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Contributing to probation knowledge and expertise

Effectiveness of Sandwell Integrated Offender Management (IOM) – service user perspective.

Harmail Rai

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Introduction and Background

Integrated Offender Management (IOM) was launched in 2009 by the Home Office (Home Office and Ministry of Justice, 2009a). IOM is an overarching framework that allows local partner agencies to come together to ensure that those offenders whose crimes cause most damage and harm locally are managed in a coordinated way.

IOM seeks to 'reduce crime, reduce re-offending, improve public confidence in the criminal justice system, tackle the social exclusion of offenders and their families and drive organisational performance delivery improvement' (Home Office and Ministry of Justice, 2009a)

The Government Policy Statement (Home Office 2009b) suggested:

- IOM was to be the strategic umbrella that brought together agencies across government to prioritise intervention with offenders causing crime in their locality
- IOM was to build on and expand current offender-focused and public protection approaches, such as PPO, DIP and MAPPA and
- IOM should relate to all agencies engaged in Community Safety Partnerships (CSPs) and Local Criminal Justice Boards (LCJBs) with direction and support in bringing together the management of repeat offenders into a more coherent structure.

IOM is intended to be sensitive to local structures and priorities and therefore there is no national 'IOM model'. However IOM schemes are guided by Home Office Principles, originally published in March 2010, and drew on the learning from the 5 early pioneer areas, (Senior et al. 2011) and from the experience of other areas who had set up their local Integrated Offender Management approaches.

The principles were refreshed and updated, in 2015, following evidence provided by the joint HM Inspectorates of Constabulary and Probation thematic inspection of IOM (2014) and a College of Policing stocktake of IOM (2013) as well as the introduction of Police and Crime Commissioner's and the creation of the National Probation Service and 21 Community Rehabilitation Companies.

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The refreshed principles were intended to reflect the essence of IOM:

- all partners manage offenders together - a broad partnership base for IOM, with co-located teams wherever possible, helping to ensure that the local approach is underpinned by comprehensive evidence and intelligence and that a wide range of rehabilitative interventions are available to support offenders' pathways out of crime;
- to deliver a local response to local problems - the local IOM model reflects local circumstances and priorities, responding to the crime and reoffending risks faced by the local community;
- with all offenders potentially in scope - IOM brings a wider partnership approach to the management of offenders identified as being of most concern locally, whether subject to statutory supervision by the National Probation Service or Community Rehabilitation Company, or managed on a voluntary basis where not subject to these formal arrangements;
- facing up to their responsibility or facing the consequences - the IOM carrot and stick approach brings a multi-agency partnership offer of rehabilitative support for those who engage, with the promise of swift justice for those who continue to offend;
- with best use made of existing programmes and governance arrangements - IOM provides a 'strategic umbrella' that ensures coherence in the response to local crime and reoffending threats, providing a clear framework to make best use of local resources in tackling the most persistent or problematic offenders, identified by local agencies working collaboratively together;
- to achieve long-term desistance from crime - IOM ensures that offenders of concern remain on the radar of local agencies, even if not subject to statutory supervision, or where a period of statutory supervision has come to an end, with the opportunity to provide sequenced rehabilitative interventions to provide the individual with pathways out of crime. (Home Office and Ministry of Justice, 2015)

Sandwell IOM arrangements are currently managed within four cohorts for adults, and one cohort for those under the age of 18. IOM arrangements for adults started with Priority and Prolific Offender and High Crime Causing User cohorts before further developing both a

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Sandwell Priority Offender Scheme and Domestic Violence and Abuse Cohort.

The Priority and Prolific Offender (PPO) cohort is for those that have been assessed as having high levels of offending, with a high likelihood of re-offending.

The Prolific and other Priority Offender (PPO) programme was introduced in September 2004. Its main purpose was threefold:

- (1) to prevent and deter young people from becoming prolific offenders;
- (2) to catch and convict prolific offenders and
- (3) to rehabilitate and resettle prolific offenders (Dawson, 2005).

Although a number of projects had targeted 'persistent' offenders prior to this, in 2004 a statutory obligation was imposed on local Community Safety Partnerships (CSPs) to implement such a programme in their area.

The programme was implemented because of a desire to target those offenders considered to be responsible for committing a disproportionate number of offences. (Farrall et al. 2007). A number of studies have suggested that a small proportion of offenders commit a high proportion of all crime (Blumstein et al. 1986; Home Office, 2001, 2003, 2004; Office for Criminal Justice Reform, 2004). Therefore, the PPO programme sought to target the most prolific offenders as it was thought that setting the most active offenders on the path to desistance would yield benefits in terms of reductions of crime, harm to the community and associated criminal justice costs of processing offenders (Home Office, 2003).

Those selected for this cohort have clear pathway needs and show either some willingness to change, or interventions currently in place are causing a reduction in re-offending, and they are working with Sandwell partners. PPO cases may also be those which are not engaging with the scheme but the risk they pose warrants multi-agency management.

A High Crime Causing User cohort is for those that are committing offences linked to Class A drug use and identified as having a high likelihood of re-offending. This group of offenders have tested positive for Class A drug three times during a 12 month period and commit crime in order to fund their substance misuse. Those adopted on this cohort need

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to show a willingness to change and engage with Sandwell's substance misuse partner, to address drug misuse.

The Sandwell Priority Offender Scheme cohort aims to ensure that additional resources, and value, are added to the statutory management of offenders identified, by both police and probation, as being at risk of joining, or are evidenced to be already involved in, organised crime and/or 'gang' related behaviour in Sandwell. This cohort can include those that may not have a direct link to such behaviour but have a conviction related to firearm offences and therefore an approach to explore their lifestyle is warranted. Sandwell joined as an Ending Gang and Youth Violence area in 2012.

The cohort plans and delivers a multi-agency approach to the management of this high risk group of offenders in Sandwell with a view to improving the safety of Sandwell communities, with priority on information sharing to manage the risk.

'Information sharing on gang-affected offenders is also an important element and helps to manage both the risk that such offenders present and to provide the support needed to help them leave gangs.' (Ending gang violence and exploitation, HM Government 2016).

A Domestic Violence and Abuse cohort was established following on from Sandwell's Domestic Abuse Strategic Partnership (DASP) strategy 2013-2016 which identified that across the West Midlands, figures showed Sandwell as being consistently the local authority area with the highest rate of incidents of domestic abuse reported to the police. It identified a priority to look at *'opportunities for delivering consistent messages to perpetrators through mental health services, drug and alcohol services, housing services, children's services, youth offending service, probation and police'* (Sandwell Safer Partnership: Breaking the Cycle, 2013)

The Domestic Violence and Abuse cohort aims to ensure that interventions are available to manage perpetrators of domestic violence and abuse with a view to improving the safety of victims, and a reduction in domestic violence and abuse incidents.

The purpose of the cohort is to:

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- Reduce the number of domestic violence and abuse incidents by high risk perpetrators
- Improve safety and health by recognising domestic abuse is serious and has an adverse impact to individuals, families and communities.
- Offer support and effective intervention to reduce the risk of harm by utilising identified pathways centred on the perpetrator.
- Identify and address any new, or additional, safeguarding issues to children and vulnerable adults.
- Reduce the risk to those victims who have been identified as being a high risk of harm from perpetrators.

Those identified as meeting the criteria for the above cohorts are managed in a multi-agency approach with a variety of partners taking responsibility for their management.

This practice of managing offenders within overtly multi-agency teams is as a result of reforms brought in following the 2003 Carter Report.

The Carter Report reviewed correctional services (the courts, prison and probation services) and made two key recommendations; firstly the creation of the National Offender Management Service (NOMS), bringing together the management of the prison and probation services, with the aim of, and responsibility for, reducing re-offending. The second was the creation of the role of “offender manager”; in much the same way as probation officers, offender managers were to oversee offenders in the community and manage whatever interventions were deemed appropriate. However, in a change from previous practice, both the offender managers and the interventions delivered to offenders could be provided by those employed by the public, private or third sectors. This notion of ‘contestability’ was introduced in the report and meant that managing offenders was no longer the preserve of only the probation service and could instead be provided by a mixed economy of providers.

