

Funding for systems change

*The story of Barrow Cadbury Trust's
T2A (Transition to Adulthood) Campaign*

February 2024

Commissioned by:



Authorship and acknowledgements

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Introduction

Two decades ago, Barrow Cadbury Trust ('BCT', 'the Trust') initiated Transition to Adulthood ('T2A') – a collaborative criminal justice campaign making the case to policy makers, practitioners and sentencers for a distinct approach for young adults (18- to 25-year-olds). At the time, the term 'systems change' – to describe work to shift the conditions that hold complex problems in place – had limited currency with UK trusts and foundations. Twenty years on, it is increasingly advanced as the means of achieving greater impact when tackling intractable issues. But greater use of the term has not always been accompanied by deep appreciation of what is involved, and required, by funders who seek to support system-level change.

This report – the story of T2A as a systems change effort – is intended to illuminate T2A's direct experience of pursuing change in the criminal justice system (CJS). It is based on a review of T2A plans and outputs, an overview of relevant literature, and more than 30 interviews with key people with direct experience of, and involvement in, the work (see Appendix one for details of who we spoke to).

While we present T2A as an example of a distinctive model of philanthropic endeavour, it's important to say at the outset that the T2A model (and the role of BCT within it) is not offered as the best or only way of funding and supporting systems change. There are many other ways and, of course, other significant players working for change within the CJS using different assets and different models. What is appropriate will always reflect the nature of the funder and the systems change they choose to pursue. But T2A's experience does offer important learning – to both encourage and sustain others engaged in this kind of change, as well as to deter those who may be less suited, culturally or temperamentally, to the conditions and governance required for this approach.

We begin the story with a brief chronology of T2A, written by Barrow Cadbury Trust to give an overview of T2A's origins, aims and ways of working. This is followed by a summary of learning from our review of the literature on 'funding for systems change', offering an understanding of the current position on systems change theory and how funders have developed systems change programmes. We then use the analytical framework drawn from systems change theory to share interviewees' reflections on T2A's structure, work and contribution, illustrating how BCT conceives its role in pursuing change and the approach that T2A has taken to the challenges of exerting influence on complex systems. We conclude with reflections on the insights and lessons from T2A that may be of interest and value to others engaged in systems change funding and support; this is accompanied by brief closing reflections from Barrow Cadbury Trust.

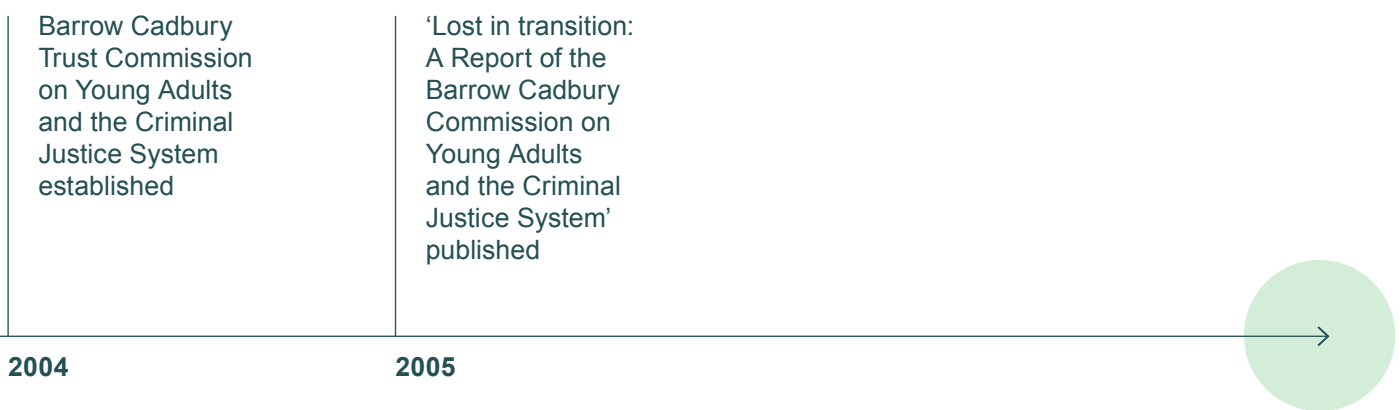
Part one: Transition to Adulthood – Barrow Cadbury Trust’s story



1.1 Where T2A came from

In 2003 Anna Southall, then Chair of the Barrow Cadbury Trust, convened key campaigners, policy thinkers and practitioners working on criminal justice issues and sought their advice on urgent priorities the Trust should be working on. The young adult post-juvenile age group and their transition from juvenile to adult services was the clear front runner. To address the issue, the Barrow Cadbury Trust Commission on Young Adults and the Criminal Justice System was established.

The resultant report, 'Lost in Transition', made a series of recommendations including the establishment of 'young adult teams' to directly address and support the points of transition faced by young people as they approach maturity and full adulthood. It illustrated the vulnerability of young adulthood and the need for interventions to recognise this as a distinct stage in life. A key part of that proposition is the concept that maturation is an ongoing process: teenagers do not wake up on their eighteenth birthday as fully mature adults. There is a significant and developing body of neuroscience which now demonstrates this and adds weight to the Trust's view that the step change in how people are treated by the criminal justice system before and after their eighteenth birthday fails both vulnerable young adults, who could be better supported to 'grow out of crime', and the wider public.



2004

2005

1.2 Collaboration for action

Following on from the report, the Trust convened the Transition to Adulthood (T2A) Alliance to lead a collaborative effort to get this approach adopted. It was (and still is) a coalition of criminal justice, health and youth organisations committed to a systemic and transformational change programme. The Alliance initially encompassed: Addaction, Catch22, the Centre for Crime and Justice Studies, Clinks, the Criminal Justice Alliance, the Howard League for Penal Reform, Nacro, the Prince's Trust, the Prison Reform Trust, the Revolving Doors Agency, the Young Foundation, Young Minds and Young People in Focus. Membership has changed over time, but almost all the original partners remain, with membership boosted by other organisations including grant partners. It has always had an independent Chair – over time Professor Rob Allen, Dame Anne Owers, Joyce Moseley OBE and, at the time of writing, Leroy Logan MBE – all respected senior commentators and recognised leaders in their field.

Moving on from an analysis of the problem in 'Lost in Transition', T2A worked with a range of practitioners, academics, and policy groups to develop and support the kind of practical interventions that work. In three pilot projects, 2009-13, multi-disciplinary teams developed models of support relevant to different profiles of young adult offenders, from those whose offending was less entrenched and serious to those who had committed more serious and persistent offences.

In 2009 T2A published its manifesto, setting out its proposals for key reforms to the criminal justice response to young adults. This was reformulated in 2012 as the T2A Pathway. The T2A pathway approach outlined ways that those working in criminal justice could make their interventions with young adults more effective. It identified the 'exit' points throughout the criminal justice journey where an approach specific to them could enable more young adults to leave the system permanently.



1.3 Building evidence to support delivery

The pathway framework evolved from the first phase pilots 2009-13. These pilots were designed to support T2A's advocacy for young adults. They were set up in London, Birmingham, and West Mercia, delivered by St. Giles Trust, Staffordshire and West Midlands Probation Trust, and Youth Support Services respectively. Together they worked with more than 1,000 young adults involved with probation to develop local inter-agency systems. These pilots were the subject of summative, formative and cost benefit analysis evaluation.

In 2011 a key milestone was achieved when young adults were referenced for the first time in draft sentencing guidelines. In the same year, Barrow Cadbury Trust held a national conference on the case for an effective approach to young adults in the criminal justice system with 200 delegates and international speakers.

'Pathways from Crime: Ten steps to a more effective approach for young adults in the criminal justice process' was published in 2012, distilling the strong evidence of the pilots into a road map for policy makers and practitioners. The report reinforced the finding that not only is 18 the peak age for recidivism, but it is also the potential peak age for desistance.

A second series, this time of six pathway pilots, was commissioned in 2013, completing in 2017. The six projects together represented a whole pathways approach to working with young adults throughout the criminal justice process. These six demonstration projects each tested approaches which took account of maturity and transitions at different key points on the T2A pathway framework. They showed the potential for developing local services and how a 'whole T2A pathway approach' to working with 18- to 25-year-olds throughout the criminal justice process can be effective.

The projects were led by voluntary sector organisations which already had a track record of working with young adults. They were delivered in partnership with statutory agencies. A formative evaluation ran throughout, carried out by Manchester Metropolitan University.

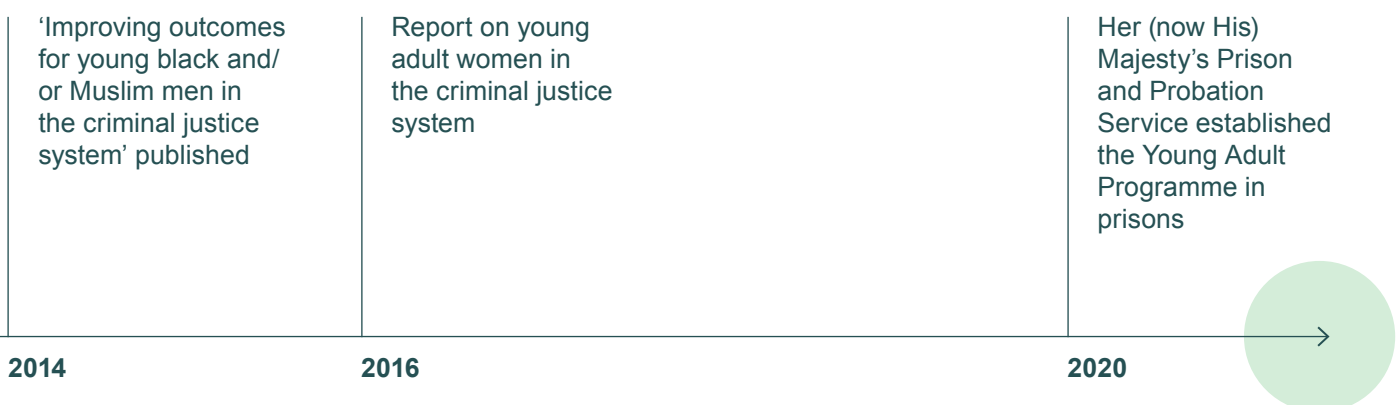


1.4 Intersecting issues

From the early days of the T2A campaign, racial disproportionality has been a focus: a commission, overseen by Baroness Young of Hornsey, published a landmark report in 2014 – ‘Improving outcomes for young black and/or Muslim men in the criminal justice system’. It asked searching questions about how the criminal justice system could improve its cultural competence in dealing with these cohorts of offenders. It also considered the barriers to this, including the perception of a lack of procedural justice.¹ The Young Commission was the forerunner to the Lammy Inquiry report of 2017. Five years on, T2A’s Chair, Leroy Logan MBE, a former Metropolitan Police superintendent who took up the reins in January 2022, reflected in a blog for T2A on the frustrating lack of progress with implementing the Lammy Review recommendations.

Similarly, gender, a cross-cutting theme for all Barrow Cadbury’s work, has been a focus, including a report by former Chair Rob Allen on young adult women in the criminal justice system in 2016, and in 2021 a report by the Alliance for Youth Justice and Agenda Alliance for Women and Girls at Risk titled ‘Falling through the gaps: Young women transitioning to the adult justice system’.

From 2017 to the current day, there has been a greater focus on embedding lived experience and the voices of young adults in T2A’s work, making full use of what is now a very extensive evidence base: putting that evidence base to better use, restructuring and broadening the alliance, and enhancing T2A’s communications with partners, practitioners, and policy makers.



¹ There is a strong evidence base demonstrating that young adults are more compliant with their sentences if they consider their treatment has been fair.

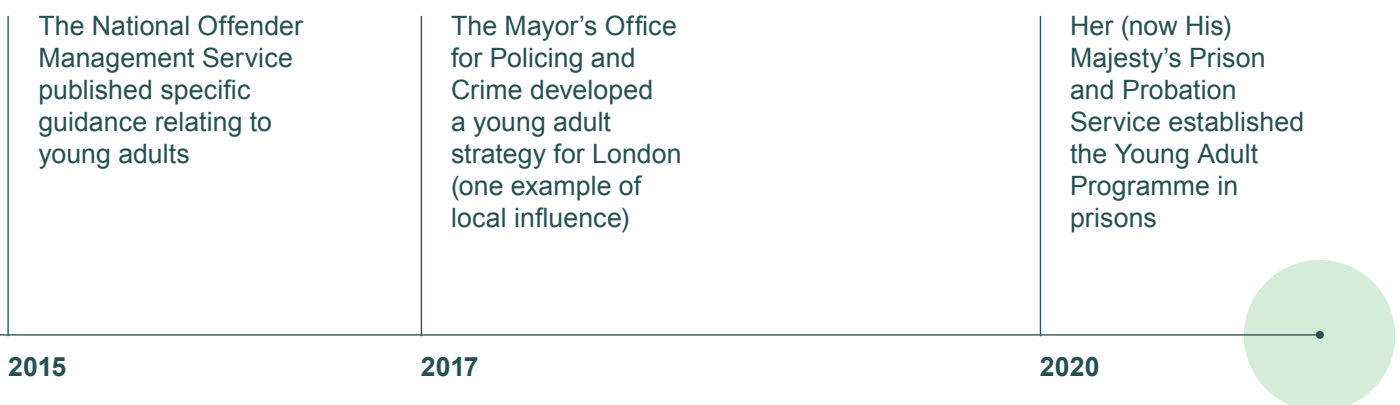
1.5 Indicators of progress

A significant milestone was achieved when, in 2015, the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) published specific guidance relating to young adults: 'Achieving better outcomes for young adult men: evidence-based commissioning principles'. The Justice Committee was also convinced of the importance of a specific approach to this age group, writing two reports which were very favourable to T2A policy positions, the first in 2016 and a follow-up in 2018. The 2016 report referenced T2A and Barrow Cadbury Trust almost 100 times and the Government accepted its recommendations the following year. In response, Her (now His) Majesty's Prisons and Probation Service (HMPPS) developed a range of support material to better inform its staff of the needs of young adults, developing a Young Adults' Strategy, and publishing a Young Adults' Model of Operational Delivery for prisons and a Young Adults' Policy Framework for Probation.

