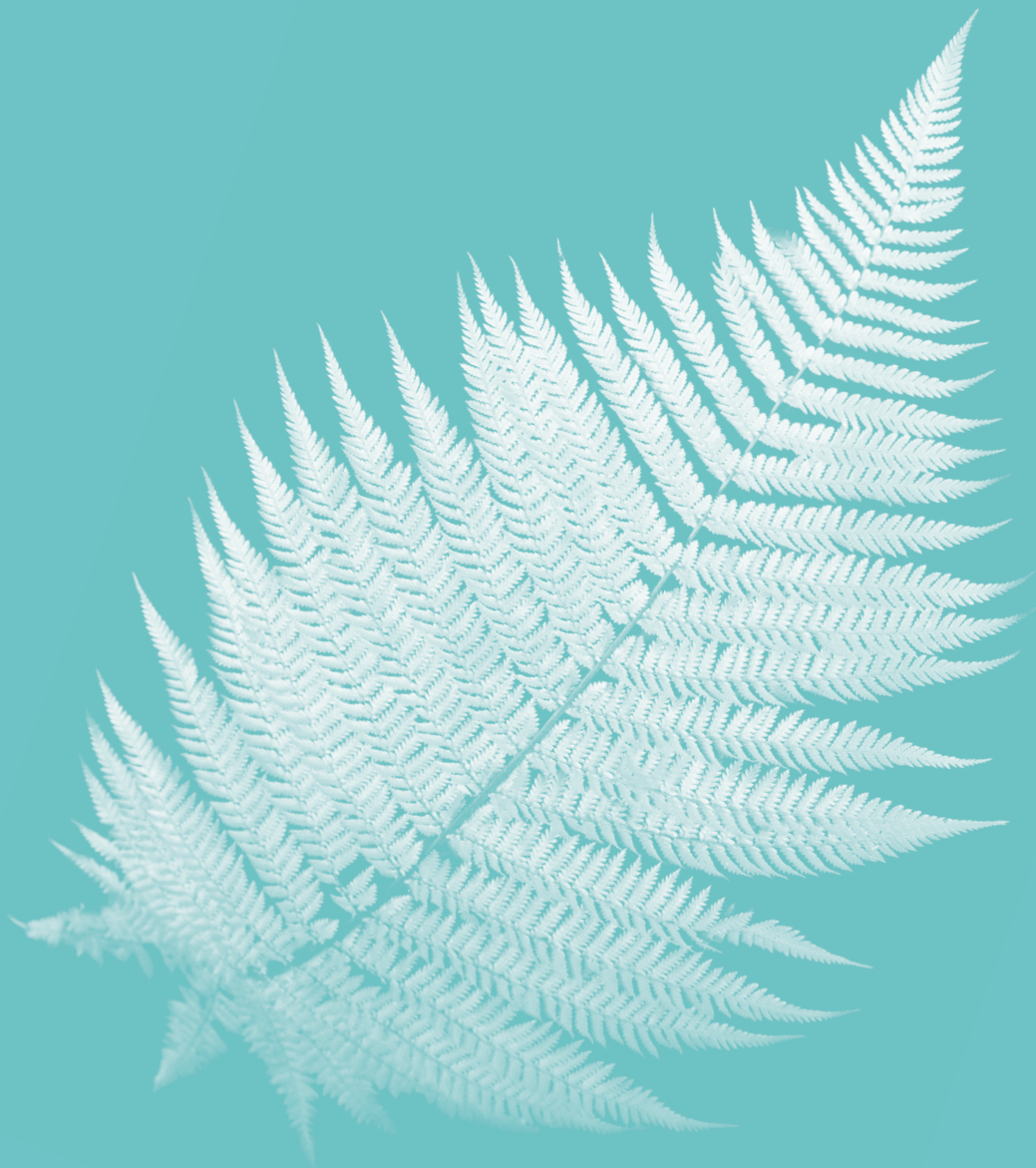


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DEPARTMENT OF
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Editorial

Evidence based practice: What does it mean for us?

The Department's frameworks for the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders are based on the evidence of 'what works'. This issue of *Practice* contains a number of themes and principles that are well-recognised as being successful in the reduction of re-offending.

To acknowledge the Department's 20th anniversary, Peter Johnston gives us some insight into how the Department's approach to offender rehabilitation has evolved over the years. The article highlights many changes that have come into effect as a result of using evidence based research from New Zealand and around the world.

Principles such as targeting interventions towards offenders' needs and aligning the intensity of these interventions with assessed risk are paramount in creating change. These principles of Risk and Need must, of course, be coupled with Responsivity. The articles by Kathy Foster, Nick Wilson, and Julie Sach and Rachel Smith illuminate the importance of these principles.

Previous editions of *Practice* have focused on collaboration and motivational interviewing, and we re-visit these themes in this issue. The article by Mike Howson, Alexandra Green, Gill Roper and Megan Stenswick explores how a multi-disciplinary team is working in action and the benefits this has for offenders. Jill Bowman presents a multi-disciplinary team in a different context, showing similar positive outcomes.

Motivational interviewing is internationally accepted as effective to encourage and maintain change. As highlighted by Nick Wilson and Glen Kilgour's article, Marianne Bevan's article, and the article by David Lewis, Kerry Consedine and Janice Hickey, building motivation in offenders is important if they are to change and sustain that change.

Woven throughout many of the articles is the evidence based principle of risk assessment, which is vital in mitigating risk. However, at times, mitigation of risk requires more than rehabilitation interventions; sometimes the public need extra protection. This issue is explored in the article by Michael Herder, who introduces us to public protection orders.

We also touch on how, as an organisation, we need to use people's experience and knowledge to continue making a difference. Darren Johnson discusses learning cultures, and Uarnie More looks at our new way of recruiting the right people for the job.

I hope this issue of the journal enriches your practice, and encourages you to always act on the evidence.

Sarah Symonds

Director Case Management

NZ Department of Corrections

Twenty years of Corrections – The evolution of offender rehabilitation



Dr Peter Johnston
Director Research and Analysis

Executive summary

The Department of Corrections was established 20 years ago on 1 October 1995. In recognition of this milestone, Practice looks at the evolution in theory and practice in offender rehabilitation over these last two decades.

New Zealand's history of correctional rehabilitation includes world-leading developments in rehabilitation design, as well as in offender assessment, and rehabilitation outcomes evaluation. A commitment to rehabilitation was not absent during the decades leading up to the establishment of the Department of Corrections, but since 1995 this objective has become increasingly central to how the department views itself and its core objectives.

Introduction

In the 1970s and 1980s, prisons and probation services were incorporated within the all-encompassing Department of Justice. While rehabilitation was an acknowledged issue in working with offenders, by and large the task at hand was viewed as safe and humane containment of prisoners, and ensuring compliance with community sentences. Employment activity in prison, along with education and such like, was viewed mainly as a way of constructively filling in prisoners' time. Within the community, supportive work with offenders tended to be limited to helping offenders with immediate problems, such as housing or income.

A small workforce of psychologists delivered some treatment to offenders, usually on a one-to-one basis, and less frequently in group settings. However, little consistency applied as to who psychologists should best spend their time with, or what issues and concerns should be the focus of treatment. For example, in the 1970s 'psychodynamic' treatment was not uncommon, with offenders encouraged to share their nocturnal dreams in order that the psychologist might 'interpret' them. Apart from this, occasional group treatment for offenders with drug or alcohol problems was delivered in some prisons, often by recovered alcoholics with a strong commitment to the Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) philosophy.

In the wider social and political environment, however, developments were occurring that supported a change in correctional emphasis. In 1981, a 'Penal Policy Review Committee' focused on the need to reduce re-offending as a critical goal. Its recommendations included greater use of community sentences, or prisoners being located in prisons as close as possible to their home community. To this end the concept of

'regional prisons' was strongly promoted. Also integral to the review was the concept of through-care and integration on release into the community.

In 1987 a Ministerial Committee of Inquiry into the Prison System was held. Chaired by Sir Clinton Roper, the subsequent report, *Te Ara Hou: The New Way (1989)*, recommended far-reaching changes for the justice sector, including the idea of a new stand-alone department for corrections services. Among other changes, *Te Ara Hou* recommended therapeutic programmes separate from the prison system, privately run habilitation centres, and partnerships with iwi and community groups. There was a strong emphasis on the community 'coming on board' to help in reducing the number of people re-offending.

With respect specifically to offender rehabilitation design, things began to change especially during the late 1980s. An accumulating body of knowledge, experience and research evidence, on 'what works' with offenders became known to staff within the department and academics with an interest in this area. In 1985 the then Director of Psychological Services (Harry Love) wrote a 'five year plan' which laid the foundations for the future direction of psychological services and the department towards risk assessment and prioritisation of high risk offenders. Prof. Paul Gendreau from Canada was brought over to assist the Manager of Policy and Research to conduct a review of how psychologists work in the department.

Collaboration between head office staff, departmental psychologists and academics (especially at Canterbury University) further advanced interventions grounded in evidence-based principles of effective correctional rehabilitation. A key milestone was the piloting of a

comprehensive treatment programme for sex offenders at Rolleston Prison. The Kia Marama programme, which opened in 1989 (and is still operating successfully today), heralded the more or less complete transformation of offender rehabilitation across the entire correctional scene in New Zealand.

In 1995 the Department of Corrections was established, and Mark Byers was appointed as the first Chief Executive. Mr Byers from the outset spoke unequivocally of his intention that the department would focus its efforts on reducing re-offending. He began to familiarise himself with the current state of rehabilitation services, quickly concluding that these were poorly structured, and lacking clear focus on outcomes. He also sought advice from those with knowledge of the emerging 'what works' body of knowledge, and encouraged his national office teams to get to work on building a coherent and integrated framework for delivering high quality rehabilitation to offenders.

The Integrated Offender Management (IOM) Project

Not long before the new department formed, the policy team at national office had produced a summary paper on what was known internationally about effective correctional rehabilitation (McLaren, 1992). This paper was widely read, and triggered both strong motivation, and a sense of direction, towards building the framework for offender management that could deliver good outcomes for reducing re-offending. The concepts of 'risk, need and responsivity' (RNR) were to be central to this framework. In 1997, a project team was formed involving expertise from the field, national office, and external parties. Four sub-projects were launched – induction, assessment, sentence management, and reintegration. Over the following four years, the project teams worked to produce a comprehensive set of policies, procedures, tools and manuals for use by frontline staff. A process was mapped out whereby each offender would, from the outset, be inducted into the sentence, with clear messaging about the idea of using his/her sentence to address offending-related behaviour. The following assessment phase included a comprehensive assessment of risks and needs, and motivation for change, leading the development of a sentence plan prescribing relevant rehabilitative and reintegrative activities. The sentence management phase was based on the sentence plan, during which time staff involved would work with each offender to address all of the relevant activities on the sentence plan, and to generally work at maintaining motivation for change. Finally, the reintegration phase planned prisoners' release back into the community. The IOM framework went 'live' in early 2001.

Risk and needs assessment

Accurate assessing of risk is a core component of the 'what works' approach. Risk assessment ensures that programmes are directed to those most in need of change. Work had already begun within the Psychological Service prior to 1995 on developing an actuarial risk assessment tool. Known as RoC*RoI (Risk of reconviction/Risk of reimprisonment), the risk tool was integrated into the department's operational database (IOMS) in 1998, and became an essential element of the new offender management process. Importantly, it enabled rational decisions to be made on which offenders should be prioritised for specific programmes and interventions. RoC*RoI has proven to have a high level of accuracy at the group level, and continues to be invaluable as a sentence planning tool, as well as an adjunct to the judgements of staff including probation officers, case managers, psychologists and the Parole Board.

More recent years have seen the introduction of a range of additional risk measures which have improved the department's ability to manage offenders. This included the Automated Sexual Recidivism Scale, another static risk measure that is widely used for sex offenders. Psychologists also pioneered use of dynamic risk measures for assessment of specific types of offenders, such as the Violence Risk Scale and the 'STABLE'. More recently, the Dynamic Risk Assessment for Offender Re-entry (DRAOR) was adopted for use by probation staff. DRAOR measures dynamic (changeable) factors about an offender that contribute to an offender's risk and is used throughout an offender's sentence or order. The essential difference between RoC*RoI and DRAOR, is that DRAOR involves assessment and management of risk 'in the moment', whereas RoC*RoI does not. A similar tool adapted for use in the prison setting, the Structured Dynamic Assessment Case-management (SDAC-21), has also been implemented recently.

Various approaches to identifying the offending-related issues which were suitable targets for rehabilitation were piloted and implemented. The first of these, known as the Criminogenic Needs Inventory (CNI) was extremely comprehensive, providing a rich picture of the offending dynamics of each individual offender. However, the CNI was eventually discontinued as it took too long to complete (up to 12 hours per assessment). More streamlined assessment methods were subsequently designed to replace it.

Measuring effectiveness

The ability to accurately measure the impact of rehabilitation programmes was quickly understood as critical to ensuring that limited funds were expended to best effect. Work on designing a suitable measurement technique commenced in 2001, the result being the 'Rehabilitation Quotient' (RQ) method. By 2004 design

of the methodology had been fully finalised, and results of RQ analyses began to be published in successive annual reports. The findings emerging from these yearly investigations have directly supported decisions to expand our most successful programmes (Special Treatment Unit Rehabilitation Programmes), refine and strengthen those that were producing lower-than-expected results (former '100-hour' programmes), and discontinue programmes that consistently failed to perform (e.g., 'Straight Thinking' – see below). The department remains the only correctional service in the world that undertakes comprehensive outcomes analysis of its full suite of routine rehabilitative delivery on a regular basis, as well as publishing the results.

Structured rehabilitation programmes

Along with taking a more evidence-based approach to risk and needs assessment, the department looked overseas to introduce the best of correctional practice programme design. As noted already, the Kia Marama unit at Rolleston Prison (which opened in 1989), provided the first model of a structured, comprehensive and rigorously designed style of group-based rehabilitation. This initial design, though implemented with sex offenders, was later adapted and applied to serious violent offenders, in the Violence Prevention Unit which opened at Rimutaka Prison in 1998.

The first structured programme for offenders generally, and delivered both within community probation and prisons, was known as 'Straight Thinking' (ST). Introduced in 1995, ST was loosely based on 'cognitive skills' programmes developed in North America. This relatively low intensity programme (70 hours duration) aimed to teach reasoning skills that would enable offenders to avoid going down well-worn pathways ending in criminal acts. ST was delivered largely by re-trained prison officers and probation officers, but was discontinued in 2006 following three successive annual evaluations which showed no beneficial impact on re-offending rates.

In the meantime, the Special Treatment Unit (STU) Rehabilitation Programme was expanding, with several more opening in the last 10 years. These specialised and intensive programmes have become the most successful of the entire suite of rehabilitation the department delivers, consistently producing impacts on re-offending as good as any programme in the world. The latest (2014/15) Department of Corrections Annual Report contains reductions in rates of reimprisonment after 12 months of nearly 10 percentage points, and a 17 percentage point reduction in reconviction rates for high risk violent offenders completing the STURP programmes.

The core elements of the STU programme formed the template for lower-intensity programmes to be delivered in a range of settings, both within prison and

the community. Several variants of these programmes were designed in the late 1990s; known as '100-hour programmes', variants were designed for drug and alcohol dependent offenders, driving offenders, and a 'generic' version for all others. Initial evaluations of these programmes were disappointing, with the result that they were extensively re-designed and improved, resulting in the new 'Medium-Intensity Rehabilitation Programme' (MIRP) which has been available since 2006, both in prisons and in the community. Subsequently, shorter forms of the programme have been adapted for small groups of offenders (the 'Short Rehabilitation Programme'), as well as innovations such as short motivational programmes using a similar format.

Drug and alcohol treatment

Drug and alcohol treatment has remained a feature of the department's rehabilitative 'landscape' throughout its existence. However, the kind of informal and largely unstructured group programme that existed around 1995 has been entirely swept away. In its place the department has sought to apply a range of rehabilitative options of differing intensities that can be applied to match the severity of need with which offenders present. A drug treatment unit (DTU) at Rolleston Prison, which opened in 1997, was the first foray into structured and well-designed alcohol and other drug (AoD) treatment. This initiative was then largely copied in two other prisons, with contracts to run them signed with an external provider, CareNZ. Early results from these programmes were promising, leading to further expansion: by 2005 there were eight DTUs in operation. A shorter three-month version was rolled out in 2011. Since then, in further recognition of the widespread prevalence of drug and alcohol problems amongst the offender population, several other lower-intensity forms of AoD programming have been deployed, to the extent that, currently, nearly 30,000 instances of treatment are being delivered in a single year.

Education and employment

Although a perennial feature of prison life, as has already been noted, education and employment were typically regarded primarily as useful time-fillers for prisoners. Prior to 1995, educational courses tended to be of poor quality, and seldom related to improving employment prospects. Prison work was often menial, with the best jobs reserved for prisoners already known to be 'good workers'. The perception that such activities were relatively unimportant continued to hold following the implementation of IOM, to an extent reflecting the fact that the research evidence for education and employment reducing re-offending was not strong. However, despite some general scepticism, a number of key staff in the field and national office continued to work assiduously to improve quality of

services in both areas. An increasingly rich range of opportunities for prisoners was developed allowing achievement of school qualifications, trade certification and even tertiary degrees. Literacy education became a special focus from around 2010. The importance of collaboration between government and non-government providers is recognised, to increase access to the range of programmes that support offenders across their broad and often complex range of needs. Since 2013 an expert advisory group has been in place to guide the design, development and implementation of offender education and training.

Employment became increasingly directed towards prisoners who lacked employment skills, with the types of employment training provided increasingly tailored to the job market to which prisoners will return. These efforts have paid off, with recent years' RQ analyses showing positive results both for prisoner education and for employment placements. More recently, the 'working prisons' concept has further advanced the idea that prisons should be places of industry, treatment and learning, with prisoners fully and constructively engaged each week in a diverse mix of education, employment and rehabilitation programmes.

Cultural interventions

In recognition that Māori account for a disproportionate number of those managed by the department, and the fact that re-offending rates were higher amongst Māori than non-Māori, there was immediate interest in exploring ways in which uniquely cultural interventions might be developed to address these issues. The first initiative was design of the Māori Focus Unit (MFU) concept. Now known as Te Tirohanga, units were established in five North Island prisons, each of which sought to cultivate and maintain a unit environment steeped in Māori cultural values and practices. Bi-cultural versions of the medium-intensity programmes were also designed and delivered within the MFUs. In addition, prisons and probation offices forged links with local iwi groups and invited them to deliver culturally-based tikanga courses, as a means of re-connecting offenders to their cultural heritage. A culturally-focused assessment known as 'Special Māori Cultural Assessment' (SMCA) was piloted in the upper central North Island, where it continues to be used.

Construction of Spring Hill Corrections Facility (SHCF) near Huntly was seen as an opportunity to deliver new approaches for Pacific offenders also. This included developing a Pacific Focus Unit, as well as a Pacific version of a violence prevention programme (Saili Matagi). Both of these initiatives have continued successfully for nearly a decade.

Throughout the last 20 years the department has also sought to ensure that all programmes and services were designed in a manner that respected and valued

the cultural needs of all participants. Importantly, a 2003 evaluation of the Te Piriti STU at Auckland Prison suggested that use of Maori concepts and processes in a group based programme enhanced the positive impacts for all participants.

Corrections officers as 'agents of positive influence'

Prior to introduction of IOM principles around 1998-2001, there tended to be a fairly sharp delineation between prison officers (as they were then known) and staff from 'programmes'. Although a form of case management had been put in place in 1991, many prison officers regarded their role primarily in terms of its custodial/security functions. IOM was significant also in introducing the concept of 'active management' (AM). AM signified the expectation that all staff should regard themselves as having a role in rehabilitation, particularly through using every contact as an opportunity to positively influence offenders. Key elements of the AM framework included knowledge of the individual offender, good communication between staff and with offenders, responsiveness to emerging issues, and 'exerting influence'. All custodial staff were trained in AM principles and practice between 2001 and 2003. The AM approach has more recently been revised and refreshed as 'Right Track' (RT), introduced in 2012. RT similarly supports staff to take an offender-centric, co-operative approach, with an emphasis on collaboration between all personnel working with an offender – frontline staff, case manager, programme facilitators and psychologists. Regular RT meetings are another key feature, during which plans to keep the offender 'on track' are developed and maintained. Since 2011, specialist case managers, many of whom are former corrections officers, have operated across all prisons. Case managers play a pivotal role in motivating offenders and helping them transition from custody to community.

Probation practice

A transformation similar to that in prisons took place also within the probation service. As has already been noted, the role of the probation officers (POs) historically had been regarded largely in terms of sentence compliance, although with a strong social work overlay. A majority of probation staff prior to 1995 had social work backgrounds, and though they approached their work with a strong human service orientation, the work tended to focus heavily on ensuring that the sentence or order was completed without undue complication. A number of events through the first decade since 2000, mainly involving violent re-offending, served to change this singular focus. Probation practice began to change, with two key areas of enlarged focus. The first was on identification and management of acute risk amongst offenders being

managed in the community. This was assisted by better risk assessment procedures, a professional decision-making framework, and more focused and skilled input into the management of offenders identified as posing acute risks. The second area of development was in terms of offender rehabilitation, with POs increasingly regarding their role as specifically rehabilitative in function. This was particularly assisted through the Integrated Practice Framework, introduced in 2010, which equipped POs with a number of discrete skill sets with which to work productively with the offending-related needs that presented in the course of individual case work.

Summary and conclusion

In the last 20 years Corrections has undergone significant change in its practices with respect to offender rehabilitation, changes that have driven a huge shift in the culture of the organisation and in how staff, across the board, see their roles.

In 1995, probably fewer than five per cent of the offenders managed each year by the department would have experienced effective rehabilitative input. One of the greatest achievements of the last 20 years is that today almost every offender receives some form of intervention. This can range from very 'light touch' forms (such as a 'work and living skills' course for offenders serving a community work sentence), right through to a nine-months long, intensive STURP experience. In between is a huge array of valuable interventions which target all the relevant needs and risks issues which are known to drive offending behaviour.

The goal of reducing re-offending has been present throughout the 20 years since the department's establishment. However, in the last four years this goal has come into a much sharper focus with the setting of a target to 'reduce re-offending by 25% by 2017'. This ambitious target has helped other agencies and partners from the private and NGO sectors come together around a common goal. The pursuit of the target has also brought into the frame a greater appreciation of the value of reduced re-offending rates – clarifying that the end goal is fewer victims of crime, and safer communities. Judging by the results of the annual RQ analysis, the department has made massive strides towards improving the safety of the communities which it serves.

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The High Risk Personality Programme – Revised: An evaluation report

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Author biographies

Glen Kilgour trained as a clinical psychologist at Waikato University, graduating in the early 1990s. He has worked in the Department since 1995 in a variety of roles including principal psychologist and, currently, a principal adviser in the Office of the Chief Psychologist. His interests include reducing violence, programme evaluation, group therapy, young offenders, leadership, staff development, and science fiction.

Dr Nick Wilson has been working as a clinical psychologist for the New Zealand Department of Corrections for the last 18 years. His current role is as the Principal Adviser, Psychological Research with responsibility for the provision of specialist training, expert witness testimony, and research in the area of risk assessment and offender management and treatment (i.e. development of the Dynamic Risk Assessment Offender Re-entry (DRAOR) and Structured Dynamic Assessment Case-Management-21 (SDAC-21) tools). Nick has a long standing interest in criminal psychopathy and personality disorder, its assessment and treatment, and has carried out research and provided clinical services and training in this area since 2000.

Introduction

The Department of Corrections provides extensive high-quality rehabilitative programmes for a number of offender groups, including moderate risk offenders in community and prison (Medium Intensity Rehabilitation Programme, Short Rehabilitation Programme), moderate risk young offenders (Young Offenders Programme), high-risk violent offenders in the community (Tai Aroha), high-risk violent offenders in prison of medium security classification and below (Special Treatment Unit Rehabilitation Programme) and their sex offending counterparts (Adult Sex Offender Treatment Programme). However, until recently there were no intensive rehabilitative options for high or maximum security prisoners, many of whom remain for long periods without treatment due to ongoing concerns about their behaviour or management. A dilemma for many of these men and the staff managing them is that their repeatedly aggressive behaviour results in the need to maintain them at the highest levels of security. This retention in maximum and high security, however, provides limited opportunities to learn the types of self-regulation skills required to sustain sufficient periods of settled or compliant behaviour to reduce their security classifications. For prisoners being released directly from these higher security environments, this does little to prepare them for the complex and unstructured environments of everyday life with rapid re-offending related to release from higher levels of security environment. The 2013 'Staff Assault Survey' (Kilgour et al, 2013) reinforced these observations with both prisoners and staff identifying the lack of formal and

intensive rehabilitation available in these environments. Interestingly, when interviewed, the prisoners who had seriously assaulted staff, without exception, expressed a degree of motivation to engage in rehabilitation.

