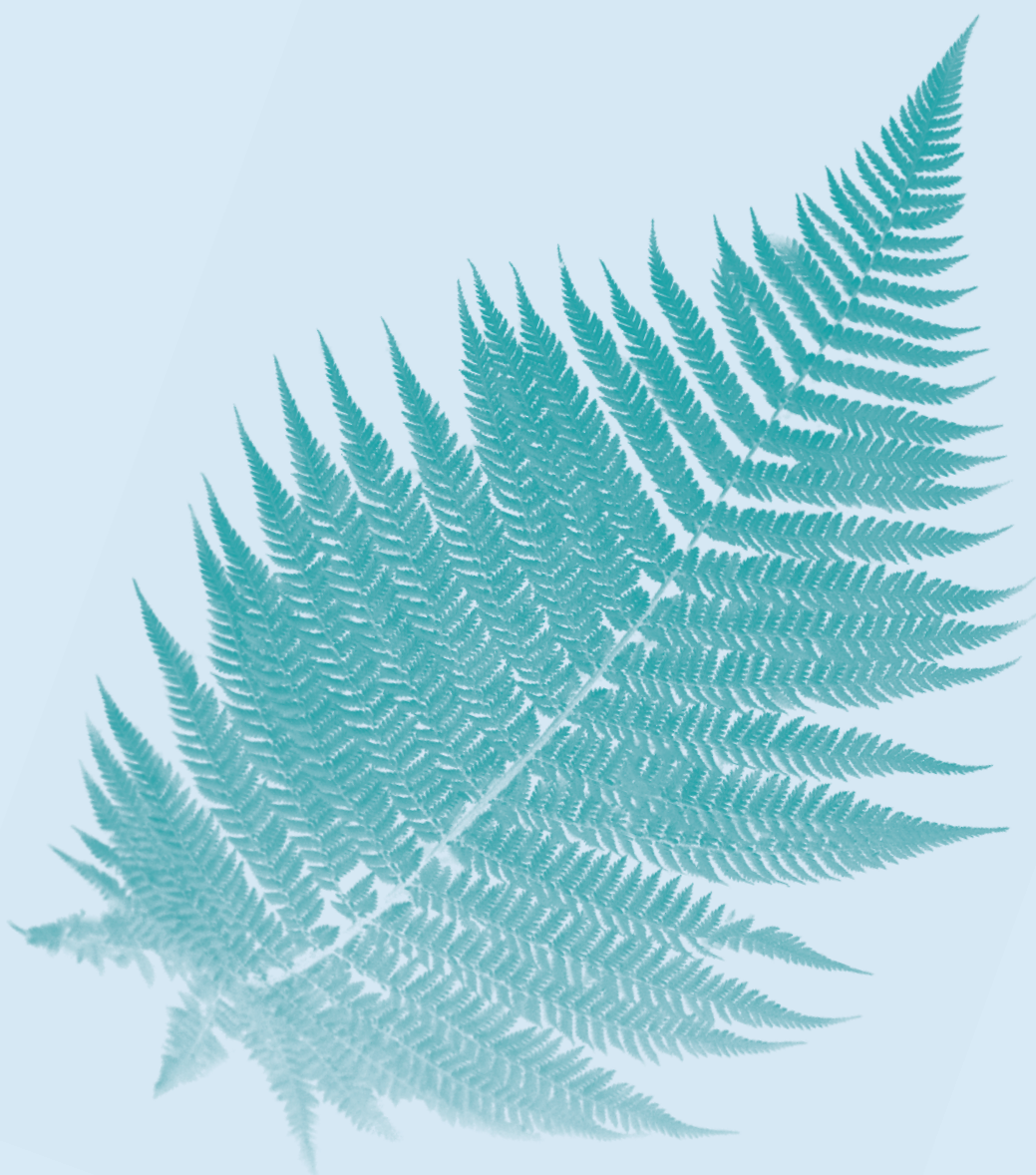


VOLUME 6, ISSUE 2: NOVEMBER 2018

# *Practice*

*The New Zealand Corrections Journal*



DEPARTMENT OF  
**CORRECTIONS**  
ARA POUTAMA AOTEAROA

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ISSN 2324-4313 (Online)



# Contents

<b>Editorial</b> .....	3
<i>Dr Juanita Ryan</i>	
<b>Expanding Residential Community Care and Services: A policy option for New Zealand?</b> .....	4
<i>Shaun Goldfinch</i>	
<b>Creating Positive Pathways: A long-term housing initiative for people released from prison</b> .....	8
<i>Helen Johnston</i>	
<b>The effectiveness of Corrections' rehabilitation interventions with Māori</b> .....	11
<i>Dr Peter Johnston</i>	
<b>Are psychologists meeting the needs of Māori? A perspective from Psychological Services</b> .....	14
<i>Bronwyn Castell, Glen Kilgour and Armon Tamatea</i>	
<b>Aotearoa New Zealand cultural interventions: Current issues and potential avenues</b> .....	20
<i>Annalisa Hughes</i>	
<b>Te Ara Tauwhaiti – Kaupapa Māori supervision pathway for programme facilitators</b> .....	24
<i>Ana Ngamoki</i>	
<b>The development of the Kimihia Violence Prevention Programme: An offence focused programme for women with high and complex needs</b> .....	31
<i>Emma Appleyard</i>	
<b>Kia Rite: Evaluation of a new behavioural skills programme for women</b> .....	37
<i>Dr Bronwyn Morrison, Marianne Bevan and Lucy King</i>	
<b>Development and implementation of trauma-informed training for women's corrections facilities in Aotearoa New Zealand</b> .....	43
<i>Kirsty Dempster-Rivett</i>	
<b>Introducing practice tools for working distinctively with women</b> .....	47
<i>Clare Ingram</i>	
<b>"For me it was normal": Some initial findings from the family violence perpetrator study</b> .....	50
<i>Dr Bronwyn Morrison and Marianne Bevan</i>	
<b>Inter-agency alignment of family violence programmes</b> .....	60
<i>Victoria Nicholson</i>	
<b>Inside probation officer contacts: A summary of an analysis of recorded probation contact sessions</b> .....	66
<i>Darius Fagan</i>	
<b>My Mahi – the Community Work App</b> .....	70
<i>Kate Frame-Reid</i>	
<b>Supporting Offenders into Employment</b> .....	74
<i>Rachel Lishman</i>	
<b>Employability Skills Framework – improving the work preparedness of people with criminal convictions</b> .....	77
<i>Amy McElroy</i>	
<b>Risky business: Evaluating the Dynamic Risk Assessment for Offender Re-entry for use with New Zealand youth</b> .....	81
<i>Jonathan Muirhead, Dr Clare-Ann Fortune and Professor Devon Polaschek</i>	

Drawing on collective strengths to improve outcomes for youth in Corrections' youth units.....	87
<i>Ashley Shearar</i>	
Evaluation of brief methamphetamine-focused interventions.....	92
<i>Jill Bowman</i>	
Practice note: Ara Poutama Practice Framework – our guide to integrated prison practice .....	96
<i>Nova Banaghan</i>	
Book Review: <i>Offending and Desistance</i> .....	100
<i>Beth Weaver, Reviewed by Peter Johnston</i>	
Book Review: <i>The End of Policing</i> .....	102
<i>Alex S. Vitale, Reviewed by John Locker</i>	
Information for contributors .....	104



## Evidence based and culturally responsive practice

At the heart of the Department's approach to rehabilitation is the Risk, Needs, Responsivity (RNR) Model. This model provides the framework for our offence focused rehabilitative programmes as well as probation and case management practice. The effectiveness of this evidence-based approach is borne out in the Department's annual rehabilitation quotient results which show that people who complete our offence-focused treatment are less likely to re-offend. Central to good completion rates is effective engagement by Corrections staff with the people under our management. This means we must ensure our programmes support the cultural needs of the participants, as a culturally responsive approach supports the therapeutic relationship and helps participants engage.

Cultural responsiveness is a key theme in the current journal. Ana Ngamoki, in her article on Te Ara Tauwhaiti, outlines a Kaupapa Māori supervision pathway for programme facilitators. This article provides a strong tikanga based supervisory framework which has recently been embedded across all four regions. A strong model of Kaupapa Māori supervision serves to enhance practice and therefore enhance treatment outcomes. These outcomes are the focus of Peter Johnston's article which outlines the positive impact of our key programmes for Māori. Bronwyn Castell, Glen Kilgour and Armon Tamatea's article also provides some qualitative evidence of the positive impact psychological treatment programmes have in meeting the needs of Māori. Annalisa Hughes' article on more general cultural interventions highlights the importance of using the RNR framework interwoven with tikanga-based approaches if the focus is to reduce re-offending.

We have a particular responsibility to meet the cultural needs of Māori as Te Tiriti partners, however responsiveness includes meeting the needs of other potentially vulnerable groups such as women, youth, or those experiencing psychological distress. There are a number of notable articles focusing on work governed by the Women's Strategy. These reflect our recent concerted effort to develop and tailor programmes and approaches to meet the unique needs of women.

The article on the family violence perpetrator study by Bronwyn Morrison and Marianne Bevan and the article by Victoria Nicholson on Family Violence Joint Commissioning reflect the importance of taking responsiveness a step further. These articles are useful additions to the family violence space and highlight the importance of taking a more whānau-centric approach to this work. Bronwyn and Marianne's research contributes positively to a fairly meagre body of knowledge about family violence perpetrator characteristics.

A well-considered transition out of both formal rehabilitation and Corrections management is pivotal for effective re-entry into society. Activities such as employment, accommodation and education have a cumulative impact on reducing re-offending following offence-focused treatment. As such, the articles relating to viable accommodation options and employment opportunities provide a well-rounded focus to this journal and reinforce the importance of taking a multi-pronged approach to supporting desistance pathways. Of particular note, Shaun Goldfinch's article provides options at multiple points in someone's sentence and challenges us to think more widely about residential community care options.

As always, this edition has a practice note, which this time updates you on the Prison Practice Framework and the excellent work that has been done to progress this.

If you want a good five minute read and a laugh or two, go straight to Peter Johnston's review of "Offending and Desistance". Our other book reviewer, John Locker, gives his thoughts on the fascinatingly titled "The End of Policing" which of course does not provide the straightforward answers a title like this suggests.

There is no doubt, in this edition the reader is spoilt for choice as some of the best of the Department's work is showcased and summarised.

Happy reading!

**Dr Juanita Ryan**  
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# Expanding Residential Community Care and Services: A policy option for New Zealand?

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**Keywords:** *halfway house; residential care; rehabilitation; reintegration; transition*

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With around 2,500 people released annually by the Parole Board on various conditions, and over 10,000 sentenced individuals released each year from prison, there is a demand for support to assist individuals' transition and reintegration back into society, including the provision of suitable accommodation. New Zealand already provides around 1,000 places for a variety of short and medium term "supported" accommodation, and the "Out of Gate" service assists around 2,500 individuals to reintegrate into society. In a number of other countries however, there are large and well-established networks of residential community facilities to provide such transitional accommodation and support: they are called "halfway houses" in the United States, "Community-Based Residential Facilities" in Canada, and "approved premises" or "probation hostels" in the United Kingdom. Scandinavia has a considerable number of "open prisons" that serve similar functions. New Zealand arguably has just one so-called "Residential Community Centre" based in Christchurch: the Salisbury St Foundation, based explicitly on the United States' "halfway house" model. However, drug and alcohol residential treatment facilities such as Moana House and Odyssey House, some supported accommodation offered by private providers, and the Salvation Army Lodges in Christchurch and Epsom, share some characteristics. For this article, these facilities are collectively referred to as "Residential Community Care and Service" facilities, or "residential community facilities" for short.

These residential community facilities provide accommodation, therapeutic services such as alcohol and drug treatment, education and training, and work programmes, amongst other things. They focus on

preparing those who have left prison to adjust to their new lives in society, and act to address the causes of offending so individuals do not return to prison. The American term "halfway" house is somewhat of a giveaway here: the individuals are halfway "out" of prison and halfway "into" society. The house, or residential community facility, seeks to manage that transition in a supportive and somewhat secure environment; and in a large variety of ways depending on the facility and country in question.

Some residential community facilities provide services and accommodation *before or instead* of imprisonment. These can be for those on a sentence, but they may also be for those who have not yet been found guilty or are to be sentenced – such as those on bail or similar. This includes so-called "bail housing", such as "bail hostels" in the United Kingdom and Australia. These provide accommodation, individuals may be subject to some form of security such as electronic monitoring, and some therapeutic and other services may be offered to address individuals' assessed needs. In American parlance, such facilities can be termed "*halfway-in*": they are seen as trying to assist individuals from fully entering the prison system. They provide an environment that is less prison-like than that faced by those remanded to custody, at the same time providing a degree of security and monitoring to mitigate risk. They can also allow therapeutic and other interventions to be delivered that might manage and mitigate difficult issues faced by individuals. In general, such facilities have been associated with positive outcomes, including meeting bail conditions.

Residential community facilities after imprisonment – particularly for those released from prison on parole or similar – are particularly relevant for New Zealand's current policy discussion. Expanded accommodation facilities could facilitate more releases to parole,



all things being equal. Again, the focus is transition from prison to society, but again, the massive size and variety of these facilities makes drawing common lessons difficult. In the United States, these range from house size to large facilities of 900 beds or more. In the UK, in contrast, most Parole Hostels are in converted residences of small size located in residential areas. Some residents may be in the facility 24 hours a day, some may have night curfews and be released during the day. Some are released to employment, returning to the facilities outside working hours. Many are on parole or other orders, and residence is required. Violations of conditions can see individuals returned to prison. Length of stay can last from a few months to years, with the average for the US Delancey St Foundation houses being four years.

The number and variety of these facilities is vast. The United States' Federal Bureau of Prisons contracts out to 200 private centres catering for 24,000 clients annually. The states also offer their own facilities, with, for example, Pennsylvania offering 15 centres directly and contracting out 50 more (Caputo, 2014). The United Kingdom offers around 100 parole hostels, of which about 10 percent are contracted out to non-governmental organisations catering for around 2,000 individuals. Canada's over 200 Community-Based Residential Facilities are run either by the Correctional Service directly or through various community and private providers. Around C\$30 million each year is spent housing 1,200 residents a day.

The United States' system is to a degree predicated on linking prison release to these reintegrational environments. This focus on a somewhat seamless transition including education and training, along with therapeutic treatments, is also of particular relevance for New Zealand as we discuss expanding our services in this area. For example, the state government-run Bo Robinson Assessment and Treatment Center in New Jersey provides 900 beds and offers a wide range of therapeutic programmes, including mental health and substance abuse. They also run reintegrative interventions such as work preparation, work training, and work release programmes, to prepare individuals to re-enter society. The private Delancey St Foundation, founded in San Francisco, but now with housing for a total of around 2,000 people in eight other locations, is particularly focused on providing self-help and education. All leadership, teaching and support is provided by the residents themselves, with residents graduating with at least high school equivalency and three self-described "marketable skills", developed through working in the Foundation's various successful businesses. Some gain degrees, with an in-house bachelor degree offered in partnership with accredited universities.

Scandinavia's (usually ungated) open prisons account for around a third of prison beds and share similarities with residential community facilities elsewhere. They act as "socialisation machines" to prepare mostly longer serving inmates to return to society. Most residents have some time remaining on their sentences so they can be recalled to closed prisons if they violate their conditions. This happens in around 15-20 percent of cases (Pratt, 2008). A good example of a Scandinavian open prison is the Norwegian island prison of Bastøy, which houses 100 inmates, serviced by around 80 staff. Conditions are as close to "normal" as possible, with residents either working or studying, living in shared cottages, shopping for and cooking their own meals, receiving visitors including conjugal visits, and able to walk around the island in their free time. Trusted prisoners can take jobs outside the facility. A curfew still exists, however, and residents face drug tests and head counts, and are subject to limits on phone use (Shammas, 2014). Finland's Suomenlinna open prison is another ungated island community, where 33 staff support 100 electronically monitored inmates to prepare them to re-enter society. Residents are able to work on maintaining the UNESCO World Heritage Site on the island. They are paid at normal wage rates, can obtain vocational and other education, receive treatment for substance abuse, and engage in other leisure activities. Some are able to work outside the prison, including off the island in near-by Helsinki. Residence may be from six months to two years.

In summary, Residential Community Care and Service facilities offer a less restrictive environment than prison, seeking to provide something closer to "normal" life. At the same time, they still provide a considerable – perhaps transitional – degree of security such as electronic monitoring and drug testing, and residents can be returned to custody if conditions are not met. Along with accommodation, a large variety of services are offered to prepare individuals to re-enter society as productive members and to address the causes of their offending. These houses and hostels are part of a system that provides a more-or-less seamless gradual transition from prison, to residential facilities, to re-entry to normal life; hopefully now as crime-free and productive individuals.

## Do they work?

The ubiquity of residential community facilities around the world suggests they provide a useful and perhaps vital function in correctional and rehabilitation systems. But what evidence exists that they do actually work? And what does "work" mean in this context? Some studies of individual programmes find positive results. For New Zealand's own Salisbury St Foundation, of those that graduate the programme, around 30 percent return to prison, generally better than overall return rates (Newbold and Hough, 2009). The Delancey St

Foundation received positive evaluations in various independent studies, including significantly reduced re-offending rates for those completing the programme (Franklin, 1998). A 2017 United Kingdom government review of Parole Hostels in England and Wales found positive benefits, including lower recidivism rates, and argued risk to the public was well managed (HM Inspectorate of Probation, 2017). An Australian review of variants of supported and transitional housing, some of which fit within the residential community facilities' model, found positive outcomes, including on recidivism, albeit with mixed results (Willis, 2016). Canadian government sources claim positive benefits for their community-based residential facilities, including better re-offending outcomes (Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2014). Bastøy open prison in Norway claims a 16 percent re-offending rate, compared to the European average of 60 percent (James, 2013).

Moving to the academic literature – and bearing in mind the huge diversity of residential facilities – in general, a variety of studies across the world find comparable and sometimes better re-offending rates for individuals released from residential community facilities, as compared to direct release from prison without residential requirements or services. Studies of residential drug and alcohol treatment programmes suggest a number of positive outcomes, including reduced re-offending and improvements on other measures of criminality (Perryman and Dingle, 2015; Chenhall, 2008; Patterson et al 2015). Other studies claim work release and other services in residential facilities provide employment and vocational opportunities, and reduce recidivism, re-arrest and reconviction for certain types of offenders (Osterman, Hamilton and Campbell, 2014). However, it is fair to say findings are mixed. A recent study in New Jersey found little difference between recidivist outcomes for a residential community care facility and a comparison group for re-arrests, reconvictions and re-incarcerations (Routh and Hamilton, 2014). A 2017 systematic review of supported accommodation in English-speaking countries found little effect on outcomes, including reconviction and reimprisonment (Gowns, Kinner, Conroy, Baldry and Larny, 2017).

Given the variety of facilities, perhaps we can draw lessons from those facilities that *do* seem to provide positive outcomes. A body of research finds that locating houses in low crime areas and higher socio-economic areas improves outcomes such as reduced re-offending, as does well led, targeted and designed programmes with clear rules and expectations, and well selected, motivated and older residents (McGown, 2016). Success was related to better matching of programmes to offender needs, and for medium and high risk offenders (Perryman and Dingle, 2015; Chenhall, 2008). In some cases, low risk offenders may not benefit greatly from these facilities and may

not be suitable residents. Drawing on lessons from best practice around the world will assist in improving re-offending outcomes if such facilities are expanded in New Zealand; but there may also be other benefits, as I now examine.

## Benefits beyond reducing re-offending

Expanding community residential facilities may save costs relative to imprisonment. The Correctional Service of Canada found federally provided residential facilities cost \$72,333 annually per resident, compared to \$117,788 per inmate incarcerated (Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2014). Probation hostels in England and Wales cost around GBP30,000 per bed, compared to around GBP35,000 in prison (HM Inspectorate of Probation, 2017). Norway's open prisons cost one-third to one-half per prison bed compared to high security prisons (Shammas, 2014).

Cost savings could be delivered for New Zealand through expanding our current services. It costs around \$100-110,000 annually to keep someone in a New Zealand prison. In marked contrast, Salisbury Street provides 11 places annually to Corrections at a cost of \$615,000. There are the costs of negotiating and managing contracts, of course. However, by working with NGOs and private providers, including iwi, it is possible savings could be delivered. Indeed, drawing on the expertise of such organisations as the Salvation Army, which runs programmes across the world, including New Zealand, could provide benefits beyond the simply financial.

Rehabilitation and reintegration too can be conceived as wider than simply reducing re-offending. The desistance literature and "good lives" model focuses on gradual changes in re-offending behaviour and building opportunities for individuals to have better, healthier and more productive lives (Ward and Maruna 2007). Care in residential community facilities has the ability to deliver culturally appropriate programmes for Māori and other individuals, particularly if offered in cooperation with iwi and other community providers. Moreover, by providing sites where other programmes can be delivered that target the needs of Corrections' clients, there is potential to improve completion rates of rehabilitation programmes, and better address the reintegration and transition needs of individuals. A considerable body of evidence finds that residential facilities that link to work training and placements reduce re-offending – and might have benefits beyond that, with workers not on benefits and contributing to paying taxes. Again, outcomes such as improved work skills, education, improved mental and other health, and pro-social change, are positive outcomes in themselves (O'Sullivan, Williams, Hong, Bright and Kemp, 2018). Expanding provision of residential facilities is likely to contribute to these outcomes (Osterman, Hamilton and Campbell, 2014).



## Expanding Residential Community Care and Services: A policy option to consider

The government has signalled it wishes to reduce prison numbers in the next 15 years and provide a safer and more effective justice system. Expanding Residential Community Care and Service facilities has potential to contribute to addressing these aims. These facilities provide transitional and reintegrational support for those leaving prison. They offer a degree of normality for individuals leaving the prison environment, but at the same time provide a degree of security to mitigate risk. They have comparable or better re-offending rates than prison, provide potential savings in costs, and have the potential to provide programmes tailored to the work and training and therapeutic needs of individuals. In summary, expanding Residential Community Care and Services, particularly by drawing guidance from best practice elsewhere, provides a useful opportunity to address key policy priorities.

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# Creating Positive Pathways: A long-term housing initiative for people released from prison

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## **Author biography:**

*Helen has spent most of her career in the finance field, with the last 10 years at Corrections. She has worked across the Department, including as the finance lead for the Reducing Re-offending programme, management accountant for Health and Service Development, and project adviser for the Offender Employment Review in which she created five-year plans for each site. For the past year and a half she has been a senior adviser in the Community Partnerships team, managing contracts for Intensive Support Services.*

Evidence shows that when people are released from prison they can experience a number of challenges when integrating back into the community. In particular, they may struggle to access sustainable housing in either the social or private market, obtain employment, engage in education or develop pro-social connections. Each of these factors, or any combination thereof, can contribute to negative outcomes such as insecure housing, unemployment or benefit reliance. In some cases, an individual's release from prison may be delayed because they have no suitable accommodation to go to.

The Department of Corrections (Corrections) funds a number of reintegration programmes that provide transitional support to people leaving prison and help them towards independence in the community. Reintegration programmes encompass a range of different supports and include the development of a reintegration plan, support to access community services, or direct provision of services such as temporary accommodation and employment.

Service provider evidence (both reported and anecdotal) shows that locating stable long-term accommodation for this group is challenging. There are a range of factors contributing to this issue including affordability, accessibility (for example challenges securing a rental in the private market because of their criminal history) and the current housing shortage more generally. Corrections estimates that there are approximately 700 people released from prison each year with an unmet housing need.

People who have served a prison sentence are also more likely to slip backwards along the housing continuum and experience negative long-term outcomes. For example, these people may need to access emergency housing support through the

Ministry of Social Development (MSD), they may experience long-term stays in insecure or inadequate housing, and they are more likely to be unemployed, be reliant on a benefit, and re-offend, resulting in a greater long-term cost to government (Greenfield, McGuire, Miller & Wolanski, 2016).

## **The initiative**

MSD secured government funding from Budget 2017 to purchase additional long-term housing places for people who have served a prison sentence of more than two years or who have frequent interactions with Corrections. This is a high-liability cohort at risk of re-offending and without assistance to find long-term housing they often wind up in more marginal accommodation e.g. boarding houses and hostels.

The "Creating Positive Pathways" initiative was co-designed by MSD and Corrections to provide access to stable accommodation through the provision of a social housing Income-Related Rent Subsidy (IRRS) placement following completion of a Corrections' reintegration intervention. In addition, funding was secured to provide those being supported through this initiative with services to address any ongoing issues that may be contributing to their offending. This support augments the assistance they have received during their time in prison, with a view to improving their longer term outcomes.

This cross-agency initiative recognises the need for agencies to work together to meet the needs of highly vulnerable populations and intends to show how stable housing has a positive impact on the achievement of positive longer-term outcomes. It also seeks to better understand the housing and support different individuals need to enable them to sustain housing and achieve positive outcomes, including reduced

re-offending, and entering and maintaining employment with reduced welfare dependency.

More specifically, the initiative targets those released from prison who are at risk of negative housing and other outcomes, namely those who have served a long sentence or who have frequent interactions with Corrections (short-servers) and who are:

- assessed as eligible for social housing and have a severe unmet housing need
- participating in an eligible Department of Corrections reintegration intervention.

MSD and Corrections also designed a new service that identifies people who are eligible for this support while they are still in prison and develops a reintegration plan before they are released. This means there is relative certainty of the date they will complete their reintegration programme and require a social housing place.

The initiative began in August 2018 and will run for four years. It will provide:

- 250 (income-related, rent-subsidised) additional placements in public housing across the four-year period. These placements will be specifically for people upon release from prison. These will primarily be for people who have served a long sentence (two years or more) but will also be available for those who have had frequent interactions with Corrections (have served multiple prison sentences of less than two years).
- A wrap-around support service for these households to address any on-going issues that may underpin possible re-offending. The support provided will build on the support they received in prison, with a view to improving their longer term outcomes.

The houses and wrap-around support services will be available as long as there is a need and until transitions to greater independence can be made (as with any other person or household who is allocated public housing).

Service providers will also help clients to access any other services they may need including health, employment or education services. It is expected that most of the support will be required in the first 6-12 months following release to address immediate needs, with a lighter service required from that point on.

Of the allocated places, 125 will be in Auckland with the remaining 125 places split equally between the Wellington and Northland regions. Thirty of the total places will be targeted specifically for women.

MSD and Corrections developed the costing for this initiative based on funding for houses with one or two bedrooms on the assumption that those who require a greater number of bedrooms are likely going back to family who already hold a social housing tenancy

or have housing in the private market. This initiative is targeted at those who are single and do not have stable accommodation upon exit from prison.

## **Evidence to support the services aspect of this initiative**

The Social Housing Valuation (Greenfield, McGuire, Miller & Wolanski, 2015) found that "prison" was given as a reason for exit in six percent of all exits from social housing. Having been in prison before is also a strong predictor of exit from social housing.

The valuation also found that amongst Māori and Pacific people, primary householders who had served a Corrections sentence in the previous 10 years were nearly twice as likely to exit as those who had not. For example, there were 570 exits (28 percent) from people who had a Corrections history in the past 10 years and who were not Māori or Pacifica and 1,655 exits from people who had a Corrections history in the previous 10 years and who were Māori or Pacifica. People who exited as a result of a Corrections sentence seemed to have higher rates of re-engagement with the public housing register.

This evidence highlights the importance of the support services aspect of this initiative. Tailored services that build on support given in prison will help to ensure that once someone is given a ring-fenced social housing place, they are better able to sustain that tenancy and achieve other positive outcomes. Data from the 2014 Welfare Valuation shows the high levels of unemployment among ex-prisoners, evidenced by the high numbers that flow into the benefit system. Nearly two-thirds of ex-prisoners receive a primary benefit (e.g. job seeker or sickness benefit) within one month of exiting prison (66 percent) and a large proportion, (up to 80%), have been found to stay on a primary benefit for more than a year.

This initiative will address an identified gap in service provision. For example, for the month ending 30 November 2016, less than half (49.4%) of the people leaving prison were able to be settled into long-term accommodation, and in December 2016 the same report shows that just slightly more than half (55.6%) were in long-term accommodation. This initiative seeks to ensure that people leaving prison are supported to progress positively along the housing continuum, and to achieve positive long-term outcomes.

## **Evaluation**

MSD has identified a number of opportunities for using feedback loops to respond to early information obtained through the initiative. An evaluation design has been developed so that the early findings inform ongoing delivery. This includes collecting a range of qualitative

information from providers and tenants about their experience of the services.

To assess how well this trial works, outcomes of those accepted into the trial will be compared with those who are not on the trial (but who may have been eligible if more places had been available). An assessment of the implementation of the trial will also be undertaken and some participants will be invited to interviews with researchers to share their stories and experiences whilst on the trial.

The evaluation will seek to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent has the initiative resulted in better outcomes for people exiting prison who have an identified housing need?
2. How well has the initiative been implemented and does it sufficiently support the achievement of the desired outcomes?
3. What general information can be gathered to inform what works?

A range of outcomes will be measured across the evaluation:

- Improved stability of tenure
- Reduced re-offending
- Reduced benefit support
- Reduced Corrections spending
- Improved sustainability of employment and income
- Increased engagement in education and training
- Improved health outcomes
- Improved social connectedness
- Improved confidence, resilience and life skills.

The joined-up approach between MSD and Corrections for the design of this trial means we have created a service tailored to individual need that bypasses traditional processes for acquiring short-term housing and wrap-around support services.

Evaluation of the pilot is due to begin mid 2019, with interim reporting expected by December 2020. A final report is due by December 2022.

## Exit strategy

If assessed as a feasible evaluation approach, MSD intends to undertake an impact analysis after two years of the initiative. This approach will provide valuable insights into whether MSD should continue with the combined housing and support services model, whether the initiative is connecting with the right reintegration programmes, or whether the initiative should be scaled down to fund only the housing component.

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# The effectiveness of Corrections' rehabilitation interventions with Māori

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## **Author biography:**

*Dr Peter Johnston has been with the Department of Corrections for nearly 30 years. He started with the Psychological Service in Christchurch, as one of three psychologists who set up the first special treatment unit, Kia Marama, at Rolleston Prison in 1989. He then moved to the (then) Prison Service, where he was involved in setting up prisoner assessment centres and designing an end-to-end case management system. In his current role since 2004, he leads a team of ten staff who undertake research and evaluation, and conduct in-depth analysis of criminal justice data to shed light on trends and developments in the offender population, measure the impacts of rehabilitation, and to support strategy and policy initiatives.*

## **Introduction**

The Department delivers a reasonably wide range of programmes and interventions to enable offenders to lead law-abiding lives. Research shows that significant reductions in reconviction and reimprisonment can be achieved when well-designed interventions are delivered to appropriately-selected offenders.

The Department measures the impact of its rehabilitation and re-integration activities through the "Rehabilitation Quotient" ("RQ"). RQ gauges the extent to which re-offending is reduced, by comparing rates of reconviction and reimprisonment amongst offenders who received a rehabilitative intervention, with the rates recorded amongst offenders who have an equivalent risk of reoffending, but who had no exposure to the particular intervention.

RQ allows for the fact that a significant number of offenders in any given cohort will have completed multiple rehabilitative and re-integrative interventions. Factors unrelated to the particular intervention under scrutiny are "controlled for" — in other words, all other known factors which could have an influence on outcomes are held constant. This allows us to see how effective a specific intervention is in reducing re-offending amongst those who participated in and/or completed it.

RQ scores are reported as a number between zero and ~20, equating to the percentage-point changes in rates of either re-imprisonment or reconviction. Another term for these figures is the programme's "effect size". The RQ score is based on the percentage-point difference between treated and untreated offender groups; thus, an RQ re-imprisonment score of 10 might indicate, for example, that the rate of re-imprisonment amongst untreated offenders was 35 percent, and the corresponding rate for the programme "graduates" was

25 percent. By international standards, effect sizes of 10 percentage points are considered an excellent outcome<sup>1</sup>.

Limitations of RQ results are recognised. While the RQ methodology involves matching of offenders in terms of a wide range of risk-relevant characteristics (e.g. age, gender, ethnicity, sentence length, sentence type, RoC\*RoI scores<sup>2</sup>), as well as by sentence start or end dates, there is no random assignment of offenders to "treatment" and "untreated" (comparison) groups. Consequently, there is potential for some selection bias to influence scores.

Research generally shows that RQ scores of between 7 and 15 percent are attainable when good quality services are delivered in a targeted manner to appropriately selected offenders. As noted, effect sizes of 10 percentage point reductions can be considered very good outcomes.

## **RQ results for Māori participants**

The Department has sought to understand the differential impact of its programmes on Māori participants. It is not feasible to produce RQ scores for Māori across all rehabilitation and reintegration activities, mainly due to too-small sample sizes; further, the demands of the task means that analysis of results by ethnicity cannot be undertaken every year. However the Department has accumulated evidence to show it is achieving *statistically significant* reductions in re-offending for Māori across certain interventions. The main ones are as follows:

- 1 Results of these analyses are presented in the Department's annual reports – see [https://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/strategic\\_reports/annual-reports.html](https://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/strategic_reports/annual-reports.html)
- 2 Risk of (Re-)Conviction\*Risk of (Re-)Imprisonment, the Department's actuarial re-offending risk measure.



- In each of the last six years effect sizes of between 8 and 13 percent have been recorded for prisoners completing the Special Treatment Unit Rehabilitation programmes (STURP; measured as RQ for re-imprisonment in the 12 months following release). Given that a majority of participants in each annual programme cohort are Māori, these results indicate high levels of positive impact with Māori participants. Subsequent analysis of the 2016/17 results confirmed that, when analysed separately, Māori performed as well, or slightly better, than non-Māori participants.
- In 2015 an 8 percent effect size was recorded for Māori prisoners who completed the Te Tirohanga programme (measured as RQ for re-imprisonment in the 12 months following release). This compares to a 4.1 percent RQ reimprisonment effect size for all (Māori and non-Māori) prisoners who completed the Te Tirohanga programme.
- An 8.5 percent effect size was recorded for Māori prisoners who completed the "Out of Gate" programme (measured as RQ for re-imprisonment in the 12 months following release); this compares to a 6.2 percent RQ reimprisonment effect size for all (Māori and non-Māori) prisoners who completed the "Out of Gate" programme.
- When the records of all participants in prison-based employment training are combined, RQ analysis indicates that effect sizes for Māori prisoners (7.4 percent reconviction, 5.8 percent reimprisonment) are superior to the aggregated results for all participants.
- In 2015 an RQ effect size (reimprisonment) of 7.6 percent was recorded for the programme Mauri Tu Pai, delivered within the Te Tirohanga units, and in which the participants are almost exclusively Māori. Over the last ten years, lesser effect sizes, between 3.1 and 5.7 percent (re imprisonment) have been recorded for individual years.
- A 6.7 percent effect size was recorded for Māori prisoners who completed the three-month Drug Treatment Unit ("DTU") programme (measured as RQ for reimprisonment in the 12 months following release). This compares to a 5.3 percent RQ reimprisonment effect size for all prisoners (Māori and non-Māori) who completed the three-month DTU.
- A 6.6 percent effect size was recorded for Māori prisoners who completed the six-month DTU) programme (measured as RQ for reconviction in the 12 months following release). This compares to a 4.8 percent RQ reconviction effect size for all prisoners (Māori and non-Māori) who completed the six-month DTU.
- A 5.5 percent effect size was recorded for Māori prisoners who completed the Medium Intensity Rehabilitation Programme ("MIRP") (measured as RQ for re-imprisonment in the 12 months following release). This compares to a 5.2 percent RQ reimprisonment effect size for all prisoners (Māori and non-Māori) who completed the MIRP.
- A 3.9 percent effect size was recorded for Māori offenders serving community sentences who completed the Domestic Violence Programme (measured as RQ for reconviction in the 12 months following release). This compares to a 4.2 percent RQ reconviction effect size for all offenders (Māori and non-Māori) serving community sentences who complete the Domestic Violence Programme.

It should be kept in mind that RQ results can vary from year to year, by programme type, and by participant sub-group. In general it appears safe to conclude, however, that Māori participants respond as well as non-Māori to the Department's mainstream rehabilitative interventions.

## Responses of gang members to rehabilitation

According to Corrections data, it has been determined that 70 percent of gang members in prison are Māori. A separate project involving RQ-style analysis was conducted in 2013, focusing on outcomes for gang members who participated in Departmental rehabilitation programmes. This revealed the following:

- Gang-affiliated prisoners were participating in rehabilitation in numbers only slightly below what would be expected given the proportion of the prisoner population they comprised
- Participation rates varied from programme to programme, with (for example) few gang members participating in sex offender special treatment units (STUs), but significant numbers in the Māori Focus Units (MFUs) and Māori Therapeutic Programmes (MTPs).
- Over the last four years, RQ effects sizes of between 2.7 and 6.4 percent (reconviction) have been achieved by the programme Kowhiritanga, delivered within the women's prisons and in which the participants are predominantly Māori.



- Across a range of programmes, RQ effect sizes (i.e. percentage-point differences in rate of reimprisonment between gang members who participated, and risk-matched gang members who didn't) were as large, and sometimes larger, than the effect sizes found for non-gang member participants; this clearly indicates that gang members were obtained some benefits from participating in rehabilitation.
- However, raw rates of reconviction and reimprisonment amongst gang members who participated in programmes were nevertheless invariably higher (and often much higher) than the rates of non-gang participants. Reimprisonment rates for gang participants were even higher than the rate for *non-gang non-participants*.

