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Editorial

Rehabilitation, reintegration, and the psychology of criminal conduct

The Department of Corrections has traditionally distinguished between two domains of activity relating to reducing offenders' risks of re-offending: the rehabilitative and the reintegrative. In simple terms, the rehabilitative relates to efforts to bring about "intra-personal" changes within the individual – positive change to attitudes and beliefs, ways of responding emotionally to frustration, enhanced empathy for others, improved skills for relationships, and so on. The reintegrative is more concerned with removing environmental obstacles to a law-abiding lifestyle – things like homelessness, unemployment, and lack of social supports. Both are important.

The current edition is, if anything, weighted towards the reintegrative side. Corrections researchers Dr Bronwyn Morrison and Jill Bowman present findings from a (semi-) longitudinal study, investigating the experiences of prisoners in the weeks and months after leaving prison, which identifies the kinds of obstacles commonly encountered by these individuals, and contains useful pointers to ways in which reintegrative supports can be enhanced. Steve Cunningham's article describes important advances in our assistance to offenders in finding employment. Jonathan Muirhead seeks to usefully expand knowledge on what works in connecting offenders to social support networks. Nigel Banks adds to our understanding of what can be done to get better outcomes from educational services within prison.

There is content relating closely to the rehabilitative domain also. Jimmie Fourie tackles the difficult but important issue of how best to engage sex offenders who completely deny guilt for offences of which they have been convicted. This edition also includes some valued contributions for colleagues in Australia. Forensic psychologists Justin Trounson and Jeffrey Pfeifer from Melbourne usefully comment on the area of corrections officer wellbeing, and how it can be protected and promoted. Also from Melbourne, Dr Marietta Martinovic summarises what is known internationally on the effectiveness of electronic monitoring, an area in which she is a world-leading researchers.

Paradoxically, at around 300 words, the shortest contribution to this edition, is in some ways one of the most important. I refer to Glen Kilgour's review (see p 68) of the landmark text *The Psychology of Criminal Conduct*, recently released in its sixth edition. Glen rightly comments that this book has been, for more than 20 years, "go-to" reading for criminal justice professionals. It is worth pointing out again just how foundational this text has been to the whole framework of correctional rehabilitation, as practiced here in New Zealand, as well as in many other countries.

What is so important about this book is the fact that it firmly orients our attention to the "intra-personal" features and dynamics that drive offending. The concept of criminality is one of the most debated and diversely understood concepts in all of social science. Andrews and Bonta's greatest contribution has been to conclusively demonstrate the weaknesses and inadequacies of many sociological and criminological theories about crime and criminality. In their place, they marshalled overwhelming research evidence to support the validity of the focus on specific characteristics of the person, which they argue are the primary "causes" of criminal conduct.

These characteristics are now well-known, and include pro-criminal attitudes and beliefs, personality features such as impulsivity, recklessness and callous disregard for others, poor relationship skills, preference for association with antisocial peers, and propensity to abuse drugs and alcohol. The intrapersonal perspective on criminality has been powerfully validated by the greatest social science research ever conducted in New Zealand, the Dunedin longitudinal study. Findings from this study have conclusively shown that personal behavioural characteristics evident in young children strongly predict behaviour later in life, including criminality.

The corollary to this "diagnosis" is that success can only come if these core tendencies and patterns of behaviour are addressed therapeutically, and different attitudes, values, and social and interpersonal skills, are cultivated and supported. There is no question that helping offenders to find employment, improving their housing, and assisting with the many life problems that they experience, are also important, and contribute to reducing re-offending. However, interventions of this nature will have very limited effects if the core personal characteristics, that together constitute the essential criminal disposition, remain.

Dr Peter Johnston
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What works in correctional rehabilitation? Lessons from 15 years of programme outcomes analysis

Dr Peter Johnston

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Author biography:

Dr Peter Johnston has been with the department for over 20 years. He started in the Psychological Service in Christchurch, as one of three psychologists who set up the first Special Treatment Unit, Kia Marama, at Rolleston Prison in 1989. He then moved to Prison Services, where he was involved in setting up a prison-based "inmate assessment centre". In his current role he leads a team of seven staff who undertake research and evaluation, and in-depth analysis of data, to support new policy initiatives.

Introduction

Offender rehabilitation has always been central to the objectives of the Department of Corrections since its inception in 1995. We have made a wide range of rehabilitative services and interventions available to offenders, and implemented comprehensive frameworks of assessment, eligibility and referral to ensure that "the right offenders are matched with the right programme at the right time".

It has always been understood that effectiveness in rehabilitation – that is, achieving tangible reductions in re-offending as a result of participation in interventions – can never simply be assumed. In reality, a number of processes and influences can limit or neutralise the beneficial effects of correctional rehabilitation. Examples include inappropriate targeting of offenders, inadequate facilitator skill, and adverse events and processes within the wider custodial environment.

To ensure that the investment in rehabilitation is used to best effect, outcome evaluation has been a priority for the department since the early 2000s. The statistical methodology for analysing programme impacts – the Rehabilitation Quotient (RQ) – was developed in 2001, and has been deployed annually ever since, with the results published in the department's annual reports¹.

One of the strengths of the RQ approach is that it can distil the specific contribution that an individual programme type makes to overall reductions in re-offending. It seeks to answer the question: "To what extent did this recent instance of correctional rehabilitation, with this particular cohort of offenders, have the desired effect in reducing re-offending?"

This article sets out some of the more important lessons that have been drawn from the results of these annual outcomes analysis exercises over the last 15 years. As will be discussed towards the end of this article, having evidence to answer questions about programme effectiveness has great value.

The range of interventions able to be "RQ'ed" each year has grown significantly since the early 2000s, when just a handful of core programmes were analysed. Currently, around 40 distinct rehabilitation/reintegration services are included in the annual RQ process, with reconviction and reimprisonment "effect sizes" reported for each intervention. The annual expenditure on rehabilitation has increased commensurately. Being able to demonstrate that public funds are being expended to good effect is crucial.

Rehabilitation Quotient analysis is, of course, just one of the ways in which the department obtains information on programme effectiveness. Also important in this area are fieldwork-based evaluations and reviews, which gather detailed evidence concerning quality of delivery and participant response.

Lessons learned

Lesson 1: Overall, most of what we are doing to reduce re-offending, succeeds. Under routine delivery across the general offender population, our rehabilitative interventions have modest but positive impacts on re-offending. Effect sizes (ESs) are mostly in the 3 – 8 percentage-points range. For a programme with the latter ES this means that, instead of an "expected" rate of reimprisonment after 12 months of 25 percent, a programme's participants would have an actual reimprisonment rate of 17 percent. ESs of this magnitude are not huge – correctional systems the world over seldom get dramatic reductions in re-offending as a result of their programmes – but they are meaningful and significant reductions. And generally

¹ For a detailed description of the RQ methodology, see an earlier article by the author in "Practice" here: http://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/newsletters_and_brochures/journal/volume_1_issue_1_may_2013.html

they mean that the benefits of programmes (in terms of reduced costs of future offending) are greater than the costs of delivering the programme.

This finding is particularly important for two reasons. Firstly, the research literature mainly consists of studies focused on “flagship” programmes delivered under “ideal” conditions (well-resourced, highly trained facilitators, oversight by expert practitioners and academics). It is not particularly difficult to obtain good results when rehabilitation is delivered under optimal conditions; it is, however, considerably more challenging to get good results when delivery is “routinized” and broadly implemented across an entire national correctional system.

Second, the results we achieve are consistent with what is achieved in other countries. For example, a large-scale outcomes analysis of a specific cognitive-behavioural programme, delivered to over 20,000 prisoners in United Kingdom prisons between 1998 and 2005, found an overall ES of 8.4 percentage points (Sadler, 2010).

Lesson 2: New programmes seem to require a “bedding-in” period before demonstrating impact, usually of two to three years. Low initial ESs have been observed on several occasions, such as with the new Medium Intensity Rehabilitation Programme format in 2007-08, the introduction of the 3-month format of the Drug Treatment Unit (DTU3) programme in 2011, and with the Special Treatment Unit Rehabilitation Programme (STURP). All of these programmes are now considered successful, reliably reducing re-offending by between four and 13 percentage points.

This bedding-in effect is likely to be associated with staff developing their skills, gaining confidence in their roles, learning to work together as a team, becoming more familiar with programme materials, and so on.

Lesson 3: There tends to be a direct and positive relationship between intensity of programme (i.e., number of hours of face-to-face facilitator-participant contact – sometimes called “dosage”) and magnitude of ESs. A good example of this is the DTUs, where the six month format almost invariably produces ESs that are larger than those of the three month format. Also, as noted below, we tend to obtain our greatest impacts from our most intensive programmes – particularly the STURP. The STURP is over nine months in duration, and involves hundreds of hours of group work and face-to-face engagement with psychologists and programme facilitators.

On the other hand, surprisingly good results are often obtained from some brief interventions, such as the community Short Rehabilitation Programme (SRP – 24 sessions over six-eight weeks); even the Short Motivational Programme (SMP – five

sessions over up to five weeks) makes measurable impacts on the reconviction rates of prisoners and community offenders.

Lesson 4: Correctional rehabilitation has potential to make participants worse off. A programme known as “Straight Thinking” was delivered between 1997 and 2005, as an NZ adaptation of a “cognitive skills” course developed overseas. Participants in Straight Thinking were found to be reconvicted and re-imprisoned at rates several percentage points higher than comparison offenders. As can be imagined, these results were met with considerable scepticism at first, and it was assumed that the RQ method itself was faulty. However, the same results were reproduced after the RQ method had been revised and refined (2004), following which the programme was discontinued.

Investigations indicated that this adverse outcome resulted from a combination of factors: the lack of offence focus in the programme’s content, inadequately trained and supervised facilitators, and a programme group environment that was not conducive to personal change. These findings led to significant changes to the entire rehabilitation suite of programmes, including ensuring that programmes now have an appropriate offence focus, facilitators are better trained, and group environments are supervised and monitored to ensure they remain conducive to positive personal change.

Lesson 5: A similar lesson learned at that time was that adequately designed but poorly-delivered programmes often fail to generate measurable impacts. The pre-MIRP “100-hour programme” (of which there were four variants – adaptations for violence, alcohol and other drugs, driving and general) was adequately designed, but delivery was often sub-standard, resulting in several years of near-zero ESs. This programme was subsequently overhauled and re-designed, and re-launched as the MIRP.

Other innovations that seem to have merit can also fail. An example is the “Faith-based Unit” at Rimutaka Prison, which lacked the critical ingredients necessary for a positive impact on re-offending, and was closed as a result.

These findings underline the reality that multiple things need to “go right” for positive impacts to occur: good programme design, skilled and motivated facilitators, sound selection of participants, a stable/supportive environment within which delivery occurs, and good retention rates of participants. It is, of course, an on-going challenge for all correctional agencies to get the best out of their rehabilitation investment, but continuously working on improving programme “integrity” – i.e., the programme delivered to offenders conforms closely to the design and approach which is intended – is critical.

Lesson 6: Educational courses and employment/industry training now reliably produce positive impacts on re-offending (ESs usually between 3 – 5 percentage points, and statistically significant). Reintegrative support services are also achieving good results, especially the “Out of Gate” (OOG) service. Further, we have seen an interactive effect, whereby prison programmes followed by OOG lift the measured impacts above those achieved by either programme or OOG alone. This may come as a surprise to some who have tended to assume that only psychological-style programmes are effective, but we now have many years of evidence to confirm that educational courses and employment/industry training can reliably produce statistically significant positive impacts on re-offending.

Lesson 7: In recent years we have begun to run RQ analyses on specific programmes with differing participant types. This can only be done where the cohort numbers are sufficiently large, but we have done this with a number of mainstream rehabilitation programmes. Analysis of the participant data shows that Māori participate in our mainstream rehabilitation programmes in numbers equal to the proportion of Māori in the offender population. Secondly, Māori complete mainstream prison programmes at rates equal to non-Māori, and at a slightly lower rate in the community. The RQ analysis suggests that impacts for Māori are equal to, and sometimes better than, those recorded for non-Māori.

Further, we have shown that gang members (70% of whom are Māori) also participate in programmes in reasonably significant numbers, and are benefitting from doing so. Although re-offending rates remain high, gang members who participate are likely to re-offend less seriously, or to go for longer without re-offending.

Lesson 8: Specifically culturally-based interventions – Māori Focus Units, the Pacific Focus Unit, tikanga courses, and the “Bi-cultural Therapy Model (BTM) – when delivered as “standalone” interventions, tend to produce only small ESs. Awareness of this has led to the redesign of the Māori Focus Units model into Te Tirohanga which will bring these units more into line with established principles of effective correctional rehabilitation. These forms of rehabilitation also have motivational value, in beginning to orient offenders to the tasks and challenges of personal change.

Lesson 9: The RQ method, using a 12 month follow-up period, and counts of general re-offending, is not well-suited to evaluating child-sex offender programmes. This is because sexual re-offending, if any occurs, will generally not show up in official records for several or many years after release. We nevertheless include the two child sex offender special treatment units (Te Piriti and Kia Marama) in the annual RQ round, and tend to find small but consistent reductions in general re-offending. This provides some assurance of on-going programme soundness.

Lesson 10: Finally, the standout lesson from the experience of outcomes analysis is that, when done properly, correctional rehabilitation can be very successful. The case in point is the STURP, which is our best-performing rehabilitation programme. This programme regularly produces reductions in reimprisonment rates of 12 percentage points and more, and reductions in reconvictions (which include convictions resulting in either prison or a community sentence) of up to 17 percentage points.

The STURP results provide further confirmation that close adherence to known principles of effective correctional rehabilitation can generate excellent results. This is particularly impressive given the target group for the programme; high-risk violent offenders, many of whom are gang-affiliated, and most of whom are challenging to work with. In other words, the programme succeeds with our toughest customers. Delivering these kinds of results year on year really is an outstanding achievement.

Conclusion

RQ results are used for a range of purposes in the overall management of the department’s business. Critically, they ensure that we can have confidence that our programmes are effective. On the flip side, ineffective services (such as Straight Thinking) can be identified and discontinued, with funding re-directed into more effective programmes. Results have also served to identify programmes that require strengthening, as revealed by weak or variable ESs. They have enabled us to improve matching of offenders to programme type, for example, the short (three month) and longer (six month) formats of the Drug Treatment Units. RQ also permits formal cost-benefit analysis, where costs of programme delivery are weighed against “future costs avoided” through reduced crime and victimisation. This in turn can be used to generate the kind of hard evidence now required to support funding bids for rehabilitation expansion.

New Zealand remains the only country in the world that routinely measures and reports on the outcomes of the full suite of its rehabilitative interventions. The process has major benefits in enabling us to direct, and re-direct, resources to where we get best effects, to improve effectiveness, and to avoid wasted effort.

Reference

Sadlier, G. (2010). *Evaluation of the Impact of the HM Prison Service Enhanced Thinking Skills Programme on Reoffending: Outcomes of the Surveying Prisoner Crime Reduction (SPCR) Sample* (Ministry of Justice Research Series 19/10). London: Ministry of Justice.



New Zealand prisoners' prior exposure to trauma

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Marianne Bevan is a Research Adviser in the Department of Corrections Research and Analysis team. She started at Corrections in May 2014 and has completed a range of projects related to the offending, treatment and management of female offenders. Prior to working at Corrections, she conducted research and implemented projects on gender and security sector reform in Timor-Leste, Togo, Ghana and Liberia.

Executive summary

This study quantifies prisoners' lifetime exposure to potentially traumatising events using data from the recent study on the comorbidity of mental health and substance abuse disorders (Indig, Gear and Wilhelm, 2016). The study identified high rates of lifetime exposure to potentially traumatising events – for example, over half (57 percent) of prisoners have experienced sexual and/or family violence and the rate was higher for women at 75 percent compared to 56 percent for men. This could have implications for the management and treatment of people in prison, including the need for trauma-informed practice and for further work exploring the relationship between family violence victimisation and perpetration.

Background

The recently completed survey on the comorbidity of substance use disorders and mental health disorders among New Zealand prisoners showed that 52 percent of female prisoners, and 22 percent of male prisoners have a lifetime diagnosis of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (Indig, Gear and Wilhelm, 2016). This suggests high rates of trauma within the prison population. Trauma occurs when an event, or series of events, is experienced by the individual as emotionally harmful or threatening. Trauma can be caused by a range of events, although there is debate about what types of events this can encompass (May and Wisco, 2016). However, traumatic events are generally defined as events experienced or witnessed which cause "actual or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others" (May and Wisco, 2016, pp 233). This commonly includes physical or sexual abuse, the sudden death of a family member, or exposure to a natural disaster (SAMSHA, 2014). People experience events differently; an event such as a life-threatening accident which may cause lasting adverse effects on one individual's functioning, will not have the same effect on others.

Trauma exposure can have a range of long-term impacts including the development of PTSD, or other mental disorders such as depression and anxiety, substance abuse, and inter-personal problems (Tam and Derkzen, 2014). There has been no causal link made between trauma and criminality. However, exposure to traumatic events causes a range of other maladaptive coping strategies, which are, in turn, associated with criminality. Studies have shown that for some female offenders, the psychological and behavioural impacts of childhood victimisation contribute directly to criminogenic needs; the depression, anxiety, and substance abusing behaviour stemming from trauma can be direct contributors to offending (Salisbury and Van Voorhis, 2009, p.561). Prior exposure to traumatic events such as witnessing or experiencing family violence as a child has also been shown to play a role in family violence offending for men and women (Dutton, 2006).

There is limited international research on prisoners' exposure to trauma events prior to their incarceration, although the research that does exist has consistently shown high rates of trauma exposure, particularly for women (Tam and Derkzen, 2014). For example, one cited study showed that 60 percent of life sentenced women had experienced sexual abuse compared to 8 percent of men in a U.S. prison sample (Leigey and Reed, 2010, cited in Tam and Derkzen, 2014). Recent qualitative studies into the female prison population in New Zealand have suggested high rates of exposure to potentially traumatising events, specifically sexual and family violence (Bevan, Lynch & Morrison, 2016). However, as yet, there has been no attempt to quantify the extent of prior exposure to potentially traumatising events among New Zealand prisoners.

Purpose of the study

The aim of this analysis was to quantify the prevalence of prior exposure to potentially traumatising events within the New Zealand prison population. This study is based on data from the recent study on the comorbidity of mental health and substance abuse disorders which was completed in 2015. The comorbidity study used the Composite International Diagnostic Interview 3.0 (CIDI 3.0) and the Personality Diagnostic Questionnaire 4+ (PDQ-4) to assess the prevalence of mental health and substance use disorders. The study used a representative sample of 1,209 randomly selected New Zealand prisoners (113 women and 1,096 men), who have recently been received into prison, across 13 prisons. The sample was predominately men (91 percent). Māori comprised 51 percent of the sample, Europeans 35 percent, Pacific Peoples 10 percent, and other/not recorded 4 percent.

The PTSD module of the CIDI 3.0 contains 28 potentially traumatic events (these are listed in Appendix 1 of this paper). Participants were asked whether they had experienced particular types of potentially traumatic events, at what age, and with what frequency. They were then assessed as to whether their experience of any of these events led to PTSD symptoms.

The data on the potentially traumatic events was used to identify offenders' prior exposure to potentially traumatic events – such as family and sexual violence – for this study. Therefore it does not only include people who developed PTSD symptoms, but includes all incidences of these events within the whole comorbidity study sample. This study did not include the data on which events led to PTSD symptoms. As described above, whether or not an event is considered traumatic depends on the individual's reaction to it. Therefore while this study quantifies the extent to which participants had been exposed to *potentially* traumatising events, it does not identify what proportion experienced trauma symptoms as a result. This was done for two reasons. Firstly, the way the data was collected meant that it was not possible to identify which specific events led to PTSD symptoms. Secondly, this would have limited the scope of the study. As explained above, exposure to potentially traumatising events can have a range of negative outcomes beyond the development of PTSD. One of the aims of the study was to quantify overall exposure to different types of violence, particularly family and sexual violence, within the prison population, as there is not a current reliable figure of this. Only including events which led to PTSD would not have allowed the study to provide these figures. As a result, the study refers to *potentially* traumatising events.

The study compares rates of exposure to potentially traumatic events between men and women, and different ethnicities. Significance tests were conducted to determine whether the difference in proportions were statistically significant to the 95 percent confidence level. Statistically significant differences are identified throughout the report.

For analysis, the types of potentially traumatic events were grouped into five categories. These were:

1. Violence (family violence, sexual violence, general violence)
2. War/conflict/civil unrest-related events
3. Exposure to serious accident and/or disasters
4. Exposure to illness and death
5. Event causing injury or death.

Limitations

The current analysis has a particular focus on prisoners' experiences of family violence. However, the definition of family violence used in the study was limited. The study includes three types of violence grouped as family violence: being badly beaten up by parents or the people who raised you; witnessing serious physical fights at home; or being badly beaten up by a spouse or romantic partner. There are other events such as stalking and kidnapping which, in some cases, are likely to be family violence, but because information about the perpetrator was not collected, it was not possible to identify this and so they were grouped as "general violence". There are types of violence generally considered family violence – such as childhood neglect, or psychological, economic or emotional coercion and control exerted in a relationship – data on which was not collected in the study. This means the rates of family violence reported are likely to be an under-representation of the true exposure rates.

The data was based solely on self-reports of trauma exposure. Disclosing sexual violence is a sensitive subject, particularly for male offenders where the social stigma around reporting sexual violence victimisation is arguably higher. There were also types of sexual violence that were not captured in the study, for example, sexual contact between a minor and someone over the age of 16 which may be perceived as consensual, but which is illegal. These factors could mean reported rates were lower than actual rates of victimisation (Holmes, Offen & Walker, 1997).

Exposure to violence

Three types of violence were identified: family violence, sexual violence, and general violence. The study looked at overall incidences of violence, along with the prevalence of the different types of violence.

A high proportion of prisoners have experienced violence within their lifetime

Over three quarters of prisoners experienced some type of violence (including family violence, sexual violence or other community violence). Women experienced violence at slightly higher rates than men (81% compared to 77%), and more commonly experienced sexual and family violence, compared to men who were more likely to experience general violence (see Figure 2).