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In 2004, the then Labour Government published a National Reducing Reoffending Action Plan (Home Office, 2004). This recognised that there was a need for a number of central government departments to work together in order to tackle re-offending and therefore introduced seven “pathways”, which meant cutting across areas of responsibility for many different departments. These were areas in which work was to be undertaken with offenders, and having been assessed and identified as criminogenic, or likely to affect the risk of reoffending. They are: accommodation; education, training and employment; mental and physical health; drugs and alcohol; finance, benefit and debt; children and families; and attitudes, thinking and behaviour. These are used within IOM to organise the support given to offenders (Home Office, 2010).

In Sandwell these pathways are identified and partner intervention is offered requiring engagement by the offender and in most parts a condition associated within statutory supervision, or voluntary engagement by the offender.

These interventions are defined as:

- Accommodation – ensuring that offenders are appropriately accommodated.
- Education, Training & Employment – enabling offenders to enter or continue employment, training and education, and to establish legitimate earning capacity and self-support.
- Mental & Physical Health – ensuring that primary health needs are met, mental health issues are fully addressed and taken into account in managing risk and addressing needs.
- Drugs and Alcohol – enabling offenders to change their behaviour with regard to drugs and alcohol through a range of interventions and programmes
- Finance, Benefits & Debt – ensuring offenders are given the opportunity to manage financial problems and acquire budgeting skills.
- Children & Families – enabling offenders to maintain and develop relationships with family and community to provide support, encouragement, guidance and commitment to re-integration and rehabilitation.
- Attitudes, Thinking and Behaviour – enabling offenders to develop effective problem-solving skills and pro-social strategies for managing difficult situations.

(West Midlands ODOC Guidance, 2012)

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The Research

My research question is posed in the context of a view where the qualitative data of the “service user” is missing from the previous focus of measuring re-offending rates, and this research may have additional value in identifying the most important themes informing effectiveness or failure, with a clear focus within Sandwell.

Sandwell partners are committed to the delivery of IOM and arrangements are in place within four identified adult cohorts, including prolific offending, those that commit offences as a result of Class A drug use, domestic violence and abuse perpetrators and those involved in gang activity or risky lifestyle choices.

While the partnerships work well in Sandwell, there is currently little that captures the effectiveness of the approach. Data are collected in different forms, by several agencies, but there is no collation of information, or an offender perspective.

Partners provide interventions and focus on intervention but little is done to look at the view and impact on the offender, and if it assists in their reduction of risk and harm. Service User surveys have been conducted in the past, but this has failed to provide any in-depth information.

This research has enabled me to carry out a piece of work which would have assisted in my evaluation of effectiveness, and has highlighted areas where there is good practice, as well as areas that may not be assisting in non-offending and desistance from crime.

The timing of the research is beneficial as Sandwell is currently in the process of developing further cohorts, following identification of other offenders within scope.

The research will have an impact on resources and highlight the need of interventions and their effectiveness, allowing partners to prioritise the work they do with offenders. This could well result in either an increase, or decrease, in resources and efforts put into the work carried out with IOM nominals. As the research is offender driven it will importantly

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highlight 'what works' for them, their attitude and understanding, as well as the impact, within IOM arrangements.

This piece of research is not intended to:-

- provide a judgement on 'good' or 'bad' but provide an overview of the scheme itself
- assess the delivery from partner agencies
- reflect on a single agency
- look to blame parts of the scheme
- focus on particular offenders, or cohorts
- compare the details provided against that held by partnership agencies

I scoped those currently managed within cohorts and included those that were prepared to take part. Having knowledge of the cohorts assisted in recognising and understanding the current delivery of IOM.

The research has helped me gather information which attempts to provide some understanding of underlying reasons, opinions, attitudes and motivations, towards offending and rehabilitation.

Semi-structured interviews have been carried out on a one-to-one basis allowing those taking part to be able to freely talk about their experiences.

The sample size has been small and I selected those that are currently being managed within existing IOM cohorts. Consideration has been given to their understanding of the scheme and providing those involved with a clear overview of the research and the purpose of it. Importance has been given to providing information that has assured those taking part that there is anonymity and information will be stored and accessed only by me whilst I complete the research. All interviews were audio taped once permission had been sought.

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Offenders considered were subject to either statutory or non-statutory supervision and included only those currently managed in the community. Those taking part were adults, over the age of 18, and managed within Sandwell.

I provided partner agencies with information on the research and desired objectives, allowing them to identify offenders within scope from IOM cohorts, with the research being open to all.

I have analysed the information gained from my interviews and highlighted my findings. The findings and analysis have been based only on the interviews and have not been cross-referenced for 'accuracy' with partner agencies. The research highlights points that can be explored further, providing opportunities for discussion, change, continuation, or review of existing practice.

When mentioning 'probation' within the context of the findings, this refers to offender management either by Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (HMPPS) or the Reducing Re-offending Partnership, Community Rehabilitation Company (CRC).

Interview data

Those who were in scope to be interviewed were currently in the community and had been managed in one of the above cohorts for at least 6 months. The research was voluntary and confidential. From this pool,

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the choice of who to approach for the research depended on attendance and reporting with their offender managers. Of those initially selected, there was a high percentage of non-attendance and these were not approached for the research. In all, 22 people were approached to participate in the research.

There were also examples where those approached for the research agreed to be interviewed at a further agreed appointment but then either failed to attend, or re-offended and went back to custody.

Due to the nature of the cohorts, and the short timespan for interviews, it proved difficult for a large sample of attendees to be interviewed. However, this was expected when considering such a piece of research.

Of those approached the breakdown of cohorts is as follows:

Total number interviewed: 11

Sandwell Priority Offender Scheme	2 managed by NPS
High Crime Causing Users	2 managed by CRC
Domestic Violence and Abuse	2 managed by CRC
Prolific and Priority Offenders	5 managed by CRC

Total Number unable to be interviewed: 11

Declined to take part in research at interview	3
Failure to attend for interview	8