In contrast, the Department of Corrections has previously undertaken a pilot of an intensive programme for the type of offender who typically ends up in higher security environments. This High Risk Personality Programme (HRPP) was delivered in three phases in a high/medium security environment at Waikeria Prison for a period of 11 Months (44 weeks) during 2007. Participants were selected for their high-risk status, relatively high rates of institutional misconduct, severe personality disturbance, and high levels of case complexity. Eleven of the 12 participants completed the programme with significant reductions in institutional misconduct during the therapy period and subsequent placement across the prison estate (Wilson & Tamatea, 2013). Custodial staff involved in the programme generally reported across the board improvements in participants' conduct, compliance and attitude during and following the programme, with 80% reducing their security classification over a six month follow-up period.

Since 2007 the need to provide specialised programmes for the high/maximum security prison has not abated. If anything, ongoing serious assaults on staff and other prisoners have helped to maintain a consistent cohort of prisoners in high and maximum security. The presence of this disruptive group has been one of the drivers for the significant work undertaken over the

last three years to improve staff safety and decrease workplace violence. As such, the development of intensive programmes for this relatively small but high-risk, high-need subset of prisoners is regarded as a priority in the provision of a pathway to improved emotional regulation, behavioural stability, and reduction in security classification for these men. Successful transition for these prisoners to lower security placements will in turn provide greater access to alternative rehabilitative options in the lower security environments across the prison estate. The access to comprehensive rehabilitation options is necessary to address the range of dynamic risk and reintegration needs that such high risk offenders present with, in order to 'test' behaviour change and ultimately to reduce recidivism risk.

The re-build of Auckland East Prison which is currently underway and due to be completed over the next three years has highlighted the opportunity to provide a safer and more conducive environment for the delivery of effective rehabilitation programmes for maximum security prisoners. Thus, the opportunity was ripe to develop and trial programmes that are suitable to the complex needs of these prisoners. Similarly, senior staff at Christchurch Men's Prison identified a similar gap in programmes available within their high security environment and an institutional readiness to remedy this problem.

The opportunity to trial a rehabilitation programme for high/maximum security settings across the two environments during similar time periods provided a number of unique opportunities, including:

- Developing staff capability and co-support systems for the programme in more than one prison site, to help reduce the isolation of staff working with very high-risk, high-need prisoners, and enhance sharing of information between staff around delivery challenges.
- Helping to further develop cross-site strategies for the management of particularly difficult prisoners (i.e., because of the relatively few high-security and above classification environments in New Zealand) many of the prisoners concerned are known to, and rotate across, Auckland and Christchurch prisons.
- Being able to examine the relative utility of the programme across more than one physical environment with differing operational needs (e.g., programme space, delivery models such as small and medium sized groups, and unit configuration) and subsequently build in resilience for application in different settings.
- Successful delivery of the programme across the sites should provide added confidence in the ability of the therapy to reliably address violence for a high-risk, high profile prisoner group.

Prison managers provided strong support for the implementation of a suitable programme at both sites. The project therefore developed an ambitious set of deliverables and timeframes for the 2014 calendar year, including design, delivery, and evaluation of a High Risk Personality Programme-Revised (HRPP-R) at two prison sites (Auckland and Christchurch). Below we summarise outcomes for Phase 1 of the first three cohorts of programme participants – 18 men – over this period.

Description of the HRPP-R

The structure of the HRPP-R is closely aligned with the 'domain model for personality treatment' developed by Professor John Livesley (2012). This model outlines a framework for an evidence-based approach to conceptualising personality dysfunction to understand interpersonal behaviour, tailoring treatment approaches based on these conceptualisations, and selecting appropriate treatment methods to structure therapy based on general principles of therapeutic change. This targeted intervention aims to translate into direct and positive outcomes for the men participating within the HRPP-R programme. Expected outcomes are improved emotional control and behavioural stability, reduced aggression, fewer misconducts, and ultimately sustainable reductions in security classifications allowing safe placement in lower security settings. Professor Livesley's model takes a phased approach to treatment that assumes personality change occurs in the context of the therapeutic relationship, which needs to be firmly established at the early stages of treatment. The core therapeutic principles underlying this model include:

1. Establish and maintain a structure and frame to treatment.

The structure and frame (focus) for the treatment has to be clear and transparent, with 'nothing hidden'. Structure has multiple parts, including the environment, schedule of sessions (programme & prison management, supervision, behaviour rules etc), and therapeutic approach (empathy, genuineness, and positive regard). The key frame or focus is on personality (patterns of behaviour) and how these impact on participants' current and future antisocial behaviour, especially where it prevents achievements of prosocial goals.

2. Build and maintain a collaborative relationship.

The participants need to see the therapists as helpful and themselves as accepting of help. Both sides need to work collaboratively and have a working alliance to achieve the shared goals for the participant. The key element is collaboration. Therapists facilitate optimism and realistic hope and provide education and information on linking thoughts, feelings, and

behaviour and on what personality is and how it links to problematic behaviours. But overall it is a joint search to arrive at understanding/insight. When collaboration comes under challenge, an expected condition in treating this group, then all efforts are made to repair the relationship and to learn from the experience.

3. Maintain consistency.

It is important that both the therapists and participants practice consistency. It is acknowledged that participants in the past likely experienced relationships that have lacked consistency or were unpredictable. Therapists will keep the focus on the programme goals by ensuring these are clear, and also by managing negative behaviours that could sabotage collaboration. The programme has limits on what it will cover, to avoid becoming 'side tracked' from the goals of addressing current problematic behaviour.

4. Promote validation.

This means that therapists provide experiences in the programme that will validate/support the participants' ability to change their behaviour. Participants are encouraged to try new approaches that bring better outcomes for them. Validation also means that the therapists listen to the concerns and experiences of the programme participants and will recognise areas of their success and competency.

5. Build motivation.

Motivation to engage in treatment and to change long-standing behaviours is expected to fluctuate in the programme but motivation becomes a focus of therapy when it becomes low. Engagement in treatment, motivation and the treatment alliance are linked. So the programme provides experiences to build motivation through identifying realistic hope, addressing participants' concerns, and making the goals of therapy very clear.

6. Encourage self-observation and self-reflection.

Most treatment involves some reflection on personal experience. While participants will experience things with some intensity, their reactions tend to be automatic, without conscious thought, with little time in the moment for self-reflection. The programme seeks to assist participants to move from a focus on the moment to seeing their experiences and situation in a broader context. Therapists educate the participants on a range of approaches to better understand thoughts, feelings, behaviours, and patterns in their reactions. This is expected to improve the ability of participants to manage emotions, and to recognise that some

thoughts are unhelpful to achieving their personal goals. The programme wants participants to become curious about their own thoughts and behaviours and, indeed, their personality.

Based on these principles and the broader Livesley framework, the HRPP-R programme is designed to be delivered in three flexible phases to ensure individual needs are addressed. The three phases are (1) Focus on Safety, Containment and Engagement; (2) Control and Regulation and Exploration and Change; and (3) Synthesis: Construction of a More Adaptive Sense of Self and Identity. Each phase of the HRPP-R is delivered over three to four months with a break of two to four weeks between phases with completion of all three phases taking 10-11 months. Therapy is delivered in a group and individual format, with three group-based weekly sessions of 2-2.5 hours and a one hour individual session each week for each participant. Some prisoners may complete all three phases due to their retention in a high security setting, but for most, completion of phase one or the first two phases only may occur. The rationale behind partial completion is that some of the participants will be able to successfully complete a pathway out of the high security placement and thus can access existing rehabilitation initiatives to address the remaining HRPP-R areas (e.g., completion of a Special Treatment Unit Rehabilitation Programme (STURP)).

The HRPP-R therapists are all experienced department psychologists from the Auckland North psychologists office and the Christchurch psychologists office who are supervised in the pilot sites by the authors who developed the programme. A pivotal component in the delivery of the HRPP-R is that it is a team approach with custody staff involved in daily monitoring the prisoners' behaviour outside of therapy using the Dynamic Assessment Situational Aggression (DASA; Ogloff & Daffern, 2009) and in reinforcing the programme materials, and case management assisting in using the HRPP-R to progress prisoners' pathways.

How did the participants do?

In reviewing Phase 1 of the HRPP-R we examined results from exit interviews conducted with a sample of Phase 1 completers; analysed DASA results on men attending the Auckland programme; compared prisoner misconducts and incidents in the six months pre-programme and subsequent to first contact with the programme; outlined observations from supervision of therapy staff and other formal and informal sources of information around treatment outcomes.

Exit interviews

Exit interviews were offered on a voluntary basis to 11 of 14 Phase 1 prisoner completers across Auckland and Christchurch prisons following the first cohort completions. One individual had already left the unit to attend a STURP by the time of interview and a further two individuals were unable to be seen due to time constraints. Ten of the 11 participants completed the exit interview process. Results from the 10 valid exit interviews were collated and summarised with key observations and patterns outlined narratively below.

Overall, participants rated Phase 1 of the HRPP-R as average or better on a 6-point scale anchored from 'Didn't like at all' (1) to 'It was great' (6) with an average rating of 4.8. All men indicated that they would recommend attendance to others in their unit, citing a range of reasons including self-improvement related reasons to decreasing boredom and lowering security classifications. Most similarly rated the programme highly in terms of goals to manage their behaviour within high/maximum security (mean = 4.5); reduce security classification (mean = 4.1) and prepare them for further treatment (mean = 4.6).

In regards to improvements in programme content, a range of suggestions reflected the idiosyncratic interests of group members with only one topic reported more than once (4 times); summarised by a theme of spending more time on 'goals and values' promoting change. Similarly there were no themes around aspects of the programme that participants found difficult. Most men had either struggled to stay in the programme at some point during the 10-weeks and/or – in contrast to reality – had believed they were at risk of being prematurely removed. However, typically men were pleased that they had persisted with the programme, often citing that the peer support within the programme helped to maintain their commitment. Indeed, a deepening of relationships with co-members was noted by almost all participants, even though a degree of suspiciousness and lack of trust of others was described by many as a personal challenge, particularly early in the programme. Despite these trust issues, most men thought that others in the group (including facilitators) handled their personal information and disclosures with respect and appropriate confidentiality, and that the rules of the programme were generally respected. An exception to this was a number of men – in the Christchurch cohort – acknowledging that they tended to push the boundaries around group rules and attendance. These men in their feedback encouraged facilitators to be more directive and enforcing of group rules. Despite this, most of the participants thought that the group had acceptable structure, including the length of the programme, and group and individual sessions.

Therapy staff were generally rated highly in terms of competence, genuineness and trust, with effective ongoing therapeutic relationships. A number of men noted that they were appropriately challenged by facilitators as to attitudes and behaviour. Custody staff were rated somewhat more poorly in terms of their genuine interest and support for the men in their problems and changes. However, participants generally saw the custody staff as 'fair' in their interactions and typically there was at least one staff member who they perceived as a good support during the programme.

In terms of how the men perceived themselves as having changed while on the programme, the exit interviews probed for more general change and also specific behaviours around handling conflict. More generally there were themes of increased awareness (e.g., about personal thinking and behaviour, the perspectives of others, and behavioural options); and being less reactive and angry. Strategies to manage conflict included a broad range of emotional and behavioural responses with many men citing more than one approach. Several men noted a sense of internalised reduction in emotional reactivity (e.g., 'people said I'm different – I don't sweat the small stuff'; 'I'm less angry now'; 'my mindset's changed'; 'the officers are saying I don't get angry as much').

Dynamic Appraisal of Situational Aggression (DASA) results

In order to bring some objective and independent analysis to the self-report of programme participants, custody staff were trained in the rationale and administration of a measure used to predict aggression over the short-term. The DASA was intended to be used on a daily basis for all participants during the Phase 1 trials and was part of broader evaluations of the use of this measure across a number of Department of Corrections' sites (Kilgour & Wilson, 2014; Kilgour & Wilson, 2015).

The DASA is described as "efficient and should take less than five minutes to complete" (Ogloff & Daffern, 2009, pg 19). Scoring is based on the presence or absence of objective behavioural descriptions of seven items (i.e., irritability, impulsivity, unwillingness to follow directions, sensitivity to perceived provocation, easily angered, negative attitudes, verbal threats) over the 24-hour period prior to rating. The occurrence of aggressive behaviour (verbal towards people, or aggressive towards objects or people) is also recorded for the target period. Depending on the number of items rated as present, individuals are allocated a 'low', 'moderate', or 'high' level of risk for further aggressive behaviour over the next 24-hour period and staff are encouraged to share these risk ratings and the relevant items with the next available shift. Ultimately, the DASA assesses a state of irritability and disagreeableness with this

state preceding most acts of aggression irrespective of mental disorder (personal communication, Professor Michael Daffern, October 2012).

DASA scores were collated consistently by staff at Auckland Prison during the first Phase 1 cohort and Figure 1 shows examples of composite scores by week for one participant, which was representative of the other five participants. This shows the presence of any DASA item on a given day within any particular week of the programme, rather than total DASA score on any given day. It is notable that no individual participant scored more than '2' (i.e., the presence of more than two items suggesting 'Moderate' risk for violence in the

next 24-hours) on any given day and that by week seven of the programme there were no items observed for any of the participants. Perhaps coincidentally, week six of the programme introduced emotional control strategies for participants. Regretfully, custody staff did not reliably complete DASA recording for any length of time at the Christchurch site and so comparable scores were not available and we were unable to test if there was a similar improvement with emotional control in week seven. However, from the limited results obtained on the first cohort from Auckland, by the seventh week of the programme, participants there were generally settled with no evidence of notable concerns in their unit behaviour.

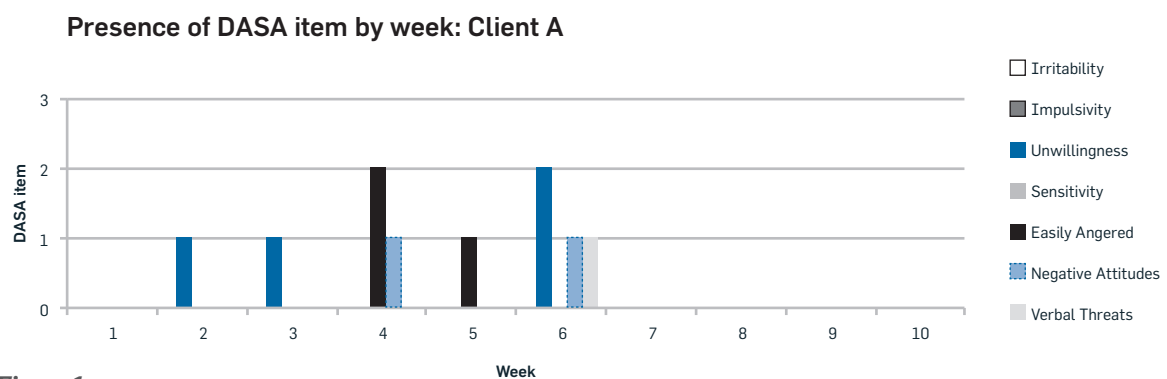


Figure 1.

Presence of individual DASA items by week for Client A

Incidents and misconducts

In an attempt to obtain an objective and independent measure of demonstrable behavioural change, official records of misconducts and incidents (events) were examined for two time-periods: (1) the six months prior to the first contact with HRPP-R programme staff (typically the pre-programme assessment interview); and, (2) the time elapsed since this first contact. As at February 2015, these periods were relatively equivalent for the 18 men who had attended Phase 1 of the programme, with a total of 3,276 days (6 months each) for the pre-programme period and 3,884 days following the first contact with therapy staff (an average of approximately seven months per programme participant).

All recorded misconducts and incidents for each participant were reviewed individually for these periods. When an incident and misconduct referred to the same event, the event was recorded only once as a misconduct, to avoid double-counting. Events were classified by type: 1) violence; 2) property damage; 3) contraband; 4) non-compliance; 5) substance related; 6) other. Violent events included any physical or verbal aggression against another prisoner or staff member, including behaviours such as verbal threats, abusive language, accusation of threats, inciting violence, and spitting.

Table 1 displays the number and type of event across the two time periods. Figures 3 to 5 display aspects of this data visually. Overall there was a 34.4% decrease in the number of events recorded for the HRPP-R participants. Although there were rises in two categories (contraband and non-compliance) these were largely in the 'incident' rather than 'misconduct' category, reflecting behaviours of a lower level of seriousness. One collective event, whereby several programme attendees in Christchurch attempted to bring food back into the unit following their Phase 1 graduation, accounted for five of these incidents.

Of note is the almost 70% reduction in violent events. Looking at violence against staff specifically, this includes a reduction from 14 assaults (4 assaults and 10 violence threats) against staff during the pre-programme phase to no assaults and two threats against staff (an 86% reduction) following first contact. The number of weeks when programme participants were involved in no recorded events more than doubled from four weeks (in the six months pre-programme) to 10 weeks in the six months from initial contact. Similarly the number of weeks with no violence-related events went from nine to 21 weeks in the same time frame. Thus, not only was there an overall reduction in events, the number of 'event free days' more than doubled during the programme period.

Drilling down to individual results for programme participants, for four individuals the rate of events actually increased from the pre-programme to post-first contact period. One man had one extra event but a reduction from one to nil violent events; one went from four to six events with a reduction from one to nil violent events; one went from three to six events but a reduction from one to nil violent events; one went from four to nine events but a reduction in violent events from three to one. All of these men were from the Christchurch programme, perhaps reflecting the greater opportunity to engage in problematic behaviour within the less controlled environment of high security compared with maximum. Although it is gratifying that violent events still declined for each of these men, they still reflect an ongoing management concern and highlight the degree of complexity and difficulty working with such prisoners.

Table 2.

Misconducts and incidents for HRPP-R participants, pre-programme and following first contact.

Description	Misconduct Pre	Incident Pre	Totals Pre	Misconduct Post	Incident Post	Totals Post	Change (totals)
Violence	23	5	28	4	5	9	-67.9%
Property damage	2	4	6	5	1	6	0%
Contraband	10	1	11	10	7	17	+54.6%
Noncompliance	5	1	6	4	3	7	+16.7%
Substance related	7	0	7	3	0	3	-57.1%
Other	2	4	6	0	0	0	-100%
Totals	49	15	64	26	16	42	-34.4%

Misconducts & Incidents by Type

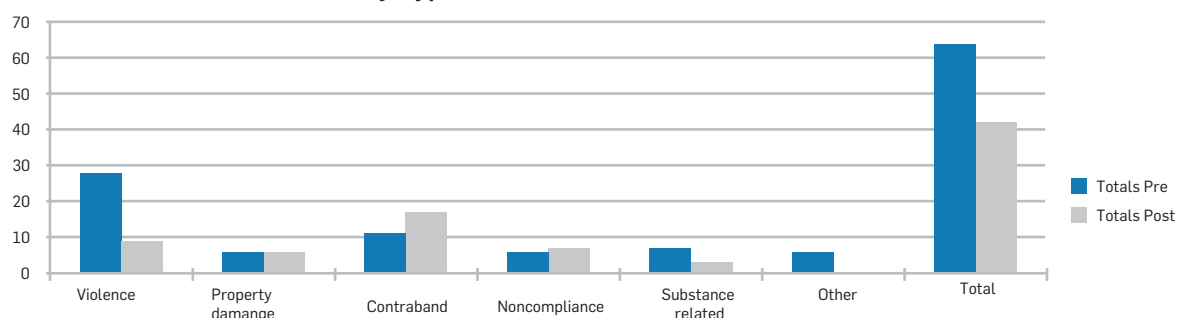


Figure 2.

Summary of Misconducts and Incidents pre-programme and following first programme contact.

Number of Incidents/Misconducts by Week

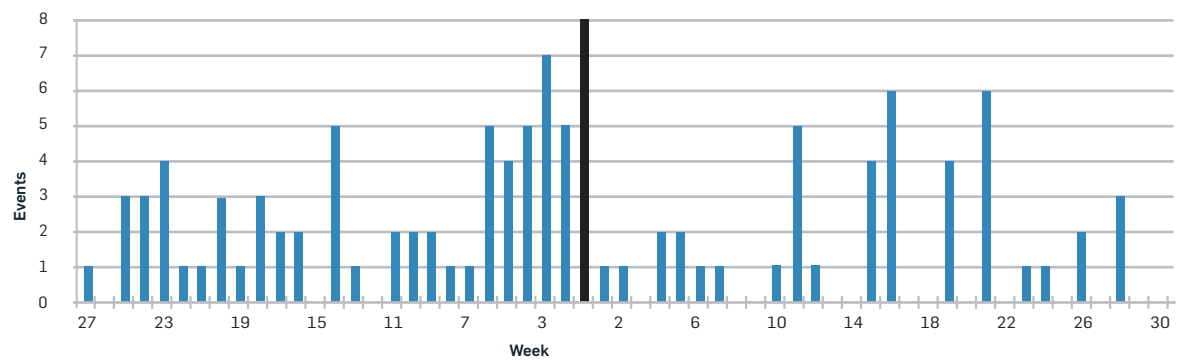


Figure 3.

Misconducts and incidents pre-programme and following first programme contact by week for all participants (red line signifies first contact with programme staff).

Violent Misconducts/Incidents by week

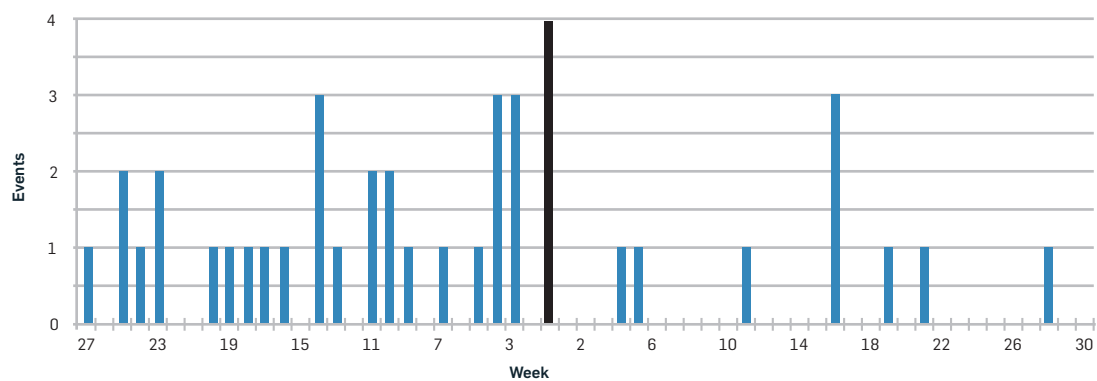


Figure 4.

Violent misconducts and incidents pre-programme and following first programme contact by week for all participants (red line signifies first contact with programme staff).

