

Developing *Citizenship*

Russell Bruce

Chief Probation Officer, National Probation Service, County Durham and

Clive Hollin

Professor of Criminological Psychology, University of Leicester

In mid-2004 The National Probation Service: County Durham reviewed its operational delivery of services to offenders in light of both national and local drivers for change. At a national level there was the pressing requirement to reduce reoffending, alongside the advent of NOMS, and the effects of the Criminal Justice Act 2003. At a local level there was a perceived need to improve further the supervision of those offenders unsuited either to accredited programmes or to stand alone Unpaid Work requirements. Further, County Durham took the view that its work would comply with the principles of effective practice (Chapman and Hough, 1998). The notion was conceived of a planned programme of work for offenders that would incorporate the rigour of accredited programmes but which would give greater flexibility in delivery with an emphasis on social inclusion (Robinson and Raynor, 2006).

In order to develop this idea, a Working Group was formed that included a cross-section of staff, represented by practitioners, Middle Managers led at Assistant Chief level, and forensic psychologists, with external support from a university-based consultant. The Group's terms of reference were

to design a programme for working with offenders in a structured way, building on local experience (see Hollin, 2002) and drawing upon the available evidence regarding best practice. The programme would have a focus on both the offender and their community, seeking to connect with community resources in support of rehabilitative efforts. Further, the programme would be designed for delivery to a greater number of offenders than those eligible for and undertaking accredited programmes.

Working collaboratively with local services and agencies is an integral part of statutory supervision. The establishment of community links for offenders during supervision may increase their likelihood of continuing engagement with local organisations after completion of Statutory Supervision. This focus on offenders returning to their communities with the aim of becoming good citizens gave *Citizenship* its name. As used here, the notion of citizenship is taken to encompass the individual's civil and social rights, responsibilities, and freedom to participate in a society's institutions (Cohen 1999). In terms of probation practice, *Citizenship* is in sympathy with Rex and Gelsthorpe (2004) who, following Faulkner (2003; see also Faulkner, 2006), suggest

that the concept of citizenship extends to being a good neighbour, developing a sense of social and moral responsibility, and having an involvement in one's community.

In an era of evidence-based practice, the design of *Citizenship* necessarily included a system for evaluation. Thus, County Durham aimed to be demonstrably effective in its supervision of offenders in keeping with its responsibility to contribute to the Government's strategy to reduce crime.

Citizenship and Community

Citizenship is based on working alongside local community agencies and services during the offender's period of statutory supervision. The overarching aim is to initiate the offender's involvement with their community that will continue after completion of their Order/Licence. A focus on the community is integral to work of the Probation Service (Crow, 2001) and fits comfortably with the Government's strategy for reducing reoffending, while also complying with the NOMS' principle of 'end-to-end' offender management (NOMS, 2006). In terms of practice, the offender's

motivation to engage with the process of change is a crucial factor. Overall, *Citizenship* seeks both to engage offenders and to increase their readiness for change (Ward, Day, Howells, and Birgden, 2004). Thus, the emphasis within *Citizenship* is on education, increasing motivation, and preparing the offender for change.

Identifying Targets for Change

In keeping with "What Works?" principles (McGuire, 1995), *Citizenship* has an explicit focus on the individual's criminogenic needs. Thus, the targets for change within *Citizenship* — derived from the national Offender Assessment System (OASys; Home Office, 2002) — relate to various areas of crime-related need and the associated risk of reoffending. In order to be consistent with evidence-based practice, the Group reviewed local OASys data regarding the prevalence of the various crime-related needs for offenders. As shown in Table 1, the OASys data revealed a high level of overall need, with some needs particularly frequent: the percentage refers to those assessments in which the OASys score indicated a significant level of need. Following the risk principle (Andrews, 1995), *Citizenship* was

TABLE 1: LOCAL OASys DATA (N=3659)

Accommodation	44.7%
Education, Training, Employability	76.8%
Financial Management and Income	31.3%
Relationships	51.8%
Lifestyle and Associates	58.3%
Drug Misuse	37.4%
Alcohol Misuse	48.8%
Emotional Well-being	51.5%
Thinking and Behaviour	75.3%
Attitudes	43.0%

designed to address the dynamic criminogenic risk factors of offenders with an OASys score between 50 and 168. This focus on delivering intensive services to medium- and high-risk offenders is in keeping with the organisation's commitment to public protection. The analysis of need helped define the offenders for whom *Citizenship* is intended. The next stage was to develop the structure and content of the programme to work with offenders in order to begin the process of change.

