



Safer and Stronger Communities Scrutiny Committee

Integrated Offender Management

Member-led Review

A Review of Integrated Offender Management in Cambridgeshire

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- a. This review of Integrated Offender Management in Cambridgeshire has proved particularly timely.
- b. Unlike most scrutiny reviews, it has been less about looking at what is already in place to see whether it works, than about observing a process in the early stages of change.
- c. The grandiose talk 12 months ago about how Integrated Offender Management (IOM) would ensure offenders had a single point of contact with the interventionist agencies of the state has been replaced by the language and practice of pragmatic organic change. This is welcome.
- d. Less welcome has been the slowness of IOM development. We can confidently blame the Home Office and the General Election for this. But we do acknowledge that IOM in Cambridgeshire is now being developed in the right direction and we unreservedly want it to succeed.
- e. This review has, however, uncovered some practices that should be encouraged further and others that should be changed at the earliest opportunity. We believe that there is considerable scope for significant reductions in reoffending rates if our recommendations can be followed, and have largely tried to avoid solutions that would require significant increases in public expenditure.
- f. Indeed, it has been clear in conducting this review that significant long-term savings might be made specifically in the prisons budget if offenders are dealt with differently so that they do not end up re-incarcerated. The challenge for the state is to break out of government funding silos so that investment in rehabilitation can be found despite the savings being to a department other than that undertaking the rehabilitative work, and arising not immediately, but in years to come.
- g. Throughout the review, we have been struck by how the level of integration between agencies needs to be so much more than 'partnership'.
- h. From the time when a prisoner's release date is determined and his/her post-release needs are assessed, through release itself and the first hours and days post-prison through to longer term education and employment, the agencies involved need to co-ordinate their activity to an unprecedented level, often acting as if they were one.
- i. Our review has not answered the question of by whom case management should be led. Instead, we argue that the case management system must include not only police and probation but the prison service and the mental health system.
- j. When so much reoffending takes place in the days immediately after release it is vital that the prison service integrates better with other agencies to ensure that attempts

to meet the post-release needs of an offender are well underway before release itself.

- k. Just as importantly, when upwards of 50% of offenders have mental health needs it is simply not acceptable that mental health care is provided so rarely and that existing systems for getting care are so poor.
- l. Less easy to solve is the chronic shortage of housing, but the review notes that as offenders can tend to be problem tenants, the shortage of housing enables landlords to cherry pick tenants to the detriment of ex-offenders.
- m. The review has however found a number of simple changes that might be made, including the idea that prisoners released unexpectedly should not be released on a Friday, when agencies can find it particularly difficult to provide housing in time to stop an offender falling back into old friendships and old ways before the first weekend is out.
- n. Throughout the review, we have been consistently impressed by the state-funded voluntary sector projects we have encountered. They have shown vigour and energy and, unusually, have shown a commitment to finding and providing the evidence of their impact upon reoffending rates.
- o. In the state sector, things have been patchy. Everyone seems to be working hard, but some people and organisations seem tired and unable or unwilling to evaluate the real impacts of their actions.
- p. The review group however has avoided drawing ideological conclusions from this other than to welcome the energy of the new organisations from the not-for-profit sector.
- q. The recommendations of this review should be read by a wide range of agencies from the Home Office and Ministry of Justice to Cambridgeshire Constabulary, Probation, Health and voluntary sector bodies.
- r. Finally, as this review has coincided with the development of the IOM programme, we urge this Council to chase the progress of these recommendations and to return to the subject in two years time when practices and outcomes can be assessed.
- s. The review group is immensely grateful to everyone who gave their time to help us in our deliberations. We councillors are indebted to the hard work and intellectual commitment of our review co-ordinator Sam Block without whose help we would have been at sea. Nonetheless, any errors or misunderstandings in this report are wholly those of the councillors on the review group.