Over the past several years T2A has seen continuing progress and recognition, with HMPPS establishing the Young Adult Programme in prisons in 2020. HM Inspectorate of Prisons has also taken an interest, publishing a critical report on young adults in custody in 2021.

In addition to change at the national level, T2A has influenced local strategies. For example, in 2017 MOPAC (Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime) developed a young adult strategy for London and created a bespoke young adult 'Hub' in Newham, based on key T2A principles for working with young adults. The Hub is still at a formative stage, but early indications are promising.

At the beginning of this journey there were twice as many young adults in custody as there are at the time of writing. This cannot be solely attributed to the work of T2A, but there is general agreement that T2A has played a major part in redefining how young adults are treated and the services they should be able to access.



Part two: Learning from the literature



A 'system' can be understood as a configuration of 'interacting, interdependent parts that are connected through a web of relationships, forming a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts'. (Holland, 1998). 'Systems change' then describes efforts to tackle root causes of issues (rather than symptoms) by transforming structures, customs, mindsets, power dynamics and policies.

In Part two, we give a short summary of our targeted literature review, designed to develop an understanding of the current position on systems change theory and how funders have developed systems change programmes (see Appendices three and four for references).

Independent funders are increasingly interested in supporting systems change. It contains the promise of achieving long-lasting change which improves lives on a scale far beyond the scope of most independent funding. And, although such change will reflect the confluence of many different factors and actors, independent funders can sometimes play an influential role. Funding for systems change was not a subject for analysis when T2A began, and BCT has tended to prefer 'structural change' to systems change terminology. But our review of the literature suggests that applying systems change theory helps to position T2A's field of endeavour and to understand its work.

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2.1 Is the criminal justice system a ‘system’?

Most definitions of systems change are united by the idea that a system involves different units interacting as they pursue a common goal. Thus, a system can be understood as ‘a set of elements or parts that is coherently organized and interconnected in a pattern or structure that produces a characteristic set of behaviours, often classified as its function or purpose’ (Meadows, 2008:188). Crucially, the whole system is greater than the sum of its parts, so decisions and actions in one interconnected and interdependent part (or ‘entity’) ‘are consequential to other neighbouring entities’ (Welbourn, D. et al., 2013:6).

The work of academics that have analysed the criminal justice system through the lens of systems theory (Bernard et al., 2005; Mears, 2022) supports the conclusion that it meets these requirements. The CJS:

Has a **common purpose**, which comprises:

- Achieving justice by satisfying victims and the public
- Changing offenders into non-offenders
- Closing cases so that they stay closed

Has a **shared function** of processing people charged with offences and cases. It also consists of multiple sub-systems (e.g. police, courts, prisons, community supervision), each of which can be understood in terms of its own inputs, processes, and outputs. These subsystems and institutions interrelate and overlap and do not necessarily agree about how to meet system goals.

Is **greater than the sum of its parts**, which are best understood in the context of the whole.

Accords with the notion of an **‘open’ system** because it interacts with the environment around it, creating both system inputs (offenders/cases) and outputs (non-offenders/completed cases).

2.2 Using a whole system lens to understand T2A

The application of systems theory helps us to understand T2A's work by illuminating:

Why systemic reform is needed

The CJS is large and complex with multiple agencies and subsystems. Presented with such complexity, policy makers often focus on small-scale changes because changing an entire system can seem impossible. While it may seem more straightforward to reach for an immediate response, such as a new sentencing law or a new rehabilitation programme, these relatively simple solutions invariably fail to identify the root causes of a problem, which means complex problems are not dealt with.

Why T2A takes a whole system approach

By addressing all stages at which young adults encounter the CJS, T2A recognises that all elements of the system require reform to ensure positive outcomes for young adults. Approaching the CJS in macro terms and looking at *the whole system* is a useful perspective for reform and improvement. By contrast, more narrowly designed and piecemeal criminal justice reforms in one subsystem cannot compensate for inadequacies in other interconnected subsystems (Mears, 2022). Efforts to tackle subsystem issues are likely to fail, or achieve little, when they are not accompanied by efforts to address *general* systemic problems. It is, therefore, important to target both subsystems and the broader CJS – in other words, *the whole system*.

Why T2A's approach to funding systems change is appropriate

Systems change thinking similarly points to the need for substantial and deep reform, which requires time, patience and significant political skill to engage across institutions (Savaget et al., 2022). BCT has known from the start that its commitment to T2A would be sustained over many years. The T2A model is also consistent with systems change theory in its focus on developing a robust evidence base for influencing policy makers and practitioners: research and evidence-based insight must form the basis for policy making and subsystem decision-making if whole systems reform is to be achieved (Mears, 2022).

2.3 Developing a framework for analysis of funder practice

Over the past decade, various research studies have explored the topic of funding systems change, while other reports have offered guidance to funders on how to pursue systems change. Although definitions of ‘systems change’ are often contested, a review of this literature indicates that the systems change approaches adopted by many different funders share common features (Tables 1 and 2). It should be stressed that these are common features of funding and support for systems change, not a description of BCT’s approach.

Key features of funding and support for systems change

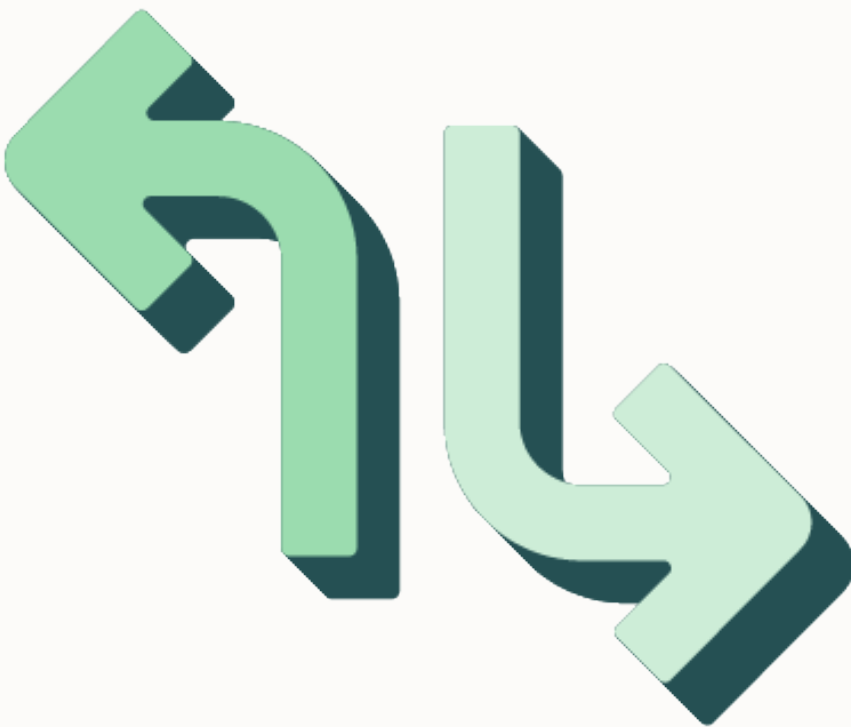
Table 1: Establishing the field of action

Defining features	Description of features
Agreeing a systems change goal	<p>Identify and define a system, then set a goal for how that system should be changed.</p> <p>Maintain a disciplined and unwavering focus on the goal.</p> <p>Ensure the goal is understood by all partners and participants.</p>
Achieving equitable collaboration	<p>Recognition that multiple actors rather than individual organisations generate desired outcomes.</p> <p>Collaboration among funders, funded organisations and other system actors is necessary to achieve systems change.</p> <p>Shared governance and distributed leadership.</p> <p>Equity between funder and funded organisations, often underpinned by trust-based grant-making practices.</p> <p>A focus on building capacity (rather than top-down direction).</p> <p>Listening to others.</p>
Articulating the funder’s role	<p>Funders allocate financial resources to fund activities in pursuit of systems change.</p> <p>Some draw on their political capital to promote change through and across institutions, positioning themselves as ‘part of the action’ as well as a source of funds.</p> <p>Some use their networks and relationships in support, or amplify voices that challenge the system.</p> <p>Employ grant-making staff with subject matter expertise.</p>
Making a long-term commitment	<p>Prepare for long-term involvement and commit to long-term programme funding from the outset.</p> <p>Provision of multi-year funding required to sustain progress.</p> <p>Demands patience and persistence.</p>

Table 2: Making progress in complexity

Defining features	Description of features
<p>Planning for systems change</p>	<p>Undertake research and scoping work to understand and map the system.</p> <p>Identify and engage with multiple stakeholders. This usually includes efforts to understand the experiences and needs of people affected by the system.</p> <p>Utilise systems thinking to identify key leverage points.</p> <p>Target various types of change, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explicit structural change (e.g. change in policy and practice) • Semi-explicit relational change (e.g. change in relations, interactions, power and authority) • Change in implicit normative assumptions, beliefs and behaviours (e.g. cultural change)
<p>Demonstrating a high tolerance of risk and uncertainty</p>	<p>Recognise and acknowledge the complexity of systems.</p> <p>Understand that macro factors shape the world in unforeseen ways, which means achieving impact is not wholly controllable.</p> <p>Understand that the range of actors involved in creating system ‘outcomes’ is also beyond the management and control of any one organisation or person.</p> <p>Be prepared to endure opposition and prevailing headwinds and understand that the pace of change will often be slow and/or unpredictable.</p> <p>Adopt a strategically opportunist mindset, maintaining sufficient flexibility (e.g. retaining some unallocated budget) to pursue opportunities as they arise.</p> <p>Recognise ‘soft’ measures of success as signs of progress.</p>
<p>Maintaining a learning mindset</p>	<p>Adopt a learning cycle of planning, doing, reviewing, reflecting, learning and adaptation.</p> <p>Focus on learning and impact, rather than on activities and outputs.</p> <p>Use learning to acknowledge mistakes, make decisions and instigate improvements.</p> <p>Share knowledge and learning.</p>

Part three: How T2A approaches systems change



In Part three, we use the analytical framework drawn from systems change theory to share interviewees' reflections on T2A's structure, work and contribution, and to draw out how BCT's distinctive 'personality' and conception of its role shapes the choices it makes about its approach to systems change funding. Quotes are anonymised, attributed to 'T2A Alliance', 'T2A Campaign Management Group', 'Barrow Cadbury Trust', 'CJS funder' or 'Civil Service'.



To influence people, you have to understand their priorities. You then have to pick some parameters and attempt to warm the lagoon rather than the ocean.

—T2A Alliance

Establishing the field of action

3.1 Agreeing a systems change goal

Balancing aspirations with achievability

We heard caution about the kind of systems change goal that is realistic for an outside intervention into a complex statutory system:

‘Most systems change is internal, which makes it more difficult for third parties to bring about change.’ (Civil Service)

‘T2A’s work has led to very good local change but not to systemic change. You have to work from the bottom up – changing hearts and minds – and the top down. Big systems change has to be government-led: it’s fundamentally about the role of the state.’ (T2A Alliance)

‘Systems change is not something I feel is really possible for the charitable sector to achieve as, ultimately, systems change is down to those in power (i.e. the Government). We can’t “change” the system, we have to work within it.’ (T2A Campaign Management Group)



You have to work from the bottom up – changing hearts and minds – and the top down.

—T2A Alliance

Linked to this was broader concern that talk of ‘systems change’ can breed false expectations, especially when there is a mismatch between systems change aspirations and actors’ understanding of the realities of the system they are seeking to change:

“Systems change” slightly worries me because it sets a false expectation that it would show a miraculous result. I think that incremental change – informed, compartmentalised changes that come together – amounts to a real change.’ (Civil Service)

‘There is an element of the emperor’s new clothes in talk about systems change. Some people think that if you get everybody you need together and have a rational discussion, you can generate system change. This misunderstands the realities and is sometimes done with a lack of political (and party political) understanding. To influence people, you have to understand their priorities. You then have to pick some parameters and attempt to warm the lagoon rather than the ocean.’ (CJS funder)

System change goals framed by influence

T2A does not itself use the language of ‘systems change’ goals, although – as described above – its focus and approach are congruent with the distinctive features of systems change. Rather, it frames its purpose as ‘*an influencing campaign*’, with its different approaches, collaborations and methodologies focused on ‘*making the case to policy makers, practitioners and sentencers for a distinct approach for young adults in the CJS*’.

This clearly resonates with most participants, partners and other external audiences, indicating a strong degree of unanimity about T2A’s vision and goals:

‘To promote a better way of dealing with young adult offenders by supporting research and the development of best practice, stacking up organisations to deal more effectively with young adults and to change the way CJS institutions operate.’ (T2A Alliance)

‘To achieve a shift in how young adults are viewed in the CJS – more as young people and less as criminals, with more understanding and a less punitive approach.’ (CJS funder)

‘To produce research and identify best practice with a particular focus on the significance of maturity and argue for a distinct approach to the treatment of young adults within the CJS.’ (Civil Service)

T2A frames its purpose as an influencing campaign.