Supervisory observations

Turning to less objective observations of programme outcome, the authors engaged in weekly clinical supervision of HRPP-R therapists to support the implementation of the programme. None of the following comments should be ascribed to any particular therapist or group participant. However, some general observations are worth reflecting on:

- As expected by virtue of their prison placement and institutional behaviour, programme participants evidenced a high degree of personality pathology in their pre-programme psychological testing results and this was reflected within their behaviour, particularly in – but not confined to – early group stages.
- It is noted in the literature that individuals with similar personality pathology are natural rule breakers/challengers, often with subsequent poor adaptation to high rule or inconsistent rule environments.
- Levels of challenging behaviour – sometimes referred to as ‘storming’ in the group therapy context – were very high in the early weeks of group, with facilitators having to work hard to balance the need to establish clear boundaries to contain inappropriate behaviour but also build trust and a strong therapeutic foundation. For example, participants challenged therapists’ competency, abilities, commitment, boundary setting, and management of personal disclosures (including safety issues).
- During the early stages there were doubts about the ability of many participants to participate effectively in the group environment and their willingness to engage. However, perhaps surprisingly, the persistence and flexibility of all, contributed to no voluntary exits during any of the three Phase 1 groups.
- Although there were similar patterns for many participants in the measurement of their personality pathology (e.g., paranoia, antisociality, reactivity, poor emotional self-regulation, and interpersonal dysfunction) these were often expressed idiosyncratically, with the need to develop individualised management plans for each group participant.
- The weekly individual sessions that sat alongside the group process became useful for participants to ‘debrief’ from the group process, and for therapists to challenge particularly unhelpful behaviours that participants may have been more resistant to addressing in front of their peers. Individual sessions also served to enhance the rapport and speed up the engagement of participants.
- Challenges experienced in the group were moderated differently by the respective physical environments in Auckland and Christchurch prisons. For example, the physical transparent screen between therapists and group members in Auckland Prison resulted in ‘storming’ to be less intense but longer lasting than the open-plan group room in Christchurch. In contrast the screen and more rigid consistent rule-based environment of the maximum security regime in Auckland assisted earlier and more effective boundary setting and group rules than in Christchurch.
- Changes with these groups of men are often limited, gradual and tenuous but also could sometimes be profound. As supervisors at some physical and emotional distance from the respective settings it was notable that, in working with these men on a daily basis, therapists sometimes lost sight of the positive movement in attitude and behaviour compared with the early stages of the programme.
- It is notable that at both prison sites there were examples of participants actively working to support one another through difficult periods of the programme. For example, prison staff in Auckland observed one prisoner was actively encouraged by others on the programme to manage a period of difficult interactions with his partner in a less hostile manner than he had in the past; Auckland participants were observed to assist each other in the completion of homework; Christchurch participants reported actively avoiding gang leaders in their unit leading up to the start of the programme so that they could avoid being instructed not to attend; Christchurch prisoners argued to staff attending the Phase 1 graduation that being housed on the same landing – despite gang differences – would have assisted their engagement and motivation for the programme.

In summary to this point, HRPP-R participants are complex individuals with significant personality issues and histories of difficult behaviour both in and out of prison. Within this context the skill of, and support given to, therapists is critical to the success of the programme and retention of participants. The degree of conflict and challenge for therapists within these groups is very high. The ability to manage this is supported by:

- Selecting therapists who already have experience working with high and complex needs, and correctional clients.
- Therapists attending specialist training in personality pathology and thoroughly integrating this into their everyday assessment and practice.
- Regular supervision containing deliberate components on managing group process and relationships.

- A transparent and consistent frame or model to support supervision and clinical practice. Our experience of implementing the Livesley model – as described above – suggests this was a 'good fit' with the needs of both group members and therapists. This frame also helps therapists to understand and 'depersonalise' the significant and ongoing challenges (including intermittent hostility) experienced in their work with these clients. In particular they are more able to stay more objective, retain realistic expectations about change, make 'safe' therapeutic and ethical decisions, and consequently get through the daily challenges.
- A team approach to managing the HRPP-R programme. This team not only includes facilitators and supervisors but the principal psychologist (to work with custody in identifying and reducing administrative issues and barriers), the prison director (for higher level support and endorsement) and custody staff (to help manage practical day-to-day requirements, objectively observe prisoner behaviour, manage conflict and safety issues in the unit, and support incremental changes in prisoner behaviour).

Placement outcomes

Although relatively early in the scheme of long-term outcomes for programme participants, a key goal is to have participants reduce their security classifications due to improvements in their behaviour, and transition to environments that are able to provide offence-focussed rehabilitation and reintegration. At this early stage and following the Phase 2 groups, several men have reduced their classification and transferred out of the HRPP-R units. At the time of preparing this article three of the Christchurch men have successfully transferred to lower security settings; one was moved but returned to high security, and a further man was in the process of transitioning. In Auckland three men have transitioned out of maximum successfully with a further individual transferring but failing to successfully adjust. Most of the men remaining in high security (both at Auckland and Christchurch) have continued to engage with Phase 2. For the men who did not begin Phase 2 or withdrew, one has returned and the therapists continue to seek ways of maintaining their engagement in the change process through intermittent individual appointments.

In conclusion

The HRPP-R Phase 1 programme was successfully delivered across two very different high security prison settings by Corrections' psychologists following the session material guidelines. The treatment materials and intervention approach appear to match the therapy needs of the HRPP-R participants and to address the anticipated institutional and personality responsiveness issues.

In terms of the therapy goals for Phase 1 of the HRPP – Safety, Engagement, and Containment (of acute emotions) – there is some early evidence that the programme has been successful in addressing these during therapy. These changes should be considered *tentative and limited* at this stage of the programme. However, they provide an indication that the HRPP-R is both able to be run effectively within maximum and high security environments, across different sites, and with some of the most difficult and intransigent prisoners in the country.

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Women's experiences of rehabilitation and re-offending summary of findings

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Introduction

International research has shown that the pathways women take into offending differ in significant ways to those of men. Poverty, peer influences, parental neglect, families with criminal associations and impulsive personality traits are influential factors for both men and women. However, there are also more 'female specific' factors which influence women's entry into crime and continued offending. These include: physical and sexual victimisation; intimate partner relationships with offenders; tension associated with parenting and child custody processes; mental health issues; substance abuse; and financial pressures (Giordano et al., 2006; Kruttschnitt, 2013; Van Voorhis et al., 2010). Therefore some researchers have recommended that women have access to "gender-responsive programming and treatment" to target their needs (Wattanaporn and Holtfreter, 2014).

This research was focused on the narratives of a group of women in New Zealand who have re-offended. It aimed to get a better understanding of what they thought were the important factors driving their re-offending and what approaches to rehabilitative assistance could usefully support their desistance from crime. The study was based on interviews with 54 women, who were:

- currently serving a prison sentence, and
- had served at least one prior custodial or community sentence in the past six years, and
- had previously attended a rehabilitation programme.

Interviews and analysis were carried out by Marianne Bevan and independent research consultant Nan Wehipeihana.

The study specifically targeted women who had previously had a rehabilitative intervention and had gone on to re-offend following this, and were now in prison. This was an innovative way to explore what types or aspects of rehabilitative assistance were

perceived as useful, what the gaps were, and what additional supports are needed to support women's desistance. It was not intended to be an in-depth study on the nature of female offending that is representative of the female offender population in New Zealand. Rather it was a qualitative exploration into the experiences of a relatively small number of women which could provide useful insights into how to make rehabilitation programmes more targeted to the needs of this female offender group.

Results will be used to inform current efforts by the Department of Corrections to develop a female offenders' strategy and improve the support provided to women to desist from crime.

Women's perceptions of the factors influencing their re-offending

Findings from this research suggest that women's re-offending was often the product of situational triggers such as relationship challenges, addictions and substance abuse, economic pressures and limited support. However, the underlying beliefs they held about themselves, their gender roles and their perceived ability to deal with challenges without resorting to crime ('internal' or 'agency' factors) influenced how they responded to these situational stressors and pressures.

'Internal factors': Identity, resilience and agency

Identity: How they saw themselves

International literature on the desistance and persistence of offending shows that people who persist have been unable to distance themselves from their identity as an offender and to conceive of themselves in a pro-social light (Healy, 2013). In this study, the ways that women saw themselves and their future prospects (their identities) were shaped in two ways:

- How they felt about themselves was often influenced by their histories of poverty, trauma and crime; many felt trapped in cycles of offending, and so struggled to move past an *offender identity*.
- Their sense of self was also shaped by their gender identities, including their roles as mothers, daughters and partners. They had a tendency to '*people please*', which meant they prioritised managing relationships and putting others' financial and emotional needs before their own.

These identities created a range of tensions for the women, where meeting relationship responsibilities often took precedence over trying to address their criminogenic needs and desist from crime.

Resilience: How they responded to challenges

As people attempt to desist from crime, they will inevitably be faced with challenges. While the things that 'went wrong' for these women caused varying degrees of frustration and emotional instability, the issues they faced are similar to those faced by other women who do not re-offend. However, the women in the study felt they did not have strategies to withstand these setbacks without resorting to crime. There were two main ways that women described their responses to challenges.

The 'spiral down'

Many of the women described 'spiralling down' or 'snapping' in response to compounding emotional issues related to relationship stress, grief and guilt. For these women, crime resulted from a loss of control or inability to cope in the face of emotional instability or external stressors. This was the case for Amiria*. She had not offended for five years but the trauma from her mother's murder led to a return to a gambling addiction as a coping mechanism, which, in turn, led to theft as a means to fund this addiction:

Things got hard around six months before coming into jail. My mum died, she was murdered. I don't even know my mum. I don't love my mum but I had to bury her by myself and I just went downhill from there, gambling. And I didn't know who to reach out to say f**k help me, I'm going down, sinking and sinking and, yip, it was too late, I did my crimes.

Crime appeared as part of a broader loss of control as she 'sunk' under the weight of feeling unable to manage the emotional fallout of her mother's death.

The 'revert to crime script'

Women in this group described offending as a more conscious choice to return to, or continue, old patterns of offending. In the face of financial and relationship challenges, these women returned to crime because they felt it offered the best, or at times only, option to meet relationship and financial commitments. Crime also met 'emotional needs' for some; the 'thrill' they got from offending could bring a degree of normalcy, stability and distraction when they were experiencing challenges they felt unable to deal with. This was the case for Waimarie**, a woman with a long history of dishonesty offending. She described her stealing as being driven by financial need, and by a feeling of compulsion. After being released from prison and experiencing a range of post release relationship and financial challenges, she attempted suicide. As a way to deal with these feelings, she returned to stealing:

Stealing again made me feel normal, I started feeling myself again ... I know it's all up in your mind and you can just say no but we just get this feeling like an adrenalin rush ... it does make you feel good although there's a lot of times it makes you feel guilty.

Within these narratives, the women revealed conflicting feelings about the extent to which they felt able to desist from crime. Those in the 'spiral down' group *perceived* themselves to have limited control over their re-offending in the face of mounting challenges. Those in the 'revert to script' group described their decisions differently; offending was *perceived* as a rational decision to address economic constraints and relationship commitments, and meet emotional needs. However, this 'choice' was complicated by their feelings of powerlessness, where the perceived absence of other realistic options to meet their needs meant they returned to crime.

'Situational factors'

The women in this study faced a range of setbacks in the period immediately preceding their latest offending. Four main *situational factors* – relationships, economic pressures, addictions and substance abuse, and a lack of support – played out as setbacks or triggers for re-offending:

1. *Relationships* going wrong – with partners, children, and other family members – were often seen as an immediate trigger which led women back to offending. For many, relationships kept women stuck in cycles of offending, for example, through their return to families involved in crime, offending with partners, and offending to provide for family and partners. Relationships also created stress and trauma, for example, from domestic abuse, losing

* All names have been changed.

** All names have been changed.

custody of children and family estrangement which, in turn, became precipitators to re-offending.

2. *Reliance on drugs, alcohol and gambling* played a key role in women's re-offending, albeit in different ways. For some women, substance abuse and addictions were seen as key drivers of their offending if they were stealing, or selling drugs in order to fund drug or gambling addictions, or if they offended while under the influence of alcohol or drugs. Stealing was also seen as an 'addictive' or 'compulsive' activity by some women. For others, substance abuse and addictions were seen to play a less direct role, for example, by contributing to wider instability that together with other pressures culminated in their re-offending.
3. *Economic pressures* were frequently seen as a key trigger for re-offending. These included: financial stressors after release from prison, a desire for things they could not otherwise afford, and difficulties finding meaningful employment with limited job experience and criminal records. However, there were also a range of other factors at play that influenced how they experienced and withstood financial pressures, including addictions, relationship commitments, and their perceived levels of confidence.
4. Women frequently returned to neighbourhoods and networks which facilitated their return to crime and where pro-social *support networks* were not readily available. For some women, even when services were available, their internalised belief that they should be self-reliant and 'solder on' meant they did not seek these out. This meant that they often did not have appropriate support when dealing with financial and emotional stress, and more easily fell back into crime.

Case Study One: Difficult relationships, 'soldiering on' and spiralling down

Rachel* was released from prison after doing a sentence for violence. When she got out, she made some positive changes by starting a course and doing counselling for substance abuse. However she was also spending time with her same drug-using friends, had a tense relationship with her father and described being in a bad relationship. Her mother got sick and she became her main caregiver. She did not have much outside help because she had a tendency not to ask for it and put others' needs before her own: "a lot of the time when things are getting hard for me, if I'm not getting help I don't really reach out and ask

for it. I just suck it in, soldier on and keep going." She was also working and felt stressed. This led her to eventually 'snap' and commit violence: "I don't know, I just jumped in my car and went and ran someone over. It was like build up, build up, and I just snapped." Like other women in this group, Rachel perceived herself as lacking strategies to emotionally overcome compounding situational challenges, and crime became part of a spiral downwards.

Case Study Two: Rent payments, compulsive stealing and 'reverting to script'

Mere** grew up around gangs and had a history of shoplifting. When she was released from prison she wanted to desist but relationship challenges, addictions, economic instability and a lack of pro-social support acted as barriers to this. She previously had a period of not offending when she moved away from her family with her partner, but the relationship became violent and she returned to her old networks. This time, she knew she would be more likely to re-offend if she went back to her family, but her mother was sick. She described herself as 'addicted' to shoplifting. In an attempt to avoid this compulsion, when she was released she started gambling, but then became addicted to this. She had a range of economic stressors, including rent payments and power bills, and didn't know where to go for social welfare. In the face of these setbacks, she reverted to shoplifting:

I'm stuck in that cycle where it's hard to get out or I don't know how to get out because I'm not shown any different way or any other way because I've always been on the same track ... So it was just back to the same old cycle again. I tried to do it better but it didn't work.

Mere's narrative, like many, revealed a sense of powerlessness and inevitability; she felt trapped in historical patterns which started young, and in the face of hurdles, reverted to the patterns she knew.

Women's perceptions of their rehabilitation

Women generally valued having rehabilitation opportunities. Rehabilitation was most useful when multiple needs were identified and targeted simultaneously, and where women were given

* All names have been changed,

** All names have been changed.

the opportunity to build confidence and resilience. The following points summarise approaches to rehabilitation that the women perceived to be useful or potentially useful. Some women had these types of supports and found them helpful. Others had not experienced these but thought they could potentially have helped them to desist from crime if they had been available.

1. Accessing treatment should be a motivating process

Women wanted accessing treatment to be a motivating process: this meant women wanted to be properly consulted by department staff on their needs; wanted to be informed about what programmes were available; wanted to make decisions about the programmes they would do in collaboration with staff; and wanted their progress to be positively acknowledged by staff.

2. Making sense of the past

The women wanted programmes that could help them to understand the underlying drivers of their offending and how their past experiences – including experiences of victimisation and trauma – shaped their current offending behaviours. This could help them take responsibility for their actions.

3. ‘The will and the way’: Identity and resilience

The women wanted programmes that would help them build a positive self-identity, self-esteem and emotional resilience so that they could have confidence in their abilities as well as the ‘tools and techniques’ needed to break cycles of offending. Specifically, programmes and services were valued by those who had them, or perceived as potentially useful, when they:

- Supported women to think more positively about themselves, to value their strengths, and to create a pro-social identity.
- Focused on *people pleasing* behaviour and developing strategies for putting boundaries in place within their relationships. A focus on building women’s capacity to recognise and deal with unhealthy interpersonal relationships and build positive relationships with partners, family and children was important but rarely adequately targeted.
- Built emotional resilience and provided techniques (such as anger management, conflict resolution, and problem-solving skills) to better handle challenges without resorting to AOD use, violence, and other offending.

- Provided employment support by way of practical skills (access to training and job placements in a range of areas, job seeking skills) and built their confidence to seek work, especially if they had a history of unemployment.

4. Emotional support in desistance

The women wanted practical and emotional support in the community after release to help them manage difficulties and cement desistance. Women thought this type of support should involve:

- Immediate post-sentence: support which provides an avenue to talk through financial, relationship and addictions challenges, and develop strategies to deal with them.
- Longer-term: support to build pro-social networks and develop links with service providers in the community, which women can rely on when experiencing challenges or ‘slipping’ later on down the track.

Addressing inter-related needs in an individualised way

Some of the women had received rehabilitation support that had helped them to stop offending for limited periods of time. However, as identified above, there were gaps in the provision of programmes and support services women thought were needed. Even when women had access to useful rehabilitation support, in all cases these women went on to re-offend. To some extent, this is not unexpected as desistance is a process where there are likely to be slip-ups and reversions. Putting in place new patterns where default responses are *not* crime could, therefore, be a long and difficult process for many. While women’s experiences of their rehabilitation showed that programmes or services could be useful in targeting one need (for example, a substance abuse problem), targeting one need in isolation was not considered sufficient to address their multiple, entangled drivers of crime. For example, treatment for addictions and substance abuse issues was often provided in isolation from dealing with other issues that women were experiencing in their lives, which was perceived to limit the treatment’s effectiveness. To summarise, women wanted an ‘individualised’ approach to their rehabilitation that simultaneously addressed inter-related emotional, practical, relationship and substance abuse issues.

Conclusion

Within the context of relationship difficulties, economic pressures, substance abuse issues and a lack of support, many women felt they did not have the capacity to create a different life and remain resilient when confronted with emotional instability. The limited capacity many women felt they had shows the need to ensure that women have the confidence in their abilities and strategies to build healthy relationships, manage addictions, find meaningful employment and seek support.

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Te Kupenga: An approach to working with offending families

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Executive summary

When a couple expressed determination that their grandchildren would not follow them and their parents down an offending path, community probation staff started working intensively with the family to help turn their lives around and prevent further offending.

They used the Whānau Engagement Model (described below) as the basis for their approach to working with the family and created an initiative called Te Kupenga (net of support).

Te Kupenga focuses on collaboration and relationship building to develop and achieve goals. The family was responsible for establishing its own goals and for identifying the people who would support them to achieve those goals. Corrections staff helped with processes to ensure the support was effective. Staff arranged whānau hui (family meetings), audio-visual link (AVL) 'visits' to family members who were in prison, rehabilitation programmes, parole board support, and liaised between family in the community and those in prison.

Early indicators of the success of the work with the family are a reduction in the frequency and seriousness

of offending, as well as attitudinal changes – engagement in pro-social activities, including training and work; better engagement with probation staff and a cessation of alcohol and drugs for those on parole; and a reconnection with their marae.

The approach adopted by Corrections staff for this family could be replicated with other offending families around the country and this article concludes with practical suggestions for how staff might do this.

International literature on offending families

The majority of research on the family dynamics of crime focuses on the inter-generational transmission of crime. This research has shown that due to some combination of genetic and environmental factors, crime often 'runs in families' (Farrington, 2011; Goodwin & Davis, 2011). However, the actual dynamics of how offending families operate, including the circumstances of the families, the types of crimes they commit and with whom, are not well understood. The research that does exist, including two longitudinal studies (the Cambridge Study of Delinquent Development in the UK and the Pittsburgh Youth Study in the US) have identified some common dynamics within offending families (Farrington, 2011). A study by Goodwin (2008) looking at inter-generational offending by six Tasmanian families, found family members started offending at a young age, with the majority being convicted of their first crime between the ages of 13 and 17. In this study, men had higher rates of offending – double the number of females – and male family members were more likely to have served a custodial sentence.

There are mixed results with regard to how people within offending families commit crime and with whom. None of the studies has shown clear evidence of parents actively encouraging children to commit crime, or parents committing crime with children. In the

Cambridge study, fathers with criminal histories often did not approve of their sons' offending (Farrington, 2011) although the Tasmanian study did find that relatives may recruit children into crime (Goodwin, 2008). It is common within offending families for siblings, particularly brothers, to commit crime together (Goodwin, 2008; Farrington, 2011). In situations where families earn their income from criminal activity, getting people out of organised criminal activity is very difficult due to ingrained feelings of family loyalty (Young et al., 2013, p74). However, the Tasmanian study did show evidence of family members who had desisted from crime. While the factors supporting their desistance were difficult to identify, they differed from other family members by doing well at school; getting employment; moving away from extended family; and becoming involved with a supportive non-criminal partner.

Programmes targeting families involved in criminal activities to reduce their offending and prevent following generations offending are of two types: those that aim to prevent children in families with risk factors from starting/continuing offending and those that work with 'high risk' families to reduce the criminal behaviour of all family members. In a review of 24 family-based prevention programmes, Farrington and Welsh (1999) found that many were effective in reducing childhood antisocial behaviour and later delinquency. These included general parent education and more formal parent management training.

The second set of approaches for working with multi-problem families, including offending families, target all members to change the practices of the whole family. From 1996, the UK government implemented a range of projects using a family intervention model to target families exhibiting high rates of anti-social behaviour and criminal activities (Lloyd et al., 2011). Using different methods, these programmes aimed to target the different factors that contribute to Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB) and criminal activity in families. Generally this was done through assigning an individual or team of people to each family to manage their problems and co-ordinate different services. Many of these projects showed some success in reducing criminal behaviour in families (Lloyd et al., 2011; Westminster City Council, 2010).

While many of these projects appear to have had some success with 'multi-problem' families, it is unclear how effective they would be in targeting families that have serious criminal involvement. Goodwin and Davis (2011) suggested that preventative programmes such as the Intensive Supervision Program (ISP) in Western Australia and the Family Independence Program (FIP) in Queensland, may be useful for offending families. However, they acknowledge that there are likely to be challenges encouraging offending families to engage and to be motivated to change, especially given that

many of them are likely to have a high level of mistrust of police and social workers. Confirming this, an evaluation of the FIP found that it had limited success in engaging families who had the greatest need and were most likely to benefit from intervention (Standing Council on Law and Justice, 2013). Similarly, the Family Intervention Projects in the UK were not necessarily targeting families with more than one member who had criminal histories. Therefore it is not clear from the evaluations of these projects what approaches and combinations of supports could be useful when working with families affected by entrenched criminality.

The Whānau Engagement Model

The Whānau Engagement Model is an approach to working with Māori offenders that integrates Māori cultural concepts, principles and practice with the design and implementation of the probation practice framework. The model focuses on collaboration and relationship-building to identify and achieve goals.

The model has three stages:

- Whakapiri – engaging and identifying goals
- Whakamārama – knowledge and progressing goals
- Whakamana – empowerment and achieving goals.

It is underpinned by manaakitanga (acknowledging and caring about the people) and whānauatanga (establishing relationships and connections) and emphasises the value of staff working with integrity, honesty and respect.

The family

There are ten core whānau members, including grandfather, grandmother and eight adult children – five males and three females. All ten have offended and only the youngest son has not spent time in prison. Six of the children are currently in relationships, and all but one of these partners has a criminal history. The whānau (including partners) has a total of 561 criminal convictions between them. There are 16 grandchildren ranging in age between two and 16, who have been brought up with exposure to this offending.

The grandfather started his offending at the age of 14 and his offences have related to driving, alcohol and drugs, violence, robbery, and fisheries. He was a Black Power member but handed his patch back over 10 years ago. His exit from the gang was not straightforward, being accompanied (as he described it) by a loss of income, decrease in his mana and a loss of his sense of belonging. His last sentence was intensive supervision for offences under the Fisheries Act and obstructing fisheries officers. He was also ordered to come up for sentence if called upon for disorderly behaviour in mid-2013 and was convicted and fined for being an unlicensed driver at the end of 2013.

The grandmother recently completed a home detention sentence for drug-related offending. She started her offending at the age of 16 and has convictions for assault, shoplifting, other theft, and threatening behaviour. Her most recent offending, in late-2014, was for speaking threateningly, for which she was ordered to come up for sentence if called upon. She had a long affiliation with Black Power, with two previous partners also gang-affiliated.

While the grandparents are still in a relationship, they live in separate houses. This enables them to maintain a relationship while avoiding violence towards each other – when one asks the other to leave they are able to do so.

The three daughters, two of the sons and the partner of one of the daughters were sentenced to terms exceeding two years' imprisonment after a violent home invasion against the ex-partner of one of the daughters.

The eldest and third-eldest sons (the younger of the two was also involved in the assault) were co-offenders with their mother in dealing cannabis, and received jail terms for these and other offences. One son is a patched member of Black Power and the family of the partner of one is also extensively involved with the gang.

All of the children involved in the home invasion have now been released from prison, as has the son involved in the drug/other offending. Two of the daughters are on parole and one has recently completed parole. Two of the sons are on parole – one is completing a residential drug and alcohol course on parole – and one is on release on conditions in the community.

The youngest son, who is 17, completed a youth justice supervision with activity order after a conviction for robbery and assault, and currently has an active charge for common assault.