A REVIEW OF INTEGRATED OFFENDER MANAGEMENT IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE

INTRODUCTION

- 1.1.1 This review was commissioned to investigate the current arrangements for managing, and providing services to, offenders in Cambridgeshire and Peterborough, with particular, but not exclusive, reference to the recent national Integrated Offender Management (IOM) policy.
- 1.1.2 This is the first member-led review of the Safer and Stronger Communities Scrutiny Committee. It was chosen because the management of offenders was thought to be a key issue for the Committee.
- 1.1.3 The idea of 'integration' is not considered uncritically. Interfaces between organisations are examined without presupposing that 'more integrated' means 'better'.
- 1.1.4 What follows is not, and does not attempt to be, an exhaustive survey of this area, but rather a broad examination accompanied by a few areas of specific focus, and some recommendations for further work.
- 1.1.5 The report first summarises the background of IOM, both nationally and within Cambridgeshire & Peterborough. It then considers the County's structures for managing offenders with particular reference to levels and types of integration, before examining two specific areas (mental health and housing) in close-up. Finally, it identifies further areas where review work would be particularly beneficial.
- 1.1.6 This review takes place alongside a review of alcohol misuse, and, as such, focuses less on issues of substance misuse; it should be read in this context.
- 1.1.7 For clarity, throughout this document, 'Cambridgeshire and Peterborough' is used to refer to the area covered by Cambridgeshire County Council and Peterborough Unitary Authority. 'Cambridgeshire' alone refers to the area covered by Cambridgeshire County Council (that is, it excludes Peterborough).
- 1.1.8 This review was undertaken through a combination of desk/library research, interviews with those who provide, use and commission services, site visits and consultation with experts.

BACKGROUND

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTEGRATED OFFENDER MANAGEMENT, AND THE PROLIFIC AND OTHER PRIORITY OFFENDERS SCHEME

- 2.1.1 The most prolific 10% of offenders are responsible for 50% of crime; the most prolific 0.5% are estimated to be responsible for 9% of offences. In 2004, the Home Office introduced the Prolific and other Priority Offenders (PPO) Strategy, an intensive intervention aimed at this latter group.¹
- 2.1.2 PPO was not an effort to deal with the most dangerous offenders, who were, and are, addressed by Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA), but to manage those responsible for large amounts of less serious crime (such as serious acquisitive crime).
- 2.1.3 The PPO Scheme was an interagency effort based around three strands of intervention (Prevent & Deter, Catch & Convict and Rehabilitate & Resettle), which combined and coordinated enforcement-based interventions with more rehabilitative programmes. Co-location of workers was encouraged. Probation and the Police were the key agencies to be involved.² PPO fitted alongside other programmes, such as the Drugs Intervention Programme (DIP).
- 2.1.4 Cambridgeshire and Peterborough have been covered by three PPO schemes since 2005: one in Northern (Peterborough) Basic Command Unit (BCU), one in Central and one in Southern. Today, one scheme (Northern) serves between 60 and 80 PPOs.
- 2.1.5 Nationally, the PPO Scheme has been successful, demonstrating as much as a 62% reduction in offending over 17 months among its cohort.³ Cambridgeshire's own PPO schemes showed a reduction of 30% in 2009-10.⁴
- 2.1.6 Professionals and users talked positively about the scheme. Several agencies indicated to the review group that PPO was one of their best experiences of interagency working, and, while some offenders disliked PPO's intensive

¹ Home Office, *Prolific and other Priority Offender Strategy: Initial Guidance – Catch and Convict Framework* ([London]: [Home Office], 2004); Home Office, *Prolific and other Priority Offender Strategy: Supplementary Guidance – Rehabilitate and Resettle Framework* ([London]: [Home Office], 2004).

² Home Office, *PPO Initial Guidance – Catch and Convict*, p. 10.

