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Editorial Comment

The *Prison Service Journal* has a long and strong relationship with the Perrie lectures. We are delighted to be able to publish three of lectures from this year and also an interview with the Perrie Award winner.

This year the Perrie Lectures were drawn together under the title *Through care — who cares? Resettlement in the real world*. This is both a timely and a timeless issue. It is a timeless issue as prisons have for over a century had the formal aims of both punishing and reforming. Soon after this aim was established, the voluntary prisoner aid societies that helped those released from prison were brought together to form what is now the Probation Service. Although at times imprisonment looks and feels insular, it has always had an eye on what happens to prisoners after they leave through the gate.

Over recent years, and in the form of offender management and pathways to reducing reoffending, this has become a clearer focus for prisons and for the National Offender Management Service. It is now widely believed that addressing issues such as housing, employment and training on release help to reduce the risk of re-offending by individuals.

The contributors to this year's Perrie Lectures make some important and telling contributions to this discussion. Trevor Williams, the Director of Offender Management for the Eastern Region, and Beverley Thompson, Acting Chief Executive of Northamptonshire Probation Trust, are both experienced and respected practitioners. They both make an organisational case for focussing on reducing reoffending describing its importance in public and political expectations of what prisons achieve. Trevor Williams in particular focuses on some of the challenges and opportunities in developing services for offenders that are presented by marketisation of public services, the reduction in public spending and the notion of a 'rehabilitation revolution'. Beverley Thompson is also keen to highlight some of the barriers to achieving success including the stigmatisation of released prisoners. She tellingly poses the question that if prisons are serious about rehabilitation then should they be willing to employ ex-prisoners themselves?

Professor Shadd Maruna is a world renowned academic particularly known for his work on desistance, the process through which people stop offending. His work focuses on the issue of 'care' and what that means. He presents what he describes as a

'belief in redeemability'. This is not simply that prisoners themselves should believe that they can change, but that those around them and society more generally do not write them off but instead constantly present a belief in the idea that they can change. He provides fascinating examples from education that show the power of this positive approach in achieving changes in behaviour. He also describes how this creates a more cohesive and caring society and so has benefits for us all.

This edition also includes an interview with Stephen Shaw, who recently stood down as Prison and Probation Ombudsman and was awarded the Perrie Award this year. This award recognises the contribution he has made over three decades as Ombudsman and prior to that as Director of the Prison Reform Trust. In this interview he shares his reflections on his work and the changes that have taken place in prisons during that time.

This edition also includes a number of other articles. The opening article is a fascinating study of female drug mules by Dr. Jennifer Fleetwood. This examines the reasons why these women get involved in this crime. Although this work was conducted in South America, it will be relevant to anyone working in women's prisons in the UK. Three innovative activities are explored in further articles. Gail Jones and Kim Hindle describe their evaluation of an alcohol dependency treatment programme. This is a long overdue development and will be welcomed by practitioners. Dierdre O'Neill describes a radical approach using media and film not only as a 'purposeful activity' but as a means of raising political consciousness about how the media is used as a form of social control and how creativity and expression can be a form of resistance and empowerment for marginalised people. In an important study, Jacqui Saradjian, Naomi Murphy and Helen Casey share the evaluation data from a programme of assessment and intervention for dangerous prisoners with severe personality disorder. The final article by Professor Michael Ross discusses the stresses that staff experience working in the prison environment and approaches to managing this.

This edition provides a strong mix of thoughtful and stimulating contributions from academics and practitioners. It sets out some challenges that prisons face but also gives some sense of optimism about the innovation and imagination of those working in prisons.

Drug mules in the international cocaine trade: diversity and relative deprivation

Dr. Jennifer Fleetwood is a Lecturer in Criminology at the University of Kent.

Introduction

The film 'Maria Full of Grace'¹ follows a young Colombian girl, through her journey as a drugs mule. The film begins in the rose factory where Maria works. We see her rising early to work long hours in a menial job to support her family. It is clear that she (like so many of us) longs for a better life. This 'better life' is implicitly western and individualistic. After Maria quits her job she discovers she is pregnant. On her way to Bogotá (the capital) to find a job, she encounters a friend of a friend who offers her work as a mule. Her motivations are clear: to escape from poverty for herself and her family no matter how slim the chances of success.

These same stereotypical images of the drugs mule dominate popular media and politics. The research reported sought to look beyond the media image of drug mules to better understand what motivates men and women to work as drug mules. This topic is pertinent given recent policy interest in sentence reform for drug mules.² Although some good research has been done on drug mules (which is outlined in the following section), it has mainly focussed on women from developing nations. This is problematic given that recent research has noted a 'diversification in the social, national and ethnic composition of cocaine couriers, for example old men, entire families with children, young blonde students and European tourists'.³ The purpose of this research was to look at the motivations of a group of mules who are representative of this diversification. In order to do this, research was conducted in prisons in Ecuador. The men and women encountered were from diverse national, cultural, class and ethnic backgrounds. Some were of pensionable

age; others were young students who were under 20 when they were arrested. Some had drug habits, others were in employment. I also encountered several couples who were travelling together (although often one partner was unaware their partner was trafficking drugs). I also met two women who were unknowingly carrying drugs. Unfortunately there is not space to include their experiences here.

What is known about drug mules?

The practice of sending drugs concealed in a person's body (either in the stomach or other orifices), strapped to their body or packed into luggage was first noted in the 1970's.⁴ This practice almost certainly developed in response to increased border security. Research in the area broadly agrees that mules carry drugs which have been paid for by someone else across international borders. They may or may not receive material payment.⁵ Since the early 1980's knowledge about drug mules has come from two main sources: arrest data and interviews with drug mules themselves.

Contrary to the media stereotype, most mules are men. The largest research project analysed data about people arrested for drugs offences at Heathrow airport between 1991 and 1997.⁶ They found that 70 per cent were men and that the most typical method of concealment was in luggage. This data must be interpreted with care as it includes not only drug mules but also people carrying their own drugs (who are considered to be entrepreneurs rather than mules). Nonetheless, similar gender ratios can be encountered in arrest data internationally and in hospital admissions for treatment resulting from complications in swallowing capsules of cocaine.⁷ In the UK most mules come from developing world countries such as Colombia, Jamaica

1. Maria Full of Grace (dir. J. Maston Col/US 2005).
2. Sentencing Advisory Panel (2010). Advice to the sentencing guidelines council: Sentencing for Drug Offences. London, Sentencing Advisory Panel.
3. Zaitch, D. (2002). *Trafficking cocaine: Colombian drug entrepreneurs in the Netherlands*. The Hague; London, Kluwer Law International. P. 144.
4. For example, see Sabbag, R. (1999 [1976]). *Snowblind*. Edinburgh, Rebel Inc.
5. Fleetwood, J. (2010). Drug Trade. *Encyclopedia of women in today's world*. London, Sage.
6. Harper, R., L. G. C. Harper, et al. (2000). "The Role and Sentencing of Women in Drug Trafficking Crime." *Legal and Criminological Psychology* 7(1).
7. Albrecht, H.-J. (1996). Drug Couriers: The Response of the German Criminal Justice System. *Drug Couriers: A New Perspective*. P. Green. London, Quartet, Dorn, T., M. Ceelan, et al. (2008). *Prevalence of drug body packing in Amsterdam, the Netherlands*. Poster presented at the European Conference of Criminology, Edinburgh. Green, P., C. Mills, et al. (1994). "The Characteristics and Sentencing of Illegal Drug Importers." *British Journal of Criminology* 34(4): 479-486. Dorn, T., M. Ceelan, et al. (2008). *Prevalence of drug body packing in Amsterdam, the Netherlands*. Poster presented at the European Conference of Criminology, Edinburgh. Beer, S. A. d., G. Spiessens, et al. (2008). "Surgery for Body Packing in the Caribbean: A Retrospective Study of 70 Patients." *World Journal of Surgery* 28.

and Nigeria.⁸ This varies according to national context: for example a large portion of drug mules in Australia are from Thailand and Vietnam.⁹ Research in the USA finds a high portion of women mules are from Jamaica and South America.¹⁰ A significant portion of women mules are single parents. Research on Colombian women mules in prison in Europe found that 85 per cent were single parents.¹¹ This is also true of women mules from Jamaica imprisoned in the UK and the USA.¹²

To an extent, these demographics can be interpreted to explain the phenomenon of drug mules. The first research on the subject, conducted by Rosa del Olmo in Venezuela, concluded that economic crisis disproportionately affected women and contributed to their entry into the international cocaine trade as mules.¹³ This hypothesis has been largely borne out in research which asks mules about their motivations. Research with female Colombian mules found that many were motivated by financial concerns connected to women's role as the head of the household.¹⁴ Likewise, research with Jamaican mules found that most women were motivated by economic need.¹⁵ Writing twenty years after Rosa del Olmo, Julia Sudbury similarly concludes that neo-liberal economic globalisation has exacerbated developing world poverty and women continue to be disproportionately affected as the financial heads of the households.¹⁶

Penny Green conducted research with Nigerian men and women imprisoned in the UK. She concludes that for both: 'relative poverty, a sense of desperation and opportunity to rise above the grinding misery of economic hardship in the developing world all contribute to a rational explanation of the phenomenon'.¹⁷ Her research with British mules found that they were motivated by similar concerns as those mules from the developing world: debt, economic distress and (in the 6 cases of 130 female couriers which she presents) 'external pressure' from older, more powerful men.¹⁸ In addition she found

that six (of the 18 couriers she interviewed) were 'the very young who see it as part of an exciting lifestyle and/or a means to another better way of life'.¹⁹

Lastly, some research has highlighted the role of coercion and threat in motivating drug mules.²⁰ This claim remains contentious as it is extremely difficult for mules to prove that they were coerced. On the other hand, there is a widespread belief that mules may 'cry wolf' in the hope of a more lenient sentence but on the other hand mules may not speak to the authorities for fear of retribution.

In sum, existing research shows that deprivation is undoubtedly an important context in mules' motivations. However, since research has tended to focus only mules from the developing world, it is hardly surprising that they should cite poverty as a motive when they find themselves imprisoned in the developed world. Furthermore, to say that people commit crime because of poverty is somewhat simplistic: it does not explain why people offend at a particular time, why one type of crime is committed over another, or why more men than women are mules, if women are disproportionately affected by economic crisis. Lastly, existing research has mostly sidelined the possibility alternative or simultaneous motives for offending. Research on women drug dealers uncovered a much wider variety of motivations than resisting poverty such as autonomy, respect, gaining a sense of control over their lives, achieving respectability as well as enjoyment.²¹ Thus the purpose of this research was to re-examine the motives of a diverse group of mules and in particular to consider what the role of poverty might be.

Methodology and participants

Data for this research was collected through 15 months of ethnographic research in women's and men's prisons in Quito, Ecuador. The researcher spent 4-5 days a week in prison with convicted drug traffickers in order to

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8. Sudbury, J. (2005). 'Mules,' 'Yardies' and other folk devils: Mapping cross border imprisonment in Britain. *Global lockdown: race, gender, and the prison-industrial complex*. J. Sudbury. New York, N.Y. ; London, Routledge: xxviii, 323 p.Green (1994).
 9. Australian Bureau of Statistics (2010), *Prisoner Characteristics: Australia*, available online: <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Products/4517.0~2009~Chapter~Prisoner+characteristics,+Australia?OpenDocument#213023132718995353992130231327189950>
 10. Huling, T. (1995). "Women drug couriers: Sentencing reform needed for prisoners of war." *Criminal Justice* 9(15).
 11. Dorado, M.-C. (2005). Desventajas del castigo penal 'exclusivo' a las colombianas, mensajeras de drogas en Europa [Disadvantages of the 'exclusive' penal punishment of columbian drug messengers in Europe]. *Delitos y Fronteras: Mujeres extranjeras en prisión [Crimes and Borders: Foreign women in prison]*. M. T. Martín Palomo, M. J. Miranda López and C. Vega Solís. Madrid, Editorial Complutense.
 12. Sudbury (2005, see also Huling, T. (1995). "Women drug couriers: Sentencing reform needed for prisoners of war." *Criminal Justice* 9(15).
 13. Olmo, R. D. (1990). "The Economic-Crisis and the Criminalization of Latin-American Women." *Social Justice-a Journal of Crime Conflict and World Order* 17(2): 40-53.
 14. Dorado, *ibid*.
 15. Sudbury (2005).
 16. *Ibid*.
 17. Green, P. (1998). *Drugs, trafficking and criminal policy: the scapegoat strategy*. Winchester, Waterside Press.. p. 18.
 18. *Ibid*.
 19. *Ibid*, p.93.
 20. Sudbury (2005).
 21. Denton, B. (2001). *Dealing: Women in the Drug Economy*. Sydney, Australia, University of New South Wales Press.

learn about their experiences from their own perspective. Ecuador is situated geographically between Colombia and Peru where most of the world's cocaine is grown.²² Although very little cocaine is grown or processed in Ecuador, it is an important point of export to the rest of the globe.²³ This is reflected in the prison population: in the women's prison 70 per cent of inmates are convicted drug offenders; in the men's prison the figure is 28 per cent.²⁴ Inmates convicted of drug trafficking came from all over South and Latin America (but especially Colombia), North America, Europe, West Africa, the Middle East, West and Eastern Europe, Russia, China and South East Asia. I interviewed over 30 traffickers, of which 23 had worked as a mule at least once (9 men and 14 women).

Not much research has been done on drug mules: they are a hidden population and most mules will not get caught. Almost all research on drug mules has been done in prison and this project is no different. It is difficult to say how representative these respondents are, nonetheless research of this type is important as it 'does show what can and does exist'.²⁵ Finally, note that mules' ages and nationalities cannot be included as it would identify them.

Motivations for working as a drugs' mule

Mules were motivated by a broad range of circumstances, pressures and desires. The remainder of the paper examines these in detail. This research finds that respondents were motivated by a wide variety of circumstances and desires along a continuum from coercion to free choice.

Threat and coercion from traffickers

Previous research has found that some mules are recruited through violent threat.²⁶ Two respondents had been recruited through threat by people that they knew nonetheless threat was not a common experience of the mules I interviewed. Marina was threatened by her ex-partner and father of her daughter. He kidnapped her daughter and gave her an ultimatum:

He came to my house and told me you will travel for me to Ecuador and you bring me that

shit [cocaine] so that you will get your daughter back. If [you do] not, you will never see her alive... I can expect anything from him: when he is saying he wanted to kill her, I will believe it. For real. (Marina, European, employed).

Marina contacted the social services, however since her ex-partner was a legal guardian they could offer little assistance. She had experienced violence from him previously and saw no choice but to do what he asked.

Similarly, Howard was threatened by the brother of an old colleague. Howard worked in the music business in the 1970's and 80's and toured with Latin bands in Colombia and had encountered people on the

peripheries of the drugs trade. Twenty years later, Howard was working in Ecuador. He was approached with an offer of mule-work. He was asked several times; each time he refused the wage increased. After Howard refused to traffic drugs several times, his contact made an excuse to come to Ecuador where Howard was visiting. Once his contact arrived, he told Howard the 'material' was on its way. They fought. Shortly after, Howard's wife received threatening phone

calls. When the drugs arrived with packaged in a suitcase, his contact had a 9mm pistol tucked into the waistband of his trousers. Although Howard's contact made no explicit verbal threat, the presence of a pistol and threats to his wife, backed up with Howard's firsthand knowledge of the drugs industry made the threat plausible:

[My wife and I] weighed up the idea of going to the police but to me, the immediate image I got was of cocaine cowboys. And gunfire and... [in the 70's and 80's] we would have to perform at the cartel headquarters and I would see all the Tommy guns and machine guns and AK-47s and everybody armed to the teeth. So... that was my mindset. That's who I think they are. (Howard, North American, self employed).

Coercion and debt

Although Howard and Marina's cases are clear examples of direct interpersonal threat, coercion through

22. UNODC (2008). World Drug Report. Vienna, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

23. Rivera, V., Fredy (2005). Ecuador: Untangling the drug war. *Drugs and democracy in Latin America: the impact of U.S. policy*. C. Youngers and E. Rosin. Boulder, Colo. ; London, L. Rienner: xi, 414 p.

24. Nuñez, J. and C. Gallardo (2006). Una lectura cuantitativa del sistema de cárceles en Ecuador [A quantitative reading of the prison system in Ecuador]. Quito, Programa de estudios de la ciudad, FLACSO.

25. Denton, B. (2001). *Dealing: Women in the Drug Economy*. Sydney, Australia, University of New South Wales Press. P. 18.

26. Sudbury (2005).

debt was a more common experience. Graham was motivated to work as a mule through pressure to pay off debts to the drug traffickers who recruited him. Before working as a mule he received and sold packages of cocaine. His brother received the package, sold the drugs and spent the money. His contact demanded that the debt be paid off and asked that Graham's brother work as a mule to pay off the debts:

I wasn't forced to do it but my conscience forced me. It was either me or my brother would come down [to Ecuador] and I knew he could get killed. I made the choice that I had the better chance of returning. It was either that or seeing my nephew grow up without his father and his wife without him. I had less to risk. (Graham, North American, employed)

Graham describes how he was pressured not only by the debt, but also by his social obligations in relation to his family. Graham could have paid the debt off through selling his possessions but he decided to make the trip as it would also enable him to maintain the standard of living that he had built for himself and to have a small amount of money for the future.

Economic motives

Although a few mules worked under threat or coercion, most were motivated (at least in part) by the money that they would earn by working as a mule. This section looks at the diversity of economic motivations.

Several women mules cited providing for their family as the most important motivation, either in response to a pending crisis such as debts or as a generalised wish for their family to have better. Several respondents worked as a mule as a way to resolve pending financial crises. After losing her job and splitting up with her partner, Amanda was deep in debt which had serious consequences for her and her family:

I had to pay my rent in a week or the marshal was gonna come n padlock my door, I had nowhere to go. My mother was being evicted too so if I was gonna go live with my mum, she was gonna get kicked out also so... everybody would be in the doghouse. (Amanda, North American, unemployed).

When she agreed to work as a mule, she was paid \$2,000 in advance which she used to pay off part of her debts immediately.

Several women mules were motivated not by crises but by the opportunity to gain some improvement in the living conditions of themselves and their family:

I wanted to move, you know, I needed money and I was thinking of taking an opportunity just once to make some money, just once. I wanted to because I never did it before [...] I wanted to make for another house. I just wanted to move so that she (daughter) could have her own room. (Anika, European, full time carer).

For me, I'm not educated so like my dream was always that my children must be better than me... The first trip I got good money, I bought me a plot and I was thinking this is good cause like the money you make in 2 weeks, two months you make in 10 years. [...] It's a lot of money [...], it's a lot of money for a black woman, for a domestic worker to have that money.' (Angela, African, employed).

Although a few mules worked under threat or coercion, most were motivated . . . by the money that they would earn by working as a mule.

Furthermore, providing for children was an important aspect of positive self-identity as a parent. Marta was unemployed when she decided to work as a mule:

Being a mother costs money and it really hurts when you can't give them what they want. Before, in a way, yeah, I could buy her toys, not everything but like when I would get paid I'd buy her some clothes or whatever and she always had what she needed. [not being able to do that] I kind of felt helpless, insecure. (Marta, African, unemployed).

These different accounts show the different meanings of providing for the family. The above quotes indicate the social circumstances in which acquiring better for the family was meaningful: unemployment, or employment in low paid labour made getting something better for one's family particularly appealing. The mules above were from a diverse set of national and social circumstances. As such, it was not poverty but rather relative deprivation that was important.²⁷ Mules were not

27. Young, J. (1999). *The exclusive society : social exclusion, crime and difference in late modernity*. London, SAGE.

motivated by the first world 'dream' but rather to have what their neighbours, colleagues and friends had.

Men's economic motives were similar to women's although they were much less likely to be motivated by providing for their family (reflecting the fact that few were parents). Echoing the above accounts, men in this research generally saw working as a mule as an opportunity to improve their living circumstances. Frank was motivated to work as a mule by:

The usual reasons, short of cash, ill health, things that I needed to redecorate my council flat etc. etc... and somebody said 'Do you want to do this?' 'Yeah. Why not? Nothing to lose.' 'We'll pay you [\$10,000] a kilo'. (Frank, European, unemployed).

Frank was living on meagre state benefits before working as a mule. He was suffering from long term ill health which meant that he was in a situation of general, long term hardship which showed little sign of improving.²⁸ Although Frank was living in the developed world, working as a mule was a way to fulfil otherwise unattainable goals. Like the women above, he aspired to a fairly average standard of living linked to his local context.

Although mules' motives were mainly tied to local circumstances and ideals, these were also shaped by conditions of globalisation. Michael (a student in his early twenties) had been involved in overland drug trafficking within and across borders in Europe before working as a mule. He first got involved in the drugs market through the party scene at his University. He first became involved in drug smuggling as a way to 'maintain his style of life'. Michael's context is important: he grew up in an Eastern European country which was emerging from its communist past. He was influenced in part by the influx of young tourists, bringing western culture and ideals with them. Unlike his parents' generation, he enjoyed an active social life that centred on travelling internationally and partying. Working as a mule enabled him to maintain this style of life independent from his parents.

Non economic motives

Mules cited a number of reasons for working as a mule that were not solely about material gain. These were

rarely primary motivations but were part of a complex mix of needs and desires. Mules' motives were usually multiple: economic need could be coupled with excitement about travel; others hoped to pay off a debt and be able to build a better future. Furthermore, as the examples above also show motives were often formed in relation to others: this was especially so where mules cited love as an important motive.

Romantic love and partnership

Love was an important aspect of some female mules' motivation.²⁹ Manuela worked as a prostitute before she met her boyfriend. He became jealous about her working as a prostitute and suggested that she work as a mule so that they could settle down together. With the money she would earn, she could gain the traditional material trappings of a traditional family and respectable femininity:

I was getting older. I wanted a man and to get married and have a good family. To have a real job and a family. [...] I was happy. Thinking that I'd found the right man and I was believing in him. (Manuela, European)

Although mules' motives were mainly tied to local circumstances and ideals, these were also shaped by conditions of globalisation.

Although demonstrating love and commitment to her boyfriend were important motives, being loved is also tied up with Manuela's desire to have a 'normal' domestic arrangement. For her (as for many other women) being single was not an attractive proposition.³⁰ In contrast to the material realities of stigma and poverty which she had already experienced in an irregular and disreputable 'job', attaining a family and upholding the normal tenets of femininity were a way to symbolically and materially improve her social status and long term prospects.³¹ Furthermore, Manuela's desire for respectability echoes the accounts by women above who wanted to achieve a respectable form of motherhood (for example, that the child should have its own room).

An alternative reading of Manuela's experience is that she was manipulated by her boyfriend. Indeed, this is how Manuela interpreted her experience when I interviewed her in prison where she was serving an 8 year sentence. Nonetheless, Manuela also remembered how happy and excited she felt when he took her to the

28. Green (1991) p. 23.

29. See also Torres, A. (2008). *Drogas, cárcel y género en Ecuador: la experiencia de mujeres mulas [Drugs, prison and gender in Ecuador: the experience of women mules]*. Quito, Ecuador, FLACSO.

30. Fraser, H. (2005). "Women, love and intimacy 'gone wrong': Fire, wind and ice." *Affilia* 20(1): 10-20.p. 16.

31. Richie, B. (1996). *Compelled to crime : the gender entrapment of battered Black women*. New York, Routledge. P. 135.

airport. Manuela's experience demonstrates that the line between free choice and coercion is a very fine one.

Travel, excitement and a free holiday

In addition to the above motives, both women and men identified a number of fringe benefits that were an additional draw although not in themselves motivations. The prospect of travel was often met with excitement, particularly for those who had no passport or had never been abroad. This was felt strongly by Catalina. She grew up under communism and had never travelled before:

It was the first time when I felt like a proper tourist, like I'd seen on the TV. Like before I was thinking how can I? I don't have money and in my country it's really hard to leave. Before I thought only business people [could travel], I never thought about young people travelling. I felt cool; dressing like a tourist, visiting different countries, speaking different languages. (Catalina, European, employed).

These findings challenge the stereotype of the third world mule motivated by financial desperation.

Discussion

This research builds on what is known about drug mules' motives. Whereas previous studies conducted in the UK and USA have tended to focus on drug mules from the developing world, the diversity of respondents encountered appears to lend support for the thesis that the profile of drug mules is more varied than in previous decades. This diversity was reflected in mules' motives. There are many more stories and much more interpretations than can be described here and unfortunately any attempt to generalise inevitably irons out much of the complexity. Nonetheless, some common themes underpinned mules' motives.

This research found that both men and women may be threatened or coerced into working as a drugs mule. These were a minority however and many mules found themselves pressured into working by debts and circumstances of deprivation. However, some mules were

not pressured, but saw working as a mule as a way to improve their material circumstances in ways which were otherwise attainable.

Like previous research, this project found that many mules were motivated by economic concerns. Due to the diversity in the group of participants, this research has had to take a complex view of poverty and its localised meanings. The data presented above shows that whilst deprivation was an important context, listening to mules' own account demonstrates that it was their sense of relative deprivation that was important. Long term deprivation itself was sometimes a motive (note for example how Frank and Anika wanted to improve their living circumstances in ways that were otherwise unattainable).

Many respondents were prompted to work as a mule by a crisis situation. It was at these times (for example when Amanda lost her job and was facing eviction) that deprivation was strongly felt as they had no resources to draw on at times of crisis. Furthermore, deprivation was strongly felt in relation to social obligations to others, particularly children. Although women often oriented their motivations towards their family (and partners), men also made decisions on the basis of collective benefit. For most respondents, working as a mule was a way to relieve debts or temporarily improve their circumstances in the short term only rather than as a long term strategy. Furthermore, although financial and economic concerns were important, it was not always the only or the most important motive: romantic love, travel and excitement were added attractions, although they were rarely the sole motivation. Indeed, excitement and travel may be an important reason for choosing to work as a mule over other kinds of deviant or criminal ways to make ends meet (for example prostitution), although these cannot be explored in depth here.

These findings challenge the stereotype of the third world mule motivated by financial desperation. Current circumstances of economic crisis across the globe may result in a wider group of people working as drug mules than previously. This remains to be seen.

A Short-Term Evaluation of the RAPt Alcohol Dependency Treatment Programme

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Introduction

Alcohol use has a strong link with crime and has frequently been linked with violent crime¹. Jones and Hoffman² reported that almost 40 per cent of male offenders were found to be alcohol dependent and the majority were severely dependent, meeting six or more of the seven DSM-IV diagnostic criteria. These findings were supported by analysis of Offender Assessment System (OASys) assessments conducted between 2004 and 2005 which revealed that between 32-38 per cent of offenders had alcohol misuse problems, violent behaviour related to alcohol use and/or criminogenic needs related to alcohol misuse³.

In 2003 the Prime Minister's Strategy Unit estimated that there are 1.2 million incidents of alcohol related violence, 360,000 alcohol related incidents of domestic violence and 85,000 cases of drink-driving per annum⁴. The British Medical Association has estimated that either the offender or victim had consumed alcohol in 65 per cent of homicides, 75 per cent of stabbings, 70 per cent of assaults and half of all domestic assaults.