Another son is estranged from the family. However, his probation officer has discussed with him the possibility of reconnecting with them, although this has not happened. He has been convicted multiple times, mainly for burglary offences.

Support provided under Te Kupenga

Corrections staff recognised the strength of the relationships between the whānau members, given they were frequently co-offenders in their criminal activities, and sought to turn this into a positive. They began working with the family under Te Kupenga.

The objectives of Te Kupenga are to:

- work intensively with whānau members to reduce re-offending
- reduce long term welfare dependence (all whānau members have been long-term welfare recipients)

- provide greater opportunities to learn or enhance employment skills through training and on-going support
- support the vulnerable children from the whānau to limit the adverse effects of being exposed to anti-social lifestyles
- establish a culturally responsive and strengths-based practice approach, and generally work in a holistic and whānau-centric way with these offenders.

The following describes the main elements of the approach by which staff have worked with the family.

Prison visits

Staff recognised that developing and maintaining trust with the family was going to be key to establishing a working relationship under Te Kupenga. To promote engagement, they arranged for family members who were living in the community to 'visit' by AVL the family members who were incarcerated. This was appreciated because their offending histories meant that they would not otherwise have been approved as visitors. Making arrangements for this to happen established the commitment of staff to assisting the family.

A support person, who is working with the family, has also visited all the members in prison, embodying the cultural principle of *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face-to-face contact). This support person was, like the grandfather, a member of Black Power but handed back his patch to live an offence-free life. He assists family members to resolve day-to-day issues.

Whānau hui

Staff collaborated with the family to arrange the first of many whānau hui on the family's marae. The hui were established to provide a framework for open and safe discussions, where conflict is seen as normal but is guided by tikanga Māori principles. Kaumatua (elders) from the marae were involved. The goal was to demonstrate to the family that there are alternative, pro-social ways of achieving what they want.

Other attendees at the hui included whānau members identified by the family who would be interested in supporting them to change. Although some of the people who were invited had criminal records, staff recognised that the family should determine who should attend, as eventually Corrections involvement would cease and the family needed continuing support from people they trusted.

These whānau hui are now held regularly – roughly monthly. They vary in length depending on the issues to be discussed. Topics brought to the hui include compliance with current community sentences, as well as practical issues. For example, one of the partners,

who has sole care of their young child, did not have access to a washing machine. A whānau member made contact through this process and offered him a washing machine.

Iwi liaison officers from New Zealand Police have attended the hui after the family complained that they were being unfairly targeted by the local police. The whānau now contact the iwi liaison officer rather than reacting in a hostile manner in their interactions with Police officers.

A Child, Youth and Family (CYF) social worker has also attended the whānau hui, reflecting the youngest sibling's involvement with youth justice.

A Whānau Ora collective has also attended a hui. Pathways have been completed for the six siblings involved in the violent assault, and discussions are occurring about support for them in the community.

Attending Parole Board Hearings

Another way in which Corrections staff provide support is by attending Parole Board hearings when any of the family members are being considered for release. A whānau hui is held before each hearing to identify the risks that might arise were the family member to be released, and how those risks could be managed. At the Board hearings, staff describe their work with the family through Te Kupenga, and propose strategies for minimising risk. Te Kupenga support processes have been written into release plans and the Board is able to ask questions and assess the robustness of these plans.

Programmes

A five-day tikanga programme "Dynamics of Whānaungatanga" was organised for the family by the Corrections team. This was run simultaneously via AVL at the various prisons where family members were incarcerated and at the local probation service centre. Seventeen people, including some partners, participated.

Dynamics of Whānaungatanga is intended to provide a framework for the whānau to operate under in the future. The programme is based on a Māori system of values, concepts and models. It is intended to improve:

- Personal wellbeing and authority by which roles are exercised and goals achieved
- Integrity, respect and compassion that guide decisions and responses to others
- Personal and professional relationships and interactions with all people.

The programme was chosen for this whānau as it originated and is well-known and supported in the area in which they live.

Following the first Dynamics of Whānaungatanga, which introduced the programme's concepts, a second session was held during which the whānau developed their strategic plan. Corrections is currently running monthly Dynamics of Whānaungatanga maintenance sessions to facilitate the implementation of this plan. At these sessions whānau members discuss 'real life' situations and challenges and how they have dealt with them utilising the strategies that they have learnt. The whānau compares how they would have dealt with issues in the past with how they deal with things now and, in doing so, have exhibited significant behavioural change.

Other programmes completed by individual members include Kowhiritanga and the Māori therapeutic programme Mauri Tu Pae.

Mentors are working with one of the women, and they have recently started an exercise programme together. Reclaim Another Woman (RAW), founded by fashion designer Annah Stretton, is providing support to the mentors, as are probation staff. RAW pairs women who want to leave behind violent and gang lifestyles with mentors who support them with their journey. The mentors are from completely different backgrounds from the women they are supporting and expose them to different environments.

Other community groups are also working with the women. One has a skill and interest in raranga (weaving) and is attending classes regularly. The classes are held at a very active community-based marae, which has strong pro-social Māori role models, particularly strong Māori women. Her similarly talented sister is also planning to attend these sessions. The marae provides other activities which the women could attend.

Liaison with the family

Corrections staff also support the family by keeping them up-to-date with developments in other family members' circumstances. This liaison is based on transparency and trust; no promises are made and if it is not possible to achieve particular outcomes, this is communicated to the whānau in a respectful but direct manner to ensure that the relationship is able to be maintained. The relationship is built on manaakitanga and whānaungatanga.

For example, staff had to tell the whānau that one of the males was being returned to custody after he was accused of further offending while he was on parole. Although family members were angry over this move, they appreciated being advised directly, and remained committed to Te Kupenga.

In another example, it became evident that one of the sons was violent towards his partner, and the whānau

determined that he should not be released until he had changed his behaviour. Corrections staff had to pass on that message to the prisoner. Again this was done *kanohi ki te kanohi* to the offender.

Early indications of the effectiveness of engagement with the family

Given the family's lengthy criminal history, with violence, alcohol and drugs a significant influence on their chaotic lives, their desistance from crime is likely to be a slow process. However, there are early indications of success, and evidence of motivation to live law-abiding lives.

The offending of family members has reduced in terms of seriousness and frequency.

The attitude of family members has changed. They are engaging in pro-social activities including education, training and employment, after long-term benefit dependency. The grandfather is now gainfully employed after years on a benefit or doing intermittent casual work. One of the daughters has recently completed a carpentry course and is planning on doing a hairdressing course.

Family members on parole are dealing with Corrections staff honestly and openly, in contrast to their previous dishonest and manipulative behaviour. They are abstaining from alcohol and drugs.

The family are enthusiastically taking part in rehabilitation programmes. The children's partners have also become involved with Te Kupenga and have sought help for issues. As noted above, several attended the tikanga programme.

Replicating the approach elsewhere

If Community Corrections staff are aware of families in their communities who would benefit from a similar approach to that used for this whānau, there are some principles that would aid the process. Importantly, teams need to consider whether they are able to resource the work, and whether they can realistically commit to doing so for the time needed, which is likely to be years rather than months.

Another challenge is how the principal Te Kupenga practitioners involve other staff who will have contact with the family. In this case, although there were three key staff, numerous other staff had roles to play, including case managers, probation officers and kaitiaki. It was important to keep people who had responsibilities with whānau members aware of Te Kupenga and the objectives of the whole whānau without interfering in individual sentence requirements.

In selecting families who would benefit from participation in such a programme, it is critical to identify people who will be motivated to work with Corrections staff to address problems themselves. Whānau members need to take responsibility for their futures and to determine their own priorities. They also need to decide who will support them in making the changes they wish to make, and how they will go about doing that. The role of Corrections staff is to assist them by facilitating the delivery of services and other support. Developing and maintaining a relationship with the whānau is extremely important. Staff have to earn the trust of the whānau by demonstrating their commitment to helping, and by showing integrity – following through on things they say they will do. Staff need also to command respect by being honest, even when this requires them to deliver unpalatable information.

Whānau hui appear to be an important way of connecting Māori families to supporters (natural helpers who are found within all extended whānau groups) who will help support a pro-social life. They provide a forum for discussing issues around offenders' reintegration as well as offering an opportunity to model pro-social behaviour. Whānau flourish when they practice whānaungatanga and are able to foster positive intergenerational transfers. In addition there is value in exploring whakapapa to establish links to marae/hapu and iwi – whānau will flourish when they are strengthened by a distinctive heritage.

Community Corrections staff can provide practical support, such as presenting well-developed and thought-through release plans to the Parole Board, arranging for programme participation, assisting with finding accommodation, and referral to training or employment.

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Public protection orders – Managing the most dangerous offenders under a civil regime

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Introduction

New Zealand has experienced success in recent years with overall crime rates dropping to a 30 year low in 2013/14. While this is a significant achievement for the justice and social sector, there are still areas where public safety can be improved. One of the most important and challenging areas is the ability to protect New Zealanders from a small group of individuals who pose the greatest risk to public safety. While this small and unique subgroup of offenders has a limited impact on the overall landscape of crime in New Zealand, and the approximate 350,000 offences recorded every year, the potential harm these offenders could cause would have a significant and long-lasting impact. There is a need to continue to protect the public from near-certain serious harm where an offender still poses an undue risk on release from prison. The introduction of public protection orders (PPOs) in late 2014 made inroads to address this area – providing Corrections with a unique tool to manage serious sexual and violent offenders in a separate civil facility on prison grounds after completing a finite prison sentence.

Problem definition

Despite serving finite prison terms and having the opportunity to participate in rehabilitative programmes, a small number of dangerous offenders will be highly likely to re-offend once they have been released from custody. Existing measures such as extended supervision orders and preventive detention enable some offenders to be closely monitored and recalled to prison if necessary to respond to their level of risk. However, these arrangements are not always adequate to protect the public from the most dangerous offenders with bespoke management needs. Specifically, a further measure was needed to protect the public that could be imposed towards the end of a finite sentence if preventive detention was not considered to be appropriate at the time of sentencing.

The near-certain risk of imminent serious harm served as a compelling rationale for a new measure to detain the most dangerous individuals in a secure civil facility until they no longer pose a serious threat to public safety.

Comparable jurisdictions, such as the United States, Canada, and Australia, also recognise that there will inevitably be a small number of dangerous offenders who are highly likely to re-offend after serving a finite sentence. The most common approach used internationally to protect the public from these offenders is the use of indeterminate sentences (equivalent to that of New Zealand's preventive detention), or extensions to finite sentences, which are imposed at the time of sentencing. These measures are used even by the more progressive jurisdictions. For example, Norway has a maximum sentence of 21 years for most crimes, which can be extended for five years at a time if deemed warranted due to the continued threat to society.

In New Zealand, preventive detention is imposed by the High Court at sentencing if satisfied that the offender is likely to commit another serious sexual or violent offence if released at the end of a finite sentence. The United Nations Human Rights Council and European Court of Human Rights have determined that this does not breach international human rights obligations. Establishing this at the time of sentencing means that further measures are not imposed retrospectively, and prevents human rights issues of double jeopardy. However, it is not always possible to determine an offender's future level of risk at the time of sentencing, considering the potential positive behavioural progress an offender may make during their time in prison. Extending the use of indeterminate sentences may also not be a desirable or proportionate response to offending as part of overall sentencing practice.

If an offender does not receive an indeterminate sentence, the alternative option is to impose an order at the end of a finite sentence if they continue to pose a high risk of serious re-offending. Because the order is imposed at the end of the sentence, there are wider human rights aspects to be considered in order to be consistent with New Zealand's Bill of Rights Act and international obligations. In particular, there are issues relating to double jeopardy and the unfairness of imposing measures retrospectively. This saw the development of PPOs as a civil order, rather than a criminal punishment, to ensure that individual rights are upheld as far as possible while reducing the risk of serious violent and sexual harm to the public. The introduction of PPOs is a unique move for New Zealand, with limited comparable models internationally.

Eligibility for PPOs

The Department of Corrections can only apply for a PPO for individuals who have previously been convicted of a serious sexual or violent offence, and are still serving a finite sentence. The assessment process to consider whether an individual meets the high threshold to be detained in the residence is robust. In assessing an individual's level of risk, at least two reports must be undertaken by separate psychologists to determine whether an individual meets the threshold. An advisory panel (consisting of Corrections, Police, and Child, Youth and Family staff) then considers this risk assessment and whether to recommend for the Chief Executive of Corrections to make an application to the Court for an order in the interests of public safety.

A High Court judge will make the ultimate decision whether to impose a PPO if he/she is satisfied that the individual presents a high risk of imminent and serious sexual or violent offending if released from prison or, in any other case, left unsupervised. This test is higher than the test for preventive detention. In particular, the individual must exhibit the following characteristics to a high level:

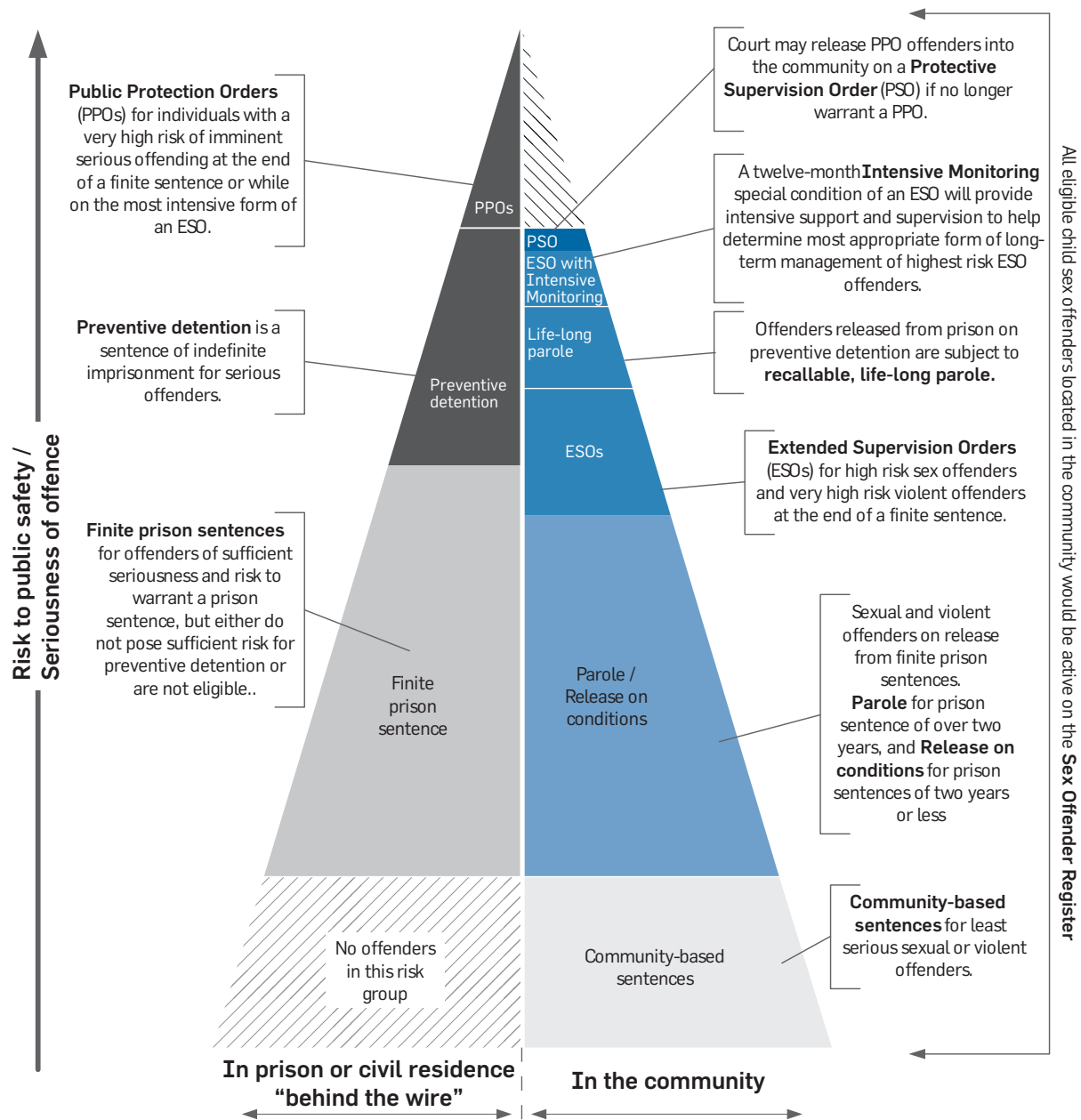
- an intense drive or urge to enact the particular form of offending
- very poor self-regulatory capacity, evidenced by general impulsiveness, high emotional reactivity, and inability to cope with or manage stress and difficulties
- absence of understanding and concern for the impacts of their offending on actual or potential victims
- poor interpersonal relationships and/or social isolation.

Due to the high risk threshold examined through extensive psychological assessments, only a very small number of people are likely to be subject to PPOs, estimated at between 5 – 12 every 10 years. There is a high legal test for an order to be imposed, requiring that a person must pose a very high risk of imminent and serious sexual or violent offending after serving a finite sentence. Without this high threshold, continuing to detain someone after serving a finite sentence would amount to arbitrary detention. All offenders subject to a PPO will have either had, or been offered, comprehensive treatment during their time in prison and demonstrated little or no progress through rehabilitative programmes. It is expected that the majority will be child sex offenders, with a small number of adult sex offenders and other violent offenders who may also meet the criteria. Offenders who do not pose an imminent risk of re-offending and do not meet the high threshold for a PPO may be managed in the community on an extended supervision order. A breakdown of where PPOs fit in the hierarchy of sentences and orders available to manage offenders is illustrated in the figure opposite:

Managing the most dangerous offenders under a civil regime

A defining feature that makes PPOs particularly unique is that they are civil detention orders, rather than criminal punishments where an individual is detained in a custodial environment. Civil detention orders are already used as part of other regimes to protect the community where there is an undue risk of harm that needs to be managed. These include detaining people who have mental health or intellectual disability issues that make them a danger to others or themselves, or in rare cases for individuals with a highly contagious disease. The particular challenge faced in developing the PPO regime was the need to create a civil environment that protected the public from the most dangerous offenders who pose an imminent risk of serious re-offending in a way that adequately upholds individual rights and freedoms.

The core purpose of PPOs is to protect the community from almost certain future harm posed by the most dangerous offenders, rather than to impose a further punishment after serving a finite sentence. To legitimately achieve this and to avoid a form of double jeopardy, individuals subject to PPOs will be detained in a civil facility rather than in prison and be entitled to the same rights as ordinary citizens and provided with as much autonomy as possible without endangering others, themselves, or the orderly functioning of the residence. Any limits on an individual's rights will be justified by the danger posed to the public if they were not able to be managed securely.



To achieve a civil environment, the PPO residence will be separate from the existing prison and have its own secure perimeter fence. Residents will live in individual units, which will resemble a basic home rather than an institution or prison cell. There will also be communal areas, such as kitchen and laundry facilities, visiting and interview areas, and indoor and outdoor recreational areas where individuals will have freedom to choose how to structure their daily activities.

To ensure that the rights of residents are upheld in accordance with a civil regime, there are important safeguards to ensure that they are only detained for as long as their level of risk to public safety warrants it, and that their rights are upheld during their detainment. Each individual case is regularly reviewed to consider whether the continuation of a PPO is warranted relative to the individual's level of risk to public safety. An independent review panel (similar to the New Zealand Parole Board) is required to conduct annual reviews of every PPO, and can direct the High Court to review the continued justification of the order. The High Court must also conduct its own review of every PPO once every five years. Individuals who are subject to a PPO also have the right to apply for a court review of their order at any time.

If the Court considers that a resident no longer meets the high threshold for a PPO, they will be released and placed under a protective supervision order involving community supervision (similar in practice to an extended supervision order with intensive monitoring). Protective supervision orders will also be reviewed regularly or on application to the High Court, with the possibility of this order being cancelled after five years.

In addition to regular reviews, independent inspectors will oversee the operation of the PPO residence to ensure that residents' rights are upheld and that their accommodation and management reflects their status as detainees under a civil detention environment. Inspectors are required to make regular visits to inspect the facilities, conduct investigations into alleged breaches of rights and deal with complaints. Certain office holders also have the right to visit and examine the residence and residents, including the Ombudsman and the Privacy Commissioner.

Conclusion

The civil regime of PPOs has been developed to appropriately balance the right of New Zealanders to be free from almost certain serious harm, with the rights of offenders who have completed a finite sentence. This has been a unique approach for New Zealand to address this issue through measures other than increasing the use of indeterminate sentencing, and overall provides a considered regime with greater rights and freedoms for offenders in comparison to spending increased time in a custodial environment.



Co-morbidity research – Part one

Jill Bowman

Principal Research Adviser, Department of Corrections

Author biography:

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 desistance, employment outcomes of released prisoners, how probation officers work with offenders and the needs of female offenders. As well as working for Corrections, she volunteers at Arohata Prison, teaching quilting to the women in the Drug Treatment Unit.

Introduction

A study conducted in New Zealand prisons in 1999 showed that up to 70 percent of prisoners have drug and/or alcohol problems, and a significant proportion have various mental health issues. However, that research didn't consider the co-existence of mental health issues and drug/alcohol problems.

Overseas studies have identified significant rates of dual diagnosis, that is, the co-existence of substance misuse and mental health problems. A 2009 report in the United Kingdom suggested that dual diagnosis of prisoners should be the norm. However, it is acknowledged that dual diagnosis can be difficult, as the symptoms related to drug use and those related to mental health disorders can be confused. In addition, the symptoms related to drug taking or mental health disorders may combine and reinforce each other when they appear, making it difficult to distinguish between the two.

In 2014, Corrections successfully applied for funds from the Government's Proceeds of Crime allocation under the Methamphetamine Action Plan to conduct a study into the prevalence of co-morbid mental health and substance abuse issues amongst prisoners. Offenders are screened for drug and alcohol issues and mental health problems on reception to prison but, if problems are indicated, further assessments are conducted separately and the conditions are treated in parallel or serially.

Identifying the actual extent and range of co-existing substance misuse and mental illness would enable the department to review and improve its screening, assessment and referral processes, and to make changes to treatment options as appropriate. This would ensure optimal treatment is provided to prisoners in response to their need, and that co-morbid substance abuse and mental health issues could be addressed in a more effective and integrated way.

Although the department already achieves success with its drug treatment programmes, integrated treatment of substance abuse and mental health disorders has the potential to further lower re-offending rates.

The study

The Department contracted two specialist providers to assist with the study. National Research Bureau Limited (NRB) interviewed the prisoners about their substance abuse and mental health history, and Craig Gear and Associates (CGA) is analysing the data and producing the final report.

Interviews commenced in March 2015 after the study had obtained ethics approval from the Health and Disability Ethics Committee.

Over 1,200 newly sentenced prisoners, who were aged 18 years or older and who were proficient in English, were interviewed for the research. This number provided a mix of males/females, age groups, ethnicities, offence types, sentence length, and repeat/first time offenders, enabling the results to be generalised to produce a comprehensive picture of co-morbid drug/alcohol and mental health issues across the entire New Zealand prisoner population. Although the preference was to interview prisoners who had been on sentence for less than one month, those who had been on sentence for between one and three months or who were remand convicted were also interviewed, if insufficient numbers of newly sentenced prisoners were available.

Initially prisoners for interview were drawn from ten prisons:

- Auckland Region Women's Corrections Facility
- Auckland Prison
- Waikeria Prison
- Spring Hill Corrections Facility
- Hawke's Bay Regional Prison
- Wanganui Prison
- Rimutaka Prison
- Christchurch Women's Prison
- Christchurch Men's Prison
- Otago Corrections Facility.

However, Invercargill Prison and Manawatu Prison were added in May, and Mt Eden Corrections Facility

was included in June, when it became apparent that it would take longer than scheduled to interview the desired numbers of prisoners.

The study used two diagnostic tools, the World Health Organization World Mental Health Composite International Diagnostic Interview (WHO WMH-CIDI version 3.0) and the Personality Diagnostic Questionnaire-4+ (PDQ-4+). The latter was administered in lieu of the Personality Disorder module of the CIDI. Both tools are administered via the computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) technique.

The CIDI was used in the 1999 New Zealand study and has also been used in prison populations in other countries, including Australia.