³ Paul Dawson & Lucy Cuppleditch, *An Impact Assessment of the Prolific and other Priority Offender Programme*. Home Office online report 08/07 (2007). ([Available at http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100413151441/http://www.crimereduction.homeoffice.gov.uk/ppo/rdsolr0807.pdf](http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100413151441/http://www.crimereduction.homeoffice.gov.uk/ppo/rdsolr0807.pdf)) [Accessed 10th September 2010]; Ian Critchley & Jeremy Holland, 'Coordinating a Clean Slate with a Community Sentence', presentation at *Better Together: IOM Conference 2010*; Jackie Lowthian, Louise Gartland & Ian Wilson, 'Third Sector Services at the Heart of Integrated Offender Management', presentation at *Better Together: IOM Conference 2010*.

⁴ Helen Turner, memorandum regarding Integrated Offender Management (2010).

enforcement, many stated they were glad to be under such intensive supervision with its attendant support.⁵

2.1.7 The PPO scheme was not without its problems. Offenders tended to stay on the scheme longer than was justified by their need and the scarce resources available. In 2009, 51% of offenders on the PPO scheme had been there for more than 2 years, 18% for more than 5; this is particularly striking given that all offenders are meant to have their place on the PPO list reviewed after 2 years.⁶ This prompted the Home Office to call for a 'refresh' to ensure the PPO scheme served the most appropriate offenders.

2.1.8 The Integrated Offender Management (IOM) policy can be seen as a development of PPO. It builds on existing structures to widen both the level of interagency cooperation and the cohort of offenders involved.⁷ As well as PPO, it strongly involves DIP.

2.1.9 Nationally, IOM sets out to achieve:

- Sustainable reductions in crime
- Sustainable reductions in re-offending
- Improved confidence in the Criminal Justice system
- Improved exchange of information between agencies
- Improved communications of outcomes to victims and the public.⁸

2.1.10 As this report is written (November 2011), an IOM Project Manager, employed by Cambridgeshire Constabulary, is in the early stages of implementing IOM across Cambridgeshire and Peterborough. The current state of IOM, and of systems for managing offenders more broadly, differs across the county.

⁵ Dawson & Cuppleditch.

⁶ Home Office, *Prolific and other Priority Offenders Programme: Five Years On – Maximising the Impact* (London: COI, 2009).

⁷ Home Office, *Integrated Offender Management: Government Policy Statement* (London: COI, 2009).

⁸ Turner, 2010; Home Office, *IOM: Government Policy Statement*.