## Summary

The Department remains committed to addressing the relatively high rates of re-offending amongst Māori offenders. This means delivering a range of programmes, both in prisons and the community, which address the key drivers of offending behaviour in ways that are culturally sensitive to *all* participants. Many of these programmes have been developed with strong Māori input and all have relevant cultural components. In addition, there is a range of culturally-based services which promote a greater sense of identity and connection to whānau and iwi. In the main, the Department has been achieving very promising gains through these programmes and services, but the quest to improve the magnitude of these gains, in terms of reduced re-offending, continues.



# Are psychologists meeting the needs of Māori? A perspective from Psychological Services

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*Bronwyn Castell, PhD; PGDipClinPsych, is a senior adviser in the Chief Psychologist's team. She was contracted into a variety of academic roles at Massey University, and worked in the mental health sector before registering as a clinical psychologist. She has worked in the Department's Special Treatment Units and alongside local psychology offices to provide assessment services. Her PhD thesis applied the concept of kawa whakaruruhau (cultural safety) to the consideration of spiritual and religious needs in mental health care services. She has continued to expand her interest in the application of kawa whakaruruhau, alongside interests in neuropsychology, psycholegal matters, and the psychology of criminal conduct.*

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One of the enduring privileges and challenges in any society is encountering cultural difference. For psychologists, whether in health, education, or criminal justice, the role of culture presents a variety of opportunities to better understand an individual's behaviour, the context in which it occurs, and directions for enhancing wellbeing, safety, and behaviour change in ways that are meaningful for clients and society. Psychologists who work in the criminal justice arena are only too aware of the cold reality of the over-representation of Māori who come into contact with the system and populate our prisons. Accordingly, observing and attending to the cultural salience of clients' behaviour, values and communities is a central domain of inquiry for psychologists in the criminal justice space that informs assessment, treatment and reintegrative practices. In this article, we discuss correctional psychology in light of recent challenges to the cultural relevance of psychology in Aotearoa New Zealand.

In 2017, the Waitangi Tribunal considered a claim that the Crown was not meeting its Treaty obligations

by addressing the disproportionate rates of re-offending among Māori. The Tribunal found that the Department of Corrections in particular had not upheld the principles of equity and active protection by not prioritising Māori in its efforts to reduce re-offending (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017, WAI 2540 #1.1.1). Corrections accepted the findings of the Tribunal (Department of Corrections, 2017b) and, in the report *Reducing Re-offending Among Māori*, outlined a variety of strategies to better address disproportionate re-offending rates (Department of Corrections, 2017c). These included four priority areas: (1) providing opportunities for Māori in industry, treatment, and education initiatives, (2) enhancing community safety, (3) modernising infrastructure, and (4) the importance of whānau and connectedness with wider support networks.

More recently, the Waitangi Tribunal accepted a claim lodged by Dr Michelle Levy (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018, WAI 2725, #1.1.1). This claim proposes that the Crown has failed to ensure that "psychology, as an academic discipline and profession, adequately meets the needs

and demands of Māori." (#2.1.1, p.1). In essence, the claim states there is a need to significantly improve the training of psychologists in cultural competence, and to support the development of a Māori psychology profession and workforce.

Leaming and Willis (2016) also claim that treatment programmes within Corrections are failing Māori, and "have struggled to engage with Māori efforts to improve outcomes for their people." (p.59). They further claim that the primary empirical framework that underpins correctional rehabilitation is fundamentally incompatible with Māori ideas and practices.

While generally increasing numbers of people in prison and the long-standing over-representation of Māori subject to judicial sanction are well-known statistics in the public consciousness, the impact of rehabilitation programmes in general and the role of psychologists in correctional environments is often neglected in conversations about criminal justice. Our lack of visibility functions to hide the positive changes of many individuals who have histories of harm against whānau and communities. Psychologists who work with this population not only operate within strict legislative contexts but also observe ethical principles such as responsible caring, social justice, and dignity to peoples and persons (e.g., protection of victims) which means that much of this work occurs outside of the public gaze. However, perhaps our lack of visibility also allows views like those expressed subsequent to the latest Waitangi Tribunal claim to promulgate unchallenged. We realise that our voice has been largely absent from critical discussion about what *could* be working for Māori. This is not in the best interests of our Māori clients or the goals of our organisation.

That said, we argue that while we should and can do more to address social justice inequalities and inequities for Māori who have contact with the criminal justice system, we do not accept the assertion that psychology (as an applied clinical profession) is dismissive of and not meeting the needs of Māori clients.

Over the years we have made ongoing efforts to meet the needs of Māori clients in the provision of our services; these efforts were outlined by former Chief Psychologist Nikki Reynolds in her evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal (2017, #A038). This included prior bursaries for Māori students studying clinical psychology, the provision of cultural supervision to psychologists, building in cultural competency development into staff progression requirements, and the development of treatment programmes that emphasise a relationship between te ao Māori and Western psychology concepts (described further, below). These initiatives have occurred alongside a range of efforts within Corrections to develop tikanga-based rehabilitative and reintegration approaches (Campbell, 2016).

## Effectiveness of treatment for Māori clients

If the work of psychologists is to work for Māori, our efforts must show evidence of (1) relevance and (2) effectiveness.

The criterion of relevance, in essence, is one of *acceptability*, or meaningfulness for end-users. Tamatea, Mason, and Ryan (2010) and Campbell (2016) describe a range of initiatives designed for Māori – and invariably *with* Māori – developed within Corrections' Psychological Services.

The criterion of effectiveness is one of positive change in a way that is measurable. It is beyond the scope of this piece to detail the content of our rehabilitation programmes. However, it is worth noting that the Department's culture of evaluating outcomes has provided rich opportunities to closely monitor rehabilitation programmes and facilitate quality decision-making about salient issues like format and dosage (e.g. closed/open, fixed/rolling), content (i.e. target behaviours), process (e.g. high-risk personalities), and participant selection.

Consider the following: The Te Piriti Special Treatment Unit (STU) programme treats men who have sexually offended against children, and was designed to promote a synergistic relationship between te ao Māori and Western (primarily, North American) models of therapy that are empirically known to be effective for reducing sexual re-offending (Nathan, Wilson, & Hillman, 2003). Early in its development period, processes were implemented to understand the cultural needs of each client, to incorporate tikanga practices throughout the STU community life, and to create an environment that supported the application of Māori values to therapeutic learnings. Relationships with local iwi, Māori service providers, and Māori staff supported these processes and assisted therapy staff to practise in a culturally responsive manner. An evaluation of this programme was conducted in 2003 (Nathan, Wilson, & Hillman). Among the 201 men who had participated in the programme, only 5.5% committed another sex offence, compared to 21% who did not participate (figures based on an average 2.4 years post-release, matched with the intervention group on age, conviction history, and ethnicity). As far as sexual recidivism was concerned, the programme was at least as effective for Māori men as it was for non-Māori. Furthermore, Māori participants fared significantly better in this programme than in a similar programme that did not have the same level of emphasis on balancing te ao Māori and Western psychology models. These early findings suggested that the work of the Department has been effective in reducing sexual re-offending for Māori specifically.

The results also echo recent findings that the treatment offered by STU programmes, which are largely attended by participants identifying as Māori (Kilgour & Polaschek, 2012), are year upon year the most effective within the Department of Corrections for reducing re-offending (e.g., Department of Corrections, 2016; 2017a; Johnston, 2018).

Despite these encouraging findings, it is equally, if not more, important to us to know from our clients whether we are delivering services in a way that works for them.

## Cultural safety and clients' perspectives

In a nursing article addressing very similar issues to those raised by Dr Levy's claim to the Tribunal, Dr Irihapeti Ramsden first wrote of the need for health services to adhere to Kawa Whakaruruhau – Cultural Safety, a concept first formulated at a hui for nursing education leadership in 1988. This was in response to nursing students' concerns that their cultural identities were not being attended to during training and that they felt ill-equipped to meet the needs of Māori patients. The concept of cultural safety has since formed a part of the New Zealand Psychologists Board practice guidance (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2009). Importantly, Kawa Whakaruruhau is not determined by a top-down perspective on what is "safe", "competent", and "responsive". In the words of Dr Elaine Papps and Dr Ramsden (1996, p.494):

*"It is not the [practitioner] who determines the issue of safety. **It is consumers or patients who decide** whether they feel safe with the care that has been given. (...) [Cultural safety] assumes that each health care relationship between a professional and a consumer is unique, power-laden, and culturally dyadic."*

Kawa Whakaruruhau encourages us to recognise the unique perspective that each client has on their cultural identity, and what they and their whānau want from practitioners in the consideration of that identity (cf. Wepa, 2015). It "provides clients with the power to comment on practices and contribute to the achievement of positive health outcomes and experiences" (Banks & Kelly, 2015, p.27). It also encourages practitioners to avoid assumptions that Māori are somewhat homogeneous in beliefs, practices, or in expectations and experiences of psychological treatment.

Therefore, rather than making assumptions about our clients' experiences, what do our clients actually say about the efforts of psychologists to meet their cultural needs?

## Māori client perspectives on the treatment they have received in Psychological Services

Over a number of years we have had the opportunity to work intensively with clients in seven Special Treatment Units (STUs), in which specialist programmes are facilitated by Psychological Services. Six STUs are based in prisons, with one (Tai Aroha) based in the community. These units offer treatment for serious sexual and physical violence offending within a therapeutic environment. Several formal and informal studies have taken place to ascertain the views of our clients on the treatment they have received. Here we describe the findings of five studies, over eight years, which specifically sought the views of Māori clients regarding the relevance and effectiveness of psychological treatment.

In 2010, two informal studies looked at Māori clients' experiences of programmes where a dynamic relationship operates between te ao Māori and Western psychology approaches (Hallet, 2010; Jervis, 2010). The findings of Hallet (2010), who interviewed four Māori participants, found that clients' experiences were largely positive. Paramount to this was treatment provided in the context of an environment and therapeutic relationships that fostered attitudes of genuine interest, awareness of cultural differences, warmth, and collaboration. Jervis (2010) also interviewed four Māori participants, finding that clients additionally valued having a Māori practitioner with whom to talk and that this enhanced their learnings from the STU programme. In this latter study, no clients felt there was incompatibility between te ao Māori and the Western psychology aspects of the STU programme.

In 2012, a review of the violence-prevention focused STUs was undertaken (Kilgour & Polaschek, 2012). As part of this, exit interviews were held with 22 men who had completed this nine-month Special Treatment Unit Rehabilitation Programme (STURP). Participants were drawn from four STUs with some being surveyed immediately following treatment and some at around eight months following treatment completion. Eleven (50%) of these men were Māori. Part of the exit interview directly canvassed these men about: (1) how effectively the programme met their cultural needs; (2) what effect the programme had on the client's pride and identity as a Māori man; and (3) what the programme could do to be more effective in addressing the client's cultural needs. Other parts of the survey asked questions about how the (mainly) non-Māori facilitators respected and related to programme participants. Universally, Māori and non-Māori participants alike expressed that they felt respected by their facilitators and that respect was actively

demonstrated in the context of genuine personal interactions. The willingness of facilitators to provide attention, actively listen and respond in a respectful manner was particularly important to the men. Additionally, Māori participants consistently valued the programme. Overall, men stated that they believed the programme met their cultural needs; however a few, mainly non-Māori men, had difficulties with the cultural content, expressing a negative view of the Māori content in the programme or finding that it increased the complexity of the material to be learned. Suggestions for improvement included a need for a greater Pacific influence. One client of the 11 indicated preference for the programme to be run by mainly Māori staff in a Māori way (these matters are addressed, below). Others saw the STURP as a programme that is useful for people of all cultural backgrounds.

The Tai Aroha programme is a community-based residential violence prevention programme based on bicultural principles. The inclusion of tikanga-informed practices and support has marked this programme out as a successful long-running programme that has enjoyed support from Tainui. Tai Aroha has long held a particular focus on employing staff who have the ability to support the tikanga foundation of the programme. Programme participants are routinely interviewed prior to completion and exit from the whare. Sixty-four participants over seven years have offered insights into their experience and opinions of psychological practices in terms of outcomes important to them, notably cultural responsive practices and overall emotional wellbeing:

Most of the men ( $N = 64$ ) who have to date responded to the interviews identified as Māori or Pasifika. With regards to how well the programme was a good “fit” for their cultural needs, the majority reported positive experiences (i.e., good fit). Some comments to this effect included:

*“I never knew any tikanga. I learnt my iwi, waka, wairua, spirits, te para para, waiata, karakia. It has all been helpful.”*

*“Not too bad. Learnt things here I can take back to my kids.”*

*“Very well. Encouraged connection to identity. Learnt a mihi and to whai korero. Tikanga is uplifting – sense of pride – balanced – more spiritual.”*

Some views were less enthusiastic, reflecting a significant range in people's experiences:

*“Before I came it [culture] was part of the programme, but since I've been here there hasn't been anything on it. My cultural needs haven't been met.”*

Others commented that they were not ready to participate in cultural processes at the time of the programme, serving as a reminder that addressing the needs of Māori does not always equate with participating in traditional practices.

A theme of diversity in clients' views is repeated throughout this series of studies. Some clients value te ao Māori as integral to their identity, and wish for this to be incorporated within the treatment context, while some prefer not to participate in traditional practices. The recent revision to the STURP (violence prevention) programme aimed to address this diversity, with the establishment of cultural development plans. These are client-centred personalised plans for cultural development which take into account clients' current stage of cultural identification. With the support of a therapist, clients co-create the plan to identify their needs (e.g., developing a te ao Māori perspective on a particular psychological concept), and are supported to access resources to assist in the outworking of the plan. These plans have also been implemented in the Tai Aroha programme. The STURP revision also incorporates the creation of a pūrākau (story) to give clients the opportunity to share the narrative of their life history with their therapy group and therapists. The natural environment of the unit aims to further support cultural connection and expression through client-created paintings and sculpture.

In January 2018, focus groups were held with Māori men participating in the STURP programme, to understand the extent to which cultural aspects of the programme were beneficial or not to participants (Oliver, 2018). Clients spoke of valuing the autonomy offered to them through the development of their cultural plan. Knowing that they could define what was culturally important to them helped empower them to take a personal investment in a prosocial cultural identity. Participants in this study expressed the importance of having different cultural perspectives available to them by non-Māori therapists and peers, and importantly a genuine approach by staff to considering culture. No clients were reported to identify detrimental impacts upon their cultural identity.

## Our conclusions

Taken together these findings offer positive support for the responsiveness of psychology to Māori, and that Māori clients often have the opportunity to have their cultural needs met in an understanding and therapeutic environment. The experiences of clients here, held in contrast against some of the more critical rhetoric, are reminiscent of earlier New Zealand research. For example, research has produced findings indicating that Māori clients value the therapeutic services provided by non-Māori practitioners despite an increasing deficit-focus due to the lack of a Māori health workforce



(Awatere-Walker, 2015), and that clinicians are able to satisfactorily consider the spiritual beliefs of their Māori and non-Māori clients. Academic rhetoric, that such beliefs are ignored by practitioners, may be little more than that – rhetoric (Castell, 2013).

We do not suggest that the evidence presented here is comprehensive and we do not yet have a full picture of what psychology's "success" with Māori would look like from a whole-of-community perspective. What it does is present a snapshot across both formal and informal attempts to understand whether we can be considered to be working effectively with Māori clients. These are the views of men we have had the opportunity to work with; it does not necessarily reflect the views of those who have not had this opportunity. We do not know how many, through concern that their cultural identity may be marginalised during their work with psychologists, have chosen to go elsewhere for help. Further, we cannot ignore the clients who do not feel the same way as the larger proportion of their peers, for example the clients who may prefer treatment from a primarily te ao Māori perspective (which is offered through a range of tikanga programmes in Corrections), or those who prefer not to address culture as part of their work with psychologists.

Nevertheless, the instruction from previous New Zealand research seems applicable here: "Strive to be aware, to understand, and to take collaborative action" (Castell, 2013, p.203); work to reflect on and dwell with discomfort and difference; and "see and hear, beyond ethnicity, the human [we] are working with." (Awatere-Walker, 2015, p.ii). From the evidence we have presented, similar themes are repeated. In particular our clients' feedback about what allowed them to benefit from the treatment they received: awareness, genuineness and respect; the opportunity to be heard and listened to; and the opportunity for te ao Māori to exist in a dynamic relationship with psychological models.

Can more be done? Absolutely. We wholeheartedly support the continual development and refinement of our work with Māori clients, including building partnerships that strengthen this further. We also support the practice of asking what clients need and have received, rather than relying on assumptions. Finally, we support the resourcing of these efforts. Despite the promulgation of oft-unqualified views suggesting that psychologists are dismissive of Māori needs, we hope to have demonstrated through client feedback that we have made many successful efforts to attend to our clients' cultural needs, and continue to do so.

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# Aotearoa New Zealand cultural interventions: Current issues and potential avenues

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## **Author biography:**

*Annalisa Hughes worked as an intern for the Research and Analysis team in 2017, after which she returned to continue studying towards her Masters of Forensic Psychology and Postgraduate Diploma in Clinical Psychology at Victoria University. Her research interests are focused around the notion of "culture" and understanding what this means for human behaviour, particularly offending.*

While cultural interventions comprise a core part of the Department's programme suite, both in terms of specific programmes as well as components to "mainstream" criminogenic programmes, there is a lack of evidence showing that cultural interventions "work" to reduce re-offending. Despite this absence, a myriad of evaluative studies have documented that both providers and offenders believe culture enhances programme effectiveness and improves offender responsivity in a number of ways. This article explores some of the challenges entailed in trying to research whether cultural interventions "work". It considers the concept of "culture" in the Corrections' sphere (including what does and does not "count" as a cultural intervention) and examines some of the theories how and why culture should, in principle, "work" to reduce re-offending. Applying recent findings from psychological research on culture, it closes by suggesting some ways in which the Department could further realise the potential of cultural initiatives.

Culture is a topic often neglected in forensic psychological research, yet it is imperative if we are to further understand the significant disparities experienced by different groups (Tamatea, 2017). One of the most pressing issues for the Department of Corrections is the overrepresentation of Aotearoa New Zealand's indigenous population in prisons, with approximately half of all inmates identifying as being of Māori heritage (Department of Corrections, 2017). In recognition of this disparity, the Department provides offenders with rehabilitation programmes that are designed to be culturally responsive, in order to meet specific needs. It is the ethical responsibility of the Department to ensure these programmes are proven to be effective in reducing re-offending through robust research and evaluation. Unfortunately, both international and national research is limited when it comes to evaluating cultural interventions, and only a small effect upon recidivism found, with research indicating that for every 19 offenders who complete

a cultural intervention, only one less will be reimprisoned (Heffernan, MacKenzie, & Frawley, 2017).

When it comes to ensuring our cultural interventions adhere to best practice and are evidence-based, a number of challenges present themselves. One of the most significant is the innate complexity that accompanies working with culture in any medium, when no standard definition of the term exists. In 1952, some 150 meanings of the word "culture" were recorded, and this complexity has only increased in the 65 years since (Baldwin, Faulkner, Hecht & Lindsley 2006). Researchers seem to agree that culture is something that can be investigated at both the group and the individual level, but this agreement dissipates as we delve further (Jahoda, 2012). Some seem to understand culture as something that exists externally to a person, the dynamic social environment in which an individual is located (Bond & van de Vijver, 2011; Cole & Parker, 2011; Schwartz, 2009). Others see it as something that can have an impact upon an individual's internal processes, such as their cognitions and emotions, and still others put forward that it affects behaviour from both directions (Hong, 2009; Oyserman & Sorensen, 2009; Wan & Chiu, 2009). Thus, when we consider cultural interventions in a correctional setting and attempt to evaluate their effectiveness in reducing re-offending, the question of what exactly we are measuring or examining is raised.

This problem is further perpetuated when we try to address the issue of how to measure culture. The term is often conflated with race and/or ethnicity, when it seems clear that culture – for all people – is far more complex (Causadias, Vitriol, & Atkin, 2017). It subsumes not only racial and ethnic factors, but also factors relating to one's age, gender, sexuality, family roles, social class, and many more. Part of what differentiates humans from other animals is our capacity for culture, and our development is rooted in the particular cultural context/s in which we were

raised (Rogoff, 2003). Subsequently, each person's lens through which they view and interact with the world is partially culturally derived. Therefore when we attempt to produce and evaluate interventions that are culturally responsive, there are multiple concepts to consider.

When we begin to think of culture in this way, it indicates that the term "cultural intervention" is in some way a misnomer. An intervention is deemed "cultural" when it incorporates aspects of Māoritanga or Pasifika culture alongside aspects of correctional treatment drawn from scientific research and evidence. Te Tirohanga (previously known as Māori Focus Units) is an example of this, where correctional services are administered within a kaupapa Māori framework (Department of Corrections, 2017a). However, all interventions – including mainstream-style – contain aspects of Māoritanga in order to increase responsiveness in Māori clients, who make up over half of the prison population. Importantly, mainstream programmes not explicitly labelled as culturally adapted or based, are no less "cultural" than their counterparts. No programme is "culture-free", as they are intrinsically imbued with the meanings and knowledge present in the cultural context in which they were designed. The development of these programmes is primarily rooted in Western cultural contexts, and therefore drawn from and informed by this background. What we term a "cultural intervention" is actually the attempt to address more than one cultural context in a correctional setting, an integration of Western and indigenous knowledge.

The movement to integrate indigenous and mainstream Western knowledge is an important one for multiple reasons. The Department of Corrections has a dual-responsibility when it comes to ethically managing the offender population. It must prioritise the safety of both individuals and the community, whilst remaining responsive to the multi-cultural nature of the people of Aotearoa New Zealand. The Department has an obligation to adhere to the principles of te Tiriti o Waitangi and work for the restoration of equity between Māori and non-Māori offending (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017).

In addressing this, it must be recognised that human behaviour is best understood from a multi-level perspective. In other words, offending is the result of multiple intersecting processes, at a range of levels (Bronfenbrenner, 2009). It is well known that Māori face a number of unique disadvantages in society which can manifest across these multiple levels, and such disadvantages may play a substantial role in offending committed by Māori (Chalmers, 2014). The integration of cultural concepts assists in recognising that the needs of an individual will differ, in part, as a result of varying cultural background (ethnicity, age, gender,

and so on). This allows programmes and interventions to provide treatment that is correspondingly intersectional. The holistic nature of culturally integrated programmes is also important in this regard, as it allows for a view of offenders as nested within multiple bio-psycho-socio-cultural contexts, and helps to avoid the application of a "one size fits all" model to rehabilitation.

There is currently a plethora of evidence for the significant role culturally dominant ("mainstream") interventions play in the reduction of re-offending. Evidence further indicates that such programmes are effective for offenders regardless of their cultural background (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017). However, there is much less evidence supporting the ability of culturally integrated programmes to have such an effect on recidivism. Qualitative methods have consistently found that participants and facilitators of these programmes report high levels of enjoyment and engagement alike, alongside other benefits (Department of Corrections, 2017a). It is suggested the effectiveness of culturally integrated programmes is most enhanced when they are "holistic and address multiple risk factors, involve whānau and the wider indigenous community, and use culturally informed personnel." (Heffernan, MacKenzie, & Frawley, 2017). Interestingly, it has been found that while cultural identity may not "buffer" recidivism directly, it is predictive of cultural engagement (i.e. engagement with culturally-specific activities, behaviours and sustaining of other cultural connections). In turn, increased cultural engagement has been found to correlate negatively with recidivism (Shepherd, Delgado, Sherwood, & Paradies, 2017). Other psychological research suggests a similar pattern, wherein cultural attachment has been found to act protectively against alcohol abuse and suicidal behaviours (Whitbeck, Chen, Hoyt, & Adams, 2004; Yoder, Whitbeck, Hoyt, & LaFromboise, 2006). Thus, it seems aspects of "culture" may act protectively in relation to factors that have an impact on re-offending, although how this occurs has not yet been analysed.

Culture certainly has an important role at the "responsivity" stage of the rehabilitation process. Even if culture's only role in the desistance process is to enhance an individual's engagement with a particular intervention, the inclusion of explicitly cultural concepts therefore remains worthy of investment. Enhanced engagement with one programme can make an individual more amenable to other therapeutic features which address criminogenic/personal needs, and more likely to respond to other rehabilitative/reintegrative interventions (Department of Corrections, 2017a). Increased engagement may also enhance an offending individual's view of therapeutic staff as being more than simply "agents of the state", by reframing them as health and care professionals with whom they

can communicate their honest thoughts and feelings (Singer, Dressler, George, & NIH Expert Panel, 2016). What remains to be determined is how to disentangle culture as a purely responsivity-increasing factor from cultural aspects that may have a direct impact upon rehabilitation and subsequent desistance from crime. This will contribute to a better understanding of why evaluations of culturally-integrated interventions are not indicating a greater impact on recidivism than we might expect (Heffernan, MacKenzie, & Frawley, 2017).

Modern cultural theorists have proposed that culture may play a more significant role in criminal desistance processes, which may provide a platform for ways through which correctional services may further realise the potential of these interventions. Glynn (2016) argues that offending individuals who belong to marginalised cultures need to be engaged in rehabilitation programmes that are intersectional (i.e. that recognise their unique, double-stigmatised position as criminal and culturally marginalised) in order to encourage the internal processes that lead to the decision to desist. Rehabilitation needs to support individuals in navigating their socio-cultural context, part of which involves increasing their social capital through skill development to overcome the impacts of belonging to a marginalised cultural group (Bracken, Deane, & Morrisette, 2009). In an Aotearoa New Zealand context, these ideas are applicable to more than just those who identify as tangata whenua. Culture is more than ethnicity, and therefore marginalisation can occur at different levels for different reasons. Corrections' cultural interventions are open to offenders of all cultural backgrounds, and the culturally integrated nature of these programmes means they are suitable for a wide range of people.

This should not be taken to mean that culture by itself should be considered a therapeutic treatment, something that researchers and practitioners have rightly cautioned against (Heffernan, MacKenzie, & Frawley, 2017). It is the marginalisation of a group, not the group membership itself, which may act as a risk factor or increase exposure to risk factors associated with crime. The conclusion that can be tentatively drawn is that culturally-integrated interventions may be effective to instigate intergenerational change. Particularly for members of marginalised cultural groups, hurts have occurred over many generations that may now relate to why higher proportions of these groups' members are managed by the criminal justice system. It may be beneficial, therefore, for attempts to reduce re-offending to address intergenerational issues.

It seems clear that empirical and theoretical research has yet to fully capture the variable of "culture" and how to measure it. Subsequently its impact upon the processes that lead to both offending and desistance

from offending has not yet been disentangled from other factors. It has been recognised that cultural concepts have a significant impact at the "responsivity" stage of an offender's rehabilitation. However, recent research suggests that culturally integrated correctional programmes may also directly promote desistance from crime through so-called "protective factors", and targeting varying and sometimes unique treatment needs by addressing cultural marginalisation. The Department will continue to develop evidence-based programmes that reduce the risk of harm to the community. It seems clear a unified empirical and theoretical understanding of what culture is, and how it may operate as a separate factor that impacts upon behaviour, would significantly enhance the measurement of culturally-integrated interventions, and inform how these may be developed to improve outcomes for recidivism.

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# Te Ara Tauwhaiti – Kaupapa Māori supervision pathway for programme facilitators

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## Author biography:

Ana has whakapapa connections to Te Whānau a Apanui and Te Whakatōhea in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. Following completion of a Bachelor of Social Sciences and Bachelor of Laws through the University of Waikato in 2012, she joined the Department of Corrections as a programme facilitator. She delivered programmes at Waikeria Prison and worked for a year at the Tai Aroha residence in Hamilton. Ana has been employed as a Senior Advisor in Programmes and Interventions since June 2017, and is currently working in the Contracted Programmes Team.

**Keywords:** Kaupapa Māori; Supervision; Department of Corrections; Cultural Responsiveness; Māori

## Acknowledgements

*“Ehara tāku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini kē.”*

*E te ihi, e te wehi, e te wana, e te mana, e te tapu o nga ihuoneone, ngā ringa raua i eke panuku, i eke Tangaroa. I te orooro, i te oromea, i tukituki ai koutou, i tataia ai koutou. Ko koutou mā te pītau whakareia o te waka nei, te takere waka nunui, nga kaiurungi o Te Ara Tauwhaiti kua hora nei! Ko Daniel Hauraki, Tui Armstrong, Jason Northover, Mate Webb, Heston Potaka, Barney Tihema rātou ko Neil Campbell – he tika, kamihi.*

“My strength is not mine alone, but comes from the collective efforts of others.”

To those who have contributed, to those who worked diligently to see this project complete: The journey required constant adjustment and fine-tuning to changing variables. Your leadership can be likened to that of the front of a waka breaking through the swells, the leaders who have directed and navigated Te Ara Tauwhaiti to completion. Daniel Hauraki, Tui Armstrong, Jason Northover, Mate Webb, Heston Potaka, Barney Tihema and Neil Campbell – you are deserving of acknowledgement, and it is only right that we recognise you.

## Introduction

The Department of Corrections is committed to ensuring staff are supported to engage in a culturally responsive manner with those in our care. It is well documented that Māori are over-represented in all aspects of the criminal justice system. As a result, Corrections has a specific focus on ensuring staff are working in a culturally responsive manner with Māori.

In programme delivery, one aspect of this support is provided through Kaupapa Māori supervision. This is delivered by the senior advisors cultural supervision, Māori Services Team, to approximately 270 internal programme facilitators who deliver the medium intensity suite of rehabilitation programmes. The framework which has been developed as guidance in this space is called Te Ara Tauwhaiti (the tenuous pathway).

## From cultural supervision to Kaupapa Māori supervision

In the past, cultural supervision was provided by external supervisors throughout Aotearoa. While experts in their chosen fields, it soon emerged that there were inconsistencies in practice, as there was no framework to guide them.

In 2015, the decision was made for cultural supervision to be delivered by internal Corrections staff. A tiered approach was approved by Corrections' Service Development Senior Leadership Team (SD-SLT) and Corrections Services Senior Leadership Team (CS-SLT) in 2016. This approach saw supervision separated into three sections: learning and education, supervision, and advice and support. The renaming of these tiers as “Kaupapa Māori” was a deliberate move away from cultural supervision – the goal being to support facilitators towards becoming bi-cultural practitioners. Kaupapa Māori supervision ensures that responsiveness to Māori is placed firmly at the centre of practice and supervision discussions. Furthermore, it acknowledges that different cultural perspectives exist in all aspects of our work, which can have an impact on development and practice.

Kaupapa Māori supervision “is named according to the value systems on which it is based, building on the notion that values, protocols and practices of [Māori]



culture...are being adhered to" (Elkington, 2014, p.67). It provides a space to discuss unconscious cultural biases, reflections and assumptions within the context of the Māori worldview.

The definition of Kaupapa Māori supervision in programme delivery is that it is a bi-cultural process underpinned by core Māori social values. These values are employed as a foundation for working responsively with Māori in the Department. It is a formal, bi-cultural process where these core social values are role-modelled via tuakana-teina (mentoring) relationships and applied by the supervisors in session. This serves as a parallel process for supervisees, enabling them to develop knowledge and skills, and mirror learning and development through self-reflection, self discovery and a Māori cultural lens. Kaupapa Māori supervision is designed for facilitators to reflect on their own cultural lens within the context of Māori values, processes, principles and protocols and how this impacts or contributes to practice and learning.

The role of the supervisor is to promote supervisee development and awareness of Māori cultural concepts and processes. This is achieved through exploring assumptions; assisting with developing awareness of a facilitator's own cultural identity; and providing alternative frameworks, models and concepts to broaden supervisee awareness, knowledge and skill base to deal with cultural issues. Kaupapa Māori supervision also provides a safe space to share thoughts and ideas, and practise Māori cultural tools (pepeha, mihi, and whakataukī).

## Te Ara Tauwhaiti

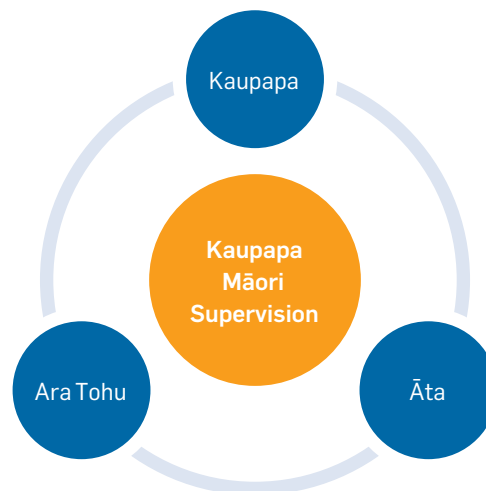
Te Ara Tauwhaiti derives from "Te Ara Tauwhaiti i te Pu-motomoto" from one of the many journeys of Tāne. The name signifies the path Tāne climbed to reach Tikitiki-o-Rangi (the highest heaven) where Io (supreme being) dwells. Tāne reached the doorway of Tikitiki-o-Rangi by riding on a whirlwind. Te Pu-motomoto is the name of the doorway. The challenges Tāne faced along the way, particularly from Whiro<sup>1</sup>, parallel challenges practitioners face, and are referred to as Te Ara Tauwhaiti, or the "tenuous pathway".

The ascent of Tāne will be the metaphor used for the Kaupapa Māori supervision pathway for programme facilitators by supervisors. Following the separation of Rangi and Papa, Tāne underwent a number of purification rites before ascending the heavens to Io. During this journey, not only did he undergo further purification rites, but he faced challenges from Whiro; both in his ascent to, and descent from, Tikitiki-o-Rangi. These challenges required solutions – not only from Tāne himself, but also from others involved in his journey, such as his brothers.

<sup>1</sup> Whiro cannot be easily translated. Readers who would like more information are invited to approach the Māori Services Team.

**Figure 1:**

*Te Ara Tauwhaiti*



Te Ara Tauwhaiti consists of three sections: Kaupapa, Ara Tohu and Āta. It is expected that discussions will be undertaken through the lens of Kaupapa. To give discussions depth, Ara Tohu will be applied. The behavioural principles of Āta provide guidelines for how supervisors are expected to engage in supervision with supervisees.

## Kaupapa

There are six kaupapa which underpin Te Ara Tauwhaiti. They are:

**Kaitiakitanga** – Kaitiakitanga is a constant acknowledgement that "people are engaged in relationships with others, environments and kaupapa where they undertake stewardship purpose and obligations." (Pohatu, 2008, p.271). Essentially it is about "taking care of" relationships, space, knowledge, skills and self by "nurturing the light and potential within" others (aki i te tī o te tangata). In practice, both supervisors and supervisees have kaitiaki obligations. The supervisor is responsible for establishing an environment which reflects Māori protocols, processes, principles and practice, as well as Māori cultural concepts and enabling tools. They are guided by the learning needs, development, reflections, knowledge and skill set of the supervisee. Underlying the supervisor's kaitiaki obligations is ensuring that Kaupapa Māori (values, principles, content) are being adhered to. The supervisor is guardian of the supervision venue and process.

The supervisee is responsible for ensuring they are prepared for a session (i.e. agenda items for discussion, identifying practice issues, karakia, mihi, waiata, whakataukī and self-reflections) in line with Kaupapa Māori. They are guardians of themselves and their learning and development. The expression of kaitiakitanga creates āhurutanga (safe space).

Fundamental to the establishment of āhurutanga is the need for “ngākau māhaki” (to be humble) from supervisors and supervisees, regular self-reflection and being pono (honest).

**Manaakitanga** – This kaupapa guides us in how we should interact in relationships with others; it is the expression of aroha, generosity, respect, kindness, support and care within these interactions. In the supervision space, manaakitanga looks at how value can be added to supervisory relationships, knowledge, skill set, kaupapa and development, while acknowledging that it is a mutual elevation of mana. This means the supervision process enhances the mana of all involved in the process.

The expression of manaakitanga also leads to āhurutanga (safe space). The supervisor is expected to supervise in a manner which is mana-enhancing and mana-protecting. As a priority, the supervisor will consider how value can be added to interactions within the supervision space, as well as to the developmental areas of individual supervisees. This mirrors to the supervisee the knowledge and skill set required to displaying manaakitanga in their own group sessions.

**Rangatiratanga** – This refers to the concept of leadership, and the ability of the individual to weave together (ranga) groups/people (tira) to enhance productivity. At the heart of rangatiratanga is the recognition and nurturing of relationships.

In the supervision space, rangatiratanga enables supervisors to support supervisees in realising they are the decision makers and navigators of their own journey. The expectation is that supervisees take responsibility for their supervision by ensuring self-reflections are undertaken using a Māori cultural lens, identifying agenda items for discussion, goals, practice issues, and any processes which adhere to Māori values, protocols and processes. It is also important that the supervisee is prepared prior to supervision by identifying what it is they would like to gain from the session. The supervisor's role is to be guided by what the facilitator/s bring to the session and weave these through a supervision session.

**Whanaungatanga** – This kaupapa focuses on whakapapa as a connective device that links individuals through generations. It also has a focus on building non-kin relationships. It is understood that relationships are developed over time through shared experience, common goals and working together.

In the supervision space, whanaungatanga requires the building of rapport, therapeutic alliance, trust and developing safe space (āhurutanga). In order to work effectively with others, it is important that facilitators understand their identity, the

cultural worldviews they hold and how this impacts interactions in relationships. Supervisors explore with supervisees Māori cultural tools aimed at enhancing whanaungatanga, such as the use of pepeha, mihi and finding commonalities with group participants. This role modelling of whanaungatanga and use of Māori cultural tools mirrors expectations required for building whanaungatanga between facilitators and programme participants.