The financial cost of alcohol-related crime is similarly alarming. In 2003 the Prime Minister's Strategy Unit estimated cost for alcohol-related crime and anti-

social behaviour at £7.3 billion per year. By comparison, the amount that alcohol misuse costs the National Health Service was estimated at around £1.7 billion per year⁵.

Treatment which effectively enables alcohol-dependent offenders to cease alcohol misuse is therefore expected to reduce alcohol-related offending behaviour. However a lack of specialist treatment services accredited by CSAP means that opportunities for providing interventions within the criminal justice system, and thereby reducing re-offending, are often missed⁶. McSweeney et al.⁷ report that there were high levels of largely unmet alcohol-related need within National Probation Service caseloads at a national level.

McSweeney et al. recommends that there should be a significant increase in the use of evidence based alcohol interventions for offenders whose crimes are related to their use of alcohol. There is a body of evidence suggesting that participation in offending behaviour programmes leads to reduced rates of reconviction⁸. Martin and Player's reconviction analysis of men who had undertaken the RAPt Substance Dependency Treatment Programme (SDTP) found it to be highly effective: only 18 per cent of these graduates whose drug of choice was alcohol had re-offended within a year of release, a significantly lower figure than predicted through risk assessment⁹.

1. See for example Richardson, A. and T. Budd (2003). Alcohol, crime and disorder: a study of young adults. H. Office. London, Home Office, Walker, A., C. Kershaw, et al. (2006). Crime in England and Wales 2005/2006. Statistical Bulletin 12/06 London, Home Office, Lancet, The (1999) Alcohol and Violence. The Lancet, 336 (8725), 1223-1224, Alcohol Concern (2001), www.alcoholconcern.org.uk/, Day, A., Howells, K., Heseltine, K. and Casey, S. (2003) Alcohol use and negative affect in the offence cycle. Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health, 13, 45-58 and Zamble, E. and Quinsey, V.L. (2001) The Criminal Recidivism Process. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
2. Jones, G.Y. and Hoffman, N.G. (2006) Alcohol dependence: International policy implications for prison populations. Substance Abuse Treatment, Prevention and Policy, 26, 211-223.
3. Howard, P. D., Clark, D. A., et al. (2004). An evaluation of the Offender Assessment System (OASys) in three pilots, 1999-2001. H. Office. London, Home Office, Bonds, C. and R. Stanbury (2009). Data challenges and opportunities: Offenders in custody and the community. London, Ministry of Justice.
4. PMSU (2003). Interim Analytical Report. London, Prime Minister's Strategy Unit. Online: http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/media/cabinetoffice/strategy/assets/su%20interim_report2.pdf
5. Ibid.
6. Alcohol Concern (2000) Britain's Ruin: meeting government objectives via a national alcohol strategy. London, UK: Alcohol Concern.
7. McSweeney, T., Webster, R., Turnbull, P. J. and Duffy, M. (2009). Evidence-based practice? The National Probation Service's work with alcohol misusing offenders. Ministry of Justice Research Series, 13/09, Sep 09.
8. Hollin, C., Palmer, E., McGuire, J., Hounscome, J., Hatcher, R., Bilby, C. and Clark, C. (2004) Pathfinder programmes in the Probation Service: a retrospective analysis. Home Office Online Report 66/04. London: Home Office, Hollis, V. (2007) Reconviction Analysis of Programme Data using Interim Accredited Programmes Software (IAPS). London: RDS/NOMS, and McCulloch, A. and McMurran, M. (2008) 'Evaluation of a treatment programme for alcohol-related aggression', Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health, 18 (4): 224-231.
9. Martin, C., Player, E. and Liriano, S. (2003) Results of evaluations of the RAPt drug treatment programme. In Ramsay, M. (Ed.), Prisoners' Drug Use and Treatment: Seven Research Studies: Home Office Research Study 267. London, UK: Home Office.

The Alcohol Dependency Treatment Programme (ADTP) is a six-week, intensive offending behaviour programme aimed at medium — to high-risk male offenders with a history of alcohol dependence. The ADTP introduces coping and relapse-preventions skills, addresses skills deficits that underlie both alcohol dependence and violent offending; the programme actively links participants to ongoing sources of support such as Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), and guides participants in need of ongoing support on release into appropriate community programme. The ADTP was developed by the Rehabilitation for Addicted Prisoners Trust (RAPt) and accredited by the Correctional Service Accreditation Panel (CSAP) in 2008.

A twelve-step approach forms the basis of the ADTP because this approach has been shown to be particularly effective for offenders with severe levels of dependence and low levels of social support¹⁰. Additionally, the approach has been shown to increase the likelihood of successful engagement with Alcoholics Anonymous (AA)¹¹ Alcoholics Anonymous provides an ongoing, free, nationwide, readily available network of support which is independent of the criminal justice system, yet accessible both in prison and in the community. Such support is a crucial source of support, offering continuity between treatment, prison and the transition back into the community. It is also important for alcohol dependent offenders because it provides a network of sober friends outside of prison in a society which is otherwise widely accepting of alcohol use.

The source of data used in this paper comes from twelve consecutive cohorts of participants on the ADTP at HMP Bullingdon between April 2007 and January 2009. There were a total of 134 participants during this period; 107 graduated and 27 were de-selected. Despite the small sample size, the findings are encouraging: A comparison of pre- and post-treatment psychometric scores indicates the programme produces significant changes across a range of dynamic risk factors for re-offending. Participants' post-treatment feedback also indicates the programme is effective in linking offenders to peer and professional support and increasing the likelihood of affiliation with the fellowship of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA).

Method

Participant Selection

All applicants undergo a Comprehensive Substance Misuse Assessment (CSMA) prior to being

assessed further for the ADTP. This includes questionnaires covering the offender's drug and alcohol history, social support, history of mental health problems and other treatment-related needs. Applicants' eligibility for the ADTP is then assessed according to the following criteria:

- Medium-high risk of re-offending
- A history of alcohol dependence
- Alcohol dependence as a significant risk factor for re-offending

Risk of re-offending is assessed through the OASys assessment where it is operational within the establishment. Alternatively, the sentence planning process using the sentence planning risk predictor will be used.

History of alcohol dependence is assessed using RAPt's Substance Dependence Assessment and the CSMA. The RAPt Substance Dependence Assessment evaluates whether an offender meets DSM-IV-TR criteria for alcohol dependence. The CSMA provides more general information, through open-ended questions, about the offender's use of alcohol.

Where someone has been assessed as meeting DSM-IV criteria for alcohol dependence, their dependence will be assumed to be a significant risk factor for re-offending even if it was not a factor in any of their previous crimes. However, applicants with a clear history of alcohol-related offending are given priority.

A range of measures are used to assess participants before they begin treatment:

- Prison and Probation Offender Assessment System (OASys)
- CARAT's Comprehensive Substance Misuse Assessment (CSMA)
- The RAPt Assessment and Mental Health Screen (RAPt Assessment)
 - Part One: Participant Information (Demographic information, offending history and drug use history)
 - Part Two: Substance Dependence Assessment
 - Part Three: Mental Health Screen
- University of Rhode Island Change Assessment (URICA) — Administered pre- and post-treatment
- Alcohol Taking Confidence Questionnaire (ATCQ) — Administered pre- and post-treatment
- Drug Taking Confidence Questionnaire (DTCQ) — Administered pre- and post-treatment

10. Project MATCH Research Group (1997) Matching alcoholism treatments to client heterogeneity: Project MATCH post-treatment outcomes. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 58, 7-29.

11. For example see Fiorentine, R. and Hillhouse, M.P. (2000) Drug treatment and 12-step program participation: The additive effects of integrated recovery activities. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 18, 65-74 and Kelly, J.F. (2003) Self-help for substance-use disorders: History, effectiveness, knowledge gaps, and research opportunities. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 23, 639-663.

- ❑ Social Problem Solving Skills Inventory—Revised (SPSI-R) — Administered pre- and post-treatment
- ❑ Crime-Pics II — Administered pre- and post-treatment

RAPt Assessment and Mental Health Screen

The RAPt Assessment and Mental Health Screen was developed by RAPt and is based on DSM-IV-TR criteria for Alcohol Dependence and a range of other Axis I and Axis II disorders. It is designed to assess whether an offender meets DSM-IV criteria for alcohol dependence. The incorporated mental health screen is designed to screen offenders for symptoms of depression, anxiety, mania, psychosis, obsessive/compulsive disorders, eating disorders, post-traumatic stress disorder and personality disorders and assess whether offenders have any history of mental health problems, including self-harm and suicide. This latter section is not intended as a diagnostic tool but simply as an aid to highlight potential mental health symptoms and needs. It is administered as part of the ADTP selection process and before admission to the programme.

Mental health difficulties are known to be prevalent in prisoners and to impact on treatment engagement. There is evidence to suggest that the active treatment of co-morbid mental health problems may improve substance misuse outcomes¹². This has important implications for ADTP participants who maintain abstinence but whose relapse risk is high due to inadequately treated mental health needs. RAPt staff work closely with Mental Health in-reach teams to support participants with mental health needs.

Pre- and Post-Treatment Psychometrics

A number of the psychometric measures administered at the pre-treatment stage are re-administered on completion. As well as helping to evaluate the programme's overall impact on the underlying factors targeted, changes in pre- and post-treatment scores also help inform the throughcare process by providing a fuller picture of each individual's clinical needs on discharge. The questionnaires re-administered on completion are: URICA, ATCQ, DTCQ,

SPSI-R, and Crime-Pics II As with pre-treatment assessment data, the data from psychometrics collected on completion are also recorded in individuals' ADTP files and post-programme reports.

University of Rhode Island Change Assessment (URICA)

The URICA is administered to participants on the first day of the ADTP and then re-administered on the last day. It is used to measure participants' level of commitment to achieving sobriety and effecting change in their lives generally. The measure uses the 'cycle of change' concept to assess readiness. Participants with low scores fall into the 'pre-contemplation' or 'contemplation' stages while more motivated participants' scores should place them in the 'action' and 'maintenance' phases.

Alcohol Taking Confidence Questionnaire (ATCQ)

The ATCQ measures a person's confidence in their ability to resist drinking alcohol in response to a range of different recognised 'risk' circumstances — unpleasant emotions, physical discomfort, conflict with others, pleasant times with others, pleasant emotions, urges/cravings to use, and social pressure to use. It also contains questions relating to the desire

on the part of the offender to 'test' their ability to consume alcohol in a controlled fashion and resist social and other pressures to drink.

Social Problem Solving Skills Inventory — Revised (SPSI-R)

The SPSI-R is administered to participants on the first day of the ADTP and then re-administered on the last day. The SPSI-R is designed to measure problem solving skills and deficits. A positive impact on this factor would be expected to be reflected in positive changes in participants' scores on this measure. It consists of 25 items, which make up five sub-scales:

- ❑ Positive problem orientation
- ❑ Negative problem orientation
- ❑ Rational problem solving
- ❑ Impulsive / careless style
- ❑ Avoidance style

Mental health difficulties are known to be prevalent in prisoners and to impact on treatment engagement.

12. Charney, D. A., Paraherakis, A. M. & Gill, K. J. (2001) Integrated treatment of comorbid depression and substance use disorders. *Journal of Clinical Psychiatry*, 62, 672–677, Hesse, M. (2004) Achieving abstinence by treating depression in the presence of substance-use disorders. *Addictive Behaviors*, 29, 1137–1141, and Watkins, K. E., Paddock, S. M., Zhang, L., et al. (2006) Improving care for depression in patients with comorbid substance misuse. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 163, 125–132.

Crime-Pics II

Crime-Pics II is designed to measure changes in offenders' attitudes to offending. It is administered before and after participation in the ADTP in order to evaluate the extent of the programme's impact on 'dysfunctional or anti-social attitudes, cognitions and beliefs related to re-offending,' 'strong ties to and identification with, anti-social/criminal models,' 'weak ties to, and lack of identification with, pro-social/anti-criminal models' and 'weak commitment to avoiding re-offending.' Positive changes in these factors are expected to be reflected in participants' scores on this psychometric measure.

Limitations of Psychometric Assessments

The psychometric assessments detailed above do not measure all of the factors targeted by the programme (it does not include, for example, a measure of 'social support systems for tackling drug/alcohol use'). Despite their limitations, these psychometric assessments have been selected based on their quality and established usefulness as indicators of change in factors which are inevitably difficult to quantify. It is thus possible to conclude that 'positive' changes in participants' scores would suggest that the ADTP has a positive impact on several of the key factors it targets.

Participant Feedback and Focal Counsellor Assessments

As a twelve-step organisation with more than 50 per cent of staff in recovery from addiction, RAPt has always recognised the importance of programme participants' perspectives. Whether they are de-selected, choose to leave treatment or graduate, all participants are asked to complete a Participant Feedback Questionnaire. These ask participants to rate various aspects of treatment and their subjective perceptions of personal change using a five-point Likert Scale. Participant feedback forms are administered on treatment completion. Participants who are de-selected are also asked, but not compelled, to complete the forms.

Results

Demographic Profile

The mean age for all participants was 29.2 (Min: 21, Max 55). The ethnic mix on the programme and the ethnic mix of the prison was undertaken and indicated that the programme participants reflected well the ethnic mix of the prison and that no ethnic group was under-represented. Participants' age and ethnicity were not related to treatment completion.

Offending Profile

Half of ADTP participants' current main offences were violent offences (murder, violence, violent

robbery). A further 27.7 per cent had committed acquisitive main offences (robbery, theft, fraud or burglary). 14.3 per cent were serving sentences for drug-related offences and the remaining 8 per cent for other crimes.

Alcohol Dependence

ADTP participants are assessed against the seven core DSM-IV-TR criteria for alcohol dependence. Those who do not meet any criteria are not considered dependent and are therefore not eligible for the programme. Those meeting 1-3* criteria are considered to have low level dependence; those who meet 4-5* criteria are considered to have a medium level of dependence and those who meet 6-7* criteria are considered highly dependent (and by necessity meet at least one criteria of physical dependence). The programme is intended for those with medium to high levels of dependence.

61.2 per cent of participants were highly dependent. 29.8 per cent of participants had a medium level of alcohol dependence. Just 9 per cent of participants had only low level dependence. Participants reported an average of 8.7 years of problematic alcohol use prior to treatment

Mental Health Screen

Participants on the ADTP reported high rates of insomnia, self-harm and past suicide attempts. Graduates and deselected participants were equally as likely to have self harmed (24.3 per cent of graduates, 24.0 per cent of deselected participants).

Over 50 per cent of participants had been treated for a mental health disorder prior to engagement with the programme, the most frequently reported disorder was Depression followed by Anxiety and Panic Attacks.

Results:

Pre- and Post-Psychometric Questionnaire Results

Alcohol Taking Confidence Questionnaire (ATCQ)

Participants' confidence in their abilities to remain sober across high-risk situations was measured with the Alcohol Taking Confidence Questionnaire (ATCQ). The ATCQ is a psychometric measure of self-efficacy with regard to alcohol use.

Improvements in ATCQ scores after treatment

Graduates' mean ATCQ scores increased from 50.3 per cent pre-treatment to 76.0 per cent post-treatment. This increase is highly significant and indicated that participants who engage with the programme are more confident in their ability to remain sober post-treatment

Interestingly, 12.1 per cent of graduates showed reductions in confidence; the majority of these

(including all those with decreases greater than 15) had reported unusually high pre-treatment levels of confidence (75-100). In these cases (high pre-treatment scores), it is conceivable that lower post-treatment confidence reflects participants gaining more realistic views of alcoholism and greater awareness of their own personally relevant risk factors.

The Social Problem Solving Inventory Revised (SPSI-R)

The Social Problem Solving Inventory Revised (SPSI-R) is a questionnaire designed to assess problem solving skills. Comparison of pre- and post-treatment SPSI-R scores suggested substantial improvements among graduates; particularly for positive problem solving orientations and rational problem solving. It was found that most participants' SPSI-R total scores improved, some quite dramatically. Graduates' mean SPSI-R total scores increased from 90.1 pre-treatment to 100.6 post-treatment. This increase is highly significant. Deselected participants' mean SPSI-R total scores increased from 86.6 pre-treatment to 94.6 post-treatment. While this is not statistically significant it does indicate that all participants increased their Social Problem Solving skills even if they did not successfully complete treatment.

Crime-Pics II

Crime-Pics II is a questionnaire designed to assess dysfunctional or anti-social attitudes; cognitions and beliefs related to re-offending; victim awareness and commitment to avoiding re-offending. Participants are assessed before treatment and on completion. Attitudes are assessed on three dimensions: G-

General Attitude to Offending, V- Victim Hurt Denial and A- Anticipation of Re-Offending. Decreases in post-treatment scores indicate positive changes:

A low G score (Min 7, Max 35) indicates a negative general attitude to offending.

A low V score (Min 3, Max 15) indicates a high level of victim hurt awareness.

A low A score (Min 10, Max 50) indicates a strong resolve not to offend again.

Table 1, below, presents a summary of participants' pre- and post-treatment Crime Pics II scores on each of the dimensions.

It was found that the majority of participants' pre- and post-treatment scores showed significant improvements in their general attitudes to offending and anticipation of re-offending.

It was found that the majority of participants' pre- and post-treatment scores showed significant improvements in their general attitudes to offending and anticipation of re-offending. This suggests that after treatment most participants felt more strongly that offending was not an acceptable way of life for them.

Graduates' mean G scores decreased from 17.3 pre-treatment to 15.6 post-treatment (Representing a positive change in attitude). This decrease is highly significant.

Improvements in Victim Hurt Denial (V) scores were less clear. While the post-treatment mean score was slightly lower (mean change = -0.4417), the pre-treatment mean score was already low (the mean pre-treatment V score was 5.15, the minimum score on this dimension is 3 and the maximum is 15) indicating that many participants already had high levels of victim awareness. This may be why most participants' scores remained largely unchanged. It was found that there was no statistically significant change between the mean pre- and post-treatment V scores for either graduates or de-selected participants.

**Table 1:
Summary of pre- and post-treatment Crime-Pics II scores**

	PRE General Attitude to Offending (G)	POST General Attitude to Offending (G)	PRE Victim Hurt Denial (V)	POST Victim Hurt Denia (V)	PRE Anticipation of Re-Offendingl (A)	POST Anticipation of Re-Offending (A)
N	134	120	134	120	134	120
Minimum	7	7	3	3	10	10
Maximum	35	31	15	15	44	41
Mean	17.31	15.66	5.15	4.73	23.34	19.68

Graduates' mean A scores decreased from 23.7 pre-treatment to 19.4 post-treatment (Representing a decreased anticipation of re-offending). This decrease is highly significant

Participants' post-treatment feedback

Post-treatment feedback using a 5-point Likert scale revealed that 37.5 per cent of graduates rated their risk of relapse in the next year as 'Very low' and the same proportion (37.5 per cent) rated their risk as 'Low'. 21.9 per cent rated their risk as 'Medium.' Only 3.1 per cent of graduates rated their risk as 'High' and none of the graduates considered their risk 'Very high.' These responses fit well with the high levels of confidence found in post-treatment Alcohol Taking Confidence scores.

Participants' post-treatment feedback provides an encouraging indication that the ADTP is effectively linking participants to peer and professional support and leading to affiliation with AA, 81 per cent of participants rated their level of support for staying sober in prison as 'High' or 'Very High' and 75.0 per cent rated their community support similarly. In addition, post-treatment feedback from graduates indicated high levels of perceived support with regard to avoiding re-offending post-release. The majority of participants also reported high levels of commitment to attending twelve-step AA meetings indicating that one of the chief objectives of the ADTP's programme to encourage AA affiliation is met effectively. ADTP counsellors report the majority of graduates who remain in custody do continue to attend AA meetings and outside speaker meetings, suggesting that the ratings reflect actual levels of affiliation.

Discussion

In February, 2010 HM Inspectorate of Prisons produced a short thematic review of Alcohol services in prisons. Their report highlights the gaps that currently exist between the needs of prisoners with alcohol problems and the services available in prisons to meet those needs. Their report suggests that nearly one in five prisoners have an alcohol problem, and that among the young offender population this rises to 30 per cent.

Women are also highlighted in their report as presenting with a need for alcohol services; they suggest that around 29 per cent would benefit from an alcohol intervention..

While there is an acknowledge need to address alcohol related offending criminal justice agencies have traditionally focused their attention on drug related crime. In the United Kingdom we have developed National Strategies supported by significant levels of funding to address the problems of illicit drug use — however, there remains a conspicuous absence of funding to address the social and economic consequences of alcohol related crime.

The Mental Health Screen used as part of the assessment process indicated that alcohol dependent prisoners are likely to present with a range of mental health problems. In addition, they are likely to have housing and throughcare needs that if left unaddressed are likely to impact on the offenders's risk of reoffending on release. Many ADTP participants come into treatment with low levels of social support. Participants' post-treatment feedback provides an encouraging indication that the ADTP is effectively linking participants to peer and professional support and leading to affiliation with AA. The results presented in this paper support

Their report highlights the gaps that currently exist between the needs of prisoners with alcohol problems and the services available in prisons to meet those needs.

the notion that the use of evidence based intervention with alcohol dependent offenders can significantly reduce this risk.

In response to the Prime Minister's Alcohol Harm Reduction Strategy the Prison Service published a strategy in 2004 to support the new emphasis on addressing alcohol related crime. The Prison Service's strategy states that it will increase provision where resources are available — however, the opportunity to increase alcohol provision will remain severely restricted until a greater proportion of the available resources are allocated to the provision of alcohol services. NOMS commissioners, and the Reducing Re-offending Programmes Group, have recognised this challenge, and are trying to increase the availability of resources to develop services to alcohol dependent offenders. This process is welcome, particularly as it is accompanied by the development of accredited programmes for this target group of offenders in prison and in the community, that have proven positive results.

Prison, Education and Film

Deirdre O'Neill is the co-ordinator of Inside Film and is currently a PhD student at Ulster University.

The *Inside Film* Project has so far run twice once in HMP Wandsworth and once in HMP Rochester Young Offenders Institution. The aim of the project is to act as a counter hegemonic intervention utilizing popular culture within a particular strand of the media (film) as a vehicle to develop a language that is analytical and adequate to understanding the social determinants that affect all our lives¹ but whose impact and consequences vary depending upon the social class to which we belong to. It is the possibility of putting this understanding and this language into practice that has the potential to lead to a transformation in personal consciousness and this transformation in personal consciousness creates the possibility of a critical interaction with the social world.

This paper details the work of the project and considers the ways in which film can be used within prison education as a means of engaging people serving prison sentences in ways that more traditional subjects are unable to do. It also presents some ideas concerning a class specific education that acknowledges the majority of prisoners are working class and therefore their experience of formal education is one of alienation² from a system constructed for the benefit of the middle classes in which the odds are stacked against them succeeding.³

The *Inside Film* project enables the prisoners taking part in the course to make their own films this is achieved by running practical workshops where they learn to use a film camera and to edit their films. Before these practical sessions, the first six weeks or so of the course explores the theoretical and historical aspects of film and filmmaking. It is our contention that without this grounding the students taking part in the project uncritically mimic the established filmic practices they are familiar with from watching mainstream movies and television. This insistence on the theoretical and historical is not a sterile educational requirement but a

recognition that we exist in a world where we are constantly bombarded with media images and that in order to make sense of these images and the purposes they serve, we need to be able to engage critically with them.⁴ After the theoretical sessions and before filming begins the students take part in ideas sessions where they discuss (and argue about) the kind of film they would like to make, what the subject matter will be and what form the film will take. These sessions have been lively and loud as by this point the students have all begun to develop ideas about how they want their films to look. For some of the students these ideas will have been influenced by the preceding theoretical sessions where they were exposed to the kind of filmmaking that they might not generally have the opportunity to view.⁵ It is interesting to witness in the discussions that take place during these sessions (which are only a few weeks into the course) a recognition that the mainstream dominant film product is not the only option available, this consideration of other possibilities takes place not only at the level of form but also in relation to representations of gender, class and race.

This suggests a cognitive shift on the part of the students towards areas not previously explored. The willingness of the students to explore these other areas indicates that it is not a reluctance on the part of the students that has prevented an engagement with alternative forms of filmmaking but evidence of the restricted choices available in the area of cultural resources. Of course at this point the cognitive shift relates to the specific area of film but I would argue this shift produces the potential for alternatives to hegemonic modes of thinking to be generalised to other areas.

When a decision has been made about what kind of film they would like to make the students write the scripts, storyboard their films and cast them. After which they act in, direct, shoot and edit their films. The postproduction process also allows for adding music, sound effects and special effects. All through this

1. O'Neill, D. & Wayne, M. (2008) *Film as a Radical Pedagogic Tool in Film International* vol. 5, no. 5, pp.10-16.
2. For Karl Marx the concept of alienation refers to the ways in which society often feels as though it is an alien force working against the needs of those living and working in that society. This is particularly true for the working classes but the bourgeois class is also distorted by the constant push for profits at the expense of all else. In education alienation results in the estrangement of the working class person from the processes of knowledge acquisition.
3. Benson, L. (1978) *Proletarians and Parties*, London: Tavistock p.73.
4. O'Neill & Wayne op.cit.
5. To take just one example — one of the theory sessions is devoted to a film making practice known as Third Cinema — a low budget, politically committed cinema that grew out of the anti colonial struggles taking place across South America and Africa in the 1960s and 70s (see Wayne, M. (2001) *Political Film: The Dialectics of Third Cinema* London: Pluto Press) One of the most interesting films to have been produced by the students is a film very heavily influenced by the filmmaking practices and strategies of Third Cinema *WHO AM I?* In this documentary the students make connections between personal identity, national identity and international violence in an unconventional and thought provoking way.

process the students are exposed to alternatives that differ from the mainstream dominant filmmaking strategies consequently there is a need to engage with these alternatives and to think about which ones serves best the film they wish to make.

The insistence on the theoretical component of the course presents us with one of the dialectical tensions inherent in the project. We accept as valuable the popular culture that the prisoners enjoy and recognise that in however a distorted form this popular culture does deal with the very real needs, desires and contradictions existing within capitalism at the present moment and therefore demands to be engaged with in a serious way. But we are at the same time offering the students alternative methods of engaging and processing that culture in order to reject the way in which that culture positions them. It is by challenging the dominant worldview and the normative power of dominant representations that the potential to transform the way in which they view the world and by extension the way in which they act in the world comes into being. This melding of theory and practice — this praxis — creates a space between the established and the possible in which those taking part in the project can develop (a limited) personal agency and it is the *practice* of agency which the project works to foster. It is through praxis that we are able to combine the way we live our lives with the ability to reflect upon on why we live them in the way that we do.

It is this combination of what Gramsci called 'being' and 'thinking' that creates the possibility for both social and personal agency.⁶ By engaging critically with their lives not just as individuals but as part of a wider society, by reflecting on their experiences in that society, by considering alternatives to their present mode of being in the world, the students can begin to act upon the world in ways that can bring about change.