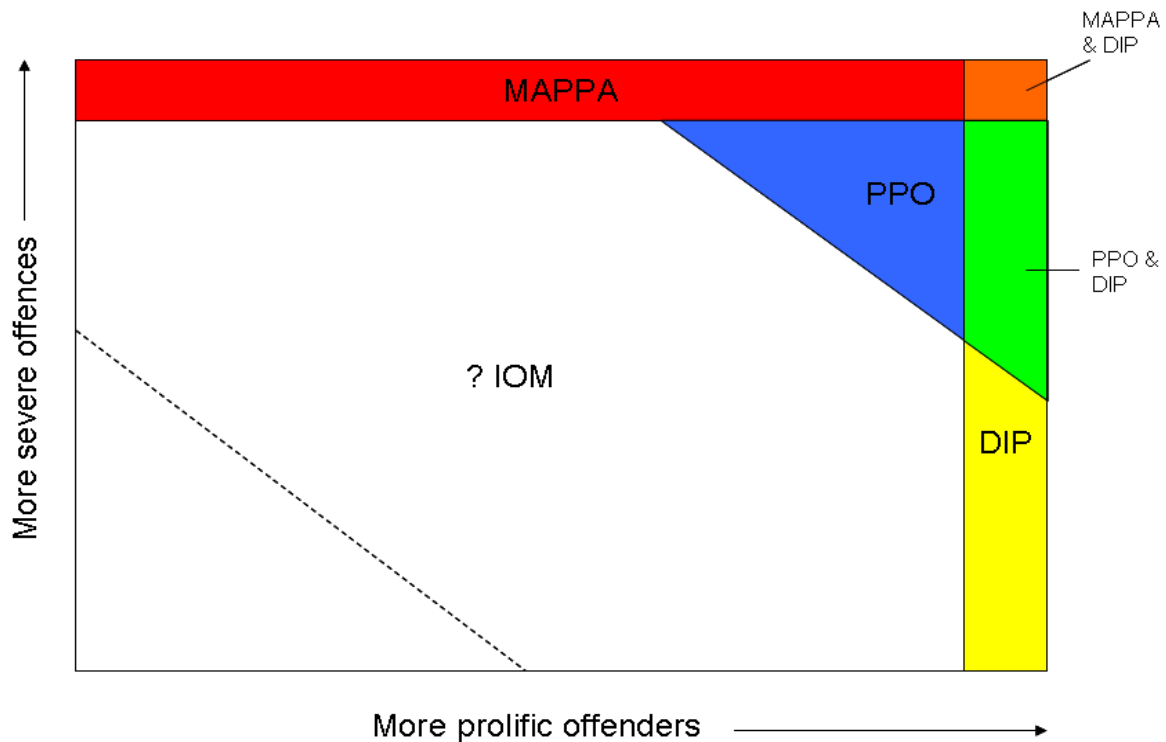


Fig 1 – A diagram representing various currently co-existing offender management systems. MAPPA handles the most serious offenders, PPO the most serious and prolific offenders not included on MAPPA. DIP is represented as covering the most prolific offenders, as the profile of offenders with drug problems tends to be that they offend regularly, though not necessarily severely. IOM may add more offenders to the cohort by expanding the PPO group to include less prolific/serious offenders.

Credit to Mike Soper, Cambridgeshire County Council.

2.1.11 All areas have MAPPA schemes.

2.1.12 The Constabulary's Northern BCU (Peterborough) has a PPO scheme, a DIP scheme and the Key Project. The Key Project uses the same selection criteria as PPO, but includes offenders with lower scores: it therefore effectively widens the PPO cohort to include less prolific/problematic offenders, as IOM would. It is not, however, integrated with PPO, but is a separate programme.

2.1.13 Central BCU hosts PPO and DIP schemes.

2.1.14 Southern BCU hosts PPO and DIP schemes co-located in Parkside Police Station. Technically, Central and Southern BCU share a DIP scheme; the two areas are, however, operationally distinct.

2.1.15 Where it has been implemented in other areas, the review group heard, IOM has experienced success, with some localities reporting reductions in re-offending among their cohorts of between 40% and 45%.⁹

⁹ Bernard Lane, Cliff Bacon & Edna Ross, 'PPO & DIP within IOM', presented at *Better Together: IOM Conference 2010*; Gary Goose & Alison Hancock, *CCJB Integrated Offender Management (IOM) – Update Position (2010)*.

2.1.16 Further details of the success and failure of PPO and IOM are explained throughout this report, where they become relevant to the review group's other findings.

PRELIMINARIES

2.2.1 The Criminal Justice Board's Strategic Lead on IOM emphasised to the review group that IOM is a long-term project. It should not be expected to deliver improvements in three months, but in three years. The review group agreed, however that long-term benefits are still real and important.

2.2.2 Both academics at the Cambridge Institute of Criminology and practitioners on the IOM Strategic Group recognise there is a lack of formal, national evaluation of IOM; the review group heard, however, of optimism among professionals and promising reports from individual pilot sites.

2.2.3 Through the course of conducting this review, the group had the privilege to talk with practitioners and visit projects which demonstrate the excellence that dedicated work can achieve. The group thanks all those who contributed to the process both for their participation in the review and for the work they do.

THE OFFENDER MANAGEMENT SYSTEM(S): INTEGRATION AND DISINTEGRATION

3.1.1 Cambridgeshire and Peterborough do not suffer from a lack of organisations which provide services to offenders. While some question the level of *resources* available, the landscape of *institutions* contributing to offender management is complex and panoramic.

3.1.2 The review group heard how difficult it can be for professionals to navigate the complex landscape comprising myriad different organisations. For service users, the complexity must seem much greater still.