**Wairuatanga** – This kaupapa focuses on “the physical and spiritual dimensions of thinking, being and doing, and influences the behaviour of individuals in different spheres of life” (Jolly, et al., 2015, p.10). It is believed (and valued) that the spiritual and physical dimensions are held together by mauri (life-essence/life force). Therefore, when exploring supervision agenda items through the lens of wairuatanga, it is also important to discuss it within the context of mauri and the different states of mauri, such as mauri tau (to be deliberate, without panic) and mauri oho (startled mauri).

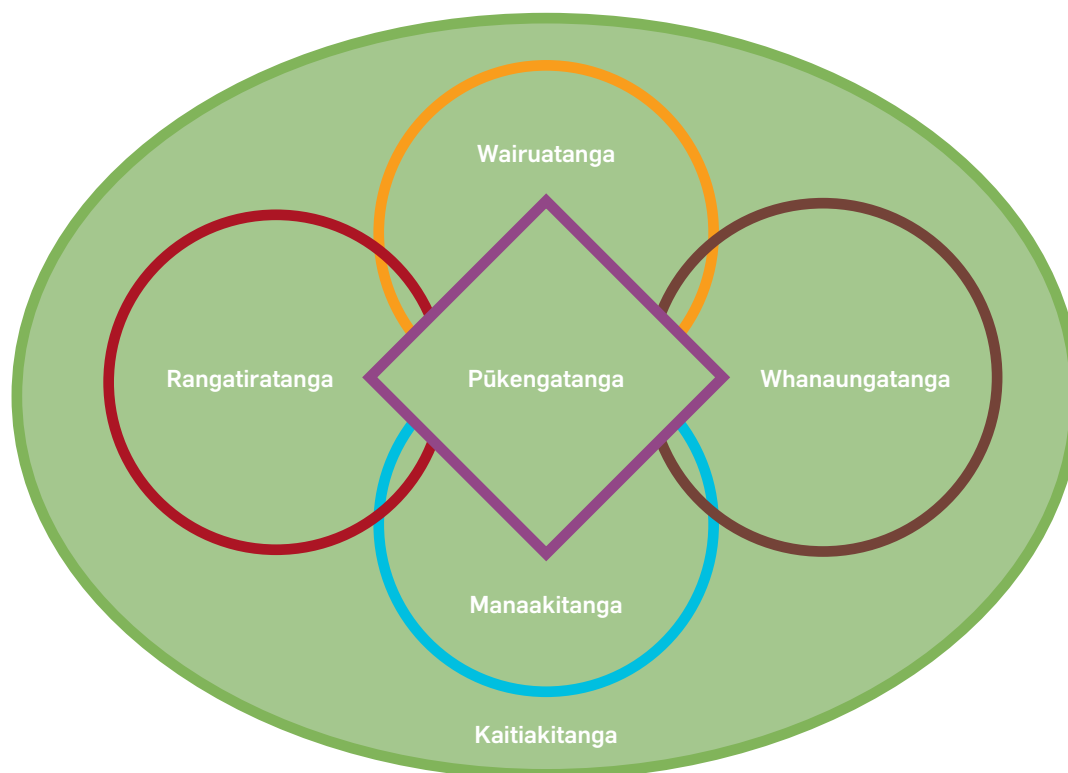
Pitama, Robertson, Cram, Gillies, Huria & Dallas-Katoa (2007) consider that in the practical application of wairua, there are two key components which allow for exploration and discussion. The first component is the physical aspect, where discussions are focused on an earthly or grounding attachment, such as people, items, tāonga or places where one feels connected, safe and at peace. The second component involves an exploration of spiritual frameworks, such as values, beliefs, spiritual journeys, norms and cultural lens. It is expected that supervisors will guide discussions in a manner consistent with this framework in the provision of supervision.

**Pūkengatanga** – This kaupapa means skilled, to be versed in, expertise. It is important that supervisees are equipped with the tools to enable them to display Māori values, protocols and processes. Pūkengatanga recognises the need to apply specific knowledge and skills to support kaupapa, protocols, processes, theories, concepts and models.

**Summary:** Kaupapa is the framework which underpins Te Ara Tauwhaiti. The discussions between the supervisor and supervisees are guided by these kaupapa in the provision and reception of Kaupapa Māori supervision. The visual representation below highlights that kaitiakitanga is the overarching kaupapa within the Kaupapa Māori supervision space, as “taking care of” relationships, space, knowledge, skills and self by “nurturing the light and potential within” others (aki i te tī o te tangata – to nurture the indescribable light of a person) is highly valued within te ao Māori. Conversations and discussions are explored using these different kaupapa or lenses as required. It must be acknowledged that these kaupapa do not exist or

**Figure 2:**

*Visual representation of the Kaupapa*



operate in isolation, and throughout discussions both the supervisor and supervisees may move in and out of these different spaces, depending on the topic of conversation. Finally, linking the kaupapa together is Pūkengatanga; it is recognised that in order to apply the kaupapa, one requires the knowledge and skill base to display and express the kaupapa.

### Ara Tohu

In order to navigate supervision sessions using Kaupapa, six Ara Tohu (sign posts) are used. The aim is to encourage exploration of self-reflections, assumptions, biases and experiences which arise for programme facilitators in the course of their role. Given there are iwi and hapu variations to Ara Tohu, supervisors and supervisees are encouraged to use regional definitions. In order to find out about regional differences, staff can contact the Māori Services Team, local hapū or iwi kaumātua, iwi organisations, or credible written references (e.g. [teara.govt.nz](http://teara.govt.nz), iwi based books).

There are six Ara Tohu; Wai (water, fluidity, depth); Rā (sun, shining down, illumination); Mā (pure, untainted); Whā (four, "from the four winds"); Pū (seed, growth, development, foundation); and Kai (food, sustenance, "the food of a leader is korero").

**Wai** – For the purposes of supervision, we translate Wai as "water" and as a personal noun. Wai acts as a metaphor for group dynamics. Supervisors use it to explore discussions in supervision. This role-models to the supervisees how Wai could be utilised to understand the groups they are facilitating. Some examples of the application of Wai as an Ara Tohu in supervision sessions include discussions about:

- Toka tū moana – who stands out in the group, who are the leaders?
- Wai marino – who brings the calmness into the group?
- Wai tapu – who needs clearing in the group? (What are the blocks?).

As a personal noun, Wai includes examples such as "ko wai tōna īngoa?" (e.g. what's his/her name?) This reiterates the need for whakawhanaungatanga and the requirement for supervisors to role model relationship building processes in supervision, such as pepeha, whakataukī, waiata and whakapapa. Another example is the song "Mā Wai Rā e Taurima?" (Who Will Assume Responsibility?). This example encourages facilitators to take responsibility for their learning in the supervision space. This role-models to facilitators how to encourage tāne and wahine in our programmes to take responsibility for their own journeys.

**Rā** – In the context of Kaupapa Māori supervision, Rā as an Ara Tohu is a metaphor relating to the sun and light, as well as distance from the present time, either in the past or future. In Te Ao Māori, the sun was used as an identifier of time and seasons. For example, “te pouputanga o te rā” refers to the sun being at its highest point during the day; often referred to as midday.

This Ara Tohu focuses on bringing practice under the bright light of day so all is revealed. This includes practice, goals, progress and the incorporation of Kaupapa Māori as a treatment response. It encourages supervisees to reflect on their current practice and progression pathways. This approach also reflects the importance of being intentional, and moving with respect and integrity (āta haere).

**Mā** – Like many other kupu, Mā has a number of definitions. For the purposes of Kaupapa Māori supervision, “Mā” translates to the English word “pure” (untainted, clean, white). Mā also equates to the Māori word “pure” (a ceremony or rituals undertaken to remove tapu).

It can also be used as a term of inclusion when applied after names, or refer to removing blocks through the process of supervision (to clear the way) or as an indication of future action or responsibility.

This Ara Tohu can ensure that both in the supervision space, and within programmes, instances of tapu are dealt with appropriately, using the relevant Māori cultural tools (such as karakia or kai). Mā requires that the supervisees focus on “stripping back” or examining assumptions, unconscious biases or cultural distortions which arise from their own cultural perspective/s, misrepresentations or misinformation which the supervisees may hold themselves or hear in group from participants.

**Whā** – The kupu “Whā” most commonly translates to the number four. For the purposes of Kaupapa Māori supervision, Whā in its numerical form will be explored via the saying, “ngā hau e whā” which means “the four winds”. Whā can also be used as a prefix meaning “to cause something to happen”.

The saying ngā hau e whā is often used to symbolise the gathering of people from diverse locations in one place. In Kaupapa Māori supervision, cultural diversity must be acknowledged and respected. Given it is a Kaupapa Māori space, cultural diversity must be considered within the context of te ao Māori, therefore allowing for bi-cultural relationships and bi-cultural practitioners. This Ara Tohu focuses on facilitators considering their own worldviews and cultural perspectives within the context of te Ao Māori.

**Pū** – The Ara Tohu “Pū” translates as seed, foundation, growth and development. One extension of Pū is the word pūtake which means origin, cause or root. This Ara Tohu relies on the practice goals and self-reflections of the supervisees. Reflections (including critical reflection) should focus on the supervisees’ understanding and application of Māori cultural tools; practice goals; and professional development in this area. The other important focus is on the origins of any distortions or blocks the supervisee may have and what they may need to do to whakawātea, or clear these so that, like Tāne, they can progress to the next level.

This Ara Tohu also focuses on the responsibilities of the supervisor within the supervision session. The supervisor is required to establish an optimal environment alongside the supervisee which will nourish potential and support growth. The supervisor must work alongside the supervisee to establish the conditions which will enable this.

**Kai** – The final Ara Tohu used to explore discussions through the lenses of Ngā Kaupapa is “Kai” or food. Kai is a source of nourishment or sustenance for people. The whakataukī, “ko te kai a te rangatira he korero” which translates as, “the food of chiefs is dialogue” is appropriate for guidance in the Kaupapa Māori supervision space. The intention of this Ara Tohu is to nourish best practice by sharing correct information using credible sources through the use of wānanga (open dialogue).

Further expectations under this Ara Tohu include that an individual’s Te Whare Tapa Whā is being nourished through a supportive supervision environment and sharing of correct information; and that take home messages and learnings are shared between the supervisor and supervisee. A final expectation is the tracking of practice goals and the steps being taken towards achieving these goals.

**Summary:** Ara Tohu are used to navigate the Kaupapa; the framework which underpins Te Ara Tauwhaiti. The use of Ara Tohu in Kaupapa Māori supervision allows for in-depth exploration of agenda items through Kaupapa. It allows for hoa-haere (valued companions) such as waiata, pūrākau, whakataukī and so forth to be activated to complement the agenda items being raised by supervisees. The activation of hoa-haere ensures that Māori values, processes, principles and protocols are maintained and adhered to. It ensures the focus remains on a Māori cultural lens, that Māori cultural tools are used as a treatment response, and that the supervision space remains bi-cultural.

## Āta

The final aspect of Te Ara Tauwhaiti to be discussed is the approach of the supervisor which is role-modelled to the supervisees. This is a Kaupapa Māori approach to working with others, and in particular, implies guidelines which tell us how to enter, engage and exit relationships respectfully.

These guidelines are called Āta. This is “a behavioural and theoretical strategy employed by Māori in relationships” (Pōhatu, 2005, p.2). As a cultural tool,

it is designed to inform and guide our understanding of respectfulness in relationships and working towards wellbeing. Using Āta deliberately places Māori thought and knowledge at the centre of interactions to inform and guide practice (Pōhatu, 2005).

It is expected that throughout the supervision process, supervisors will engage with supervisees using Āta processes. The Āta phrases below provide guidelines as to how supervisors may engage with supervisees (Pōhatu, 2005, p.5):

Takepū/Principles	He whakamāramatanga: Definitions
Āta – haere	Be intentional, deliberate and approach reflectively, moving with respect and integrity. It signals the act of moving with an awareness of relationships, their significance and requirements.
Āta – whakarongo	To listen with reflective deliberation. This requires patience and tolerance, giving space to listen and communicate to the heart, mind and soul of the speaker, context and environment. It requires the conscious participation of all senses, the natural inclusion of the value of trust, integrity and respectfulness.
Āta – kōrero	To communicate and speak with clarity, requiring quality preparation and a deliberate gathering of what is to be communicated. This is to ensure a quality of presentation (kia mārama ki te kaupapa), to speak with conviction (kia pūmau ki te kaupapa), to be focused (kia hāngai ki te kaupapa).
Āta – tuhi	To communicate and write with deliberation needing to be constantly reflective, knowing the purpose for writing. Consistently monitoring and measuring quality is implicit.
Āta – mahi	To work diligently, with the conviction that what is being done is correct and appropriate to the tasks undertaken.
Āta – noho	Giving quality time to be with people and their issues, with an open and respectful mind, heart and soul. This signals the level of integrity required in relationships.
Āta – whakaaro	To think with deliberation, allowing space for creativity, openness and reflection. The consequence is that action is undertaken to the best of one's ability.
Āta – whakaako	To deliberately instil knowledge and understanding. There are clear reasons why knowledge is shared: to the appropriate participants, in the required manner, time and place.
Āta – tohu	To deliberately instruct, monitor and correct, grounded knowledge being a constant and valued companion. Cultural markers such as kaitiakitanga (responsible trusteeship) are then accorded safe pace to enlighten how and why relationships should be maintained.
Āta – kīnaki	To be deliberate and clear in the choice of appropriate support to enhance positions taken.
Āta – hoki mārire	To return with respectful acknowledgement of possible consequences.
Āta – titiro	To study kaupapa with reflective deliberation.
Āta – whakamārama	To inform with reflective deliberation, ensuring that the channels of communication at the spiritual, emotional and intellectual levels of the receiver are respected, understood and valued.

## Conclusion

Supervisors were trained in the delivery of Te Ara Tauwhaiti in March 2018. It is currently being rolled out nationwide to programme facilitators. Some regions set aside a training day for all programme facilitators and principal facilitators, while other regions are introducing the framework in smaller groups.

To ensure we maintain the integrity of the framework, the Department will provide ongoing training and supervision for supervisors, a process for moderation of reports, and monthly AVL peer support between supervisors. Quality assurance will need to be undertaken to ensure there is adherence to the purpose and practice of the framework.

Te Ara Tauwhaiti provides a new direction and deliberate pathway which reflects, and is intrinsic to, a Māori worldview. This pathway is vital to ensuring that as Corrections staff, we continue to be innovative and challenge the way we work with Māori in our care.

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# The development of the Kimihia Violence Prevention Programme: An offence focused programme for women with high and complex needs

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## **Author biography:**

*Emma is a registered psychologist. She trained in the forensic field in the UK, where she worked within a dedicated programmes unit for the National Probation Service. She took up a position with the New Zealand Department of Corrections in 2005 as a psychologist/senior psychologist in the Hawkes Bay. In 2018 she took on the role of principal facilitator for East Coast Programmes. Emma has experience in risk assessment, as an individual and group therapist, and in the supervision of group programmes, with a particular interest in programmes for women.*

## **Introduction**

The Kimihia Violence Prevention Programme (Kimihia) is a rehabilitation programme aimed at assisting women with high and complex needs to address their offending behaviour. It was developed in response to the increased numbers of women being convicted of serious offending and given custodial sentences. The programme has a violence prevention focus and is suitable for those women whose risk, complex personality features and behaviours would prevent them from attending other established women's programmes such as Kowhiritanga. The programme is facilitated by two psychologists.

Kimihia was developed as an extension to existing departmental programmes and based on research about what works with women with high and complex needs. The programme was piloted at Auckland Regional Women's Correctional Facility (ARWCF) from 6 March to 28 June 2018. The implementation of the pilot programme was a dynamic process with a focus on responsivity within the theoretical framework. In practice this meant that the content was modified to best meet the needs of the women as the pilot progressed.

The development of the programme was a consultative process and involved input from a number of stakeholders, perhaps most importantly, incarcerated women who had completed a women's programme. During this consultation process the name Kimihia was gifted to the project.<sup>1</sup>

## **Kimihia name and significance**

The name Kimihia is derived from Kimihia He Huarahi Oranga – Creating Pathways for Wellbeing. This concept focuses on women examining their perception of their future and how their hopes and dreams can inform an understanding of present circumstances and self-esteem.

Kimihia He Huarahi Oranga focuses on three areas which embody the programme's aim of creating healing pathways for women; oranga wairua (spiritual wellbeing), oranga hinengaro (mental wellbeing) and oranga tinana (physical wellbeing).

## **Background**

On 28 August 2017 the Department of Corrections launched Wahine – E rere ana ki te Pae Hou, Women's Strategy 2017–2021.<sup>2</sup> The strategy outlines three main priority areas for women:

1. Providing women with interventions and services that meet their unique risks and needs
2. Managing women in ways that are trauma-informed and empowering
3. Managing women in a way that reflects the importance of relationships to women.

This strategy complements Corrections' overall strategy by applying a women-specific focus to its overall goal of reducing re-offending.

<sup>1</sup> Thanks to all stakeholders, in particular to Whaea Pare Rauwhero, Kaitiakai, ARWCF for naming the programme.

<sup>2</sup> [https://www.corrections.govt.nz/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0006/894228/Corrections\\_Womens\\_Strategy\\_August\\_2017\\_web.pdf](https://www.corrections.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0006/894228/Corrections_Womens_Strategy_August_2017_web.pdf)

While women represent a small proportion of the population managed by the Department of Corrections, over the last decade there have been considerable changes to the women's prison population in New Zealand. The Women's Strategy highlights an increase in the number of women being imprisoned, which has risen by more than 150% since 2002, and an increase of 120% of women serving community sentences. An increase in recidivism for women has also been recorded, as well as an increase in risk categorisation with 63% of women being classed as medium or high risk in 2014/15 compared to 47% at the start of the decade. There has also been an increase in Māori women's overrepresentation in prison between 2005/06 (57%) and 2014/14 (64%) (McGlue, 2017).

While overall women commit less serious crime, and pose a lower risk to the community, there continues to be a small but challenging group of recidivist high risk/need women who carry out a small but significant portion of violent crime. These women have been conceptualised as "aggressive antisocial women" with high risk/high need profiles, and an extreme risk of recidivism. Such women are the target group for the Kimihia programme.

Prior to the development of Kimihia, the Department had two rehabilitation programmes aimed at addressing the offending needs of women: the Kowhiritanga Programme and the Short Rehabilitation Programme for Women (SRP-W). Kowhiritanga and the SRP-W are aimed at addressing the rehabilitative needs of women both in prison and in the community and are based on cognitive behavioural and relapse prevention principles. The SRP-W is available to women of low to moderate risk and is delivered by a sole programme facilitator, while Kowhiritanga can be delivered to women of any risk band by a psychologist and a facilitator, and to low to moderate risk women by two facilitators. Allocation to these programmes is based on a number of factors which include risk level and length of sentence. An adapted version of the SRP-W – the SRP-Special – is also available once or twice a year for women who have offended against children.

Kimihia was developed for those women whose psychological risk profile and complexity would make them unsuitable for any of the existing Departmental programmes.

## Development and consultation process

The development of the programme was a collaborative process and involved a number of hui where input from cultural advisers, custodial and case management staff, psychologists and programmes staff was collected. During this process it became clear that there was a need for Kimihia to sit within a larger holistic wrap-around service. It was agreed that the wider service needed to attend to both the evidence-based

rehabilitative needs of women and factors beyond. Such additional needs include mental health issues, trauma and victimisation, lack of support networks, parenting stress, financial disadvantage, employment difficulties and gambling issues. (King, 2011; Bevan & Wehipeihana, 2015).

As such, the Kimihia Programme is viewed as a significant therapeutic component of a four phase process, with each phase having its own specific focus:

**Phase One: Responsivity Component.** Preparing for intervention. Commencement of whānau engagement and building support networks. Behavioural management.

**Phase Two: Group Component.** Kimihia Violence Prevention Programme. This phase is four months long and consists of group and individual treatment. It includes the identification of reintegration needs early on which are linked into the offender plans of the women.

**Phase Three: Maintenance Component.** Continuation of intervention based on ongoing treatment needs. This also includes a continuation of whānau engagement.

**Phase Four: Release Component.** Wrap-around services, consultation provided to Community Probation Service and community reintegration.

One of the most important aspects of the consultation process was interviewing a number of women who had previously completed the Kowhiritanga programme. These women would have been potential candidates for Kimihia had it been available at the time they engaged in treatment. The women indicated that they found engaging in Kowhiritanga beneficial. In particular, they enjoyed the use of pūrākau (ancient legends/stories) throughout the programme and found the work on thinking and relationships beneficial. This feedback was used to inform the content for Kimihia.

## Theoretical underpinning of the programme

The pilot manual for Kimihia built on the content of the Kowhiritanga and SRP-W programmes with the aim of being more responsive to women with high and complex needs. This takes into account possible personality factors and high levels of anti-social behaviour and cognitions.

The need for appropriate interventions to be developed and provided for high risk individuals is well documented in the context of the Risk, Needs and Responsivity principles (Andrews & Bonta, 2017). These principles posit that for effective recidivism reduction, it is crucial that interventions are matched to levels of risk, specific evidence based rehabilitation needs, and are responsive to the target group.

Whilst there has been much debate around the rehabilitation needs of women versus those of men, it is asserted that men and women have the same dynamic risk factors and that the differences between the two lie in their responsivity needs. Therefore, the gender-specific focus of Kimihia is appropriate in this context. The content of the pilot Kimihia manual has a focus on the “Big Five” rehabilitation needs identified as relevant for women. These are: criminal history, anti-social peers, antisocial cognitions, anti-social personality patterns and substance abuse (Wilton, 2012). As the pilot was rolled out it became evident there was a need to consider the “Central Eight” risk factors which added family/marital factors, work/school factors and leisure and recreation as relevant treatment targets (Andrew & Bonta, 2017).

The programme is based on an evidence-based and integrative approach, incorporating the Risk Needs Responsivity (RNR) model, John Livesley’s Integrated Model for managing personality disorder, and trauma-informed practice principles as primary theoretical foundations for the programme design. Specifically, the programme has been developed to ensure that it addresses the “Central Eight” treatment needs using methods which take into account the personality features of the target group in the context of their traumatic past experiences. These models and methods are currently used in the Special Treatment Unit Rehabilitation Programme – Revised (STURP-R) and the men’s High Risk Personality Programme (HRPP) and are considered an effective approach to provide group-based treatment in a high risk population with complex personality presentations.

Approaches and models incorporated into the programme include; Livesley’s integrated model of personality disorder (2012), Cognitive Behavioural Therapy, Cognitive Self Change, Dialectical Behavioural Theory (DBT), Narrative Therapy and Relapse Prevention as well as a number of cultural concepts which will be discussed further in the cultural components section.

Kimihia has a focus on addressing violent behaviour and also incorporates trauma-informed practices; practices which are influenced by an understanding of the impact of traumatic events on an individual’s life and development. It is important to note that trauma-informed practice represents high quality, empowering practice and is not specific to the treatment of trauma.

The Women’s Strategy indicates that across their lifetime, 52% of women in prison have post traumatic stress disorder and therefore we have an obligation to deliver programmes in a manner which is appropriate to the special needs of trauma survivors (Harris & Fallot, 2001a in Wilson, Fauci & Goodman, 2015). Practical applications of trauma informed practice in Kimihia

include empowering women as the experts in their own lives, and facilitators showing understanding of the women’s behaviour and the challenges they face.

Additionally, being responsive to Māori in the context of offence-focused intervention is a key focus of the programme and cultural content is woven throughout with a strong focus on Te Whare Tapa Wha and the use of pūrākau. Further Māori concepts may also be included in the final version of the manual.

## Programme components

The Kimihia Violence Prevention Programme consists of four modules which are based on Livesley’s integrated framework:

**Module One: Engagement and Safety.** Welcome, norm setting, identity, goal setting, motivation, navigating conflict, and mindfulness.

**Module Two: Emotional Control/Regulation.** Emotions and aggression, distress tolerance, impulse control, cognitive behavioural model, strategy of choices, thinking styles and problem thinking, beliefs and core values.

**Module Three: Exploration and Change.** Problem solving, communication, relationships, support networks, preventing violence, and substance abuse.

**Module Four: Integration and Synthesis.** Safety planning, goal setting and graduation.

As well as the group programme content, the programme incorporates:

- Individual therapy sessions
- Progress meetings (across phases 1, 2 and 3)
- End of module reviews, with case management attendance encouraged
- Whānau hui (across phases 1, 2 and 3 and at module reviews)
- Case consultation and staff support (e.g. Right Track).

It is anticipated that a maintenance aspect of the programme will also be offered to graduates. This will focus on addressing any remaining treatment needs and may involve linking with other relevant programmes such as drug treatment programmes and domestic violence treatment programmes.

## Cultural components

A key aspect of the consultation process involved agreement around cultural processes. Guidelines for cultural processes were drawn up and include the following crucial aspects of setting up, running and closing the programme:

Pre programme stage:

- Consult kanohi ki te kanohi (face-to-face) with local kaitiaki, Māori and Pasifika governance groups
- Consult with local iwi regarding the use of relevant local pūrākau in session content
- Consult with prison and probation staff
- Engage with cultural supervisor and cultural adviser (if not the same person) and begin the cultural supervision process
- Engage with whānau at the earliest stage possible.

Commencement of the programme:

- Liaise with kaitiaki, local governance groups and site staff to plan the mihi whakatau in the context of local tikanga
- Ensure the relevant people from the consultation process and significant site staff are invited to the mihi whakatau
- Ensure that the mihi whakatau and the programme as a whole embody Te Tokorima a Maui (the five kaupapa values of the Department).

During the programme:

- Ensure that regular cultural supervision takes place and the delivery of key cultural concepts are discussed and explored within this context
- Maintain links with kaitiaki, governance groups and site staff
- Encourage and maintain links with participants' whānau/supports.

Conclusion of the programme:

- Consult with the local kaitiaki, governance groups and site staff to develop a plan for the mihi whakamutunga in the context of local tikanga
- Ensure that the relevant people from the consultation process are invited to celebrate the success of the wāhine
- Ensure that whānau are included in this process to celebrate the success of their whānau member at the programme's conclusion.

Additionally, being responsive to Māori in the context of offence-focused intervention is a key focus of the programme and cultural content is woven throughout with a strong focus on Te Whare Tapa Wha and the use of pūrākau. Other concepts which are incorporated throughout the programme include; moemoeā – hopes for the programme, the wayfinding waka journey, development of a kawa, cultural identity, respecting whānau and whakapapa links, te aratika – the right path, takarangi – wellbeing/self and whakapapa, and cultural differences in expression of emotion.

Further Māori concepts may also be included in the final version of the manual.

## Eligibility and assessment for Kimihia pilot (group phase)

Potential participants for the pilot programme were identified using the following criteria:

### Eligibility Criteria

- Index violent offence and/or significant history of violent offending
- RoC\*RoI above 0.5 or
- RoC\*RoI under 0.5, but with personality factors or behaviours which would preclude them from participating in Kowhiritanga
- On the psychological services waitlist.

### Exclusions

- Current or previous sexual offending
- Offending against children
- Women with non-association orders or in relationships with other participants
- Women who were unable to be in the group treatment space due to prison operations. For example, women classified as maximum security are unable to mix with other women and therefore cannot be in a group setting with them
- Insufficient time to complete
- Cognitive deficits.

Due to the complex personality factors and needs of the target group, it is recommended that the maximum number of participants attending the programme does not exceed six.

### Assessment

Women were selected for assessment based on their risk level, offence type and presentation. Key assessment areas were criminogenic risk factors (e.g. antisocial thinking, associates), and non-criminogenic needs (where relevant to rehabilitation). There was also a focus on levels of motivation, desire to make pro-social changes, and willingness to engage in all aspects of the programme and adhere to the protocols established within the group.

Those women assessed as eligible and motivated were then asked to complete psychometric tests which could provide a baseline measure in terms of attitudes and personality features. The tests measured: personality traits and psychopathology, violence risk, anti-social cognitions, symptoms of trauma, and rehabilitative and reintegrative needs. A portion of the test was also administered at the end of the programme as a means of measuring change.

## Kimihia pilot

The Kimihia pilot commenced at ARWCF on 6 March 2018 and the mihi whakamutunga/graduation was held on 28 June 2018. Five women began the programme and four women graduated. Whilst these numbers may appear low, it is recommended that the maximum number of participants on the programme should not exceed six. This is due to the complex needs and personalities of the target group as well as their levels of unpredictability and potential risk of violent behaviour. All participants had convictions for violent offending and were a mix of high and low security prisoners.

Facilitators observed that the participants generally presented with entrenched anti-social thinking, and their treatment needs were related more to cognitions than the management of emotions. They also had a high level of need associated with their re-integration – as identified by the Level of Service/Case Management Inventory assessment tool (LS/CMI). The LS/CMI is an integrated assessment and case management tool which measures risk and need factors and can be used to aid the planning of interventions. As the programme was rolled out, the content was adapted to be responsive to the participants, and treatment was widened to include four phases – one of which was the group component. Therefore the final manual incorporates a number changes to the pilot version.

The proposed content and flow of each module in the final manual is fairly consistent with the draft version. However, the manual has been edited to include more information and guidance with regard to the session objectives. Furthermore, there were a number of noteworthy changes, based on the pilot and/or high risk-high need population. These include: Less emphasis on dialectical behaviour therapy (DBT), offence mapping and timelines being completed during individual sessions, more role plays and skills practice added and the concept of the wayfaring waka journey being woven throughout each module. One of the biggest changes to the content was the inclusion of cognitive self-change components, an approach that targets cognitions which underpin violent behaviour. This was included in response to the levels of anti-social thinking displayed by the participants and was woven throughout the programme. In addition, responses from the women identified that they found more abstract concepts difficult to grasp and therefore many original exercises needed to be simplified.

During the pilot a number of group factors also influenced the delivery of content. These included: Gang involvement, estrangement from whānau, institutionalisation and persistent life patterns. As a result, content was tailored to be responsive to these factors.

Cultural concepts such as Te Whare Tapa Wha, the whānau engagement model, the wayfinding waka journey and pūrākau, which are woven throughout the programme, were reportedly well received by participants. Each person's perception of the outcome of treatment and the quality of the therapeutic relationship was captured in real time during the treatment phase with the Group Session Rating Scale (GSRS). Participants completed the GSRS at the end of each session and the results were very promising. The GSRS enables participants to rate each group treatment session in terms of how it met their needs in four areas:

1. **Relationship:** The level to which the participant felt they were understood and respected by the group therapists
2. **Goals and topics:** The level to which they felt that the session content fit with their perceived needs
3. **Approach or method:** Whether the approach of the therapists was a good fit for the participant
4. **Overall:** The level to which the participant felt part of the group during each session.

Although this measure is not directly linked to violent recidivism, it is linked to successful psychotherapeutic outcomes and the participants consistently rated that their needs were being met on each aspect. One programme area which received reduced scores was the Good Lives Model content, so this was removed from the manual.

## Next steps

Learning from the pilot programme has been consolidated and the manual has been reviewed and revised. Any amendments made will be based on the experiences of both group members and facilitators whilst continuing to be evidence based. Information relating to the comparison of psychometric measures administered pre and post programme will be examined as part of a full evaluation of the programme to be completed in the near future. These results will also likely inform any amendments to programme content.

It is anticipated that the women who completed Kimihia will also now be moved to Phase Three of the service as a whole, which will involve identifying outstanding treatment needs and facilitating access to ongoing intervention. This phase will also continue to look at reintegration needs, outstanding criminogenic and non-criminogenic treatment, strengthening support networks and whānau engagement. The completed version of the Kimihia manual is currently being reviewed and once finalised the programme can be implemented in all women's prison sites.

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# Kia Rite: Evaluation of a new behavioural skills programme for women

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## **Introduction**

*"When I came to jail I thought my life was over. There's nothing out there for me anymore. I've ruined my life, I won't be able to get a job, I've lost everything coming to prison ... from this broken mess Kia Rite picked me up and put me back on the path where I should be." (Young, Māori Kia Rite graduate serving her first prison sentence)*

Kia Rite (which translates to "get ready") is a three week information and skills training programme originally designed for delivery to women within the early stages of incarceration. It was introduced as part of the Department's Women's Strategy, Wāhine – E rere ana ki te pae hou<sup>1</sup>, and was informed by New Zealand and international research, which has highlighted the challenges women face when entering prison (see Bevan & Wehipeihana, 2015; Bevan, 2017; Morrison, Bowman & Bevan 2017 Crewe, Hulley and Wright, 2017; Moore & Scraton, 2014; Wright et al 2012; Covington & Bloom 2007; Greer, 2002; Owens 1998; Carlen, 1998, 1983).

Kia Rite aims to give wāhine (women) the information and skills required for the successful navigation

of prison life. This includes providing women with information on key prison processes and services, as well as teaching emotional, communication, and relational skills which can help them to successfully cope with living in prison. It further aims to enhance women's motivation for change and help prepare them for participation in rehabilitative, industry and learning opportunities while in prison and beyond.

## **The pilot**

The programme was piloted at Auckland Regional Women's Correctional Facility (ARWCF), Arohata Women's Prison, and Christchurch Women's Prison between February and March 2018. The pilot's implementation was innovative in two ways: first, Kia Rite was designed to be co-facilitated by programme facilitators and other prison-based staff, including custodial officers, case managers, social workers and trauma counsellors; second, it involved the delivery of behavioural skills such as emotional management and mindfulness, material usually reserved for criminogenic programmes for sentenced prisoners, to remand prisoners.

<sup>1</sup> [https://www.corrections.govt.nz/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0006/894228/Corrections\\_Womens\\_Strategy\\_August\\_2017\\_web.pdf](https://www.corrections.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0006/894228/Corrections_Womens_Strategy_August_2017_web.pdf)

Each site ran three iterations of the programme, with some local variations in delivery. Key variations included the programme operating in an open, rolling format in Christchurch Women's Prison, and to a lesser extent at ARWCF, whereby new women could join the programme each week. At Arohata the programme was run using a closed format. In addition to this, the full co-facilitation model was attempted at Auckland only.

Over the course of the pilot, 58 wāhine commenced Kia Rite, and 35 completed it. This represents a completion rate of 60%. Most participant attrition occurred due to releases or transfers, rather than women being exited or opting to leave the programme. Three-quarters of those who completed the programme were remand-convicted at the time they began Kia Rite, and the remainder were sentenced. Almost two-thirds had been on remand for less than six months at the time they started the programme. Kia Rite was designed for those new to the prison system, although only a minority of those who started the programme were in prison for the first time. Just over half the participants identified as Māori, with the majority of the remainder identifying as NZ European. The median age of attendees was 30 years old. There were four wāhine aged under 20, and four aged over 50 years.

Group numbers varied by site and across the duration of the pilot. At Arohata and Christchurch Women's groups typically began with six women and reduced over the course of the programme. At ARWCF group sizes were larger, with 10 to 12 women starting each iteration.

## The evaluation

The Department's Research and Analysis team undertook a brief evaluation of the pilot in order to understand what was working well and why, and identify improvements needed prior to the full national roll out of the programme. The evaluation included the analysis of data drawn from pre – and post-programme questionnaires (54 pre and 35 post), administrative data analysis, and 32 face to face interviews with programme participants (n=21), programme facilitators (n=4), custodial officers (3), case management staff (2), a trauma counsellor and a social worker. For a full account of the methodology see Bevan and Morrison (2018).

## Findings

Kia Rite was very well received by both wāhine and staff, and was considered a necessary and important addition to the existing programme repertoire in women's prisons.

*"The girls loved it. Learning new things ... it gave us insight into everything. There was never a lack of having enough information." (Kia Rite programme participant)*

*"I think it's absolutely necessary to have such a thing ... I just love the idea that [Kia Rite] explored being in prison, what it's like in prison and actually acknowledging that it's not easy here: it's difficult. I love the fact that if we capture the women early on, newish to prison ... it's great for settling and upskilling them ... It might be their first ever experience of the group setting and if it goes well I think they are more likely to be open to the idea of a rehabilitation programme or some programme." (Programme facilitator)*

*"I found it was a very good programme ... the women found it really helpful." (Custodial Officer involved in delivering Kia Rite)*

Despite having been designed for those new to the prison system, even those who had previously served multiple prison sentences claimed to have made positive gains through the programme. Without exception, those who completed the programme said that it met their expectations, and almost all (97%) said the behavioural skills techniques obtained through Kia Rite would be useful both inside prison and beyond. Particular strengths of the programme are detailed below.

### Improved knowledge of prison rules, processes and opportunities

At the outset of the programme almost two-thirds of women claimed they were not aware of how to access rehabilitation programmes, education or employment opportunities in prison, or where to go to get advice and help. Despite the fact that many wāhine had previously spent time in prison, a quarter also claimed that they did not adequately understand prison processes such as property access, grocery purchase orders, prisoner trust accounts, and case management.