The CIDI is constructed in modules, each of which addresses a mental health disorder. The modules included for this study were:

- Screening
- Depression
- Mania
- Panic disorder
- Generalised anxiety disorder
- Suicide
- Services
- Alcohol use
- Illegal substance use
- Post-traumatic stress disorder
- 30-day symptoms
- Eating disorders
- Psychosis
- Demographics.

During a three-day course, NRB interviewers were trained in the use of the CIDI by WHO-authorised trainers from the University of Tasmania, Australia. Trainers were trained on a fourth day so that they could educate additional interviewers as required.

Each prison identified staff to liaise with the interviewers, organise interview rooms, and to arrange for prisoners to be invited to take part in the study. Each prison was provided with a list of prisoners who were eligible for the study every week, and Corrections staff approached these prisoners and asked them to take part in a health survey. Prisoners were able to decline to participate at this stage (and at any subsequent time during the process). Those who agreed were taken to an interview room where they met the interviewer who explained the study to them. As well as providing information verbally, the interviewers gave the prisoners an information sheet on the research. Prisoners could take this background information away with them to consider further before they consented (or declined) to participate if they wished. Prisoners who agreed to take part in the study signed a consent form, after it had been discussed with them.

Interviews generally took between two and three hours to complete. Occasionally, because of prison routines, an interview could not be completed in one session and had to be resumed at a later time. While Corrections

staff escorted prisoners to and from interviews, they did not sit in on the interviews.

Interviewers read questions aloud to prisoners and their answers were recorded on laptops. Cue cards were associated with some questions, and these were shown to prisoners to help them answer.

At the end of each interview, participants were advised to make known to the interviewer or to prison staff if they felt upset by the experience. Interviewers who believed the interview had caused distress to any prisoners also advised Corrections staff so they could be given appropriate support and follow-up.

Interviews were completed in mid-July. In total, 1,368 of the 1,557 prisoners who met the interviewer and had the research explained to them, agreed to take part in the study. However, not all of those completed the interviews.

All information from the interviews was aggregated and anonymised before it was sent to CGA for analysis. Corrections provided demographic and offending information to complement the interview data. This included age, gender, ethnicity, prison status at date of interview, index offence, number of previous custodial sentences, age at first custodial sentence, time spent in prison and, for other than remand convicted offenders, commencement date for this sentence and sentence length.

Results of the study

The results of the interviews are currently being analysed and a final report is being prepared. The report will provide information on the prevalence of mental disorders, anxiety disorders, mood disorders and substance disorders, as well as the co-existence of these disorders. Results will be disaggregated by age, sex and ethnicity, as well as other features to provide detailed information on the health of different population groups. In addition, a comparison will be made with the results from the 2006 New Zealand Mental Health Survey to provide a picture of the health of prisoners against that of the general population.

Part two of this article, which will cover the results of the study, will be reported in the next edition of the Practice Journal.

Conclusion

Understanding the current extent of mental health and drug and alcohol problems amongst New Zealand prisoners is a critical first step in Corrections being able to support them with appropriate treatment and other services. This study has generated extensive information that will enable Corrections to design and deliver integrated and effective treatment to meet the needs of prisoners with particular health issues.



What does it mean when Corrections says we will place the victim at the centre of our concerns in the family violence context?

Julie Sach

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Rachel Smith

Lead Coordinator Family Violence Death Review Committee, Health Quality & Safety Commission*

Author biographies:

Julie has worked in the family violence field for over 20 years in both the government and NGO sectors. She has been involved in victim support and restorative justice and brings a victim perspective to her work with offenders. Her Masters of Counselling thesis was about understanding the gendered nature of family violence in programme design for women who commit acts of violence. She has been part of the design team and a trainer for the family violence training rolled out nationally over the last three years in Corrections.

Rachel has worked in the family violence sector across local government, health and the voluntary sector in the UK and New Zealand. She has a Masters of Science in Human Rights from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

There is widespread appreciation that family violence is a 'wicked' problem.** The Family Violence Death Review Committee (FVDR) death reviews suggest that this appreciation has not yet translated into frontline practice with women and children experiencing abuse. Instead, the everyday practice responses in New Zealand continue to be fragmented, siloed, simple in design and therefore often unsafe. The development of a person and whānau-centred integrated response is needed to effectively address the reality of people's lives and reconfigure the current complex system of service provision (Herbert and Mackenzie, 2014). To enable such reforms a collective shift in mindset is necessary. This article focuses on how the Department of Corrections (Corrections) can enable safer responses.

Family violence practice in Corrections has developed considerably in the past decade, but there is still work to be done, as New Zealand society continues to experience violence at unacceptable levels. Corrections has made a commitment to place victims at the centre of our concern, but what does this really mean in the complex landscape of family violence? This article offers some reflections that may assist practitioners to consider how their thinking about family violence

may be contributing to helpful or unhelpful responses to victims. It is our hope that these questions be used in reflective practice sessions to help Corrections staff make considered, defensible decisions that contribute to the ongoing safety of victims.

It means undertaking purposeful seeking of information as an analytic, not administrative, activity

To keep victims safe we need to seek comprehensive information to fully understand the family or whānau's past and current life. Corrections staff need key information held by other agencies as this may considerably change our response to a situation, if we know it. Therefore, the quality of our information-seeking needs attention.

Corrections staff need to firstly understand *why* they are seeking information; it needs to be a purposeful activity. For example, when we seek information from Child, Youth and Family as part of home detention inquiries, we must consider the whole situation, eg: Is this address suitable for home detention? What would be the impact on the partner or children of having this offender on home detention at this address? All information received then needs to be analysed (as it can sometimes be contradictory) so the practitioners can come to a view about the meaning, and decide how to proceed. This is a complex analytic activity.

1 This material has been derived from the death reviews conducted on behalf of the Family Violence Death Review Committee <http://www.hqsc.govt.nz/our-programmes/mrc/fvdr/about-us/members/>

** A problem that is both complex and resists resolution.

It means holding perpetrators, not victims, accountable for the violence

There is often a tendency to focus on the actions of the victim – what they were doing, or should have been doing, how they responded, what they were thinking, or not thinking, what safety steps they are taking. When we do this it is easy to fall into the trap of laying the blame for the violence with the victim. We must always ensure our practice leaves the accountability for violence with the perpetrator. We need to learn to ask different questions, ones that focus on making perpetrators' violence visible, and ask what practitioners are doing to mitigate the risks they pose to their partners and children (Wilson et al., 2015).

Victims resist violence and abuse, but their resistance is unlikely to stop the violence. Corrections is uniquely placed as one of the few agencies that has the mandate to engage with perpetrators to motivate and engage them in change. However, when perpetrators refuse to engage or are non-compliant with orders of the Court, it is vital that the Criminal Justice system responds with speed to ensure there is a consequence. Research suggests that timely responses that engage offenders in interventions can have a significant impact on outcomes (Gondolf, 2002 and 2012).

Corrections staff can also help to mitigate risk of harm to past, current and future victims by using restrictive elements of sentences and orders. This includes controls over living arrangements, addresses, movement and contact with others. However, caution should be exercised when these are being considered, as without reference to a victim such restrictions can heighten victims' risk of harm. Reflective practice is vital to work through these complex dynamics and to assess the possibility of harm. For example, the needs and perspectives of the victim are important when considering non-association orders.

It means ensuring the victim's context is understood fully and their voice is heard

File reviews in the context of family violence are critical if we are to understand family violence as a pattern of behaviour that is perpetrated across relationships. There is danger in locating the violence in a relationship – assuming that once that 'volatile' relationship has ended so has the violence. If we keep attaching the violence to the relationship and not the person this is dangerous for future victims.

We need to base our decisions on all available information. The previous convictions list alone is insufficient to give the worker a full appreciation of the level of risk a violent perpetrator may present. In recognition of this gap, the Ministry of Justice has piloted a report which provides judges making bail decisions with the defendant's Police family violence

history.* Furthermore, the criminal justice process often reduces charges to gain guilty pleas, so that a Male Assaults Female charge can hide within events like a non-fatal strangulation. Charges like Wilful Damage can hide any relationship that may be present between a victim and an offender. The Summary of Facts is a very useful starting point to understand the context of the offending and can inform risk scenarios when formulating a risk assessment. It is important to remember that reported and convicted offending is generally the tip of the iceberg.

In order to avoid an over-reliance on what the perpetrator has to say about the situation, safe practice involves verifying information from other sources, including gaining a victim's perspective. Other agencies who work with victims may agree to act as a third-party go-between so that her views can at least be canvassed. Sometimes contacting the victim is inappropriate – mostly this is when such contact would further endanger her safety. At these times other agencies can assist a practitioner to find out more about her world – for example, we can access victim impact statements through Police.

It means understanding and responding to risk in the family violence context

Corrections staff have both static (RoC RoI) and dynamic (DRAOR, SDAC-21) risk assessment tools to assist in their work. It is critical for practitioners to know and understand their risk assessment tools, what they specifically assess, and their limitations or gaps. For example, 'family violence only' offenders generally score as low risk using the RoC RoI static assessment, but this is not a tool that is designed to assess risk to a particular Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) victim. While not specifically a family violence risk assessment tool, DRAOR places significant focus on factors pertinent to harm and imminence of harm in family violence offending. Acute factors like Anger/Hostility, Opportunity Access to Victims, Substance Abuse, Negative Mood, Interpersonal Relationships and Living Situation provide the probation officer with evidence-based information in order to determine the necessary response/action. DRAOR Stable factors support the probation officer to consider/target the underlying drivers of family violence like impulse control, problem solving, sense of entitlement and attachment to others.

The NZ Police use the Ontario Domestic Abuse Risk Assessment (ODARA) tool. This assesses the likelihood

* Since 1 September 2015, Judges and Registrars making bail decisions in the Porirua and Christchurch District Courts have been provided with a Police Family Violence Summary Report which details all the defendant's recorded family violence incidents, Police Safety Orders and Protection Orders, including any breaches. <https://nzfvc.org.nz/news/pilot-provides-judges-defendants-family-violence-history>

of intimate partner re-assault. Corrections staff can access this information but they need to understand what the scoring means. This could well inform the rationale for the escalation of an overall risk of harm assessment in the face of a low RoC RoI. Other risk factors like step-parenting, transient families and non-fatal strangulation need to be considered and recognised by practitioners as red flags for escalation in risk.

Accurately assessing risk is important, but the quality of the response to that risk is critical. DRAOR asks practitioners to formulate most likely and most serious risk scenarios based on their assessment. Such risk scenarios are dynamic, changing as new information is gained. In order to be truly preventative, practitioners need to individually and collectively develop their anticipatory thinking capabilities. We need to anticipate beyond the reported incident and the individuals involved, to consider who are potential victims and then develop an appropriate response to the risk identified. The introduction of reflective practice sessions, where collegial discussions can develop such thinking, are critical to developing our expertise.

It means using accurate language to enable safer practice responses from our key stakeholders

Corrections staff write about family violence in many contexts – pre-sentence and parole reports, emails and case notes. The language used to describe family violence strongly influences how the reader then responds. Family violence is frequently redefined as “altercations”, “volatile relationships”, “abusive relationships”, “domestic incidents” etc. This redefinition can conceal violence, diminish the perpetrators’ responsibility and further blame and pathologise victims’ behaviours. We need to challenge the view that bad relationships cause family violence – this is just another way of blaming victims. Accurate information and accurate descriptions are the first indispensable step in forming effective responses.

It means responding to victims’ needs and concerns

The consistency of practitioners’ responses to disclosures of violence is critical. Richardson and Wade (2010) state that the quality of social (this includes organisational) responses to victims’ disclosures may be the best single predictor of the level of victim distress. Marginalised and disadvantaged people are more likely to receive negative social responses.

Victims who receive positive social responses:

- tend to recover more quickly and fully
- are more likely to work with authorities
- are more likely to report violence in future.

Conversely, victims who receive negative social responses are:

- less likely to co-operate with authorities
- less likely to disclose violence again
- more likely to experience distress
- more likely to receive diagnosis of mental disorder.

Practitioners can shy away from direct contact with a victim, often for fear of re-traumatising them. It is our contention that it is not the contact itself that can re-traumatise, but the way in which the contact is made. If victims feel disrespected, judged or misunderstood the contact may well jeopardise the possibility that the victim will reach out for further assistance. Whether or not to have contact with a victim is the professional decision of the practitioner in consultation with colleagues, practice leaders and managers. However, to avoid contact because of our own fears may mean we are denying a victim an opportunity to engage with us and to have a voice, and we could be missing important information.

Any contact with victims must aim to uphold their dignity by truly listening to their situation and offering a response. When talking with a victim it is important to firstly listen to them. We need to:

- acknowledge and validate
- reassure: there is no excuse for abuse
- check current safety of her and the children.

It means responsible sharing of information with care and concern

There are times when practitioners can feel restricted by privacy legislation in what they can tell someone. The review of the Domestic Violence Act asked if legislation should stipulate that safety concerns trump privacy concerns.* Whilst this review is underway, it is critical to remember that we can confidently share information when the disclosure is necessary to prevent or lessen a serious and imminent threat to public health or public safety; or the life or health of the individual concerned or another individual.

If we understand family violence as a harmful pattern of behaviour, then responsible disclosures are necessary to interrupt violence and lessen the threat a perpetrator’s behaviour poses victims.

* <http://www.justice.govt.nz/consultations/previous-consultations/better-family-violence-law/discussion-document>

It means protecting information that is shared to promote safety

Practitioners have a number of ways to protect victims who reach out for assistance.

Examples include:

- Sect 13 Parole Act 2002 means the NZ Parole Board can consider a Confidentiality Order
- Sect 28 (2) Sentencing Act 2002 allows a Confidential Memo to Court
- Privacy Act 1993 Section 29 (1) says that if confidentiality has been implied or promised there are grounds for non-disclosure.

It means developing safety strategies which involve practitioners

Too often safety planning in family violence work has become a 'to do list' for victims, over burdening an already frightened and vulnerable person. Creating safety is a collective responsibility and professionals working with a family need to write themselves into the safety plan and be responsible for taking the actions delegated to them. Agencies who work together in family violence need to build strong relationships so that genuine collaboration can occur, and professionals can challenge each other when practice falls short. This can only occur in an atmosphere of trust and respect.

Summary

Corrections staff must be able to respond safely to disclosures of violence from victims, perpetrators, whānau and other practitioners.

To do this we need to consider all the points of contact with Corrections; report writing, recommending sentences, managing and monitoring sentences. Practitioners are not responsible for the violence but they are accountable for how they respond. It is practitioners and the system that are charged with responding to family violence, not victims. Effective practitioner responses to family violence can create safety and restore dignity (Richardson and Wade, 2010).

Reflective questions to assist in placing the victim at the centre of our concerns

Perpetrator	Victim
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In my work, who am I holding accountable for the violence? • How am I holding the perpetrator to account? • Am I using accurate language that makes the violence visible and does not minimise it? • Have I verified the information I have from the perpetrator? • What else do I need to know? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do I understand the victim's context/views? • Are there multiple victims? • Am I keeping victim (and child) safety paramount? • Am I judging the victim? • What supports does the victim have in place already? • What can I contribute to her safety? • Am I considering the children who are impacted by the violence?
Risk	Requesting and sharing information
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do I have enough information to fully understand the context of the violence? • Where could I get more information? • Could my proposed action place her and her children at further risk? • Does my risk assessment reflect the dynamics of IPV risk? • What other risk assessments have been done? • What other red flags are present in this situation? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What other agencies are involved? • What is my relationship with this agency and how can I strengthen it? • Am I asking the right questions of the right people? • What questions should I ask? • Am I talking directly to the key stakeholders? • Am I communicating my concerns accurately? • Am I listening to others' concerns?
Practitioner	Manager
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How competent do I feel to be working in this space? • What additional support do I need? • Where could I access that? • How am I keeping up to date with professional knowledge in family violence work? 	<p>Same as practitioner, plus</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How can I best support my staff member in this situation?

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Making a difference for young people in prison

Kathy Foster

Education Tutor, Youth Unit, Christchurch Men's Prison, Department of Corrections

Author biography:

Kathy Foster has been employed by the Department of Corrections since 2006 as an education tutor for the Youth Unit at Christchurch Men's Prison. Kathy spent two years prior to this working for an education contractor in the main prison with adult prisoners. For the 10 years before entering the world of corrections Kathy was employed by a private education training establishment educating at-risk youth.

The Corrections gold 'Make a Difference' award

The gold 'Make a Difference' award is the highest level of recognition presented within the Department of Corrections. It is presented to employees or teams who have made a significant contribution to one of our four key priorities – community support, working prisons, modern infrastructure, and visible leadership.

On 8 October 2014 Kathy Foster was the Southern region recipient of the gold 'Make a Difference' award.

Kathy was nominated by Gary Smallridge, the Principal Corrections Officer at Christchurch Youth Unit for contributing to the mission and vision of the Youth Unit. In Gary's nomination he wrote: *"Kathy is more than a tutor to the youth offenders, regularly keeping in touch with them to ensure they are surviving the rigors of prison life, keeping in touch with their families, seeking education and/or work opportunities whilst also keeping them on the right track with their behaviour and compliance within the unit."*

Kathy's Manager, Paula Friend, wrote: *"The Christchurch Youth Unit was recently recognised as a 'Centre of Excellence'... The reputation of the unit is unequalled, and in large part is a direct result of Kathy's efforts. Kathy's 'make it happen' approach is a model for all staff – she works to the direct needs of the prisoner, going over and above her role as set out in her job description. Kathy balances substantial classroom teaching time with organising many of the unit-based programmes and supporting colleagues at unit and Right Track meetings."*

Congratulations, Kathy, on your award and your continued efforts to support these young people to make positive change.

Young people in New Zealand's custodial system

As a group, young people are nearly twice as likely to re-offend as their adult counterparts. Effectively reducing the risk of re-offending and re-imprisonment with this cohort is an important area of work. The work we do with young people is shaped by the Department's Youth Strategy. The Youth Strategy's vision is "the potential of young people is unlocked and realised. They leave us educated or employed, and with a strong sense of identity". In New Zealand at any given time there are approximately 350 young people under the age of 20 years in the custodial system. While a very small percentage of the total population (approximately 4%), they are a high priority cohort for the Department of Corrections. In New Zealand we have two specialist units for young people, which offer places for up to 70 young men between them.

The aim of the Youth Units in the New Zealand corrections system is to house young, vulnerable, male prisoners in a safe and secure environment, in order to reduce the number of youth suicides and self-harm attempts while in custody. Alongside this sits the aim of reducing re-offending through various educational, vocational, psychological and recreational activities designed to build a young person's knowledge and skill base.

My role at the Christchurch Youth Unit

The Christchurch Youth Unit has 40 beds for young people. I have worked in the Youth Unit at Christchurch Men's Prison since 2006. The kaupapa (approach or philosophy) of the unit is *'Kia toa ki te tuturutaka o te takata,'* meaning, *'Be brave about your true identity for it will bring you dignity and prestige'.* During my time with the unit, I have developed a wide range of proven training programmes, qualifications, workshops and educational and personal-development experiences for the young men. These activities all directly support the vision of the Youth Strategy and the kaupapa of the Youth Unit.

I am an avid supporter of life skills and believe the young men need to know how to look after themselves when they are released. Some of the courses offered to develop life-skills are cooking, budgeting, flatting/renting rights and responsibilities, understanding relationships, self-awareness, communication skills, hepatitis C workshops and fire safety in the home.

Some things we do that I believe 'make a difference'

The everyday basics in our classes include numeracy, literacy, e-learning, NCEA and peer tutoring. We offer preparation for employment by educating young people on employment rights and responsibilities, career planning, presentation of self, interview skills and compiling a curriculum vitae.

In addition to this, we offer opportunities from adventure-based learning to Bible studies; from art to tikanga Maori; from personal fitness to problem-solving from a Christian perspective.

A significant part of the education role is enrolling young people with Te Kura Correspondence School. We have regular contact with the Te Kura relationship co-ordinator to ensure everything is running smoothly. A record sheet is compiled for each young person to record the unit standards they achieve through vocational trades and Te Kura. The young men become very motivated as they see the number of unit standards they have accomplished grow; and rightly so, they experience a great sense of achievement and pride in their learning.

An initiative which has proved successful is our partnership with the Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology (CPIT). CPIT offers five four-week introductory trade modules to ten of our young men at a time. Training is given five days a week for three hours plus five hours self directed. Over the four weeks this amounts to a total of 80 hours. The modules are drain laying, automotive, painting, and construction. All modules have a practical and theory component and are NZQA based. A certificate of completion is awarded to all who finish the course.

It is very rewarding to see the young people's self esteem and confidence grow as they make progress, start to recognise their abilities and believe in themselves. Every day their personal developments such as positive attitudes toward learning, respect for themselves and others, and renewed optimism and hope, shine through. I believe that important personal developments such as these should always be considered legitimate outcomes of an educational programme, despite them not being easy to objectively measure.

Three case studies

**all young people's names have been changed*

No 1: Robert* (aged 18) spent 15 weeks in the Youth Unit in early 2013. Robert was unemployed and on a benefit, having never worked. During his time in the unit Robert obtained a comprehensive first aid certificate and OSH forklift licence. He also successfully passed the self awareness course; relationship course; technology course; fire safety in the home; flatting/renting rights and responsibilities; budgeting and AVAILLL (Audio Visual Achievement in Literacy Language & Learning). He attended a problem solving from a Christian perspective group once a week and was in the fitness class. He regularly attended numeracy and literacy classes.

In December 2014 I had the pleasure of a chance meeting with Robert while I was in town shopping. I was greeted by Robert and Josh*, who had been released from prison a week prior. Robert was extremely proud to tell me he had been working since his release, driving a forklift. He thanked me and said it was his forklift licence and comprehensive first-aid training that he achieved whilst in prison that enabled him to get this opportunity and get his life on track.

Robert did not know Josh had been in prison until he asked Josh how he knew me. He then asked Josh if he had his forklift licence and first-aid, assuring Josh he would get work with these qualifications and Robert then offered to help him seek work.

It was fantastic to see Robert holding his head high and getting on with his life in a positive manner.

No. 2: Ryan* presented in the Youth Unit in 2011 as a very highly-strung, hostile young man. He was disruptive in groups and always at the centre of any trouble-making. It took Ryan a good three months to settle down and be given more opportunities than the basic education classes. As Ryan settled he was given the opportunity to achieve his OSH forklift licence but did not succeed the first time. He was also enrolled on the automotive course run by New Zealand Career College and attended the tikanga Maori course. Ryan continued to exhibit anti-social behaviour on these courses. In January 2012 Ryan told me he really wanted to change his behaviour; he appeared to have matured immensely over the Christmas break. Ryan worked hard from then on, and successfully achieved his OSH forklift licence, comprehensive first-aid; AVAILLL course; relationships course; fire safety in the home; career services workshop; fitness classes; art; understanding addictions workshop and making changes workshop. I persuaded Ryan to do the farming courses, which he really enjoyed, and he achieved both a certificate in rural machinery and a certificate in land-based skills.

Ryan was released in April 2012 and moved to Wellington where he secured employment as a forklift driver. After several months he decided he wanted a change; he saw an advertisement for a farm hand in Taranaki. He phoned the farmer and was completely honest with him, explaining he had been in prison and that he had the qualifications but no experience; he assured the farmer he was an excellent worker. Ryan secured the position and really enjoyed his work. He phoned me last year to say he had just secured the position of assistant herd manager on another farm. Ryan told me he has not touched alcohol or drugs since his release from prison. He tells me he is so happy and just loves his life. He said, *"Prison will never see me again"*.

No. 3: Trevor* came to the Youth Unit in September 2013 and was released one year later. Trevor initially presented as an aggressive and unmotivated young man who was disrespectful and disruptive in groups. Once he realised the unit was a safe and stable environment we were able to build a positive tutor/student relationship. Trevor changed his attitude and proved to be a model student.

Prior to his incarceration Trevor had achieved his NCEA Level 1. During his time in the unit, Trevor worked consistently and diligently and particularly enjoyed working on legal studies through Te Kura, passing three of his unit standards with merit. Trevor successfully achieved the following through his education classes:

- NCEA level 2
- NCEA level 3
- OSH forklift licence
- Comprehensive first aid
- Site safe certification (building construction passport)
- Learner licence
- Certificate in land based skills
- CPIT: construction planter boxes; construction playhouse; automotive; painting and drain laying

In addition to the above Trevor attended and completed training programmes in self-awareness; fire safety in the home, hepatitis C and adventure-based learning. He peer – tutored young people in the unit with low literacy levels in the AVAILLL course. He attended a job club where we looked at career decision-making, interview skills, relationships, flatting/renting rights and responsibilities and data-gathering for his curriculum vitae which was then put together in the computer class. Trevor also completed the young offenders programme and both the brief and intermediate alcohol and drug programmes.