3.1.3 Figure 2, below, shows some of the organisations involved in the provision of services to offenders in Cambridgeshire and Peterborough, according to the areas of support (known as 'pathways') they work in. Due to the intense complexity of the situation, it has not been possible to show every organisation, or every function of those organisations shown. Meanings of acronyms in the diagram can be found in the glossary to this document.

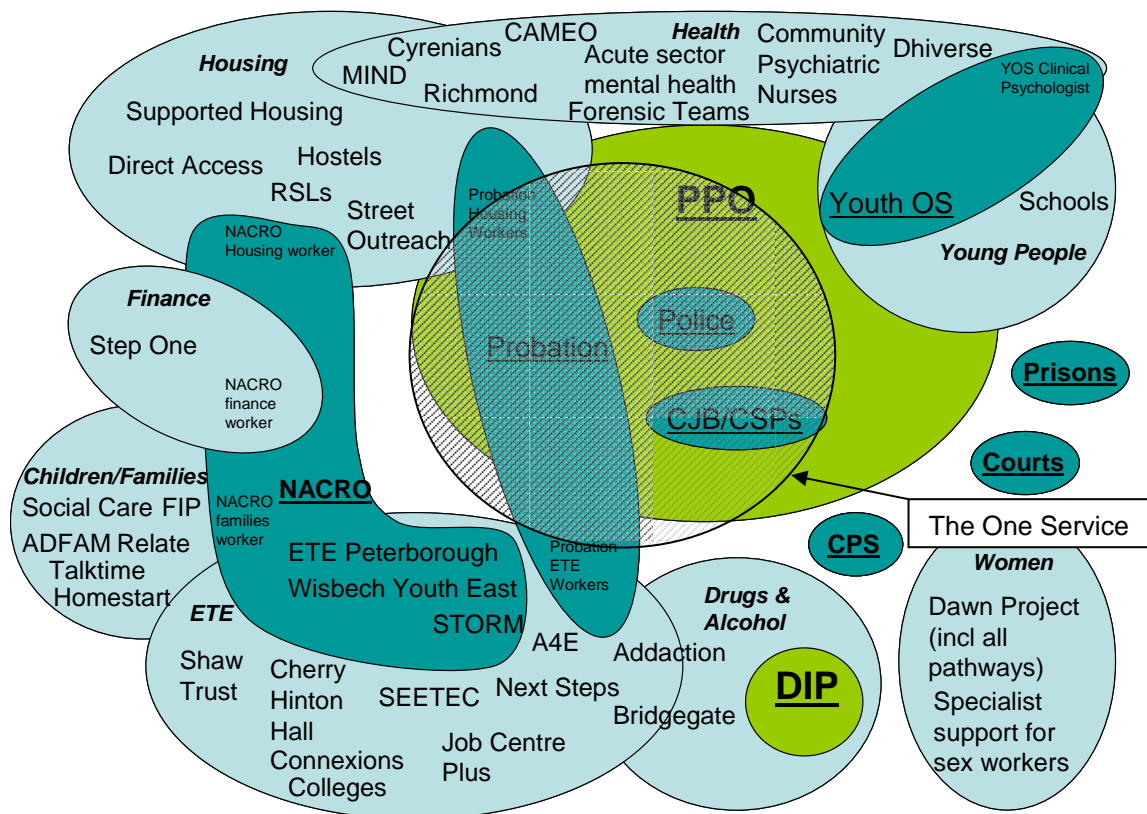


Fig 2 – a diagram of the services available to offenders within Cambridgeshire and Peterborough

- 3.1.4 This is not unique to Cambridgeshire and Peterborough: many of the various organisations available are national bodies with services in most, or all, areas. Nevertheless, this complexity can make it harder for offenders and those working with them to access the right support.
- 3.1.5 Even where the system is perfectly understood, if the criteria for eligibility for different programmes are imperfectly coordinated, gaps in provision can exist. Certain groups of offenders can be left unserved, all programmes believing that meeting their needs is someone else’s job.
- 3.1.6 In Cambridgeshire and Peterborough, IOM is understood as an opportunity to make sure this does not happen. As the IOM Strategic Group puts it, IOM can catch those offenders who might “fall between the gaps’ in existing programmes”.¹⁰
- 3.1.7 Were IOM ‘just another programme’, it would risk, rather than filling in the cracks between programmes, simply bringing a new set of cracks of its own: the landscape of organisations would become that bit more complex, and some offenders would still be accidentally unprovided for. The review group believes, however, that IOM has the potential to be more than just another programme: done right, it can coordinate many of the existing efforts towards offender management, alleviating, rather than