Figure 1:

Exposure to violence

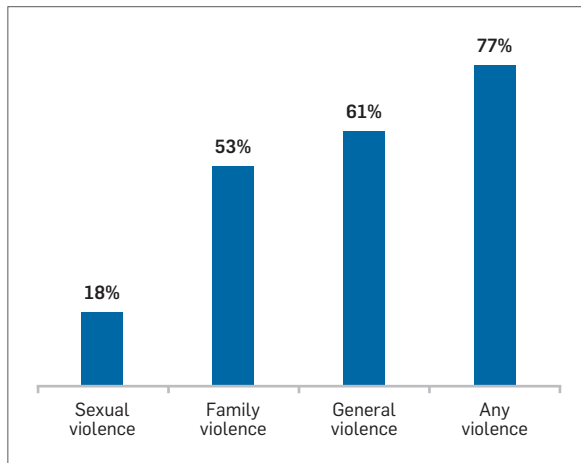
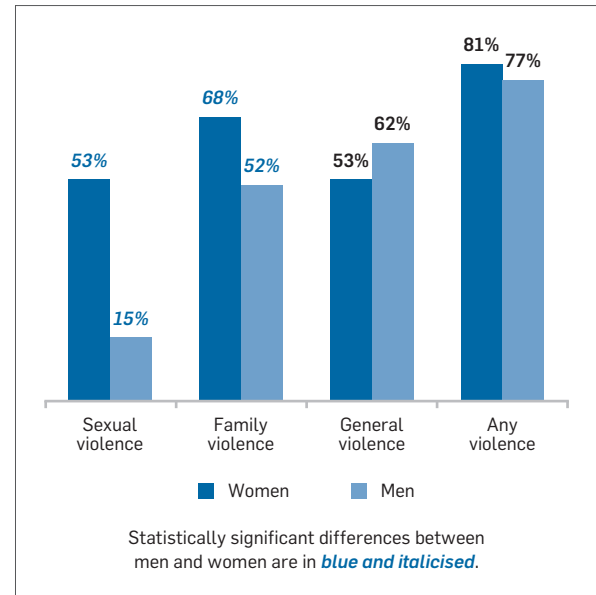


Figure 2:

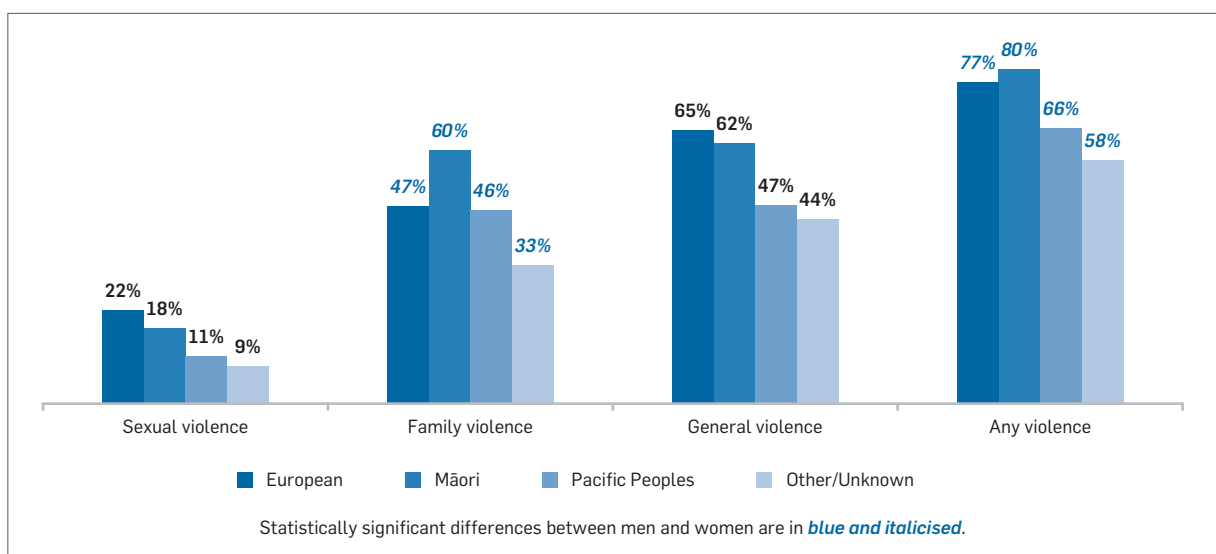
Exposure to violence by gender



There was not a lot of variability in the rates of violence victimisation by ethnicity, although Māori did experience the highest rates of violence and this difference between Māori and non-Māori was statistically significant (see Figure 3).

Figure 3:

Exposure to violence by ethnicity



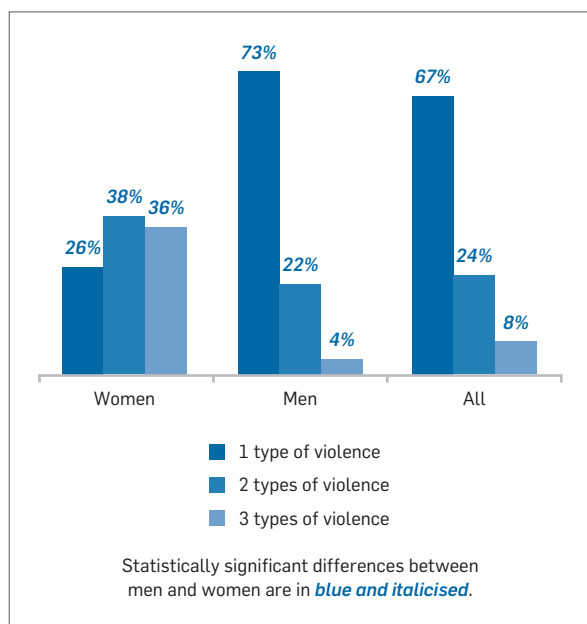
Prisoners were exposed to a high concentration of family and sexual violence

Over half of prisoners have experienced sexual and/or family violence (57 percent). This rate was higher for women than for men, with 75 percent of women experiencing sexual or family violence compared to 56 percent of men and this difference was statistically significant. Women had also been exposed to a higher concentration of these violence types (see Figure 4); the majority (73 percent) of men had only been exposed to one type of violence (including family violence as a child, Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), and sexual violence), whereas a higher number of women had been exposed to at least two forms of family and/or sexual violence.

In terms of ethnicity, Māori offenders were most likely to experience sexual and/or family violence (63 percent), followed by European offenders (55 percent), Pacific Peoples offenders (48 percent), and lastly unknown/other offenders (31 percent). The difference in rates of sexual and/or family violence between Māori and non-Māori was statistically significant.

Figure 4:

Concentration of violence by gender (family violence as a child, IPV, sexual violence)



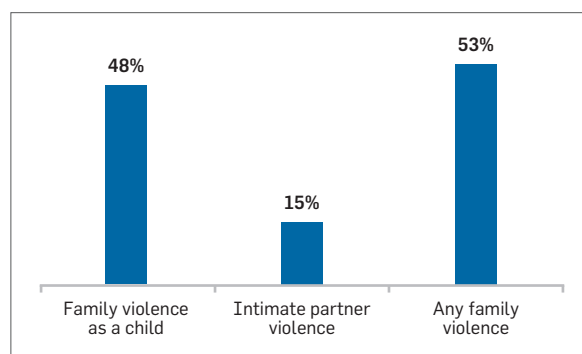
The prevalence of family violence was high

Fifty-three percent of prisoners had experienced family violence in their lifetime. Rates of family violence were highest amongst Māori at 60 percent. Just under half of Pacific Peoples and European prisoners had experienced family violence. The difference in rates of family violence exposure between Māori and non-Māori were statistically significant.

The exposure rate was higher for women at 68 percent compared to 52 percent for men. Men had marginally higher rates of family violence exposure as a child¹ than women (48 percent compared to 44 percent), although the rates of IPV in adulthood were noticeably higher for women at 61 percent compared to 10 percent. The 2014 New Zealand Crime and Safety Survey (NZCASS)² reported that lifetime experience of IPV was 26.1 percent for women, and 13.8 percent for men. This means rates of IPV were much higher for female prisoners than in the general population, whereas the reverse was true for men.³

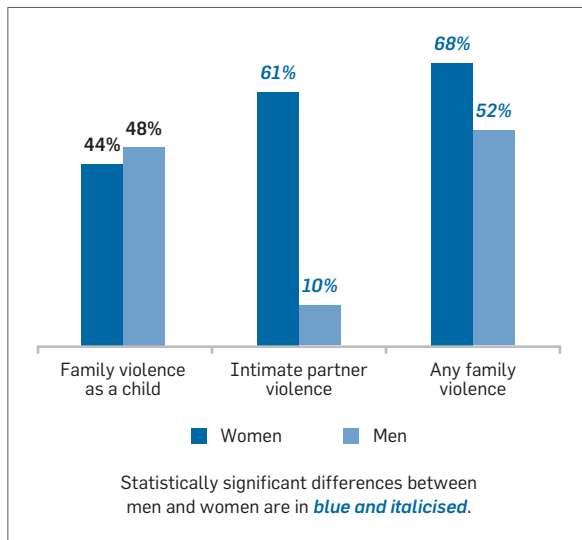
Figure 5:

Rates of family violence victimisation



- 1 The question within the comorbidity study about childhood experience of family violence did not specify what age counted as a "child".
- 2 The NZCASS is a nationwide, face-to-face survey of New Zealand residents aged 15 years and over. A total of 6,943 adults was interviewed between February and June 2014 about crime that happened in 2013, and in their lifetime.
- 3 IPV was defined as assault, threat (of force), damage (to property), threat (to damage property), which is a more expansive definition than that used in this study.

Figure 6:
Rates of family violence victimisation by gender



Over half of women who experienced IPV experienced it for a sustained period of time. This was the case for 15 percent of men. Women were also more likely to experience IPV from a younger age than men. This means women reported much greater exposure to IPV than men.

Sexual assault

Nearly one-fifth of prisoners had experienced sexual assault (including rape). Over half of women (53 percent) had been sexually assaulted. The NZCASS lifetime experience of sexual violence for women was 23.8 percent which means the sexual violence prevalence rates for female prisoners are over double those for women in the community. Forty percent of women in the prison sample had been raped, and this was nearly four times the rate reported in the NZCASS⁴ where it's 11.4 percent. While the rates were much lower for men, with 15 percent sexually assaulted, and 9 percent raped, such results are not insignificant and are much higher than rates within the general population – NZCASS showed men's lifetime experience of sexual violence to be 5.6 percent. Differences in exposure to sexual assault between men and women were statistically significant.

⁴ NZCASS does not use the term "rape" but uses the definition "forced sexual intercourse" which is how rape is defined in the comorbidity data.

Figure 7:
Rates of sexual assault

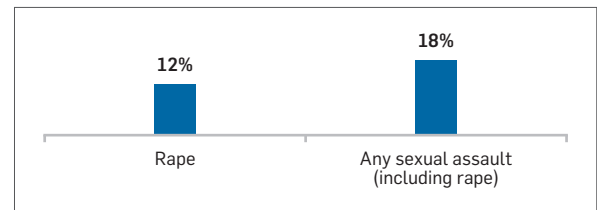
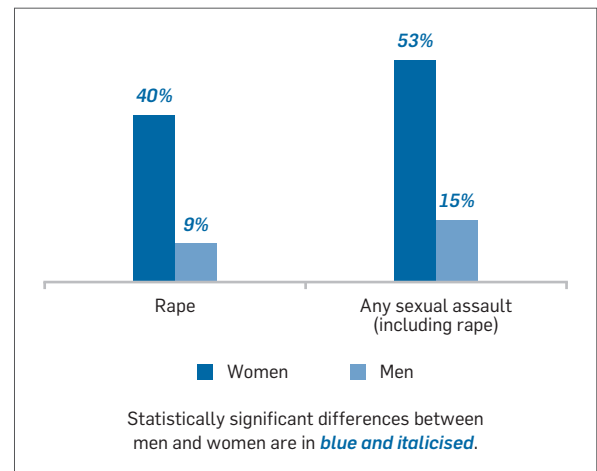


Figure 8:
Rates of sexual assault by gender

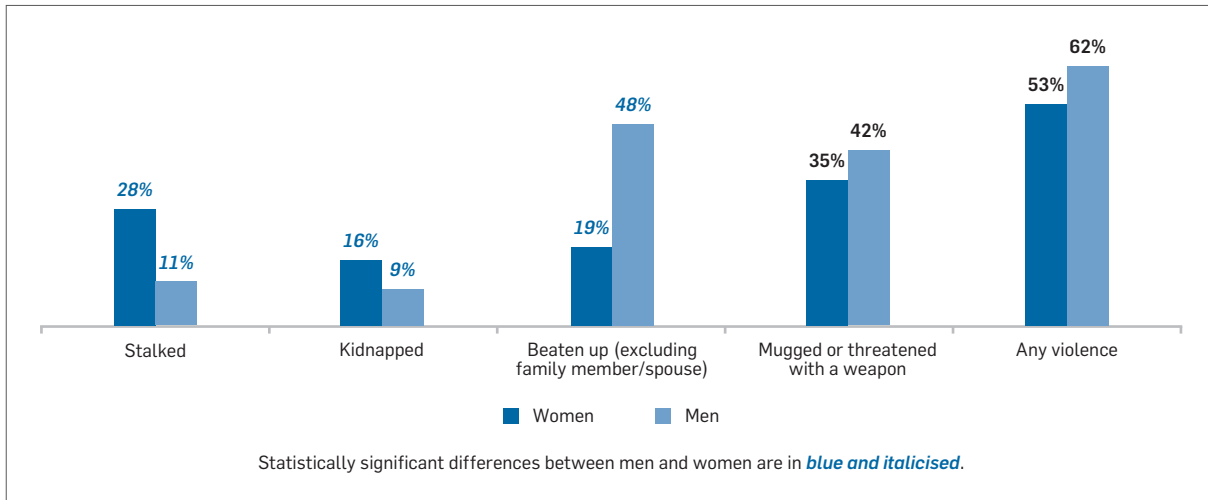


Of those who reported being sexually assaulted, over half (57 percent) experienced their first sexual assault when under the age of ten, and a further 34 percent under the age of twenty. Over a quarter (28 percent) of prisoners who had been sexually assaulted experienced it as part of a sustained period of abuse.

General violence

Other violence included being stalked, kidnapped, beaten up (excluding family violence), mugged or threatened with a weapon. Over half of prisoners had experienced this type of violence (61 percent), most commonly being beaten up. Men experienced this form of violence at higher rates than women (62 percent compared to 53 percent). There were variations in the types of general violence women experienced compared to men. For example, men were mugged or beaten up at higher rates than women, whereas women were stalked or kidnapped at higher rates. Rates of general violence were similar by ethnicity, although marginally higher for European offenders at 65 percent compared to 62 percent for Māori offenders and 47 percent for Pacific Peoples.

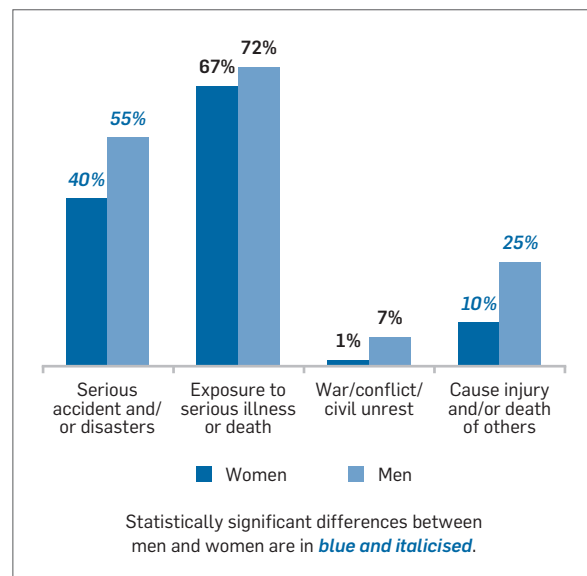
Figure 9:
General violence by gender



Exposure to other potentially traumatic events

Prisoners had also experienced high rates of other potentially traumatising events including exposure to serious accidents and/or disasters; exposure to serious illness and death; exposure to war, conflict and civil unrest; and causing serious injury and/or death of others. Over three quarters of prisoners had been exposed to serious illness and death including having a life-threatening illness or having someone close to them die unexpectedly, for example through murder or suicide. Over half had been exposed to serious accidents and/or disasters such as natural or manmade disasters, or life-threatening accidents. Men were more likely to have experienced all of these types of events than women, as evidenced in the graph below. For example 55 percent of men had experienced a serious accident or disaster compared to 40 percent of women.

Figure 10:
Exposure to other potentially traumatising incidents by gender

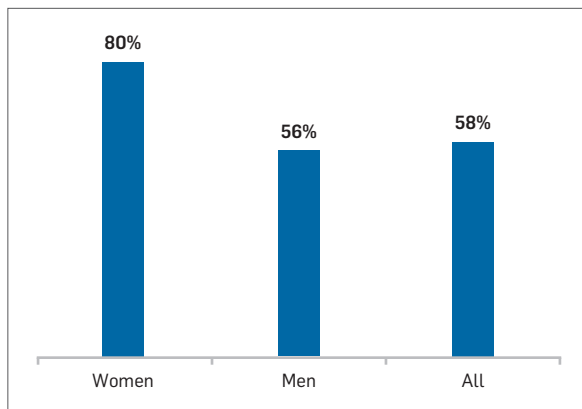


Rates of victimisation for family violence and sexual offenders

Over half (58 percent) of prisoners in the study had a past conviction for a family violence offence. The proportion was higher amongst male prisoners than female prisoners, at 60 percent (n=622) and 36 percent (n=41) respectively. It was relatively common for those with family violence convictions to have also experienced family violence victimisation, and was the case for 58 percent of prisoners in the sample. This is similar to international findings where the rates were much higher for women: 80 percent (n=33) with a family violence conviction had family violence victimisation, compared to 56 percent of men. A small proportion of offenders were serving sentences for sexual offences (6 percent, n=73). Of those, just under one-fifth had previously experienced sexual victimisation, which is the same rate as within the wider sample. This shows a greater congruence between victimisation and perpetration for family violence than for sexual violence.

Figure 11:

Proportion of family violence offenders with family violence victimisation



Conclusion and implications

Prisoners have a high lifetime exposure to potentially traumatising events

This analysis shows high rates of lifetime exposure to potentially traumatising events within the New Zealand prison population. Three quarters of prisoners had been exposed to serious violence in their lifetime and over half had experienced family and/or sexual violence. The rates of family and sexual violence were, in most incidences, higher than those experienced within the general population.

Prisoners' experience of violence is gendered

The overall rates at which prisoners had experienced violence are similar for men and women. However, the types of violence men and women most commonly experienced differed; women were much more likely to experience "private" violence like sexual violence, interpersonal violence, stalking and kidnapping, whereas men were more likely to experience more "public" violent crime.

Māori experienced marginally higher rates of violence

There was not a lot of variation in the rates of exposure to violence between different ethnic groups. However, Māori experienced higher rates of violence overall, and experienced higher rates of family and/or sexual violence.

Female prisoners have experienced high rates of victimisation

It is commonly assumed that rates of victimisation within the female prison population are high, and we now have more definitive evidence of this. Three-quarters of the female sample had experienced family and/or sexual violence – nearly half had been raped and nearly two-thirds had experienced Intimate Partner Violence. For many of these women the abuse started when they were young, and was part of a sustained period of violence. There is work underway to implement trauma-informed practice within the women's prisons (see McGlue, 2016) and this research emphasises the importance of this work. There is emerging international evidence that experiences of victimisation have a noticeable impact on women's pathways into crime. It was not within the remit of this study to explore how victimisation may or may not contribute to offending. However, the high rates of victimisation suggest further research is needed on how past victimisation is addressed within women's rehabilitation pathways.

The rates of victimisation within the male prison population are cause for attention

Over half of male offenders had experienced sexual and/or family violence; nearly half of the male prison population experienced violence as a child, and while the rates of sexual abuse were much lower than for women, they were still higher than the general population. Results show men may also need adequate access to victims' services. Further work is also needed exploring the long-term impact family violence victimisation may have had on offending patterns; for example alcohol and drug use, and family violence perpetration. With regards to the latter, more work is needed exploring the relationship between family violence victimisation and perpetration.

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Appendix 1: Summary of rates of exposure to potentially traumatising events by prisoners over their lifetime, by gender

* indicates that differences in proportions between men and women are statistically significant to 95% confidence levels

Type of Violence		Women %	Men %	All %
Family violence	Family violence as a child	44	48	48
	Intimate partner violence*	61	10	15
	Any family violence*	68	52	53
Sexual violence	Rape*	40	9	12
	Any sexual violence (including rape)*	53	15	18
Any family and/or sexual violence*		75	56	57
General violence	Stalked*	28	11	12
	Kidnapped*	16	9	10
	Mugged or threatened with a weapon	19	48	41
	Beaten up (not including family violence)*	35	42	45
	Any general violence	53	62	61
Any violence (family, sexual, general)		81	77	77
Other potentially traumatising incidents	Serious accident and/or disasters*	40	55	54
	Exposure to serious illness or death	67	72	71
	War/conflict/civil unrest	1	7	6
	Cause injury and/or death of others*	10	25	23

Appendix 2: Summary of rates of exposure to potentially traumatising events by prisoners over their lifetime, by ethnicity

* indicates that differences in proportions between Māori and non-Māori are statistically significant to 95% confidence levels

Type of Violence		European %	Māori %	Pacific Peoples %	Unknown/other %
Family violence	Family violence as a child*	40	56	43	26
	Intimate partner violence	16	15	8	7
	Any family violence*	47	60	46	33
Sexual violence	Rape	14	12	9	5
	Any sexual violence (including rape)	22	18	11	9
Any family and/or sexual violence*		75	56	57	
General violence	Stalked	16	12	8	2
	Kidnapped	14	9	3	7
	Mugged or threatened with a weapon	44	41	32	33
	Beaten up (not including family violence)	48	45	40	33
	Any general violence	65	62	47	44
Any violence (family, sexual, general)*		77	80	66	58
Other potentially traumatising incidents	Serious accident and/or disasters	60	53	39	47
	Exposure to serious illness or death	75	71	64	53
	War/conflict/civil unrest	3	4	3	26
	Cause injury and/or death of others	22	25	25	9



Treating sexual offenders who categorically deny their offending

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Jimmie has been working as a psychologist for the Department of Corrections since 2012. Prior to Corrections he held a role as a senior psychologist at a community-based sex offender treatment programme, as well as a role in a drug and alcohol counselling service for youth in the criminal justice system.

Current treatment options

The Department of Corrections offers specialist psychological treatment for offenders who sexually offend against children or adults. The treatment of choice for both these sex offender types is attendance at a Special Treatment Unit programme if they have sufficient time in their sentence. However, individual treatment may be undertaken in an attempt to motivate offenders to attend a Special Treatment Unit, in some cases to help them admit their offending or in exceptional circumstances when an offender's personality style is seen as a responsivity barrier to group treatment.

The department currently runs two Special Treatment Units (Kia Marama at Rolleston Prison in Christchurch and Te Piriti at Auckland Prison) for men who have sexually offended against children. Two treatment programmes are provided. An intensive 10 month programme for those men who are identified as being at a higher risk of re-offending sexually, and a short intervention programme (SIP) of three months duration for those who are of lower risk of re-offending. The intensive programme consists of three parts: a starters' group, the core treatment component and a maintenance component. Offenders often subsequently attend monthly relapse prevention groups in the community towards the end of their sentence.

Adult sex offender programmes are run at three of the Special Treatment Units for violent offenders. Each unit runs one Adult Sex Offender Treatment Programme (ASOTP) a year which is of similar duration and intensity as the Kia Marama and Te Piriti programmes.

Men who attend these group-based treatment programmes need to have acknowledged to some extent that they have offended and would benefit from assistance to prevent re-offending. One of the inclusion criteria for entry into these treatment programmes is an acceptance of guilt and taking responsibility for all or some of their sexual offending behaviour.

However, despite considerable efforts on the part of departmental staff, some men remain adamant that they have not offended and continue to deny their offending and refuse treatment.

Deniers' group criteria

For the purposes of the proposed deniers' programme, denial is defined as a person who categorically denies having committed a sexual offence. This includes a person who claims to be falsely accused and/or claims that they were not present when the crimes were committed. Currently we attempt to motivate offenders, on an individual basis, to acknowledge their offending and partake in treatment offered at a Special Treatment Unit programme. At times these attempts are repeated on a number of occasions over a number of years for offenders serving long sentences of imprisonment. Although successful in some cases, the disadvantage of this approach is that a number of sex offenders have remained untreated. Repeated attempts trying to encourage someone into admitting their offending could also be counter-productive and further entrench their denial. It is suggested that therapeutic efforts should be focused on increasing motivation to engage in treatment and better their lives.