Following the programme, levels of understanding improved in all areas. Almost two-thirds of women revealed an improved understanding of how to access opportunities in prison, while over half developed an increased awareness of where to go to get help in prison. Despite many claiming high levels of knowledge about prison processes at the outset of the programme, almost half (48%) showed improved knowledge in this area. These positive results were reinforced by participants during interviews. For example, many noted the benefit of hearing about rules and processes first-hand from staff, rather than relying on other wāhine who did not always have an accurate understanding of the rules. Learning about "how things worked" in prison could also exert a motivational effect. For example, one woman explained how learning about the security classification system in prison, particularly the additional opportunities available for women housed in low security settings, encouraged better behaviour:

*"[The Principal Corrections Officer] did explain to us about classification and all that stuff. That got the girls thinking they should start to behave, to get [to low security] and see what it's like. I did. I thought I'd better start sharpening up and keeping out of drama. I wanted to get to low security. That was my goal".*

### **Better understanding of different roles in prison and increased empathy for staff**

At the outset of the programme almost two-thirds of women indicated they did not have a good understanding of the roles of different staff working within the prison, and a low awareness of the counselling and social work services available to them. Following the programme, two thirds reported an improved understanding of staff roles. Interviews further revealed that participants valued the opportunity to meet the different types of staff that would be working with them and obtain a better understanding of the services on offer. Staff also welcomed the opportunity to explain their roles and inform women both about what they could expect from staff, but also to convey what staff expected from them. As one senior custodial staff member noted:

*"I think it's important if you're in charge, [Kia Rite] is an opportunity for you to be in front of the women so they know who you are ... it's also about what I expect. I expect them to be housed in a safe environment. I've got a duty of care to them, and if that's not happening, you know, who they can talk to."*

Case management staff also talked about the utility of explaining the case management process first hand which had helped manage women's expectations about what would happen and when. At one site it was noted that the provision of such explanations had reduced the level of complaints received by case managers. The attendance of social workers and counsellors on Kia Rite had also lead to an increased awareness of these services and was associated with an increase in self-referrals.

Being able to meet staff and "put a face to a name", alongside developing a better understanding about how services and processes actually worked, also encouraged Kia Rite participants to develop greater sense of empathy for staff and was credited by participants with improving relationships between staff and the women:

*"You need to explain to them in a way that [custodial staff] understand, and then they can show compassion or empathy. Those words I learned from Kia Rite too. They can't empathise with you if you don't state the whole thing."*

*"I'd hate to be a screw ... there's just girls 24/7 saying 'I want ra, ra, ra'. I'm a prisoner and I can't even handle it ... I have a lot of respect for them ... I wouldn't put up with it, no way."*

### **Strong sense of whānaungatanga developed among wāhine**

Post-programme questionnaire results revealed that developing a sense of whānaungatanga<sup>2</sup> was a key strength associated with Kia Rite. In fact most women indicated that the sense of group belonging they derived was the best aspect of the programme. Wāhine acknowledged that friendships forged through Kia Rite were a significant asset given the potentially volatile nature of remand units, and were particularly important for those who had not previously been to prison and, consequently, lacked peer support structures:

*"Doing the course and getting to know the girls gave me a hub of girls that I still am really close to now. It's hard for me to bond with people because I'm quite shy and I don't talk much. I'm a bit of a softie. The girls on the course that we made bonds with, they've become really close and good friends. I found that was awesome."*

### **Māori cultural content was highly valued by participants**

Kia Rite was specifically designed to be culturally relevant to wāhine Māori, given the significant over-representation of Māori in women's prisons. The evaluation found that the cultural content of the programme was, without exception and irrespective of ethnicity, highly valued by participants. Nine in ten women agreed that the Te Whare Tapa Whā model (Durie, 1985) had made sense to them and was a useful lens through which to consider how to constructively utilise their time in prison and what changes they might make following release. Women felt that the daily use of karakia and waiata increased their sense of whānaungatanga and helped them to transition from the busy context of remand units to the calm mind set needed to focus on the programme content. Several participants enjoyed the links made in the programme between Atua (Māori gods) and emotions, while the inclusion of the concept of kawa (agreed programme protocols) as a korowai (a protective cloak) was considered useful by facilitators.

### **Mindfulness, emotional management and distress tolerance helped women cope in prison**

One of the most widely cited benefits of Kia Rite was that it gave women the knowledge and skills to cope

<sup>2</sup> Belonging, togetherness, family

with difficulties in prison. Women were often anxious when they arrived in prison and found the mindfulness activities helped to calm them down and come to terms with their situation. Mindfulness further helped women deal with the stresses of prison, including the difficulties of being away from children and the physical realities of prison, such as the constant noise. Many wāhine now commonly used karakia, writing, reading, and drawing as methods to distract themselves, cope with prison, and process emotions:

*"I've got little methods and little things that I go through that help me every day. That's really awesome. You've got karakia, mindfulness things, that type of thing. How to control your stress, especially the days when you're really down and out ... [I] write poems, write how I feel on paper and take it out."*

Kia Rite helped women learn new strategies to manage difficult emotions more productively. Women in prison have often experienced trauma in their pasts and it is common for them to block emotions as a coping mechanism (see Bevan, 2017). Wāhine spoke of the important role the emotions sections of the programme played in helping them, sometimes for the first time, understand and acknowledge their emotions. Through this, many women realised they were not alone and could be open with people, and many claimed that would now be more amenable to seeking and accepting support in future. Kia Rite also provided wāhine with practical tools which they were actively using to manage stress and anger. This, in turn, helped women settle into prison and start preparing to take advantage of the rehabilitation and reintegration activities available to them in prison:

*"I started using the tools straight away, instantly. The day we learnt about mindfulness I started using them that day. I went back to the unit and started using them. I was a very angry person, I grew up an angry kid, I grew up with a lot of anger. I was that type of person to lash out and hit. Learning how to be mindful and slow things down and think about consequences, I'm over in low [security] now and I've been here three months ...I'm doing awesome."*

Wāhine often described sharing these lessons with other wāhine in the unit, as well as with their children and others outside of prison, and anticipated being able to use these skills when they were released.

### **Increased motivation and improved programme readiness**

Most of the women interviewed said they were already motivated to change and take advantage of opportunities in prison prior to starting the programme; however, Kia Rite often consolidated women's motivation to change by highlighting the opportunities

available and helping them to set short-term prison-based goals. This motivated some women to more positively focus their energies on taking advantage of opportunities in prison. Even for women who were already "goal setters", Kia Rite helped them to move past the initial shock of imprisonment and start planning what they would do during their sentence:

*"In here I wouldn't have no goals, I didn't know what goals to set to do in here because it's jail. It actually brought me back into setting goals. Before I was quite sad and miserable when I first came in here. Doing the course motivated me back into what I needed to do, how to focus on doing stuff in order to get out of here."*

Wāhine serving their first prison sentence were often mildly apprehensive of the prospect of participating in group-based rehabilitation programmes. Kia Rite also served as an important stepping stone for those not familiar with rehabilitative programmes by helping wāhine overcome anxiety about learning in group settings and thereby increasing programme readiness:

*"I feel a lot better about going into a group environment, a group setting and it's sort of, I know it's only like three weeks, but it fits into the routine of going to something every day which I haven't done for a long time ... you sort of get past that first step of like 'I don't want to do that, there's a bunch of people I don't know,' then it sort of becomes easier just to do it again."*

### **Encouraged women to take responsibility and increase their sense of agency**

The programme also encouraged some women to take responsibility for their actions which made them feel more in control of their lives and feel they had the ability to do things differently on the outside. Previous research on women's experiences in prison in New Zealand (Bevan, 2017) has shown the need for appropriate "pre-work" with women to ensure they have the confidence and coping skills to engage in intensive rehabilitation. The review showed that Kia Rite acts as a useful first step in women's rehabilitation and reintegration pathway through prison.

### **Lessons learned**

While the Kia Rite pilot was highly successful, the evaluation identified some specific improvements which could further enhance delivery. These improvements are briefly noted below.

#### **The adoption of a guest speaker model would optimise staff involvement**

While there were many benefits obtained through involving other prison staff in the delivery of Kia Rite,

it was widely agreed that staff participation would be better if it were delivered through a “guest speaker” format rather than a co-facilitation model. This was partly because few staff possessed well-developed facilitation skills, but also due to the particular characteristics of women on remand, which, it was felt, necessitated quite advanced facilitation skills to manage effectively. A number of participants also identified additional people they would like to attend the programme as “guests”, including staff from education, prison training and industries, and a mentor/role model wāhine.

### **Rationalisation of programme content would improve delivery quality**

While the programme content was positively viewed by participants, it was noted by both staff and participants that the volume of content to be covered could at times jettison important group-based discussions about how to apply lessons to the women’s own lives (whether in prison or beyond). Therefore, while different tools were favoured by different participants, it was widely felt that “less was more” and that teaching fewer “tools” more thoroughly would be of greater benefit. This was particularly important given the sometimes sensitive nature of discussions. The programme was behavioural skills based rather than therapeutic, but discussion of emotions and feelings with women inevitably brought out disclosures of difficult experiences, such as sexual and physical violence, and grief. It is therefore important that facilitators have enough time to deal sensitively with these topics when they arise.

It was also felt that the “induction” content contained in the programme could be rationalised, with some content removed and delivered as part of an enhanced unit-based induction delivered by custodial staff. A separate project is already underway within the Women’s Strategy to improve the quality and consistency of induction processes in women’s prisons.

### **The realities of female remand populations requires flexible delivery options**

It was generally agreed that Kia Rite was best suited for women new to the prison system and, to be of greatest benefit, should ideally be delivered within the first month of arrival. While sound in practice, the high turnover and short average stays of female remand prisoners means that in practice that timing programme delivery can be challenging. For example, in the 2017/18 year, there were only 226 women who were both new to prison and spent a minimum of five weeks on remand (allowing for the accumulation of sufficient women to run a programme and the delivery of a three week programme). Of course, in reality it is sometimes hard to predict in advance just how long individuals will remain on remand, and, with the exception of ARWCF,

the numbers arriving in remand each week who are new to the prison system, and who have sufficient time to complete Kia Rite, can be small. To overcome this challenge, a flexible approach to delivery has been adopted for the national roll-out, which enables sites to change the format and duration of the programme to suit local needs.

It was also the case that women who had been to prison before or been on remand for long periods still derived benefits from the programme, although these women tended to find the “induction” content less useful. It was generally felt that, with some adaptation, Kia Rite could be advantageous to women at different stages of their prison journey, including on arrival to prison, at the start of sentence, and as a primer for more substantial rehabilitation programmes, particularly in situations where women may have previously been exited from such programmes.

Looking into the future, the challenge for Kia Rite will be to ensure the delivery of the right content, to the right types of people, at the right time. This will likely require flexibility in both the programme content and delivery format, which will also necessitate a degree of local variation to ensure the programme works optimally at a site level.

### **The national roll-out of Kia Rite: what’s happening next?**

The national roll-out of Kia Rite commenced at the beginning of August 2018. The results from the evaluation have provided the basis for refining the Kia Rite delivery model and programme content.

As noted above, a flexible delivery model has been retained so that each region can decide the most effective mode of delivery for the cohort commencing a programme. The programme can be delivered to either smaller or greater numbers of wāhine. It can be delivered as an open programme where new wāhine can enter at three places during delivery. Alternatively it may be delivered as a closed programme, whereby no new wāhine can join the programme after it has commenced.

Kia Rite can be sole facilitated or co-facilitated by trained programme facilitators depending on the numbers of wāhine in attendance. Both modes of delivery will include guest speakers from custodial staff, case management staff, social workers, and counsellors/trauma counsellors. Other guest speakers from prison industries, education, and reintegration will be invited to provide information as is relevant to the wāhine attending. The co-delivery of Kia Rite is advantageous in a number of respects. For example, programme facilitators provide expertise in group facilitation and treatment, trauma counsellors assist in the acquisition of skills and coping mechanisms,



and the prison staff provide information and support in navigating prison life. Similarly, staff from prison industries, education and reintegration can share information around their areas of expertise. This process also provides opportunity for wāhine to establish supportive connections with staff (Welsh, 2018).

The Kia Rite programme content has been revised and substantially reduced in volume; however, key concepts and skills, including mindfulness and distress tolerance skills, as well as emotional and relationship management, have been retained. It is anticipated that the reduced volume of content will provide the wāhine with the opportunity for more skills practice. This is specifically based on providing instruction, modelling adaptive behaviours, behavioural rehearsal and feedback, that have collectively been proven to help embed new behaviours and skills. The Māori cultural content has been more consistently woven through the programme so that wāhine have the opportunity to benefit from using the Te Whare Tapa Whā model throughout the programme.

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# Development and implementation of trauma-informed training for women's corrections facilities in Aotearoa New Zealand

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## **Author biography:**

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## **Acknowledgments**

The trauma-informed training outlined in this article was collaboratively designed by: Kerry Consedine, Principal Practice Adviser – Office of The Chief Probation Officer; Bryony Jackson, Learning and Development Designer; Hannah McGlue, Principal Adviser Women's Strategy; and three clinical psychologists with expertise in trauma; Sonya Bakker, Kirsty Dempster-Rivett and Dr Jane Freeman-Brown.

*Keywords:* Department of Corrections Women's Strategy; Wahine – E rere ki te Pae Hou; Trauma-Informed Training for Women's Corrections Facilities

## **Introduction**

In 2017, the Department launched a four-year Women's Strategy, Wahine – E rere ki te Pae Hou.<sup>1</sup> The Strategy acknowledges that the majority of women managed by the Department of Corrections have chronic histories of trauma as evidenced by recent research (Bevan, 2017; Indig, Gear & Wilhelm 2016). The overarching goal is to create environments where women feel safe and therefore can focus on the interventions and activities they need to build offence free lives. This article summarises the one-day pilot training package that has been delivered to all women's prisons in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Trauma-informed practices have existed for some time in mental health services and more recently within care and protection spaces. However, it is a relatively new approach within correctional settings both nationally

(McGlue, 2016) and internationally (Miller & Najavits, 2012; Benedict, 2014; Tam & Derksen, 2014). The move towards trauma-informed care within the British Isles has been gaining momentum (Miller & Najavits, 2012). Hannah McGlue (personal communication, May 11, 2018) met with the Women's Strategy Team in the Scottish Prison Service and investigated how they have implemented trauma-informed practice. In summary, they provide day-long training for all staff and ongoing support to prison management teams. In the United States, a trauma-informed approach has been employed by The Rhode Island Department of Corrections Women's Facilities (Benedict, 2014). The data emerging from this project is promising and suggests significant improvement for both the women and staff. For example, between 2011 and 2012 there was a 62% drop in inmate on staff assaults and a 54% drop in inmate on inmate assaults and a 60% drop in suicide attempts (Bissonette, 2013; as cited in Benedict, 2014).

Trauma effects can arise from a woman's personal experience and can be cumulative across generations. The ongoing effects of intergenerational and historical trauma are of particular relevance for indigenous populations (Pihama, et al., 2014). In response to the disproportionate representation of native Hawaiian women, the Women's Community Correctional Centre developed a Trauma Informed Care Initiative based on an indigenous concept of "pu'uhonua" – a place of refuge" (Patterson, Uchigakiuchi & Bissen, 2013). The guiding principle of this approach was to focus on creating a safe space that nurtures healing from a personal, family and community perspective.

<sup>1</sup> [https://www.corrections.govt.nz/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0006/894228/Corrections\\_Womens\\_Strategy\\_August\\_2017\\_web.pdf](https://www.corrections.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0006/894228/Corrections_Womens_Strategy_August_2017_web.pdf)

**Table 1:**

*Similarities between trauma-informed practice principles and Te Tokorima a Māui – Kaupapa Māori values*

Trauma-Informed Practice Principles	Te Tokorima a Māui –Kaupapa Māori Values
<b>Safety:</b> The activities and the physical settings ensure the physical, emotional and cultural safety of prisoners.	<b>Kaitiaki/Guardianship:</b> Care, protect, guardianship, following our practices and processes.
<b>Trustworthiness:</b> The activities and physical settings maximise trustworthiness through task clarity, consistency (over time and staff), transparency re expectations and processes, honesty, and interpersonal boundaries.	<b>Manaaki/Respect:</b> Care, respect, safety for all people.
<b>Choice:</b> The activities and physical settings maximise prisoner choice and control over factors that impact on them.	<b>Rangatira/Leadership:</b> Leadership, bringing people together.
<b>Collaboration:</b> The activities and physical settings maximise power-sharing and the participation of prisoners in decisions that impact on them.	<b>Wairua/Spirituality:</b> Anchors us to a point in time, helps connect us to others, links to resilience.
<b>Empowerment:</b> The activities and physical settings maximise prisoner autonomy and self-determination and support them building skills to achieve this.	<b>Whānau/Relationships:</b> Connectedness, family.

For some, the concept of trauma-informed practice seems vague and hard to link to the everyday running of prison life. This is complicated by the fact that the term trauma is often used in everyday language to reflect a variety of experiences from a “traumatic staff meeting” to a “devastating earthquake”. However, when it is broken down to its purest form, trauma-informed practice reflects the desire for staff to feel more confident in responding to people experiencing the ongoing effects of trauma, so the wellbeing and safety of all is improved. The trauma-informed practice values derived from the International Programmes outlined above provided the foundation of this training from start to finish. The similarity of these principles is closely linked to the Te Tokorima a Māui – Kaupapa Māori Values that are already part of Corrections’ language and practice (Table 1).

### Core components of the Trauma-Informed Practice Training Package

Becoming trauma-informed does not mean staff will be expected to “treat” trauma symptoms, but rather identify the ongoing effects and interrupt and de-escalate when they occur (based on the concept of psychological first aid). An early part of the training focused on introducing the difference between a traumatic event and ongoing trauma experiences. For example, being in a car accident is a traumatic event but it does not automatically mean a person will develop post traumatic stress disorder. However, symptoms of ongoing trauma reactions can be varied, including: unwanted and distressing memories of the trauma event, distressing dreams, and flashbacks

where the individual feels as if the trauma event is recurring. Participants were encouraged to think about ways people attempt to cope with the ongoing experience of trauma that can impair their ability to engage fully in everyday life. For example, people can go to lengths to avoid being reminded of an event or even the negative feelings associated with the event. These coping strategies do serve a function but can cause harm themselves, such as: using substances to reduce flashbacks, acting out to go to a secure unit to avoid being around people, self-harm to stop emotional pain, or zoning out of reality and missing important information.

The prison environment can readily trigger trauma-related responses in ways which can be confusing and difficult to manage for both the women and staff. Introducing a basic understanding of the brain’s response to the threat was used to help explain the individual and varied trauma reactions (basic neuropsychology). The potential link between a woman’s strong emotional reactions to a seemingly neutral situation was discussed in relation to the triggering of memories. Common prison procedures such as strip searches, double bunking, and night-time safety checks were presented as understandable times when women’s trauma-responses might be triggered. Exposure to multiple events from a young age can have an adverse effect on the development of the areas of the brain responsible for emotional and behavioural regulation. Interpersonal challenges staff faced were discussed in the context of the ongoing negative impacts, such as social relationships, interactions with authority figures, and issues with attachment.

**Table 2:**

*Examples of practical strategies that can be employed to enhance trauma-informed practice*

Common Effects of Trauma/ Potential Triggers in Prison Context	Trauma-Informed Strategies for Staff
<b>Safety:</b> women are often hyper-aware of possible danger. They may have a sense that all people are potentially dangerous or feeling trapped in confinement like they did when their abuse was occurring.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ask women what makes them feel unsafe and put measures in place where you can</li> <li>• Explain searching processes before they happen</li> <li>• Knock on doors before entering cells</li> <li>• Limit loud noises where you can.</li> </ul>
<b>Trust:</b> women may have difficulty trusting others, even those who are trying to help them. This can stem from abuse from caregivers who they once trusted, or experiences of grooming where someone was initially kind but this resulted in abuse.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Follow through on promises</li> <li>• Allow women to decide what personal information to disclose, and when</li> <li>• Discuss confidentiality with women – and when you do have to share what they tell you</li> <li>• Be patient as it may take time before they trust.</li> </ul>
<b>Choice:</b> traumatic events often take away choice and if a choice is continued to be taken away women could withdraw.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provide opportunities for choice where you can, even if it is as simple as where they sit in a room</li> <li>• Provide women with programme options and let them choose what to do</li> <li>• Where there is no choice in a situation, explain why.</li> </ul>
<b>Collaboration:</b> women who have suffered violence and abuse have usually been treated as “less” than others around them. This can lead to feelings of helplessness or defensiveness when told what to do.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ask for women's input on decisions about them – offender plans, parole reports</li> <li>• Remain calm during incidents, use a conversational tone</li> <li>• Seek input from a range of people that work with them.</li> </ul>
<b>Empowerment:</b> women need skills to break away from their former lives, and should be encouraged to figure out what they can do for themselves (in prison and in the future).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Refer to a woman's strengths when you can</li> <li>• Celebrate accomplishments as part of routine interactions with women</li> <li>• Ask women what they need, and provide it where you can.</li> </ul>

The section on historical trauma provided a launch-pad for staff to think about practical ways traditional Māori healing processes could be integrated into day to day life in prison. To develop a sense of what can be done, Wirihana's (2014) three key areas that promote healing and wellbeing were introduced. Firstly, the use of traditional protective factors in the context of nurturing intergenerational family environments. Secondly, Māori methods of healing such as waiata, motoeatea, haka, and whakanoa. Thirdly, the use of traditional stories to support historical collective and individual trauma. The focus on what “can” be achieved despite the confines of prison regulations aimed to provide hope and a sense of empowerment for staff. Groups were encouraged to reflect on themes and practical activities that emerged and take these back to the managers and teams.

A fictional case study, based on common experiences of women in prison, was used to highlight how past traumatic events can impact on current emotions and behaviours. Staff were encouraged to think about how routine prison activities may trigger trauma responses (cell confinement, being handcuffed) and identify practical strategies that could be used to reduce the likelihood of subsequent trauma reactions (see Table 2 for examples).

The facilitators gave high priority to taking care of staff throughout the training due to the sensitive nature of the topic. The training ended with a section on staff welfare that ensured staff knew about additional options such as the Employee Assistance Programme, Welfare Officers, and peer support. Benefits of self-care were also discussed in terms of enhancing staff emotional resiliency so they can continue to react in a trauma-informed manner.

## Summary

The overall goal of this training was to help staff understand that some of the more difficult behaviour displayed by women in prison could be explained as trauma survival behaviours. While it is not possible to remove all triggers from a prison environment, the ability to recognise when a woman has a trauma response and respond to it in a trauma-informed way can help de-escalate situations and teach emotion regulation skills. By taking a trauma-informed approach in the work with all women, we seek to avoid re-traumatisation and provide a safe space for them to focus on enhancing their wellbeing and reducing their chance of re-offending.

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# Introducing practice tools for working distinctively with women

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## **Author biography:**

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In August 2017 the Department of Corrections launched a four year (2017-2021) Strategy for Women: Wahine – E rere ana ki te Pae Hou (Women rising above a new horizon). There is current evidence that women have different pathways into offending than men and that to address their offending, women require a different response. There has also been an increase of women in New Zealand prisons (over 65% increase between 2005 and 2016) as well as an increase in new starts of women on community based sentences (120% increase since 2005/2006).

There are three key focus areas in the strategy:

1. providing women with interventions and services that meet their unique risks and needs
2. managing women in ways that are trauma informed and empowering
3. managing women in a way that reflects the importance of relationships to women.

(Women's Strategy, Department of Corrections, August 2017)

This article describes the development of practice tools for Community Corrections practitioners to help them engage with women serving community sentences or orders.

## **Background**

The strategy for Community Corrections includes running a pilot to make service centres more whānau-friendly by creating child-friendly spaces, supporting each region to develop and run programmes specifically for women, and designing a number of brief interventions that probation officers can use in their one-to-one work with women. These interventions can also be used by case managers in the prison setting.

Practice tools are not new in Community Corrections. They were initially introduced around the time the probation Integrated Practice Framework was implemented in 2009 to help staff focus on specific risks or needs related to offending in their casework.

A number of tools have been introduced since then that aim to reduce risk areas for individuals, as well as assist in increasing protective factors during probation officer sessions with people on their caseload. One of the actions under the Women's Strategy was to develop gender responsive brief intervention options to enable probation officers to engage and work with women on their caseload.

## **Method and themes**

The development of the new practice tools was based on literature from New Zealand and overseas. This research, and feedback from practitioners, indicates that women have different factors driving their offending pathways and it was important to have a clear understanding of these to ensure the tools met their specific needs (Salisbury & Van Voorhis, 2009).

It was important to involve frontline staff in the development of these tools and confirm the broad topics highlighted in the literature. To achieve this, a simple questionnaire was developed for practitioners, asking what resources they currently used that worked well with women, and their view of what was required to meet any gaps. The feedback largely matched the research information, indicating the following areas where additional interventions could be delivered by practitioners to support women:

- relationships going wrong
- use of alcohol, drugs and gambling
- mental health issues – linked to trauma and/or victimisation
- economic pressure – limited education, lack of job opportunities
- lack of support networks and services (McGlue 2017).

Themes that emerged about the needs of women reinforced the importance of being strength-based, consultative, respecting autonomy, giving information about options and being empowering; ways of working

we would expect staff to practice with all people (Bevan, 2017). For long-term desistance the following factors were identified as supporting women to change:

- need to form good social/family bonds
- the importance of children (especially those in the care of women)
- supportive relationships
- being alert to the nature and dynamics of relationships and knowing how to keep safe
- positive self-identification and emotional resilience (Bevan, 2016).

It is also considered important for staff working with women to understand and practice respectful engagement, understand the effects of trauma, have good communication skills, and be positive role-models (Bevan, 2016).

With these themes in mind, the task was to formulate simple tools that probation officers and case managers could use with women, which would meet some of these factors without moving into a therapeutic space which is not part of their role. It is acknowledged that many staff are already aware of the pathways to offending for women, and work in a way that is strength-based and motivational. Awareness of this practice was valuable in developing the tools.

The tools were also developed to complement the trauma-informed practice training that was being rolled out to staff.

The need to ensure the tools were culturally informed and responsive to the diverse cultural backgrounds of women was critical. The Department's five Kaupapa Mori values, Te Tokorima a Māori have been incorporated into the tools. The values are kaitiaki (guardianship), manaaki (respect), rangatira (leadership), wairua (spirituality) and whānau (relationships).

## Developing the tools

After extensive consultation across the Department, a final list of six (out of an initial 21 proposed tools) was agreed on. These tools linked to the research by being strength-based, focusing on relationships and assisting with self-regulation and coping skills. It should be noted that there are cross-over tools that have similarities with other practice tools currently used by probation officers and case managers.

In developing the six tools, it was paramount that practitioners use motivational interviewing techniques and a collaborative approach, and are aware of the principles of risk, needs and responsivity. It became evident that using the tools without a good understanding of the current risk and responsivity issues could be unsafe for both the woman and the

probation officer/case manager. Likewise, using a directive approach, or one that was not led by the woman, could have negative outcomes.

Practice leaders introduced the tools to probation officers. A practice development session was designed to provide background information on the Women's Strategy. Practice leaders presented this and then facilitated conversations with staff about how they could use the tools and who on their caseload would benefit from which tools. This was an opportunity to reinforce the need to use the right tool with the right person at the right time. This was particularly pertinent for the tools that help to address healthy relationships, communication and conflict resolution skills – ensuring care is taken when working with women who have histories of abuse and/or trauma.

## Practice tools for use with women

The six tools that have been developed for use primarily with women are:

1. **Starting from strength (*Timata mai i te kaha*)**  
This is designed to promote self-efficacy and self-regulation. The tool consists of a worksheet that a person uses to identify their strengths and the way those particular strengths help them, as well as considering how they could then use those strengths in the future.
2. **Who am I? Different roles I play (*Ko wai au he aha oku turanga*)**  
This is designed to help women identify the many roles they have in life and helps them understand which roles assist them and their whānau and which roles they want to develop more or reduce.
3. **Self-esteem (*Kiritau*)**  
This tool incorporates worksheets encouraging reflection about self-belief and self-esteem and a journal to recognise and record positive events.
4. **Assertive communication (*Korero tuturu*)**  
This tool aims to assist people to identify their usual communication style and to encourage assertive communication when appropriate. Worksheets include scenarios to work through and general tips.
5. **Healthy relationships (*Hononga hauora*)**  
This tool aims to create a greater understanding about healthy versus unhealthy relationships. It asks women to consider their relationships using Te Whare Tapa Wha (a holistic wellbeing model) and provides an opportunity to review their relationships using a simple action plan.
6. **Conflict resolution (*Te taupatupatu me te tautohehe*)**  
The final tool helps recognise conflict in relationships and looks at healthy ways to resolve them. It includes simple exercises to try and handouts with further information.



The tools were developed to be used as and when needed, with a motivational interviewing approach. They were not designed to be used in the family violence area, and there are links to the Department's Practice Centre to ensure safety issues are considered.

Probation officers and case managers are encouraged to work through the tools with the women, providing support and encouragement for "homework" to be completed on occasion.

## Responses to date

The new practice tools have been in the Practice Centre since early May 2018 and most staff within Community Corrections and case managers are now aware of them. There has been positive initial feedback from staff using the tools.

Taranaki Practice Leader Greta Cleary noted how positive it has been to see and hear the response from probation officers during the Practice Development Sessions. She noted that there have been a few "light-bulb moments" about pathways to offending for the women we work with and what works in terms of engagement. She also noted that a lot of probation officers have been excited about the strength-based approach.

Feedback from a probation officer who has used the *Starting from strength* tool with a woman suggests the tool is having a positive effect.

*"I chose to use a tool that would help her focus on her self-esteem and self-worth because she's experienced a lot of trauma in her life and it helps to identify resilience and coping strategies she already has in place. The response was emotional, because the woman had the opportunity to speak about her achievements and things she was proud of. It's been good timing because she's currently going through a Family Court process and as a result she's having to re-live a lot of her past, including past traumas. It's like we're working through the old and focusing on the new, like we're building a new identity."*

– New Plymouth Probation Officer Krystle Fabish

Further work will be conducted with probation officers in 2019 to see how helpful these tools have been and examine if additional training, practice guidance or tools could be implemented.

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# “For me it was normal”: Some initial findings from the family violence perpetrator study

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## **Introduction**

*“The violence is normal, the drugs is normal, the crime is all normal and that's my life, how I've lived for 24 years, how I was raised, how all my family are, generations, and generations, and generations.”*

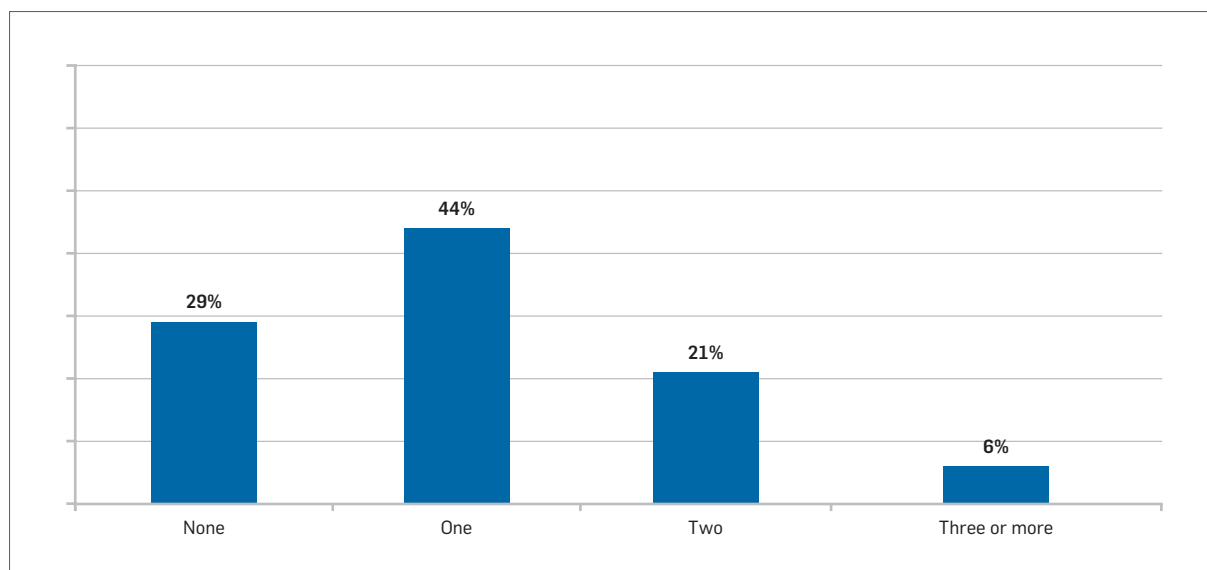
*“My dad used to beat me up, my dad used to beat my mum up, and I just thought it was normal just to beat people up if they make you angry. But now I realise it's not.”*

In 2017/18 over 10,000 people started Corrections' managed sentences where the lead offence was family violence. In August 2018, 26.5% of the current prison muster were serving sentences for family violence offences. Family violence is therefore a key area of focus for the Department. Despite a plethora of research on family violence over the past decade, comparatively little attention has focused specifically on family violence perpetrators (Centre for Innovative Justice, 2015; Polaschek, 2016; Morrison et al 2015). As a consequence, our understanding of people's pathways into family violence offending, the relationship between family violence and other general forms of offending, and the crossover between intimate partner violence perpetration and broader forms of family violence is limited. Knowledge of people's treatment pathways is also lacking (see Morrison et al 2015).

Launched in 2017, the family violence perpetrator research project started to address these gaps. Specifically, the research investigated people's pathways into family violence and the relationship between the onset of other offending and family violence perpetration. It examined the overlap of intimate partner violence (IPV) with more general forms of family violence, and sought to understand how family violence perpetration changed across time and different relationships. In doing so, it explored the distal and proximate factors which people believed contributed to their behaviour. In a context where there is no record of who has attended family violence programmes across different government agency referral pathways, the research explored where and how people first received treatment and the nature, dosage and perceived effectiveness of the treatment(s) received. Through the perspective of participants, it examined what aspects of treatment were useful (and which aspects were less so) and gaps in existing service provision. The research also examined people's views about desistance, and, crucially, what they felt would help or hinder their attempts to desist from family violence. In doing so, the research makes an important original contribution to our knowledge of family violence in New Zealand and identifies promising directions for service development.

**Figure 1:**

*Participants' self-reported family violence treatment programme "dosage"*



## Method and participant characteristics

The family violence perpetrator study involved in-depth qualitative interviews with 48 people in prison for family violence offences, most of whom had two or more previous convictions for family violence.<sup>1</sup> Selection of participants was weighted towards those who had completed some form of rehabilitative programme during their current sentence. While the majority of those interviewed had completed just one programme, several people had completed multiple programmes. A small number had not completed any programmes on their current sentence but had done so on previous sentences. Eight participants were found to have completed the Department's prison-based family violence programme,<sup>2</sup> although 71% of those interviewed had previously attended a family violence programme in the community at some stage.

As demonstrated in Figure 1 above, 27% (n=13) participants had attended two or more family violence programmes, and a similar proportion (29%) had never attended a targeted family violence programme (although these people had attended general criminogenic programmes and/or drug and

alcohol programmes which often contain healthy relationship components).

Almost four-fifths of the sample was in prison for offences involving actual use of physical violence, with offences ranging from murder and kidnapping through to male assaults female and common assault. Several participants claimed to have primarily engaged in psychological violence,<sup>3</sup> which they often described as being "worse" than physical violence, while many others reported perpetrating psychological violence alongside physical violence. It is fair to say that a lot of the physical violence perpetrated by participants was at the more extreme end of the spectrum, with over half utilising weapons in the course of their assaults, and a third of offences involving strangulation. Given that the sample was drawn from those serving prison sentences, this finding is not particularly surprising, but does mean that the study makes no claims that the findings are generalisable to family violence perpetrators in the New Zealand population more broadly, or, indeed, perpetrators within other settings, such as the community and/or non-criminal justice settings.

The sample was dominated by those who committed offences against intimate partners or previous partners (43 out of 48). Six people directly offended against children (including three people who also offended against partners/ex-partners as part of the same incident or series of incidents), although children were reported to have witnessed the violence in half

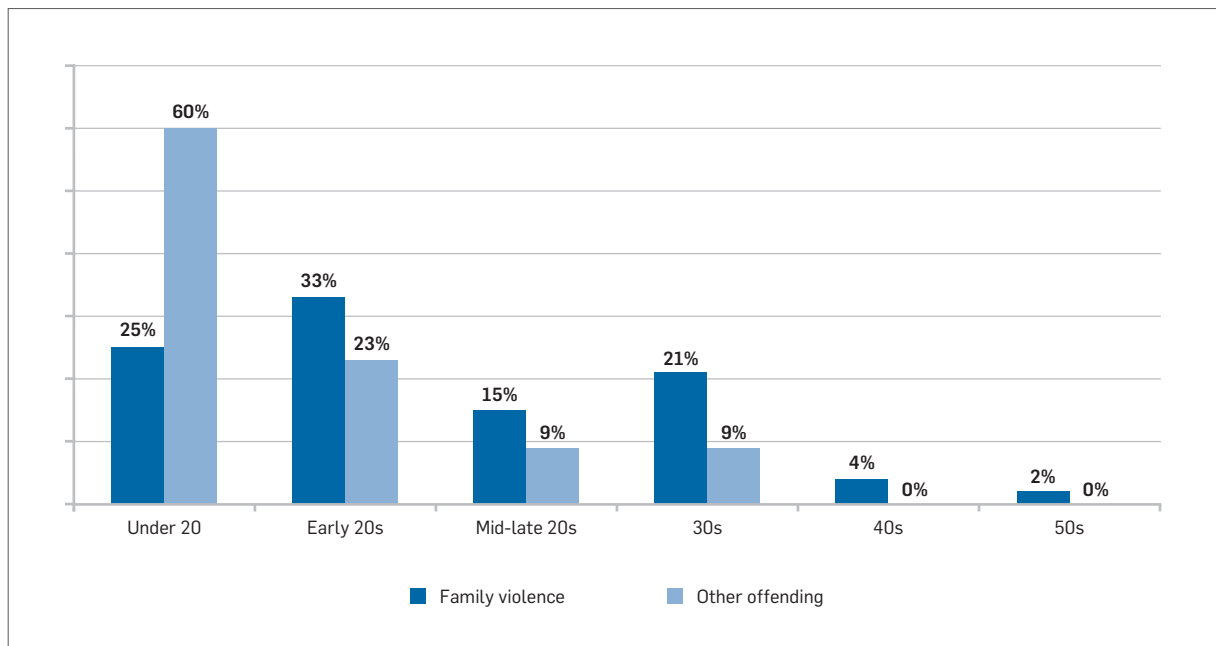
1 This criterion was relaxed slightly during the course of the study, although the majority (79%) had previous convictions for family violence. There were also some difficulties associated with reliance on the NZ Police generated family violence flag to assess the relevance of historic offending, which meant there was merit in loosening this criterion for those with long offending histories.