¹⁰ Goose & Hancock.

suffering from, these problems. It is, in the opinion of the group, absolutely vital that all agencies understand IOM as a facility to coordinate an already-complex system.

- 3.1.8 This section first examines the cohort under consideration, then the appropriate levels and methods of integration of management.

THE COHORT

- 3.2.1 This subsection examines both the appropriate size of the cohort of offenders for an IOM scheme, and the organisation of that cohort.

Expanding the Cohort

- 3.2.2 The review group heard that those incarcerated on short sentences (less than 12 months) have a 70-76% chance of being re-incarcerated within two years, in part because there is insufficient time for interventions to take effect within prison.¹¹
- 3.2.3 In reality, members of this group often spend substantially less than 12 months in prison, whether because of their initial sentence length or the proportion of it they serve; 86% serve less than 6 months.¹²
- 3.2.4 In the East of England, in fact, the average sentence length for those with sentences under 12 months is 5 weeks. There are 1400 such prisoners in the East of England; while this represents only 16% of the prison population at any given moment, because they pass through prison so much more quickly than other offenders, they are a far higher proportion of the number of people incarcerated.¹³
- 3.2.5 The group heard that this cohort is currently underserved. Not only are they not eligible for existing PPO schemes, but they are also excluded from the criteria for Probation's intervention because they are not on statutory licenses or orders.
- 3.2.6 The group feels that the particularly high proportion of short-sentence offenders re-offending combined with the relative absence of interventions currently provided for them created a strong case for ensuring IOM served at least the more prolific of these offenders.
- 3.2.7 One problem with the existing PPO scheme was that offenders remained on it for longer than the optimal use of resources justified (see paragraph 2.1.7 above).

¹¹ Ian Mulheirn, Barney Gough & Verena Menne, *Prison Break: Tackling Recidivism, Reducing Costs* (London: The Social Market Foundation, 2010), p. 21; Robin Elliott-Marshall, Malcolm Ramsay & Duncan Stewart, 'Alternative Approaches to Integrating Offenders into the Community', in *The Impact of Corrections on Re-Offending: a Review of 'What Works'*, ed. by Gemma Harper & Chloe Chitty, Home Office Research Study 291, 3rd Edition (London: Home Office, 2005), pp. 31-55 (p. 58), citing Tonry, 2002.

¹² Mulheirn, Gough & Menne, p. 20.

¹³ NOMS East of England, *East of England: Commissioning for the 'Rehabilitation Revolution': a Consultation Document* (Peterborough: NOMS East of England, 2010).

- 3.2.8 One reason for this was that there is no trusted option for onward referral available to PPO workers. In the words of a worker in the Nottinghamshire scheme, 'they may have improved and be out of the red, but they still need some support'.¹⁴
- 3.2.9 Without trusted support available elsewhere, caseworkers feeling a responsibility to their clients may keep them on the high-intensity PPO scheme longer than necessary, because there is no lower-intensity option. In an all-or-nothing situation, they choose 'all'.¹⁵
- 3.2.10 Equally, when offenders who no longer need PPO's high-intensity interventions are deselected, they may be prone to slip back into crime because the interventions which have been helping them suddenly drop away.
- 3.2.11 The review group identified this as a further strong reason for using IOM to cater for a wider group of offenders – this time, those who need somewhere to go after full PPO-style interventions.
- 3.2.12 Other localities have successfully widened their cohorts. Manchester, for instance, included in IOM:
- All former PPOs
 - The more dangerous (level 2 & 3) MAPPA clients
 - Priority Youth Offending Team (YOT) clients
 - Those posing a high risk of domestic violence
 - Others posing a high risk of serious harm (through violent or acquisitive crime).¹⁶
- 3.2.13 Bolton set up Fuse, a specific project to deal with certain non-MAPPA, non-PPO offenders.¹⁷
- 3.2.14 Luminus staff told the Review that they had already started referring less prolific offenders to the PPO team to enable them to benefit from this effective programme.
- 3.2.15 Managers from Probation recognised that IOM would mean taking on new clients. They felt, however, that they could accommodate these by working better, and that it was well worth doing so as it would reduce the demand for higher intensity services in the future by catching 'potential PPOs' early.