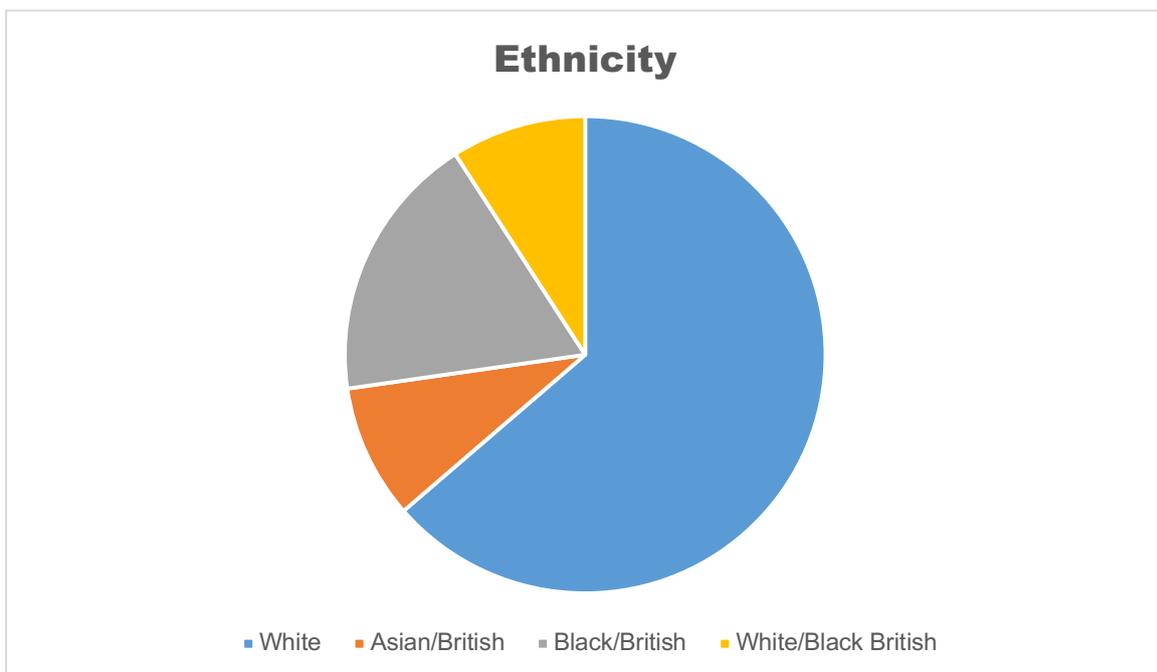
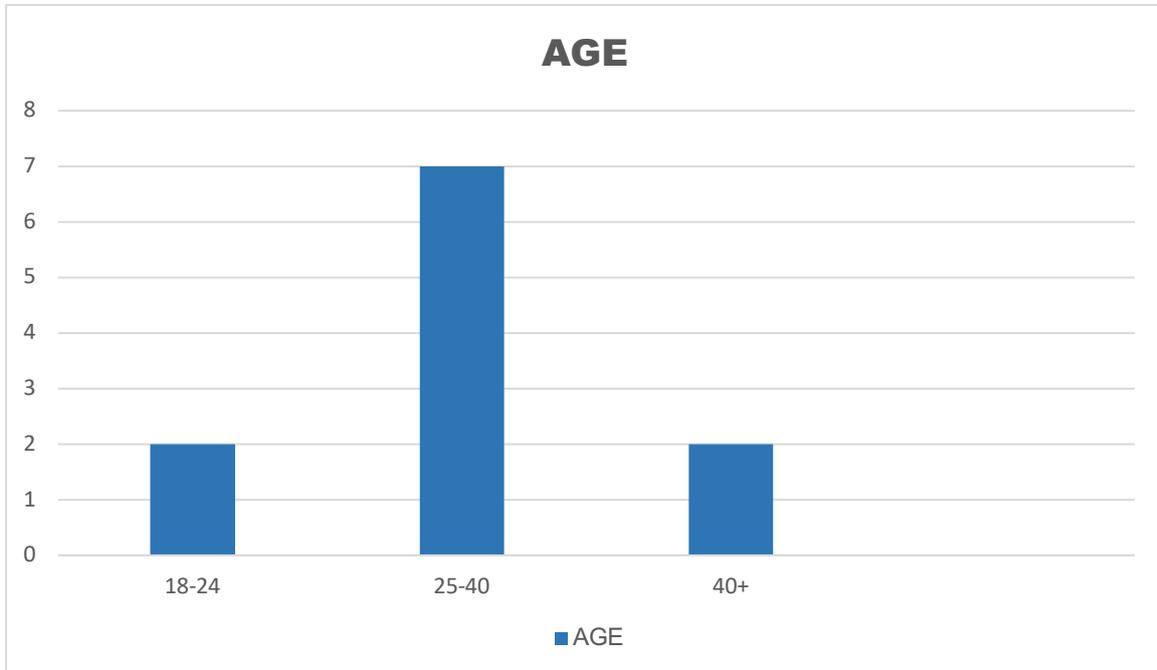
Profile Breakdown

During the interviews information was gathered to assist in creating a profile of those interviewed. The information was provided by those taking

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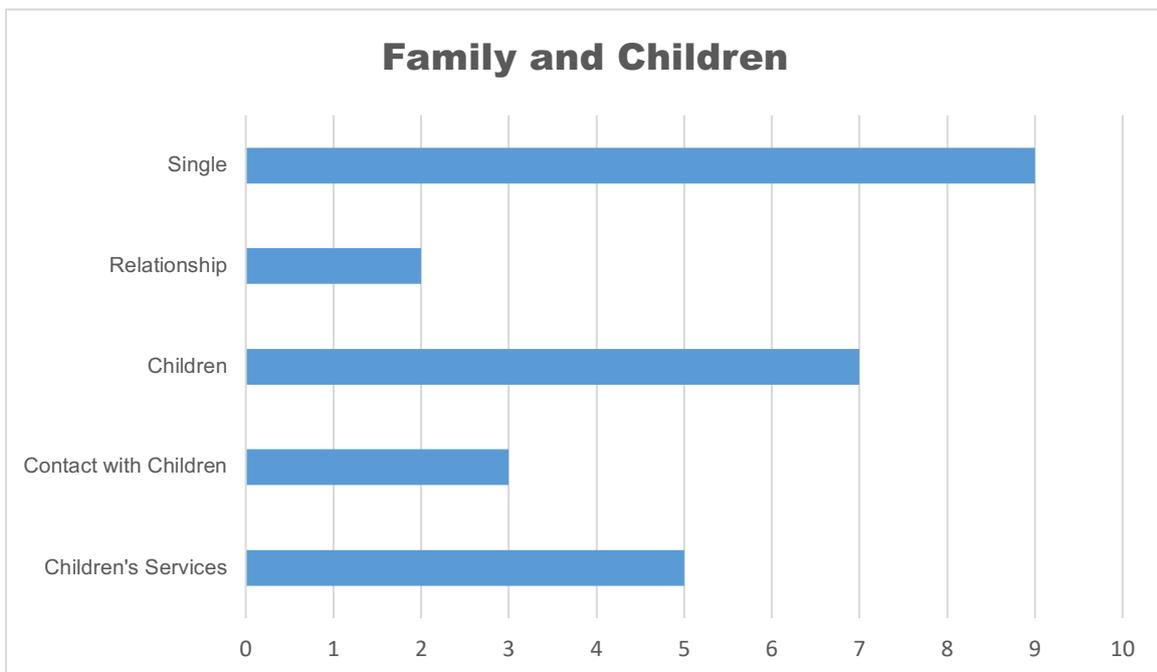
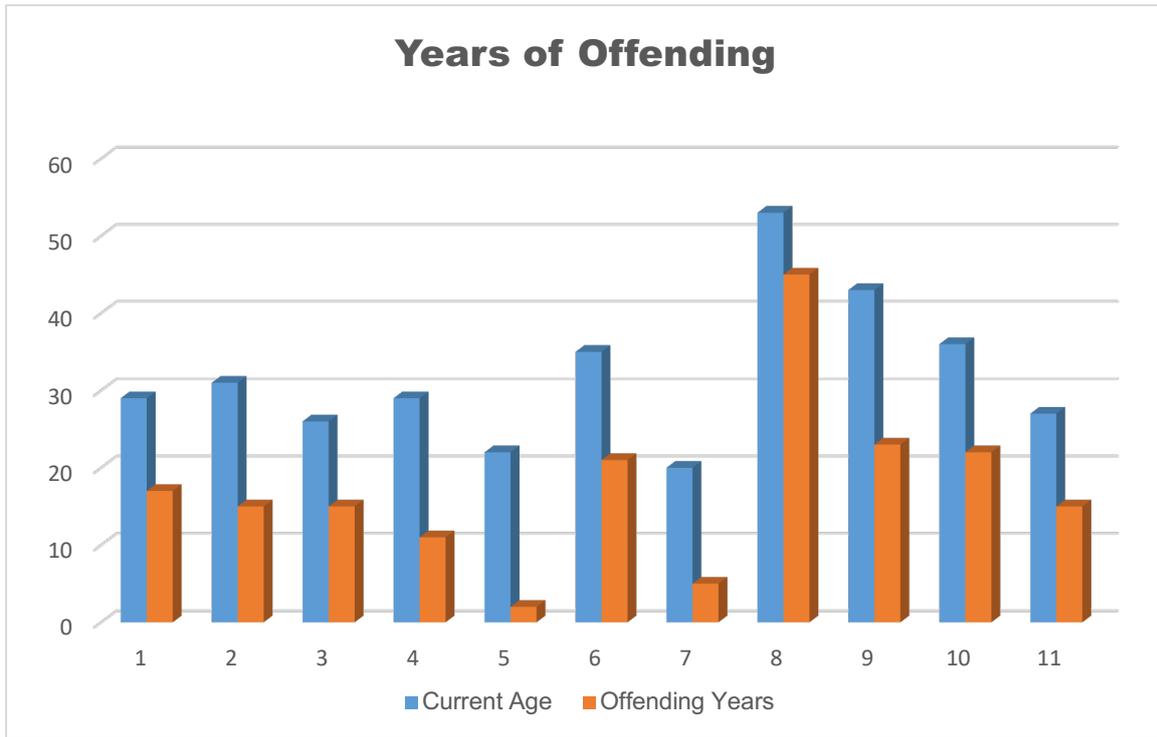
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part in the research and therefore was reliant upon their disclosures. All those interviewed were male.



