggest that participants who received the GLM-consistent intervention demonstrated greater motivation to desist from offending upon completion of treatment, as rated by therapists. In addition, engagement in treatment and willingness to disclose lapses, measured through homework completion, was found to be higher in the GLM-consistent group than standard RP group. However, this may be due to the homework task given, as participants may have found it more appealing to complete a diary that focused on goal achievement than risk avoidance. Pre-post measures of self-esteem, recognition of risk and coping strategies were found to improve in both the GLM-consistent and standard RP groups, but no overall difference in these measures was found between the two groups. Supporting the findings of Barnett et al. (2014) and Harkins et al. (2012), Mann et al.’s (2004) findings suggest a GLM-consistent intervention can be

perceived as equally effective as standard RP interventions, and may enhance motivation and treatment engagement beyond that of RP interventions.

Service User Perspectives of GLM Informed Interventions. Two studies have examined users' perspectives of GLM informed interventions (Leeson & Adshead, 2013; Ward & Attwell, 2014). Leeson and Adshead (2013) interviewed practitioners ($n = 7$) and service users ($n = 4$) who had engaged with G-map's adapted version of the GLM (GLM-A). Practitioners suggested that the GLM-A was the most valuable intervention for engaging adolescents who had expressed harmful sexual behavior and promoting motivation to change. Over the course of the intervention, service users' feelings of shame and hopelessness, and expressions of defensiveness reduced, whilst optimism for the future, level of support networks, and confidence increased. Furthermore, service users' behavior was found to improve across the course of the intervention.

Supporting this, Ward and Attwell (2014) conducted interviews with adult male forensic service users ($n = 10$), at risk of committing a sexual or violent offence and had undertaken a community based, GLM informed intervention. In addition to Leeson and Adshead's (2013) findings, Ward and Attwell (2014) found service users reported improvement in their problem-solving skills, perspective-taking ability, trust of others and self-awareness over the course of the intervention. Whilst these studies provide support from a service-user perspective for GLM informed interventions, caution must be taken when drawing conclusions based on just two studies, with a combined sample of only 21 participants.

Discussion

The aim of this chapter was to assess whether the GLM is an ideological and intuition-based model (as suggested by Bonta & Andrews, 2003) or an empirically

supported model. To examine this, studies relating to both the assumptions of the GLM and the outcomes of GLM-consistent interventions were systematically reviewed. Seventeen studies met the inclusion criteria, including 12 studies assessing the GLM assumptions and five examining the outcomes of GLM-consistent interventions. No studies were identified which examined GLM assumptions or GLM-consistent interventions with street gang members.

GLM Assumptions

This is the first systematic review of studies relating to the GLM assumptions. Three distinct assumptions were examined, including: (1) offending behavior represents an attempt to fulfil the primary goods; (2) obstacles prevent attainment of primary goods, and; (3) there are both direct and indirect pathways to offending. Findings regarding the first assumption, that offending behavior represents an attempt to fulfil the primary goods, were mixed. Three studies of individual's who had sexually offended supported this assumption, with attainment of primary goods found to be explicitly pursued through offending (Chu, Koh et al., 2015; Purvis, 2005) and related to effectiveness of re-entry to the community (Willis & Ward, 2011). Furthermore, in the only study on burglars to date, Taylor (2017) also found participants explicitly sought the majority of primary goods through offending (excluding Creativity, Spirituality and Community).

However, Bouman et al. (2009) found, when controlling for risk level, no relationship between attainment of primary goods and recidivism after three years. Furthermore, studies conducted by Barendregt et al. (2015; 2018) found no relationship between attainment of primary goods and offending behavior. Yet, psychopathology was more likely amongst participants who had failed to attain their primary goods effectively (Barendregt, 2015; Barendregt et al., 2018). It must be

noted that it is unclear whether there is any overlap in the samples used between Barendregt et al.'s 2015 and 2018 research, which could explain the consistency in findings across both studies. Critically, risk factors (or criminogenic needs) are conceptualized within the GLM as impeding the attainment of primary goods (Ward, Melsner, & Yates, 2007). As risk factors and primary goods are not mutually exclusive within the GLM, analyzing these as distinct constructs (as in Barendregt et al., 2015; 2018), or controlling for risk level (see Bouman et al., 2009), may explain why offending behavior was not found to relate to attainment of primary goods in these studies.

Although not explicitly examined in Barendregt et al.'s (2015; 2018) studies, this could provide support for the indirect pathway, whereby a failure to attain primary goods increases psychopathology, which in turn leads to offending behavior. Alternatively, these findings may be due to the measures used to assess the primary goods. These authors used a general measure of QoL (LQoLP; Van Nieuwenhuizen et al., 2002), assuming that unmet needs directly represent the primary goods specified in the GLM. However, some of the LQoLP domains could relate to the same primary good (e.g., LQoLP domains of finances, living situation, safety and health, could all map onto the primary good of Life). Equally, some domains could relate to more than one primary good (e.g., meeting financial needs could also represent Excellence in Work). As suggested by Willis and Grace (2008), to ensure comparable research is conducted, it is necessary for future research to develop a standardized, reliable and valid method to measure achievement of primary goods according to the GLM.

Overall, the second GLM assumption, that there are four possible obstacles (means, scope, coherence, and capacity) in an individual's Good Lives plan, was

fully supported in each of the six studies reviewed. The majority of studies examined capacity issues or problematic means in offenders' Good Lives plans. With the exception of Barnett and Wood's (2008) study of adult males who had sexually offended (in which all four obstacles were examined), there was a noticeable lack of research assessing the obstacles of scope and coherence. As such, to ensure that the GLM is considered an empirically supported model, not based only on intuition, it is necessary that future research consider the role of scope and coherence in attainment of primary goods and offending behavior.

The third assumption, that there are two distinct pathways to offending (direct and indirect), was only examined in two studies included in this systematic review, with mixed findings. Both studies (Purvis, 2005; Van Damme et al., 2016) supported the indirect pathway to offending, whilst the direct pathway to offending was only found in Purvis' (2005) study. A number of factors may account for the differences in Purvis' (2005) and Van Damme et al.'s (2016) findings, including study design (qualitative vs. longitudinal respectively), offence type (sexual offending vs. general delinquency) and participant characteristics (adult males vs. adolescent females). Alternatively, Purvis (2005) suggests that only some individuals engage in the direct pathway to offending, with the majority following the indirect pathway. As such, future research needs to consider whether the GLM assumptions are upheld across different offending populations and typologies, such as street gang members.

GLM Outcomes

This systematic review aimed to provide an update on the empirical evidence examining the outcomes of GLM-consistent interventions, since Netto et al. published their review paper in 2014. As Netto et al. (2014) did not find any

empirical articles that met all inclusion criteria (RCT with recidivism as an outcome), the current systematic review utilized a broader inclusion criterion. As Reeves et al. (2019) suggest, non-randomized studies are necessary for understanding the effectiveness of interventions, particularly when RCT's are not available due to ethical or practical concerns. Furthermore, Killias (2006) suggests that to improve impact evaluations of interventions for offending behavior, it is necessary to consider relative improvement through pre-post measures of change. This overcomes the difficulty of relying on a single primary outcome measure of recidivism, which can be confounded by issues in detection (Klinge, 2018). In addition, due to their unique insight, service user perspectives should be considered for evaluating interventions (NHS England, 2015). As such, the current systematic review expanded on Netto et al.'s (2014) review by including a variety of outcome measures (including recidivism, pre-post change and service user perspectives).

Overall, findings suggest that GLM-consistent interventions are as effective as standard RP programs regarding improvements in pre-post measures of psychometric change (Barnett et al., 2014; Harkins et al., 2012; Mann et al., 2004). GLM-consistent interventions were also found to improve motivation to change and engagement with the program, beyond that of standard RP programs (Mann et al., 2004). Service user perspectives were positive regarding GLM-consistent interventions, suggesting they helped improve their optimism about the future, confidence, and trust in others (Leeson & Adshead, 2013; Ward & Attwell, 2014). This provides preliminary support for GLM-consistent interventions, particularly from a clinical perspective where engagement and motivation to change are critical factors in treatment success (McMurrin & Ward, 2004).

However, no studies that met the inclusion criteria for a GLM-consistent intervention examined recidivism rates. As such, consistent with Netto et al. (2014), no conclusion can be drawn regarding the effectiveness of GLM-consistent interventions at reducing recidivism. Therefore, until more rigorous evaluations have been conducted, caution must be taken when implementing GLM-consistent interventions with individuals who have offended, in order to reduce the risk of inadvertent harmful consequences (McNeill, 2012; Netto et al., 2014). Furthermore, all of the studies which examined the outcomes of GLM-consistent interventions were targeted at individuals who had sexually offended or were at risk of doing so. As such, the findings are limited in terms of generalizability to other offending typologies, such as street gang members. Consistent with the findings of Netto et al. (2014), this systematic review has demonstrated that there remains a paucity of high-quality research on the effectiveness of GLM-consistent interventions for offenders. This is despite the growing popularity of GLM-consistent interventions internationally (Fortune, 2018; McGrath et al., 2009).

Limitations

As with all research, the current systematic review is not without its limitations. Firstly, this review only included studies that had been published in English. As such, all but one study (Chu, Koh et al., 2015) included was conducted in a Westernized country. As the GLM is an internationally utilized model of offender rehabilitation, it is possible that the findings discussed in this review may not be generalizable to collectivist cultures. In particular, some primary goods that are emphasized in individualistic cultures (e.g., Agency and Excellence in Play) could be of less importance within collectivist cultures, which may focus on goods such as Relatedness and Knowledge (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Furthermore, Willis et

al. (2013) suggest cultural differences need to be considered in the labels used to explain the GLM concepts.

Critically, it was challenging in this review to compare the findings of the studies evaluating the GLM assumptions as a variety of different measures were used throughout. For instance, some studies directly probed participants regarding each of the primary goods (e.g., Barnett & Wood, 2008; Loney & Harkins, 2018), whilst others used measures of QoL (e.g., Barendregt et al., 2015; Bouman et al., 2009). It is questionable whether the different measures fully mapped onto the GLM primary goods, which may explain the contradictory findings (e.g., Barendregt, 2018). As such, to ensure comparable and valid research is conducted, the development of a standardized measure for the primary goods, as specified in the GLM, is essential (Willis & Grace, 2008).

A further limitation of this review relates to the search process. GLM experts could have been contacted for assistance in identifying relevant studies, particularly amongst the grey literature. However, the GLM website (<https://www.goodlivesmodel.com/index.shtml>), which is regularly updated by experts in the field, was searched for any potential studies that could meet the inclusion criteria. In addition, a number of studies within the grey literature were identified using the broad search strategy; reducing publication bias. Furthermore, where full text access was not available (Simons et al., 2006), both the authors and experts in the field were contacted. Yet, this request was not responded to, meaning the potentially relevant study by Simons et al. (2016) had to be excluded. Despite these limitations, this is the first systematic review to examine the literature surrounding the GLM assumptions and has provided a needed update regarding the outcomes of GLM-consistent interventions.

Summary

This chapter systematically synthesized the literature examining the GLM assumptions and outcomes of GLM-consistent interventions. Specifically, there were mixed findings regarding the three GLM assumptions examined: (1) half of the reviewed studies supported the assumption that offending behavior represents an attempt to fulfil the primary goods, with the remainder not finding a relationship between these factors; (2) the four obstacles were found to prevent attainment of primary goods, and; (3) of the two studies available, only one study found *both* the indirect and direct pathways were experienced by individuals who had offended. Preliminary findings regarding the outcomes of GLM-consistent interventions were positive; GLM-consistent interventions were found to be as effective as standard RP programs, whilst enhancing motivation to change, engagement in treatment and optimism for the future amongst participants.

However, this review has highlighted that there remains a paucity of research concerning both the GLM assumptions and outcomes of GLM-consistent interventions, despite the wide-spread interest in this model of offender rehabilitation. As such, in answer the question, ‘to what extent is the GLM an ideological and intuition-based model, or an empirically supported model?’, it can be concluded that the GLM is tentatively emerging as an empirically supported model. Although, much more rigorous and high-quality evaluations of the GLM are essential. In particular, there has been a lack of research examining the applicability of the GLM assumptions to street gang members. Therefore, the remainder of this thesis will examine the extent to which GLM assumptions are upheld in a street gang population. Chapter 4 will outline the rationale and research agenda.

Chapter 4

Rationale and Research Agenda

Research Rationale

Only 7.54% of individuals identified as associated with street gangs receive any form of intervention in the UK (Children's Commissioner, 2019a). Interventions received by street gang members tend to be primarily risk-based or punitive in nature (Di Placido et al., 2007). This is despite a number of criticisms surrounding the risk management approach, including limited focus on non-criminogenic needs and a demotivating nature (Case & Haines, 2015; Ward, Melsner, & Yates, 2007). As discussed in Chapter 2, the current literature surrounding street gang membership relates well to the etiological assumptions of the GLM, suggesting the GLM could be considered an alternative approach for street gang intervention.

However, as found in Chapter 3's systematic review, the GLM has not previously been examined in relation to street gang membership. Although the GLM can be theoretically applied to street gang members, it is also important that the assumptions of the GLM uphold with this population in empirical research. Critically, it is essential that this research is conducted *prior* to any implementation of GLM-based treatment with street gang members. This will aid in alleviating concerns surrounding whether the GLM is a 'common-sense' model, similar to the ineffective scared-straight programs, or an empirically supported model (Ogloff & Davis, 2004). As such, the remainder of this thesis examines what primary goods were sought through involvement with a street gang (see Chapter 7). In addition, to examine whether street gang members have unique treatment needs, which would require targeting in a GLM-based intervention, obstacles in the Good Lives plans of street gang members and non-gang offenders will be compared (see Chapter 8).

Overall, the aim of this thesis is to examine whether the GLM can be empirically applied to street gang members; aiding in the future development of street gang interventions. The remainder of this chapter will outline the population of interest and research setting used in this thesis.

Population of interest

Identifying street gang members

As discussed in previous chapters, the definition of a street gang member is highly debated, with no single definition nationally or internationally agreed (O'Connor & Waddell, 2015). In Europe, the Eurogang Youth Survey is the primary source used to classify individuals according to their street gang involvement. To reiterate, according to the Eurogang definition "*a youth gang, or troublesome youth group, is a durable, street-oriented youth group whose involvement in illegal activity is part of their group identity*" (Weerman et al., 2009, p. 20). To be classed as a street gang member, an individual must belong to a group which: (1) includes more than three people, (2) lasts longer than three months, (3) is street-orientated, (4) accepts illegal activities, and (5) engages in illegal activities together (Matsuda et al., 2012). The Eurogang definition has been critiqued by researchers for its over-categorization of groups as street gangs (e.g., illegal ravers, peer groups who consume drugs; Medina et al., 2013) and its lack of focus on their engagement in violence (Aldridge et al., 2012). However, as the Eurogang definition is typically used within academia and was developed with the aim of encouraging internationally comparative research on street gangs (Wood & Alleyne, 2010), this definition is used to classify individuals as either street gang members or non-gang throughout this thesis.

Researching street gang members

Often referred to as a ‘hidden population’, street gang members are notoriously challenging to research (Peterson & Valdez, 2005). Tourangeau (2014) identified a number of challenges faced by researchers when studying hidden populations, including: (1) *difficulty in sampling* (i.e., rare population with no specified sampling frame); (2) *difficulty identifying participants* (i.e., lack of self-report due to stigmatization and need for self-protection); (3) *difficult to locate or access* (i.e., lack of contact with regulated environments, such as schools and work, or protection by gatekeepers); (4) *resistance to research* (i.e., hostility towards academic researchers), and; (5) *challenges in interview* (i.e., language and attention barriers). Each of these difficulties are faced when attempting to conduct research with street gang members (Eidson et al., 2016).

In particular, researchers have suggested that street gang members fear having their identity revealed to both authority figures and rival gangs, due to the risk of prosecution or violence (Pawelz, 2018). Therefore, avoidance of participation in research, lack of self-reported street gang involvement and skepticism towards assurances of anonymity/confidentiality, resembles a method of self-protection for this population. Street gang members are also more likely to engage in illegal activities and substance misuse, have insecure environments and experience unemployment (Eidson et al., 2016), which have all been associated with a lack of engagement in research (Western et al., 2016). As such, there remains a paucity of research on street gang members (Alleyne & Wood, 2010). Critically, those least likely to participate in research are often those most at need of targeted interventions (Bonevski et al., 2014). Despite the numerous challenges faced when researching

street gang members, to enable the development of targeted interventions, it is essential that the specific needs of this hidden population are identified.

Overcoming challenges of recruiting street gang members for research

To conduct the research in this thesis, a number of approaches were considered for identifying and recruiting street gang members to participate. Firstly, conducting the research with street gang members in schools was considered. This is a common methodology used to overcome the difficulty of locating and accessing street gang members (e.g., Carson & Esbensen, 2017; Carson, Melde, et al., 2017; Lenzi et al., 2018). However, street gang membership is strongly associated with high truancy rates, chronic absenteeism, suspension and exclusion from school (Children's Commissioner, 2019b), meaning the population of interest may not be present to participate. In addition, denial of street gang presence is still prolific in the UK (Smithson & Ralphs, 2016), with many schools not fully accepting this as an issue they have to face (Waddell & Jones, 2018). As such, many schools are reluctant to allow access to researchers examining street gang membership. Therefore, it was decided that the school environment was not appropriate for research in this thesis.

Alternatively, Bolland et al. (2017) suggests community-based research provides a more accessible approach to studying hidden populations. Contact with gatekeepers (i.e., youth workers and intervention providers) can facilitate successful access and recruitment of participants, *if* they are trusted by the hard-to-reach population (Alberro, 2019). A number of street gang specific charities were contacted regarding the recruitment of participants for the studies in this thesis, including Project 10/10 (mac-uk.org/project-1010), Catch22 (catch-22.org.uk), Gangsline (www.gangline.com) and Mac-UK (mac-uk.org). Although each of the

charities were interested in the outcomes of this thesis, there was general concern that by facilitating research with street gang members this could reduce engagement with interventions, due to a loss of trust. As such, it was decided that community-based research with street gang members would not be feasible for this thesis.

The final approach considered involved researching incarcerated street gang members. Although it may seem paradoxical to examine street gangs in a prison environment, past research has found street gangs and prison gangs to be two distinct groups (Wood et al., 2014). Pyrooz et al. (2011) suggest street gang members tend to be younger, exhibit more overt offending behaviors and have weak bonds with the group (i.e., members move in and out of the group). Comparatively, prison gangs tend to be older, engage in covert offending behavior and demand absolute loyalty from their members. Although some academics have posited that street gang members reform as a prison gang when incarcerated (e.g., Griffin et al., 2012), research has found that street gang membership is not a predictive factor of prison gang involvement (Wood et al., 2014). As such, it is a feasible approach to conduct research with street gang members who have been incarcerated.

By conducting studies with incarcerated street gang members, this overcomes the majority of challenges associated with researching hidden populations (as outlined above). Firstly, regarding the issue of *difficulty in sampling* (i.e., rare population), the number of street gang members in prison is high. As a Whistleblower pointed out “*police have become better at catching these people... and that means there are more of them in jail*” (McGivern, 2018, para. 2). Supporting this, recent research conducted in a UK prison found 60% of the sample were classified as street gang members according to the Eurogang definition (Mallion & Wood, 2018a). As such, there is a larger sample of potential participants

within the prison system, which would have otherwise been challenging to reach in school or community settings.

Secondly, Catch22 (2014) highlights that whilst incarcerated, an individual's bond with their street gang weakens as contact with members reduces. Without fear of persecution from their group, street gang members may be more open and honest with researchers regarding their street gang involvement. As self-reported street gang membership is likely to increase, this overcomes the *difficulty in identifying participants*. Thirdly, some prison governors actively encourage prisoner engagement in research, particularly when the outcomes of the research could benefit prison safety or reduce recidivism (Christopher et al., 2011); overcoming the *difficulty in locating and accessing participants*. However, there are numerous challenges associated with gaining approval for prison-based research (e.g., meeting staffing demands, ethical and time constraints; Charles et al., 2016), that had to be considered and addressed prior to commencement of the prison study in this thesis.

Fourth, many prisoners are motivated to participate in research, to a greater extent than they would have been prior to prison entry (Bosworth et al., 2005). Past research has found prisoners report the benefits of engaging in research are: emotional relief through sharing their story, breaking the monotony of the prison routine, talking to someone new, and helping others (Copes et al., 2013; Schelbe et al., 2018). As such, this addresses the problem of *resistance to research*, which is particularly prevalent in community-based research with street gang members. However, some prisoners do remain resistant to research for reasons including: mistaking researchers for law enforcement officers, feeling pressured to participate by prison officers, having to recall traumatic experiences, and violating the prisoner

code (Copes et al., 2013). Each of these needs addressing when conducting prison-based research (see Chapter 6).

The final barrier, *challenges in interviews*, remains present in prison-based research with street gang members. Street gang members often have poor academic attainment (Pyrooz, 2014b), meaning they may experience comprehension difficulties when participating in research. Furthermore, street gang members tend to be hyperactive and have poor attention and concentration skills (Raby & Jones, 2016); limiting the amount of time they can participate in research studies. As such, when considering conducting research in prisons it is essential to ensure that an appropriate methodology is used. In particular, considerations must be made in relation to time taken to complete the research and ease of understanding of questions. Despite this, researching incarcerated street gang members overcomes many of the challenges of studying hidden populations. As such, for the main study in this thesis (see Chapters 7 and 8), the research setting was a UK prison.

Age of participants

A further consideration when studying street gang members is the age of participants. The vast majority of research on street gang members is with adolescents (e.g., Frisby-Osman & Wood, 2020; Salas-Wright et al., 2012). When studying young people under the age of 18, parental consent is required (BPS, 2014). Yet, parents of street gang members report being fearful of authorities criticizing and blaming them, or they may be in denial regarding their child's offending behaviors (Aldridge et al., 2011). As such, it is highly questionable whether parents of street gang members would consent to their child participating in research, especially when a discussion of family dynamics is included, as in this thesis (i.e., regarding the primary good of Relatedness).

It is often assumed that street gang membership is limited to adolescence, with onset of street gang membership occurring most frequently between 13 and 15 years of age (Pyrooz, 2014a). Despite issues with consent, this suggests early adolescence is the age group that needs to be researched. However, Pyrooz (2014a) found that street gang membership is not limited to adolescence, with both existing members continuing, and new members joining street gangs in adulthood. Supporting this, a survey of violent men in the community found 14.75% met the criteria to be classified as a full street gang member or affiliate (Wood et al., 2020). As such, adults who are able to give consent to participate in research, may still be involved in street gangs. Furthermore, adults are more able to introspect on their thoughts and behavior than adolescents (Weil et al., 2013), meaning they will be able to provide more comprehensive responses when asked about their pursuit of primary goods. In addition, if adult participants are no longer a street gang member, improved introspection will enable them to examine retrospectively their reasons for having belonged to a street gang. As such, it was deemed to be most appropriate to utilize an adult sample throughout this thesis, with a focus on primary goods *at the time* of their street gang involvement (enabling retrospective accounts).

Gender of participants

Both males and females engage in street gang membership (Sutton, 2017). However, motivations for joining, degree of participation, experience of victimization and reasons for desistance, all differ according to gender of street gang members (Hayward & Honegger, 2014). Regarding motivations for joining a street gang, males place more importance on instrumental factors (e.g., escaping poverty and receiving protection), whilst females focus on affective factors (e.g., gaining a surrogate family; Bell, 2009). Furthermore, male street gang members are more

likely to experience the risk factors of neighborhood disadvantage, poor academic attainment and impulsivity, than their female counterparts (Peterson & Morgan, 2014). Notably, females have been found to join street gangs at a younger age and experience more parental supervision than males (Bell, 2009).

Differences in degree of participation have also been noted, with males committing more serious, violent and drug-related offences than female street gang members (Esbensen et al., 2010). Critically, both male and female street gang members are at greater risk of experiencing victimization than their non-gang peers. However, males are more likely to experience violent victimization and be victims of homicide, whilst sexual victimization is more common amongst female street gang members (Esbensen & Carson, 2012; Fox, 2015; Haymoz & Gatti, 2010). Furthermore, factors affecting desistance differ according to gender: males tend to report incarceration and violent victimization as reasons for leaving the street gang, whilst parenthood is a more consistent motivation for female desistance (Berger et al., 2017; Moloney et al., 2009). Interestingly, post-desistance, males receive more negative responses from authority figures (including police) than female street gang members (O'Neal et al., 2014).

Considering the gender differences surrounding motivations for joining and desisting, and experiences before, during and after street gang membership, interventions need to be gender-specific (Centre for Mental Health, 2013). As the purpose of this thesis is to examine the applicability of the GLM, a model of offender rehabilitation, to street gang members, it is essential that this be researched in a gender-specific nature. With males, historically, the most prevalent gender engaging in street gangs within the UK (Centre for Social Justice, 2009), this thesis

focuses specifically on examining the applicability of the GLM to *male* street gang members.

Summary and Thesis Outline

To summarize, the current thesis aims to explore the application of the GLM assumptions to street gang members, classified according to the Eurogang criteria (Weerman et al., 2009). This includes assessing the primary goods street gang members try to achieve through their membership (see Chapter 7). To examine the unique treatment needs of street gang members, obstacles in external and internal capacity are compared between street gang and non-gang offenders (see Chapter 8). To assess the suitability of the proposed methodology for use with incarcerated offenders, a pilot study utilizing a student sample is reported (see Chapter 5). Methodological changes arising from the pilot study are reported in Chapter 6.

Chapter 5

Pilot study

Approaches to examining the GLM

The applicability of the GLM to offending populations has primarily been examined using a semi-structured clinical interview (see Yates et al., 2010). A clinical interview refers to face-to-face discussions between an interviewer (typically a clinician) and a client (Shea, 2017). The interview focuses on the individual's past experiences to understand why they engaged in offending behavior, with the aim of attending to a clinical purpose (e.g., informing treatment). Specifically, a GLM clinical interview examines clients' perceptions of the importance of each primary good, their methods of achieving each primary good and any difficulties that prevented achievement of the primary goods around the time of the offence (e.g., Willis & Ward, 2011). This enables the identification of clients' strengths (i.e., primary goods achieved through prosocial means) and problems in their Good Lives plans that can be targeted in treatment (i.e., difficulties in scope, coherence, capacity and means; Willis et al., 2013). Despite the clinical interview being a common tool utilized by forensic clinicians, there has been little research on its effectiveness (Davies, 2019). In addition, the use of unstandardized methods, inherent task difficulty and limited access to interview training have been found to result in poor inter-rater reliability when determining a client's mental capacity through clinical interviews (Guarnera & Murrie, 2017; Guarnera, Murrie, & Boccaccini, 2017).

To overcome these issues, Loney and Harkins (2017) adapted the GLM clinical interview into a standardized questionnaire-based format utilizing a quantitative approach. In addition to reducing the effect of interviewer bias, this questionnaire, termed the Measure of Life Priorities (MLP), ensures continuity of

questions across participants; improving the ability to make comparisons between groups (Mitchell et al., 2018). Furthermore, using a quantitative methodology reduces time with each participant, which can be useful in overcoming both time constraints within a prison setting and attention deficits of offenders (Schlosser, 2008). This also enables the recruitment of a larger sample size, which increases reliability and generalizability of findings (Mitchell et al., 2018). However, as the MLP is a very new scale, it has only previously been used once (Loney & Harkins, 2017), with no data regarding participants' experiences completing the questionnaire recorded. As such, the current study aimed to examine participants' experiences of the MLP in order to assess its suitability to be used with an incarcerated sample.

Purpose of Pilot Study

Due to the challenges in gaining access to prison institutions for research purposes (i.e., demands on prison, limited researcher access, difficulty recruiting participants), it was essential that the study methodology was sufficient for potential participants *prior* to the commencement of prison-based research (Schlosser, 2008). As such, a pilot study with a student sample was conducted for two purposes. Firstly, to examine whether included measures (i.e., MLP and Eurogang Youth Survey) would: (a) capture, and keep, the attention of participants; (b) have easy-to-understand definitions and questions; (c) be consistent with constraints faced in prison research (i.e., time limits), and; (d) enable comprehensive responses to assess the applicability of the GLM to incarcerated street gang members. Secondly, the aim of this pilot study was to examine whether, consistent with the assumptions of the GLM, the MLP can be used to examine the relationship between offending behavior and achievement of primary goods.

As an easily accessible population, university students were recruited to participate in this pilot study. By using a student sample, this ensured that any major issues with the study design were identified and resolved prior to commencing data collection in the prison. Critically, it was not expected that university students would be involved in street gangs, therefore the purpose of including the Eurogang Youth Survey (Weerman et al., 2009) in this pilot study was initially only to examine participant experience, rather than to categorize students as street gang members or non-gang individuals. Yet, most students attend university in the early years of adulthood, which is the age when most criminal behavior tends to occur (Payne & Chappell, 2008), meaning it is expected that the student population will include individuals who have committed, albeit primarily minor, criminal offences. As such, to examine whether the MLP can adequately identify a relationship between offending behavior and a failure to achieve primary goods, the Self-Report of Offending scale (Huizinga et al., 1991) was also included in this pilot study. This enabled offences committed by students (i.e., acquisitive, violent and drug offences) to be identified.

According to the GLM, individuals who offend fail to adequately achieve their primary goods, despite these primary goods being important to them (Purvis et al., 2011). This occurs due to the use of ineffective or negative coping strategies. As such, five hypotheses were made:

- 1) As the pursuit of primary goods is inherently normal (Ward & Maruna, 2007), both individuals who self-report offences and non-offenders will perceive the primary goods as equally important.

- 2) Individuals who self-report offences will fail to adequately achieve their primary goods, with reported level of achievement less than perceived importance.
- 3) Compared to non-offenders, individuals who self-report offences will perceive that each of the primary goods have been achieved to a lesser extent.
- 4) The use of ineffective strategies in an attempt to achieve primary goods would predict self-reported offending.
- 5) The use of negative coping strategies to achieve the primary goods of Agency, Inner Peace and Pleasure would predict self-reported offending.

Method

Participants

Two hundred and sixteen undergraduate psychology students completed this study. As most individuals desist from offending after 29 years of age (Dong et al., 2015), five participants (2.31%), aged over 30 years, were removed from analysis. A further fourteen (6.48%) were removed due to incorrect responses to the attention check. Contrary to the expectations, 27 (13.71%) of the included participants met the Eurogang criteria to be classified as a street gang member, enabling comparisons according to level of street gang involvement. This is consistent with classification rates in populations recognized as having a street gang problem. For instance, Pedersen (2014) found 13% of a school sample could be classified as street gang members according to the Eurogang criteria. See Table 5.1 for demographic characteristics of the overall sample, street gang members and non-gang individuals.

Table 5.1*Demographic characteristics of participants, according to Eurogang classification.*

Demographic Characteristics	Total Sample	Non-Gang	Street Gang
Sample Size (%)	197 (100)	170 (86.29)	27 (13.71)
Mean Age (SD)	19.6 (1.71)	19.65 (1.8)	19.33 (1)
Gender (%)			
Male	31 (15.74)	25 (14.71)	6 (22.22)
Female	166 (84.26)	145 (85.29)	21 (77.78)
Ethnicity (%)			
White	124 (62.94)	104 (61.18)	20 (74.07)
Black	30 (15.23)	27 (15.88)	3 (11.11)
Asian	30 (15.23)	29 (17.06)	1 (3.7)
Mixed Race	12 (6.09)	9 (5.29)	3 (11.11)
Prefer Not to Say	1 (.51)	1 (.59)	0
Offending (%)			
Violent	53 (26.9)	43 (25.29)	11 (40.74)
Drug	86 (43.65)	61 (35.88)	25 (92.59)
Acquisitive	132 (67.01)	107 (62.94)	25 (92.59)
Sexual	0	0	0
Intimate Partner Violence	37 (18.8)	29 (17.1)	8 (29.6)
General Offending	150 (76.14)	123 (72.35)	27 (100)
Committing at least one serious offence	64 (32.5)	50 (29.4)	14 (51.9)

Design

Due to an unprecedented number of street gang members identified, comparisons could be made between street gang and non-gang individuals. Therefore, to examine whether the MLP can adequately identify a relationship between street gang membership and a failure to achieve primary goods, a within-participants design was employed. The independent variable was level of street gang involvement (street gang vs. non-gang) and the dependent variable were participants' endorsement of primary goods, use of ineffective strategies and use of negative coping strategies, according to the GLM. Furthermore, through discussion with the researcher, participants' experiences on the MLP and Eurogang Youth Survey were collated.

Materials

Street Gang Membership

Commonly used within academia to classify individuals according to their street gang involvement, the Eurogang Youth Survey (see Appendix C; Weerman et al., 2009) has been found to be a valid and reliable measure (Medina et al., 2013). Of the 89 items, five core classification items were selected to examine street gang membership. To fulfil the criteria of a street gang member, participants had to self-report belonging to a group which: (1) includes more than three people, (2) lasts longer than three months, (3) is street-orientated, (4) accepts illegal activities, and (5) engages in illegal activities together (Matsuda et al., 2012).

The Eurogang criteria for a street gang specifies that the majority of members must be young (less than 25 years of age). However, Pyrooz (2014b) assessed the pattern of street gang membership throughout the life course, finding it is not limited to adolescence or early adulthood (as suggested by the Eurogang criteria). Pyrooz

(2014b) found 17% of street gang members sampled first engaged in the street gang during adulthood. As such, Pyrooz (2014b) suggests it is as important to examine older ages in the street gang literature, as it is to include younger age groups. For this reason, the criteria that members must be young (<25 years) was not included in this thesis.

Throughout this questionnaire, the term ‘gang’ was avoided (replaced with ‘group’) due to its emotionally charged meaning and limited inter-cultural reliability (Esbensen & Weerman, 2005). Although self-nomination is not necessary to establish street gang membership according to the Eurogang criteria, the question ‘*do you consider your group of friends to be a gang?*’ was also included. This enables street gang members to be differentiated according to their level of embeddedness; defined as the level of personal identification an individual has with the street gang (Pyrooz et al., 2012). By self-nominating as a member, this suggests the individual has high levels of identification with the street gang (Decker et al., 2014).

Good Lives Model

The MLP (see Appendix D; Loney & Harkins, 2017) was used to examine participants achievement of primary goods and use of ineffective and negative coping strategies. The MLP is divided into one section for each of the 11 primary goods. Each of the primary goods are assigned an alternative, more accessible name, improving conceptual understanding (*e.g.*, ‘*inner peace*’ was termed ‘*managing worry and stress*’). Each section commences with an explanation of the primary good being assessed, for example: ‘*Healthy Living refers to meeting basic needs for survival (water, food, shelter) and having a physically healthy body*’. Participants rate how important they perceive each of the primary goods to be and the extent to

which they have fulfilled the primary good (measured using five-point Likert scales, from 1 *'not at all'* to 5 *'a great deal'*). Contrary to Loney and Harkins' (2017) use of a 10-point Likert scale, five-point Likert scales were used to overcome the increased risk of bias which occurs when larger options of scale-points are provided (Wakita et al., 2012).

For each primary good, two questions were asked regarding participants' strategies: what strategies they use to fulfil the primary goods (select options from a provided list, e.g., *'being in a sports team'*) and whether they deemed these strategies to be effective (*'yes'* or *'no'*). In addition, for three of the primary goods, Agency, Inner Peace and Pleasure, participants were asked to select if they used any of the provided negative coping strategies. Examples of negative coping strategies include: *'asserting dominance/controlling others'*, *'manipulating others to do what you want'* and *'using alcohol and drugs'*. The MLP only provides negative coping strategies for these three primary goods due to the extensive research relating the strategies to offending behavior (e.g., Barnett & Wood, 2008). Critically, there has been no evidence regarding the reliability and validity of the MLP. As such, it is questionable whether the MLP does adequately measure the concepts of the GLM.

Self-Reported Offending

The Self-Report of Offending scale (SRO; e.g., Huizinga et al., 1991) asks participants whether they have engaged in offending behavior (*'yes'* or *'no'*). The current study used a narrowed version of this measure, including 22 items that focus specifically on four types of serious offending: (1) sexual (*four items; e.g., 'have you ever engaged in sexual activity with someone against their will?'*); (2) violent (*five items; e.g., 'have you ever threatened or attacked someone with a weapon?'*); (3) acquisitive (*nine items; e.g., 'have you ever entered, or broken into, a building in*

order to steal something?'), and; (4) drug offending (four items; e.g., 'have you ever sold illegal substances, such as marijuana, ecstasy, cocaine, heroin, or cannabis?').

In addition, two items within the Violent category were relevant specifically to Intimate Partner Violence (e.g., *'have you ever hit your boyfriend/girlfriend, or other intimate partner, with the idea of hurting them?'*). Consistent with past research (Loney & Harkins, 2017), participants who endorsed any of the items were classed as engaging in general offending. Finally, participants who endorsed any violent or drug-related offence were classified as committing at least one serious offence.

Procedure

University students were recruited through the Research Participation Scheme and were awarded course credits in return for participation. All participants were informed that the aim of the study was to assess life priorities in relation to self-reported offending. The online survey was distributed using the site 'Qualtrics' (<https://www.qualtrics.com/uk/>). This survey was composed of questions surrounding participants demographics (i.e., age, gender and ethnicity) the Eurogang Youth Survey, SRO and MLP; taking approximately 60 minutes to complete. To more closely resemble the expected procedure within the prison, a subsample of 10 participants were read the questionnaire aloud. The questionnaire was completed under controlled conditions, in a closed room. An attention check was included, asking participants to *'select moderately agree'*; any participants failing to correctly respond to this, had their data removed from analysis.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval was gained from a university ethics committee. Participants were fully informed of study aims and procedure and a unique participation code was created to enable anonymity and confidentiality of participants' responses (see

Appendix F and G for information sheet and consent form respectively). Participants were informed their participation was optional and they could withdraw at any point for up to one-month following participation. Participants received a written debrief (see Appendix H), detailing methods of withdrawal and contacting researchers, along with contact details of relevant support organizations. Completed questionnaires were securely stored, with only named researchers having access.

Analytic Procedure

Although this study was primarily designed to test the use of the MLP, the high number of students classified as street gang members meant comparisons between street gang and non-gang students on achievement of primary goods could be directly examined. Differences in demographic variables, including gender and ethnicity, were examined using chi-square tests of association. Comparisons between street gang and non-gang students on engagement in self-reported offending (i.e., Intimate Partner Violence, acquisitive, violent, sexual and drug offending) were also examined using chi-square tests of association.

Regarding the GLM, endorsement of primary goods was assessed by collapsing ratings as important (midpoint rating or above) or unimportant (< midpoint rating). For participants fulfilling the street gang membership criteria, paired samples t-tests were conducted to assess whether level of achievement differed from level of importance. Binary logistic regressions were conducted to identify whether engagement in street gangs was able to statistically predict (1) having a lack of effective strategies to achieve primary goods, and (2) using negative coping strategies to achieve the primary goods of Agency, Inner Peace and Pleasure. Participants' experiences of undertaking the MLP and Eurogang Youth Survey were summarized.

Results

Data was analyzed with a significance level of $p < 0.05$.

Demographic variables

Twenty-seven (13.71%) participants fulfilled the Eurogang criteria for street gang membership. However, no participants self-identified as being in a street gang, whilst only one participant self-reported having been involved in a street gang-related fight (0.51%). To examine the relationship between street gang membership and gender, a chi-square test for association was conducted. No association between street gang membership and gender was found; $\chi^2(1) = .99, p = .32$. A further chi-square test for association was conducted to examine the relationship between street gang membership and ethnicity. Due to the diversity in minority ethnic groups, and consistent with past research (e.g., Wood & Dennard, 2017; Mallion & Wood, 2018a), participants were classified as White (62.94%) or BAME (36.55%). The one participant that preferred not to specify their ethnicity was removed from this analysis. No association was found between street gang membership and ethnicity; $\chi^2(1) = 1.57, p = .21$.

Self-reported offending

Chi-square tests for association were conducted to assess the relationship between street gang membership and self-reported offending. No participants reported any sexual-related offences, so this was removed from analysis. A marginal relationship was found between classification as a street gang member and violent offending; $\chi^2(1) = 3.046, p = .08$. Being classified as a street gang member was strongly associated with involvement in acquisitive offending ($\chi^2(1) = 9.27, p = .002$), drug offending ($\chi^2(1) = 30.46, p < .001$), general offending ($\chi^2(1) = 5.35, p = .021$), and committing at least one serious offence ($\chi^2(1) = 9.8, p = .002$). Critically,

no relationship was found between street gang membership and Intimate Partner Violence ($\chi^2(1) = 2.41, p = .12$); suggesting street gang members are not any more likely to act violently against their partner than their non-gang peers.

Comparison of street gang and non-gang endorsement of primary goods

Generally, all primary goods were endorsed by both those classified as street gang members and non-gang individuals, with level of importance above the scale midpoint (3) for each good. Independent t-tests were conducted to compare perceived importance of each primary good between those classified as street gang and non-gang, with no differences found. The most important primary goods were Pleasure and Relatedness, whilst the least important were Community and Creativity. On collapsing ratings into unimportant (rating of '1' or '2') and important (rating of '3'-'5'), 18 participants classified as street gang members (66.66%) rated all primary goods as important, with the remaining nine (33.33%) rating two or fewer goods as unimportant. The following goods were rated as unimportant by participants classified as street gang members: Creativity ($n = 7$; 25.93%), Community ($n = 3$; 11.11%), Excellence in Work ($n = 2$; 7.41%), and Spirituality ($n = 1$; 3.70%).