Addressing Need

Some offender needs, such as "Attitudes" and "Thinking and Behaviour", can be addressed directly by appropriately trained mainstream Probation Staff. However, other needs, such as "Drug Misuse" and "Alcohol Misuse", may require specialist intervention; while work on other needs, such as "Financial Management and Income", call for particular knowledge such as, say, understanding an individual's benefit entitlement. The view was taken that some areas of need may be addressed more effectively by direct input from agencies with the expertise and resources required to deliver change. In practice this approach meant establishing formal links with a number of local service providers. In forming these links the Probation Service strengthened further its role within the local community, as well as demonstrating to offenders that they too are part of the community.

The creation of *Citizenship* therefore relied upon two pieces of work. First, the development of the probation-delivered elements of the programme; second, finding the local agencies with the potential to augment existing contacts, then seeking to establish service level agreements for joint work.

Creating Citizenship

In accordance with the familiar format used by accredited offending behaviour programmes and by previous initiatives within Durham, such as the prison-based *STOP-START* programme (see Hollin, 2002), *Citizenship* was designed as a series of modules. The modules are matched with the needs assessed by OASys. It was planned that some modules would be entirely delivered by probation staff, others would entail work with partner agencies. In keeping with the core

philosophy of *Citizenship*, each module would be educational and motivational, embracing an active problem-solving approach.

Induction. The Induction Module was designed for use with *all* offenders at the start of their contact with probation. The aim of this module, delivered over seven sessions, is to provide offenders with a detailed explanation of the requirements of their Order or Licence and to complete their initial sentence plan, so meeting the requirements of National Standards (NOMS, 2008). Thus, *Induction* is a compulsory module which all offenders must complete. At this introductory stage, the offenders carry out a detailed offence analysis and consider any occasions when they themselves have been victims of crime. The purpose of these exercises is to begin to increase the offender's understanding of both their own criminal behaviour and the consequences of crime for other members of their community. The Induction Module also introduces the problem solving skills that offenders will use in subsequent modules of *Citizenship*.

At completion of the Induction Module, the Offender Manager and the offender will have developed an individualised "theory of offending" that will be used to shape the offender's pathway through supervision. This supervisory pathway aims to address each offender's areas of need on an individual basis. After completion of the Induction Module some offenders continue with further *Citizenship* modules or, as appropriate, embark upon an accredited offending behaviour programme such as *Think First* (McGuire, 2005).

If the offender is to continue with *Citizenship*, the member of staff responsible for completion of the Induction Module uses their professional judgement to select the next module. In addition, any new information that emerges during completion of the Induction Module is incorporated into the offender assessment and OASys rescored and updated as necessary.

Accommodation. Appropriate accommodation is obviously important and offenders are offered assistance with housing problems as part of standard probation practice. Local Authorities have a responsibility to support homeless and other

vulnerable people and the North East Region has developed a strategy to discharge this duty. The Region has a resettlement protocol with local authorities and housing providers, 'Housing and Returning Prisoners (HARP)', to address the housing needs of offenders released from custody. Thus, when accommodation needs were identified, offenders could be connected to this initiative.

Education, Training, Employability. Offenders are more likely than non offenders to have low educational achievement and to be unemployed and have a poor or erratic employment history. There is ample evidence to link low educational attainment and unemployment with reoffending so that achievement in education, training, and employment may promote desistance from further offending (Wilson, Gallagher, and MacKenzie, 2000). To address these areas of need, the NPS in County Durham contracts with an organisation called *EASE* in order to work towards NPS targets for improving offenders' Basic Skills.

Financial Management and Income. A service level agreement was negotiated with the local *Citizens Advice Bureau* to fast track offenders when they needed assistance with financial matters. The aim of Citizens Advice Bureau, a registered charity providing services for local communities, is to help people resolve their legal and financial problems by providing, in confidence, free and independent advice.

Relationships. Supportive relationships may be a protective factor against future offending for male offenders (Farrington and West, 1995). The Relationships Module is designed to encourage offenders to explore how their relationships may be linked to their offending. Thus, the offender evaluates their close current relationships in terms of whether they are positive or negative influences in their offending. As the module progresses, so offenders articulate their expectations of their relationships and what they consider the others in the relationship expect of them. Using the problem-solving techniques inherent in *Citizenship*, offenders generate options for solving their relationship difficulties, formulate plans to put these potential solutions into practice, and then put the plans into practice.