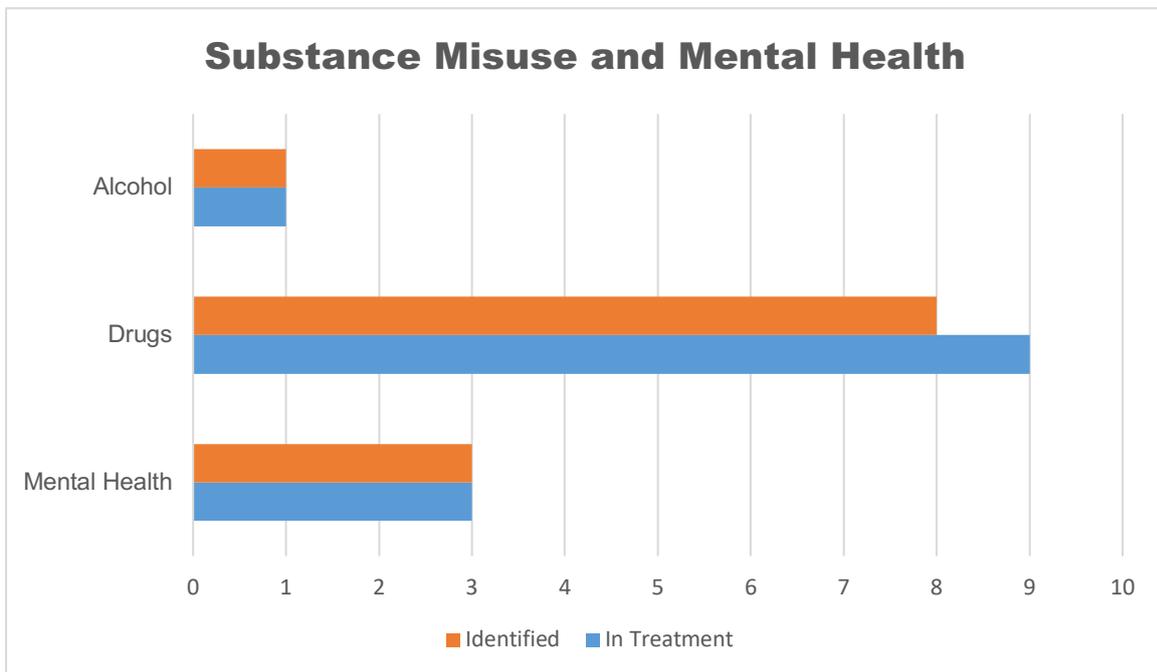
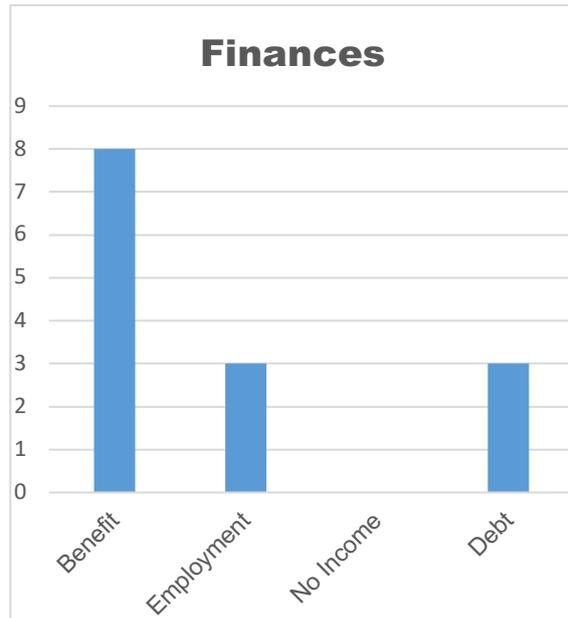
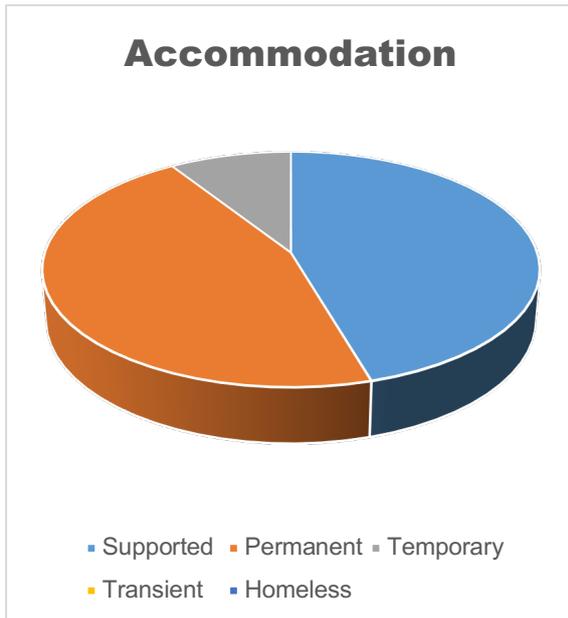
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Views of Service Users.

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Understanding why I'm part of IOM

It is important to establish whether offenders understand the scheme they are a part of when we start considering their views on Integrated Offender Management.

Of those interviewed a majority were able to understand and acknowledge that they were part of a cohort of offenders under the IOM scheme. They were then able to explain the reason for this, with them stating the priority being as a result of their offending behaviour.

'I know the reason why I am here, of course I know, I have been offending since 8. I have been prolific' (Interviewee 6)

'I have been in trouble for years and need help. My officer told me I need help and more people to support and see me. I need to keep off drugs and this helps me' (Interviewee 2)

'Concerns about my lifestyle and me committing further offences' (Interviewee 9)

'To keep an eye on ya, priority is to manage my risk. The way of doing is to be-friend people to keep an eye of you so if anything happens they can lock you straight up' (Interviewee 11)

Those being managed under the scheme need to be aware of the reason for their management as well as clarity around the cohort they are managed in. In Sandwell, as there are a number of cohorts, it is vital that they understand the reason behind their selection, including what has brought them within scope and to the attention of the partnership. It is also important to inform them how they are able to exit the cohort.

A clear understanding for partners is also required allowing them to understand the criteria for each cohort and the selection process. Terms of Reference for each cohort shows the definition of the cohort, as well as the referral criteria and the purpose. Clear Terms of Reference ensure that the correct offenders are being selected and therefore avoiding partner bias, or offenders being selected that are not necessarily in scope but have an interest to a particular partner. Although it can be acknowledged that there are lead agencies when managing offenders,

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such as police, probation and substance misuse agencies, it is just as important for all partners involved to be aware of criteria for each cohort allowing them to bring offenders into scope for management.

Of those interviewed a majority understood the reasons for being in IOM but most did not agree with the decision. This could be as a result of self-justification towards their behaviour, failure to understand the seriousness of their actions, denial, or not being able to acknowledge the impact of their behaviour on others.

However, they were able to understand what they were getting from the scheme, understanding the benefits and their commitment (Senior 2014).

'I see it as they want to make sure I don't lose my focus and motivation and it's not a part time thing' (Interviewee 6)

'If I need help I get it' (Interviewee 7)

'I understand my conditions, I don't agree with them but I understand them and what I need to do' (Interviewee 8)

Am I still offending?

All of those interviewed stated that they were no longer offending.

'I've stopped because it's not worth it. I have to think about my kids' (interviewee 3)

'I'm working' (interviewee 4)

'Offending isn't for me no more. Me and my partner have decided to keep clean and not get into trouble anymore' (interviewee 1)

This was surprising considering a majority of those taking part were from the Priority and Prolific Offender cohort, which has a criteria of high or very high risk of re-offending, and de-selection following on from a 6 month period of non-offending.

I would suspect that this may be due to those being interviewed not being known to me and therefore they felt able not to disclose. It could well be that all those interviewed had made a decision not to offend and were desisting from offending. However, on the balance of probability and knowing the make-up of the cohorts I would conclude that this is unlikely to be the case.

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For the purpose of the research they were also informed that I was relying on their admissions around their behaviour and offending patterns so maybe I had created an environment where they felt comfortable not to disclose, or were fearful that I would report their disclosure.

When looking at offenders' readiness to change and to consider if this may be appropriate in these cases, Day has defined it as:

'to be ready for treatment means that the person is motivated (i.e. wants to, has the will to), is able to respond appropriately (i.e. perceives he or she can), finds it relevant and meaningful (i.e. can engage), and has the capabilities (i.e. is able) to successfully enter the treatment programme' (Day et al, 2010)

The above definition captures motivation and can be used to understand if offenders are prepared to enter treatment, or in the case of IOM, interventions and supervision.