Trevor was released on parole towards the end of last year. He was on home detention and completed a drug and alcohol course through probation. I spoke

with Trevor a couple of months ago and he has been registered with a labour employment agency and attained full-time work. He has worked on fishing boats, farms, a furniture warehouse and building sites. He told me the supervisor at the agency said he would not have any problem getting work as he was very well set up with qualifications; with forklift, first-aid, site-safe, farming and construction named as key certificates.

Trevor was waiting for confirmation of acceptance into Aoraki Polytechnic's Level 2 engineering course. He said if he was not accepted he would continue to work, save money and go to CPIT in 2016. He is very focused on gaining more qualifications and an apprenticeship in the engineering field.

Conclusion

It is the journeys and stories of young men like Robert, Ryan and Trevor which give me the inspiration for my work in the Youth Unit. How pleasing it is to see young men grow in their knowledge, mature in their attitudes and gain practical learning and qualifications that enable them to find meaningful work upon their release. I thank the staff, management and education workers in the Youth Unit at Christchurch Men's Prison for their hard work in making this happen. And I thank them for the continued support and encouragement they offer me both personally and professionally, as we work together to teach, guide and restore the young men with whom we work.



Rolleston Prison – Reflections on a multi-disciplinary team in action

Mike Howson

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Alexandra Green

Principal Psychologist, Kia Marama Special Treatment Unit, Rolleston Prison, Department of Corrections

Gill Roper

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Author biographies:

Mike Howson took up the management of Rolleston Prison in 2008. Mike is responsible for all Rolleston Prison operations, and is a member of the Southern Regional Leadership Team. Mike has an extensive background with the Department of Corrections, starting as a corrections officer in 1988. Prior to his Prison Director role, Mike was responsible for the Youth Unit at Christchurch Prison. He was also involved in developing a new national programme to meet the needs of youth prisoners.

Alex Green is the Principal Psychologist of the Kia Marama Special Treatment Unit (STU), Rolleston Prison, one of two STUs that specialise in the treatment of high risk men convicted of sexually offending against children. She has 13 years experience in the assessment and treatment of male offenders and the delivery and integrity monitoring of the group based treatment programme at Kia Marama. She is responsible for ensuring programme integrity, staff supervision and ethical and safe working practices at Kia Marama.

Gill Roper is a senior psychologist at Kia Marama Special Treatment Unit. She has 10 years experience in the assessment and treatment of male offenders whose convictions include sexual offending against children. Gill attained registration as a clinical psychologist in 2005 after completing the Post Graduate Diploma in Clinical Psychology at Canterbury University; she also holds a Masters of Science degree in Psychology from Canterbury University. Gill has worked as a psychologist at the Department of Corrections for nine years, and as a senior psychologist for two years.

Megan Stenswick is a senior psychologist at the Kia Marama Special Treatment Unit and has 11 years experience in the assessment and treatment of male offenders. She has direct responsibility for the integrity monitoring of the Kia Marama programme, staff supervision, and training and consultation for psychologists on risk assessment measures. Megan attained registration as a psychologist in 2005 through the completion of a Post Graduate Diploma In Clinical Psychology through the University of Canterbury. She has a Master of Science from the University of Canterbury.

Staff at Rolleston Prison in Christchurch have embedded and normalised a multi-disciplinary team (MDT) approach across the prison. This practice note reflects on the components and history that contributed to this style of working.

Origins and inception

The site-wide MDT approach at Rolleston started three years ago when psychologists from Kia Marama Special Treatment Unit (STU) for child sex offenders moved into Totara Unit to establish a second community of change*. This second community of change aimed

to support prisoners on the Short Intervention Programme (SIP) for child sex offenders.

An MDT approach had been well embedded in Kia Marama STU as a function of the community of change for many years and this was a normalised way for the various services (e.g. psychological services, custody, case management, offender employment) to interact in that unit. The development of a second community of change on site had long been supported by prison management, and this support was instrumental in facilitating both the 'buy in' of prison staff, and the practical changes required to move from a unit with a variety of offending types to a treatment unit supported by a community of change.

Ultimately, the result of the change was a strong working alliance between the psychologists and custodial services (both at a management and unit

* 'A Community of Change' is a therapeutic environment which is run according to community principles (respect, personal responsibility, support, collaboration and openness). Offenders take ownership of their issues while supporting and respectfully challenging others, practising the learning they get from treatment.

level). These two units represent half of the Rolleston Prison site. Aspects of the community of change (e.g. employment being related to treatment goals) further increased the degree of contact with offender employment. Having case managers based at the site also helped bring all staff involved with the prisoner together, and this has led to more robust offender plans.

Organisational changes that supported the development

Co-occurring with the community of change development were a number of organisational changes that supported the MDT approach. The move to a regionalised structure (with the associated support of the Regional Commissioner) was followed by the development of clear, cross-service, collective goals e.g. the departmental goal of reducing re-offending by 25% by 2017, and the transition of Rolleston to a Working Prisons model where all prisoners are engaged in either employment, training, treatment, education or constructive activities for 40 hours per week.

This had the effect of bringing site managers together to resolve service delivery and implementation issues between the various services, whilst simultaneously removing what had been a silo effect due to different lines of management. The increased level of engagement supported further development such as the implementation of Right Track* which essentially formalised a process that was often already taking place in Kia Marama and Totara Units. In addition, custodial management, in consultation with psychological services, recognised the importance of assigning appropriate custody staff to the therapeutic environments. These environments treat some of the highest risk prisoners so an 'expressions of interest' process was used to ensure we got custody staff with the appropriate skills and qualities to work in these units.

Other site factors that promoted this development included the nature and size of the site, which already had a treatment and rehabilitation focus. Many of the prisoners are in the latter stages of their sentence and are of lower security classifications. Returning employment opportunities to Rolleston (as opposed to sending work parties daily over to Christchurch Men's Prison) was key because it increased engagement with employment instructors and allowed them to attend meetings and events onsite.

* 'Right Track' is a formal practice where Corrections staff use an active management approach to helping offenders achieve their Offender Plan goals and outcomes. This could involve a one-on-one or multidisciplinary team approach.

The effects of working together

- **'Shared understanding of each other's roles and responsibilities'** One of the benefits of the more collaborative approach was that staff gained a high level of understanding about the roles and responsibilities of each service onsite. This was aided by various groups that came to tour the site, which were typically hosted by an MDT group.
- **'Openness and respect'** Over time, in part due to being a smaller site with a stable workforce, close working relationships were formed. Senior managers supported the cultural development of openness and respect for the various spheres of expertise on site. Whilst this culture change may have initially reflected the personalities of the individuals involved, this culture has stabilised to the degree that it is not currently reliant on those individuals.
- **'Everyone has a say'** A degree of transparency in decision-making was established, so while the final decision remained with the appropriate manager, opportunities were created to elicit different perspectives to allow a more robust decision-making framework.

Related to this, meetings are typically held in a manner reflecting quite a 'flat' hierarchy to elicit perspectives from all attendees irrespective of what level in the organisation they are. Each of these perspectives is valued and attendance is overtly appreciated, whilst robust discussion is not personalised but promoted.

- **'Many opportunities to practice multi-disciplinary action'** Attendance at site-wide events is inclusive and there are a number of opportunities for cross service engagement. Examples include:
 - Release to Work panel commenced 18 months ago; attended by custodial staff (principal corrections officer, residential manager, and custodial systems manager), psychologists, case managers, Release to Work co-ordinators, and offender employment staff. It is a national requirement for all applications for Release to Work to be reviewed by a panel to allow multiple perspectives on an individual prisoner.
 - In an effort to further ensure the safety of child visitors, Rolleston has made changes to its visitor approval process. An MDT panel is used when considering contact between child visitors and prisoners with sexual or violent offences against children. The panel is attended by custodial staff, health services staff and psychologists, and is tasked with balancing risk of harm to the child with the reintegrative and rehabilitative needs of the prisoner. This is supported by a case management process and formal structure whereby prisoners in all units can make

applications and meet with the panel to discuss their request.

- Staff safety is an issue for all staff and monthly safety meetings are open to all. Events such as 'Staff Safety Week' have a programme of activities and training that are well attended by all the staff groups. Each of the service groups also facilitated training to share their various areas of expertise.
- Right Track meetings are inclusive and if someone is unable to attend they are emailed a summary by the staff working with a particular individual.
- Unit based custody training occurs in the treatment units fortnightly and is facilitated by psychological services with a focus on offence paralleling behaviour and daily prisoner management. It is attended by a variety of staff including chaplains, health services staff and custodial staff.
- 'Business as usual' meetings are open to all – for example, it is the norm for prison managers to attend community of change meetings in the units, and morning custodial briefings welcome staff from other areas to attend.
- Social events like Christmas BBQ etc are open to all staff.

Benefits observed

Probably the biggest benefit is that the multiple perspectives increase the robustness of decision-making and the ability of these decisions to withstand scrutiny (e.g. from the Ombudsman and prisoner review). The MDT approach has become normal, and decision makers do not feel coerced or backed into a corner; they see the value added that allows them to make well-considered decisions.

The associated transparency promotes consistency across the site in prisoner management. This enhances risk management as well as creating processes for succession management.

There is less risk of staff working in isolation, which mitigates the risk associated with advocacy for a particular prisoner or a prisoner attempting to manipulate staff for their own goals (e.g. getting onto Release to Work) without adhering to their offender plan.

Another by-product is increased willingness by staff to raise concerns across a number of areas (ranging from staff safety to integrity issues) due to the culture that all perspectives are valued and will be listened to. Collaborative working relationships increase the positive work environment and the support available to staff at all levels.



Reduced re-offending by 25% by 2017

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David Lewis is a project manager in the Service Development Team. He joined the Department of Corrections in April 2014 and has worked on a variety of different projects including public protection orders and enhanced extended supervision orders.

Kerry Consedine has worked in the department for nine years and is currently the Acting Principal Adviser in the Chief Probation Officer's Team. She has held previous roles at National Office in Corrections Services and also in the Community Partnerships Team. Prior to joining National Office Kerry was a probation officer and then probation service manager in Wellington.

Janice Hickey is a senior practice adviser with the Chief Probation Officer's Team at the Department of Corrections. She has previous experience as an operations adviser, project adviser and probation officer.

Introduction

The Government's Better Public Services target, announced in June 2012, includes a results action plan for reducing crime and re-offending. This is a justice sector-wide plan to reduce the crime rate. This action plan is important because less crime means fewer victims and safer communities. As part of the action plan the Department of Corrections (Corrections) committed to achieving a 25% reduction in re-offending by 2017 (RR25%).

From the outset Corrections recognised that international experience suggested that a 25% reduction in the re-offending rate was a very challenging target. Between 2009-2010 and 2012-2013 Western Australia recidivism rates saw a downward trend in the rate of return to Corrective Services within two years, decreasing 10.5 percentage points. Australia as a whole demonstrated an upward movement in this category, increasing 2.4 percentage points (Correction Services of Western Australia, October 2014.). Whilst in the United Kingdom between July 2011 and June 2012, a small drop of 0.6 percentage points compared to the previous 12 months was recorded in the overall proven re-offending rate, which equated to a slight fall of 1.6 percentage points since 2000 (UK Ministry of Justice, April 2014).

In order to meet the 25% target, Corrections identified that innovative approaches, finding local solutions to local problems and engaging its entire staff would be essential. Over the past three years Corrections, with support from other agencies, has made significant progress towards the target by focusing on preparing offenders for employment, expanding rehabilitation

programmes, tackling alcohol and other drug abuse, strengthening reintegration services and otherwise working with offenders to do all they can to help them turn their lives around.

These efforts have produced measurable results. By February 2014, a 12.6 percent reduction in the re-offending rate had been achieved. However, in recent months progress has dropped back to a reduction of 8.3 percent (at June 2015) in the re-offending rate.

Corrections identified new approaches to 'boost' the reduction in re-offending in order to get closer to the RR25% target.

RR25% Boost is Corrections strategic programme of work to intensify efforts to reduce re-offending. Under RR25% Boost, Corrections will increase programme delivery by re-focusing existing resources from high intensity, low volume interventions to lower intensity, higher volume interventions. Corrections will also update and introduce practice changes for probation through provision of advice to court assessments, brief interventions and work and living skills.

Increase programme delivery to short serving and community sentenced offenders

At the outset of RR25% Boost planning, short serving* and some community sentences had the highest recidivism rate and offenders serving these sentences received little or no rehabilitative intervention. This presented a significant opportunity for Corrections to

* Offenders serving two years or less imprisonment.

have a positive impact on the lives of these offenders, and in turn reduce the rate of re-offending. Corrections has focused RR25% Boost on providing these cohorts of offenders with access to 'packages' of short duration, lower intensity rehabilitative programmes. This approach will result in a significant increase in programme delivery during the 2015/2016 financial year. A quality framework is being developed to ensure that this increase in activity does not compromise programme integrity, and that the effectiveness of programme delivery is maintained.

The first step is to ensure that offenders are placed on suitable programmes. In the Northern region a collaborative approach between probation officers and principal facilitators is being taken. This approach will ensure that all offenders are considered for programmes, and that any barriers to participation are addressed. A particular focus is placed on offenders declined for programmes, and doing everything possible to enable participation.

Principal facilitators are encouraged to attend 15 minutes of a provision of advice to court interview conducted by probation officers, and probation officers are encouraged to attend 15 minutes of a programmes assessment conducted by facilitators. This collaborative approach is designed to get a 'stronger push' from probation officers to get offenders onto programmes and a 'stronger pull' from programme facilitators to do the same. Responsivity and motivational barriers are not reasons for ineligibility, but targets to be addressed during treatment.

Increase programme delivery to short-serving prisoners

Nationally, a new 'opt-out' process is being implemented to automatically enrol all new short serving prisoners onto alcohol and other drug and family violence programmes. Corrections estimates that up to 80 percent of offenders have an alcohol or other drug dependence and up to 60 percent have a family violence prevention need.

Accordingly, wait-listing all prisoners for these programmes and employing the 'opt out' process will significantly increase this opportunity. The case manager completes a file review and meets with the offender as part of the induction process into prison. The case manager confirms the need for alcohol and other drug and/or family violence prevention and creates the offender management plan to reflect this. If no alcohol and other drug or family violence prevention need is identified then the prisoner is removed from the waitlist.

Increasing rehabilitation effectiveness

To increase the effectiveness of rehabilitative interventions, programmes are sequenced together to address an offender's priority needs. With education, motivational and alcohol and other drug interventions as the 'gateway' services, an offender will then go on to complete either a family violence programme or a more generic offending behaviour programme.

Innovative approaches are taken to try to maximise the number, and range, of interventions available to offenders. Having identified that short serving offenders are largely missing out on opportunities to participate in treatment due to their sentence length, Central region has established a new programme, which has been running at Waikeria Prison since the start of August 2015, called Ka Ūpane. Ka Ūpane refers to climbing from a place of darkness into a place of light, and is an eight week programme that includes both group and individual intervention that is aimed at providing high-risk, short-serving violent offenders with the skills and knowledge required to live a pro-social life.

Ka Ūpane follows the model of skills training from the Tai Aroha treatment programme based in Hamilton. It is a skills group, which teaches skills such as mindfulness, interpersonal effectiveness, emotion regulation and distress tolerance.

Although Ka Ūpane has only been running for a short length of time there has been a very positive response from participants. However, we are ensuring that its effectiveness is monitored to see if it holds promise for wider use.

Brief interventions refresher

Brief interventions were introduced to probation practice as part of the programme to achieve the Department of Correction's goal of reducing re-offending by 25%. Under RR25% Boost, the brief interventions work stream was tasked with designing a one day practice development session for all probation officers and senior practitioners to enhance brief intervention practice.

A brief intervention is a short, purposeful, non-confrontational, personalised interaction with an offender that focuses on an identified issue(s) relating to their offending (for example drug and alcohol misuse). The purpose is to support the offender to think about their offending related behaviours and assist them to make a connection between their behaviour and any associated risks and harms and, in so doing, assist them to change.

The brief interventions apply concepts related to the 'Risk Need Responsivity' principles as outlined by the work of Andrews and Bonta (2010) in the Psychology of Criminal Conduct. All of the techniques used in the

delivery of brief interventions rely on staff utilising motivational interviewing skills in their practice. To further support this approach, probation staff are encouraged to use practice tools (available in the Probation Officer's Toolkit) to target specific risk factors or enhance protective factors that are identified using the risk assessment tool DRAOR (Dynamic Risk Assessment Offender Re-entry), designed for use with community based offenders.

As part of this practice development session, the probation officer practice tools are being refreshed and a new desk tool has been designed to support the delivery of brief interventions and support the current RR25% Boost Programme.

Getting the provision of advice to court back on track

Probation officers are responsible for writing approximately 25,000 pre-sentence reports every year for the courts. These reports are referred to as provision of advice to court reports.

Critical to the success of reducing re-offending is enhancing probation practice when completing provision of advice to court reports. The provision of advice to court interview is often the first point of contact offenders have with Corrections and the probation officer's assessment and recommendations will have a significant impact on the offender's journey to becoming offence free.

Probation officers have a complex task of analysing the information they gather through their provision of advice to court enquiries to inform their assessment of the offender's risk, needs and potential responsivity issues. This information not only helps judges when sentencing offenders but also assists other Corrections staff when managing the offender in the community or in custody.

The 'provision of advice to court on track' practice development session for probation staff has been developed to support the RR25% Boost programme to reduce re-offending by 2017. The practice development session is designed for probation officers, senior practitioners, practice leaders and service managers and encourages staff to challenge their current practice and place greater emphasis on the quality of their report writing. "It is important staff are aware of the direct co-relation between their provision of advice to court reports and supporting offenders with desisting from crime. Enhancing the quality of provision of advice to court practice is important because it sets up the offender's pathway and our future interaction with them," says Chief Probation Officer, Darius Fagan.

The practice development session focuses on enhancing the assessment process in order to support probation

officers to make appropriate and effective sentencing recommendations. It is based on research and literature about 'what works' in supporting successful rehabilitation whilst holding offenders to account (Andrews and Bonta, 2010) and desistance from crime (McNeill, Farrall, Lightowler, and Maruna, 2012).

The practice development session reminds staff about sentences and interventions that have a positive impact on reducing re-offending. The session includes an emphasis on the benefits of electronically monitored sentences in enabling offenders to remain in the community, to participate in rehabilitative programmes and to stay connected with family, pro-social support and activities (such as employment, education, parenting). The impacts of a short sentence of imprisonment are reviewed including the detrimental impact imprisonment can have on the offender's pathway towards desistance from crime.

Work and living skills

'Work and living skills' are a series of short modules that provide offenders with the skills they need for job seeking as well as life skills such as budgeting. Offenders on community work sentences who receive over 80 hours community work are able to commute up to 20% of their hours to receive work and living skills support. The high throughput of offenders on this sentence and the high recidivism rate provides the opportunity to increase work and living skills services to more offenders.

As a result of the RR25% Boost initiative, offenders will receive greater access to a package of skills and psycho-educative interventions that will increase their motivation to tackle the causes of their offending and aid their reintegration into their communities. Work and living skills practice is being developed on three fronts to assist in desistance from re-offending; at induction, through expo events in seven key districts, and ensuring national consistency of stand-alone work and living skills activities.

A community work health and safety module is being developed for delivery to offenders at induction. The design of the health and safety module will be flexible so that it can be utilised one-on-one, in groups and to offenders with literacy issues. A health and safety module is the most practical module to deliver during an induction period and will contribute to the strategic focus on health and safety in the community work space. Whilst the health and safety module covers essential work and living skills, it also provides an opportunity to engage with offenders right at the outset of their community work sentence. This can be the catalyst for further discussion and engagement around what other options and initiatives are available to them during their sentence.

In order to better support desistance from re-offending, Corrections identified that every eligible community work offender across seven key districts* could be provided with short work and living skills modules through work and living skills expo events. The seven districts prioritised to run expo events are Waitemata, Auckland, Manukau, Wellington, Waikato, Bay of Plenty and Canterbury.

Each district will design their own expo to meet the needs of their offenders. Expos will vary in duration from daily operational sessions through to a full week. A standardised menu of scheduled activities will be provided to offenders to, among other things, increase their employability, help them to set goals and make better choices, provide greater awareness of health issues, and anger management. Expo events will be delivered to offenders at least once a month, and consist of a minimum of two modules per day. Each module must also have a clear pathway to treatment.

Offenders are also provided with stand-alone work and living skills activities that meet their needs. By achieving a nationally consistent approach to the work and living skills modules, Corrections can ensure more offenders get targeted access to programmes and interventions that work, and that less time is spent procuring services in isolation. The following six work and living skill activities are being targeted for national consistency and national contracts for delivery will be set up.

1. **Road Safety** – Focused on expanding brief drink-driving initiatives, and introducing a subsidy for driver interlock licences.
2. **Driver Licencing** – Focused on reducing the volume of driving-related offending by:
 - a. Engaging literacy and numeracy providers to support preparation for driver licence tests.
 - b. Rolling out a driver licence programme across the seven key districts.
 - c. Providing more opportunities for offenders to obtain their licence through facilitating the booking and funding of tests.
3. **Alcohol and Other Drug** – Introduction of a brief alcohol and other drug module that can either be used as part of an expo event or a stand alone session. This module will provide a pathway to further assessment or motivation for treatment.
4. **Finance and Resourcing** – Focused on identifying and establishing pre-existing budgeting programmes or initiatives, and education around accessing financial entitlements. An Energy Efficiency and Conservation Authority training session has been approved that focuses on energy conservation and the health benefits of insulation. This training session

also provides a pathway for participants to apply for the financial support to insulate their homes.

5. **Education and Employment** – Focused on improving engagement with tertiary education organisations to expand literacy and numeracy activity, job preparation such as CV writing, interview skills, and presentation at interview. Job Club activities create a stronger link between work and living skills activities such as trade training, health and safety and first aid certificates
6. **Health and Well Being** – Focused on health care assessments, immunisation, and mental health assessments/suicide awareness and education. Health and safety providers are also being identified to deliver work place health and safety training in any districts that do not already have a provider.

Conclusion/summary

Progress to date to reach the RR25% target matches the upper end of achievements in other jurisdictions. However, more can be done to provide offenders with the best opportunity to live a life free of crime and deliver safer communities.

The re-direction and refreshment of the initiatives in the RR25% Boost programme are expected to further reduce the rate of re-offending and get Corrections closer to the target of reducing re-offending by 25% by 2017. The impact of RR25% Boost initiatives will only start to be seen in 12 months' time, with the full impact available in two years.

Despite the time lag before the results can be quantified, the practice changes required to better align offender need with scheduled interventions can already be seen. RR25% Boost initiatives are beginning to create the innovation and the necessary change in behaviour required to achieve the RR25% target in the future over the medium term. More importantly, RR25% Boost is ensuring that all staff groups come together to ensure that offenders get the targeted engagement they need.

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* Those districts with the largest community work muster.



Frontline Futures

Uarnie More

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Author biography:

Uarnie More has held several roles over her 14 years at the Department of Corrections including policy manager, private secretary to an associate minister and an operational role as manager Māori services, Lower North region, and during this time graduated with an Executive Master in Public Administration. Following project management of the Department's Māori Focus Unit Improvement Project, Uarnie is responsible for managing the Frontline Futures programme.

Background

Prior to 2012, the organisational structure of Corrections was based on prisons, probation, rehabilitation, and offender employment as separate operating units. Core human resource systems and processes such as attracting, selecting and training our frontline staff were largely developed and delivered within each separate part of the business. This resulted in little or no movement between roles and limited our ability to achieve Corrections-wide goals particularly where joint co-ordination or collaboration was required.

Following a restructure in 2012, all 'offender-facing' services were grouped together under one operational arm – Corrections Services. This provided an opportunity to realign systems and processes to a 'one team' approach, and provide a platform to launch the Frontline Futures programme of work. Based firmly on offender management skills that are common across a range of frontline roles, this programme aims to enhance the way Corrections attracts, selects and develops its frontline workforce. In addition, this programme seeks to expose staff to the justice and public sectors earlier in their development to provide an understanding of how their work at Corrections fits into the wider context.