Some question whether T2A gives sufficient attention to pre-determined milestones and targets leading towards its goal:

‘There may sometimes be merit in setting an end date to an initiative – and/or having a five year goal to impel a sense of urgency. It’s not always helpful to have an approach that you will simply stick with something for as long as it takes.’ (CJS funder)

‘It is not very clear what T2A wants. What does “a distinct approach to young adults” mean in terms of policy and practice? I’d like to see a clearer set of policy asks that are resourced and prioritised.’ (T2A Alliance)

But T2A's change goal is that the concept of maturation as an ongoing process becomes embedded in policy and practice across the CJS. Progress is reflected in the deliberately shifting focus of the campaign as it matures and responds to opportunities and gaps, rather than in achieving (or failing to achieve) specific outcomes:

'Young adults are now a fundamental consideration in delivering CJS services, a core piece, a named group, baked into thinking about what services need to be delivered. After building the evidence base and making the case to the top of the justice system we're in the third phase of embedding the change. The policy side has made good progress, but what needs to change is the treatment of young adults so we're now working more with practitioners and front line staff.' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

T2A has maintained a disciplined and unwavering focus on young adults:

'T2A persistently bring people back to the needs of this group, by maintaining a steady focus and using their expertise and resources to highlight how young adults are affected.' (Civil Service)

*T2A has maintained a
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focus on young adults.*

The level and consistency of this focus is a key factor in the progress that has been made towards a common understanding of the distinctive needs of young adults, and the importance of assessing relative maturity across different sectors of the CJS:

'15 years on, the concept of young adults in CJS is accepted by pretty much everyone. Before, it just wasn't a mainstream concept. Whether you can attribute that to T2A, probably not entirely. But T2A has played a role. And there are almost half as many young adults in prison as there were 15 years ago. That's incredible. Even if T2A only played a small part, we should be really proud that there's been such a reduction when the overall prison population has not gone down.' (T2A Alliance)

Neither T2A nor BCT, as its sole funder, has any desire to overclaim in this space, being comfortable as contributors to change:

‘For a small injection of philanthropic money, it’s a big ask to secure radical system change, and almost impossible to attribute change when there are so many other variables at play. There is a tendency to place yourself at the centre of the eco-system but, in reality, we are a marginal player. But it’s a significant achievement to have pursued the case for change so relentlessly. Hopefully we built enough of an evidence-base to make a difference.’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

Key features and challenges

- T2A’s systems change goals are framed around incremental influence on policy and practice rather than pre-agreed outcomes or a known endpoint.
- This reflects both its analysis of the unpredictable nature of change in complex systems and its commitment to meaningful improvements for young adults across all elements of the CJS.
- This framing of a systems change goal ‘makes sense’, both to T2A and its target audiences within the CJS, but carries some risk of dissipation of energy.
- In T2A the diverse efforts by many different actors are held together by a disciplined focus on the distinctive needs of young adults.

3.2 Achieving equitable collaboration

Who sets the agenda?

Unusually, BCT's 'starting point for T2A is not a goal but a collaboration'. Each stage of its development is characterised by engagement with multiple stakeholders and bringing together a diverse range of perspectives. This commitment to collaboration was both the pre-requisite for, and creative source of, agreeing the systems change goal:

'To bring about incremental structural change is necessarily a collective effort. We would be foolish not to put this at the heart of the work. A variety of expertise "in the mix" – policy experts, lived experience experts, practitioners, academics and campaigners. Not to mention many personnel in the criminal justice system, whose contribution has been immense.' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

As noted in BCT's story of T2A above, the Trust's focus on young adults was determined at a consultation meeting, convened by the then Chair of the Trust. Its subsequent commission consulted in depth with 76 organisations to prepare actionable findings. BCT then convened T2A as a collaborative campaign to put these findings into action. At this stage, the circle of actors was more tightly drawn. The T2A Alliance is a collaboration of around 12-15 leading criminal and social justice organisations providing support and challenge to T2A and collaborating on many of its reports and resources. The Alliance meets four times a year, independently chaired by a succession of respected leaders in the field:

'The Alliance has been incredibly important and integral to the success of T2A with the member organisations offering expertise, branding and endorsement.' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

'The Alliance has always had an independent Chair to make overt that our Board defers to their greater expertise.' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

In terms of decision-making, the Campaign Management Group – chaired by BCT, with members drawn from the Alliance and, more recently, a young adult with lived experience – is the key body for T2A. Using a collaborative process of discussion and review with Alliance members, the Campaign Management Group drafts the annual strategy before submitting it to the BCT board for approval. It meets around six times a year to give direction to T2A's work. As a collaboration, T2A has clear strengths in the insights, skills and networks of its members and the very long-term commitment not only of BCT but of many of the original members of the Alliance. But the balance of power within T2A is complex and there are some challenges around engagement and reach.

Addressing questions of power

BCT firmly places itself within the campaign for change, not alongside it as a sponsor and supporter:

'T2A is fundamentally a collaboration. It was not us thinking alone as a funder but instead – and following a wide consultation and Commission – moving into a campaign and concerted effort to pursue the necessary changes.' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

The Trust's history and culture mean that it is comfortable with the idea of being both activist and funder:

'We never start with the money. It's simply the lubricant. We both drive and serve.' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

But the challenge for a funder, especially one with a strong leadership role in a campaign for change, is to minimise the negative impact of power dynamics around money on open and productive collaboration with others. BCT is not naive about how difficult this can be:

'We seek to share power even, and maybe especially, where money is concerned. To pretend there is no power asymmetry is clearly both disingenuous and foolish. We aim to 'out' the power dynamic by relational means; listening carefully, responding to challenge, showing respect, being flexible, deferring to greater expertise and building partnership-relationships not administrative ones.' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

Most feel that BCT manages the dynamic well. Within this distinctive culture – with the funder moving across traditional boundaries to play multiple roles – both Alliance and Campaign Management Group members feel able to speak their minds and engage in vigorous dialogue, albeit within an understanding that there are some *'red lines where an issue is not contestable'*:

'BCT create an open and trusting space. Everyone can say what they think. Yes, there's a power dynamic, but it doesn't affect debates. One of the ways BCT try to overcome this is by having a relationship with their funded organisations based on trust.' (T2A Campaign Management Group)

'The Campaign Management Group derives its power from the composition of its membership – which is drawn from both BCT and the Alliance.' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)



*We never start with the money.
It's simply the lubricant. We both
drive and serve.*

—Barrow Cadbury Trust

BCT is seen as a powerful presence in these debates *'but not a domineering one'*. As would be expected in any campaign on complex issues, differences have arisen around both tactics and priorities. For example, whether T2A could have adopted a more assertive approach in deciding where to draw the line *'between keeping friends and risking enemies'*. Or that the campaign's focus is being held too tightly, missing opportunities for greater influence. Most are relatively simply resolved, but there are inevitably some areas where power dynamics are more consciously felt.

The greatest pressures appear to fall in two key areas, both of which concern the boundaries of the campaign – the red lines that (in the end) the funder is unwilling to cross. Whether or not these have been clearly stated from the start, a long-running campaign is bound to reach points where its members question and challenge fundamental assumptions about their effectiveness.

What does – and does not – fall within the funding envelope is a familiar concern, which is discussed below. More challenging are questions about strategy and tactics within a highly complex context for change. Concerns focus on the corrosive public and political narrative around crime and that *'the way ahead will become increasingly challenging if public attitudes do not soften'*:

'The macro challenge is out in society. Public acceptance of serious crimes and different treatment is low. There is a long way to go in terms of influencing public opinion. I don't know that it's T2A's job to change this. But this is where you get the political resistance.'
(T2A Alliance)

Across its wider portfolio of grants and associated activities, BCT has experience of both the collaborative, incremental approach to systems change adopted by T2A and of work to influence public opinion around migration. Up until now, BCT has *'resisted pressure for T2A to try and work on changing public opinion'*, taking the view that both the risk to its reputation and access to the CJS, as well as the constraints of an annual budget of around £700,000, militate against such a significant shift. It is by no means alone in this view:

'To combat the messaging in the populist press, you would need massive resources.'
(T2A Alliance)

The way ahead will become increasingly challenging if public attitudes do not soften.

And, in the end, everyone recognises and accepts that the fundamental red lines around T2A cannot be moved without BCT's consent. Acknowledging this reality, the Trust appreciates the need for constant vigilance to minimise any distorting impact on equitable collaboration:

'Sharing power has to be before and outside the money, even if attempts to neutralise that power can never be perfect. Power and its use and attempting not to abuse it should be a constant thread – it's a key part of participatory change work.' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)



Power and its use and attempting not to abuse it should be a constant thread.

—Barrow Cadbury Trust

Developing the Alliance

While the Campaign Management Group is widely seen as an effective mechanism for collaborative decision-making, participation in the Alliance (although often long-term) is more likely to ebb and flow. This is largely a question of priorities and resources. Many members of the Alliance have a much broader focus than young adults or the CJS and, although all have received funding for T2A-related work over the years, changing priorities for the campaign mean this is by no means guaranteed:

'Resources, both time and money, are scarce in many of the organisations we support and is it reasonable to expect them to invest time and staff in the campaign if they're not being funded or young adults aren't necessarily one of their priorities? Out of the people who attend the meetings the majority are currently being funded.' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

More broadly, there is a sense that the collaborative reach and influence of the Alliance is underdeveloped as a resource for T2A:

'I'm not sure if we've always made the most of the Alliance as a concept – it was quite exclusive, limited to a membership of 12 organisations, which was felt to be the maximum manageable. It wasn't about growing the movement which it probably should have been.' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

'I think the Alliance is a really good idea. I'm not sure that they are getting enough out of it. Organisations dutifully come along but that's mostly just to hear about what's going on with funding. It might need refreshing.' (Civil Service)

Again, resource constraints are a challenge. T2A's own limited staff capacity has, in this regard, been most recently focused on formalising the direct participation of young adults as experts by experience in the Alliance and Campaign Management Group. But relationships and networks are seen as a critical asset by T2A, and questions of engagement, reach and 'value added' from participation are clearly front of mind:

'A priority is to develop the Alliance Group to ensure the right people are involved and that there is a chance for users and others to showcase their work and exchange good practice.' (T2A Alliance)

Key features and challenges

- Commitment to consultation, collaboration and engagement is front and centre of BCT's systems change approach.
- T2A is a collaborative campaign built on open enquiry into priorities in criminal justice and deep investment in identifying actionable recommendations.
- T2A's structure and governance are designed to expose its thinking to a variety of expertise, while achieving sufficient strategic focus to support effective action.
- BCT knows that 'the power of money' is real and, unless actively managed, will distort collaborative effort.
- Managing this dynamic is even more challenging as 'a funder and an activist', with a core role in the campaign and its leadership. Vigilance is essential.
- Good collaboration costs time and money. Both are in short supply.

3.3 Articulating the funder's role

BCT's mission is *'to use all of our assets, especially our money, to work with others to bring about structural change for a more just and equal society'*. It thought carefully about the assets it could bring to T2A and seeks to use them to full effect alongside the financial resources that underpin T2A's effort to influence change.

Political capital

BCT conceives of T2A as a campaign rather than a funding programme. And the nature of this campaign – collaborative, evidence-based and persistent – is a reflection of the Trust's personality as a foundation. Within this context, BCT has been very willing to use its reputation and name-recognition as an asset:

'Campaigning and speaking truth to power are not contested issues within BCT. And we are lucky that we can fund campaigning. But we are mindful of the risk of being seen as "a campaigning organisation". It's a narrow path to tread.' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

And, although this campaigning intent is clear, BCT and T2A are accepted within Whitehall and Parliament as *'honest brokers'*. This view is rooted in the Trust's reputation, based on over 100 years of work across a broad spectrum of social justice and equality issues, including within the field of criminal justice:

'They have a name and a reputation with which other organisations can be associated – the combination of BCT's reputation and their expertise is reflected in their choices of the right organisations and individuals to fund and partner.' (T2A Alliance)



Campaigning and speaking truth to power are not contested issues within BCT.

—Barrow Cadbury Trust

T2A has built on this foundation with its *'relational sophistication'*, alongside the attention it has given to building and using a robust evidence base. The campaign has access to civil servants and ministers, knows how to communicate in ways that don't press the wrong buttons, and has been able *'to make some surprising friends'* and build influence:

'T2A is seen as a standalone entity, although the values and ethos of BCT are also essential.' (Civil Service)

'Ministers and civil servants would talk to us – we were perceived as having no axe to grind and something genuine to offer.' (T2A Alliance)

Commitment, skills and sector expertise

BCT's commitment to change and its understanding of the need to take a long-term view is also of fundamental importance:

'T2A is one of the few examples of systemic change (significant and operationalised) over a sustained period. They've achieved it by doing it over a long time – it's an example of what time it takes to effect change. Most funders who talk about systemic change have time frames which are woefully inadequate.' (T2A Alliance)

Linked to this sustained commitment, BCT brings valuable skills and experience to T2A as a campaign, based on its long history in criminal justice, its value base, its networks, and the skills and experience of both trustees and staff:

'They're not a funder that's just funding work that you've pitched to them. They're a funder which wants to shift. There's a narrative and a shared purpose. And I think that's really useful.' (T2A Alliance)

And the decision to resource T2A by employing staff with specialist knowledge and expertise in criminal justice, including bringing in secondees from within the CJS, is a critical element of BCT's contribution:

'Because BCT chose to develop a specialism in this field, I knew they had expertise or access to it, and a shared vision and passion. And because they were already committed to the cause, I felt they were better able to gauge the value of the work you are doing than a less committed and knowledgeable funder.' (T2A Alliance)

For grantees, a specialist team and a shared purpose builds trust and adds value on a number of fronts:

'They take a strengths-based approach to work and are very approachable – you never feel like you are asking silly questions or that you have to hide things from them.' (T2A Alliance)

'They are pragmatic, open and flexible and can see where to drive improvement and offer support where there are opportunities to do so. They have credibility with stakeholders; and offer practical help.' (Civil Service)

Funding

Unusually for a systems change initiative, BCT has been the sole funder. It did not need to attract funding from third parties, judging its annual commitment of around £700,000 appropriate and sufficient to establish and then maintain the campaign. Nor did it want to risk diluting the essence or coherence of the work and the long-term commitment which was required:

‘There was no interest in attracting other funders. For BCT it was a flagship, connected to the founders, and bringing in another funder might have involved relinquishing some control of the vision and the approach, even though BCT itself collaborates with other funders on a lot of other projects.’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

This, combined with BCT’s other assets and investment in specialist staff, benefits the work of T2A and its key stakeholders:

‘On the whole, BCT being the sole funder has been more of a strength. They could have got other trusts in, but their independence and long-term commitment has been very important.’ (T2A Alliance)

‘Because they give long-term funding, you are able to build a relationship with them and respect what each other brings.’ (T2A Campaign Management Group)