2 This programme has since been discontinued alongside a broader redesign of existing criminogenic programmes such as Kowhiritanga, Medium Intensity Rehabilitation Programme (MIRP), Mauri Tu Pae, Saili Matagi, and the Special Treatment Unit Rehabilitation Programme (STURP).

3 These individuals were most commonly in prison for contravening protection orders and/or attempting to pervert the course of justice.

**Figure 2:**

*Age at first conviction for family violence versus other offending*



the accounts, and were living in the household where violence occurred in two-thirds of cases. One person had offended against their father, while another had assaulted her brother's partner.

The sample included 12 women and 36 men. Three-quarters identified as Māori, a fifth were NZ European, and three were Pasifika. The average age of participants was 35; with the eldest participant aged 56 and the youngest aged 20 years old at time of the interviews. Participants had an average of three previous sentences involving family violence, with two having ten prior sentences. Ten participants were serving their first sentence for family violence.

Semi-structured interviews were carried out across three men's prisons and two women's prisons between January and May 2017.<sup>4</sup> In addition to interviews, the research utilised information from administrative records, including provision of advice to courts (PAC) reports, parole reports, and summaries of fact (or judicial sentencing notes when summaries of fact were unavailable). Summaries of fact were sourced internally, with NZ Police providing assistance for a small number of people whose summaries were not able to be retrieved from our internal records.

Qualitative data from the interviews and summaries of fact were combined with quantitative data (drawn from administrative records and also extracted from

interviews) for analysis using NVivo, a specialist qualitative data analysis software package. Individual case studies were also produced for each participant. Thus, whilst only including 48 participants, the volume of data is vast, and in-depth analysis is still ongoing at the time of writing. Consequently, the results detailed below should be considered provisional in nature. A full report of the research findings will be completed by December 2018, with presentations to follow. This article presents initial results on the following topics:

- The onset of family violence offending and stability of violence over time and across different relationships
- The proximate triggers of family violence
- Treatment experiences
- Prospects for desistance: what helps.

### **The onset of family violence**

For most, family violence started later than general offending. Almost half of the participants were convicted of their first family violence offence in their 20s, while a quarter were first convicted when under age 25, and just over a quarter were 30 or over. This differed by gender, with women more commonly having their first conviction later, typically in their 30s, although this is in line with gender patterns found in general offending. Given the sample was prison-based it is not surprising that three quarters of participants had convictions for other offences. As demonstrated in Figure 2 above, most had accumulated convictions for other forms of offending prior to being convicted

<sup>4</sup> The researchers wish to thank prison directors, principal programme facilitators, case management and custodial staff for their assistance identifying and approaching potential participants, and accommodating the subsequent fieldwork.

of family violence, with over half (60%) receiving their first conviction for other offending under the age of 25. Over two-fifths of these convictions were for violent offending against non-family members, while a fifth involved traffic offences, and a fifth involved dishonesty or burglary offences. Consequently, most people were involved in the criminal justice system prior to coming to attention for family violence offending, although this does not necessarily mean that they were not perpetrating family violence concurrently.

## Pathways to family violence

People in the study often found it hard to pinpoint exactly when and how their family violence offending had started, and had varying understandings of what family violence encompassed; however, some distinct patterns were evident. For many, family violence started in their first serious adult relationship. This was the case for over half of people in the study. Adult relationships often introduced a range of new “stressors” into people’s lives, such as challenges associated with cohabitation and parenting, which, in turn, generated tensions around the apportioning of domestic responsibilities, and managing increased financial pressures.

For some men, adult relationships exposed strong underlying beliefs about traditional gender roles. This played out in a number of ways. Some described losing confidence and self-esteem when they could not meet the family’s economic needs (often associated with loss of employment) or resolve household problems. These perceived inadequacies were often a source of shame and conflict with partners, and partners’ families. This was the case for Jeremy<sup>5</sup> who was 17 when his partner had their first child. A combination of stress associated with working long hours for low pay, alongside a lack of parenting experience, preceded his use of violence against his partner and child: “that pushed me over the line, yeah ... never a punch in the head, yeah, until we had our daughter and it just, I couldn’t just deal with life.”

Others struggled when their ideals around “men as financial providers” and “women as homemakers” became inverted, often following a loss of employment. Finding themselves in the domestic sphere, such men often expressed dissatisfaction about the ways in which their female partners had been raising children or doing housework. They also felt annoyed when female partners went out socialising after work, leaving men at home to mind the children. Several men mentioned a loss of self-esteem and/or masculinity associated with becoming confined to domestic roles. Conversely, some men involved in gangs reported that they struggled to manage conflicting gang and familial responsibilities.

<sup>5</sup> All names have been changed to protect the identities of participants.

The “gangster lifestyle” often generated considerable relationship tension when it involved spending large amounts of time away from family, the frequent consumption of drugs and/or alcohol, and, occasionally, liaisons with other women.

In contrast to this group, others spoke of violence against a partner being a natural extension of existing patterns of general violence. A number of these people committed their first family violence offences at younger ages, and often against other family members (such as parents or siblings) prior to engaging in violence against their intimate partners. As a male participant explained, violence, whether against partners, friends, or strangers, was simply a functional means to achieve goals: “[Violence] gets you places, and it gets you things”. As is discussed below, such attitudes were often linked to childhood exposure to family violence.

## Growing up violent

While recognising that the relationship between childhood exposure to family violence and subsequent perpetration of family violence is complex, and acknowledging that not all those who witness or directly experience family violence go on to abuse, international research has shown that a sizeable proportion of those who perpetrate family violence either witnessed or experienced violence as a child (see, for example, Dutton, 2006; Barnish, 2004). This finding was also borne out in the current study, with the majority of participants (83%) claiming they witnessed or directly experienced family violence as a child (92% for women, 81% for men). This level of childhood exposure to family violence is substantially higher than that found for the general prison population (53% overall, and 68% of women and 52% of men, see Bevan, 2017). While some had grown up around healthy relationships, the majority reported violence in relationships being a normal part of their upbringing (similar findings have emerged from other New Zealand-based research, see Roguski and Gregory, 2014). Many spoke about the intergenerational nature of family violence in their lives, noting that violence had been in their families “for generations and generations”. As the title of this article suggests, therefore, while people recognised that violence was not OK, for most it was a normal experience.

Childhood exposure to violence impacted participants in a variety of ways. Some felt that by virtue of growing up in violent households they had unconsciously developed violent behaviours, while others felt they had “inherited” a violent nature from their parents. Such people often described having an inherent “violent streak”, demonstrating a low level of perceived agency insofar as they often felt their violence was beyond their control to manage once triggered.

*"I want to fix myself up ... I don't want to keep coming back [to prison]. [Interviewer: what do you think needs fixing?] Oh, just my violent streak. I think it's just from my family and what I have seen. It just comes out of me." (Tony, Māori male with over ten previous convictions for family violence).*

For others, violence against partners became a functional mechanism through which to achieve goals or get people to understand their point of view. For example, one male participant tried to get his partner to stop shouting at him:

*"I was just wanting her to shut up and me hitting her was a way ... because that's how it worked with my Mum, that's what my Dad did. So I think maybe I was thinking about how did my Dad do it? Bang: get out of my way."*

Others explained how the emotional intensity associated with serious adult relationships could trigger latent trauma, anger, and shame. For example, in the context of domestic disputes when they perceived themselves to have been threatened, criticised, or "shamed", this echoed past abuse experiences and invoked disproportionately strong emotional and often physical reactions. These people described difficulties communicating, and discussed how arguments quickly escalated to the point of physical violence. This was the case for Fraser, a NZ European man in his 30s, who concluded that his violence "all stems from abuse, child abuse ... [I was] violently abused as a kid." Because of these experiences, he claimed to have low self-esteem and often felt "overwhelmed" in arguments with his partner. Physical violence, in this context, became his way to stop uncomfortable feelings and regain power: "It's a way to stop something, it's a way to win because you feel powerless, because of how you are feeling; you feel powerless and hurt. And then it's just you lash out and it's the wrong thing to do." In a similar vein, one female participant noted:

*"My dad used to beat me up, like, really bad. Like break my ribs and like smash my face up. Lots of things. Kick me in the face and all sorts of things. Then I started fighting back and then it just got worse and worse ... getting hidings, and then I saw [violence] as a way of protecting myself so nobody could ever beat me up like that and just if I was scared or I felt intimidated my instant reaction was just to attack people."*

Relatedly, participants who had previously been victimised in intimate relationships (mainly women, but also a few men), talked about a need to "take control" when they entered new relationships, becoming

the primary aggressor in order to prevent further victimisation. Alongside such behaviour was often the underlying belief that "real relationships" involved someone hitting and that violence was a normal way in which strong emotions – such as love – were expressed:

*"Well it was just like I turned into my ex-partner ... I liked having that control because for two years I was under the control of my ex-partner, ... you know where I didn't even leave the house and I was only like 13, 14 and you know, like he would bash me and bash me, and so when I got into this new relationship and we didn't have [violence], it was kind of strange, so then I started hitting him."*

Two female participants had also committed violence against partners in situations where they themselves appeared to be the primary victim. No men reported committing violence in such circumstances. It is also notable that most of the family violence reported by female perpetrators in this study did not fit the pattern of "violent resistance" whereby violence was only used in response to a partner's violence (see Johnson, 2008, Kelly and Johnson 2008).

It was also apparent that childhood exposure to family violence affected people's relationship choices. "Poor relationship" choices were often mentioned by participants, particularly men, as a reason for violent behaviour. For male participants, such choices often involved the selection of what they termed "damaged girls" – women who had grown up with violence, often in gang environments, and who had been abused by previous partners. Some men acknowledged that they intentionally chose these women, as they felt they would have lower expectations from the relationship and be more accepting of violence.

This was the case for Justin, who described the onset of his violence occurring within relationships characterised by jealousy and mistrust, which he believed was driven in part by the "type" of women he chose:

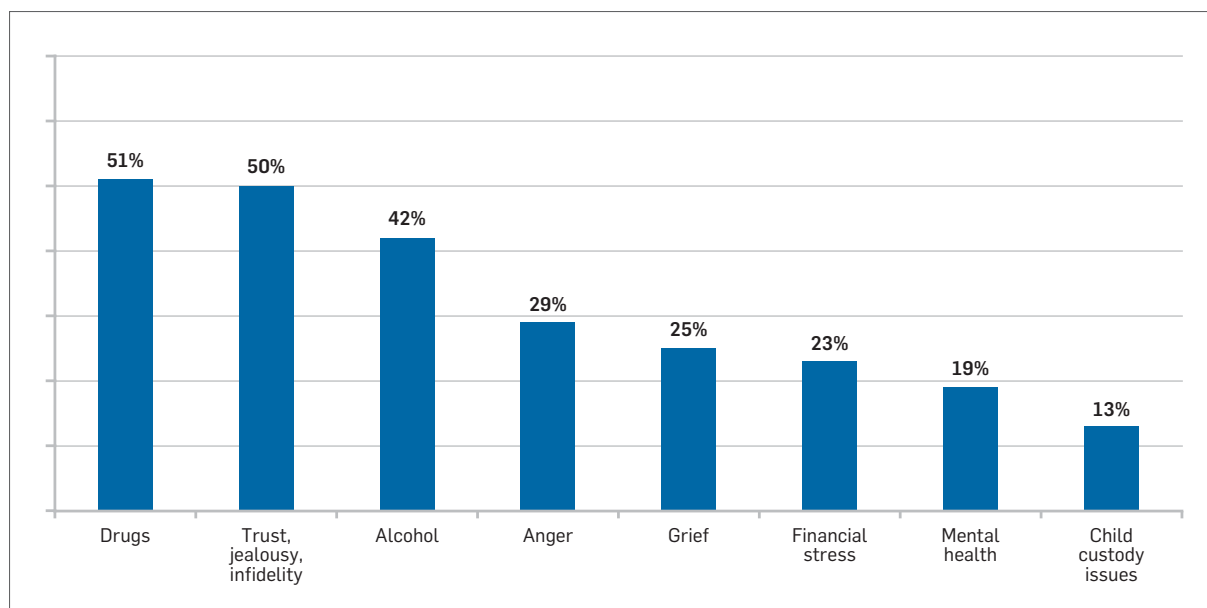
*"When I look back on it, a lot of the times I have been attracted to damaged people as well, in a way. I don't know what it is, like to, have a normal [relationship] ... I just found it attractive. They are not expecting too much of you. They are probably used to being let down."*

Having experienced extensive bullying from his siblings growing up, Justin's poor relationship choices reinforced his belief that he couldn't trust those close to him. This also had implications when it came to seeking help for his violence.



**Figure 3:**

*Self-identified proximate causes of violence*



### **Variability of violence across time and different relationships**

Having started behaving violently in one intimate relationship, many participants went on to use violence across all subsequent relationships. For instance, just under half of those who had experienced multiple intimate relationships said that their perpetration of violence was a recurrent feature of all their relationships. This was less common for women, whose use of violence on the whole was more likely to be intermittent. Just over a quarter of all participants reported that their use of violence did not extend to every relationship, and that they had successfully managed to have non-violent relationships during their lifetime. Just under a quarter claimed that their current relationship was the first that had involved violence, although this was more common in younger participants.

While some described a worsening of violence over time both within, and across, relationships, others claimed that the severity of their violence lessened in later relationships. A number of people also reported long gaps, sometimes decades long, in their use of violence. For example, Moses was first convicted of a family violence offence when he was 21 with his first serious partner, but following the birth of their children there was a 15-year gap in offending, before his use of physical violence resumed when that relationship ended and he entered a new relationship. Such findings potentially raise challenges to commonly-held beliefs about the inevitable escalation of violence over time. They also imply that relationship dynamics may play

an important role in family violence perpetration for some people (for elaboration on this point, see desistance section on page 57).

### **Proximate triggers of violence**

In addition to experiencing violent and/or traumatic upbringings, as shown in Figure 3 above, participants identified a wide range of factors which they felt more directly contributed to their most recent use of violence. The three most common factors identified were the use of drugs, most typically methamphetamine (51%); jealousy in relation to trust or infidelity issues (50%); and abuse of alcohol (42%). Over a quarter of participants also mentioned anger, and the same proportion mentioned grief as contributory factors, while just under a quarter mentioned financial stress. While 42% of the sample had mental health concerns noted in their administrative files, only 19% claimed that mental health difficulties had played a role in their latest offending. Conflicts surrounding child custody and/or access issues were also noted by 13% of participants.

Although drugs and alcohol were often mentioned by participants, few claimed to be directly under the influence of either substance at the time of their offending. This was an interesting finding in a context where male participants in particular often resisted taking responsibility for their violence. Even if they were using at the time, few saw their own use of drugs and alcohol as directly causing the violence. Rather, drug and alcohol use was often conceptualised as a contributor to more general relationship conflict,

irrespective of whether it was their own use, a partner's use, or both parties. Several men, for example, talked about conflict arising after they had disappeared for multiple days while using methamphetamine, then turned up at home while coming down. In this latter state there was a tendency for arguments to erupt over their neglect of domestic responsibilities, concerns over infidelity, or simply because they felt tired and irritable owing to a lack of sleep:

*"Been on meth. Been out for days, start coming down, start getting ugly and nag one another, yeah, that's how commonly it always started ... Not to be in touch with my partner ... you know she's worried about me being out for days, going home empty-handed. Stuff like that you know."* (Sam, Māori male in his 30s who had served multiple prison sentences for family violence).

Several men also mentioned conflicts arising because they failed either to share with, or provide drugs to, their partners.

While acknowledging alcohol was a factor, people tended to believe alcohol exacerbated existing problems in the relationship or "shortened" their fuse, without necessarily "lighting the fuse" in the first instance:

*"Alcohol is not the cause of the anger ... I just found that when I'm under the influence of alcohol my fuse gets shorter."* (Moses, Māori male in his late 30s who had multiple previous convictions for family violence).

Mentioned by a quarter of participants, grief was also seen as a contributing factor. Grief was often associated with the loss of parents described by participants as "abusive" either to themselves as children or to their other parent. Often these parents had never acknowledged or apologised for their abuse, which could now not be "put right". This, in turn, left people feeling very angry but also sad that matters would now never be resolved. In this sense the grief experienced was complicated, which contributed to difficulties managing emotions more broadly and further exacerbated problematic drug and alcohol use to mask uncomfortable or confusing feelings. People reported feeling similar types of grief in situations where their children had been removed by child protection services. They often felt responsible for such losses but also felt grief over the loss of their children. They often felt such grief was illegitimate because their behaviours had contributed to the removal. Many also reported feeling censured by members of their wider family about the loss of children. Child, Youth and Family/Oranga Tamariki were reported to be involved with the household in over a quarter of the people's most recent offending, although this figure is likely conservative, as not all participants were directly asked this question.

Financial stress was more typically reported to be a contributing factor by men. A number of men spoke about losing work, which meant that they were more likely to be at home during the day and "getting in each other's faces". As noted above, financial stress was often strongly correlated with challenges to strongly held gender role assumptions about men's and women's "place".

In terms of mental health issues, people mentioned suffering with depression, post-natal depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, and paranoia. In such cases, violence often followed when people had stopped taking medication, although it appears some had never received treatment for their condition. A number of these people appeared to be self-medicating with drugs and/or alcohol around the time of their offending. Several mentioned feeling isolated and unable to seek help for mental health problems which compounded their anxiety and frustration. A small number of participants claimed to have "blacked out" for the entirety of their latest offending and said they had no recollection of their actions during the event.

## Treatment experiences

*"I've always said you can lead a horse to water, but you can't make it drink. But the horse that leads itself to the water will get the result because it is willing and wants to. I think this is why this has been a success for me. I didn't hold back on anything. It was really empowering"* (Tom, NZ European male in his late 40s, who had recently completed the Department's prison-based family violence programme).

Almost three-quarters of people had started one or more community-based family violence programmes prior to their imprisonment. These were commonly referred to as "anger management programmes". In the main, the people interviewed for this research were of the view that these programmes were ineffective.<sup>6</sup> This may not be surprising given that the sample consisted of individuals who, at the time of interview, had subsequently been imprisoned for further family violence offending. Despite this generally negative view, several participants reported achieving cessation of violence for long periods following their attendance at such programmes.

<sup>6</sup> A number of participants had undertaken family violence programmes many years prior to their most recent offending and/or several years prior to their interview depending on how long they had been in prison. Consequently, these views are not necessarily reflective of current or recent family violence programme delivery. Recent improvements made through the Ministerial Working Group are therefore not represented in this work, although such changes are anticipated to improve treatment effectiveness.

The main reason offered as to why these programmes had not helped was that participants felt they were “not ready to change”. There were a range of reasons why people felt they weren’t ready, including being too young and immature, their continued drug/alcohol use during the programme, or that their motivation for attending was primarily to obtain a reduced sentence (or avoid further sanction), rather than based on a genuine desire to address their behaviour. The latter was not surprising in a context where most participants had been mandated to attend programmes via the District Court and had not voluntarily opted to attend treatment. People also mentioned feeling intimidated by the size and composition of community-based programme groups, with comments referring to the presence of overt gang members, the older age profile of participants, and the apparently entrenched criminality of other participants. Others mentioned feeling confronted by the judgmental tone of psycho-educational approaches used in family violence programmes, and not feeling “heard” or understood. Comments were also made about “inauthentic” facilitators who had “only learnt stuff out of a book”. Proposed solutions which lacked real life applicability, or which they had tried and failed, such as “just walking away” when conflict arose, were also identified as limitations.

In quite stark contrast, several people who had undertaken the Department’s family violence programme were effusive in their praise:

*“I was in a good place and when I got the family violence programme, I was very open to looking for change and I wanted to embrace change and that I think the programme is so exhilarating.”*  
(Ray, NZ European male in his 50s who had just completed the family violence programme on his first prison sentence).

In fact, a number had enjoyed the programme to such a degree that they had asked if they could repeat it.<sup>7</sup>

Departmental family violence programme graduates often evidenced a sound understanding of the factors contributing to their violence, including relationship dynamics, and the strategies they were going to put in place to address these factors following release. Many appeared to already be making use of various “tools” learned on the programme, with several having memorised the various acronyms associated with techniques they had learned and able to describe situations where they had successfully used these in prison. More broadly, people mentioned programme facilitators as a key strength across all Departmental

programmes, particularly when facilitators were perceived as authentic, (i.e. “being real”), non-judgmental, and knowledgeable. People generally stated that they enjoyed learning in a group, although many preferred smaller group sizes (eight or less) and noted the importance of developing group bonds early in the programme, which appeared to be a factor in maximising treatment gains. A reasonable proportion also noted the added value gained from completing cultural programmes alongside offence-focused interventions. Finally, people expressed a general preference for treatment delivered within a therapeutic unit such as Drug Treatment Units, or kaupapa Māori units.

## Desistance and what would help

Participants generally expressed a high level of anxiety and uncertainty about the prospect of re-offending. There was often considerable tension in people’s accounts, and many felt conflicted about whether their use of violence was within their control. Many spoke about external triggers, especially the behaviour of partners, which might “cause” them to re-offend:

*“I’m not going to fall into being baited and that. I will keep a calm and rational mind, try and stay out of the emotion, her getting me emotional ... the less I have to do with her the better. It’s going to be hard when I get out. This time I know I’m going to do things totally differently and not give her the chance to put me back [in prison].”* (Simon, NZ European male in his 50s, serving his third sentence for family violence).

Others viewed violence as something that came from within, something almost innate, which was, nonetheless, still outside their control:

*“I feel like my anger is capable of killing and that’s something that scares me ... I am scared that when I get out what’s going to happen when, you know, I’m not locked away. Like, I’ve been to Parole and I have told them that same thing. Like, I could have got out, but it’s not about getting out, you know, it’s about stopping. You know, he’s the father to my kids. I don’t want to hurt him no more.”* (Ariana, Māori woman serving her second prison sentence for violence against her partner).

People identified a wide variety of strategies to avoid using violence in the future. The most common strategy mentioned was ending the relationship in which the violence occurred and/or minimising or avoiding contact altogether with ex-partners. Of those participants who committed offences against partners, and whose partner was still alive, more than half (n=25) said that they either planned to end the relationship or that the relationship had already come to an end following their recent offending.

<sup>7</sup> While the Corrections’ Family Violence Programme is not available in NZ prisons at the time of writing, family violence rehabilitative needs continue to be addressed through general criminogenic programmes.

While a number talked about avoiding relationships altogether, "I suck at relationships, so I think I'll just avoid them", others talked about making "better" relationship choices. Typically such choices involved a complete departure from previous selection criteria and occasionally some quite particular requirements. For example, one man reported he had decided to seek a woman who was a "Christian vegetarian with no kids" following his release. However, while recognising that "toxic" relationships contributed to violence, the fact that many men thought a different "type of girl" would curb their violence again implied that the cause of violence lay with the female partner, rather than in the ways in which they interacted with that partner. While people often took responsibility for making "poor" relationship choices, therefore, this responsibility seldom fully extended to their use of violence within such relationships. Indeed, several men talked about women "knowing what they were like" (i.e. violent) before they entered into the relationship, suggesting that such partners had thereby implicitly consented to the violence that subsequently ensued.

A number of people talked about applying the lessons learned in treatment. Generally speaking, those who had completed the Department's family violence programme appeared to have taken a much greater level of responsibility for their violence than those who had completed community-agency interventions. Graduates of the Department's family violence programme were more likely to focus critically on their behaviours within relationships and their expectations around gender roles as a possible cause of, and therefore a solution to, violence. For example, they often talked about developing empathy for victims, thinking about how they communicated with partners, and how actions or words could be unhelpfully misinterpreted in relationships. Better communication in relationships was often seen as a key means to avoid future violence. Such men were also more likely to report planning to seek formal support in the community (through organised men's non-violence support groups) and informal support from friends and families to "talk" through problems. Most of these people viewed violence in the same way as addiction: something to be actively managed rather than ever fully overcome. A number of people in this group also indicated that they had a high level of personal agency and self-determination:

*"So I've spent a lot of time looking inwardly as to who I am and what I have and that you don't have to be attached to someone to feel value ... I am of value and I can't change the past, but I can change my future actions. You know, be a better person." (Ray, NZ European male in his 50s, serving his first prison sentence for family violence offences).*

In contrast, those who had recently completed Departmental criminogenic programmes, with a narrower offence-specific focus, were more likely to say they planned to use proximate situational avoidance techniques. For example, "just walking away" was the most common strategy reported for dealing with future "high risk situations" among this group. Such strategies were often voiced in the absence of any deeper understanding about what factors contributed to the development of "high risk situations" in the first place, nor how emotions could be expressed in more constructive, and less aggressive, ways. For some, emotions were still something that needed to be suppressed or avoided: as one man noted, "What I need to learn is how to be more of a man and stop being a baby and take control and help myself: I need to walk away and rise above emotions".

In addition to these techniques, people talked more broadly about "sorting" their lives out. More general desistance strategies, such as moving away to a new area, getting employment, taking up new sports or hobbies, avoiding or minimising negative peer associations and putting in place better support systems were all offered as options which would increase chances of desistance. One factor around which more ambivalence was apparent was cessation of drug and/or alcohol use. Despite routinely mentioning alcohol as a broad contextual factor in their family violence, few saw it as a direct trigger. Thus, while a small number of people claimed they were going to pursue sobriety on release, many more suggested that they would continue drinking and using drugs. For example, one man noted "I thought about it and the drinking is not the problem, it is who I choose to drink around ... one of the main issues I am going to be talking to my partner about is not drinking around her". Female study participants, in contrast, were much more likely to report that they were going to avoid drugs and/or alcohol entirely.

## Next steps

This report presents a preliminary overview of some of the themes that have emerged from an in-depth study of perceptions, views and experiences of offenders serving sentences for family violence offending. Further analysis of the qualitative data is continuing. Particular areas of interest that will be further developed include the role of methamphetamine in family violence perpetration, stability and change in family violence perpetrator typologies, understanding family violence desistance processes and "turning points", and exploring the implications of the findings for treatment programmes and service delivery, including the role of trauma-informed practice in future programme provision. A full report of the main findings from the study will be produced by December 2018, with articles and presentations planned to follow.

**Endnote:** The authors wish to acknowledge John Davenne and Ella Lynch for their assistance during the fieldwork stage of the research.

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# Inter-agency alignment of family violence programmes

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## **Executive summary**

An integrated and effective system for addressing family violence that is aligned across government agencies is key to ensuring positive outcomes for families/whānau affected by family violence.

In January 2018, Corrections and the Ministry of Justice published a joint Request For Proposals for aligned family violence programmes. Both agencies agreed to the same service specifications, funding models, auditing, reporting and contract management approach, for new non-violence programmes for perpetrators of family violence.

Following a successful open tender, 48 providers were selected to deliver culturally responsive programmes in all locations across New Zealand. The alignment of non-violence programmes promises to deliver benefits of increased programme effectiveness and cultural responsiveness, with benefits for contracted service providers of funding parity and stability, increased programme flexibility, and decreased administrative burden.

This aligned way of contracting family violence programmes, and the joint procurement exercise to procure the new programmes, is a new way of working for both the family violence sector, and wider public sector. The success of this ground-breaking project provides a blueprint for how other agencies can work together to create more efficient and effective ways of delivering services.

## **Background**

In July 2015 the Ministers of Justice and Social Development announced a new work programme for family and sexual violence. This work programme was to be led by the Ministerial Group on Family and Sexual Violence, made up of 16 Ministers and Associate Ministers and chaired by the Ministers of Justice and Social Development.

To coordinate and drive that work programme, a Multi-Agency Team (MAT) was established. The work programme of the MAT was (and continues to be) wide ranging, including work streams on services, commissioning and workforce development, among others.

Under the leadership of the MAT, a cross-agency work stream focusing on services delivered to perpetrators of family violence identified the range of interventions that target individuals' risk factors (and address any barriers to accessing support) by identifying the optimum service mix for effective perpetrator interventions.<sup>1</sup> A focus of this work stream was to identify ways to contribute to the streamlining of government contractual and reporting requirements to make the system easier for providers to navigate and administer.

A set of shared Service Specifications for perpetrator interventions were developed and endorsed by all agencies involved in this work stream,<sup>2</sup> presented to and approved by the Ministerial Group on 21 June 2017.

In June 2017 Justice and Corrections (the purchasing agencies) agreed in principle to align their family violence perpetrator interventions delivered in the community, using the shared service specifications as the foundation for new aligned programmes. These programmes are now referred to as Non-Violence Programmes (NVP). Current contracts for community-delivered Family Violence Programmes were extended to 30 June 2018, with new aligned programmes going live on 1 July 2018.

<sup>1</sup> The Optimum Service Mix is that which ensures perpetrators can access the right service, at the right time, in a way that best meets their needs; regardless of their referral pathway.

<sup>2</sup> Members of this work stream constitute representatives from the following agencies: Ministries of Justice and Social Development, Oranga Tamariki, New Zealand Police, Te Puni Kōkiri and Department of Corrections.



## Family violence programmes pre-July 2018

Pre-July 2018, Justice and Corrections were essentially purchasing programmes based on the same methodology, from the same service providers, requiring the same outcomes, and paying a different rate for that service.

There are many similarities in perpetrator cohorts across the agencies, as the difference between them hinges on the point in time at which they are referred to a programme (either while they are going through the court system, or later when they are in the Corrections system). However, there is one key difference in perpetrator cohorts: though Corrections refer only low-moderate risk family violence offenders to these programmes, Justice refer all offenders regardless of risk level. This is because Corrections has more intense rehabilitative programmes available for higher risk perpetrators, whereas Justice does not.

### Programme similarities and differences

Service providers delivering a family violence programme pre-July 2018 for Justice and/or Corrections were all required to deliver a programme based on the principles of Risk, Need and Responsivity, which addresses violent offending in a familial relationship. The difference in programme delivery between the agencies really came down to flexibility in programme content and delivery.

Justice used their Domestic Violence Code of Practice<sup>3</sup> as a foundation document for their programmes. All programmes delivered for Justice needed to meet the specifications in the Code, but the precise way in which those programmes are delivered and the exact content of the programmes can differ to meet the needs of the participants. Programmes could be up to 50 hours in length. In contrast, Corrections required providers to deliver a manualised programme over 52 hours with little or no flexibility in content or delivery. This was referred to as the Family Violence Programme (FVP).

### Service provider market

The service provider market was (and still is) made up of over 100 community based non-governmental providers (predominantly not-for-profits) delivering a range of family violence programmes and services to men, women and children across New Zealand. These services include non-violence programmes for perpetrators and safety programmes for adult and child victims. Those providers range from sole trader/facilitators arrangements to large regional and national

organisations delivering a range of social services – though the overwhelming majority are small not-for-profits.

Justice, Corrections and the Ministry of Social Development are the key buyers of non-violence programmes. In 2016/17, 96 different providers were contracted by Corrections, Justice, or both to deliver programmes for perpetrators of family violence.

### Funding models

One of the key differences between the purchasing agencies was the hourly rate to providers to deliver family violence programmes. Both agencies used a fee for service model, but the fee paid differed between agencies.

### What does alignment actually mean?

For the purchasing agencies, alignment means sharing a key set of agreed elements:

- Both agencies will pay the same fee for service rate
- Both agencies agreed to a base contract term of three years, plus two additional one year rights of renewal, for a potential total of five years (3 + 1 + 1)
- Both agencies will allow increased flexibility of programme delivery, including:
  - A shared programme length of 40 hours
  - Programme content guided by shared Service Specifications, which outline the key requirements of NVPs
  - Providers can mix participants from each agency (as well as participants from other referral pathways) in any ratio in group programmes.
- Both agencies will use the same templates for invoicing and reporting
- Contract management activities will be shared where appropriate
- Monitoring, auditing and quality assurance activities will be jointly undertaken by both agencies.

Both agencies retain and administer their own funding from separate Votes, and there are separate Outcome Agreements for each agency to satisfy the different legislative requirements under which each agency operates. Those Outcome Agreements will look as similar as possible, with agency differences clearly flagged.

### Why align?

The high level reason for aligning is to support the cross-government work programme to improve responses to family violence, by driving a shift to the optimal state where all perpetrators of family violence receive the right service, at the right time, delivered in the right way to support them in not re-offending.

<sup>3</sup> Once updated, the Code will be accessible via the Ministry of Justice website, at <https://www.justice.govt.nz/about/lawyers-and-service-providers/service-providers/domestic-violence-service-providers/>.

There was also an identified need to be responsive to the feedback providers were giving us about the current state of family violence programmes.

In addition, other more tangible reasons for aligning can be broken down into three categories – benefits for the purchasing agencies, benefits for providers, and benefits for programme participants and their families/whānau.

### Benefits for purchasing agencies

For Corrections and Justice, it was identified that resources at both agencies are not best used when they are replicating the same activities (procuring, contracting, monitoring and quality assuring) with the same providers. Operating under different contracts and programme models also limits the ability to share knowledge of what works.

Importantly for Corrections, alignment also provided an opportunity to improve the current programme delivery model, improving completion rates and encouraging group programmes over individual programmes where appropriate.

### Improvements in programme flexibility

Corrections made significant changes to the FVP contracts for male perpetrators in 2016. This included the rollout of a new manualised FVP. Providers fed back to Corrections that the FVP was overly prescriptive and did not allow for tailoring to meet client needs. Indicators that the prescriptive programme was not working include low completion rates and low ratio of group to individual programmes (discussed below).

Contracting for new NVPs provided an opportunity to become less prescriptive, with shared service specifications and the Domestic Violence Code governing key elements that must be part of all programmes, and giving the provider flexibility in the content detail and service delivery model.

### Improving completions

When compared to previous years, the 2016/17 referral rates decreased and completions increased. However, we wanted to improve completion rates further since we know programmes are more effective if they are completed, and that perpetrators who exit a programme prior to its completion are more likely to re-offend than those who do not attend a programme at all (Morrison & Davenne, 2016; and Vigurs, Schucan-Bird & Quy, 2016).

Discussions with probation officers indicated the increase in shorter community sentences increasingly meant perpetrators would finish their sentence before the end of their programme, and would opt not to complete it when no longer mandated to do so.

To encourage completions it was important that we give programme providers the flexibility to tailor programme content so that it adequately engages the participants (e.g. it can be more culturally responsive). Condensing programme content so it can be covered in fewer hours was also likely to be beneficial.

### Improved ratio of group to individual programmes

Corrections aimed to have a split of 80% group programmes and 20% individual programmes under the FVP. However, invoicing from providers in 2016/2017 showed approximately 30% of referrals attended a group programme and 70% attended individual programmes.

Amongst other factors,<sup>4</sup> it was identified that the higher use of individual programmes could be due to the manualised FVP structure and content, which didn't allow for much tailoring to the needs of the individuals constituting a group. The rigidity in not being able to mix Justice and Corrections participants freely also created scheduling problems where new Corrections clients couldn't be scheduled on a group programme, and with short sentences or little time remaining to be served there was no leeway to wait until the next group programme started.

Both agencies were explicit with providers when procuring the new NVP that a 70:30 group to individual programme ratio was expected, and combined with more flexible programme delivery and freedom to mix participants in any ratio, it is anticipated this target will be easier to achieve.

### Improvements in responsivity

There was also an opportunity for Corrections to improve the responsivity of programmes. Māori make up 51% of perpetrators referred by Corrections to a family violence programme, and Pasifika peoples make up 12% of referrals (Morrison & Davenne, 2016). However, the FVP programme was not written under a kaupapa Māori or Pasifika model, and provided limited opportunities for tailoring the programme content or delivery to meet the different needs of these client groups.

Justice use a model of "frameworks", approving providers to deliver programmes targeted at and responsive to the needs of particular client groups, including: Māori, Pasifika, Middle Eastern, Chinese and Indian, among others. The Code provides detail on the standards these framework programmes must meet.

<sup>4</sup> Other factors affecting the ratio of group to individual programmes included the reduction in FVP referrals (24% reduction from previous year) and an increase in women's referrals, which often do not come through frequently enough make up the required numbers for a group programme.

Corrections alignment with Justice includes adopting their model of approving framework programmes, which means for the first time Corrections clients can take part in a kaupapa Māori family violence programme, a Pasifika family violence programme, and so on. This improved responsiveness to the needs of participants should lead to increased engagement, better completion rates and more effective programmes.

## Benefits for providers

The alignment of family violence programme contracting between agencies has greatly improved the contracting environment for service providers. The purchasing agencies have been receiving feedback from providers on the status quo approach to procurement, contracting and service delivery. Alignment therefore created an opportunity to address providers' concerns.

## Improvement in fee for service rates

Feedback from providers over recent years included concerns with funding, noting in particular the lower per hour facilitator rate paid by Corrections. Additionally, the short-term nature of contracts offered in the sector (often contracts are of only one or two years duration) means long-term financial stability cannot be predicted, which negatively impacts on the financial planning of the service provider.