Leibrich (1993) has stated that people need to want to change before any change can occur and that 'the goal of reducing reoffending could only be realised in a limited way, given the many other influences on people's lives'.

Understanding partnership roles and experiencing supervision

When talking to the offenders it was clear that some failed to understand different partnership roles and felt that there was no clear distinction between the job of a police officer and that of probation. This often meant that they saw the role of a probation practitioner as one of ensuring that they were 'caught and convicted' rather than rehabilitated.

'The only reason I am a PPO is because the police want to get me, stop me and everyone else works for the police' (Interviewee 1)

'Probation just do what the police tell them to do. They want me recalled and probation do it' (Interviewee 6)

'I have lots of appointments and attend at the police station and see the police more who tell probation lies about me' (Interviewee 4)

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When working with IOM nominals it is important for them to understand that partners work together as well as ensuring them that they are aware of the roles of each partnership agency. It is important to also clarify roles within the partnership in order to avoid confusion (Worrall and Corcoran 2015).

An example of this is clarifying which agency has the responsibility for enforcing licences and community sentences. Three of those interviewed felt the responsibility lay with the police, with probation staff being accountable to them.

It is important to share plans with offenders highlighting the roles of all agencies and the relevance of each to the offender. This needs to happen to inform the offender of what it means for compliance, as well as what it means for non-compliance. Statutory offenders need to be clear about who leads on their case and what the consequences of non-engagement are for them. This is often highlighted in conditions of community sentences as well as condition of licences, including post sentence supervision.

Others, however, were positive about their experiences and relationships with probation staff, clearly understanding the role.

My probation officer listens to me and wants to help me, she wants to help change me. My problem is re-offending and she wants me to stop also.'
(Interviewee 4)

'Things are going fine, my probation officer is flexible and understands where I am coming from and been working with me for about 2 years, I've had previous ones who weren't as flexible as him and would breach me but he is ok as long as I am updating him around appointments as I am homeless at the moment and he lets me swap and rearrange as am in contact' and 'He is honest with me and doesn't want me to re-offend'
(Interviewee 6)

Leibrich (1993) interviewed those that desisted from offending for three years to ascertain their experiences of supervision. 48 were interviewed and she identified the following aspects of a good probation officer/offender relationship:

- establishing rapport

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- adapting to individual needs
- taking risks, going the extra mile and spending quality time
- being genuine and being honest about the relationship
- empowering the offender
- balancing care and control (Leibrich, 1993)

Rex also identified qualities such as empathetic, good listeners, interested and understanding, respectful and experienced as being supportive of offenders efforts to desist. (Rex 1999)

Drug and alcohol misuse intervention

Most of those interviewed identified a need for either alcohol or drug misuse intervention, with the primary substance misuse being drugs. In discussion around this they all stated that they were happy with the intervention provided and were fully engaging with the partner. This, they stated, was either as a means of getting a prescription, or to assist with abstinence from the drug previously being used.

'IRiS (Sandwell Drug Agency) have a lot to offer and they aren't just a script provider. They offer a lot more and provide a service. 50% still treat them as script provider because they don't want to engage. if they are (IRiS) offering me tools that I can use in my life I will take them.' (Interviewee 1)

'It is more about cutting down before stopping, a wider knowledge and how to control myself before cutting down As long as I am addressing it with IRiS and it is not affecting my behaviour my probation officer is ok, she's not rewarding me either' (Interviewee 6)

'They are always asking if my prescription is ok, if I'm stable or if I need to be increased ... if I'm happy basically.' (Interviewee 8)

This is important considering a majority of the IOM cohort are committing Serious Acquisitive Crime offences to enable them to sustain their drug misuse. Again, relying on the information provided by the offender it was not possible to match the data with the drug and alcohol providers to clarify engagement rates.

Adjusting to 'helpful' police officers

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One offender stated that he was surprised with the role of the police who were actively supporting him in trying to change. He stated he was a domestic violence perpetrator and came to the police's attention following a domestic incident. The offender stated that he regularly got a telephone call from the police offender manager whose purpose was to assist him in not offending again rather than 'arresting' him.

'I have my police officer's number. I was shocked when I got a call from the police. I thought I was in trouble and what have I done now but she was ringing because I was homeless, this and that, and she wanted to help. She referred me to a landlord.' (Interviewee 6)

'She rings me and makes sure I am ok' (Interviewee 7)

Nash introduced a concept of what he referred to as a 'polibation' officer to denote the perceived fusing of police and probation roles (Nash, 1999), and to reflect concerns that probation officers would become increasingly focused on control and surveillance to the detriment of their welfare-oriented objectives. It was thought that probation would 'go the way of the police' (Nash, 2008). However, further research suggests that police officers are adopting a role which is heavily welfare-oriented and officers seem to have 'gone the way of probation' (Mawby and Worrall, 2004). Mawby and Worrall have also argued that police and probation relationship has historically been one of suspicion which has changed dramatically over the past few decades, largely due to increased multi-agency working and a willingness on both sides to change culture and attitudes.

IOM police officers are required to engage with offenders in a manner more akin to traditional conceptions of probation rather than those associated with policing (Kemshall and Maguire, 2001). But the welfare approach is not just about making life better for offenders by providing counselling and practical assistance; rather it is linked with the causes of crime and, in some cases, if these causes were ameliorated, the risk of further crime was lessened. (Nash, 2008).

The benefits of joint partnership meetings

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All of those interviewed stated that their experience of joint partnership meetings were a positive experience for them. These meetings were identified with probation staff, police, substance misuse as well as mental health teams. In discussion around these meetings offenders felt they were able to talk to various staff at the same time rather than repeating their issues or concerns. They also felt that it was sometimes important for other agencies to hear about their progress.

'It is good I can talk to everyone at the same time rather than I have lots of appointments' (Interviewee 3)

'I had a meeting with my children's worker and my probation officer was there and told my worker what I had been doing. He told them I wasn't using drugs no more. Don't think they would have believed me if he wasn't there' (Interviewee 10)

'I was scared to talk about my health problems and because my officer was with me it was easier. She knew me and talked about things I didn't want to talk about to get my mental health worker understand me.' (Interviewee 11)

In Sandwell we have encouraged this approach whereby more than one agency, at times, is involved within supervision sessions. This was first introduced when it was felt that offenders were 'playing' one agency off against another and either minimising others' involvement or stating they were attending appointments when it later transpired they were not. Management of the case also assists with joint meetings as it gives the offender an opportunity to discuss supervision planning and define agency responsibility throughout the duration of the licence or community sentence, as well as getting the opportunity to hear their good progress amongst agencies they work with.

'It is good that when I am doing well the meeting tells everyone as sometimes I used to think no one believed me but were talking bad things about me when I weren't there' (Interviewee 9)

Relevance and irrelevance of pathways

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IOM looks at pathways, as previously mentioned, when looking to assist with interventions and assesses how these can assist in the reduction of re-offending and risk.

All cohorts are different because of the nature of the selection criteria. As a result of this the needs and priorities of those that it manages are different, as well as the level of offending. Serious Acquisitive Crime offenders are more resourceful and have a higher risk of re-offending, which then leads to more breach of sentences or recalls. Only those interviewed for the PPO cohort had issues around long term drug misuse and had housing concerns. They were also less likely to be 'ready' for work. This would, however, not be the case for all within the Cohort. Other cohorts saw higher levels to the general public, or known adults.

Laub and Sampson, (1993) define criminal trajectories as 'a pathway or a line in development over the lifespan' that are shaped by 'interactions of human agency, life course events, situations and historical processes'.

During the lifespan, these interactions, events, situations and processes generate 'transitional points'. These are changes in the lives of individuals (such as employment or relationships) that may alter social control, routine activities and the self-image of the individual (Carlson, 2012). These transitional points may offer an offender fresh opportunities and new choices that may develop into 'turning points' in their lives. However, Laub and Sampson (1993) assert that a new direction can only be considered a 'turning point' after a sufficient amount of time is spent on this course. Therefore, pathways can be seen as an opportunity towards transition allowing offenders to develop turning points.