Of the non-gang individuals, 121 participants (71.18%) rated all primary goods as important. Two non-gang individuals (1.18%) rated four primary goods as unimportant, two (1.18%) rated three primary goods as unimportant, and the remaining 45 (26.47%) rated two or fewer primary goods as unimportant. The primary goods rated as unimportant by non-gang individuals include: Community ($n = 24$; 14.12%), Creativity ($n = 23$; 13.53%), Excellence in Work ($n = 8$; 4.71%), Life ($n = 4$; 2.35%), Spirituality ($n = 4$; 2.35%), Excellence in Play ($n = 3$; 1.76%), and Relatedness ($n = 3$; 1.76%).

Achievement of primary goods

Consistent with the low perceived level of importance, the primary goods of Community and Creativity were found to be the least achieved by participants, regardless of street gang classification. Agency was the most achieved primary good, despite neither group rating this primary good as the most important. Independent t-tests were conducted to compare perceived level achievement of each primary good according to Eurogang classification. A marginal difference was found for one primary good, with participants classified as street gang members reporting lower achievement of Inner Peace than non-gang individuals ($t(195) = 1.89, p = .06$). No difference in level of achievement was found for any of the remaining primary goods. Paired samples t-tests were conducted to compare perceived level of importance and achievement for each of the 11 primary goods. Regardless of Eurogang classification, level of achievement was found to be lower than level of importance across all primary goods (for results of paired sample t-tests, see Table 5.2 for participants classified as street gang members and Table 5.3 for non-gang individuals).

Table 5.2

Paired t-test for participants classified as street gang members, comparing level of importance to achievement for primary goods.

Primary Good	t-value	df	S.E.	95.0% Confidence Interval	
				Lower	Upper
Life	6.31***	26	.123	.52	1.03
Knowledge	5.12***	26	.166	.51	1.19
Excellence in play	3.31**	26	.134	.17	.72
Excellence in work	4.29***	26	.233	.52	1.48
Agency	3.89***	26	.124	.23	.74
Inner peace	5.76***	26	.263	.98	2.06
Relatedness	5.12***	26	.166	.51	1.19
Community	2.88**	26	.180	.15	.89
Spirituality	5.86***	26	.240	.91	1.9
Pleasure	6.18***	26	.180	.74	1.48
Creativity	3.53**	26	.178	.26	.99

*** $p < .001$

** $p < .01$

Table 5.3

Paired t-test for participants classified as non-gang, comparing level of importance to achievement for primary goods.

Primary Good	t-value	df	S.E.	95.0% Confidence Interval	
				Lower	Upper
Life	14.15***	169	.07	.79	1.04
Knowledge	11.64***	169	.06	.58	.81
Excellence in play	9.04***	169	.06	.44	.68
Excellence in work	11.18***	169	.08	.70	1.0
Agency	7.52***	169	.06	.33	.57
Inner peace	13.84***	169	.08	.98	1.31
Relatedness	9.98***	169	.07	.52	.78
Community	7.80***	169	.07	.39	.65
Spirituality	13.79***	169	.08	.90	1.20
Pleasure	14.39***	169	.06	.79	1.04
Creativity	7.29***	169	.06	.31	.55

*** $p < .001$

Predictors of Street Gang Membership

Lack of effective strategies

All participants classified as street gang members reported having effective strategies for the primary goods of Knowledge, Relatedness and Excellence in Play. However, high rates of ineffective strategies were reported for the primary goods of Creativity, Excellence in Work, Community and Spirituality (see Table 5.4). A binary logistic regression was conducted to assess whether classification as a street

gang member was predicted by a lack of effective strategies to achieve the primary goods. Eleven variables were included in the analysis, representing participants self-reported use of ineffective strategies to achieve each primary good. The model was not significant, indicating that use of ineffective strategies to achieve the primary goods did not distinguish between participants classified as street gang and non-gang; $\chi^2(11) = 10.36, p = .49$.

Table 5.4

Number of participants using ineffective strategies to achieve primary goods, according to level of gang-involvement.

Primary Good	Non-Gang <i>N (%)</i>	Street Gang <i>N (%)</i>
Life	12 (7.06)	3 (11.11)
Knowledge	2 (1.18)	0
Excellence in Play	11 (6.47)	0
Excellence in Work	46 (27.06)	8 (29.63)
Agency	3 (1.76)	1 (3.7)
Inner Peace	12 (7.06)	3 (11.11)
Relatedness	6 (3.53)	0
Community	53 (31.18)	8 (29.63)
Spirituality	37 (21.76)	8 (29.63)
Pleasure	5 (2.94)	2 (7.41)
Creativity	38 (22.35)	10 (37.04)

Use of negative coping strategies

Over 50% of participants classified as street gang members used negative coping strategies to fulfil the primary goods of Agency, Inner Peace and Pleasure (see Table 5.5). Particularly high among this group was the use of substances to achieve the primary goods of Inner Peace and Pleasure ($n = 21$; 77.78%). A binary logistic regression was conducted to assess whether use of negative coping strategies for the primary goods of Agency, Inner Peace and Pleasure predicted classification as a street gang member. The full model containing all predictors was significant; $\chi^2(3) = 19.49, p < .001$. This model explained between 9.4% (Cox and Snell R Square) and 17.1% (Nagelkerke R squared) of variance in Eurogang classification, with 86.3% of cases correctly classified. Of the three independent variables included, only use of negative coping strategies to achieve Pleasure significantly contributed to the prediction of street gang membership (see Table 5.6). Therefore, participants reporting use of negative coping strategies (i.e., substance misuse) to achieve Pleasure were 4.83 times more likely to be classified as a street gang member.

Table 5.5

Number of participants using negative coping strategies for the primary goods of Agency, Inner Peace and Pleasure, according to Eurogang classification.

Primary Good	Non-Gang <i>N (%)</i>	Street Gang <i>N (%)</i>
Agency	28 (16.47)	6 (22.22)
Inner Peace	39 (22.94)	15 (55.56)
Pleasure	52 (30.59)	20 (74.07)

Note: MLP provides potential negative coping strategies for Agency, Inner Peace and Pleasure only.

Table 5.6

Logistic regression predicting classification of street gang membership, based on use of negative coping strategies

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Exp(B)	95.0% Confidence Interval	
						Lower	Upper
Agency	-.11	.56	.04	1	.89	.29	2.66
Inner Peace	.55	.53	1.08	1	1.74	.61	4.92
Pleasure	1.57	.56	8.04**	1	4.83	1.63	14.32
Constant	-2.86	.39	51.97***	1	.06		

*** $p < .001$

** $p < .01$

Participant attitudes towards included measures

Eurogang Youth Survey

All participants expressed positive attitudes towards the Eurogang Youth Survey (Weerman et al., 2009). In particular, participants found the questions “*simple and easy to understand*”, whilst being “*quick and to the point*”. However, some participants who met the criteria for a street gang member did query the accuracy of the classification system, as they did not perceive themselves to be involved with street gangs. In discussion with the researcher, participants often clarified that the group-based offending behaviors they primarily engaged in related to consumption of illegal substances (e.g., cocaine and ecstasy). Therefore, participant feedback highlights that the Eurogang Youth Survey may not adequately distinguish between individuals involved in street gangs and drug-taking peer groups.

Measure of Life Priorities

Attitudes towards the MLP (Loney & Harkins, 2017) were generally very negative; participants found the MLP “*too repetitive*”, with the same nine questions asked for each of the 11 primary goods. Due to this repetitive nature, participants reported becoming bored quickly and “*not paying full attention to each question*”. This may explain why a number of participants failed the attention check. Furthermore, the length of the MLP was particularly a problem for the subsample of participants who had the questionnaire read to them, with the time taken to complete the MLP increasing to over two hours. In addition, participants reported that the “*definitions and instructions were too wordy*” and “*used quite specialist language that was sometimes challenging to understand*”.

Concern was also expressed by participants at the categorical nature of responses (i.e., the majority of questions required yes/no answers or selecting from a predetermined list of options). Participants reported feeling restricted by the options provided and were unable to expand fully on their opinions regarding the primary goods. For instance, one participant stated: “*for the primary good of work, I would have said that I am a carer, but the options provided made me feel like this didn't count... I then didn't know how to respond to that section*”. As such, participant feedback highlights that the MLP may not be an effective measure for assessing the GLM.

Discussion

Prevalence of street gang membership on university campuses

According to the Eurogang definition any individual is part of a street gang if they are a member of a street-orientated group of three or more young people, who engage in, and approve of, illegal activities together. Using this definition, 13.71% of

students in the current study were classified as street gang members. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study utilizing the Eurogang criteria with university students in the UK (and possibly worldwide). The high number of university students identified as street gang members may seem illogical considering the commonly observed relationship between street gang involvement, poor academic attainment and truancy (e.g., Estrada et al., 2013; Thornberry et al., 2003; Pyrooz, 2014b), which suggests they would not achieve the academic standards necessary to enter higher education. However, research in the United States has recognized that some street gang members do reach the educational standard necessary to attend university, particularly as academic eligibility criteria across universities are flexible (Alpert et al., 2011).

Recent cases in the UK have highlighted the presence of street gangs on university campuses. For example, Seif Hashim was imprisoned in 2019 for running a county lines drug operation at the University of Kent, whilst posing as a physiotherapy student (Camber, 2019). With substance misuse widespread at universities (Bennett & Holloway, 2018; Heather et al., 2011), street gang members become students to expand their criminal activities (e.g., drug dealing) onto university campuses (National Gang Intelligence Center, 2013). Similarly, four University of Manchester students, with specialisms in pharmacology, computer science, petrochemical engineering and marketing were convicted of selling over £800,000 of Class A drugs on the dark web (Halliday, 2018). The advanced knowledge and skills gained through higher education can be used to commit complex, yet highly profitable, offences by street gangs (e.g., cyber-crime, mortgage fraud; National Gang Intelligence Center, 2013). As such, street gangs are increasingly sending members to universities in order to learn these skills (National

Gang Intelligence Center, 2013), or are recruiting vulnerable students experiencing hardship with the promise of financial gain (Marsh, 2020). Critically, engaging in higher education enables street gang members to conceal their affiliation from law enforcement, as they no longer resemble the stereotypical street gang member (Smith, 2012).

Smith (2012) examined whether campus police and students in the United States perceived there to be a gang problem at their university, with 20% of students and 19% of police affirming the presence of street gangs. Both students and police reported that street gang members were disproportionately involved in a variety of serious crimes, including drug dealing, weapons crimes, robberies and sexual assaults. This is consistent with the findings of the current study, with classification as a street gang member strongly associated with engagement in acquisitive and drug-related offending behavior and marginally associated with perpetration of violent offences. As Shaw and Meaney (2015, p. 365) suggest, “*gangs pose a viable threat for institutions of higher education*”. This supports the proposition that the Eurogang definition utilized in the current study correctly identified students as street gang members.

However, as the presence of street gang members on university campuses could result in considerable negative publicity (Alpert et al., 2011), it is important to consider whether the high numbers of students classified as street gang members in this study results from validity issues with the Eurogang definition. Aldridge et al. (2012) suggest there are problems in conceptual validity, with the Eurogang definition not accurately distinguishing street gang members from groups of substance misusers. To demonstrate, groups of substance misusers can meet the Eurogang criteria of a street gang: (1) includes more than three people (*groups of*

substance misusers can be both large and small, with most meeting this criteria); (2) lasts longer than three months (majority of substance misuse groups are sufficiently durable to fulfil this criteria, particularly due to addiction); (3) is street-orientated (due to strict regulations on university campuses, many substance misusers meet in public places off campus); (4) accepts illegal activities (to engage in substance misuse, users must approve of this illegal behavior), and; (5) engages in illegal activities together (by definition, substance misuse is an illegal behavior, which can occur in groups). Arguably, the broadness of the Eurogang definition leads to an over-classification of individuals as street gang members (Joseph & Gunter, 2011).

In recent years, substance misuse has become increasingly accepted in society and perceived as a less deviant behavior (Aldridge et al., 2011). This suggests it may not be appropriate to include groups of substance users as a street gang; reducing the validity of the Eurogang measure (Medina et al., 2013). However, consistent with the findings of the current study, Bennett and Holloway (2018) found 10% of students who misuse substances over a period of 12 months' report committing crimes associated with street gang membership (e.g., drug selling, violence, theft and criminal damage; Bjerregaard, 2010; Cepeda et al., 2016). In addition, Moyle and Coomber (2018) suggest groups of substance misusers at university are at high risk of evolving into drug dealing street gangs; students experience a lack of parental supervision (often for the first time), financial insecurity and an environment conducive to experimentation with substances.

While this suggests the Eurogang definition correctly identifies students as street gang members, this is contradicted by the lack of self-nomination among participants. However, the lack of convergence between measures has been an ongoing issue in street gang research. Matsuda et al. (2012) found less than 10% of a

sample of American adolescents were classified as a street gang member across three different measures (i.e., Eurogang definition, self-nomination, and friends are a gang), with the majority identified as a street gang member according to only one measure. Despite this, Melde et al. (2016) suggests each measure successfully identifies individuals at-risk of offending in a group. Measures of self-nomination and having peers in a gang may not be appropriate measures to use in the UK due to the Eurogang Paradox (Klein, 2001). Specifically, as street gangs do not resemble the stereotypical American gang, participants may not view themselves or their group as a street gang; reducing the likelihood of self-reporting membership. As such, the Eurogang classification remains the most appropriate measure of street gang involvement with UK participants.

Application of the GLM to Street Gang Membership

As the pursuit of primary goods is inherently normal (Ward & Maruna, 2007), it was expected that participants classified as both street gang members and non-gang individuals would perceive the primary goods as equally important. This was fully supported, with no difference found regarding average ratings of primary good importance. Pleasure and Relatedness were perceived as most important to participants classified as street gang members. This is consistent with past research finding street gang members tend to be thrill seekers (Stodolska et al., 2019) and require immediate gratification (Hoffman et al., 2014). In addition, street gang members tend to have broken or dysfunctional family networks (Centre for Social Justice, 2009), meaning the street gang is viewed as a substitute family (Home Office, 2014).

Surprisingly, Community was rated as one of the least important primary goods for participants classified as street gang members. This is despite past research

finding street gang members develop a strong emotional connection to their community and would “*defend anyone living inside the postcode*” (Pitts, 2008, p. 114). However, as university students, many of the participants would have moved away from home to pursue their education, meaning they may not have developed a strong sense of connection to their new community (Strayhorn, 2018). As such, this suggests the findings of this study are not generalizable to a non-student population, who may place more importance on the primary good of Community. However, the recent development of ‘county lines’ within the UK, whereby community borders are crossed to widen criminal networks, demonstrates that street gang members are focusing less on one specific community. Instead, street gang members now focus on making profit, rather than their ‘postcode’ (Whittaker et al., 2019), meaning the primary good of Community is lower in importance.

Across all primary goods, all participants rated their level of achievement as less than perceived level of importance. In addition, regardless of Eurogang classification, participants reported using ineffective or maladaptive means. According to Self-Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000), which underpins the GLM, all humans possess an inherent desire for personal growth, in an attempt to reach self-actualization (i.e., realize one’s full potential; Ryan & Deci, 2002). As self-actualization is rarely achieved (Pffaffenberger, 2005), individuals will perceive their primary goods as unfulfilled, which can be explained by the use of ineffective means.

When utilizing antisocial means, primary goods are under continuous threat (Purvis, 2010), which suggests street gang members would achieve each of the primary goods to a lesser extent than non-gang individuals. Achievement of Inner Peace was marginally less among participants classified as street gang members than

non-gang individuals. This is likely due to the lifestyle of street gang members, which is associated with high rates of victimization and exposure to violence (Frisby-Osman & Wood, 2020; Kubik et al., 2016); resulting in an increased risk of mental health issues (Wood & Dennard, 2017). No difference was found in perceived level of achievement for any of the remaining primary goods. Purvis (2005) suggests that even when using antisocial or criminal means, individuals can perceive their primary goods as having been met. However, these are not secured properly and are instead 'pseudo-secured' (Purvis, 2010). Contrary to fully secured primary goods, pseudo-securing of primary goods is unlikely to result in a meaningful and fulfilling life (Purvis, 2010).

The final hypothesis, that street gang membership would be predicted by use of negative coping strategies to fulfil the primary goods of Agency, Inner Peace and Pleasure, was partially supported. Consistent with past research suggesting street gang members are more likely to use illegal substances as a deviant leisure activity (Cepeda et al., 2016; Gatti et al., 2005; Stodolska et al., 2019), being classified as a street gang member was predicted by using negative coping strategies (i.e., substance misuse) to achieve Pleasure. However, use of negative coping strategies to achieve Inner Peace did not predict classification as a street gang member, which contradicts past research suggesting street gang members are more likely to abuse substances to relieve emotional turmoil (Harris, Elkins et al., 2013; Petering, 2016). Furthermore, utilizing negative coping strategies, specifically the manipulation and domination of others, to achieve Agency was not found to predict classification as a street gang member. Critically, the manipulation and domination of others may be a negative coping strategy more commonly used amongst leaders of street gangs,

rather than regular or peripheral members (Dmitrieva et al., 2014), which was not examined in this study.

Methodological Limitations of Measure of Life Priorities

The key purpose of this pilot study was to assess whether the MLP would: (a) capture, and keep, the attention of participants; (b) have easy-to-understand definitions and questions; (c) be consistent with constraints faced in prison research (i.e., time limits), and; (d) enable comprehensive responses to assess the applicability of the GLM to incarcerated street gang members. A number of methodological issues with the MLP were raised by both the researcher and participants, leading to doubt regarding the usefulness of this questionnaire with an offending population. First, the MLP took over two hours to complete when read aloud to participants, which would be essential with a prison population due to low literacy levels (Davies et al., 2004). As maximum time spent with each offender would be limited to two-and-a-half hours, there was a risk that the MLP would not be fully completed. Second, participants reported becoming bored due to the repetitive nature of the MLP, making it an inappropriate measure for an offending population who are more likely to have limited attention spans (Aguilar-Cárceles & Farrington, 2017).

Third, the complex language used in the MLP was challenging to understand and retain. As approximately 60% of offenders have (often undiagnosed) speech, language and communication difficulties (Bryan et al., 2015), it is likely that they will have difficulty comprehending the MLP. Fourth, participants were restricted to categorical responses, which often lacked relevance to the individuals surveyed (Chu & Ward, 2015). Furthermore, available options were primarily prosocial in nature which limits the ability to identify differences between street gang and non-gang individuals. In particular, the MLP only enables participants to report using negative

coping strategies to achieve three primary goods (Agency, Inner Peace and Pleasure). Loney and Harkins (2017) suggest negative coping strategies are only provided for these primary goods due to the extensive research relating them to offending behavior (e.g., Barnett & Wood, 2008). However, past research has found negative coping strategies, including self-harm, carrying weapons for protection and gaining social support from antisocial peers, to be associated with both offending behavior in general and street gang membership more specifically (Madan et al., 2011; Public Health England, 2015b; Watkins & Melde, 2016).

Furthermore, there has been no research to date examining the validity and reliability of the MLP. As such, there is a lack of evidence supporting the MLP as an accurate measure of concepts related to the GLM (i.e., presence/absence of primary goods, means of securing goods and factors preventing attainment of goods). For example, the categorical nature of the MLP expects participants to select means of achieving primary goods from a predetermined list. This is unlikely to resemble ecological validity, as the means of attaining primary goods vary widely between individuals; suggesting the MLP fails to measure the concepts of the GLM accurately. Therefore, alternative methodologies, including a qualitative interview, need to be considered for further studies conducted in this thesis.

Summary

According to the Eurogang criteria, 13.71% of the student sample were classified as street gang members. Although, concerns regarding the conceptual validity of the Eurogang criteria (i.e., over-classification of substance misuse groups as street gangs) were highlighted. Regardless of Eurogang classification, primary goods were viewed as important but poorly achieved, with ineffective strategies used by both groups. The only primary good achieved less among street gang than non-

gang individuals was Inner Peace; fulfilment of which may directly conflict with the street gang lifestyle (Wood & Dennard, 2017). The use of negative coping strategies to achieve Pleasure (but not Agency or Inner Peace) predicted classification as a street gang member, supporting past research finding substance misuse is a deviant leisure activity used primarily by street gang members (Stodolska et al., 2019).

A number of methodological concerns were identified regarding the MLP. The length and repetitiveness of the questionnaire and complexity of questions would not be appropriate for a prison population. The categorical nature of the MLP was too restrictive and participants were only able to report their negative coping strategies for three primary goods (Agency, Inner Peace and Pleasure), meaning a comprehensive account of their Good Lives plans could not be formulated. As such, it was decided that the MLP would not be an appropriate methodology to use for the main prison study in this thesis. Chapter 6 outlines the methodology, and methodological changes made based on the findings of this pilot study, for the prison-based research.

Chapter 6

Methodology and Analytic Strategy

As discussed in the previous chapter, the pilot study highlighted a number of methodological issues when examining the application of the GLM to street gang members using a quantitative survey. As Hughes (2005) suggests, the complexity and dynamics of street gangs cannot be fully captured using quantitative surveys. In particular, incarcerated street gang members have a number of additional needs that must be considered when undertaking research, including environmental (i.e., time and staffing constraints within the prison) and personal (i.e., attention and comprehension) challenges. As a result, it was decided that the Measure of Life Priorities (MLP; Loney & Harkins, 2017) would not be an appropriate assessment tool to examine the applicability of the GLM to incarcerated street gang members. This chapter will outline the changes made based on the findings of the pilot study, the full methodology of the prison-based research and the analytic strategy used.

Methodological changes based on pilot study findings

To briefly summarize the methodological issues discussed in the previous chapter, the MLP (Loney & Harkins, 2017) was: (1) unable to capture or keep the attention of participants; (2) difficult to understand; (3) repetitive; (4) restricted to categorical responses, and; (5) limited with regards to identifying issues in scope, coherence and capacity. An alternative approach to the MLP, which has previously been recommended for assessing the GLM with offenders, is the clinical interview (Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007). The GLM clinical interview has typically been used to inform the rehabilitation process. However, Ward et al. (Ward & Marshall, 2004; Ward & Brown, 2004) suggest it can also aid in understanding the etiology of offending behavior. Specifically, the GLM clinical interview adds to existing

etiological theories by elucidating what an offender *gains* through engaging in antisocial behavior (e.g., Taylor, 2017). As the aim of this thesis is to explore what primary goods are being sought through engagement with street gangs, it can be proposed that the GLM clinical interview would be an appropriate methodology to use.

The GLM clinical interview emphasizes a collaborative approach, whereby the interviewer and offender work together to identify offence-related needs associated with each of the primary goods and the obstacles in their Good Lives plan (i.e., scope, capacity, coherence and means; Chu & Ward, 2015). Using a semi-structured approach, with open-ended questions, the GLM interview emphasizes a process of self-exploration; enabling an in-depth, unrestricted and comprehensive assessment of an offenders' Good Lives conception (Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007). However, this does mean that the participant must be willing to fully engage in a process of self-exploration (Fortune et al., 2015). This may be particularly challenging with an offending population who have difficulty trusting and opening up to others (Petersen & Valdez, 2005). Although, researchers have suggested that the GLM clinical interview, with its focus on an individual's strengths, can enable a positive relationship to be quickly built between the interviewer and participant, which encourages participation (Fortune et al., 2015).

Unlike survey methodology, the collaborative and conversational approach used in interviews enables greater rapport to be built (Bryman, 2017). Within a prison environment, building good rapport is essential for gaining the participant's trust and confidence that what they divulge will not negatively impact on them or their sentence (Mitchell et al., 2018). Good rapport means participants are more willing to disclose and expand on their responses (Miller, 2017); enabling an in-

depth account of their Good Lives plans. Furthermore, good rapport aids in recruiting participants, with prisoners' involvement in research often occurring as a result of feedback from previous participants (Bosworth et al., 2005). This is particularly the case when conducting research with street gangs; dependent upon their experience of participating, street gang members will support or impede the research through instructing their peers whether it is acceptable for them to participate (Mitchell et al., 2018; Rufino et al., 2012).

Although the clinical interview has not previously been used with street gang members, it has been successfully used with a number of offending typologies, including violent and youth offenders (e.g., Prescott, 2018; Whitehead et al., 2007). As street gang members are more likely engage in violent behavior and tend to be younger than their non-gang counterparts (Mallion & Wood, 2018a), this supports the use of the GLM clinical interview with incarcerated street gang members. Therefore, to overcome the methodological issues associated with the MLP, as identified in the pilot study, the remainder of the research included in this thesis will use the GLM clinical interview.

Method for the Application of the GLM to Incarcerated Street Gang Members

To briefly recap, the purpose of the prison-based research is to examine whether the GLM can be empirically applied to street gang members. The research is primarily exploratory in nature, in respect that it aims to develop an understanding of the unique challenges experienced by street gang members in their pursuit of primary goods. However, the research is also confirmatory, in that it assesses whether the etiological assumptions of the GLM are upheld in a street gang sample. As such, the following research questions are examined:

- 1) How are members trying to achieve their primary goods through street gang involvement?
- 2) How do obstacles in external and internal capacity compare between street gang members and non-gang offenders?

With this in mind, the remainder of this chapter outlines the methodology used with incarcerated offenders.

Participants

When using a qualitative approach, sample size is determined by theoretical saturation (Ando et al., 2014). Although theoretical saturation has been operationalized in many different ways throughout the literature (Saunders et al., 2017), the original definition states that saturation is met when no further details or properties can be elicited from further data collection (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). As such, the number of interviews required will depend on the type of research, engagement of participants and depth of analysis required (Ando et al., 2014). Despite this, researchers have recommended conducting approximately 20-30 interviews, as theoretical saturation tends to have been achieved in the majority of cases by this stage (e.g., Clarke et al., 2015; Marshall et al., 2013).

In practice, 32 participants were recruited using opportunity and snowball sampling. As risk factors for street gang membership differ between male and female street gang members (Hayward & Honegger, 2014), only male participants were recruited for this research. Data from two participants were excluded: one refused voice recording of the interview, whilst one had learning difficulties and their ability to provide consent was queried by the researcher. Based on the data collected, theoretical saturation was reached.

Of the remaining 30 participants, the majority had lived within the Greater London area (96.67%) prior to incarceration, whilst one (3.33%) lived elsewhere in the South East of the UK. For demographic and offence-specific variables see Tables 6.1 and 6.2 respectively. Data regarding the number of times an individual had been incarcerated was not collected due to ethical constraints specified by the National Offender Management Service.

Table 6.1

Demographic characteristics of street gang, non-gang and overall sample for prison study.

Demographic Characteristics	Total Sample	Street Gang	Non-gang
Sample Size (%)	30 (100)	17 (56.67)	13 (43.33)
Youth Offenders, aged 18-25 (%)	17 (56.67)	11 (64.71)	6 (46.15)
Adult Offenders, aged 26+ (%)	13 (43.33)	6 (35.29)	7 (53.85)
Mean Age (SD)	25.1 (6.35)	23.76 (4.52)	26.85 (8.02)
Ethnicity (%)			
White	5 (16.67)	2 (11.76)	3 (23.08)
Black	17 (56.67)	10 (58.82)	7 (53.85)
Asian	4 (13.33)	2 (11.76)	2 (15.38)
Mixed Race	3 (10.0)	2 (11.76)	1 (7.69)
Prefer Not to Say	1 (3.33)	1 (5.88)	0
Looked after child (%)	6 (20.0)	2 (11.76)	4 (30.77)
History of Substance Misuse (%)	16 (53.33)	10 (58.82)	6 (46.15)
Mental Health Diagnosis (%) ¹	12 (40.0)	7 (41.18)	5 (38.46)
ADHD	7 (23.33)	4 (23.53)	3 (23.08)

Anxiety	1 (3.33)	0	1 (7.69)
Conduct Disorder	1 (3.33)	1 (5.88)	0
Depression	6 (20.0)	2 (11.76)	4 (30.77)
Obsessive Compulsive Disorder	1 (3.33)	0	1 (7.69)
Personality Disorder	2 (6.67)	2 (11.76)	0
Post-traumatic Stress Disorder	3 (10.0)	2 (11.76)	1 (7.69)
Psychosis	3 (10.0)	2 (11.76)	1 (7.69)
Schizophrenia	1 (3.33)	1 (5.88)	0
Self-harm	2 (6.67)	0	2 (15.38)
Previous Legitimate Employment (%)	11 (36.67)	4 (23.53)	7 (53.85)
Highest level of qualification (%)			
No Qualification	22 (73.33)	14 (82.35)	8 (61.54)
GCSE's	5 (16.67)	1 (5.88)	4 (30.77)
College Certificate	1 (3.33)	1 (5.88)	0
Foundation Degree	1 (3.33)	0	1 (7.69)
Extended Project Qualification	1 (3.33)	1 (5.88)	0

¹ Note: Seven (23.33%) participants had two or more mental health diagnoses, meaning number of diagnoses will not be equivalent to number of participants with a mental health condition.

Table 6.2

Offence-specific characteristics of street gang, non-gang and overall sample for prison study.

Offence Characteristics	Total Sample	Street Gang	Non-gang
Sample Size (%)	30 (100)	17 (56.67)	13 (43.33)
Mean Sentence Length in Months (SD)	61.2 (27.4)	60.71 (19.09)	61.85 (36.44)
Mean Number of Index Offences (SD)	4.93 (5.4)	5.59 (6.88)	4.08 (2.43)
Type of Index Offences (%) ^{2,3}			
Violent offences	14 (46.67)	5 (29.41)	9 (69.23)
Drug offences	16 (53.33)	9 (52.94)	7 (53.85)
Non-violent offences	18 (60.0)	11 (64.71)	7 (53.85)
Sexual offences	1 (3.33)	0	1 (7.60)
Mean Number of Adjudications (SD)	8.97 (11.74)	12.94 (14.05)	3.77 (4.3)
Received Intervention (%)	12 (40.0)	7 (41.18)	5 (38.46)

² Number of index offences is not equal to number of participants; 25 (83.33%) participants had more than one conviction and 16 (53.33%) had index offences across multiple categories.

³Violent offences include manslaughter, threaten with a weapon, ABH, GBH, kidnap, assault, wounding, and affray. Drug offences include intent/conspiracy to supply Class A/B drugs. Non-violent offences include burglary, theft, failing to surrender, obstructing an officer, and (non-dangerous) driving offences.

Design

A Thematic Analysis approach was utilized, with a semi-structured, in-depth individual interview design. Comparisons were drawn between street gang and non-gang offenders. Further quantitative comparisons, using a between-subjects design, were conducted to assess differences in demographic variables according to level of street gang involvement (street gang vs. non-gang offender).

Interview Schedule

Based on the GLM clinical interview, an interview schedule (see Appendix I) was created which examined each of the 11 primary goods. A number of approaches to the clinical interview were reviewed in the development of this interview schedule (e.g., Barnao, 2013; Prescott, 2018; Print, 2013; Purvis et al., 2013; Yates et al., 2010). The simplicity of the language used in Print's (2013) approach to the GLM clinical interview was particularly appealing considering speech and language difficulties are prevalent in prisons (Bryan et al., 2015). In addition, Print (2013) specifically targeted each primary good (e.g., Excellence in Play: 'what did you do to have fun at this time?'), ensuring all had been covered in the interview. As the purpose of the current study is to examine whether *all* primary goods are upheld in a street gang population, it is essential that *all* are adequately discussed. As such, Print's (2013) clinical interview was used to guide the development of the interview schedule.

The interview schedule included questions examining how participants achieved each of their primary goods at the time of their offence, what prevented them or made it difficult for them to achieve the primary goods as much as they would like, and the effect that the peer group or other important people (e.g., family) had on fulfilment of primary goods. To ensure consistency across each interview, a

semi-structured approach was used with each of the primary goods introduced and defined prior to discussion. A semi-structured interview provides a loose structure for the researcher, whilst also enabling participants to discuss their social experiences without feeling restricted by a structured or quantitative approach (Kinsella & Woodall, 2016). To avoid interviews being limited by any preconceived notions held by the researcher, open-ended questions (*e.g.*, '*how did you achieve the primary good at the time of your offence?*') were used throughout.

Prior to utilizing this with incarcerated offenders, the interview schedule was piloted with three non-offenders. All participants were satisfied with the interview schedule and no changes were recommended. As such, the interview schedule was utilized in the prison-based research. Participants' opinions regarding the interview schedule were collected throughout the first two weeks of the study. With all responses being positive, and no issues identified by the interviewer, there was not any revisions made to the interview schedule. As no changes were made, data collected within this time period were carried forward into the main analysis.

Materials

Street Gang Membership

Consistent with the findings of the pilot study, the Eurogang Youth Survey (Weerman et al., 2009) was used in the prison-based research. Therefore, to be classified as a street gang member, participants had to self-report that prior to incarceration they belonged to a group, which: (1) had more than three members, (2) lasted longer than three months, (3) was street-orientated, (4) accepted illegal activities, and (5) engaged in illegal activities together. As found in the pilot study, the Eurogang Youth Survey does not adequately distinguish between street gang members and groups of substance misusers. To account for this, participants were

able to expand on their responses to the Eurogang Youth Survey, regarding their group involvement. For instance, participants were given the opportunity to explain the types of illegal activities they engaged in with group members, rather than simply providing a categorical yes/no response. In addition, participants were able to discuss what they thought constituted a street gang and whether they would use an alternative term to describe their group of friends.

Demographics and Offence History Record

For the purpose of this research, a coding sheet was devised to collate demographic and offence history information of participants (see Appendix J). The researcher was given access to the Prison National Offender Management Information System (P-NOMIS) by the National Offender Management Service (NOMS). P-NOMIS is a secure operational database used within UK prisons to assist in the management of incarcerated offenders, through recording demographic and offence-related variables (Ministry of Justice, 2016; Office for National Statistics, 2017). P-NOMIS also holds official records regarding participation in street gangs. Critically, official records of street gang involvement are based on a number of different intelligence-led factors (e.g., self-disclosure, contact with known street gang member, engagement in street gang violence), which are not specified in P-NOMIS. The researcher extracted the relevant demographic (i.e., age, ethnicity, general area of residence) and offence history records (i.e., engagement in street gang membership, offence type, sentence length, age at incarceration and release, and number of, and reason for, adjudications in prison) from P-NOMIS and inputted these into an anonymized coding sheet, linked to the interview transcript via a unique identification code.

Violence in Prisons Estimator

At the request of the prison governor, comparisons were made between street gang and non-gang offenders on their risk of causing harm to others. Staff provided the researcher with each participant's Violence in Prisons Estimator (VIPER) score. This is a score used to assess risk of committing a violent offence (e.g., fighting, assault) in prison (Ministry of Justice, 2018). An average score based upon the offender's age is created upon entry to the prison, with this refined on a monthly basis, taking into account a number of factors, such as adjudications within the prison (D. Kennedy, personal communication, September 25, 2018). Scores start at 0 (no risk of violence), with no upper limit. However, the validity of the VIPER scoring system is questionable; due to security purposes the prison was unable to share how the VIPER score is calculated (e.g., items included to determine violence risk). As such, this reduces confidence in making any meaningful comparisons with established risk-based measures. Furthermore, at the time of the study, the VIPER scoring system was newly established, meaning 'in-house' validity tests had also not been conducted. See Table 6.3 for VIPER score population statistics and results below for comparison between street gang and non-gang offenders.

Table 6.3

Percentage of General Prison Population according to VIPER score in May, 2018

(D. Kennedy, personal communication, September 25, 2018).

VIPER SCORE	Prison Population (%)
Less than 0.5	52
0.5 to 1	27
1 to 2	13
2 to 3	5
3 to 4	2
More than 4	1

Interview guidance cards

Visual tools have become increasingly popular in qualitative research (Pain, 2012). Glegg (2018) suggests that visual tools facilitate communication, enhance the researcher-participant relationship, and enrich the quality and validity of data collected. By using visual tools, complex topics and questions can be easily clarified; increasing participant engagement and relevance of responses to the research question (Bischof et al., 2011). This is especially useful with hard-to-reach populations (Pain, 2012), who experience more challenges in the comprehension of spoken or written language (Bryan et al., 2015). Furthermore, Pain (2012) suggests visual tools aid in building rapport, often acting as an icebreaker and making the interview process less intimidating. Particularly beneficial when considering there are 11 primary goods that need discussing in the current research, visual tools aid in the transition between different topics by guiding participants' attention to a new area of discussion (Noël, 2015).

Therefore, to guide and focus interviews on the 11 primary goods, visual tools were utilized in the current research. Interviewees were provided with a pack of cards, with each card representing one of the primary goods (see Appendix K). Adapted from the MLP (Loney & Harkins, 2017), each card was labelled with an accessible name to assist understanding (e.g., *'Relatedness' was termed 'Intimacy and Love'*) and an easy to read definition was provided (e.g., *'Intimacy and Love' was defined as 'love, friendships and intimate relationships'*). To aid participants with low literacy levels, images (<https://www.clipart.com/en/>) were provided on each card to depict the primary good. Critically, Close (2007) suggest selected images can introduce bias into interviews. As such, participants were encouraged to see the images as examples and to discuss their own ideas for each primary good.

Procedure

Location

All interviews were conducted at a HMP/YOI Category C prison in London (UK) over a 12 week period in 2018. At the time of the study, the prison accepted both youth (18-25 years) and adult (25+) offenders. This prison has a higher than national average population of street gang members, although this is consistent with average rates of street gang members within London prisons (National Offender Management Service, 2018).

Recruitment Procedure

To avoid offenders feeling coerced into participating (Abbott et al., 2018; Edens et al., 2011), prison staff were not asked to be involved in the recruitment procedure. Instead, the researcher attended two education classes provided within the prison, where a brief explanation of the research project, the procedure and nature of topics to be discussed in the interview was given. The researcher spoke individually

with each offender in the class and invited them to voluntarily attend an interview session. After the first few interviews, the researcher was often introduced to, or approached by, peers of interviewees who requested to participate. This snowball-based sampling method is frequently and successfully used with hard-to-reach populations, including street gang members (Petersen & Valdez, 2005). Those who responded positively to the invitation or requested to participate were provided with an assigned interview time by the HMP Learning and Support Team. However, they were assured that attendance was optional.

There has been an extensive debate over the use of financial incentives in prison-based research (see Hanson et al., 2012 for an overview). Whilst some theorists argue financial incentives are ethical if they are not excessive (Abbott et al., 2018), there are concerns regarding the coerciveness of including a financial inducement. Critically, Copes et al. (2013) found financial incentives were unlikely to be the key reason why an offender decides to participate in research. As such, it was decided that no financial incentive would be provided.

Safety and Security Procedure

A number of safety and security procedures were put into place, consistent with the Prison Health Research Network (2007) recommendations. Firstly, the researcher underwent a comprehensive vetting procedure, prior to commencement of the prison-based research. Once vetting approval was given, the researcher received security and key training, enabling unescorted access throughout the prison. All materials and equipment bought into the prison were vetted and approved by the security department, with a permission letter provided which was kept with the items at all times. A lockable filing cabinet was provided to the researcher, in which collected data was stored. Consistent with prison regulations, the researcher avoided

moving between buildings during 'free flow' (period when offenders are moved from their wing to their work/education block).

A designated person was made aware that the researcher was entering the prison and the expected time of when they would be leaving. Upon leaving the prison, the designated person was informed. When entering or leaving a wing, the researcher made staff members aware of their presence and signed in/out. Interviews were undertaken in a closed room and prison officers were informed of where these were taking place. Windows allowed visual checks from prison officers to be conducted, without having to interrupt the interview. The door was closed, but left unlocked to allow an easy and fast exit if needed. The researcher positioned herself close to the emergency alarm and ensured that the route to the exit was clear and nearby. If the participant acted inappropriately, verbally or otherwise, the interview was ended as calmly as possible and staff members were made aware of the situation.

Interview Procedure

Prior to interviews commencing, the voluntary nature of the research was reiterated. Participants were informed that the study aimed to understand how life goals can lead to offending behavior and consent was gained. Interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis, in a closed room, within the prison's education department. Each participant completed one interview, which ranged in length from 1.5 to 2.5 hours. With consent, interviews were audio recorded. All participants first completed the Eurogang questionnaire, which was read aloud to overcome any literacy difficulties.

Following this, participants were given the interview guidance cards and asked to choose which topic they would like to start with. Participants could either

do this randomly (selecting a card from an upturned deck) or purposefully (going through the cards to select which they would like to discuss). This provided the participants with a sense of control throughout the interview; differentiating it from previous interviews they had with police or prison services and increasing the likelihood of an open and honest discussion. Participants were told they could discuss as many of the primary goods as they liked; every participant chose to discuss all 11 of the primary goods. The interview schedule was used to ensure each participant discussed similar topics (i.e., goals at time of offending, influence of peers/close others, and goals in the future), although, the semi-structured approach enabled flexibility in when the questions were asked and how participants could respond. The researcher only moved onto the next aspect of the interview when the participant appeared to have exhausted the topic. The interview ended with the debrief being read aloud.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval was gained from both university and NOMS ethics committees prior to data collection (see Appendix L). Interviews were audio recorded on an encrypted and password protected Dictaphone. Both audio recordings and data extracted from P-NOMIS were stored on a laptop which only the researcher had access to; this was also both encrypted and password protected. Recordings were deleted once transcription was completed. With permission granted by the security department, the transcriptions were completed off-site in a secure psychology laboratory at the university. Eurogang questionnaires were filled in by hand and securely stored in a lockable filing cabinet, with only the researcher having access to these.

Prior to commencing interviews, participants were informed of the aims and procedure of the study (see Appendix M), enabling full consent to be given. The information sheet and consent form were read aloud to participants to overcome any literacy difficulties. A copy was also provided for participants to take away with them. Participants were assured of the anonymity and confidentiality of their interviews, with any identifiable information (e.g., names of people/street gangs, locations) removed from transcripts. A pseudonym was assigned to each interview, assuring anonymity and confidentiality. Participants were fully informed of the procedure surrounding the audio recording (i.e., storage, transcription process, use of pseudonyms and deletion of recordings) and were assured recording was optional. Participants signed a consent form (see Appendix N), which was kept separate from transcriptions and Eurogang questionnaires to maintain confidentiality. For each participant a unique code was created, this enabled questionnaires and transcripts to be linked whilst maintaining confidentiality and anonymity. With the exception of specified caveats from NOMS (i.e., security breaches, disclosure of additional offences, violating prison rules during interview and threats of violence or self-harm), offenders were informed that participation would not affect their management in prison.