Ware, Marshall and Marshall (2015) reviewed studies looking at the prevalence of denial by incarcerated sex offenders. They cited studies (Barbaree, 1991; Marshall, 1994; Hood, Shute, Feilzer & Wilcox, 2002; Thornton & Knight, 2007; Gibbons, de Volder & Casey, 2003) that reported denial in 21 – 35% of all convicted sex offenders. However, the confusing use of the term "denial" in the literature makes it difficult to ascertain how many are considered categorical deniers (i.e., the offender claims to be entirely innocent as opposed to the offender that denies some of the offending, denies sexual motivation, or claims the offending was consensual). The matter is further complicated when one considers the temporal timing of such research with respect to where within the criminal justice

system an offender is. That is, is it at the time of arrest, pre-trial, pre-or-post treatment? We know the number of offenders that maintain their stance of denial is much higher at pre-trial and sentencing in comparison to when they are incarcerated. Specific research within the New Zealand context is required to clarify the number of categorical deniers.

An accepted definition for "taking responsibility for offending" has been defined by Ware and Mann (2012) as:

"Giving a detailed and precise disclosure of events involved in the sexual offence which avoids any external attribution of cause and which matches the official/victim's account of the offence."

Many sex offenders are considered to deny or minimise some aspect of their sexually abusive behaviour (Ware and Mann, 2012). Minimising, externalising blame, omitting some aspects of the offence, admitting only a historical offence, denying a sexual motive, claiming sexual contact was consensual, or memory loss (mostly due to alcohol or drug intoxication or in some instances a medical condition) are considered by some as denial. These forms of denial are seen as a treatment barrier but would not necessarily exclude a person from being accepted into one of the current treatment programmes.

Why do people deny?

At times, most people will fail to take responsibility for something they have done either to conceal some aspect of it or by offering plausible or sometimes implausible excuses (Snyder and Higgins, 1988). Levenson (2011) points out that courts and clinicians recognise that some people, particularly those who engage in criminal behaviour, are unlikely to acknowledge aspects of this behaviour or seek therapy for their problems. The justice system therefore makes use of mental health professionals to assist with the goal of rehabilitation. The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 4th Edition, Text Revision (DSM-IV-TR, APA, 2000, p.807, p811) defines denial as a defence mechanism in which "the individual deals with emotional conflict or internal or external stressors by refusing to acknowledge some painful aspect of external reality or subjective experience that would be apparent to others". The DSM-IV-TR further defines defence mechanisms (or coping style) as: "automatic psychological processes that protect the individual against anxiety and from the awareness of internal or external dangers or stressors".

Ware et al (2015) identified the reason for denial by sex offenders as somewhat unclear and an important area for future research. They do, however, highlight limited evidence that suggests denial serves a (possibly at times adaptive) function to avoid feelings

of shame and the potential consequences of being identified as a sex offender. Also, offenders may wish to maintain relationships with family and friends. Ware et al (2015) further suggest the notion that a sex offender's denial reflects a desire to continue to offend remains speculative.

Denial and risk of re-offending and treatment

A very important issue to consider is whether denial of their offending increases a person's likelihood to commit a similar offence in future. It is paramount to remember that categorical denial of an offence comes after the offending/accusations and rarely has a direct relationship with the offender's actions or cognitions during the planning of the offence or the offending itself. For Corrections, the accurate assessment and effective management/treatment of risk is paramount during the rehabilitation, reintegration and community sentence management phases of an offender's sentence.

Meta-analyses of sexual recidivism studies by Hanson and Bussière (1998) and Hanson and Morton-Bourgon (2005) are considered by many professionals around the globe in the field of sex offender treatment and risk management as guiding best practice. According to these meta-analyses neither denial nor minimisation were related to actual re-offending. Ware and Mann (2012) report a lack of reliable evidence that denial and minimisation lead to increased recidivism. They highlight some evidence that offenders who deny or minimise may re-offend at lower rates. They propose that given it is likely more difficult to maintain denial when faced with multiple sex offences or following re-offending, a reasonable assumption would be that most categorical deniers are first time offenders and relatively low risk to re-offend. Therefore, it can realistically be assumed that treatment does not need to produce change in an offender's denial to be considered effective in reducing their risk of re-offending. Ware and Mann (2012) propose that the function of denial be incorporated in future studies of the relationship between categorical denial and recidivism in order to provide greater clarity on the results. The function of denial to reduce shame or maintain self-esteem could be considered as reducing a person's risk because it might act as a motivator to desist from further offending in order to avoid painful emotions associated with lowered self-worth and being condemned by others.

Within a treatment context, Ware and Mann (2012) suggest we view responsibility-taking using a framework posed by Bovens (1998). This framework distinguishes between passive and active responsibility whereby passive responsibility is seen as being accountable for past actions. Active responsibility

is seen as viewing the self as responsible for changing one's future behaviour for the better. Passive responsibility is commonly addressed in treatment during responsibility-taking or offence disclosure exercises as the offender has to admit what is deemed fact according to the victim, judge's sentencing notes or the Police summary of facts. Active responsibility is future focused and should reflect the primary focus of treatment. Changes have to be actively pursued in the offender's thinking, attitudes, and behaviours.

New Zealand has kept a watching brief on overseas jurisdictions that have run group-based programmes for sex offenders in denial. Programmes have been run successfully in Canada and Australia. A programme specifically designed for sex offenders that denied their offending was started in 1997 in Canada by Marshall and his colleagues (Marshall, Thornton, Marshall, Fernandez & Mann, 2001). An appraisal of this programme demonstrated re-offending rates to be much lower (2.5%) than expected (13.5%) and approximately the same for treated admitters (Marshall, Marshall & Ware, 2009). This is a promising result for such programmes. However, more research is needed in this field, especially with larger numbers of offenders in the samples.

What is happening in New Zealand?

After reviewing the literature available in this area it was decided to investigate the viability of running a group-based programme for sex offenders in denial in New Zealand. The chief psychologist's team undertook to trial a treatment programme for men who were in denial of their sexual offending. As part of our preparation, discussions were held with Jayson Ware who has run a deniers' programme in New South Wales. Jayson Ware visited New Zealand in September 2016. He presented a half day workshop at the Psychologists National Training Event on working with offenders in denial of their sexual offending. He also worked with the author to assist in the development of a programme for New Zealand.

Offenders in denial are initially provided with motivational work to ensure that those who are willing to acknowledge their offending do so and make use of the opportunity to engage in treatment. It is considered that in the early stages of the programme external motivation such as the potential for a favourable New Zealand Parole Board hearing outcome would be an early incentive for engaging in the programme. Throughout the programme the hope is that with the future focus of active responsibility the offenders will become intrinsically motivated to maintain and complete treatment.

An estimate of the number of prisoners nationally who are in denial but motivated and willing to attend a treatment programme was not available. It was therefore proposed to assess offenders and trial the programme in Rimutaka Prison in Upper Hutt.

The programme currently in preparation is based on a modified version of the intensive group-based programmes run at the Special Treatment Units in New Zealand. It is also based on the work from Jayson Ware from Australia and Dr B Marshall and Dr L Marshall from Canada who are already providing treatment to men who deny their sexual offending.

Prisoners who are in total denial of their offending and have a low-medium security rating are eligible to attend the programme. Prisoners are currently being assessed for the programme. Following acceptance into the programme, the men will be assessed for their dynamic risk factors that contributed to their offending. The dynamic nature of these factors implies that they can be altered through intervention and these factors are targeted in treatment to reduce an offender's risk. Psychologists at Corrections employ the Violent Risk Scale: Sex Offender Version, not only as a risk measure, but also to identify up to 17 dynamic risk factors that have been shown to be related to risk of re-offending. These dynamic risk factors can be altered through intervention. The theory is that the majority of a denier's dynamic risk factors could be addressed without them having to accept responsibility for committing the offence. With the denier's treatment approach, it is suggested that something about the offender's behaviour, expressed attitudes, thoughts and feelings within certain situations led to the allegation and ultimately a conviction. These are the factors that will be addressed in treatment.

It is anticipated that the group will consist of about five offenders. Once the men have been assessed and their level of risk of re-offending has been established, the content of the programme will be finalised. Their risk level will determine the duration and intensity of the programme. Early indications are that they will meet for three sessions a week (each session will be 2.5 hours) and the programme will be approximately four months duration.

Following completion of the programme both outcome and process evaluations will be undertaken. This will include consideration of other prisons and security environments and changes to the programme. A review of the programme will be summarised in a follow-up article in this journal.

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Corrections officer wellbeing: Training challenges and opportunities

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Dr Justin Trounson, PhD (Clinical Psychology) is a registered psychologist. He is the Inaugural Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander research fellow working with the Centre for Forensic Behavioural Science (CFBS) at Swinburne University of Technology. He has worked in maximum security prisons across Victoria as both a clinician and as a researcher. Dr Trounson has experience in the development, implementation and evaluation of educational and therapeutic programmes. In his fellowship role with the CFBS he conducts research in clinical, forensic and correctional settings exploring the concepts of wellbeing and resilience.

Associate Professor Jeffrey Pfeifer (Ph.D., M.Leg.St.) has been teaching and researching in the area of social psychology, policing, and correctional psychology for over 20 years. He has also conducted programme evaluations and training workshops for Corrections Victoria, G4S Australasia, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Ontario Provincial Police, Western Australia Department of Corrections, Russian Ministry of Corrections, Namibian Correctional Service, Saskatchewan Ministry of Corrections, Anti-Corruption Commission of Zambia, Singapore Airport Security Service, Sharjah (UAE) Police Service, and the Durban (South Africa) Police Service. Most recently Professor Pfeifer has been conducting a programme of research on the use of technology and gaming as a platform for positively impacting the wellbeing and rehabilitation of offenders.

Editor's note

The research completed by Drs Trounson and Pfeifer was undertaken to inform practice within the Australian correctional context. Information on how the New Zealand Department of Corrections manages the issue of staff wellbeing was not available to them at the time. Corrections officer workplace wellbeing has been a strong focus for the Department for several years, with a number of initiatives implemented. These include: the Staff Safety Plan (which covered such projects as the deployment of on body cameras to staff in high risk environments, the introduction of a Physical Readiness Assessment to ensure all custodial staff are fit enough to respond quickly and effectively in an emergency), the Making Shifts Work programme (see p 29), the introduction of a smokefree policy in all our prisons, free health checks and influenza inoculations, and the employee assistance programme, including the employment of regional welfare co-ordinators.

Executive summary

The wellbeing of corrections officers is an important issue deserving attention from the scientific community and government departments responsible for the regulation of correctional systems. A review of the existing scientific literature clearly indicates that corrections officers are at a heightened risk of experiencing a range of negative physical and psychological conditions. Despite this, little research has explored how best to assist officers to maintain their sense of wellbeing through the provision of wellbeing training. Over the past decade there has been a notable surge in the development and implementation of proactive staff training initiatives aimed at assisting employees to better manage their sense of wellbeing. Unfortunately, many of these programmes continue to lack a clear evidence-basis for their implementation or cannot claim to be prison officer-responsive as they have been adapted from other high-risk occupational settings. Few available programmes are evidence-informed and designed specifically to cater for the unique training needs of the contemporary corrections officer. This article discusses the challenges faced by the correctional industry in relation to officer wellbeing training and highlights the need for evidence-informed, industry-specific, prison officer-responsive

wellbeing training programmes. Furthermore, this article highlights the inherent benefits of engaging in inter-disciplinary collaborations involving research, government and industry bodies to establish best-practice processes in regard to wellbeing training for correctional employees.

KEYWORDS: *Prison; Stress; Adversity; Work; Occupation; Guard; Corrections; Officer; Wellbeing*

Introduction

In comparison to the quantity of research examining the complex nature of prison life, there is a surprising lack of empirical investigation specifically relating to those who elect to pursue a career as a corrections officer (Leibling, Price, & Shefer, 2010). This lack of attention is especially poignant given the fact that corrections officers face a range of unique workplace challenges that may impact both their physical and psychological wellbeing (Dowden & Tellier, 2004). As part of their job, officers can be exposed to numerous workplace stressors including verbal abuse, physical assault, and witnessing traumatic or violent events (see e.g., Konda, Reichard, & Tiesman, 2012; Spinaris, Denhof, & Kellaway, 2012). Considering the range and severity of the challenges faced by officers, it is no surprise that research indicates that corrections officers perceive a significantly higher level of adversity in their workplace than those in other occupations (Trounson, Pfeifer, & Critchley, 2016). What is particularly concerning about these findings, however, is that recent research suggests that this heightened perception of adversity experienced by officers may be linked to increased levels of stress, lowered psychological wellbeing and a range of negative organisational outcomes such as increased absenteeism (i.e., not coming to work despite being physically and psychologically able), "presenteeism" (i.e., coming to work but not being mentally attentive or productive), and job dissatisfaction (Trounson, Pfeifer, Skues, & Ogloff, 2016).

The potential impact of the workplace experience is illustrated by the fact that, compared to those working in other fields, corrections officers experience one of the highest work-related injury and illness rates (see e.g., Ferguson, Prenzler, Sarre, & de Caires, 2011) and boast one of the highest rates of work-related mental stress claims (see e.g., SWA, 2013). Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that officers are also susceptible to a variety of stress-related negative health outcomes (see e.g., Denhof & Spinaris, 2013; Spinaris, 2014) such as heightened psychological distress (Morse, Dussetschleger, Warren, & Cherniack, 2011), depression (Denhof & Spinaris, 2013; Obidoa, Reeves, Warren, Reisine, & Cherniack, 2011; Sui et al., 2014), post-traumatic stress symptoms (Spinaris et al., 2012),

substance abuse (see e.g. Svenson et al., 1995), and increased risk of other stress-related health conditions (Finney, Stergiopoulos, Hensel, Bonato, & Dewa, 2013; Johnson et al., 2009).

Given the above, this article aims to outline some of the current research and practice challenges facing the correctional industry in relation to assisting officers to maintain their psychological and physical wellbeing. The article also describes several promising officer initiatives that have been developed and implemented in response to the issue of corrections officer wellbeing and discusses the future of officer-responsive wellbeing training.

Current research and practice challenges

Despite the lack of empirical research exploring correctional officer wellbeing, correctional organisations remain actively committed to addressing the health and wellbeing of corrections officers (Walmsley, 2015). In fact, correctional agencies around the world continue to search for more effective ways to assist their staff to manage work-related stress (Finn, 2000). This process has resulted in the implementation of a variety of employee services such as Employee Assistance Programmes (EAPs), reactive counselling services and critical incident de-briefing, some of which have now become standard employee services across national correctional services.

Although the above initiatives provide much needed support for officers, the implementation and evaluation of these programmes has revealed several new industry-based challenges that require attention if correctional services are to continue to progress their understanding of officer wellbeing and refine their ability to assist their employees (Finn, 1998). Specific challenges include: (1) altering the current trend toward implementing predominantly reactive responses to officer wellbeing with a more proactive approach to the issue, (2) broadening our perspective of service need to also include staff who are not currently experiencing complex or high-end needs, (3) ensuring that training programmes are occupationally responsive (i.e., designed specifically for the unique needs of corrections officers), and (4) encouraging research initiatives that specifically address these challenges and that establish the effectiveness of programmes designed specifically to address these issues.

From reactive responses to proactive initiatives

Although the occupational health literature indicates that proactive staff programmes are an effective approach to issues such as stress management (see e.g., Richardson & Rothstein, 2008), a review of the research examining correctional approaches

to staffing indicates that the majority of initiatives are reactive in nature. Specifically, it appears that the bulk of the available research (and subsequent organisational practices) revolves around the provision of assistance to employees who have been identified as experiencing psychological distress or are impaired by psychological symptoms (Millie & Das, 2008). Although this population is certainly an important one from an occupational health perspective, it is also clear that proactive initiatives aimed at those not currently experiencing clinical levels of psychological stress may also be an effective approach to assisting with occupational wellbeing (Trounson, Pfeifer, Skues, & Oglhoff, 2016).

The above contention is supported by the fact that the high cost of workplace-related mental health problems has led to the recent recommendation that employers move from a reactive approach to addressing psychosocial conditions, to a more proactive approach designed to promote employee wellbeing (Joyce, 2013). Consequently, there has been a growing shift toward developing proactive or preventative organisational initiatives designed to assist employees to maintain their wellbeing (Reynolds, 1997). Based on the above findings, it may be argued that the field of corrections also needs to embrace this shift in focus and increase the attention placed on the development, implementation and evaluation of proactive programming designed to assist officers to maintain their wellbeing.

Inclusion of the missing middle

As indicated above, although correctional organisations have implemented a range of mental health services to assist staff experiencing significant psychological distress, there are comparatively few programmes aimed at assisting officers with proactively maintaining their wellbeing. This approach is one that is common among organisations and is reflective of a tendency to focus resources on the needs of high-end individuals while all but ignoring the lower-end needs of staff who are dealing with daily stressors and challenges. According to Pfeifer (2015), this approach leaves a substantial gap in the empirical literature relating to the wellbeing of what he terms *the missing middle* (i.e., staff who are not currently experiencing significant psychological impairment but who are dealing with daily challenges due to the adverse environment in which they operate). Specifically, this approach has resulted in a significant lack of empirical research into the needs of officers who are not currently experiencing a significant cognitive deficit or mental health issue, but may still be experiencing some level of psychological distress.

At present, very few studies have focused on the wellbeing needs of corrections officers from the missing middle (i.e., officers who are likely to

experience fluctuating sub-clinical levels of distress but who are not currently accessing available reactive mental health services). This lack of research is worth highlighting given that, by definition, the missing middle represents the largest proportion of individuals within any organisation (Pfeifer, 2015). It may be argued that both researchers and organisational leaders be more cognisant of the need to identify the stressors affecting wellbeing among officers who are not experiencing severe mental illness and subsequently develop and implement interventions to assist them.

Developing occupationally responsive programmes for Corrections

A review of the occupational health literature indicates that important insights into staff wellbeing may be gained from the findings of research on other high-risk occupational fields. For example, studies indicate that police and emergency services personnel experience many of the organisational and health-related challenges that are also found in the correctional industry such as high rates of physical and psychological illness (Keinan & Malach-Pines, 2007; Kirkcaldy, Cooper, Shephard, & Brown, 1994; Regehr, Goldberg, & Hughes, 2002) and related organisational impacts (Basinska & Wiciak, 2012; Kohan & Mazmanian, 2003). Interestingly, however, although police, emergency services and the military have all developed occupationally responsive programmes aimed at the wellbeing of their members (see e.g., Biggam, Power, & Macdonald, 1997; Kaiseler, Queirós, Passos, & Sousa, 2014; Kirmeyer & Diamond, 1985), this trend is noticeably absent within the correctional world.

A review of correctional practice indicates that many of the wellbeing programmes currently implemented in corrections have been adapted from these related occupational fields rather than developed with an eye to the specific needs and challenges of correctional staff. It can be argued, however, that the inherent differences between the working environments of other high-risk professions when compared to corrections, requires a need to develop occupationally specific, corrections officer-responsive programmes that address the unique factors facing these individuals (Brower, 2013; Trounson & Pfeifer, 2016). Further evidence for this supposition may be found in research comparing corrections officers to police officers, which found that corrections officers report significantly more work-related stress and burnout and that there are significant differences between the workplace stressors that exist in each of these occupational contexts (Keinan & Malach-Pines, 2007; Summerlin, Oehme, Stern, & Valentine, 2010). It is therefore important that the correctional industry continues to work to develop programmes that are prison officer-responsive in order to ensure that training remains relevant and appropriately targeted.

Building an empirical foundation for officer wellbeing training

Although the last 10 years has seen a substantial increase in the inclusion of corrections officer training programmes aimed at promoting staff wellbeing and countering the negative impacts of workplace stress and adversity (see e.g., Bravo-Mehmedbasic et al., 2009; Finn, 2000; Leo, 2011; McCraty et al., 2009; Shochet et al., 2011), there continues to be a distinct lack of empirical research relating to the development, implementation and evaluation of these initiatives. For example, in a review of stress-related interventions implemented within corrections, Finn (1998) argued that there is a lack of evidence-informed initiatives and empirical evidence regarding the effectiveness of programmes aimed at assisting officers to maintain their psychological wellbeing. This is also reflected within the wider literature relating to the management of work-related stress, which has been criticised as being built upon a weak theoretical base (Cox, Griffiths, & Rial-Gonzalez, 2000).

Correctional agencies, like other organisations, face continued pressures to implement programmes aimed at staff wellbeing and, like other agencies, they are also often faced with the fact that the empirical basis for these initiatives is often lacking due to a lack of academic research. This situation often culminates in programmes being implemented with less of an evidence-base than one might desire and can leave correctional organisations susceptible to diverting funds and resources toward programmes that may be ineffective or in some cases harmful (Petrosino, Turpin-Petrosino, & Finckenauer, 2000). The empirical deficit identified by Finn (1998) needs to be addressed if such training programmes are to be executed widely as a standard aspect of officer training in corrections. It is therefore important to ensure that researchers are cognisant of the need to engage in studies aimed at providing an empirical foundation for such programming and that avenues for increased industry/academic collaborations are identified and promoted.

Corrections officer wellbeing programme

As stated above, despite significant empirical and organisational challenges, correctional agencies have implemented a number of wellbeing programmes aimed at positively impacting staff. Although no systematic reviews of corrections officer wellbeing programmes currently exist within the academic literature, and few existing programmes have undergone peer-reviewed systematic evaluation (see e.g., Brower, 2013; Finn, 2000), it is important to provide a brief overview of some of the programmes currently being delivered. Such an overview will assist in identifying both the positive aspects of implementation as well as some

of the limitations that may be addressed through the development of a wellbeing programme aimed specifically at the needs of corrections officers, especially those deemed to be in the missing middle.

Road to Mental Readiness (R2MR) – R2MR is one such training programme that has made inroads in relation to assisting officers to better manage their psychological wellbeing within high-risk occupational settings. The R2MR programme is provided as a single 160 minute session that aims to; a) teach recruits basic mental health literacy, b) teach stress management skills, and c) change attitudes toward mental health problems and service use (Fikretoglu, Beatty, & Liu, 2014). The R2MR programme has demonstrated some encouraging results in relation to uptake and effectiveness within a military sample (Fikretoglu et al., 2014), however, little peer-reviewed research is currently available that can speak to the effectiveness of the programme in assisting corrections officers to maintain their psychological wellbeing.

It should be acknowledged, however, that the R2MR programme was not designed specifically for corrections officers and can therefore not be considered prison-officer responsive. Originally developed by Canada's Department of National Defence, the programme has now been implemented within the Canadian Police Services and is being implemented by Correctional Services Canada for use with corrections officers. Furthermore, although the brevity of the R2MR programme may be considered a positive feature by correctional organisations looking to implement training, affording minimal operational impact, there is evidence to suggest that more extensive programmes may provide increased benefit to participants, allowing them to engage more deeply with programme content. For example, there is evidence to suggest that the impact of Cognitive Behaviour Therapy-based programmes is moderated by the duration of treatment (i.e., number of sessions) with a higher dosage resulting in better outcomes (Christensen, Griffiths, Mackinnon, & Brittliffe, 2006; Glenn et al., 2014; Khoury et al., 2013; Landenberger & Lipsey, 2005).

