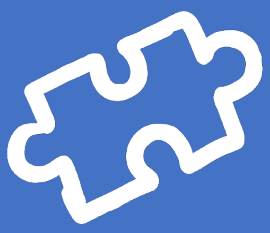

Glasgow Bail Support Evaluation

includem

Contents

Background

In 2008, Scottish Choice's *Report of the Scottish Prisons Commission* said:

> *"Sometimes people are remanded in custody because that is the only safe thing to do, but often remands are the result of lack of information or lack of services in the community to support people on bail. If judges are to avoid these unnecessary and costly remands, they will need nationwide speedy access to information during bail hearings, and they need a wider range of bail options nationwide."*[1]

In December 2022, the BBC found that the use of remand to detain people who have not been convicted continues to be a problem 14 years since Scottish Choice's findings. Research by the BBC found that "Scotland's rate of remand per 100,000 of the national population is higher than that of England, France, and most Western European countries."[2]

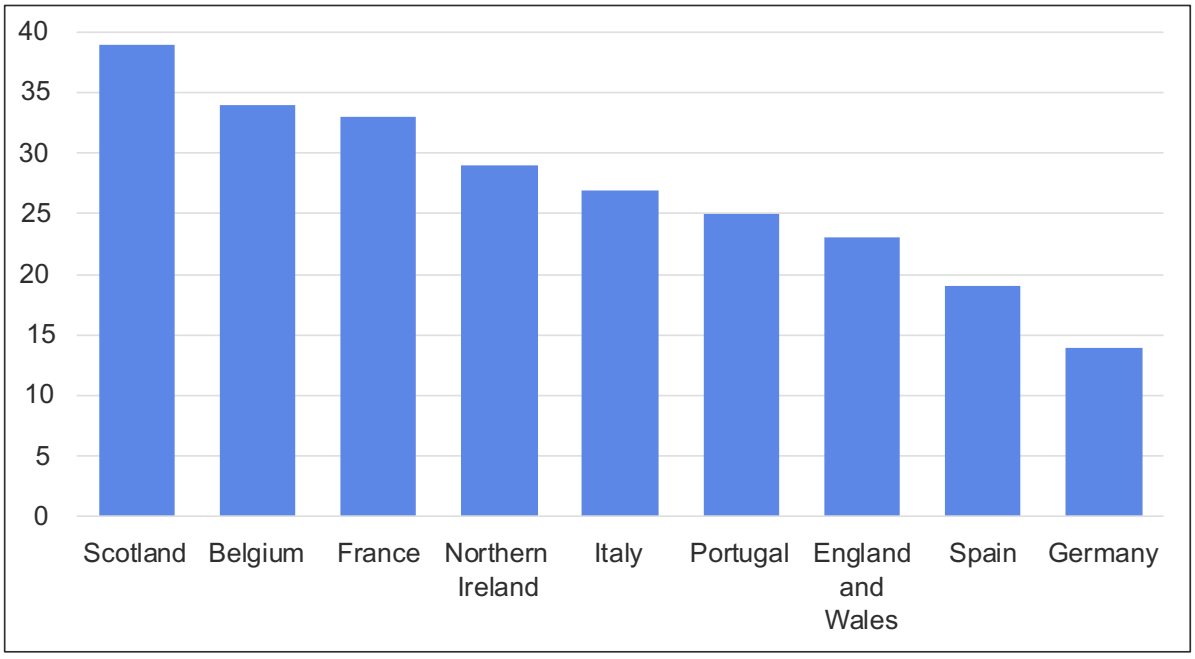

Fig 1: Rate of remand per 100,000 (BBC News, 2022)

Similarly, *The Scandal of Remand in Scotland* report by The Howard League Scotland found that between April 2020 and February 2021, the untried remand population had increased by 23.6%. The same report found that the use of remand for untried young people has seen a particularly worrying increase over the same period. Between April 2020 and February 2021, the proportion of untried young people held on remand rose to 42.6%.[3]

Several studies have demonstrated the harm that can be caused to young people who are held on remand. McEwan et al conducted interviews with young people on remand, as well as with their parents and social workers. The study found that young people experience feelings of terror, shame, and stress while on remand. The study also found that sheriffs are aware of the trauma that remand causes young people, and so only use it in the most "extreme circumstances." For this reason, and many others, some of the interviewed social workers described remand as a

"disaster."[4] Armstrong and McGhee found that "remand is associated with higher rates of suicide than those serving sentences." This issue is more serious in Scotland than it is in England and Wales, with 54% of young people who died in Scottish prisons between 2005-2018 doing so within their first month of custody.[5]

In March 2022, the Scottish Government announced that alternatives to remand are to be boosted with £3.2m of funding for community justice services. This provision led to the creation of the *Bail and Release from Custody (Scotland) Act 2023*, which came into power on 1st August 2023. This Act, in short, enshrines into law that remand is a last resort for the court. Despite this, the number of individuals on remand is still alarmingly high. In Quarter 2 of 2024/25, those on remand represented 23.6% of the total prison population.[6]

While the remand population is still high, the *Bail and Release Act 2023* has led to a significant effort across justice services to reduce the number of people on remand while also managing the safety of those individuals and the public. Those on bail can be supported for lengthy periods of time whilst the legal proceedings are prepared. Although statutory services are responsible for the management of bail supervision during this time, bail supervision alone does not go far enough to address the complex needs of individuals on bail. The resources within statutory services do not allow for coaching, mentoring, holistic support, and in some cases, even sign posting to be provided at an adequate level.

While using remand as a last resort is a welcomed change, the use of bail is not without its complications. A CYCJ study found that bail conditions risk becoming counterproductive in three areas.[7] The first is that bail conditions could hinder prosocial activities, such as making new friends, finding employment, and visiting extended family members. The second is that the period that a young person spends on bail can be lengthy and include several unexpected delays. The result is that the young person can become frustrated and feel trapped. They can also become demotivated to comply with bail conditions. The third potentially troublesome aspect of using bail for young people is that young people are in a period of rapid personal, emotional, and physical development. Bail conditions can quickly become unsuitable for a young person, especially when the aforementioned delays prevent young people from accessing the relevant services.

A study that investigated the implementation and effectiveness of a bail support program in New Zealand was published during the course of includem's Bail Support pilot.[8] The study offers valuable insights into the practical aspects of running a bail support program, particularly the importance of adequate resources, staff training, and stakeholder collaboration. While the study is based in New Zealand, many of the findings are relevant to this pilot. The study emphasises that professional support and access to practical and culturally sensitive services were highly beneficial for participants. However, challenges with providing bail support included limited suitable housing options for bail, inconsistent communication between stakeholders, and difficulties adapting to changes in pretrial legislation. Professional staff also noted the importance of adequate training, better collaboration, and sufficient resources to ensure the programme's success. Overall, while the programme had positive outcomes, its implementation faced several structural and resource-related barriers.

During the current pilot, significant developments occurred in Scotland with the introduction of the *Prisoners (Early Release) (Scotland) Bill*.[9] In response to a rising prison population, emergency legislative measures were introduced, including reducing the automatic release point for short-term prisoners and guidance from the Lord Advocate discouraging automatic objections to bail.

The Cabinet Secretary also emphasised the need for community-based alternatives to custodial remand, with plans to expand Summary Case Management in Sheriff Courts. The Howard League Scotland cautiously supports early release as a temporary measure to address Scotland's high prison population but stresses the need for sustainable reforms. They advocate for coupling early release with robust community-based support to reduce reoffending and ensure public safety, while criticising the systemic overuse of custody for low-risk offenders.[10] The *Prisoners (Early Release) (Scotland) Bill* has direct implications for this pilot. As legislation and policy increasingly prioritise community-based interventions, this study is crucial in evaluating how best to support young people with the most complex needs while they are on bail supervision. The findings will provide essential evidence to shape future reforms, ensuring bail support programmes are fit for purpose and can deliver meaningful outcomes in the evolving justice landscape.