But there are some challenges, which might be more easily overcome if others were bringing financial resources to the table. Most notably, BCT has always been clear that its funding commitment is *‘to the campaign not to funding every member of the Alliance’*. Its organisational position is that the Campaign Management Group proposes the strategy and *‘the money follows the strategy, funding the right hands to deliver it.’* With an annual budget of around £700,000, a tight focus is understandable:

‘As an activist organisation you have to stick to the model and turn away work outside it – even though that is hard.’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)



*The money follows the strategy,
funding the right hands to
deliver it.*

—Barrow Cadbury Trust

However, the relative inflexibility of this funding model does have implications for some Alliance members and other regular grant holders. The clearest impact is on their capacity to engage in collaborative activity around T2A. Even for consistently funded organisations, the simple fact of tight finances and a stretched leadership team makes it hard to free up time to participate in meetings. And (as previously noted), when Alliance members are not in receipt of funding, their involvement tends to fall away:

‘There are some practical struggles. It is difficult to make time as I sit on lots of advisory groups, particularly as more funders run similar programmes.’ (T2A Campaign Management Group)

‘It would be good if they added a bit of margin to provide headspace for the senior team. I think there’s a typical grant limit which BCT might need to move if they want to support the ambitions of the charities they fund.’ (T2A Alliance)

BCT is alert both to the costs of collaboration and to the potentially undermining effect on collaborative relationships of financial uncertainty and shifting in and out of ‘applicant’ and ‘funder’ roles:

‘From the beginning, it was very important to get and keep Alliance members involved. But some were having to subsidise their involvement from other funds. Some were more funded than others and it wasn’t always made clear why. If I were designing it again, I’d have a transparent process and clearer compensation.’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

And it recognises that, in practice, ‘the money follows the strategy’ is, at least in part, about judgement rather than rules:

‘That’s the theory but in practice it isn’t so precise – we’ve always been open to ideas that aren’t bang on the strategy.’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

The danger is that this ‘lacks visibility.’ Creating space for organisations to influence these judgements at a more granular level, in the hope both of better supporting the work of the Alliance and of enabling organisations to deliver work more closely aligned to their own mission and purpose, is a live concern:

‘A criticism of philanthropy is we don’t listen to charities, in particular grass root charities. Do we enhance that criticism? We are focused on T2A to the exclusion of other people’s concerns and potentially blind to the opportunities they have developed. Do we spend enough time working with charities to find the ‘sweet spot’ in our objectives and develop funded work that enhances both of our missions? Or adequately work with charities to educate them on the approach of T2A and why we fund and don’t fund?’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

This raises questions for some about whether adjusting BCT's approach as a funder might enhance T2A's effectiveness as a campaign:

'We're still largely responsive and it's arguable that we should have had a bigger element of commissioning.' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

'BCT does seem quite stretched from a grantee point of view. Are they investing enough resources in good comms with grantees? Do they want to be that kind of funder or a more intensive, supportive alongside funder? It's a decision, isn't it, how you want to use your resource.' (T2A Alliance)

Key features and challenges

- BCT is committed to using all its assets in support of a more just and equal society. An assessment of these assets and their value to T2A underpins its position at the heart of the change effort.
- It brings its history, reputation, access to the establishment and the skills of its core team to T2A.
- It brings its trustees' long-term commitment to criminal justice issues to T2A and relies on their comfort with 'speaking truth to power'.
- It has invested in staff with specialist expertise, building T2A's capacity, credibility and reputation and the trust of grantees and practitioners.
- Deliberately the sole funder and with a firm focus on *'the campaign and not [on] funding every member of the Alliance'*, BCT is the source of T2A's independence and long-term commitment. But the hard boundaries around the funding model have their challenges.

3.4 Making a long-term commitment

The T2A Alliance stands as a focus for the efforts of many organisations and individuals to improve the response of the CJS to young adults. All have made a long-term commitment of time and expertise to this goal. But BCT's commitment to T2A, and the financial and other resources that come with it, provides the bedrock for action. Three factors have enabled BCT, as sole funder, to make this commitment for the long term.

Trustee leadership

BCT is not 'a visitor' to criminal justice but has been 'living with the issue' for more than 100 years.² As a family trust, with long-serving trustees, the board and staff are used to thinking in decades rather than years. Thus, T2A is just the most recent initiative in a narrative arc from the 1920s, when Geraldine Cadbury and her husband had a passionate interest in youth justice and wanted to see things done differently for young men returning from the First World War. Within this context, the question of a reasonable timescale for investment of both funds and effort to achieve lasting change may feel less vexed than it can for many funders:

'If we became a non-family trust with short-term trustees, things might be different. How many foundations have people who have been either learning or acting as a trustee for nearly 50 years?' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

The then Chair of BCT was deeply involved with the development of T2A. It was clear to her – and to fellow trustees – that the commitment would be very long-term:

'We knew at the outset it would be a long-term venture. We never put a number on it but certainly knew we would need to give it a good 10 years and quite probably 20 years.'
(Barrow Cadbury Trust)

*Barrow Cadbury Trust is not
'a visitor' to criminal justice but
has been 'living with the issue'
for more than 100 years.*

² The distinction between a funder 'visiting' an issue and 'living' with it is borrowed from Fiona Ellis, former CEO of Northern Rock Foundation and trustee of Nationwide Foundation.

This clarity and commitment at trustee level provides stability to the BCT team and to the Alliance:

'You need to be prepared to keep your focus over a long period of time and have trustees who are committed to that and understand that change might not come quickly.' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

'Devoting time, resource, effort and duration – that gives a sense of the possibility of change. Change is hard; trying to make things shift is a long game.' (T2A Alliance)

Clarity about the nature of the commitment

As previously noted, BCT is clear that their long-term commitment is to the programme and the overall systems change goal, not to a particular set of grantees. The overall financial contribution has remained relatively steady for 10 years, with T2A's funds deployed in line with changing strategic priorities for the campaign.

The investment in the core T2A team has been a priority throughout, with the proportion of funds dedicated to infrastructure, such as policy and communications support, increasing over the years. Grant-making to Alliance members and others has a much more varied profile. Initially the grant budget was spent on pilot projects and on developing evidence on a variety of topics. Over time this shifted more towards policy and practice work, influencing the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) and judiciary, and working 'on the ground' with police, probation and courts.

Work around race and gender justice has grown more intense over time, as has user voice, including young adult experts' projects. Secondments both to and from the MoJ and other implementation initiatives have flowed from gathering momentum and traction in the field.

This has generated a mixed funding portfolio and different kinds of funding relationships. For example, in its initial drive to build and diversify the evidence base, T2A provided short-term grants to generate a large volume of research projects (some of which proved of greater value than others). And there have since been other short-term grants to explore promising ideas and fill specific gaps in evidence. The pilot practice projects described in section 1.3 were supported by fixed-term, multi-year funding, with associated evaluation costs. And working in the same space over a long period has created long-term funding relationships, with multi-year grants to support the ongoing campaigning work of some Alliance members.



Change is hard; trying to make things shift is a long game.

—T2A Alliance

Realism and patience

Finally, BCT trustees clearly understand the need for patience and are not expecting simple answers or linear progress:

'We're not governed by performance indicators – things taking a long time doesn't deter us. We deliberately chose to swim in these murky waters and team up with unlikely swimming fellows.' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

'Being there' and continuing to 'hold our nerve' in a complex environment is recognised as a meaningful contribution with genuine potential to support sustainable change:

'It's not a glamorous approach, it's just persistence. There's an element of consistent message that you keep on pushing, with a consequence that the voice of T2A becomes a go-to-outfit for anyone who is doing work on 18-25yr olds in the CJS.' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

For charities and other practitioners, this is a breath of fresh air, an approach which could be more widely adopted by funders interested in tackling complex social problems:

'I genuinely think the work of T2A is phenomenal – an example of philanthropy which should be showcased, shared and celebrated. The courage of the funders and their investment of time should also be properly recognised. The value of such governance is not sufficiently appreciated.' (T2A Alliance)

'It's a good model for other funders to adopt – with a long-term view which can absorb the ups and downs and the capacity to build relationships. Being there for the long term means you can take up opportunities you did not know were coming. It also makes for easier and better conversations not hemmed in by tightly defined outputs and outcomes.' (Civil Service)

Key features and challenges

- BCT trustees are used to thinking in decades rather than in years.
- They actively sought an opportunity to make a long-term commitment to change in the CJS, and are comfortable with the uncertainties of change in complex systems.
- They do not expect linear progress or simple answers. Rather, they see the potential inherent in being a persistent presence and 'holding our nerve'.

Making progress in complexity

3.5 Planning for systems change

T2A reflects acute understanding that to engage and influence change within complex systems means engaging with many different actors within and outside the system:

‘How do you influence change? Well, over time you will encounter allies with policy influence, which you can build on. You accumulate relationships with people of influence. You build up a coalition of people and begin to make more formal networks. That realises opportunities. Complexity theory captures the reality that over time you will encounter both the expected and unexpected.’ (T2A Alliance)

In systems change terms, T2A is concerned with structural change – specifically, changes in policies and practices as they affect young adults throughout the CJS. Making progress towards this means influencing actors within the system to believe that change is both desirable and possible. While the balance of T2A’s work alters on a year-to-year basis, the approach to change-making demonstrates three consistent features:

- Listening widely and well
- A focus on evidence and practice
- Building relationships of trust and confidence within the CJS

Listening widely and well

T2A wants to see practical change for young adults, and its commitment to actionable recommendations is paramount. From the start, its approach has been characterised by drawing together expertise and experience from a wide range of stakeholders and taking the time needed to distil this intelligence into a meaningful framework for action, with BCT’s Commission on Young Adults and the Criminal Justice System (2005) providing the road map for all T2A’s developmental and delivery work going forward:

‘We drew together people from all sorts of quarters. It took a few years gathering evidence to produce a report with nine practical recommendations that would be actionable, rather than a report that would be “read, praised, shelved”.’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)



Over time you will encounter both the expected and unexpected.

—T2A Alliance

And T2A has continued to engage widely, through the membership of the Alliance and the network of relationships it sustains with statutory and voluntary sector players across the CJS:

‘Having this space and funding and a network to come together, keeps young adults as a focus for these organisations on the Alliance. It also provides a useful information sharing function of what others are doing. And, probably more importantly, just on a symbolic level, it helps people recognise they’re part of something bigger.’ (T2A Alliance)

Although BCT recognises that T2A did not move as quickly as it should have done on embedding and amplifying the voices of young adults in its work, a concerted effort since 2016 has increased the direct influence of experts by experience on T2A’s own thinking – both through a developing evidence base from a lived experience perspective, and direct engagement of young adults in the Alliance and the Campaign Management Group:

‘It took T2A a very long time to more directly involve young people in its work – but doing so has shifted comms and given more legitimacy.’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

Funding is also dedicated to enabling young adults to build their skills and increase their influence on policy and practice at national and local levels to help shift the debate and drive genuine innovation:

‘Exciting new ideas will come from the leadership of marginalised groups, the people closest to the harms they are suffering. If you back up that leadership over time and connect it to the powers that be, you will see something different emerging. You have to give these groups and their leadership more agency.’ (CJS funder)



Exciting new ideas will come from the leadership of marginalised groups, the people closest to the harms they are suffering.

—CJS Funder

A focus on evidence and practice

T2A is an evidence-based change programme. Building the case and developing robust guidance on good practice is the foundation of its campaign. It has benefited from the development of a broader evidence base around differential maturity, which has helped fundamentally to reframe the debate about young adults and their development:

*‘For the period T2A has operated, the maturity agenda has found a more specific set of echoes and audiences. Propositions around trauma and brain science and injury, speech and language difficulties, are reaching wider audiences and increasing understanding.’
(T2A Campaign Management Group)*

But T2A’s own sustained efforts have clearly been instrumental in bringing this and other evidence into CJS thinking. Over the years, it has invested extensively in pilot projects to inform its whole system pathway for action for 18- to 25-year-olds, and to demonstrate how this approach can be effective across the CJS. And it has constantly refreshed a body of independently commissioned research and practice guidance across a wide range of issues to support changes in policy and practice.