Power to Change Performance (PCP) – HeartMath's PCP initiative is another training programme that has established some evidence-basis in regard to its effectiveness with correctional officers (McCraty et al., 2009). The programme included five training modules and involved training in emotion self-regulation techniques and the use of biofeedback technology. Examining 75 correctional officers, McCraty et al. (2009) found no significant differences on any of the study measures between those participating in the training and those who did not (i.e., the control group). However, reductions in cholesterol, glucose, heart rate, blood pressure and reported psychological distress were identified within the experimental group between

the pre and post-assessments. This was also true in relation to measures of productivity, motivation, goal clarity and positive outlook. Despite demonstrating promising findings, it should be acknowledged that implementation of the PCP programme involves the provision of biofeedback equipment and it has not been designed specifically for officers so cannot be classified as prison officer-responsive.

FOCUS – In a report to the National Institute of Justice, Lagasse and McGarthy (2001) evaluated the *FOCUS* staff training programme reporting positive results regarding programme content. The *FOCUS* programme involved a series of one-hour workshops which provided training in regard to managing stress and building effective communication skills. The programme was trialled with corrections officers across four US correctional facilities. Despite reporting positive findings, the report was not published within a peer-reviewed journal and therefore the findings should be interpreted with a degree of caution.

Opportunities and the future of wellbeing training

The psychological wellbeing of correctional officers is an important issue that warrants the attention of both the profession and researchers (Marzuki & Ishak, 2011; Trounson & Pfeifer, 2016). As such, the field of corrections needs to continue to adapt and evolve in relation to identifying and catering for corrections officer training needs (Mannering, 2012). Corrections officer wellbeing training programmes should be developed in a systematic manner that ensures the programme is evidence-informed and ultimately evidence-based. It is also important to acknowledge that preventative services such as wellbeing training should not be viewed as a singular solution to the issue of corrections officer wellbeing. Rather, wellbeing training should be provided to complement existing reactive interventions and services.

Despite the challenges outlined in this article, the development and implementation of proactive wellbeing training programmes can be viewed as a step in the right direction for the field of corrections. Furthermore, these identified challenges offer researchers and correctional organisations a set of accompanying opportunities to further our understanding of corrections officer wellbeing, develop more effective responses and refine our existing services to better meet the needs of the contemporary corrections officer.

The Advanced Mental Strength and Conditioning (*AMStrength*) programme (Trounson, Pfeifer, & Ogloff, 2016) is one example of new wave training opportunities that have arisen from addressing the challenges outlined in this article that are facing correctional organisations. This class-based, psycho-

educational training programme is designed specifically for corrections officers to assist them to maintain their psychological wellbeing. The programme is seven sessions that aim to; a) increase officers' level of wellbeing literacy, b) assist officers to refine their cognitive skills and coping strategies for managing stress, distress and adversity, c) assist officers to more effectively identify wellbeing challenges, d) encourage officers to habitually assess and more effectively manage their personal wellbeing and e) encourage officers to take a new level of responsibility for the maintenance of their own wellbeing.

The *AMStrength* training programme aims to meet the industry challenges outlined in this article by providing a proactive training programme that uses an eclectic approach to the training and learning of psychological concepts and skills. It draws upon concepts and strategies from a range of evidence-based psychological perspectives integrating aspects of Cognitive Behaviour Therapy (CBT), Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT), mindfulness, health psychology, positive psychology, psycho-education and Dialectical Behaviour Therapy (DBT). The programme can also be viewed as prison-officer responsive as it draws upon the findings within the scientific literature relating specifically to corrections officers and their experience of workplace adversity. The *AMStrength* training programme is currently under evaluation to determine its effectiveness in assisting corrections officers in maintaining their wellbeing.

In summary, several proactive wellbeing initiatives currently exist within the field of corrections. Although many of these are developed within respectable theoretical frameworks, not all have demonstrated their effectiveness through rigorous evaluation and even fewer can be classified as evidence-informed and prison officer-responsive. It is therefore argued that there is a need for further research exploring the effectiveness of such programmes to establish best-practice processes in regard to assisting correctional staff to maintain their psychological wellbeing. To achieve this goal, it is imperative that new inter-disciplinary research collaborations be forged involving research, government and industry bodies.

Fostering inter-disciplinary research initiatives that include research, industry and government stakeholders can provide numerous positive outcomes for all parties involved. For programme researchers it allows a unique opportunity to test and refine new and innovative programmes and interventions to ensure the provision of effective programming. For correctional organisations it offers the opportunity to direct research and research teams to examine specific issues of interest to practitioners. For regulatory bodies such collaborations can assist in the development of future best-practice policy.

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The fatigue journey

Everyone Safe

Every Day



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Brian has had over 15 years' experience at the department. He is passionate about data-driven analytics and taking innovative approaches to deliver workforce data solutions (such as the fatigue monitoring tool explored in this article).

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Introduction

The Department of Corrections' work involves high risk activities. To work safely, our staff must be fully alert. For frontline custodial staff especially, the need to be able to continually assess other people's behaviours and manage their own responses is critical. Impairment from fatigue is a significant factor that reduces the ability to respond effectively and safely to challenging situations. In our line of work, this poses a major safety risk. If people are fatigued, poor decisions are made and people can get hurt. We have a shared responsibility to manage fatigue risks for the safety of staff and the offenders in our care.

To provide greater visibility of staff at risk of fatigue, we have developed a fatigue risk management tool. Launched in September 2016, the fatigue monitoring tool for custodial staff monitors staff at risk of fatigue by applying scores based on their roster patterns. Fatigue scores are calculated based on a number of triggers including shift type (early/day/late/night), number of consecutive shifts and hours worked, opportunity for sleep (during day or night), offender-facing opportunity by shift type (e.g. lower on night shift), and travel time to work. With greater visibility of work patterns, informed decisions can be made to better manage the health and safety risks of fatigue.

The case for managing fatigue

Workplace fatigue is a physiological state of reduced mental or physical performance capability (IATA, ICAO, IFALPA, 2015). It negatively impacts reaction times, the ability to concentrate and the ability to assess risks. The main causes of fatigue are sleep loss, extended wakefulness, working and sleeping at suboptimal times in the body's natural (circadian) clock cycle, and workload (mental or physical activity) (Gander, 2016). Ultimately, fatigue is a hazard;

it impairs a person's alertness and ability to perform work safely and effectively (Ministry of Transport, NZ, 2016).

The core problem with shift work is that it requires trying to override the body clock's preference for sleep at night (Gander, 2016). This means our staff working night shifts have to work through times in the body clock cycle when they are least functional and most prone to making errors. They then have to try to sleep when the clock is gearing up the brain and body to be awake. Similarly, staff working early shifts are waking against the body's natural sleep cycle.

As fatigue is a factor that impairs the ability to make effective decisions, it poses a significant safety risk which under the Health and Safety at Work Act 2015, the department has a duty to mitigate (WorkSafe NZ, 2016). The associated risks of driver fatigue also present a major risk for commuting staff and was a factor in 14 percent of fatal crashes in New Zealand in 2015 (Ministry of Transport, NZ, 2016).

The fatigue challenge

The difficulty for prison management was limited visibility of timely information about who was available to work, who had already worked long or demanding shift schedules and, critically, who had not taken sufficient time off for rest and recovery. As a result, common practice was to call on the same officers with a propensity to accept overtime or to cover gaps in the roster. This compounded the hours worked by some staff and their likelihood of being affected by fatigue. Under health and safety legislation, there are no excuses for not being aware of work schedules that are bringing about fatigue in our staff. This drove the need for a tool which gave visibility of at-risk staff by evaluating likely fatigue levels associated with our roster patterns.

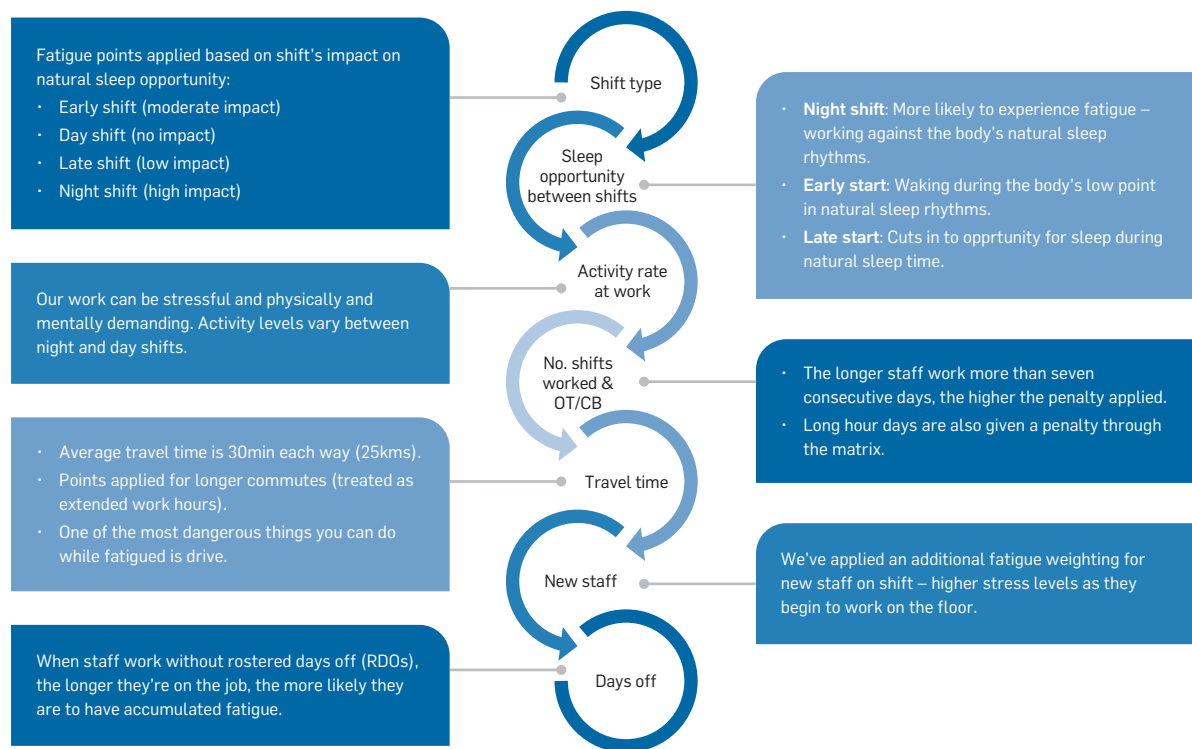
How the tool works: Fatigue triggers

We began by evaluating the factors in the custodial work environment that would likely contribute to fatigue accumulation. These are called “fatigue triggers”:

- Shift type (early/day/late/night)
- Number of consecutive shifts worked
- Amount of overtime and call-back hours worked
- Opportunity for sleep around shift type (during day or night)
- Travel time to and from work
- Relative activity rate of each shift
- An additional weighting for new staff as they adjust to working in a prison.

Diagram 1:

Fatigue triggers



How the tool works: Data sources

To bring these triggers together in a meaningful way we needed reliable and valid data sources. The key to bringing this tool to life was to focus on individuals' work patterns. Using averages by unit or site hides the reality for staff and any work patterns which should be raising red flags. This was an important philosophy while developing the tool; because it is an individual who drives home after a tiring shift and it is an individual who has to make safe decisions when dealing with offenders and difficult situations.

Fortunately, analysing individual fatigue work patterns was straightforward, with all frontline custodial staff hours being recorded centrally in the department's rostering software, Click Roster: the key data driver of the fatigue tool. This gives us access to everyone's shift patterns, visibility of overtime or call-back hours and whether rostered days off are taken.

SAP (Systems Applications and Product) is the second key data source for the tool. SAP identifies new staff and provides information on daily mileage for staff commuting to work (allowing us to factor additional scores for staff with longer commuting distances).

How the tool works: Understanding a typical day

Understanding the opportunity for sleep depending on shift type was a key breakthrough in developing the tool. To achieve this, we surveyed Corrections officers at every site, giving an insight to the average number of hours sleep staff get by shift type, time spent preparing for work, and time spent socialising, or with family after work. This gave a practical basis for assessing the impact of shifts on people's daily lives.

One of the main findings from the survey was that staff working early shifts tend to have less sleep than any other shift type. Not only do they wake during the body's "low point" in the natural sleep cycle, but they tend to follow regular evening routines and go to bed at normal times, in effect burning the candle at both ends.

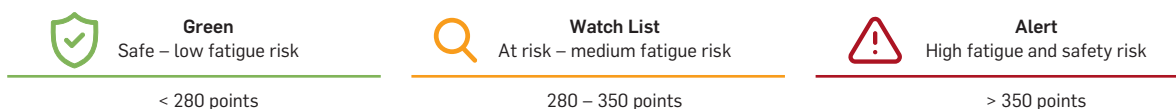
➤ Using our survey data, mileage information and Click Roster, we are able to create what a 'typical' day looks like by shift type:



During this process, we were fortunate to work with Professor Philippa Gander, Director of the Sleep-Wake Research Centre at Massey University, who helped validate the approaches we used, particularly around understanding the body's natural sleep cycles and the impact of sleep loss on performance. From this collaboration, we added weighted penalties to shifts based on their impact on natural sleep opportunity (i.e. night and early shifts). This formed a logical basis for applying fatigue scores to the different shift types.

The fatigue scores and how they are reduced

With good data on individuals' roster patterns and mileage, and an understanding of the impact shift types have on sleep opportunity, we were able to create a tool which analyses individual staff data held in Click Roster and SAP looking back over the past 90 days, and scheduled work patterns 28 days ahead. Points are applied based on the fatigue triggers an individual's work pattern hits. These data sets are updated daily providing accurate, real-time scores. The scores then fit within a three-tier matrix system as follows:



The intention of this is to ensure fatigue scores are proportionate, only flagging those who have worked more demanding schedules with reduced opportunity for rest and recovery. An individual's fatigue score is only offset by taking rostered days off, which reduces fatigue scores by 50 percent per day.

To put this in context, staff working regular Monday to Friday day shifts with weekends off would score very low on the scale. Conversely, staff working seven successive night shifts for example, or continually working rostered days off would begin accumulating a higher score and moving in to the "Watch List" category. From a clean slate of zero points, it would take 19 day shifts to reach the "Alert List".

Fatigue reports to managers

Every week since late September 2016, all prison directors have received a report showing staff whose work patterns have given them, or are forecast to give them, a fatigue risk score within the “Watch List” and “Alert List” categories. The key message for managers is simply to make sure people are well rested and taking enough time away between shifts. Managers have used these reports to better allocate overtime and call-back hours and to have conversations about managing workloads and wellbeing with their staff.

Example fatigue metrics

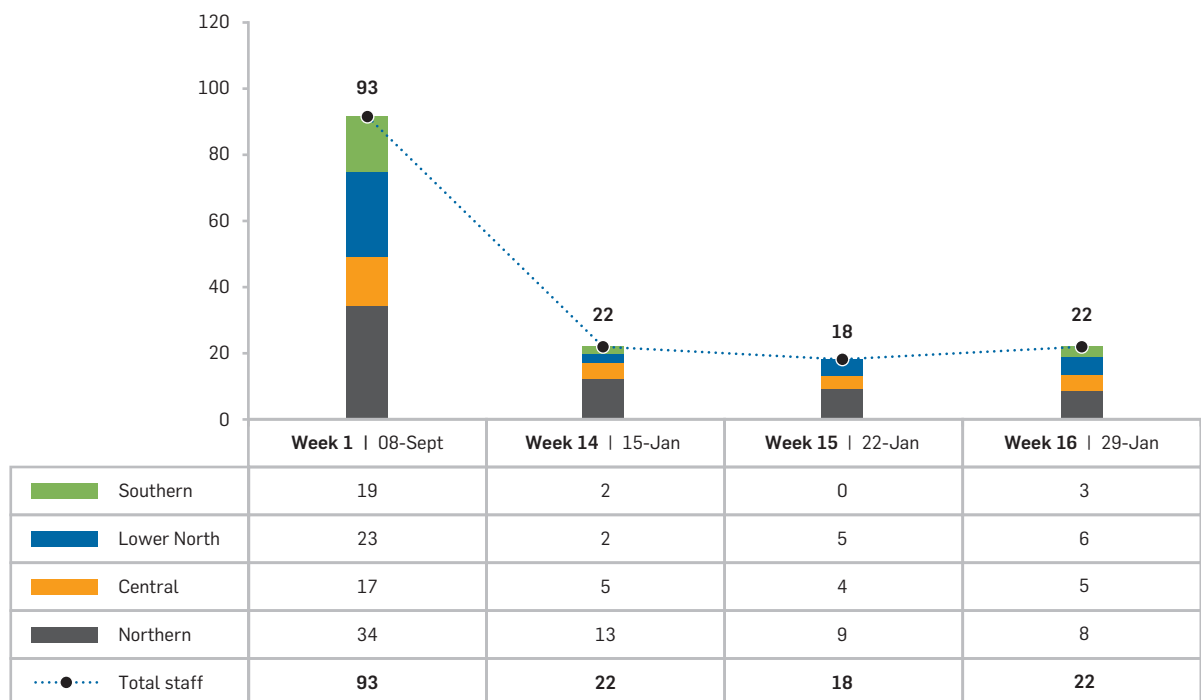
Region	Historic: Last 28 days			Forecast: Next 28 days		No. of fatigued days worked		Fatigue rank	
	Shifts worked	RDOs taken	Historic fatigue	Forecast fatigue	Shifts scheduled	RDOs scheduled	Historic fatigued days		Forecast fatigued days
NRCF	28	5			23	10	4	7	2

The red line represents the fatigue ‘Watch List’ threshold. Bars over this line show work patterns leading to higher fatigue risks.

Impact of the fatigue tool

When we first ran the fatigue tool over the data sets, 93 staff were identified with scores on the Watch List or Alert List. Just two weeks after introduction of the tool, a change in behaviour saw a significant number of those initially on the “fatigue list” (on Watch or Alert tiers) come off it after having an opportunity to rest. Sixteen weeks later, on 31 January 2017, there had been a 76% reduction in total staff flagged on the fatigue list. This was a reduction from 93 to 22 staff, and a decrease in total fatigue scores from 36,842 to 7,729. Ultimately, with greater visibility of staff work patterns, informed decisions are being made to better manage the health and safety risks of fatigue.

Weekly trending, staff on fatigue list with regional breakdown:



Fatigue model validation

There are important caveats around the fatigue tool. Primarily, this tool only provides insight to work-related fatigue. We cannot control what staff do when they leave the site. Additionally, as some of the assumptions used to link work patterns to fatigue levels are not currently evidence-based, the fatigue tool is designed to be customised and refined. As our understanding of fatigue risks grows, including research from Professor Gander and business feedback, we will be able to recalibrate the weightings of the fatigue triggers so the scores produced are valid. Additionally, we are developing a sleep self-assessment tool to give staff instant feedback on their fatigue risks based on the quantity and quality of their recent sleep. Data from this will help validate weightings applied to the fatigue matrix.

With continued review and development of the fatigue tool and the use of technology, the profile of fatigue data will be made more accessible and relevant to all staff in real time, enabling us to take greater responsibility for managing fatigue risks.

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New Zealand's extensive electronic monitoring application: "Out on a limb" or "leading the world"?

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Dr Martinovic has been an academic at RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia for over a decade and is an internationally renowned expert in electronic monitoring technology. Before becoming an academic, she worked as a Community Corrections Officer for Corrections Victoria for four years. There she developed a passion for studying community-based corrections, particularly electronic monitoring, which she researched extensively in her Masters and PhD. Over the last twelve years, Dr Martinovic has published numerous papers on electronic monitoring, and advised governments nationally and internationally on ways to increase the effectiveness of electronically monitored sanctions.

Executive summary

Currently, with around 4,000 offenders and defendants on electronic monitoring (EM) daily, New Zealand is a significant user of EM in the English-speaking world (New Zealand Department of Corrections, 2016). EM in New Zealand can be imposed as a part of various community-based penalties including community detention, home detention, parole, extended supervision orders (ESOs) and intensive supervision. EM is also used in pre-trial electronically monitored bail (EM Bail). Finally, prisoners on temporary release from prison for daily employment in the community and on other temporary releases from prison are also subject to EM. The majority of offenders/defendants on EM sanctions are global positioning systems (GPS) tracked as opposed to radio frequency (RF) monitored. Empirically, EM sanctions in New Zealand have been delivering positive results in terms of recidivism and cost-savings compared to prison, but these sanctions have attracted a disproportionate level of negative media coverage. This article describes the historical developments of EM application in New Zealand, provides an overview and comparison of EM application in other parts of the English-speaking world, and finally discusses large-scale evaluative findings about EM sanctions in relation to recidivism. It concludes that New Zealand's correctional policy of extensive EM application is "leading the world" as it is based on empirical data. Further and ongoing research is, however, required to ensure that it is delivering effective results and appropriately managing community expectations.

Introduction

The pressure of the escalating cost of building and sustaining prisons forced most of the English-speaking countries during the 1980s to search for cheaper but effective community-based sentences. Following the lead of the United States (USA), all of these countries, including New Zealand, initiated their own versions of home detention – with or without electronic monitoring (EM) – in order to divert the increasing number of offenders being sentenced to prison.

New Zealand uses two types of EM technology – radio frequency (RF) and global positioning systems (GPS). RF is first generation EM technology which originated in the 1980s. It typically provides a yes/no answer to the question "is the offender at their monitored location?" (such as their home or workplace) at certain predetermined times. This static technology cannot provide any information about the offender's movements when they are not at their monitored location. For many types of offending groups this basic information is appropriate to manage them safely in the community.

Second generation GPS technology, which originated during the 1990s, fills the gap of broader movements. It is capable of providing an answer to the open question "where is the offender now and where have they been in the past?" This technology allows a whole new dimension of monitoring to be applied; this includes the examination of association of monitored individuals and their behavioural patterns. Further, forensic analysis of offenders' movements can be used in court to convict or exonerate them and as such it serves as a deterrent to criminal behaviour. GPS tracking is used for high-risk offenders such as parolees and those on ESOs.

New Zealand is the only English-speaking country that has boldly set out a goal in 2012 to reduce the financial and social cost of crime in society by “breaking the cycle of re-offending by 25 percent by 2017”. One of the key strategies to achieve this was to increase the use of community-based sanctions that utilise EM. This decision was based on empirical data, mostly from the USA, demonstrating that offenders on EM (especially GPS) have higher successful completion rates and lower recidivism rates; hence, lower subsequent costs are associated with re-arrest and re-incarceration of offenders on EM in comparison with non-electronically monitored offenders. (For more information see section below titled “Large scale evaluative findings on recidivism”). New Zealand Department of Corrections’ annual report (2016) has indicated that although the rate of re-offending has decreased only moderately, the *number* of offenders who re-offend has been declining over the past five years, with almost 25 percent fewer re-offenders re-entering the system than in 2011.

The increasing trend to use EM sanctions around the world seems to be due to their surveillance abilities. Further, providing that offenders are motivated to reform themselves, being on EM can facilitate their rehabilitation by encouraging a sense of self-responsibility. Unlike in a prison environment, offenders on EM sanctions can continue to positively contribute to society by working, caring for children and family members, attending rehabilitation programmes and being connected to their family and wider social support networks. It must, however, be remembered that rehabilitation programmes and services must be provided and adequately funded, otherwise these sanctions only impose “mere surveillance” and do not deliver the desired outcomes. New Zealand Corrections offers significant rehabilitation options for all EM sanctions, with the exception of community detention, which is solely a curfew sentence.