Method

Purpose of includem's Glasgow Bail Support Pilot

As part of the ADPT Project, semi-structured research interviews were conducted with a range of organisations across Scotland. These interviews underwent a thematic analysis which revealed several gaps in service provisions for young people in conflict with, or in potential conflict with the law. A gap that relates to this pilot is that support services for young people over the age of 18 are far less intensive that they are for young people under the age of 18. The difference between the kinds of supports that are available is stark, and young people are not equipped to cope with the transition into 'adult' services. The purpose of the Glasgow Bail Support Pilot was to test whether a trauma-informed practice model and partnership approach could effectively support young people aged 18 to 25 on bail supervision. When this pilot began, statutory partners in Glasgow were supporting 168 people on bail supervision, 45 of these were aged 18 to 25. Unlike previous services that treated this age group as adults, this pilot provided support tailored to their unique developmental needs. Research indicates that brain development continues into the early-to-mid-20s, impacting decision-making and impulse control. By offering intensive, person-centred support, the pilot aimed to address the underlying causes of conflict with the law, helping young people adhere to bail conditions and ultimately reducing the reliance on remand.

Service Design

- Referrals came from Bail Supervision Team. Each young person had an allocated bail supervisor.
- Bail supervisor completed referral form and then follow up phone call with allocated includem worker - at time info was limited due to bail worker not having a relationship with young person.
- 3 visits per week - parent/carer support included where appropriate. young person had access to 24/7 helpline.
- Referrals could be open for upto 12 weeks. This was agreed with bail team as length of time young person was on bail is very unpredictable.
- Regular contact between worker and allocated bail worker.
- Capacity meetings every 4/6 weeks with TM and bail team leader.
- includem model used - support plan created with young person and reviewed inline with model - ABL use linked to achieving goals.

Evaluation

Includem workers recorded each young person's data through the in-house case management system (MAPS). This included personal details, assessments, and engagement with ABL modules. When the pilot began, workers were asked to use Wellbeing Webs and Crime-Pics II with every young person. Includem workers were encouraged to use other assessments, such as the Life Effectiveness Questionnaire, if they thought that it would benefit the young person they were supporting. Workers also used MAPS to create detailed visit notes, which documented conversations with young people, session evaluations, progress monitoring, areas of concern, and other key insights. Staff from the Glasgow Bail Office, includem team managers, and the includem delivery workers participated in semi-structured interviews to share their experiences of the pilot. Questions focused on the delivery process, inter-organisational communication, relationships with young people, and areas for improvement. These interviews contextualised and reinforced the MAPS data allowing for a deeper understanding of the pilot's implementation. Because the young people who participated in the pilot faced extremely chaotic and challenging situations, other metrics, such as 'stickability' (a measure of consistency and perseverance) are used to complement assessment data to show the nature of the support provided and the journeys that the young people went through.

The nature of the ADAPT Project means that not only is service delivery being evaluated, but so too is the design of the service. Using the aforementioned interview data, internal project management documents, and minutes from ADAPT Steering Group meetings, the design of the pilot will be evaluated. This includes evaluating the communications processes, training, the referral pathway, the sustainability of the pilot, and so on. Combining the two elements of the pilot (the service delivery and the service design) will provide a detailed picture of the pilot's success and will allow for a much more precise understanding of where improvements need to be made and the barriers that might prevent the implementations of these improvements.

Methodological complications

As the pilot progressed it became clear that the Crime-Pics II questionnaire was not appropriate as a mandatory assessment. Includem workers explained to the researcher that young people "felt like they were being interrogated" during the Crime-Pics II questionnaire. For example, one young person (Lewis) was worried that the information used in the assessment would be used against him in court. The crux of the issue was that the young people being supported by includem were on bail, they had not been convicted. The language of the Crime Pics II questionnaire implicates the person being interviewed. Being asked to rank statements such as "Crime has now become a way of life for me" and "There was no victim for my offence(s)" is not appropriate for someone who has not been convicted of a crime. Because of this, Crime-Pics II was made optional at the discretion of includem workers.

The only assessment that remained mandatory throughout the pilot was Wellbeing Webs, but this was met with considerable complications. The young people being supported on this pilot were living extremely chaotic lives as well as living with the ongoing effects of a range of ACEs. With the best intention in the world, the plans to work through an assessment with a young person are

subject to the same level of unpredictability that the young person is experiencing. As one includem worker explained during an interview, "how are you supposed to do a Wellbeing Web with a guy whose just told you he's going to kill himself tonight?" The case notes from this pilot show that young people were in the middle of a number of different crises. While a Wellbeing Web can offer a way of putting a young person's life into perspective and a way to offer a young person a means of tracking their journey with a support service, it is not a tool for navigating serious crises. Because of this, the Wellbeing Web data is extremely limited. In terms of evaluating the effectiveness of this pilot, the quantitative element of the Wellbeing Webs data is unusable. That being said, when young people were able to complete an assessment, they provided qualitative insights into their lives, their support, their experiences of being on bail, and other information that will be used throughout this evaluation.

While not an assessment tool, the ABL toolkit provides further insights into the lives of the young people who took part in this pilot. Although the toolkit was used to support all but one of the young people involved in the pilot (this person was with includem for one week before they were remanded in custody), it was utilised for only 55.3% of the time spent with young people, as shown in Fig 2:

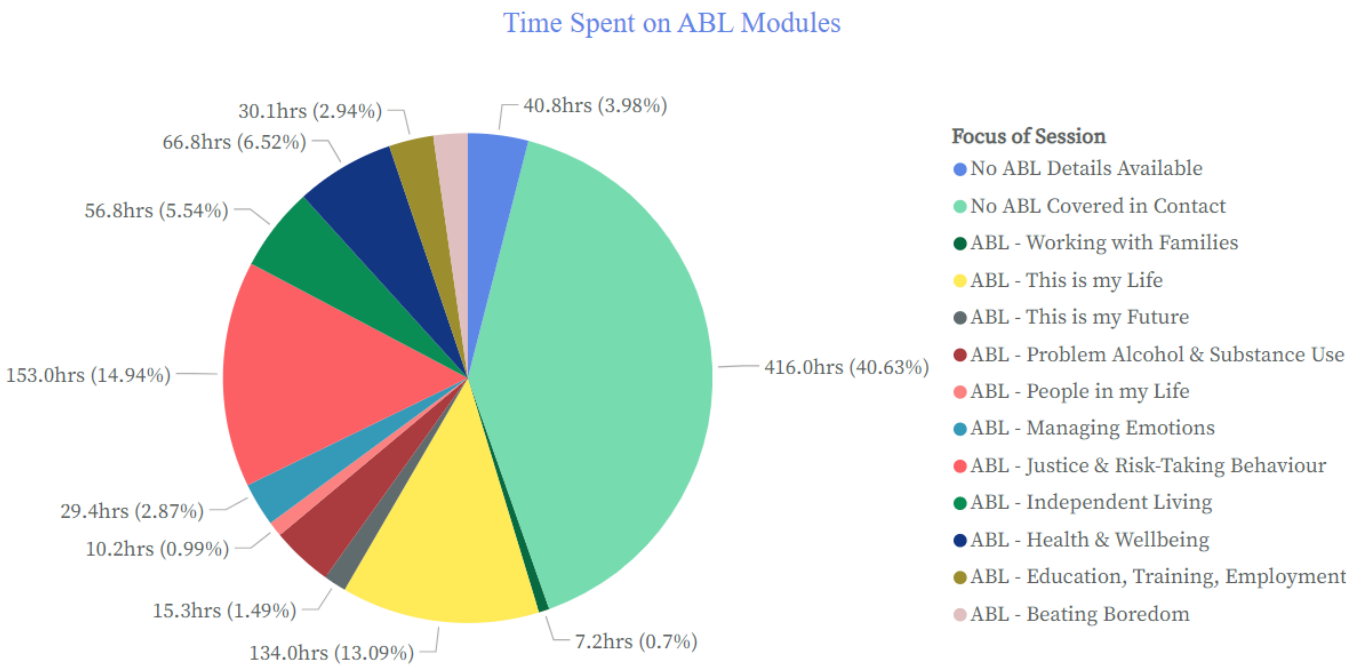

Fig 2: ABL Usage

Like with the lack of engagement with Wellbeing Webs, this ABL data demonstrates how unpredictable life can be for young people on bail supervision.