¹⁴ Charlotte Lawson, *Integrated Offender Management Good Practice*, (Leicester: Perpetuity Research), p. 11.

¹⁵ Home Office, *PPO Five Years On*, p. 9.

¹⁶ Spotlight, *Greater Manchester: Integrated Offender Management Toolkit* (London: Home Office, 2010), pp. 20-21.

¹⁷ Lawson, p. 16.

Recommendation 1.i – The cohort for IOM should be wider than the current cohort for PPO.

Recommendation 1.ii – Specifically, it should include the more prolific of those offenders currently receiving no interventions because they served less than 12 months, and those who need lower-intensity interventions following intensive, ‘PPO-style’ work.

- 3.2.16 Senior figures in the Police and Probation, the agencies leading the IOM Strategic Group agree that the cohort of offenders involved with IOM should be widened.¹⁸
- 3.2.17 This does not mean, however, that everyone in the relevant organisations is prepared for the new clients, and the new types of clients, that a widened cohort might bring. One manager in Probation, while personally open to this new cohort, told the group that the organisation was ‘not set up to’ serve non-statutory clients, who were not normally offered places on Probation-run interventions even when a lack of demand from statutory clients left places vacant.
- 3.2.18 In part, this was because of concerns regarding the example set by a non-statutory (voluntary) client deciding to leave an intervention, and the impact this would have on the motivation of those statutory (compelled) clients who are not permitted to do the same.
- 3.2.19 Moreover, non-statutory clients would require quite a different way of working of Probation officers, without some of the tools which are normally available.
- 3.2.20 Another manager in Probation told the review group that Probation Officers are managed mainly on their statutory cases, with any non-statutory work being seen as less their core responsibility.
- 3.2.21 According the East of England branch of the National Offender Management Service (NOMS), the right solution for IOM might ‘involve all agencies, including probation and prisons, exceeding their formal (or statutory) responsibilities’.¹⁹

¹⁸ Gary Goose, *Integrated Offender Management (IOM) in Cambridgeshire: Project Brief* (2010).

¹⁹ NOMS East of England, p. 6.

Recommendation 2.i – Agencies should consider IOM, including non-statutory clients, as part of their core business.

Recommendation 2.ii – Agencies should ensure this perception cascades throughout their organisations.

Recommendation 2.iii – The review group welcomes Probation’s commitment to taking on the cohorts of offenders outlined in Recommendation 1.

Recommendation 2.iv – Probation and other agencies should ensure that resources are aligned to give due priority to these cohorts. They should ensure that this attitude is embedded within their working practices. This should include altering performance management arrangements as necessary to make certain that staff are held to account for their work with non-statutory offenders as they are with statutory offenders.