Historical developments of EM application in NZ

New Zealand started using EM in the 1990s in order to create a safe, cost-effective alternative to imprisonment for those who would have been sentenced to short prison terms. Subsequently, between 1995 and 1997, a small pilot home detention programme with RF was introduced for convicted offenders who had not committed serious offences. Telephone calls and voice verification were used to check that offenders were complying with the home curfew. Although the evaluation indicated some operational problems with the technology employed, the overall finding was that home detention was an effective alternative to imprisonment. The government subsequently introduced a nationwide active EM home detention scheme in 1999.

Home detention commenced on both a “front-end” (sentencing option) and “back-end” (post-prison release order) basis in October 1999. “Front-end” offenders were those sentenced to a term of imprisonment of two years or less who were approved for release to serve the sentence on home detention for a period of up to 12 months. “Back-end” offenders were those serving prison sentences of more than two years; five months prior to the parole eligibility date these individuals could apply for release on home detention, which (if approved) commenced three months before the release date. Probation officers conducted risk assessments ascertaining offender suitability, the nature of their offence, the likelihood of rehabilitation and reintegration, accommodation and the welfare of the offender’s co-residents and community protection. The fundamental objectives of home detention were intensive supervision and incremental reintegration of the offender.

Two key legislations were passed in 2002 which increased the utilisation of EM sanctions in New Zealand. These were the Sentencing Act 2002 and the Parole Act 2002 both aiming to divert increasing numbers of offenders from prohibitively expensive incarceration into much cheaper and more effective community based sentences with EM. Thereby home detention became a “stand-alone sentence”; this meant that greater flexibility was given to judges to impose it as a short alternative to imprisonment. Further, EM became a possible condition of parole. Finally, community detention was introduced which detains offenders at home during times when they are most likely to offend, that is, evenings and/or weekends.

The positive outcomes of home detention were once again confirmed in a large-scale study commissioned by the Australian National Corrections Advisory Group (NCAG). This study analysed the New Zealand home detention scheme from 1999 to 2005 (Henderson, 2006). The findings were as follows:

- During a six-year period, 6,125 offenders were placed on home detention throughout New Zealand. This reflects extensive application of EM in New Zealand.
- Programme completion rates demonstrated an average completion rate of 89 percent; the high success rate may be attributable to the intensity of offender supervision.
- There were, however, mixed reports about home detention’s impact on offender’s co-residents. Some co-residents likened their role to serving the sentence alongside the offender, highlighting the burdens that are placed upon them. Alternatively, other co-residents reported that offenders were able to spend more time with their children, and that there was an eventual improvement in spousal relationships.

In 2005, EM sanctions started to be used for high-risk offenders in New Zealand. Similarly to the USA and Australia, it introduced extended supervision orders (ESOs) for high-risk sex offenders (and subsequently very high-risk violent offenders) who pose a high-risk of re-offending at the time when they finished serving their original prison sentence/s. Courts can re-sentence these offenders to ESOs for periods of up to 10 years at a time. The conditions of these orders typically involve regularly reporting to a probation officer, attending treatment and counselling, having residence and employment constraints, having restrictions about contact with victims or other people or groups of people, and being subject to EM. The electronic monitoring condition for ESOs usually specifies exclusion zones such as parks and schools rather than imposing a curfew per se. The main aim of ESOs is to prevent future offending by quickly identifying and managing any risks, and in cases when offending does occur, the aim is to have tracking evidence of offending and therefore to swiftly apprehend the offender.

EM was introduced as a condition of regular bail in September 2006. The rationale behind this was the increasingly unsustainable costs of remand in prison. In 2013 a specific EM Bail Act was passed meaning that the courts were granted generic power to impose EM bail. It can be applied to defendants charged with more serious offences who have been remanded in custody. It is granted in about 30 percent of cases. The conditions of EM bail and levels of restrictiveness vary from case to case. In some cases, a 24-hour curfew may be applied, while in others defendants may be allowed to continue working and so an evening curfew is imposed. Initially the police were responsible for running EM bail, but following the 2013 Bail Act changes, the Department of Corrections took over the responsibility to supervise defendants on EM bail.

Outcomes of EM bail have generally been very positive. The Ministry of Justice (2011) reported that the rate of re-offending while on EM bail was quite low, at 7 percent. This is a significantly lower than the average rate of offending on regular bail without the EM component which was 17 percent. In addition, while EM bail was considered more expensive to run than standard bail, it was comparatively significantly less expensive than keeping defendants on remand in prison. Finally, it was concluded that EM bail was particularly useful as an option in cases that demand a long period between charges being laid and trial.

Between 2006 and 2010 New Zealand experimented with the application of GPS technology. Various trials were conducted which tested GPS monitoring functionality, accuracy and usefulness, with the ultimate goal of reducing offenders' recidivism. Consequently, the trials were set up to examine

costs and benefits and the possibility of nationwide implementation of GPS technology. The trials led to the use of GPS monitoring for 200 high-risk offenders between 2012 and 2015.

Up until 2015, three different providers of EM equipment were used in New Zealand; these included G4S, Chubb and Buddi. In 2015 the Department of Corrections invited manufacturers of EM equipment, specifically requesting more provision of GPS, to tender, and moved to using a single EM provider for all offenders/defendants. The successful bidder was 3M. It is responsible for installing and removing all equipment as well as responding to all alerts for all EM sanctions.

In late 2016 EM legislation was passed¹ to enable two additional community based sanctions – temporary release from prison on conditions and intensive supervision. At sentencing, probation staff can recommend EM to be imposed as a condition of one of these sanctions. For offenders already on these sanctions, the district manager or lead service manager can apply to the court to vary an offender's conditions of the sanction by additionally imposing EM.

The Department of Corrections provides the courts with pre-sentence reports that outline whether offenders are suitable to have their whereabouts restricted and be electronically monitored. These pre-sentence reports are likely to target the following sub-populations of offenders sentenced to a short prison sentence or intensive supervision:

- family violence offenders who pose a high risk to their victims
- gang-affiliated offenders who pose a high risk to public safety
- high-risk sex offenders.

The latest evaluative outcomes reported by the New Zealand Department of Corrections indicate that EM sanctions are continuing to produce effective results. After serving a sentence on EM versus imprisonment offenders are less likely to re-engage in further offending. This is seen by the 19 percent re-conviction rate for those on home detention (within 12 months of sentence start date) versus 42 percent for those imprisoned (within 12 month of date of release). Further, placing an offender on home detention, instead of in prison, results in savings of between 75 to 80 percent for taxpayers. More specifically, the daily cost of an offender on home detention is \$59.87 compared to \$239.17 for keeping a remand prisoner or \$307.53 for keeping a sentenced prisoner (New Zealand Department of Corrections, 2016).

¹ Sentencing (Electronic Monitoring of Offenders) Amendment Act 2016: <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2016/0047/8.0/DLM6923518.html>

Despite the empirical facts that indicate that EM sanctions in New Zealand are delivering very positive results in terms of recidivism and cost-savings compared to prison, EM sanctions have attracted a disproportionate level of negative media coverage. In the past few years, plentiful stories have appeared about offenders/defendants on EM sanctions who cut off their straps and abscond. However, the reality is that 99 percent of offenders/defendants on EM sanctions adhere to their order requirements. There are between 0.5 and 1 percent of offenders/defendants on EM sanctions who remove their trackers and are not apprehended on any one day. Hence, of those who do remove their trackers the vast majority are caught very quickly. It is also worth noting that during 2015/2016 only 13.5 percent were convicted of a new offence during the period of absconding (New Zealand Department of Corrections, 2016).

Another set of stories that have appeared in the New Zealand media have been about the “inadequate” strength of EM straps. The fact is that the strap which is used to hold the device “cannot be unremovable”, because it must meet global health and safety standards which require it to be able to be removed in an emergency.

It should also be noted that the New Zealand Department of Corrections seems to currently have a suitable process for managing tamper alerts. If a tracker is tampered with or removed it sets off an alarm at the monitoring centre and 3M must take action within 60 seconds. The field officer must be dispatched within 10 minutes of the alert and attend the offender/defendant’s address. If the offender/defendant has absconded, Corrections must be notified immediately and then Police. In cases of high-risk offenders, 3M contacts Corrections’ specialist GPS Immediate Response Team who decide how to respond to an alert depending on the nature of the incident and sentence being served (New Zealand Department of Corrections, 2016).

Overview of EM application in English-speaking countries

USA

In 2016, about 125,000 offenders were reported to be on EM sanctions throughout the USA at any one time (Pew Charitable Trusts, 2016). This number has increased 140 percent over the last 10 years. Two-thirds of these offenders were on GPS monitoring, and one third was on RF monitoring. The use of RF monitoring has typically targeted lower-risk offenders with the aim of reducing overcrowded correctional facilities in a cost-effective manner. GPS monitoring, on the other hand, has been usually applied to high-risk offenders as a means of additional social control on community-based sentences such as probation, parole

and ESOs. EM is used in all fifty USA states, the District of Columbia, and the federal government.

Australia

In Australia, there were about 1,000 offenders on EM sanctions at any one time in 2016 (Personal communication, Lis 2016). Six out of eight Australian states and territories are using EM monitoring, and the other two are planning its application. The application of EM varies across the states and territories, nevertheless across the country it is used in all stages of the criminal justice process including pre-trial as part of bail, as a sentence, as early release from prison, and as part of supervision post sentence. The majority of offenders on EM in Australia are high-risk sex offenders on the equivalent of ESOs. These offenders are typically electronically monitored, supervised by corrections officers and engaged in rehabilitative programmes. All Australian states and territories have transitioned to solely using GPS monitoring due to its technical abilities.

Canada

Recent offender numbers on EM sanctions in Canada seem to be unavailable, even though EM is currently used nation-wide. Traditionally, it was used for offenders on probation, but in 2013 legislative changes mean that it can be used for high-risk offenders on day passes, work release and parole. A comprehensive evaluation of a GPS monitoring pilot was conducted in the Ontario region between 2008 and 2009. The evaluation indicated a number of issues with the GPS technology trialed – particularly drained batteries and false alerts, but it advocated for further application of the technology. In 2015, the Correctional Service of Canada started another three-year GPS monitoring pilot programme across all five regions. Up to 300 GPS devices are being placed on high-risk offenders at the discretion of supervising parole officers. The evaluation report will be presented to the Minister of Public Safety in 2018.

England and Wales

In 2015, 13,210 offenders/defendants were reported to be on EM sanctions at any one time in England and Wales (Hucklesby & Holdsworth, 2016). EM is used in all three stages of the criminal justice process – pre-trial as a condition of bail, as a sentence, and as early release from prison. EM can be used as a stand-alone sanction or in conjunction with supervision by probation officers. All of the offenders on EM are subjected to RF technology and therefore a curfew. GPS tracking is used on a small number of high-risk offenders and in voluntary police schemes. In addition, two EM pilots are taking place across England and Wales – alcohol monitoring and bilateral monitoring of domestic violence perpetrators.

Interestingly, there has been an 11 percent reduction in the use of EM sanctions in England and Wales since 2013. This could be because EM is mostly delivered by private sector agencies, which have not enjoyed a cohesive relationship with the probation service, and have been beset by a series of scandals including alleged over-charging by providers (Hucklesby & Holdsworth, 2016).

Comparison of EM application in English-speaking countries

It should be noted that data presented below are not directly comparable so figures need to be used as indicators only. Table 1 presents four English-speaking countries' prison population, number of defendants/offenders on EM sanctions, and the use of EM as a percentage of the prison population. The figures indicate that the USA has by far the highest number of offenders/defendants on EM at any one time, but its use of EM is relatively small-scale compared to its prison population. In fact, when EM use is viewed as a percentage of the prison population it seems that New Zealand (34.6%) and England and Wales (15.2%) use EM considerably more than USA (5.7%) or Australia (2.5%). [This presentation of data has been replicated from a comparative case study of EM in five European jurisdictions, which was funded by The Criminal Justice Programme of the European Union. For more information see Hucklesby et al., 2016].

Large-scale evaluative findings on recidivism

The primary objective of EM sanctions is to deter further offending, and hence enhance public safety. This section of the paper discusses large-scale methodologically sound evaluative studies that have assessed recidivism rates of EM sanctions. During the last decade, these studies have mostly been conducted in the USA and they have mostly assessed sanctions using GPS monitoring.

The first researchers to conduct a large-scale assessment of EM's deterrent effect were Padgett, Bales and Blomberg (2006) from Florida State University, USA. They assessed data from more than 75,000 offenders who were placed on home detention in Florida from 1998 to 2002, and reported crime suppression effects for those on GPS monitoring and RF monitoring. In particular, lower technical violations, revocation rates and recidivism rates for the duration of being on the sanction were found in comparison with offenders on all other community-based dispositions without EM (Padgett et al., 2006).

Very supportive findings of EM sanctions were confirmed in a follow-up USA National Institute of Justice study by Bales and colleagues (2010) in Florida. They conducted the largest comparative assessment of the operation of EM technology versus ordinary community supervision of over 270,000 offenders. The finding was that being subjected to RF monitoring reduces the likelihood of failure under community supervision by about 30 percent, and that GPS monitoring has a further 6 percent compliance improvement rate when compared with RF monitoring.

In addition, the State Parole Board, New Jersey, GPS monitoring report suggested that the placement of sex offenders onto GPS monitoring contributed to a lower recidivism rate than nationwide data for high-risk sex offenders (New Jersey State Parole Board, 2007). This finding was based on the pilot programme which spanned over three years and consisted of 225 sex offenders of which only one was implicated with new sexual offending. This was compared with USA-wide data that indicated that 5.3 percent of sex offenders are arrested for a new sexual offence following their release from prison. Sex offenders reported that they felt as though their movements were being watched, placing a greater control on their behavior. It should be noted that all offenders on this sanction received individual treatment directly addressing their sexual offending behaviours based upon cognitive-behavioural principles.

Similar findings were drawn from two pieces of literature that best summarised "lessons learned" concerning recidivism and deterrence in the GPS monitoring field; these were Brown, McCabe and Wellford (2007) in their empirical studies sponsored by the USA National Institute of Justice, and Hucklesby's (2009) summary of the presentations at the 2009 Electronic Monitoring Conference in the Netherlands. The lessons include:

- GPS monitoring prevents offenders from committing crime
- offenders subjected to GPS feel "observed" and are therefore more likely to be compliant
- offenders avoid particular locations and victims due to GPS perimeters set by exclusion zones
- offenders are not likely to maintain contacts with former associates due to GPS tracking
- it is, however, unknown whether GPS monitoring has a sustainable impact on offenders' behaviour modification.

Table 1:

The use of EM as percent of prison population

Country	Prison population	Number of offenders/defendants on EM	Use of EM as % of prison population
New Zealand	9,914	4,021	40.5%
England & Wales	85,128	13,210	15.2%
USA	2,200,000	125,000	5.7%
Australia	39,005	1,000	2.5%

(Pew Charitable Trusts, 2016; ABS, 2016; Lis, personal communication, 2016; New Zealand Department of Corrections, 2016; Ministry of Justice, 2015; Hucklesby & Holdsworth, 2016).

Most recently, Geis and colleagues (2012) compared compliance and recidivism rates in California between High Risk Sex Offenders on GPS monitoring and those on ordinary parole without the EM component. Offenders on GPS monitoring had significantly better outcomes for both. In relation to compliance, violations were nearly three times greater for offenders on traditional parole (with less detection capability) in comparison with those on GPS monitoring. In terms of recidivism, arrests were more than twice as high among offenders on traditional parole in comparison with those on GPS monitoring.

Hence, it is empirically proven that EM sanctions can make a contribution to reducing recidivism, but they must contain rehabilitative and reintegrative initiatives. The stability in the lives of offenders is often enhanced when they are placed on EM, which in turn provides them with the ability to complete rehabilitation programme/s, and hence reduces recidivism (Hucklesby, 2009).

Conclusion

New Zealand's correctional policy of extensive EM application as a strategy to lower the recidivism rate is delivering the desired outcomes. It is in line with international best practice as empirical data has clearly indicated that EM can increase public safety providing it is used alongside rehabilitative initiatives. However, it must be remembered that EM is not a panacea – a small number of offenders/defendants will cut off their EM straps and/or re-offend. The duty of the New Zealand Department of Corrections is to minimise these instances as much as possible. This can be achieved by conducting ongoing rigorous research to ensure that EM sanctions are continuing to deliver effective results. Research findings could establish practical ways to further increase offender compliance and rehabilitation prospects, as well as appropriately manage community expectations.

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What happens beyond the gate? Findings from the post-release employment study

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Introduction

Nearly 7,000 people were released from New Zealand prisons in the year to 31 March 2015. Of those released, 44% were re-convicted for an offence committed within a year of release, and 70% of that offending occurred within the first six months after release. As the burgeoning international research literature produced on this topic illustrates, there is a need to better understand what happens to people in the first weeks and months after their release from prison, and identify what factors help or hinder efforts to "go straight" during this time (Garland & Wodahl, 2012; Nugent & Schinkel, 2016; King, 2013; Visher & Travis, 2003; Baldry, 2010; Davis, Bahr & Ward, 2012; Petersilia, 2003; Maruna, 2001; Maruna & Tosh, 2005).

The post-release employment study was directed towards this end. Utilising a multi-phased mixed method approach, it examined the impact of employment (or, more typically, unemployment) on post-release outcomes. In doing so, it sought to understand the relative importance of employment compared to other re-integrative needs, such as accommodation and support; how people obtained employment; the nature, conditions, and sustainability of released prisoners' employment; and why employment helped some people avoid re-offending and achieve better post-release outcomes, but not others. This article briefly describes some of the overarching findings and implications arising from the research.

Method

Between November 2015 and January 2016, 127 prisoners were interviewed face-to-face close to their release. Prisoners from two women's prisons and four men's prisons were included in the study. The interviews included questions about education background, employment experience, pre-prison context, programmes, training and employment completed in prison, and prisoners' release plans, including questions about participants' intentions to desist (or not) from offending.

Three-quarters (n=97) of the original sample were subsequently re-interviewed four to six months following their release. The majority of the phase two interviews (n=79) occurred in the community, although 18 participants were re-interviewed from within prison. The second interviews took place in a wide range of locations across New Zealand and examined what had happened to people since their release, and what factors helped or hindered any desistance plans people might have had pre-release.

Overall, 224 interview transcripts were generated across the two phases of interviews. These were fully transcribed, thematically analysed, and then cross-tabulated with administrative data to examine who was doing well (or not) post-release and why, and identify what role employment played in determining post-release success or adversity.

The sample

Of those interviewed at both stages of the project, 72 were male and 25 were female. Just under half identified as Māori and 12 identified as Pacifica. The average age of participants was 32.8, with the youngest participant being 18 years old and the oldest participant 61 years old.

Participants were most commonly serving sentences for violence (28%), dishonesty (23%), and burglary (15%). A quarter of the sample had a family violence conviction associated with their current sentence, while just under half had a history of family violence perpetration. In terms of department risk measures, 9% were categorised as being at low risk of reconviction and reimprisonment, 65% as medium, and 26% as high risk. On average, people had experienced 11 Corrections-administered sentences at the time of their first interview, 18% had served ten or more prison sentences, and just over a third were serving their first prison sentence. Over three-quarters of participants were completing short sentences (less than two years' duration), and 16% were released from long sentences (two years or more). Just one participant was serving a life sentence. Most participants were released from prison on general release conditions (69%) or parole conditions (18%). A further 13% of participants were released without any conditions.

Notwithstanding some variations, the overall characteristics of participants were broadly similar to that of the general released prisoner population. Consequently, they would be expected to show similar post-release outcomes.

Results

Many prisoners left prison without firm plans

Of the 127 people interviewed up to a month prior to release, just under half could articulate a solid release plan. Even those who planned to work or study often lacked any concrete idea as to how they were going to find work, or even what type of work or study they might do. A quarter of participants had no accommodation organised, and just under one third anticipated little or no social support following their release. As will be discussed further below, those without definite plans tended to fare much worse post-release.

Employment outcomes

An examination of the employment pathways of participants revealed that for the most part prison did not appear to adversely affect employment status. For instance, over two-thirds of people revealed no change in their employment status before and after their latest imprisonment: 18% of participants working pre-prison returned to work afterwards, while 50% of participants were consistently unemployed. A further 19% unemployed pre-prison were working post-release, and only 13% appeared to be faring worse having been employed pre-prison but unemployed post-release.

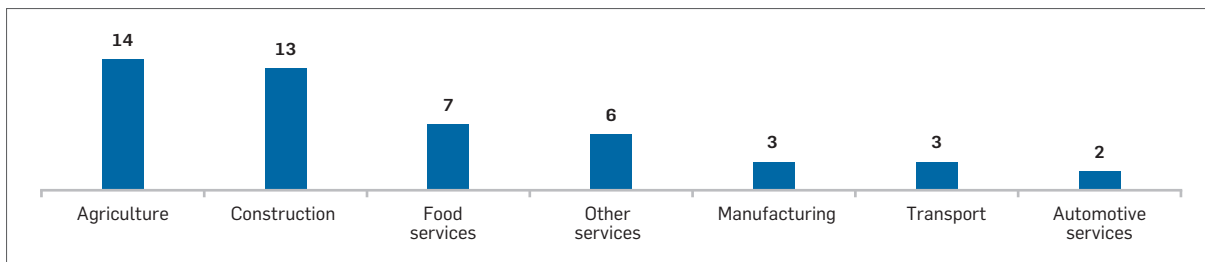
Forty-one of the 97 people interviewed post-release had been formally employed for at least one day following their release, and another person was starting work the day after being interviewed. Almost half (n=20) of the 41 people who had had formal work since release had been employed immediately pre-prison. Fourteen of the 41 had always or almost always worked, and 23 had worked intermittently. Only four had never worked or had rarely worked. Over half (n=24) of this group had had definite plans for employment after leaving prison and only two had no plans.

A quarter (n=10) of the 41 people who had had formal employment had returned to a previous employer and around half (n=19) had found work through a friend or a relative. Two people continued with the employment they began on "Release to Work" while they were in prison, a Work and Income work broker assisted one other person into work, and a probation officer assisted another person. The remainder had found work by advertising or responding to advertisements, through agencies, or by direct contact with an employer.

Most had advised their employer of their criminal record. However, two who had not been asked had not volunteered this information, saying they wanted to prove themselves first.

Figure 1 below outlines the nature of participants' employment. Sixteen had been employed full-time and permanently. Those who had returned to a previous employer were more likely to be in full-time permanent work than those working elsewhere. Nine people worked in seasonal employment, which was finite and could be weather dependent, resulting in variable hours. Several others were employed casually or only part-time. Interviewees in part-time or more casual jobs were earning as little as the minimum wage.

Figure 1:
Nature of employment



Note: Agriculture includes forestry and fishing and covers farming and seasonal fruit/vegetable picking. Construction includes earthmoving, building and painting.

At the time of interview, 27 people were still working. Three were back in prison and the remaining 11 cited the end of seasonal or other temporary work, being bullied by work colleagues, childcare responsibilities, assessing the situation as risky (post-work partying with colleagues), not getting on with family members who were working in the same business, and wanting to establish their own business as reasons for ceasing work. Of the 27 interviewees who were still working, 12 had always or almost always worked – that is, most of those who had always worked who had found work after leaving prison were still in employment several months later.