During a visit with Liam, for example, the includem worker intended to work through an ABL module but was met with several unexpected events. Meeting at a park near his house, Liam explained that the police had dropped off a citation at his house. According to Liam, the police had called him "stupid" for not understanding, but Liam explained that he struggled because English was his second language. The experience affected Liam so much that he began crying and started to panic about what the citation meant. The includem worker provided emotional support, and assured Liam that they would support him by speaking with the police and the courts on his

behalf. During this conversation, Liam started to ask why "bad things keep happening to him." He then began drinking vodka that he had brought with him. The priority at that point was keeping him safe. Not long after he began drinking, the includem worker noticed that Liam's mouth was moving in an unusual way. Liam revealed that he had placed two razor blades in his mouth. After refusing to take them out, the includem worker called for an ambulance and raised a concern with a team manager. While waiting for the ambulance to arrive, Liam began rolling around on the floor with the blades still in his mouth, so the includem worker stayed close to him to provide physical and emotional support. The police then arrived and placed Liam in handcuffs. He was placed into the back of an ambulance and taken to hospital for treatment.

While Liam's experiences that day seem particularly dramatic, many of the young people on this pilot went through similarly traumatic experiences that made it impossible to meaningfully work through the ABL toolkit. That being said, when a young person was in a stable enough position to engage with an ABL module, includem workers supported them to do so. For example, because of his self-harm and suicide attempts, includem workers regularly helped Liam to work through 31 hours of the Health & Wellbeing module. Another example is Paul who struggled with his alcohol dependency. For the appointments where he was intoxicated, keeping him safe took priority over the ABL toolkit. Despite these setbacks, Paul successfully completed 22 hours of the Problem Alcohol & Substance Use module. The levels of engagement with ABL modules fluctuated and changed between each young person. For example, Ian spent 85.6% of his time with includem working on ABL modules, whereas Benjamin only spent 18.9% of his time working on ABL modules.

Pseudonyms

Names of the participants have been changed to protect their identities. Any identifiable information, such as names of parents, places of work, etc., have also been removed.

Findings

Service Delivery

Person-centred

A key component of the Bail Support pilot was making sure that the support provided was person-centred. This section of the evaluation will be short compared to the other three because the commitment to providing person-centred support is demonstrated multiple times elsewhere.

Includem workers provided 364 hours of out-of-hours support, which accounts for 21.8% of the total hours worked. This total does hide the large variation between each young person. For example, just over 9% Asher's support was provided during out-of-hours, whereas 52.6% of Max's support was provided out-of-hours. The nature of the out-of-hours support was not limited to the 24hr helpline. includem workers were able to meet young people at whatever time suited them. With Abigail, for example, 34.5% of her support was provided out-of-hours, and much of this was spend working through her ABL modules. There were also several occasions where includem workers provided support sporadically across successive days to make sure that they could remain available for a young person who might be experiencing turbulent and chaotic series of events. For example, Wendy would require support at 9am one day, and then again later at 6pm, and the next day would need support at 12pm and then again in the evening. The pilot allowed for this level of flexibility and availability by removing barriers to support. Young people who are struggling to make appointments are often prevented from doing so because of the difficulties they face living in chaotic situations. This pilot was designed with the ethos that young people who are in this situation should not be further disadvantaged by giving them another inflexible schedule. As will be discussed later, the consequences of missing an appointment can be catastrophic.

The pilot also demonstrated a person-centred approach by extending the duration of support for young people in crisis. Many participants in the bail support programme revealed deeply rooted and complex issues that were not mentioned in their initial referrals. This put includem workers in a difficult position. Addressing these newly disclosed issues risked, in the words of one worker, "opening Pandora's box," and then the process of helping the young person to reach a stable position could take significantly longer than the standard 12-week period. includem workers felt confident to bring to their managers any case that might require an extension. These cases would then be discussed in a meeting with Senior Management. If an extension was deemed to be necessary, the whole team would create a plan to make sure the young person received the support they needed. Rather than letting the predetermined timeframe dictate when a young person received support, the needs of the young person determined the level of support.

Being person-centred meant putting the young person's needs over the needs of the Research Associate. While data collection is crucial in understanding how a pilot is progressing, seeing emerging trends, and evaluating the end result, data collection tools often clashed with the needs of the young people on this pilot. As previously mentioned, an includem worker asked how they are supposed to do a Wellbeing Web with a young person who has just said he is going to kill himself that night. This question can be rephrased in countless other forms. How are you supposed to use a data collection tool with a young person who has just suffered a miscarriage and is discussing plans to end her own life? When a young person is in hospital with alcohol

poisoning? When a young person is being extremely aggressive and intimidating? When a young person goes on the run from the police? Throughout the pilot there were many opportunities for includem workers to work through a Wellbeing Webs, or a Crime PICS II, or another assessment, and they completed them successfully. But the priority of the pilot was always on the needs of the young person. In the same way that the Bail Support pilot recognised that young people live chaotic lives and might struggle to make appointments, it was agreed that it would be unfair to then expect young people to be physically, emotionally, and mentally available to complete an assessment. Being person-centred on this level challenges how research is done, which will be discussed later in the evaluation.

Stickability

Stickability has been a core value at includem for 25 years. It reflects their ability to persevere with particularly difficult situations. Stickability is defined by a strong commitment to building and maintaining relationships, offering ongoing support, and refusing to give up when faced with challenges. It means never abandoning efforts to support each young person, focusing on providing care, maintaining communication, and remaining a constant presence over time. Stickability has been analysed quantitatively in this evaluation. Data from MAPS was used in Power BI to develop measures that demonstrate the consistency and perseverance of includem workers. The core metric calculated the number of days between each contact or attempted contact with a young person. These values were then aggregated to show the frequency of each time period during a young person's journey with includem (see Fig 3).

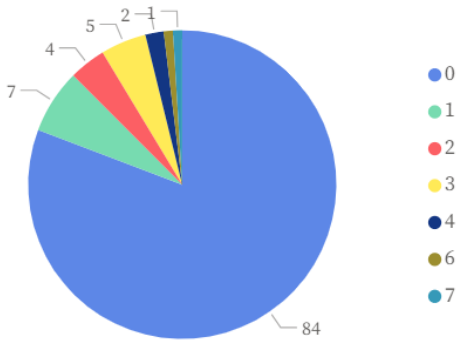

Fig 3: Stickability

For example, the above chart indicates that includem workers met or attempted to contact one young person, Ian, on consecutive days 84 times. Additionally, there were 7 instances where contact attempts occurred after a one-day gap. This insight was used in combination with a timeline that showed a young person's journey with includem. This enabled a visualisation of how their support developed and the trends that occurred throughout. In the following chart (Fig 4), each column represents a date where workers focussed on a young person's case, and each colour in the chart signifies the type of work being done:

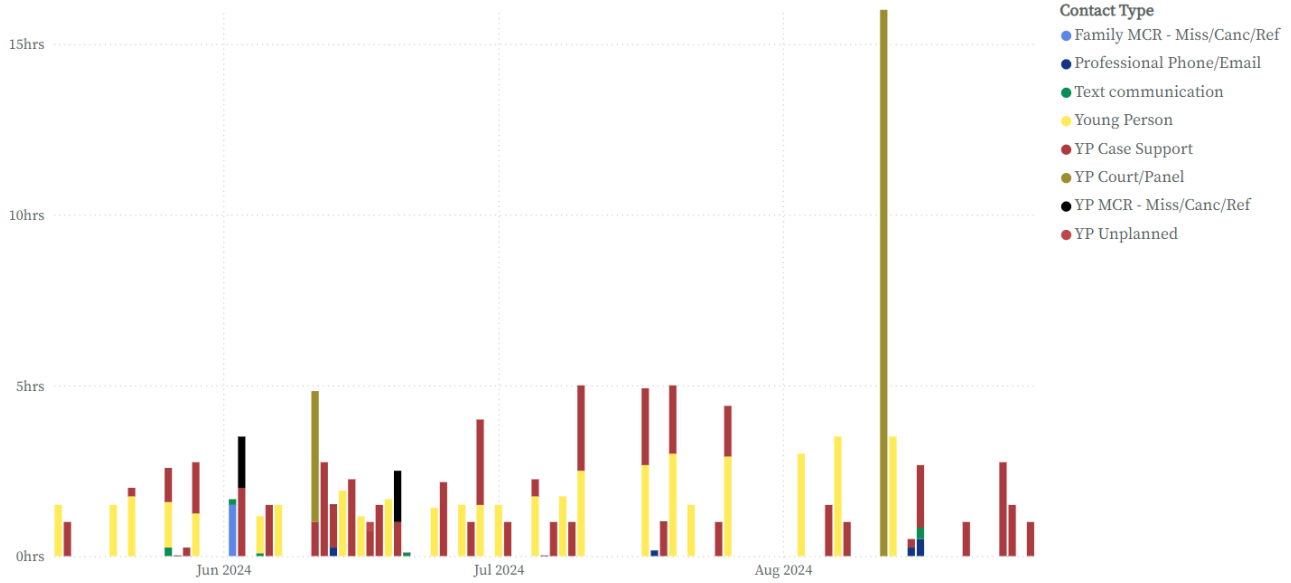

Fig 4: A Young Peron's Journey in Data

Alongside data relating to ABL engagement, case notes, assessments, and professional reporting, the Power BI reporting revealed many key insights into what is meant by stickability.