During the interviews offenders were able to acknowledge the pathways offered to them and understood how these were necessary for them and what to do to get support. They also were able to appreciate that they got access to services when required and this would have been quicker than if they were not part of the cohort. Those interviewed were able to identify those partners working with them. Partnerships identified to address pathway need is essential for successful interventions. Baeet et al (2011) suggest that successful partnership working is based on the identification of problems of which there is a 'mutual benefit in tackling'.

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Parent and Synder (1999) note that partnerships enable organisations to use complementary powers to the same ends, and therefore have a greater potential to achieve mutual goals (Murphy and Lutze, 2009; Gilling, 1994).

However, only three of those interviewed stated that they felt the pathway support assisted them in thinking about changing their behaviour even though most acknowledged that the pathways were relevant.

'If you're struggling you are going to fail, it is a lot of pressure and pressure makes you fail. Back in the time I wasn't interested in support but now I need it. Before I thought I could do it on my own but right now I need to, I need to, swallow the pill and need help from everyone and ask for it. It's there' (Interviewee 5)

'Getting me a house helped me, I was homeless. I have a job now and a house with a landlord. My house and job means I might see my kids' (Interviewee 8)

There could be two reasons for this considering a lot of time and effort is put into setting up pathway provisions. The first could be that it is, as the majority state, not relevant to their behaviour, or secondly that they are not able to speak positively about what is provided to them.

To take this point further those interviewed were asked, if it was not the pathway support, then what would enable their behaviour to change. The response was quite simply: 'myself'. They stated that they had to make the decision to change their thinking or their behaviour and this was irrelevant to the pathway support offered. It appeared to be more of a matter of engagement and compliance from them rather than the pathways offered, or the support provided as conditions of being on the scheme.

'I have missed out on everything a lot of weddings, christenings, birthdays, everything I've missed out on because I've been in jail. I've missed out on my kids because of jail. It's down to me to change.' (Interviewee 9)

'You can tell me everything but I need to put the work in. They can't make me think and I know when I am ready.' (Interviewee 5)

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Previous research has identified how those no longer offending fail to acknowledge how others have assisted in resolving problems for them relating to accommodation, family relationships and employment (Farrall 2002). However, the same research revisited in 2006 (Farrall and Calverley) concluded that successful desistance from crime was the product of individual motivation, social and personal contexts, probation supervision and what people perceive about their lives and behaviours. In 2012 Farrall suggested a growing acknowledgement of the impact of probation in the years after formal supervision had ended.

Offence-focused work

In relation to the supervision experience itself, some of those interviewed recognised changes to the way in which supervision was carried out stating that less time is spent with them and reporting is not as stringent as it once was.

For a majority of those interviewed it appears that there is a lack of offence-focused work being delivered to address negative cognitive thinking and challenge behaviour. Those that have had interventions around this state that this has happened to them whilst serving lengthy custodial sentences and is not reinforced in the community, or only some time ago.

I've done think first, I've done victim awareness. I've done them all but I don't think it was done properly and I was just thinking about myself. If it was done properly I wouldn't be here today' (Interviewee 2)

I've done Think First (an accredited programme) years ago but I didn't find it helpful – I wasn't ready. (Interviewee 3)

However, those interviewed were able to acknowledge the benefits of offence-focused work, although stating it was not needed for them. It would appear this intervention is necessary considering they state that only they can make the decision to change and accredited, as well as non-accredited, intervention needs to happen in order to assist this.

Giordano et al (2002) proposed four consecutive stages in relation to the theory of cognitive transformation: firstly, openness or readiness to change which is when a person becomes willing to try and change their behaviour; secondly, the identification of hooks for change, such as

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employment, significant relationships or parenthood, that can be used, if the individual is receptive to them, to create a replacement self or shift in identity which is 'fundamentally incompatible' with future offending. The third and final stage in the process leads to the individual redefining their deviance and having a negative view of previous behaviour.

Other approaches: restorative justice

A programme of supervision based on motivation, developing a relationship with the probationer, looking at problem solving and goals, developing victim awareness and planning to avoid relapses was popular with both probationers and staff (Durrance et al. 2010).

With some the concept of Restorative Justice was introduced during the interview, and there was a clear expression of interest around this and an area that needs to be explored further. Recognising victims and the impact of their behaviour on others will play a crucial part in assisting offenders to desist from crime.

'It would have helped as I would have took it from their point of view, instead of me just going in and doing what I'm going to do and sell it for drugs. I've been burgled myself and I know what it is like' (Interviewee 2)

Restorative Justice can be defined as:

"....processes which bring those harmed by crime or conflict, and those responsible for the harm, into communication, enabling everyone affected by a particular incident to play a part in repairing the harm and finding a positive way forward."
(www.restorativejustice.org.uk)

Restorative justice brings those who offend and victims into contact with each other. It aims:

- to help victims to recover from the impact of the crime;
- to enable those who offend understand the implications of his or her actions; and
- to provide an opportunity to make amends. (A joint thematic inspection by HMIC, HMI Probation, HMI Prisons and the HMCPSI, 2012).

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Other approaches: understanding trauma

In discussion around childhood, or early adulthood, it was evident throughout the interviews that most had experienced some traumatic experiences which remained unresolved.

Trauma can be defined as:

Trauma is an emotional wound, resulting from a shocking event or multiple and repeated life threatening and/or extremely frightening experiences that may cause lasting negative effects on a person, disrupting the path of healthy physical, emotional, spiritual and intellectual development. (National Child Traumatic Stress Network (NCTSN))

Individual trauma results from an event, series of events, or set of circumstances that is experienced by an individual as physically or emotionally harmful or threatening and that has lasting adverse effects on the individual's functioning and physical, social, emotional, or spiritual well-being... In short, trauma is the sum of the event, the experience, and the effect. (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA))

Beyond Youth Custody (2016) highlight that trauma can lead to:

- Offenders having a disproportionate amount of childhood and adolescent trauma in their backgrounds
- Offenders are more likely than non-offenders to have suffered adverse impacts from traumatic experiences in childhood and adolescence
- Some of the impacts of such trauma appear to be linked to offending behaviour
- Previous trauma can have an adverse impact on our scope for generating positive resettlement outcomes with young people and young adults

Beyond Youth Custody continues to inform that trauma can lead to:

- Attention difficulties
- Poor behaviour and parenting challenges
- School truancy and exclusion

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- Peer delinquency and substance misuse
- Offending

Attempting to address behaviour without understanding underlying difficulties can result in unsuccessful and sometimes detrimental interventions. Failure to take account of experiences and emotional well-being will limit the potential benefits when seeking to reduce the risk of reoffending.

Trauma-informed practice may involve awareness raising and training, the provision of safe environments, reducing the scope for re-traumatisation and the coordination of provision designed to increase resilience and support. Trauma-informed approaches can be thought of as incorporating three key elements: an understanding of the prevalence of trauma; recognition of the effects of trauma both on those affected and on those who work with them; and the design of services which are informed by this knowledge.

<http://www.beyondyouthcustody.net/blog/childhood-trauma-offending/>

‘People need help with themselves as they are lost. There is a reason why I have become this person. Any help to fix people, because I am broken and need to fill my hole inside. (Interviewee 1)

‘I don’t really talk about my childhood and my problems with anyone ... all they see is a burglar and someone taking drugs. They don’t know why and what has happened’ (Interviewee 8)

‘Everything in my life made me angry instead of talking I was angry. Everything in my life happened made me angry and frightened; never used to get along with my family and everything happened in my life made me angry, things I didn’t want to let go of, people I didn’t want to let go off.’ (Interviewee 6)

The physical environment of IOM

Some of those interviewed mentioned that the place where they were expected to report played a factor in reporting, engagement and rehabilitation. They felt that reporting in an environment where they were

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likely to meet like-minded peers would have a negative effect on their motivation to refrain from offending, or from substance misuse.

'I used to go to see my drug worker and there were dealers waiting outside to make sure I didn't go in and get help. They didn't want me to stop using. It was difficult but I didn't want to get breached. (Interviewee 3)

One of those interviewed stated he deliberately failed to report for appointments at the police station because of his fear of getting arrested whilst he knew he was offending, therefore managing his own risk, against that of compliance.