Twenty-six people who hadn't had formal work had, however, looked since their release, but blamed their criminal record for their lack of success. A similar number hadn't looked for work for various reasons, including fulfilling post-release conditions, study, or settling back into the community. Others had no interest in work.

Interviewees thought work was important for keeping themselves occupied, establishing a routine, and for earning more money than they could on a benefit. Several noted it tired them out so they were less inclined to go out at night, thereby avoiding anti-social peers and the possibility of re-offending. A couple of people enjoyed keeping their body active and one person relished being out in the fresh air. One participant identified work as the critical factor helping her turn her life around, and many others acknowledged its importance. For some, work also created both the opportunity and the means for risky behaviour, such as providing money to purchase alcohol and drugs, and buying vehicles for use in illicit activities, as well as more generally socialising with anti-social peers, some of whom were met through work.

Understanding the relative importance of employment compared to other reintegrative needs

As the study progressed it became apparent that employment could not be meaningfully studied in isolation from other reintegrative factors such as accommodation, social support, drug and alcohol use, and mental and/or physical health. Like employment, these factors interacted in complex and varied ways to bring about different outcomes for the research participants. Key findings on the first two of these areas are briefly summarised below.

Post-release accommodation

Accommodation emerged as the single most important reintegration issue for prisoners. With suitable housing, offenders could start to re-establish their lives, including arranging benefits, looking for work, and reconnecting with partners and children. However, a lack of accommodation (often associated with a lack of income) put offenders at a high risk of re-offending, simply to afford life necessities such as food and clothing, or because their only alternative support derived from criminal associates.

Prior to prison, most interviewees lived with a family member or partner, with smaller numbers living with other relatives or friends – sometimes couch surfing. Two people owned their homes and several were renting Housing New Zealand homes.

Only 16 interviewees planned to return to their pre-prison accommodation after their release, demonstrating the transience of this group. Some interviewees could not return to partners because of Protection Orders or the breakdown of relationships, and some families were no longer willing to accommodate participants. Some people in Housing New Zealand rentals were able to retain these while they were in prison when partners or family members were able to take over the lease temporarily. Work and Income declined to allow others to transfer their leases due to drug charges and/or a poor tenancy history requiring them to find alternative accommodation on their release.

Fifteen interviewees had absolutely no idea where they would be living, despite being within a week or two of release, and were finding it difficult to organise accommodation from within prison.

At the post-release interview, 51 of the 97 offenders reported having found somewhere relatively stable to live immediately after their release, the majority with close family members and others with a partner or, in several cases, an ex-partner. Friends and other relatives again provided somewhere to live for most of the remainder. On the other hand, 46 people did not have stable accommodation immediately after release or only had transitional accommodation. Many were in hostels or shelters, with family, partners, ex-partners, other relatives and friends providing temporary support for the rest. Two were living on the streets. Not surprisingly, most of the people who had no confirmed post-release address when they were interviewed in prison were amongst the group whose accommodation in the community was precarious.

By the time of the second interview, just under half of the people in initially precarious accommodation had moved to more suitable housing, often a Housing New Zealand rental, and others had moved in with family or friends. However, three people were on the streets; six people remained in undesirable shelter (including one in a shed); and 18 interviewees were back in prison, either because of new offending or because of a breach of release conditions (including one person whose addresses kept being declined by his probation officer).

Reintegration providers assisted some study participants into accommodation and a number of probation officers had gone to considerable lengths to help people find accommodation, including sometimes driving people to viewings and/or helping secure furniture and appliances once accommodation was obtained.

Post-release support

Following release from prison, the majority of participants received support from either intimate partners (or in some case ex-partners with whom they were still friendly) or close family. As well as emotional support, they were helped with accommodation and financial assistance. A small number of people relied on friends for this support in the absence of partners or family. However, a few participants had nobody close to them they could turn to for help, after the breakdown of relationships or Protection Orders being imposed, or the offender having exhausted the patience of family members. Community Corrections and other agencies, particularly the Salvation Army, played an important role in providing necessities after release and in encouraging desistance where people had no other support. However, gang members, many of whom had

resolved to desist from crime while in prison, typically turned to gangs for accommodation and financial help in the absence of other support which led, inevitably, to a downward spiral of drugs, alcohol, and re-offending.

The research also identified that, despite most offenders having children, only a very small number had primary responsibility for their care either before prison or post-release. Most children were living with ex-partners or parents at both points. Interviewees' involvement with children being cared for by others varied, with some having no contact at all and others seeing them almost daily.

Putting it all together: a post-release outcome framework

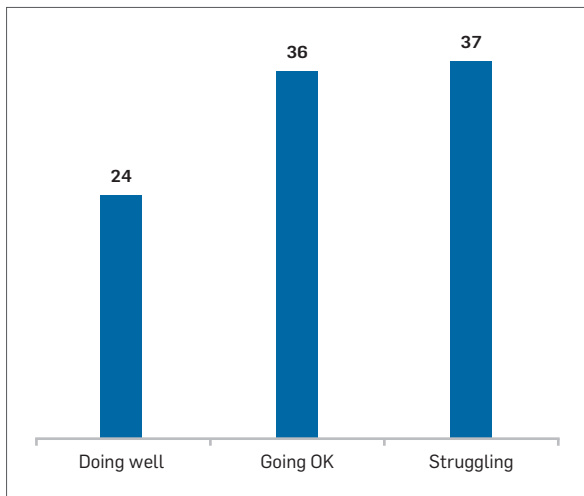
To better understand how factors such as employment, accommodation, and support interacted, a post-release outcome framework was developed to identify "successful" outcomes. As international studies demonstrate, defining what counts as a "successful" re-entry, or reintegration outcome is not straightforward (Garland & Wodhal, 2014; Visher & Travis, 2003; Maruna, 2001).

Re-entry is time-bound and focuses on the period immediately following release up to three to 12 months' post-release (Garland and Wodahl, 2014). It involves the initial adjustment from prison to the community in which a person (re)commences aspects of "normal" life, obtains life necessities (housing, income, transport), accesses emotional support (from families, intimate relationships) and/or (re)connects with children, and preferably refrains from offending and harmful drug and/or alcohol use (Davis, Bahr & Ward, 2012).

Reintegration, on the other hand, involves more fundamental, long-term change. While re-entry is a process all those leaving prison endure, reintegration is neither guaranteed nor time bound. It involves forging new pro-social relationships and avoiding negative ones (Maruna and Roy, 2007), more permanent abstinence from harmful patterns of drug and alcohol use, and ongoing engagement in employment, study, or some other form of purposeful activity, achieving stable and sustainable housing, functionally managing mental health problems, and *attempting* to achieve or maintain a crime-free lifestyle (Maruna, 2001; Davis, Bahr & Ward, 2012). Reintegration is also generally agreed to involve a more permanent psychological change based on envisioning a new identity (or reclaiming an old one) as a socially-integrated citizen (Farrall, 2004; Maruna, 2001). It is often best understood as a process or continuum rather than a static goal, and can coincide with re-offending, although such behaviour would be expected to diminish as a person moves further along the reintegration continuum, albeit not necessarily in a linear direction (Piquero, 2004).

Figure 2:

Post-release outcomes



Taking these observations on board, and in an attempt to assess how well people were doing overall in the four to six months since release, the current study developed and applied a post-release outcome framework. The framework took into account a variety of factors, including more objective measures, such as re-offending, re-imprisonment, sentence compliance, employment status, accommodation status, access to social support, drug and alcohol use, and progress relative to individual past, alongside more subjective aspects such as: people's sense of agency, strength and realism of future plans, resolve to desist from crime, attitudes to employment (or benefit dependency) and job satisfaction, perceived financial stability, and people's general sense of wellbeing and outlook on life. Consequently, it was not simply the "fact" of people's re-offending that mattered, but also their attitudes to such offending and the degree to which they believed this impacted on their plans to ultimately "go straight". On this basis, people were categorised as "doing well", "going OK" or "struggling". As shown in Figure 2, a quarter (n=24) of participants were subsequently assessed as "doing well", 36 were "going OK" and a similar number were "struggling" (n=37). The following sections briefly outline each of these categories.

Doing well

Those "doing well" tended to be slightly younger, they were also more likely to be male and identify as European. They had generally entered prison with better prospects than other groups, having left school with more qualifications and having far more substantive employment histories. Half of this group had been employed immediately prior to their phase one incarceration and most identified themselves as "good workers". They were less likely to report mental health

problems either prior to or during their incarceration and were more likely to be in regular contact with their children prior to arriving in prison.

Leading up to release, this group tended to have firm release plans in place, with many planning to return to either the same or similar jobs, and a third reported having post-release jobs already confirmed. On the back of established employment backgrounds, these people often had good pre-existing employment networks they could leverage for job opportunities. They typically anticipated high levels of social support and had accommodation organised. They tended to have taken an active role in planning their release and exhibited high levels of personal agency. Consequently, most within this group needed little assistance to find work or accommodation post-release, and few derived additional benefits from employment and training opportunities provided in prison, having already firmly established expertise in their chosen field.

Post release, people within this group were busy. Most were either employed or engaged in some other form of purposeful activity (such as voluntary work). Those who were employed often worked long hours (up to 80 hours a week) and considered their job to be a "good" one. They reported receiving good pay and enjoying high levels of flexibility from employers to accommodate probation commitments. Many derived a sense of legitimacy from their employment, which, in turn, helped catalyse the formation of a new identity, away from offender to "normal" citizen:

I don't want my kids to know about my time. I want them to know about who I am becoming and, you know, the person I'm going to be ... I want them to grow up with a good work ethic ... the legit life is better for me (Pacific male in his 20s, formerly in prison for burglary).

Employment operated to restrict the time and energy available for "getting into trouble", and distanced people from unemployed, anti-social peers. Work-related drug testing and anxieties about retaining employment and/or gaining access to children had encouraged people to stop, or at least significantly curtail, their drug and alcohol use. Employment also reduced financial incentives for re-offending, and many commented on the value of having a stable, predictable source of income.

While just under a third of this group had breached their release conditions, and an equivalent proportion had been charged with new offences, the ways in which these events were perceived was distinct. Re-offending was often characterised by this group as "a little hiccup" and seldom interrupted personal narratives of desistance. Despite new charges, therefore, people in this group still considered themselves to be in the

process of desisting and becoming “legit”. Those “doing well” were optimistic and forward-focused: they had future goals and were taking active steps to achieve them. They believed that their futures were largely in their own hands.

Going OK

Those “going OK” were often preoccupied with fulfilling the conditions of their release. Many viewed being on release or parole conditions as placing them in some form of “holding pattern” in which they could not get on with their lives until the condition period expired. Living in limbo, many lacked direction and were unable to articulate what steps they would take to “get on” once sentence requirements were completed. This group contained a large proportion of women and those categorised as “low risk”. They had less exposure to imprisonment and over half were serving their first prison sentence at the time of the first interview. Most felt positively towards their probation officer and most had been highly compliant with their post-release conditions. Indeed, only 14% had breached their sentence conditions, the lowest rate for any outcome group. This group also had low levels of re-offending, with under one third facing new charges. This was a similar level to those “doing well”.

Despite being more likely to have left school with qualifications than other outcome categories, most had worked only intermittently throughout their lives, and almost 80% were unemployed prior to their arrival in prison. Over half of this group were receiving a benefit pre-prison (53%), with most receiving Job Seeker benefits. On release, most of these people had resumed benefit dependency and continued to be unemployed. People reported spending their days playing computer games, watching TV, engaging in social media, and undertaking domestic chores. While for some “not doing too much” was a conscious strategy to ensure they were not overwhelmed by competing demands, others reported “floating about” feeling bored, lonely, and depressed by the lack of constructive activity in their lives. Many were focused more on avoiding “bad influences” or situations than on doing “good” or meaningful things. Avoidance for some had become their dominant “activity”:

I am consciously aware of what I need to do just to keep out of trouble ... stay away from the environment ... staying out of trouble. Avoiding is one of the main things (Dave, Māori male in his 40s who had just completed his second prison sentence).

As part of their avoidance strategy, many within this group were successfully avoiding, or at least curtailing, drug and alcohol use.

People within this group typically saw release conditions as an impediment to employment. Many struggled to manage competing priorities post release, and while employment was considered important, it was not something they could seriously contemplate without other areas of their lives being resolved, such as sentence requirements, sustainable accommodation, access to children, and relationship problems. Employment assistance was, therefore, something they wanted “down the road” rather than immediately following their release from prison. For many, delays in accessing rehabilitation programmes caused conflicts between meeting sentence requirements and obtaining employment during the second half of the condition period when financial support from others was waning. A desire for independent accommodation was often a primary imperative for seeking employment at this point.

Many felt fatalistic about the impact of conviction histories on their employment prospects, yet had only vague notions of what occupations they might be excluded from. This was particularly salient for women, who assumed they were excluded from working in all caring roles post-conviction, despite this being their only previous work experience. Those in work tended to see their current employment as temporary and often endured variable work conditions. Many were receiving the minimum wage and/or were engaged in casual roles with variable working hours making it hard to plan financially. Few saw a future working in the same line of work. Collectively, these factors offset the more positive gains that those “doing well” derived from employment.

Those “going OK” often avoided thinking too much about the future, including in relation to re-offending/desistance. This group revealed considerable ambivalence about desistance, with many stating that re-offending was simply a matter of chance which was largely beyond their control. There was a widespread lack of agency or self-determination among this group.

Struggling

Those “struggling” were more criminally entrenched than their better faring counterparts, with over half having completed ten or more prison sentences. Half also reported having experienced mental health problems throughout their lives, most commonly Attention Deficit and Hyperactivity Disorder. An equivalent proportion reported having ongoing associations with gangs. Prior to arriving in prison, just over a quarter had been employed, while half the people in this group had never or rarely worked during their lifetime. Pre-release, this group was three times more likely than those “doing well” to lack substantive accommodation plans and expect little or no pro-social support on release.

Following release, six in ten were facing new charges, and a similar proportion had breached their release or parole conditions. A further 80% had returned to prison on at least one occasion since they had left prison, and a similar proportion lacked stable housing. Several had been homeless for at least some time since release. Few had accessed a benefit post-release, and while this was sometimes characterised as a conscious choice, others spoke of significant difficulties accessing benefits and the financial hardship engendered by lengthy delays. Few had worked and only one person was still in paid employment at the time of their second interview. Despite recognising the value of employment to “going straight”, employment was rarely a top priority for this group. Rather, obtaining some form of income, accommodation, and support were more pressing considerations. In terms of the latter, many within this group lacked good social support networks and tensions surrounding intimate relationships proved to be a common destabilising force. A number were negotiating Protection and/or Non-Association Orders on release, which, in turn, had contributed to accommodation problems, financial hardship, and re-offending. Many had resorted to drugs, alcohol, and offending as a means of coping with adverse circumstances. Several had also struggled to access psychiatric medication in the community, which had further undermined efforts to hold down employment and/or avoid re-offending.

Overall, these people were often living chaotic lives, enduring multiple and compounding problems. Few within this group articulated any real desire to desist from crime and most evidenced a distinct lack of agency around their offending. Few took responsibility for their offending, as they believed this was largely determined by external forces. In the words of one participant: “what will be will be”. Many lived day to day, and avoided making too many plans as “anything might happen tomorrow” which could jettison good intentions. A number spoke of being “stuck” in cycles of offending, which they felt powerless to extricate themselves from. Perhaps not surprisingly given this attitude, people routinely blamed prison staff and probation officers for “causing” re-offending because they had “failed” to provide the practical assistance released prisoners felt they required. A well-rehearsed axiom among this group was “they set us up to fail”. Such concerns typically arose within a context of considerable economic hardship. For those in this category who professed a desire to change, many felt that they lacked the practical means to do so and felt trapped in their criminal lifestyle, with little alternative but to rely on the support of anti-social friends, family/whānau, and, occasionally, gangs.

Where to from here? Some implications for service design and implementation

While a large number of implications arose from the research, three main areas for action are briefly discussed here.

1. Prisoners’ post-release needs are highly individualised, multi-faceted, interactive and dynamic: reintegration services need to be individually tailored

Some people exit prison with extensive employment histories, accommodation organised, and strong social support structures in place. These people need little assistance from reintegration services and often derive little practical benefit from education, training and employment options offered in prison. Others leave prison with little or no work experience, no source of income organised, no accommodation, untreated mental health problems, and little or no social support. While some people received assistance they didn’t require, some in desperate need of assistance and at high risk of re-offending received little. Consequently, it is important to target services to those who need them most and who have the greatest level of risk. This could involve further prioritising prisoners with limited employment and training histories when allocating work and training opportunities within and beyond prison, and focusing intensive reintegration services on those without accommodation and/or sound support structures in place prior to release.

2. Core foundations need to be in place before employment is viable

While participants generally concurred that employment could help prevent re-offending and was critical in achieving long-term desistance, employment only became viable once other foundations were in place, namely: stable and sustainable accommodation, social supports, healthy relationships, and good mental health and addiction management. Employment was therefore the main post-release priority for those who already had these foundations in place. The completion of sentence requirements, particularly post-release rehabilitation programmes, was a commonly cited impediment to employment. On this basis the primacy of employment assistance within initial post-release services should be reviewed, and the possibility of targeting additional employment assistance further “down the road” during the second half of the condition period considered. Towards this end, there is also merit in attempting to schedule rehabilitation programmes within the first half of the condition period to ensure programmes do not come into conflict with employment pressures emerging in the later part of the condition period.

More than any other factor, a lack of stable accommodation was the most critical contributor to negative post-release outcomes. There is a need for greater provision of emergency accommodation, as well as more support to help released prisoners transition from short-term accommodation to more stable medium-term housing. The conditions of existing accommodation options should also be reviewed to identify possible improvements. Since the completion of the research the department has commenced a number of initiatives to increase the provision of emergency accommodation for released prisoners. For example, it has increased the number of contracted places for supported accommodation from 703 places per annum to 903 places that provide up to three months' transitional accommodation and, for a third of those places, placement into employment.

3. Release planning in prison should ensure people exit prison with concrete, realistic plans, necessary documentation in place, and adequate safety plans for managing family violence risk

Over half of participants could not articulate firm plans for what they planned to do once they left prison, sometimes within weeks of release. This was more likely to be the case for those serving long sentences compared to those serving short sentences, as the latter were more likely to have accommodation, social support and past job contacts in place leading up to release. While a reasonable proportion of people said they wished to study following their release, few could articulate what or where they planned to study, or how studying would assist them in terms of employment once they had completed it. Many spoke about being overwhelmed following their release with the sheer volume of issues they had to contend with, including setting up bank accounts and benefit payments, dealing with pre-existing fines and their debts, finding housing and employment, and negotiating child access arrangements, often while dealing with either protection or non-association orders. Those seeking employment expressed considerable anxiety about approaching new employers, and many worried about how potential employers would react when they disclosed their criminal convictions. People with mental health problems also spoke of the difficulties accessing medication. A number of people said they wanted someone to actively assist them to negotiate the myriad of demands they faced on release.

Informed by findings from the research, the Department of Corrections has launched a number of initiatives which aim to address these needs. For example, a Guided Release process recently introduced in New Zealand prisons involves case managers working intensively with prisoners being released from long sentences (two years or more) to develop detailed reintegration plans. In developing plans, case managers may accompany offenders into the community to help organise accommodation and employment opportunities. Similarly, Offender Recruitment Consultants (ORCs) were introduced in late 2016 to assist prisoners into employment. Eight consultants based at different locations throughout the country actively broker employment opportunities for offenders. Since its commencement in November 2016, over 420 offenders have been assisted into employment. On average they are placing about 70 offenders per month. To gain access to a greater number of job opportunities Corrections has also signed employer partnerships with 113 employers who have agreed to provide jobs to 1,087 offenders upon release. The department is also partnering with the Ministry of Social Development on the Supporting Offenders into Employment pilot. One aspect of the pilot involves dedicated case managers working with prisoners prior to release and up to 12 months post-release to obtain and maintain employment.

Finally, the research found that relationship and familial tensions often catalysed broader post-release adversity, such as loss of accommodation and failing to report. The provision of generic healthy relationship programmes to prisoners and/or released prisoners would likely contribute to improvements in other outcome indicators. More consistent screening for family violence issues pre-release, robust safety planning processes, and better community-based support would also help to alleviate some of the common tensions experienced by those returning to relationships or commencing new ones post-release. The Integrated Safety Response (ISR) initiative currently being piloted in Christchurch and the Waikato region has begun to address some of these issues for those deemed high risk.

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Investing in prison education: New approaches to improving educational outcomes and reducing re-offending

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Background

International and domestic evidence demonstrates that prison education can contribute to reductions in re-offending (Davis, Bozick, Steele, Saunders & Miles, 2013; Kim & Clark, 2013; Department of Corrections, 2015). Therefore, the Department of Corrections, following a similar path to that of other developed countries, continues to invest in prison education.

This has resulted in large-scale literacy and numeracy initiatives and vocational training programmes, aiming to better prepare prisoners for community reintegration, qualification progression and employment.

Further building on this, in recent years the department has implemented significant changes to respond to a more diverse range of learners. Central to these changes is an increased focus on developing education programmes and learning plans for on-going progression that are aligned to individuals' needs and aspirations, while recognising the important role language, identity, and culture play in improving educational (re)engagement and achievement.

The department also recognises that literacy challenges may prevent those in prison from engaging in rehabilitation programmes that address their criminogenic needs.

To help realise these changes, the department has collaborated with other government agencies and education providers to identify new areas for development and innovation, and has targeted investment accordingly. This has enabled the department to lay the foundations for a new prison education infrastructure that will lead to improved programme and qualification access, and clearer progression pathways into higher-level qualifications, industry/vocational training and employment.

Prior to discussing the department's approach to prison education, it is important to review what we know about learners in prison.

Educational disparity within the New Zealand prison population

People in New Zealand prisons reflect the international trend (incl. United States, United Kingdom and the European Union) of having higher levels of educational disparity than the general population. This disparity means people in prison often have higher literacy and numeracy needs and fewer qualifications at both secondary and tertiary level.

The department currently estimates¹ that for those in prison:

- 60% have literacy and numeracy below that of National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA) Level One competency, and further, approximately 25% are at, or below Steps One and Two on the Adult Literacy and Numeracy Learning Progressions². This means the majority of those in prison face significant to severe literacy and numeracy challenges in their everyday lives. If left unsupported these challenges will likely impact on their successful engagement in entry-level qualifications³ and meeting basic employer expectations.

1 Based on data extracted from the Adult Literacy and Numeracy Assessment Tool and Prisoner Qualification Attainment data (as registered with NZQA).

2 For more Information on the Learning Progressions please see: <http://www.literacyandnumeracyforadults.com/resources/354650>

3 Foundation Qualifications typically at levels one and two on the New Zealand Qualifications Framework (NZQF)

- 66% have no formal⁴ qualifications, leading to reduced labour market competitiveness, constrained transferrable skills and reduced re-training potential, all essential for sustainable employment outcomes. This disparity is particularly evident when compared to the wider New Zealand population, of whom 23% have no qualifications (Statistics New Zealand, 2016).

Educational disparity amongst Māori and Pasifika (who together make up 62% of the prison population) is further pronounced. For literacy and numeracy, while 48% of Pakeha are below NCEA Level One competency; 62% of Māori and Pasifika are below this level.

In terms of qualifications, 77% of Pasifika have no previous qualifications, compared to 65% for Māori and Pakeha. It is reasonable to suggest that learners for whom English is a second language may face additional barriers to achieving qualifications in mainstream settings.