Most of the prisoners who have taken part in the *Inside Film* project already have an extensive knowledge

of film language and are familiar with filmic conventions (because they spend so much of their time watching films). They arrive on the course with a shared knowledge of film, of the codes and conventions that are in place to represent prisoners, the working classes, different races, and different genders, and the ways in which mainstream films are edited, lit and scored (even if these are not the terms they would use to articulate this knowledge) Like all of us they have internalised

many of the values and attitudes that are presented through the medium of mainstream films, TV and other media outlets. It is these values and attitudes that we attempt to analyse and to deconstruct emphasising the importance of questioning whose values we are being asked to accept when we watch an 'entertainment' film, what and whose purpose do those values serves, what kind of lifestyle is being given legitimacy and whose social reality is being denigrated or ignored?

A radical pedagogy of film is not just a matter of the prisoners producing films that deal with the politics of working class life in a more *authentic* way, reworking the inherited conventions of the dominant culture although of course that is exactly what these films do (I am here collapsing the categories of prisoner and working classes—because I think it is important to acknowledge that the vast majority of prisoners are working class and that the reasons they

find themselves in prison is because of their responses to working class life in a capitalist society). It is also a question of challenging the values and ideological practices of a capitalist society and about creating spaces in which to achieve this aim this means there must be an attempt to construct a geographical space within the confines of the prison, a space differentiated from the usual education provision and a cognitive space that is able to consider different perspectives. Within these spaces the prisoners can create their own representations of their own lives, provide evidence of their daily experiences both inside and outside of the prison and thereby challenge

By engaging critically with their lives not just as individuals but as part of a wider society, by reflecting on their experiences in that society, by considering alternatives to their present mode of being in the world, the students can begin to act upon the world in ways that can bring about change.

6. Gramsci, A. (1971) *Selections From the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, edited and translated by Quinton Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith London: Lawrence and Wishart pp323- 324.

assumptions of working class people, working class life and of course prisoners.

This cannot be achieved through films made *about* the working class and prisoners that are mediated by the life experiences and assumptions of middle class professionals who make films to be shown on the art house / competition circuit. It can only be done by creating these spaces in which the working class person can claim an agency that has to a greater or lesser degree been denied them most of their lives. This is not an idealistic attempt to claim making a film about personal experiences is going to change everything, but the pedagogic value of taking popular culture seriously and creating spaces for the prisoners to access their own experiences lies in the possibility of producing complex representations with the power to reverse homogenising representations of the working classes. It is also concerned with creating cultural artefacts that can be owned and in the process those taking part can move towards being subjects rather than objects.

Access to the means of representation is denied the working classes in general but in particular the section of the working class that make up the prison population where those inside the prison are defined by the crime they have committed. Their lives are narrated by others, their actions decontextualised to fit into categories of crime and sentencing. They are not in a position to, neither do they have the power to, directly challenge the ways in which they are constructed by those who have that power: filmmakers, politicians, educators, journalists, the legal system. All of these groups represent the working classes in ways that share many assumptions about working class life and working class people and which recreate the hierarchal norms that allow prisoners to be categorised and classified by the middle class expert. But the way in which life is actually lived and experienced by the prisoners might bear little resemblance to these representations.

Within the mainstream media working class life is mostly represented as lacking in any cultural capital, the

film *Billy Elliot* (Stephen Daldry 2000) being a significant example —the only way for Billy to have a good life, to succeed, to be happy is to move away from his working class community and become a... ballet dancer. Other mainstream films such as *My Fair Lady* (George Cukor 1974) or *Pretty Woman* (Gary Marshall 1990) are also premised on the notion that to be successful, to be valued is to be middle class.⁷ This construction of working class culture as lacking, as an obstruction to fulfilment and a better life functions not only as an attack on working class individuals who must eventually accept that their lives are nasty, brutish and chaotic—which they very well might be—and choose to take flight from those lives, leaving behind the people who they

have grown up with, lived with, experienced their lives with —this attack encompasses the working classes as a whole and constructs them as a 'threat to all respectability, a danger to others and a burden on the nation'⁸ This discourse has become entrenched within the institutions of politics, the media and education.⁹ Of course it is imperative that the people surrounding the person who has the means to escape also recognises this, so in *Billy Elliot* his father and brother are brought to see the error of their ways (trying to keep Billy in the community in

which they live and which has been destroyed by the policies of the Thatcher government) and must sacrifice Billy and themselves for the sake of his own good which of course means leaving behind the old industrialised north and making a life for himself in the modern metropolis.

As Skeggs points out this means that any engagement with the structures that create inequalities can be avoided while these representations shift the blame for educational failure and crime onto the culture of the working classes.¹⁰ I would go further. What these representations also do is to deny the possibility of a collective solution to working class deprivation and hardship —the protagonists of these films, through hard work, good luck, or in the case of the working class woman, good looks 'escape' the working classes.¹¹ Of course the other requirement for their escape is

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7. Skeggs, B. (2004) *Class, Self, Culture* Abingdon: Routledge p99.

8. Ibid p.80.

9. This has become apparent within the present discourse of the Conservative Liberal Democratic coalition government in order to justify the public service cuts that are being implemented.

10. Skeggs op.cit p.87.

11. Of course what these films are incapable of doing is dealing with the complexities of moving up the social ladder — just getting a better job/an education and the advantages those things bring in our society does not mean that it is possible to leave behind the class one originated from.

complete subservience to the demands of a capitalist system. These uplifting stories of one life being improved and lived in luxury and comfort leaves unanswered the question of all those other hard working people who are left behind to suffer the indignities, deprivations and inequalities of much working class life.

This negation and denigration of working class culture is of course not only apparent in the symbolic realm of representation, it also functions on a material level in the lived experiences of the working class life. One of the places where it is most apparent is in the education system where kids from backgrounds where Shakespeare and Literature are not valued are set up to fail in a system where the acquisition of an understanding of these cultural forms is considered to be the highest of educational achievements. Therefore the formation of working class consciousness and the positioning of working class children take place in institutions where their lives and experiences have at best no value and at worst are completely rejected. Understandably for most working class children their experience of education is one of alienation as Diane Reay puts it:

*The educational system is rarely about positive affirmation for the working classes. They are a far greater risk of losing rather than finding themselves, of both being unable to construct a successful. Learner identity and feeling that their working class roots and sense of self have no value in a context where working class culture and identity is constructed as a hindrance to academic achievement.*¹²

By the time the working class person arrives in the education department of a prison the idea that education can be rewarding, interesting or worthwhile has been thoroughly extinguished.

Historically one of the ways that the working class has often been represented is as a social problem and

this has become more pronounced over the last 30 years: with the rolling back of the welfare state and the ravages of neo liberalism talking its toll working class poverty and deprivation have become increasingly criminalised. While at the same time crimes committed by the middle classes are obfuscated or ignored as Joe Simms has pointed out

*The constant barrage of publicity around benefit fraud compared to the ongoing silence around middle class fraud and tax evasion remains the classic example of how the crime problem is ideologically constructed by the majority of politicians, media commentators and state servants.*¹³

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Within this formulation of the working classes as social problem (rather than as victims of the neo liberal pursuit of profits) representations of the working class have become increasingly fixed and static leaving very little room to manoeuvre in contrast to the middle classes who are represented as mobile both geographically and intellectually. The working classes have become increasingly fixed firmly within a limited number of spaces — often the sink estate or the streets, in the case of

working class youth and of course the prison.¹⁴ This is particularly true of representations of the working classes by both fictional and documentary filmmakers and journalists, very few of whom are from the working classes. Consequently their representations of the working classes cannot but fail to be inaccurate. This limited expression of working class life I would argue is because those representing the working class often have no understanding and crucially no experience of working class life. But it is the images of working class life and of crime produced by people with no experience of that kind of life that are circulated by the media and become the dominant decontextualised images with which people associate the working classes.

12. Reay, D. (2009) *Making Sense of White Working Class Underachievement in Sveinsson, K. (ed) Who Cares about the White Working Class?* Runnymede Trust p.25.

13. Sim, J. http://www.alternatives2prison.uk.com/p_New_Labours_Law_and_Order_Crusade.ikml (Accessed 21.06.10) in the same article he also points out that corporate fraud and VAT fraud cost the UK billions of pounds each year in lost revenue.

14. For a wider discussion of the issue of mobility and class see Skeggs op.cit p.55-60.

There are various outlets for these images to circulate and become fixed in the popular imagination. Among them is the reporting of crime by the mainstream TV news programmes, the various generic crime series on our TV and in reality TV programmes such as *Police, Camera, Action*. And of course the mainstream Hollywood film. In these visual regimes of crime and punishment the working classes are associated with crime and imprisonment is seen as the solution to the social and economic ills that are threatening to overrun our society.

These media representations of the working class compliment other discursive constructions of the working classes across multivariate strands of public discourse so for instance we can find examples of the denigration of working class culture and the blaming of working class people for the problems that beset their lives in the speeches of politicians, the pronouncements of educationalists and the sentencing policies of the judiciary. The conditioning process of repetitive reinforcement across a range of sites results in an acceptance of the working classes as more criminally inclined while denying the transgressions of white-collar middle class crime.

It is the right to self-representation that *Inside Film* attempts to provide — the right of the prisoners to represent their own lives and not to be consigned to a secondary character in dominant narratives that situate them as the obstacle to a better, safer society. In representing themselves and their own experiences the students come face to face with the reality of their own lives. Not in the sense that they suddenly have access to how dreadful their lives are — they are already fully aware of this and awareness will not alter the fact of their position in the hierarchal structures of a class ridden society. What I lay claim to here is the possibility of the consideration of their lives as part of a wider totality. The pedagogical practices of *Inside Film* emphasises the importance of placing dominant representations in the wider context of the economic system in which they exist, insisting on the relationship between economics and culture. This dialectical analysis allows for an

exploration of popular culture as just one aspect of dominant political, economic and ideological hegemonic practices and refuses to countenance its detachment as 'just entertainment'.

In 2005 the basic skills agency assessment recorded the results of a literacy survey among prisoners in England and Wales. They reported 60 per cent of the prison population had a reading ability equivalent to or less than a five-year-old child. The prison population stands at about 86,000 More than three quarters of prisoners cannot read or write to the standard expected of an 11-year-old child, half of all prisoners do not have the skills required by 96 per cent of jobs. Only one in five people in prison are able to complete a job application form.¹⁵

These figures are not definitive — reports of literacy levels fluctuate but it is generally accepted that two thirds of the prison population cannot read to a standard that enable them to understand what is going on around them. These figures suggest that the provision of educational courses designed to develop literacy skills or which entail reading and writing beyond a certain level of achievement can only reach a very limited number of people — the minority of the prison population that has already achieved acceptable levels of literacy skills. This means that by definition courses centred on reading and writing must exclude the majority of prisoners who cannot write and these are

arguably those who are the hardest to reach. This exclusion will only repeat a pattern that for many people serving sentences in prison has become the norm.

The association of writing with school lessons also raises another problem. I have already pointed out the experience of school for most of the people in prison has been an alienating one. Enzensberger claimed that 'intimidation through the written word has remained a wide spread and class specific phenomenon even in advanced industrial countries.' This is because most people learn to write in the formalised setting of school in an authoritarian environment where good writing is based upon inviolable rules that result in penalisation if they are broken.¹⁶

The prison population stands at about 86,000 More than three quarters of prisoners cannot read or write to the standard expected of an 11-year-old child, half of all prisoners do not have the skills required by 96 per cent of jobs.

15. James, E.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/joepublic/2009/sep/17/erwin-james-education-prisoners-rehabilitation> (accessed 09.02.09)

16. Enzensberger, H. (1982) *Critical Essays*: London: Continuum p.71.

He argues that writing is a highly formalised technique and of course for those in prison this means sitting in one place for however many hours the class takes. This enforced inactivity is itself not ideal for many prisoners who have problems with concentration. The new media forms do not carry the weight of these traditions. It is the new technologies of laptops and palm held video cameras that have the potential to do away with the 'educational privileges and the cultural monopoly of the bourgeois intelligentsia'¹⁷ to break down the specialised divisions of labour that exist within a capitalist society and that are normalised within most teacher student relationships—they do not bring with them the baggage of school lessons, exams and struggles to understand. Walter Benjamin claimed that film — in its most positive form — has 'a destructive, cathartic aspect — the liquidation of the traditional value of the cultural heritage.'¹⁸ For the majority of the students taking part in the *Inside Film* project — film and film viewing is associated with pleasure and filmmaking offers a positive validation of their cultural pastimes—often not considered cultural because the working class indulges them in. They do not consider film and filmmaking to be part of the institutionalised and formal education apparatus.¹⁹

Of course I am not suggesting there is not a place for the teaching of literacy skills to those serving prison sentences what I am asking is in what way does this serve the needs of prisoners

*What is achieved by teaching basic literacy skills to those thought to be in need of them when all that we are turning out is burglars who can read and write, packing plastic bags or cleaning out prison toilets. All these alone, do not in any sense, fit an offender to a productive life outside of prison where crime may continue to be seen as a more attractive proposition.*²⁰

The *Inside Film* course is not just concerned with taking the viewing pleasure of the prisoners seriously that would result in a celebration of popular culture for no other reason than it is popular culture.

The pedagogically crucial issue at stake here is the way in which dominant representations interact with other prominent discourses in order to invite identification with a particular worldview while preventing knowledge or engagement with opposing ones and with the diverse narratives essential to a more egalitarian society. The utilisation of popular culture by the *Inside Film* project fostered a critical engagement with the dominant culture and worked against an easy assimilation into it. The films made by the students of *Inside Film* are not easily incorporated into mainstream culture. Their films resist this easy identification with the dominant culture. By their very existence these films bring into question assumptions about criminals, education and popular culture and crucially in its attempt to remove the divisions of labour between those who are teaching and those who are learning demystify the process of filmmaking.

Inside Film strives to develop working practices that negate the existing practices of capitalist education. Film is a collective endeavour and the students who take part in the *Inside Film* project work collaboratively, co-operating with each other over a range of jobs, from scripting, storyboarding, shooting, acting and editing. They all work on each other's films. There is no single 'teacher', the distinctions between filmmakers/artist/technician/ educator/ student are broken down. *Inside Film* utilises the skills of a number of practitioners: editors, scriptwriters, actors, and filmmakers, sound technicians all of whom work in collaboration with the students. No one is paid. There is no interference in what the students wish to film (obviously that can only be true insofar as we do not produce any material that the prison authorities might want to censor). The films produced are the work of the students

The approach of *Inside Film* is that of a reciprocal pedagogy where all those taking part contribute to the creation of specific kind of knowledge a knowledge that because it comes from the experience of being working class and a prisoner is mediated by those experiences.

Further information on *Inside Film* is available at <http://www.insidefilm.org>

17. *ibid* p.72.

18. Benjamin, W. (1999) *The work of Art in the age of Mechanical Reproduction in Arendt, H. (ed) Illuminations: Walter Benjamin* London: Pimlico p.212.

19.

20. Hanson, C. http://www.againstprisonslavery.org/education_&_training.html (accessed 21.06.10).

THE PERRIE LECTURES 2010

Throughcare — Who Cares? Resettlement in the Real World

Perrie Lectures 2010

Why Our Beliefs Matter in Offender Management

Shadd Maruna, is a Professor in the Law School at Queen's University Belfast and the Director of the Institute of Criminology and Criminal Justice.

I am very pleased when the topic 'Throughcare — Who Cares? Resettlement in the Real World' was announced as the focus of this year's Perrie Lecture. This is a symbolic occasion taking place at a crucial, transitional moment for both NOMS and the Government more widely. So, I think this choice of topic sends an important message about the values of the people behind the Perrie Lecture Series and in NOMS more widely. These values mean a lot to me and are going to be the subject of my talk today. That is, of the 'Throughcare — Who Cares?' title, my remarks will focus more on the issue of 'Who cares?' even though my previous research has focused more on 'throughcare' or reintegration. I am, as most of you will know, a big believer in reintegration, but, more recently I've become a believer in beliefs about reintegration or what I call 'belief in redeemability'.

First, allow me a brief aside on this choice of language: You will find I use the words 'redeem' and 'redemption' throughout my remarks and in my research in general. Some people don't like these terms because they think the words have religious connotations. None are intended. The term 'redemption' is perfectly meaningful in a secular context and that is how I am employing it. My mortgage statement that arrives every month lists at the bottom of it a 'Cost of Redemption'. Now, the figure on there is not the price of my soul (that could be bought a great deal cheaper, I can assure you). The 'cost of redemption' is the amount required to pay off my debt to the bank. Individuals who commit crimes have accrued similar debts to society and my research has focused on how they are able to 'make good' on these. Like the relationship with my bank, this process is a two-way street. The person needs to change his or her behaviours, make efforts to atone for one's wrongdoing, but the rest of us (especially those working in the criminal justice system) also play a crucial role acting in the role of forgiver.

Yes, Christian teachings have a good deal to say about this process, but so do other religions. This does not make the concept 'religious', though. Christian teachings also have a great deal to say about sin, punishment, and retribution (an 'eye for an eye' and all that). So, by this logic, as prison and probation professionals, you are all in the religion business yourselves. Redemption plays a key role in most religions because it is a crucial concept for a functioning society. One of my key arguments (and the reason I am using this word) is that secular society would be mad to abandon the idea. If we are going to have secular sin and secular punishment, we surely also need secular ways of redeeming oneself.

This is why I have become interested in exploring this notion of 'belief in redeemability'. To help understand what I mean by this concept, I'd like to ask you all your views on three statements in particular:

- (A) Most offenders can go on to lead productive lives with help and hard work.
- (B) Even the worst offenders can grow out of criminal behaviour.
- (C) Most offenders really have little hope of changing for the better.

Along with my colleague Anna King, I asked those questions to around 1000 British householders in 2005.¹ Here's what they said: 86 per cent agreed with statement A; 77 per cent agreed with statement B; and 68 per cent disagreed with C. In other words, belief in redeemability appears to be alive and well among members of the British public — or this sample of it at least.² That said, these beliefs are hardly rock solid. The modal response for the first two items above in our sample was 'slightly agree' as opposed to 'agree' or 'strongly agree'.

What is important, however, is that our statistical analysis found that how strong a person's 'belief in redeemability' was (i.e. how they scored on the items above and the other items making up our 'belief in redeemability' scale) was a very strong predictor of attitudes about a variety of criminal justice issues,

1. Maruna, S. & King, A. (2009). 'Once a Criminal, Always a Criminal?: 'Redeemability' and the Psychology of Punitive Public Attitudes.' *European Journal of Criminal Policy and Research*, 15, 7-24.

2. Although not a representative sample, our sample was hardly an unusually liberal one. Over half of respondents described themselves as politically conservative, and over half said they supported resurrecting the death penalty in the United Kingdom for serious crimes.

especially support for punitive prison policies. The more respondents believed in redeemability in our research, the less likely they were to want to see sentences lengthened and harsher treatment introduced into the prison system. Redeemability beliefs probably have even more important implications for those of us working in the world of prisons and probation. That is, how the people in this room answer those three questions above, may have a tangible impact on recidivism rates in the UK.

Two Views about Intelligence

I will make this case in a moment, but first let me provide a parallel example from entirely outside criminology, from the field of educational psychology. Education researchers suggest that both children and adults tend to hold one of two implicit theories of intelligence: 'entity' theories or 'incremental' theories of intelligence³. Lay **entity** theorists believe that intelligence is basically fixed and unmalleable. Some people are just smarter, and although others can learn new things or study very hard, they will never be as smart as those born/made that way. This is a common belief in Western societies, especially in the United States, where we are all desperate to have our children diagnosed as 'gifted' before they are even able to crawl. On the other hand, lay **incremental** theorists believe intelligence is modifiable and believe that one can get smarter through study and exercising one's brain. This is more common in Eastern cultures, like Japan. But in all cultures, some people lean more toward one side or the other.

Now, which one is right? In fact, there is no 'right' or 'wrong' theory of intelligence. Of course, there is evidence of the stability of IQ, the genetics behind such differences. We know that childhood IQ predicts a great number of outcomes later in life and so forth. Yet, there is also considerable and growing evidence for the other side — the notion that real success has more to do with hard work and elbow grease than so-called 'genius.' Increasingly, intelligence researchers are turning away from cherished concepts of 'genius' and 'giftedness' as

research has shown that plain, old fashioned effort (e.g., studying, tutoring) can even increase test scores meant to measure natural 'aptitude'⁴.

So, if the empirical case is still undecided, what about a normative one? That is, if you accept both of these as mythological concepts in some ways (the reality is surely a little of both), which one is the 'better' organizing concept to animate our education systems, cultural myths? This is a normative question, but again, the empirical research is useful in reaching a decision. After all, research has found that these implicit theories have highly predictable impacts on social behaviors. For instance, people who ascribe to incremental theories of intelligence are more inclined toward and successful at challenging intellectual tasks. They study harder (because they see a point to it) and they end up doing better at school and in the workplace.

Imagine you fail a maths test. If you have been taught to accept entity theory, you might see this failure as evidence that you are just no good at maths — you're not a maths person. So why should you study hard in the future? After all, you will never be any good at it? Hey, presto, self-fulfilling prophecy. But, in an incremental culture, a failure means you need to work harder next time. In one experimental test of this theory, a group of college freshmen were told that it was normal that grades would

improve from their first to second year in University. They didn't tell this to the control group. A year later, the experimental group did perform better than the controls. They didn't get as discouraged and held on to hope that they could succeed⁵. Likewise, Asian students who tend to attribute success in school and in life to hard work, appear to work much harder than do North American students, who typically attribute success to their natural abilities, intelligence or aptitude⁶.

Thus, our beliefs in our own abilities to improve do not seem to be hardwired in any way — they are strongly shaped by the messages we receive from others — teachers, experts, peers. Literally hundreds of different studies have found confirmation for the idea that one person's expectations for the behavior of another can actually impact the other person's behavior.

Redeemability beliefs probably have even more important implications for those of us working in the world of prisons and probation.

3. Dweck, C. S., & Leggett, E. L. (1988). A social-cognitive approach to motivation and personality. *Psychological Review*, 95(2), 256-273.
4. Gladwell, M. (2002). The talent myth. *The New Yorker*, 22, 28-33.
5. Linville, P. W. (1982). Improving the academic performance of college freshmen: Attribution therapy revisited. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 42, 367-376.
6. Dweck, C. S., Chiu, C., & Hong, Y. (1995). Implicit theories and their role in judgments and reactions: A word from two perspectives. *Psychological Inquiry*, 6(4), 267-285.

Two Views about Criminality

The most famous example of this is described in the book *Pygmalion in the Classroom*⁷. Rosenthal and Jacobson found that teacher expectancies of student performance were strongly predictive of student performance on standardized tests, and that manipulating these educator biases and beliefs could lead to substantial improvements in student outcomes. Similar so-called 'Pygmalion Effects' or expectancy-linked outcomes have been found in courtroom studies, business schools, nursing homes, and numerous different workplaces⁸. Meta-analyses of studies conducted both inside and outside the research laboratory suggest an average effect size or correlation (r) of over .30 in studies of interpersonal expectancy effects⁹.

Are there dangers to inculcating children with incremental theory? Sure. It puts a lot more pressure on individuals to work hard. Whereas the kid who fails a test in an entity culture can kick back with some satisfaction and say hey 'It's not my fault I was born this way,' in an incremental culture, there is always pressure on you to do better. And this puts a lot of pressure on kids. Ji writes: 'If a Chinese child scored 98 out of 100 on a test, the Chinese parent would likely respond, 'How come you lost two points? You need to study harder and score higher next time.'"

There's another big risk here, that might be the more important one: If you believe intelligence is dynamic, then not only can 'stupid' people get smarter, but smart people can presumably get 'more stupider' too. This is a little experiment my gifted friends and I tried out at university, by basically getting stoned and watching bad TV all day, and I can testify to its legitimacy. For some, this dynamic nature of intelligence is an awfully scary thought to contemplate. Still, I think this is a small price to pay for the advantages that the research literature (again: the empirical research literature) tells us about belief in incremental theory for equality, democracy, fairness. Remember, I am not necessarily arguing that incremental theory is right (or wrong) empirically, but instead that promoting the theory produces empirically better results, normatively speaking.

Now, why am I devoting so much attention to education research in a talk about throughcare? Obviously, I think a parallel dichotomy can be found in regard to criminal behaviour. Drawing on the work of David Garland and others, I argue that there are two primary cultural scripts available in regards to wrongdoing:

- ❑ *Moral Essentialism (Entity theory, lay dispositionalism, 'Criminology of the Other' ¹⁰)*

The idea here is that criminal behaviour is due to fixed, unalterable dispositions, traits, inner character. Criminal behaviour is a symptom of who a person really is, deep down, and always will be.

- ❑ *Moral Redeemability (Incremental theory, lay situationalism, 'Criminology of the Self')*

Here, criminal behaviour is separated from the permanent nature or character of the person. Criminality is not 'fixed' in a person, the individual can fundamentally change and 'make good' for what they have done in the past.

The fact is,
criminologists know
a great deal about
early childhood risk
factors — including
genetic and
prenatal risk factors
— that substantially
raise the possibility
of someone getting
involved in drugs
and crime.

Again, remember, I'm not making an empirical argument in favour of one of these two, very different models of understanding criminality. Just like with intelligence research, criminology has amassed considerable evidence on both sides of this coin. Indeed, one of the best known theories of crime seeks to account for both patterns in empirical data on crime in the life course¹¹. The fact is, criminologists know a great deal about early childhood risk factors — including genetic and prenatal risk factors — that substantially raise the possibility of someone getting involved in drugs and crime. Further, we know there are these largely stable personality characteristics, like low self-control or some of the characteristics associated with 'psychopathy', that appear to be deeply implicated in

7. Rosenthal, R. and Jacobson, L. (1992) *Pygmalion in the Classroom*. New York: Irvington.
8. Rosenthal, R. (2002) 'Covert communication in classrooms, clinics, courtrooms, and cubicles', *American Psychologist*, 57: 839-49.
9. Kierein, N.M. and Gold, M.A. (2000) 'Pygmalion in work organizations: A meta-analysis', *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 21: 913-28.
10. Garland, D. (2001). *The culture of control*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
11. Moffitt, T.E. (1993), 'Adolescence-Limited and Life-Course-Persistent Antisocial Behavior: A Developmental Taxonomy', *Psychological Review*, 100, 674-701.

criminality and are not thought to be easily modified over time. At the same time, we know that there is a large body of research evidence that people can change lives of persistent offending. Indeed, for any of you who have heard of my work, you will know this is the research I have spent much of the past decade doing: studying the process of 'desistance from crime'¹². In fact, it is estimated that around 85 percent of those people we call 'criminals', even 'career criminals', eventually desist from crime according to longitudinal research¹³.