Participants were informed that taking part in the interview was optional and they could withdraw both during, and up to three months, following the interview. If they wished to withdraw following the interview, they were able to approach the researcher during their education sessions. Alternatively, participants were asked to give their unique participation code to a named member of staff in the safer custody team who would pass this to the researcher. Participants received a verbal and written debrief following completion of the interview (see Appendix O). The debrief

detailed withdrawal procedures and provided contact information for in-house support services. If participants disclosed thoughts of self-harm or suicide, the researcher was able to open an Assessment, Care in Custody and Teamwork (ACCT) process, which ensures those at risk of self-harm or suicide have an established care plan in prison (Pike & George, 2019). However, no ACCTs had to be opened by the researcher.

Reflexivity

Within qualitative research, researchers' personal experiences, beliefs and biases inevitably affect the research process (Shaw, 2010). Reflexivity is the process of acknowledging, evaluating and recognizing the influence of researchers' characteristics across this process; including, the formulation of research questions, participant recruitment, development of the interview schedule and data analysis (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2017). Concerning the current study, I was positioned in the role of 'outsider'; I had not been convicted of a crime or been involved in a street gang. I also differed from my participants in a number of characteristics: I am a highly-educated, white female, from a middle-class household, living outside of London. Berger (2015) suggests that studying the 'unfamiliar' has several benefits. For example, the participant is seen as the 'expert' and feels empowered when teaching the researcher something new. In addition, being an 'outsider' means new questions may be posed, increasing our understanding of the participants' experiences.

I found that being an 'outsider' was at times beneficial. I had no prior knowledge of the areas or conflicts participants discussed, and made this clear to participants. As such, I asked more probing questions with participants often expanding on and explaining these concepts to me, in more depth than would have

been expected had I personally experienced these. However, coming from a middle-class household based outside of London, I was challenged by the language participants used. Many participants used an extensive repertoire of street slang, which I could not easily understand. For instance, I had never heard the term ‘baby-mum’ (mother of child, who they are no longer in a relationship with) previously, which was frequently used by participants. It is possible that due to this language barrier, I may have overlooked some of the subtexts implied by participants, that would have been obvious to someone with knowledge of street slang.

I was very surprised by the impact that my use of a wheelchair had on some interviews. I found that many participants bought up the role of disability or illness in their life, when they were not asked about this directly. I was given the impression that they felt able to discuss these topics with me because I understood what they had experienced. This provided a unique insight on the role of illness, and the need to provide for vulnerable family members, in street gang involvement. Similarly, I felt that being a female enabled the male participants to open up to me. The majority seemed willing to share their experiences and emotions with me, particularly surrounding the impact of their offending behavior on their mental health. Consistent with gender stereotyping experienced by female researchers (Pawelz, 2018), I was probably viewed in a nurturing light by participants and, as such, I was not deemed to be a threat. Being of a similar age to the majority of my participants (23 years old), we were often at a similar life stage. This seemed to help participants discuss different topics, such as the development of relationships and future plans, as they assumed these were experiences I was also having. These factors helped to build a strong rapport and open dialogue with participants.

However, with the majority of my participants identifying as BAME, I was concerned that my race may impact on how freely they would speak to me. Yet, I did not find that participants identifying as BAME spoke to me any differently than those identifying as White. I think my prior experience in conducting research in prison helped to overcome this. I had previously experienced participants seeing me as an authority figure, because the prison staff were predominantly White. To overcome this, I was advised by an offender to ensure my clothing differed to staff members, my lanyard was not the same as those used by visitors from the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC), I was not seen talking to staff too much and I carried my student ID with me. I ensured that all participants knew and used my first name; there had been initial hesitance to this from some participants, as they are often instructed to call female staff members 'Miss'. I think these simple adjustments helped to overcome any race divide in the interviews.

Analytic Strategy

Audio recordings were transcribed verbatim. Interview transcripts were used for analysis.

Thematic Analysis

A thematic approach to data analysis was utilized, whereby patterns (themes) within the data were identified and analyzed in a systematic way (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic Analysis (TA) was selected as it is a very flexible, yet rigorous form of analysis, enabling a comprehensive and complex interpretation of the data (Braun et al., 2014; Nowell et al., 2017). Furthermore, unlike other forms of qualitative analysis (e.g., Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, Grounded Theory and Discourse Analysis), TA is considered a *method* rather than a methodology, meaning it does not follow any predetermined epistemological

approach (Clarke & Braun, 2013). Instead, a variety of theoretical assumptions can be selected to guide data analysis, which were chosen by the researcher to fit the current study.

Firstly, TA themes can be generated in two ways: inductively ('bottom-up') or deductively ('top-down'). An inductive approach identifies themes directly from the data (Patton, 1990), whilst a deductive approach is driven by theoretical assumptions (Braun et al., 2014). As the purpose of this study was to assess the applicability of the GLM to street gang members, a deductive approach to TA was utilized. Secondly, the level of identification for themes must be determined (Terry et al., 2017): either semantic (assesses meanings explicitly stated by participants) or latent (deeper interpretation of underlying meanings, assumptions and ideologies). This study used a latent level of identification; typically, an offenders' Good Lives conceptualization is implicit (Ward & Gannon, 2006). Finally, TA can take a realist, contextualist or constructionist position. A contextualist approach was taken, whereby participants' accounts, mediated by social experiences, were used to access reality (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

Data was analyzed using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-stage process, as described in Table 6.4. An iterative approach was used, whereby analysis involved moving freely throughout the phases as ideas developed (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). As themes do not simply emerge in TA, the researcher played an active role in identifying these during data analysis (Clarke et al., 2015). Consistent with Nowell et al.'s (2017) suggestions for establishing credibility and trustworthiness when conducting TA, a second coder reviewed interview transcripts, initial codes and themes. Any discrepancies were resolved through discussion. Braun and

Clarke's (2006) 15-item checklist was used to ensure the TA was of good quality throughout all of the phases (see Table 6.5).

Table 6.4

Summarization of Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phases of TA.

Phase	Name	Description of Phase
1	Familiarizing self with data	Transcribe interviews, immerse self in data (read and re-read), note any initial/reflective thoughts
2	Generating initial codes	Across the data set, systematically identify interesting features in the data. Label these with key words or phrases (known as initial codes).
3	'Searching' for themes	Begin to develop potential themes by combining different codes.
4	Reviewing themes	Refining themes by assessing their fit with the initial codes (Level 1) and the overall data set (Level 2).
5	Defining and naming themes	Create names and descriptions capturing the essence of each theme. Revisit data extracts to ensure a coherent and consistent narrative.
6	Producing report	Final stage of analysis and write-up of report. Provide evidence for each theme by relating to data extracts. Relate analysis to research question, giving an <i>argument</i> rather than description.

Table 6.5

Summarization of Braun and Clarke’s (2006) 15-Point Criteria Checklist for Good TA.

Process	Number	Criteria
Transcription	1	Transcription is suitably detailed and checked against recordings to establish accuracy.
	2	Equal attention is paid to all data items throughout coding.
Coding	3	Themes are generated from a detailed, comprehensive and inclusive coding process.
	4	Pertinent extracts for each theme are collated.
	5	Themes are checked collectively and to the original data set.
	6	Themes are coherent, consistent and distinct.
Analysis	7	Data is interpreted rather than paraphrased.
	8	There is consistency between the analysis and data, with extracts elucidating the analytical claims.
	9	Analysis provides a coherent and organized narrative relating to the topic and data.
	10	Analytic narrative and illustrative extracts are well-balanced.
Overall	11	An adequate length of time is given to each stage of analysis.
Written report	12	The assumptions and approach of TA are explained clearly.
	13	There is consistency across the described methodology and the reported analysis.
	14	The epistemological position of the analysis guides the language and concepts used throughout the report.
	15	The researcher has an active role across the research process.

As a flexible approach, TA enables similarities and differences throughout the data to be identified (Clarke & Braun, 2013). This enables comparisons to be made between street gang and non-gang offenders according to their Good Lives plans. As a deductive approach was used, themes were organized around the theoretical assumptions of the GLM (i.e., primary goods and obstacles in Good Lives plans). Reports produced using TA tend to be accessible to a non-academic audience, including policy makers and frontline workers (e.g., HMPPS staff, intervention providers). As the results of this thesis are likely to support the development of street gang interventions, the use of TA will aid in applying the findings to real-world settings.

Quantitative Analysis of Demographic Characteristics

Using IBM SPSS Statistics 25, statistical tests were conducted to compare the demographic and offence-related variables collected from P-NOMIS, between street gang and non-gang offenders. Firstly, a chi-square test of association was conducted to examine the relationship between classifications of street gang membership according to the Eurogang criteria and official records. Demographic variables were then examined, with chi-square tests of association to assess whether street gang and non-gang offenders differed with regards to ethnicity and diagnosis of a mental health condition. A binary logistic regression was conducted to identify whether street gang membership was predicted by age, having been a looked after child and a history of substance misuse.

Offence-related characteristics were then examined, with chi-square tests of association conducted to assess whether receipt of intervention and type of index offence (violent, non-violent or drug-related) differed according to level of street gang involvement. Independent t-tests were then conducted to assess whether there

was a mean difference between groups on: number of index offences, adjudications (crimes committed in prison) and non-associates (other prisoners that the individual is not permitted to have contact with), sentence length and VIPER score. Consistent with past research (e.g., Ruddell & Gottschall, 2011), it is expected that street gang members would have received a longer sentence and higher VIPER score, number of adjudications and non-associates, and be convicted of more index offences. Results of these analyses are reported below.

Results of Quantitative Analyses

Street Gang Classification

As outlined above, 17 participants were identified as street gang members according to the Eurogang criteria. The remaining 13 participants were classified as non-gang. To examine whether the Eurogang classification relates to official records of street gang involvement, a chi-square test of association was conducted. Findings suggest the Eurogang classification and official records were highly related; $\chi^2(1, N = 30) = 13.282, p < .001$. Of the 13 participants classified as non-gang according to the Eurogang criteria, 100% of these were regarded as non-gang individuals in official records. Regarding street gang members, 11 of the 17 participants (64.7%) classified according to the Eurogang criteria were also categorized as street gang members in official records.

The slight discrepancy between the number of street gang members identified according to the Eurogang criteria, compared to official records, may be due to the Eurogang criteria leading to an over-classification of drug-consuming groups, as identified in the pilot study (see Chapter 5). However, participants were given the opportunity to expand on the type of crimes committed in a group to establish they were not only engaging in drug-consumption. Therefore, it is likely that the use of a

self-reporting methodology contributes to a higher number of street gang members identified according to the Eurogang criteria, than the official records. Furthermore, as the researcher was independent from any prosecuting body, participants may be more likely to respond honestly (Naylor, 2015); increasing the number of street gang members identified. When discussing street gang members in all further analyses, this is categorized according to the Eurogang criteria.

Demographic Characteristics

To assess whether demographic characteristics of ethnicity and diagnosis of mental health conditions differed according to level of street gang involvement, chi-square tests of association were conducted. Consistent with past research (e.g., Wood & Dennard, 2017), participants were classified as White (16.67%) or BAME (83.33%). No association was found between ethnicity and street gang involvement; $\chi^2(1, N = 30) = 0.679, p = .41$. These findings are in line with previous research conducted at the same institution (Mallion & Wood, 2018a), which did not find any relationship between ethnicity and street gang involvement.

No relationship was found between street gang membership and having been diagnosed with a mental health condition; $\chi^2(1, N = 30) = 0.023, p = .88$. This contradicts past research which suggests street gang members are more likely to experience mental health issues than their non-gang counterparts (e.g., Wood et al., 2017). However, the current findings only account for *diagnosed* mental health conditions. As there are likely to be a high number of undiagnosed mental health conditions within incarcerated offenders (Edgar & Rickford, 2009), it is likely that this does not capture the full extent of mental health conditions experienced by the participants.

A binary logistic regression was conducted to assess whether street gang membership was predicted by age, history of substance misuse and having been a looked after child. The full model, containing all predictors, was significant; $\chi^2(3) = 7.604, p = .05$. The model explained between 22.4% (Cox and Snell R Square) and 30% (Nagelkerke R Square) of variance in street gang membership, with 70% of cases correctly classified. Of the three variables, age significantly ($p = .05$) and history of substance misuse marginally ($p = .06$) contributed to the prediction of street gang membership (see Table 6.6). Specifically, younger participants were 3.55 times more likely to be in a street gang than older participants. Participants with a history of substance misuse were 3.51 times more likely to be in a street gang than those who had not engaged in substance misuse. This is consistent with past research demonstrating that street gang members tend to be younger and have engaged in substance misuse more than their non-gang counterparts (e.g., Chu et al., 2010; Pyrooz, 2014a). However, having been a looked after child was not found to predict street gang involvement. This contradicts past research which suggests looked after children are at heightened risk of being exploited by street gangs (HM Government, 2016b). Yet, the lack of relationship found in the current study may be due to street gangs increasingly recruiting children unknown to services, in order to evade detection (HM Government, 2016b).

Table 6.6

Logistic regression predicting likelihood of street gang membership, based on age, history of substance misuse and having been a looked after child.

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Exp(B)	95.0% Confidence Interval	
						Lower	Upper
Age	-.21	.11	3.55*	1	.81	.65	1.01
Looked after child	-1.64	1.19	1.88	1	.19	.02	2.02
Substance Misuse	2.23	1.19	3.51	1	9.29	.90	95.57
Constant	4.68	2.44	3.68*	1	108.06		

* $p = .05$

Offence-Related Characteristics

Chi-square tests of association were conducted to examine whether receipt of any intervention (including, but not limited to, Building Better Relationships, Resolve and Thinking Skills Program) and type of index offence (violent, drug-related and non-violent) differed according to level of street gang involvement. As only one participant was convicted of a sexual offence, differences according to street gang involvement were not assessed for this index offence. No relationship was found between level of street gang involvement and receipt of intervention; $\chi^2(1, N = 30) = 0.023, p = .88$. This suggests that street gang members were not any more likely to receive an intervention than non-gang offenders. One reason for this may be the lack of interventions available in UK prisons that specifically target street gang membership (Ministry of Justice, 2020b). As such, street gang members will only be provided with the same opportunities for generic interventions that non-gang offenders receive.

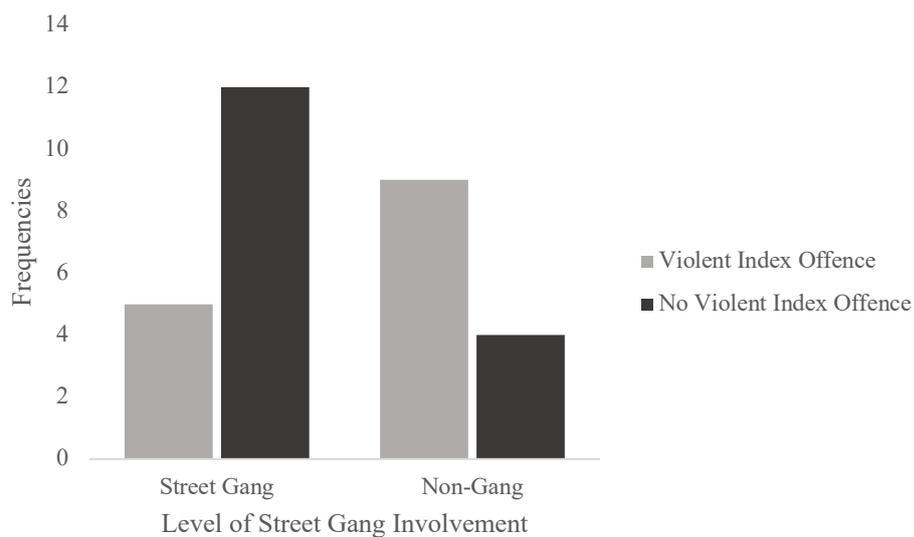
Regarding type of index offence, no association was found between drug-related index offences and street gang involvement; $\chi^2(1, N = 30) = 0.002, p = .96$. Furthermore, no difference was found between street gang and non-gang offenders in committing a non-violent index offence; $\chi^2(1, N = 30) = 0.362, p = .55$. As such, street gang members were no more likely to be convicted of drug-related or non-violent offences than non-gang offenders. Although drug dealing and non-violent offences are common amongst street gang members (Windle & Briggs, 2015), the setting used in this research is a Category C prison, meaning the majority of incarcerated offenders have been convicted of a non-violent or drug-related offence. Therefore, it may not be possible to accurately identify differences between street gang and non-gang offenders on engagement in drug dealing and non-violent offences.

As demonstrated in Figure 6.1, a difference was found between committing a violent index offence and level of street gang involvement; $\chi^2(1, N = 30) = 4.693, p = .03$, with 69.23% of non-gang individuals committing a violent index offence compared to 29.41% of street gang members. The effect size for this association was moderate (Cramer's $V = .396$). This contradicts past research suggesting street gang members are more likely to be violent than non-gang individuals (e.g., Wood & Alleyne, 2010). However, there are a number of reasons for this discrepancy. Firstly, the current study only includes data regarding current index offences; it is possible that street gang members are as violent, if not more so, than their non-gang counterparts, but that violence is not the reason for their current conviction. Furthermore, street gang members are more likely to be monitored by, and known to, the police, meaning they are more likely to be stopped-and-searched (Williams, 2018); increasing the risk of being caught and charged for a minor offence. In

addition, victims may be less likely to report violent offences committed by a street gang member than a non-gang individual, due to the fear of repercussions from the gang (Van Damme, 2019). As victims of street gangs are also more likely to be a street gang member themselves, they tend to handle reprisals independently (Wu & Pyrooz, 2015).

Figure 6.1

Bar chart showing frequencies of violent index offences according to level of street gang involvement.



Independent t-tests were conducted to compare offence-related outcomes (i.e., number of convictions, adjudications and non-associates, sentence length, and VIPER score) according to level of street gang involvement. As shown in Table 6.7, no difference was found between street gang and non-gang offenders on number of convictions or sentence length. Street gang members were marginally more likely to be assigned a higher VIPER score than non-gang offenders. Average number of adjudications and non-associates were higher amongst street gang than non-gang

offenders. However, only number of non-associates remained significantly different between street gang and non-gang offenders when using Bonferroni adjusted alpha levels of .01. Critically, non-associates are assigned by prison staff on an individual basis. Street gang members would be ascribed more non-associates in order to reduce potential conflicts between street gangs within the prison.

Table 6.7

Independent t-tests comparing offence-related outcomes according to level of street gang involvement.

	Street Gang	Non-Gang	t-value	df	p-value	95.0% Confidence Interval	
	M (SD)	M (SD)				Lower	Upper
Number of convictions	5.59 (6.88)	4.08 (2.43)	-.84	20.9 ¹	.41	-5.26	2.23
Sentence length in months	60.71 (19.09)	61.85 (36.44)	.10	17.01 ¹	.92	-22.31	24.59
Number of adjudications	12.94 (14.05)	3.77 (4.30)	-2.27	28	.03	-17.46	-.88
Number of non-associates	6.88 (7.79)	.69 (1.44)	-2.82	28	.01	-10.69	-1.69
VIPER score	1.56 (1.52)	.68 (.72)	-1.91	28	.06	-1.81	.06

¹ Levene's test was significant, suggesting the assumption of homogeneity of variance was violated. Therefore the degrees of freedom for this contrast were corrected.

Summary

As discussed in this chapter, changes were made to the methodology for the remainder of this thesis; rather than the MLP, the GLM clinical interview was used. In addition, to aid in the identification of street gang members, participants were given the opportunity to expand on their responses to the Eurogang Youth Survey (i.e., type of offences committed in a group). Having outlined the process of participant recruitment, design of the interview schedule, data collection and TA, the following two chapters will focus on the analysis of the interview data. Chapter 7 will examine the research question: ‘how are members trying to achieve their primary goods through street gang involvement?’. Following this, the research question, ‘how do obstacles in external and internal capacity compare between street gang members and non-gang offenders?’, will be assessed in Chapter 8.

Chapter 7

“The group is just a stepping stone”: Attaining primary goods through street gang involvement

Research has primarily focused on understanding the *risk factors* associated with joining a street gang, such as poverty, bullying victimization and exposure to violence (Carson & Esbensen, 2017). However, there remains a sparsity of research considering the *motivations* for belonging to a street gang (e.g., financial gain, emotional support and protection; Carson, 2018). As suggested in Chapter 2, street gang membership could be motivated by the desire to fulfil primary goods. As such, this chapter will explore the question ‘how are members trying to achieve their primary goods through street gang involvement?’, using a thematic analytic approach. The interviews conducted with the 17 street gang members (whose characteristics are described in Chapter 6) will be the data for this analysis, with quotes from participants given as evidence.

Findings

To reiterate, the primary goods include: (1) Life, (2) Knowledge, (3) Excellence in Work, (4) Excellence in Play, (5) Excellence in Agency, (6) Community, (7) Relatedness, (8) Inner Peace, (9) Pleasure, (10) Creativity, and, (11) Spirituality. Each of the primary goods will be defined, with themes highlighted. It must be noted that some themes do overlap with multiple primary goods.

Life

The primary good of Life incorporates the basic needs for survival, healthy living and physical functioning. Four themes were identified: (1) financial gain to secure basic needs, (2) protection from harm, (3) access to substances for physical health, and; (4) lack of self-care.

Financial gain to secure basic needs

Consistent with the wider literature suggesting low socioeconomic status increases risk of street gang involvement (e.g., Pyrooz & Sweeten, 2015), the majority of participants discussed their living situation as characterized by poverty, often due to long periods of unemployment. The financial gain associated with street gang membership (e.g., drug dealing and burglary) was highlighted by participants as a means of survival:

“Mummy can’t make our food, we’re hungry. These are the reasons why we’re committing crime, ‘cos we’re trying to survive”

(Participant 1).

Yet, recent research has highlighted that some street gang members have a concurrent income from both legitimate employment and illegitimate gains (Augustyn et al., 2019). Participants in the current study who were employed during the time of their street gang engagement were often in poorly paid roles (i.e., minimum wage) which did not allow them to meet all basic needs. Following a direct pathway, these participants chose to engage in street gangs in order to make money to pay for their basic needs:

“I had an apprenticeship £300 a month, I couldn’t survive off that. I had my son, my travel expenses, my own expenses and then I saw a better opportunity” (Participant 10).

“I do this thing to break bread innit” (Participant 11).

Supported by past research suggesting that individuals experience a growth in economic attainment upon joining a street gang (Augustyn et al., 2019), this highlights that street gang membership represents an inappropriate means used in an attempt to fulfil the primary good of Life.

Protection from harm

Early exposure to violence has been consistently related to antisocial behavior (Dragone et al., 2020). All participants discussed high levels of violence within their community, with many suggesting “*there was a war going on*” (Participant 13) and “*it’s like living in fucking Syria out there*” (Participant 5). Joining a street gang was seen as “*doing what suits me best, ‘cos its survival of the fittest out here*” (Participant 14). There was a general consensus that belonging to a street gang would protect participants from becoming a victim of violence in their area:

“We’ve all got each other. If I was to fight someone they wouldn’t watch, they’d get involved” (Participant 16).

Although members may *perceive* the street gang as providing physical protection from violence, street gangs propagate violence (Quinn et al., 2017). As risk of violence increases with street gang involvement, this strengthens embeddedness as members spend more time with the street gang in order to protect themselves:

“I can say there’s at least fifty gangs in that one little borough and they’re all beefing each other... I have to protect myself and then I just got caught up in more and more stuff” (Participant 6).

Critically, as the protection afforded by street gang membership is not sustained, the primary good of Life is only pseudo-secured.

Access to substances for physical health

Having a lack of, or relying on ineffective, coping mechanisms are common amongst those who join a street gang (McDaniel, 2012). In particular, street gang members use illegal substances as a coping strategy more than their non-gang

counterparts (Bjerregaard, 2010; Weerman et al., 2015). Many street gang members are user/sellers (as termed by Valdez & Sifaneck, 2004), with street gang involvement increasing an individual's access to illegal substances for both selling and personal consumption.

Past research has primarily focused on emotion-related coping (i.e., coping with mental health issues and emotional distress; Lemus & Johnson, 2008). However, some participants explained that being in a street gang helped them to access the drugs necessary to cope with physical pain:

“I had a very bad motorbike crash. My body's fucked... I used weed, that would help me [with pain] if I had a cannabis before I went to bed, I'd fall asleep in minutes” (Participant 4).

To the best of the author's knowledge, this is the first record of street gang involvement being used as an inappropriate means to overcome physical pain. It must be noted here that the onset of physical pain in relation to joining a street gang did differ according to participants. For example, Participant 4 (as quoted above) had his motorbike crash prior to becoming embedded within a street gang. As such, easier access to substances to fulfil the primary good of Life was a strong motivational factor for joining the street gang. In comparison, Participant 17 had his injury whilst in a street gang, demonstrating that having access to substances for physical health was a benefit of street gang involvement, but was not necessarily a motivational factor for joining the street gang:

“He stabbed me thirty times on my head, my face, on my back... went to the hospital, same day they found me downstairs smoking [weed]” (Participant 17).

Lack of self-care

According to Willis et al. (2013), in some instances the etiology of offending can be due to an absence of desire to pursue a primary good. For some participants, a lack of scope led to the primary good of Life being neglected:

“I just don’t care [about my life], we’re gonna die one day innit”

(Participant 1).

This lack of self-care increases the likelihood that an individual would place themselves in a situation which could risk their survival, such as becoming involved in a street gang. This is consistent with past research (Brezina et al., 2009), which suggests individuals who perceive themselves as unlikely to have a future (i.e., due to the expectation of early death), engage in more high-risk behaviors, as they focus on immediate gratification:

“I can’t say I’ve lived a healthy life ‘cos I’ve been pronounced dead twice [due to street gang violence]” (Participant 4).

As such, the neglect of the primary good Life led to participants perceiving street gang membership as a viable option for quickly attaining their remaining primary goods.

Knowledge

The primary good of Knowledge is the aspiration to learn and understand a topic of interest to the individual. Typically, Knowledge is acquired through pursuing education, training, or skill development. However, with poor academic attainment common amongst street gang members (Pyrooz, 2014b), alternatives to the legitimate pursuit of Knowledge are required. As such, a street gang provides individuals with an opportunity to learn various skills, from developing street smarts

to managing a drug dealing enterprise. Two themes were identified: (1) learning to offend, and; (2) sharing knowledge.

Learning to offend

If we subscribe to the view that offenders are made and not born (Fox, 2017), then like any skill, criminal behavior has to be learnt. As Participant 16 aptly stated “*if I didn't get taught how to sell drugs, I wouldn't be able to sell drugs*”. According to the theory of differential association (Sutherland & Cressey, 1960), offending behavior is learned through interacting with important personal groups (i.e., family and peers). Law-violation attitudes held by members of these important personal groups influence the perspectives taken by the individual. Those most at risk of offending are exposed to more favorable opinions regarding law-violation; particularly when the exposure begins at an early age, continues for a prolonged period and comes from people they admire (Wood & Alleyne, 2010). Once these pro-criminality attitudes have been established, individuals are open to learning the skills needed to engage in criminal behavior.

According to the theory of differential opportunity, however, the opportunity to learn delinquent skills is limited in availability, with access to legitimate and illegitimate means of achieving goals differing across the social structure (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960). For young people growing up in deprived areas, with poor educational attainment and low employment opportunities, access to legitimate means of achieving goals is severely limited (Klemp-North, 2007). As such, for young people in this situation, to achieve the primary good of Knowledge, illegitimate means may be perceived as their only option. Through engaging in a street gang, participants have increased access to more knowledgeable peers (Wood & Alleyne, 2013). This increases their opportunity to learn new skills, albeit

criminal, enabling them to fulfil their primary good of Knowledge. Supporting this, all participants regarded their peers or older neighborhood groups as their main source of ‘criminal tuition’:

“In a bad way they [my friends] showed me how to do these things. I’d never know how to grab someone or how to stick someone so they gave me everything they got” (Participant 6).

In addition to direct tuition, individuals gain the knowledge to commit crime by following example. According to Social Learning Theory (SLT; Bandura, 1977), young people observe the glamor of street gangs (i.e., money, status, fast cars; The Centre for Social Justice, 2009) and, through imitating their behavior, they aim to become a member (Hughes & Short, 2005). Consistent with SLT, all participants reported living in an area where exposure to street gangs was common. Through observing the elder delinquent groups, participants gained the knowledge needed to become an effective street gang member:

“I learnt [crime] from seeing the older people doing it before me... that’s who you learn from... then you maintain that and expand when you can” (Participant 7).

By observing the behaviors of others within the neighborhood, participants were able to develop ‘street smarts’. This knowledge enables them to protect themselves, by managing or avoiding any problems that arise from living in a volatile environment. This is highlighted by Participant 5, who *“can just stand up on man’s tower block and just look down and know what’s going on”*. Through learning from the observation of others’ behaviors, Participant 5 was able to protect himself; *“watch that guy, I know not to go over there. I can tell all that stuff just by walking around”*.

In addition to learning directly from peers and elder groups, participants discussed achieving the primary good of Knowledge through vicarious experiences (i.e., television, reading). This is consistent with Przemieniecki's (2005) research which found that gang-related media acts as learning material for individuals aspiring to be 'successful' street gang members:

"There's nothing good about what I was learning and the knowledge I was building up. Everything I was building up knowledge and learning wise was for illegal activities... I read Rob Green's forty-eight laws of power. I read it for the intentions to help me further myself in my illegal activities" (Participant 1).

"We used to just watch Crimewatch. Look at what that man's doing, that's a good idea you know, I can do better" (Participant 5).

Interestingly, the vast majority of participants perceived that engaging in criminal learning enabled them to fulfil the primary good of Knowledge and did not feel the need to pursue prosocial learning opportunities. As Participant 4 summarizes, *"I know everything I need to know to be honest"*.

Sharing knowledge

Another way in which participants discussed achieving their primary good of Knowledge, was through demonstrating or sharing the criminal skills that they had learnt with less experienced, and typically younger, others. Although the teaching and rewarding of criminal behavior may be seen as synonymous with grooming (The Children's Society, 2018), participants perceived the sharing of their criminal knowledge, including methods of evading arrest and increasing financial gain, as a way of helping and protecting the younger generation:

“I lecture them, I do [laughs]. I tell them ‘look I know you’re not gonna go legit... if you’re gonna do it, be correct... don’t try to big up your name ‘cos that’s when stuff gets sticky’” (Participant 4).

“I care for the younger generation... teach them things that would help them further in life” (Participant 15).

By sharing their knowledge of street gangs and associated criminal behaviors with the younger generation, participants feel like ‘experts’ in these skills. This enables them to secure their primary good of Knowledge (Purvis et al., 2013).

Excellence in Work

Excellence in Work refers to the pursuit of personally meaningful work (i.e., work matched to an individual’s interests) which enables a sense of mastery, through the development of knowledge and skills. Purvis et al. (2013) suggest Excellence in Work can be achieved both intrinsically (achieved for its own sake) and extrinsically (achieved for a specific purpose, such as salary increase). Two themes were evident: (1) intrinsically meaningful criminal careers, and; (2) deviant entrepreneurship.

Intrinsically meaningful criminal careers

Research conducted by Maitra (2015) found that in areas with high rates of street gangs and limited opportunities for paid work, membership is perceived as a feasible alternative to legitimate employment. Supporting this, all participants discussed street gang membership and the associated criminal activities (i.e., drug dealing and robbery), as *“just a job innit”* (Participant 3). Strain occurs when an individual has difficulty achieving their goals through the limited legitimate means available to them. Therefore, a street gang provides individuals with an opportunity to achieve these goals, albeit through illegitimate means (Hesketh, 2018):

“I was just doing it because it was probably at the time what I thought would benefit me the most” (Participant 14).

According to Hesketh and Robinson (2019), the acceptability of engaging in street gangs is related to a ‘blurring’ between the perceptions of employment and criminality. This blurring between legitimate and illegitimate work was clear in participants, who perceived street gang associated crime as a legitimate means of employment:

“I didn’t even think about getting a legit job, cos I thought drug dealing was mine” (Participant 16).

“Dealing, it’s like being at work innit, you still got four hours left of your shift” (Participant 10).

Through engagement in street gangs, participants were able to achieve the primary good of Excellence in Work. As Gagné and Deci (2005) suggest, feelings of competence and autonomy at work are intrinsically fulfilling. Participants described feeling both competent and that they had excelled within their work:

“I was one of the best [dealers]. I never thought I was gonna be one of the best, but I became the best” (Participant 9).

Furthermore, engagement in street gang related offending enabled participants to have a sense of autonomy:

“I called the shots, I make my own decisions according to how I feel and what’s right at the time” (Participant 2).

“I like to be my own boss, I can’t work on anyone’s time, anyone telling me what to do” (Participant 11).

Similar to the findings of Taylor (2017) who examined the GLM in burglars, Excellence in Work was clearly achieved amongst street gang members who perceived themselves as being adept and skilled in their deviant career paths:

“If you’re gonna do something, be a professional at doing it”

(Participant 5).

“Listen, I strive for excellence when I’m making my money”

(Participant 1).

Deviant Entrepreneurship

Hesketh (2018) defines deviant entrepreneurship as the application of entrepreneurial knowledge and enterprise skill to offending behavior, with the goal of financial gain. Hesketh (2019) suggests street gangs encourage the development of entrepreneurial expertise, enabling members to achieve the primary good of Excellence in Work. Participants described the support they received from their street gang peers at improving their offending behavior:

“To be good at what you do, there was a lot of competition, we were pushing each other to do better” (Participant 7).

Furthermore, the majority of participants aimed to own businesses in the future, but recognized that they needed to develop their entrepreneurial skills to be successful. Whilst a couple of participants did pursue legitimate means of developing the entrepreneurial skills needed (i.e., attending business management courses at college), the majority saw street gang membership as a training ground for developing the skills necessary to own a business:

“I wanted to be a business man innit, I wanted to open businesses so whatever I’ve got to do to get there, I’ve got to do it” (Participant 13).

Supporting the theory of deviant entrepreneurship, participants discussed the extrinsic motivation of financial gain as a driving factor for belonging to a street gang. Consistent with Purvis et al.'s (2013) suggestion, Excellence in Work was achieved amongst participants through the increased income they generated upon joining a street gang (Augustyn et al., 2019):

“I just cared about money... as long as I was earning what I was earning, I didn't care” (Participant 16).

“I would happily do any job, but the pay has to be correct... at 16 I was earning a grand a week” (Participant 7).

As such, this shows that when there are limited legitimate means of employment available to individuals, a street gang can provide them with the intrinsic and extrinsic rewards that enable them to achieve their sense of Excellence in Work. This supports Dickson-Gomez et al.'s (2017) suggestions that providing legitimate work opportunities could be one strand of a street gang intervention. Yet, as a caveat, this will depend on the pay gained from legitimate work opportunities, with low paid, minimum wage jobs likely to be rejected by street gang members (Augustyn et al., 2019). Despite this, fostering the development of street gang members' entrepreneurial skills through legitimate means will enable them to continue achieving the primary good of Excellence in Work in a prosocial manner.

Spirituality

The primary good of Spirituality refers to having a sense of meaning, purpose and drive in one's life (Yates et al., 2010). Three themes were identified: (1) striving for success; (2) limited aspirations, and; (3) group-based goals.

Striving for success

The main goal driving participants was the desire to be perceived as successful. According to Baird (2019), exerting a masculine identity is a strong symbol of success for young males. When developing an identity, Baird (2012a) suggests that young males imitate the masculine behaviors of male role models they have been exposed to. However, in situations where male parental role models are lacking, street gang members in the community can be seen as a substitute (The Centre for Social Justice, 2009). For street gang members, masculine identity is expressed through material and symbolic signifiers, such as financial gain, access to sexual relationships and status (Baird, 2012b). As such, the pursuit of these material and symbolic signifiers becomes synonymous with success; encouraging young men to join street gangs. Importantly, the desire to express a masculine identity to others continues once fully immersed in a street gang, through demonstrating increased engagement in violence and antisocial behavior (Baird, 2017). Consistent with Baird's (2017) research, participants perceived that by joining and becoming involved in a street gang, this would enable them to successfully emulate a masculine identity; allowing them to achieve their primary good of Spirituality:

“I thought I had meaning and purpose, which was to be like the baddest person I can be, make the most money I could and get the most girls” (Participant 14).

Limited aspirations

A lack of scope regarding the primary good of Spirituality could underlie the etiology of street gang membership for some participants. Aspirations are motivations (conscious or unconscious), which drive an individual, or group, towards a future-orientated goal (Hart, 2016). For individuals who experience strain,

due to a lack of available opportunities (e.g., unemployment, disorganized neighborhood), conventional aspirations are often disregarded (Dickson-Gomez et al., 2017). Past research has found limited aspirations to be common amongst street gang members (Moensted, 2018). This is unsurprising as strain is a frequent experience for those who join a street gang (Thaxton & Agnew, 2017). Consistent with this, some participants discussed having a lack of aspirations and goals in their life:

“I didn’t really have much meaning and purpose, when I think of all the stuff I have done, it was meaningless” (Participant 12).

This suggests that by neglecting the primary good of Spirituality, an individual would be more vulnerable to joining street gangs, particularly in areas where street gangs are a readily available option. Specifically, the lack of future-orientated goals leads individuals to focus on the immediate gain a street gang could give, rather than achieving their aspirations. Supporting this proposition, past research has found that street gang members are more likely to focus on immediate gratification than their non-gang peers (Wood & Alleyne, 2010). Furthermore, past research has found that achieving a sense of Spirituality both reduces an individual’s risk of becoming involved in street gangs and supports members’ disengagement from street gangs (Deuchar, 2020; Johnson & Densely, 2018).

Group-based goals

Critically, Dickson-Gomez et al. (2017) suggest when aspirations are limited, young people learn ‘alternate subcultural values’, which provide meaning to an individual’s life by giving a set of norms or rules to live by. Alternate subcultural values are available through street gang involvement. In particular, street gangs

provide meaning to members with limited aspirations by encouraging the fulfilment of group-based, rather than individual, goals (Wood, 2014):

“You don’t really have a life of your own... you just go out of your way to please other people [in the gang]” (Participant 10).

Interestingly, individuals do not necessarily need to agree with the group goals, but, according to the concept of pluralistic ignorance, individuals will still adhere to these because the wider group is perceived as approving of the goal (Wood, 2014). This is clearly described by Participant 20, who, despite disliking drug dealing, continued to participate in order to achieve the group-based goal of financial gain:

“It’s the money, flashy lifestyle. Drug dealing is a shit thing, it’s more the product from it. I like to see my friends happy man, like to go out, feel like we’ve accomplished something” (Participant 11).

Group-based rules provide a clear purpose for street gang members, that they would otherwise lack due to their limited aspirations. Simultaneously, continued adherence to these group-based rules strengthen the group’s cohesion, leading to further participation in criminal behavior (Klein & Maxson, 2006). Participants discussed a variety of group-based rules or “codes” that provided meaning for street gang members, whilst also demonstrating strong group cohesion:

“We belonged to a certain group and the code was to stick to that group” (Participant 6).

Critically, for individuals who have limited aspirations, simply belonging to a street gang gives them a sense of meaning and purpose in life. However, as they are aspiring to fulfil group-based, rather than individual goals, it is likely that participants are only pseudo-securing the primary good of Spirituality. This

demonstrates the importance of supporting young people to develop both short- and long-term prosocial goals, and providing them with the skills necessary to achieve these.

Excellence in Play

The primary good of Excellence in Play refers to the desire to pursue a leisure activity that gives a sense of achievement, enjoyment or skill development (Yates et al., 2010). One theme was identified: street gang membership as a deviant leisure activity.

Street gang membership as a deviant leisure activity

Where age-appropriate prosocial leisure activities are unavailable, offending behavior can provide an alternative means of fulfilling the primary good of Excellence in Play. Drozda (2006) highlighted that individuals who participate in deviant leisure activities have a high need for sensory stimulation, with boredom a key factor motivating offending behavior. This is common amongst street gang members, who attempt to transcend the monotony through violence and offending behavior (Garot, 2015). By joining a street gang, participants discussed being able to engage in leisure activities that would otherwise have been challenging to access (e.g., parties and substance misuse):

“We do it all together, we might be bored and there will be a party, just go same group of friends” (Participant 10).

This demonstrates that belonging to a street gang can enable participants to fulfil their primary good of Excellence in Play by increasing the recreational opportunities open to them. However, research examining street gang membership as a form of deviant leisure activity is notably lacking. One study conducted by Stodolska et al. (2019) found street gang involvement provided members with the

same benefits as prosocial leisure activities, such as peer acceptance, sense of excitement, filling unsupervised time and easier access to sexual relationships and parties.

Similar to Stodolska et al.'s (2019) research, all participants discussed street gang membership as a direct means of fulfilling the primary good of Excellence in Play. As Participant 6 summarized: *"to be happy, I'd be going around with the gang"*. The majority of participants discussed how the crime they committed as part of a street gang was a fun activity, with both serious violence and minor non-violent crimes (e.g., graffiti) cited as enjoyable recreation:

"Violence, committing crime. Graffiti was a nice one, I loved graffiti... it was a little passion of mine" (Participant 14).

"Stabbing is laughing" (Participant 17).

"The money was out there, smoking, having fun committing crime" (Participant 4).

Participants received positive reinforcement from their peers for engaging in group-based antisocial behavior (e.g., violence towards rival gangs), which supported the continuation of this deviant recreational activity. Similar to Stodolska et al.'s (2019) findings, group-based offending behavior was seen as an enjoyable activity which brought the peer group closer together:

"I used to like fighting brawls, it was just something to laugh and talk about with my friends later... everybody wanted to have sex and smoke weed and talk about it at school" (Participant 12).