Not every investment has borne fruit:

‘We’ve funded a lot of good work which has added to the evidence base and been useful to us and our partners in pressing for change. But it’s also fair to say that there has been work that has been a little disappointing and not added materially to the evidence base, and sometimes we have funded proposals that have taken us down a tangent which we have not had capacity to pursue.’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

But T2A’s focus on evidence and deliverability is both respected and appreciated by its audience within the CJS:

‘They know their stuff and have the evidence to back their views.’ (Civil Service)

‘The best things that happen in criminal justice come from practice, from local policy informing national policy. If you send something out from the Home Office, people won’t want to read it, but people will read something from the charity sector. T2A did brilliantly on developing packages, identifying issues, bringing academic insight, and publishing product. This best practice research is what T2A does best.’ (Civil Service)

‘They value empirical work and the fact they commission work and spend money on it elevates their credibility.’ (Civil Service)

Building relationships of trust and confidence within the CJS

Relationship building within the CJS is intrinsic to T2A’s attitude to influencing:

‘To get the change you want to see you have to build relationships, even if they are transient, and to read and understand the political culture. Relationships have to be front and centre if you want to get system change.’ (T2A Alliance)

‘This work requires collaboration with the establishment and not every funder wants that relationship.’ (T2A Alliance)

T2A approaches the CJS as an intelligent and well-informed ally in the difficult task of creating positive change in a system that everyone understands to be complex and subject to a wide range of pressures outside the control of individuals or institutions:

'They feel like a critical friend – challenging, but not adversarial or hostile: they work with us.' (Civil Service)

'T2A is held in higher regard because it's more pragmatic than many others who are too idealistic. It doesn't bring "the ethical purity of un-responsibility" which is common of campaigning organisations because they don't have to implement anything.' (Civil Service)

All T2A's independent Chairs have brought deep experience of the CJS to their role. And recruitment and secondment of staff with their own expertise and contacts from within the system both eases access and deepens T2A's understanding of the context for relationship building:

'They go in on equal terms, providing CJS partners with information and opening their eyes in a very sophisticated and relational way. They are well connected and very good at what they do in their niche area of activity.' (T2A Alliance)

'The collaborative way they work is really helpful – they are very engaging, and it feels we are working together to achieve a common aim.' (Civil Service)

'What makes organisations effective is to understand the civil service world. If you're a civil servant, you're campaigned at all the time. You get an incredibly thick skin. Be collaborative. It's not about defeat and winning. What's helpful is demonstrating you can make the policy change happen.' (Civil Service)



*Be collaborative.
It's not about defeat
and winning.*

– Civil Service

This attention to creating productive relationships is a distinctive strength which serves the cause of young adults well. And the long-term nature of T2A's engagement means that it has seen allies identified many years ago move into positions of influence within the system. But there are many barriers and challenges along the way, as people move on or disruption and crisis in the system absorbs all capacity:

'The high churn of criminal justice ministers disrupts continuity in policy. There is relative stability in officials although a higher rate of churn at the MoJ, which means you keep losing institutional learning.' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

'Now there is more of a barrier to change; people are very stretched and hyper cautious; prisons are bursting at the seams through rising numbers and staff shortages, which is a very dangerous situation. It's hard to find the bandwidth to get people to listen.' (Civil Service)

Building and maintaining relationships calls for patience, persistence and constant attention:

'You receive recognition along the way, but that is very time limited. You need to make the case again and again because, within institutions, people change. So, you must continually refresh relationships. And that takes a lot of energy, enthusiasm and resource. As Alastair Campbell once said to Tony Blair, "we might be sick of repeating these messages, but many people have yet to hear them".' (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

Key features and challenges

- From the start, T2A has been concerned to distil a wide range of evidence and experience into actionable recommendations to deliver practical change for young adults.
- T2A's recent efforts to increase the influence of young adults on its own work, and on policy and practice in the CJS more widely, are building momentum.
- Its long investment in a robust evidence base for change and tested guidance on good practice forms the foundation of T2A's credibility.
- Positive relationships with actors across the CJS build confidence and create opportunities for influence.
- Building, maintaining and renewing these relationships calls for persistent attention.

3.6 Demonstrating a high tolerance of risk and uncertainty

Holding the ring

T2A works with complexity, in a complex space, and influencing change is far from straightforward. The task of building and sharing evidence – both about the need for a distinctive approach to young adults and the practical ways in which this can be achieved – can be understood as relatively linear. But translating this evidence base into policy and practice is more emergent and unpredictable. It calls for both patience and agility, building relationships and capitalising on opportunities that emerge from the changing winds of the political climate, the forces acting on the different institutions within the CJS, and the doors that open and close as allies move around, up or out of the system.

This has required tenacity, a premium on adaptation, patience in the face of setbacks, realism about the time needed to achieve change, and persistence in the face of a difficult climate:

‘It’s a big challenge to work within the criminal justice sector – you feel you are running uphill, with two steps forwards and one step back. The climate, attitudes and delivery are all more challenging.’ (CJS funder)

This stability and patience owe much to the attitude and long-term commitment of BCT’s trustees to criminal justice and to T2A:

‘It’s much more difficult if you have churn on boards and trustees who “want action” themselves – who want recognition and success during their term of office. Without long-term commitment, a programme can become a vanity project.’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

T2A is not naive about the scale of the crisis in the justice system, amplified by the Covid pandemic. Prisons are nearing capacity, with the regime allowing little space for effective rehabilitation and caseloads for prosecutors, judges and probation officers near unmanageable. It is at times like these that BCT’s willingness to take the long view enables T2A to be there, holding the ring and keeping alert for any opportunities to move forward. T2A has endured periods without apparent progress in the knowledge that circumstances may become more favourable at some future point. You cannot make the weather, but you can wait for the right weather to arrive:

‘If churn and political change can make things worse, they can also make things better.’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

‘Okay, these are dark times, but there have been dark times in the past – you need to keep a consistent focus irrespective of the external environment.’ (T2A Alliance)

Keeping going and maintaining a presence has kept the needs of young adults on the table. And staying for the long term creates both opportunity and credibility to act when opportunities arise:

‘It’s not just about being at the right place at the right time but being at that place long enough so that when the right time comes, you are there. Working for over a decade, T2A came to be seen and respected as a reliable witness.’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

‘You have to be there to be ready and because you are holding that space you can be agile and seize the opportunity when it comes.’ (T2A Alliance)

Thinking about progress

None of this is to suggest that T2A is unconcerned about progress. Indeed, it has seen clear successes and it has experienced clear setbacks; both are treated as opportunities for deep learning, but neither has knocked the campaign off course. It is simply that T2A is comfortable with the idea of incremental improvements and influence as a realistic and meaningful approach to bringing about change in a complex system of this kind:

‘The reality of change in the criminal justice system is a series of micro changes which accumulate over time, not a big bang. I’m very sceptical about the big bang approach. Change is slow, a steady accretion – and if you are in it for the long term, you can achieve something. But there is no silver bullet: it doesn’t exist.’ (T2A Alliance)

‘It’s important to do what needs to be done rather than what is easy to measure, and our trustees know this.’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)



I’m very sceptical about the big bang approach. There is no silver bullet: it doesn’t exist.

– T2A Alliance

There are no hard targets for T2A and no clear end point. This latter, in particular, risks feeling ‘slightly amorphous’:

‘T2A says young adults should be held within the adult system but treated with a distinct approach. But what does distinct mean? What’s the answer if policy makers ask, “Are we done now? Or do you want something else and what is that?”.’ (T2A Alliance)

But the approach accurately reflects the prevailing conception of the T2A campaign as a journey, over many stages and through many phases, building momentum and remaining agile in taking opportunities as they arise. While the campaign is tightly focused on young adults, it is very broadly framed in terms of where benefit may be found. And the annual strategy process creates a collective opportunity to test the water and make shifts in emphasis in support of more effective action.

There is a clear sense that T2A continues to have a positive – and distinct – contribution to make towards its change goal:

‘The challenges are not insurmountable – T2A is a key part of the CJS and a thought leader in progressive policy making. But it will take a lot of active work and strategy to meet the challenges of the next 2-5 years. There are opportunities to run with the momentum and seek more longstanding commitment; opportunities to be very strategic in where T2A puts its energy. We need to make sense of the assets we have to harness the power we have.’ (Civil Service)

Decisions about whether the campaign should continue will not be based on the achievement of specific goals but on a more nuanced judgement about what has changed for young adults and the value that T2A can contribute to outstanding challenges and priorities:

‘A persistent question for us is “When is done done?”. What shape of justice services would it take for us to say, “Yes, this has arrived at the right place and change is embedded – when you are not going to treat a 19 year old like a 40 year old”.’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

Key features and challenges

- Transforming evidence into change in policy and practice is an unpredictable activity. T2A focuses on being ready – building the evidence, building relationships and stepping up when opportunities emerge.
- This calls on T2A to be tenacious, adaptable and patient in the face of setbacks and a challenging climate for change.
- T2A cares about progress and is confident in its view that an incremental approach (with periods where little apparent progress may be made) is realistic and meaningful when seeking to influence a complex system like the CJS.
- Although T2A’s campaign is tightly focused on young adults, it is very broadly framed in terms of where benefit may be found.

3.7 Maintaining a learning mindset

A forward-looking attitude

In building evidence, testing new approaches and listening to the views of partners and practitioners, T2A has consistently applied an approach that seeks to distil what works and what can be learned, with a readiness to be drawn in new directions:

‘Like realising there are areas we didn’t dream of (such as research work on brain development) which have been hugely influential in enabling policy makers. Be prepared for all sorts of things to emerge that you never anticipated. Be prepared to think differently.’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

This clear focus on learning with funded partners, rather than compliance, is distinctive and welcome, as is the critical contribution of specialist staff in drawing out the most useful learning:

‘They were a sympathetic and thoughtful commissioner and were more interested in the learning opportunities and demonstrating that something works than policing performance. The fact their staff have a good understanding helps – if the staff role is primarily administrative, the default behaviour is the administration of the grant, whereas for BCT the learning was what mattered, and they understood the limitations.’ (T2A Alliance)

Learning is not, though, treated as an end in itself, but the basis for better guidance, better tactics and better decision-making. T2A is frank about when things have gone wrong or not worked out. For example, the problematic piloting of one initiative (where robust consultation and modelling on what services might look like fell at the implementation stage because of the refusal of a key stakeholder to engage) is an object lesson on why it is essential to prepare the ground on all fronts in a complex system, not pushing ahead too far or too fast:

‘We didn’t sequence the permissions in the right way, and we bypassed asking permission from the central judiciary, who then shut the whole thing down.’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

Sharing knowledge and learning

T2A supports and creates ‘a lot of product’. The challenge is to ensure that this is made available in ways that work for intended audiences and does not end up ‘just sitting on the shelf’.

As for most organisations over the last decade, communications has become a much more central discipline, and T2A has increasingly invested in professional communications support, its website and social media. But there is still work to do here.

There are indications that practical guides for practitioners are a popular resource within the CJS and have a strong audience base. For example, 10,000 copies of T2A’s guide for probation officers were requested during its first big push of work with probation. And there is clear evidence throughout this report that well-evidenced research reports underpin T2A’s credibility with the CJS:

‘They are a really helpful and useful source of information for practitioners. They are a very valuable resource, producing high quality research which gets listened to.’ (Civil Service)

But these reports are a poor vehicle for catching attention in an information-heavy world or in

communicating key findings to busy policy makers, no matter how positively inclined they are to engage:

‘There is a tension between building the evidenced reports, making the case “rationally” and what methods are used to interest and motivate people today. How do we do both well?’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

‘It can feel like an uphill struggle as the traditional funding model for research is to write a (very long) report, publish it, then move on to the next bit of funded work. And it’s difficult to change when this is what everyone is used to.’ (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

Even maintaining the flow of information within the circle of organisations on the edges of the core alliance and releasing their potential to contribute is not straightforward. The traditional reliance on meetings as a dissemination point as well as a forum for debate and development falls down if organisations with an interest in T2A are unable to attend regularly:

‘I have no real sense of what the Alliance is up to. BCT have funded other organisations doing work in the same space as us and we only found out about that by osmosis. We would welcome conversations with others – and with BCT – about how things aggregate together.’ (T2A Alliance)

But recent investment around the campaign is beginning to give more push to communications, so that T2A is able to reach out more actively to its various audiences and *‘is seeing more of a groundswell of interest and engagement’*. Further developing T2A’s understanding and skills in this respect is high on the agenda:

‘I want to look at the public facing image and ensure T2A gets the best out of key stakeholders and to further beef up the comms side including social media – to make sure the work remains outward facing, relevant and real.’ (T2A Alliance)

Key features and challenges

- T2A is fundamentally forward-looking, interested in learning not compliance.
- ‘Failure’ and ‘successes’ are both opportunities to build better guidance, better tactics and better decision-making.
- T2A needs its evidence and practice guidance to be read and used by busy people across the CJS – and beyond.
- Progress is being made but there is still a gap between the traditional expectations of a research report as a product and what is needed from it as part of an influencing campaign.

Part four: Insights and lessons from T2A



Why BCT is sharing this learning

The approaches of UK trusts and foundations to funding and support for systems change range from the highly engaged – where the funder keeps very close to, or is an active participant in, the action – through to the highly delegated, where the funder *‘gives the money then gets out of the way’*.

BCT’s approach to T2A clearly sits at the highly engaged end of this spectrum. The Trust does not believe that this is the best or only way of funding and supporting systems change:

‘It’s not right or wrong or better or worse to do this kind of work rather than other kinds of work along the spectrum. It’s possible to do either end of the scale well or badly. The important thing, to quote Dolly Parton, is “find out who you are and do it on purpose”.’
(Barrow Cadbury Trust)

Rather, BCT is sharing its experience in the hope that the insights it provides, the learning it offers, and the questions it raises will be of value to other funders who engage in – or are thinking about engaging in – systems change work. And especially to those who wish to make some contribution as an actor within that ‘change network’.

In this final section, we draw out learning from the BCT experience about what systems change requires of funders, the obstacles and pitfalls it can present, and how funders can make their best contribution to this complex and challenging work. It is offered here not as a blueprint, and certainly not as a checklist, but as a contribution to deeper understanding and appreciation of what this work entails and what is required.

Again, we follow the conceptual framing of funding for systems change identified in Part two in presenting this learning.



*Find out who you are and
do it on purpose.*

— Barrow Cadbury Trust

Establishing the field of action

4.1 Agreeing a systems change goal

The Commission which BCT set up in 2004 was a crucial stepping stone into the longer-term work: mapping the system and issues; forming a network of relationships across the sector; and identifying what needed to be done to make things better for young adults caught up in the CJS. This provided the impetus for setting up T2A, and good foundations for its work.

Key insights from the BCT experience:

Funders need a sound basis of knowledge, analysis and advice before setting out on the road of systems change: *'The best agendas for systems change work are built from diverse perspectives – no one knows "the right answer"'*.

What matters most is not the precise nature of the goal but that it is meaningful in relation to the nature and complexity of the system targeted for change and that it makes sense to actors in the change effort.

Setting a clear and meaningful systems change goal creates a focus for strategic and tactical thinking and acts as a powerful rallying point for diverse interventions by different actors.

*No one knows
'the right answer'*

4.2 Achieving equitable collaboration

BCT is deeply committed to equitable collaboration. It also carries considerable formal and informal power in its roles as convenor, sole funder and active participant in T2A's campaign. For BCT, the distinction between *'being a player, rather than just an enabler'* has been deliberate and intentional: *'We both drive and serve'*. This is far from straightforward or easily accomplished, not least in relation to power. BCT argues that, for funders, the question of how to deploy their power for the common good and in pursuit of the common cause without abusing it *'should be a constant thread in participatory change work'*, even if attempts to neutralise that power can never be perfect.

Key insights from the BCT experience:

Systems change calls for collaborative effort. Whatever their level of engagement, funders need to make a conscious and sustained effort to shift the paradigm in their interactions with others – from oversight to partnership.