My argument today is different, though. My argument is that (like with intelligence), regardless of the evidence in favour of persistence or desistance in crime, we (as a society, but especially a justice system) should believe or at least try to believe in a moral redeemability theory — not just because it is right, empirically, but because doing so is good for society. Again, this is a normative argument (an argument about what is right or wrong), but I make it based on the empirical, research literature — not the empirical evidence for the two theories, but rather evidence regarding the consequences that *adherence* to one theory or the other might likely have for society (and especially for 'offender management').

Like with intelligence, there's a huge body of social psychology evidence on the consequences of stability beliefs with moral statuses that can support this argument. Research shows that those who perceive their ascribed status to be permanent (be it a label such as 'alcoholic', 'mentally ill', 'paedophile', etc.) are most likely to slip into hopelessness, passivity, and retreatism. They are the least likely to make efforts to change themselves for the obvious reason that they do not think such change is possible¹⁴. Moreover, we

know that people's beliefs on such issues are strongly influenced by those around them.

Of course, we know all about this story in criminology. We call this labelling theory and the idea is well known — young people who are stigmatized into thinking they are no good, turn out to fulfil this prophecy. Labelling theory fell out of favour politically in the 1980s, but its redemption — begun by prominent criminologists like John Braithwaite¹⁵ and Sampson and Laub¹⁶ — has truly come full circle with a recent, award-winning article in the prestigious journal *Criminology*¹⁷. Ted Chiricos and colleagues followed the outcomes of 95,919 men and women who were either adjudicated or had an adjudication withheld in the state of Florida,

and found that those who were formally labelled were significantly more likely to recidivate within two years than those who were not. Similar findings have repeatedly emerged in longitudinal cohort studies from Farrington's Cambridge Study¹⁸ to Bernburg's recent work with the Rochester cohort¹⁹ to Burnett and LeBel's important longitudinal work on ex-prisoners²⁰. Desisting from crime is difficult and requires considerable self-belief. If a person feels like everyone is against them and that they don't have a chance in life, well, they probably don't.

Far less attention has been given to the other side of this equation, but presumably if one can internalise a moral essentialism script through a process of stigma and self-labelling, then presumably one can also be taught to believe in one's own redeemability. My colleagues and I have called this prosocial labelling process a 'Pygmalion effect' in the rehabilitation process²¹. The idea is that if we show individuals that we believe they can change, they may begin to believe this themselves.

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12. Maruna, S. (2001). *Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association Books.
13. Blumstein, A., & Cohen, J. (1987). Characterizing criminal careers. *Science*, 237, 985-991.
14. LeBel, T.P. (2008). Perceptions of and responses to stigma. *Sociology Compass*, 2: 409-32.
15. Braithwaite, J. (1989). *Crime, Shame and Reintegration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
16. Sampson, R. J. and Laub, J. (1997). A life-course theory of cumulative disadvantage and the stability of delinquency. In Thornberry, T. (ed) *Developmental Theories of Crime And Delinquency*, Transaction Press, New Brunswick.
17. Chiricos, T., Barrick, K. and Bales, W. (2007) 'The labelling of convicted felons and its consequences for recidivism', *Criminology*, 45(3): 547-81.
18. Farrington, D.P. (1977) 'The effects of public labelling', *British Journal of Criminology*, 17: 112-25.
19. Bernburg, J.G., Krohn, M.D. and Rivera, C.J. (2006) 'Official labelling, criminal embeddedness, and subsequent delinquency: A longitudinal test of labelling theory', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 43(1): 67-88.
20. LeBel, T.P., Burnett, R., Maruna, S. and Bushway, S. (2008) 'The 'chicken and egg' of subjective and social factors in desistance from crime', *European Journal of Criminology*, 5(2): 130-58.
21. Maruna, S., LeBel, T., Mitchel, N. and Naples, M. (2004). Pygmalion in the Reintegration Process: Desistance from Crime Through the Looking Glass. *Psychology, Crime and Law*, 10 (3), 271-281.

Of course, this is more difficult than it sounds. Many of the behaviours that we in the criminal justice system think of as ‘helping’ individuals actually end up stigmatizing them or reinforcing their social and psychological deficits by treating them as passive recipients of some expert treatment. There is a difference, therefore, between beliefs in redeemability and support for rehabilitation. One can support a rehabilitative regime without believing in redeemability.

Again, there is a useful parallel in education: both entity theorists and incrementalists believe in the value of education. The difference is that whereas incrementalists support schooling because they believe that low achievers can learn to be high achievers through education, entity theorists mostly support education as a sort of sifting process, separating the wheat from the chaff, determining which students have the natural aptitude for leadership and which students are destined to lesser things. Schools are good, then, at testing individuals’ capabilities, rather than actually teaching them things.

A similar essentialist mindset can be found in some strands of offender management where the focus is on risk assessment rather than risk reduction. Offender management becomes a process of sorting individuals into low-risk and high-risk, amenable and non-amenable, those that will succeed and those who won’t. The danger is that by assigning groups of the population to the category of irredeemable, we may be creating a self-fulfilling prophecy that none of us wants to live out when those individuals are released from custody.

Conclusions

Like with incremental models of intelligence, a societal belief in moral redeemability is necessary ‘because there has to be a way to restore people to good standing so that they’ll be motivated to return to cooperation with all of the other [law-abiding members] in the population’²². If there is no chance at

forgiveness, then there is no reason for those who have offended to ever change their ways. Instead, in a society without the possibility of redemption, the ‘past dominates the present and the future [and] every failure results in guilt from which there is no exit’²³. Hannah Arendt talks about this as the ‘burden of irreversibility’ in *The Human Condition*:

*Without being forgiven, released from the consequences of what we have done, our capacity to act would, as it were, be confined to one single deed from which we could never recover; we would remain the victim of its consequences forever, not unlike the sorcerer’s apprentice who lacked the magic formula to break the spell*²⁴.

. . . in a society without the possibility of redemption, the ‘past dominates the present and the future [and] every failure results in guilt from which there is no exit’.

The belief in redeemability may not be a magic formula, but it can help to break habituated patterns or mindsets that prisoners find themselves in, and in this way it can reduce recidivism by promoting cultures or at least subcultures of desistance even within a prison.

Yet, the power of redeemability goes beyond this. Redemption beliefs are also good for society in less tangible ways. In ‘Redemption and Politics,’ Robert Smith writes:

*Unlike punishment, which mobilizes our sense of virtue and sets us apart from the transgressor, forgiveness arouses in us, and depends upon, a sense of shared weakness. We are moved to forgive out of our own need to be forgiven for what we have done in the past and what we may do in the future. Forgiveness, unlike punishment, moreover, depends upon a life of common values and concerns*²⁵.

Redemption brings us together as a society in a way that punishment and exclusion can’t. Durkheim taught us that punishment was not first and foremost for the prisoner, it was for us. Whether the punishment deterred crime or reformed prisoners was secondary to the effects that punishing others had on

22. McCullough, M. E. (2008). *Beyond revenge: The evolution of the forgiveness instinct* New York: Jossey-Bass, p. 106.

23. Smith, R. W. (1971). Redemption and politics. *Political Science Quarterly*, 86(2), 205-231, p. 206.

24. Arendt, H. (1958). *The human condition* Chicago: University of Chicago, p. 213.

25. Smith, 1971, p. 219.

wider society. The same is true with redemption, as John Braithwaite has argued in his revision of Durkheim's thesis. Reintegration isn't just for 'them', it is for 'us', too. A society that forgives well — and by that I don't mean easily, but rather carefully,

purposefully, setting out reachable targets for what individuals need to do to redeem themselves and holding out hope that every person can — is a 'good' society. It is also a safer society.

The 'Rehabilitation Revolution'

Trevor Williams is Director of Offender Management for the Eastern Region.

Introduction

By way of introduction, let me first tell you something about the origins of the Perrie lectures. As a junior governor grade working in Long Lartin in the mid-eighties I had the great pleasure of working for a truly inspirational governor, Mike Jenkins. Mike was old school, he knew how to run a very effective prison but he also knew the importance of understanding the context in which he was trying to deliver that service. So we keen, eager apprentices, were encouraged to attend erudite seminars on matters of criminology. Returning from one such lecture on the improvement of the lifer management system in Oxford, I said to Mike, 'surely there ought to be a platform for those who work on the front line to have a voice, to express ideas and issues about doing the job on the shop floor?' Mike thought about this for a while and eventually said, 'I think that's a good idea, Trevor, you should organize one!', and that was the origins of the Perrie Lectures. Clearly the format has greatly improved since we created the first of those lectures and I am truly delighted to see that its longevity suggests that we found a basic niche in the market, a cause that has remained constant since those days, with one of its core principles being the opportunity for different perspectives on the same issues.

Old school rehabilitation

But I digress. I joined the Prison Service in the late Seventies and the recruitment pamphlet which attracted me said that the purpose of imprisonment was two fold. The first was to keep people secure in conditions of 'humane containment' for the benefit of public protection, with the second being that of rehabilitation. It seems remarkable to me that so little has changed in the intervening 30 odd years. It is entirely true that although the label of throughcare has declined in usage, the concept survives and in fact I am absolutely confident that the notion of rehabilitation is about to see a revival. An example of rehabilitation from the old days comes from my first job as a governor grade in Feltham borstal. It was not the Feltham that we know today but the old Middlesex industrial school

of the late 1830s which, until the Prison Service acquired it, used to have a fully rigged schooner in front of the building which they used to train the waifs and strays of London in seamanship skills before sending them to join the merchant navy. The Feltham that I joined was imbued throughout with the notion of rehabilitation, as was the borstal regime. It was an indeterminate sentence; the harder you worked the quicker you got out but if you messed about you stayed.

I remember spending my weekends writing 'Page 17' reports, a simple report on each of our offenders stating what we'd learnt about them, what we'd done with them and what work we thought remained to be done when we discharged them into the hands of the Probation Service. We duly sent these things off and in return we used to get back a 'Part C' which was a regular, quarterly report from the Probation Officer saying how well or badly that individual was doing. To me that seemed to be basic common sense, that is throughcare in action. The fact that we managed it with a couple of simple reports seems all the more remarkable today. Feltham was also fairly unique in other respects regarding the rehabilitation agenda. For example, we ran a 'drop in centre' just off Trafalgar Square where any ex-offender from Feltham, however ex they were, could drop in, let us know how they were getting on, ask for help with difficulties, and generally share their experiences with any recently released trainees. I didn't think that was innovative, I just thought that was plain common sense, but clearly those kinds of services no longer exist, as far as I'm aware, which says something about the way we have reorientated our thinking about our core services and our core purpose.

Going further back in time, Feltham was the starting point for the Lowdham Grange march. Feltham borstal used to put trainees through construction training and in the early 1930s someone came up with the idea of marching these men from Feltham to Nottinghamshire where they could build a 'model borstal'. They trained up a workforce with construction skills, marched them to Lowdham Grange, and built a model borstal on the hill at Lowdham. Practitioners were absolutely convinced that a regime of rehabilitation, as lived and breathed by the trainees and the staff was the way to do business. They were so convinced by the premise that a couple of years later

troops in Stafford prison marched to the Lincolnshire coast to just beyond Boston to found North Sea Camp. The task of those guys was to build a huge sea wall to reclaim the salt marsh and turn it into agricultural land. In his influential pamphlet, WW Llewellyn the man behind the venture described the task as 'reclaiming land and reclaiming lives'.

Llewellyn was responsible for the recruitment of a whole generation of governors who shared the same ideals and principles about rehabilitation. Men like Mike Jenkins and Ian Dunbar and it was Ian, who sadly died in May, who delivered the first Perrie Lecture in 1986. He had also coincidentally been the governor at Feltham immediately prior to my arrival. Ian will be best remembered for his seminal work on prison regimes, *A Sense of Direction*¹. He wrote it at a point when the Prison Service was experiencing an identity crisis, locked in the dark days of humane containment and 'nothing works'. His work captured the very essence of an effective prison regime focusing principally on the three main areas of individualism, relationships and activity; all of which are necessary elements of a successful rehabilitative prison regime. Ian believed in the ability of offenders to change and the critical importance of hope to sustain them through the dark days of lengthy imprisonment. This he thought could be achieved through positive, hopeful and empowered relationships between workers and offenders, which all feature strongly in current desistance literature.

End-to-end offender management

The National Offender Management Service (NOMS) was created six years ago, with the decision to reform the system for managing offenders stemming from Lord Carter's 2003 review of correctional services². This highlighted many deficiencies, particularly how the Prison and Probation Services were working in silos and thus largely detached from each other; with this having a negative impact on offender outcomes, including reducing reoffending. Carter found, for example, that access to services such as drug treatment and education were often dependant on whether an offender was

given a custodial sentence or a community sentence, rather than it being based on individual need. This silo approach also meant that programmes and interventions undertaken in prisons were rarely, if ever, followed up in the community once an offender was released. Carter, therefore, concluded that a new, more holistic approach was needed, with the end-to-end management of offenders achieved through NOMS. Greater choice of service provider and better 'gearing' between demand and supply were also essential.

For prison and probation services to work more closely together to reduce reoffending and protect the public, clearly makes sense. Both services, as well as a multitude of other organisations, must work together

Both services, as well as a multitude of other organisations, must work together seamlessly if we are to manage and rehabilitate offenders effectively. It is about end-to-end offender management.

seamlessly if we are to manage and rehabilitate offenders effectively. It is about end-to-end offender management. If we don't do that, then the excellent work carried out by our individual front-line staff in prisons, in probation and by our partners will be wasted, resulting in duplication at best and total loss of impetuous at worst. There cannot be an effective handover of responsibility from one organisation to another at the prison gate. Offender management must be both continuous and coherent to be constructive. By increasing collaboration and working in a more integrated and joined-up way we are able to manage offenders better through their sentence, target our efforts

where they will do the most good and tackle, with offenders, the root causes of their offending.

The journey of the NOMS we have today has not been simple or straightforward, with there being a number of changes in the structure and focus of the organisation in the last six years. In April last year we became an Executive Agency in our own right, we have survived three Home Secretaries, a change of department, two Justice Secretaries and so far the new Coalition Government. The NOMS Agency is going through a continuous process of structural adjustment, most recently the welcome appointment of our new Chief Executive Michael Spurr and the creation of a new leadership team to take NOMS forward. Through these changes we remain focused on key offender outcomes, which are being delivered with ever

1. Dunbar, I. (1985) *A Sense of Direction* London: HMSO.
2. Carter, P. (2003) *Managing Offenders, Reducing Crime: A New Approach* London: Strategy Unit.

decreasing resources. Our key objectives are therefore to deliver the sentences of the courts, reduce reoffending, protect the public, and do all of this in a cost effective way.

Throughcare

In April last year the Agency's responsibility for delivering a reduction in reoffending and managing offenders was devolved to ten regional Directors of Offender Management across England and in Wales. Each Director is required to co-ordinate offender management at a regional level for offenders in custody, or in the community, assessing demand, allocating resources across our regions and commissioning services at a local level. Our role is very much that of strategic integrator, with a responsibility to ensure that the services we commission match demand, are effective in addressing the risks of reoffending and achieve more for less. As contract holders we closely monitor the performance of the Probation Trusts and the contracted prisons in our region, as well as having a direct line of responsibility for public prisons. We allocate resources across our regions in accordance with offenders' needs, sentencers' demands and public protection requirements, with reference to value for money and 'what works' principles being the key drivers of the whole system. Furthermore, we manage a mixed economy of providers, with decisions on what work gets done and who it will be done by based on evidence and driven by best value. This joint focus on operational delivery and partnership working empowers staff in our region to deliver services that meet the essential elements of practical throughcare and have the best prospects of success.

For example, John Laing Training has provided a wide range of construction based vocational courses to prisoners at The Mount prison since 2004. In the last academic year, 2008-2009, they had achievement rates of 90 per cent and a retention rate of 95 per cent. They have linked up with internal Prison Service systems like sentence planning and the Activities Allocation, and work in partnership with both education and resettlement providers. The courses have produced

numerous success stories of prisoners who have managed to find employment on release, on the back of the training they completed whilst in prison and thus are proving to be worthwhile. For instance, one prisoner who successfully completed the five week Resettlement Course recently wrote to the prison saying that he had secured a job within three months of release. He has a managerial role in a national research facility, managing a team of three supervisors and seven other staff.

However, it is not just prisons that are opening their doors to new providers; the probation service has also been discovering what partnerships with the private and voluntary sector have to offer. In the past year we have transitioned 42 Local Probation Boards into 35 Probation Trusts. These Trusts have entered into contracts with the

Secretary of State for the provision of probation services in their areas. The Trusts are becoming more flexible, agile and locally-focused with strong community links allowing them to use services from the public, private and voluntary sectors to provide the very best route to help rehabilitate offenders in the most cost effective ways. Each Trust is made up of Local Delivery Units that work in partnership to meet local needs, with these units providing a visible local presence in our communities and ensuring that the diverse needs in different parts of the country are met.

The rehabilitation revolution

Regardless of whether an offender is in prison or on probation, we are all working towards the same aim, that is to stop them coming back and thus ending the revolving door of reoffending. Throughcare must therefore begin at the point of sentence. As one member of my Community Team rather succinctly puts it; 'Criminals in, Citizens out', that is our overriding objective. As practitioners, we take some of the most socially excluded people within society, deliver the punishments handed down by the courts, while at the same time looking to support positive change so that they don't reoffend. It is significant that, on his recent appointment as the new Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State for Justice, Ken Clarke said, 'We must provide protection for the public from dangerous individuals and find ways to improve rehabilitation so to cut the worryingly high rates of recidivism.'³ More recently the

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3. Rt Hon Kenneth Clarke on announcing the new Justice Ministers' responsibilities, 20 May 2010 available at <http://www.justice.gov.uk/news/newsrelease200510a.htm>

Government has made clear its aim to achieve a 'rehabilitation revolution' in the way we deal with our offenders, to radically reduce reoffending and to cut crime. To achieve this, NOMS encourages offenders to address the root causes of their offending and regain a stake in society, most demonstrably through gaining sustained employment. In fact my alternative 'strapline' for NOMS would be 'making offenders pay their taxes.'

The road to rehabilitation begins with individually-tailored sentence plans which offer appropriate interventions to help offenders move away from a life of crime, regardless of whether their sentence is custodial or community based. These interventions, sometimes referred to as the 'resistance' approach, can range from support for coming off drugs, offending behaviour programmes, the provision of vocational training to finding suitable accommodation. These pathways — accommodation, thinking and behaviour, family, drugs and alcohol, education, finance and health — are the bedrock on which NOMS has built its reducing reoffending strategy.

Sentences over 12 months

Although reoffending rates are still unacceptably high, prison performance between 2000 and 2008 has been impressive, with the reduction in reoffending of offenders serving sentences over 12 months to two years standing at 15 per cent. Furthermore, the reduction in the proportion of offenders serving sentences over two years that go on to re-offend currently stands at an even more impressive 31 per cent⁴. These significant improvements, especially for those serving longer sentences, coincide with the growth in offending behaviour programmes, more education and training opportunities for prisoners, improved detoxification, better mental health provision, the emphasis on prison officers treating prisoners decently and the introduction of compulsory probation supervision for those sentenced to over 12 months. This indicative evidence that an expansion of offending behaviour programmes has helped reduce re-offending is consistent with the evidence base, although they do have to be packaged

properly and fit within the broader approach to reducing reoffending, including the principles of desistance.

An example of this approach can be seen with 40 year old Richard, who is currently serving a sentence for armed robbery in HMP Chelmsford. When he came into prison he was an alcoholic and drug addict and his wife and children had disowned him. He was immediately placed on the Drug Services Unit which provides Integrated Drug Treatment and successfully completed alcohol detoxification. He was initially prescribed Methadone but, with the help of his counsellors, he has gradually managed to come off this too. He has completed a Community leaders award in Rugby coaching, has become an 'Insider' and additionally qualified as a Health Trainer. Furthermore, he has been offered a job when he is eventually released and is slowly building bridges with his wife and children.

Sentences under 12 months

Despite the promise seen above, the reduction in the proportion of offenders serving sentences under 12 months who went onto re-offend was only 3.9 per cent⁵ and this, combined with some overall disappointing figures in the community, is a stark reminder of the challenge we all face. We know from research that offending declines with age and maturity. Offenders

do 'desist', although the challenge for practitioners is what we can do to accelerate and support this. A recent review of the desistance literature commissioned by NOMS suggested a number of approaches, such as accommodating and exploiting identity and diversity. We already make an attempt at this with individually-tailored sentence plans but clearly we can go further towards the creation of a genuinely 'offender centric' system. By doing this we can create, and maintain, hope and motivation, both achievable through encouraging and respecting an offender's own determination to turn his life around, and by supporting and developing individual abilities and skills (as well as tackling risks and needs). Furthermore, we can build on our understanding of the role and influence of relationships, both between staff and offenders and

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4. Ministry of Justice (2010) *Reoffending of adults: results from the 2008 cohort. England and Wales* London: Ministry of Justice.

5. *Ibid.*

offenders and their 'significant others'. Finally we should support and strengthen the wider social networks that are so essential to turning offenders' lives around.

An example of where such practices are used is Australia, where correctional officers who acted as pro-social models, including encouraging and rewarding pro-social statements and actions, achieved reconviction rates after four years of 49 per cent compared with 73 per cent for other officers⁶. In Canada, the Strategic Training Initiative for Community Supervision showed that trained officers who used relationship building, cognitive techniques and a more structured approach to offender management achieved lower reconviction rates of 25 per cent compared with just over 40 per cent for other officers⁷. Crucially, both studies showed that it is not about the amount of time spent with offenders (sessions averaged less than half an hour) but how that time was spent.

In NOMS we are testing, through the Offender Engagement Programme, the hypothesis that the relationship between the offender and the probation practitioner can be a powerful vehicle for changing behaviour and reducing offending. The aim of the programme is to refocus on what practitioners actually do on a one-to-one basis with offenders in supporting them to turn away from crime, rather than placing too much emphasis on the actual process. This has been seen with John, a Prolific and Priority Offender in his twenties. It is worthy of reflection at this point that in the case of Prolific and Priority Offenders, four fifths of the total costs of the system currently go into the process of trying, convicting and incarcerating the offender with only one fifth at best spent on attempting to change his/her life. When the Offender Manager began working with John in November 2007 he had already accrued 18 convictions for that one year, for which he had mostly received short prison sentences, and thus

seemed impervious to change. John was one of the first offenders to be referred to 'The Bridge Project', an intensive probation project, and alternative to short custodial sentences in Essex. Based miles away from the probation office, participation in the project involved travelling into and out of London before 9 o'clock in the morning, at least three times a week, and against all odds John attended, with his compliance and commitment being deemed excellent. Underpinned by the Offender Manager's support and belief, it has proved to be a turning point in John's criminal career and despite a couple of minor setbacks he has been in full time employment since March 2009 and successfully completed his Community Order, for the first time ever. When asked about his Offender Manager John said: 'He listens. He tells me straight. I can't go too far. It feels like a chore or punishment every day. But he has helped me out a lot. I see him four times a week. He's always in my head.' The Offender Manager gave John a belief in himself. This is a great skill, a crucial element of desistance and a powerful contributor to our 'rehabilitation revolution'.

Partnership

When it comes to changing an offender, however, clearly we cannot do it alone. The recruitment pamphlet I referred to earlier, acknowledged that

the challenge of offender rehabilitation doesn't fall to the prison system alone, far from it. NOMS is a commissioning organisation, we identify where the demand is and match it to supply, while ensuring that services are delivered both cost effectively and to a high standard. A whole range of organisations; statutory, private and from the voluntary sector, have a vital part to play in the rehabilitation of offenders. Offenders often find it easier to relate to those from external organisations, such as charitable agencies, rather than those in a formal position of authority and we cannot afford to ignore that. We therefore

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6. Trotter, C. (1996) 'The Impact of Different Supervision Practices in Community Corrections: Causes for Optimism', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 29, 29-46.
7. Bonta, J., Bourgon, G., Ruge, T., Scott, T-L., Yessine, A.K., Gutierrez, L. and Li, J. (2010) *The Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision : Risk-Need-Responsivity in the Real World*, Corrections Research: User Report, Public Safety Canada (www.publicsafety.gc.ca).

attach the highest importance to positive, mutually beneficial relationships with our partners and other stakeholders in the interests of delivering rehabilitation outcomes for offenders and the wider public.

One example of this type of effective partnership working is the Dawn Project in Cambridgeshire. It is available for women throughout the county, especially female offenders and those at risk of offending, as an alternative to the damaging short-term custodial option. The project offers information, support and an opportunity to change, for example, helping women to find suitable accommodation, access education and training programmes, manage their feelings, be better parents

and importantly break the intergenerational cycle of offending. Yasmin, for instance, was a professional woman from a traditional Muslim background, with a law degree.

At the age of 23 she began a relationship with a man who had a well established heroin and crack cocaine habit. Six months later she started taking drugs, was in and out of jobs supporting their habits and had lost all of her friends. By the age of 28 she had been convicted of theft, shoplifting, handling stolen goods and fraud. Previous attempts to come off the drugs had been unsuccessful, it was a conviction for handling stolen goods and a Drug Rehabilitation

Requirement that got her the help she needed. Turning Point gave her one-to-one counselling sessions which forced her to look at her life and challenge her behaviours and as a result she beat her drug habit. Disappointingly however, following the community sentence, Yasmin was caught and convicted for stealing from her employers to feed her partner's drug habit. She was sentenced to attend the Women's Programme, along with 80 hours community service and 18 months supervision. The Women's Programme gave her some structure and helped her to deal with her emotional and psychological issues through group work and peer support. She learnt to identify triggers, risk taking behaviours and coping strategies and now feels that she can move on; having higher self-esteem and better life skills. Without this Programme she would probably have still been on drugs and likely, by now, to have been imprisoned.

... the scale of this challenge is quite dazzling and any notion that we can simply revert to some of the familiar ideas about what we used to feel comfortable with and what used to work in the past are best forgotten.

Finally, I want to briefly focus on the challenges and opportunities that lie ahead, looking at resources first. The Coalition Government was elected on a promise to accelerate the savings programme by £6 billion this year. This sounds like a lot of money but is a complete drop in the ocean with regard to the increasing scale of the national debt. As part of the £6 billion savings plan, we have seen a complete recruitment freeze in the Civil Service, so if this is the effect of a £6 billion saving what will it take to recoup the outstanding £150 billion. The best objective assessment of the state of the finances for the Ministry

of Justice, suggests that by 2014 we will be £2 billion adrift on our spending plans. Those spending plans are based on every single efficiency prisons and probation have thought they might make over that period. The Agency accounts for approximately 50 per cent of the Ministry of Justice spend. If we took £1 billion out of the prison side of the business alone we would have to manage the system with 25,000 fewer offenders in it. If you look at it from the probation perspective, we spend just over £900,000 on the probation budget so a £1 billion saving would mean there would be no Probation Service left at all. So the scale of this challenge is quite dazzling and any notion that we can simply revert to some of the familiar

ideas about what we used to feel comfortable with and what used to work in the past are best forgotten.