The persistent efforts of includem workers to contact Max, a young person placed on bail for knife possession, demonstrate stickability in practice. Max suffered from severe PTSD after being attacked with a machete. In addition to receiving psychiatric treatment for his PTSD, he was also undergoing treatment for physical injuries that had derailed his plans to pursue a career in construction, something he had been working towards prior to the attack. The combination of severe PTSD, the potential loss of his career prospects, and the challenges of navigating the legal system meant that Max's situation was highly chaotic. Out of the 47 days that includem workers tried to engage Max, he was available for only five appointments. Despite this limited engagement, which included a six-week period of total disengagement, includem workers remained consistent in their efforts. Out of the 47 days that they reached out to Max, two-thirds of those attempts were made within one day of each other.

Interviews with staff from the Glasgow Sheriff Court Bail Team (referred to as the "Bail Team" from now on) highlighted the critical role that stickability played in supporting the most complex cases. Having experienced numerous ACEs while living in care, Trevor faced further traumatic events after being referred to includem, including his father being sent to prison. These challenges made his life unpredictable, and he often had to cancel appointments at the last minute. For instance, during one appointment, Trevor tried to engage with his includem worker despite dealing with a fresh injury that required stitches. This appointment was postponed allowing him time to recover. Another session was cancelled when Trevor needed to visit his father in hospital last minute. Despite these disruptions, includem's commitment to stickability ensured that Trevor was not abandoned or left unsupported. Out of the 41 attempts to contact Trevor, 32 were made within a day of each other, demonstrating the team's determination to maintain consistent communication and build trust. This persistence paid off, as Trevor reached out to includem for support whenever he was in a position to do so. Through this sustained effort, includem helped Trevor work towards his goals, enrolling him in Action for Children's Youthbuild programme, which supported his ambition to obtain a CSCS card.

Max and Trevor's cases underscore the power of stickability in building relationships, offering ongoing support, and refusing to give up even in the face of significant challenges. These positive outcomes, and the positive outcomes that will be discussed later in this evaluation, are missed when strict and inflexible demands are thrust upon young people who are struggling to navigate chaotic lives. For example, several of the young people who took part in this pilot were arrested and placed in custody for breaching their bail conditions. The experience of being placed in custody derailed a lot of the progress that was being made. The Sheriff working on Rupert's case recognised the progress he was making with includem and opted to keep him out of custody when he breached his bail conditions. Stickability was a core component of the Bail Support pilot as a whole. During the 12-month pilot, young people were unable to attend 378 appointments. Despite this, 91.6% of all attempts to reach out to young people were made within one day of each other. This shows how includem workers remained consistent and present in their efforts to support young people and did not blame young people for any difficulties they faced while trying to keep appointments.

In the context of this pilot, which supported 18 to 25-year-olds, stickability did have some complications. Interviews with includem workers revealed that stickability can run into conflict with consent. Questions arose about how often a worker should show up at someone's home to support them when that person had refused support many times already. While stickability saw several positive outcomes during this pilot, there were cases where includem workers felt that they should have respected the young person's decision to refuse support and ended contact sooner. There is clearly a delicate balance to be struck when trying to adhere to the principle of stickability when working with this age group. That being said, ways to find this balance were presented during this pilot. For example, in light of the type of abuse that Abigail endured from her partner, the way that workers adhered to the principle of stickability had to be adjusted. Abigail's partner would call dozens of times each visit until she picked up, and he would then subject her to a torrent of emotional and psychological abuse. Includem workers decided that calling Abigail on multiple occasions would only contribute to her anxiety around her abuse. includem workers maintained regular contact with Abigail but spread the contact out over longer periods, used a range of communication methods, and gave her the autonomy to respond in her own time.

A Better Life toolkit

During this pilot, includem workers spent 1,024 hours directly supporting young people and 429 hours on case support. Workers also spent 218 hours on a range of other activities, such as meetings with other professionals and rearranging cancelled or missed appointments. Of the 1,024 hours of direct support, 567 hours were spent working through ABL modules. Young people spent the most time working through the specialist module Justice & Risk-Taking Behaviour (153 hours) followed closely by the core module This is my Life (134 hours) (see Fig 5):

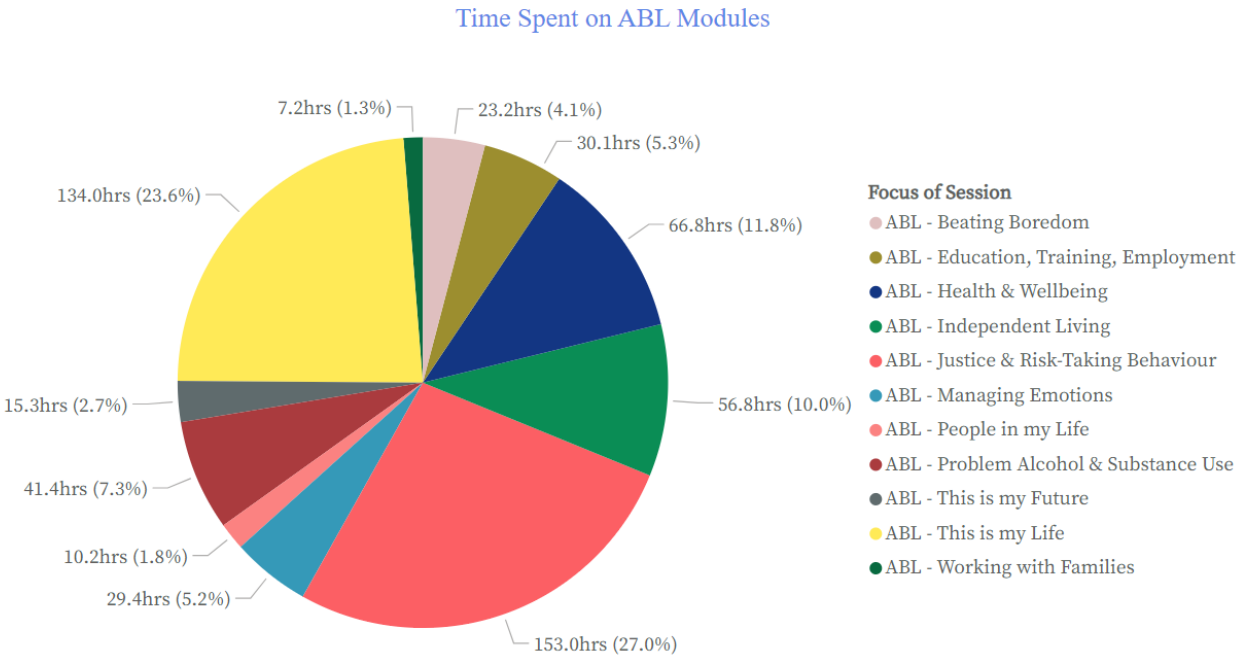

Fig 5: Time spent on each ABL module.

Before discussing how young people progressed with their ABL modules, the 457 hours that were spent supporting young people without working through an ABL module should be addressed.