Frontline Futures represents a significant investment in our frontline staff, particularly those in the following five core frontline roles:

- Corrections officer
- Probation officer
- Case manager
- Offender employment instructor
- Programme facilitator.

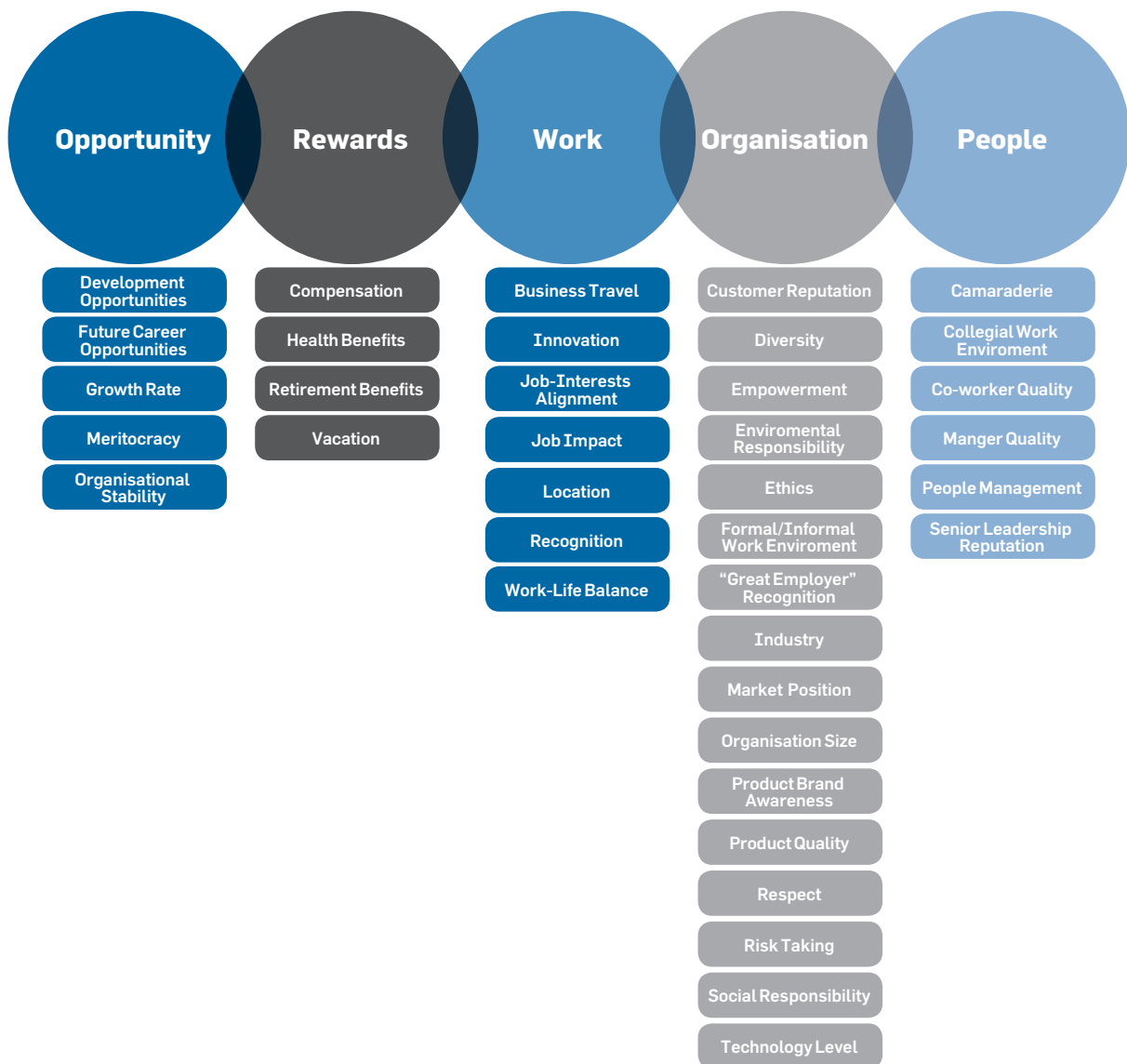
Attracting high quality candidates to our frontline

Employee value proposition and employer brand

An employee value proposition (EVP) is the foundation upon which effective organisations attract and retain the best people. At its core EVP represents the attributes of Corrections and the benefits an employee will receive in return for their contribution, and is usually prominent in how an employer sells itself to attract the right people. It informs the employer brand, answering the (often unspoken) question in a potential candidates' mind: 'What's on offer at Corrections, and why should I apply for a role with them?'

At workshops in Auckland and Wellington, Corrections staff were invited to express what attracted them to apply for a frontline role at Corrections, as well as the benefits received as a result of their work. The findings of these workshops were tested against the existing EVP concept, and were assessed against the internationally used five key attribute categories highlighted below.

Attribute Categories



Employer brand

Our Corrections employer brand therefore answers the unspoken question in a potential candidates' mind, by emphasising their potential to positively influence offenders and help to make a difference.



Our new employer brand tagline – **'Change Lives, Shape Futures'** – highlights change as an overarching theme representing day-to-day life at Corrections. By joining Corrections, candidates get the best out of their career – they can change their life, their job and their purpose, by working with a team of supportive and encouraging people who ultimately make New Zealand a safer place. A significant difference in the new approach to attracting potential candidates will be through all year round advertising rather than as vacancies arise.

The previous selection process

The Department had typically used assessment centres to assess the suitability of candidates for one specific frontline role type only. Candidates progressed through a number of assessments designed to bring about the specific skills and responses required for the role. Assessment centres required the support of actors to provide real life scenarios and assessors to moderate the responses of candidates. In some cases, assessment centres were used to assess a small number of candidates, questioning the efficiency of this approach.

Role requirements

An analysis of job documentation and competency frameworks for the core frontline roles was undertaken to determine common and specific role requirements. These requirements were then shaped and tested with regional recruitment advisers and frontline staff. Striking yet unsurprising similarities across the core frontline roles were found. The following are examples of the requirements found to be common across the core frontline roles:

- Safety and situational awareness
- A high level of resilience
- Sound judgement, decision making, problem solving
- Communication (oral and written); and
- Teamwork and relationships.

These common requirements have been used to develop selection tools and processes and this is most evident in the use of Frontline Assessment Centres.

Frontline Assessment Centres

Identifying common requirements across core frontline roles has led to the development of a range of situational and skills-based assessments. Assessments range from basic computer skills, comprehension and verbal communication through to role plays and group exercises. Critically, Frontline Assessment Centres are assessing candidates for all five core frontline roles, rather than for one role type only.

Frontline Assessment Centres have now been delivered in Auckland, Palmerston North, Hawkes Bay, Gisborne and Taumarunui. From a total of 164 candidates who participated, 87 were deemed eligible to be considered for a frontline role. These 87 candidates have either been placed successfully into a frontline role or have moved to the next stages of the selection process. Feedback from recruitment advisers, assessors, hiring managers and participants has been highly positive.

Psychological assessments

Frontline Futures provided an opportunity to review and standardise the use of psychometric assessments in the selection process, based on an understanding of the common role requirements. The following assessment tools were identified as being suitable for use in the selection process for core frontline roles:

- A personality assessment;
- An emotional intelligence assessment; and
- Cognitive ability tests.

A range of criteria were used to identify assessment tools, including reliability, validity, cost and the ability to assess behaviours relevant to the role requirements. For the same current cost of assessing three frontline roles, all five core frontline roles can now use the same tests as part of the selection process.

Role specific assessments

In addition to comprehensive behavioural based interviews, the shadowing of staff on the floor (known as 'specific career opportunities in a prison environment', or SCOPE) has been extended from corrections officer roles to all core frontline roles. This ensures that candidates are given a realistic job preview, particularly for those who have not previously visited a prison or community corrections site. To complete the selection process, reference checking is undertaken by recruitment advisers before an offer of employment is sent to successful candidates. The start date for any new core frontline staff member is day one of the next intake for the Frontline Start programme as described in the following section.

Learning pathways

During development work for Frontline Futures, an examination of our 'learning pathways' for each of the core frontline roles found a misalignment to recruitment processes and the reinforcing of silos between operational services. In some cases, the former led to extensive delays in preparing new staff for their roles. Common areas were not covered in some pathways, or were not covered adequately, and information about offenders was only ever 'tacked on' to the end of any learning, meaning new staff had little opportunity to empathise with offenders.

An innovative approach to revising these pathways began with frontline staff creating 'user stories' to reflect learning outcomes within a range of contexts (e.g. as a Corrections employee, a member of the justice sector and as a public servant). These stories were then used to develop a learning pathway architecture comprising three elements:

- One unified and common start for core frontline roles
- On-job learning; and
- Specific learning pathways.

Frontline Start Programme

Week one of the three week Frontline Start programme represents a unified start for all frontline roles. The week begins with an introduction to Corrections, the justice sector and public sector and is delivered every month. New staff learn about Corrections, who we work with internally and externally, and gain some offender management skills and some understanding of safety within their work environment.

The experience is immersive and interactive as staff are exposed to the most senior managers including the Chief Executive, the State Services Commission and Executive Leadership Team. Regional Commissioners, leaders of practice such as the Chief Probation Officer and Chief Custodial Officer and exemplar frontline staff also have a key role in setting expectations and providing real life situations. New staff learn more about their role as part of the justice sector through engagements with the New Zealand Police and the District Courts.

"Overall a great week; what stood out for me was the high level of commitment and clarity of message from the Executive Leadership Team...also the collaboration across roles within Corrections and across the justice sector."

"Watching how Corrections and the justice sector work together was really inspirational."

- Recent participants of the Frontline Start programme

In week two of the Frontline Start programme, staff return to their workplace for on-the-job learning. This includes the gathering of information and observation of up to eight key situations they will be expected to face on the job. Week three reunites the staff in Wellington to begin their specific learning pathways where the majority of learning is applicable to all. Examples include key legislation and professional decision making, an introduction to reports (e.g. provision of advice to courts) and offender plans, understanding gangs and family violence. Week three concludes the shared learning programme with staff continuing their development through role specific learning pathways such as the Probation Officer Curriculum.

Career pathways

Following a review of career development frameworks used in other organisations, a review of best practice and a stocktake of information and resources currently used in Corrections, a number of observations emerged. Corrections has a large and untapped internal labour market. Frontline staff are in fact aware of the potential

transferability of their skills, knowledge and attributes, but these are sometimes overlooked by hiring managers. Up to 67% of transitions are within a job 'family', in comparison to 14% of transitions into other job 'families'.

Highlighting potential career pathways

A career hub page is now available on the Corrections intranet. The career hub includes a wide range of information from our career philosophy, role profiles and tips on development through to career conversation advice for hiring managers. Information also includes video clips from staff who have successfully transitioned from one job family to another.

Many candidates who successfully progress from Frontline Assessment Centres are unaware of the range of frontline roles available at Corrections. This has presented an opportunity for recruitment advisers to highlight the full range of roles and to seek the interest of candidates in pursuing a role they hadn't considered but that their skills may be more suited to.

Week one of the Frontline Start Programme includes a session on 'Careers at Corrections'. This session provides an overview of frontline job families, and the skills that are transferable from one role to another. Staff who have successfully made transitions into other job families attend the session to share their experiences on why and how they moved and the benefits arising from that move. Initial findings from the Frontline Start programme show an increase in the number of frontline staff who would consider changing their role at some point in their career.

Concluding comments

Frontline Futures has been successful largely for two reasons. Firstly, the vision and high levels of support and engagement by a number of key senior leaders and staff including the Executive Leadership Team, the State Services Commission, Regional Commissioners, leaders of practice, role exemplars and our justice sector partners. Secondly, the efforts and fortitude of those involved in leading and directly contributing to the development and delivery of these significant changes to our core human resource processes and practices.

Contributing to our goal of reducing re-offending by 25% by 2017 requires Corrections to attract and grow the right people to work on our frontline. Through Frontline Futures we are providing opportunities for our people to gain experience and grow their capability across a range of frontline roles and into first line management. This makes Corrections, and therefore the justice sector and wider public service, a more attractive and rewarding place to work.



Characteristics of a learning culture

Darren Johnson

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Author biography:

Darren first joined the Department of Corrections in 2006 as a business analyst after finishing a contract as a data analyst with London Probation while on his OE. Darren has since been in a number of roles with a particular focus on compliance, quality, risk management, assurance and business improvement. Darren's substantive role is a principal adviser in the Service Development Quality and Performance Team. However, in Oct 2014 he accepted a secondment as the Director Quality and Performance.

Introduction

The Department of Corrections' goal is to reduce re-offending by 25% by 2017, with the vision of creating lasting change by breaking the cycle of re-offending. There are a number of factors that will play a part in us achieving this goal, one of which is ensuring the right culture across the department.

Culture means different things to different people, however, this article briefly looks at what a 'learning organisation' is and the 'learning culture' within it. In particular it identifies some key characteristics required to develop, foster and build a learning culture.

It will also briefly consider the important role the learning culture will play in helping the Department to achieve its goal.

It is important to note that the ideas and characteristics described in this article are ones I believe are important to the development of a learning culture. They will not necessarily be new to you and I do not purport to claim them as my own. They are reflections developed through conversations with staff from a number of organisations, completing a small literature review, and my experience of working in several different organisations.

The learning organisation and the learning culture

What does a learning organisation look like? How would we know the difference between an organisation that is learning and one that is not? What is a learning culture and how do we know if an organisation has a culture of learning?

In *The Fifth Discipline*, Senge (1993) defines a learning organisation as:

"Organisations where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning to see the whole together."

In *Sculpting the Learning Organisation*, Watkins and Marsick (1993) define the learning organisation as:

"... one that learns continuously and transforms itself. Learning takes place in individuals, teams, the organisation, and even the communities with which the organisation interacts. Learning is a continuous, strategically used process – integrated with, and running parallel to, work. Learning results in changes in knowledge, beliefs, and behaviours. Learning also enhances organisational capacity for innovation and growth. The learning organisation has embedded systems to capture and share learning."

To a certain extent big organisations are learning organisations in their own way. They each have teams, systems, tools, techniques and mechanisms in place for learning and development (at all levels), organisational development, quality and performance systems, research and development, and risk management etc.

The learning culture is also often mistakenly thought of as the responsibility of an organisation's Human Resources (HR) department. A true learning culture, however, is bigger than the HR department or the way an organisation conducts its training and development. HR is certainly an important element in the development and growth of a learning culture but the responsibility for this falls to every individual and team across the organisation.

The key is to ensure learning is explicit, is second nature and prevalent in everything staff and the wider organisation does. It can not be something that comes from 'HR' or 'national office', or is established in certain pockets of the organisation; it must be a way of working and endemic within the organisation. Moreover, staff need to feel empowered and encouraged to ask questions like: why are things done the way they are, how can they be done differently for better results without compromising quality, does the way we're doing this expose us to unnecessary risk?

The identification of past successes and failures and lessons learned needs to be embedded in everything an organisation does; knowledge, information and

experiences should be openly and happily shared throughout the organisation, fostering an environment that strives towards continuous improvement and learning, and staff should be recognised and rewarded for their contributions to the learning environment.

In order to begin the journey towards a learning culture there are some key characteristics that an organisation needs to think about. It is these characteristics that will be vital in developing the learning culture across the department and ensuring it is continually developed and embedded in the everyday environment.

This will in turn play an important role in the department achieving its goal of reducing re-offending by 25% by 2017, creating lasting change for offenders, and keeping the community safe.

Characteristics of a learning culture

Most organisations have pockets where an effective learning culture is prevalent; the key, and often the biggest challenge, is to develop these pockets to ensure it is widespread throughout the organisation and instilled in every employee.

The following list of characteristics should not be considered an exhaustive list, nor is each characteristic necessarily fundamental for the development of an effective learning culture. What works for one organisation will not necessarily work for another; these are merely some characteristics that should be considered when developing an effective learning culture:

- **The development of a learning culture is not a finite project**

A learning culture is not something that occurs overnight, in a few months or in a year or two; it will develop and mature over time and is reliant on a number of underlying factors. It is something that organisations need to consider at all times and not be something that is 'launched' and then forgotten.

Often the best way to lay the foundations for a learning culture is to make small incremental changes and improvements to how an organisation operates. This way, the wider organisation and its staff start to adopt and live the learning culture without even knowing it.

- **Culture needs to be driven from the top**

Senior leadership teams play a significant role in the drive and push to develop a learning culture. This includes clear and consistent messaging. Staff need to see the learning culture as something that is being 'lived' throughout an organisation and not another 'thing' or 'project' being forced upon them.

- **The learning culture must be encouraged and promoted at all levels**

Similar to the above, the learning culture requires buy-in and development from staff at all levels. The messages and culture must be driven from the top, but it is equally important for managers and frontline staff from across an organisation to display, encourage and promote the culture within their teams and with their colleagues.

- **Staff must be empowered to speak out, challenge processes and actions that they feel are too risky or are not effective**

In order to ensure continual improvement, staff need an environment where their ideas and suggestions are encouraged and listened to. Operational processes need to be reviewed and challenged to ensure they are robust, achieve their intended purpose and are continually improved.

Effective mechanisms should be put in place for staff at all levels to raise their concerns, as well as to provide their ideas and innovations. The challenge for staff is not just to raise their concerns but to identify the cause of concern or risk and also identify potential solutions.

- **If something new is trialled and fails, focus on what was learned and not what failed**

It is hard to learn if we do not try things and it is better to have tried and failed than to have not tried at all. These are often-used phrases but ones that are vital in creating a learning culture. The key is to use the failure to learn what went wrong and why it didn't work so the same mistakes are not made again. This also ensures staff are not afraid of making mistakes.

The focus then is on the lessons learned, enabling continuous improvement which, as outlined above, is a foundation block for the learning culture.

- **Effective, clear and consistent communication**

The learning culture must be underpinned by good, effective communication at all levels, in a multitude of ways. Communication needs to be two-way, open and honest and allow information to flow freely across an organisation.

Communication needs to consistently reinforce key messages about the learning culture and where possible contain learnings, improvements and/or experiences to reflect on in each message.

Effective communication also includes the celebration of success stories across an organisation.

- **Innovation and creative ideas need to be valued and rewarded**

All ideas should be received and valued. This does not necessarily mean all innovations and creative ideas are implemented, however staff should see that their ideas are considered, encouraging them to continue to offer them.

There needs to be effective and valued rewards and recognition for creative ideas and innovative solutions. By celebrating success, staff are further encouraged to innovate and think about ways of doing things better.

Staff need to feel that they can freely express their ideas and innovations without fear of being shut down. Another often-used phrase, “no idea is a bad idea” is an important one within the learning culture

- **Have one clear goal**

One clear goal provides staff with a common cause the organisation can work together to achieve, and which the learning culture can be intrinsically tied to.

- **Capture and, more importantly, share knowledge and experience**

Staff from all levels need to be encouraged to offer and share their ideas and experience to other staff through an open environment.

There can be formal processes in place to assist in the sharing of information across an organisation, this does not, however, ensure that operational knowledge and experience is shared and this is often where the most important information and learning comes from.

Staff need to see the value and importance of sharing their knowledge and experiences with their colleagues, not only within their own working environment but also across geographical boundaries.

- **Driving continuous improvement**

Continuous improvement needs to be driven across the organisation. This incorporates all aspects of the organisation, from frontline operations to national office functions and activities.

In order to learn, we need to continually improve. And in order to continually improve we need to learn. An effective learning culture ensures this ongoing cycle of learning and improving is constantly and consistently applied.

- **In a productive learning culture, what and how employees learn is driven by the right learning opportunity, capability and environment**

This captures a number of previous points in that there needs to be the right environment to enable staff to engage in the learning culture.

It is about recognising that not all staff will be empowered by the same opportunities. Staff need to be given the right learning opportunities at the right level and then encouraged to share their experience.

- **Effective risk management policies and procedures**

There need to be clear and consistent risk management policies, procedures and behaviours in place to enable all staff to engage in regular risk management discussions about how to deal with uncertainties that matter to their operations, activities and objectives.

Risks need to be proactively and regularly identified and managed at all levels of the organisation and communicated up, down and across as appropriate. The organisation should also look to actively learn from incidents and near-misses to reduce the likelihood of their reoccurrence.

The learning culture and reducing re-offending

How will the development of a learning culture assist in the Department of Corrections achieving its stated goal of reducing re-offending by 25% by 2017?

The department can claim to have some of the characteristics described in this article already, for example:

- There is one clear goal; to reduce re-offending by 25% by 2017.
- The culture is being driven from the top with the Executive Leadership Team consistently displaying the behaviours of a learning culture.
- There are a number of communication channels that provide clear and consistent messages, a few examples of which include:
 - Frontline – a weekly update that notifies frontline staff of changes to practice, policies and procedures.
 - CE's Update – a weekly email from the CE containing his observations and highlights from the week.
 - us@corrections – a two-monthly publication that celebrates good news stories, provides staff with information on upcoming initiatives, as well as regional updates and other relevant information.

Work is also underway to implement a number of other characteristics that are not yet common across the organisation:

- Implementing further communication channels to ensure frontline staff and managers receive assurance, quality, performance, risk and practice improvement information to help drive continuous operational improvement.

- Creating clear and consistent processes to capture and share lessons learned across the Department.
- Improving the mechanisms for frontline staff ideas and innovations to be considered from a national perspective.
- Focusing on improving practice, whilst not losing sight of bottom-line operational requirements.

By building and strengthening these characteristics, Corrections will enable its greatest asset – its staff – to thrive. Staff are the key driver in achieving the targeted re-offending rate so it is the staff that need to be provided with the opportunity and ability to utilise their knowledge, experience, expertise and ideas in the most effective and efficient way.

An effective and widespread learning culture allows for this. Staff feel empowered to question and ask why we do things the way we do and if they feel there is some inherent risk involved then will have the mechanisms to speak out and be involved in the improvement process.

This will lead to continuous improvements in operational processes that will ensure staff time can be focused on the things that will have the greatest impact on reducing re-offending. Processes will be strengthened and streamlined to ensure frontline staff can focus on each individual offender and what works for them.

The wealth of information received and inherent within Corrections will be effectively utilised, with lessons learned actively shared amongst groups, sites, districts, regions and nationally, ensuring the mistakes of the past are not made again.

The corrections environment is one of constant change and challenges and the department needs to be in the best place to adapt to these changes and challenges in the best way it can. Continuing to build the foundations of a learning culture will enable the department and its staff to meet things head on and help take us into the future.

Tangible progress in our learning culture has been made over the last few years – too much to describe in this article. However, it remains, and will always be, a work in progress as the department strives to improve, develop and mature in everything it does.

Final thoughts

The learning organisation and the learning culture can often mean different things to different people. The characteristics described in this article can help guide an organisation in its journey to developing a learning culture; however it is important to acknowledge that what works for one organisation will not necessarily work for another.

What is important is to ensure that staff (at all levels) are driving the culture, that staff believe in it and that staff live and breathe it. The learning culture needs to permeate the whole organisation to enable growth and development, continuous improvement and ultimately ongoing learning.

The following two quotes provide a succinct summation of the importance of the learning culture:

“Learning is a treasure that will follow its owner everywhere” (Chinese proverb).

“Once you stop learning you start dying” (Albert Einstein).

If Corrections continues to develop the characteristics described in this article it will be well on its way to developing a learning culture which in turn will assist in the achievement of its goal of reducing re-offending by 25% by 2017 and keeping the public safe.

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Psychopathy and its implication for criminal justice – Key presentations and discussions from a specialist conference held May 2015, Austin, Texas.

Dr Nick J Wilson

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Author biography:

Dr Nick Wilson has been with the Department for 19 years. Nick began employment with Corrections as a clinical psychologist in Hamilton until 2001 when he became a specialist psychological researcher. He has been involved in research into the assessment and treatment of high risk offenders including psychopaths for many years. His PhD thesis was on the use of psychopathy in predicting serious re-offending by those released on parole and he has recently been involved in creating the High Risk Personality Programme. Nick is currently part of the team led by the Chief Psychologist.