So what can we do about this? There are a few ideas; they are not that well worked out but they may be the difference between whether we sink or swim. For example, we need to triage before carrying out full assessments on offenders. The notion that we have to have a complete, full diagnostic assessment on every offender in the system before we decide what to do with them is a nonsense because what often happens is we spend all the cash on the diagnosis and then have nothing left for interventions. We therefore need to change our priorities in respect of offender circumstances as they change, reduce the number of priorities in the sentence plan and drive those sentence plans to a conclusion. Furthermore, we need to manage our resources better by avoiding the notion of death by a thousand cuts and take this opportunity for a fundamental service redesign. We must pay attention

to our strengths, outsource the rest and lever in additional funding from other agencies. Of course in this day and age and in these circumstances working across boundaries becomes ever more challenging. It has been challenging between prisons and probation and so we need to work out how to agree common outcomes, and how to avoid unintended consequences. We need to share data, we need to do assessments once and get them right, and we need to not mind who takes the credit for it all. Furthermore, in a world of shrinking budgets, with less flexible cash, innovation becomes even more important.

Public Protection

Next we have to make sure that we can shift the balance point between public protection and reducing recidivism. We have to influence and persuade a change in public perception and bolster political will to redress the balance. We need to be open and recognise when our efforts fail, and we need to encourage, not punish, staff who take appropriate risks. We should be more measured over recalls because we currently have 12,000 of them in custody, the vast majority of whom are there for reasons of breach of licence rather than for further offending. Along with all of this we need to build better public understanding and confidence, because we cannot do this in isolation or below the radar. We should promote our successes, be honest about those failures, but believe in the value of the work we do. Borrowing from the experience of the police, I think the notion of 'policing with consent' is a significant development in the last couple of decades, and I wonder whether there is an opportunity to have a deal with the public where we punish and rehabilitate with consent. We need to deliver crucially legislative changes and provide appropriate guidelines that reduce the harmful use of imprisonment and limit the size of the judicial system.

Conclusion

Of course there are challenges ahead but the task is, in my judgement, still doable. Sometimes I think we

spend too much of our time exaggerating the scale, complexity and difficulties of the job rather than just getting on with it. Remember, we have fewer total numbers of offenders on the books of NOMS than there are members of the National Trust; more people will watch the World Cup final in the Calabash Stadium than we have total number of prisoners in our overcrowded prison system; and, most Shire Probation Trusts have fewer offenders on community orders than there are children in a typical urban comprehensive school. So this scale is manageable. Furthermore, there are very few offenders whose path to criminality we cannot trace, or whose risks and needs we cannot identify. We know what interventions work, we know when to deliver them and generally in what dosage and so we know what to do and how to do it. A recent study of the top performing leadership teams in prisons, by the Institute of Criminology in Cambridge, identified that the most important characteristics were optimism and resilience⁸. With these attributes and our know how, we can make a big difference to reoffending. The strapline of the recently launched ex-offender organisation 'User Voice', 'Only offenders can stop reoffending'

Prisons have become infinitely more secure and more decent.

is profoundly true, but we need to be there to help and maintain belief in their ability to change.

We have come through a decade with a heavy and appropriate emphasis on public protection. Prisons have become infinitely more secure and more decent. Probation has focused on compliance, enforcement and the creation of comprehensive risk assessments. These objectives remain relevant to NOMS today and are necessary to maintain public confidence and secure investment but whilst they are necessary they are no longer sufficient. The next decade will therefore be dominated by two realities: a reduction of spend on all our public services and the urgent reform of our thinking, attitudes and delivery of a justice system that has at its core the requirement to transform offenders' lives and deliver the 'rehabilitation revolution'.

This article is an edited version of the Perrie Lecture

8. Gadd, V. (2010, in progress). 'A Typology of Prison Senior Management Style and Effectiveness'.

Perrie Lectures 2010

Managing offenders through Probation Services

Beverley Thompson is the Acting Chief Executive of Northamptonshire Probation Trust.

This is the second time I have had the opportunity to give one of the Perrie lectures, the first when I was at Nacro about women in prison where I was highlighting the need to offer appropriately tailored support and activities to assist with successful resettlement. This lecture 12 years on has similar themes. The importance of timely support and joined up services for offenders and their families cannot be over stated. My work at Nacro and now in Probation supports this proposition.

I started my career as a Probation Officer in London in the 1980's the mantra then was advise, assist and befriend. 'Aftercare' was part of the lexicon of Probation language and it was permissible and even cool to care about offenders. There was even voluntary through care/aftercare in those days. Today the language has changed. But has the practice?

I want to illustrate this with a story. I remember many a long journey to some distant prison to meet with an offender to plan for their release — this was a legitimate activity fully endorsed by the Service, (there was still the essential car user allowance). I would **advise** the offender that the three bedroom flat with deep pile carpet (I did say it was the 80s) they were expecting was not likely to be possible. I would then **assist** the offender to complete the application form, for the hostel they were more likely to get, followed by the relevant housing department form which was often a mere formality — as they were never going to get a council property quickly particularly in South London. I would **befriend** with a packet of Benson and Hedges, hastily bought from the local garage to help this process of through care/rehabilitation/resettlement/aftercare take place smoothly. Whichever word you choose — depending on the era you relate to.

As I look back and consider, is what I have described in such crude terms really any different to what offenders experience today? We have changed the language but are the outcomes any different? Has the Probation role in the process been diluted through the 70+ indicators we are measured against? Is multi-agency working really worth the effort? Is it making a difference?

I want to start by considering what we think we are talking about when we talk about Resettlement, Rehabilitation, through care or even end to end offender management. None of the offenders I have ever worked with or spoken to has ever used this language other than as a means of communicating with us, the 'professionals'.

They generally say something like 'I need some help with housing or finding a job when I return home, Miss'. We however have taught them a language of our profession.

They have learnt the language we use to describe what we argue we do to them, and I do mean do to them as often we do not work 'with' despite what we claim.

I want to question when were these offenders ever 'settled into the communities we expect them to return to?' The majority of offenders have led chaotic lives prior to imprisonment, a third of prisoners have no permanent accommodation prior to imprisonment; two-thirds are unemployed prior to imprisonment; 40 per cent of prisoners lose contact with families.

Our contact with the offender is I suggest based on an implied assumption that we will settle them into communities through our intervention. This is what the language offenders have learnt from us; leads them to believe. They will 'settle', meaning put in order; or arrange in a desired state or condition. I would suggest that now is the time to re-think our language — we may be able to assist and guide in securing accommodation or employment, but this is not the whole picture, as left without meaningful support/contact or family support offenders can feel isolated leaving them vulnerable to return to previous routines or associates they are trying hard to move away from. Is there now a case for us to be clearer and more honest and transparent about — what we regard as a successful 'resettlement' outcome?

Has the Probation role in the process been diluted?

When I was preparing for this I asked my Treasurer to tell me what proportion of our budget was dedicated to resettlement activities? We didn't have a figure as we don't differentiate activities in that way any longer; it is now subsumed into general offender management (OM) activities. This confirmed for me one of the great frustrations I have currently with Probation activities. We are required to spend so much of our activities delivering outputs against standards that it appears we have forgotten those who should be at the heart of what we do: the offender. How do we know if what we do really makes a difference to the offender? The recent research on desistance theory would appear to cast doubt on the centrality of the Probation role in the process. In fact the materials on desistance leads me to believe that if the

investment we have made in accredited programmes over the years were a commercial product we might question the value of the return on our investment. I often considered what was so special about the one to one meetings I would have with offenders, did it really make a difference to them? Or was it just that they had grown up? Become a parent? Or left a dysfunctional relationship?

Today's OM does at least have the language of punishment enshrined through their work and well as the control aspect. I would argue that we still remain short on the helping aspect of our work. We are still too process-orientated and we need to have more qualitative outcomes. What do offenders think about the service they receive from Probation. Prisons at least have the MQPL (Measuring the Quality of Prison Life) survey to give them an indication and the British Crime Survey gives some indication to criminal justice agencies, but Probation is almost invisible in this arena. Yet we are measured on our contribution to reducing re-offending.

I would suggest that Probation is spending too much time counting completions, measuring outputs and managing risk processes — this I believe has caused an imbalance in our work. The offender is almost seen as secondary and wouldn't it be nice if the offender turned up for appointments on the right day at the right time, didn't have any issues going on in their lives which they chose to divulge toward the end of their thirty minute session. This must be the OM's worst nightmare as their already filled diary is thrown into chaos. I am acutely aware that the time constraints that OM's operate under now must impact on the quality of time they are realistically able to offer to offenders. Let me be clear I am in no way criticising the work of OM's as I am immensely proud of the work that my staff do in often difficult and challenging situations, as I am sure are my other Chief Executive colleagues across the country of their staff, but I am concerned by the restrictions that drive the performance mechanisms may be having an adverse impact on the quality of outcome.

Just recently in Northamptonshire we carried out a short exercise seeking the views of women offenders on how to improve attendance and thereby avoid breach action; the comments were revealing and in parts a stark reminder of how far we have potentially gone in forgetting basic issues. Some comments:

A survival guide written by women who experienced probation

Leaflets about what will happen on your first appointment would help (given out at court)

I would argue that we still remain short on the helping aspect of our work. We are still too process-orientated and we need to have more qualitative outcomes.

A more 'women friendly' reception area where men do not 'come on' to you

Reception is too small

Alcohol users in reception put you off coming in

It is scary being the only woman in reception. It gets better but the first few times are scary.

Providing childcare

Fear of coming in the first few appointments, feel as though everybody is looking at you

A clock in reception would be good

Resettlement or whatever word we choose begins at the start of the order not the end — Nacro and other organisations have long reminded us of this but it appears in our continual reorganisations we might have forgotten

— some of the more fundamental principles that used to embrace our work. I recognise the impressive work that has been undertaken in this area by many Probation Trusts but my view is that the experience of offenders still demonstrates patchy provision. I still find it astonishing that years after the Woolf report which set the new agenda around decency in prison and the need for proper resettlement activity which should start in prison we have still not been able to maintain a consistent and thorough approach to the issues.

Multi agency

Resettlement activities of any kind in my view is impossible without meaningful contributions from the voluntary sector. A recent piece of information from the Office of Criminal Justice states that 50 per cent of the resources required to assist in the resettlement of offenders lies outside of the criminal justice system (CJS). Therefore it is a no brainer to assume that we can undertake this responsibility in isolation. We know and recognise that many of the cost of re-offending is not easily quantifiable but can and does have devastating and long term implications.

An ex-prisoner's path back to prison is likely to cost the CJS an average of £65k. Prolific offenders cost even more. The average cost of a prison sentence imposed at crown court is roughly £30,500 made up of legal costs. The actual cost of keeping a prisoner in prison vary significantly, but on average £37,500k per year.

A case study from Northamptonshire illustrates:

Gerry (not his real name) sentenced to 16 months custody in September 2009 for Burglary. Is selected as a

Prolific and other Priority Offender due to his previous and current offending. Has entrenched offending behaviour largely related to general acquisitive crimes. Is a class A drug user. No employment history. Numerous previous sentences including both custodial and community sentences. All previous sentences have been under twelve months therefore not on the probation radar. He is also extremely unlikely to have benefited from any programmes in custody due to his sentence length. Six weeks after his sentence a sentence planning board is initiated by Northamptonshire. A number of individuals are invited including our PPO police officers, drug workers etc. Objectives are agreed and Gerry is given a copy of his sentence plan. Referrals are made to courses within the prison to address his thinking skills, drug and alcohol use, accommodation and employment, training and education. Gerry was prescribed drug treatment in prison and prior to release arrangements were made for him to attend the local drug and alcohol service as well as services to support him with relapse prevention. Additional licence conditions were added prior to release to address drug and alcohol use, PPO work and class A drug testing.

Gerry was released in March 2010. He has attended all appointments (55 in total), passed twice weekly drug tests and is attending appointments with all partner agencies to enhance his employment prospects through training and education. He remains on licence.

This case study is probably replicated countless times across the country, but I believe it is illustrative of the pivotal role that voluntary organisations and other partners play in our work with offenders.

As we move to an era of scarce public resources, where we are faced with looking at potentially delivering only our core business, the necessity to work with partners is even more imperative to ensure that resources are used to best effect to achieve outcomes that contribute to our overall business of protecting the public through the safe supervision of offenders in the community.

Barriers to Effective Resettlement

We all know the range of factors which contribute to effective resettlement and these have again been rehearsed through the lectures. A place to live, employment, family ties or at least good support mechanisms and help with health or substance misuse issues. We have known these factors for a long time and I have never heard anyone disagree with what needs to

be done. However there is not a one size fits all resettlement provision and the needs of women, men, Black and minority ethnic, faith groups, age etc all need to be considered in every case. We need to recognise that responses from some communities to the resettlement of certain groups are different and can fundamentally affect successful resettlement for example the stigma associated with imprisonment if a woman with children is sent to prison, those from some faith groups. An event at HMP The Mount recently around community links and effective resettlement, a prisoner said, 'it is difficult to pick up in society after release especially if you are pious and have a long beard — that will get you insults not a job' added to the fear and suspicions as to why such an individual might have gone to prison is only likely to further alienate the individual from his immediate community or the wider community. So our ability to effectively meet the differing needs is questionable if we choose to work in isolation. I don't believe anyone involved in the CJS process would

argue against multi-agency working however my experience is the practice often doesn't live up to the intention. Multi—agency work can be time consuming and difficult but it is effective in its challenge to agencies to define what they do and the resources applied it.

The impact of resettlement on families is often underestimated and we sometimes forget that we

are not resettling just the offender but also the family. Those groups in the community that work with families consistently remind they too serve the sentence and face the alienation from communities and suffer the stigma of having a loved one in prison. How can we address this within the safeguarding children responsibilities we face?

We cannot forget the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act and its impact on successful resettlement. However, we need to look closer to home about our own approach to employing ex-offenders. Why do we believe that any employer will want to employ ex-offenders if we equally are not prepared to, or our organisations have such restrictive policies that it would be impossible even for Nelson Mandela to gain employment? We need to examine our own policies and practices in this area.

We must maintain offenders being at the centre of what we do — that may be unfashionable as public opinion appears to have become more regressive over the years, but our contribution in preventing further victims and reducing crime must be to work more effectively with offenders.

Through care — who cares? I believe we all do — but we just don't remember for long enough.

. . . we sometimes
forget that we are
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Interview: Stephen Shaw

Stephen Shaw was the Prisons and Probation Ombudsman for England and Wales from 1999 to 2010. He is interviewed by **Martin Kettle** who works for HM Inspectorate of Prisons.

Stephen Shaw CBE is the recipient of the Perrie award 2010. He was appointed Prisons Ombudsman in October 1999. His role was extended in September 2001 to take in complaints against the National Probation Service (NPS) from those under supervision in the community and the post was renamed as the Prisons and Probation Ombudsman for England and Wales. His remit was further extended to take in complaints from those in immigration detention in October 2006.

Initially established in order to provide some independent oversight of complaints, during his time in office, the work and responsibilities of the office have expanded significantly. Most notably, from April 2004, the Ombudsman's office has been responsible for the investigation of all deaths in prisons and immigration removal centres, as well as the deaths of residents of NPS hostels (approved premises).

As Ombudsman, he conducted a range of investigations in a personal capacity, including the inquiry into a riot at an immigration centre, an investigation into the death of Harold Shipman, and the first public inquiry to be held into a near death in prison. He also served as one of two independent members of the Parole Board's review committee that considers the cases of released prisoners who have committed serious further offences.

Prior to becoming Prisons Ombudsman, he was director of the Prison Reform Trust (PRT) charity for 18 years.

In April 2010 he left his post and took up a new role as the first Chief Executive of the Office of the Healthcare Adjudicator. This office has been established in order to create a clear separation between the power to investigate and the power to adjudicate concerns about health professionals.

He has written widely on both criminal justice and economic issues. His latest publication is entitled *Fifty Year Stretch: Prisons and Imprisonment 1980 — 2030* and was published in 2010 by Waterside Press.

MK: Many congratulations on receiving the Perrie Award 2010, in recognition of your many years of work to improve the criminal justice system.

SS: I was very pleased when I found that not only was I the recipient of the Perrie Award, but also that

as a concomitant of this I had this opportunity to speak to the readers of *PSJ*. I remarked when I was given the Award that it is the sort of award that is given to people at the end of their careers. I compared it with what happened at the Emmys, the music industry awards, this year. They had given one to Andre Previn, aged 81, one to Leonard Cohen, aged 75, and one to Bobby Darin, who would have been a mere 74 but for the unfortunate fact that he died in the 1970s. So to receive the Perrie award was bittersweet, and I reject the implication that my best days may be behind me. Still, I was delighted.

MK: The Award is mainly in recognition of your years as the Prisons and Probation Ombudsman. Before that you were with the Prison Reform Trust for 18 years.

SS: Yes, two jobs in 30 years. I was described on some left-wing website as a careerist, and I thought two jobs in 30 years was an interesting definition of careerism.

MK: Which was the better of those two jobs?

SS: Each in its time, really. I don't envy people running pressure groups and interest groups these days; I think it's a much trickier business. When I started all those years ago at the PRT, newspapers were literally based in Fleet Street, and they would take a huge amount of pressure group material. You could (and I did) run or drive up and down Fleet Street with a photocopied press notice and hand it in at the desk with a reasonable chance that the next day it would get in. I remember one incident where it was the first time that the government of that time proposed intermittent custody — we used to call them awayday prisons. We thought it was a daft idea. I wrote a press notice saying so, for PRT and also for a separate campaigning body. As I was driving home, just after midnight, on the BBC radio in my old Datsun came on saying that the government is proposing intermittent custody, and already the idea has been criticised by two organisations, PRT and this other one — and that was just me at a typewriter. It was much easier then. Now the serious newspapers want exclusives, they are happy to report crime but less so serious discussion about crime and how to deal with it because other matters, often consumer-based, have taken the space. If you do an analysis of what goes

into the broadsheets it's utterly different from what obtained 30 years ago.

You had that period, around the Strangeways riot and the Woolf Report, and although Harry Woolf very much came to his own judgments, in a sense the influence of Prison Reform Trust, NACRO and the Howard League was at its apogee. That was a tremendously exciting period. In the late 70s the prison system was not much to write home about, there were huge opportunities both to say things and to change and shape — there was a lot to change.

MK: So was being the Ombudsman a bit less exciting?

SS: Not at all. When I joined the Ombudsman's office I enjoyed that too. I used to say to people that I found the move seamless, for two reasons — first, in running PRT I had always wanted to engage with those prison staff, governors and officials who actually wanted to change the mould, so although outside the tent I wanted to and could work with people inside the tent. Secondly, though I liked all the press and policy stuff, I suppose in my juvenile way I liked having a profile and being able to change things. The thing that pleased me most was being able to make small changes for individuals; I remember going to Saughton prison in Edinburgh, and finding this very grubby young man, a sex offender. He'd urinated on himself and was in this horrible old cell, and he just needed a radio; in those days you could get a radio off the chaplain, but he hadn't liked to ask, or he'd asked a member of staff and they hadn't told the chaplain, or the chaplain couldn't be bothered to do it, and before I left Saughton that day I'd got the fellow a radio. It doesn't change what he's done, it doesn't change his life chances, it didn't change the prison very much, but was the world a marginally better place? Absolutely. And lots of what I did as Ombudsman, particularly on the complaints side, was making the world a marginally better place. If something had gone wrong for a prisoner, we could help to put it right, or if the chap deserved to have something explained to him, he got an explanation. If something had gone wrong and the governor really should have apologised for it, that was done. And that accumulation of small improvements, I always thought, was part and parcel of the decency agenda. So that was enormously worthwhile. And I had some great colleagues.

MK: What is the best or worst state of affairs that you have come across in a prison?

SS: To talk about the 'best' prison is difficult. Prisons are an unfortunate social necessity: they have cruelties about them which are necessary — the very fact of separating people from their family is a necessary cruelty; the lack of autonomy over your own life is a necessary cruelty. I support strip-searching, because I think that that is a necessary cruelty of prison. A degree of control or censorship over your means of communication is a necessary cruelty — so to talk about 'good' in that context is tricky. It's not that I think these things are wrong in themselves — I think they are ineluctable — but that's why prisons should be subject to a degree of monitoring.

MK: Much of the Ombudsman work was about complaints. Many people, not perhaps among readers of the PSJ, informed by certain parts of the media, would think that prisoners' complaints are taken too seriously and that prisoners are treated too well.

SS: I never saw it like that. Most offenders have very little confidence in authority, they are alienated from society. I always felt that being treated properly, being confident that if you had a problem it would be put right, was all part of pro-social

I always felt that being treated properly, being confident that if you had a problem it would be put right, was all part of pro-social modelling.

modelling. Prisoners have often been failed by their dad, if he was ever around, they've been failed by the school (as they would see it), they've been failed by workmates, by the police and courts and Probation, they've been failed by the housing authorities, and so they have very little confidence that authority will act other than in a way that disadvantages them. If you run a prison in a way that confirms that — 'Here you get nothing' ... there was a great phrase in one of the complaints I read, from the wing conduct report in an adjudication: 'To be fair' (which I thought was brilliant), 'X causes no trouble on the wing — he asks nothing and gets nothing'. All of that, I think, just confirms a criminal identity, that authority is out to get you, it will do you down, the only people you can trust are your mates who share your view of the world. So I always felt that what we were doing on the complaints side, as far as the prisoner was concerned, was yes, putting right things that ought to be put right, but also saying 'Yes, if you play by the rules, other people can play by the rules, and authority is not unjust and uncontrollable; on the contrary, authority is legitimate, prisons are legitimate, but you

also have expectations about how you should be treated, which are legitimate’.

So I was always very proud of that. I also felt that what the office does in respect of prisons complaints, like all complaints agencies and all Ombudsmen, is about helping the service whom you oversee, to improve the quality of what it does. I have used this metaphor before: if you think of the most successful commercial organisations, say Tesco, what is the first thing you see when you walk in? It’s the customer service desk, which is really the complaints desk, where you take back the fruit that was off when you got home, or you’ve been over-charged on Till 13, or you were supposed to get 2 for the price of 1 but you haven’t. Why’s that the first thing you see? Because they are saying to you as a customer, you are important to us, you are entitled to be treated properly, but also because they want to know when those things are going on. If people are always being over charged on Till 13, then something’s going wrong on Till 13, and we want to change that. If you’re bringing back the bananas that have gone off by the time you get home, we don’t want to stock them from this supplier any more; and so they’re using the complaint as a way of improving service delivery.

I remember a friend of mine who became a governor of what was then a rather notorious young offenders’ institution (it’s now a rather better one and I won’t name it), saying to me that one of the indices of his success was that he was getting more complaints. And the reason for that is that the young men in the YOI, firstly they weren’t terrified of complaining, because they weren’t fearful of recrimination, and secondly they had an expectation that if they complained something might actually be done about it. There is a perverse aspect to complaints, that if you’ve got a really bad institution, you don’t get any complaints, because nobody expects anything to be put right. If you have an excellent institution, you probably get quite a few complaints, because people are confident that something will be done to put matters right. So I think those things are worth repeating.

MK: Then deaths in custody became a major part of your remit.

SS: It was incredibly worthwhile when in 2004 we took on the death in custody remit. The ability to

tell people’s story, the opportunity to engage with the bereaved, the ability to change things hugely for the better for prison staff — in 2004 you got hardly any support, if someone died in prison it was all very macho, you went back to work the next day and no one seemed to care very much. Family liaison was transformed in the prison service, largely I think as a consequence of the Ombudsman’s office’s work. And of course, whether it’s directly related or coincidental, the very substantial reduction in the rate and overall number of self-inflicted deaths in prison. That is work of huge public value, of which I am very proud. Running round Fleet Street is trivial — what is more ephemeral than a press notice? — compared to helping to drive down avoidable deaths

MK : Did those changes come about through the fear of consequences, of investigations if people didn’t open the ACCT and so on, or do you think your role was positive?

SS: I think this has been unacknowledged by politicians — the extent to which the prison service acknowledged the value of independent investigation (and it benefited not least because it involves independent validation of what things are done well). But it is also a way of driving improvements in performance. I had huge encouragement from the service in carrying out this death in custody work. When we first started of course there was some unease — that’s only

There is a perverse aspect to complaints, that if you’ve got a really bad institution, you don’t get any complaints, because nobody expects anything to be put right.

natural. But over the six years when I was personally responsible for about 1000 investigations, there was huge support first from Martin Narey and then from Phil Wheatley — and from everybody lower down the food chain. In some sense it goes back to my personal approach as a pressure group activist, which was that I always preferred to work with the grain rather than against it. And I was very fortunate that the leadership of the service wanted to go in the same direction that I did. I don’t think it’s telling tales out of school, that Phil Wheatley, just before his retirement, when he was responsible for NOMS and with all the meetings with MoJ that he had to spend a lot of his time doing, would personally read some of our death in custody reports. Now that tells you a huge amount about him as an individual, it tells you about the significance that he attached to what we were doing, and it tells you a lot about the impact of the work for which I was responsible.

MK: Do you think that the reduction in deaths in custody can continue? A high proportion of them take place on remand.

SS: They always have done. Funnily enough, if you go and look at the 1922 book *English Prisons Today* by Stephen Hobhouse and Fenner Brockway, they have a section dealing with suicide; and there it is, it's in the first few weeks in custody, it's more likely when you're on remand, the old lags tend not to do it — and broadly, that picture remains the same today. Well, what do we know about reduction in suicides? We know that a lot of it has been driven by improved practice — I think ACCT is a world-class system that saves lives daily — but ACCT is expensive if you do it properly, if you really do it in a multi-disciplinary way — that's a lot of staff and a lot of staff time. So there is pressure there, on some of the processes. We also know that suicide and self harm are correlated with prisoners' sense of their own safety; and with whether they think they are in a good prison that cares for them. Individual care and a sense of safety may be undermined if the population remains at about its current level but the funding reductions that are projected begin to take effect.

MK: Do you have your two penny-worth to put in to the debate about short sentences, and where the government should be going with that?

SS: Well, it is encouraging that you have a Secretary of State who is very publicly making the case that prison is not an effective way of reforming the many mainstream offenders, and the statistics on this are now very powerful: that there is a reformative effect, but with very short sentences prison does marginally make people worse than you might have anticipated — reconvictions are slightly higher than might otherwise be the case. There may still be a case for short-term imprisonment if people continue to breach non-custodial sentences, so that you're being punished not for the seriousness of what you're doing but for its persistence — and a break in a criminal career may still provide some relief. I did a lot of work at Styal prison — and the vast majority of women in the remand wing at Styal are women who are addicted to heroin, whose lives are very bleak; many of them have been subject to physical and sexual abuse from men, their offending is mostly petty, but very persistent, to fund a drug habit — because any

money goes on drugs, you steal food from a local supermarket. We sitting here would describe that as petty thieving. But if you're the person running that corner shop, or the little petrol station, and it's the same woman coming in most days stealing from you, then it's suddenly not petty, and interrupting that criminal career is really rather important.