The impact of inadequate funding for family violence services has also been raised in independent reviews of the sector, including in The People's Report (the product of the Glenn Inquiry), which summarised the underfunding in this sector as:

*Apart from the instability short-term funding causes, it was difficult for these organisations to plan comprehensive and sustainable services. In fact, most frontline workers who talked about community-based organisations said they were only partially funded by government contracts, and some received no government funding at all...*

*(Wilson & Webber, 2014, p. 71)*

Aligning hourly fee for service rates across the agencies and providing longer a contract term, therefore, will assist in ongoing provider and sector stability.

## Decreased administrative burden

The administrative burden for providers of completing weekly reporting, monthly reporting and invoicing for two different programmes is significant. Any ability to reduce the administrative burden is beneficial for providers as it decreases paperwork and allows staff more time to focus on facilitation and client-facing activities.

## Greater flexibility in programme delivery

As discussed above, Corrections noticed a decrease in providers when rolling out the revamped FVP for male perpetrators in 2016, with some providers feeding back that the manualised programme was too prescriptive and didn't suit the way in which they engage clients and lead sessions.

Giving providers more freedom in the content and delivery of their programmes allows them to better meet the needs of their clients, engaging their clients more effectively, and providing greater support for them to complete the programme.

Being able to mix Corrections and Justice clients in any ratio, along with non-mandated participants referred from the social sector, also provides more flexibility in making up a group, effectively giving providers more choice in treatment approach.

## Provider feedback

Provider feedback has been overwhelmingly positive, with many expressing appreciation for the joined up way Corrections and Justice are working together, and reflecting that the changes in programmes and delivery were directly addressing issues raised by them in the past.

*"Without doubt ... this move will provide increased flexibility and streamlined processes for both providers and clients."*

*– Paul Shamy, Chief Executive Stopping Violence Services (Christchurch) Incorporated*

*"Thank you seems such an insignificant word to acknowledge what you've collectively managed to achieve. It is very much appreciated and will make a huge difference to providers."*

*– Dee Cresswell, General Manager SVS Living Safe*

## Benefits for programme participants and their whānau/families

The overall goal of the Optimal Service Mix, and therefore the goal when procuring the NVP was to ensure all programme participants would receive the right programme, in their location, at the right time. As discussed above, programmes are most likely to be effective for participants when they are able to complete the programme and engage with it fully, and more effective programmes means more whānau/families living without the threat or impact of family violence.

## Programme responsiveness

Improvements in programme responsiveness, such as being able to offer group programme times outside of standard business hours, providing a kaupapa Māori or Chinese programme, or delivering one-on-one programmes to those with literacy or learning difficulties, means programmes can engage participants more by being relevant and tailored to their needs. This increases the likelihood of a participant completing the programme and being able to apply the lessons learnt to their life. Not only does this improve the likelihood that they will not re-offend but also improves their quality of life generally, and that of their whānau/family, as they become more resilient and better equipped to deal with life's challenges without resorting to violence.

## Programme locations

Having programmes available in their city or town is important for participants for two reasons. Firstly, having locally available programmes makes it easier for a participant to attend and complete their programme. Secondly, having programmes delivered by local providers increases the responsiveness of the programme, as the facilitator of the programme better understands and is able to meet the needs of perpetrators in their community.

The procurement of NVP providers specifically asked them to describe the needs of their communities, how they assess those needs and how they will meet them. Local providers were also explicitly preferred.

## Programme timing

As discussed earlier, a key issue of the previous Corrections programme was the length of time it took to complete (52 hours), and the difficulty in scheduling frequent new start dates for group programmes due to insufficient Corrections referrals to make up a group. This limited the ability of participants to complete a programme prior to their sentence end date (upon which they would no longer be compelled to attend the programme). Some participants do choose to complete a programme after their sentence ends, but the need to begin employment, or job training, or move to a different location can often trump the motivation participants may have to complete when not mandated to do so.

By reducing the length of the programme, and allowing the mixing of Justice, Corrections and other participants in any ratio in group programmes, NVP can be completed faster, and scheduled more frequently. When a programme is available at the right time for a participant, they can complete it within their sentence and realise the programme benefits for themselves and their whānau/family.

## Joint procurement

The purchasing agencies committed to jointly procuring non-violence programmes for male and female adults (over the age of 17), delivered to either low and low-moderate risk perpetrators referred as part of a Corrections rehabilitation plan or for perpetrators across all risk categories referred from court. At the same time, Justice ran a separate but aligned process to procure safety programmes and services for victims of family violence.

## Type of tender

The purchasing agencies agreed an approach to market of a one-step open competitive tender. This procurement approach enabled alignment of Service Specifications, pricing, reporting and evaluation components of the contracts and to allow any new potential providers to enter the market. This approach also fits with each agency's procurement policies, and the government's rules of sourcing and procurement principles.

## Market engagement

To ready the market for this procurement, the purchasing agencies held roadshows across the country in early December 2017. These one day hui (meetings) let providers know of the upcoming changes in programmes and contracts, and gave them an opportunity to ask questions prior to the tender opening. Questions answered at the roadshows were collated and provided to all interested providers, along with copies of the PowerPoint slides used by the speakers, to provide reference documents for providers when considering how to formulate their tender.

## Procurement outcomes

Following the procurement process, from 1 July 2018 the Ministry of Justice has contracted 48 providers for non-violence programmes. Of those 48 providers, Corrections has also contracted 45 providers for delivery of non-violence programmes. All Corrections contracted providers are now also contracted by Justice.

For the Ministry of Justice, the procurement result means a small decrease in the number of providers from previous years. However, they have increased the number of providers able to deliver services to the whole whānau (such as safety programmes and services for the victim and children, along with non-violence programmes for perpetrators), have improved their geographical coverage and have increased the number of kaupapa Māori and Pasifika providers.

For Corrections, the process has resulted in a significant increase in the number of contracted providers, from 27 to 45, meaning better service delivery coverage and the provision of new kaupapa Māori, Pasifika, and other framework programmes.

The new mix of providers includes 16 new providers who have particular strengths in working effectively in Māori, Pasifika and ethnic communities, which holds promise for increased effectiveness of programmes delivered to those groups.

## Conclusion

The alignment of Corrections and Justice family violence contracts makes sense, but the reality of aligning two very different contracting styles and programme requirements proved challenging. The success of the contract alignment project and procurement round was achieved with a strong senior leadership commitment to support the work, along with continued respect for the other agency's ways of working.

Having signed the new aligned contracts, the two agencies will continue to work together as careful contract management will be needed to ensure the potential benefits are realised.

This type of aligned procurement and contracting approach is new for the public sector, and is a promising development in the way government departments are approaching their contracted services. The lessons learnt from the aligned family violence programmes will provide important insights for future cross-agency service alignments.

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# Inside probation officer contacts: A summary of an analysis of recorded probation contact sessions

**Darius Fagan**

*Chief Probation Officer, Department of Corrections*

## **Author biography:**

*Darius Fagan has worked for the New Zealand Department of Corrections since 2001. He started his career as a probation officer and believes in the important role probation officers can play in helping offenders change their lives. Darius is passionate about designing practice that adheres to evidence-based concepts that can be applied by probation officers in their day-to-day work.*

## **Introduction**

More than 30,000 offenders are currently completing community-based sentences in New Zealand,<sup>1</sup> with most of them managed by a probation officer. Probation officers are responsible for ensuring compliance with sentence conditions, organising referrals for rehabilitative programmes, and working with offenders to target their relevant risk and protective factors through various brief interventions and interpersonal techniques. Probation officer practice is rooted in the principles of Risk, Need, and Responsivity (RNR; Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990). According to these principles, probation officers should spend more time with high risk offenders, focus on relevant risk and protective factors, and work with offenders in a way that is suitable for their learning style.

Up until ten years ago, little was known about the effectiveness of probation officer practice and how well it adhered to the RNR principles. Bonta, Rugge, Scott, Bourgon, and Yessine (2008) were one of the first to critically evaluate probation officer practice in Canada by examining audio recordings of sessions with probation officers and offenders. They found overall poor adherence to the RNR principles, as probation officers tended to focus on compliance rather than criminogenic needs and most did not demonstrate skills that would contribute to a positive behaviour change (e.g. prosocial modelling). They concluded that these issues are likely to be common to many probation centres and that more training and supervision is required to ensure that probation officers target their sessions on relevant risk factors using appropriate techniques.

In 2015, the Department of Corrections conducted the first study critically evaluating probation practice in New Zealand.<sup>2</sup> This study evaluated how well

probation officers were adhering to the RNR principles by observing 81 video recordings of their sessions with offenders and comparing this to how they have been trained to use RNR in practice. It analysed the content of discussions and the skills that were employed by probation officers, such as motivational interviewing and cognitive-behavioural techniques. Overall, this study found that probation officers spent more time discussing relevant risk and protective factors than sentence conditions or compliance. They demonstrated good relationship building skills, and some evidence of motivational interviewing and cognitive-behavioural skills. Furthermore, probation officers did not engage in explicit session structuring and demonstrated inconsistencies when delivering brief interventions, with many indicating an intervention was delivered when it was not observed by the researchers. This discrepancy may have been the result of varying perceptions between probation officers and researchers regarding what actions are sufficient to be considered a brief intervention.

This study in 2015 concluded that, overall, probation officers were adhering to the RNR principles to a moderate degree. It was recommended that probation officers should be observed and supervised more regularly, that they should focus on one criminogenic need per session, and that more structuring of sessions was needed. As it was the first critical evaluation of probation practice in New Zealand, these findings were helpful in providing an insight into practice, which could be used to guide future changes in probation officer training and supervision.

Although the practice model has remained the same, several changes have been made to probation practice since the 2015 study. Motivational interviewing has been the biggest focus of training in the last two years to encourage positive attitude and behaviour changes. Other changes include an enhanced focus on mental health and suicide awareness, working with youth and Pasifika clients, using the alcohol and drug screening

<sup>1</sup> Muster information recorded 12 March 2018.

<sup>2</sup> Please refer to this report for a detailed overview of previous literature and probation officer training and practice models in New Zealand.



tool known as ASSIST (Alcohol, Smoking, and Substance Involvement Screening Test), developing offence pathways and relapse prevention plans, and developing an increased focus on employment and education. The Department also updated its probation officer toolkit for brief interventions to make it more accessible and to provide information on what tools to use for which risk factor.

The current research aimed to evaluate probation practice by examining what is being discussed during report-in sessions, what skills are being employed by the probation officer during the session, and how well they are adhering to the RNR principles. Furthermore, it evaluated the results in comparison to the findings of the 2015 study to see how practice has changed since then, and whether these changes reflect the new training targets that have been implemented by the Department.

## Results

### Session length and frequency

A total of 16 hours and 34 minutes of session recording was received. The average length of a recording was 20 minutes, ranging from four minutes to 50 minutes. A significant number of recordings started or ended abruptly or referred to something discussed outside of the recording. These recordings were still included in the analysis, but it meant that some items could not be coded, such as the opening or closing of the session.

As most offenders were part way through their sentence when coding was being completed, the relationship between an offender's risk and the number of sessions attended during their sentence was not able to be calculated. This meant that probation officers' adherence to the risk principle (i.e. devoting more time to higher-risk offenders) was not able to be assessed.

### What was discussed in the sessions?

On average, 64% of the time in sessions was spent discussing risk and need factors identified by the Dynamic Risk Assessment for Offender Re-entry (DRAOR) tool. An average of 7.5% of sessions was spent discussing sentence conditions or compliance. The remaining time unaccounted for was mostly spent on organising the date of their next session, discussing enrolment in programmes, and filling out necessary forms related to the management of their sentence. Some remaining time was also spent discussing unrelated factors such as the offender's physical health or events and circumstances in the lives of their family and friends.

Percentages were also calculated for how often individual DRAOR factors were discussed; these are shown in Figure 1. Overall, acute factors were discussed more frequently than stable or protective factors. The four factors that were most discussed

include substance abuse (noted in 72% of sessions), interpersonal relationships (72%), and employment (64%) from the acute subscale and problem solving (60%) from the stable subscale. Just under half of sessions discussed opportunity/access to victims (46%) and living situation (46%) from the acute subscale and social support (44%) from the protective subscale.

Factors that were least frequently discussed include responsiveness to advice (8%) and social control (16%) from the protective subscale, and sense of entitlement (10%) and attitudes towards authority (16%) from the stable subscale. This demonstrates that overall most sessions focused on practical issues such as employment, relationships, substance abuse, and decision-making processes concerning the offender's ability to solve problems and handle high risk situations.

Percentages were also calculated for how often strategies to address risk and protective factors were discussed. As Figure 1 illustrates, this was relatively low compared to how many times the factor was discussed. The most frequently discussed strategies were for substance use (44%) and anger/hostility (14%) from the acute subscale, and problem solving (20%) from the stable subscale. Strategies for all other factors were discussed in 12% of sessions or less.

### Did sessions focus on needs relevant to individual offenders?

Although the recordings suggest that sessions were relatively brief (average of 20 minutes), Trotter (1996) claims that short sessions can be effective if the time is appropriately used. For this reason, the proportion of sessions discussing relevant and irrelevant factors was calculated. This was done by taking DRAOR scores from the assessment before the recorded session and for each factor noting if it was relevant for the offender (risk factors scored as 1 or 2 and protective factors scored as 0 or 1) or irrelevant (risk factors scored as 0 and protective factors scored as 2) and whether each factor and a strategy to address it was discussed.

This analysis resulted in two proportions: one for relevant and one for irrelevant factors. As discussed in the previous report, if the RNR principles are adhered to, the proportion of relevant factors should be larger than that of irrelevant factors as relevant factors should be discussed more. The greater the difference between the two proportions, the more probation officers are adhering to the need principle.

For all three subscales, factors were discussed more often when they were relevant for the offender, as illustrated in Figure 1. These differences were large for stable (31% vs. 18%), acute (62% vs. 32%), and protective (30% vs. 17%) factors, demonstrating good adherence to the need principle. Almost all factors were discussed more frequently when they were relevant, with only a few exceptions such as attitudes to authority, anger/hostility, and negative mood.

This indicates that overall probation officers were doing a good job of discussing topics relevant to the offenders' risk of re-offending.

Strategies to address factors were discussed more when they were relevant only for stable (5% vs. 3%) and acute (15% vs. 9%) factors, with marginal differences. Strategies to address protective factors were discussed slightly more when they were not relevant (4% vs. 5%), indicating that there is room for improvement to discuss more relevant strategies and better adhere to the need principle. However, this finding may also be due to the overall low prevalence of strategies being discussed in sessions.

As illustrated in Figure 1, probation officers did a good job of discussing strategies concerning peer associations, problem solving, substance abuse, opportunity/access to victims, employment, interpersonal relationships, responsiveness to advice, high expectations, and social support when they were relevant for the offender. Impulse control and living situation showed no significant differences, and strategies to address anger, negative mood, and sense of entitlement tended to be discussed more frequently when they had not been identified as relevant.

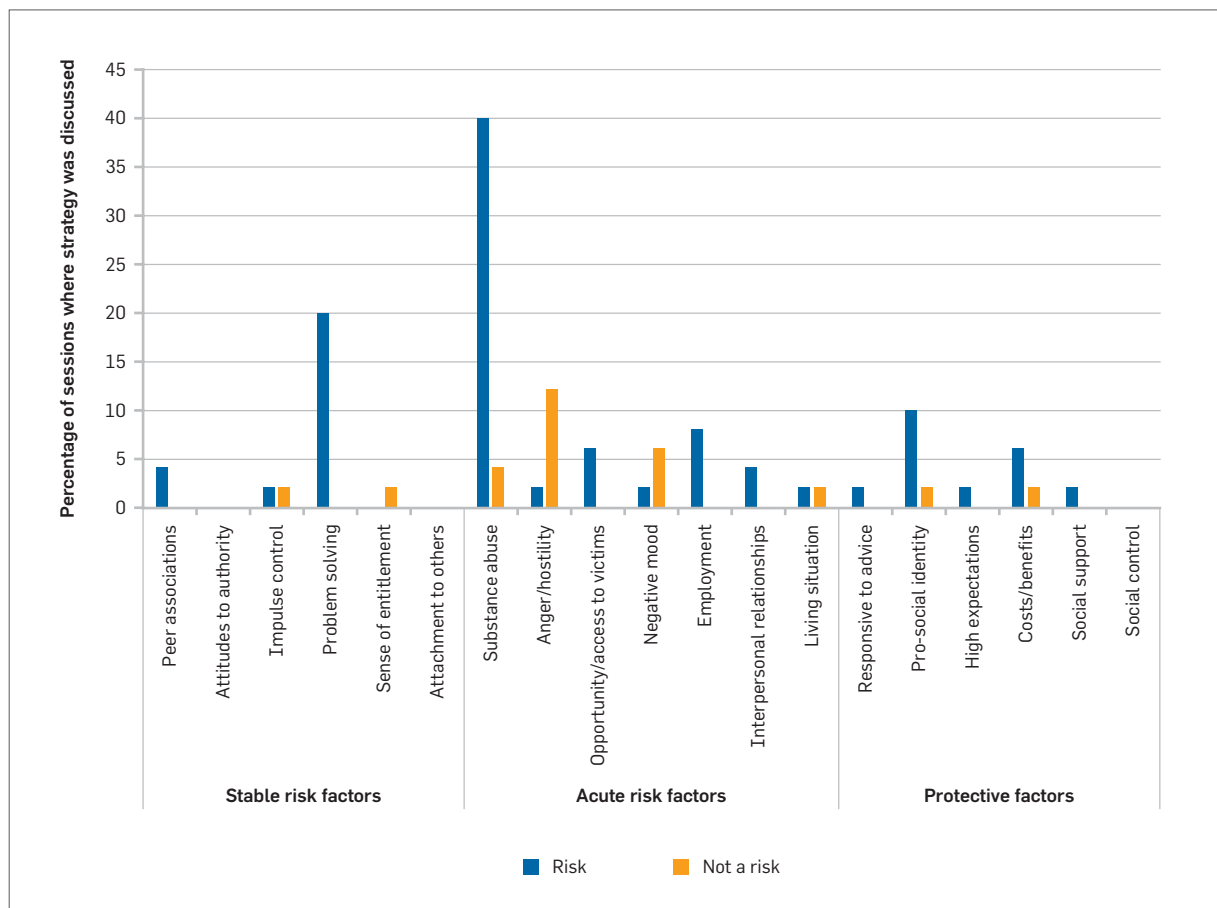
## Skills and techniques used

The probation officers' skills in the session were evaluated in relation to four domains: motivational interviewing, cognitive-behavioural techniques, relationship building, and session structuring. Overall, probation officers demonstrated good relationship building skills and motivational interviewing skills. Evidence of cognitive-behavioural techniques was mixed and session structuring was limited.

In terms of their motivational interviewing skills, probation officers tended to ask open-ended questions well and endeavoured to reflect the offender's feelings. They were positive in their approach and often provided praise and positive feedback about the offender's efforts and abilities. Probation officers often tried to elicit change talk from the offender and tried to get them to come up with their own ideas for achieving personal change. Overall, this demonstrates that probation officers have good skills in motivational interviewing, reflecting the training that has been implemented over the past few years.

**Figure 1:**

*Were the strategies discussed targeting relevant DRAOR factors?*



However, there is scope for improvement with certain motivational interviewing techniques. More specifically, using summarising throughout sessions (particularly at the end of a session) could be used more. Summarising is important for consolidating what has been discussed and ensuring that the probation officer has understood what the offender has been saying. Furthermore, when offenders engaged in sustain talk (i.e. expressing that they are unable to change or want/need to keep things as they are) probation officers could engage more, thus taking advantage of valuable opportunities to make positive change. Overall, however, motivational interviewing was present.

Although probation officers are not formally trained in cognitive-behavioural techniques, their use of these approaches during sessions was still observed. Interestingly, probation officers were employing certain cognitive-behavioural techniques well, such as prosocial modelling, responding to challenges in a constructive and respectful way, and praising instances of positive thinking or behaviour. However, other cognitive-behavioural techniques (e.g. such as making an explicit link between thoughts, feelings, and behaviour) were largely absent, suggesting that training in this area could be valuable.

Probation officers demonstrated excellent relationship building skills. They came across as friendly, engaged in small talk at the start of sessions, and were polite, respectful, and responsive. They achieved the right balance between maintaining professionalism and being warm and engaging towards offenders, which had a positive effect on rapport and participation. There were no incidents observed where probation officers' responses might be construed as disrespectful towards an offender's culture or ethnicity. However, their relationship building skills could be further enhanced by adopting a more focused cultural approach. For example, sessions with offenders who identify as Māori could be used to engage in whakawhanaungatanga<sup>3</sup> and identifying if the offender has any preference for practices they would like incorporated into sessions, such as karakia or waiata.

Probation officers are not explicitly trained in session structuring, however motivational interviewing does incorporate some elements of this through the concept of agenda mapping. Agenda mapping involves the offender and probation officer collaborating to set goals for the session and outline what they would like to discuss. Probation officers have recently learned more about this technique through a new motivational interviewing training package delivered in 2017 and 2018. Better use of agenda mapping could have enabled probation officers to lead sessions more successfully.

Session structuring is beneficial, as outlining an explicit plan at the start helps to keep the session focused and relevant to the offender's risk. Closing sessions with a summary also helps to consolidate what was learned during the session.

## Overall assessment of sessions

Overall, probation officers were observed to be focused on encouraging positive behaviour change. They adopted a constructive and responsive approach to work with offenders to make changes rather than focusing on compliance. Furthermore, most sessions were collaborative, giving offenders plenty of opportunities to talk and weigh in with their opinions. Probation officers were also observed to act in a way likely to engage the offender, as demonstrated by their strong relationship building skills. They appeared interested in what the offender had to say and remained respectful and friendly throughout the session.

Finally, the notes in IOMS describing the session tended to be accurate representations of the content of the session. These notes provided sufficient detail about what was discussed, the tools that were used, and the next steps the probation officer was going to take.

## Conclusion

This study aimed to evaluate probation officer practice by assessing its adherence to the RNR principles and how this has changed since this research was conducted in 2015. Although adherence to the risk principle was unable to be calculated, probation officers generally showed practice consistent with the principles of need and responsivity. The findings also demonstrated that some of the changes in training are being reflected in practice. Improvement in most areas was observed, indicating that probation officer practice is moving in the right direction. Recommendations have been provided for areas that showed scope for improvement to enhance the effectiveness of sessions with offenders in the future.

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<sup>3</sup> Defined in this context as the process of making connections and relating to others to establish social bonds.



# My Mahi – the Community Work App

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## **Author biography:**

*Kate has been with the Department for seven years, starting as a probation officer managing community work sentences. She now works in the Chief Probation Officer's Team, helping develop and enhance practice within Community Corrections. She is enthusiastic about improving community work support both for staff and people serving community work sentences.*

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## **Background**

The Department of Corrections has invested in modernising the use of technology over the past few years. This includes investigating how technology can be better used to connect with the people we manage. In 2017, a group of emerging senior leaders were challenged to think creatively about some of the “wicked problems” facing Corrections. The group that developed the “My Mahi” app (mahi meaning to work, do, or accomplish in Māori) started with the initial premise: If we can engage people to take greater ownership of their sentence, they are more likely to complete the sentence and be successful. They chose to apply this concept specifically to people on community work sentences.

In the 2016/17 financial year, nearly 15,000 community work sentences were imposed by the Court. Community work sentences are reparative in nature and require people to complete a number of activities in their communities such as working in a community garden, graffiti removal, and helping local council or Department of Conservation projects. Community Work can be a challenging sentence for people to complete and while most people eventually finish their hours, it can take a lot of effort and follow-up from staff. The app was designed to increase engagement by providing reminders of what people's obligations are, supporting motivation by tracking the completion of hours, and also providing an avenue for people serving community work sentences to regain some autonomy over their sentence and obligations.

Despite community work being a reparative sentence, the technology increased opportunities to connect people to support services that can reduce the likelihood of further offending. Additional support identified as useful included drug and alcohol and relationship services, as well as other wellbeing interventions.

## **Developing an app**

The initial development of the app was completed by the emerging senior leaders' team in collaboration with the IT group Optimisation. The team was supported through an “agile” design process starting with the “empathise” phase. The team worked with an anthropologist to determine from an end user perspective what someone might need to take greater ownership over their sentence. They also completed a day of community work and engaged with those who best understand the challenges of the sentence – the staff and people on community work sentences themselves. The team noted that people on community work had mobile phones and were active app users. They enjoyed playing games and appeared to organise their lives on their mobile phones. It was also noted that staff were spending a reasonable amount of time each day providing individuals with updates of how many hours they had remaining.

Next, the team undertook a structured brainstorming session, informed by all the information gathered. This confirmed that digital technology was a potential tool that could drive engagement with community work sentences. The concept of the app was developed with two questions in mind: how could we help people take control of their community work sentence and track their progress; and how could we help people connect with services available to them in their community? This is where the basic outline of the app's features was developed. These features would provide information on:

1. Number of hours remaining
2. Where I need to be next
3. Help myself to access support around my future and my wellbeing.

After this, the team completed the prototyping phase, where the original idea of an app is turned into a product which can be tested and refined multiple times. During this phase, the idea of a “minimum viable product” was introduced. This ensured that the app was delivered with just enough features to ensure quality feedback once it was tested, without over-committing resources in the initial stages of development. Rapid prototyping ensures the development of the product remains closely aligned to the solution for the end customer. The prototyping phase also allows failures to be identified quickly, ensuring changes can be made early to keep development costs low.

During the prototype phase, a demo app was introduced to people serving community work sentences in Wellington. User feedback was positive and confirmed the direction of development that had been taken up until this point. They could see the benefits and were positive about engaging with the app once it was fully developed. Feedback included: “It’ll be good not to have to ask for my hours,” “This is way cooler than I thought it would be,” and “The reminder the day before was good, helped remind me to get there.”

Finally came the test phase, where the app was launched to pilot sites around the country for initial feedback. The app was named “My Mahi”, reflecting both the nature of community work and the personalised information the app contains.

## **My Mahi - what does it do?**

My Mahi is designed to address some of the key frustrations or challenges experienced in community work. The home page displays the number of hours remaining for the person’s sentence. Like a fuel gauge, the dial counts down as the hours are completed; this can motivate people to finish their hours. It also benefits staff by freeing up their time; they no longer have to look up outstanding hours in the system for people. My Mahi provides a calendar which indicates when and where the person next needs to be for their sentence. The calendar displays both community work and court appearances. The app also gives the phone number to contact staff and a map with transport options to support attendance at appointments. Push notifications can be enabled to send a reminder of the upcoming appointment the day before the person is due to report (see Figure 1 on following page).

Alongside information about their community work sentence, My Mahi provides links to support services. These links are divided into “my wellbeing” and “my future” sections. The links provide a mix of 0800 phone lines and websites such as the Alcohol and Drug Helpline, It’s Not Okay family violence support,

“Are You Okay?” depression and mental health support, budgeting and financial help, local community engagement and advocacy, support to reconnect with iwi and marae and information on how to obtain employment or driver licences. It was important to ensure these links were to national services so that users at all test sites could access support equally.

## **My Mahi pilot**


My Mahi is currently being tested at eight community work sites around the country. The sites are a mixture of urban and rural centres and have been selected to get broad coverage of different locations and community work profiles. The pilot has been running since June 2018. At the time of writing (October 2018), there are 65 users, and 160 people have expressed an interest in the app. The pilot has been extended to allow more people to sign up and benefit from the app and provide more information about what is contributing to the gap between people being interested in the app and then actually downloading it. Early findings show some people are reluctant to provide their cellphone numbers to staff, in order to download My Mahi. Cellphone numbers are required to ensure that the correct personalised information is displayed in the app. This reluctance seems, in part, to come from a fear that the Department can access a phones’ content through the app, which is not possible. Another early finding is that people seem more willing to sign up for the app during their sentence induction, than after they have been on sentence for some time.

The IT group Optimisation is continuing to support the development and testing of My Mahi. This includes providing data on app access and usage. This data indicates that most people are accessing the app about once a week, primarily looking at the page that displays the number of hours remaining. It also shows that people are continuing to use the app throughout their sentence, rather than just in the first few weeks after downloading it.

Optimisation are also providing information on which support links people are accessing most frequently. This information does not identify individuals, but provides trends and some insights into the interests of app users, which may help Corrections target interventions to this group. For example, the support links for employment and obtaining a driver licence have been accessed significantly more often than the problem gambling and budgeting websites. While it is important for Corrections to continue to offer rehabilitative and educational interventions, this data indicates perhaps we could provide further support with regards to employment and driver licencing.




**Figure 1:**  
Screen shots of 'My Mahi' app




**DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS**  
ARA POUTAMA AOTEAROA


## Download 'My Mahi' today

Community work phone application



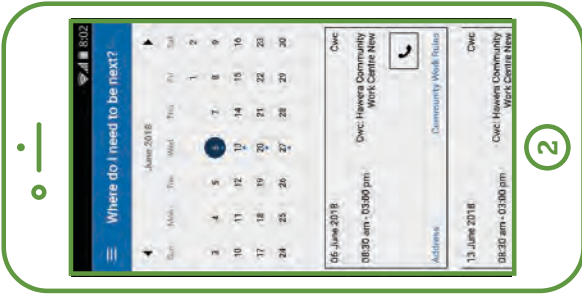
1






Check how many hours you have left

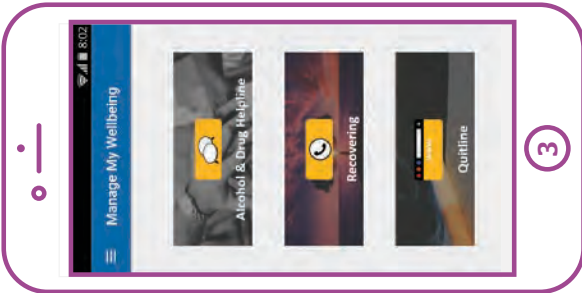
2






Get reminders of where you need to be


3







Check out our wellness partners

4






Planning for your future



ANDROID APP ON Google play



Available on the iPhone App Store

72

Practice - The New Zealand Corrections Journal - VOLUME 6, ISSUE 2: NOVEMBER 2018



## Initial feedback

Feedback from users has been sought throughout the pilot process. This feedback has been consistent across the different sites and indicates that users are enjoying being able to track their own hours and know when they next need to report. Many people on community work have said they would have opted into the app if it had been available earlier in their sentence. It was anticipated that younger people would be quicker to adopt the My Mahi app. This hasn't been found and we are working on understanding the barriers for this particular group.

It is noted that the development of the app has been a much easier process in the Android operating system. While it is available on Apple phones, it is a more complicated process as the app remains within the Apple test environment. This has presented a barrier for both staff and people on community work and may in part explain the gap between interest and actual usage of the app.

The pilot is still underway, but there are anecdotal reports that the app is driving behaviour change in specific cases. Staff are reporting that fewer people are asking for their hours and believe the app has improved the reporting compliance of some individuals. Extending the pilot will allow further assessments on how the app supports people's engagement with their sentences.

## What next?

Following the pilot, feedback from people who have used the app will be reviewed and where appropriate, incorporated into any future enhancements.

Corrections considers the partnership with Optimisation to design and develop the app to have been a success. This has encouraged Corrections to investigate other options where mobile applications could support those we work with. There are a number of ideas being considered, or underway, including an app to support people subject to electronically monitored bail.



# Supporting Offenders into Employment

**Rachel Lishman**

*Senior Adviser – Employer Partnerships, Department of Corrections*

## **Author biography:**

*Rachel started her career as an English language teacher, then worked in both the private and public sectors of the immigration field for 17 years. She recently joined the Department of Corrections. Her experience includes industry skills planning, work with regulatory authorities, qualification development, and stakeholder relationship management.*

Supporting Offenders into Employment (SOIE) is a three year pilot that started in October 2016, and is a collaborative effort between the Department of Corrections (Corrections) and the Ministry of Social Development (MSD). The pilot aims to address high unemployment, long-term benefit dependency and high rates of re-imprisonment among people who have spent time in prison.

Evidence shows that around 80% of people (i.e. approximately 7,000) who were reliant on a benefit before beginning a prison sentence return to benefit reliance when released. Two thirds of people released from prison receive a benefit within one month of release (Ministry of Social Development, 2016). Approximately 17,000 beneficiaries identified in the Valuation of the Benefit System 2014 had been in prison two to four times (Ministry of Social Development, 2014).

Obtaining stable and long-term employment soon after release from prison can reduce a person's likelihood of re-offending and reduce long-term benefit dependency.

Corrections and MSD both work with people who have convictions. Corrections provides rehabilitation programmes, training, education, and employment opportunities within prison. Upon release, or for those serving sentences in the community, Corrections provides access to reintegration services and assistance with preparing for, obtaining and maintaining employment. MSD provides the same cohort with financial support and the assistance of MSD work brokers to seek employment.

The two agencies recognise that by working together, we can provide improved support to reduce barriers to employment. Better integration of the services offered by Corrections and MSD through the SOIE pilot is expected to have benefits such as reducing the number of people with conviction histories requiring long-term benefits, and reducing their re-offending rate, thereby reducing the overall social and financial cost to New Zealand.

The pilot programme is delivered in two different workstreams. In Canterbury, two externally contracted providers, Workwise and The Salvation Army, work with up to 200 clients a year. In 10 other locations, Work and Income (MSD's service delivery group) intensive client support managers work with up to 400 clients in total. Locations were chosen largely due to proximity to prisons and the number of people released from prison into those areas. The ten locations are: Northland, Papakura (Auckland), Waikato, East Coast, Manawatu, Whanganui, Horowhenua, Wellington, Dunedin, and Invercargill.

Corrections and Work and Income work together to identify people who could best be assisted by the service and will be released from prison within the next 10 weeks. Consideration is given to those who will be released to one of the trial locations, on parole or conditions, and who are at risk of being a Work and Income beneficiary long term.

Individuals are contacted by their Corrections case manager prior to release from prison and introduced to one of Work and Income's intensive client support managers or to the externally contracted provider. The three parties discuss what the participant would like to achieve and the assistance they will likely need prior to and post release from prison. Provided they are committed to participating, a plan is made regarding their pathway.

If under the care of the Work and Income in-house Intensive Client Support Service, the Work and Income intensive client support manager becomes the main point of contact, providing support in the community, while the Corrections probation officer manages the parole conditions. Each Work and Income intensive client support manager has a caseload of up to 40 clients.

The SOIE pilot provides support tailored to each individual's needs and circumstances. The assistance offered by the Work and Income intensive client support manager ranges from help with setting up bank accounts, obtaining identification, finding accommodation, and registering for health services to help with accessing a benefit while preparing to enter the workforce, and help identifying and accessing suitable education and training opportunities and finding a job. Once in employment, ongoing support is provided to help the individual maintain their position. That support can include financial assistance with work-related costs when starting employment and bridging finance to cover living costs until a first pay is received, in-work incentive payments if a person remains in employment, and providing help to obtain accommodation, access healthcare, and connect with pro-social networks to support reintegration into society.

The external service is slightly different. For those being assisted by Workwise and The Salvation Army in the Canterbury region, the service takes a multi-disciplinary approach, including mental and physical health, education and employment, reintegration and housing.

People trying to reintegrate into society and find and maintain employment on release from prison often face significant challenges. Besides the social stigma of having been in prison, many prisoners have personal challenges to overcome such as drug and alcohol addiction, mental health issues, poor numeracy and literacy, financial problems, and difficulty finding stable housing.

Many employers have a policy of not considering job applicants who have conviction histories. Most employers prefer to employ people with little or no work experience over people who have spent time in prison. A study found this to be the case among employers in the USA (Schmitt, 2010). Anecdotal information from Corrections staff working directly with employers to place people with convictions into employment suggests this is also the case in New Zealand. Concerns of employers include matters such as whether a person might re-offend and leave their job, whether a person has a suitable work ethic and social skills for the workplace, and the implications of possibly being publicly associated with someone with a serious criminal history or with gang affiliations. Without targeted support, such discrimination may prevent many people from finding suitable employment even if they are work-ready when they're released from prison.

The pilot ensures wrap-around support is tailored to the individual's needs. Support can be accessed from 10 weeks prior to release from prison. Post-release, support is provided for up to 12 months while steps are taken towards securing employment. From that date (within the 12 months that employment is started), a further 12 months' in-work support is available.

Corrections provides numeracy and literacy training, help to obtain qualifications, and opportunities to upskill through working in prison industries. However, despite this assistance, people newly released from prison still face significant challenges to obtain employment and reintegrate into the community. Taking a joined-up approach with Work and Income means the work done by Corrections in prisons to help people gain skills and become work-ready is more likely to lead to a job in the community.

Up to 63% of prisoners have literacy and numeracy levels below Level 1 on the NZQA framework. Level 1 is the standard needed to be competent with everyday life tasks. Various programmes available in prison support learners to achieve literacy competency to a Level 1 standard (Department Of Corrections, December 2016).

At present, industry training within prisons includes, but is not limited to, farming, horticulture, engineering, welding, construction, infrastructure, hospitality, barista skills, catering, distribution, plumbing, painting, machine operation, and traffic control. Some prisoners can also gain work experience in the community through Release to Work opportunities. The Release to Work programme enables some people nearing the end of a prison sentence to work in the local community prior to release. Removing barriers to obtaining and maintaining employment is key to enabling people to continue progress made in prison and participate meaningfully in the labour market and society.

Initial indications are that the two agencies and external providers working closely together is producing positive results. As at 20 September 2018, 51.8% of the clients MSD has assisted through SOIE had gained employment. Others are at various points on their pathway to reintegration and employment, having been assisted into education and training and helped with matters such as addressing health concerns.

The following case study, included in Corrections' publication *Corrections Works* in March 2018, illustrates the success of the SOIE collaborative approach. Mark\* was assisted in prison by his Corrections Case Manager, Deve, and prior to and post release by his Work and Income Intensive Client Support Manager, Kay.