In any collaboration focused on tackling complex problems, differences arise around strategy, tactics and priorities. Constructive resolution requires a culture of mutual respect, as well as transparent mechanisms for decision-making.

Funders need to remain alert to the distorting effect of the power of money on equitable collaboration, and actively work to minimise it, especially in relation to *'the negotiation and navigation of bumps in the road'*.

4.3 Articulating the funder's role

BCT has made an essentially open-ended commitment to the T2A campaign and chose to be its sole funder. It is committed to using all its assets in support of a more just and equal society and thinks carefully about questions of added value. Others agree that it has distinctive assets to bring to influencing change for young adults and has increased its value by investing in staff with specialist experience and expertise.

Key insights from the BCT experience:

Making a long-term commitment of funds is a powerful contribution to systems change programmes in its own right.

If funders want to engage as actors *'beyond the money'* in systems change, they must be prepared to analyse their assumed assets critically and invest in improving the value of their intended contribution.

A sole funder with a deep long-term commitment to change is a significant asset. However, multiple funders may offer greater flexibility in meeting the funding needs of partners in the collaborative effort.

4.4 Making a long-term commitment

T2A has shown patience with the time change takes – and the inevitable setbacks and periods of feeling becalmed; and it persists in making its case and bringing fresh evidence to the table. This is informed both by realism about the size of the task and a tenacious moral compulsion. And it is possible because BCT's trustees are fully invested in T2A, not just interested observers. They are used to thinking in the long term and do not expect linear progress or simple answers when seeking to influence complex systems.

Key insights from the BCT experience:

In complex systems deep and meaningful change is measured in decades, not just in years. The focus inevitably excludes other choices. To make the necessary commitment, funders have to really believe in the rightness and importance of what they are seeking to achieve, and to be confident that future trustees and staff will be prepared to stay the course. Funders whose resources, governance structures, ethos or preferences make long-term commitment challenging should seriously consider whether a systems change approach works for them.

In complex systems deep and meaningful change is measured in decades not just in years.

Making progress in complexity

4.5 Planning for systems change

For T2A, the primary focus has been on influencing change in policy and practice across the elements of the CJS. It has sought to distil a wide range of evidence and experience into actionable recommendations to deliver practical change for young adults, whose influence as experts by experience is increasingly felt both on its own work and on the wider CJS. T2A has earned trust through its reputation, strong evidence base, and in how it conducts relationships – it understands the priorities and challenges of practitioners and policy makers and positions itself as a source of help and partnership rather than criticism. People working within the sector – often under enormous pressures – appreciate this supportive approach and the help T2A offers to enable change.

Key insights from the BCT experience:

Systems change efforts have too often neglected the expertise of people with lived experience of these systems. Supporting their leadership and agency is increasingly recognised as crucial to achieving meaningful change.

Where systems change work seeks to directly influence the priorities of actors within government, they need to be persuaded that change is both possible and desirable. Robust evidence and good practice guidance help to open doors for policy change: relationships build influence and create opportunities.

For those whose interest is in pursuing a more disruptive model of systems change, collaboration with the institutions of the establishment can be problematic if not unacceptable.

*Relationships build influence
and create opportunities.*

4.6 Demonstrating a high tolerance of risk and uncertainty

BCT recognised at the outset that its investment in T2A's change aspirations would be for 10-20 years or more. There is a shared understanding that change is slow and incremental, and that the arguments for it have to be constantly remade for changing audiences as policy makers move on. Over time, T2A has gained new allies (who themselves have become more influential as they advance their careers) and can grasp opportunities – often unexpected – as they arise. It has also had setbacks. But it is confident in its view that an incremental approach (with periods where little apparent progress may be made) is realistic and meaningful when seeking to influence a complex system like the CJS.

Key insights from the BCT experience:

Building and maintaining a shared understanding that systems change is extremely challenging and rarely achieved in predictable ways offers a healthy dose of realism in judgements about 'progress', 'success' and 'failure'.

Money enables action. And judgements about risk look different when funders make a genuine commitment to long time frames for change. Funders need to be able to 'hold their nerve' in the face of inevitable setbacks and a challenging environment for change, recognising that progress comes from building solid foundations and proceeding with patience, persistence, agility and opportunism.

Long-term commitment and tightness of focus inevitably excludes other choices funders might make and, especially in turbulent times, it is impossible to be certain that you will ultimately achieve, or indeed come close to, your systems change goal. For some, this will feel like too much risk or uncertainty.

Judgements about risk look different when funders make a genuine commitment to long time frames for change.

4.7 Maintaining a learning mindset

T2A is fundamentally forward-looking, interested in learning not compliance. The campaign is shaped by a rigorous focus on using this learning to build the evidence for change, develop robust guidance on good practice, improve tactics and support better decision-making.

Key insights from the BCT experience:

System change calls for a forward-looking attitude and willingness to be drawn in new directions – this requires a high degree of tolerance and comfort with emergence. Complex problems themselves are constantly changing and adapting, so efforts to change them must be equally flexible.

‘Failures’ and ‘successes’ are both opportunities to learn and do things better or differently. For such an approach to succeed, key actors need to commit to learning from action, with a premium on curiosity and patience. Some traditional tools might be of use – for example, long-term planning or theories of change – but only if they are *‘constructed as tools for learning and adaptive management, rather than “performance management”*’ (Wasafiri, 2020:10).

Key actors need to commit to learning from action, with a premium on curiosity and patience.

4.8 Closing thoughts

In our introduction, we noted the rise of ‘systems change’ within funding strategies and grant programmes. To the extent that this is a recognition of what is required to tackle intractable problems, this is a welcome development. Working in and with complexity requires a different mindset and a different approach: dynamic, adaptive, emergent. And funding in this space – funding for systems change – necessitates profound shifts in funder behaviours and practices.

The story of T2A, generously told to us by people with different vantage points and connections to the campaign, makes a compelling case for funders to be active in systems change. It might be different and difficult, but the gains are profound and significant. However, the story is also a sobering read. For, while it is possible to point to a set of features which create the conditions for meaningful progress and change, there is also much that may alarm other funders. The field expertise required to work in this way; the uncertainty and unpredictability around ‘success’; the open-ended nature of the commitment; the complexity of the collaboration – most or all of these are a far cry from traditional grant programmes. It reminds us that systems change isn’t for the faint-hearted, or for people in a hurry, or for people who prefer order and certainty of outcome. It’s messy, it’s erratic, and you’re never really sure what’s just around the corner.

However, our intention is not just to deter or discourage. Alongside the important message about the complexity of complex work, there is a more powerful lesson that emerges from this story. Trusts and foundations – with their wealth of assets and their independence – are uniquely placed to support systems change. They have the money, the time, and the patience. They can afford to take risks, to shift power, to disrupt, to play a leading role, like Barrow Cadbury Trust, or to be a patient cheerleader. All of these choices are in their gift.

Trusts and foundations are uniquely placed to support systems change.

Barrow Cadbury Trust reflections

Anna Southall OBE, Lead Trustee for Criminal Justice 1993-present
Dame Sara Llewellyn, Chief Executive

When the Trust started this journey twenty years ago, we knew there was a problem to be solved, and we thought we had a contribution to make. We had a plan, first for the Commission, and then for the Alliance – a vision of creating real change for young adults who, in overwhelming numbers, were trapped in the criminal justice system due to systemic disadvantages inherent in our society. We started the work having no illusions about the difficulties of changing a complex system in an often unfavourable environment.

What has unfolded has been more complex, more interesting and, often, more nuanced than we had anticipated. In both financial and human terms, much has been invested in T2A, and we're proud of what we have achieved.

We're grateful to IVAR for taking time and care in exploring how the T2A Campaign developed, its strengths, challenges and achievements, and in presenting it as an opportunity for learning for other foundations who wish to embark on ambitious programmes of change. Usefully, as the review findings have emerged, we've learned things and have had an opportunity to ask ourselves questions and reflect on what, with the benefit of hindsight, we might have done differently.

We have amassed a very substantial evidence base on a wide range of issues relating to young adults and criminal justice. Have we spread the net too wide? With limited resources we have not been able to follow all threads as actively as we would have liked. Arguably, we could have focussed on fewer key areas and not tried to fill so many gaps in our evidence base. On the other hand, having that evidence 'in our back pocket' has meant that, as the external context has changed and different issues have come to the fore, we have been prepared and ready to respond speedily.

The campaign has ebbed and flowed depending on the political landscape and the inevitable churn of ministers and civil servants. When we have been able to capitalise on unforeseen opportunities, we have done so. What is the right way of reacting to the highs and lows of a campaign and the momentum or lack of it? Our board has taken an open-ended approach, but how do we decide if the campaign has achieved enough, or can't achieve any more, or is suffering from diminishing returns?

Funds have been disbursed through a mixture of calls for projects, commissioning activities and responding to good ideas from the sector. Should we have been less responsive? Switching the balance of funding from responsive to commissioned would have avoided the occasions when we went off at a tangent but we might have missed some approaches that proved very impactful, such as the groundbreaking work on acquired brain injury.

We, and our partners, have tended to rely on the traditional model of undertaking research – writing an (often very long) report, publishing and disseminating it through seminars, the press and social media, and subsequently trying to keep the flame alive in a crowded policy space.

Is that the most effective way of achieving traction? Although we no longer have reports printed and only use digital copies, should we be looking at new formats and platforms for the 'evidence'? We are now looking at how such a large body of work could be distilled into more 'bite-size', accessible, usable content and, over the next period, we will be experimenting with new formats. Successful campaigning must be fleet of foot and adaptable to change.

The substantive staff resource to manage and support T2A has comprised our successive Criminal Justice Programme Managers. Their time has been supplemented by bringing in an external policy expert, first through a long-term partnership with the Prison Reform Trust and then through an independent consultant who worked on the issues whilst being a parliamentary clerk. More recently, we have boosted the communications capacity to assist with the dissemination of the evidence base. Looking back, perhaps more of the available funds should have been spent on long-term core partnerships which could have brought additional capacity and perhaps enabled us to expand our influence more widely. We recommend that others contemplating similar work think carefully about the skills and scale of resource needed to achieve their aims – both at the start and at regular intervals as the phases of the work change.

Inevitably, we have encountered issues of power asymmetry between those with budget and those who need it. It would be disingenuous not to acknowledge this and take whatever steps are possible to mitigate the damage to the work which careless and power-denying behaviours produce. Our approach is to work with partners and other key informants to create and iterate strategy together, sharing power over who decides what needs to be done. We have always had an independent Chair who can speak for T2A rather than the Trust doing it. However, there is no getting away from the fact that our board, as our legal governing body, retains the final say.

We have been approached fairly regularly with requests to fund work that is aligned to T2A, but which will not necessarily advance the campaign. Typically, this would be organisations wishing to test a new approach with young adults in the criminal justice system but without a clear route to wider influence. To what extent is it legitimate for a foundation to work with a potential partner to shape their proposals? Our partners' work is of value to the field far beyond the end of the funding relationships, so how do we ensure that there is reciprocal lasting value to them? Part of our approach is to help ensure that their contribution strengthens them, for example, by promoting their work and properly funding its dissemination.

We remain confident that there is, and will continue to be, value from the T2A work for young adults in the justice system and for those at risk of entry. The numbers speak for themselves. A recent research report commissioned by T2A shows that the rate of young adults in court has fallen by 76%, from 32 court appearances per thousand young adults in 2008 to 8 appearances per thousand in 2019. Fewer young adults in court mean fewer young adults in prison. There are now 39% fewer in custody than there were in 2013. However, the work continues, as the needs of those in the system remain high and, with services stretched, the importance of maintaining our commitment is as vital as ever.

Our engagement with this review has opened up opportunities for us to have different conversations with our partners, to deepen relationships, expand our learning and, together, accelerate change. We are grateful to IVAR, those participating in the review and all our partners past and present for the successes of the campaign thus far.

Appendix one: Who we spoke to

In order to understand the background of the Transition to Adulthood (T2A) Campaign and gain a better understanding of the criminal justice system, we held a small number of scoping interviews with Barrow Cadbury Trust staff and those who were involved in the earlier stages of T2A. These were:

Anna Southall (*Trustee*)

Sara Llewelin (*Chief Executive*)

Debbie Pippard (*Director of Programmes and T2A Vice Chair*)

Laurie Hunte (*Criminal Justice Programme Manager and T2A Campaign Lead*)

Diana Ruthven (*Communications Manager*)

Gemma Buckland (*Public affairs support to T2A Alliance*)

Max Rutherford (*Former Criminal Justice Programme Manager and T2A Campaign Lead*)

We then interviewed 21 people involved in the T2A campaign and/or criminal justice system (as well as holding further conversations with BCT staff):

Ten members of the T2A Alliance (including former chairs, grant-holders and other partners)

Three members of the Campaign Management Group

Six civil servants (including Prison and Probation Service staff)

Two other CJS funders

Appendix two: T2A chronology of key events

Early research and groundwork (2004-2008)

2004

Barrow Cadbury Trust established a **Commission on Young Adults and the Criminal Justice System** to propose reforms to the criminal justice system so as to: recognise the importance of the transition between adolescence and adulthood; develop ideas about how the system can promote natural desistance from offending in young adults in transition; and find a way in which the criminal justice system could better promote the life chances of young adults (Barrow Cadbury Trust, 2005).

2005

The Commission on Young Adults in the Criminal Justice System published its findings in a report titled **‘Lost in transition: A Report of the Barrow Cadbury Commission on Young Adults and the Criminal Justice System’** (Barrow Cadbury Trust, 2005). The report developed nine innovative and practicable solutions to young adults’ problems in the criminal justice system. The Commission recommended the creation of new strategic Transition to Adulthood (T2A) teams in every local criminal justice area to take responsibility for managing transition arrangements for young adults between the youth justice and criminal justice systems. Although the report’s recommendations received a warm welcome from the government and other stakeholders, there was limited progress in introducing measures.