Educational disparity amongst those in prison may have started at a young age, and can pose a barrier to on-going re-engagement with education, particularly if delivery is seen as a replication of previous experiences, as international (Hawley, Murphy & Souto-Otero, 2013) and domestic (Sutherland, 2011) evidence demonstrates that prison learners have poor compulsory school experiences.

Finally, prison learners may face a number of additional factors that may act as barriers to educational achievement. While no comprehensive diagnostic study exists of special education needs in New Zealand prisons, the following is worth noting:

- One study of 253 Texas prisoners (Moody, Holzer, Roman, Paulsen, Freeman, Haynes & James, 2000) demonstrated that 48% of the sample was dyslexic, with a UK study estimating that the incidence of dyslexia in the prison population is between three to four times that found in the general population (The Dyslexia Institute, 2005).
- In the UK, studies estimate that 45% of youth and 30% of adults who are dealt with by the criminal justice system have Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) (Young & Goodwin, 2010). A meta-analysis of the prevalence of ADHD in incarcerated populations (Young, Moss, Sedgwick, Fridman & Hodgkins, 2014) found that compared with the general population there is a five-fold increase of ADHD in youth prison populations (30.1%) and a 10-fold increase in adult prison populations (26.2%).

- Literature suggests that prevalence of Autism-Spectrum Disorders (ASD) may be higher within the prison population than the general population. Research undertaken in the United States with 431 maximum security participants indicated 4.4% meet the criteria for ASD diagnosis, an estimated four times the rate of the general population (Fazio, Pietz, & Denney, 2012) This means an approximate 440 learners in New Zealand prisoners may be impacted by ASD.

As a complicating factor, New Zealand research (Indig, Gear & Wilhelm, 2016) indicates that those in prison are likely to have higher rates of mental health and substance use disorders when compared to the general population. Of the over 1,200 people in prison interviewed, nearly all (91%) had a lifetime diagnosis of a mental health or substance use disorder and 62% had this diagnosis in the past 12 months. The research showed that those in prison were three times more likely than the general population to have a 12-month diagnosis of any mental disorder (62% compared to 21%). Further, 42% were found to have a lifetime comorbidity of mental health and substance use disorder.

It is clear that prison-based learners are unique, with complex needs, and a simple translation of community education services into a custodial setting is unlikely to provide the appropriate support needed for these learners to progress.

A new approach to prison-based education

Since 2014, the department has implemented a number of significant changes to prison-based education. These changes have aimed at building the prison's overall capability to better assess and address the individual learner's needs, while at the same time providing new educational pathways for progression, ranging from intensive literacy and numeracy support to trades and industry training and access to digital learning.

The department has:

- Implemented a new Education Assessment and Learning Pathway Process (EA/LP). This process aims to provide an education assessment on arrival into prison and works to identify educational needs (including literacy and numeracy) and previous educational attainment (via NZQA's record of learning). Following this, a learning plan is co-developed to address needs and realise long-term goals and aspirations, further supporting (re) engagement, achievement and progression. In the 2015/16 financial year, department education tutors conducted over 5,000 EA/LPs with prison learners.

⁴ As per the New Zealand Qualifications Framework.

- Re-developed literacy and numeracy programmes to provide support intensity based on need, while lowering student to tutor ratios (6:1). With literacy and numeracy need being so prevalent within the prison population, this service acts as a crucial “entry-point” for initial engagement and progression to rehabilitation, education and reintegration opportunities. To ensure these services were most effective, the department set strong service requirements around culturally responsive practices, whereby the language, culture and identity of the learners is at the centre of service delivery. In 2015, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWOA) was successful in securing a national service contract for the delivery of these services to approximately 1,200 prisoners per annum, with the Methodist Mission also successful for delivery in Otago Corrections Facility.
- Signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC⁵) in 2014. This allowed Tertiary Education Organisations (including Polytechnics and Private Training Establishments) to bid for funding for the delivery of foundation qualifications in prison, resulting in funded enrolments rising from an approximate 900 per annum to 1,700. While volumes increased, learner choice also improved, with additional trades training, NCEA vocational pathways and programmes that included Te Reo.
- Implemented prison-based Secure Online Learning (SOL) suites to facilitate e-learning and improve access to reintegration services. This includes access to literacy and numeracy support services, driver licence tutorials, and employment and community services. From April 2017, SOL suites were available across all 17 public prisons, providing a basis for the development of the department’s future e-learning capability.
- Finally, and significantly, the department has embarked on a pilot to progress 450 learners (in prison and the community) through the graduated driver licence system. This aims to address traffic-related re-offending, and help learners get a job, since not having a driver licence is a well-understood barrier to employment.
- Ensuring education services are well integrated both at a prison-level and nationally. Learners must have clear pathways to progression, where services “dovetail” into each other. To better support this, we are introducing a national service pathway from intensive literacy and numeracy to NCEA. This will enable more learners to progress from high literacy and numeracy need into foundation qualifications.
- Ongoing development of the EA/LP process to capture a more comprehensive range of education need and planning information, including developing more gender and age appropriate strategies, and understanding how special education needs may impact on service requirements. The department expects that this will result in more consciously developed and targeted programmes for youth and women, who are demographic minorities within the prison population (i.e. most prisoners are male adults).
- Improving services for those on remand, realising that while remandees may stay in prison for a shorter period (a constraint to longer duration programmes/qualifications), further services can be provided in the areas of literacy and numeracy, community and work skills and re-engagement with education more generally.
- Driving SOL use, since the department recognises that tertiary education delivery will increasingly move online and therefore we must provide e-learning platforms to future-proof service delivery. The department will explore how higher level qualifications can be accessed through SOL, further strengthening the overall pathway for progression.
- Ensuring industry training meets labour market skill demands. The department currently employs approximately 300 employment instructors who give on-the-job training that supports learners to get industry qualifications. We will strengthen our relationships with Industry Training Organisations and employers to ensure that industry training aligns with labour market demand.
- Finally, the department understands that for education to be effective there needs to be an on-going focus on professional standards and quality assurance to ensure that best practices are established and maintained. The department will develop quality assurance and practice guidelines to support the delivery and management of frontline education services. This will also enable us to gather education outcome data and allow for investment to be targeted in those areas that deliver the biggest educational and rehabilitative benefit.

Considerations and opportunities for further development

While recent changes have resulted in improved service sophistication and needs-based targeting, continuing to build pathways for educational and employment progression will be the primary future focus. This aims to better realise the rehabilitative potential of education. To achieve this, the department’s education workplan focuses on:

⁵ The TEC is a crown entity that leads Government’s tertiary education strategy and funds and performance monitors the tertiary education sector.

Conclusion

There is no simple solution to improving educational outcomes for people in prison, particularly when one considers the complex intersection of the education system, funding arrangements, custodial environments and learner need. Further, prison learner educational disparity is often the result of long-standing historical, socio-economic and cultural processes that have impacted individuals and communities prior to their involvement in the criminal justice system, much less prison. To help address these disparities, we will focus on re-engaging learners through quality education services that meet the unique needs, goals and aspirations of learners. The learner's language, identity and culture will be central to service delivery, as will clear links to jobs, as the economic benefits of education are often a key driver of engagement.

We will continue to work closely with education providers, industries, employers and learners to design programmes based on actual demand. This requires the development of a flexible prison education system that is responsive to an increasingly diverse prison population, both in terms of individual need, demographics, and providing opportunities to gain the skills needed in a dynamic labour market.

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Women's prison education

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Background

Education and subsequent employment act as protective factors associated with a reduced likelihood of re-offending. Providing women in prison with education so they can gain meaningful, sustainable employment, life skills and increasing confidence and motivation, plays a crucial role in reducing reintegrative barriers when women are released (Case & Fasenfest, 2004; Rose, 2004). Therefore, the education, skills and qualifications women gain prior to their release are pivotal to the success of their reintegration.

Women's education and training opportunities in prison (both nationally and internationally) have historically been limited. The number and type of opportunities can be significantly less than those offered at men's prisons. Similarly, female access to rehabilitation, life skills programmes and reintegration services has often been inadequate, gender neutral and/or restricted due to sentence lengths and eligibility criteria (Carlen & Worrall, 2004; Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004; Bentley, 2015). Those education programmes which are available arguably over-emphasise traditional femininity and do not sufficiently skill women for the labour market. For example, the training industries available across the three New Zealand women's prisons have tended to focus on the domestic spheres of cooking, laundry and sewing. Other opportunities currently available – to both men and women – include an intensive literacy and numeracy programme, the Tertiary Education Commission funded New Zealand Certificate of Educational Achievement, self directed learning (commonly through Te Kura) and secure online learning.

International research highlights the lack of education women have prior to their imprisonment. Within New Zealand over 50% of women in prison left school before year 13, with many of them (around 60%) identifying government benefits, cash work or crime as their source of income before imprisonment (Department Of Corrections, 2003). On entry and exit from prison, women tend to also lack educational and vocational skills that will allow them to compete with men in the labour market (Flower, 2010). Around 60% of the total

female prison population and 70% of Māori women in prison have levels of literacy and numeracy lower than that which is deemed appropriate to complete NCEA level 1 (Tertiary Education Commission Literacy and Numeracy Adult Assessment Tool, 2017). Reaching the appropriate literacy and numeracy competency is essential to women's successful engagement in rehabilitation programmes. With low levels of educational achievement and limited employment histories, women who leave prison are less likely than men to find meaningful employment upon release. These issues are further exacerbated by women's complex vulnerabilities, inequalities, marginalisation and histories of abuse, mental illness, victimisation, addiction, child rearing and familial responsibilities. Such histories, although evident in male prisoners, present with significantly higher rates of comorbidity for women (Carlen & Worrall, 2004; MacIntosh, 2011; Sheehan, 2013; Bentley, 2015).

For female prisoners, a number of factors such as the relatively smaller population size, traditional gender stereotypes, prioritisation of risk and security, competing intervention demands and staff resource constraints further contribute to the issues described.

In response to growing domestic and international research on the importance of acknowledging gender in the treatment and management of women on sentence, the Department of Corrections has developed a Women's Strategy and Action Plan. As part of the Strategy we will focus on improving women's access to services and interventions to meet their needs, including education needs, and which will enhance their employment opportunities on release.

Focus groups: Why is education so important?

The following sections provide an overview of proposed education initiatives within New Zealand women's prisons. These initiatives were developed from focus groups of female prisoners which were held in all three women's prisons. The purpose of the focus groups was to ascertain women's perspectives

about current education and training opportunities and give women a voice in the development of future education and training opportunities in female prisons. In collaboration with the Department of Corrections Quality and Performance Team, semi-structured focus group questions were developed to aid three staff members in facilitating sessions. Women from each of the three women's prisons were asked to participate in education/learning themed focus groups and were given the option to opt out at any time. The 12 focus groups lasted for one to one-and-a-half hours and an average of eight women participated in each.

Education and training focused findings

Women discussed "learning" and "education" as a holistic concept that encompasses qualification-based education and training, rehabilitation, life skills and reintegration needs. Similar to research on female offender populations (Carlen & Worrall 2004; Rose, 2004; Carlen & Tombs, 2006), focus groups highlighted the comorbid nature of women's needs rather than the prioritisation of specific education, treatment and reintegration interventions. Drug Treatment Units, such as that at Arohata Prison, have begun to identify the important role education and literacy and numeracy play in the success of treatment programmes. For example, women are engaged in intensive literacy and numeracy support programmes that enable them to fully participate in writing and reading exercises such as developing safety plans in parallel with their offence focus treatments.

Of concern, however, was the lack of knowledge women across all three prisons had about the learning opportunities available in the prison (and upon release). Furthermore, women were not aware of how and when they were eligible for learning programmes and what criminal convictions may hinder which employment options upon release. Women were often either resigned to the fact their convictions would mean unemployment on release or were aiming to find employment in roles such as social work where restrictions are placed on those with criminal convictions.

Women were further concerned that the current education and training opportunities would not provide meaningful outcomes on release as they do not link to their aspirations, needs or the employment market. Most commonly women spoke of the desire to engage in learning linked to the hair and beauty industry, neither of which are specifically supported by education and training programmes in prison. Although a traditionally feminine industry, this work provides women with desirable skills and qualifications for use outside of the traditional domestic domain. Additionally, such qualifications provide women with transferable skills to support parenting, communication, and employment/interview readiness.

With the above findings in mind, the following section outlines education initiatives that are being developed within the three women's prisons as a result of the women's focus groups and what we know from domestic and international research.

Women's education and training initiatives for development

Learning expos: provide an interactive learning experience that will inform women of learning opportunities available in prison and upon release, as well as preparing them for employment. Such events would enable women to gain knowledge, skills, motivation and contacts that would be valuable while in prison as well as once released. For example, women suggested having stalls, speakers and mock interviews. The first learning/education expo is taking place at Arohata Prison on 28 July 2017 and expos for the other two women's prisons are planned

Increase in training and industry opportunities: as part of the Women's Strategy further training and industry opportunities for women in prison are being investigated and pursued. The first options being pursued in 2017/2018 are: securing qualifications in hairdressing and beauty therapy; development of construction industry training including plumbing, electrics and carpentry; and extension of the partnership with the People's Coffee barista industry at Arohata Prison so that it leads to release to work opportunities and jobs on release.

Education induction packs: develop an education induction pack to give women information regarding the education opportunities available and the entrance criteria. Such a pack will help inform conversations between women and their designated education tutor or case manager. It is important to involve women in the design of the induction pack to ensure it is tailored to women's needs and to create a sense of ownership and purpose. An induction pack is currently under development which will include information about education opportunities in prisons.

Conclusion

A number of initiatives were proposed by focus groups of women prisoners to help target the educational needs of women in prison. Corrections is developing three of the proposed opportunities identified by the women: learning expos, induction packs containing information on educational opportunities, and increased training and industry opportunities. Because these initiatives were suggested by the women, and supported by research, this will help engagement and support meaningful outcomes.

These initiatives should be seen in the wider context of the department's existing education opportunities for women (e.g. the intensive literacy and numeracy programme), and the department's new Women's Strategy and Action Plan which acknowledges that education plays a crucial role in the success of women. Under the strategy, over the next four years the department will increase access to gender responsive treatment, interventions and services. There will also be a focus on women's management becoming trauma informed, empowering, and relational. The strategy will help to ensure that women are given opportunities to build the skills, strategies, and resources on release to build positive futures for themselves and their children.

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Targeting recidivism of ex-offenders through the use of employment

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Recidivism pressures for ex-offenders

Researchers have often highlighted the considerable obstacles faced by ex-prisoners once they are released into the community. Their reintegration is hampered by many barriers such as finding employment, substance abuse, mental health, accommodation and low skills. All of these factors, if not addressed, substantially contribute to a high recidivism rate among ex-offenders (Weigard, Sussell, Valentine, Henderson 2015; Lockwood, Nally 2016; Jehner, Paddock and Willison 2016; Ramakers Wilsem, Nieuwbreerta and Dirkzwager 2015; Cherney and Fitzgerald 2016; Bergen, Bressler 2016).

The importance of employment in recidivism for ex-offenders

Employment is thought to be one of the biggest factors in curbing recidivism. As Jahner et al (2016) state, it "is one of the most deeply embedded markers of adult success and social acceptance and is strongly related to individuals' physical, mental and social health". This does not mean that by sourcing employment ex-offenders will not re-offend but as Weigard, et al (2015) assert "many prisoners identify finding a job as one of their highest post-release priorities. It is therefore reasonable to hypothesise that interventions that boost employment and earnings among ex-offenders may also lead to reductions in recidivism".

If employment is a key contributor to reducing recidivism, the recruitment process becomes critical from the perspective of the ex-offender and the employer. Let's look at Corrections' increasing role in that process.

Getting a job: An ex-offender's perspective

Getting a job is a daunting process for most ex-offenders and is further compounded by a lack of understanding of how and where to even start. Ex-prisoners have significant barriers to employment including their criminal convictions that prevent a large proportion from obtaining sustainable employment. International research and evaluation of the welfare system in 2014 (Ministry of Social Development, 2016) showed that ex-prisoners in New Zealand are highly likely to have the following employment barriers:

- low employment related skills
- low levels of education
- high levels of mental health conditions and drug and substance abuse
- high levels of re-offending
- anti-social networks.

Low literacy levels present a significant obstacle for any job seeker but are particularly true for most ex-offenders who are not educationally competent enough to meet job demands (Lockwood et al, 2016). It is estimated that 65% of the current prison population have a literacy level below the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) Level 1 (Corrections, June 2016).

A credible work history often forms the basis for many hiring decisions. Many ex-offenders don't have credible work experience, so they struggle to show their value to an organisation. In New Zealand, many of the approximately 7,700 prisoners who leave prison every year remain detached from the labour market with 80% having benefit spells over 12 months after release. The absence of work experience often limits an ex-offender's overall networks to not only secure another job, but restricts the motivation and experience for the ex-offender (Lockwood et al, 2016).

Therefore it is no surprise for ex-offenders to have limited knowledge of job preparation and job search; particularly, as most employers will use online applications and searches. Ex-offenders will experience difficulty in reading and understanding the job descriptions and navigating through an online process.

A low number of job interview experiences will mean there are fewer opportunities for feedback and to learn how to deliver a message that will meet an employer's needs, even if the applicant has the right skills, qualifications and motivation to do the job. This is a self-perpetuating issue – without feedback the cycle of job rejections is likely to continue (Holzer, Raphael & Stoll, 2003).

Financial barriers present another major obstacle to securing a job. A lack of income means difficulty in funding transport to work or even appropriate work clothes to suit the job. If an employer is interested in offering a job, there is no guarantee the ex-offender can practically start on the first day (Jahner et al, 2016). For a large number of prisoners it is difficult to obtain accommodation on release, which is a barrier to successful reintegration and we know securing stable accommodation is crucial to not just getting, but staying in a job.

Even if a job is secured, there is typically a low understanding of how to negotiate the remuneration package or even manage a budget on an ongoing basis. There appears to be a low level of support on how to talk to employers about pay related matters and ex-offenders can be caught in a low pay situation for longer periods.

A study by Corrections in 2015 found 62% of newly sentenced prisoners had experienced substance abuse and mental health issues within the last 12 months. Around half of New Zealand prisoners have substance abuse problems and over 50% of crime is committed by people under the influence of drugs or alcohol (Corrections Annual Report 2016). Often an ex-offender is unlikely to have the right support or knowledge of where to access these services and continue any treatment they may have had during their sentence, which again can jeopardise access into a job and reduce their ability to keep it.

Finding staff: An employer's perspective

All employers will have their own set of criteria and processes when looking to employ staff, whether it is by word of mouth, via an online process or through recruitment agencies. Typically they are looking for a relevant level of educational proficiency, verified work experience with credible referees, a self-motivated applicant who lives locally, is drug and offence free and will fit in with the employer's work environment.

An appropriate level of educational proficiency is a guiding principle for most employers. Employers need to be sure a staff member is able to follow instructions, read important information and in many cases follow their own self-directed learning. Even for less literacy focused industries, there is still a minimum expectation that a staff member can understand basic rules around health and safety, written signage and record keeping of work output to meet a minimum requirement by law.

A credible work history presents another important aspect of decision-making; an employer needs to know if the applicant can do the job. Typically employers look to match applicants into jobs in which they have already proven themselves. This mitigates any risk, and increases overall worker productivity and it shows that an applicant is able to conform to a more formal hierarchy (Ramakers et al, 2015).

To reduce costs, sometimes employers will source candidates from other loyal or high performing staff. The rationale being that these colleagues are likely to recommend colleagues of a similar ability. These candidates usually have good networks and have built a reputation of reliability.

Typically employers who have larger volumes of applicants will use recruitment systems to screen out unsuitable applicants. These screening methods usually use a "tick box" system that rejects applicants with criminal convictions. This will rule out ex-offenders before they have even gained consideration. An emphasis on organisational behaviours and group personality means that employers feel ex-offenders present a risk to the harmony of the group and a perceived threat to the work environment (Bergen et al, 2016).

Online applications, tailored curriculum vitae (CVs), and cover letters are needed for most employers. Applications are judged not only on the content but on style and format. A well presented CV with good work history, skills and referees will usually get the applicant to the next step of an interview.

As well as having the skills to do the job (or proven history to learn the skills), employers need evidence applicants are able to manage themselves and have adequate support and resources to perform a daily job. This will include adequate accommodation, the ability to travel to work and some general understanding of their family support and how to access any support they may need.

References are usually taken at the end of the recruitment process. This enables employers to check impressions they have of an applicant, and if they are backed up by past employers. It is also a means to investigate any red flags. Lastly a drug test is completed along with a police check as the final step.

Corrections has its own Employment Service

Now that we have explored the perspectives of an ex-offender wishing to enter the labour market compared to an employer's perspective on what labour they need and how they attract it, to match the two on paper seems an overwhelming challenge.

While there are many organisations in the community that support people into employment, only a few are motivated or funded to tailor a service for prisoners upon release or those sentenced in the community. Corrections has, therefore, built its own Employment Service that has three objectives; preparing for work, getting a job and staying in work.

Preparing for work

Expectations are set early by case managers who prepare an individualised offender plan that sets out the types of skills, treatment and learning a prisoner can expect to participate in while incarcerated.

Where possible, the first priority at the start of a prison sentence is to begin the rehabilitation process and lift educational skill levels. For the 2016/17 financial year Corrections will aim to deliver a range of rehabilitation programmes to 11,082 prisoners. This includes programmes such as:

- high intensity programmes in Special Treatment Units for sexual and violent offenders
- medium intensity programmes for more general offending issues
- drug and alcohol treatment
- family violence programmes.

In addition to this, Corrections funds a range of rehabilitation programmes that are delivered in the community, such as drug and alcohol and other motivational programmes.

In terms of lifting prisoners' educational levels, Corrections has a wide selection of programmes aimed at improving literacy, numeracy and vocational levels. For example, this year Corrections and tertiary education providers will deliver a range of tailored support:

- 1,300 places for intensive literacy and numeracy support
- 2,000 prisoners will receive qualification enrolments with tertiary education providers
- 2,020 will undertake their own self directed learning opportunities
- 1,506 prisoners will participate in educational activity using secured online services
- Approximately 4,000 prisoners will participate in vocational programmes such as driver licences, construction, hospitality, farming and agricultural skills, to name a few.

Getting a job

Alongside this, Corrections has implemented a number of ways to provide soon to be released prisoners, and offenders in the community, an individualised employment plan, support through the recruitment process and access to a job post release. For many years Corrections staff have supported prisoners and offenders in the community to gain access to a job and other support. But more recently, Corrections has increased its capacity to provide a specialised employment service.

For example, Corrections Community Education Employment Officers (CEEEOs), Employment Placement Specialists and the newly established Offender Recruitment Consultants (ORCs) are not only skilled in placing people into jobs, they have the primary responsibility of maintaining our employer partners and sourcing new job opportunities with employers. Corrections currently has 100 signed employment partnerships where employers offer to work with Corrections to ensure ex-prisoners and offenders in the community get to participate in their recruitment process. While these 100 are "pledging" to offer 966 job opportunities, in reality Corrections engages with many more employers across the country in a range of ways.

To support placements into employment Corrections also has employer starter packs, which is a payment of up to \$1,500 to address minor barriers to work. Barriers to work typically include licence fees, tolls and protective clothing, transport costs in the first week or entry level training courses such as Site Safe etc.