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\* Not his real name.

Mark met with Kay in the weeks before his release and got a furnished flat very soon after his release – a massive achievement as he'd been in prison nearly five years. He was able to pay for some of his move-in costs such as food and rent in advance with money provided through the trial.

He'd also been granted the Jobseeker Support benefit on release. Mark proudly passed his restricted driver's licence – a necessary achievement as he was looking for work in construction and would need a car to get himself and his gear to work. He got a job with a construction firm and received a Transition to Work grant (financial assistance to support people into work provided by Work and Income) to help with work-related costs such as buying work clothing, buying a car and petrol, and bridging finance to get to his first pay.

Having transferred cities, Mark has been in steady employment for nine months and is living with his partner and children. He's extremely grateful for the help and support he received, and says "It's everything I ever wanted."

The overall outcomes expected for participants by the end of the pilot are:

- Higher levels of employment and lower dependency on benefits
- Reduced re-offending rates
- Participants connecting with positive networks within their wider whānau/family or community
- Mental health conditions identified, treated and managed
- Alcohol and drug conditions identified, treated and managed
- Increased engagement in education and gaining qualifications
- Seventy five percent participating in or completing skills development or training relevant to the labour market.

At the end of April 2018, 776 people had been referred to the pilot service. Of those, 579 people were referred to Work and Income intensive client support managers, and 197 people to the external service providers.

The joined up approach to service delivery in the SOIE pilot is enabling assistance to be targeted to the needs of the most vulnerable people cared for by both Corrections and Work and Income. Because the timeframe in which services can be delivered takes into account the specific needs of people with conviction histories, service provision is able to go beyond what either department delivers separately. This enables people with high needs to be supported both financially and practically in the steps they need to take to successfully reintegrate into the community at the same time as being prepared to enter the workforce and remain in it.

Evaluation of the pilot is underway, with an impact analysis report to be completed in September 2019, final reporting due in September 2020, and follow-up reporting due in 2022.

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# Employability Skills Framework – improving the work preparedness of people with criminal convictions

**Amy McElroy**

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## Author biography:

Amy has spent the past three years at Corrections, specialising in service design and implementation. Currently, she is developing initiatives to support people with criminal convictions into employment. Employment is a particular area of interest, and prior to Corrections she worked as both a case manager and an analyst at Work and Income.

**Keywords:** Employability skills; Soft skills; Prison Industry Training; Supporting people with criminal convictions

## Context

In 2016 the New Zealand Department of Corrections (the Department) introduced an employment service entitled “This Way for Work”. The success of this service challenges the common perception that “people with criminal convictions don’t get jobs”.

After two years of delivery, 2,020 people have been placed into employment and the service has achieved a reduction in the rate of re-conviction of 14.2%.<sup>1</sup> A major driver for these results is support from the business community, who have ensured an ample supply of vacant positions is available for jobseekers in the Department’s care.

With the delivery model successfully established, the Department’s focus has shifted to identifying which parts of the service could be developed to increase success. A particular focus is the supply of suitable job candidates to meet demand – based on the principle of matching jobseeker to role to employer.

In line with this, a key area for development, aimed at lifting supply, is enhancing support to ensure jobseekers are prepared for employment. This was highlighted in an evaluation of the service in July 2017 which identified that where placements were not successfully maintained (approximately a third of placements) it was largely to do with a lack of work preparedness.

Being prepared for employment consists of many elements. For jobseekers with criminal convictions, the Department must first meet their rehabilitative needs. Once these needs are met, their requirements for work preparedness align with those of any other person competing in the labour market. Namely, having a home life that supports work, relevant training and qualifications, and intra and inter-personal skills – commonly referred to as “employability skills” or “soft skills” – which enable successful integration into a workplace.

## Opportunity

The Department already offers rehabilitation programmes that address home life needs and help people complete training and qualifications. However, we have an opportunity to offer formal support to people to understand and develop employability skills such as communication skills, self management, problem solving, positive attitude, willingness to learn, thinking skills and resilience.

This is important because experience from the service, reinforced by a significant amount of international evidence, tells us that employers value employability skills just as much as relevant training and qualifications (Gibb, 2004; Cerezo-Narvaez, Ceca, & Blanco, 2018; Bhagra & Sharma, 2018; Robles, 2012; Klaus, 2010; Mitchell, Skinner, & White, 2010) – assuming that the jobseeker’s rehabilitative requirements have been addressed and they have a stable home life.

The project identified that prison is the most appropriate place to start developing employability skills, because:

- many people in prison either have no work experience, or have been out of the workforce for a long time, so they have the greatest need for support in this space

<sup>1</sup> This is based on The Rehabilitation Quotient (RQ) the Department uses to measure the impact of our rehabilitative programmes. The RQ compares the rates of reconviction and reimprisonment for “treated” offenders (who completed a rehabilitative intervention – in this case the Department’s employment service) with the rates for “untreated” offenders (offenders who are matched based on a range of risk-related factors, but who had no involvement with that specific intervention).

- the industry training available in prisons mimics work experience and therefore provides a natural opportunity to embed the development of employability skills. Work experience has been proven as an effective way of developing employability skills (Kamaliah, Roslan, Bakar, & Ghiami, 2018)
- industry instructors already develop employability skills in their trainees, though it is unplanned and ad-hoc.

Therefore, the project identified that it would be beneficial to establish a way to:

- formally develop employability skills in prison industries
- capture acquisition of employability skills in a way which will benefit jobseekers on release from prison.

## Approach

A pilot Employability Skills Framework was developed. Prison industry instructors are now trialling options for fostering employability skills, and capturing their observations of these skills.

The framework was based on a widely accepted employability skills profile developed by the Pathways Advisory Group in New Zealand. The profile outlines seven employability skills that employers in New Zealand have agreed they are looking for in employees (see Figure 1 below).

**Figure 1:**

*Pathways Advisory Group Employability Skills Profile*

<b>Communication</b>	Understands, and reflects on, the way they communicate and how it affects others
	Asks questions when unsure or unclear
	Understands how fellow employees and employers communicate
	Speaks, listens and shares ideas appropriately, seeks feedback
<b>Self-management</b>	<i>Timeliness:</i> Arrives on time
	<i>Organisation:</i> Arrives with appropriate clothing and equipment to complete a work day
	<i>Self awareness:</i> Understands, and reflects on, their own words, actions and behaviour, and how these affect others
	<i>Follow through:</i> Shows commitment and responsibility; is dependable, follows instructions and completes assigned tasks
	<i>Hygiene:</i> Is responsible for their own health and wellbeing
	<i>Health and safety:</i> Follows health and safety guidelines in the workplace
<b>Positive attitude</b>	Is positive and has a “can do” attitude
	<i>Respect:</i> Is optimistic, honest and shows respect
	<i>Enthusiasm:</i> Is happy, friendly and enthusiastic
	<i>Self motivation:</i> Is motivated to work hard towards goals
<b>Team-work</b>	Works well with others to complete tasks and meet goals
	Contributes to developing new ideas or approaches
	Works well with others of different genders, cultures or beliefs
	Recognises the authority of supervisors and managers, and follows directions
<b>Willingness to learn</b>	Willing to learn new tasks, skills and information
	Curious and enthusiastic about the training, organisation and industry
	Looks for opportunities to work more effectively to make the industry training environment better
	Accepts advice and learns from feedback



<b>Thinking skills (problem solving and decision making)</b>	Identifies and assesses options before making a decision
	Recognises problems and uses initiative to find solutions
	Thinks about consequences before they act
	Recognises when they need to seek advice
<b>Resilience</b>	Adaptable and flexible in new and changing situations
	Handles challenges and setbacks and does not give up
	Able to seek support and help when needed
	Recognises and accepts mistakes made and learns from them

When a trainee is inducted into prison industry training, the instructor introduces the profile and the employability skills. Conversations about the skills will continue as the trainee progresses, thus generating an understanding of the skills and their importance, alongside the practical components of training.

A completed employability skills profile for each trainee is the aim. The profile will include concrete examples and positive observations of the trainee demonstrating each employability skill during their time in prison industry training.

There are four pilot sites, each of which is trialling a different version of the profile:

- **Version one:** examples and observations are recorded against each skill *by the trainee*, who will then discuss the profile with their instructor to agree the final information that will go in it.
- **Version two:** examples and observations are recorded against each skill *by instructors* who will discuss what they are putting into the profile with the trainee.
- **Version three:** examples and observations are recorded *by instructors*. Instructors also give a rating of work readiness, on a scale from A (unable to rate) to E (excellent) for each employability skill.
- **Version four:** as above, but the profile will be included in a document which also outlines the trainee's learning achievements.

The completed profile will be made available for access by relevant staff to inform referral decisions when a person is approaching release from prison. It will also be available to departmental recruitment consultants who will use the information when recommending jobseekers with criminal convictions to employers.

## Outcomes

The main objective of this approach is to increase the work preparedness of jobseekers in the Department's care. This will boost the supply of suitable jobseekers to meet employer demand, and ultimately lead to more jobseekers finding – and keeping – jobs.

Additional benefits include:

- enhancing the value of industry training by adding a generic skills outcome which can be applied to any industry that a person may want to go into on release; this is important because there is a limit to what industry training can be offered in prison
- creating strong connections between training activities in prison and reintegration opportunities in the community
- giving trainees in prison more confidence in their ability to succeed in a job, especially if they haven't had one before, or have been in prison for a long time
- increasing cross-role conversations in prison about employability skills.

## Next steps

Training for the framework was completed in early July 2018 and the pilot ran through to late October 2018. It is currently being reviewed to determine how well it was implemented, whether it met the intended outcomes, how responsive it was to differing needs (i.e. age, gender and cultural identification) and how each version worked.

The review will inform the ways the framework could be developed. These could include:

- creating a formal training package for instructors and other staff for developing employability skills in others, a move which is supported by evidence (Zinser, 2003)
- implementing a similar framework in the community (e.g. for people serving community work sentences)
- expanding the framework to include people who can't access prison industries and/or to other parts of the prison (e.g. expansion to include unit employment and more formal input from other roles in the prison).

Early indications, based on feedback from instructors and trainees, suggest that the framework is a positive tool that will help more people find jobs on release from prison – thus creating safer communities and contributing to reduced re-offending rates.

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# Risky business: Evaluating the Dynamic Risk Assessment for Offender Re-entry for use with New Zealand youth

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Jonathan (Jono) Muirhead has been with Corrections for two years. He started in the Chief Probation Officer's team, where his role mainly focused on conducting research and helping write training material. Jono was offered a scholarship by the Department to complete his clinical psychology studies in 2018, and he is now working part-time in the Chief Psychologist's team while he studies.

Clare-Ann Fortune, PhD, PGDipClinPsc, is a senior lecturer in clinical forensic psychology at the School of Psychology, Victoria University of Wellington. She is a registered clinical psychologist and teaches on the Forensic Psychology and Clinical Psychology programmes. Her research interests focus on risk assessment and rehabilitation for youth involved in the justice system, and factors impacting the participation of young people in the youth justice system.

Devon Polaschek, PhD, DipClinPsc, is a professor in the School of Psychology, and the Interim Joint Director of the New Zealand Institute of Security and Crime Science at the University of Waikato. Her research interests include understanding and preventing re-offending in serious violent and sexual offenders, family violence, psychopathy, imprisonment, desistance, reintegration and parole.

**Keywords:** Youth; DRAOR; Offending; Probation; Risk Assessment

**Acknowledgements:** The first author acknowledges the supervisors of his master's thesis, Dr Clare-Ann Fortune and Professor Devon Polaschek at Victoria University of Wellington, for all of the advice they gave in helping complete the thesis this article was based on. Thank you as well to Dr Nick Wilson and Nikki Reynolds for the assistance in editing my thesis from 109 pages into something much more appropriate for a practice journal.

This paper presents a selection of the findings of this thesis research project, which the first author completed at Victoria University of Wellington, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Forensic Psychology. For the full thesis report, see <http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/handle/10063/5221>

## **Introduction**

Imagine you are a probation officer given the job of assessing an individual named Ben for his risk of reconviction while he serves a community sentence. Although Ben continues to consort with the friends who originally got him into trouble and is still struggling with anger and impulsivity issues, he has stopped abusing drugs and alcohol, and is very responsive to your advice as his probation officer. How likely do you think Ben is to be reconvicted? Does his age matter? And what if Ben's attitude or situation changes? Would updated information improve your evaluation of the risk he poses?

Risk assessment is an important area of forensic psychology, and a lot of work has been done identifying factors that influence someone's likelihood of re-offending. The majority of this work in correctional settings has focused on adult males, with the assumption that these findings will translate to other populations of people who offend (e.g. youth and women; Singh, Grann, & Fazel, 2011). However, despite a large overlap of factors relating to offending for different groups, there are also a number of differences

that are often overlooked (e.g. mental health is a stronger risk factor for youth offending, compared to adult offending where it is only weakly predictive; Borum, 2003). Some factors are more influential at different points in one's life (e.g. peers have been found to be a stronger risk factor during adolescence than adulthood; Hoge, Vincent, & Guy, 2012) which could have an impact on a risk assessment's accuracy.

Despite a number of risk assessment tools having been developed in recognition of the differences between populations, and despite studies having validated many risk assessment tools for different populations, there is still more work to be done. One population suffering from a lack of research is older youth (17-19 years old), leaving uncertainty as to whether they should be assessed as children or adults and which measures should be applied.

Currently in New Zealand (NZ), the Dynamic Risk Assessment for Offender Re-entry (DRAOR; Serin, 2007) is being used by the Department of Corrections to assess people being managed in a number of situations. This article is based on a master's thesis (Muirhead, 2016) that looked into the DRAOR's use with youth who were aged 17-19 and were serving a community sentence of between 6 and 18 months. Community sentences are of particular importance when considering those under 20 years old, as this is an age when many people commit a large number of offences (Moffitt, 1993; Loeber, Farrington, Stouthamer-Loeber & White, 2008) and if caught, may end up on community sentences. Almost 5,000 youth started community sentences in 2013 (Department of Corrections, 2013).

Understanding what the DRAOR can tell us about risk, risk prediction, and changes in risk is valuable across a range of NZ correctional populations. In addition to the value of examining the DRAOR generally for youth, there is current interest in whether more recent assessments of risk are more predictive than older ones. Aspects of the study summarised here address two components of the research: 1) How well do initial DRAOR assessments predict reconvictions in a youth community sentence sample? and 2) Do more up-to-date DRAOR scores out-perform initial scores in predicting reconviction?

## Method

An archival dataset was provided by the New Zealand Department of Corrections for use in this research<sup>1</sup>. The dataset contained anonymised information on a sample of male and female youth (<20 years old) who served a community supervision sentence of 6-18 months between 1 January 2011 and 31 December 2013.

<sup>1</sup> Ethics approval was also granted by the School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee under the delegated authority of the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee.

The initial dataset provided by Corrections contained information about 547 youth who had been assessed with the DRAOR during their community sentence. After some exclusions (e.g. due to incomplete data, outside the age range), the final sample for analysis had 398 youth. The sample was predominately male (81.9%; female = 18.1%), with the highest ethnic representation being for Māori (48.2%; European = 37.4%, Pasifika = 8.8%, Asian = 0.8%, and Other = 4.8%).

**Dynamic Risk Assessment for Offender Re-entry (DRAOR).** The DRAOR (Serin, 2007) is a risk assessment tool designed for use with people serving community sentences or parole (Serin, 2015). The DRAOR has been fully implemented in NZ since April 2010 and research is being done with the DRAOR in Australia, NZ, Canada, and a few US states.

Probation officers regularly meet with people who have been convicted and are living in the community on sentence. These officers complete a DRAOR assessment in each meeting. The assessments are conducted by way of an interview with the person, as well as taking third-party information, such as police records or information from family members, into account. These regular assessments are intended to allow probation officers to monitor a person's risk of re-offending over time, to not only ascertain if the person is likely to re-offend, but also when (Serin, 2015).

The DRAOR contains 19 theoretically-derived dynamic risk and protective factors that are distributed across three subscales: Stable Dynamic Risk, Acute Dynamic Risk, and Protective (see Table 1 below). Each item is scored on a 3-point scale from 0 to 2. Although in practice these subscales are generally used to guide professional judgement of an individual's level of risk, for research purposes the scores are often combined into a *total score*. The total score is the sum of the acute and stable risk scores minus the protective score. This allows for the total score to fall between a minimum of -12 (scoring 0 for each risk factors and subtracting 2 for each protective factor) and a maximum of 26 (scoring 2 for all risk factors and 0 for all protective factors).

The DRAOR is still relatively new and less researched than many risk prediction tools (e.g. Level of Service/Case Management Inventory). However, there have been a number of studies that have found the DRAOR to be reliable and to have predictive validity for a number of NZ populations including women, youth, and adults (AUC range: .62 – .74; Ferguson, 2015; Hanby, 2013; Lloyd, 2015; Scanlan, 2015; Tamatea & Wilson, 2009; Yesberg & Polaschek, 2014).

**Table 1:***DRAOR subscale items*

Acute	Stable	Protective
Substance abuse	Peer associations	Responsive to advice
Anger/hostility	Attitudes towards authority	Prosocial identity
Opportunity/access to victims	Impulse control	High expectations
Negative mood	Problem solving	Costs/benefits
Employment	Sense of entitlement	Social support
Interpersonal relationships	Attachment with others	Social control
Living situation		

## Results

### How well do initial DRAOR scores predict reconviction in a youth sample?

DRAOR administrations begin very early on in an individual's sentence. It is important to know how well these initial assessments perform when it comes to predicting criminal conduct much later in the sentence, or after it has ended. It was hypothesised that those who receive higher initial DRAOR risk scores and lower protective scores should be more likely to be reconvicted for a new offence, while those with lower risk scores and higher protective scores have a reduced likelihood of reconviction. In order to test how well the initial DRAOR scores predicted reconviction, univariate Cox regressions were performed separately on each of the three initial DRAOR subscale scores and on the total score.

#### Box 1: Predicting recidivism using Cox regression

We examined the predictive validity of the DRAOR subscales using Cox regression survival analysis: a type of analysis used when research participants don't all have the same length of follow-up time. Each of three DRAOR subscales was used in its own analysis, as a variable that might predict recidivism. The dependent variable was recidivism and the time variable was the number of days to the first re-offence for those who were reconvicted within the study period, or the number of days until the end of the study period for non-recidivists.

Cox regressions provide us with a hazard ratio and an Area Under the Curve (AUC) output. The hazard ratio indicates the increased likelihood of a hazard (re-offending in this case) for every 1 point increase in the predictor variable (DRAOR subscale score in this case). For example, the hazard ratio of 1.09 for the Acute subscale in Table 2 indicates that for every 1 point increase in the Acute subscale, a person is 9% more likely to have been reconvicted.

The AUC for this study indicates the probability that a randomly selected member from one group (recidivists) will have a higher DRAOR risk score than a randomly selected member of another group (non-recidivists). An AUC of 0.50 would indicate the tool was no better than chance (50%) at distinguishing those who are reconvicted versus those who are not (i.e. it would be as accurate as flipping a coin). An AUC of 1.00 would indicate 100% accuracy. The generally accepted cut-off scores for the predictive ability of AUCs (Rice & Harris, 2005) are: low – 0.56 to 0.63; moderate – 0.64 to 0.70; and high – 0.71 and above. For this study, the AUC of .59 for the Acute subscale in Table 2 indicates that there is a 59% chance of a randomly selected recidivist having a higher Acute score than a randomly selected non-recidivist from this sample.

The results suggested that the initial DRAOR assessment is somewhat predictive of reconviction for youth serving community sentences. The AUC results (in Table 2 below) for these initial DRAOR scores were in the low-moderate range for predictive accuracy for any future reconviction (.63 or 63% accuracy for the total score; range of 57-69%). Another way to interpret an AUC is in terms of relative improvement over chance. Using this approach .63 means that the total DRAOR score provided a 26% improvement in decision making over chance (see Rice & Harris, 2005 for an in-depth discussion on the interpretation of AUCs).

**Table 2:***Univariate Cox regression models for initial DRAOR scores predicting re-offending*

Model for initial scores	B (SE)	Wald	Hazard ratio [95% CI]	AUC [95% CI]
Acute subscale	.09 (.03)	11.12**	1.09 [1.04, 1.15]	.59** [.53, .66]
Stable subscale	.12 (.03)	16.26**	1.13 [1.06, 1.19]	.60** [.54, .66]
Protective subscale	-.17 (.03)	26.85**	0.85 [0.79, 0.90]	.61** [.55, .67]
Total score	.06 (.01)	26.40**	1.06 [1.04, 1.09]	.63** [.57, .69]

\*\* $p < .01$ **Do more up-to-date DRAOR scores out-perform initial scores in predicting reconviction?**

Serin (2007, 2015) recommends that the DRAOR be administered regularly to capture change in dynamic risk factors and protective assets. Theoretically, we expect that more recent, more up-to-date risk and protective scores should be better at predicting reconviction, since by definition they are made on information that is closer in time to the reconviction. In order to assess how well a more up-to-date DRAOR assessment predicts reconvictions, the most recent DRAOR subscales and total scores were analysed.

The predictive validity of the initial scores was compared to the more up-to-date proximal scores by entering the two scores sequentially into a series of four Cox regressions as before: one for each subscale, and one for the total DRAOR score. Table 3 shows that the proximal assessments were all significant predictors of recidivism, and in fact, once the proximal scores were used, the initial scores were no longer significant predictors. The largest hazard ratio from these models came from the proximal acute score; 1.22, indicates a 22% increase in offending for every 1-unit increase in proximal acute score. It should also be noted though that for the protective subscale, the overlapping CIs for initial and proximal scores, indicating that the proximal scores are not significantly better than the initial ones.

**Table 3:***Multivariate Cox regression models for initial and proximal DRAOR scores predicting reconviction*

Combined model	B (SE)	Wald	Hazard ratio [95% CI]
<b>Acute subscale</b>			
Initial	-.01 (.03)	0.03	1.00 [0.94, 1.06]
Proximal	.20 (.03)	48.74**	1.22 [1.15, 1.29]
<b>Stable subscale</b>			
Initial	-.03 (.04)	0.38	0.98 [0.90, 1.06]
Proximal	.18 (.03)	32.20**	1.20 [1.13, 1.28]
<b>Protective subscale</b>			
Initial	-.04 (.04)	1.10	0.96 [0.89, 1.04]
Proximal	-.15 (.03)	21.02**	0.86 [0.81, 0.92]
<b>Total score</b>			
Initial	-.01 (.02)	0.26	0.99 [0.96, 1.02]
Proximal	.09 (.01)	45.00**	1.09 [1.07, 1.12]

\*\* $p < .01$



## Results summary

This study found that initial DRAOR scores were somewhat predictive of future offending for youth assessed in the community with an overall low-moderate accuracy, but more up-to-date assessments were more predictive.

The original thesis also examined the DRAOR's predictive ability for violent offending leading to reconviction. Although not recorded in this article, it was found that the DRAOR was not as good at predicting reconviction for a violent offence compared to any new conviction, but the proximal scores still fell in the moderate range of predictive accuracy. For a more in-depth look at these results please see Muirhead (2016).

Other facets of the full thesis that have not been reported here looked at 1) whether DRAOR scores for youth changed over time and, if they did, whether that change was predictive of reconvictions and 2) the predictive ability of the rate of change youths made on their DRAOR score. It was found that those who were ultimately reconvicted tended to have less improvement in risk and protective factors, compared to those who were not reconvicted. After finding that the amount of change was predictive of future convictions, we ran some more advanced statistical analyses that took the amount of time in the community into account. It was found that those who were not reconvicted improved at a faster rate per month while they were in the community than those who were reconvicted. Again, full details of these findings can be found in Muirhead (2016).

## Discussion

The results showed that the DRAOR is an effective risk assessment tool for probation officers to use with New Zealand youth serving community sentences. Not only did DRAOR scores predict future convictions, but it was found that the amount of change someone made over time was also indicative of future reconviction, regardless of the initial score.

That later DRAOR scores for youths on community sentences were more predictive of recidivism rates should encourage probation officers to continue to update DRAOR scores as they continue to work with youth on sentence. Up-to-date DRAORs help to indicate areas of concern, which probation officers can then target when working with youth to reduce their risk and build protective factors.

The research results support the use of the DRAOR with youth on community sentences in NZ. However, the DRAOR should continue to be validated, not just for youth, but for other populations as well. Since the DRAOR is used across New Zealand Corrections,

as well as in a number of other countries, it is crucial that we increase our understanding of how the DRAOR performs. With a better understanding we can improve our confidence in its use, and also potentially refine the tool for different populations if it is found that particular items or subscales are better indicators of future behaviour for certain groups.

The assessment of youths' risk of reconviction is an important area that is often overlooked, with most risk assessment research only looking at very young people or adults, neglecting those who fall in between. It is especially important to understand and monitor older youths' levels of risk, given the high rates of crime for those in late adolescence (Moffitt, 1993). This research validated the DRAOR's use with older youth (17-19 years) serving community sentences in NZ, which will allow for more confident use of the DRAOR with this population in the future.

In concluding, cast your mind back to Ben who was introduced at the beginning of this article. This research suggests that we can be confident in using the DRAOR to predict his risk of reconviction, even if he is only 17 years old, and we can also factor in the relevance of changes in scores in altering his reconviction risk. These findings are important due to the potentially serious consequences of an inaccurate risk assessment. Not only will we be able to use this information to guide the level of monitoring and intervention for Ben, but with more understanding of rates of change for the DRAOR we can look at intervening if, and when necessary to reduce the likelihood of further offences.

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# Drawing on collective strengths to improve outcomes for youth in Corrections' youth units

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## **Author biography**

*Ashley has held various roles with the Department, and managed the Youth Policy team at the Ministry of Social Development. Before coming to New Zealand she spent several years providing community based mental health support to communities affected by armed conflict, and supporting youth justice reforms in South Africa. Ashley completed her PhD at Victoria University comparing youth justice transformation between New Zealand and South Africa.*

*E hara taku toa i te toa takitahi, he toa takitini.*

My strength is not as an individual, but comes from many.

## **Introduction**

Corrections' youth units are an example of the Department's efforts to consider the unique needs of youth in custody and to protect them from the influences of older people in prison. Maintaining harmony among complex, developing young men with an unpredictable, highly dynamic population is not without its challenges.

This article outlines some key considerations when working with youth in custody and shares lessons from the youth units on promising strategies which accentuate strengths and promote mutual respect and support, which can also contribute towards our goal of reducing re-offending.

## **Understanding adolescent brain development is critical to success**

Over the past two decades, neuroscientific research has generated a bounty of evidence demonstrating that, on average, the human brain continues to develop into the mid-20s (Sowell, Thompson, Holmes, Jernigan & Toga 1999; Reyna & Farley, 2006; Steinberg et al, 2018). This research has provided salient insight into the length of time it takes for the brain's frontal lobe (responsible for self-regulation, understanding consequences, and decision-making), to fully mature. Equally significant is the evidence that, along with early childhood, adolescence is the period when the brain has the most neuroplasticity, and goes through major rewiring as it strengthens identity formation. While adolescents seek autonomy and independence to explore their place in the world, they still require caring adults to scaffold them with positive reinforcement and guidance to enable a safe transition to adulthood.

There are a number of factors which affect the healthy brain development of youth who enter the Corrections system. These factors include experiences of family violence, neglect and abuse resulting in being removed from parents, learning difficulties and stand-downs or expulsions from school. Recent Corrections statistics show that:

- Over 70% of youth in Corrections have a care and protection or youth justice history<sup>1</sup>
- Of a recent sample of 147 youth under 20 in custody, 68% have no recorded education qualifications<sup>2</sup>
- 17 to 24 year old males in prison have the highest rates of diagnosis of current substance use disorder (55%)<sup>3</sup>
- The majority of males in custody have sustained a head injury – one in five before the age of 15 years (Mitchell, Theadom & Du Preez, 2017).

In June 2016, the United States National Institute of Justice published an environmental scan of responses to youth aged 18-25 in their justice system. The study identified that staff knowledge of adolescent brain development across disciplines resulted in them becoming more responsive to the needs and circumstances of the youth they worked with. This change in staff behaviour was found to be one of the most significant approaches to reducing re-offending among this population (Hayek, 2016).

Corrections provides youth champion training to staff from across all frontline roles, both in custody and in the community. This training places emphasis on understanding adolescent brain development and provides information on techniques to better engage and work more effectively with youth.

<sup>1</sup> Corrections' Research and Analysis Team (2016).

<sup>2</sup> Snapshot extracted from Corrections' Education Team in April 2018.

<sup>3</sup> Information for Corrections bid for Budget 2017.

## About Corrections youth units

Currently, the adult jurisdiction in New Zealand commences from the age of 17 years.<sup>4</sup> On average, there are around 350 youth under the age of 20 years old in prison at any time. Around 90% of youth in prison under the age of 20 are male and half are subject to custodial remand – around 20% higher than the current average.

New Zealand's obligations under the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCROC) require Corrections to keep people under the age of 18 separate from adults. For this reason, the Department has two dedicated youth units located at Hawkes Bay Regional Prison and Christchurch Men's Prison. Together the youth units can accommodate up to 70 young men at any time.

The small number of young women under the age of 18 in prison at any time makes it difficult to establish a separate unit for them. However, in order to uphold our UNCROC obligations, Corrections still keeps women under the age of 18 separate from older women in custody, while at the same time providing support and interventions in order to prevent their potential isolation.

Youth units prioritise the placement of young men under the age of 18 years, followed by a small number of 18 and 19 year olds assessed as vulnerable in the mainstream prison, and who do not present a risk to people under the age of 18 in the units.<sup>5</sup>

Youth units therefore include a mix of youth from across the country, remanded in custody as well as serving both long and short term prison sentences. This creates a challenging environment, with little ability for staff to predict movements of young people in and out of the units.

## The right staff are important

Staff working in the units are identified for their natural abilities, qualities or experience in working effectively with youth. This includes the custodial staff, education tutors, case managers, psychologists, programme facilitators and newly appointed youth activities coordinators. As well as staff working in the youth units, staff from external agencies and forensic staff help to provide a holistic overview of the needs of the

young men and how to respond. A key asset for the youth units is the team approach of the staff working there. Both youth units operate from the belief in the young people's ability to improve their behaviour and future outcomes.

A staff priority is developing rapport and trust with the young men and helping them settle in the unit. As noted, given the likely scepticism and hypervigilance of youth entering prison, coupled with their potentially heightened fear and anxiety, this can take a lot of time, patience and understanding, particularly to prevent escalating aggressive behaviour. To assist, staff in the youth units received training to understand the speech and comprehension difficulties youth in our system are likely to face and strategies to better communicate with them. They have also received mental health training to help them better recognise, relate and respond to mental health needs. This training also provided staff with self-care strategies to be able to recognise and manage their own escalating stress to prevent any impact on their interactions with youth.

Regular multi-disciplinary team meetings provide an opportunity for staff to identify positive experiences with individuals, and consider approaches and interventions that can either help to overcome barriers or support further improvements. Staff aim to collectively take a strength-based approach throughout their interactions with youth, and will seek out every glimmer of hope to build on, including with youth who demonstrate the most challenges. As one staff member noted recently, sometimes this can mean taking one hour at a time, looking for every opportunity for praise and reinforcement, both directly to the young men as well as to their colleagues, to ensure that everyone can work consistently and contribute to progress.

## Trialling an incentives scheme in the youth units

Accommodating a young population with an ever-changing mix of strengths, talents, needs and potential risks requires the youth units to establish a formula that enables everyone to feel safe and able to build on their potential.

In mid-2016 a more formal approach to supporting positive behavioural outcomes, the Incentives and Earned Privileges Scheme (the scheme), was developed and piloted in the youth units. According to the evaluation report (Bevan, Morrison and Bowman, 2017) "The Youth Incentives Scheme is a formal scheme, based on international models, used to encourage pro-social behaviour amongst prisoners by incentivising good behaviour". The intention was to develop an approach that would support individual progress and achievement, acknowledging the different needs and stages of each of the young men.

4 As of July 2019, the New Zealand youth justice jurisdiction will include young people up to the age of 18 years, although there will still be some provisions for youth under 18 years to be placed in Corrections facilities, outlined in the Oranga Tamariki Act of 1989.

5 Placement is established through the Revised Test of Best Interest assessment developed by the Department's Psychological Services. The assessment is undertaken by trained custodial officers within 72 hours of arrival in prison, or two weeks prior to turning 18 for youth already in youth units. The assessment can be reviewed if there are concerns about escalating risk following a youth unit placement.

Four main objectives were identified for the scheme:

- To improve and maintain the safety of the unit
- To motivate young people to progress through their sentence plans, educational goals and life skills development
- To encourage, improve and maintain relations within the unit
- To improve and maintain the ethos and physical environment of the unit.

The scheme aimed to foster positive interaction between youth and staff. Case officers assigned to individual young men worked with them weekly to identify three goals they wanted to progress. Goals identified would focus on pro-social development tailored to each person's unique circumstances rather than necessarily focusing on reducing anti-social behaviours (although for some young men this would be identified as a goal). For example, some goals may have helped instil good hygiene habits, whereas for others, goal-setting may have been around their attendance in a rehabilitation or education programme. Incentives for achieving goals included items that could be used in the cells, such as radios, DVDs with DVD players, magazines or art supplies (Bevan et al., 2017).

Both staff and the young men understood the purpose of the scheme and according to the evaluation findings: "...when the incentives were perceived as meaningful, and when they were at the right point in their sentence, the scheme helped the young men to build motivation, achieve goals and behave well" (Bevan et al., 2017). However, on the whole, the scheme was seen to add limited value to activities and approaches that were already working well in the unit. This was reiterated in the feedback which found that social reinforcement of improved behaviours was seen as more beneficial than the rewards provided by the token economy (such as providing DVDs).

### Emphasising a values-based approach in the youth units

During the evaluation of the Incentives and Earned Privileges Scheme, staff and the young men described activities which helped to create a positive atmosphere for all, even though they were not explicitly operating in accordance with any specific models or frameworks. Examples staff gave that they believed were already working well included:

- Small rewards, such as Milo, for noticeable efforts such as working hard or helping staff
- Informal activities, generally organised by staff (e.g. cooking and gardening) the young men attend as a reward for good behaviour

- Fitness activities such as 6am runs with the principal corrections officer in Christchurch and the CACTUS (Combined Adolescent Challenge Training Unit Support) fitness training done in Hawkes Bay which also brought additional benefits such as developing work routines
- Long-term activity-based rewards for good behaviour, such as the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme
- Whole of unit rewards: unit barbeques or sports games, earlier unlock, or later unlock for good behaviour. For example in Christchurch young men get "night rec" (an hour of additional time outside your cell from 7-8pm) if they attend all education activities.

(Bevan et al, 2017)

The multi-disciplinary team approach was also considered effective, as well as activities that brought youth together in a positive and fun way, such as barbecues, sporting activities and talent shows. For the most part these types of activities related to the way both staff and young people worked together to improve day to day operations in the youth units. They also supported the youth to develop positive rapport with staff and other young men, and both staff and the young men learned to communicate effectively with each other to create an environment of respect, cooperation and collaboration.

More recently the youth units have been more deliberate in identifying the values that underpin their functioning, and describing and agreeing on how these values would manifest in the unit. Initially, the Hawkes Bay youth unit drew on the knowledge and leadership of staff who had come from the Te Tirohanga unit<sup>6</sup>. These staff brought with them their inherent understanding of tikanga and te āo Māori, as well as their experience of working in an environment that drew on kaupapa Māori values. The values that guide the Te Tirohanga units were first identified by Dr Pita Sharples in the establishment of the Whare Oranga Ake units in 2011<sup>7</sup>. These values are wairua (spirituality), whānau (family), manaaki (care and respect), kaitiaki (guardianship) and rangatira (leadership).

Irrespective of whether staff or the young men identified as Māori, when they worked through the meanings of the values and how these values related to them individually and collectively, the values resonated with most of the young men and the staff.

6 Te Tirohanga is a group-based, phased programme for tāne (men) with a range of offending needs within a therapeutic community delivered in five units (whare) around the country.

7 Whare Oranga Ake use a kaupapa Māori environment to help prisoners train for employment, find work, find accommodation on release and form supportive networks with iwi, hapū and community organisations while strengthening their cultural identity.



The youth units ran joint sessions with staff and the young men together, supported by the Department's regional Māori area advisers, to learn more about the values and to discuss how these values would be evident and reinforced by everyone in the units.

The values are intended to create an inclusive environment emphasising strengths and ongoing contribution. While this approach is still developing, the youth units are creating environments that enable positive youth development (as best as possible within the constraints of prison), by identifying opportunities for all youth to discover and showcase their talents, and providing encouragement for positive behaviours. Youth unit staff also understand the importance of being good role models for the young men, (many of whom have had limited exposure to pro-social supports in the past) by participating with them in a range of activities, including sport, music, and games. This helps to build relationships of trust, strength and mutual respect.

Youth in the youth units also serve as *tuakana teina*<sup>8</sup>, whereby individuals who demonstrate the spirit of the values support both newcomers and other young men to understand the ethos and expectations in the youth unit. This approach helps to develop leadership and responsibility for the young men, and heightens positive peer influence. For example, young people who have previously participated in rehabilitation programmes meet with new programme participants to share their experiences and help to prepare them for their rehabilitation journey.

So far, this values-based framework coupled with pro-social role modelling and a positive youth development approach, including *tuakana teina*, is proving to work well for youth in the units. The emphasis is on personal discovery and growth, by providing ongoing guidance with several opportunities to demonstrate pro-social behaviours and to feel proud. Rather than taking a linear approach to progression with limited experiences to draw on to demonstrate positive behaviours in order to progress, the approach acknowledges that the young men are still learning, are likely to stumble along the way, and that stumbles do not mean failure.