Alongside strong emotions, the topic of relationships can raise a variety of potentially serious issues. It is made clear to practitioners that this module is not suitable for perpetrators of domestic violence. Further, offenders are told that if disclosures are made about domestic abuse or if child protection issues arise then the matter must be referred to senior probation managers.

Lifestyle and Associates. The Lifestyles and Associates Module highlights the link between offending, poor use of time, and the negative influence of criminal associates. In addition, this module develops assertiveness skills to enable the offender to resist peer group influences that may lead to trouble.

Drug Misuse. The Drugs Module provides factual information with regard to the misuse of drugs. The module aims to help offenders to recognise the link between their drug use and offending and to motivate them to address their drug. Following the initial assessment, in which an individualised formulation of the drug use-criminal behaviour association is made, the offender engages in sessions designed to increase their readiness to work on their drug use. These sessions include the impact of different types of drug misuse on mental and physical health, the legal implications of drug use and the associated financial costs. The focus is on encouraging the offender to engage with local specialist drug services and other support networks. Where possible, the module is completed with input from the specialist drug treatment agencies as their involvement will strengthen the presentation of the module and facilitate later progress.

Alcohol Misuse. As with the Drugs Module, the Alcohol Module is designed to provide factual information regarding the excess use of alcohol, including the impact of alcohol on mental and physical health. The module explores the link between current alcohol use and offending behaviour and encourages engagement with specialist services and support networks.

Emotional Wellbeing. The Emotional Wellbeing Module is designed to raise the offender's awareness of the link between self-control and offending. The sessions in this Module cover the

link between anger and offending, techniques for increasing self-control, and ways of avoiding aggression. It is made clear that this Module is not suitable for offenders with psychiatric or psychological problems that require clinical intervention.

Thinking and Behaviour. As noted, the Induction Module introduces the offender to the problem-solving skills that are used throughout *Citizenship*. It is through this initial learning, reinforced throughout all the modules, that this criminogenic need is addressed.

Attitudes. Pro-criminal attitudes have a long standing history in explanations of offending (e.g., Andrews, 1995). Given the pervasiveness of such attitudes the decision was taken that these attitudes are challenged on whatever occasion and in whatever setting they may occur.

Next Steps. Once the offender has completed the relevant modules to address their specific crime-related needs, the Offender Manager who completed the Induction Module completes the *Next Steps* module with the offender. The function of the Next Steps module is to provide the link between the programme content and the offender's learning and connection to the community at the end of their licence or court order. The Next Steps Module also provides the opportunity for formal recording and reviewing the offender's progress through *Citizenship* and their future plans. It ensures that, prior to the completion of statutory supervision, all offenders undertaking *Citizenship* have established contacts with the appropriate community provision and support networks.

This process of review allows the offender and Offender Manager to look closely at the work undertaken since the commencement of *Citizenship*, and to evaluate the work completed to date. In addition, decisions may be made concerning what further work, community provision, and continued support may still be appropriate. Thus, the Next Steps Module has the dual benefit of facilitating the evaluation of *Citizenship* while maintaining the offender's motivation to continue working towards reducing their risk of reoffending. For these reasons the Next Steps Module, as with the Induction

Module, is a compulsory component of *Citizenship* that all offenders must complete before the end of their licence or court order.

Of course, individual offenders will have completed different combinations of the optional *Citizenship* modules, so the offender's continued contact with the community-based services and agencies is collated and verified through the Next Steps Module. This verification is achieved through a Next Steps Module exercise that asks the offender to reflect on their progress during supervision in light of the goals they set themselves at the end of each *Citizenship* Module that they completed. When the offender has been assisted in making a connection with a community agency, the continuation of the connection is verified, say through a telephone call to the agency, and recorded by the Offender Manager. The consent form signed by the offender in the Induction module allows legitimate access to this information. *Citizenship* places a high level of importance upon successful referral, take up, and maintenance of contact with community services. It is therefore important for future development that information regarding community contact can be reassessed after termination of the offender's Order or Licence to determine if the connection has been sustained.