2007-2008

The **global financial crisis** occurred, which had a substantial long-term impact on the way

the UK government was run. In particular, the financial crisis precipitated an age of fiscal austerity between 2010 and 2018, which saw substantial spending cuts to reduce budget deficits. This led to substantial reductions in spending on justice services from 2012. It also stimulated government interest in reforms that would reduce government spending.

Formation and early work of T2A, making the case for change (2008-2013)

2008

The T2A Alliance was formed. The T2A Alliance comprised a broad coalition of organisations working to improve the opportunities and life chances of young people transitioning to adulthood who are at risk of committing crimes and getting involved in the criminal justice system. The T2A Alliance aimed to raise awareness of the issues identified in the ‘Lost in Transition’ report (Barrow Cadbury Trust, 2005) and campaign for policy change.

2009

Barrow Cadbury Trust funded three pilot projects to test different approaches to improving the supervision and support of young adults in the criminal justice system. These projects were delivered by St Giles Trust in London (starting January 2009), YSS in Worcestershire (starting April 2009), and the West Midlands Probation Service in Birmingham (starting July 2009). An initial formative evaluation titled **‘Reflections on the Emerging Transition to Adulthood Pilots’** was also published in November, which sought to review early project development and encourage critical reflection on the design of the three projects (Burnett & Hanley Santos, 2009).

2009 (July)

The T2A Alliance published a consultation paper entitled '**A new start: Young adults in the criminal justice system**', which made the case for a wholesale shift in government policy on working with young adults in the criminal justice system (Helyar-Cardwell, 2009a). The paper set out 21 policy recommendations for consultation and debate.

2009 (November)

The T2A Alliance launched their '**Young Adult Manifesto**', which made 10 recommendations to enable the criminal justice system to manage young adult offenders more fairly, effectively, and in less costly ways (Helyar-Cardwell, 2009b). The recommendations for change were grouped into four main topics: diversion, sentencing, custody and resettlement. The recommendations drew on over 300 responses to the T2A Alliance's earlier consultation paper, 'A new start: Young adults in the criminal justice system' (Helyar-Cardwell, 2009a).

2010

The T2A Alliance engaged in substantial campaign work to promote its Young Adult Manifesto and three pilot projects. Various publications promoted the case for treating young adults as a distinct group with specific needs within the criminal justice system and supporting them through the transition to adulthood (Allen, 2010; Garside, 2010a; Garside, 2010b; Nicholas et al., 2010).

2010 (May)

The Centre for Criminology at the University of Oxford published '**User Perspectives on the Transition to Adulthood Pilots**', an interim evaluation report on the three T2A pilot projects (Hanley Santos & Burnett, 2010). The initial findings from case study interviews suggested that the three pilot projects were working well. The remit of T2A key worker support to the 29 young adults participating

was to help them to stay away from crime. The report's authors concluded that the case study evidence corresponded with practitioners' theories about how interventions help young people to improve their prospects.

2010 (December)

The Centre for Criminology at the University of Oxford published '**Found in Transition? Local Inter-Agency Systems for Guiding Young Adults into Better Lives**', its final report on the formative evaluation of the T2A pilot projects (Burnett & Hanley Santos, 2010). At this stage, the pilots still had a year to run. The report noted that the pilot projects demonstrated effective work '*at the beneficiary level*' with at-risk young adults. The report also highlighted '*at the institutional level*' the value of inter-agency policies that bridge gaps between services and ensure joined-up support services for young adults. The report suggested that the T2A pilots make real the possibility of developing joined-up local inter-agency systems for guiding young adults into better lives. The pilots also showed promise in establishing the principle that distinct provisions should be made for supporting young adults. At a local level, the projects began to argue that crime can be reduced, money saved, and lives improved by a more concerted and joined-up approach to helping young adults through the transitions of young adulthood.

2011 (March)

The University of Birmingham published '**Maturity, young adults and the criminal justice system: A literature review**' (Prior et al., 2011). Barrow Cadbury Trust commissioned the report for T2A. The literature review systematically examined and assessed the nature of the scientific evidence to support the claim that young adults often have not reached full maturity and should be recognised as a distinct group within the criminal justice system. The review's main conclusions supported this claim,

noting strong evidence from neurological, psychological and criminological perspectives. The review also noted the complexity and ambiguity of the concept of maturity and warned against the arbitrary use of age limits to determine maturity.

2011

Publications on the theme of '**Young adults in transition**' by the Centre for Crime and Justice Studies highlighted the variation in factors affecting young people's transition to adulthood across different areas of the country. These publications made a case for configuring services to young adults that respond to local on-the-ground circumstances and reach beyond the narrow confines of the criminal justice process (Dorling & Garside, 2011; Dorling et al., 2011).

2011 (October)

The Sentencing Council issued new '**Burglary offences: Definitive guidelines**' (Sentencing Council, 2011) for use in courts in England and Wales, in which age and lack of maturity were mentioned as potential mitigating factors for sentencing decisions.

2011 (August)

A series of riots took place between 6 and 11 August 2011, initially in London, but then spreading to other cities and towns across England. The protests started in Tottenham Hale, following the death of Mark Duggan, a local black man who was shot dead by police on 4 August. In what became known as the London Riots, many young people were arrested and subsequently prosecuted for their involvement in looting associated with the riots. It has been noted, however, that the **Sentencing Council's (2011) new guidelines** had little influence on the punishments issued to young adults, with many receiving harsher than normal custodial sentences (Lightowlers and Quirk, 2015).

2012 (May)

Catch22 published '**Supporting transitions: A summative evaluation of the Transition to Adulthood Pilots**' (Sturrock, 2012). The evaluation followed a group of young adults involved in the T2A pilots for six months. The report concluded that distinct approaches provide effective support for young adults and improve outcomes. It also suggested that a large-scale study would help to further examine the degree to which the T2A approach can reduce reoffending rates for young adults.

2012

The University of Exeter and the T2A Alliance published '**Shattered lives: Brain injury and its implications for criminal justice**', which found that the level of traumatic brain injuries amongst offenders in custody is much higher than in the general population (Williams, 2012). The report suggested that injury in childhood and young adulthood may be particularly associated with limited maturity and offending behaviour. It concluded that addressing the rehabilitative needs resulting from brain injury would significantly reduce offending, improve lives and save money for public services.

2013

The Institute of Applied Social Studies at the University of Birmingham published '**Taking account of maturity: A guide for probation practitioners**' (University of Birmingham, 2013). The guide was funded by Barrow Cadbury Trust as part of its T2A programme and drew principally upon the available research concerning maturity as it relates to young adults who offend (Prior et al., 2011). The guide urged probation practitioners to take account of maturity and make more rounded and informed initial assessments in the Offender Assessment System (OASys) and Pre-sentencing Reports (PSRs) for young adults aged 18-24. 10,000 copies of the guidance were printed and distributed to probation officers.

2013

The Police Foundation, an independent charity focused on improving policing for the benefit of the public, published '**Policing young adults: A scoping study**' (Graham & Kahn, 2013) funded by Barrow Cadbury Trust as part of its T2A programme. It focused on encounters between young adults and the police (e.g. through stop and search, the night-time economy, etc.), drawing on a small sample of qualitative interviews with young adults, police officers and subject experts. The report highlighted poor relations between the police and young adults and called for improvements in how young adults are policed.

2013

T2A published '**Young adults in custody: The way forward**', which compared the approach to young adults in custody in England and Wales to other jurisdictions (Allen, 2013). Until this point, T2A had concentrated on building evidence for a distinctive approach to young adult offenders outside of prisons and how reoffending could be prevented through community and rehabilitation projects. This report was T2A's first look at how young people were treated in prisons. The report called for a new approach to managing young adults in custody and made proposals to ensure a more age-appropriate experience. The publication of this report coincided with proposals by the Coalition Government to dispense with specific young offender institutions and, instead, detain young adults in mixed age establishments.

Deepening the evidence base, influencing politicians and meeting resistance (2014-2018)

2014 (January)

T2A launched the T2A Pathway Programme and commenced funding for six projects in England to test innovative ways of working with young adults in the criminal justice system and reducing their reoffending. The six projects

worked at different points across the criminal justice system and collectively represented a 'whole pathway' approach to working with 16 to 24-year-olds. The goal was to demonstrate and assess the benefits of using distinct approaches for young adults. The projects would run for three years and work with 414 young adults.

2014 (March)

The T2A Alliance published '**Improving responses to young adults: A checklist for Police and Crime Commissioners**' (Britton, 2014). The briefing paper focused on how Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) could help to improve responses to young adults. It provided a checklist for PCCs to consider as they reviewed their police and crime plans and developed their strategic approach. The report suggested that PCCs should: include specific provisions for young adults in local diversion and crime prevention strategies; work with partners to reduce reoffending; champion improved policing of young adults; and engage with young adults.

2014 (June)

The **Ministry of Justice** introduced its **Transforming Rehabilitation Programme** to change how probation services were delivered. The programme sought to open probation services to a range of rehabilitation suppliers from the private and voluntary sectors, encourage innovation, and pay suppliers by results for reducing reoffending. Prior to this, probation services in England and Wales had been delivered by 35 Probation trusts, working under the direction of the National Offender Management Service. This represented a substantial change within the criminal justice system in England and Wales and opened up the possibility (although perhaps never realised) of commissioning probation services tailored to local service users. Transforming Rehabilitation was abandoned at the end of 2020 with the supervision of offenders brought back under a national probation service.

2014 (December)

The Young Review published its report **‘Improving outcomes for young black and/or Muslim men in the Criminal Justice System’** (Young et al., 2014). Barrow Cadbury Trust funded the review. It comprised a task group of ex-offenders and representatives from the voluntary, statutory, private and academic sectors under the leadership of Baroness Young of Hornsey. The report highlighted the experiences and needs of black and Muslim men aged 18-24 in the criminal justice system, noting their disproportionately negative outcomes. The report set out a series of recommendations for action to address unequal outcomes.

2015 (March)

Inquest published **‘Stolen lives and missed opportunities: The deaths of young adults and children in prison’** (Inquest, 2015). The report analysed evidence from Inquest’s specialist casework with the families of young adults and children who had died in custody over the past 30 years. The report highlighted systemic neglect, institutional complacency and short-sighted policies, which had contributed to the self-inflicted deaths of children and young adults. It noted that vulnerable young adults are too often sent to unsafe environments, with scarce resources and staff untrained to deal with, and respond humanely to, their particular and complex needs. The report argued for a fundamental rethink about the use of prison for children and young adults.

2015 (March)

In collaboration with the Universität Greifswald’s Department of Criminology, T2A published **‘Better in Europe? European responses to young adult offending’**. The report explored how different European countries managed young adults in the criminal justice system (Pruin and Dunkel,

2015) in comparison to England and Wales. It made a strong case for governments to adapt the way in which they respond to young adult offending, noting different models across Europe. Various ‘good practice’ case studies were provided as part of the report.

2015 (June)

T2A and the Howard League for Penal Reform published **‘You can’t put a number on it: A report from young adults on why in criminal justice maturity is more important than age’** (Southgate, James & Amad, 2015). This participation report was based on the words, thoughts and experiences of 84 young adults with experience of the criminal justice system. It sought to: develop awareness among criminal justice system professionals about the experiences of young adults; highlight the issues faced by young people in the criminal justice system; show how experiences of the criminal justice system affect young people; and present what support young adults want.

2015 (July)

Lord Toby Harris of Haringey published **‘The Harris Review: Changing prisons, saving lives’**, which reported findings from his government-commissioned inquiry into the self-inflicted deaths in custody of 18 to 24-year-olds (Harris, 2015). The review considered 87 self-inflicted deaths from 1 April 2007 to 31 December 2013 and examined evidence about the young adults’ vulnerabilities in custody. The report catalogued the government’s failure to achieve positive outcomes for young adults in prison. It concluded that more needs to be done to support young adults before and after they have contact with the CJS and made 108 recommendations. The review extensively referenced T2A evidence and publications, including the ‘Stolen lives and missed opportunities’ report (Inquest, 2015).

2015 (August)

Clinks published '**Effective approaches with young adults: a guide for probation services**' (Livingstone, Amad & Clark, 2015). The report, which Barrow Cadbury Trust funded as part of the work of the T2A programme, aimed to give probation practitioners, whether in the National Probation Service or Community Rehabilitation Companies, the tools to deliver a more effective approach to young adults. It provided various practical suggestions for engaging young adults and supporting their desistance from crime.

2016 (February)

T2A published '**Meeting the needs of young adult women in custody**', which considered how best the prison system can meet the needs of young adult women (Allen, 2016). This was a follow-up to T2A's 2013 report 'Young adults in custody: the way forward' (Allen, 2013), which had considered broader issues relating to young adults in prison.

2016 (March)

T2A published '**Young Muslims on trial: A scoping study on the impact of Islamophobia on criminal justice decision-making**' (Maslaha, 2016). The report drew on interviews with young Muslim men to highlight their disproportionately negative experience of the criminal justice system. It recommended a rethink in the approach to equalities throughout the criminal justice system, with an emphasis on the need for specialist training of criminal justice professionals about Islam and the lives of young Muslims.

2016 (October)

The House of Commons Justice Select Committee published '**The treatment of young adults in the criminal justice system**', which outlined findings from its year-long inquiry into young adults in the criminal justice system. The Committee noted that T2A

had compiled a significant body of evidence about young adults' characteristics and needs, and cited T2A publications extensively throughout their report. Their report concluded that research strongly supports the view that young adults have distinct needs, and there is a strong case for a distinct approach to, and additional investment in, this cohort (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2017). Barrow Cadbury Trust welcomed the 'landmark and visionary' report, stating that it 'includes a bold blueprint for a distinct approach to young adults throughout the criminal justice system' (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2018).

2017 (January)

The Secretary of State for Justice, the Rt Hon Liz Truss MP, published the **Government's response to the 2016 House of Commons Justice Select Committee inquiry** into young adults in the criminal justice system. The Government said that legislative change was not required because of the increasing attention paid to maturity in policy and practice and the inclusion of 'age and/or lack of maturity' as a mitigating factor in sentencing guidelines. As such, the Government's response did little more than maintain the status quo (House of Commons Justice Select Committee, 2018). Interestingly, many within the criminal justice system did act on the recommendations anyway.