Consistent with the theory of differential association discussed above (see *'learning to offend'*; Sutherland & Cressey, 1960), interaction with antisocial peers encouraged participation in deviant recreational activities, which often escalated into

violence. For instance, participants described how contact with antisocial peers led to a progression from engaging in prosocial recreational activities to deviant leisure:

“I starting young, like I was probably galivanting on the streets from 11 or so playing football... going out there to chill with friends and then that kind of social convention turned into illegal activity, chilling with the older lot” (Participant 12).

“We started smoking cos everyone was doing it... the thing is with smoking, that was a way to becoming social... but that’s the way we was getting to being in trouble” (Participant 6).

As demonstrated, street gang membership represents a deviant leisure activity that can enable participants to fulfil the primary good of Excellence in Play. By belonging to a street gang, this provides members with access to different recreational activities; overcoming boredom, providing sensory stimulation and encouraging group cohesion. Although it is unrealistic to assume that an increase in the provision of prosocial recreational activities *alone* would prevent or reduce street gang involvement, this could be one arm of a multi-faceted approach to street gang intervention (Berdychevsky et al., 2019).

Pleasure

The primary good of Pleasure refers to feeling good in the here and now (Purvis et al., 2013). For the majority of participants, street gang membership provided a means of achieving a sense of Pleasure, with the following themes identified: (1) street addiction; (2) financial gain to fund an indulgent lifestyle; (3) substance misuse, and; (4) access to sexual relationships.

Street addiction

In the first study of its kind, Bergen-Cico et al. (2013) examined street gang membership through the lens of behavioral addictions. Behavioral addictions are defined as behaviors that persist, despite long-term adverse outcomes, due to short-term rewards (Grant et al., 2013). Immediately prior to engagement in the addictive behavior, individuals experience arousal, with feelings of pleasure whilst partaking in the behavior (Grant et al., 2010). Although considering street gang membership as a form of behavioral addiction is understandably a controversial topic, particularly when considering criminal responsibility (Blum & Grant, 2017), Bergen-Cico et al. (2013) found narratives of street gang members were consistent with a behavioral addiction. Specifically, engagement in street gangs and the associated criminal behaviors gave members an adrenaline-rush that repeatedly drew them to re-engage with the street gang.

Consistent with Bergen-Cico et al. (2013), the addictive nature of street gangs was described by some participants:

“To be honest my perception of happiness it was just doing certain stuff and getting away with it... just doing bad stuff, kind of there was like a thrill to it, like having fights, making money, it’s exciting cos all the perks that come with it... just the thrill of being outside with all my friends” (Participant 10).

Participants also described that the adrenaline rush they gained from street gang involvement was stronger when they first joined:

“When I first started [doing crime] I’d get that adrenaline rush. Certain things felt good, I can’t lie to you” (Participant 5).

Tolerance development is a key component of addiction, with increased levels of the same behavior needed to experience similar feelings of pleasure (King et al., 2018). As such, the pursuit of an adrenaline rush may explain why violence escalates the longer members engage with street gangs (Adams & Pizarro, 2013), with more serious violence needed to gain the same short-term effects.

Supporting the proposition of street gang membership as a behavioral addiction, characteristics common amongst street gang members are also typical of those with behavioral or substance addictions (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). For instance, high levels of impulsivity and sensation seeking have been found in both street gang members and individuals with addictive disorders (Grant et al., 2010; Olate et al., 2012). Thus, engaging in street gangs may enable individuals with high thrill-seeking and impulsive personalities to fulfil their primary good of Pleasure. However, as the rewards of street gang membership are only temporary, it is likely that the primary good of Pleasure is only pseudo-secured. As Bergen-Cico et al. (2013) suggest, by recognizing street gang membership as a behavioral addiction, this can aid in the development of rehabilitation programs. Specifically, therapeutic interventions, such as motivational interviewing and cognitive behavioral approaches, are encouraged for behavioral addictions, with long-term support an essential factor in preventing relapse (Kellett & Gross, 2006).

Financial gain to fund an indulgent lifestyle

As discussed above, participants repeatedly mentioned financial gain as a motivating factor for participating in a street gang. However, the reasons participants gave for the pursuit of financial gain differed across primary goods. In comparison to the primary goods of Life (financial gain enables basic needs to be secured) and Excellence in Work (financial gain demonstrates success), financial gain facilitates

the fulfilment of Pleasure through enabling a luxurious and indulgent lifestyle (Whittaker et al., 2020):

“The money innit, the money flows in from nowhere, going in with two grand in coins that made me happy, everything is money innit”

(Participant 8).

“I refuse to go broke, I got expensive habits that I need to maintain”

(Participant 7).

“I had Rolex watches, Breitlings chains, rings, nice clothes, I had like ten pairs [of trainers] at a thousand pound each” (Participant 4).

In contradiction to the theme of street addiction discussed above, some participants discussed finding the act of committing an offence unenjoyable, but the profit gained justified the behavior:

“The actual things I’d done, I was not happy at the time, but what I gained out of it made me happy, and when you gain the stuff you’re not thinking of what you just done to get them” (Participant 4).

“It’s not the selling the drug part that makes me happy, it’s the money you make off of it” (Participant 2).

As can be seen, street gang membership provides individuals with the opportunity for financial and material gain, which they would have otherwise found challenging to achieve (i.e., due to unemployment and poverty; Pyrooz & Sweeten, 2015). Despite this, Pleasure was unlikely to be effectively secured (at best pseudo-secured) as the behavior which led to financial gain made participants unhappy.

Substance misuse

With illegal substances readily available to members (Sanders, 2012), belonging to a street gang can provide easy access to pleasure-enhancing drugs.

Furthermore, the normalization of substance misuse amongst street gang members alleviates an individual's anticipated guilt for taking illegal drugs; enabling them to enjoy the experience (Coffman et al., 2014; Matsuda et al., 2013). Consistent with this, participants discussed frequently engaging in illegal drug use, with substance misuse perceived as a means of having fun and enjoying themselves in the here and now. This demonstrates that through engagement with a street gang, participants were able to access illegal substances, which they used to achieve the primary good of Pleasure:

"I just pop pills all the time. Go out in a haze and don't remember what happened the day before. I just know I was having fun"

(Participant 5).

"[smoking drugs] it just makes you feel nice don't it... it makes you feel good" (Participant 13).

Critically, participants that discussed achieving the primary good of Pleasure through substance misuse also disclosed finding it difficult to feel happy in their everyday lives:

"Just life wasn't really happy... life was shit" (Participant 5).

"[Drugs] was the only thing that used to kind of make me happy a little, a little but, not fully, but I don't enjoy anything" (Participant 13).

This demonstrates that for individuals who have difficulty experiencing happiness, termed anhedonia (Garfield et al., 2014), illegal substances could enable them to temporarily secure the primary good of Pleasure. Specifically, individuals with anhedonia require more reward stimulation to produce a positive emotional response (Stone et al., 2017). Substance misuse increases sensory stimulation and

activates the reward pathway, which otherwise remains dormant in those with anhedonia; enabling positive emotions to be experienced (Sussman & Leventhal, 2014). Therefore, by enabling access to illegal substances, street gangs can aid members in fulfilling the primary good of Pleasure.

However, the primary good of Pleasure was only temporarily secured through substance misuse, with participants discussing the negative long-term effects of taking illegal drugs. For instance, Participants 3 and 6 discussed a decline in their mental health after having consumed illegal drugs:

“I’m smoking like thirty spliffs a day. Not even a day, that’s thirty spliffs before noon... that’s probably where the schizophrenia comes into it” (Participant 3).

“Being on drugs all the time... paranoid, I’ll be extremely paranoid” (Participant 6).

As such, in a long-term context, substance misuse prevented achievement of Pleasure by negatively impacting on one’s mental health. By addressing anhedonia in interventions, this could reduce an individual’s need to engage with street gangs to access illegal substances. Sussman and Leventhal (2014) suggest a number of approaches to reducing anhedonia and the associated substance misuse, including positivist psychology approaches (i.e., focusing on personal strengths) and environmental enrichment (i.e., accessing highly stimulating environments, including theme parks, video games and participating in high-intensity sports).

Access to sexual relationships

For individuals who hold inequitable gender norms, street gangs provide a means of easily accessing desired sexual relationships. Specifically, street gang members are more likely to prescribe to the belief that males have insatiable sexual

desires, whilst females should be sexually available to them (Dickson-Gomez et al., 2017). As such, street gang members are more likely than their non-gang peers to engage in risky sexual behaviors, including multiple sexual relationships, sex without protection and sex under the influence of alcohol or drugs (Coid et al., 2020; Petering, 2016; Wesche & Dickson-Gomez, 2019). Supporting this, sexual relationships were frequently cited by participants as a means of achieving the primary good of Pleasure, with street gang membership providing access to potential sexual partners. For instance, the status gained from being in a street gang attracted female attention:

“You’d go to a party, everybody knows you’re there and like girls would come up to me and there was a lot of female attention, it was just exciting man” (Participant 12).

Furthermore, the money made from street gang involvement was discussed as a means of attracting females:

“Girls in my area they just follow the money, so it didn’t matter how ugly I was or whatever, so long as you had money... money brings intimacy” (Participant 1).

Yet, participants highlighted that whilst risky sexual behaviors allowed them to fulfil their primary good of Pleasure, this conflicted with the primary good of Relatedness. As Participant 4 surmised: *“money can buy girls, but not the right girls”*. Consistent with past research (Dickson-Gomez et al., 2017), this demonstrates that achieving Pleasure through multiple sexual relationships led to difficulty in forming successful long-term relationships. By targeting gender norms in street gang interventions, this could aid in the development of effective long-term

relationships, which have been shown to improve street gang desistance (Sweeten et al., 2012).

Excellence in Agency

Excellence in Agency refers to the desire to exert independence, without interference from others. This includes creating goals, having autonomy, personal power and control (Purvis et al., 2013). A number of themes were identified, including: (1) freedom from authority figures; (2) decision making; (3) power and control; (4) status and respect, and; (5) leadership.

Freedom from authority figures

With the onset of adolescence, individuals begin to establish an identity distinct from their family (Dumas et al., 2012). This period is characterized by an increased salience of peer influence, with authority figures having less power over their behavior (Young et al., 2014a). Street gangs are a strong draw for young people seeking independence, as they appear to be outside of adult control (Fraser, 2013; Young & Gonzalez, 2013). Supporting this, participants discussed how street gang membership enabled them to achieve the primary good of Excellence in Agency by exerting their independence from authority figures:

“At 14 I felt like I was grown... I don't really wanna listen to anybody and I don't need anyone... I don't like being told what to do, I just wanna do what I wanna do regardless... I used to think I was bare old man” (Participant 13).

Furthermore, participants suggested they mastered the primary good Excellence in Agency by successfully evading discipline from authority figures:

“If the police caught up with me it was just lucky... I'm like a ninja, I take pride in never being seen in life” (Participant 5).

“I ride on road but I do it correctly, so police won’t even know I’m there. The minute they see me is the minute I’m gone” (Participant 4).

This suggests that belonging to a street gang can help members fulfil Excellence in Agency, albeit in a maladaptive manner. However, due to the risk of incarceration, independence is continuously threatened by engagement in a street gang (Dickson-Gomez et al., 2017), meaning this primary good is only likely to be pseudo-secured. With this in mind, interventions should support the development of an individual’s independence using prosocial means.

Decision-making

Maclure and Sotelo (2004) highlight that street gang members exhibit high levels of autonomy and decision-making capabilities. In particular, Maclure and Sotelo (2004) suggest that the decision to join a street gang is a direct means of exerting agency and personal empowerment. Supporting this, participants discussed achieving the primary good of Excellence in Agency by actively making the decision to engage in street gang related offending:

“I made the decision to be who I was at that time” (Participant 13).

“I had a bad influence on myself” (Participant 6).

According to the social-interactional approach, criminal decision making is a product of the interaction between individual motivations (e.g., monetary gain) and societal influences (Little & Steinberg, 2006). Little and Steinberg (2006) identified five societal influences which increased the risk of engaging in criminal decision making, including: exposure to deviant peer groups, poor employment opportunities, disorganized neighborhoods, lack of parental supervision and parental substance misuse. Each of these five societal influences were common amongst the street gang

participants (see Chapter 8), suggesting criminal decision making enables the fulfilment of Excellence in Agency amongst high-risk individuals.

Consistent with the findings of the current study regarding the primary good of Life, Dickson-Gomez et al. (2017) suggests the conscious decision to join a street gang is often based on the immediate need for survival in a challenging environment (e.g., financial gain and protection), with little focus placed on long-term goals. By supporting individuals to create and work towards long-term goals, this could increase prosocial decision making. Critically, many of the participants discussed the desire to attend university and engage in legitimate employment. However, for this to be successful, it is necessary to reduce the strain faced by street gang members. For those who are “*just basically doing it to try and survive*” (Participant 11), interventions need to reduce the immediate societal pressures individuals face, in order to adjust focus from short-term to long-term goals and allow the fulfilment of Excellence in Agency through prosocial means. Dickson-Gomez et al. (2017) suggest conditional economic incentives, whereby individuals receive small financial inducements for attending structured activities (i.e., school/college), could remove some of the pressure to financially provide for themselves and their family.

As demonstrated, street gang membership enabled participants to achieve a sense of *personal* agency. However, some participants also discussed fulfilling the primary good of Excellence in Agency by focusing on *collective* agency (i.e., sharing of decisions, knowledge and skills amongst group members; Bandura, 2000):

“When it’s involving the group of friends, the collective, we all make the decision together” (Participant 1).

Cooperating in collective decision making provides positive peer approval (Gächter & Fehr, 1999), which is particularly important for young people beginning

their journey towards independence. When collective decisions are made with antisocial peer groups, negative repercussions and over-reliance on peer approval means Excellence in Agency is unlikely to be fully secured. However, as sociable beings, collective agency is important to healthy human functioning (Bandura, 2006). As such, encouraging collective decision making with positive role models (i.e., through mentoring processes) could reduce the need for individuals to rely on their street gang peers.

Power and control

Powerful individuals experience less constraints when attempting to achieve their goals (Dubois et al., 2015), as power expedites the progression from intentions to actions (Galinsky et al., 2003). With increased control over the situation and others, powerful individuals experience a greater sense of agency than their powerless counterparts (Fast et al., 2008; Whitson et al., 2013). Past research has demonstrated that individuals with feelings of powerlessness are at an increased risk of joining a street gang (Carlie, 2002). Specifically, street gangs enable members to establish a sense of control and power over both their own lives and other people (Sharkey et al., 2011). Supporting this, participants discussed how street gang membership made them feel “*quite powerful!*” (Participant 14):

“I like to be a little God where nobody knows who I am, but they know who I am that’s the thing... I’ve got the power, I’ve got everything” (Participant 17).

Furthermore, participants discussed how belonging to a street gang enabled them to manipulate others into behaving in a manner that benefitted them. For instance, Participant 9 outlined how he sought out new members for the street gang and manipulated them into engaging in offending behavior:

“I got a new friend... I can change him. I can get him doing what I want him to do, like you know, let’s make money together”.

By using personal power to achieve their goals, albeit through the manipulation of peers, participants attempted to fulfil the primary good of Excellence in Agency (Purvis et al., 2013). To retain a sense of power and control when engaging in street gang interventions, a collaborative approach should be utilized, whereby the service user and therapist work together to establish future goals and strategies to achieve these (Selekman, 2017). This will support service users in achieving the primary good of Excellence in Agency; encouraging desistance from street gangs (McNeill & Weaver, 2010).

Status and respect

Wojciszke et al. (2009) suggest the concepts of agency, status and respect are interrelated. Displaying agency is key in obtaining both status and respect, whilst an individual’s status gives an insight into their agentic skills. For instance, higher status individuals are perceived as having more agentic skills. Particularly in individualistic cultures, demonstrating agency enhances the likelihood of being respected by others (Dubois & Beauvieux, 2005). The desire for status and respect has been frequently cited as a motivating factor for joining street gangs (e.g., Woo et al., 2015; Wood & Alleyne, 2010). In areas where street gangs are common place, young people admire the status and respect members receive; encouraging them to join street gangs (Alleyne & Wood, 2010). This process was clearly described by Participant 12:

“The lifestyle they had [gang members], the nice cars, jewelry, that’s what I wanted... that was the best way to get your name ringing, the status, people respecting you”.

Participants expressed that engagement in a street gang gained them respect and status both within the street gang and from the wider community. Consistent with the previous theme, gaining status and respect was associated with the use of coercive power (i.e., the threat or use of violence, including weapons and fighting):

“I would have started rumbling with you... that was all about, I would say, respect, it was about getting respect” (Participant 9).

“Just doing bad stuff... it’s exciting cos all the perks that come with it, you’re known, you’ve got like a status... I remember one of the olders gave me my first knife, it was like I’ve made it, they respected me enough to give me it” (Participant 12).

As agentic skills are necessary for achieving status and respect (Wojciszke et al., 2009), this suggests street gang involvement occurs in an attempt to fulfil the primary good of Excellence in Agency. However, membership in prosocial groups (e.g., Scouts, Cadets) can enable the achievement of both status and respect, therefore it is questionable why individuals choose to belong to street gangs (Goldman et al., 2014). Grabowski and Stohl (2010) suggests this may be due to the inaccessibility of prosocial groups to lower socioeconomic classes, who are most at risk of joining street gangs. As such, to enable individuals to fulfil Excellence in Agency without relying on street gangs, interventions must address the structural barriers preventing engagement in prosocial activities. Supporting this, past research has found access to prosocial activities contributes to the decision to exit from a street gang (Carson, 2018).

Leadership

Participating in leadership roles can be viewed as an expression of agency, with individuals engaging in assertive actions, including voicing personal opinions,

gaining control and power, challenging others and exercising upward influence (Grant & Parker, 2009; Grant et al., 2011). Half of participants discussed achieving the primary good of Excellence in Agency by taking on leadership roles within the street gang. Responsibilities of street gang leaders included encouraging peers to engage in crime and being responsible for making offence-related plans:

“I’ve always been a level up from doing what they’re doing... I used to be a bad influence on my friends” (Participant 5).

“They used to properly rely on me, I was the head strong go get money sort of thing, so they all used to rely on me to make the plans” (Participant 14).

Having an established leadership is common amongst street gangs, with leaders possessing qualities necessary for the success of street gang related activities (i.e., quick decision-making, physical prowess and persuasiveness; Laverso & Matsueda, 2019). However, the vast majority of individuals involved in street gangs are low-level members (Dmitrieva et al., 2014), meaning they do not achieve the primary good of Excellence in Agency through street gang leadership. This demonstrates that street gang membership is not a homogeneous experience (Bubolz & Lee, 2019; Pyrooz et al., 2014); emphasizing the need for an individualistic and tailored approach to street gang intervention, which can be supported by a GLM approach (Gannon et al., 2011).

Community

Recently, researchers have suggested an evolution in street gangs, from a focus on postcodes to profits (Whittaker et al., 2019). Specifically, in a ten-year follow-up of Pitts’ (2008) report on London street gangs, Whittaker et al. (2019) found a number of key changes: street gang members now appear to have less of an

emotional connection to their local area, are more organized and secretive, are increasingly driven by the desire for financial gain, and focus on expanding their criminal activities outside of their immediate community. As such, street gangs have moved towards a business-based county lines approach, whereby urban street gangs establish and supply a drugs market in rural towns (National Crime Agency, 2016).

Densley (2012) suggests four phases of street gang evolution: *recreation* (socializing with peer group), *criminality* (providing for the peer group through offending behavior), *enterprise* (increased goal-orientation, with crime as a means of achieving these) and *governance* (monopolizing areas to control a market). Yet, some street gangs appear 'rooted' to their local territory and do not evolve to the highest phase of governance (McLean et al., 2018). Decker et al. (2008) propose that the inability of some street gangs to become an organized criminal group is because of their youth and proneness for violence. Although, as an understudied topic, the reason for the lack of evolution of some street gangs remains unclear.

Critically, findings from the current study provide an insight into why some street gangs remain 'rooted' to their local area, whilst others attempt to monopolize a wider market. Specifically, the importance placed by participants on the primary good of Community appears to differ between these two groups. Community refers to the desire to belong to a wider social group, with whom interests and values are shared. In addition to contributing to the wider social group, the group also helps the individual meet their basic needs (Purvis et al., 2013). For the 'rooted' or *home-town* street gangs, a high level of importance is placed on the primary good of Community. In comparison, monopolizing or *county-lines* street gangs neglected the primary good of Community, with this perceived as little or no importance.

Home-town street gangs

Findings from the current study suggest home-town street gang members have a strong desire to fulfil the primary good of Community. Five themes were identified, including: (1) sense of belonging, (2) territoriality, (3) providing for the community, (4) protection from the community, and; (5) status and respect within the community.

Sense of belonging. Home-town street gang members had a strong emotional investment in their local area (as determined by a postcode or school location) and the people connected to it. The combination of an emotional connection to a specific place and the social networks within this area, refers to the concept of belonging (Marzi, 2018). Having a strong sense of belonging positively impacts on wellbeing, with increased happiness, life satisfaction and physical health (O'Brien & Bowles, 2013). Street gang membership enabled participants to have a strong sense of belonging within their community:

“When it comes to my local neighborhood, cos of the gang I was deeply involved in it” (Participant 1).

This is consistent with research that has identified the need for belonging as a factor underlying the desire to join a street gang (Van Ngo et al., 2015), particularly amongst those who have experienced familial breakdown or have not received unconditional love at home (Centre for Social Justice, 2009). The Centre for Social Justice (2009) suggests that marginalized individuals gain a sense of belonging from their wider community. Supporting this, participants spoke of their wider community as family:

“She’s not my mum, but she’s from my community, I love her... I love my community, I’ve seen what they went through, I’ve seen what they had, for the girls I’m like the older brother” (Participant 17).

Thus, street gang membership represents an inappropriate means of achieving the primary good of Community, by enabling a sense of belonging.

Territoriality. Territoriality, or a sense of ownership and control over an area (McLean et al., 2018), is a means used by home-town street gang members in an attempt to secure the primary good of Community. Kintrea et al. (2008) examined the manifestations of territoriality across six British cities, finding territorial behavior emerged most in young people who strongly identified with their neighborhood, had experienced deprivation and had limited available opportunities (Pickering et al., 2011). These were commonly experienced amongst the street gang participants in the current study (see Chapter 8 of this thesis). Having an established territory enables individuals to feel safe and able to trust people within their neighborhood (Holligan & Deuchar, 2009).

However, to achieve the primary good of Community, individuals need to feel that they are contributing towards the social group (Purvis et al., 2013). Sobel and Osoba (2008) suggest that street gangs form as a protective agency in areas with high rates of violence. As such, individuals contribute towards their social group by protecting them from perceived threats. These perceived threats are often ingrained in society, with knowledge of territorial boundaries (based on postcode, train stations or school catchment areas) and rival groups passing from generation to generation (Bannister et al., 2012). This learnt behavior was clearly expressed amongst participants:

“You might inherit it, beef the area has before you, so you from that area and you got beef that they have” (Participant 10).

Although territoriality can increase group cohesion, it is often expressed through violence towards rival groups (Kintrea et al., 2008). Participants discussed violent behavior as an attempt to defend or protect their area:

“The gangs is like between stations, so every station has a gang... defend our territory, run them down, if you gotta kill them, kill them” (Participant 9).

“That’s the whole point of a gang, it was kind of mad, there would be like violence and stuff, people protecting their area” (Participant 13).

Despite street gang membership aiding participants in fulfilling their primary good of Community, engaging in violent territorialism can conflict with the achievement of other primary goods. For instance, engagement in violent behavior risks physical (Life) and psychological (Inner Peace) wellbeing, whilst difficulty accessing other groups’ territories limits employment (Excellence in Work) and educational (Knowledge) opportunities. As such, street gang interventions need to consider the role of territoriality in preventing achievement of primary goods. van Zyl et al. (2017) have recommended the use of positive psychological practices, consistent with the GLM, that aim to reduce the need for territorial behaviors by developing self-identity and self-efficacy.

Providing for the community. In addition to protecting their territory, home-town participants highlighted that belonging to a street gang enabled them to provide for members of their community:

“On my estate, all the mums and dads know me and like they can come to me and ask me for money, they know what I do. They might

be running low on rent... they'll come and say like, can you help us with the rent? Like an' I'll do that" (Participant 1).

"If I see anyone from my community, I'm like their number one support. If they've got problems, I'll sort it out" (Participant 3).

Past research has demonstrated that street gang members have a strong inclination towards providing care for their families and loved ones, with this tending to take the form of financial or material contributions (Villegas, 2020). In addition, street gang members take on the role of 'policing' their local community; ensuring community members are protected from antisocial behavior and rival street gangs (Pattillo, 1998). The extension of care street gang members provide to the wider community makes logical sense. Specifically, the strong emotional connection that street gang members feel towards their community leads to the perception of this as an 'extended family'. As such, the members of their community are as worthy of their care as their immediate family.

To secure the primary good of Community, individuals place themselves under enormous pressure to provide for a wide network of people. By increasing their income (albeit illicitly) through involvement in street gangs, members are more able to provide for their community. Critically, the willingness of community members to accept illicit financial or material goods encourages the perception of street gang membership as a legitimate means of securing the primary good of Community. Therefore, positive local attitudes towards illegal gain can increase the risk of joining a street gang, and requires targeting in community-based interventions (HM Government, 2011).

The emotional connection felt by home-town street gang members to their community, also leads to them trying to improve the area for the younger generation.

Many participants discussed the poverty and societal disorganization they faced as children (see Chapter 8), and their desire for change within their community:

“I try to change things in the area for people growing up so that things are better for them” (Participant 2).

Some participants discussed how their street gang involvement enabled them to pay for community activities that they had missed in their own childhood:

“We bought an ice cream van, we’ve got it in the area, the ice creams are on us, we’re paying” (Participant 17).

“I used to do fireworks displays, barbecues for the area” (Participant 1).

Providing an environment that was safe and pleasurable for the younger generation also appeared to be important to home-town participants. Again, street gang membership enabled them to achieve this by having power over those they perceive as causing trouble in the area:

“Like the crackheads used to come and do their needles and like drop it in the park, I used to beat them up like ‘you fucking dumb? The kids play here’, but if they done it in another area I wouldn’t care”
(Participant 1).

This demonstrates that for home-town participants, street gang membership was used as an inappropriate means of achieving the primary good of Community, by enabling them to provide for the area.

Protection from the community. Interestingly, home-town street gang participants discussed a give and take relationship with their community. Whilst street gang members safeguarded the community against external threats and provided illicit goods, community members afforded them with protection. For

instance, Participant 1 discusses how community members attempted to stop the police from arresting him:

“They [police] started beating me up, all the mums and dads on the estate started coming out of the house... all the mums went crazy and they started lashing out at the officers and then just like from me getting beaten up, like four people, mums and dads got arrested in the process”.

In addition, community members did not report the criminal activities of home-town street gang members to the police:

“These people here, when I was doing all my rubbish, they didn’t call the police on me” (Participant 1).

This protection that street gang members were given, appeared to be a strong indicator that they had successfully achieved their primary good of Community. However, it is questionable why community members hold positive views towards street gangs, perhaps because of the illicit goods they receive, or if they fear the repercussions of reporting or not helping street gang members (Bania & Heath, 2016). As community responses to street gangs can either encourage or discourage involvement, future research should attempt to untangle the views of community members towards street gangs.

Status and respect within the community. As discussed previously, having status and respect are important to street gang members and can aid in achieving the primary good of Excellence in Agency. However, gaining status and respect can also assist in fulfilling the primary good of Community. Having a sense of community relates to feeling important, valued and respected within the social group (Mahar et al., 2013), which is particularly important to those with a strong emotional

connection to their neighborhood. Street gang membership can be perceived as a means of achieving this, with frequent engagement in status-enhancing behaviors within their community (e.g., enacting territorial and violent behavior, demonstrating wealth through expensive cars and attire; Gravel et al., 2016). In combination with their continued presence on the streets, these behaviors allow street gang members to become ‘known’ within their community.

Being recognized within their community makes home-town participants feel appreciated and valued, which are associated with having secured the primary good of Community. As Participant 12 surmised, being in a street gang enabled him to gain status and recognition from the community:

“Cos I’m in my area, I get shown a lot of love, people give me more than what they would give others”.

Notably, home-town participants discussed the importance of being seen as a “good guy in the neighborhood” (Participant 3). Although this is contradictive of the offending and violent behaviors associated with street gangs, home-town participants believed community members viewed them positively, due to the protection and care they provide:

“I’m a type of person who likes to help... they say yeah you know that’s a good guy” (Participant 9).

However, it must be noted that community perceptions of home-town participants were not examined in the current study. As such, it is not possible to determine whether home-town members were perceived positively by their community, or if they incorrectly believed this to be the case.

The status and respect afforded to home-town participants empowered them to be role models within their community:

“I was a kid who the mums and dads [in the area] would say be like him” (Participant 6).

As the status and respect received by home-town participants enabled them to feel they were positively contributing to their social group, this allowed them to secure the primary good of Community (Purvis et al., 2013). Again, this demonstrates the importance of community responses in supporting or resisting the presence of street gangs (Catch22, 2013b).

County lines street gangs

Unlike home-town street gang members, participants that aimed to monopolize a wider market (i.e., county lines street gangs) did not attempt to provide for or protect their community, or have an emotional connection to their neighborhood. Furthermore, as the county lines participants were focused on financial gain, they attempted to stay under the radar of police. As such, county lines participants appeared to be less violent, territorial and interested in gaining status and respect than their home-town counterparts. Two key themes were identified in county lines participants: (1) lacks sense of community, and; (2) financially territorial.

Lacks sense of community. A recent development in street gangs has been noted, with members increasingly supplying drugs outside of their local area (Coomber & Moyle, 2018). As discussed earlier, Densley (2012) suggests the county lines phenomenon is an attempt to monopolize or control a market. The National Crime Agency (2016) suggests the shift to out-of-town dealing is due to an increased demand for drugs, potential for new customers, and low resistance from competition. However, as found in the current study, not all street gang members engage in county lines activities. The key difference between the home-town participants, who

did not engage in out-of-town dealing, instead focusing on dealing within their local neighborhood, and the county lines participants was the importance placed on the primary good of Community.

Home-town participants expressed a strong sense of belonging and emotional connection to both their local neighborhood and community members.

Comparatively, county lines participants rejected any connection to both the place and the people in their local community:

“I don’t give a fuck about that place [local area]” (Participant 5).

“I don’t give a fuck about anyone to be honest. If they’ve got a problem, they’ve got to deal with it” (Participant 4)

Whilst county lines participants neglect the primary good of Community, they place higher importance on alternative primary goods, including Excellence in Work. Motivated by the desire for increased financial gain, individuals who lack a sense of community may be more willing to travel outside of their local area to deal drugs. As such, this suggests that the failure to pursue the primary good of Community could increase the risk of engaging in county lines activities. Having a strong sense of community within the neighborhood is associated with improved mental health and well-being, feeling safe and developing a secure identity (Farahani, 2016). However, county lines participants reported feeling rejected by their local community, with neighbors not caring about them or reporting them to the police:

“I don’t care about them [people in local area] to be honest, because they don’t care about me” (Participant 4).

“Certain people call the police and so you start having this animosity towards them, like fuck these people and fuck their area. I’m just gonna fuck up your area and watch” (Participant 5).

Although it is not possible to establish causality in this research (i.e., whether neglecting the primary good of Community led to street gang involvement, or vice versa), it must be considered that community rejection for low-level deviant behavior may exacerbate engagement in criminal activity. For instance, when facing rejection from their community, individuals engaging in low-level deviant behavior may join county lines street gangs to regain a sense of connection to a social group. As Participant 7 states: *“having friends is important but not the area”*. This suggests that pursuing the primary good of Community remains an influential factor in street gang involvement.

Financially territorial. Whilst home-town street gang members were highly territorial of their neighborhood, county lines participants lacked this sense of territoriality towards their local community. However, county lines participants were protective of the out-of-town areas they had monopolized:

“I go everywhere, so I don’t care about this area beef... the only thing I care about is if they give me a problem, or if my line has to be turned off” (Participant 8).

Unlike home-town street gang members, county lines participants did not engage in protective or providing roles within their community. This distinction has been reported in past research (Whittaker et al., 2020), with violent behavior shifting from expressive (i.e., displaying street gang identity) to instrumental (i.e., protecting business markets) means. Supporting this, county lines participants did not report engaging in as many episodes of random violent behavior. However, when their

drugs line was under threat, county lines participants would engage in violence to prevent loss of financial capital:

“I’m not going out of my way to intentionally harm somebody, but if somebody gets in the way of my money, phew, you’re putting your life at risk” (Participant 4).

Consistent with McLean et al.’s (2018) suggestions, county lines participants did not appear to have an emotional connection to a community or sense of belonging. Instead, *“it was just a focus on getting money”* (Participant 8). Therefore, county lines participants neglect the primary good of Community, instead focusing on Excellence in Work. It must be considered that the differences between home-town and county lines street gang members identified would require different approaches for intervention. For instance, home-town street gang members need support acknowledging that they are not responsible for protecting and providing for an entire neighborhood. Comparatively, county lines street gang members need assistance developing a prosocial support network; allowing them to achieve the primary good of Community.

Creativity

The primary good of Creativity refers to the desire for novelty and individuality (Purvis et al., 2013). Creativity can be expressed through a number of means and does not require any artistic ability. Two themes were identified: (1) expressing creativity through illegal activity, and; (2) accessing creative opportunities through street gang involvement.

Expressing creativity through illegal activity

Whilst research considering creative self-expression has typically been limited to advances in positive products (e.g., art, literature, engineering), there has

been a growing recognition of a ‘dark side’ of creativity (Cropley et al., 2013). Specifically, the primary good of Creativity can be achieved through planning or producing novel outcomes that are harmful to others (Cropley, 2017). For instance, designing and implementing terrorist acts, creating new (albeit unsafe) drugs, lying, and committing burglary have all been cited as examples of malevolent creativity (Ligon et al., 2017; Taylor, 2017). To the best of the author’s knowledge, to date no research has examined the relationship between malevolent creativity and street gang involvement.

However, past research has found a number of personality traits that are common in those that turn to dark, instead of positive, creativity (e.g., Jonason et al., 2015). Specifically, malevolent creativity is associated with low levels of emotional intelligence, self-control and empathy, and high levels of aggressiveness, impulsivity and psychopathy (Harris, Reiter-Palmon, & Kaufman, 2013; Jonason & Tost, 2010; Jones & Paulhus, 2011; Jonason et al., 2013). These personality traits have all been identified as risk factors for street gang involvement (Carson & Ray, 2019; Dmitrieva et al., 2014; Mallion & Wood, 2018b). This suggests that individuals with these personality traits may be more likely to seek out malevolent means of achieving the primary good of Creativity, including through street gang membership.

Supporting this, participants discussed achieving the primary good of Creativity by engaging in street gang-related behaviors. Novelty was expressed through creating drugs and county lines, planning fights and robberies, and “*coming up with ideas that other dealers haven’t*” (Participant 16):

“I was brilliant at creating drugs and shooting off new ways of getting drugs from London to maybe up North somewhere”

(Participant 1).

“You know crack’s meant to be white? I turned it green and red for Christmas!” (Participant 7).

“Creativity was all about fighting, that’s how I used to create fights, I tried being creative you know started planning and stuff” (Participant 9).

In addition, creative ability is critical in entrepreneurship, with the transformation of innovative ideas into a profitable business (Gottschalk, 2010). Developing deviant entrepreneurial skills was identified as important to street gang members, with the generation of novel ideas perceived as a method of becoming a more successful criminal. As such, it can be considered that street gang membership is utilized as a direct and deviant means of achieving the primary good of Creativity.

Accessing creative opportunities through street gang involvement

The previous section suggests that street gang membership was a direct means of expressing creativity. However, an alternative perspective is that associating with a street gang simply provides members with an opportunity to access creative endeavors, which would otherwise have been limited. As Cropley et al. (2013) suggests, this is an example of how offending behavior indirectly occurs in the pursuit of creativity. For example, participants discussed their desire to create and produce their own music. As associating with street gang peers enables easy access to recording studios and contact with influential (albeit deviant) artists (Pinkney & Robinson-Edwards, 2018), street gang membership provided participants with the opportunity to pursue the primary good of Creativity:

“I used to go to the studio a lot with friends, used to rap, I used to go a lot, three to four times a week, five hours a day” (Participant 10).

“I made music... we would go to the studio and make a tune. One of my friends had a studio so we’d just go there, chill there” (Participant 12).

Although controversial, participating in drill and rap music has been related to increased street gang engagement (Irwin-Rogers & Pinkney, 2017), with the creation of music facilitating a shared sense of identity among members (Lozon & Bensimon, 2014). For the majority of participants, producing drill and rap music was viewed as an ideal means of expressing their creative skills. However, with many influential drill and rap artists involved in street gangs, and lyrics supportive of a deviant lifestyle, individuals may perceive membership as necessary for creative success (Kleinberg & McFarlane, 2019).

In particular, participating in street gang-related offending provides a narrative which can be expressed through music (Yancy & Hadley, 2012). Supporting this, participants noted how street gang involvement provided them with a story to use when creating their music:

“It’s all drill music talking about killing people and stabbing people... my music I talk about what I’ve been through, what I’ve seen and what I’m gonna do... I talk about shooting people”
(Participant 4).

Whilst lyrical expression appears important for participants, so too is recognition of their creative success (Pinkney & Robinson-Edwards, 2018). Belonging to a street gang provides members with peer validation and recognition of their creative ability (Pinkney & Robinson-Edwards, 2018). Importantly, participants noted that the end goal of creative success was more important than the narrative devised through street gang membership:

“It’s inciting violence, but that’s the only opportunity for people with that type of creativity to do something good with their life, because once you’ve made a good tune, alright it might be inciting violence, but once you’ve got a certain amount of views you get paid”

(Participant 12).

This demonstrates that through increased access to recording studios, contact with influential (but often deviant) artists, development of a narrative and peer recognition, street gang membership provides a maladaptive opportunity for members to achieve the primary good of Creativity.

Relatedness

The primary good of Relatedness refers to the desire to develop warm and affectionate connections with others (including romantic relationships, intimate family relationships, and close friendships). Three themes were identified: (1) close friendships with street gang peers; (2) financial and material affection, and; (3) difficulty maintaining long-term romantic relationships.

Close friendships with street gang peers

Purvis et al. (2013) suggest the primary good of Relatedness can be fulfilled by forming close, platonic friendships. As such, belonging to a street gang may enable individuals to fulfil the primary good of Relatedness. Specifically, street gangs are formed from groups of friends with common goals (i.e., need for belonging and protection; Bannister et al., 2010) and are a source of social and emotional support (Wood, 2014). This closeness was further exemplified by participants who compared their street gang peers to family:

“I don’t have friends, I see people as family innit, like close, we’re a close group, we just call each other brothers... everyone thinks they

are just some heartless dudes but we actually look after each other”

(Participant 5).

“You don’t think of it as a gang, just think you’re a family”

(Participant 16).

The majority of participants cited feelings of abandonment and rejection from their family, as a reason for needing street gang peers. This is consistent with past research that suggests a lack of parental support or supervision, poor caregiver attachment, or parental loss contributes to street gang involvement (Esbensen et al., 2009; Gilman et al., 2014). This suggests that individuals who lack warm and affectionate familial relationships may instead achieve this through street gang membership (Lenzi et al., 2014). This was clearly highlighted by Participant 10, who identified his street gang peers as his main source of warmth and affection:

“When you are outside the group you turn cold, you come back in and you are warm” (Participant 6).

Thus, for those who lack prosocial relationships, a street gang provides an alternative means of securing the primary good of Relatedness. However, the bonds that street gang members form with each other are likely to be temporary, short-term relationships. By their nature, street gangs tend to be fluid, with members frequently entering and leaving the group (Disley & Liddle, 2016; Esbensen, 2015). As these relationships are at constant risk of being lost, the primary good of Relatedness is only pseudo-secured. When considering interventions, it is important to note that members are unlikely to leave a street gang until an alternative social group has been established (Hastings et al., 2011). Therefore, any intervention for street gang members should aid in the development of a prosocial support network.

Financial and material affection

Activities that represent the primary good of Relatedness include establishing affectionate bonds with, and emotionally caring for others (Purvis et al., 2013).

However, individuals who join street gangs have more difficulty expressing their emotions than their non-gang counterparts (Mallion & Wood, 2018a), leading to difficulty emotionally connecting with others. As such, individuals attempt to secure the primary good of Relatedness by demonstrating their affection through the provision of material commodities (Villegas, 2020). Supporting this, participants discussed how they demonstrated their love for others:

“That’s one thing about me, I never could show love, I was always buying them stuff, giving them money, that’s it” (Participant 10).

“I buy my mum flowers, cards, chocolates, champagne, and I like the expensive stuff as well... seventeen hundred pound a bottle”
(Participant 4).

“I will give you some love. I can give you a fine car, you want one, let me get that Rolls Royce” (Participant 9).

In addition, participants cited that they secured the primary good of Relatedness by ensuring close others were financially secure:

“I’m like Robin Hood, I thief from the rich to feed the poor. Even though you’re harming other people, you’re trying to provide for your family... it doesn’t matter what I take from them, they’ve got more and we have nothing” (Participant 4).

“When it came to my people, I had to look after them if they had no money... I pay my mum’s mortgage, I pay her rent, everything for the house” (Participant 7).

In situations where individuals experience poverty or unemployment (Pyrooz & Sweeten, 2015), money derived from street gang involvement enables the purchases of material goods and provision of financial support for others (Augustyn et al., 2019). However, providing protection and material goods is unlikely to enable the primary good of Relatedness to be fully secured, as an emotional connection with others remains lacking. Furthermore, street gang membership represents an inappropriate means of securing the primary good of Relatedness, as membership puts close others at threat of harm. For instance, Participant 11 discussed the danger his family experienced due to his street gang involvement:

“I just worry about myself, my friends, my family. Something I don’t really talk about but when I was 14... they [rival gang] shot through my door, my little sister got shot”.