'I came to probation, true story, I came to probation and saw someone get jumped on by four or five undercover coppers, 'your nicked you're on a recall'. I've done it myself when I have come to my appointment, I wonder if I am wanted and sometimes decide not to come.' (Interviewee 1)

Co-location has been a major part of IOM allowing partners to work in a shared space and in Sandwell this is in a police building. Senior (2014) has stated during observations 'we saw arguments, we saw disagreements, we saw differences of perspective all the time, but these differences gave the outcome much more resonance for the offender and the interventions'.

The Sheffield Study of IOM pilot areas acknowledged that co-location of staff 'facilitated cultural change, case management processes, knowledge transfer and information sharing' (Senior et al, 2011). It also allows for the pooling of information which helps to update knowledge and circumstances of the offenders (Worrall and Corcoran, 2014).

Co-location may be of advantage to those agencies involved within IOM but after conducting the interviews it needs to be acknowledged that it is important to recognise the consequences, as well as advantages, of this for the offenders.

Peer mentoring

When discussing with the offenders the reasons for being part of an IOM cohort 9 of those interviewed stated that early intervention in their criminal history may have prevented them from still being part of the Criminal Justice System. They talked about how the right interventions by the right

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people may have assisted and welcomed the idea of hearing the views of ex-offenders and their experiences.

One of those interviewed stated that if he had a better understanding of the impact of custodial sentences on him and his family then he may have stopped offending sooner and would have welcomed hearing this from someone who had experienced this.

If you know someone and he breaks it down to you and see the way he is talking you are going to listen to him. It is the fact you are away from your family and can't just go to the shop, can't think I call just phone my mom. Jail ain't bad its things like not seeing your mom and family and not just visits, it's not the same, it's not the same. (Interviewee 6)

This creates an opportunity for 'peers' to work with offenders which is an intervention that has introduced in Sandwell.

Boyce et al (2009) found that peers considered it an advantage that they had experienced many of the problems faced by their 'clients' and were able to relate to the challenges faced by them with offenders more likely to turn to peers for help rather than authority figures. Second, peers may be more effective at sharing information and knowledge. Individuals are more likely to listen to and act on information if it is presented to them by someone they can identify with, respect and model behaviour from (UN Office on Drugs and Crime, 2003). Furthermore, peers may communicate in a way that makes sense. They are also more effective at sharing information and knowledge because they understand the context in which their peers are best able to use that information (UN Office on Drugs and Crime, 2003). Third, peers can act as successful role models (Huggins, 2010). They can provide inspiration for offenders that they too can turn their lives around (Hunter and Kirby, 2011).

Someone who has gone through that experience before you gonna listen more to them, these have never had no experience they don't through what I have' (interviewee 3)

I always thought if I went into YOT they would listen to me, a lot of my little friends listen to me because I have been to jail and my journey is real. If you know someone you can connect to and he breaks down his journey you are going to listen. (Interviewee 6)

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Having a voice

In discussion around the research and having the opportunity to express their views all but 2 of those interviewed stated they appreciated their views being heard. They welcomed further opportunities to be part of interviews and although some were apprehensive about service user forums they felt that it was a good idea to be able to express their views.

'If people don't mind talking about their personal business it is a good idea to talk to people about experiences with probation' (Interviewee 4)

'Yeah cause I can talk about my good and bad times and think there will be benefits if people listen' (Interviewee 9)

Interventions are most likely to be effective where they encourage and respect self-determination; this means working with offenders not on them (McCulloch, 2005; McNeill, 2006).

Service user involvement refers to the process by which people who are using or have used a service become involved in the planning, development and delivery of that service to make improvements (Clinks 2011)

This allows people to “become actively and genuinely involved in defining the issues of concern to them; in making decisions about factors that affect their lives; in formulating and implementing policies; in planning, developing and delivering services, and in taking action to achieve change.” Community Participation in Local Health and Sustainable Development, World Health Organisation, 2002

Service user involvement is an area that can only add value to the work of IOM, and the experience of those that are being managed appears to be crucial. Understanding the experience, both positive and negative, can bring insight into current, or future, practice.

Some of the benefits of working with offenders include; supporting desistance, quality feedback, service improvement and with those involved having a voice and gaining skills of such as empathy, listening and communication (Prison Reform Trust 2011). There would also be an element of problem solving if asking those involved to come up with ideas and solutions.

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Building rapport in practice and research

Another important area is rapport building with offenders in order to get the best information from them. It was obvious that some of those interviewed were reluctant to discuss and divulge information, and this being evident when getting information contradictory to that I perceive within the cohorts. However, what was refreshing was how open some of those interviewed were able to be once they realised that they were heard. The time spent with those interviewed varied from 45 to 90 minutes and therefore rapport building is key.

Pence, 1991, suggesting a shift in moral thinking from the question 'what ought I to do?' to the question 'what sort of person should I be?'

McNeill (2006) states 'one of the merits of desistance research is that by asking offenders about their experiences both of attempting desistance and of supervision, progress is made towards answering the question that a would-be 'virtuous' offender manager might ask: What sort of practitioner should I be? The virtues featured in responses from those desisting might include optimism, hopefulness, patience, persistence, fairness, respectfulness, trustworthiness, loyalty, wisdom, compassion, flexibility and sensitivity (to difference).'

Most of those interviewed may have been reluctant to take part in the research but by the end of the interview they had all agreed to be interviewed again if needed.

In order to build a healthy relationship Appleton (2010) suggests that those being managed value direction and help in being assisting with practical issues, advice about how to tackle practical problems, and help and support with emotional problems. I feel that they want to be listened to, and for those working with them to take the time to recognise them as individuals and to develop a relationship with them (Broussine and Wakefield 1997; Rex 1999; Healy and O'Donnell 2008). Use of non-technical 'jargon' and efforts to explain things clearly were also appreciated by those interviewed by Broussine and Wakefield (1997), as was a certain amount of 'distance' amongst Rex's respondents (1999). From Appleton's study (2010) of those being supervised preferred probation officers who were experienced and who were respectful, non-judgmental, trustworthy, reliable, flexible, honest, supportive and

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encouraging. Rex (1999) adds that there also needs to be an interest in the well-being of those being supervising.

Probation officers lacking these qualities were by Appleton to be impossible to form a helpful relationship with. Instances in which probation officers were late, rushed tasks, seemed uncaring, or mistrusted were cited as examples of being 'processed' or 'managed' rather than cared for in any meaningful sense.

'If things weren't working for me I'll bring it up. It has taken me a lot of time to ask for support and if I don't get it now it will make me angry.'
(Interviewee 6)

Offenders have strengths and resources that they can use to overcome obstacles to desistance – both personal strengths and resources, as well as strengths and resources in their social networks. Supervision should support and develop these capacities (Maruna and LeBel 2003)

Trotter (1996) has emphasised a caring approach focusing on problem-solving and creating a pro-social modelling framework whereby antisocial comments can be challenged within a relationship based on caring and trust, thus making such challenges more legitimate. The key skills required by probation officers would include punctuality, reliability, politeness, honesty, empathy and the ability to support desires to spend time with non-offenders.

Conclusion

When considering this piece of research I wanted an opportunity to talk to those that IOM targets. I wanted to try to understand views on their management as well as ascertain the effectiveness of partners that are engaged within the cohorts.

What is clear following on from the research is that the small number of offenders interviewed has created learning, as well as recognising areas that are working well, and those areas that need improving or developing.

It has provided the following summarised findings:

1. All those interviewed spoke positively of the scheme and understood why they were part of IOM, and the cohort they were in, but not all agreed with it.

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2. It is clear that different cohorts behave differently to the scheme and have differing attitudes towards how the scheme works for them.
3. Some of those interviewed failed to understand the difference between Police and Probation and thought they were doing the same job.
4. At least one person valued the role of the Police in supporting him rather than 'catch and convict'.
5. At least half of those interviewed stated that they were less likely to stop offending as a result of the support available to them.
6. All those interviewed stated they are no longer offending!
7. A large majority of those interviewed spoke about traumatic experiences in their childhood, or early adulthood, which appeared to be unresolved.
8. For a majority of those interviewed it appears that there is a lack of offence focused work being carried out which does not challenge their thinking behaviour – this is concerning considering most state that they themselves make the decision to change.
9. Those who identified drug and alcohol misuse stated they were happy with the intervention to address this.
10. Environment of reporting to some is important and may deter progress.
11. A majority identified the value of pathways, although only three thought they made any difference to their offending behaviour.
12. When talking about victims it was apparent that those interviewed would benefit from more work around this – a majority appreciated the concept of Restorative Justice.