IMPLEMENTATION

With the process agreed, modules written, agency contacts in place, attention turned to local staff training. The implementation strategy included mandatory training in *Citizenship* procedures and practice for all 181 operational staff. The training programme commenced in January 2005 and *Citizenship* was deployed across the County on 1st April 2005. In order to train new members of staff and any who missed the first round, a series of rolling *Citizenship* training events were scheduled. In April 2008 the majority (78%) of operational staff were fully trained. The training allowed colleagues the opportunity to familiarise themselves with the philosophy underpinning *Citizenship*. On a practical note, the training introduced the exercises and worksheets that they would be completing with the offender during supervision. Guidance on how *Citizenship* objectives could be incorporated into National Standards sentence planning was also provided.

In order to facilitate the standardisation of delivery, *Citizenship* is supported by a programme manual and a management manual. The programme manual contains the materials required for each module and for ready access these are also available via the IT system. Each module is divided into structured sessions with guidance notes to assist the offender manager's preparation and planning. All sessions are delivered on a one-to-one basis by the offender manager who is responsible for setting the objectives for the offender's supervision and for ensuring that the planned work corresponds to the offender's criminogenic needs. Once the *Citizenship* pathway has been determined, it is the role of the offender manager to facilitate referrals to community agencies and to liaise with them in the process of shared work with the offender. The central role of the offender manager means that any problems which emerge during supervision, such as debt issues, losing accommodation, or relapse into drug abuse, can be attended to promptly.

MANAGING DEVELOPMENT

Management Manual

The Management Manual for *Citizenship*, the various module guidance notes, and the worksheets for the various modules were all copied onto the local server so that they were easily accessible. However, access to enable changes to be made to the original files was restricted. The Steering Group for the maintenance and development of *Citizenship* took responsibility for managing changes to the programme. A system for monitoring and evaluation of *Citizenship* included a procedure, integrated into the existing electronic case recording system that allows practitioners to comment and give feedback on the material. The Steering Group had access to this monitoring information and so are able to plan systematic changes to *Citizenship*. Once any changes are completed, all staff are notified that a revised version is available. For example, feedback from the Module Evaluation Forms led to changes in the Induction Module to advise allowing more time than originally suggested for the offence analysis exercises. In addition, an Inspection Group for *Citizenship* was established to maximise the quality of delivery. The terms of reference for this group were to monitor the integrity of programme delivery through file inspections and to make

recommendations for any necessary changes to *Citizenship*. A number of targeted inspections were made to supplement the monitoring of electronic records. The preliminary monitoring information highlighted further staff training needs, including making more practitioner-led events available for operational staff.

Progress to Date

The first inspections of *Citizenship* showed a high quality of delivery, good levels of information recording, and encouraging levels of work with community agencies to support supervision work. The systems for monitoring and evaluation were structured into the *Citizenship* from the outset. These systems were designed to minimise any extra workload for operational staff, whose priority was a high standard of delivery. Thus, the information recording procedure for *Citizenship* was incorporated into the existing Case Record Administration and Management System (CRAMS). This process involved developing new activity codes within CRAMS for the *Citizenship* module sessions. In addition, evaluation consent forms for offenders were included as part of the Induction Module and outcome measures for the purposes of evaluation were derived from routinely recorded risk assessments, offence data, and exercises from the Next Steps Module.

A number of community agencies in the North East Region have played a role: these include education and basic skills providers, such as EASE, Routes 2 Employment, and Progress to Work; housing providers including NACRO, Stonham, Three Rivers, and Norcare; substance misuse services, Addaction, esmi, North East Council on Addictions (NECA), and the Albert Centre; mental health services, Stuart House, MIND, Hartlepool Opportunities People's Enterprise (HOPE); and financial advice from the *Citizens Advice Bureau*.

In the first two years a total of 2,876 offenders started *Citizenship*, which is 75% of the total number of commencements on Community Orders and post-release licences during that period. An evaluation of *Citizenship* is underway, involving the three North East Probation Areas that will concentrate upon all offenders starting Community

Orders or post-release Licences. In County Durham the evaluation will involve a comparison of all offenders starting *Citizenship* in the first two years after its introduction with all cases starting Orders or Licences in the year prior to its implementation. The outcome evaluation is concerned primarily with two, inter-related, indices of effectiveness. First, is *Citizenship* effective in terms of its aim of promoting and sustaining engagement with relevant community provision? Second, is *Citizenship* instrumental in reducing reoffending? Systems are in place to gather the data that will allow answers to these questions to emerge over the coming years. In addition to the large-scale evaluation several smaller scale evaluative projects are underway. For example, a pilot project is investigating the effectiveness of the fast-track procedure established with the local Citizen's Advice Bureau.