For reasons already addressed in this evaluation, the opportunity to support a young person to work through an ABL module sometimes does not present itself, and sometimes that opportunity is taken away. With Seung, for example, there was a four-week period where he was evading arrest after breaching his bail conditions. Includem workers consistently reached out to Seung and his family during this period trying to make sure he was safe and to encourage him to comply with law. While ABL modules were not used during this period, once Seung was found and once he was released from custody, includem workers used the Justice & Risky Behaviour module to support him. As previously mentioned, Liam and Hasan also faced a series of major crises that prevented them from working through ABL modules. These young people experienced highly traumatic events, such as suicide attempts, self-harm, miscarriages, family break down, conflicts with police, and substance abuse. Seung, Liam, and Hasan alone account for 137 contact hours where ABL modules were not covered, and the remaining hours were spread across the other 20 young people.

A good example of ABL in practice is Abigail's story. Abigail began receiving support from includem during a particularly turbulent period. Early into the pilot she presented with a black eye and spoke about her bedroom door being kicked in. Just days after telling includem workers about this event, she was hospitalised following a violent encounter with a man in her flat. While in hospital Abigail disclosed that she was 5–6 weeks pregnant. She also expressed a strong desire to focus on improving her life, stating that her pregnancy was a primary motivation for change and a driving force behind the goals she set for herself. Using the This is My Life module provided a structured way of getting to know Abiail, and for Abigail to get to know includem and what she wanted from her support.

After Abigail had been discharged from hospital, workers visited her flat. They found blood and broken glass throughout the property. They used this visit to create a support plan with Abigail.

Over the following weeks, Abigail remained enthusiastic about improving her circumstances, although signs of ongoing struggles emerged. Fresh bruises were noticed on her neck, raising concerns about contact with a partner she was meant to avoid. Despite this, Abigail continued to make decisions with her baby in mind and frequently discussed her desire to create a better future. She made full use of the Independent Living module and the Health & Wellbeing module. These modules provided support relating to her current living situation and creating healthy eating habits for her and her baby. For example, while working through the Health & Wellbeing module, includem workers supported Abigail to search online for healthy recipes for pregnancy. However, constant phone calls from her partner combined with his erratic and abusive behaviour caused her significant stress, which she often linked to the potential impact on her pregnancy.

Around five weeks into her support, Abigail suffered a miscarriage. This tragic loss massively impacted Abigail. Includem workers raised concerns with social work about Abigail potentially turning to substance abuse as a coping mechanism. She disengaged from includem for several weeks, but when she reconnected, she revealed that her partner had been unfaithful and was threatening to kill himself if she did not comply with his demands. Abigail also spoke openly about her own feelings of hopelessness, recent acts of self-harm, and her suicidal thoughts. Her includem worker supported her to get crisis support from the NHS and Out-of-hours Social Work. In the days that followed, Abigail continued using the Health & Wellbeing module focussing specifically on self-harm and suicide.

Abigail continued to face escalating risks. She endured abuse from her partner while also battling substance misuse and attending court for other charges. Her mental health deteriorated further, with workers noting fresh self-harm scars and slurred speech during visits. During one particularly challenging visit, Abigail fell into a mental health crisis where she began screaming, banging her head against a car window, pulling out her own hair, and threatening her includem worker. After this event, includem collaborated with Police Scotland, health workers, social work, and Abigail's concierge to keep her safe. These events highlight the instability and trauma she was navigating on a daily basis.

Moments of progress, though fleeting, began to emerge. For the first time since her miscarriage, workers noted a slight improvement in her mood. A small birthday celebration with Abigail marked a rare moment of positivity during this period. However, her struggles remained constant, with repeated crises such as hospitalisation for alcohol poisoning, the death of a friend, and ongoing self-harm. Abigail's partner continued to exert control and abuse, creating additional barriers to her recovery. Through each setback, workers adapted their approach to meet Abigail's needs. For example, female-only visits were arranged in response to her requests after her miscarriage, and workers provided more out-of-hours support for her to disclose difficult experiences in her own time. Over a third (34.5%) of Abigail's support was out-of-hours.

The barriers that Abigail faced are immense. Abigail lived with the impact of a range of ACEs, domestic abuse, substance dependencies, a miscarriage, being hospitalised after she was attacked in her home, employment instability, and self-harm. Despite these barriers, Abigail showed resilience and a strong desire to improve her situation. Includem workers supported Abigail

through relevant ABL modules whenever she was able to do so. In total, Abigail spent 47.7 hours working through 5 ABL modules (see Fig 6).

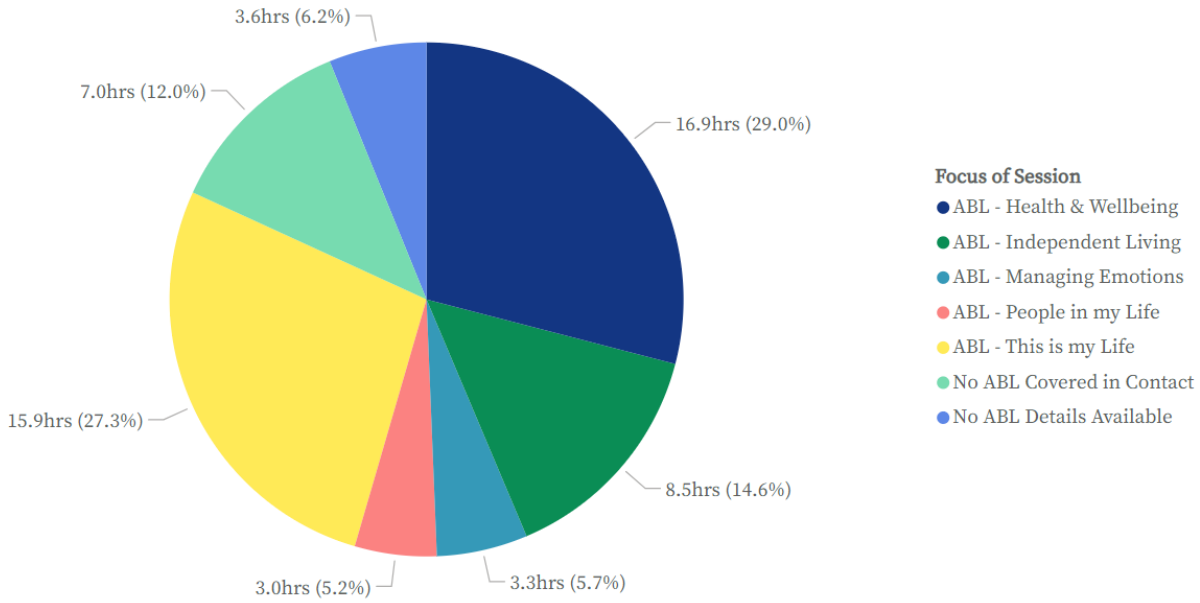

Fig 6. Abigail's ABL Engagement

Someone like Ian, on the other hand, had very different needs to Abigail. As such, his engagement with ABL modules looked different. Ian wanted more support with employment and with his offending behaviour. Ian spent 55.7 hours working through 6 ABL modules. He spent the most time on the Justice & Risk-Taking Behaviour and Education, Training, & Employment modules (36.5 hours total). Fig 7 shows this breakdown:

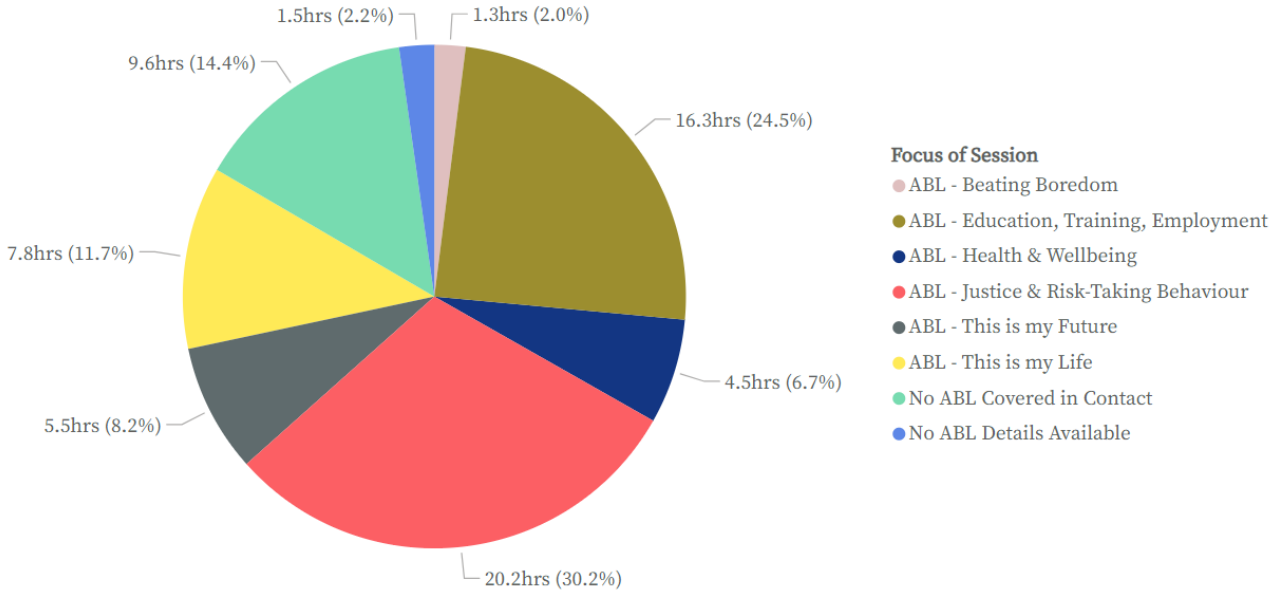

Fig 7. Ian's ABL Engagement

During interviews with the Bail Team, workers said that without includem's Bail Support Pilot, some of the young people "wouldn't be here today." The Bail Team spoke about the lengths that includem would go to in making sure that the most complex cases were fully supported. In this section, Liam's and Hasan's stories will be used to demonstrate the type of support that the Bail Team were referring to.

When Hasan first met his includem worker in May 2024, he disclosed that he had attempted suicide five times since February, suffered from PTSD after witnessing a fatal incident, and had not seen his daughter in almost three months. One of the earliest appointments made with Hasan was to support him to attend a court hearing relating to the fatal incident. Having to relive the incident in great detail was highly traumatic for Hasan. Even the includem worker noted how emotionally unsettling it was to hear the details of what happened. During the hearing, Hasan was also mentioned by name which made him feel anxious about being perceived as a grass and about the accuracy of the solicitor's statements. Hasan left the hearing without being offered any support by the courts for what was an intensely emotional experience. The includem worker provided emotional support to try to help Hasan regulate his emotional state. However, the impact of the hearing on his mental health was compounded by his PTSD and that night he turned to alcohol and Xanax to self-medicate. He had no memory of what happened next, but he woke up in hospital after being found unconscious from an attempted suicide. After being discharged from hospital he again turned to alcohol to self-medicate. While walking back to his house his erratic behaviour caught the attention of two police officers who put him in handcuffs and placed him the back of a van. Again, Hasan had no memory of the events that followed, but the police told him that he was banging his head against the side of the van, and later, against the cell walls. Once released, Hasan called his includem worker to explain what had happened. He talked about how he was still self-medicating, and his head was still covered in lumps and marks. The includem worker immediately told Hasan to call NHS111 because he could have sustained a head injury while in police custody. Hasan followed this advice, eventually taking himself to A&E for treatment which resulted in a five day stay in hospital.

The events in the previous paragraph occurred over a seven-day period. During these seven days, Hasan was trying to contact his addictions worker to help him with his substance abuse, but they were not responding to his calls. Includem and the Bail Team worked together to try to contact Hasan's addiction workers who did eventually make an appointment to see him. Includem ensured consistent engagement, with 88.4% of all attempted contact taking place within one day of the last interaction. Making sure that regular contact was sustained and that includem workers were available 24hrs a day contributed to Hasan's support during this period.

This level of commitment also helped Hasan to engage with local services, such as Men Matter. During interviews after the pilot has ended, the Bail Team noted that "getting the young person through the door" is often the hardest part of providing support. By being a consistent presence, Hasan was able to rely on his includem worker to manage the appointments, support with transport, and stay close by while Hasan made first contact with the new service. Helping Hasan to attend Men Matter also required includem workers to negotiate changes to Hasan's curfew hours which initially clashed with the opening times. At Men Matter, Hasan received mental health support for his PTSD for the first time and spoke highly of his experiences to his includem

worker. Following Hasan's initial seven days with includem, the MAPS case notes from the next two weeks contain positive stories and detail Hasan's progress with ABL modules and the Men Mind group. At the end of this two-week period, Hasan relapsed.

Two groups of individuals got into a violent altercation outside Hasan's house. Hasan's mother went to make sure that Hasan was not involved and was struck in the face with a bottle causing serious injury that required hospitalisation. The following day, Hasan tried to take his own life and spent three weeks recovering in hospital. This is not to say the two events are causally related in a simplistic and direct way, but that the pressures and trauma in Hasan's life always held him at tipping point. While outwardly Hasan had experienced a positive two weeks, he confided in his includem worker that internally he never stopped being in severe emotional and mental pain. He also disclosed that he had attempted suicide several times during the two-week period, but these attempts did not require hospitalisation. Hasan's includem worker contacted him several times a day after his hospitalisation and sat with him in the hospital to offer support. When Hasan was discharged, his includem worker supported him with the transition which was especially difficult because it was the morning of his uncle's funeral. A recurring theme in Hasan's emotional struggles related to his accommodation. He repeatedly insisted that moving away from where he was living into a new part of the city would remove him from painful emotional triggers and negative peer influences, and it would also provide the opportunity to have a fresh start. Because of this, his includem workers supported him to find new accommodation.

With Hasan, includem workers provided support with court appearances, emotional distress, suicide (ASIST), self-harm, substance dependency, health appointments, connecting with local services, and accommodation. Offering this range of support from a single point of contact allowed the intensive support package to remain highly responsive while building on established relationships. Hasan did not have to independently sign up to a range of individual specialist services in order to get his support. Instead, his includem worker provided a core foundation from which he could quickly connect with specialist support, such as Men Matter, whenever his was able to do so. Hasan's journey with includem continued to be turbulent and unpredictable. For example, Hasan's fears that he would be seen as a grass became a reality when one evening a group of men tried to kick down his door to attack him. However, through the range of support that his includem worker provided, and through their consistent availability, when Hasan exited the pilot, he had achieved his goal of securing independent accommodation in a new part of the city. While there is a multiplicity of moving parts to Hasan's story, a story that continues beyond the pages of this evaluation, having safe accommodation away from the chaotic environment that caused him so much trouble will no doubt contribute towards enabling him to build a better life for himself.

Liam was another young person on the Glasgow Bail Support pilot who required particularly intensive support. Liam's support lasted 136 days with 187.7 total contact hours. Over 96% of all attempts to contact Liam were made within one day of each other. The most intensive period of Liam's support came from a 29-day period where he met with includem workers every day for a total of 100.7 contact hours. One particularly difficult day for Liam saw him receive 16hrs of support. The events that follow occurred in a seven-day period and typify the level of support provided throughout Liam's time with includem. Over this seven-day period, Liam made contact with includem 28 times.

During a planned phone call, Liam told an includem worker about how a recent hospital stay following a suicide attempt was affecting his mental health. The worker shared this with two colleagues, who immediately visited Liam. During their conversation, Liam revealed that he was struggling with severe insomnia, poor nutrition, and overwhelming feelings of despair. He opened up further about his mental health challenges, including incidents of self-harm and an encounter with the police that left him with sore ribs and wrists. Liam appeared to be under the influence of alcohol and emotionally fragile. He talked about suicidal thoughts and showed ligature marks on his neck. Worried for his safety, his includem workers contacted the NHS for guidance and tried to take Liam to includem's office for further support. However, during a phone call with the NHS, Liam became increasingly distressed and ran towards a nearby footbridge. The includem workers quickly followed him and stayed by his side. At the footbridge he made multiple attempts to jump into the motorway. The includem workers intervened, physically pulling him back from the edge several times until the police arrived. The officers restrained Liam and took him for psychiatric evaluation.