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13. Value of joint partnership meetings with the service users was identified as a positive experience.
14. In discussion most said they would have benefited from early intervention work as well as hearing from ex-offenders and peers.
15. In discussion around views of service users, nearly all stated they appreciate their views being heard and think service forums or service user interviews are a good idea.
16. Interventions addressing behaviour are lacking and a programme may need to be developed specifically for IOM cohorts.
17. Rapport building is key when getting information and information from service users – nearly all were apprehensive initially about talking of their experiences.
18. A longer piece of research may be required to capture a bigger number of offenders. More time would allow multiple attempts with offenders as well as help to interview those in custody, on short or long term sentences.

Targeting those offenders that cause the most harm appears logical as well as conforming to theory that underpins offender management and desistance. However, this approach warrants appropriate resourcing and a focus on the needs of those being managed.

My research suggests that there are certain areas within Sandwell that need to be improved. Partnership co-working is a strength, and this is acknowledged by those who are being managed. Co-location allows for information sharing and shared values. Cognitive thinking for offenders needs to be improved as well as allowing those being managed an opportunity to be heard.

The findings of this research will allow Sandwell to revisit IOM arrangements and create discussion and dialogue that will seek to ensure

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that those being managed are able to take responsibility for their behaviour, recognise what is required to remain offence free and desist from crime.

It is also apparent that the cohorts within which offenders sit are less relevant than their common needs and the pathways that offer support and a way out of offending, and into desistance, remain the same for all. Underlying factors and circumstances however, are individual and need to be acknowledged. Case management is a key factor in achieving change and this should be a priority if we are to see safer communities:

Those being managed need the motivation to change, capacity to be and to act differently and opportunities to do so. (Shapland et al. 2012).

Finally, King *et al.* (2017) argue that IOM may fail to fulfil its potential because it has failed to address the eight criteria for successful organizational change: establishing a sense of urgency; forming a powerful guiding coalition; creating a vision; communicating the vision; empowering others to act on the vision; planning and creating short-term wins; consolidating performance and producing still more change; and, institutionalizing new approaches. This research suggests that a further criterion for the success of IOM is that of giving a voice – and listening – to IOM service users.

References are available on request from the author.

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Appendix:

- Research information sheet
- Research consent form
- Interviewee information and notes.

Effectiveness of Sandwell Integrated Offender Management (IOM) - service user perspective.
Harmail Rai - IOM Coordinator

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Aims of the Research:

For this programme, I will be holding interviews with people who are managed within Sandwell Integrated Offender Management (IOM) as service users. I want to understand how the programme is effective by speaking to those that are selected within the cohorts – Prolific and Priority Offenders (PPO), High Crime Causing Users (HCCU), Sandwell Priority Offender Scheme (SPOS) and Domestic Violence and Abuse (DV&A). I am aiming to understand how effective service users think their management is in assisting them to reduce their reoffending, managed their risk and help them to resettle into the community, after a prison sentence.

Invitation

You have been invited to take part in a research study entitled, 'Effectiveness of Sandwell Integrated Offender Management (IOM) – service user perspective'. .

Before you decide if you want to be interviewed for this research, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen to take part in this study because you are involved in the IOM programme as a service user. Overall there will be approximately 15 participants.

Do I have to take part?

You are free to decide whether you wish to take part or not. If you do decide to take part, you will be asked to sign two consent forms, one for you to keep and the other for my records. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time and without giving reasons.

What will happen if I take part?

If you agree to participate, I will interview you at an agreed day, time and venue and it will be a one-to-one interview. The interview should take between 30 minutes and an hour to complete and I'll be asking you about the IOM programme. I'll also ask about some aspects of your life beforehand, some personal details (for example, date and place of birth), your personal experiences and your experiences of the criminal justice system. We will also be asking about your experiences of the programme and any effects of taking part.

If there are issues and themes that I may not raise but that you think are relevant to the research, I'd be grateful if you would tell me about them. If there are certain questions which you'd prefer not to answer, just say so and I'll move on to another topic. We can take breaks if, and when you want.

After the interview, I may ask if I am able to contact you at a later date for further research. This would be purely voluntary.

What are the benefits (if any) of taking part?

It is important that I understand what aspects of your management within IOM works well and what needs improving. This study will give me the opportunity to understand the experiences of the programme and to play a part in its further development.

What are the risks (if any) of taking part?

I do not think that there are any risks for you in taking part in this research. You need to know that your place on the IOM programme will not be placed at any risk if you prefer not to be involved in this research. Similarly, taking part in this research will have no impact on you and how you are currently being managed.

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How will the information be used?

Your interview will be recorded and transcribed and I will also be taking some notes. I will print out and analyse interview and material, along with background information about the programme, but not any additional information about you. These will be written up in the form of a report and to make presentations. I may use some statements from the interview(s) as quotes in the reports and publications. During transcription your name will be changed so that no person who is interviewed will be able to be identified by anyone reading the report. I may draw on these anonymised interview scripts in the course of future research programmes.

Who will have access to information about me?

All personal information about you will be kept in strictest confidence. The names of all persons who are interviewed will be changed. I will be the only people who will be able to connect the data to you personally. Anyone else will read about your views in the context of short descriptions or quotations which will appear alongside those of other people who are interviewed.

The names of everyone we interview, and of people they discuss in the interview, will be changed in the transcript and in any publication. Any identifying personal information will also be changed.

I am required to retain all research data for five years. All the information I collect will be stored in a locked cabinet or on a password secured computer. After five years the data will be securely disposed of. However, the recorded interview will be deleted within the next 6 to 9 months.

Although I promise you this confidentiality, I need to know that there is one exception. If you tell me about criminal activity that highlights concerns around risk to others, or about abuse either to yourself or to another (eg. a child) or suicidal tendencies, I must pass this information to relevant people. I am also under a duty to disclose behaviour that is against prison rules (if relevant) and can be adjudicated against. I think that this is very unlikely to happen but I am required to advise you of this.

Who is funding and organising the research?

The research is commissioned by the Probation Institute and I have agreed to research on this title after making representations to them. I am currently seconded to Sandwell Safety Partnership and I am getting assistance with the research from Keele University.

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you can speak to me in the first instance. If you remain unhappy about the research and/or wish to raise a complaint about any aspect of how you've been approached or treated during the course of the study, please let me know and I will be able to provide you with information on how you can do this.

Sandwell Integrated Offender Management (IOM) Research Project

CONSENT FORM

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Please tick box

- 1 I confirm that I have either read, or been explained, and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
- 2 I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time.
- 3 I agree to take part in an *interview* for this study.
- 4 I agree to the interview being sound recorded.
- 5 I agree to allow quotations from my interview to be used for research purposes. These will be anonymous and I will not be identifiable.
- 6 I agree to allow the data collected to be used for future research projects
- 7 I agree to be contacted about possible participation in a second interview later on in this project.

Name of participant

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

Probation Institute, 2 Langley Lane, London, SW8 1GB

Interview Questionnaire with offenders on IOM programme

I am interested in how you came into contact with the IOM programme, and what your experience of it is. It would be very helpful if you could tell me about your involvement with the programme and whether it is making any difference to your life. After getting some basic information, we can start the interview.

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Personal information sheet to be kept separately from interview notes/Topic guide

About yourself

Age:

Male/Female:

Ethnicity

Age of first offence

Would you say you are still offending?

When did you last offend?

When did you last get arrested?

IOM cohort

Are you single?

Do you have children?

Are you known to children services?

Would you identify with any of the following?

Alcohol misuse

Last used:

In treatment

Drug Misuse

Last used

In treatment

Mental Health concerns

In intervention

Describe accommodation:

Supported

Permanent

Temporary

Transient

Employment

Benefit

Interview topic guide for Offenders: Prompt

Understanding of IOM

Talk about self, offending behaviour, experiences of IOM

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Partners involved

Pathway support

Understanding your view

(Notes)