Difficulty maintaining long-term romantic relationships

Developing secure, long-term romantic relationships is key in attaining the primary good of Relatedness (Purvis et al., 2013). Past research has found secure romantic relationships are associated with increased well-being, life satisfaction and happiness (e.g., Blekesaune, 2018; Zhu et al., 2018). However, Wood et al. (2017) speculate that street gang members’ perspectives on relationship formation are distorted, due to insecure childhood attachments to caregivers. Supporting this, participants had difficulty trusting their romantic partners; fearing they would be unfaithful to them:

“Me I find it hard to trust people, there’s no trust in our relationship”
(Participant 10).

Furthermore, forming secure, long-term romantic relationships is problematic when individuals prescribe to gendered sexual norms (i.e., males have insatiable

sexual desires, whilst females should be sexually available; Dickson-Gomez et al., 2017). Adolescence is the period during which gendered sexual norms are internalized, with peers playing an influential role in establishing which norms should be accepted (Kreager et al., 2016). With gendered sexual norms common among street gang members, intimate relationships tend to be short-term sexual encounters, rather than meaningful and secure (as seen in ‘Access to Sexual Relationships’). Dickson-Gomez et al. (2017) suggests this protects the cohesion of the street gang, as competition over attention and loyalty would occur if members were in committed romantic relationships. Supporting this, participants placed the needs of the street gang above their romantic relationships:

“I was in love with one girl... ah... bless her, we broke up because of who I am” (Participant 17).

Critically, adherence to gender norms is also associated with perpetration of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV; Lundgren & Amin, 2015). Past research has found male street gang members are more likely to commit IPV than their non-gang counterparts (Ulloa et al., 2012), with coercive and aggressive behavior particularly common (Wesche & Dickson-Gomez, 2019). Such behaviors demonstrate a conflict between the primary goods of Agency and Relatedness: relationship quality is reduced by an individual attempting to control their partner in order to feel empowered (Langlands et al., 2009). IPV was common amongst participants, with violent perpetration limiting fulfilment of the primary good of Relatedness:

“I was just lashing it out on her and I’ve done a lot of things to her, do you know what I’m saying? I’ve cheated on her, I hit her and things like that and she had to leave me” (Participant 14).

Street gangs provide an environment that is acceptive of the gendered sexual norms discussed. As such, for individuals that prescribe to these norms, street gangs may be perceived as an opportunity for achieving the primary good of Relatedness, with membership making access to sexual relationships easier. Despite this, most street gang participants desired a committed relationship:

“I just wanna be normal, like everyone else. Decent job, girlfriend, go about life in a positive way” (Participant 6).

“Obviously I want a girlfriend and that, but you know how people act cool? You might think this is weird. You know how people want a buff girlfriend and blah, blah, blah, I ain’t really into all that... I just want a normal person, yeah just a normal person” (Participant 5).

However, the lack of trust, equality and shared emotional attachment prevented street gang members from achieving the primary good of Relatedness through romantic relationships (Purvis et al., 2013). As Participant 1 surmises: *“I guess there’s no love but more intimacy”*. By targeting gendered sexual norms through early intervention strategies, this could support individuals in forming secure, long-term relationships (Dickson-Gomez et al., 2017; Nydegger et al., 2016). With relationships acting as a protective factor, this could reduce the need to engage in street gangs.

Inner Peace

The final primary good, Inner Peace, refers to feeling free of emotional distress, being able to manage one’s own emotions, and having the capacity to identify and respond effectively to others emotions (Purvis et al., 2013). A number of inappropriate and antisocial strategies for achieving the primary good of Inner Peace have been identified to date. These include forming deviant groups to

overcome rejection from prosocial peers, accessing drugs and alcohol for emotional relief, and carrying weapons to alleviate fear (Purvis et al., 2011). In the current study, three themes were identified: (1) coping with bullying; (2) expression of negative emotions, and; (3) access to substances for emotional relief.

Coping with bullying

Bullying refers to the engagement in repeated harmful acts towards another, either directly (e.g., hitting and pushing) or indirectly (e.g., spreading rumors and intentionally excluding someone), in order to achieve a sense of power (Solberg et al., 2007). Bullying is a prominent social issue particularly prevalent in schools (Hong & Espelage, 2012), which leads to a range of aversive emotions (e.g., anger and fear) and mental health issues (e.g., depression and anxiety) for both perpetrators and victims (Hutzell & Payne, 2012; Turner et al., 2015). Past research has demonstrated that bullies are more likely to become members of a street gang, than their non-bully counterparts (Bradshaw et al., 2013; DeCamp & Newby, 2015; Viljoen et al., 2005). This is unsurprising as similar means are used by both bullies and street gang members in an attempt to fulfil their primary goods (e.g., controlling and manipulative behavior to achieve Agency).

Longitudinal research has established a causal relationship between bullying and street gang involvement. In addition to those who bully others, both victims (those that have experienced, but not perpetrated bullying) and bully-victims (those that have both experienced and perpetrated bullying) are at an increased risk of joining a street gang, compared to their uninvolved counterparts (Shelley & Peterson, 2019). Interestingly, Shelley and Peterson (2019) found those most at risk of street gang involvement are bully-victims. Supporting this, participants were more likely to have been a bully-victim, than solely a bully or a victim:

“I was bullied... getting beaten up and after the age of 13 I started beating them... that was my life changing point” (Participant 17).

Prosocial peer rejection occurs as a result of both perpetrating (i.e., due to delinquency, lack of self-control and aggressiveness) and experiencing (i.e., perceived as unpopular, association with bullied peers increases risk of victimization) bullying (Sentse et al., 2017; Swearer & Hymel, 2015). To overcome the negative emotional states associated with bullying (e.g., moral disengagement and fear for safety) and peer rejection (e.g., loneliness, low self-esteem and depression), individuals may join a deviant peer group where prosocial opportunities are unavailable (Shelley & Peterson, 2019). This was clearly experienced by participants:

“I think that I would’ve had a lonely life... I’d rather have shit friends than no friends” (Participant 14).

Street gang membership provides emotional support, social relationships and an environment in which negative emotions can be easily expressed (Apel & Burrow, 2010; Valdebenito et al., 2017) As such, street gang membership represents an inappropriate means of securing the primary good of Inner Peace, particularly for individuals that have perpetrated and/or experienced bullying. Therefore, early prevention and intervention strategies targeting bullying behavior may reduce the need for individuals to join street gangs (Salmivalli, 2010).

Expression of negative emotions

Negative emotions, including anger, sadness and frustration, are normal reactions to life events (McIntyre et al., 2019), with expressing and controlling how one feels essential for securing the primary good of Inner Peace (Purvis et al., 2013). Being able to effectively regulate these emotions (i.e., having control over the

experience and expression of emotions) is essential for maintaining healthy social relationships and wellbeing (Chervonsky & Hunt, 2017). Conversely, poor emotion regulation increases the risk of bully-victim behaviors, violence, mental illness and poor familial relationships (English et al., 2013; Golmaryami et al., 2015; Robertson et al., 2014); all of which are associated with street gang involvement (Bradshaw et al., 2013; Gilman et al., 2014).

Past research has demonstrated that street gang members have poorer emotion regulation skills and are more likely to express negative emotions outwardly (i.e., towards others), than their non-gang counterparts (Lemus & Johnson, 2008). In addition, street gang members are more likely to displace their aggression, whereby they act aggressively towards an uninvolved target (Vasquez et al., 2012). This occurs because the initial provocateur is unavailable or more powerful than themselves (Scott et al., 2015). This was highlighted by participants, who engaged in aggressive behaviors towards others in an attempt to secure the primary good of Inner Peace:

“I just used to stab people, even though my Grandad got stabbed and killed, I just thought it’d make the pain go away” (Participant 4).

“Just punching and that, it keeps you calm” (Participant 5).

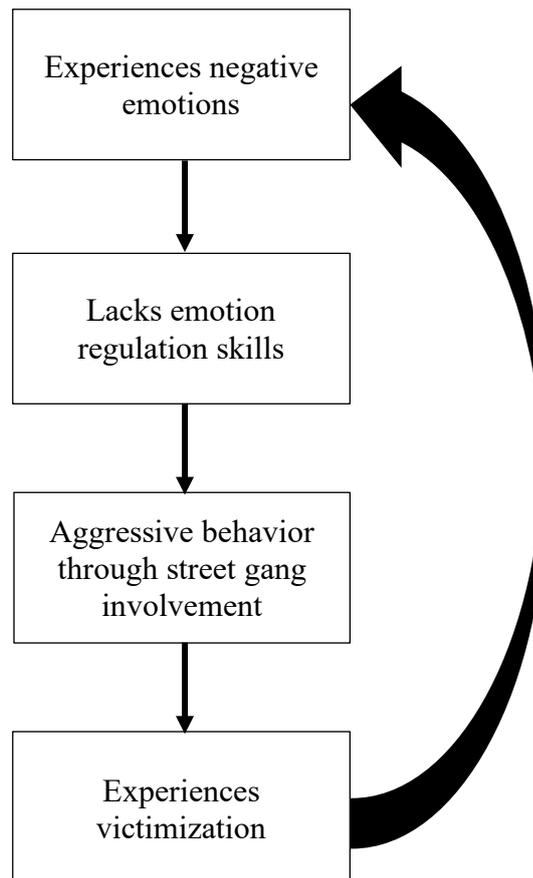
For individuals with poor emotion regulation skills, a street gang provides an environment that is acceptive of outward displays of negative emotions. For instance, coping with negative emotions, such as anger or sadness, by behaving aggressively towards others is both accepted and encouraged by street gangs (Ang et al., 2012). In comparison, expressing negative emotions through aggressive behavior is viewed as dysfunctional and discouraged by the wider society (DeWall & Richman, 2011). Therefore, individuals with poor emotion regulation skills may be

drawn to the street gang environment as a means of expressing their negative emotions.

However, it is unlikely that individuals will effectively secure the primary good of Inner Peace through street gang membership. As demonstrated in Figure 7.1, individuals may join a street gang as an outlet to express their negative emotions through aggressive behavior. Yet, acting aggressively towards others increases their risk of victimization (Wu & Pyrooz, 2015), particularly through revenge attacks from rival gangs. In turn, street gang members experience an increase in negative emotions, including anger and fear. As they have poor emotion regulation skills, a cycle occurs, whereby members continue to express their negative emotions through aggressive behavior, with the support of their street gang peers.

Figure 7.1

Diagram showing a cycling effect when using street gang membership as a means of achieving Inner Peace.



Critically, the cycle experienced by street gang members has a negative long-term impact on achieving the primary good of Inner Peace. Specifically, the increased exposure to violence and victimization results in poorer mental wellbeing (Wood & Dennard, 2017). However, as street gang members lack an alternative means of expressing their negative emotions, they become increasingly embedded and reliant on their street gang peers in order to achieve their primary good of Inner Peace. This was clearly explained by Participant 1:

“A lot of people were dying, the worrying was just so bad, I guess we just managed it by staying together... we helped each other to cope”.

Access to substances for emotional relief

Previously, it was discussed how belonging to a street gang increased access to illegal substances, which members used to manage physical pain. Past research has also identified that illegal substances are frequently used by street gang members to cope with negative emotions and mental health issues (Macfarlane, 2019). Mental health issues (including PTSD, anxiety, and psychosis) and substance misuse are more prevalent amongst street gang members than their non-gang counterparts (Coid et al., 2013; Wood & Dennard, 2017), often as a product of childhood maltreatment, trauma and social disadvantage (Coid et al., 2020). As street gang members lack the coping skills necessary to effectively manage mental health issues (McDaniel, 2012), illegal substances represent an inappropriate means of attempting to fulfil the primary good of Inner Peace:

“Smoke weed, it just calms your mind, like when you don’t smoke you have stress” (Participant 8).

“I would try to block it out, I just try to blank it out so the negative thought would come in and I just try to keep it away, normally I would smoke (cannabis)” (Participant 6).

“I think cannabis is a good thing because when I smoke it I’m prone to be less violent or angry with people” (Participant 1).

However, the relationship between substance misuse, mental health issues and street gang involvement is complex. Whilst both substance misuse and mental health issues have been identified as risk factors for joining a street gang (O’Brien et al., 2013), these can also be perpetuated by street gang involvement (Raby & Jones,

2016; Whitesell et al., 2013). Specifically, supporting SLT (Bandura, 1977), individuals learn to use illegal substances as a coping strategy by observing and interacting with deviant peers:

“I always used drugs to keep calm and all that. Most of my friends are loose cannons, drugs just help them settle their minds and that, just smoking a spliff or sipping lean” (Participant 5).

Furthermore, increased access to illegal substances, alongside exposure to street gang-related violence, raises the likelihood that an individual would develop mental health issues (Beresford & Wood, 2016). This demonstrates that participants perceived street gang membership as enabling them to secure access to illegal substances to cope with negative emotions. However, due to the harmful consequences of substance misuse, this represents an ineffective means of achieving the primary good of Inner Peace. As such, prevention and intervention strategies should aim to help individuals develop effective coping strategies and manage any mental health issues (Nydegger et al., 2019).

Discussion

The pursuit of primary goods is inherently normal and intrinsically beneficial (Ward & Brown, 2004), with the fulfilment of these leading to a meaningful life (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Offenders and non-offenders do not differ in this regard; however, they do differ in the *means* used in an attempt to fulfil primary goods (Willis et al., 2013). The current study is the first to qualitatively explore the pursuit of primary goods through street gang involvement. Findings indicate that street gang membership represents an inappropriate and harmful means used in an attempt to achieve primary goods. As Participant 6 clearly described, *“the group is just a stepping stone”* used to fulfil the primary goods.

Street gang involvement was perceived by members as enabling the achievement of each of the primary goods. For example, street gang involvement allowed feelings of success, power and freedom from authority, which members perceived as indicative of attaining Excellence in Agency. However, street gang members faced continuous threat to their primary goods through risk of incarceration and victimization. As such, primary goods attained via the means of street gang membership are, at best, 'pseudo-secured' (Purvis, 2010). Therefore, street gang members are likely to experience a life that is unfulfilling and lacking in meaning, with primary goods not secured in the long-term.

Whilst the findings indicate that each of the 11 primary goods could be pursued through street gang involvement, for some participants disregard of primary goods led to offending behavior. For instance, a *lack of self-care* increased participants willingness to expose themselves to dangerous situations, *limited aspirations* led to a focus on immediate gain, and a *poor sense of community* meant county lines street gang members turned to deviant peers for a sense of belonging. This supports the GLM assumption that a lack of scope in an individual's Good Lives plan leads to difficulty obtaining primary goods through prosocial means (Ward & Fortune, 2013). This suggests that street gang interventions, utilizing a GLM approach, should support the development of well-balanced Good Lives plans, whereby all primary goods are attended to.

Ward and Maruna (2007) suggest a lack of scope occurs either as a product of apathy towards the primary good, or due to issues in capacity. Supporting this proposition, street gang members were found to experience obstacles in both external and internal capacity. Consistent with past research (e.g., Pyrooz & Sweeten, 2015; Wood & Alleyne, 2010), street gang membership was predominantly

utilized as a means of achieving primary goods when prosocial opportunities were unavailable or inaccessible, often due to unemployment, poor academic attainment and community disorganization. Regarding internal obstacles, street gang members had difficulty regulating and expressing their emotions effectively, resulting in violent behavior and substance misuse (see also Mallion & Wood, 2018a; Osman & Wood, 2018).

It was common for participants to experience multiple internal and external obstacles when attempting to fulfil their primary goods. This supports the assumption that having multiple obstacles affecting the attainment of primary goods, increases the risk of offending behavior (Purvis et al., 2011). This is also consistent with the street gang literature, which suggests having multiple criminogenic needs increases engagement in street gangs (Thornberry et al., 2003). By reducing internal and external obstacles, whilst also promoting prosocial attainment of primary goods (Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007), individuals will not need to rely on street gang membership as a means of achieving a fulfilling life. Internal and external obstacles unique to street gang members will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

The primary goods of street gang members were often found to be in conflict, with a lack of both horizontal (i.e., mutually consistent, harmonious relationship between goods) and vertical (i.e., hierarchical clarity between goods; Ward & Stewart, 2003a) coherence in their Good Lives plans. Although coherence in primary goods differed according to the individual, the experience of conflict between some primary goods was commonly observed. For example, the primary goods of Community and Inner Peace were incompatible and not harmoniously related amongst home-town street gang members. Specifically, engagement in violent and

territorial behavior used to achieve a sense of Community, conflicted with the primary good of Inner Peace by reducing mental wellbeing and sense of safety.

Furthermore, a lack of vertical coherence between the primary goods of Relatedness and both Pleasure and Excellence in Work were frequently observed. In particular, the primary good of Relatedness was often perceived as the most important primary good to street gang members. However, with focus placed on achieving the primary goods of Pleasure or Excellence in Work, relationships with loved ones were neglected. Ward and Stewart (2003b) suggest a lack of coherence in an individual's Good Lives plan leads to the prioritization of immediate gratification over long-term goals, which has been identified as a risk factor for street gang involvement (Wood & Alleyne, 2010). As such, interventions for street gang members should support the development of a harmonious Good Lives plan, which encourages the attainment of all primary goods (Ward & Maruna, 2007).

Findings suggest that street gang membership can be a direct (deliberate) or indirect (unintentional) pathway to securing primary goods. As an example of the direct pathway, street gang membership was actively pursued as a 'career choice' by some participants; enabling the attainment of Excellence in Work. Comparatively, the indirect pathway was followed by some participants in their attempt to attain Inner Peace. Specifically, a rippling effect occurred after rejection from prosocial peer groups, whereby negative emotional states and poor coping strategies resulted in street gang involvement. Ward and Maruna (2007) suggest interventions should identify whether offending occurred as a result of direct or indirect pathways, as approaches to treatment differ. Those that follow the direct route to offending require more assistance with offence-supportive cognitions, whereas individuals that follow

the indirect route to offending require support identifying factors that led to their offending behavior (Gannon et al., 2011).

Summary

Findings from this chapter suggest the assumptions of the GLM are successfully upheld in a street gang sample. Each of the 11 primary goods were present in the Good Lives conceptions of street gang participants. Obstacles in scope, coherence and capacity resulted in difficulty attaining these through prosocial means. As such, street gang membership was utilized as an inappropriate means of achieving primary goods. However, as primary goods of street gang participants were continuously under threat, these were (at best) pseudo-secured. Furthermore, street gang membership occurred as a result of both direct and indirect pathways to attaining primary goods. In general, these findings support the application of a GLM-based intervention to street gang members, which is discussed further in Chapter 9. Chapter 8 will now examine the obstacle of capacity in further detail. Specifically, the research question, ‘how do obstacles in external and internal capacity compare between street gang members and non-gang offenders?’, will be examined.

Chapter 8

“Who wants to live that life?” Differences between Street Gang and Non-Gang Offenders on Internal and External Obstacles.

Within the UK prison system, generic interventions are provided to offenders that aim to change thinking, attitudes and behaviors which could lead to recidivism (Ministry of Justice, 2020b). For example, Resolve, an intervention for adult males at a medium to high risk of violent reoffending, utilizes cognitive-behavioral techniques to address offence-supportive thinking (Kemshall et al., 2015). These interventions are typically provided to both street gang and non-gang offenders. However, it can be speculated that, due to their experiences within an offending group, the needs of street gang and non-gang offenders will differ. As such, interventions that target all offenders may not be appropriate and/or sufficient at targeting the criminogenic needs of street gang offenders. In the GLM, criminogenic needs are synonymous with obstacles in internal and external capacity which prevent prosocial attainment of primary goods. Therefore, this chapter aims to examine the question: ‘how do obstacles in internal and external capacity compare between street gang members and non-gang offenders?’. Findings will be summarized according to the five key risk domains identified in past research (Lenzi et al., 2014): (1) Individual, (2) School, (3) Peer, (4) Family, and (5) Community.

Findings

Interviews conducted with 17 street gang members and 13 non-gang offenders (whose characteristics are described in Chapter 6) will be used as the data, with quotes from participants given as evidence. Findings regarding internal and external obstacles are categorized according to each of the five risk domains. It must

be noted that some internal and external obstacles overlap with multiple risk domains. To avoid repetition these have been reported only once. Furthermore, some obstacles (e.g., lack of self-care) were identified in Chapter 7 as factors leading to street gang membership. Again, to avoid repetition, these have not been reported in this chapter.

Individual Domain

At the individual level, a number of internal obstacles were identified, including mental health issues, poor emotion recognition and regulation, lack of coping strategies, low self-esteem, conduct disorder, impulsivity, moral disengagement, and anti-authority attitudes.

Mental Health

A growing body of research has identified high rates of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) among street gang members (Mendez et al., 2020; Wood et al., 2017), who are twice as likely to meet the diagnostic criteria than their non-gang counterparts (Harris, Elkins et al., 2013). Kerig et al. (2016) suggest a reciprocal relationship between trauma and street gang membership: experiencing trauma during childhood increases the likelihood of engaging with a street gang, whilst involvement in street gang-related offending equally increases the odds of experiencing a traumatic event. As such, trauma exposure and symptoms of PTSD can be considered both risks for, and consequences of, street gang membership. As discussed in more detail later in this chapter (see Community), compared to non-gang offenders, street gang members experience disproportionate levels of exposure to, and engagement in, violence (Barnes et al., 2012; Bocanegra & Stolbach, 2012), which is associated with poor mental health outcomes (Coid et al., 2013; Kelly et al., 2012). This was confirmed in the current study, with street gang participants

reporting more exposure to and perpetration of violence, resulting in PTSD symptomology:

“I got stabbed and shot before... I’ve still got that vision in my head”

(Participant 17: Street Gang).

Wojciechowki (2020) suggests a number of reasons why PTSD *predicts* street gang membership. Firstly, where a traumatic experience violates the individuals’ rights, learned distrust of others impedes the development of healthy, prosocial relationships (Bell et al., 2019; Dekel & Monson, 2010). Where these relationships are unattainable, a street gang can provide an alternative source of social support (as described in Chapter 7; Brezina & Azimi, 2018). Second, in order to protect themselves from further victimization, individuals with PTSD live in a continuous state of ‘fight’ or ‘flight’, whereby neutral events are often interpreted as a threat (Fani et al., 2012; Lanius et al., 2017). Although seemingly counterintuitive, members often believe the street gang provides them with protection and a sense of safety (Hogg, 2014; Raby & Jones, 2016); explaining why membership may appeal to individuals with PTSD. Finally, dissociative episodes, which are common among individuals with PTSD, lead to difficulty in establishing and maintaining a strong sense of personal identity (Ringrose, 2018). By joining a street gang, this can aid individuals in developing a shared sense of identity (Tanti et al., 2011); enabling them to understand their place in a complex world.

Consistent with past research, street gang participants were more likely than their non-gang counterparts to describe traumatic experiences and symptoms of PTSD that occurred *prior* to engagement in offending behavior. In particular, street gang participants often experienced a traumatic loss of a close relative, which was viewed as a turning point leading to their street gang involvement. Being able to

express anger and grief due to traumatic loss has recently been identified as a ‘pull’ factor for street gang involvement (Dierkhising et al., 2019). This was described by Participant 4, whose traumatic loss of his Grandfather led to street gang involvement in an ineffective attempt to express his grief:

“The stuff that I went through as a kid, it traumatized me. My Granddad got murdered when I was 10 and he was my father figure in life. That’s what started it all off for me. I always get flashbacks of that. I can’t sleep at all... I just used to just rob everyone and laugh about it and stab people. Even though my granddad got stabbed and killed. I just thought it’d make the pain go away, but it didn’t”

(Participant 4: Street Gang).

Recent research has identified that street gang members are more likely than non-gang offenders to experience anxiety and psychosis (Wood & Dennard, 2017; Wood et al., 2017). Contradicting this, anxiety was prevalent in both street gang and non-gang participants:

“I get anxiety. I get lost in the thought itself, to make it go, to make it disappear it’s hard for me” (Participant 6: Street Gang).

“I suffer very badly with anxiety and I stress so much I suffer from migraines and they’re crippling” (Participant 24: Non-Gang).

Similarly, both street gang and non-gang participants had experience of psychosis and paranoia:

“I’ve got like psychotic episodes... schizophrenia” (Participant 3: Street Gang).

“I was unwell. I was on the phone, telling everybody to put their phone in the drawer and things like that. Getting in a cab and going home thinking people were after me” (Participant 18: Non-Gang).

Past research examining the mental health needs of street gang members has primarily been conducted with community populations (Coid et al., 2013). In comparison, using a prison population means that all participants in the current study, regardless of street gang involvement, must have committed at least one serious offence. As perpetrating a serious offence is known to increase risk of experiencing mental distress (Steinmetz et al., 2019), the high prevalence of anxiety and psychosis across all participants may be due to their engagement in serious offending. In addition, prison populations have extraordinarily high levels of mental illness (e.g., Torrey et al., 2014); explaining why there was no difference found between street gang and non-gang participants.

Critically, Coid et al. (2013) found street gang members were eight times more likely to attempt suicide than their non-gang counterparts. Yet, Coid et al. (2013) also found depression to be lower among street gang than non-gang individuals. Supporting this, depressive symptomology was only expressed by non-gang participants:

“I get times where I’m in a black hole, like I just can’t function because I get depressed.” (Participant 24: Non-Gang).

In addition, suicide attempts were only reported by street gang participants:

“I took an overdose on GHB... I just wanted to hurt myself because I was proper angry with myself and disappointed with myself”
(Participant 14: Street Gang).

It may seem counterintuitive that rates of depression are low among street gang members, whilst suicidal thoughts and attempts are equally high in this population. However, as highlighted by Participant 14 above, suicide attempts can be seen as an externalization of violent ruminations (Madden, 2013), whereby the attempt occurs as a result of anger directed towards oneself. This supports past research finding violent ruminations, characterized by repetitive thoughts surrounding a provoking incident, are more common among street gang than non-gang individuals (Mallion & Wood, 2018a; Vasquez et al., 2012).

A key difference that was observed between street gang and non-gang participants was the level of insight exhibited towards their mental health issues. Non-gang participants were able to recognize the impact that their mental health issues had on daily life, including their ability to succeed in employment:

“The paranoia probably affected me pursuing my career, like ah what if I’m not good enough? There’s always a what if, what if... like my depression... I could always get the job done, but I might just need a kick up the backside to get me started” (Participant 28: Non-Gang).

This suggests that street gang members may require additional assistance with developing an understanding of their mental health needs. This is particularly important as increased knowledge and understanding surrounding mental health issues is associated with higher treatment compliance, reduced relapse and improved functioning (Vallentine et al., 2010; Walker et al., 2013).

Emotional Intelligence

Emotional Intelligence (EI) refers to the ability to recognize, understand and utilize emotional information gained from perceiving one’s own and others’ emotions (Mayer et al., 1999). Past research has identified high EI as a predictive

factor leading to psychological wellbeing, use of adaptive coping skills and life satisfaction (Carmeli et al., 2009; Mavroveli et al., 2007; Resurrección et al., 2014). Furthermore, low EI has consistently been associated with offending behavior (Sharma et al., 2015), with EI decreasing in magnitude in accordance with crime severity (i.e., lowest EI for murder, highest for theft; Megraya, 2015). Recently, research comparing street gang and non-gang incarcerated offenders found low EI predicted street gang involvement (Mallion & Wood, 2018b). Two key components of EI were identified in the current study: emotion recognition and emotion regulation.

Emotion Recognition. Accurately identifying the emotions of others inhibits antisocial behavior (Bowen et al., 2013). Specifically, if an individual is unable to recognize they are causing harm to others (i.e., through expressions of fear, sadness or anger), they are more likely to continue engaging in that behavior (Hubble et al., 2015). As such, emotion recognition can be perceived as the initial step in empathizing with others (Besel & Yuille, 2010). Past research has found street gang members have more difficulty recognizing emotions and empathizing with others, than their non-gang counterparts (Mallion & Wood, 2018a; Lenzi et al., 2014; Salas-Wright et al., 2012). Supporting this, difficulties in recognizing the emotions of others were only expressed by street gang participants:

“You never know what someone is feeling” (Participant 4: Street Gang).

Interestingly, street gang participants reported difficulty in expressing their emotions:

“I had trouble... showing my emotion or showing my way of feeling inside and outside” (Participant 6: Street Gang).

This may be due to difficulties in accurately identifying their own emotions. For example, Participant 6 *“felt cold inside”*. This emotional numbness is characteristic of Alexithymia, a personality trait associated with impairments in identifying one’s own emotions (Bagby et al., 1994), which leads to restricted affect (Aaron et al., 2018). Although not previously examined in street gang participants, violent offenders are more likely to experience Alexithymia than non-offenders (Garofalo et al., 2018). When combined, restricted affect, low empathy and poor emotion recognition are the hallmark of Callous-Unemotional (CU) traits (Allen et al., 2018; Frick et al., 2014). Although controversial, some researchers have identified CU-traits as a risk factor for engaging in street gangs (Goldweber et al., 2011; Thornton et al., 2015). Supporting this, a callous-disregard for others was only demonstrated in street gang participants:

“I’m not interested in people, I don’t care about people like that. There’s a lot I literally don’t care about” (Participant 13: Street Gang).

Emotion Regulation. Compared to non-gang individuals, street gang members are more likely to engage in aggressive and violent behaviors (Decker et al., 2013; Scott, 2018; Tasca et al., 2010). Emotions guide human behavior, meaning the ability to effectively manage and regulate negative emotions (e.g., anger, fear and shame) is essential in preventing aggressive behaviors (Garofalo & Velotti, 2017). Deficits in emotion regulation have consistently been related to offending behavior (García-Sancho et al., 2014, Vazsonyi et al., 2017), particularly where the offence is violent (Tonnaer et al., 2017). Specifically, street gang members are more likely to have difficulty regulating their emotions, than their non-gang peers (Wu & Pyrooz, 2015). The findings of the current study support this; unlike non-gang

participants, the majority of street gang participants reported poor emotion regulation.

“I could be happy one minute, thirty seconds later I could be a raging bull... I’m a Jekyll and Hyde kind of thing” (Participant 1: Street Gang).

“I just didn’t know how to manage my emotions at all, they were always up and down” (Participant 14: Street Gang).

“I was angry for no reason... I can be nice or I could be a real devil... I’m an angry person inside” (Participant 11: Street Gang).

Overall, these findings suggest that street gang members experience more difficulties than their non-gang counterparts in accurately understanding and regulating emotions, which leads to low levels of affect, poor empathy, callous-disregard toward others and aggressive behaviors. Past research that implemented emotion-focused interventions with adolescents successfully reduced anger and aggression, whilst increasing levels of empathy (Castillo et al., 2013). Furthermore, the G.R.E.A.T program includes emotion-focused components which target empathy levels and emotion recognition skills (Esbensen et al., 2011). As discussed in Chapter 1, program attendees were 39% less likely to join a street gang at a one-year follow-up, than the control group (Esbensen et al., 2012). Therefore, interventions for street gang members should include a component aiming to increase emotion recognition and regulation skills.

Coping Strategies

Coping refers to processes that are engaged in response to acute or chronic stressful events (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Coping strategies play a key role in enabling the regulation of emotion (Compas et al., 2014). Examples of effective

coping strategies include discussing stressors with others and engaging problem-solving skills. Conversely, ineffective coping strategies include substance misuse, problem avoidance and externalizing emotions through aggression (Downey et al., 2010). Poor coping strategies have been consistently related to antisocial and offending behavior (Aebi et al., 2014; Modecki et al., 2017). In particular, street gang members are less likely than their non-gang counterparts to have effective coping skills (McDaniel, 2012; Thaxton & Agnew, 2017). Consistent with this, street gang participants did not report having **any** effective coping strategies, whilst non-gang participants reported possessing strategies including:

“Running 5K most days, it opens you up for the day. You’re able to think and focus, you haven’t got any distraction because you’ve released that negative energy” (Participant 19: Non-Gang).

“My dad passed away... I had to find some strength to deal with it and it was the pen and paper” (Participant 28: Non-Gang).

It must be noted, however, that whilst non-gang participants reported having some effective coping strategies, they did not always use these and instead relied on negative coping strategies. Substance misuse was a common negative coping strategy employed by both street gang and non-gang participants. Although, street gang participants more likely to use illegal drugs, whilst non-gang participants were more likely to abuse alcohol:

“Smoke weed, it just calms your mind” (Participant 8: Street Gang).

“Me personally I think cannabis is a good thing, because when I smoke it I’m prone to be less violent or angry with people”
(Participant 1: Street Gang).

“I’d drink to block things out. I didn’t even really like alcohol”

(Participant 27: Non-Gang).

Differences between street gang and non-gang participants may be due to the accessibility and normalization of substances. Street gang members are more likely to associate with peers who encourage the use of, and consume, illegal drugs (Harris, Elkins et al., 2013; Sanders, 2012). Comparatively, and as described by Participant 27, it is easier for non-gang individuals to access alcohol:

“I’ve been through so much... and when somebody goes through that it’s easier to pick up a drink. It’s everywhere. It’s legal. Wherever you go there’s shops, you go past pubs, clubs, everywhere it’s alcohol”

(Participant 27: Non-Gang).

Reasons for engaging in substance misuse differed between street gang and non-gang participants. Specifically, non-gang participants viewed their substance misuse as an excuse for their behavior:

“If I drink, it would be escapism... you’ve had a long week and you want a release. Whilst you’re in an altered state you can somewhat be less responsible for your actions” (Participant 19: Non-Gang).

Comparatively, street gang participants reported using drugs as a method of blocking difficult emotions:

“I would try to block it out, I just try to blank it out, so the negative thought would come in and I just try to keep it away. Normally I would smoke... helped to blank it out only for that specific time though, wouldn’t help in the long term” (Participant 6: Street Gang).

Unique to street gang participants was the use of violence as a method of coping with stress and negative emotions:

“I’ve just been beating people up, stabbing people... I just thought it’d make the pain go away” (Participant 4: Street Gang).

“Punching keeps you calm” (Participant 5: Street Gang).

According to General Strain Theory (Agnew, 1992; Agnew & White, 1992), individuals feel negative emotions (i.e., anger and frustration) in response to strain or stressors. Violent behavior acts as a coping strategy because it enables individuals to escape strains or seek revenge against the source of the strain (Schulz, 2016). Agnew (2013) suggests that violent coping mechanisms may result from exposure to specific strains, such as victimization. Street gang members are more likely than their non-gang counterparts to experience violent victimization (Katz et al., 2011; Taylor et al., 2008), which explains why violent coping strategies were only reported among street gang participants. Interventions for street gang members need to increase their repertoire of socially acceptable and effective coping strategies. Compared to non-gang individuals, street gang members are more likely to need support with reducing drug use and violent responding to stressors.

Self-Esteem

Past research concerning the influence of self-esteem on offending behavior has been mixed (Ostrowsky, 2010). For instance, individuals with unstable high self-esteem (i.e., generally positive attitudes towards the self, that fluctuate in response to events/situations; Jordon & Zeigler-Hill, 2018) are more likely to respond violently if their self-image is threatened (Boden et al., 2007; Bushman et al., 2009).

Comparatively, meta-analytic reviews have found low self-esteem is associated with an increased risk of engaging in offending behavior (Mier & Ladny, 2018). The association between self-esteem and street gang membership has remained unclear,

with membership predicted by both high and low self-esteem, dependent on whether the individual takes leadership responsibilities (Dmitrieva et al., 2014).

Self-esteem among street gang participants was generally low, although it must be noted that the current study did not examine the influence of leadership positions on level of self-esteem:

“I just haven’t had the confidence, I’ve always had like self-esteem issues” (Participant 14: Street Gang).

Due to their low self-esteem, street gang participants felt unable to succeed. As Participant 6 (Street Gang) explains *“I thought that gangs was all I can do”*. No issues in self-esteem were reported among non-gang participants. As research concerning the relationship between self-esteem and street gang membership is often contradictory, interventions should be careful when considering including components targeting self-esteem, as inflating an already high self-esteem could do more harm than good.

Interestingly, unlike their non-gang counterparts, street gang participants expressed perfectionist tendencies, characterized by being highly critical of themselves and setting unrealistic standards:

“Even though people tell me, stop it looks good, I can’t. I have to carry on because it doesn’t look good to me” (Participant 4: Street Gang).

“In my work I want perfection. If it doesn’t seem perfect to me, I’m not happy” (Participant 1: Street Gang).

Maladaptive perfectionism refers to heightened focus on the difference between one’s performance and their standards (Rice et al., 2007). Chester et al. (2015) suggest maladaptive perfectionism can lead to increased aggression towards

others. Specifically, individuals that do not have effective coping skills may aggress in an attempt to manage negative emotions they experience when failing to meet standards. To date, this is the first study that has identified perfectionistic traits among street gang members. Further research is needed to examine whether maladaptive perfectionism predicts street gang involvement, among individuals who lack effective coping strategies.

Conduct Disorder

Conduct disorder is characterized by repetitive and persistent behavior which violates social norms and/or the rights of others (APA, 2013). This includes acting aggressively towards people or animals, causing destruction to property, being deceitful, thieving, running away from home and engaging in truancy (APA, 2013). Conduct disorder has previously been found to increase the risk of street gang involvement (Lahey et al., 1999; Madden, 2013; Osho et al., 2016). There are two key subtypes of conduct disorder, childhood-onset (symptoms begin prior to age of 10 years) and adolescent-onset (no symptoms exhibited before 10 years of age). Childhood-onset conduct disorder is associated with worse life outcomes, including low academic attainment, mental illness, violence and incarceration (Fergusson et al., 2005; Parsonage et al., 2014; Public Health England, 2015b).

Street gang participants discussed behaviors consistent with conduct disorder, which began during childhood. Aggressiveness, running away from home and truancy from school were particularly common among street gang participants. In addition, street gang participants frequently had contact with the CJS at an early age. For example, Participant 4 tells how he has been in “*prison loads of times, I couldn’t even tell ya how many times, first time I was eleven*”. Comparatively, contact with the CJS among non-gang participants did not begin until an average of 15 years of

age. This suggests that conduct disorder is more likely to begin during childhood among street gang members, whilst conduct disorder emerges during adolescence among non-gang offenders.

When conduct disorder begins during childhood, antisocial behavior often continues throughout adulthood (Frick, 2016). Early intervention strategies have been most successful at reducing conduct problems (Kyranides et al., 2018). In particular, effective interventions target parenting skills, such as improving parent-child communication, parental warmth and responsiveness, and developing effective discipline strategies (Kazdin, 2017). Critically, the effectiveness of treatment programs for conduct disorder reduces in later childhood and adolescence, although there is some evidence that these age groups may benefit from cognitive-behavioral approaches to treatment (Eyberg et al., 2008).

Impulsivity

Impulsivity refers to the tendency to act in unplanned ways, without regard to the consequences of one's actions (Moeller et al., 2001). Impulsivity has been consistently identified as a risk factor for street gang involvement (Carson & Ray, 2019; Olate et al., 2012). Specifically, youths who engage in impulsive behaviors are 50% more likely to be a street gang member (Higginson et al., 2018). Contrary to past research, both street gang and non-gang participants discussed engaging in impulsive behavior:

“I react on impulse a lot you know. I’ll just start a whole problem right there and then and then I’ll think about it later on.” (Participant 5: Street Gang).

“I can’t control my impulses and if I feel like doing something I just do it and I don’t think about the consequences” (Participant 24: Non-Gang).

Critically, past research has primarily used community samples, where street gang members are compared to non-gang, non-offending individuals. With impulsive behavior exhibited by both street gang and non-gang offenders in the prison sample, this highlights the possibility that impulsivity relates to offending in general (Alford et al., 2020; Carroll et al., 2006), rather than specifically to street gang involvement. It must also be considered that there were a high number of Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) diagnoses among both street gang and non-gang participants, which is associated with increased impulsivity (Wojciechowski, 2017).

Sensation seeking, defined as the desire to pursue novel and thrilling experiences (Brunault et al., 2020), has previously been associated with street gang membership (Dmitrieva et al., 2014; Nussio, 2020). Specifically, the deviant behaviors that street gangs participate in allow members to achieve their need for sensory stimulation (Stodolska et al., 2019). Yet, similar to impulsivity, sensation seeking is a trait associated with ADHD (Wiklund et al., 2017), which explains the prevalence of sensation seeking behaviors across both street gang and non-gang participants:

“I’d get that adrenaline rush, certain things felt good... you know when you’ve actually hit someone or told someone about themselves that you wanted to say for ages” (Participant 5: Street Gang).

“The thrill of being outside with all my friends... I don’t want to leave” (Participant 12: Street Gang).

“I used to sell drugs... there was some fun in it, like sometimes the thrill” (Participant 25: Non-Gang).

This highlights that interventions for street gang members, alike those for non-gang offenders, should target impulsive and sensation seeking behaviors. These behaviors are known to impede the effectiveness of generic treatment programs (Harkins & Beech, 2007). However, interventions that emphasize mindfulness have shown promising results in reducing recidivism among youth offenders (Davis et al., 2019; Yaghubi et al., 2017). As such, future interventions for street gang members should consider the impact that a mindfulness-based component would have on improving overall intervention success.

Moral Disengagement

According to Bandura (2006), individuals develop internal moral standards through socialization and observation of others. Self-sanctions resulting from these moral standards (i.e., feelings of shame and guilt) typically prevent individuals from committing antisocial behaviors. Moral disengagement strategies (outlined in Table 8.1) enable the rationalization and justification of behaviors which violate these moral standards, meaning self-sanctions fail to occur (Caprara et al., 2009). Whilst some theorists suggest moral disengagement strategies act as a coping mechanism after an immoral act has been committed (Esbensen et al., 2009), others argue that moral disengagement strategies predict offending behavior (Walters, 2020). Specifically, accepting moral disengagement strategies leads to an increase in pro-offending attitudes and beliefs (Almeida et al., 2009), which then increases the risk of engaging in offending behavior (Cardwell et al., 2015; Hyde et al., 2010).