So imprisonment gives some public protection. I wanted to be careful about what I said there because a lot depends on how bold the Secretary of State is in terms of reforms to sentencing structure — you cannot reduce the prison population by very much unless you reform the sentencing structure. If you look at the make-up of the prison system now, there aren't many petty persistent offenders in the male system;

over half the people there are serving longish sentences for drugs or for sexual crimes or violence. It's a hard nut to crack to say that we want shorter sentences for those people. And it's a hard nut to say that we know short sentences are no use in terms of reducing reconvictions, but what's fed the population with short — sentence people is that they keep doing it time and time again — so what policy are you going to have on breach? The enforcement of community penalties has become much more robust in recent years. It's very hard to say it shouldn't be robust — of course one wants to be forgiving, understanding,

tolerant (tolerance is a good thing, I'd like to see it no longer a dirty word) — but if you actually want to reduce the prison population you have to make some very hard choices about sentencing, and that's a real test. If you don't do that, then I'm fearful that the consequence of current policy is that there will be fewer resources, but the prison population — it may not rise as the worst projections showed, but actually forcing it down from the current 84 or 85000 is going to be incredibly hard. There's a sort of ratchet effect in sentencing, and I hope that officials and politicians are clear just what challenging decisions they will have to make. Saying that nobody goes to prison for less than 3 months or even 6 months (which would presumably set the Magistrates' Association's alarm bells ringing) doesn't really do enough to force down the population.

MK: You have recently published your own manifesto in the form of your book *Fifty Year Stretch*. What for you are the key principles?

We also know that suicide and self harm are correlated with prisoners' sense of their own safety; and with whether they think they are in a good prison that cares for them.

SS: That book is in some ways an optimistic account of how much has changed for the better in prisons, in terms of how they run, the culture, the values of staff, and what they can now deliver in turning lives around. In the book I talk about this as an intensely moral outcome — fewer victims, fewer lives wasted. To talk about reducing the reconviction rate sounds terribly bureaucratic, but turning lives around, meaning fewer victims of crime in the future, that's intensely moral. So in many ways the prison service (and I use them term advisedly) is a huge success story in public administration in the last 30 years, almost entirely unacknowledged by the media, the public and politicians, and perhaps not always acknowledged by prison staff themselves — there is still a long-standing tradition, particularly among officers, of thinking everything's for the worse, and it's always been bad. I've used this metaphor before, but it reminds me of that song the Millwall football supporters used to sing, 'Everyone hates us, we don't care' — there's some of that mood which is there, perhaps not just among uniformed staff either. So part of the purpose of the book is to try to celebrate that success. But it is less optimistic in terms of the reach of the prison system. My 30 years has covered a period when the prison population has more than doubled. And one of the questions that I pose in the book is whether there is some realistic likelihood of reverting to the situation that obtained 30 years ago. 30 years ago there was an active abolitionist movement in the universities and more generally — well, abolition has lost any sort of currency at the moment. Is the thought of reducing the prison population to its 1980 level equally unlikely? The book suggests that that is the case. It was written before Kenneth Clarke became Secretary of State, and before it became clear that law and order was not immune from the sorts of financial cutbacks that the government is currently planning. Kenneth Clarke has had the support of David Cameron in this so far, and it was often said that the Treasury was the best prison reformer, because it is always sceptical about law and order spending, in terms of improving real public safety. The book perhaps underestimated the extent to which the Treasury will prove to be the best prison reformer of all.

To talk about reducing the reconviction rate sounds terribly bureaucratic, but turning lives around, meaning fewer victims of crime in the future, that's intensely moral.

MK: Speaking of value for money, some people trace a change in the management style in NOMS, and think that the emphasis on performance and targets has undermined a reflective and moral approach to managing prisons. Do you share that concern?

SS: My friend Alison Lieblich has conducted research on this very issue at Cambridge, and she has found that sadly there is some truth in this, that many more of those in senior positions in prisons are very task-oriented — they are managerialist — and there isn't the moral dimension to their work that perhaps there was in the past. I think there has been that change, and I do of course very much regret that. In the old days, of course, people would talk about 'the numbers', rather than prisoners, or about 'feeding'; even in David Ramsbotham's day, you'll find Inspectorate reports referring to 'feeding'. This is appalling — and you say 'Oh, we wouldn't do that sort of thing now'; but if you are involved, almost daily, in transferring prisoners against their best interests, almost willy nilly around the prison system, because you've got to find the available spaces, that is dehumanising as an act, and I think it is very much to be regretted that the more reflective approach encouraged by the *PSJ*, and by the Perrie Lectures, is no longer part of the mainstream. Of course it is important that the prison service, and prison governors, make best use of the taxpayers' money. I sometimes point out that my mother is alive, she's 90, she still pays a bit of tax on her pension, and there is no case for that money being used wastefully; so I am in favour of that money being spent well, I am in favour of an evidence-based approach to policy making, so that governors can't just say 'I've got a whim, I want to do X whether there's an evidence that X does any good or not'. But I am equally concerned that if people come into the Prison Service and say 'Well, I'm in the Prison Service, but I could equally well have joined ICI or some other walk of life', without acknowledging what distinguishes all prisons — but especially those in England and Wales — namely the human element, that they run best on relationships, that softer skills matter hugely both to staff and to prisoners,. The new government has suggested in relation to Health that it has become perhaps too target-driven, and that we should be much more interested in real outcomes for people

rather than artificial targets. Some of this is political rhetoric, but some of it does suggest a change of direction.

MK: So you have become chief executive of the Office of the Health Professions Adjudicator, just at the time when the health service is having its biggest reorganisation for however many decades ...

SS: Yes — just to explain what the OHPA is — I'll let you into a secret, there ain't no such thing as a Health Profession Adjudicator, so it's a daft title. The Office was set up under the Health and Social Care Act of 2008, and it is intended to take over initially from the GMC the responsibility for Adjudications in what are called 'fitness to practise' cases. In effect, OHPA will be running the tribunals which determine whether doctors, and in the future other health professionals, should be allowed to continue on the register, or whether they should only practise subject to particular conditions. There is a link back to my previous career, in that OHPA can trace its history back to a judge, Dame Janet Smith, who conducted a series of enquiries following Harold Shipman's murder of hundreds of his patients. She proposed that, for

reasons of public confidence and because in principle the same body should not be responsible for investigating such cases and adjudicating on them, there should be a separate organisation. So this has a certain resonance for me, because I personally investigated the suicide of Harold Shipman, the first independent investigation of a suicide in a male prison in this country. There is a pleasing symmetry for me about how I have ended up here. Healthcare regulation, like prison inspection, and law and order generally, are public goods; they have to be paid for — these are political choices, and some things will go including some things which we think are important

The job of the Office of the Health Professions Adjudicator is about balancing the rights of the doctor who is accused of malpractice against the right of the public to protection from doctors who are not fit to practise — and that's familiar territory, is it not? So in that sense I found the transition from prisons to healthcare seamless.

MK: We wish you well for this new task, and thank you again for your real contribution to the human rights issues which lie at the heart of the criminal justice system.

Report on the first cohort of prisoners that completed treatment in the Fens Unit, Dangerous and Severe Personality Disorder Unit at HMP Whitemoor

Jacqui Saradjian, Naomi Murphy and Helen Casey are all based on the Fens Unit at HMP Whitemoor.

Introduction

Towards the end of the 1990s, there was a recognition that there was a particular group of men for whom no services were available, in prison or the NHS, that would enable them to reduce the risk that they posed. These men were those with a diagnosis of severe personality disorder whose offending was linked to their personality psychopathology. These men were particularly likely to commit interpersonal offences, including serious sexual and physical violence, manslaughter and murder. The 1999 government manifesto, attempted to address this need and consequently, four high secure units were set up; two in hospitals, Rampton and Broadmoor, and two in prisons, Whitemoor and Frankland, to assess and treat men with severe personality disorder who were deemed to be at being at a high risk of reoffending in a form that would caused significant harm, both physical and psychological to another person. The aims of these units were to —

- ensure high quality detailed risk assessment to protect the public from some of the most dangerous people in society
- provide high quality services for the individuals themselves to improve their health outcomes
- reduce the risk that they pose and enable them to work towards successful integration into the community or to be able to be detained at the lowest level of security without harm to others.

These units became known as the Dangerous and Severe Personality Disorder or DSPD units. Whilst the assessment and criteria for admission to the units were centrally set, as the evidence base of best practice with this client group was minimal, each unit developed different treatment programmes under the scrutiny of an expert advisory panel. Consequently, the make-up of the staff teams differed depending on the treatment being delivered, and consequently the costs of running the units the run; each hospital place costing approximately 3 times the cost of a prison place. Interestingly however,

research undertaken as to the characteristics of the men in these establishments indicates that the men in the prison units tend to have committed more serious offences, and that those at The Fens Unit, HMP Whitemoor tend to have higher levels of personality psychopathology and also greater levels of mental health problems than those men in the hospital units (Burns et al, 2010)¹

The unit at HMP Whitemoor has now completed treatment for its first cohort of prisoners. It is too soon to look at the key outcome data, namely reoffending rates, but there is an overall trend that shows a reduction of risk based on specific risk measures. This is a descriptive article and sets out to describe the unit at HMP Whitemoor and the treatment it offers, and then to use this first cohort of men as an exemplar of how they responded to the service they were offered.

The Unit

The Fens Unit at HMP Whitemoor is not a purpose built unit but is an adapted prison wing. It has no special facilities; cells on the top landing have been converted into individual treatment rooms and offices; association rooms become group rooms during the working day and all other facilities are shared with the rest of the prison. The unit has the capacity for 65 prisoners in assessment and treatment, equally distributed across three spurs and 5 prisoners in progression places. There is also a small crisis suite of 3 safer custody cells and a gated cell. The crisis suite is used when prisoners are in a state of crisis (as often occurs in effective therapy) so that they can access additional support in a smaller unit.

The Prisoners

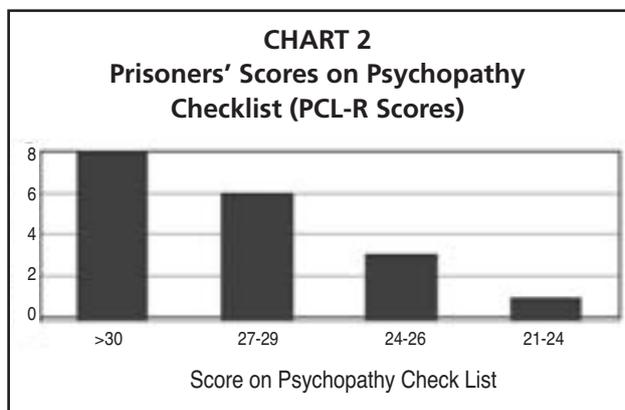
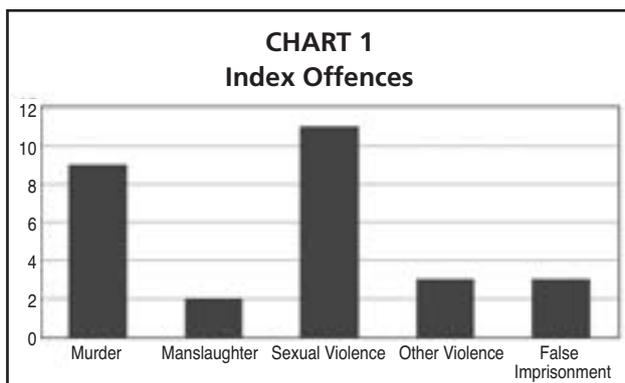
The men who are most likely to meet criteria for these services are almost always 'a management problem'. Most of the men who have come through the service have been violent in prison, many have spent years in and out of segregation and some have come out of the Close Supervision Centres (CSCs). They have been responsible for numerous assaults on staff and other

1. Burns, T., Yiend, J et al (2010) IDEA Research undertaken in the High Secure DSPD Sites for the Ministry of Justice.

prisoners and regular damage to property by smashing and/or burning out cells. They have caused significant operational management issues for Governors and affecting adversely, the regime/quality of life for the majority of prisoners. Some become psychotic and delusional when they are under extreme stress. All suffer significant emotional distress that they have previously managed by offending and/or developing drug and alcohol addictions by attempting to self-medicate the symptoms associated with their personality disorder. Some have long histories of self-mutilation and suicide attempts. A strategy that such prisoners use, is to be in and out of gated-cells and healthcare; regularly taking overdoses, use ligatures or deep self-lacerations. Prisoners with severe personality disorder are also prone to conditioning staff and several have developed inappropriate relationships with officers, teachers, nurses and/or psychologists.

Offending Behaviours

The men who reach criteria for the service most often begin offending at a young age. They tend to commit a diverse range of offences which increase in seriousness. Their index offences are predominantly murder, manslaughter, extreme violent assaults, rape and/or sexual assault but most have committed more than one such offence. Chart 1 indicates the index offences for the first cohort that completed the treatment programme.



Assessment

On The Fens Unit assessment is carried out by taking in groups of 6 to 8 men onto the unit. Assessment consists of undertaking a review of all collateral documents available on each prisoner, individual interviews with prisoners conducted by psychologists and a psychiatrist and daily officer-led group-work. The purpose of the group work is to closely observe and record the prisoners interpersonal behaviour and for the prisoners to learn to work in a group and to establish group identity. The process takes 16 to 20 weeks. To meet criteria the prisoner must: —

- ❑ be a high risk of reoffending (measured by Risk Matrix 2000, Static 99, VRS, HCR-20, and SARN)
- ❑ have a severe personality disorder (measured by IPDE and PCL-R)
- ❑ have a link between his personality pathology and the offences he commits (assessed by the combination of detailed offence analysis and clinical developmental history).

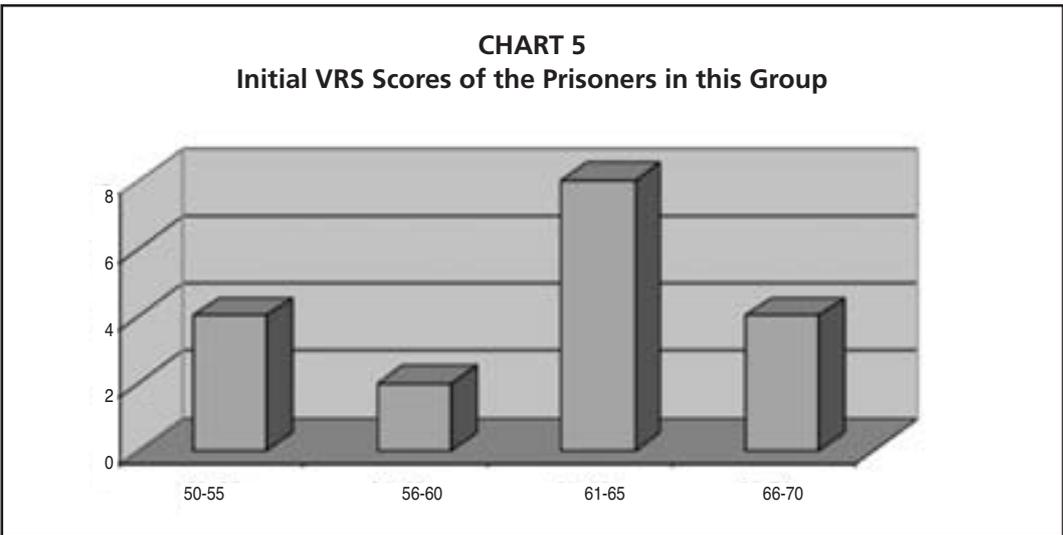
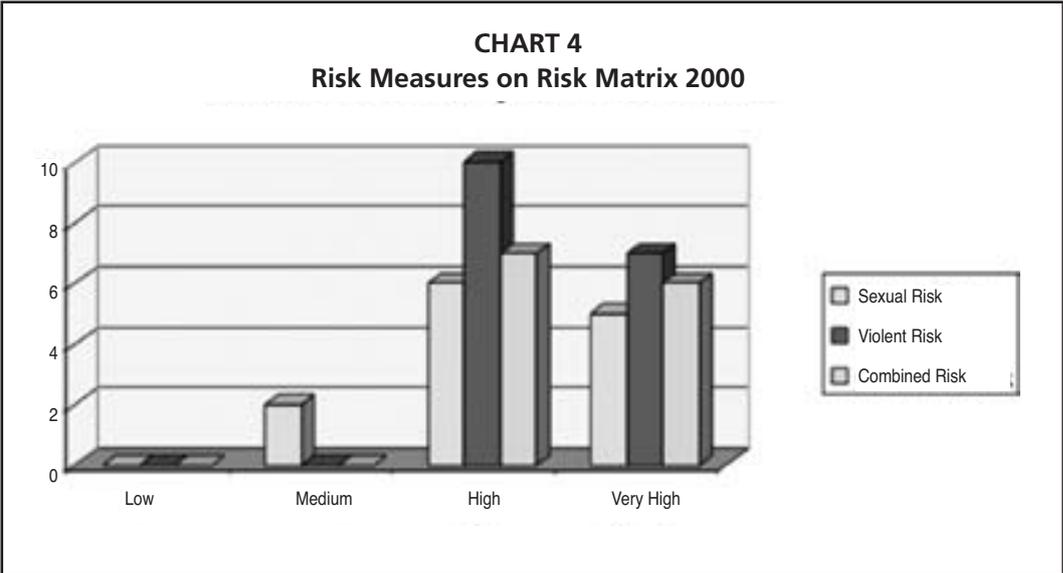
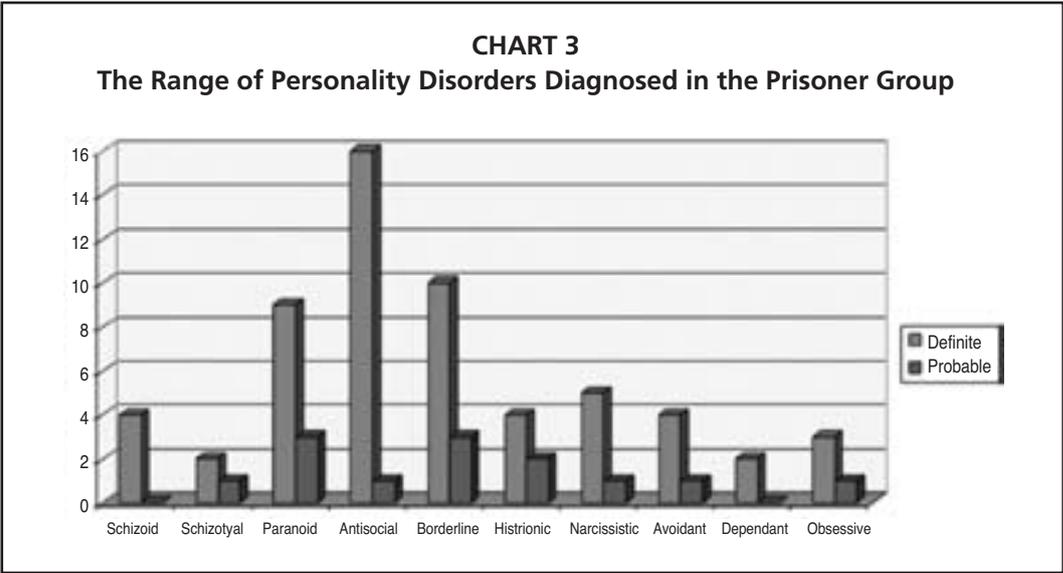
Those who reach criteria carry on working together as a group throughout treatment. Those that do not reach criteria or who refuse a treatment place are returned to the referring prison with a detailed assessment report. The following **charts 3-5** indicate the major findings for the first cohort of prisoners who completed treatment.

These statistics indicate that these are a particularly difficult group of men. They present at a high risk of reoffending yet their personality psychopathology would exclude them from standard prison programmes. They are therefore exactly the group that the service was set up to treat.

Treatment Programme

Whilst traditional accredited prison treatment courses work well for many offenders to help reduce their offending behaviours, men who reach criteria for treatment within the Dangerous and Severe Personality Disorder Units have either been excluded from those accredited prison programmes by virtue of their personality psychopathology (PCL-R Score exceeding 28) or have completed standard offending behaviour programmes and yet are perceived to continue to pose a high risk of re-offending. The treatment programme devised was rigorously scrutinised and agreed by an International Group of Experts in this field and thus has been subjected to similar analysis to accredited prison programmes.

As offending behaviour and level of risk is connected to personality pathology, unless that personality pathology is addressed, at times of stress



such men will resort to previous behaviours. Therefore for risk reduction that is generalisable across environments, personality psychopathology must be treated and not just managed. Personality disorder is a constellation of coping strategies that a person develops as a response to developmental experience. There are manifest dysfunctions of thinking, feeling, behaviour and interpersonal relationships. As the offending is linked to those areas of dysfunction, the programme aims to address the developmental experiences that generate those areas of dysfunction. Thus throughout the programme on The Fens Unit, those aspects of the personality that lead to offending for each individual are assessed and the remedial therapeutic experiences directly address the aetiological personality characteristics that have resulted in the offending behaviours.

Consequently work on each prisoner's offending behaviours is individually formulated to include a developmental psychopathology with detailed assessment of factors that will increase and those that will decrease risk. There is an individual assessment of the motivations to offend, at cognitive and affective levels, defining, directly observing, challenging and recording parallel offending behaviours. Those factors that increase risk for that individual become

treatment targets and the interventions are intrinsic to every aspect of the programme. Each of these factors has been identified for each prisoner and these areas are worked on in both formal interventions (described below) and on a daily basis by officers on the landings and workshops who observe and address his behaviours. These daily observations are communicated at debriefing so there is constant monitoring of his behaviours, beliefs and emotional regulation. The offences that the men on the unit have committed are directly interpersonal offences — therefore the treatment model is cognitive interpersonal. This theoretical model is based on a holistic model of human functioning where it is believed that the personality characteristics a person develops are a result of the interaction between genetic predisposition and experience.

The aim is to develop boundaried relationships with prisoners through which they can experience reparative interventions that will affect all aspects of their functioning. This requires that the prisoners experience change *at the level of affect*; this means at an emotional level, not merely on a cognitive and

behavioural level. The programme involves the following components —

Individual Therapy (IndT) — This starts immediately the prisoner enters treatment and focuses on the development of an attachment relationship in which the aetiological factors of the personality disorder can be explored and addressed, working therapeutically at the level of affect. This allows the prisoner to experience empathy at the level of affective attunement (feeling with the person) rather than solely at the level of verbal cognitions. During the individual therapy every aspect of the person's life past, present and future are addressed. Importantly, all areas related to offending are thoroughly explored in depth and at an emotional, as well as cognitive level. To work at the emotional level is vital if real sustaining change is to be brought about.

Personality Disorder Awareness Group Weekly sessions for 25 weeks, facilitated by therapists and prison officers. This is mainly a psycho-education group to help prisoners understand their disorders.

Cognitive Interpersonal Group Therapy (CIGT) This is an unstructured psychotherapy group which focuses on the interpersonal relationships between all involved in the groups including the facilitators, making explicit the connection between the behaviours,

cognitions and emotions within those relationships and connection between relationships and offending. This group also aims to develop a sense of connection between group members, for prisoners to be able to challenge each other and to allow self to be challenged regarding their distorted beliefs about themselves and others and to find ways to resolve conflict with others in a healthy manner. This group also focuses on the prisoner's ability to take emotional responsibility for his maladaptive behaviours in both the past and in the present by understanding the process of parallel offending and make positive changes to reduce such strategies.

Schema Focused Therapy Group (SFTG) Schemas are underlying beliefs developed through experience which have a powerful (mostly unconscious) influence on behaviour. Groups educate prisoners about distorted schemas which are connected to offending and how these schemas are maintained. Groups will shift from education and awareness-raising to more active challenging of distorted beliefs and methods of behaving in order to maintain these beliefs. Thus this group aims to enable the prisoner to be able

Personality disorder is a constellation of coping strategies that a person develops as a response to developmental experience.

to identify his own patterns of behaving, thinking and feeling (schemas), which contribute to and maintain their maladaptive behaviours; to challenge maladaptive schemas that result in distress and difficulties in life and to change schema-driven behaviours, particularly those associated with offending.

Affect Regulation Therapy Group (ARTG) This starts as educative, raising the prisoners' awareness of their affective states and enabling them to be accurately able to identify the emotions they are experiencing, then shifts towards providing further skills for appropriate regulation of affective states. Prisoners are encouraged to challenge their over-reliance upon one affective state and avoidance of other emotions. Emphasis will be placed as much on those that use repression and dissociative strategies to deal with emotional arousal as on those who appear to have explicitly high levels of emotional arousal. Thus this group aims to facilitate the prisoner to regulate emotion, to recognise when he is diverting one emotion into another and the role of emotional dysregulation in offending. It also aims to help prisoners manage affect adaptively, experience and demonstrate empathy at the level of affect. Importantly it facilitates the prisoner to manage affect more adaptively rather than convert all vulnerable emotion to anger and engage in offence-related fantasy and behaviours. After the group work, there are 10 sessions of individualised skills training and practice sessions to consolidate the group work.

Offending Behaviour Therapy Groups (OBFT) This group deals with all forms of offending, violent and sexual, as they are so often inextricably linked. This group aims to summarise for the prisoners the work that has been done to date on the man's offending behaviour in individual sessions and in other groups and explores offending patterns. The aims of this group are primarily to enable the prisoners to discuss their understanding of their offending patterns and process, the most likely routes to reoffend and other possible routes to reoffend in a group setting. Group work, in particular, helps them deal with the shame and guilt associated with their offending. It also enables them to become more aware of their own and each others' patterns of parallel offending behaviours, emotional and physical risk factors related to offending and to challenge any remaining distorted offence-related cognitions and beliefs. The group

Importantly it facilitates the prisoner to manage affect more adaptively rather than convert all vulnerable emotion to anger and engage in offence-related fantasy and behaviours.

considers individualised triggers to offending, needs met by offending, and how the person learnt that offending could meet those needs. It also addresses the role of violent and sexual fantasy in offending, and goes on to produce an individualised offending formulation and do relapse prevention work. Emphasis is placed on finding non-offending ways of meeting needs that the person finds desirable, acceptable and obtainable, and to develop coping mechanisms that work fast and effectively. Consequently prisoners are able to identify and test detailed relapse prevention plans in practice.

Addictive Behaviour Therapy Groups (ABTG) Almost all of the prisoners on the unit have used dysfunctional strategies to manage affect that have become addictive. Addictive behaviours are seen as a solution to a problem when the real solution was unavailable. This group work addresses all forms of addictive behaviours, not only substance abuse and how they become the perceived need to mask the real need. These behaviours may have had a direct effect on their physiological system such as psychotropic substances (e.g. prescribed or illicit drugs), alcohol, nicotine or an indirect effect by behaviours such as violence, self harm, sexual behaviours, gambling, eating (in excess or starving), and theft. Prisoners will be enabled to recognise the role these addicted behaviours have played and find alternative and more personally and socially adaptive strategies. Individualised Relapse Prevention work is also carried out.