2017

The National Probation Service issued **new instructions to undertake maturity assessments** in determining pre-sentence reports (National Offender Management Service, 2017).

2017

T2A published '**Judging Maturity: Exploring the role of maturity in the sentencing of young adults**' (Howard League for Penal Reform and Transition to Adulthood Alliance, 2017). This research report analysed 174

senior court judgments to explore how courts currently deal with young adults. The analysis showed that maturity as a factor affecting the culpability of the individual is considered infrequently and, when it is considered, the depth of understanding is variable and the impact on decision-making inconsistent. The report argued that if courts were provided with better information and equipped with a set of formal sentencing principles for young adults, they would be able to make better sentencing decisions that take into account the maturity of young adult offenders.

2017 (July)

Leaders Unlocked published '**Race and the criminal justice system: Hearing from young adults**' (Leaders Unlocked, 2017). This report was commissioned by the T2A Young Adult Advisory Group, which was established in 2016 to enable young adults with personal experience of the criminal justice system to have a national voice on policy. The report was based on 90 in-depth conversations with young adults about their treatment at different stages of the criminal justice system. It provided an unmediated and reflective record of their experiences. The aim was to influence policy makers and practitioners.

2017 (September)

The Lammy Review: An independent review of the treatment of, and outcomes for, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) individuals in the Criminal Justice System, was published (Lammy, 2017). The review was commissioned by the government, led by David Lammy MP and supported by a panel of experts. The Lammy Review found significant racial bias in the UK criminal justice system and made 35 recommendations to achieve greater fairness and trust. The report recognised the challenge faced by BAME children and young adults and referenced various T2A publications and evidence.

2017 (September)

The Policy Evaluation and Research Unit (PERU) of **Manchester Metropolitan University published its 'T2A final process evaluation report'** (Wong et al., 2017). The report highlighted the benefits of a distinct approach to young adults involved in crime throughout the criminal justice system. The report also presented a theory of change, which was developed retrospectively at the end of the evaluation. The theory of change articulated the key features shared by the projects that enabled and facilitated the effective delivery of targeted support for young adults in the criminal justice system. The report recommended that commissioners give greater attention to specifying how – as well as what – services should be delivered.

2018 (April)

The Centre for Justice Innovation published '**A fairer way: Procedural fairness for young adults at court**' (Thomas et al., 2018). Barrow Cadbury Trust funded the report through the T2A programme. The paper proposed a practical and feasible model for how court processes could be adapted to respond more effectively to the evidenced needs of young adults. The model was developed by multi-agency groups from five different geographical areas and involved young people sharing their experiences of the magistrates' courts. The paper showed how a more procedurally fair and distinct court process for young adults was possible, and set out a method for implementing and testing the model.

2018 (June)

The House of Commons Justice Select Committee published 'Young adults in the criminal justice system' (House of Commons Justice Select Committee, 2018). This was a follow-up report to the Justice Select Committee's 2016 inquiry into young adults in the criminal justice system. The 2016

report received a disappointing response from the Government and the Committee wanted to pursue the matter further. In the 2018 report, the Justice Select Committee assessed the Government's progress on various issues relating to young adults in the criminal justice system and concluded that the criminal justice system was failing young adults. The Committee asked that the Ministry of Justice take decisive action.

2018 (July)

The Centre for Crime and Justice Studies, with the support of T2A, published a briefing paper '**Anti-social behaviour powers and young adults**', which used data to analyse how anti-social behaviour powers are being used to sanction young adults in England and Wales (Mills & Ford, 2018). The report covered three of the six powers created in the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014, including the dispersal power, Community Protection notice (CPN) and Public Spaces Protection Order (PSPO). The report showed how the powers had been used, who was being sanctioned by them, and what the outcomes were of using them. The paper aimed to present objective data and spark debate about the application of sanctions on young adults.

2018 (August)

The Howard League for Penal Reform and the T2A Alliance published '**Sentencing young adults: Making the case for sentencing principles for young adults**'. The report highlights how the existing sentencing regime is unable to cater for young adults appropriately through the use of generic adult sentencing guidelines and is inconsistent with developing knowledge about young adults. The report makes a case for the Sentencing Council for England and Wales to adopt separate sentencing guidelines for young adults. Such guidelines could provide a legal

framework to enable courts to achieve better outcomes when sentencing young adults. The report sets out what young adult sentencing principles might look like.

Achieving positive change (2019-2022)

2019 (October)

The **Sentencing Council issued revised overarching sentencing guidelines**. The Guidelines established that the emotional and developmental age of an offender is of at least equal importance to their chronological age (if not greater). They recognised that young adults are still developing neurologically, meaning that they struggle with evaluating the consequences of their actions, can be impulsive, and take risks.

2020 (January)

Academics from the University of Edinburgh published a literature review for the Scottish Sentencing Council on '**The development of cognitive and emotional maturity in adolescents and its relevance in judicial contexts**' (Lightowlers et al., 2020). The report sought to synthesise and evaluate the current neurobiological, neuropsychological and psychological literature on adolescent cognitive maturation. The review noted that brain development varies between individuals, and that the brain can continue to grow until as late as 25-30 years of age. The report says that the core cognitive abilities of adolescents can be compromised and if that is the case the consequent immaturity should be considered during judicial processes.

2021 (January)

HM Inspectorate of Prisons published 'Outcomes for young adults in Custody', which reviewed the treatment of young adults held in male establishments in the custodial system (HM Inspectorate of Prisons,

2021). The report drew evidence from HM Inspectorate of Prisons reports between April 2019 and March 2020 and analysis of outcomes for 18 to 24-year-olds in various areas of prison life. It found poor provision for young adults in the prison system, noting that the outcomes for young adults were worse than for older prisoners. The report concluded by recommending that the Prison and Probation Service develop and resource a national strategy to meet the needs of young adult prisoners.

2021 (February)

The Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) in London, working in partnership with the Ministry of Justice and the National Probation Service, agreed to run a two-year **Transition to Adulthood Hub pilot programme** in Newham, London. The £1.8m programme established a hub for 18- to 25-year-olds on probation who are assessed as having low levels of maturity and for 17-year-olds transitioning from youth to adult probation. The hub involved: services to meet young adults' distinct needs; co-located support services with probation staff in the hub; and provided training to all staff in the maturation process, brain development and young adulthood as a life stage.

2021 (August)

The Parole Board published 'Young adults member guidance', which guided its members on factors to consider when reviewing cases of adults aged between 18 and 21 (and potentially for 21 to 25-year-olds). The guidance recognised that young adult prisoners, who are still maturing and often vulnerable, deserve particular attention during the parole process. It set out a range of best practices designed to help ensure procedural fairness for young adults during parole reviews. The report specifically referenced how research and publications from the T2A programme influenced the guidance.

2022 (February)

The Ministry of Justice and HM Prison and Probation Service published the 'Probation Service management of young adults policy framework' (Ministry of Justice and HM Prison and Probation Service, 2022). This new policy framework set out the requirements for probation practitioners when working with young adults aged between 18 and 25 years old who are in contact with the Probation Service. It also provided supplementary guidance and signposts to other resources. The guidance referenced various reports produced and funded by T2A, including 'Taking account of maturity' (University of Birmingham, 2013) and 'Effective approaches with young adults' (Livingstone, Amad and Clark, 2015).

2022 (April)

The **Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act 2022** received royal assent and became law. T2A along with several other criminal justice reform organisations made the case that the Act did not consider the evidence of ongoing maturation past the age of 18. Specific clauses in the Act increased time in custody and reduced the period of supervision in the community where stable employment, accommodation and relationships can be developed, which are known to have the greatest impact on subsequent offending.

Appendix three: T2A literature

The chronology drew on the following resources:

- Allen, R. (2010). 'A neglected and under-resourced age group'. *Criminal Justice Matters*, 80(1), 36-37.
- Allen, R. (2013). *Young adults in custody: The way forward*. T2A Alliance.
- Allen, R. (2016). *Meeting the needs of young adult women in custody*. T2A Alliance.
- Barrow Cadbury Trust (2005). *Lost in transition: A Report of the Barrow Cadbury Commission on young adults and the criminal justice system*. London: Barrow Cadbury Trust.
- Britton, S. (2014). *Improving responses to young adults: A checklist for Police and Crime Commissioners*. T2A Alliance.
- Burnett, R., & Hanley Santos, G. (2009). *T2A pilot project formative evaluation: Reflections on the emerging transitions to adulthood pilots*. London: Barrow Cadbury Trust.
- Burnett, R., & Hanley Santos, G. (2010). *Found in transition? Local inter-agency systems for guiding young adults into better lives: Final report of the formative evaluation of the T2A pilots*. Centre for Criminology, University of Oxford.
- Coyle, B. (2019). "'What the f**k is maturity?": Young adulthood, subjective maturity and desistance from crime'. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 59(5), 1178-1198.
- Dorling, D., & Garside, R. (2011). *Young adults in transition: local matters, national implications*. Centre for Crime and Justice Studies.
- Dorling, D., Garside, R., & Kerrison, M. (2011). *Young adults in transition: the local picture in national context*. Centre for Crime and Justice Studies.
- Epstein, R. (2019). 'Policy and practice for young women in the criminal justice system'. *British Journal of Community Justice*, 15(1), 53-66.
- Garside, R. (2010a). *From criminal justice to social justice: rethinking approaches to young adults subject to criminal justice control*. London: Centre for Crime and Justice Studies.
- Garside, R. (2010b). 'Transitions to adulthood: Richard Garside sets the scene for the themed section of this issue'. *Criminal Justice Matters*, 80(1), 14-15.
- Graham, J., and Kahn, J. (2013). *Policing young adults: A scoping study*. The Police Foundation.
- Hanley Santos, G., and Burnett, R. (2010). *T2A Pilot project formative evaluation*. Centre for Criminology, University of Oxford.
- Harris, (2015). *The Harris Review: Changing prisons, saving lives*. London: Ministry of Justice.
- Helyar-Cardwell, V. (2009a). *A new start: Young adults in the criminal justice system*. London: Barrow Cadbury Trust.
- Helyar-Caldwell, V. (2009b). *Young adult manifesto*. London: Barrow Cadbury Trust.
- HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2021). *Outcomes for young adults in Custody*. London: Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons.
- House of Commons Justice Committee (2017). *The treatment of young adults in the criminal justice system, Seventh Report of Session 2016–17*. HC 169. <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmjust/169/169.pdf>

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- Howard League for Penal Reform and Transition to Adulthood Alliance (2017). *Judging maturity: Exploring the role of maturity in the sentencing of young adults.* London: Howard League for Penal Reform, Transition to Adulthood Alliance and Barrow Cadbury Trust.
- Howard League for Penal Reform and Transition to Adulthood Alliance (2018). *Sentencing young adults: making the case for sentencing principles for young adults.* London: Howard League for Penal Reform, Transition to Adulthood Alliance and Barrow Cadbury Trust.
- Inquest (2015). *Stolen lives and missed opportunities: The deaths of young adults and children in prison.* London: Barrow Cadbury Trust.
- Mills, H., & Ford, M. (2018). *Anti-social behaviour powers and young adults.* Centre for Crime and Justice Studies.
- Lammy, D. (2017). *The Lammy Review: An independent review into the treatment of, and outcomes for, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic individuals in the Criminal Justice System.* London: Ministry of Justice.
- Leaders Unlocked (2017). *Race and the criminal justice system: Hearing from young adults.* London: Leaders Unlocked.
- Lightowlers, C., & Quirk, H. (2015). 'The 2011 English 'riots': Prosecutorial zeal and judicial abandon'. *British Journal of Criminology*, 55(1), 65-85.
- Livingstone, I., Amad, S., & Clark, L. (2015). *Effective approaches with young adults: A guide for probation services.* London: Clinks.
- Maslaha (2016). *Young Muslims on trial: A scoping study on the impact of Islamophobia on criminal justice decision-making.* T2A Alliance.
- Ministry of Justice and HM Prison and Probation Service (2022). *Probation Service management of young adults policy framework.* London: Ministry of Justice and HM Prison and Probation Service.
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- Pruin, I., & Dunkel, F. (2015). *Better in Europe? European responses to young adult offending.* T2A Alliance.

- Southgate, J., James, L., and Amad, S. (2015). *You can't put a number on it: A report from young adults on why in criminal justice maturity is more important than age*. T2A and Howard League for Penal Reform.
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- Wong, K., Kinsella, R., Bamonte, J. and Meadows, L. (2017). *T2A: Final Process Evaluation Report*. Manchester: Policy Evaluation and Research Unit, Manchester Metropolitan University.
- Young, L., Mullen, J., Blake, M., Crook, J., and Martin, C. (2014). *The Young Review: Improving outcomes for young black and/or Muslim men in the Criminal Justice System*. Black Training and Enterprise Group (BTEG), Clinks and Barrow Cadbury Trust.

Appendix four: Funding for systems change literature

The literature review drew on the following resources:

- Abercrombie, R., Harries, L. and Warburton, R. (2015) *Systems Change: A guide to what it is and how to do it*. London: New Philanthropy Capital.
- Ashoka (2020). *Embracing complexity: Towards a shared understanding of systems change*. Ashoka.
- Bernard, T. J., Paoline III, E. A., & Pare, P. P. (2005). 'General systems theory and criminal justice'. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 33(3), 203-211.
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- Brown, P., David, T., & Sharma, A. (2020). 'What does it take? Reflections on Foundation practice in building healthy communities, 2010–2020'. *The Foundation Review*, 12(4), 10.
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- Rutsch, F. (2019). *Seven steps for funding system change*. Ashoka.
- Savaget, P., Ventresca, M.J., Besharov, M. and Jacobson, J. (2022) *Unpacking systems change philanthropy: Five alternative models*. Oxford: Skoll Centre for Social Entrepreneurship.
- The Nicholson Foundation (2021). *Changing systems, changing lives: Reflections in 20 years*. New York: The Nicholson Foundation.
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