The day that Liam was discharged from hospital, his includem worker went to visit him. The purpose of the visit was to make sure that Liam felt supported after his suicide attempt, and to plan activities for the coming weekend. These activities included therapeutic interventions, such as finding community events for Liam to engage with, and everyday activities, such as getting Liam's watch fixed. Later that evening, Liam called includem out-of-hours helpline in distress. His speech was slurred, and he was losing track of the conversation with the includem worker. Liam mentioned his diabetes, his blood sugar level, and that he could not find any more needles for his insulin. As the includem worker tried to get more information, the call disconnected. In the three hours that followed, the includem worker repeatedly called Liam back while also contacting the out-of-hours manager. Given the situation, the manager advised the includem worker to dial 999 and request immediate police and medical assistance. The following day, Liam called out-of-hours support again with another medical emergency which includem handled in a similarly urgent and proactive manner.

While Hasan's time with includem ended with some clear successes, Liam's time with includem concluded with him being placed on remand. This outcome underscores that the pilot is not a cure-all solution. Despite the numerous positives in Liam's story, including the intensive support and crisis intervention provided, many of his needs remained unmet, falling outside the scope of the pilot. With additional time or an earlier intervention, there might have been opportunities to connect Liam with specialist services that could address his complex needs more comprehensively. This highlights the importance of continued support and the need for a broader range of services to fully meet the diverse needs of young people aged 18-to-25 living in crisis.

Management, planning, design, infrastructure

18- to 25-year-olds

> *"Transitioning from children's to adult services is largely driven by age, rather than the readiness of the young person to move into adult services."*[11]

One of the core criteria for the Glasgow Bail Support pilot was that the young person had to be aged between 18- and 25-years-old. Interviews conducted with a range of organisations across Scotland revealed that support services hit a cliff edge for young people over the age of 18. The level of support for under-18s is not evenly distributed across

all ages, with multiple organisations noting the lack of support for the 14-to-16 age range, but support for over 18s was clearly lacking. The contrast between adult and young person services is stark. For a variety of reasons there exists a hard line between the two levels of support, with services for young people over the age of 18 requiring much more stability and independence from the young person, and the consequences for low engagement are much more severe. One of the main goals of the Bail Support pilot was to soften the transition between adult and young person services by providing the same level of support for young people over the age of 18 that is available in children services, with a stronger emphasis on moving towards living independently.

The value of having such a flexible and consistent support service for this age group was recognised by a range of professionals. As previously mentioned, the Bail Team described the pilot as "lifesaving." During interviews they also mentioned that a "three strike rule" usually exists for this age group. This means that if a young person doesn't engage or they miss an appointment three times they will then face serious consequences, sometimes as serious as being deprived of their liberty. (It should be noted that one young person, Rupert, rightly pointed out that the consequences do not go both ways. When their appointment with the bail office is cancelled or their bail worker is late for an appointment, the young person is expected to adapt to the situation). The seriousness of these consequences cannot be overstated.

As mentioned previously, Hasan suffered with a range of serious mental health issues as well as alcohol dependency and substance misuse. Hasan breached his bail conditions after they were modified, and he was quickly arrested. This experience caused a massive amount of emotional turmoil with him thinking that the arrest would undo all of his hard work and reverse the progress he was making. Once released from custody, he turned to alcohol as a coping mechanism and, in the words of his mother, he "lost it." Hasan was arrested again and left in a cell overnight. Two days later it was found that the initial arrest was made in error as Hasan had not actually breached his bail conditions. Several young people on this pilot have similar stories to Hasan. Rupert was also wrongly arrested for breaching his bail conditions when he was actually complying. A recurring issue encountered during the pilot was the poor communication between the courts and Police Scotland with regards to changes in bail conditions. This poor communication, combined with a lack of understanding from Police Scotland, caused a lot of serious problems with young people. Other examples of the system refusing to accommodate a diverse range of needs include Liam who was placed in custody for being 15 minutes late to an appointment and Ian who was placed on tag for missing too many appointments which meant he had to quit his job. It is hard to know what would have happened to these young people if they were under the age of 18, but what is clear from these examples is that there is no room for error for 18- to 25-year-old young people.

On several occasions Sheriffs told young people that the only reason that they were not given custodial sentences for breaching their bail conditions was because of the support provided by includem. Having such flexible support also allowed the Bail Team to work

more effectively. Rather than being left with no option other than to report that a young person had missed an appointment, they could use includem's support to provide lenience in how they worked. This is a way of working that the Bail Team said they want to do all the time but are not able to. The Scottish Government's own guidelines on Bail Support say that "Brain development research highlights that the brain does not fully develop until the mid-to-late 20s" and as such, young people are more at risk of breaching bail. By enabling the Bail Team to work in a flexible manner the Bail Support pilot also allowed them to work within the Scottish Government's guidelines.

Working with this age group as a children's charity did not come without its difficulties. Following on from the above discussion, the young people on the Bail Support pilot were, legally and socially speaking, adults. Includem workers were tasked with providing flexible and person-centred support for young people who were being treated very differently by other services, other organisations, and other people. Based on interviews with includem staff, this dynamic was complex. Workers talked about how young people in this age group had lost some of their bravado and were more willing to open up and talk about their true feelings. This enabled relationships and trust to be built much more quickly. While emotional development could explain some of the reason this age group were more willing to open up about their emotions, some workers also explained that the young people they were supporting did not have any other outlets. They described themselves as being "more like social workers" than support staff due to the level of emotional support they provided. Support services that can cater for people aged 18 to 25 with a range of complex needs are very limited.

Another element to working with this age group relates to risk assessments and training. While this issue has been covered in the Structured Deferred Sentencing evaluation, it is worth noting how the nature of these issues arose during the Bail Support pilot. Risk assessments had to be much more dynamic with this age group. A home visit, for example, is something that includem workers do on a regular basis. However, as a children and young person's charity, a home visit usually means visiting a young person living with their parents or guardians. Because of this, the standard way of working is to have a single worker for a home visit. On the Bail Support pilot, the living situation of the young people sometimes meant that they were living independently with other adults. To give a real example, a female worker from includem had to raise with her manager that the upcoming home visit required another worker, otherwise she would be alone in a flat with three adult men, two of whom she had never met before. Similarly, includem workers reported that they occasionally felt a much higher level of risk to their personal safety when attending to young people who were emotionally heightened. One worker described being sat alone in a car with one young person, Lucas, who was much larger than them, and was "at absolute boiling point" clenching his fists in a threatening manner.

Related to this, a common opinion amongst includem workers was that they needed age specific training to work with 18- to 25-year-olds. The ABL toolkit has been carefully designed using evidence-based practices with the recognition of different developmental

stages that young people go through. While using the ABL modules and working with includem's model of practice had many successes, there are areas that needed to be made more age appropriate. This includes relatively small changes, such as the wording on the Wellbeing Webs forms, to changes relating to how support is delivered, such as understanding the specific emotional complexity of 25-year-olds. In a similar way that stickability sometimes clashed with recognising consent, some workers talked about how the strategies that they would employ to engage someone in their early teens felt inappropriate for someone in their mid-twenties. There are decisions that a 25-year-old is able to make that a 15-year-old cannot and navigating how and when to challenge certain behaviours proved to be difficult at times. During their interviews, several includem workers described the high-level of intensity they felt when supporting people in their 20s with suicide attempts, self-harm, and substance misuse. One worker described the pilot as being one of the most intense services they had ever worked on. Again, the pilot saw many successes, and workers spoke highly of the support they received from their managers and the organisation, but this pilot provided a lot of learning about the design and structure of the training that delivery staff receive when supporting this age group.

Design, communications, and research

As with the aforementioned training requirements, some of the points raised in this evaluation are covered in the Structured Deferred Sentencing evaluation. With that in mind, I will only touch briefly on some of these areas. The first thing to note is that the referral length of 12-weeks was described as "too short" by every professional who was interviewed about the pilot. The crux of the issue related to the time it takes to build and establish meaningful relationships and the time it takes to make progress with long-standing and complex issues. The Bail Team, includem workers, and includem managers all wanted more time to continue providing support. Senior management at includem saw the urgent need for further support for multiple young people on the pilot and so extended the length of their support.