Healthy Sexual Relationships Therapy Group (HSRTG) The Healthy Sexual Relationships Programme is used with all prisoners and is an adapted version of the OBP course, omitting those areas that have already been covered in depth in the rest of the programme. This group concentrates on the sexual beliefs and attitudes held, and how they impact on behaviour. The beneficial role of appropriate sexual fantasy and components of a healthy sexual relationship are also the focus of intense work. The programme aims to develop more healthy sexuality, managing patterns of sexual arousal, increasing healthy sexual interest and focusing on relapse prevention.

Overall Individual relapse prevention plans will be devised with each prisoner based on their individual clinical formulation related to the connection between those factors known for each individual that will

increase and decrease the likelihood of offending behaviour.

Therapeutic Milieu Treatment within the unit aims at creating the quality of interpersonal relationships and remedial experiences that are believed necessary for people to attain the capacity to develop socially adaptive cognitive, emotional and behavioural responses. The aim is for all staff to develop appropriate relationships with prisoners through which they can experience reparative interventions that will change all aspects of their functioning. All staff engage with prisoners in this way and Schema-Focused Treatment Plans are in situ for all prisoners in order to guide all staff in their interactions with prisoners. Thus, interactions with staff upon the landing are considered as necessary for change as the more formal psychological interventions and prisoners are able to access a high level of support via access to operational staff. Attention is also given to the prisoner's employment to ensure that their job is not maintaining their psychopathology. For instance, obsessive compulsive prisoners are not provided with employment as cleaners since this prevents them from acquiring new ways to manage the emotions that they avoid by cleaning.

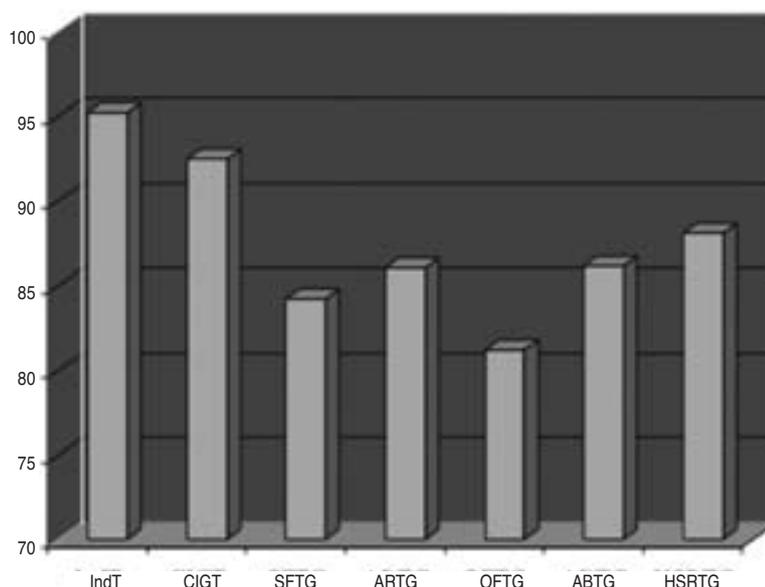
Outcomes

Attendance at Therapy Sessions

People with a diagnosis of personality disorder are notoriously difficult to engage in therapy, particularly in an emotionally meaningful way. This is one of the characteristics that gave them the oft quoted label that they were 'untreatable'. The prisoners who completed treatment however were highly engaged in therapy and their attendance far exceeded what would be predicted for this complex and damaged client group (Chart 6). Indeed many men had an attendance rate of over 95 per cent in all interventions. These are not accredited programmes, and there is an expectation but no compulsion to attend the sessions. As is characteristic of this client group, some of the men withdrew for periods of varying length and then re-engaged. Such ruptures in therapy are predictable for this client group, and for most men necessary to establish genuine change. Part of the high attendance rate is attributable to the slow build-up of the therapeutic interventions. Experience indicates that therapeutic engagement is facilitated by the establishment of an appropriate individual therapeutic relationship and the gradual introduction of therapeutic interventions to a maximum of five formal therapy sessions.

Overview of Fens Unit Cognitive Interpersonal Treatment Programme										
	0 - 6 Months	6 - 12 months	12 - 18 months	18 - 24 months	24 - 30 months	30 - 36 months	36 - 42 months	42 - 48 months	48 - 54 months	54 - 60 months
INDIVIDUAL THERAPY	INDIVIDUAL THERAPY (focuses on the developmental roots of the personality disorder)									
GROUP WORK	PD Awareness (0 - 3 months)									
	Human Relationships (4 — 6 months)									
		COGNITIVE INTERPERSONAL GROUP THERAPY (addresses dysfunctional relationships)								
			SCHEMA FOCUSED THERAPY GROUP (addresses thinking errors)							
				AFFECT REGULATION GROUP (addresses emotional dysregulation)			OFFENCE FOCUSED THERAPY (summarises work on offending)			
									ADDICTIVE BEHAVIOURS GROUP	
									HEALTHY SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS	

CHART 6
Average percentage attendance of prisoners at each of the formal Therapy Interventions



Change in Behaviour

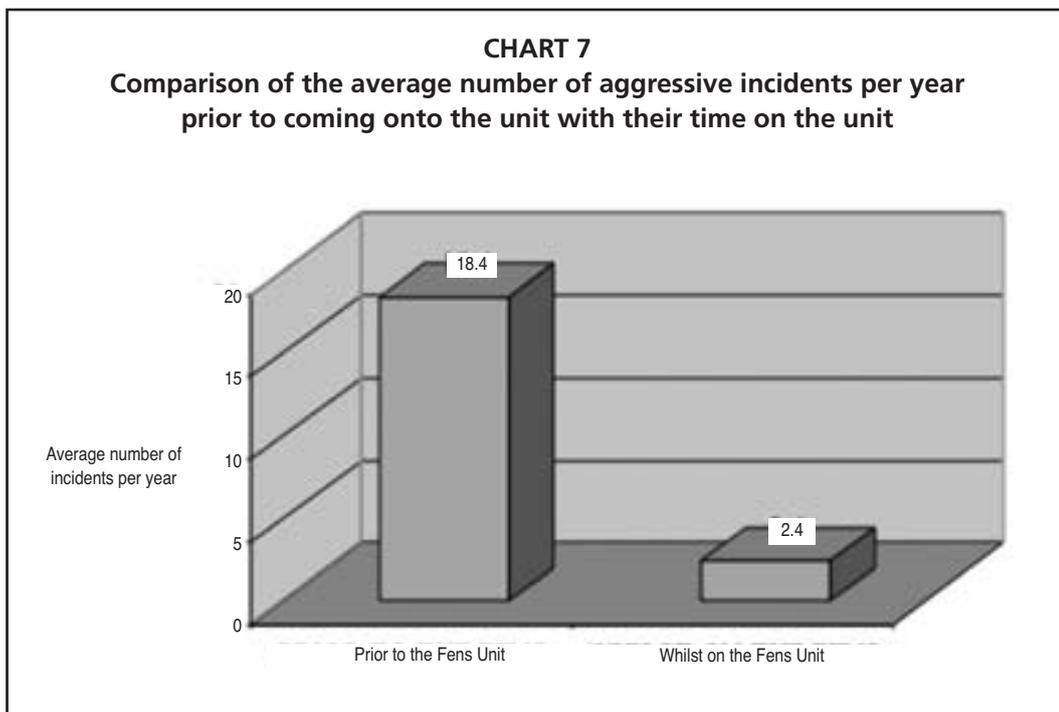
Almost the men on the unit had problematic behaviours in prison prior to coming into treatment. The interpersonal difficulties that these men had in the outside world become more intensified within a prison environment. This can lead the men to at best become belligerent and refuse orders and at worst be verbally and physically aggressive. Several of the men had also previously taken hostages. The first cohort of men was a particularly difficult group, as they were sent as the unit opened. Almost all had been in repeated or constant segregation for several years before coming onto the unit.

Whilst being on the unit the interpersonal behaviours of these men improved over time as relationships developed and thus dynamic security increased. Also the approach to these men was very different in that explicit communication was used with them by all staff with whom they had contact.² The number of incidents per year that this group of prisoners was responsible for perpetrating reduced dramatically. It has been argued that this dramatic reduction in number of adjudications can in part be accounted for by a greater level of tolerance to verbal abuse. This is accepted; however, in many ways the greater number of staff can lead to more incidents as

officers are constantly observing prisoners and will pick up on and challenge minor incidents that may not be seen on other wings. On the unit, all refusals to follow a direct order, serious verbal aggression and all physical acts of aggression, against others or against property are subject to adjudication.

The figures available prior to coming onto the unit are almost certainly an underestimation due to unavailability of all records, whereas whilst on the unit every incident has been recorded. Nevertheless, even counting those incidents that were previously recorded, it can be seen that that is a highly significant reduction in such incidents per year after transferring to the unit. Prior to coming on the unit these prisoners were jointly responsible for an average of 18.4 aggressive incidents per year (considerable underestimation due to missing data). After coming onto the unit the same prisoners were jointly responsible for an average of 2.4 aggressive incidents per year. This was calculated by summing the average number of incidents per year across all 18 prisoners both prior to and after coming onto the unit. This, of course, represents a significant reduction in both the costs of suffering, to officers, other prisoners and the prisoners themselves and also a large financial saving in terms of cost of staff time of sick replacing property and compensation.

2. Murphy N., & McVey, D (2010) *Fundamental Treatment Strategies for Optimising Interventions With People with Personality Disorder in Treating Severe Personality* Edited by Naomi Murphy & Des McVey. Routledge: London.



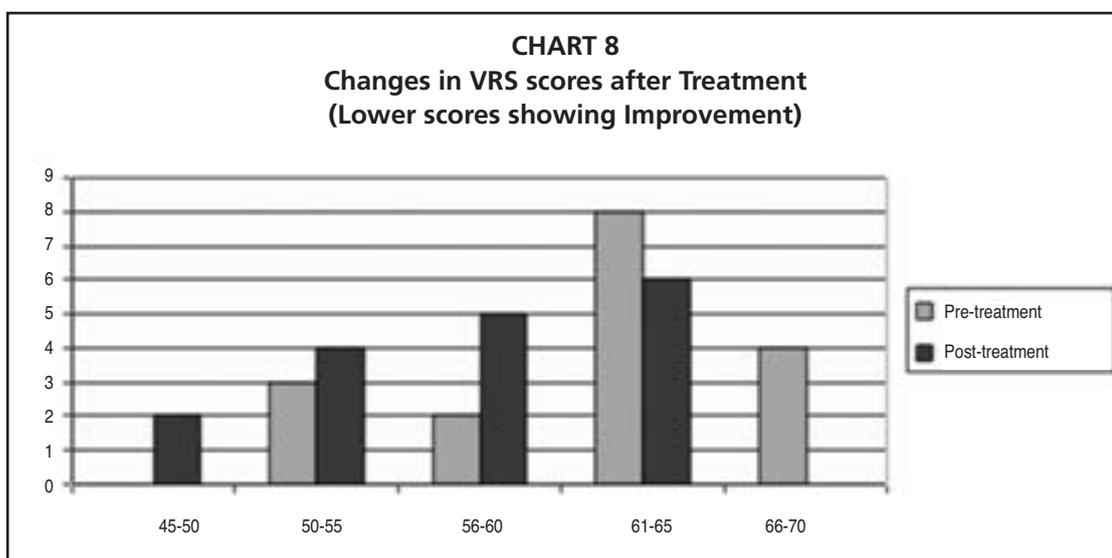
Reduction in Risk as Measured by Formal Risk Measurement Tools

Effective risk assessment and risk management are crucial to public protection and to the reduction of harm to potential victims. It is also crucial for an service such as the DSPD service that is accountable to the public, and exposed to legal liability and media scrutiny.

The Violence Risk Scale³ (Wong, S.C and Gorden, A.,1996) was designed to assess the risk of violent recidivism for incarcerated offenders. It consists of 6

static historical factors and 20 dynamic factors. The dynamic factors can be used to measure changes in risk level as a result of treatment. Dolan and Fulham (2007)⁴ researched the predictive validity of this tool. The results indicated that those with the lower scores on dynamic factors were less likely to reoffend in the 12 months post-treatment. The findings for the 17 of the 18 men who were assessed post treatment how that there was a significant change in the scores(Chart 8).

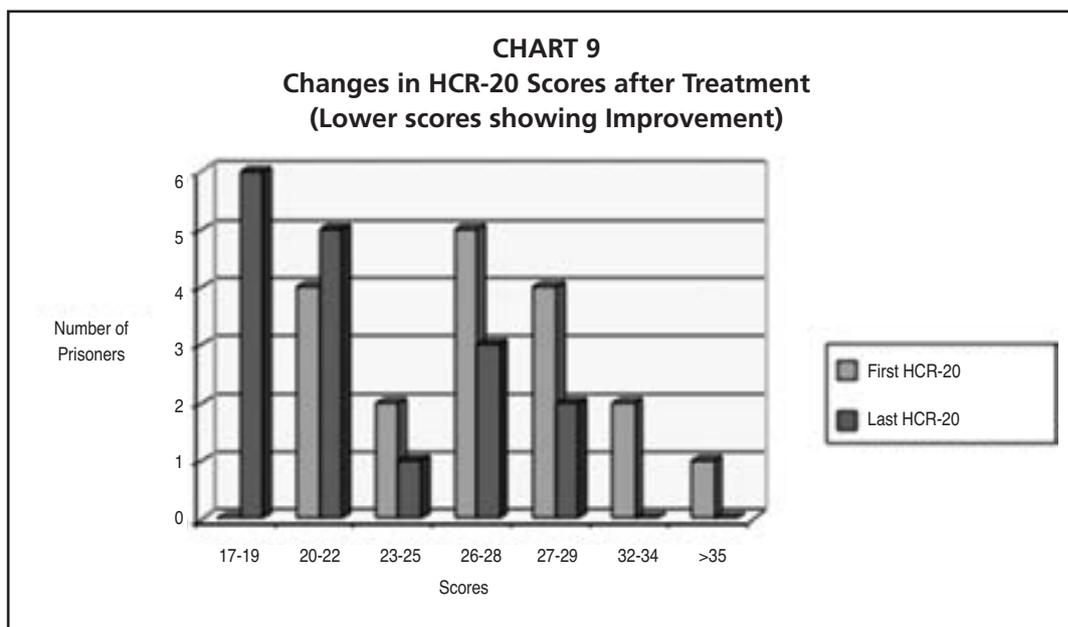
The Historical-Clinical-Risk Management-20 (HCR-20)⁵(Webster, Douglas, Eaves, and Hart, 1997), is a



3. Wong, S.C & Gorden, A.,(1998-2003) Violence Risk Scale. Available from authors. Dept of Psychology. University of Saskatchewan, Canada. S7N 5A5 or at <http://www.psynergy.ca>

4. Dolan, M. & Fullam, R. (2007). The validity of the Violence Risk Scale second edition (VRS-2) in a British forensic inpatient sample. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry and Psychology*, 18, 381-393.

5. Webster, C.D., Douglas, K.S. Eaves,D., & Hart, S.D (1997), HCR-20 Assessing Risk for Violence. Burnaby BC. Canada : Simon Fraser University.



violence risk assessment scheme intended for use in forensic psychiatric, civil psychiatric, and prison institutional and community settings. Its purpose is to structure clinical decisions about the likelihood of violent behaviour. The HCR-20 provides significantly improved valid predictions over previous testing methods. The HCR-20 is an example of a Structured Professional Judgment (SPJ) risk assessment instrument. Clinicians gather qualitative information about the person being assessed, guided by the HCR-20, and the results are used to make treatment decisions. Whilst the historical factors cannot change, the clinical and risk factors can change; the lower the score the lower the risk of violence. In a prospective study of 41 long-term sentenced offenders in two high-security prisons, Belfrage et al (2000)⁶ found that the historical scale was of little use for high-risk men, but that there was a high predictive value for the clinical and risk management scales. These two scales can provide more sensitive discrimination for high-risk groups. Chart 9 indicates the change in HCR-20 scores over the period of treatment on the unit of the 17 men that were able to be assessed post treatment. All but two men showed reduction in the clinical and risk scales on the HCR-20 over the period of treatment.

Progression

All men in the first cohort came to the unit from dispersal prison or segregation. Of the 18 prisoners, 9 were Cat A prisoners. Of those 9 men, 5 have been decategorised, and another man had received local

recommendation for decategorisation and is awaiting the decision of the Central Team. One man has gone to hospital for further treatment, one is waiting for a specialist hospital place, and two will remain in the dispersal system. Six men have been moved to Cat B establishments and a further 5 are awaiting places at Cat B prisoners. Two men are currently on medical hold for physical health problems but they will be leaving the dispersal system. One man, who had previously spent most of his sentence in segregation and who, just prior to coming onto the unit, could not be unlocked without a Senior Officer and 6 officers, was discharged into the community at the end of his sentence where he has lived safely for more than 18 months.

Financial Saving By Treating These Prisoners

Much as been talked about the cost of a place on a DSPD unit. Prison DSPD places are far less costly than hospital DSPD places but are also less costly than placing men regularly in segregation or in Close Supervision Centres (CSCs) to which many of the men in this first cohort were destined had they not been placed on the unit. If these prisoners had not received treatment the ongoing cost to the public would almost certainly have included costs of replacing broken or burnt property, cost of staff time due to recovery from injury and related stress, and cost of regularly moving these prisoners as most prisons did not hold them for long periods. Two of the group of 18 were on 'lay-down'. Although not a current prison practice, these two Cat A men, prior to coming onto the unit, were

6. Belfrage, H., Fransson, G., & Strand, S. (2000). Prediction of violence using the HCR-20: A prospective study in two maximum security correctional institutions. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry*, 11, 167– 175.

moved every month as they were too violent for any prison to manage for a long period of time. This is extremely costly as any movement of a Cat A prisoner involves the use of a specialist van and a minimum of a driver and a relief and a Senior Officer and two other officers as escort. In some cases, it also requires police escorts. Whilst on the unit, all the men in this cohort of

prisoners remained for the full period of their treatment. This in itself represents a considerable saving in the cost of moving such prisoners. Thus the estimates shown below are a considerable underestimate of the savings made by to the public finance by treating these men on the unit and by reducing their risk so that after treatment they can be held in lower levels of security.

Approximate average cost per place prior to treatment	Approximate average per place during treatment	Approximate average per place after treatment
£97,000 approx	£92,000 approx	£44,000 approx

Summary

This paper describes the first cohort of 18 men have completed the treatment programme at The Fens Unit HMP Whitemoor and the outcome of that therapy. These men that were previously considered 'untreatable' and who regularly dropped out or gave only surface compliance to interventions had an extraordinarily high attendance in both individual therapy and groups. There was considerable change in the way that these men related to all staff on the unit and a highly significant reduction in the number of aggressive incidents they perpetrated in custody. There was also a significant reduction in the dynamic factors of formal risk assessment tools. Research indicates that such a reduction is predictive of a reduction in likelihood of reoffending. Some men have changed sufficiently to be able to safely move on to prisons at lower levels of security; one man has been living successfully in the community for more than 18 months and others are now able to be detained more safely in the dispersal system and

engage in programmes from which they were previously excluded.

Importantly, the quality of these men's lives have been greatly improved — bringing to mind Winston Churchill's quote of exactly 100 years ago in 1910 when he said that the civilisation of a society can be judged by the way it treats its prisoners. The treatment on The Fens Unit has brought to many of these extremely troubled and troubling men, a far better quality of life in that it has treated their psychological distress, which previously they managed by self-medicating with drugs or equally addictive behaviours such as sexual abuse and violence. Although much has been written about the financial cost of such a service, for those on The Fens Unit, despite the apparent high cost, the unit constitutes a considerable saving when measured against the cost to the public of keeping such prisoners in custody prior to being on the unit. Treatment also leads to a considerable financial saving in the cost of keeping these prisoners in custody after being on the unit and in the potential for safer rehabilitation and eventual discharge from custody.

Prison staff occupational health and safety and its relationship with inmate health:

A review

Professor Michael W. Ross is based in the School of Public Health, University of Texas¹.

Introduction: Sharing Health Risks in Prison

People sharing an environment, even those with different patterns of social structure and movement, will also share many of the same health and environmental risks. In a prison or jail context, therefore, there may be significant overlap in risks — and health protective factors — between prisoners and prison staff. In a close and closed community, infectious diseases will spread with little distinction between the inmates and the custodial staff. Further, where the environment is stressful, that stress will be manifested in both the inmates and the staff, and where it is unsafe, the lack of safety will extend to staff-prisoner as well as prisoner-prisoner interactions. In addition, environmental hazards will impact on both staff and inmates, whether through cold, heat, noise, poor ventilation, or environmental toxins such as asbestos or lead. Inmates and staff breathe the same air, walk in the same buildings, touch the same objects, and often suffer the same stresses of the psychological and physical environment. Sometimes they will eat food prepared in the same kitchens by the same staff or inmates. From a physical and psychological health perspective, if a prison is an unhealthy environment for inmates, it will also be unhealthy for staff. Thus, it makes no sense to consider the health needs of prisoners without realizing that in many instances, they are closely connected with occupational health and safety issues of prison staff, and vice-versa.

Prison Staff as a Neglected Sector of Occupational Health

If prisoners can be considered a relatively forgotten sector of the community, prison staff might

also be considered a relatively neglected sector of the workforce. The literature on the health and psychosocial stressors of correctional staff is sparse, and staff in correctional institutions are often considered in conjunction with other peace officers such as police, although their duties and risks may vary considerably². Part of this confusion may lie in the fact that in some occupational databases, no distinction is made between police and correctional officers and thus occupational and lifestyle hazards in the two groups cannot be separated. Further, as Jetté and Sidney³ observed, sometimes there is a traditionally adversarial relationship between management and unions where there is a suspicion of any form of testing of union members or their involvement in health-related or health-enhancement programs, and a wariness that information collected might not be in the best interests of their members. On the other hand, more recently other researchers have conducted large studies in correctional systems with a high degree of support and produced important findings that benefit both management and staff^{4, 5}. All of these studies were carried out in North America, although they probably generalize to other Western correctional settings.

Long-term effects of Correctional System Work

Often, health issues of staff in the correctional system focus on short-term risks to health such as trauma or infectious diseases. The long-term effects of working in a correctional setting should also be considered: however, such studies rely on following up large samples of correctional staff over relatively long time periods, or looking at measures or markers of morbidity in correctional staff. Thus, they can be difficult and expensive, or depend on the availability of large state or national occupational data sets which distinguish correctional officers. When comparing mortality and

1. I thank Dr Amy Jo Harzke for her helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.
2. Hessel SM (2001). Police and corrections. *Occupational Medicine* 16(1):39-49.
3. Jetté M, Sidney K (1991). The benefits and challenges of a fitness and lifestyle enhancement program for correctional officers. *Canadian Journal of Public Health* 82: 46-51.
4. Armstrong GS, Griffin ML (2004). Does the job matter? Comparing correlates of stress among treatment and correctional staff in prisons. *Journal of Criminal Justice* 32:577-592.
5. Alarid LF (2009). Risk factors for potential occupational exposure to HIV: A study of correctional officers. *Journal of Criminal Justice* 37:114-122.

morbidity by occupational category, Hessl⁶ notes that law enforcement personnel in the U.S. (police and corrections officers) have among the top ten proportional mortality (death) rates from ischemic heart disease (narrowing of the coronary arteries and decreased blood supply to the heart), with black officers having a significantly higher rates than white officers. Hessl⁶ lists a number of health risks for correctional staff in the prison environment: Tuberculosis, blood-borne pathogens (hepatitis B and C, HIV) in injecting (or tattoo) equipment, lead and asbestos in old facilities, chemicals and solvents in prison industries, noise, heat and cold; the effect of shift work, including disordered sleep; trauma from violence; heightened risk of homicide or suicide; and particularly, stress, which can lead to gastrointestinal complaints, an increased risk of heart disease, and alcohol abuse and subsequent cirrhosis of the liver.

Impact of Stress

Stress may be at the heart of the health issues confronting staff in prisons and other correctional institutions. Because the health of prison staff and inmates is intertwined, stressed prison staff may produce stressed prisoners, and stressed prisoners produce stressed prison staff. The relationship can develop into a vicious cycle. It is thus in the interests of the health and safety of all concerned that the interdependence of prisoners and staff in prison health — infectious disease, violence, environmental hazards, and stress — are seen to interact in a relatively closed system. I use the term 'relatively' closed, because not only do prisoners get released, but prison staff return to the community at the end of their shifts, where the effects of disease and stress are transmitted to their families, with both immediate and long-term consequences.

Staff Stress and Prisoner Stress Interact

There are mutually dependent relationships between staff stress and prisoner stress because both are caused by environmental conditions in the prison. Nurse, Woodcock and Ormsby⁷ conducted focus groups of staff and prisoners separately at a medium-security prison in England and found that the key aspects of the prison

environment that affected prisoners' mental health were isolation and lack of mental stimulation, which in turn encouraged drug misuse as a means of escape and to relieve mental tedium. All the prisoner focus groups emphasized the interactive nature of negative staff-prisoner relationships, where if an officer treated prisoners badly, prisoners would make that officer's life difficult, thus causing more stress for the officers. They also noted how fewer staff increased the amount of time prisoners spent in cells, which made prisoners more difficult to deal with, thus increasing stress levels of both staff and prisoners. Staff focus groups noted, in addition to the stress caused by increasing numbers of prisoners and its resultant increase in tensions between staff and inmates, problems arising from management style — lack of communication, insufficient information, and lack of continuity of care with prisoners.

Uniformed staff considered that stress was the most important issue affecting their health. Prison health care staff were also concerned about how other staff members would 'offload their stress on them' (p482), as well as safety concerns about having to interview prisoners on their own in potentially unsafe situations. The increasing numbers of prisoners contributed to staff stress because it decreased the possibility of positive interactions with prisoners and the chance of identifying prisoners' problems. One staff member observed that 'Only a couple of years ago there was enough time for staff to talk one

on one with prisoners... you could identify prisoners who were having problems' (p482). Such comments underscore the often interactive nature of relationships between staff and prisoners and their strong potential for contribution to stress in both groups.

Nurse et al.'s⁶ study found that stress differed between health care workers in prisons and uniformed officers. In an insightful study of nurses in English prisons, Walsh⁸ notes the cognitive dissonance often felt by nurses as a 'care-custody conflict' created by the clash of the philosophies of caring and custody. This clash, argues Walsh, arises largely because the prison setting has its primary focus on secure custody, while healthcare is often seen as secondary. In her study nurses working in prisons considered their work to be 'emotional labour', due to the continuous negotiation of the web of demanding

Because the health of prison staff and inmates is intertwined, stressed prison staff may produce stressed prisoners, and stressed prisoners produce stressed prison staff.

6. Hessl SM (2001). See n.2.

7. Nurse J, Woodcock P, Ormsby J (2003). Influence of environmental factors on mental health within prisons: focus group study. *British Medical Journal* 327:480-483.