Introduction

The author attended the 'Without Conscience: Psychopathy and its Implications for Criminal Justice and Mental Health' conference in May 2015 along with a two day pre-conference workshop on the assessment of psychopathy delivered by Dr Robert Hare. Dr Hare is the developer of the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R), which is used worldwide to assess this severe personality disorder associated with higher risk of serious offending. The Psychopathy Checklist: Screening Version (PCL: SV) developed by Dr Hare is one of the specialist assessment tools used by Corrections psychologists as part of risk assessments carried out here in New Zealand. Attendance at the workshop conducted by Dr Hare and Dr Matt Logan confirmed the training approach taken in New Zealand, and the author was invited to assist in delivering part of the training, especially in regards to the treatment of psychopathy. Recent research presented in the psychopathy assessment workshop, along with information gained from discussions with the presenters, have been incorporated into the New Zealand psychopathy training workshops undertaken by the author. In addition to the continued endorsement of the training approach taken by New Zealand Corrections, Dr Hare and the other invited speakers at the conference made reference to the cutting edge efforts to treat psychopathic offenders in the department's High Risk Personality Programme. The following information is based on the conference presentations by the event's invited speakers as well as discussions held by the author with the presenters.

Psychopathy profiles by Professor Robert Hare

Dr Hare is Emeritus Professor of Psychology, University of British Columbia, where he has taught and conducted research for more than four decades. He has devoted most of his academic career to the investigation of psychopathy, its nature, assessment, and implications for mental health and criminal justice. He is the author of several books and more than one hundred scientific articles on psychopathy, and the developer of the *Psychopathy Checklist-Revised* (PCL-R) considered the gold standard for the assessment of psychopathy.

In his address to the conference, Dr Hare spoke about recent developments that involved a major focus on variable and person-centred applications of the four sub-factor model of psychopathy. In particular, that the discovery of subtypes may help us to understand differing expressions of psychopathy and the roles played by psychopathy in a wide array of disciplines and contexts important to society.

These differing score profiles were based on the establishment of four sub-factors in the PCL-R (Interpersonal; Affective; Lifestyle; and Antisocial) (Neumann, Hare, & Newman, 2007). Recent research found three subtypes emerged that, while similar in terms of overall PCL-R scores, were separate when their sub-factor scores were plotted (Mokros et al., 2015). Tentative labels assigned to the subtypes (see Figure 1) were *Manipulative psychopaths* (LC1), *Aggressive psychopaths* (LC2), and *Sociopathic offenders* (LC3).

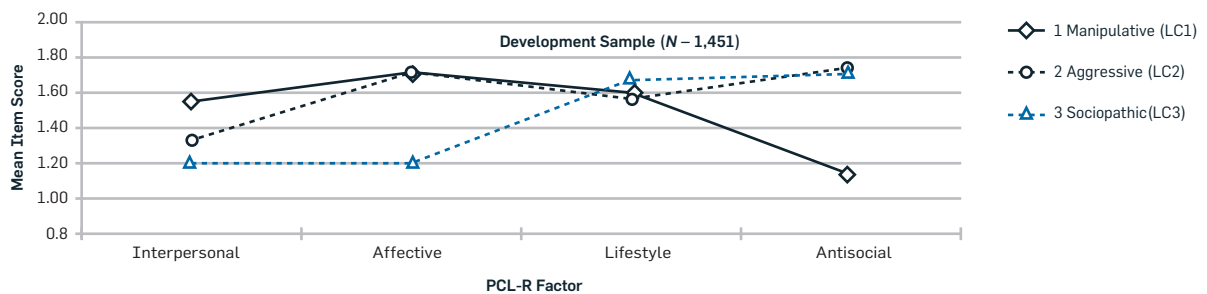


Figure 1.

Mean item scores for each subtype on each PCL-R factor. The subtypes consist of offenders with a PCL-R total score of 27 or higher (Mokros et al., 2015).

Dr Hare spoke about how the differences in the subtype were reflected in differences in offending. The manipulative psychopath (high on interpersonal, affective and lifestyle deficits but low on antisocial) were high on fetishism and deviant sexual behaviour and fraud offending. The aggressive psychopath (moderate scores interpersonal, high scores for affective lifestyle and antisocial deficits) had high rates of instrumental violence that functioned to manipulate and solve problems for them. The third subtype, sociopathic psychopath (low interpersonal and affective, but high manipulation and antisocial) was viewed as more capable with normal emotions; hardcore criminals but lower on manipulation. The sociopathic psychopath therefore, while displaying many psychopathic features, has a capacity for affect, guilt, and remorse at least on a par with the average offender. While both the aggressive and the sociopathic psychopaths are high on antisocial acts and likely have equal risk of re-offending, the sociopathic psychopath may be more treatable or externally managed on probation.

While the research into the psychopathic subtypes is recent it does have implications for the work of Corrections in New Zealand. The differing styles will assist in informing specialist risk assessments by department psychologists, as well as in assessing the effectiveness of treatment for each subtype. While no formal analysis has been carried out with the department's High Risk Personality Programme using the subtypes, the author's clinical judgement is that numbers of both the aggressive and sociopathic psychopaths are being treated in this initiative. In terms of the manipulative psychopath, these offenders typically present in sex offender treatment or as those with single or isolated serious violence such as murder that are viewed as lower risk, but they may indeed have significant barriers to successful treatment from their high interpersonal and affective deficits.

Use of psychopathy in profiling by law enforcement by Dr Mary Ellen O'Toole

Dr O'Toole was a supervisory special agent with the FBI, working for more than 28 years as an agent, half of this time at the Behavioural Analysis Unit at Quantico, Virginia. Her work with the FBI involved her in using information from crime scenes in profiling and identifying the offenders. Dr O'Toole was involved in a number of high profile cases such as the 'Green River Killer', Ted Kaczynski, the 'Unabomber', the 'Zodiac' serial murderer, and the 'Toy Box' murder. She is recognised as the FBI's leading expert in the area of psychopathy (O'Toole, 1999) and it is rumoured formed the model for one of the leading characters in the TV show 'Criminal Minds' based on the Behavioural Analysis Unit.

Her presentation at the conference was on how knowledge of psychopathy and different psychopathic presentations were an important consideration in identifying offenders and in predicting the type of crimes they may carry out if they re-offend (O'Toole, 2007). The appearance of normality by many psychopaths provides an understanding of their ability to access victims and avoid detection, in her words to "get under the radar". An example Dr O'Toole provided was an interview with someone who knew Gary Ridgeway the Green River Killer, "He's my next door neighbour. He says hello to me every morning when he walks his dog. He couldn't be the serial killer. I would have noticed something different or strange about him".

Psychopaths are also typically risk takers so boredom is a big turn off for them; this helps us to understand slips in behaviour, as well as their withdrawal from offending for periods. A lack of defensive injuries by victims was also viewed as significant when psychopathic glibness and superficial charm are considered, especially for repeat offenders who did not have prior knowledge of their victims. Dr O'Toole spoke of her experience with the 'Toy Box' murderer, David Parker Ray, a

sexual sadist suspected of murdering as many as 60 people from Arizona and New Mexico. David Ray had spent \$100,000 creating a soundproofed 20 foot truck trailer and equipped this with items used for torture, including a gynaecological examination table. Dr O'Toole described David Ray as extremely well spoken and educated, and charming and courteous when interviewed by her, although she said this may all have changed if he had her in his torture chamber!

Dr O'Toole also spoke about aspects of disposal of the body at the crime scene such as by Gary Ridgeway the 'Green River Killer' where disposal of remains in a disrespectful/degrading manner suggests the killer sees victims as non-human/objects. The examples provided were of bodies posed to cause an impact on those finding the remains and to demonstrate the total power of the offender. Psychopathy and low level of anxiety meant crimes could be carried out under the nose of the police, or, if detected, the offender was able to readily explain their presence. In some cases this meant the offender stayed to help the police search for the victim or were so mission focused or persistent they stuck around at the crime scene or attended the funeral.

In summary, Dr O'Toole emphasised that four traits from the psychopathic construct assisted the analysis of violent crime scenes; impulsivity, sensation-seeking, glib and superficial charm, and conning and manipulation. With psychopathic offenders viewed as a tremendous challenge for law enforcement professionals, analysis of violent crime scenes that is based on the traits, characteristics, and behaviours of psychopathy is regarded by Dr O'Toole as a tremendous law enforcement tool.

In New Zealand Corrections, using the information about the crime can assist department psychologists in considering the role that psychopathy may have played in the offending and in determining the risk of re-offending. It is also useful in the generation of viable risk scenarios that can be used to better manage psychopathic offenders released on parole.

Psychopathy and its association with attacks on law enforcement officers by Dr Matt Logan

Dr Matt Logan completed his PhD at the University of British Columbia while he was an active police officer. He was a member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) for 28 years serving in five communities within British Columbia, and a tour of duty in Ottawa and at the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC) in Glynco, Georgia. Dr Logan retired from the RCMP in 2009 and now provides forensic behavioural consultation and training for law enforcement and criminal justice officials.

Dr Logan presented on his work on identifying those who attack and often kill law enforcement personnel. He spoke of how threats to criminal justice officials have increased markedly since 2009 in the USA. Dr Logan said that analysis of lethal attacks on police indicated that 45% of those he called 'cop killers' were psychopaths, with 28% on judicial oversight where they knew they were going down for a crime and so decided to take someone with them. In discussions with the author, Dr Logan confirmed that while his presentation was focused on police personnel he equally viewed the information as applicable to attacks on Corrections staff.

Dr Logan began his presentation by talking about an incident on March 3, 2005 in Mayerthorpe, Alberta in which four RCMP officers were killed in the line of duty. They were ambushed and shot to death in cold-blood by a known criminal described by members of the community as dangerous and reclusive. Dr Logan believes this massacre, as well as other attacks on police, might have been prevented had the police been thoroughly briefed on the risk posed by this type of killer. His analysis of the killer in the Mayerthorpe case, James Roszko, indicated the motivating mind-set was revenge but the prominent personality was psychopathic.

In general, Dr Logan believes that perpetrators of violence against law enforcement and other authority figures fit into one or more of the following categories:

- The Revenge Oriented Mind (typical for some perceived indignation)
- The Psychopathic Mind (lack of remorse, empathy, grandiose etc)
- The Delusional Mind (persecutory, paranoid usually)
- The Mind with Over-Valued Ideas (an unreasonable belief over which the person has become obsessed).

Dr Logan stated that it is not necessarily big city gang members, the Hells Angels, or the Mafia that is killing criminal justice officials, instead it is the psychopath in society. The psychopath might be a member of the Mafia, Hells Angels, or the Bloods but it is not the gang affiliation that was the common factor, it was the psychopathic personality (Hare & Logan, 2007). He acknowledged that not every psychopath is a murderer but it is often the psychopath with other behavioural and contextual factors (i.e. perceived loss, revenge orientation, increased negative contact with law enforcement) that creates a perfect storm and catches law enforcement personnel in the maelstrom. Usually the 'cop killer' was a 'lone wolf killer' with such lone individuals being far more successful in their attacks (Logan, 2014).

Dr Logan, based on his analysis of the research, found people who'd killed law enforcement officers had similar features. Similarities included previous violence, early violence, threat or aggression toward authority, perceived loss of freedom, previous use of weapons in violent acts, and personality disorder with psychopathic features. Dr Logan said that he was not ignoring the violence risk posed by gang membership and the risk it poses to law enforcement safety but in his opinion, it is the revenge-oriented, 'nothing more to lose' psychopath that will be our greatest danger.

While lethal attacks on New Zealand Corrections staff have thankfully been rare, if one considers serious assaults and wounding then the number is far greater. The research by Dr Logan and others looking into attacks on law enforcement personnel may well provide some guidance in how to better understand which offenders are more likely to attack staff, especially those with psychopathic and revenge seeking characteristics.

Dr Steve Porter and Dr Woodworth

Dr Stephen Porter received his Ph.D. in forensic psychology at the University of British Columbia and is a researcher and consultant in the area of psychology and law. After working as a prison psychologist, Dr Porter spent a decade as a professor at Dalhousie. In 2009, he transferred to the University of British Columbia, where he assumed a position as a professor of psychology and the Director of the Centre for the Advancement of Psychological Science & Law (CAPSL). Dr Porter has published numerous scholarly articles on psychopathy and violent behavior, deception detection, and forensic aspects of memory.

Dr Michael Woodworth works closely with Dr Porter and is a professor at the University of British Columbia. He received his Doctor of Philosophy in 2004 from Dalhousie University. His primary areas of research include psychopathy, criminal behavior, and deception detection.

Dr Porter spoke about his research into the language of psychopathic offenders using computerised text analysis that uncovered the word patterns of predators. This research found that the words of psychopathic murderers matched their personalities, which reflected selfishness, detachment from their crimes and emotional flatness (Hancock, Woodworth, & Porter, 2013). This research found that psychopathic speech reflected an instrumental/predatory world view, unique socio-emotional needs, and a poverty of affect.

Computerised text analysis shows that psychopathic killers make identifiable word choices beyond conscious control when talking about their crimes. Psychopaths used more conjunctions like 'because', 'since' or 'so that', implying that the crime 'had to be done' to obtain a particular goal. Dr Porter stated they also used twice

as many words relating to physical needs, such as food (details on what they had to eat on the day!), sex or money, while non-psychopaths used more words about social needs, including family, religion and spirituality. Psychopaths were more likely to use the past tense, suggesting a detachment from their crimes. Finally they were found to be less fluent in their speech, using more 'ums' and 'uhs'. Dr Porter speculated that the psychopath is trying harder to make a positive impression, needing to use more mental effort hence the less than fluent speech.

Dr Porter also highlighted other research he had been involved in where an attempt was made to answer the question 'Do psychopathic individuals have the ability to detect useful and/or vulnerable victims?' (Wilson, Demetrio, & Porter, 2008). This study used a non-forensic sample of males who participated in a social memory experiment. The study involved the recognition of faces and the recall of the biographical details of artificially created characters differing in their relative career success and emotional vulnerability. Participants were shown pictures of equally attractive women that had differing biographic details. High-psychopathy participants had near-perfect recognition (90%) for sad, unsuccessful female characters, but impaired memory for other characters. Yet they had no special memory ability, rather, they prioritise recall of potential victims.

The findings suggest that psychopathic personality is associated with 'predatory memory' even in the absence of overt criminality.

Dr Woodworth continued the theme started by Dr Porter by discussing his research into the language of psychopaths. He spoke about genuine pleader language using 'we rather than I' and use of temporal words such as days and weeks. In contrast, liars used fewer words, more tentative words, tended to ramble, were less coherent, and said words such as 'they, anybody, somebody, and just' in describing their crimes. The psychopathic offender was likely to reinvent their crime as reactive rather than instrumental and they portrayed themselves as less culpable and personally involved. Dr Woodworth spoke about how computerised linguistic analysis programmes had transformed our ability to pick liars; in his words you "can't beat the computer".

Dr Woodworth talked about his recent research into how extended contact with a psychopath leads to less accurate perceptions about their behaviour, an important consideration when one considers the judgement of those treating or closely managing offenders. He described that it was face to face contact that provided psychopaths with the greatest ability to manipulate; they needed to have their eyes on you. In a task involving selling a product, psychopaths were actually less successful than non-psychopaths when they could only communicate via email text rather than in a Skype call.

The research presented by both Dr Porter and Dr Woodworth clearly has relevance to the work of Corrections staff in New Zealand in effectively managing and assessing the risk of offenders with psychopathic traits. This relevance could include ensuring that vulnerable staff do not become the prey of psychopathic offenders through better monitoring as well as ensuring that those in close contact do not make key risk management decisions. There may also be value in investigating whether computerised linguistic analysis could assist our psychologists in understanding the word patterns revealed by offenders during psychological interviews.

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Book Review:

Self-Insight: Roadblocks and Detours on the Path to Knowing Thyself

David Dunning (2005)

Psychology Press, Taylor & Francis Books

Reviewed by Dr Crista McDaniel

Practice Manager Psychologists and Programmes Central Region, Department of Corrections

Reviewer biography:

Crista has been with the department since 2003, first as a senior psychologist, then principal psychologist. Before coming to New Zealand she worked with civilian trauma victims, combat veterans, Native Americans, and spent some years as a forensic examiner.

This is one of most eye-opening books I have read and I recommend it to you. This book is about our ability to accurately assess personal limitations and competencies and take feedback. It is research-based, entertaining, easy to understand, and thoroughly relevant to everyone. Who should read this book? *Everybody* – if you depend on the biological computer sitting between your ears to make sense of the world and respond competently, this is the book for you.

Ironically, this eye-opening book is all about our cognitive 'blind spots'. These blind spots interfere with our ability to accurately self assess our performance and competence and can interfere with the very feedback needed to make change.

Dunning opens his book with a discussion about climbing Mt Everest. He suggests that individuals who consider a dangerous climb like Mt Everest have an important reason to accurately assess their abilities – survival. Hopefully, they would consider their ability to climb over a deep crevice on an unstable ladder, whether they could tolerate the extremes in temperature and weather, whether they are emotionally prepared for such an arduous climb, and the like. He notes that 1,496 people have 'summitted' and 172 have died; that is a ratio of 1 in 9 people losing their lives. The question is, were they truly aware?

Some decades ago researchers began posing the following questions: Are people aware of their shortcomings? How well do people know themselves? What do people do with feedback? What they found may surprise you. In general, they found that "it is surprisingly difficult to form an accurate impression of self, even with the motivation to understand, we often reach flawed and sometimes downright wrong conclusions" (Dunning, 2005). Dunning adds, "If self insight is a goal we desire, we face many roadblocks

and detours along the way, and each of us fails to reach that destination in some important fashion." According to Dunning, "The glass of self insight isn't empty, it's just not half full."

Some quick examples of the research findings include:

- Doctors' beliefs about their understanding of thyroid disorders did not correlate with their actual level of knowledge (Marteau, Johnson, Wynne, & Evans, 1989).
- 94% of college professors, who responded to a survey, said they do above average work, which is statistically impossible (Cross, 1997).
- When high school students were asked to rate their performance, 60% rated themselves as above average and only 6% rated themselves as below average
- Smokers remain overconfident about their own health prospects. They know their risk is greater than non-smokers, but significantly underestimate their personal risk (Stretcher, Kreuter, & Kobrin, 1995).

Research has found that people's impressions of themselves, either inflated or pessimistic (arrogant or humble), are not very closely anchored to their actual skill level. In general, people tend to overestimate their skill, knowledge, moral character, and place on the social ladder.

They found that people can be "blissfully unaware of incompetence," noting that "the curse is that the skills necessary to produce competent responses are the ones needed to recognize whether one has acted competently." Poor performers are often unaware of poor performance and "indeed, cannot know how badly they are performing" (Dunning, 2005).

High performers, on the other hand, may be unaware that others do not share the same level of knowledge (Christiansen, Szalanski, & Williams, 1991).

"People are also unaware of their errors of omission. They have no magical insight into the numbers of solutions they could have reached but missed" (Dunning, 2005). "In a sense, when people judge themselves, they know what they know but have little or no awareness of their personal 'unknown unknowns'" (Dunning, 2005).

People may also be unaware of their knowledge gaps. In 2002 the National Science Foundation surveyed Americans on their knowledge of scientific principles; less than half knew that lasers work by focusing light, more than half thought humans and dinosaurs lived together.

Dunning points out that while a wealth of knowledge can increase your confidence, some of that knowledge may be wrong. Dunning notes that when people were asked what country exports the most olive oil, 53% of people thought it was Italy, when actually it was Spain. Only 20% of people thought it was Spain. I, too, would have guessed Italy, because in some way, I have associated Italy with olive oil. Sometimes our knowledge is simply wrong.

Dunning, along with other researchers, notes that, "If people do not have factual/correct information, they tend to rely on a world of knowledge that might lead them to the right answer, but might not. Yet they can act confidently." People also have the ability to argue anything and this ability can cause problems. For example: Firefighters were asked to argue either – why firefighters who take risks succeed, or, why firefighters who are cautious succeed – compelling arguments were made for either assertion.

As I was reading this book, I thought that feedback might be important; however, feedback isn't without its problems as well. Dunning notes that feedback is probabilistic – there isn't a one to one correspondence between choosing the right reaction and getting a reward. Feedback is often incomplete, just as experience is. Feedback can be hidden (for example: good behavior may not be noticed while bad behavior is addressed), feedback can be ambiguous (a boy gets turned down for a date – was it something he did wrong or was it her?), or feedback can be absent. Feedback can also be very misleading. Dunning notes that after a particularly bad speech, a professor's colleagues were hunkered down, wincing, and giggling. When the professor asked them how he had done, he was told the speech had been remarkable and that people would be talking about it for years to come (all true but not very helpful).

Dunning and other researchers note that people often have trouble giving difficult feedback about performance and people will often delay or avoid giving difficult feedback. People also don't like to receive difficult feedback – they prefer feedback that fits with their perspectives. Researchers have found that we don't approach feedback in an open and evenhanded way – we shy away from feedback that is inconsistent with our self-assessments, and at times, misremember what was said.

Towards the end of the book, Dunning takes us back to Everest and suggests a different solution to the problem he initially posed – maybe the important thing to understand is not what we know about ourselves. Maybe what we need to understand is the relevant situation, but that judgment also depends on how well we take into account the specific features of a relevant situation without distorting them.

So how do we make good judgments when we aren't able to see or admit to various 'blind spots'? Dunning suggests that we use data from the past, seek outside data from other perspectives, learn to predict what others will do (this leads to a better prediction of self), use others as a crucial source of information, seek feedback (even difficult feedback), submit your decisions to review by others, and pay attention to what others say about you and your decisions. Dunning also reminds us that feedback needs to be specific and applied judiciously.

This review gives a taste of the research and how it applies to each of us. The real meal is in the book itself – read it and let me know what you think. I welcome your feedback!



Book review: *The Girls in the Gang*

Glennis Dennehy and Greg Newbold
2001, Reed, New Zealand

Reviewed by Shelly Kennedy
Senior Design Analyst, Department of Corrections

Reviewer biography:

Shelley started with Corrections in November 2014. Currently she is leading a project on safety and support for gang associated women at risk of violence when they leave prison. Prior to Corrections she spent a number of years at the Ministry of Social Development in the policy, research, project and team management areas. Shelley's academic background is in sociology and social policy.

Already a ground breaker in 2001, this book remains very relevant today. Its unique perspective on women in gangs within the New Zealand context continues to fill gaping holes in our understanding in this area.

A year earlier Glennis had completed her thesis where she interviewed ten female gang associates on their perspective of gang life. Surprisingly, it was the first research into women in gangs in New Zealand, with little having been written elsewhere either. Greg Newbold, Glennis' primary thesis supervisor, co-authored this book and together they reframed the thesis.

At about 200 pages, this book is focused on women and their place in gangs. It provides insights into the family context, what attracts women to gangs in the first place, their day-to-day lives, roles, relationships, violence and abuse, and how they negotiate the 'gang world'. Stories differ for individual women, but their exits out of gangs are similar; an interesting and important find of the research.

This is both an accessible and easy read and a robust piece of research and writing. Telling us something about our society as a whole, it doesn't try to hide the complex societies we know gangs are. Rather, it shines a light on a key, but generally overlooked, sub-group within gangs (i.e. women), to reveal what they see, their worlds.

These are stories we need to know about and share more broadly. It is a solid sociological piece of work, although limited by the numbers of women interviewed. This in itself illustrates something about gangs, i.e. how difficult it is to access people within what are generally 'closed' societies.

Glennis didn't just write a book on women in gangs, or a thesis on women in gangs, or even tell us something about our own society; she also had a direct, lived experience of being a gang associate. In the book's preface, Glennis shares her own story of eventually

escaping the gang life she was caught up in. I found that to be a hard read, as it illustrated how painful and life threatening some of those 'real' experiences are.

This book provides a unique perspective on women in gangs, and women in gangs within New Zealand. I have read a significant amount of local and international research material this year for my project work, and this writing was referred to a lot. The material is consistent with international material written well over a decade later, which maintains its relevance. And, for those working in this country, it has added relevance by being about New Zealand society. However, I would be interested in what a similar research study would reveal today, and to see where and if things have changed.

I was fortunate to work with Glennis, who joined our project team's prison forum visits around the country, earlier this year. Many staff and prisoners we spoke with had read and been influenced by her book; and the team and I learnt a lot in the process.

In a field with a dearth of research, this book is invaluable. It broadens the knowledge and understanding of both gangs and of domestic violence, and brings the two together.

For anyone interested in more than the run-of-the-mill look at gangs, or wishing to understand something of how women are impacted on, and impact, the gangs' world, I suggest they seek out this book.

As a postscript, this book also contains the first published history of gangs in New Zealand.



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