While both youth units agree that embedding a fully-functioning values-based approach is a work in progress, incorporating this approach into the units has had a positive impact on the relationships between staff and youth as well as between peers, and, when operating well, provides a calm and uplifting atmosphere in the units. The values-based approach also helps to facilitate the induction and settling of newcomers.

## Involving youth in decision-making

While staff capability and consistency play a significant role in managing the day to day running of the youth units, the inclusion of youth in decision-making has been cornerstone to increasing youth participation in unit activities.

This includes decision-making around the types of activities and interventions that would benefit them most, as well as meaningful responses to reinforce positive behaviours. It also includes decisions around developing a values-based approach to the units.

The young men in the youth units are consulted to determine what types of activities would be most useful for them, such as life-skills and education activities. They also decide who will lead the *kapa haka* at events such as programme graduations, to farewell young men and staff leaving the unit, and when visitors come to the unit. They have also selected charities to contribute to, for example the Women's Refuge which both youth units have grown vegetables and raised funds for. The young men have also had input into art pieces and the garden spaces within their environment, and developing programmes such as the current 2018 Young Enterprise Scheme "anti bullying campaign" underway at the Hawkes Bay youth unit. In some instances, the young men are consulted on what would be suitable consequences for disruptive behaviour, which has included extra cleaning tasks, for example.

## Next steps: extending opportunities to work effectively with youth in mainstream

Given the majority of youth who are over 18 and under 20 years are placed in the mainstream, there is increasing recognition of the need to better respond to this population, acknowledging their stage of development and need for tailored understanding, support and guidance. Lessons from the youth units provide examples of practice which other sites can draw on to help improve youth behaviour while in custody in a way which supports positive future outcomes.

There are already several examples across the prison estate of staff who are taking a more age-appropriate approach to the youngest people on their sites. This can be the efforts taken by individual staff, such as custodial case officers or case managers, or where staff come together to take a multi-disciplinary approach to providing more focused attention and guidance similar to that provided in the youth units. This tends to be most effective with staff who have expressed a particular interest in working with youth and have attended the youth champion training.

<sup>8</sup> The teaching relationship between an older person and a younger person.



Strong stewardship for working more effectively with youth from site leadership helps to give staff the confidence to draw on their toolkit and to take a more youth focused approach, and an ability to demonstrate the advantages to their colleagues over time.

As part of the Corrections youth strategy, we will continue to build on the lessons learned from the youth units, other sites, and other jurisdictions to provide the best support and guidance to improve outcomes for an emerging adult population in our custody. This includes ensuring that all prison sites have a core team of youth champion multi-disciplinary staff who work together to provide age-appropriate support and interventions for young men and women, including by involving young people in decision-making and peer support.

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# Evaluation of brief methamphetamine-focused interventions

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Jill joined the Department of Corrections' Research and Analysis Team in 2010. She manages a variety of research and evaluation projects and has a particular interest in the outcomes of released prisoners, issues relating to alcohol and drugs, and the needs of female offenders. As well as working for Corrections, she volunteers at Arohata Prison, teaching quilting to the women undertaking the drug treatment programme.

## Introduction

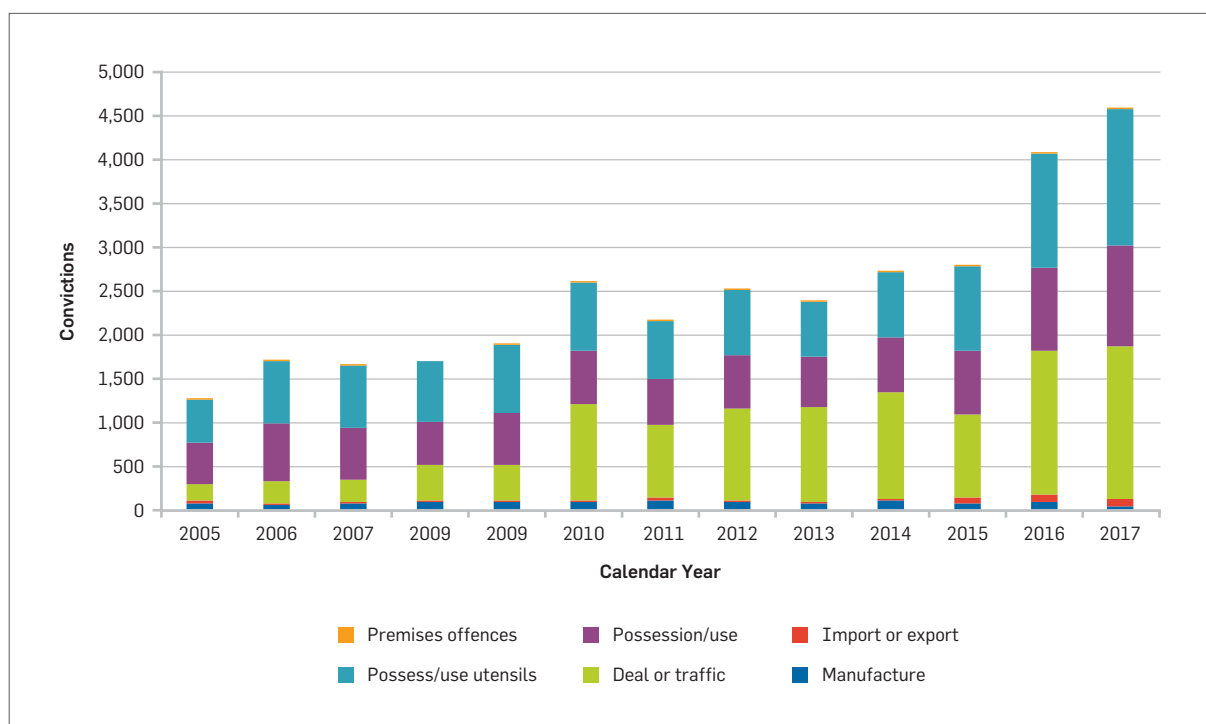
Research by the Department (Indig, Gear and Wilhelm, 2017) identified that over half of New Zealand prisoners (56%) had used methamphetamine at some time during their lives and, of these, 58% indicated they had used it in the year before coming to prison. Over a third of prisoners (38%) had abused methamphetamine (that is, its use had caused problems in their lives) or had a dependency over their lifetimes; over the preceding 12 months, 16% of prisoners had a methamphetamine abuse disorder (3%) or a dependence disorder (13%).<sup>1</sup>

Compared with prisoners without a methamphetamine dependence disorder, prisoners with a lifetime dependence disorder were nearly twice as likely to display comorbidity with either another substance use or mental disorder.

More recent analysis of administrative data by the Department suggests that the proportion of prisoners who have used methamphetamine is higher than that found by Indig et al, and the number of convictions for amphetamine/methamphetamine-related offending for offenders known to Corrections has also increased steadily over the last 12 years (see Figure 1 below).

**Figure 1:**

*Methamphetamine/Amphetamine convictions by type and year (for offenders known to Corrections)*



<sup>1</sup> Simply put, abuse reflects "too much, too often" and dependence is the inability to cease methamphetamine use.

Because of the high level of methamphetamine use amongst New Zealand prisoners, the Department has introduced a number of interventions (financed by the Proceeds of Crime Fund) to assist prisoners to reduce or cease its use.

In September 2017, two interventions were introduced as pilot programmes at Mt Eden Corrections Facility (MECF), a prison which predominantly houses persons remanded in custody. The interventions are: screening, brief intervention, and referral to treatment (SBIRT), and a group-based methamphetamine-specific programme "Meth and Me short course".<sup>2</sup> SBIRT is an approach to delivering early intervention and treatment services to individuals at risk of developing, or who have developed, substance use disorders (SAMSHA, 2011). Its purpose, at Mt Eden, is to identify AOD use (specifically methamphetamine) and increase participants' motivation to reduce their substance using behaviours.

"Light-touch" motivational interventions of this nature sit on a continuum of AOD services available to prisoners. Prisoners who complete these initial programmes can be expected to become more willing to engage with intensive programmes, such as the six-month Drug Treatment Unit (DTU) programme. In the 2017/18 year, around 1,100 prisoners commenced a programme in one of the Department's DTUs. In the 2018/19 year, the Department plans to establish two new DTUs and scale up other intensive drug treatment programmes. This is expected to cater to an additional 600 people a year.

Newly received prisoners who agree, are assessed for their level of risk (low, moderate or high risk of health, social, financial, legal and relationship problems) associated with their use of methamphetamine (as well as other drugs and alcohol), using the ASIST<sup>3</sup> screening tool. Those who are identified as using methamphetamine are given a brief intervention immediately by the assessor. This consists of a motivational discussion on the risks and negative consequences of substance use, and advice, plus options for modifying drug use. Those who require a greater level of intervention than that provided by the brief intervention and educational material are then referred to treatment – a brief treatment programme for those with less severe substance use disorders and specialised treatment for those with more severe substance use disorders.

The methamphetamine intervention to which participants at MECF may be referred is the "Meth and Me short course". It comprises two two-hour group-based psycho-education sessions and is delivered over consecutive days. The purpose is to provide information to participants about the effects of meth use, withdrawal symptoms and strategies to manage cravings and risky situations, along with relapse prevention strategies. (A longer form of Meth and Me is delivered as part of the drug treatment programmes at Auckland Prison, Spring Hill Corrections Facility and Christchurch Men's Prison.)

SBIRT and Meth and Me are delivered by Odyssey House Trust, a not-for-profit organisation that delivers programmes to help people overcome alcohol, drug and gambling addiction problems. Odyssey is contracted to deliver the interventions until June 2019.

## Aim of the evaluation

The purpose of the evaluation was to understand the value to participants of SBIRT and the Meth and Me short course and the impact they had on their motivation to reduce or eliminate their drug use (particularly methamphetamine). Depending on the evaluation findings, consideration will be given to introducing the programme in other prisons for remand prisoners.

## Evaluation methodology

The evaluation comprised qualitative and quantitative components. Fourteen men who had participated in the interventions, plus two facilitators, were interviewed at MECF between 20 and 22 March 2018. The men were selected for interview from all those who had completed the two interventions in February. Men who'd completed fairly recently were chosen to improve the likelihood they'd remember the course material, and to minimise the chances that they'd been moved to another prison or released. As well as being questioned about the interventions, the men were asked about their meth use prior to their imprisonment, alcohol and drug programmes previously undertaken, and their intentions about ceasing meth use on their release, to provide context for their responses about the programmes. In addition, administrative data collected about participants in SBIRT and Meth and Me between implementation in September 2017 and the end of February 2018, was analysed.

## Key findings

The two interventions were generally regarded positively by the participants who were particularly complimentary about the facilitators. Most of the men were not surprised by their ASIST results, and they found the subsequent discussion and the information they were given about treatment options useful.

<sup>2</sup> Chester, 2018 provides information on the implementation of SBIRT and Meth and Me at MECF.

<sup>3</sup> The Alcohol and Substance Involvement Screening Test (ASIST) assesses the level of risk associated with alcohol and drugs, including methamphetamine. The version used on prisoners has been modified from the original developed by the World Health Organisation, and it is intended to be administered to all prisoners.

However, there was a tendency for participants to be preoccupied with their immediate needs resulting from being remanded in custody, including whether residential treatment options existed to which they could be bailed. Their thinking about longer term treatment choices tended to be vague.

The men were enthusiastic about participating in Meth and Me. Although most said they were already familiar with the content presented in the intervention, they did recall some things that had surprised them, or were notable for personal reasons. The programme had allowed some of the men to understand the impacts meth was having on their lives and to realise the reasons why they were behaving as they were under the influence of meth (rather than thinking it was "just them"). They were particularly fascinated by the effects meth had on their brains, including the massive release of dopamine after taking meth. Other things they found useful were: understanding the broader health effects of meth and the ability of the body to repair itself, advice about asking for help, ways of keeping themselves occupied, and alternatives to using meth or other drugs in dealing with difficult situations.

All said they had decided prior to participating in the interventions to give up meth, with most citing their children as their primary motivation. A commonly expressed view was that they were sick of the lifestyle and tired of coming to prison. However, despite covering relapse prevention in the final session of Meth and Me, no participants had completed a relapse plan and none had thought about concrete steps they would take to avoid meth use in future. Their plans were fairly simple, such as a desire to move somewhere else (including overseas), avoiding meth-using friends, finding work to alleviate boredom, and similarly well-intentioned but imprecise ideas. The feasibility of their plans and the practical steps needed to implement them had not been thought through – including, for example, whether their convictions would preclude a move overseas.

Some men expressed interest in further drug treatment. However, facilitators tended to offer information about community programme options, omitting to mention the drug treatment programmes in prisons. The Department has reminded the provider of these programmes as an option for people sentenced to a term of imprisonment.

While some men would have liked a longer programme to enable the discussion of content in more depth and to allow more interaction between participants, others thought it was long enough, and the realities of a remand prison would make any extension difficult.

The providers noted as problematic the practice of assessing newly received men for meth use while those individuals were still under the influence of drugs. However, they had decided it was preferable

to include them in the interventions, given the obvious drug problem, rather than risk losing the opportunity to help them. Other issues they identified included the requirement to record participation data manually and in multiple locations, which they feared meant increased likelihood of errors. It was also noted that men potentially underreported their alcohol and drug use as they were concerned about the confidentiality of the assessment results.

The numbers completing SBIRT and Meth and Me were lower than anticipated. However, this was not unexpected for a pilot programme, which is testing how a model might work in practice. In addition, there are a number of unique challenges in operating a new programme in a remand prison. These include the high turnover of people on remand, the competing priorities of new remandees (for example, meetings with lawyers, meetings with staff, and families visiting), the allocation of assessment and programme space, and the availability of staff to escort people to programmes. The Department is working with site staff and the provider to overcome the issues identified.

## Conclusion

SBIRT and Meth and Me, although light touch interventions, generally appear to achieve the outcomes expected.

SBIRT has been successful in:

- identifying AOD problems in newly received offenders in prison
- raising awareness of substance use issues with men identified as having AOD problems
- referring those who have used meth to the Meth and Me intervention (as well as providing information about other treatment options).

Meth and Me effectively provides information to participants about the effects of meth use, withdrawal symptoms and strategies to manage cravings and risky situations, along with other relapse prevention strategies. The majority of participants were able to recall a good proportion of the content covered in the course, and reported having found it useful. Consequently, there are grounds for expecting that a significant proportion of participants who complete this motivational programme will, if their ensuing sentence length allows it, go on to participate in a more intensive AOD programme.

The evaluation recommended that consideration be given to introducing SBIRT and Meth and Me into other prisons, including – with appropriate modifications – the women's prisons, and extending it more widely for people on remand.

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# Practice note: Ara Poutama Practice Framework – our guide to integrated prison practice

**Nova Banaghan**

*Director Quality and Performance and Women's Strategy, Department of Corrections*

## **Author biography**

Nova has been working for the Department of Corrections since June 2016. Nova is a registered Social Worker and previously worked for Child, Youth and Family as a frontline practitioner as well as in the Office of the Chief Social Worker and as the General Manager of Residential and High Needs Services. While at Corrections, Nova's focus has been developing national first and second line of assurance tools, as well as developing the practice framework.

Nova's other priority area has been designing and implementing initiatives under the Women's Strategy.

*"What's this about a prison practice framework? What is it, what does it mean for me, how does it work, why do we need it?"*

These are some of the questions that I have heard from prison staff about the Ara Poutama Practice Framework. The purpose of this practice note is to provide context for why a practice framework is needed, information on what the Ara Poutama practice framework is and how we can make it live in our workplaces.

## **Background**

In May 2018, the Chief Executive launched the strategic plan for 2018-2019, *Ara Poutama – Pathway to Excellence*.

The plan has four priorities – safety, rehabilitation, transitions, and our people. How we carry out these priorities is through our kaupapa Māori values, Te Tokorima ā Maui, developed by the Department's Māori Services Team.

The values are:

- **Rangatira (leadership)** – the demonstration of leadership through integrity and accountability
- **Manaaki (respect)** – how we care for and respect others
- **Wairua (spirituality)** – the unification and focus of all of our efforts
- **Kaitiaki (guardianship)** – we are responsive and responsible and keep each other safe
- **Whānau (relationships)** – developing supportive relationships.

These values guide how we treat each other as colleagues, team members and members of society. They guide what we role model to those in prison and those on sentence in the community. The values provide a framework or roadmap for how the men and women in prison treat each other and how they then treat us.

## **Safe and humane treatment**

When people are detained, either on remand or on a sentence, they are deprived of the right to freedom. However, this punishment does not deprive them of their other basic human rights, including the right to healthcare, rehabilitation, and freedom from torture and discrimination. We have a responsibility to ensure people in prison are treated in a fair and humane way.

*"When the State deprives a person of liberty, it assumes a duty of care for that person. The primary duty of care is to maintain the safety of persons deprived of their liberty. The duty of care also embraces a duty to safeguard the welfare of the individual." (Penal Reform International, 2001)*

To guide how we care for and manage those in prison in a fair and humane way, national legislation, policy and practice guidance is required. This legislation and guidance is led by our societies' values alongside the international standards and conventions developed by such bodies as the United Nations to protect the human rights of those in prison.

Treating people in prison with humanity and respect is part of the "correctional" process. A successful prison system can demonstrate how people should be treated in a just society. By demonstrating respect for their rights, a person can learn what it feels like to be treated that way and through rehabilitation will learn to treat others the same way.



As stated above, our standards for prison operating practice are derived from many international standards and conventions, and from resolutions adopted in international and national governmental forums. Many of our standards have developed from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

Uniquely, Aotearoa New Zealand also has Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi) that guides how we work together as mana whenua (original inhabitants of the land, or Māori) and tauwi (those from another place). Te Tiriti's principles of protection, partnership and participation define how we treat those in society as well as those in prison. As half of the male prison population and 60% of the women's prison population are Māori, this is particularly relevant when we think about how we support their rehabilitation and reintegration into the community.

## The Ara Poutama Practice Framework

Since 2009, the Department of Corrections has had a practice framework in Community Corrections that moved probation officers' practice from a prescriptive manual to an integrated practice framework guided by principles and values that support professional judgement and decision making.

While there are pockets of practice within our prisons that demonstrate staff exercising professional judgement based on values or principles of fair treatment, there has not been a formal integrated practice framework to guide a "one team" approach to the safe and humane care of those in prison.

Te Tokorima ā Maui, the Department's five kaupapa Māori values, now provide us with the platform from which to launch an integrated, values based practice framework within the prison setting. Building on the probation framework, the Ara Poutama Practice Framework supports the bringing together of many different professional roles to work as one team. The framework will guide policies and operational practice on how to work together in a safe and informed way to achieve our organisational goals.

While initially focusing on prisons, the Ara Poutama Practice Framework will also span Community Corrections and eventually the existing probation integrated practice framework will be relaunched to reflect the kaupapa Māori values. The Corrections Quality and Performance Team is organising regional hui for October and November 2018 to discuss implementation both in the prison and probation sites.

The Chief Probation Officer's team is also working on what changes may be required to embed this in probation.

Of course, legislation provides us with many of the actions we must take. How we carry them out will be guided by the practice framework. We will consider the values in regard to our approach, thinking about the wellbeing of staff as well as the person in prison.

The Practice Framework provides a description of the values as well as the behaviours that demonstrate the values. It also provides examples of behaviours that a person would see when they are demonstrating the values.

## What does the framework mean for my practice?

The framework is applicable to every role in Corrections, whether a corrections officer, nurse, industry instructor or case manager. The values and behaviours relate to everything Corrections staff do.

The framework incorporates our purpose and outcomes (Appendix 1), bringing everything together in one place. It also provides for the realities of practice, considering the everyday activities of those working in the prison environment.

For example – Manaaki – what does this look like? It can mean, for example, that we do what we say we will, and that we respect people's ethnicity, gender, sexuality and race. In the prison environment, Manaaki may be as simple as saying hello or good morning to people.

Wairua (spirituality) means being unified and focused in our efforts. In the prison, this could be as simple as asking a person about their religion, understanding it and being respectful of their beliefs.

The framework is used when implementing a new policy or practice. For example, at a national level, when we are designing a new initiative or policy, we measure against each value to see if the initiative aligns with it.

The same applies to implementing at a local or site level. Every new piece of work or policy can be measured against the values, to see if they reflect how we want to operate on every site, how we want to treat each other, and how we treat the men and women in prison. Does our practice reflect our values? Does it reflect safer and humane treatment? Does our practice help us develop people who will be "good neighbours" when they leave prison or does it reinforce a punitive response?

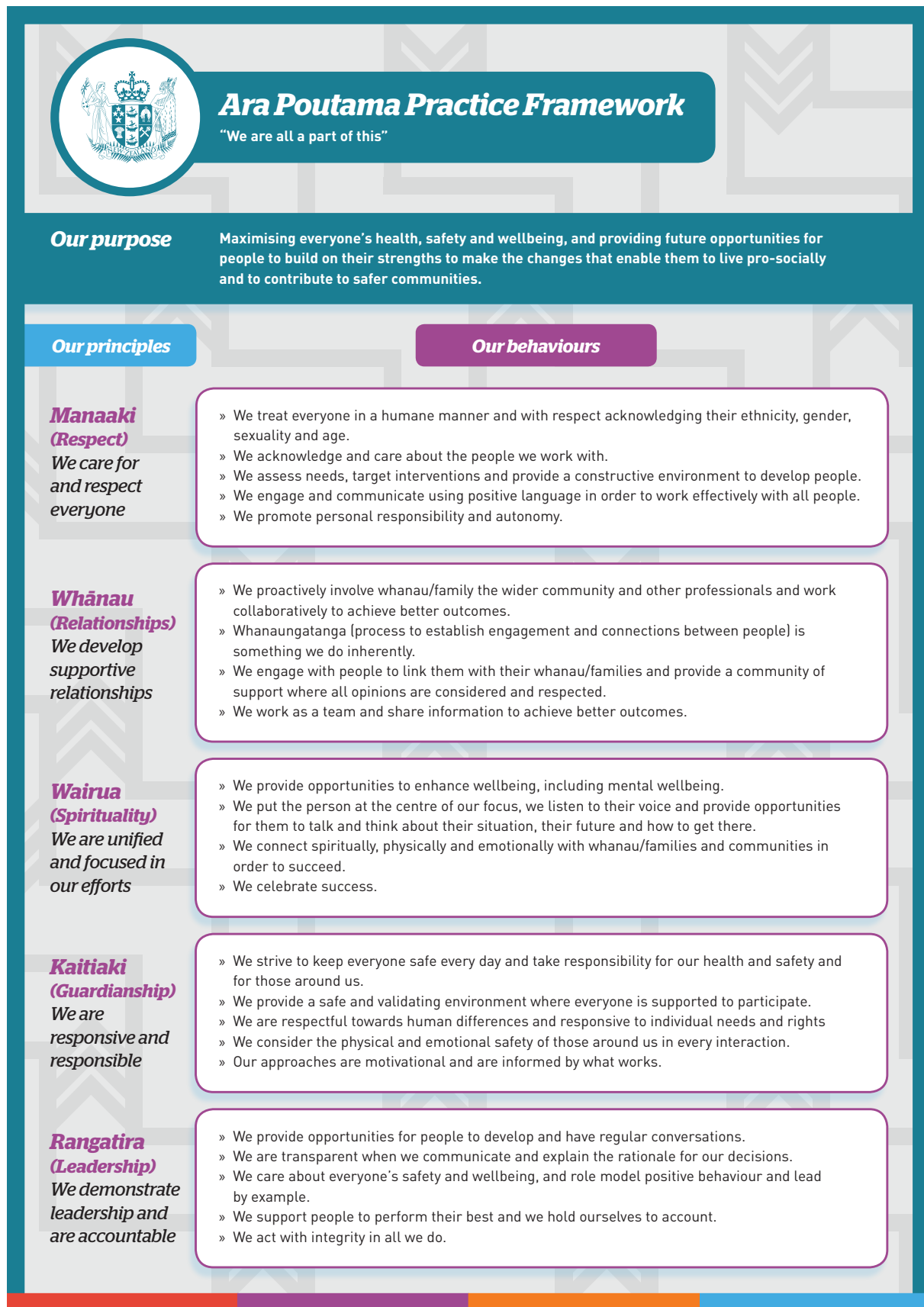
The framework encourages a “one team” approach to how we work, bringing together the different professions to achieve the Department’s outcomes. As there is currently no overarching framework for prison practice, each profession (for example, health, case management and custodial teams) all have their own policies, standards and ways of operating. The framework guides them to work together, united by common values. Each role will continue to have their own professional standards, but where their practice overlaps there will be integrated policies guided by the values and behaviours set out in the practice framework.

### **What’s next?**

Over the next few months, the Quality and Performance team, in conjunction with the Māori Services Team, Regional Practice Teams and prison directors, will be developing resources, guidance and support to embed the framework throughout our prisons. These resources will be loaded onto the Corrections intranet (Tātou) for everyone to access and to begin implementing on their site.

If you are keen and interested to know about how to starting using this on your site or in your team, contact Nova Banaghan or Valerie Shirley, Manager Quality and Performance for more information.

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# Book Review: *Offending and Desistance*

**Beth Weaver**  
*Routledge, 2016*

**Reviewed by Peter Johnston**  
*Director Research and Analysis, Department of Corrections*

## **Reviewer biography:**

*Dr Peter Johnston has been with the Department of Corrections for nearly 30 years. He started with the Psychological Service in Christchurch, as one of three psychologists who set up the first special treatment unit, Kia Marama, at Rolleston Prison in 1989. He then moved to the (then) Prison Service, where he was involved in setting up prisoner assessment centres and designing an end-to-end case management system. In his current role since 2004, he leads a team of ten staff who undertake research and evaluation, and conduct in-depth analysis of criminal justice data to shed light on trends and developments in the offender population, measure the impacts of rehabilitation, and to support strategy and policy initiatives.*

The concept of desistance is growing in popularity amongst people working within, or researching, the correctional and criminal justice domain. Although a number of important texts were written in the early 2000s (perhaps foremost amongst which was Shadd Maruna's "Making Good"), just in the last 10 years there has been a veritable tsunami of books on the topic. A recent addition to the literature is Beth Weaver's "Offending and Desistance".

After setting out her initial arguments about the nature of desistance, and her preferred frame within which to view the phenomenon, Dr Weaver "tells the stories" of half a dozen actual people, each of whom were at one time members of a violent Scottish street gang. Using their life courses (they were at time of the research all in their mid – to late-40s), she examines the utility of her theoretical concepts and principles for better understanding the phenomenon of desistance from crime. Her interest is particularly in the relational domain, both in terms of how the individuals see themselves in the context of relationships, and as the influence, direct or indirect, relationships have on their actions and life choices.

In the first half of the book, the author provides a useful overview of the primary theories of desistance, and gives a critical review of their evidential basis. She starts out with "individual and agentic theories", which largely revolve around maturation; the idea that offenders "grow out of" offending as they get older. Related to this is the rational choice perspective within which the desisting offender is seen as undergoing a reappraisal of the costs and benefits of crime.

She then moves onto "social and structural" theories, including social learning and differential association, where the key dynamic centres on patterns of association – especially breaking links with old associates. Also in this context are discussed the key relationship dynamics with influence in this area: marriage, parenthood, employment and "getting religion". "Interactionist theories" are then examined, which tend to focus on more complex patterns of influence, between relationship changes and self-perception and personal cognitions.

Finally, there is a brief overview of situational perspectives (sometimes known as the "geographical cure" – leaving town and setting up home elsewhere) and, last but not least, is examined the role of correctional practitioners – especially probation officers – in promoting desistance. Like many desistance writers, Ms Weaver is not especially persuaded on this point. She appears to believe that, at best, "in some cases" probation supervision can "sow the seeds of change", but that most offenders are "agents of their own change process".

This latter perception infuses the majority of the second half of her book. In the second half, she tells the stories of the various gang members, who at the time of interviewing were somewhere along the path to desistance from full-time involvement in crime. The stories of six key individuals are set out in successive chapters, with verbatim quotes interspersed with extensive commentary, as the details of their "lives in progress" are interpreted against Ms Weaver's preferred theoretical frameworks.

This is a hard read, and not for the faint-hearted. Its dense academic style leaves little scope for drawing inferences and deductions as to what practical applications might occur for the field. Some parts of the book border on the incomprehensible; an example on p.26 is typical:

*While social bond and social roles are referred to as enablements or constraints in identity formation and change, in its somewhat instrumental, resource based formulation, the elision of the relational in Côté's identity capital thesis (and, therefore, Healy's 2013 application of this in a desistance context) is arguably a significant shortcoming, not least in its neglect to attend to how social relations motivate, enable, or constrain decision-making and action and contribute to identity formation and change.*

Having read and re-read this sentence more than 10 times, but without success in grasping what the author is trying to say, I am left wondering why it is necessary for anyone to write sentences like that.

Later in the book, the verbatim accounts of her research subjects are juxtaposed in ways that are unintentionally hilarious. For example, take this ripe quote from "Jed", who was trying to go straight but had several old arrest warrants hanging over him (p 148):

*I went down to London and started working the next day. I thought 'F\*\*king hell, it's f\*\*king knackerin', and I was thinking, 'I wonder if I should just hand myself in, and go back to jail' – cos it's a lot better in jail than it is here, you know, working like a c\*\*t!*

This commentary is then "interpreted" by the author as demonstrating the following theoretical principle:

*It is through this process that they deliberate on the social solutions they confront, through the lens of their ultimate concerns, which necessarily challenges the exteriority and constraint assumptions of informal control theories.*

Errr ... if you say so.

By the end of the book, I felt the author had not really made her case for the value and utility of the relational frame of desistance. The book is long, very dense, and overly theoretical. Disappointingly, little space is provided in the book to understand how practitioners can facilitate the contexts likely to foster desistance decisions.

And, as noted above, it's not for the faint-hearted.



# Book Review:

## *The End of Policing*

Alex S. Vitale

Verso, 2017, ISBN-10: 1784782890

Reviewed by John Locker

Performance and Implementation Manager, Police Prosecution Service, New Zealand Police

### *Reviewer biography:*

John Locker has a Ph.D. in Criminology. He worked as a Lecturer in Criminology at Keele University in the UK, before moving to New Zealand in 2005. Since that time he has been employed by New Zealand Police in a variety of roles.

Why are ethnic minority populations over-represented in criminal justice, and how can we respond effectively to this issue? How should society respond to problems like homelessness, prostitution, drugs, gangs, illegal immigrants, mental health? Should police take on a broader role in dealing with social issues? Should we invest in more police? And what might happen if we do? These are the types of question that preoccupy Alex Vitale's "The End of Policing".

This is a book about why current criminal justice approaches are unlikely to achieve their often-stated outcomes; why a fundamental change in thinking – away from one that places a growing burden of responsibility for the amelioration of social issues in the hands of police – is required; and what could happen if the police role continues to expand.

Set in the context of US policing, Vitale's book is framed against the backdrop of growing tensions between US police agencies and communities, driven by issues like over-policing, and excessive use of force. In response, and in efforts to rebuild police-community relationships, US Police agencies have typically focused on initiatives like building diversity, community policing, training, and accountability. For Vitale, these approaches are limited (and may, in some cases, be counterproductive) because they are largely irrelevant to the problems they are seeking to address. Instead, the real cause of the problems facing police, he argues, lay in "the nature of policing itself", and therefore any meaningful response requires "a rethink [of] the role of police in society" (p.27).

Essentially, Vitale's argument is that police (regardless of discourses about community partnerships or harm prevention that prevail within modern policing) are – historically and presently – "a tool for managing inequality and maintaining the status quo" (p.15). As such, Vitale argues that the police role reaches disproportionately into poor and marginalised communities (and into the lives of what he terms "people of colour", as those disproportionately

represented in such communities): "The reality is that the police exist primarily as a system for managing and even producing inequality by suppressing social movements and tightly managing the behaviours of poor, non-white people" (p.34).

Against what Vitale notes to be the backdrop of decades of US governmental neglect, through a paring back of the welfare state and the dominance of neo-liberal austerity measures (p.53), police agencies have been given an increasing mandate for responding to "all social problems" (p.27). In the context of Vitale's conceptualisation of the police role, he argues that this has invariably extended the reach of criminal justice more deeply into particular populations and communities (which have in common their poor and marginalised status). Vitale notes that in some contexts – such as the "war on drugs", the militarisation of police in tactics and equipment, or the adoption and application of flawed models, such as "broken windows" – this control has been visible and overt; however, even where less overt, he sees it as no less present; for example, in his view, where police adopt approaches that are characterised by benevolence or a genuine desire to help, reduce harm, or prevent crime (and may well be), owing to the nature of the police role, these still embed law and order responses more deeply into communities: "a kinder, gentler, and more diverse war on the poor is still a war on the poor" (p.27).

Through a variety of case study chapters (including on drugs, gangs, homelessness, behaviour in schools, mental illness, and immigration), Vitale details how the nature of the police role, together with the continued expansion of police responsibility for the amelioration of social issues, has placed the solution to community problems in the hands of a law and order organisation, with a focus on social control. This approach, he suggests, has drawn hundreds of thousands of poor and marginalised people – and particularly "people of colour" – into the criminal justice process. Therefore, ironically, for Vitale: "law enforcement has come to exacerbate the very problems it is supposed to solve".



*"Is asking the police to be the lead agency in dealing with homelessness, mental illness, school discipline, youth unemployment, immigration, sex work, and drugs really a way to achieve a better society? Can police be trained to perform all these tasks in a professional and uncoercive manner? The answer is no ..."* (pp.29-30).

The core underpinnings of Vitale's book are not new or novel, but are grounded in established scholarly debate. For example, his conceptualisation of the police as agents of social control is echoed in decades-old research from within the fields of history, sociology, and criminology; for example, the work of revisionist social historians, like Robert Storch, during the 1970s and 1980s, signalled the role of the new police as "domestic missionaries", bringing middle-class Victorian values to the unregulated urban masses. Similarly, Vitale's concerns about the criminalisation of social policy are well represented in areas of the criminological literature. However, what is useful about Vitale's work is its bringing together of these issues, into a current context, to debate fundamental problems facing criminal justice.

If not the police, then who? Vitale presents a range of different approaches to dealing with the issues he raises. What most of them have in common is a drawing back of the police role: "instead of asking the police to solve our problems we must organise for real justice" (p.53). Within the book's various cases studies, and using empirical evidence in support, Vitale highlights the places where alternative approaches to policing are required, and their value in reversing the expansion of criminalisation – typically at a greatly reduced financial and social cost to those criminal justice alternatives.

Take the example of mental illness. Notwithstanding that police (given their role) inevitably – and always will – interact with persons with mental illness (PMI), Vitale argues that "one of the most tragic developments in policing in the last forty years has been the massive *expansion* of their role in managing [such] people" (p.76). He notes that the stripping back of mental health service provision has played a key part in expanding this aspect of police responsibility. In turn, the lack of specialist services has driven "the criminalisation of mental illness", as individuals are swept into and cycled through police jails and emergency rooms. Ironically, considerable funding has then been (and continues to be) required to make these environments more suitable in housing large numbers of PMI – for example through the provision of "specialised police units and enhanced mental health services in jails and prisons". And therefore, mental health provision has been reshaped in a more carceral (and, for Vitale, less suitable) setting.

Beyond his arguments about the criminalisation of a significant social health issue, and the individual and social impacts of such an approach, in elaborating the scope and significance of this problem, Vitale cites work by a variety of organisations and research institutes which have articulated the vast costs of dealing with mental illness within criminal justice settings; this work includes a study by the Vera Institute of Justice, which found that incarcerating people with mental health issues costs 2-3 times that of community-based treatment. Vitale advocates for a system of mental health service provision that is more heavily grounded in public systems and community-based care, that is populated by trained civilian operators, and that is delivered in such settings, where possible. What is more, he notes the increasing support and advocacy of a variety of police agencies in calling for this change in focus.

Elsewhere in the book, Vitale presents similar arguments in respect of other social issues, such as approaches to managing homelessness, policing in schools, and contemporary drug policy. His comments on the impact of "the [US] war on drugs" are particularly interesting given that they are echoed by recent debates within the New Zealand media.

This is a book that is likely to be polarising, and invoke strong feelings (one way or the other); at least in part this reflects its challenge to current dominant discourses within modern policing. Notwithstanding this, and regardless of its primarily US focus, the issues raised in Vitale's *The End of Policing* have broad application to the challenges facing modern police agencies and criminal justice systems worldwide. In a context where New Zealand is currently grappling with many of the issues debated within Vitale's work (including an expanded police role and numbers, and the disproportionate overrepresentation of Maori throughout the criminal justice system), this book offers empirical evidence around an alternative perspective within a complex debate. For this reason alone, it is a book that should be of interest to all those with an eye on the future of criminal justice.



# Information for contributors

To promote good practice, twice a year the Department of Corrections of New Zealand publishes *Practice: The New Zealand Corrections Journal*. The journal offers in-depth research and practice-focused articles. The journal is a "Plain Language" publication. All articles should be written in a clear and concise manner, and overly technical language or jargon should be avoided.

Corrections recommends the journal for all those working professionally with offenders, especially in New Zealand. Articles are generally written by Corrections staff, university students and academics who conduct research in areas related to the Corrections system.

The journals are available free on our website and prospective authors are encouraged to read back issues:

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We seek articles from knowledgeable professionals working in any part of the corrections arena.

Submissions may include:

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All work must be the original work of the author/s. Names and other details must have been changed to protect offender/victim confidentiality.

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