Corrections also has a network of external service providers who are contracted to provide individual assessments that inform employment and career plans followed by placement with up to six months in-work support. These Employment Support Service providers are also required to engage with the business community to source job opportunities. For the period ending January 2017 there has been 754 referrals to this service.

In-work support

Once employment is confirmed Corrections will often continue to provide support to ensure the ex-prisoner has every chance of achieving independence through sustainable employment. This is primarily done through probation officers, the CEEEOs and the network of Employment Service Support providers.

Through these dedicated positions Corrections will provide tailored employment assistance to over 7,900 prisoners and offenders in the community. This assistance includes: career planning, job seeker support, placement and in-work support.

Research has also shown us that an individual's ability to find and maintain sustainable employment is influenced by a complex range of factors, including interaction with the justice system, housing, family circumstances and personal drivers and motivations. More specifically, securing accommodation as soon as possible is a critical factor in not just getting, but keeping, a job.

Along with the strong focus on employment Corrections also provides a range of reintegration services that offer individualised wrap-around support services for up to six months post release. These include a light touch navigation service and transitional accommodation, and will provide support for a minimum of 4,118 prisoners post release.

Summary

As research demonstrates, employment plays a large part in integrating ex-prisoners back into the community, which in turn has a positive effect on recidivism. Although a considerable gulf may exist between the ex-offender's skill set and an employer's expectations, there are a number of services now available to support sustainable employment.

Employment preparation starts in prison with rehabilitation, education and vocational programmes to address deep rooted issues and give the prisoner a platform to work from. A tailored offender plan provides a pathway towards release and is carried on in the community with support from probation officers.

Specialist staff and service providers with a strong employment focus then tailor an employment plan and begin the matching process. The employers we work with have provided a wider range of job opportunities than ever before and they are very much on board to continue to support those who are motivated to work.

The barriers to work are many and complex, so care is given to continue in-work support and other reintegration services, in order for the employment to remain sustainable.

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Community support systems for people released from prison: A review of the literature

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Author biography:

Jonathan joined the Chief Probation Officer's team in September 2016. His main role in the team has been conducting research and developing training materials. Prior to joining the department, Jonathan completed a master's degree in forensic psychology at Victoria University, with a focus on risk assessments for youth.

A major goal for the Chief Probation Officer's Team is improving the outcomes for people released from prison or on community sentences. After hearing about how some countries had been using community support systems as an aid for people released from prison, we decided to look at the research around community support, in order to establish whether this idea might be feasible in New Zealand. As far as re-offending and reintegration research goes, the majority of the literature has focused on risk assessments and management at the individual level, and how different programmes may reduce the likelihood of each person committing a new offence. Although there have been large successes working at the individual level, there has been less research looking at reintegration and desistance through the wider lens of what can be done at the community level (Fox, 2015; Wright & Cesar, 2013). This review explores what work has been done to create community support systems for people who have offended, and how these support systems may be able to improve reintegration and promote desistance, on top of the work that is being done at the individual level.

Despite the comparatively small amount of research into community support systems, a number of places around the world have been trying to improve community support for those who are released from prison (e.g., Yellow Ribbon Project; Brown, 2013; Circles of Support and Accountability; Wilson, McWhinnie & Wilson, 2008; Wilson & McWhinnie, 2013). In Singapore, the Yellow Ribbon Project (YRP) has been running since 2004 (Graham & White, 2015). This programme has aimed to raise community awareness of the difficulties people who are released from prison face, emphasising the idea of giving them a second chance and "unlocking the second prison" (Brown, 2013). As well as trying to improve the public opinion of those who have been released from custody, the YRP also aims to get community members involved in a number of ways, such as being mentors,

helping with everyday challenges like finding jobs and accommodation, and helping to support the families of those trying to reintegrate into society (Brown, 2013; Graham & White, 2015). As of 2013, there were more than 500 community volunteers involved with the YRP across 60 divisions in Singapore, some of whom were people previously on the receiving end of help from the YRP (Graham & White, 2015).

In San Diego, Senate Bill 618 (SB618) was operating between 2006 and 2012 to improve reintegration for those convicted of non-violent crimes. As well as using case planning, management, and motivational techniques, SB618 also emphasised the use of community social supports (Mulmat & Burke, 2013). The social supports involved case managers, parole officers, as well as anyone else in the community that the recipient thought would be helpful for their reintegration (e.g., faith leader, sponsor). Each person's support team met regularly to ensure all of the reintegration needs were being met, so help could be given if required (Mulmat & Burke, 2013).

There are also a number of jurisdictions around the world that have been utilising a system called Circles of Support and Accountability (CoSA) in order to improve reintegration outcomes for people released from prisons, referred to as "core members". CoSA is a community-based service that uses volunteers to help those where social isolation may be a significant risk factor for increasing their likelihood of re-offending (often people who have offended sexually; Fox, 2015). As well as the volunteers, considerable input from correctional services is required in order to work effectively, as volunteers do not typically have training around risk management or keeping the public safe. CoSA services can be helpful for reintegration by reducing the "us vs. them" mentality, modelling prosocial behaviour, and by giving the core member support people to turn to when things are not going smoothly (Fox, 2015).

Together, these community systems give an indication of the sorts of things that are being done around the world to aid reintegration. A strong theme between these different support programmes is that of giving the community some of the responsibility for helping with reintegration, as well as giving people released from prison prosocial community members to look to for help and make them feel welcome. These programmes also embed a form of ritual into the reintegration process; something that is theorised to improve one's feeling of belonging to the community (explained further below; Maruna, 2011).

As stated, the amount of research into community support systems' effectiveness for aiding reintegration is limited. However, there have been a handful of empirical studies on re-offending rates, as well as a number of reports looking at the subjective experiences of those who received community support programmes. Before being disbanded in 2012, SB618 showed a lot of promise for reintegrating people after release from prison. When evaluating the difference between people who received community support as part of SB618 vs. those who did not, it was found that 68% of those who did not receive community support were arrested over 12 months post-release, compared to only 42% of those who did receive community support. On top of that, 32% of those who did not receive community support returned to prison for a new term, compared to only 9% of the community support group (Mulmat & Burke, 2013).

CoSA programmes have also shown promising results in terms of reducing re-offending, with one review showing a 70% decrease in sexual re-offending for those who had been involved with CoSA, 57% less violent re-offending, and 35% less general re-offending, compared to a matched control group over a mean follow-up of 4.5 years (Wilson, Picheca, & Prinzo, 2007b). Although these results are positive, it should be noted that 4.5 years is not considered a very long follow-up, as people who have sexually offended often remain offence free for a long period of time. A longer follow-up would be required to improve our confidence in these results. There has also been some research looking into the subjective experiences of those involved with CoSA programmes (Wilson, Picheca, & Prinzo, 2007a). Wilson, Picheca, and Prinzo (2007a) surveyed 24 core members, as well as other CoSA stakeholders, such as volunteers, professional services, and people from the wider community. It was found that overall, CoSA was well received. For core members, the majority of responses reflected positive feelings such as support, acceptance, and pride, with 86% of respondents believing that the programme helped them to adjust to the community, and approximately two thirds of the sample believing that they may have returned to offending without the help of CoSA.

The volunteers who were surveyed indicated increases in self-worth through helping core members, with 93% of the volunteers believing that CoSA was at least moderately helpful for the core member. For professional organisations, more than 80% of those surveyed believed that CoSA helped the core member increase their self-worth, as well as helping them feel accepted. Community members were also surveyed, and it was found that 68% said they would be more comfortable with a high risk individual being released if they knew they were being supported by CoSA (Wilson, Picheca, & Prinzo, 2007a). CoSA has been trialled in New Zealand, with mixed results. Due to the extensive oversight from Corrections required for CoSA to be fully effective in a New Zealand context, no new CoSAs are being started.

Of the research that has been done looking into how community support programmes may help with our reintegration efforts, it seems like allowing communities to share the responsibility for people who have offended may be of use. Helping reintegration through community systems can also fit well with current rehabilitative frameworks, such as Risk, Need, Responsivity (RNR; Andrews & Bonta, 2010), and the Good Lives Model (GLM; Ward & Brown, 2004). According to RNR, one of the major risk factors for criminal conduct is considered to be antisocial associates (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). With community support systems, people may have access to a number of prosocial peers, thus reducing the amount of time spent in the company of negative influences. Community support systems may also help with responsivity, or improving one's ability to participate in rehabilitation interventions, through promoting inclusion and enhancing motivation to change.

In terms of the GLM, community support programmes may fit in with a number of the framework's proposed primary goods, such as: Inner Peace, through reducing the amount of social isolation people who have offended often experience; Relatedness and Community, through providing a support network; and Pleasure, through reducing the stress of trying to change their lifestyle and reintegrate into the community by themselves. The GLM proposes that by enhancing primary goods, and the ways in which they are attained (secondary goods), risk factors are indirectly reduced (Ward & Brown, 2004). As well as fitting in with the leading rehabilitation frameworks, the idea of feeling welcome in the community also fits into a prominent idea in some literature on desistance (Sampson & Laub, 2005). Sampson and Laub (2005) argue that one of the main drivers of desistance from crime comes in the form of turning points, which in this context could be seen as beginning to see oneself as a member of a prosocial community.

As mentioned previously, these community support programmes all have a sense of ritual embedded in them. There are milestones to accomplish, group members to turn to for support, and challenges to overcome. Maruna (2011) suggests that ritualistic practices are an important aspect of reintegration, or any large life transition for that matter, as they can create a sense of belonging to the community one is joining (just as initiation rituals create a sense of belonging within churches, clubs, sports groups etc.). From the outset, the criminal justice system is ritualistic in nature. As a society, we make a ritual out of the process of punishment that one must go through before going to prison (arrest, remand, sentencing etc.). This process is argued to make the person feel part of an "other" group. However, Maruna (2011) suggests the exit ritual that should make the person feel part of the community again after release is lacking. Often people are released from prison with little support or opportunities for inclusion, and thus do not get any feeling of belonging to the community that they are expected to re-join. Programmes and interventions that offer a sense of belonging and have ritualistic aspects to them, such as the aforementioned programmes, may help to bridge this gap for reintegration practices. It has also been posited that adding culturally specific rituals and procedures (e.g., pōwhiri), and involving cultural leaders (e.g., iwi and hapū leaders) in the process could help with indigenous groups, who are often marginalised by the criminal justice system (Marchetti & Daly, 2016).

The implementation of community support systems as an aid to reintegration practices is not particularly well studied yet, but from the literature available it seems like there is good potential for the practice to fit in a NZ context. A number of international jurisdictions have already started utilising community networks to aid with the reintegration of people who have offended, some of which have been shown to produce promising results. Not only have there been promising results from the studies that have been conducted, but using community support systems also has theoretical value, as it may fit in with both the GLM and RNR rehabilitation frameworks. There is also the potential for the ritualistic aspects of these community support programmes to aid in instilling a sense of belonging to those who are re-joining the community. The improved opinion of those released into these support systems from community members will also help the person's sense of belonging, which is theorised to promote desistance from crime (Brown, 2013; Maruna, 2011). Despite a need for further study, the preliminary literature suggests there could be a beneficial result from including community groups in the challenge of reintegrating people who have offended back into

NZ society. Combined with regular individual level programmes, this will not only take some of the burden off correctional services, but could also help to make communities safer overall (Wright & Cesar, 2013).

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Practice note: International Symposium on Operational Correctional Issues and Challenges

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Author biographies:

Neil Beales has worked in corrections since 1991. He started as an officer in the English and Welsh Service, progressing through the ranks to deputy governor and working at a number of different prisons including adult, young offender, and juvenile institutions, until moving to New Zealand in 2009 to take up the post of Prison Manager of Auckland Prison. He held this position until being appointed as Chief Custodial Officer in 2012.

Steven Gibson has worked for the Department of Corrections since 2014 as the Manager of the National Intelligence Unit. Before this, he worked in various intelligence roles within the New Zealand Police and wider NZ Government, primarily focused on strategic intelligence. Steven has significant experience in intelligence support to major national and international events, including disaster recovery. Steven has been heavily involved in developing the intelligence architecture within the department and growing its strategic intelligence capability.

They say that a problem shared is a problem halved, so in January 2017, the Chief Custodial Officer and the Manager National Intelligence Unit accepted the invitation to attend the *International Symposium on Operational Correctional Issues and Challenges* in Ottawa, Canada.

The symposium was chaired by Commissioner Don Head of the Correctional Service Canada and, along with New Zealand, was attended by delegates from Hong Kong, Namibia, USA, Sweden, England, Wales, the Netherlands, Australia (Victoria) and Japan.

The purpose of the symposium was to identify and discuss common issues and challenges with a focus on two specific areas – contraband control and population management. It included site visits to the Collins Bay Institution and the Henry Trill Community Correctional Centre in Kingston, Ontario.

Each country's representatives were given the opportunity to present an overview of their operating context and their departmental structures as well as sharing insights into their issues and challenges. Whilst each presentation highlighted areas specific to the individual country, it was clear that there were more similarities between our jurisdictions than differences. Some of these were in relation to challenges with contraband detection and elimination, specifically drugs (including the increasing use of synthetic drugs), cell phones, drone intrusions, the use of technology, training, and prison design and infrastructure to

support the detection and elimination of contraband. In addition almost every jurisdiction identified challenges in prisoners' mental health and associated risks as a priority focus.

Due to the sensitive nature of the discussion it is not possible to go into specific detail on the systems being used or considered, however, it was clear that New Zealand is not alone in facing these challenges. In particular, drones and cell phone technology present the same threat for all countries – though there are also opportunities to exploit the new technology to enhance our security as well.

Day two featured a number of presentations on strategies to manage prisoner violence, the use of segregation and the use of technology and prison design to support population management strategies. Once again almost all jurisdictions agreed that challenges were broadly similar and there was in-depth discussion on issues such as gangs, safety initiatives and staff training and support.

On the final day there was an opportunity to visit a Canadian prison (Collins Bay Institution) and a community site (The Henry Trill Centre).

The Collins Bay Institution opened in 1930 and is the oldest operational federal penitentiary in Ontario. The main prison is medium security, with a minimum security facility on the same property. In 2014, the prison also opened a 96 bed maximum security unit.

Operationally there were some obvious differences between the Canadian model and the New Zealand model, particularly in regards to incident response (some areas at Collins Bay are covered by officers with firearms, and all corrections officers carry pepper spray). For the most part, however, Collins Bay felt familiar, like facilities here, such as Christchurch, Invercargill, Waikeria and Auckland Prisons.

The Henry Traill Centre is a 40 bed facility operated in Kingston, Ontario. It is a "halfway house" offering accommodation for men primarily on statutory release and long term supervision orders, although it occasionally accommodates offenders on day parole and full parole with residency. The Centre is located on department land next to the Collins Bay Institution.

The offenders residing at the centre are subject to a condition to reside in a Community Correctional Centre or Community Residential Facility. They are typically more violent and higher risk offenders with approximately half of the offenders subject to Long Term Supervision Orders and three quarters of the offenders with a current conviction for a sexual offence.

Conclusions

The contributions from all involved, both in the development of the agenda and the presentations and discussions during the symposium, led to its overall success.

The symposium was very interested in the New Zealand Department of Corrections' use of on body cameras, and in learning more about our intelligence model.

All delegates agreed that continued dialogue and discussion would be of great value. The opportunity to share issues, innovation and challenges is one that is best realised in person, both within and outside of the formal conference setting.

Commissioner Head indicated a desire for this forum to continue and evolve, and considerations are being given to Hong Kong hosting the next symposium. Additionally, Canada undertook to create an online information sharing platform to enable ongoing discussion and collaboration and this initiative has already started to take shape. This is a great step forward in sharing best practice, supporting our international colleagues and learning from each other. As this forum matures, the benefits to the participating jurisdictions will only increase.



Practice note: Probation practice wheel

Darius Fagan

Chief Probation Officer, Department of Corrections

Author biography:

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

The day-to-day work of probation officers in New Zealand is guided by an Integrated Practice Framework, which constitutes a comprehensive, principles-based guide to effective correctional practice. It includes a wide range of tools touching on all aspects of the work, from risk assessment, through to working with families. To help practitioners make best use of these practice tools, a "practice wheel" (see figs 1 & 2) has been developed. Some of the background to the latest versions of the practice tools, which are now in circulation, is explained here.

The Integrated Practice Framework itself was designed to help practitioners adhere to "risk, need and responsivity" (RNR) principles. In particular, this means identifying specific criminogenic factors which, based on research, are the most effective to target for crime reduction.

The Department's probation officers make extensive use of the DRAOR (Dynamic Risk Assessment of Offender Re-entry) tool. This is not just a useful assessment tool for establishing levels of risk; it also helps practitioners identify specific target areas to focus on through their case work.

The DRAOR assessment helps staff analyse risk in two areas; Acute Risk and Stable Risk. It can also help to assess and identify protective factors that are likely to support crime desistance. From these assessments, casework can be focused to reduce risk factors and increase protective factors. To work with each risk or protective factor practitioners have access to a number of interventions and practice tools.

The probation practice wheel helps staff to determine which tools or interventions to use in their case work. Simply, the wheel aligns with one risk factor or protective factor and displays in a cut-out window which tools or interventions to apply. The corresponding references or guidance relating to each tool or intervention can then be found in the practice centre. The tool is a starting point to help with prioritisation and planning following completion of the DRAOR assessment.

A second version of the practice wheel has recently been made available to Corrections staff. Staff can obtain this from their friendly local practice leader.

Figure 1:
The Practice Wheel



Figure 2:
 "Internal" view of practice wheel, showing text





Book review: *The Psychology of Criminal Conduct 6th Edition*

James Bonta and D.A. Andrews (2017)

Publisher: Routledge

Reviewed by Glen Kilgour

Principal Adviser Special Treatment Unit Development, Department of Corrections

Reviewer biography:

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.

For over 20 years *The Psychology of Criminal Conduct* by Andrews and Bonta has been the go-to reading for criminal justice professionals. The early editions introduced risk, need, and responsivity (RNR); eviscerated criminological explanations of offending, and stridently predicted that social class explanations of crime “may well become one of the intellectual scandals of science” (2nd Ed; p43). The writing was dense, statistical and hard going at times. But all self-respecting corrections professionals would have a well-thumbed copy or two at hand.

The 6th edition of this classic tome has been freshly released and is more relevant and readable than ever. James (Jim) Bonta takes the reins with the passing of his longstanding colleague Don Andrews in 2010. Bonta has come through on his promise to write in a “less complex manner” and the book is shorter than the last edition, and the most accessible and widely relevant version I have read, so far. In particular, effort has been made to tone down the rhetoric attacking associated fields, to expand the RNR model to include recent key elements of what works in criminal justice, and to include research showing the effectiveness of offence focused practice with probation staff.

Recommendations for key background readings are relevant and assist those wanting more in-depth study in a particular area.

As a knowledgeable reader with more than 20 years practice, I still found information relevant to my work and learning, and was pleasantly surprised and challenged in some places. In summary, it is hard to fault this version of “The PCC” and I strongly recommend it as a starting point for any correctional practitioner and as a reminder of key principles for the old-hands.



Book review: *Crime Law and Justice in New Zealand*

Greg Newbold (2016)

Publisher: Routledge

Reviewed by Darius Fagan

Chief Probation Officer, Department of Corrections

Reviewer biography:

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

Greg Newbold's latest book *Crime Law and Justice in New Zealand* is a historical account of the changes in law and policy that have established the justice landscape in New Zealand today. It takes a look at developments from when New Zealand was first established as a colony to where we are today.

Newbold contextualises his book in the first chapter by referencing the international trend of falling crime rates, observations of this trend in New Zealand and some of the theories relating to why global crime rates have been falling. The book is divided into nine chapters each giving some historical and relatively current information regarding the New Zealand justice system. Each chapter includes a number of anecdotes or examples of events or crimes which had an influence on changes in justice policy or practice. This makes the book an interesting read as these accounts give life to the decisions that were subsequently made by law and policy makers. The book also provides a number of references to people who had a significant influence on shaping law and justice practices.

Four of the nine chapters are dedicated to analysis and legal developments in the crime categories of dishonesty, sex, violence, and drugs. There are three chapters which discuss the social aspects of crime, specifically: youth and ethnicity, gender, and gangs and organised crime. All of the chapters build a picture of how particular crime categories have come to be policed or punished and give social context to the crime landscape in New Zealand.

Likely to be of interest to staff at Corrections is the final chapter of the book, Corrections and Crime Control. In the section subtitled Contemporary Corrections some references are made to the department's recent Creating Lasting Change strategy and scepticism is evident regarding the likelihood of any progress being made, particularly in respect to Working Prisons.

There is some optimism expressed about the effectiveness of the reintegrative approach taken by Salisbury Street Foundation but this is the only reference to the many reintegrative programmes and interventions currently operating.

What is missing from this chapter is any reference to the significant changes brought in through the Reducing Re-offending and Creating Lasting Change strategies. It is a missed opportunity to identify that in the last five years access to rehabilitation, education and employment programmes for prisoners and community-based offenders has increased significantly. The number of reintegrative placements available, similar to those provided by Salisbury Street, has also increased. The effectiveness of recent strategies is not analysed in any great detail so progress in reducing re-offending for those on community sentences, and for people released following sentences of more than two years imprisonment is not acknowledged in any way. Presumably the sentiments expressed in the book are based on what is available in popular media which is often critical of Corrections.

Despite the views expressed regarding Corrections, the book provides a useful historical account of many aspects of the New Zealand justice system. The anecdotes and references to significant events in New Zealand add useful context to the drivers behind current policy and legislation. The book is likely to be helpful for people working in the justice system who wish to understand more about the history of crime and justice in New Zealand.



Information for contributors

The Department of Corrections welcomes submissions for *Practice: the New Zealand Corrections Journal* on topics relevant to all aspects of Corrections work which aim to promote professionalism and practice excellence.

Practice: the New Zealand Corrections Journal is a publicly funded journal which is available for download on the Corrections website (www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/journal.html).

Submissions

We seek articles from knowledgeable professionals working in any part of the corrections arena.

Submissions may include:

- **Substantive articles:** Substantive articles of around 3,000 – 4,000 words are generally requested by specific invitation to the author by an Editorial Board member. However, if you would like to submit an article, please contact CorrectionsJournal@corrections.govt.nz
- **Practice articles:** Contributions for practice articles are welcomed from all Corrections staff and professionals working in the wider field. Articles can include accounts of innovative or effective workplace practice, case reports, research, education, review articles, conference and workshop reports, and personal observations and should be around 1,000 – 2,000 words.
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All work must be the original work of the author/s.

Names and other details must have been changed to protect offender/victim confidentiality.

Submissions should not have been published before or be under consideration for publication elsewhere; should not contravene any laws, including those of defamation and privacy; should disclose any conflict of interest; and should meet any applicable ethical or research standards.

Submissions should not violate a third party's intellectual property rights and the authors will have obtained any permissions, should these be required, for material sourced from other copyrighted publications, etc.

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All articles will be considered by the editorial board of *Practice: the New Zealand Corrections Journal*.

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Format

Where possible, articles for submission should include an executive summary, followed by an introduction. The body of the article should have clear subject headings, followed by references (see note below).

All authors should also send a brief biography (approx 50 – 100 words).

Referencing

Please keep notes to a minimum and follow APA (American Psychological Association) standard referencing format (<http://www.library.cornell.edu/resrch/citmanage/apa> offers a quick guide). References should only include publications directly referred to in the text and not be a complete review of the literature (unless that is the purpose of the article).

Images

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