8. Walsh E (2009). The emotional labor of nurses working in Her Majesty's Prison Service. *Journal of Forensic Nursing* 5:143-152.

relationships that exist in prison healthcare settings. Such demands include ensuring that the prisoner feels confident in the nurse's ability or the prison officer feeling that the nurse understands the officer's perspective, or the prison's routine restricting the nurse's ability to provide particular or appropriate care. In Walsh's study, nurses also noted stresses inherent in managing aggression and manipulation, coping with prisoners whose offenses they found difficult to deal with emotionally, working alongside colleagues whose practice was felt to be substandard, and managing relationships with prison officer colleagues. Some described using detachment as a way of avoiding sympathy, empathy and care for prisoners. These data suggest that conflicting professional ideologies, sometimes combined with a relative lack of power in the prison structure, may take a higher toll in job-related stress on health care personnel in prisons.

A second stress-producing aspect of the job for corrections officers is the need to deal with violent and disruptive inmates⁹. Parker designed and evaluated a training course for correctional officers in a 'supermax' facility (designed for violent or disruptive inmates). The course was designed on the premise that correctional staff had received only minimal prior training for managing such inmates, and for understanding mental health issues. The 10-hour course was designed and taught by the National Alliance on Mental Illness especially for correctional staff and focused on the specific conditions that correctional officers faced. Compared with the nine months before the course, incidents of assault by bodily waste (the so-called 'prison officer cocktail') on officers by inmates in the unit after the course declined significantly to zero, and all incidents involving officers also significantly declined. Parker⁸ suggests that this was as a result of training correctional officers to better understand and deal with mentally ill offenders, including talking with offenders in a therapeutic manner, and working as an integral part of the mental health diagnosis and treatment process. This not only reduced violence against officers through providing officers with a better understanding of how to

deal with the mentally disturbed, but also reduced the stress of working with difficult and potentially violent offenders. Thus, some workplace stressors are open to reduction through appropriate training and intervention programs. Further, Parker's data also confirm the close interactions between the adequacy of officers' training and prisoners' behaviour in stressful situations.

Organizational environment and Stress

The prison's physical and organizational environment itself may account for a considerable amount of stress and poor health in workers in the system — both correctional officers and correctional health and treatment personnel. In a landmark study of predictors of stress in both

correctional officers and treatment personnel in the Arizona prison system, Armstrong and Griffin¹⁰ found that correctional officers and prison treatment staff scored similarly on measures of stress and on stress-related health problems (including headaches, fatigue, and stomach trouble). High workplace stress (disturbance of physiological, psychological or social functioning in response to a condition in the work environment which poses a threat to well-being or safety) is experienced by large numbers of correctional staff (39 per cent according to Lindquist and Whitehead¹¹ in their 1986 study) and may be associated with a combination of factors such as the correctional environment itself and low pay and lack of benefits. One of the results of these high

stressors is high staff turnover rates, itself contributing to understaffing and lower levels of training. The interaction of stress, staffing levels and training levels can lead to a vicious cycle of understaffing, stress, high turnover and lower levels of training and experience.

One of the organizational factors that Armstrong and Griffin¹² suggest lead to stress is the shift in the US toward viewing correctional institutions as primarily punitive rather than rehabilitative. Shifts in institutional purpose can lead to a lack of clarity about role, job objectives, and responsibilities, lack of support from superiors, and lack of consistency in instructions and

The prison's physical and organizational environment itself may account for a considerable amount of stress and poor health in workers in the system — both correctional officers and correctional health and treatment personnel.

9. Parker GF (2009). Impact of a mental health training course for correctional officers on a special housing unit. *Psychiatric Services* 60:640-645.

10. Armstrong GS, Griffin ML (2004). See n.4.

11. Lindquist CA, Whitehead JT (1986). Burnout, job stress and job satisfaction among southern correctional officers: Perception and causal factors. *Journal of Offender Counseling, Services and Rehabilitation* 10(4):5-26.

12. Armstrong GS, Griffin ML (2004). See n.4.

supervision. Lack of role clarity, where roles are perceived differently by the staff and by management, may result in staff stress.

Physical environment

Physical environment also constitutes a health and safety risk, with prison officers ranking second only to police officers in the number of workplace non-fatal violent incidents. Prison officers frequently perceive a constant threat of danger from those they supervise, with the suggestion that the threats are higher in maximum-security institutions. This is consistent with reports of higher rates of illness in prison officers in maximum-security prisons compared with minimum security ones¹³. However, the risk of physical danger is significantly higher for prison officers than for treatment staff, and so the finding of Armstrong and Griffin¹⁴ that there were no differences between the two groups in job stress and stress-related health conditions raises questions about the specific weighting of environmental stress on stress and health outcomes. They found that the strongest predictors of job stress for custodial staff were role problems (conflict over differing and ambiguous job demands), while lack of intrinsic rewards, lack of co-worker support, lack of organizational support, and environmental safety were other significant contributors. For treatment staff, the findings were similar. For stress-related health problems, role problems were again strong predictors of physical symptoms, along with lack of organizational support. Interestingly, for treatment personnel, and to a lesser extent prison officers, a second strong predictor of health problems was lack of intrinsic rewards on the job, while environmental safety also acted as a predictor of health problems for prison officers. As might be anticipated, demographic variables such as being female, being younger and shorter duration of employment in the prison system were also associated with increases in stress and health problems. These data, which have the additional strength of being based on a large sample of the total state correctional facility staff, confirm the anticipated linkages of stress and stress-related health problems, but point to management issues such as job role problems and lack of organizational

support (and the presence or absence of intrinsic rewards in the job) as being of equal or greater import than environmental safety in predicting stress and stress-related health problems. The clear implication of these findings is that management issues may be of equal or greater significance than anticipated prisoner violence in the production of stress-related illness such as headaches, fatigue and stomach upsets. Armstrong and Griffin conclude that apart from perceptions of personal safety, sources of stress (as well as protective factors against stress) were similar in both custodial and treatment staff groups, with environmental factors having the strongest impacts.

Predictors of Workplace Stress and Poor Health

Physical environment also constitutes a health and safety risk, with prison officers ranking second only to police officers in the number of workplace non-fatal violent incidents.

A study by Ogi ska-Bulik¹⁵ among uniformed personnel, including a large sample of prison officers, in Poland suggests that the predictors of workplace stress have commonalities in prison officers across western cultures. Ogi ska-Bulik used measures of stress-related illnesses (somatic complaints, anxiety and insomnia, social functioning disorders, and symptoms of depression). The lowest level of stress, the highest degree of a sense of social coherence, and the highest degree of social support (along with the best health status) was found in prison officers, in comparison with the other uniformed servicemen (i.e. police, firefighters, security guards, city guards). Ogi ska-Bulik also found, as did research in North America, that the best predictors of health status were stress at work, and amount of social support. Thus, high workplace stress is associated with poorer health, and good social supports help to both reduce stress at work and be associated with better health. As in most other research on workplace stress, actual levels may depend on particular prison organizational and physical environments: thus, the level of stress compared with other uniformed professions may vary between and within countries.

Blood-born Disease

Taking an apparently very different health-related issue in prison staff, the risk of contracting blood-born

13. Lindquist CA, Whitehead JT (1986) see n.11.

14. Armstrong GS, Griffin ML (2004). See n.4.

15. Ogińska-Bulik N (2005). The role of personal and social resources in preventing adverse health outcomes in employees of uniformed professions. *International Journal of Occupational Medicine and Environmental Health* 18:233-240.

infectious diseases such as HIV, the findings are surprisingly similar in locating the problem in contextual factors which in turn influence individual risks. Alarid¹⁶ carried out a study of nearly 200 correctional officers in a US Midwestern state and found that it was institutional variables rather than individual behaviour that predicted exposure to HIV. It is important to note that HIV here serves as an exemplar infectious disease, since it is transmitted through blood and other body fluids, as are hepatitis B and C, both of which are very prevalent in prison populations, both an order of magnitude more infectious than HIV, and both may have severe or potentially fatal consequences. Alarid notes that prison staff are likely to be first responders to physical altercations, accidents, medical emergencies, and unpredictable and often hostile situations where sharp objects and body fluids may present risks. In addition, prison staff may frequently come into contact with needles discarded by inmates who don't have access to needle exchange or drug treatment, or from prison tattooing practices. Alarid notes that a number of institutional variables are likely to increase risk, including higher prisoner security level units, afternoon and evening shifts when there is more misconduct on the part of prisoners, and length of time employed in the correctional system.

Alarid's data confirm that institutional and contextual variables (perhaps through their influence on individual risk) are among the best predictors of occupational exposure to blood-borne pathogens such as HIV. The custody level of inmates (a measure of the level of violence), length of employment (a measure of the cumulative level of exposure to risk situations), and rank (which reflects the risk of being called to medical emergencies and altercations) all predicted level of exposure to blood-borne pathogens. Interestingly, in terms of the prisoner variables that impacted on the risk of exposure for custodial staff, the sex of prisoners was not a significant risk, but prisoner behaviour (injecting drug use, tattooing, security level, and (for males) inmate-inmate sex) all presented the greatest risk of HIV infection

and thus the greatest potential threat to prison staff. What is important to note in both Armstrong and Griffin's¹⁷ and Alarid's work is that institutional and organizational variables may be strongly associated with health status or risks in correctional settings. The risks of contracting infections such as HIV and hepatitis B and C are obviously dependent on the prevalence of these conditions in the inmate population, but also on contextual and institutional factors: the institutional-level probability of exposure events, such as needle sticks or other forms of exposure to inmate blood and other body fluids, and the individual-level probability of direct exposure, given the individual's role in the institution. The health of prison staff, therefore, needs to be understood not only in terms of the immediate risk situation, but also in terms of the organizational and institutional factors that focus that risk, and may also create some of the stressors that are associated with longer-term chronic disease in correctional staff.

Inmate and Prison Staff Health Interactions

Taken together, these data suggest that there are a number of significant relationships between the health of inmates and of prison staff, and that prison environmental and organizational issues may also play an important role in the health of custodial staff, particularly over the long-term. Interestingly, the pattern also holds with blood-borne infectious diseases, suggesting that the concept of risk *environments*, as much as risk sources and behaviours, needs to be considered. In particular, the long-term health consequences of working in a custodial environment (and the role of stress and environment) need to be better studied. However, any distinction between inmate health and custodial staff health, either short-term or long-term, is likely to be arbitrary. For a number of important health issues in custodial environments, there is little distinction between inmate and free, and the concept of a healthy prison needs to embrace both inmate and staff health as integral to one another.

16. Alarid LF (2009). Risk factors for potential occupational exposure to HIV: A study of correctional officers. *Journal of Criminal Justice* 37:114-122.

17. Armstrong GS, Griffin ML (2004). See n.4.

Reviews

Book Review

***The Dynamics of Desistance:
Charting Pathways through
change***

By Deidre Healy

Publisher: Willan Publishing (2010)

ISBN: 978-1-84392-783-9

(hardback)

Price: £40.00 (hardback)

The Dynamics of Desistance is part of a series of publications being led by Sheffield University's Stephen Farrall, examining issues connected with desistance and rehabilitation. The source material for the book is based on a Phd study of 73 male probationers in Dublin, making the book very much a genuine piece of research rather than a reference book. Potential readers may be put off by the fact that this is, in effect, an international study, by a relatively unknown academic but this would not do the study or the author justice. This is a very well written piece both in terms of its erudite review of surrounding literature and the learning and discussion that Healy draws from her work. If you want to find out about desistance theory read the opening chapters; if you want to expand your knowledge in this rapidly developing area of work read the whole book.

Desistance theory is now starting to emerge as a new method of inquiry into the discovery of reasons why offenders cease to commit crime, and brings a new dimension to the current emphasis on what has become the 'what works paradigm'. The book uses phenomenological accounts of the psychosocial processes involved in desistance from crime. The study group is tracked over a four year period and research methods use in depth interviews with participants and those working with them. This approach compliments some of the early work in this area by authors

such as Shadd Maruna and Fergus McNeill.

Healy uses a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods to explore and describe the attitudes, motivations and behaviours of participants to track the transition to crime free life.

Desistance theory breaks away from the more traditional (and often black and white) description of change that characterises the 'what works' approach, adding greater depth to our understanding of emotional experiences and motivation for change. This approach allows us to put into context some of the ambiguities associated with study in this area, including the transient or even turbulent nature of giving up crime.

I particularly enjoyed the sharp insight that Healy has, the way that she attempts to reconcile competing approaches and track the history and often complex issues that arise in desistance theory. The book begins with a very constructive and well written overview of the current literature which is skilfully set in context and sets the scene for some very detailed enquiry into individual client experiences. This narrative approach to studying behaviour and outcomes, very much championed by Maruna in his now seminal piece set in Liverpool, is to some extent challenging what has become an over simplified approach to service delivery for resettlement and rehabilitation of offenders built around what is commonly described as the 7 pathways. Conventional wisdom suggests that offenders will not give up crime, or at least be vulnerable to re-offending, whilst there are 'unmet needs' within one or more of the pathways, not least in terms of attitudes to crime. Desistance theory starts to broaden out this thinking by examining the real experiences of offenders as they

give up crime, and often concluding that Desisters will find their own path to crime free lives. This is not to say that the core social issues such as access to secure housing, a source of legitimate income and family support are not important, it is the way that these issues affect the lives of offenders is important, it is this narrative that desistance theorists seek to draw out.

Healy, in common with McNeill and champions of this new approach suggest that we need to spend more time looking at social engagement and develop greater understanding of the concept of 'human capital' and how it is exercised. New concepts emerge like the extent to which 'self belief' and 'acceptance' play a major part in reform. This approach helps to give alternative explanations of why some approaches which do appear to deliver results may do so for entirely different reasons:

Ian, who got out of prison early on review [early release], described his experience when he had to talk about his offence in a group based cognitive-behavioural programme for the first time. For him, it was not just a matter of dealing with his feelings about the offence, but also the acceptance he received from both staff and fellow participants after revealing his crime. (p. 141)

Desistance theory places significant emphasis on 'personal connection' and relationships, offenders become 'ex-offenders' when they label themselves differently. In this way Healy is able to draw out how identity is often more important than other factors which lead to being able to live crime free.

Because the study group are probationers, she also provides an account of the relationship and issues that arise in relation to supervision. She gives factors that

indicate success and failure in this relationship; including those that remained crime free because of their fear of custody and those that said they returned to crime because of the failure of the system to provide the help they needed when they needed it.

One interesting outcome to the research was an unusually long follow up on re-offending using criminal office records. This follow up produced surprising results. Only 9.6 per cent of the study group received their first new conviction within the first year, however this rose to about one third by year two and continued to rise to 65.8 per cent by the end of 4 years. This challenges the conventional assumptions around both rates of re-offending and desistance. In this sample group it took an average of two years to first conviction (for those that offended) or three years of being crime free for the group as a whole. Other studies have shown that the highest rates of recidivism occur immediately (i.e. within the first 6 months following probation orders). Healy speculates that this may be as a result of a sudden change in the economic climate in Ireland, although this may equally raise issues about a relatively uncharted area of relapse and temporary desistance. However the author then went on to examine the nature of the re-offending to find that this was composed of relatively minor offences compared with the index offence, suggesting that a shift had in fact taken place that was hidden by the fact that reconviction rates account for all crime and make no distinction for seriousness.

Desistance theory uses this type of information to add greater depth to the understanding, separating primary desistance who are on the path to true desistance, from secondary desisters who we're experiencing a lull in offending.

Another area which was striking was the finding that there was no significant relationship between criminal cognitions and offending behaviour, also picked up by other authors and thus challenging our obsession with tackling criminal thinking through cognitive based programmes. Again she found that it was not that criminal thinking was not important but the style of thinking. Desisters are more likely to externalise blame and not take responsibility as this enables them to maintain a positive self image, whereas persisters were more likely to blame external factors and personal circumstances including the victim for their crime and lack of availability of personal resources.

Overall the book was well written, accessible and should certainly be of interest to practitioners and students alike.

Steve Hall is a prison manager currently working for SERCO.

Book Review

Release from Prison. European policy and practice

Edited by Nicola Padfield, Dirk van Zyl Smith and Frieder Dunkel.

Publisher: Willan Publishing (2010)
ISBN: 978-1-84392-741-9

(hardback)

Price: £55.00 (hardback)

Parole and the opportunity to be released from prison is an important aspect for the vast majority of prisoners incarcerated throughout Europe; with different countries having different legal systems and thus rules. Despite this variation there has been little comparative research published on the rules of release across Europe. 'Release from Prison. European

policy and practice' is therefore a much needed encyclopaedia on the rules of release of sentenced prisoners across 13 different EU Countries. The rationale for the book is therefore to fill this gap in the literature and in addition to look at other surrounding key themes and issues.

To put the anthology in context, the book opens with an introductory chapter which sets out layout and contents; but more importantly is chapter two, which explains the European dimension to the release of sentenced prisoners. Looking at institutions such as the Council of Europe and the Committee for the Prevention of Torture, in addition to judgments of the European Court of Human Rights and Council of Europe Conventions¹, chapter two explains why we now need to look at parole from a European perspective. Not only do all prisoners under the European Convention on Human Rights (Article 5.1) have the right to be released at the appropriate time, there is also the more complicated situation where a prisoner in one European Country is required or requests to serve his sentence in another European Country. Bearing in mind, the huge variance between some countries, when such circumstances arise, under which rules of release should the prisoner be subject? Brussels has issued a number of Framework Directives to try and address such issues, with some of these affecting parole and release. Of greatest importance is Council Framework Decision of November 2008, which looks at: 'mutual recognition to judgments in criminal matters imposing custodial sentences or measures involving deprivation of liberty for the purpose of their enforcement in the European Union'. In

1. These include the European Convention on the Supervision of Conditionally Sentenced or Conditionally Released Offenders; the European Convention on the International Validity of Criminal Judgments; and, the Convention on the Transfer of Sentenced Persons.

essence, parole and release can no longer be assessed in just a UK context.

The following 13 chapters therefore provide an invaluable survey of the situation regarding the rules of release for a number of European countries. The countries included in this analysis are: Austria, Belgium, England and Wales, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, The Netherlands, Scotland, Slovenia and Spain. Each chapter therefore provides a summary of the current law, historical influences and an evaluation of existing research and statistical data; all written by leading academics and commentators.

Finally, in part three, is a concluding chapter which not only tries to bring everything together but also, additionally, includes information from other countries not listed above. In easy to read tabular form, early release from determinate sentences of imprisonment is catalogued and compared; with additions including Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia, Sweden and Switzerland. This brings the total analysis to 24 European Countries. The final chapter also considers the extent to which a 'coherent and fair policy on release from prison is developing within the EU' and analyses the challenges to this endeavour.

Release from Prison. European policy and practice is therefore a much needed and important addition to the literature on parole and release. Not only does it have an impressive array of contributors it is on its own in respect of the breadth and depth of subject matter it offers. If you are interested in comparative research in this area, this is a definite 'must have'.

Dr. Karen Harrison is a Lecturer in Law at the University of Hull.

Book Review

Managing High-Risk Sex Offenders in the Community

Edited by Karen Harrison

Publisher: Willan Publishing

ISBN: 978-1-84392-526-2

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(hardback)

Price: £26.00 (paperback) £62.00

(hardback)

For somebody who has worked with sex offenders for over 15 years, this book brought home to me the considerable developments we have experienced within that period in terms of our working practices with this group of offenders. With an aim to identify methods for preventing further sexual victimisation, the editor Karen Hudson who lectures in Law at Hull University has managed to assemble a wide range of writings from experts within their fields that both chart this development and review most if not all of the measures that are now available to treat and manage sex offenders in the community, particularly those that present a high level of risk.

The cover note describes this book as essential reading for policy makers, professionals working in the field of sexual abuse and interested academics. However for the wider audience it struck me how valuable some of the messages were in terms of their potential for providing an informed view of what works in the management of sex offenders and a possible antidote to the moral panic that the popular press seems to be able to generate around this subject, a theme which its contributors regularly comment upon throughout this book.

Assembled within five distinct sections the reader is first introduced to a discussion on 'paedophilia' and the differences in the definition of the term, before moving onto consider from a NOMS perspective, under the

guidance of Ruth Mann and Mark Farmer the policy issues facing those within offender management who deal with this group of offenders.

Risk Management measures and their effectiveness, such as MAPPA procedures and Registration/Notification requirements are reviewed in the second section, before section three introduces the reader to the main provisions for treatment and risk reduction, including treatment programmes, pharmacotherapy (drug and medical based interventions) and finally restorative justice initiatives such as Circles of Support and Accountability.

The fourth section of the book reminds us that sex offenders are not a homogenous group and provides some detailed writings in specific areas. The opening chapter by Franca Cortini focuses on female sex offenders and the need for a better understanding of their risk assessment, management and treatment needs. Sexually abusive behaviour by youths mentally disordered and intellectually disabled individuals are also put under the spotlight in subsequent chapters with interesting practice perspective being provided from places such as the Netherlands and USA to name just a few.

The concluding section reviews the emergence of on-line offending by examining patterns, prevention and protection, before Keiran McCartan then leads the reader through a discussion on the media and the way it has shaped attitudes opinion and ultimately Government strategy. Finally and most appropriately the last chapter addresses the premise that the rights of the individual sex offender we work with must be balanced against the need for community protection.

Managing High Risk Sex Offenders in the Community is both informing and balanced in its presentation of the methods we

deploy with sex offenders, and will become part of my recommended reading list for those considering entering this field of work.

Phil Jarvis is Sex Offender Programme Manager for Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Peterborough Probation Trusts.

Book Review

Sex offenders and preventative detention: Politics, policy and practice

By Bernadette McSherry and Patrick Keyzer

Publisher: Federation press (2009)

ISBN: 978-1-8628-7763-4

(paperback)

Price: £24.99 (paperback)

This concise book compares laws enacted in Australia, the United States of America and in Scotland to manage high risk sex offenders. The book is authored by two Australian Law professors who specialise in social and public policy. Despite its short length, this book manages to pack a significant punch.

The book opens by illustrating how signal cases in each of the three countries led to calls for the introduction of new measures to manage the risk presented by serious sex offenders. In the American and Australian cases, the legislation allowed for indefinite detention to be ordered post-sentence whilst in Scotland the new orders were for lifelong supervision in the community following release and this was imposed at the time of the original sentence.

The second chapter discusses the practice of risk assessment. The discussion shows how a range of factors and different approaches can be used in order to assess the likelihood of an individual

committing a serious offence in the future, however this also exposes the limitations of the techniques which are far from infallible. The authors take this discussion further: they explore the ethical choices faced by professionals carrying out risk assessments in these circumstances; and how such decisions are essentially political rather than clinical as they enact coercive state directed action against identified groups.

The third and fourth chapters provide a detailed examination of, respectively, the policy and practical issues raised by the three different schemes. This includes the human rights risks posed by the different approaches, their effectiveness and their organisational efficiency. The book draws together these threads and concludes that the Scottish policy provides the more positive approach. The authors argue that this is better in human rights terms because it takes place at the time of sentencing and involves appropriate professional input. They also conclude that it is better organised and has a more therapeutic approach, attempting to reintegrate and support those who present a risk to live safely in the community after their sentence.

Discussing the management of sex offenders is always intensely emotive and for many, this provides a benchmark for the kind of criminal justice system that should exist in a country. As the authors of this book point out, what might start as an 'exceptional' measure quickly becomes the norm and sets the tone for the system as a whole. Given the challenges of discussing the management of high risk sex offenders, this book makes an important contribution by concisely and rationally evaluating different international approaches to this problem.

Jamie Bennett is Governor of HMP Morton Hall.

Book Review

Anti-social behaviour orders: A culture of control?

By Jane Donoghue

Publisher: Palgrave Macmillan (2010)

ISBN: 978-0-230-59444-9 (hardback)

Price: £50.00 (hardback)

Anti-social behaviour orders were one of the flagship New Labour policies, providing a means through which courts could issue orders requiring individuals to desist from anti-social, but not necessarily criminal behaviour. Although there has been negative media coverage of some extreme examples of how the orders have been used and the academic community has been generally hostile, the orders have met with popular public approval. In this book Jane Donoghue, a lecturer in law at the University of Reading reports the findings of a study based on surveys and interviews with local authority officials and judges involved in anti-social behaviour cases. Her essential case is that she sets herself apart from the majority of the academic community and presents a positive argument in support of the use of ASBOs.

The book starts from the premise that most academic criticism has described ASBOs as part of what David Garland has described as a 'culture of control'¹, in other words punitive strategies, domination strategies and techniques of surveillance have been increasingly used to replace more liberal welfare approaches to crime and deviance that sought to address the underlying social problems. Donoghue challenges this perception and argues that those at the margins of society are not only those most likely to receive ASBOs but are also those most likely to suffer the effects of anti-social behaviour. She therefore makes the case that this is an approach that can benefit the marginalised and socially excluded and can form part of a strategy to address the underlying

1. Garland, D. (2001) *The culture of control: Crime and social order in contemporary society* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

social problems. She argues that the criticisms of ASBOs are individually focussed and do not take account of the wider benefits, including those for the victims of anti-social behaviour. She also ties this view in to recent discussions which have sought to link rights with responsibilities and move away from individual rights towards a more collective perspective.

This work is perhaps best viewed as an important corrective to the dominant academic debate on ASBOs and an intellectual justification of the New Labour policy. Given the methodology, focussing on the powerful figures involved in managing the policy, it is perhaps not surprising that such complimentary conclusions have been drawn. It does raise the question of whether a study based in communities where ASBOs are used may have led to more nuanced and challenging conclusions.

There are also several important areas that are left unexplored in this study. For example, the

appropriateness of the use of ASBOs could be further questioned. There is a concern, revealed in the media and academic coverage, about how the introduction of this measure has led to the labelling of the behaviour of certain groups such as young people and a reduction in tolerance. Although in this book the judges and magistrates interviewed suggested that their role is to act as a buffer against this the reality exposed is that they seem to exercise a light touch with 97 per cent of applications for ASBOs being upheld. In addition, the use of criminal justice measures to deal with the social problems of marginalised and excluded communities has been widely criticised. In part because this diverts resources away from dealing with those issues and in such straightened financial times this does raise questions about what is the best use of resources. Would it, for example, be better to use the money spent on ASBOs, or at least a proportion of it,

improving services such as education, health and youth facilities in those communities? This is the central argument of those who support Justice Reinvestment strategies². There is also a concern about how the high profile use of such measures creates a wider perception about poorer communities. It deflects attention from concern over issues such as inequality and poverty, but instead creates an image of a feral population undeserving of welfare support, and so undermines and reduces support for attempts to address the underlying causes of social exclusion³.

Overall, this book is of value in providing a corrective and an intellectual articulation of the official case for ASBOs however the gaps in the coverage mean that it cannot be considered a definitive examination of anti-social behaviour policy.

Jamie Bennett is Governor of HMP Morton Hall.



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2. Allen, R. and Stern, V. (eds) (2007) *Justice reinvestment – A new approach to crime and justice* London: International Centre for Prison Studies.
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