Street gang members have been found to employ more moral disengagement strategies than both non-offenders (Alleyne et al., 2014; Alleyne & Wood, 2010) and

non-gang incarcerated offenders (Niebieszczanski et al., 2015). These findings were supported in the current study, with all eight moral disengagement strategies frequently identified in the accounts of street gang participants (see Table 8.1 for examples). In comparison, only two moral disengagement strategies were frequently employed by non-gang participants (advantageous comparison and distortion of consequences). When developing interventions, it is important to consider that street gang members may possess moral reasoning skills, but are able to dial these down (Niebieszczanski et al., 2015). As such, rather than focusing on enhancing moral reasoning, interventions should aim to *prevent* moral disengagement. Strategies which have previously found to be effective at reducing moral disengagement include the enhancement of empathy and critical thinking skills (Aly et al., 2014; Bustamante & Chaux, 2014).

Table 8.1

Moral disengagement strategies (Bandura et al., 1996)

Mechanism	Definition	Examples from Street Gang Participants
Moral justification	Harmful behaviors are portrayed as serving a moral purpose.	<p><i>“We started selling drugs and making money for the right reasons [to overcome poverty]” (Participant 1).</i></p> <p><i>“It’s just not that bad... it kind of raises the crime rates, but at the same time you need that because the police ain’t gonna have a job, so at the end of the day we’re all helping each other” (Participant 13).</i></p>
Advantageous comparison	Behavior is seen as more acceptable, by comparing to even worse violations of the moral code.	<p><i>“I smoke weed, I don’t think it’s such a bad thing to really smoke it ‘cos like there’s tobacco out there and tobacco’s more likely to kill you faster than weed” (Participant 2).</i></p> <p><i>“Country-wise, this country and a whole nuver country bombs. We’re not taking it that far... someone might get stabbed and die, someone might get shot and that, but people ain’t getting their whole area bombed” (Participant 13).</i></p>

Euphemistic language	Morally neutral language is used to portray the behavior as less harmful.	<p><i>“Go to a festival... have the first two days of like business [drug dealing]” (Participant 14).</i></p> <p><i>“[dealing] it’s like being at work innit... you still got four hours left of your shift” (Participant 10).</i></p>
Diffusion of responsibility	Responsibility for harmful behaviors is placed on others involved, meaning the individual feels less responsible for the act.	<p><i>“In a bad way they showed me how to do these things... If I wasn’t with them then I would’ve stayed on course” (Participant 6).</i></p>
Displacement of responsibility	Responsibility for harmful behaviors is placed on authority figures.	<p><i>“They take you out of your foster care and just chuck you in a house basically and say, ‘there you go look after yourself’. I don’t know what they expect. That’s why kids in care and that end up going to prison” (Participant 5).</i></p> <p><i>“My Mum’s never really looked after me... She just spiteful as well like, she does mad stuff. Just proper mad, I don’t know what’s going on. Makes me have no morals.” (Participant 5).</i></p> <p><i>“I look at it and family put me in this position, cos you see family it’s like pillars to a house, if one pillar is cut off the whole family starts</i></p>

		<i>to break down, house starts to fall... Once the family breaks, then all of these problems start to occur.” (Participant 6).</i>
Dehumanization	Perceiving the victims of harmful behavior as “less than human”.	<p><i>“We’d all jump out of the bushes and beat them up. I don’t care who the police are, they’re police at the end of the day” (Participant 4).</i></p> <p><i>“I never went and robbed an old lady, only rot like drug dealers” (Participant 17).</i></p>
Attribution of blame	The victim is held responsible for the harmful behavior, in order to avoid self-sanctions.	<p><i>“Well it’s not my fault that person can’t fight... he should’ve learnt how to fight. It’s not my fault I beat him up” (Participant 4).</i></p> <p><i>“Obviously it’s wrong moral wise, but he’s a drug dealer himself. If he paid his drugs on time then none of this would’ve fell in” (Participant 3).</i></p> <p><i>“I would never rob some nut for what they have because I don’t have it. There’s always a reason, like they might be rude or something” (Participant 1).</i></p>

Distortion of consequences	Minimizing or distorting the outcomes of harmful behaviors.	<i>“Robbing a drug dealer is a victimless crime”</i> (Participant 4). <i>“I know weed is a depressant... I’d take that last. Everything’s prepared, so nothing really can go wrong”</i> (Participant 3).
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Anti-Authority Attitudes

Street gang members have been found to hold more negative attitudes to authority figures (e.g., police, teachers), than their non-gang counterparts (Alleyne & Wood, 2010; Kakar, 2005; Lurigio et al., 2008). Endorsement of anti-authority attitudes enables an outlet for negative emotions (e.g., frustration and anger) and a method of self-expression (Emler & Reicher, 2005). Past research has found that high levels of moral disengagement increases anti-authority attitudes, which in turn leads to street gang involvement (Alleyne & Wood, 2013). This suggests that anti-authority attitudes are a cognitive strategy used to allow engagement in street gang-related offending (Alleyne & Wood, 2013). Therefore, individuals who express anti-authority attitudes are more likely to be selected to join a street gang (Thornberry & Krohn, 2001). Anti-authority attitudes were only expressed by street-gang participants:

“I don’t like listening innit, that’s it basically, like I don’t like being told what to do or nothing” (Participant 13: Street Gang).

Street gang participants expressed negative attitudes to a variety of authority figures, including police, parents and social workers. However, holding negative attitudes towards teachers appeared to have the greatest impact; resulting in poor academic attainment. Critically, past research has identified that negative contact can reinforce both anti-authority attitudes and street gang identities (Ralphs et al., 2009). As such, prevention and intervention strategies targeting street gang membership should aim to build positive relationships with authority figures.

School Domain

A number of internal and external obstacles were identified within the school domain, including: lack of academic attainment and attendance at school (often due to suspension/exclusion), lack of safety at school, and poor student-teacher relationships.

Academic Attainment

Poor academic attainment has been associated with a wide range of long-term negative outcomes, including unemployment, dependency on welfare benefits, poor health, marriage instability and lower life satisfaction (Abbott-Chapman et al., 2014; de Graaf & Kalmijn, 2006; Slominski et al., 2011). In addition, poor academic attainment predicts engagement in offending behavior (Sabates, 2008). Past research has found academic attainment is worse in street gang members, than both non-offending youths and non-gang offenders (Baskin et al., 2014; Mitchell et al., 2018; O'Brien et al., 2013; Pyrooz, 2014b). Findings from the current study support this, with street gang participants discussing lower levels of academic attainment than their non-gang counterparts. For instance, street gang participants discussed their failure in attaining qualifications:

“I ain’t got no qualifications” (Participant 10: Street Gang).

“In my GCSE’s I didn’t do so well” (Participant 2: Street Gang).

In comparison, non-gang participants discussed succeeding in qualifications and entering higher education (i.e., college and university):

“I done alright at school, I got 7B’s, 2 C’s” (Participant 21: Non-gang).

“I was about to start university prior to coming in. I got A Levels in radio production, film production and script writing” (Participant 19: Non-Gang).

Street gang peers often discourage engagement in education (Siennick & Staff, 2008). Instead, focus is placed on physical prowess and street smarts (Pyrooz, 2014b), which may explain the poor academic attainment in this group. Whilst this may suggest that street gang membership *leads to* poor academic attainment, the causal relationship has not yet been established. For instance, both street gang and non-gang participants struggled with boredom, distraction and a lack of concentration at school:

“I was easily distracted in school... and that was evident even when I was in primary school, I was easily distracted” (Participant 2: Street Gang).

“I wasn't bad in school, I just get distracted easily” (Participant 22: Non-Gang).

As discussed previously, the high rates of ADHD in both street gang and non-gang participants may explain this propensity toward boredom (Gerritsen et al., 2014). However, delays in diagnosis and appropriate support may also account for the differences in academic attainment between street gang and non-gang participants. Specifically, street gang participants reported receiving diagnoses for ADHD and other learning difficulties (e.g., dyslexia) in early adulthood, often once they had entered the prison system. In comparison, non-gang participants reported being diagnosed whilst still in education, which enabled the provision of additional support. As such, interventions for street gang members should consider their learning abilities, and provide additional support where required.

Attendance and Exclusion

The construct ‘school-to-prison pipeline’ suggests policies and practices, particularly regarding discipline, can increase the probability of offending behavior and contact with the CJS, whilst decreasing the likelihood of academic success (Skiba et al., 2014). In particular, exclusionary practices (i.e., out-of-school suspension and expulsion) are related to a number of negative academic and behavioral outcomes (e.g., poorer literacy and higher rates of disruptive behavior; Darensbourg et al., 2010; Skiba et al., 2014). Despite this, school exclusion rates continue to grow exponentially (House of Commons Library, 2020); in the UK, permanent school exclusions are up 67% compared to 2012/13 (Department for Education, 2018). According to the Children’s Commissioner (2019a), street gang members were five times more likely to be permanently excluded and six times more likely to receive alternative educational provisions (i.e., attend Pupil Referral Units), than their non-gang counterparts.

The act of excluding a young person from school increases their vulnerability for street gang involvement. Specifically, schools provide structure, safeguarding, and access to trusted adults and prosocial peers. When the young person is excluded, they are able to spend more time with street gang peers and increase their delinquent behaviors (Children’s Commissioner, 2019a). Furthermore, street gangs recruit youths who have expressed delinquent behaviors (Pyrooz et al., 2016); exclusion from school could give the young person the status needed to become acceptable for membership. Alternative educational provisions are prime places for grooming potential street gang members: vulnerable young people are exposed to more deviant peers and crime (Violence and Vulnerability Unit, 2018). Whilst both street gang and non-gang participants reported experience of exclusion from school, rates were

much higher among street gang participants. In addition, street gang participants were more likely to experience repeated episodes of suspension and exclusion from an early age:

“I got kicked out of school, every year at secondary school. In primary school I got kicked out in Year 3” (Participant 11: Street Gang).

“I never had no other opportunities... being kicked out of school... I should’ve been given a chance though, everyone should be given a chance to fix up” (Participant 16: Street Gang).

As Wood (2019) suggests, exclusionary practices make little sense when trying to reduce street gang involvement. As such, a key step in preventing and reducing street gang involvement is to ensure all young people stay in school. Rather than zero-tolerance approaches to discipline, schools should implement fair and constructive procedures, which encourage continuation with education (Sharkey et al., 2011).

Safety at School

An unsafe school environment has been identified as a risk factor for street gang membership (Gottfredson et al., 2005). In particular, feelings of safety have a greater influence on street gang joining than *actual* experience of violence (Mijanovich & Weitzman, 2003; Nuño & Katz, 2019). Feeling unsafe increases fear of victimization, which is considered to be a key factor in influencing street gang development (Melde et al., 2009; Taylor, 2008). Supporting this, street gang participants discussed that they felt unsafe in school. In comparison, non-gang participants did not highlight feeling unsafe.

“My pals, close close pals, died outside my school. That was at a center as well, yeah lot of violence” (Participant 11: Street Gang).

Experiencing and witnessing bullying have consistently been identified as factors reducing sense of safety within school (Thapa et al., 2013). Bullying (both perpetration and victimization) increases risk of street gang membership (Shelley & Peterson, 2019). Reports of being a victim of bullying were common among street gang participants (see Chapter 7, ‘coping with bullying’, for review and quotes), whilst only one non-gang participant discussed experience of bullying. Joining a street gang can give members a sense of protection and safety, which reduces fear of victimization (Melde et al., 2009). Although, it must be noted that the contrary tends to occur, with street gangs propagating violence and increasing risk of violent victimization (Quinn et al., 2017). However, it may be that street gang members tend to focus on the here-and-now; joining a street gang could reduce immediate exposure to violence (e.g., preventing bully-victimization).

Importantly, strategies that have shown promise at improving school safety include mediation between students, fostering a strong sense of community and positive staff-student relationships, mentoring programs and implementation of psychological support in schools (Lenzi et al., 2018). Critically, feelings of safety tend to be operationalized at the individual, rather than school level; meaning the influence of school safety on street gang involvement is an understudied area (Lenzi et al., 2014). As such, further research is needed to fully understand the role of school safety in development of street gang membership.

Student – Teacher Relationships

Thapa et al. (2013) suggests a positive student-teacher relationship is fundamental in reducing antisocial and deviant behaviors in the school environment.

Specifically, positive student-teacher relationships facilitate a sense of safety, reduced bullying, greater attachment to school and heightened academic attainment (Lei et al., 2016; Longobardi et al., 2018; Roorda et al., 2020). In comparison, conflict between students and teachers predicts negative externalizing behaviors (e.g., fighting, lying, lack of self-control; Roorda & Koomen, 2020). Supporting this, street gang participants, unlike their non-gang counterparts, reported having negative relationships with their teachers:

“I didn’t care about school one little bit, I used to hate the teachers”

(Participant 13: Street Gang).

Teachers play an influential role in students moral and character development (Lumpkin, 2008). However, a negative school climate (e.g., feeling under pressure, conflict between teachers, poor student behavior) can lead to chronic stress, depression and burnout among teachers (Hinds et al., 2015). As such, some teachers engage in negative externalizing behaviors, including substance misuse, as a method of emotion-focused coping (Feltoe et al., 2016; Watts & Shorts, 1990), which are then (often unintendedly) modeled to students. Rates of substance misuse among education providers in the USA are as high as 5.5%, with this figure growing annually (Bush & Lipari, 2015). This reinforces to students that such behaviors are acceptable. Indeed, street gang participants reported substance misuse among their teachers:

“It’s all bullshit... they’re hypocrites to be honest, they’re telling you not to do something that they do. They come into work high and tell you ‘ah weed gets you all like this... ’” (Participant 4: Street Gang).

Concerningly, street gang participants also discussed being approached by teachers for drugs:

“I had a teacher, she used to come to me all the time to get some cocaine, I used to sell it to her... even the head teacher started to take cocaine... I thought she was gonna say do you wanna get expelled? I was thinking, wait, wait a second, did you just ask me if I got cocaine?” (Participant 9: Street Gang).

This suggests that interventions to prevent street gang involvement should not only focus on the individual, but on their wider network. As such, ensuring teacher wellbeing and enhancing their skills at building positive relationships with students (Duong et al., 2019), could help with reducing street gang involvement. Past research suggests both individual (e.g., mindfulness; Hwang et al., 2017) and organizational interventions (e.g., developing a positive school climate, mentoring, job control, appreciation and participation in decision-making; Granziera et al., 2020) can lead to improvements in wellbeing and student-teacher relationships.

Peer Domain

A number of internal and external obstacles were identified within the peer domain, including: focusing on social identity, high desire for status, respect and belonging, and easily influenced by the glamorization of street gangs.

Social Identity

Peer relationships are salient throughout adolescence, when interactions with adults decrease. As such, peer relationships are arguably the most important factor in the social and emotional development of adolescents (Harris, 1995). Developing a social identity (i.e., awareness of the self, based on group membership) directly influences the behavior that an individual engages in (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Specifically, the individual evaluates the self in terms of how consistent their behaviors are with those typically expressed by the in-group (Goldman et al., 2014).

As such, the individual will model peers' behaviors, even if those behaviors happen to be deviant (Hendricks et al., 2015). Critically, theorists have suggested that developing a shared sense of identity underlies street gang formation (Goldman et al., 2014). Supporting this, street gang participants emphasized the importance of the peer group in the development of deviant behavior:

“My biggest problem in life was my social group, I’m way too close, I was way too close to my friends” (Participant 15: Street Gang).

“We’re all from the same background, we’re all the same age, we do it [commit crime] together like. If we’re doing something, we’re planning it and we all put the plan in together” (Participant 4: Street Gang).

Ingroup norms, such as acting in a deviant manner, are more likely to be followed when a member accepts the social influences and strongly identifies with the street gang (Alleyne & Wood, 2012). Fear of social sanctions, including rejection by peer groups, reinforces the importance of following ingroup norms (Geber et al., 2019). As such, individuals who join street gangs are more likely to experience peer pressure, than their non-gang counterparts, to adopt ingroup norms (Viki & Abrams, 2013). Supporting this, street gang participants discussed experiencing peer pressure, whilst this was not highlighted as a problem for non-gang participants:

“I did go through peer pressure, not physically, not physically, but it’s a mental thing” (Participant 2: Street Gang).

“Peer pressure, you didn’t really have a life of your own”
(Participant 10: Street Gang).

Ingroup norms differed between street gang and non-gang participants. For instance, participants highlighted that violence was viewed as the norm for street gangs:

“That’s the whole point of a gang, the violence and all the stuff like that” (Participant 13: Street Gang).

Critically, peer substance misuse was viewed as a normal behavior for both street gang and non-gang participants. However, the *type* of drug did seem to differ, with the ingroup norm for street gang participants being the consumption of Class B drugs (i.e., cannabis):

“Most of my friends are loose cannons, drugs help them settle their minds and that, just smoking a spliff” (Participant 5: Street Gang).

“You see everyone else smoking and you try it” (Participant 13: Street Gang).

In comparison, Class A drugs (i.e., cocaine and ecstasy) were viewed as prototypical among peers of non-gang participants:

“All my friends are the same, a lot of them have developed onto taking harder drugs” (Participant 24: Non-Gang).

“Common party drugs are like ecstasy tablets and cocaine and these things, so I’ve got friends from school that do that, they offer it to me” (Participant 28: Non-Gang).

Whilst the reason for this difference is unclear, it does highlight that street gang and non-gang participants will have different treatment needs. In particular, street gang members are more likely to strongly identify with their group and experience peer pressure to continue adhering to ingroup norms, which could interfere with the success of an intervention (Boxer et al., 2017). Katz et al. (2011)

suggest interventions should focus on providing alternative prosocial groups, which would maintain a sense of social identity. This would overcome the problem highlighted by Participant 6 (Street Gang) that: *“I thought I couldn’t be something else”*. However, for alternative groups to be viewed as viable, Goldman et al. (2014) suggest groups need to be: relevant, significant, have a positive reputation, sense of status, power and belonging, and enable the individual to feel protected from threats.

Desire for Status, Respect and Belonging

As discussed further in Chapter 7, the desire for status and respect has been consistently identified as a motivating factor for joining street gangs during adolescence (e.g., Woo et al., 2015; Wood & Alleyne, 2010). Concerns regarding personal status can be exacerbated by an adolescents’ perceived position in the classroom hierarchy (Garandau et al., 2014), which is predicted by both prosocial and antisocial behaviors (Cillessen, 2011). De Bruyn and Cillessen (2006) distinguished between adolescents classified as prosocial-popular (popular and well-liked) and populist (popular, but not well-liked). Prosocial-popular adolescents acted in socially acceptable ways, displayed academic prowess and had a good relationship with their teacher. In comparison, populist adolescents displayed antisocial behaviors, had poor grades and were perceived as less intelligent. Populistic adolescents were also judged by peers as perceiving expulsion and getting into trouble with teachers as ‘cool’. This suggests for adolescents that are less academically inclined, engaging in antisocial behaviors can be a method used to achieve a sense of status. Consistent with this, street gang participants displayed a strong desire to achieve status and respect:

“It’s [street gang] exciting ‘cos all the perks that come with it, you’re known, you’ve got like a status” (Participant 12: Street Gang).

“I just wanted to get money and get drunk and fight and do all them bullshit things that ain’t gonna benefit me in no way, all for a bit of clout and a bit of status” (Participant 14: Street Gang).

In comparison, non-gang participants, who were more academically inclined, did not report attempting to achieve a sense of status and respect. A desire to gain status is consistent with wider motivations regarding belonging (Parker et al., 2006). According to the belongingness hypothesis (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), the need to affiliate with others and gain a sense of approval is universal. During adolescence, importance is placed on peer evaluation, with feedback from peers essential in influencing the continuance or negation of antisocial behavior (Steinberg, 2008). As discussed in Chapter 7, the need for belonging is an important factor leading to street gang membership (Van Ngo et al., 2015), particularly among those that have dysfunctional families (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Some individuals may engage in deviant behaviors specifically for the purpose of fitting into a group (Mozova, 2017). Consistent with this, street gang participants demonstrated a desire to belong to a group, and engaged in deviant behaviors in order to achieve this:

“At one point, if I didn’t do certain things I wouldn’t fit into a group... if I wasn’t doing that, I wasn’t cool” (Participant 6: Street Gang).

“My reason for taking it [drugs] is ‘cos everybody was taking”
(Participant 9: Street Gang).

The desire to belong only appeared to be important to street gang participants. Instead, non-gang participants expressed a preference for social isolation and avoidance of groups:

“I’m very independent, very independent, always have been. Being in groups, I hate groups... when I’m in a group three, four people, I shut down, it’s mad. I can’t help it, I feel very anxious” (Participant 27: Non-Gang).

“There were times where I became distant from everyone, like I would stay indoors, I wouldn’t want to, I just became like antisocial... when I go into this antisocial, I just switch off from everyone” (Participant 28: Non-Gang).

This suggests that the needs of street gang and non-gang offenders differ, with regard to the desire for status and belonging. As such, this supports the view that interventions for street gang members should be differentiated from those for non-gang offenders. Specifically, street gang members have additional needs regarding their desire for status and belonging. Interventions for street gang members should consider developing social skills, enabling the formation of positive and prosocial peer networks (Gest et al., 2011).

Glamorization of Street Gangs

According to Bubolz and Simi (2014) grandiose expectations of street gangs can increase risk of joining. Sharkey et al. (2011) suggest individuals look up to peers who have higher status and income, better clothes and the appearance of a better lifestyle. Street gang members actively present themselves and their lifestyle in a glamorized manner (Sheldon et al., 2013), in order to recruit new members. Bubolz and Simi (2014) suggest three key areas that are presented as glamorous by street gang members: (1) protective expectations (i.e., increasing sense of safety and security), (2) familial expectations (i.e., providing a ‘surrogate family’ and emotional support), and, (3) economic expectations (i.e., income through illegal activities).

Street gang participants appeared to be particularly vulnerable to this glamorized portrayal:

“You get pulled into the façade man, the whole façade... just get pulled into stuff and think ‘ah that persons making money, I should be making money’, I need to live my life good” (Participant 5: Street Gang).

“The generation above me, when you’re growing up and that, everything’s glamorized, you’re not really seeing the negative side, you just see the positives from the outside view” (Participant 11: Street Gang).

As a central aspect of modern life, particularly among adolescents, social media (e.g., Facebook, Twitter and Instagram) plays an important role in the glamorization of street gangs (Pawelz & Elvers, 2018). Indeed, social media is now classed as an extension of the street, with members promoting the street gang lifestyle, monitoring online spaces, organizing offending behaviors, and responding to online rivalries (Pyrooz et al., 2015). Street gang participants seemed particularly vulnerable to the effects of social media, discussing feeling *“brainwashed”* (Participant 14). Indeed, social media was often cited as a reason for joining street gangs:

“Social media, everyone wants the same thing, everyone wants to be a drug dealer, everyone wants the fancy clothes, everyone wants to have a fancy car, everyone wants to have a girl. Gets like that” (Participant 15: Street Gang).

“Facebook, Instagram live, Snapchat, they incite the violence” (Participant 12: Street Gang).

In the UK, drill music (a hip-hop subgenre) and trap-rap are a popular means of promoting and sensationalizing street gangs (Irwin-Rogers & Pinkney, 2017). This was highlighted by both street gang and non-gang participants as glamorizing street gang involvement:

“I was brainwashed, I was very brainwashed, very brainwashed into all that bullshit. Music, like drill, postcode wars and things like that”

(Participant 14: Street Gang).

“I hate it! You’ve got these rappers in these videos with expensive clothes on, wearing expensive watches, driving expensive cars with really good looking women and they’re portraying the message that they’ve become successful from crime... it infects young kids minds because they think ‘ah well, what’s the point in going to school and doing well if I can just be like these guys and sell drugs for a living’”

(Participant 24: Non-Gang).

Although it remains controversial whether music directly related to street gang involvement (Kubrin & Nielson, 2014; Pinkney & Robinson-Edwards, 2018), behavior of street gang participants appeared to be influenced more by music than non-gang participants:

“We started smoking cos everyone was doing it, looked cool, rappers in America be smoking weed” (Participant 10: Street Gang).

“I don’t listen to that sort of music because of what it represents, the rap and hip hop... the words are all stab him up and shoot him, it’s all postcodes and stuff like that” (Participant 27: Non-Gang).

This highlights that some individuals are more vulnerable to the messages portrayed online and through music by street gangs. It is currently unclear why this

is the case, and would be an interesting avenue for future research. Despite this, some strategies to manage the online glamorization of street gangs have been suggested. For example, Irwin-Rogers and Pinkney (2017) suggest adequate supervision by a knowledgeable adult is necessary when using the internet. Furthermore, school-wide interventions emphasizing online hazards, risk management and appropriate online behavior, have been found to be effective at reducing online risky behaviors (Schilder et al., 2016).

Family Domain

Obstacles identified within the family domain, include: familial engagement in crime, limited emotional support, single-parent households and poor parenting practices (i.e., lack of supervision, punitive discipline).

Familial Engagement in Crime

Intergenerational continuity (i.e., similar pattern of maladaptive behaviors in parents and children; Thornberry et al., 2003) has been found across numerous aggressive and antisocial behaviors (e.g., substance misuse, conduct issues, arrests and convictions; Knight et al., 2014; Farrington et al., 2009; Junger et al., 2013). Indeed, longitudinal research has found aggressiveness in children is predicted by parental displays of impulsive behavior and poor anger control (Wahl & Metzner, 2012). Supporting this, meta-analytic results suggest parental criminality and incarceration increased the risk of a child engaging in antisocial behavior by 10% (Murray et al., 2012). Both street gang and non-gang participants reported having family members that had offended:

“My dad wasn’t there, my dad went to prison” (Participant 8: Street Gang).

“I had a twin brother that was in jail” (Participant 3: Street Gang).

“My uncle got arrested for like murder” (Participant 28: Non-Gang).

Surprisingly, only non-gang participants discussed having family members who engaged in substance misuse:

“My mum’s always been drunk... I was bought up around pubs, so it’s almost like a habit, like the only memories I’ve got are from going out drinking” (Participant 24: Non-Gang).

The intergenerational continuity of street gang membership, however, is a comparatively understudied area (Chu, Daffern et al., 2015; DeLisi et al., 2013; Dong et al., 2015). Although, a longitudinal study examining 371 parent-child dyads (Augustyn et al., 2017) found support for the intergenerational continuity of street gang membership. Supporting this, unlike non-gang participants, street gang participants reported familial involvement in street gangs:

“My dad had a money drawer in his bedroom, you can just come and open the drawer... it’s like 100 grand in there. He had a good business on the road” (Participant 10: Street Gang).

“If you’re raised in a family where there’s an older brother dealing drugs or who’s gang-affiliated, you’re bound to” (Participant 15: Street Gang).

Familial engagement in offending represents a significant barrier to successful interventions with street gang involved youths. For instance, criminally involved family members are more likely to perceive the benefits of street gang involvement, including increased familial status, material and financial gain, and sense of security (Aldridge et al., 2011). Supporting this, participants highlighted the approval and acceptance received from family members due to their engagement in a street gang:

“My mum she complains when I go jail, but when I’m out there she knows what I’m doing, she take the money still happily” (Participant 7: Street Gang).

“My mum was, she was aware I was in the gang. She just said ‘obviously I don’t want you to kill people, and you can sell drugs, but just don’t kill people. As long as you’re making money on the side, I don’t want you to be stabbing people, shooting people’” (Participant 9: Street Gang).

Aldridge et al. (2011) highlighted that family focused interventions should aim to be supportive (rather than judgmental). Furthermore, interventions should ensure that familial risk factors are presented equally alongside the other risk domains, to avoid placing ‘blame’ on the family. Critically, the intergenerational continuity of street gang membership highlights the importance of early prevention and intervention strategies with ‘at-risk’ children.

Emotional Support

Research has consistently identified poor caregiver attachment, limited parental support and a lack of warm and loving familial relationships as risk factors for street gang membership (Esbensen et al., 2009; Gilman et al., 2014; Lenzi et al., 2014). Where families fail to provide adequate emotional support, an individual may seek a street gang as a ‘substitute’ or ‘surrogate’ family (Bubolz & Simi, 2014). Street gangs are often cited as a source of emotional support by members (Alleyne & Wood, 2010; Wood, 2014), which enable them to experience affection and feel understood (Morales, 1992). Consistent with this, street gang participants reported receiving limited emotional support from their family:

“I had no one to talk to... there was only me and my mum... but I didn't really talk to her about stuff like that” (Participant 4: Street Gang).

“Before he came home from work he stopped at the pub, had a few drinks, what's gonna happen if I tell my dad 'oh dad this is what happened today, I had an argument with this person'... either he's gonna slap me or say whatever tell your mother” (Participant 17: Street Gang).

In comparison, non-gang participants discussed having positive family connections, with strong emotional support:

“I feel like my family's there for me, like I can go to them for anything” (Participant 25: Non-Gang).

Critically, adolescents in foster care are at an increased risk of engaging in delinquent behavior (Farineau, 2016). Williams-Butler et al. (2020) suggest delinquent behavior occurs due to poor relational permanence, characterized by a lack of continuous, caring and supportive relationships. In addition, frequent changes in foster caregivers forms a barrier to the development of strong emotional connections (Hyde & Kammerer, 2009). As such, adolescents in foster care often prioritize peer relationships, even if they are delinquent (Negriff et al., 2015), as these tend to be more stable (Duke et al., 2017; Perry, 2006). Supporting this, street gang participants appeared to have poorer relationships with foster caregivers. In comparison, non-gang participants discussed more positive experiences in care, with continuity in their foster caregiver:

“They just chuck you in a house basically and say, ‘there you go, look after yourself’... that’s why kids in care end up going to prison”

(Participant 5: Street Gang).

“I was with one foster carer for like seven-eight years... they were a good home, a good people” (Participant 26: Non-Gang).

This highlights that stable relationships with a strong emotional connection can act as a protective factor preventing street gang membership. As such, to prevent and reduce street gang involvement, Sharkey et al. (2017) recommend family-based therapies (e.g., MST and FFT) which focus on fostering strong relationships between family members by increasing communication and understanding of each other’s needs. Furthermore, the current research highlights the necessity of consistency in foster care placements in order to establish emotional bonds with a non-parent role model.

Single Parent Households

Approximately 15% of children in the UK are raised in single-parent households, with this figure remaining stable over the last decade (ONS, 2019). Single-parent households result from parental separation or divorce, death of a parent, or birth to an unattached woman (Ambert, 2006). Coming from a single-parent household negatively impacts on life outcomes, including wellbeing and academic success (Chapple, 2013; De Lange et al., 2014). Furthermore, a systematic review of 48 studies identified single-parent households as a risk factor for adolescent criminal behavior (Kroese et al., 2020). Concerning street gang membership, Gilman et al. (2014) found belonging to a single-parent household increased the risk of joining a street gang three-fold.

Coming from a single-parent household was more common in street gang (82.35%) than non-gang (23.08%) participants. Interestingly, among participants from single-parent households, non-gang participants were more likely to maintain a positive relationship with the parent they did not live with:

“My dad and mum split up but they remained friends obviously and my dad still looked out for us” (Participant 28: Non-Gang).

In comparison, street gang participants reported having little or no contact with the parent they did not live with:

“Got a dad that’s never there, just wants to come and go”

(Participant 3: Street Gang).

“I had a bad childhood, my dad wasn’t there... I never even met the guy” (Participant 8: Street Gang).

Street gang participants described feeling abandoned by, and angry at, the non-present parent:

“Dad’s a prick, dad’s a prick. He left early when I was probably three, it always felt like a chore to come get me. He was cold, like no hugs and kisses, no affection and that... the daddy issues, like why doesn’t daddy love me but he loves his new family so much?... Feeling abandoned, abandonment issues and things like that” (Participant 14: Street Gang).

Social Control Theory (Hirschi, 2008) suggests a lack of strong and affective attachments to parents is the most influential factor leading to an individual engaging in offending behavior. In particular, weak attachment styles can lead to adolescents associating with deviant peer groups in an attempt to gain a sense of affection (Kroese et al., 2020). Furthermore, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) suggest the

multiple demands faced by single-parents mean they are less able to provide as much supervision and control over the child's behaviors; enabling them the freedom to associate with criminal peers.

Alternatively, the Economic Strain Model (Amato & Keith, 1991) suggests reduced resources faced by single-parent households may increase the risk of adolescents engaging in offending behavior. Specifically, single-parent households may be unable to fund extracurricular activities, which act as a protective factor against street gang membership (Carson et al., 2017). Furthermore, single-parent households are more likely to reside in lower-income communities due to financial strain (Heintz-Martin & Langmeyer, 2019). These communities tend to have higher rates of street gang members, which increases exposure to negative peer influences and the risk of recruitment (O'Brien et al., 2013). As such, prevention and intervention strategies should consider the intersectionality between family and neighborhood factors that influence street gang involvement.

Parenting Practices

Parenting practices play a central role in increasing or reducing a child's behavioral problems (Hosokawa & Katsura, 2019). Parents engagement in punitive discipline, characterized by yelling, threatening and causing physically harm (e.g., hitting/slapping), has been extensively linked to the development of violent and oppositional behaviors in children (Stormshak et al., 2000; Zubizarreta et al., 2019). Furthermore, high levels of conflict between parents and children have been identified as a risk factor for street gang membership (Howell & Egley, 2005). As Vigil (1988) suggests, adolescents experiencing conflict in the home environment may turn to street gangs as a form of escape. Consistent with this, street gang participants were more likely to experience ongoing conflicts with family members.

In addition, these conflicts often resulted in overly punitive measures, such as being kicked out of home:

“The first gang I joined was literally because I was just out on the roads from like 15, mum kicked me out and I got in with a gang, a lot of violence, a lot of stabbings, a lot of bottlings” (Participant 14: Street Gang).

Equally, permissive parenting styles have been identified as a risk factor for street gang membership (Vuk, 2017). Although permissive parenting is characterized by strong and warm parent-child attachments, a lack of supervision and expectations surrounding appropriate behavior can lead to engagement in offending (Baumrind, 1991). Street gang participants experienced a lack of supervision, with no limits placed by parents regarding their behavioral expectations:

“There’s no father there to say to the kids ‘stop it, don’t do this’. There’s no responsibility” (Participant 17: Street Gang).

“I might not see her for a whole day, I might be in my house and not see my mum, she’s gonna go work in the morning and she’s gonna come back and I’ll be gone” (Participant 13: Street Gang).

A lack of supervision and behavioral expectations was not unique to street gang participants, however, with similar experiences among non-gang participants:

“My mum was too busy going out drinking to notice, not that she didn’t care cos she definitely tried her best” (Participant 24: Non-Gang).

“When I was younger there was like no control, I had no one to control me” (Participant 28: Non-Gang).

As such, this suggests that poor parental supervision is a risk factor for offending in general, rather than street gang membership specifically. Interestingly, street gang participants highlighted that their parents viewed them in a positive light and were unable to see any wrong in their child's behavior:

"I'm like my mum's pride and joy, my sisters they will get in trouble for anything, but you can't tell my mum nothing about me"

(Participant 10: Street Gang).

If parents are unable to adequately identify that their child is engaging in antisocial behavior, this will hinder their ability to intervene. Families failing to acknowledge or recognize street gang membership has been identified as a barrier to street gang intervention (Aldridge et al., 2011). Whilst some families may be genuinely unaware, some may perceive that benefits of street gang membership (e.g., financial gain and protection) outweigh the risks, meaning they are unlikely to try to prevent the individual's engagement in the street gang (Young et al., 2014b). Early parent-focused interventions targeting familial conflict resolution and effective parenting practices have had some success at preventing street gang involvement (O'Connor & Waddell, 2015).

Community Domain

Obstacles identified within the community domain, include: exposure to community violence, exposure to street gangs, poor community relationships with police, lack of prosocial recreational opportunities, and poverty.

Exposure to Community Violence

Exposure to community violence is defined as the witnessing of an intentional act to harm another person, that occurs within the individual's environment (i.e., local neighborhood), but outside of their home (Aisenberg &

Herrenkohl, 2008). Recognized as a global public health problem (World Health Organization, 2002), community violence is prevalent in disadvantaged, urban areas (DiClemente & Richards, 2019). High levels of exposure to community violence have been related to externalizing problems, including deviant and aggressive behavior (Fowler et al., 2009). For instance, Barroso et al. (2008) found adolescents exposed to high rates of community violence were over seven times more likely to carry a weapon and 6.4 times more likely to consume illegal substances. Street gang participants were more likely to discuss living in an unsafe neighborhood with high levels of violence:

“It’s mad out there... trust me, it’s like living in fucking Syria... they don’t know what it’s like to live in that estate... it’s mad out there sometimes, people getting shot and stabbed from young” (Participant 5: Street Gang).

In comparison, non-gang participants discussed living in relatively safe environments:

“It is a safe area, there is other areas that need more help”
(Participant 20: Non-Gang).

This supports the assumption that feeling unsafe in the community can lead to street gang involvement. Specifically, Barroso et al. (2008) found high exposure to community violence increases the likelihood of joining a street gang by 5.3 times. As discussed previously, belonging to a street gang can give a sense of safety and protection (Hogg, 2014; Raby & Jones, 2016). Furthermore, frequent exposure to community violence can lead to this behavior becoming normalized (Boxer et al., 2008). Consistent with this, street gang participants viewed violence as a normal aspect of everyday life:

“My community is part of the reason why I got into this crime life. I was bought up seeing this kind of stuff so I thought it was normal... you think it’s normal and then you get into that yourself, and then it’s like this is not the life, but you’re too caught up in it to turn back.”

(Participant 4: Street Gang).

When exposed to multiple episodes of community violence, individual’s become desensitized, showing reduced emotional responses to encounters with violence (Mrug et al., 2016). Supporting this, street gang participants discussed becoming emotionally numb when witnessing violence:

“You get immune to it. It just comes like a white noise in the background, doesn’t affect you anymore” (Participant 5: Street Gang).

As a result of normalization and desensitization, violent behaviors are perceived to be acceptable. Consequently, the likelihood of engaging in violent behaviors increases (DiClemente & Richards, 2019). As such, interventions should aim to reduce community violence. A meta-analytic review (Abt & Winship, 2016) of 30 strategies to reducing community violence found two methods to be particularly effective: focused deterrence and CBT. Focused deterrence aims to deter violent behavior, by demonstrating that it will not be accepted in the community (Gravel et al., 2013). This involves enforcement measures and clear communication of behavioral expectations. In comparison, CBT is used after a violent episode occurs, targeting the offenders distorted thinking (e.g., moral disengagement, normalization and desensitization of violence; Lipsey et al., 2007) in an attempt to reduce reoffending. This demonstrates that interventions targeting street gang

membership need to incorporate both community-wide and individualized approaches.

Exposure to Street Gangs

Street gang members tend to come from areas that are already rife with street gangs (Alleyne & Wood, 2013). As suggested by Interactional Theory, street gang membership occurs due to a reciprocal relationship between the individual and the environment (Thornberry et al., 2003). As such, an environment with a high presence of street gangs is conducive to an individual's decision to join a street gang (Alleyne & Wood, 2013). Supporting this, street gang participants discussed high rates of street gangs in their areas:

"I can say there's at least fifty gangs in that one little borough and they're all beefing each other" (Participant 4: Street Gang).

"You know gangs have been going on for years, see I see this, I was growing up seeing these people chilling on the estate... my little group falled into the same kind of thing" (Participant 13: Street Gang).

In comparison, non-gang participants reported rates of street gangs in their neighborhoods were low:

"My neighborhood is alright... there is no gang. I mean there are certain places in that area that have a gang problem, but not in my neighborhood, it's not so bad" (Participant 20: Non-Gang).

Similar to the factors discussed above, a high presence of street gangs in the community leads to individuals accepting and normalizing street gangs; increasing the likelihood of joining. Equally, a high presence of street gangs in the neighborhood can increase an individual's fear of victimization (Pitts, 2008). To

avoid this, Alleyne and Wood (2013) suggest individuals join street gangs and engage in street gang-related offending, in order to build a reputation which makes them feel safe. As suggested in the previous section, intervention strategies need to target community-wide factors, such as rates of street gangs. Whilst focused deterrence and CBT may be effective post-hoc, early prevention strategies could include educational approaches exploring the consequences of street gang involvement (e.g., G.R.E.A.T program; Esbensen, Osgood et al., 2001).

Community Relationships with Law Enforcement

The presence and quality of policing differs across neighborhoods, with high-crime areas experiencing a greater frequency of patrols. Residents of high-crime communities are more likely to be critical of police (Huebner et al., 2004; Lai & Zhao, 2010). As the likelihood of a citizen having contact with the police increases in high crime areas, this equally heightens the opportunity for negative interactions with police (Weitzer et al., 2008). When residents feel they have been treated fairly and respectfully by police, they are more likely to comply with the law (Fontaine et al., 2017). Comparatively, according to negative bias theory, even a single episode of negative police-resident interaction will lead to poor attitudes towards police and lower compliance with the law (Li et al., 2016).

Recent research in the UK regarding stop-and-search strategies suggests that some forces have exercised their power based on stereotypical assumptions, rather than intelligence-led policing (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2010). For instance, the Equality and Human Rights Commission (2010; 2013) has repeatedly identified disproportionality in stop-and-search rates between individuals who are BAME, and those who are White. These unjustified infringements on residents' rights worsens community attitudes towards police and reduces compliance with

police attempts to enforce law and order (Fontaine et al., 2017). Interestingly, only street gang participants reported having negative interactions with the police, which tended to stem from episodes of stop-and-search:

“I see the police fuck a couple of guys up. Tried to beat up me and my cousin one time, we wasn’t doing anything wrong” (Participant 5: Street Gang).