A key factor in the success of the Bail Support pilot was the communication between organisations. The Bail Team and staff from includem spoke highly of each other with regards to the reliability and frequency of communication. Fortnightly meetings were held between the two organisations to discuss specific cases and to raise any issues. Alongside these meetings, includem workers talked about how dependable the Bail Team were in responding to their communications. One includem worker talked about how respected they felt by the Bail Team, and how the senior level staff would go out of their way to create a welcoming environment in their office.

Where communication between the two organisations could have been improved related to the level of detail provided on the referral forms. The referrals would often only mention the offence relating to the bail conditions, and not the young person's history. This made risk assessments difficult since includem workers would not know a young person's history. One reason for the lack of information was attributed to bail workers exercising

caution regarding GDPR. Another was that bail workers themselves did not know a young person's history. Whatever the reason, includem workers spoke about how they needed more detail on their referrals to be able to properly support each young person. Another area relates to data collection on the side of the Bail Team. There was an assumption on includem's side about the level of data that would be available with regards to reoffending rates, progress, outcomes, etc. In reality the only data that was available was on an aggregate level, which prevented meaningful insights into the impact of the pilot. Future pilot interventions would benefit from clarifying what data is available as early as possible so appropriate evaluation methods can be used.

Early on in the pilot there was some confusion amongst the ADAPT Steering Group regarding the length of bail that the young people were facing. It was understood that a lot of the cases being referred to includem would be particularly long, with some lasting years. While it is true that some young people were on bail for a very long time, it was impossible to predict the how long they would be on bail. The nature of bail conditions means that the date of a hearing can be delayed and postponed unexpectedly. This confusion meant that a young person could be referred to includem for the 12-week pilot but then be remanded two weeks later. It was decided that due to the unpredictability of the length of bail, referrals would be open to any young person placed on bail as long as they met the initial criteria. It should be noted that the worst consequence of the uncertainty that comes with bail conditions are felt by young people. CYCJ's paper *Use and impact of bail and remand with children in Scotland* contains quotes from young people struggling with the uncertainty of their bail conditions. They speak about how they would prefer to be remanded because at least they would know there is an end date. Several young people on the Bail Support pilot expressed the same sentiment, describing how their entire life is on hold indefinitely and they would rather "go to jail" than be stuck on bail.

One final issue that arose regarding the running of the pilot was that includem did not provide any comms materials to the bail staff with information about the service being delivered. Materials were also not produced for young people. Without such materials, bail workers had to describe the support that includem would be provided from memory, and young people were not able to take information home with them to fully consider their decision to accept includem's support. Again, while this is a relatively minor oversight, it is something that could have been avoided had the pilot gone through a more rigorous design process, such as the Double Diamond process that later pilots followed.

Conducting research with young people living in crisis or highly chaotic environments necessitates a departure from traditional research methodologies towards more flexible, reactive, adaptable, and creative approaches. The unpredictable and often tumultuous nature of these young people's lives presents unique challenges that standard research methods are ill-equipped to address. One of the main advantages of conducting research as a children's charity that provides support services is the ability to offer immediate crisis support without needing third party intervention. This direct involvement allowed includem to respond swiftly to the urgent needs of young people, providing real-time interventions that other institutions typically cannot offer. Includem's integrated approach ensured that the research side of the pilot was not only

observational but actively supportive, addressing crises as they arise. For example, extending a young person's support beyond the 12-week period is not something other organisations are able to do due to funding restrictions, whereas the WFWF funding attached to the ADAPT project allowed for this level of flexibility. In terms of research ethics, having this level of flexibility means that young people are given intensive support packages with people they have built relationships, rather than being moved onto another organisation. The wellbeing of the young person can be prioritised over the predetermined timeframe of the research project. This ability to deliver immediate support enhances the relevance and impact of the research, as it is grounded in the practical realities of the participants' lives. This pilot, and other pilots in the ADAPT Project, have presented significant challenges to how research is conducted, research ethics, and participation. Given the scale of these challenges, a separate evaluation will be written to address these issues

Recommendations/Learning

What follows is a list of lessons learned during this pilot and recommendations on how to design and deliver a bail support pilot for this demographic in the future:

- Provide specific training for staff working with 18- to 25-year-olds to address the unique challenges and developmental needs of this age group.
- Further develop a dynamic risk assessment protocol that considers the living situations and potential risks associated with supporting this demographic.
- Improve the detail and accuracy of referral forms to ensure that workers have comprehensive information about a young person's history and needs.
- Increase the 12-week referral to at least 6-months to allow sufficient time for building meaningful relationships and addressing complex issues. Consider a flexible support duration based on individual needs.
- Advocate for the expansion of bail support programs to provide consistent, flexible, and person-centred support for young adults. Highlight the importance of such programs in reducing remand use and supporting young people in the community.
- Emphasise the need for research methodologies that are as flexible as the support provided. Traditional research methods may not adequately capture the experiences of young people living in crisis (as opposed to *having lived* in crisis), so adaptive and responsive research approaches are necessary.
- The importance of a person-centred approach was evident throughout the pilot. Tailoring support to the individual needs of young people, rather than applying a one-size-fits-all model, proved to be highly effective in engaging and supporting them.
- The pilot's success was largely due to the flexibility and persistence of includem workers. The ability to adapt to the young people's schedules and needs, and to maintain consistent contact, was crucial in building trust and providing effective support.
- Effective communication and collaboration between includem and the Bail Team were key to the pilot's success. Regular meetings and reliable communication ensured that both organisations could work together seamlessly to support young people.
- Traditional assessment tools like Crime-Pics II were not always appropriate for young people on bail, as they could feel interrogative and accusatory. The pilot highlighted the need for more suitable assessment tools that consider the young people's legal status and emotional state.
- Communication between the courts and Police Scotland needs to improve. Delays in communicating changes to bail conditions led to young people be arrested in error, which caused significant distress and upheaval.

Conclusion

The Glasgow Bail Support pilot has demonstrated significant potential in addressing the complex needs of young people on bail, particularly those aged 18 to 25. The pilot's person-centred approach, flexibility, and commitment to stickability have been crucial in providing effective support to this demographic. The findings highlight several key areas for improvement and offer valuable insights for future bail support programs. One of the most notable successes of the pilot was its ability to provide tailored support that met the unique needs of each young person. The use of the ABL toolkit, combined with the dedication of includem workers, allowed for a holistic approach to support. This approach not only addressed immediate needs but also helped young people work towards long-term goals. The pilot's emphasis on building trusting relationships and offering consistent support was particularly effective in engaging young people who had previously struggled with traditional support services.

However, there are several areas where improvements are needed. The training for staff working with 18- to 25-year-olds should be enhanced to better address the specific challenges and developmental needs of this age group. Additionally, while the current risk assessment protocols are dynamic, their adaptability must be further enhanced to consider the living conditions and potential risks faced by this demographic, particularly those living independently or in shared accommodations. The pilot also highlighted the importance of effective communication and collaboration between organisations. The strong partnership between includem and the Glasgow Sheriff Court Bail Team was a key factor in the pilot's success. Regular meetings and reliable communication ensured that both organisations could work together to provide the best possible support for young people. However, there is a need for more detailed and accurate referral forms to ensure that includem workers have comprehensive information about a young person's history and needs. A 12-week support service was deemed too short by all professionals involved in the pilot. Extending the referral length would allow for more meaningful relationships to be built and for more complex issues to be addressed. This would also provide young people with the stability and continuity of support they need to make lasting changes in their lives.

Externally, the pilot's findings support the expansion of bail support programs. Such programs are essential in reducing the use of remand and supporting young people in the community. The evaluation also emphasises the need for flexible research methodologies that can adapt to the unpredictable and chaotic lives of young people on bail. Traditional research methods may not capture the full extent of their experiences, so adaptive and responsive approaches are necessary. The Glasgow Bail Support pilot has shown that with the right support, young people on bail can make significant progress towards a better life. The recommendations provided in this evaluation aim to enhance the effectiveness of future bail support programs and ensure that they can deliver meaningful outcomes for young people. By addressing the identified areas for improvement and building on the successes of the pilot, future programs can provide even more effective support for this vulnerable demographic.

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