The outcome evaluation, including rates of reoffending, is of critical importance for the longer-term and we anticipate that we will be in a position to say more in the near future.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The *Citizenship* programme was developed to introduce the rigour of accredited programmes to work with those offenders not eligible for such programmes or with needs for which accredited programmes are not available (in practice this is the majority of offenders in County Durham). The main feature of *Citizenship* is that, across the whole service, it systematically draws together several strands of good practice.

First, the focus on individual assessment allows work to be directed specifically at those areas of need relevant to each offender. This focus makes the work highly relevant to the offender and concentrates efforts at areas of criminogenic need most likely to reduce reoffending. Second, *Citizenship* lays great emphasis on motivating offenders to begin the process of change and work constructively with regard to their crime-related needs. Third, the formal links with local agencies and services provide a bridge for the offender to connect with community agencies and services in addressing the factors associated with their offending. The establishment of this contact creates

the opportunity for the offender to engage with their community as, for example, in gaining employment and becoming part of the local economy, or by renewing contact with their family. The offender's renewed role as part of their community may create the stability that plays a part in enabling the offender to desist from offending. Given time, *Citizenship* may be the starting point for offenders to become, as Rex and Gelsthorpe (2004) suggest, citizens who are good neighbours, hold a sense of social and moral responsibility, and with an involvement in their community.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to acknowledge the work of the all the members of County Durham Probation Staff who contributed to the development and implementation of *Citizenship*.

REFERENCES

- Andrews, D. A. (1995), 'The Psychology of Criminal Conduct and Effective Treatment' in J. McGuire (ed.) *What Works: Reducing Reoffending*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Chapman, T. and Hough, M. (1998), *Evidence based practice: A guide to effective practice*. London: Home Office.
- Cohen, J. (1999), 'Changing paradigms of citizenship and the exclusiveness of the demos', *International Sociology*, 14: 245–268.
- Crow, I. (2001), *The Treatment and Rehabilitation of Offenders*. London: Sage Publications.
- Farrington, D. P. and West, D. J. (1995), 'Effects of marriage, separation and children on offending by adult males' in J. Hagan (ed.) *Current Perspectives on Aging and the Life Cycle, vol. 4, Delinquency and Disrepute in the Life Course*. Cambridge, CN: JUI Press.
- Faulkner, D. (2003), 'Taking citizenship seriously: Social capital and criminal justice in a changing world', *Criminal Justice*, 3: 287-315.

Faulkner, D. (2006), *Crime, State and Citizen: A Field full of Folk* (2nd ed). Hook, Hampshire: Waterside Press.

Hollin, C. R. (2002), 'An overview of offender rehabilitation: Something old, something borrowed, something new', *Australian Psychologist*, 37: 159-164.

Home Office (2002), *Offender Assessment System: OASys*. London: Home Office.

McGuire, J. (ed.) (1995), *What Works: Reducing Reoffending*. Chichester: Wiley.

McGuire, J. (2005), 'The *Think First* Programme' in M. McMurrin and J. McGuire (eds) *Social Problem Solving and Offending: Evidence, Evaluation and Evolution*. Chichester: Wiley.

NOMS (2006), *The NOMS Offender Management Model*. London: Home Office.

NOMS (2008), *National Standards for the Management of Offenders: Standards and Implementation Guide 2007*. London: Ministry of Justice.

Rex, S. and Gelsthorpe, L. (2004), 'Using community service to encourage inclusive citizenship: Evidence from the CS pathfinder' in R. Burnett and C. Roberts (eds) *What Works in Probation and Youth Justice: Developing Evidence-based Practice*. Cullompton, Devon: Willan Press.

Robinson, G. and Raynor, P. (2006), 'The future of rehabilitation: What role for the probation service?' *Probation Journal* 53: 334-346.

Ward, T., Day, A., Howells, K., and Birgden, A. (2004), 'The multifactor offender readiness model' *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 9: 645-673.

Wilson, S. J., Gallagher, C. A., and MacKenzie, D. L. (2000), 'A meta-analysis of corrections-based education, vocation and work programs for adult offenders' *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 37: 568-581.