“Back then, I pull up next to the police car, pull out knives on them and smash their windows and stuff. I used to do that because they used to antagonize me, so it was the only way to get them back”
(Participant 4: Street Gang).

This highlights the importance of building strong, positive community relationships with the police. Non-enforcement contact (i.e., personal interactions with community members) aids in fostering positive relationships, reducing stereotypes/bias and breaking down barriers (Community Relations Service, 2020; Peyton et al., 2019). Non-enforcement practices include engaging with local school and community activities.

Recreational Opportunities

According to Lerner et al. (2005), engagement in prosocial recreational activities aids young people in developing positive personal qualities and life skills. Termed the 5C’s, Lerner et al. (2005) proposes five developmental areas which are affected by recreational activity: *competence* (i.e., holding a positive perception of one’s capability in domain specific areas), *confidence* (i.e., holding a positive view of the self), *connection* (i.e., developing a sense of belonging with the wider community), *character* (i.e., demonstrating respect towards societal and cultural rules), and *caring/compassion* (i.e., being able to express empathy towards others). If

an individual fails to engage in prosocial recreational activities (e.g., due to a lack of opportunities or poverty), the development of their 5C's is limited; increasing the risk of engaging in violent and antisocial behaviors, such as street gang membership (Pivec et al., 2020).

Unlike non-gang participants, street gang participants discussed having limited prosocial recreational activities available to them. A particular issue highlighted by street gang participants was the loss of recreational activities as they hit adolescence, with available activities not age-appropriate and deemed to be 'boring' or 'unpopular':

"I used to go kayaking but it stopped, I did the youth games and it just got boring" (Participant 5: Street Gang).

"I used to skate, ah I used to love skating. I used to be sponsored. I used to get paid for it. Yeah, grew up. Skates is not very popular when you're older" (Participant 4: Street Gang).

Other street gang participants had never been given the opportunity to engage in prosocial recreational activities, despite emphasizing a desire to:

"I didn't pursue my interest or anything like that. Like, football. I didn't play football even though I love football" (Participant 1: Street Gang).

When individuals lack the opportunity to engage in prosocial recreational activities, as street gang participants experienced, Lerner et al. (2005) suggest this hinders the development of the 5C's. Factors related to limited development of the 5C's, including a lack of belonging, poor empathy and low self-esteem, have been found to increase risk of joining a street gang (Alleyne & Wood, 2010; Leverso & Matseuda, 2019; Mallion & Wood, 2018b). Therefore, by increasing an individual's

5C components through access to age-appropriate prosocial recreational activities, this could prevent or reduce street gang involvement.

Employment Opportunities

Theorists have long suggested that legitimate employment serves as an informal social control system (Laub & Sampson, 1993). By connecting an individual to a prosocial network, this supports adherence to established norms and rules through conformity (Lageson & Uggen, 2013). As such, the likelihood of engaging in antisocial or offending behavior reduces when in stable employment (Staff et al., 2010). Street gang membership, in particular, is most common in areas with low employment rates (Maitra, 2015). As discussed in Chapter 7, street gang membership can be perceived as an alternative to legitimate employment, enabling a regular income. Furthermore, gaining legitimate employment has been identified as a key factor leading to desistance from a street gang (Berger et al., 2017). Unlike non-gang participants, street gang participants discussed experiencing a lack of employment opportunities:

“There was no job employment, you’re coming out of school, you can’t get a job” (Participant 1: Street Gang).

“It’s just a means of money ‘cos there’s not always a legit job you can go into” (Participant 4: Street Gang).

Even when legitimate opportunities are available in the community, individual differences (e.g., level of motivation and commitment) may prevent full engagement in these; equally raising the risk of street gang involvement (Olate et al., 2015). Supporting this, street gang participants discussed a lack of motivation and commitment when given legitimate employment opportunities:

“Sometimes I would miss work, or I would go in but I’d be late... prefer the drugs [dealing], high paid for low work” (Participant 6: Street Gang).

“I need to do something I enjoy so I don’t wake up in the morning like ahhh... I wasn’t late but one day I just decided, fuck this, and I stopped going” (Participant 16: Street Gang).

Motivation, commitment and access to legitimate employment opportunities were consistently low across all street gang participants. In comparison, level of motivation and commitment differed among non-gang participants, whilst opportunities for legitimate employment were viewed as accessible. This demonstrates that street gang members require more assistance with accessing and maintaining legitimate employment opportunities, and this should be regularly incorporated into street gang prevention and intervention programs.

Socioeconomic Status

According to the American Psychological Association (APA, 2020), socioeconomic status (SES) refers to one’s social standing based on factors including education, income and occupation. Low individual SES has been highlighted as a risk factor for a number of negative outcomes, including poor mental health, engagement in violence and offending (APA, 2020). In addition, recent research has suggested low community-level SES (i.e., areas with poor employment opportunities, access to health care and community resources) similarly predicts negative long-term outcomes for residents (Barkan & Rocque, 2018; Basta et al., 2008). Street gangs are more common in areas of low SES (Pyrooz & Sweeten, 2015). Supporting this, street gang participants discussed living in low SES areas and being exposed to poverty:

“It’s a shit hole... it’s all poverty and corruption” (Participant 4: Street Gang).

“They not making enough money to survive, one day your mum makes food and tomorrow you might not get food” (Participant 1: Street Gang).

In comparison, non-gang participants were more likely to come from areas of a higher SES and to have parents with stable jobs and regular incomes:

“My family’s not common, they’re quite well-to-do, middle-class so to speak” (Participant 24: Non-Gang).

“My parents they’ve got alright jobs, my mum’s a social worker and my dad’s an electrician... they’ll give me a tenner a day” (Participant 30: Non-Gang).

This highlights that street gang membership can occur in response to societal-wide problems, which need to be tackled using a multidisciplinary approach (i.e., community members, policy makers, charities, police, schools, and families).

Discussion

Past research suggests a number of distinct risk factors lead an individual to join a street gang, rather than engaging in other forms of offending (Dmitrieva et al., 2014; Gilman et al., 2014). Despite this, street gang members tend to be provided with generic interventions that their non-gang counterparts also receive. This highlights that the additional needs of street gang members may not be adequately targeted during current interventions, which explains the mixed findings regarding their effectiveness at reducing street gang involvement (e.g., Boxer et al., 2015; Lipsey, 2009; Wong et al., 2011). Consistent with the GLM, internal and external capacity obstacles which hinder the attainment of primary goods through prosocial

means must first be identified (Ward & Fortune, 2013), prior to the development of effective intervention programs for street gang members. As such, this chapter explored whether street gang members experienced any internal and external capacity obstacles, beyond that of their non-gang offending counterparts.

Across the five risk domains (individual, peer, school, family and community), numerous internal and external capacity obstacles experienced by street gang participants were identified. To briefly summarize, concerning the individual domain, street gang participants were more likely than their non-gang counterparts to experience: high rates of PTSD, suicidal thoughts and attempts, a lack of insight into their mental health, poor coping strategies, lower self-esteem and difficulties with emotion recognition, expression and regulation. Furthermore, street gang participants displayed more symptoms of conduct disorder, utilized more moral disengagement strategies and held more anti-authority attitudes. Interestingly, to the best of the author's knowledge, this is the first study to identify high levels of perfectionism (i.e., setting unrealistic goals and being self-critical) among street gang members. Contradicting past research, street gang participants did not differ from non-gang participants in their impulsive and sensation seeking behaviors. Although, this may be due to the use of a prison sample, who are more likely than non-incarcerated offenders to display such behaviors (Carroll et al., 2006). In general, these findings suggest street gang members would benefit from interventions that consider the role of trauma, emotions and coping strategies.

Within the school domain, compared to their non-gang counterparts, street gang participants were more likely to be suspended or excluded (especially throughout primary school), be a victim of bullying and feel unsafe within the school environment. Furthermore, street gang participants had lower academic attainment,

worse relationships with teachers and were less likely to have learning difficulties recognized at an early age. Critically, street gang participants were more likely to have contact with teachers that exhibited poor coping mechanisms (e.g., substance misuse), which has not previously been identified as a risk factor in the literature. As key role models in the behavioral development of young people, it is essential that external influences (e.g., teachers coping strategies) are targeted in a whole-systems approach to street gang prevention and intervention (HM Government, 2019).

Regarding the peer domain, compared to non-gang participants, street gang participants placed more importance on their social identity, and had a greater need for status and belonging. Furthermore, street gang participants were exposed to more peer pressure and norms of violence among peers. Street gang participants were also more likely to be influenced by the glamorization of street gangs through social media and music. Within the community domain, street gang participants were exposed to more community violence, had higher rates of street gangs in their local area and negative experiences of contact with police. As such, street gang participants were more likely to feel unsafe in their community and become desensitized towards violence. Again, this demonstrates that a whole-systems approach to street gang prevention and intervention is required, with peer and community influences targeted.

Within the family domain, familial engagement in crime was equally likely among street gang and non-gang participants. However, street gang participants were more likely to have family members who were in a street gang. In addition, compared to their non-gang counterparts, street gang participants experienced more familial conflict, were more likely to come from a single-parent household and feel a sense of abandonment. Street gang participants were also less likely to receive

emotional support from family and had poorer relationships with foster carers. Contradicting past research (Aldridge et al., 2011), parental supervision was low among both street gang and non-gang participants. Although, this may again be a product of the sample used; escalation of negative behaviors, to the extent that one is incarcerated, would more likely occur if individuals experience poor parental supervision (Derzon, 2010). In general, this supports previous recommendations that family-based components are necessary in street gang prevention and intervention programs (Sharkey et al., 2017), focusing on fostering strong, supportive relationships.

As demonstrated, internal and external capacity obstacles differ between street gang and non-gang offenders. However, it must be highlighted that many individuals experience some of the internal and external capacity obstacles discussed above, and will not join a street gang. As Thornberry et al. (2003) suggests, individuals are more vulnerable to joining a street gang if they are exposed to multiple internal and external capacity obstacles. This is because they are unable to effectively secure their primary goods through prosocial means (Purvis et al., 2011). Supporting this, street gang participants experienced multiple internal and external capacity obstacles across all five risk domains. As discussed in Chapter 7, for some individuals, belonging to a street gang can enable them to ‘pseudo-secure’ their primary goods, when they feel other means are inaccessible to them. Therefore, prevention and intervention programs *specifically* targeting street gang membership need to aid individuals in developing the skills necessary to be able to access and attain their primary goods through prosocial means.

Summary

Findings from this chapter highlight that internal and external capacity obstacles differ between street gang and non-gang offenders. These obstacles prevent the attainment of primary goods through prosocial means. As such, street gang membership may be perceived as a viable alternative, enabling the primary goods to be ‘pseudo-secured’. This suggests that street gang members would benefit from intervention programs *specifically* targeted to the internal and external obstacles they face. These include poor mental health, difficulties recognizing, identifying and regulating emotions, lack of attendance and attainment at school, experiencing peer pressure, glamorization of street gangs, familial engagement in crime, lack of parental supervision, and exposure to unsafe and violent neighborhoods. Critically, this chapter has highlighted that street gang prevention and intervention programs need to utilize a whole-system, multidisciplinary approach, targeting all five risk domains. Chapter 9 will now provide a general discussion for this thesis, including practical approaches to street gang prevention and intervention.

Chapter 9

Application of the Good Lives Model to Street Gang Membership: General Discussion, Implications and Conclusion

Introduction

The GLM is considered a leading framework guiding offender rehabilitation (Ward & Fortune, 2013). However, the etiological assumptions of the GLM have not previously been theoretically or empirically explored in relation to street gang membership. This is despite the World Health Organization (2020) highlighting street gang membership as a global public health problem, requiring an immediate international response. As highlighted in Chapter 1 of this thesis, current interventions for street gang members have mixed results and do not adequately target the ‘gains’ from belonging to a street gang (e.g., protection, support network). As such, with its focus on achieving personally meaningful goals through prosocial methods, the GLM can provide an alternative approach to street gang prevention and intervention.

In general, the aim of this thesis was to examine the theoretical application of the GLM to street gang membership. First, research regarding the GLM assumptions and outcomes of GLM-consistent interventions was systematically reviewed. This was to examine whether the GLM is an ideological and intuition-based model, or an empirically supported model. Whilst findings regarding the outcomes of GLM-consistent interventions were generally positive, research examining the GLM assumptions were mixed and limited. This suggests that the GLM has, at times, been applied as a framework for offender rehabilitation, without an empirical foundation. To overcome this, the primary aim of this thesis was to empirically examine whether

the etiological assumptions of the GLM adequately explained street gang involvement. If the etiological assumptions of the GLM were upheld in a street gang sample, this would support the utilization of the GLM as a framework for street gang prevention and intervention programs. This chapter first summarizes the key findings and discusses the theoretical implications. These are further explored with regard to the clinical implications. Methodological limitations of this thesis are also discussed.

Theoretical Implications

When considering the application of the GLM to offenders, Purvis et al. (2013) explored whether offenders are '*moral strangers or fellow travelers*'. To protect our own moral sanctity, we often fall into the trap of perceiving offenders as different from ourselves (i.e., *moral strangers*). Specifically, non-offenders may believe that they would be unable to commit crimes, whilst offenders are 'evil', unable to change and lacking in morals. Taking this perspective, the response to an offence being committed should be punishment and containment, rather than intervention and treatment. However, when applying the perspective of the GLM, offenders are viewed as 'people like us' (Laws & Ward, 2011). These '*fellow travelers*' strive to achieve the same goals as us: stability, love, friendship, employment and a purpose to life. The pursuit of these goals, or primary goods, is inherently normal, intrinsically beneficial and drives all human behavior (Ward & Maruna, 2007).

As seen with the street gang participants included in this thesis, they each aimed to attain the 11 primary goods, albeit through inappropriate means (see table 9.1); supporting the view that street gang members are our '*fellow travelers*'. From this perspective, it is unreasonable and ethically irresponsible to view offenders as different, evil, unable to change or immoral. Why then, some may ask, do we pursue

these goals differently? If offenders are not evil, if they are no different to us, why do they offend? For the street gang participants, it was clear that a variety of obstacles prevented the attainment of primary goods through prosocial means. Consistent with the etiological assumptions of the GLM, the pursuit of primary goods was found to be hampered by a lack of coherence, scope, means and capacity. Demonstrating a lack of coherence, street gang participants' pursuit of long-term goals (e.g., establishing secure romantic relationships) often conflicted with the pursuit of short-term goals (e.g., having fun with friends). A lack of scope was highlighted by the limited aspirations and poor self-care displayed by street gang participants, whilst insufficient access to prosocial opportunities and activities represented a lack of means.

Table 9.1

Summary of key findings from Chapter 7 regarding attainment of primary goods through street gang involvement.

Primary Good	Method of attaining primary goods through street gang membership
Life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Financial gain to secure basic needs - Protection from harm - Accesses to substances for physical health
Knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Learning to offend - Sharing knowledge
Excellence in Work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intrinsically meaningful criminal careers - Deviant entrepreneurship

Spirituality	- Striving for success
	- Group-based goals
Excellence in Play	- Street gang membership as a deviant leisure activity
Pleasure	- Street addiction
	- Financial gain to fund an indulgent lifestyle
	- Substance misuse
	- Access to sexual relationships
Excellence in	- Freedom from authority figures
Agency	- Decision making
	- Power and control
	- Status and respect
	- Leadership
Community	<i>Home-Town Street Gangs</i>
	- Sense of belonging
	- Territoriality
	- Providing for the community
	- Status and respect within the community
	<i>County Lines Street Gangs</i>
	- Financial territoriality
Creativity	- Expressing creativity through illegal activities
	- Accessing creative opportunities through street gang involvement
Relatedness	- Close friendships with street gang peers
	- Providing financial and material affection
Inner Peace	- Coping with bullying

-
- Expression of negative emotions
 - Access to substances for emotional relief
-

These obstacles tend to occur due to issues in capacity (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Without the skills (internal capacity) or opportunities (external capacity) necessary to achieve the primary goods through prosocial means, offending behavior can occur. This is particularly the case when multiple obstacles are faced by an individual. For some participants, joining a street gang was found to resemble a *direct* attempt to secure the primary goods (i.e., street gang membership as a career choice). For others, street gang membership was found to occur indirectly, when an attempt to attain primary goods through prosocial means failed (i.e., rejection from prosocial peer groups caused emotional distress, which was alleviated by street gang peers, leading to membership). Thus, to answer the question ‘if they are no different to us, why do they offend?’, street gang membership was found to resemble an opportunity to attain primary goods, in situations where prosocial methods were not available or accessible.

Whilst street gang members did consider their involvement as a means of securing primary goods, it is likely that, at best, these primary goods were only ‘pseudo-secured’ (Purvis, 2010). The continuous threat street gang members face to their primary goods prevents them from achieving a truly meaningful and fulfilling life. Furthermore, street gang engagement has a detrimental impact on the member themselves. Among other long-term negative outcomes, street gang members are at an increased risk of violent victimization, developing mental health issues, and are less likely to form stable, lasting relationships (Augustyn et al., 2014). Thus, interventions which target the obstacles faced by street gang members can support

them to achieve their primary goods through prosocial means; benefitting both the individual and the wider society. With the right support, these individuals could become valuable and contributing members of society. It is important to remember that street gang members are most often young and vulnerable individuals (Beresford & Wood, 2016), who may need support to identify prosocial methods of fulfilling primary goods.

Clinical Implications

Consistent with a public health approach, the GLM suggests that, given the right conditions, *any* individual could be drawn towards joining a street gang (Gravel et al., 2013). Findings from this thesis demonstrate that street gang members had normal aspirations; aiming to achieve each of the 11 primary goods. However, as the methods utilized to achieve these were maladaptive, strategies to prevent and halt street gang involvement should focus on aiding our *'fellow travelers'* to achieve their primary goods through prosocial means. Supporting this, evidence from the general offending literature suggests psychologically-informed prevention and intervention programs are more likely to have long-term positive outcomes than punitive measures (Howell, 2010). As found in Chapter 1 of this thesis, whilst psychologically-informed programs are beginning to emerge as having *some* effect on reducing street gang involvement (e.g., Gottfredson et al., 2018), the vast majority of programs either have no impact or increase street gang engagement levels (Esbensen, Osgood et al., 2001; Webster et al., 2012).

A number of key issues with current street gang prevention and intervention programs have been identified. Specifically, these programs suffer from a lack of theoretical foundation (McGloin & Decker, 2010), clear goals and objectives (Klein & Maxson, 2006), and methodologically sound evaluation (Curry, 2010). In

addition, the majority of interventions take a risk-management stance, which has been repeatedly criticized for having a demotivating nature and limited focus on non-criminogenic needs and therapeutic alliance (Case & Haines, 2015; Ward, Melsner, & Yates, 2007). In comparison, the GLM benefits from a strong theoretical foundation (see, for example, Deci & Ryan, 2000; Doyal & Gough, 1991; Ward & Stewart, 2003b), and recommends the formation of clear individualized goals and objectives (i.e., Good Lives plans), which guide prevention and intervention programs.

However, as found in the systematic review (see Chapter 3), both the etiological assumptions of the GLM and the effectiveness of GLM-consistent interventions suffer from a lack of methodologically sound evaluation. Although, as a relatively new framework of offender rehabilitation, it is hoped that the empirical evaluation of both the etiological assumptions and application of the GLM will rapidly increase over the coming years. With its strengths-based focus, the GLM framework emphasizes a personally meaningful and intrinsically motivating approach to offender rehabilitation, enhancing therapeutic alliance (Fortune, 2018). For street gang members, whose mistrust and lack of motivation tends to hinder intervention programs (Di Placido et al., 2007), the GLM can be suggested as an alternative framework for preventing and reducing street gang involvement. As the etiological assumptions of the GLM were found to be upheld with a street gang sample in this thesis, this supports the application of GLM-consistent interventions with street gang members.

Critically, the findings of this thesis support the use of prevention and intervention strategies which specifically target street gang membership. Especially for incarcerated street gang members, interventions which are currently provided

tend to be generic and open to all offenders (regardless of offence typology). Such interventions primarily target problem solving skills, offence-supportive thinking and substance misuse (Ministry of Justice, 2020b). As demonstrated in this thesis, street gang members represent a unique population, having additional needs beyond that of non-gang offenders. For instance, street gang participants in this thesis reported experiencing numerous internal capacity obstacles, including poorer mental health, emotion recognition, and coping strategies, than their non-gang counterparts. Street gang members were also more likely to experience external obstacles in the form of poor social support, negative role models and unsafe environments. This supports the need for street gang members to have specialized treatment, distinct from non-gang offenders. See table 9.2 for a summary of obstacles experienced by street gang participants. Interestingly, a number of new obstacles were identified in this thesis, which require further research prior to targeting within interventions. For example, street gang participants discussed experiences consistent with Alexithymia (e.g., emotional numbing), delays in diagnoses of learning difficulties, and high rates of perfectionism, which have not previously been examined in relation to street gang membership.

Table 9.2

Summary of obstacles experienced by street gang participants, according to risk domain (as identified in Chapter 8).

Risk Domain	Obstacles experienced by street gang participants
Individual	- Poor mental health (including PTSD symptomology, anxiety, psychosis, paranoia, self-harm, suicide)

attempts) and understanding of mental health conditions

- Difficulties recognizing emotions of others
 - Difficulties identifying own emotions (characteristic of Alexithymia)
 - Poor emotion regulation
 - Lack of coping strategies
 - Substance misuse
 - Low self-esteem
 - Perfectionism
 - Childhood onset conduct disorder
 - Moral disengagement
 - Anti-authority attitudes
- School
- Poor academic attainment
 - Delays in diagnoses of learning difficulties
 - Repeated episodes of suspension/exclusion from an early age
 - Feeling unsafe at school
 - Negative student-teacher relationships
 - Teachers involvement in substance misuse
- Peer
- Focus on social identity
 - Experiencing peer pressure
 - Group norms acceptive of violence
 - Peer substance misuse
 - Strong desire for belonging, status and respect
-

-
- | | |
|-----------|---|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Glamorization of street gangs- Negative influence of social media and music |
| Family | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Familial engagement in crime- Familial engagement in street gangs- Family express support of street gang membership- Lack of emotional support from family- Poor relationships with foster caregivers- Single-parent household- Lack of contact with parent that they do not live with- Sense of abandonment by non-present parent- Conflict with family members- Being kicked out of home- Lack of supervision- Lack of expectations surrounding appropriate behavior |
| Community | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Unsafe neighborhoods- Exposure to violence leading to desensitization- Violence as a community norm- Exposure to street gangs- Negative interactions with police- Lack of prosocial, age-appropriate recreational activities- Lack of legitimate employment opportunities- Low socioeconomic status |
-

As highlighted in Chapter 8, many of the obstacles experienced by street gang participants resulted from familial, community, school and peer influences. The GLM framework supports a holistic approach to street gang intervention, encompassing the systems and networks available to the individual. As Griffin and Wylie (2013) suggest, this means both the individual and their wider social networks are responsible and accountable for altering behavior. Therefore, the GLM encourages a multidisciplinary approach (including family members, teachers, social workers, youth workers, police, etc.) to street gang prevention and intervention programs. The remainder of this section will discuss the implementation of a GLM framework for street gang interventions, focusing on assessment and treatment.

Good Lives Assessment

A clinical assessment aims to: (1) identify the problem; (2) explore the etiology of the offence, and; (3) devise an individualized intervention (Sturme, 2010). The GLM also emphasizes that clinical assessment should incorporate the identification of an individual's strengths, which prevents feelings of inadequacy (Griffin & Wylie, 2013). A Good Lives assessment initially takes the form of a clinical interview between a therapist and client, aiming to develop an understanding of why primary goods were not adequately achieved through prosocial means, guiding the formulation of an intervention. For street gang members, a Good Lives assessment will need to examine how each individual achieved their primary goods, the means used to attain these, and any difficulties in capacity, coherence and scope they experienced. It is also important at this stage, to elucidate the importance of each of the primary goods, as the current findings demonstrate how this will differ for each individual. This assessment will need to consider each of these factors at the time of joining the street gang (i.e., etiology of offending), and also throughout their

period of membership (i.e., persistence of offending). An example of questions to explicate these factors can be seen in Table 9.3 below. For an extensive outline of a GLM clinical interview, see Griffin and Wylie (2013).

Table 9.3

Example of questions for the GLM clinical interview, examining the primary good of Relatedness (based on Griffin & Wylie, 2013).

Primary	Example Questions	Considerations for Assessor
Good		
Relatedness	Thinking about relationships, who were you close to at this time? Can you describe the relationship? How important was it for you to be close to someone?	For street gang members, it is important to consider familial, peer, and romantic relationships. This enables the assessor to gather more depth regarding the street gang members attachment level, effectiveness of relationships and impact these have on their behavior. Consider the level of importance the street gang member assigns to the primary good of Relatedness. If it is not important, is there a lack of scope?

How easy did you find it to form and maintain relationships?	Consider the personal strengths of the street gang member.
What prevented you from forming close relationships?	Identify internal and external obstacles in the attainment of primary goods experienced by street gang member.
How good were these relationships for you?	Consider whether the street gang member is using appropriate or inappropriate means to achieve primary goods.
How did your relationships affect your ability to do other things you wanted to do?	Explore whether the primary good came into conflict with other goods (i.e., lack of coherence).

Good Lives Plans

In addition to assessing the individual's primary goods and obstacles at the time of offending, a key component of the GLM includes the development of a Good Lives plan. This focuses on creating an action plan, incorporating an individual's goals that, if attained, would enable them to have a meaningful and happy life without the need to offend (Langlands et al., 2009). As each individual has different needs, strengths, resources, and goals, it is important that a Good Lives plan is individualized and personal to the client (Yates et al., 2010). A Good Lives plan should be motivational, focusing on the primary goods that are of importance to the individual (Yates et al., 2010). Collaboration between the client and therapist is

essential in the creation of a Good Lives plan. This ensures the plan is personally meaningful, supporting the successful outcome of an intervention program. The more applicable the Good Lives plan is to the client, and the more the client is able to directly benefit from it, the more likely they are to attempt to follow it (Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007). As a client's goals or obstacles can change, be attained or overcome, a Good Lives plan should be viewed as a dynamic and adaptable tool that guides and supports therapeutic work.

Wylie and Griffin (2013) suggest a Good Lives plan should incorporate an 'old life' and a 'new life' section. 'Old life' signifies the primary goods attained through offending behavior and the obstacles faced at that time. In comparison, 'new life' contains the client's goals, how these relate to the primary goods, and how these can be attained in relation to any obstacles (i.e., how the obstacles can be overcome). A Good Lives plan should be realistic and achievable; whilst long-term goals are important, incremental attainable steps should be included. This enables a sense of achievement and supports motivation to pursue longer-term goals. Furthermore, the clients support networks, environments and capacity should be considered when developing a Good Lives plan, as this will impact upon how attainable goals are.

The following questions are adapted from Wylie and Griffin (2013) and Prescott (2018), to guide the development of a Good Lives plan for street gang members:

- What needs did I meet through my street gang membership? *Ensure that each of the 11 primary goods are discussed. Whilst not all primary goods may relate to offending behavior, the client may also be unaware of the relationship between their primary goods and street gang involvement. As such, this can be elucidated through discussion with the therapist.*

- How do I meet my needs now? *It is important to consider both appropriate and inappropriate means of attaining primary goods. Furthermore, it is possible that in the time between referral and treatment, means used to attain primary goods will have changed, so this needs to be highlighted.*
- Which of my needs do I neglect? *This targets the obstacle of scope. For a happy and meaningful life, each of the primary goods need to be attained. A Good Lives plan should identify 'missing' primary goods and ways of achieving these.*
- Which of my needs conflict with each other? *This targets the obstacle of coherence. For primary goods to be effectively attained, they need to be coherently related to each other. A Good Lives plan should identify any conflict and devise methods of overcoming this.*
- Looking forward, how will I achieve my needs in positive ways? *This should include long-term goals, and short-term achievable steps. Goals should be realistic and attainable, especially considering the internal and external obstacles the client could face. Ensure the goals are prosocial and positive, steering clients away from the reliance on a street gang.*
- How will I know I am achieving my needs? *Developing observable ways of attaining goals can aid in maintaining client motivation, as they feel they are benefiting and achieving something by adhering to their Good Lives plan.*
- What strengths do I have? *Identifying a client's strengths and internal capacities can aid in the development of goals that are attainable.*
- Who/what do I have around me that can help? *This can include identifying prosocial support networks/environments that resemble positive external capacities. To attain goals, we all require support from others, so knowing*

who they have or where they can go for help can reduce the reliance on and appeal of street gang members. This will aid in developing resistance to street gang peers.

- What do I need to change about myself to stop my street gang involvement? *This relates well to the previous questions regarding the neglect and lack of coherence between primary goods. Identifying obstacles faced by the client allows therapists to identify which interventions they would most benefit from. Internal obstacles may be implicit (e.g., offence-supportive attitudes/moral disengagement), so therapists should guide the identification of these.*
- What do I need to change about my environment to stop my street gang involvement? *The environment that a client is exposed to will impact on how realistic and achievable goals are. In particular, different environments expose individuals to different opportunities and this should be considered.*
- What do I need from treatment to help me achieve my goals? *This should consider the variety of interventions available to the client and which they are most likely to benefit from.*

GLM-Consistent Interventions

As a framework for offender rehabilitation, the GLM has been rapidly growing in popularity. However, this has led to inconsistency in how the GLM has been applied to treatment programs, with some therapists fully integrating the GLM, whilst others using it as an ‘add-on’ module (Willis et al., 2013). Unless the GLM is appropriately applied and integrated, it is unlikely to have the desired effect of improving outcomes of offender rehabilitation. As such, this section will now

consider how the GLM can guide the formulation of rehabilitation programs for street gang members.

It is first important to highlight that the GLM (alike RNR) is a rehabilitation theory. Unlike empirically supported treatments (e.g., CBT), which tells a therapist *how* to give treatment, the GLM examines *what* should be targeted in treatment (Willis et al., 2013). Specifically, the GLM informs the development of treatment goals and targets, through the use of a Good Lives plan. As such, the overarching aim of any GLM-consistent intervention is to assist clients in fulfilling their primary goods, utilizing prosocial means, whilst simultaneously reducing their risk of reoffending (Willis et al., 2013). Critically, the GLM emphasizes the use of approach goals, which are more engaging and motivating than avoidance goals (Mann et al., 2004); supporting participation in treatment programs.

As outlined above, developing a comprehensive Good Lives plan assists a therapist in formulating an intervention strategy for street gang members. It highlights the obstacles faced by the client, which can lead to street gang membership. This then informs the therapist of areas which need targeting in interventions. Whilst numerous internal and external capacity obstacles were identified in this thesis, it is likely that each street gang member will present with varied needs. As such, the identification of obstacles must be examined using an individualistic process. Equally, capturing the clients' strengths and goals, allows these to be considered when providing an intervention. For example, street gang participants included in this thesis reported that they struggled to focus in classrooms, instead preferring practical-based learning. As such, interventions which utilize a 'hands-on' approach may be more effective.

In order to assist street gang members in achieving their goals, both criminogenic and non-criminogenic needs should be addressed. For example, one street gang participant reported that they aimed to achieve the primary good of Community in the future by becoming a youth worker. To fulfil this goal, the participant's criminogenic needs that would require addressing include social skills, anti-authority attitudes and substance misuse. Equally, non-criminogenic needs, such as self-esteem, emotion recognition ability and access to vocational training (Ogloff, 2002), may also need to be addressed for the goal to be successfully attained. This necessitates a multi-disciplinary approach, with the involvement of various services (e.g., parole officers, social services, health services, education, and family) to ensure the successful attainment of primary goods.

Critically, a GLM-consistent intervention must be tailored to the individual's unique Good Lives plan; each client will have their own strengths, obstacles and goals. As such, the intensity and kind of intervention program they require will depend on the degree to which obstacles (i.e., criminogenic needs) prevent the fulfilment of their Good Lives plan (Willis et al., 2013). It is expected that there will be some degree of overlap in the obstacles faced by street gang members. As highlighted in Chapter 8, street gang participants consistently expressed difficulty in recognizing, regulating and expressing emotions, had high levels of moral disengagement and anti-authority attitudes. Therefore, these may be considered standard topics that need addressing in street gang interventions. Furthermore, Willis et al. (2013) suggest modules typically used in RNR-based programs (e.g., problem-solving skills, understanding offending, self-regulation and social skills), which utilize a CBT approach, should equally be included in a GLM-consistent

intervention. Although, these should be ‘wrapped around’ the individual client’s priorities and goals.

The GLM also influences the delivery of interventions. Specifically, the GLM has a strong ethical focus; acknowledging that as *‘fellow travelers’*, offenders deserve respect and should be treated with dignity (Willis et al., 2013). As such, positive therapist characteristics (e.g., warmth, praise and empathy) should be exhibited when interacting with clients. As identified in this thesis, street gang members are particularly vulnerable, having experienced numerous internal and external obstacles. As such, it is essential that a strong, positive alliance is formed with a therapist. This is particularly important when considering that the aim of an intervention is to reduce their engagement with street gang peers, who they may view as providing them with emotional support.

Overall, a GLM-consistent intervention for street gang members should be positively framed and aim to assist them in attaining their primary goods through prosocial means, by reducing/overcoming any barriers they face. When applying the GLM to street gang intervention, evaluation of the program should be embedded at every stage (i.e., pre-test, post-test) and, although challenging to implement, RCT’s should be considered. This will aid in the development and growth of a strong evidence-base for GLM-consistent interventions with street gang members, which is currently lacking.

Methodological Limitations

As with all psychological research, the studies reported in this thesis are not without limitations. Firstly, a limitation of any qualitative study is that the findings are constrained in terms of generalizability. Taking a positivist stance, generalizability relies on a representative, random sample (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Yet, qualitative research tends to use purposive sampling (in this case, offenders incarcerated at one UK institution) and small numbers of participants. However, qualitative research benefits from gathering rich, in-depth descriptions of individuals' experiences. As Groleau et al. (2009) suggest, a collection of these accounts does still have the power to inform us of shared or universal problems, which can then influence intervention and policy development.

A further limitation, again typical of qualitative research, is the use of self-report, whereby openness and honesty may be impeded by the personal and sensitive nature of questions asked. Whilst participants did appear keen to share their own experiences, this does not necessarily mean they are being honest. Forensic populations are often experienced in the act of impression management, particularly with authority figures, in order to gain the best outcomes for themselves (Wood, 2002). However, this was accounted for in the interviews, with the power differential minimized (e.g., assuring participants of researcher independence from authorities, giving participants choice in the order of topics). Furthermore, it was ensured that interviews were private, participants were aware of anonymity and confidentiality procedures, and the necessary caveats to this were made clear. With these in place, participants did seem to speak frankly about their experiences. Notably, the self-reports of street gang membership closely resembled official records, suggesting participants were open in interviews.

Utilizing a deductive approach in qualitative analysis, whereby theoretical concepts are applied to data collection and analysis, may be considered by some as a limitation of this research. Specifically, the deductive approach has been criticized for threatening the validity of research, whereby one sees what they desire to see (Morse & Mitcham, 2002). As such, future research could consider utilizing an

inductive approach to data collection and analysis, whereby themes are developed directly from the data and thought of as less influenced by past research and knowledge. However, the assumption of inductive research as ‘presuppositionless’ is questionable. As Popper (1963) first suggested, observation is always selective regardless of how hard we try to put our knowledge of the research area aside; often because of our implicit biases. Therefore, both inductive and deductive approaches to qualitative research have their limitations. Notably, the abundance of qualitative research utilizing inductive approaches has led to deductive approaches being neglected, with little guidance provided (Pearse, 2019). However, this does not mean that deductive approaches are any less effective when appropriately applied.

As highlighted in Chapter 4, the challenges of researching a hidden population (i.e., difficulties in sampling, locating, and identifying participants) meant street gang members were more easily accessed through prison services. However, this resulted in the interviews relying on participants retrospective accounts of their street gang involvement and factors influencing their engagement in offending behavior. As such, there is a risk that responses were influenced by hindsight bias, whereby their current experiences (i.e., of being in prison), influence their recall of past events. Although retrospective accounts of street gang involvement have been used in past research (e.g., James, 2015), future research could consider interviewing those who are currently participating in street gangs. Furthermore, one issue of qualitative research is the inability to establish cause-and-effect (i.e., did difficulty in attaining primary goods lead to street gang involvement, or vice versa?). As such, longitudinal research concerning the ongoing attainment of primary goods and the impact this has on street gang involvement should be conducted.

Turning specifically to limitations of Chapter 8, comparative studies using a qualitative design are a rare and under-utilized approach in psychology, with some qualitative researchers resistant to its use (Lindsay, 2019). This is despite comparative qualitative research informing of relevant differences between groups, which is necessary when planning and developing intervention programs to specifically target the needs of a given group (Morse, 2004; Lindsay, 2018). Critically, guidance regarding procedures for conducting comparative qualitative research is severely lacking (Lindsay, 2018). Whilst similar methods of comparative qualitative research have been utilized in the health domain (i.e., comparing different groups or conditions), this method is novel to forensic psychology. For simplicity, street gang participants were compared to non-gang participants of any offending typology. This may have limited the differences between groups, as some offending typologies closely resembled those of street gang participants (i.e., non-gang drug dealers), whilst others widely varied (i.e., non-gang burglars). Future research should consider comparing street gang participants to specific offending typologies. Importantly, the inclusion of a comparison group increases the credibility of qualitative research, through the inclusion of negative case analysis (i.e., participants whose experiences differ from the main group; Morse, 2015).

The final limitation of this thesis concerns the classification of individuals as street gang members (see Chapter 5 for a full overview). As highlighted previously, the Eurogang Youth Survey may not adequately differentiate between street gang members and substance misusing groups (Aldridge et al., 2012). Whilst this limitation may account for the high numbers of street gang members identified in the pilot study of university students, it did appear that the vast majority of the prison sample were correctly classified when comparing the Eurogang Youth Survey and

official records. It is important to note, however, that due to the findings from the pilot study, participants recruited from the prison were given the opportunity to expand on the kind of behaviors and activities they undertook when with their peer group, which aided in the classification as street gang or non-gang. Currently, this is not classed as one of the key criteria necessary for classification according to the Eurogang Youth Survey. However, this was found to be particularly useful for clarifying whether the classification was correct. As such, future research should consider including this when utilizing the Eurogang Youth Survey.

Conclusion

Despite the rapid growth in research examining the etiological assumptions of the GLM and the effectiveness of GLM-consistent interventions with various offending typologies, street gang members have been sorely overlooked. The lack of theoretical foundation guiding current street gang interventions has led to mixed findings regarding their effectiveness (Wood, 2019). Furthermore, the use of punitive or risk-focused approaches has not had the desired effect, with street gang embeddedness increasing and individuals suffering poor long-term outcomes (e.g., poor health, academic attainment, and employment; Swan & Bates, 2017). As such, the positivist, humanistic and holistic framework of the GLM, can provide an alternative approach to current street gang interventions. Focusing on establishing the skills and opportunities necessary to attain primary goods, whilst equally managing risks, is likely to be more engaging and motivational for a hard-to-reach population, such as street gang members.

Prior to implementing a GLM-consistent intervention with street gang members, it was first necessary to test the applicability of the etiological assumptions with this population. Consistent with the GLM assumptions, the findings of this

thesis suggest that collectively, participants aimed to achieve all of the 11 primary goods. However, difficulties in scope, coherence, capacity and means led to these being unattainable through prosocial methods. As such, street gang membership resulted from a combination of both direct and indirect attempts to secure primary goods, although, at best, these were only ‘pseudo-secured’. Issues in both internal and external capacity were identified as key factors leading to street gang involvement. Notably, the number and type of capacity issues differed between street gang and non-gang offenders. In particular, street gang participants were more likely to face a multitude of internal and external capacity issues across all five risk domains (i.e., family, school, individual, peer and community), than non-gang offenders.

As the etiological assumptions of the GLM are upheld with street gang members, this supports the application of GLM-consistent interventions with street gang populations. Critically, for a GLM-consistent intervention to be successful, the GLM principles must be fully applied and integrated. As such, the process of implementing a GLM-consistent intervention was outlined, with focus placed on the role of assessment and creation of Good Lives plans. To enable growth in the evidence-base surrounding the GLM, it is recommended that evaluation should be embedded within any GLM-consistent intervention, to establish ongoing effectiveness at reducing street gang membership.

Street gang involvement has recently been recognized as a serious public health issues (WHO, 2020). With its focus on agency, ethics and achieving personally meaningful goals, the GLM fits well within a public health approach to street gang membership (see Chapter 2). For instance, at a primary prevention level, early identification of any obstacles preventing attainment of primary goods through

prosocial means, could *prevent* street gang involvement. At a secondary or tertiary level, whereby an individual is at high-risk or already a member of a street gang, targeted GLM-consistent interventions could *reduce* street gang involvement. Future research should investigate the effectiveness of GLM-consistent interventions at primary, secondary and tertiary levels.

Overall, the findings from this thesis highlight that street gang members are individuals just like us; they have the same wants, needs and desires. However, the obstacles they face can impede the attainment of these, leading to offending behavior. This suggests that our *'fellow travelers'* deserve to be treated with respect and supported in developing the skills, and gaining the opportunities necessary to have a happy and meaningful life, without the need to engage in street gangs. As such, GLM-consistent interventions should be considered the way forward for preventing and reducing street gang involvement.

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Appendix A

Studies Included in the Systematic Review

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Appendix B.

Summary of Data Extracted from Included Studies

Authors and Date	Sample	Country	Design	Control Group	Measures	Results
Barendregt (2015)	Adolescent males ($N = 172$; $M_{\text{age}} = 16.8$) with severe mental health issues in secure residential care.	The Netherlands	Cross-sectional study	No control group	<p>GLM Measure: LQoLP (Van Nieuwenhuizen et al., 2002)</p> <p>Outcome Measures: WODC Youth Delinquency Survey (Van der Laan et al., 2009); forensic mental health evaluation conducted by trained clinical experts using the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual Version IV – Text Revision (DSM-IV-TR; American Psychiatric</p>	<p>Barendregt (2015) found little support for unmet needs (corresponding to primary goods) in predicting general delinquency; with this only accounting for 2.4% of variance in delinquency.</p> <p>However, unmet needs had explanatory value, beyond risk factors, in participants' psychopathology. Unmet leisure and financial needs positively related to Disruptive Behavior Disorders; Autism Spectrum disorder was related to unmet health needs, and; having unmet safety and health needs</p>

					Association, 2000); official reconviction data	were associated with Attention Deficit Disorder.
Barendregt et al. (2018)	Adolescent males (<i>N</i> = 95), aged 16- 18 years. All participants had a history of mental health difficulties and had been in a secure residential facility for at least three months.	The Netherlands	Prospective longitudinal design with four waves.	No control group	GLM Measure: Dutch Youth Version of the Lancashire Quality of Life Profile (LQoLP; Van Nieuwenhuizen et al., 2002) Outcome Measures: Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965); Life Regard Index (Debats et al., 1993); Utrecht Coping List for Adolescents (Bijstra et al., 1994); Structured Assessment of Violence Risk in Youth (SAVRY; Borum et al., 2002); Youth Delinquency Survey (Van der Laan et	Poor QoL (low attainment of primary goods) was not found to relate to self-reported recidivism 12 months following discharge from a secure residential facility. Although, low scores on the health domain predicted more psychosocial issues 12 months after discharge.

					al., 2009); Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (Goodman, 1999)	
Barnett et al. (2014)	Adult males ($n =$ not specified; $M_{age} = 42.25$) who had sexually offended and received a GLM-consistent intervention. GLM-consistent interventions were undertaken with one of two community groupwork programs: either the Community Sex Offender Groupwork (CSOG) program or the Thames	United Kingdom	Quasi-experimental design	Adult males ($n =$ not specified; $M_{age} = 41.65$) who had sexually offended and received a Relapse Prevention intervention. Relapse Prevention interventions were also delivered within the CSOG or TVSOG community programs.	<p>GLM Measure: N/A – treatment group assigned</p> <p>Outcome Measures: Risk Matrix 2000 (Thornton et al., 2003); Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI; Davis, 1980); Relapse Prevention Questionnaire (Beckett et al., 1997); Short Self-Esteem scale (Webster et al., 2007); UCLA loneliness scale (Russell et al., 1980); Beliefs About Children Scale (Beckett, 1987); Victim Empathy Distortions</p>	No difference was found between GLM and RP groups in overall psychometric change and attrition rates. Although, a higher proportion of the GLM-consistent intervention completers achieved a treated profile than RP completers.

Valley Sex
Offender
Groupwork
(TVSOG)
program.

(Beckett & Fisher, 1994);
Underassertiveness scale
from Social Response
Inventory (Keltner et al.,
1981); Nowicki-
Strickland Locus of
Control Scale (Nowicki,
1976)

Barnett and Wood (2008) Adult males ($N = 42$; $M_{age} = 43.18$), who were incarcerated in a UK prison for a sexual offence and had not received any treatment.

United Kingdom

Mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative component)

No control group

GLM Measure:
Good Lives Questionnaire examining the primary goods of Agency, Inner Peace and Relatedness, designed by study authors

Outcome Measures:
Social Problem Solving Inventory – Revised (D’Zurilla et al., 2002)

Participants assigned highest priority to Relatedness, then Agency. Priority scores assigned to Inner Peace were significantly lower than the other primary goods examined. Slightly over half (52.4%) of participants were categorized as having a balanced Good Lives plan (all primary goods examined were assigned a high priority). All four obstacles were experienced by

						participants (scope, coherence, means, capacity). Regarding the obstacle of capacity, participants who had a balanced Good Lives plan had higher overall problem-solving ability, whilst greater dysfunctional problem solving was related to an unbalanced Good Lives plan.
Bouman et al. (2009)	Adult male ($N = 135$; $M_{\text{age}} = 37.5$) forensic outpatients with personality-disorders, of mixed offending typologies (including sexual, violent and non-violent offences).	The Netherlands	Longitudinal study	No control group	GLM Measure: LQoLP (Van Nieuwenhuizen et al., 2002) Outcome Measures: Cantril's Ladder (Cantril, 1965 in Van Nieuwenhuizen et al., 1998); Self-Reported Delinquent Behavior	No difference was found in self-reported recidivism at a three-month follow-up between forensic outpatients with unmet needs (corresponding to primary goods) and those who reported having a fulfilling life. However, the domains of health and life fulfilment were negatively associated

Inventory (van Dam et al., 1999); official recidivism data; LSI-R (Andrews & Bonta, 1995)

with violent and general recidivism at three-month follow-up. Specifically, high risk outpatients were three times more likely to commit a general offence at three-month follow-up if they were unsatisfied with their health.

At a three-year follow-up, violent reconvictions were moderately related to having general unmet needs, and significantly related to poor satisfaction with health.

Property crimes related to poor satisfaction with finances, and general crimes related to poor satisfaction with health. However, when accounting for risk level, none of these relationships remained significant. Despite

					<p>this, high risk patients were six times less likely to commit a violent crime if satisfied with their health, and three times less likely if satisfied with their life in general.</p>	
Chu et al. (2015)	All adolescent males ($N = 168$), aged 12-18 years, who had been referred to the Clinical and Forensic Psychology Branch (CFBP) of the Ministry of Social and Family Development in Singapore for a sexual offence, between October	Singapore	Retrospective, clinical file review	No control group	<p>GLM Measure: Clinical file reviews by two CFBP psychologists for primary goods</p> <p>Outcome Measures: ERASOR (Worling & Curwen, 2001); Offense Pathway Checklist (Ward & Hudson, 1998)</p>	<p>The primary goods of Pleasure (91.1% of total sample), Relatedness (35.7%) and Inner Peace (17.3%) were mentioned most in the clinical files of adolescents who had sexually offended. Creativity, Spirituality and Life were not present in any of the clinical files, with the remaining primary goods mentioned in less than 10% of clinical files. No differences were found according to victim age (child</p>

	2002 and March 2012.					vs. non-child) or nature of offence (penetrative vs. non-penetrative).
Harkins et al. (2012)	Adult males ($n = 76$; $M_{age} =$ not reported) who had sexually offended and received a GLM-consistent module, called the Better Lives, as part of their community-based treatment.	United Kingdom	Mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative component)	Adult males ($n = 701$; $M_{age} =$ not reported) who had sexually offended and received a Relapse Prevention module as part of their community-based treatment.	<p>GLM Measure: N/A – treatment group assigned</p> <p>Outcome Measures: IRI (Davis, 1980); Relapse Prevention Questionnaire (Beckett et al., 1997); Self-Esteem scale (Webster et al., 2007); UCLA loneliness scale (Russell et al., 1980); Beliefs About Children scale (Beckett, 1987); Nowicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale (Nowicki, 1976); Social Response Inventory (Keltner et al.,</p>	No difference was found between GLM and RP groups in overall psychometric change and attrition rates. In addition, no difference was found between groups on achieving a treated profile.

					1981; Victim Empathy Distortions (Beckett & Fisher, 1994)	
Harris et al. (2019)	Adult males ($N = 42$; $M_{age} = 49.5$) who had been released from prison and were undertaking community-based therapy for sexual offending.	United States	Qualitative, thematic approach	No control group	<p>GLM Measure: Semi-structured interview adapted from McAdams' (1993) Life History Interview Protocol</p> <p>Outcome Measures: N/A</p>	The following primary goods were reported to be well achieved by a large proportion of participants: Knowledge (73.8%), Relatedness (66.7%), Spirituality (45.2%), and Community (38.1%). The remaining primary goods were achieved in less than 10% of participants. Both Knowledge and Community were attained through engagement in sexual offender treatment groups, due to rejection from mainstream clubs. External capacity issues reported include rejection from others,

						difficulty securing housing and employment, and financial strain.
Leeson & Adshead (2013)	Participants include both therapist providers ($n = 7$) and adolescents ($n = 4$; $M_{age} =$ not reported) who were receiving the GLM-Adolescent (GLM-A) treatment at G-map for sexual offending. Service users include three males and one female.	United Kingdom	Qualitative, thematic approach	No control group	<p>GLM Measure: N/A – treatment provided</p> <p>Outcome Measures: Semi-structured interviews with service providers and users examining their understanding of the GLM, engagement with treatment, usefulness of GLM and areas of possible improvement</p>	Practitioners were supportive of the GLM-A program for adolescents who had sexually offended, due to enhanced motivation to change and improved engagement with the treatment. Service users reported reduced feelings of shame, hopelessness and defensiveness. They experience optimism for the future, more confidence and development of support networks. Behavior of service users was also found to improve over the course of the intervention.

Loney & Harkins (2018)	University students ($N = 340$; $M_{age} = 20.03$). Sample included both male ($n = 149$) and female ($n = 187$) participants (four did not specify gender).	United Kingdom	Cross-sectional study	No control group	GLM Measure: Measure of Life Priorities, devised by study authors Outcome Measures: Self-report of offending scale, modified by study authors	Self-reported violent offending was predicted by the use of maladaptive means to achieve Agency and Inner Peace. Self-reported acquisitive offending was predicted by using maladaptive means to achieve Agency and use of maladaptive means to achieve Pleasure and Inner Peace predicted self-reported drug offending. No relationship was found between the use of ineffective strategies and self-reported offending.
Mann et al. (2004)	Adult males ($n = 24$; $M_{age} =$ not reported) who were incarcerated for a sexual offence.	United Kingdom	Randomized control trial	Adult males ($n = 23$; $M_{age} =$ not reported) who were incarcerated for a sexual offence.	GLM Measure: N/A – treatment group assigned Outcome Measures:	Participants who received the GLM-consistent treatment demonstrated greater motivation to desist from offending (as rated by therapists), improved

	Participants were randomly assigned to receive an approach-focused, GLM-consistent intervention.			Participants were randomly assigned to receive an avoidance-focused, RP intervention.	Relapse Prevention Interview (Beckett et al., 1998); risk diary where risk factors (avoidance group) or achieved goals (approach group) were noted (used to calculate lapses); therapist ratings of motivations to change; Self-Esteem Questionnaire (Thornton, 1995); semi-structured interviews with therapists, examining their perceptions of approach and avoidance-focused interventions	engagement in treatment and willingness to disclose lapses, than those in the RP group. Pre-post measures of self-esteem, recognition of risk and coping strategies improved in both the GLM-consistent and RP groups, with no difference between them.
Purvis (2005)	Adult males ($N = 26$; $M_{age} = 48.3$) incarcerated for engaging in sexual abuse of a child.	Australia	Qualitative, grounded theory approach	No control group	GLM Measure: Semi-structured interview, devised by study author, assessing the primary goods sought	The primary goods of Pleasure, Relatedness, Inner Peace, Excellence in Play, Life and Agency were found to be explicitly pursued

at the time of offending and the four flaws in the Good Lives plan.

Outcome Measures:

N/A

through engagement in sexual offending amongst participants. Purvis also identified 20 internal obstacles (including, lack of interpersonal skills, emotional difficulties and substance abuse) and 18 external obstacles (including, lack of social support, poverty and lack of employment opportunities). The type of obstacles experienced differed for each participant, but directly influenced the means used to secure the primary goods. Purvis found that there were both direct and indirect pathways to offending, with the majority of participants experiencing both pathways.

Taylor (2017)	Adult males ($N = 30$; age not specified) who had engaged in burglary. Recruited from both prisons ($n = 15$) and the community ($n = 15$).	Australia	Qualitative, thematic approach	No control group	GLM Measure: Semi-structured interviews designed by study author, exploring a variety of topics (e.g., items stolen, reasons for offending behavior, etc.), interpreted via the GLM framework.	Participants reported trying to directly fulfil their primary goods through offending behavior (e.g., the 'buzz' gained through offending enabled attainment of Pleasure). Each of the primary goods were found to be relevant to burglary, although Creativity, Spirituality and Community were not explicitly pursued through offending.
Van Damme et al. (2016)	Adolescent females ($N = 95$; $M_{age} = 16.25$) incarcerated at a Youth Detention Centre, for offending behavior or an 'urgent	Belgium	Longitudinal design	No control group	GLM Measure: Examined using the QoL measure, WHOQOL-BREF (WHOQOL GROUP, 1998) Outcome Measures: Official reincarceration data; Dutch translation of	No direct pathway was found between overall QoL and offending behavior six months following release from a youth detention center. However, low QoL was associated with increased risk of mental health issues, which then increased

	<p>problematic educational situation' (i.e., truancy, prostitution).</p>				<p>the Massachusetts Youth Screening Instrument Second Version (Grisso et al., 2001); Self-Report of Offending Questionnaire (van der Laan & Blom, 2005)</p>	<p>participants' risk of recidivism; supporting the indirect pathway to offending.</p>
<p>Ward & Attwell (2014)</p>	<p>Adult males ($N = 10$; $M_{age} = 53$) who had a diagnosed personality disorder or serious mental health issue and had a history of violent and/or sexual offending. Participants were receiving one of two community-based, GLM-</p>	<p>United Kingdom</p>	<p>Qualitative, thematic approach</p>	<p>No control group</p>	<p>GLM Measure: N/A – treatment received</p> <p>Outcome Measures: Semi-structured interviews to assess service user perspectives</p>	<p>Service users reported an improvement in problem solving skills, perspective-taking ability, trust of others and self-awareness over the course of the intervention.</p>

consistent
interventions
(Sova Support
Link or CCS).

Willis & Grace (2008)	Adult males ($n = 49$; $M = 36.05$) who had completed the Kia Marama treatment program for sexual offending and had reoffended following release to the community.	New Zealand	Retrospective, clinical file review	Adult males ($n = 49$; $M = 39.12$) who had completed the Kia Marama treatment program for sexual offending and had not reoffended following release to the community. Matched according to static risk level and follow-up time.	GLM Measure: Clinical file review by authors for presence of primary goods in release plans Outcome Measures: Coding protocol designed by study authors to assess quality of release planning, includes factors such as accommodation, social support, idiosyncratic risk factors, employment and motivation; official reconviction data; Automated Sexual	Reintegration plans of recidivists were of poorer quality than non-recidivists and were less likely to include GLM secondary goods. In particular, sexual recidivists were less likely to have reintegration plans with GLM secondary goods included than non-sexual recidivists. This remained significant when controlling for IQ, and near significance for overall deviance, although lost significance when controlling for these simultaneously. Although for 'any' recidivism, recidivists
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Recidivism Scale (ASRS; Skelton et al., 2006). were less likely to have GLM secondary goods in their reintegration plans than non-recidivists, even when controlling for IQ and overall deviance simultaneously. Yet, no difference in presence of GLM secondary goods in reintegration plans was found between violent recidivists and non-recidivists. For general recidivism, recidivists were moderately less likely to have GLM secondary goods in their reintegration plans.

Willis & Ward (2011)	Adult males ($N = 16$; $M = 45.19$) who have completed prison-based treatment (either Kia Marama or Te	New Zealand	Longitudinal design	No control group	GLM Measure: Semi-structured interview, devised by study authors, to assess Good Lives conceptualizations	High importance was assigned to the majority of the primary goods by participants. Increased attainment of primary goods was related to positive re-entry to the community.
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Piriti programs)
for sexual
offences against
children and been
released into the
community.

Outcome Measures:
ASRS (Skelton et al.,
2006); Stable-2007
(Hanson et al., 2007);
semi-structured interview
examining participants
overall re-entry
experiences

Appendix C**Eurogang Youth Survey**

1. In the past twelve months, have you had a group of friends that you spent time with, doing things together or just hanging out? Please exclude formal groups (such as sports teams, clubs/societies etc.).

(1) Yes (2) No

2. Approximately how many people, including you, belong to this group?

2 3-10 11-20 21-50 51-100 more than
100

3. Does this group spend a lot of time together in public places, like the park, the street, shopping areas, or the neighbourhood?

(1) Yes (2) No

4. How long has this group existed?

- Less than 3 months
- 3-12 months
- 1-4 years
- 5-10 years
- More than 10 years

5. Is doing illegal things accepted by or okay for your group?

(1) Yes (2) No

6. Do people in your group actually do illegal things together?

(1) Yes (2) No

Appendix D

Measure of Life Priorities

We would like to understand what things are most important to you in your life, and how you go about trying to get these things. There are 11 different priorities that we are going to look at.

(1) Healthy Living

Healthy living refers to meeting basic needs for survival (water, food, shelter) and having a physically healthy body.

Thinking of the past year, have you ever used any of the following strategies to achieve **healthy living**? Please select all that apply.

1. Eating a healthy diet
2. Exercising regularly
3. Being involved in sports
4. Minimizing unhealthy behaviours (drinking, smoking, doing drugs, etc.)
5. Addressing health issues and managing your health
6. Having a safe living arrangement
7. Managing money to make sure you can meet your needs
8. Engaging in stress reducing activities
9. Other_____

Were any of these strategies effective?

1. Yes
2. No

Rate how important you think **healthy living** is to you personally?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Unimportant				Very important

Rank how well you think you have achieved **healthy living** in your own life?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Not achieved at all				Achieved entirely

Picture your life at a time when things were not going well for you (e.g., struggling in school/work, having relationship problems, involved in antisocial behaviour/crime). Was trying to achieve a **healthy life** important for you at that time?

1. Yes
2. No

(2) Knowledge and learning

Knowledge refers to learning about things important to you, NOT intelligence.

Have you ever used any of the following strategies to gain **knowledge**? Please select all that apply.

1. Going to school
2. Pursuing training
3. Taking lessons to acquire a new skill or new knowledge of any kind (academic, music, art, etc.)
4. Being a part of a discussion group or knowledge based club
5. Actively pursuing knowledge on ideas or topics that interest you
6. Reading
7. Keeping up with news
8. Other _____

Were any of these strategies effective?

1. Yes
2. No

Rate how important you think **knowledge and learning** is to you personally?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Unimportant				Very important

Rank how well you think you have achieved **knowledge and learning** in your own life?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Not achieved at all				Achieved entirely

Picture your life at a time when things were not going well for you (e.g., struggling in school/work, having relationship problems, involved in antisocial behaviour/ crime). Did trying to gain **knowledge** play a role in your life at that time?

1. Yes
2. No

(3) Hobbies and having fun

This refers to being part of leisure or fun activities, which provide you with a sense of pride, achievement, satisfaction, or skill development.

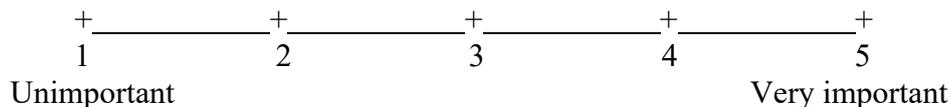
Have you ever used any of the following strategies in order to **have fun**?

1. Participating in group sports
2. Participating in individual sports
3. Pursuing a hobby
4. Socializing with friends
5. Being in an organized group such as a book club, movie club, music club etc.
6. Mastering something you enjoy doing for recreation or leisure
7. Organizing social events/ activities
8. Other _____

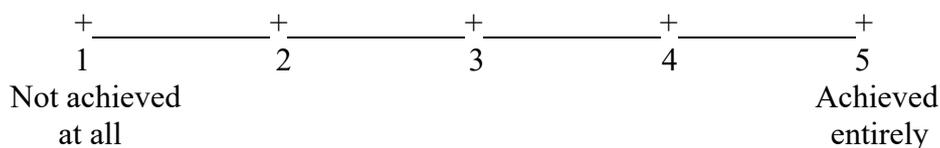
Were any of these strategies effective?

1. Yes
2. No

Rate how important you think **hobbies and having fun** is to you personally?



Rank how well you think you have achieved **hobbies and having fun** in your own life?



Picture your life at a time when things were not going well for you (e.g., struggling in school/work, having relationship problems, involved in antisocial behaviour/ crime). Did trying to partake in **hobbies and having fun** play a role in your life at that time?

1. Yes
2. No

(4) Excellence at work

***Excellence at work** refers to your desire to engage in work, providing you with a sense of pride, achievement, satisfaction, and/or skill development. To achieve this, the work must be valuable to you.*

Have you ever used any of the following strategies to achieve **excellence at work**? Please select all that apply.

1. Pursuing meaningful employment
2. Pursuing meaningful volunteer work
3. Pursuing an apprenticeship
4. Pursuing professional development
5. Pursuing promotion/ increased responsibility
6. Other _____

Were any of these strategies effective?

1. Yes
2. No

Rate how important you think **excellence at work** is to you personally?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Unimportant				Very important

Rank how well you think you have achieved **excellence at work** in your own life?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Not achieved at all				Achieved entirely

Picture your life at a time when things were not going well for you (e.g., struggling in school/work, having relationship problems, involved in antisocial behaviour/ crime). Did trying to seek **excellence at work** play a role in your life at that time?

1. Yes
2. No

(5) Independence

***Independence** refers to the desire to make up your own mind, create and achieve your own goals.*

Have you used any of the following strategies to achieve **independence**? Please select all that apply.

1. Making your own life decisions
2. Asserting your needs
3. Being financially independent
4. Engaging in self-reflection
5. Asserting dominance over/ controlling others
6. Manipulating others to do what you want
7. Pursuing your own interests
8. Other _____

Were any of these strategies effective?

1. Yes
2. No

Rate how important you think **independence** is to you personally?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Unimportant				Very important

Rank how well you think you have achieved **independence** in your own life?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Not achieved at all				Achieved entirely

Picture your life at a time when things were not going well for you (e.g., struggling in school/work, having relationship problems, involved in antisocial behaviour/ crime). Did trying to seek **independence** play a role in your life at that time?

1. Yes
2. No

(6) Managing worry and stress

Managing worry and stress refers to understanding, expressing and controlling your emotions.

Have you ever used any of the following strategies to **manage worry and stress**? Please select all that apply.

1. Trying to minimize emotional conflict
2. Engaging in activities to reduce stress
3. Working towards a balanced lifestyle
4. Trying to build positive relationships with others
5. Learning emotional control
6. Meditation
7. Counselling
8. Physical exercise
9. Use of alcohol/ drugs to regulate mood or cope with emotions
10. Other _____

Were any of these strategies effective?

1. Yes
2. No

Rate how important you think **managing worry and stress** is to you personally?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Unimportant				Very important

Rank how well you think you have **managed worry and stress** in your own life?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Not achieved at all				Achieved entirely

Picture your life at a time when things were not going well for you (e.g., struggling in school/work, having relationship problems, involved in antisocial behaviour/ crime). Did trying to **manage worry and stress** in your life at that time?

1. Yes
2. No

(7) Intimacy and love

This can range from romantic relationships, intimate family relationships, and close friendships.

Have you ever used any of the following strategies to achieve **intimacy and love**? Please select all that apply.

1. Sharing personal information with people you are close to
2. Communicating with others
3. Supporting other people in things they care about
4. Physical contact and closeness
5. Being honest with others to establish trust
6. Spending time with people with shared interest
7. Having an intimate relationship
8. Having a romantic relationship
9. Having a sexual relationship
10. Being close with family members
11. Working to establish and maintain friendships
12. Working to establish and maintain romantic relationships
13. Spending time with family
14. Having and parenting children
15. Other _____

Were any of these strategies effective?

1. Yes
2. No

Rate how important you think **intimacy and love** is to you personally?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Unimportant				Very important

Rank how well you think you have achieved **intimacy and love** in your own life?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Not achieved at all				Achieved entirely

Picture your life at a time when things were not going well for you (e.g., struggling in school/work, having relationship problems, involved in antisocial behaviour/crime). Did trying to seek **intimacy and love** play a role in your life at that time?

1. Yes
2. No

(8) Finding meaning and purpose in life

This refers to the broad sense of purpose and direction in your life. This may include belonging to a religious organisation, having a clear plan for your future, knowing your life direction, or living your life according to a particular set of values.

Have you ever used any of the following strategies to **find meaning and purpose in life**? Please select all that apply.

1. Working out a plan or vision for the future
2. Having direction in your life
3. Living according to a set of values (e.g. ethical behaviour, non-violence)
4. Belonging to a religious institution
5. Studying philosophy
6. Other _____

Were any of these strategies effective?

1. Yes
2. No

Rate how important you think **finding meaning and purpose in life** is to you personally?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Unimportant				Very important

Rank how well you think you have achieved **finding meaning and purpose** in your own life?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Not achieved at all				Achieved entirely

Picture your life at a time when things were not going well for you (e.g., struggling in school/work, having relationship problems, involved in antisocial behaviour/crime). Did trying to **find meaning and purpose in life** play a role in your life at that time?

1. Yes
2. No

(9) Sense of community

Sense of community refers to the desire to belong to social groups that reflect their interests, concerns, and values.

Have you ever used any of the following strategies to achieve a **sense of community**? Please select all that apply.

1. Being in a special interest group (e.g. sports club, religious group, etc.)
2. Doing volunteer work
3. Being part of a neighbourhood group
4. Being a part of a school group
5. Being part of a gang
6. Other _____

Were any of these strategies effective?

1. Yes
2. No

Rate how important you think a **sense of community** is to you personally?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Unimportant				Very important

Rank how well you think you have achieved a **sense of community** in your own life?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Not achieved at all				Achieved entirely

Picture your life at a time when things were not going well for you (e.g., struggling in school/work, having relationship problems, involved in antisocial behaviour/ crime). Did trying to seek a **sense of community** play a role in your life at that time?

1. Yes
2. No

(10) Happiness

Happiness refers to feelings of enjoyment, deep satisfaction, and excitement.

Have you ever used any of the following strategies to achieve **happiness**? Please select all that apply.

1. Forming relationships that bring you pleasure and joy
2. Enjoyment of food (cooking, baking, eating, etc.)
3. Massage or spa/self-care activities
4. Sexual activity
5. Thrill-seeking activities (rollercoasters, skydiving, rock climbing, racing [running, biking, cars etc.], hang gliding, base jumping, extreme sports, etc.)
6. Participating in sports or physical activities
7. Participating in artistic activities (music, art, dancing, viewing art, etc.)
8. Leisure or recreation activities
9. Activities that are relaxing
10. Use of alcohol/ drugs
11. Other _____

Were any of these strategies effective?

1. Yes
2. No

Rate how important you think **happiness** is to you personally?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Unimportant				Very important

Rank how well you think you have achieved **happiness** in your own life?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Not achieved at all				Achieved entirely

Picture your life at a time when things were not going well for you (e.g., struggling in school/work, having relationship problems, involved in antisocial behaviour/ crime). Did trying to seek **happiness** play a role in your life at that time?

1. Yes
2. No

(11) Creativity

Creativity is expressing yourself through alternative forms of activity (e.g., art, dance).

Have you ever used any of these strategies to achieve **creativity**? Please select all that apply.

1. Creative work
2. Gardening
3. Woodwork
4. Painting
5. Attending art exhibitions
6. Graffiti
7. Solving problems or doing puzzles
8. Devising new ways to do something
9. Playing an instrument or creating music
10. Physical creativity
11. Creating or appreciating art (of any kind)
12. Creativity in style (how you dress, personal image, tattoos, piercings, etc.)
13. How you set up your space and home (colours, fabrics, furniture, art, etc.)
14. Other _____

Were any of these strategies effective?

1. Yes
2. No

Rate how important you think **creativity** is to you personally?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Unimportant				Very important

Rank how well you think you have achieved **creativity** in your own life?

+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5
Not achieved at all				Achieved entirely

Picture your life at a time when things were not going well for you (e.g., struggling in school/work, having relationship problems, involved in antisocial behaviour/crime). Did trying to seek **creativity** play a role in your life at that time?

1. Yes
2. No

Comparing Priorities

We will now ask you to compare priorities to see how they differ in importance to you, and how they differ in achievement in your life.

Please rank the given items in the box from ‘most important to you’ (1) to ‘least important to you’ (11), using the space provided.

Most important

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____
11. _____

Healthy living
 Knowledge and learning
 Hobbies and having fun
 Excellence at work
 Independence
 Managing worry and stress
 Intimacy and love
 Finding meaning and purpose in life
 Sense of community
 Happiness
 Creativity

Least important

Please rank the given items in the box from ‘most achieved in your life’ (1) to ‘least achieved in your life’ (11), using the space provided.

Most achieved

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____
11. _____

Healthy living
 Knowledge and learning
 Hobbies and having fun
 Excellence at work
 Independence
 Managing worry and stress
 Intimacy and love
 Finding meaning and purpose in life
 Sense of community
 Happiness
 Creativity

Least achieved

Appendix E**Self-Reported Offending Measure**

1. Have you ever hit someone you lived with, with the idea of hurting them?
(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say
2. Have you ever hit your boyfriend/girlfriend, or other intimate partner, with the idea of hurting them?
(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say
3. Have you ever hit someone you did not live with, and who was not your partner, with the idea of hurting them?
(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say
4. Have you ever been in a gang fight in which someone was hurt, or threatened with harm?
(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say
5. Have you ever threatened or attacked someone with a weapon?
(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say
6. Have you ever entered, or broken into, a building in order to steal something?
(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say
7. Have you ever taken something from a shop without paying?
(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say
8. Have you ever taken something from a member of your household that did not belong to you?
(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say
9. Have you ever taken something from your place of work that did not belong to you?
(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say

10. Have you ever taken someone's purse or wallet, or picked someone's pocket?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say

11. Have you ever taken something from a car that did not belong to you?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say

12. Have you ever stolen, or tried to steal, money or things worth:

- Less than £5
- £5 to £50
- £50-£100
- More than £100
- I have never stolen

13. Have you ever stolen, or tried to steal, a car, motorcycle or bike to keep or sell?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say

14. Have you ever gone on a joyride?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say

15. Have you ever vandalised property that does not belong to you (i.e., graffiti)?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say

16. Have you ever used illegal substances (e.g., marijuana, ecstasy, cocaine, heroin or cannabis)?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say

17. Have you ever sold illegal substances (e.g., marijuana, ecstasy, cocaine, heroin or cannabis)?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say

18. Have you ever used a prescription drug that was not prescribed to you, and/or in a way it was not intended to be used?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say

19. Have you ever sold a prescription drug to another person?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say

20. Have you ever hurt or threatened someone to get them to have sex with you?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say

21. Have you ever engaged in sexual activity with someone against their will?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say

22. Have you ever engaged in sexual activity with someone less than 16 years of age (when you were at least five years older than them)?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say

23. Have you ever been paid by someone for sexual activity?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Prefer not to say

Appendix F

Pilot Study Information Sheet



School of Psychology
Keynes College
University of Kent
Canterbury, CT2 7NP

Study Information Sheet

Title of Project:	Good Lives Model: Relationship between internal capacity abilities and self-reported offending	Ethics Approval Number:	201715114452084707
Investigator(s):	Jaimee S. Mallion Supervisor: Dr Jane Wood		

Aims of the Study:

This study is part of my PhD in Forensic Psychology at the University of Kent. The aim of this project is to assess whether there is a relationship between self-reported offending and life priorities.

What you will need to do and time commitment:

You will be given a survey to complete. This should take approximately one hour to complete. There are no right or wrong answers, your opinion is what counts.

Risks/Discomforts involved in participating:

You should not encounter any discomfort when completing the questionnaires, but should you do so you can withdraw at any time.

Confidentiality of your data:

Your name will not be recorded on the questionnaires; a unique participation code will be created to enable you to withdraw if you wish to do so. Your responses will be used solely for the purpose of this study.

Remember that participation in this research study is completely voluntary. Even after you agree to participate and begin the study, you are still free to withdraw at any time up to one month following completion of the study without supplying a reason. Information regarding this process will be provided on the study debrief.

Appendix G
Pilot Study Consent Form



School of Psychology
Keynes College
University of Kent
Canterbury, CT2 7NP

Please read the following consent statements carefully and tick the confirmation box at the bottom of the page, which indicates that you fully consent to participate in this study.

I have been adequately informed about the nature of this study and received full information about my ethical rights as a participant and I have been given the opportunity to ask questions.

I fully understand that the decision to participate is up to me and that I can change my mind and withdraw from the study at any time without it affecting how I am treated in the future. I also understand that I am not obliged to answer any questions in this questionnaire that make me uncomfortable.

I have been guaranteed that all the information collected in this study is strictly confidential and will not bear any personal details that may identify me.

I have read the participant information and agree to take part in this study.

Please tick to confirm above

Appendix H

Pilot Study Debrief Sheet



School of Psychology
Keynes College
University of Kent
Canterbury, CT2 7NP

Title of Project:	Good Lives Model: Relationship between life priorities and self-reported offending	Ethics Approval Number:	201715114452084707
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You have reached the end of the questionnaires! Thank you for completing the study.

The purpose of this project is to assess whether there is a relationship between self-reported offending and life priorities. In this study all participants completed a number of questionnaires to measure: life priorities and self-reported offending.

All of your responses will remain completely anonymous and confidential. For any further information, please contact the researcher and/or her supervisor.

Investigator(s):	Jaimee Mallion Supervisor: Dr Jane Wood	Researcher Contact:	jsm39@kent.ac.uk J.L.Wood@kent.ac.uk 01227 823037
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If you wish to withdraw, please contact the Psychology office on 01227 823961. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of this study, please contact the Chair of Psychology Research Ethics Committee (via the Psychology School office) in writing, providing a detailed account of your concern. If you feel that you have been affected by anything discussed in the research you can contact the Samaritans (0207 7342800) who have a confidential helpline. It is also possible for you to voice any concerns to the investigator or supervisor who will assist you in accessing help.

Thank you very much for participating in this study.

Appendix I

Prison Study Interview Schedule

Everybody has goals in life. Some goals are common to all people, although how important we think they are can be different. We can also achieve these in many different ways, which can be healthy or unhealthy. I'm interested in how important you think these were at the time of your offence and how you achieved these.

- A. How did you go about achieving **good** in your life at the time of offending?

- B. What do you think has prevented/made it difficult for you to achieve the **good** as much as you would have liked?

- C. What effect do you think your peer group had on this?

- D. Has this changed since being in prison (more/less important, method of achievement)?

Appendix J

Demographic and Offence History Coding Sheet

Demographics

1. Age at first sanction (conviction/warning etc.):
2. Age at prison entry (start of sentence):
3. Age at earliest possible release:
4. County of residence:
5. Education history:
6. Employment history:
7. History of substance misuse (inc. alcohol/drugs):
8. Marital status:
9. Ethnicity:
10. Diagnoses of mental health/PD issues:

Gang Status

- Official Gang Status:
- Current/Former:

Offence History

- Current sentence length:
- Total number of previous sanctions:
- Offences during incarceration:
- Risk predictor score (OGRS3):

Index offence

	Offence type	Number of offences
Offence Type 1		
Offence Type 2		
Offence Type 3		
Offence Type 4		
Offence Type 5		
Offence Type 6		
Offence Type 7		

Summary of Convictions

	Number of convictions
Overall number of convictions	
Offences against the person	
Sexual offences	
Offences against property	
Fraud and kindred Offences	
Theft and kindred Offences	
Offences against the state	
Public disorder offences	

Offences relating to Police/Courts/Prison	
Drugs offences	
Offences relating to Immigration	
Firearms offences	
Miscellaneous offences	
Non-recordable offences	

Prison Programmes

1. Started programmes/interventions:
2. Completed programmes/interventions:
3. Engaged in education?:
4. Engaged in work?:

Appendix K

Interview Guidance Cards

Healthy Living

This refers to your health and physical well-being, such as eating well, exercising etc.



Knowledge and Learning

This refers to anything you feel you've learnt from work or a career, education, or from reading.



Independence

Refers to the desire to make up your own mind and to be able to manage yourself and your life.



Managing Worry and Stress

Feeling free of emotional distress, feeling at peace and comfortable with yourself



Intimacy and Love

This refers to love, friendships and intimate relationships.



Meaning and Purpose

This refers to finding a meaning or purpose in life either by practicing certain religious beliefs, or living life according to a set of values.



Community

Sense of community refers to the desire to belong to social groups reflecting your interests, concerns, and values.



Happiness

This refers to being involved in relationships, activities, and situations that bring you joy and pleasure.



Creativity

*Expressing yourself through alternative forms of activity
(e.g., art, dance, gardening, music).*



Appendix L

NOMS Ethical Approval



HM Prison &
Probation Service

NRC Application: Consultee Feedback Sheet

Research title: Good Lives Model: Relationship between internal capacity abilities and self-reported offending.

Ref: 2018-053

Reviewer's name: Helen Sadique, Registered and Chartered Forensic Psychologist, London and Thames Valley Psychology Services

Month of NRC meeting: N/A

Reviewer Recommendation (tick one box below):

Approve.....

Approve subject to modifications.....

Request further information.....

Reject.....

Reviewer Comments (use as much space as necessary)**A. Link to HMPPS priorities**

This research fits with HMPSS priority 'reducing reoffending' as it is exploring the factors which may influence gang membership to help to build up a better understanding of these factors. This understanding will be beneficial when developing an intervention to address gang membership.

B. Demand on resources (e.g. anticipated demands on staff time, office requirements, and demands on data providers)

The researcher will need to have a Quantum log in set up to ensure that they are able to use P-NOMIS to access the additional demographic data. They will also need access to a Quantum computer to be able to access this information.

C. Overlap with other (current/recent) research

There is currently an intervention run within NOMS to address gang intervention called Identity Matters. One of the theoretical approaches used within this intervention is the Good Lives Model. This is not an accredited intervention at the current time. However, it may be useful for the researcher to be aware of this intervention to ensure that there are no overlaps with this when developing the intervention that could be used to address gang membership.

D. Appropriateness/robustness of methodology

It would be helpful to clarify how offenders will be approached to volunteer in the research study. For example, will they just be approached on the wings or will they be sent a letter to volunteer. The method chosen may impact on the prisoners who may decide to participate in the research.

Also, through the method of data collection used, there may not be equal number of gang and non-gang members participating in the research. This may not matter to the research study. However, if this does impact on the findings, or if there is a considerable difference in the number of participants in each group, it would be useful to consider how this could be addressed in the research methodology.

F. Ethical considerations

The consent form does not highlight how long the data will be stored for. It also states that the participants can withdraw their data from the study at any time.

However, this may not be the case once the research data has been analysed, written up and potentially published and therefore this should be made clear in the consent form.

Appendix M

Prison Study Information Sheet



School of Psychology

Keynes College

University of Kent

Canterbury, CT2 7NP

Title of Project:	Good Lives Model: Relationship between life priorities and offending	Ethics Approval Number:	201715114452084707
Investigator(s):	Jaimee Mallion Supervisor: Dr Jane Wood		

Aims of the Study:

This study is part of my PhD in Forensic Psychology at the University of Kent. The aim of this project is to assess whether there is a relationship between offending and life priorities/goals.

What you will need to do and time commitment:

You will take part in a one-to-one interview. This will take approximately one and a half hours to complete and you can have breaks when needed. There are no right or wrong answers, your opinion is what counts.

Risks/Discomforts involved in participating:

You should not encounter any discomfort, but should you do so you can withdraw at any time. If there are any questions you do not feel comfortable answering, tell the researcher and we can move on to the next question.

Confidentiality of your data:

Your name will not be recorded; a unique participation code will be given to you to withdraw if you wish to do so. Your responses will be used solely for the purpose of this study.

The interview will be voice recorded. Only the researcher who interviewed you will have access to the voice recordings, these will be transcribed and anonymised (any identifying information mentioned, including names and places will be removed). Only broad themes will be reported in the final paper.

Remember that participation in this research study is completely voluntary. Even after you agree to participate and begin the study, you are still free to withdraw at any time up to one month following completion of the study without supplying a reason. Information regarding this process will be provided on the study debrief.

Appendix N**Prison Study Consent Form**

School of Psychology

Keynes College

University of Kent

Canterbury, CT2 7NP

I consent voluntarily to take part in the above research project. I have read the information sheet and have had the opportunity to ask questions about it. The project has been explained to me, and I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:

- be interviewed by the researcher
- have the interview voice-recorded
- allow questionnaires and other materials completed by me to be analysed as part of this project
- allow records held on me to be accessed by the researcher

Data Protection

Information relating to the above will be held and processed for the purposes of evaluating this research project. I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party. No

identifiable personal data will be published. The identifiable data will not be shared with any other organisation. Interview data and other data will be kept in accordance with the Data Protection Act in a secure environment.

I understand that the researcher will be obliged to pass on any information which I disclose during the interview process regarding:

- An intention to breach prison security
- If I disclose an intention to commit further offences
- If I break a prison rule during interview
- If I indicate a threat of harm to myself or others.

Withdrawal from study

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

I understand that if I have any questions about this research or about my rights as a research participant I should ask Jaimee Mallion.

Participant ID:

Signature:Date:.....

Appendix O

Prison Study Debrief Sheet



School of Psychology
Keynes College
University of Kent
Canterbury, CT2 7NP

Title of Project:	Good Lives Model: Relationship between life priorities and offending	Ethics Approval Number:	201715114452084707
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Thank you for completing the study.

The purpose of this project is to assess whether there is a relationship between offending, life priorities and emotional traits. By examining life priorities and emotional traits in relation to offending, this will assist in identifying areas necessary for intervention. All of your responses will remain completely anonymous and confidential. Any identifying information in the interviews will be removed. For any further information, please contact the researcher and/or her supervisor.

Investigator(s): Jaimee Mallion
Supervisor: Dr Jane Wood

If you wish to withdraw, please contact Jaimee Mallion. She will visit your wing within one month of the study, so if you have any questions or wish to withdraw you

can confirm this with her. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of this study, please contact the Chair of Psychology Research Ethics Committee (via the Psychology School office) in writing, providing a detailed account of your concern. If you feel that you have been affected by anything discussed in the research you can contact your Listener on duty.

Thank you very much for participating in this study.