Dividing the Cohort

- 3.2.22 The review group heard recommendations from a number of agencies that IOM should act as a single point of referral for offenders who might have been referred to various different existing schemes (principally PPO and DIP). A member of the Drugs and Alcohol Action Team (DAAT) suggested the Common Assessment Framework (CAF) used for referrals to Children’s Services as a potential model for this.
- 3.2.23 The review group heard a broad consensus that IOM should act as a single point of referral for (at least) PPO clients and the expanded cohort. Some, however, suggested that after referral offenders should be re-categorised by currently-existing schemes – that is, that you split down offenders to PPOs, DIP clients and so on.
- 3.2.24 Manchester’s IOM, the Spotlight Programme, recommends ensuring that PPOs are considered to be part of, not separate from, the IOM cohort, so that they benefit from the improved flows of information and widened networks which IOM promises.²⁰
- 3.2.25 The review group heard that work has already been done in some agencies to pool their staff working on separate offender management programmes. Probation in Peterborough have pooled their staff, and the IOM Project Manager suggested the pooling of Constabulary staff is also under consideration, to improve coordination across projects.
- 3.2.26 The review group heard also, from the Operational and Neighbourhood Support Manager of the Constabulary’s Southern BCU that the pooling of cohorts across the Southern and Central BCUs might save on management overheads.
- 3.2.27 Other witnesses to the review, both from within Cambridgeshire County Council and from organisations providing services to offenders noted the difficulty of coordinating across multiple schemes within Cambridgeshire.

²⁰ Spotlight, p. 34.

Recommendation 3.i – New IOM clients should not be treated as new cohort of ‘IOMs’ alongside cohorts of ‘PPOs’, ‘DIPs’ and ‘MAPPAs’. Rather, once remaining MAPPA and DIP have been separated out, IOM should treat all its remaining clients (that is, those formerly classed as ‘PPOs’, plus those new clients IOM expands its cohort to include) as one continuous cohort. There should be a sliding scale of interventions available, to be individually tailored to an offender’s needs.

Recommendation 3.ii – Cambridgeshire’s IOM should use a single governance structure. This structure, however, should be flexible enough to allow districts to pursue local priorities within IOM.

Recommendation 3.iii – It is neither likely to be appropriate that a fixed, equivalent number of IOM clients are found in each district, regardless of the severity of that district’s problems, nor that exactly the same thresholds for selection are used in each district, even if that leaves some almost entirely unserved by IOM. The review group recommends that a balance be struck between allocating IOM resources to the most prolific offenders in the county and ensuring all districts are served.

INTEGRATION

- 3.3.1 The Review did not assume that more interagency working was always good. Indeed, the group heard important warnings both from senior managers working on IOM and from academics that time spent on developing partnerships was a cost which must be justified by improved outcomes. A cautionary tale was told about one IOM scheme whose staff members were asked what had changed now joint working arrangements were in place. ‘Nothing;’ they replied, ‘but we do have more meetings’. Meetings for meetings’ sake were a phenomenon the review group was keen to avoid.
- 3.3.2 Having appreciated such warnings, however, the Review heard strong evidence in favour of greater joint working that goes beyond mere inter-organisation partnerships. This section examines that evidence, then analyses arrangements for integration, statutory and non-statutory agencies, the link worker model, the process of case management and the role of mainstream (non-IOM) staff.

The Case for Joint Working; the Case for IOM

- 3.3.3 Offenders tend to have multiple and complex needs, which require a programme of multiple interventions tailored to the individual.²¹ Co-operative working enables organisations to access a greater variety of interventions, and to ensure they are delivered in a joined-up way.
- 3.3.4 As the Constabulary’s IOM Strategic Lead warns, disconnected working can lead to offenders ‘playing off’ professionals against each other, telling different stories to

²¹ Gemma Harper & Chloe Chitty, Executive Summary to *The Impact of Corrections on Re-offending: a Review of ‘What Works’*, ed. By Harper & Chitty, Home Office Research Study 291, 3rd Edition (London: Home Office, 2005), pp. i-xx (p. xi; xix); Mulheirn, Gough & Menne, p. 26; Lawrence Sherman et al., ‘Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn’t; What’s Promising’, *National Institute of Justice: Research in Brief*.

different people and making the same requests to different professionals until they are fulfilled. Coordination allows a single, consistent and so more powerful message.

- 3.3.5 Uncoordinated efforts are more likely to duplicate effort than coordinated ones. The introduction of IOM in the West Midlands saved significant amounts of staff time by removing duplication, and by systematising interagency communication. It was found, for instance, that multiple agencies saw finding an offender housing as their responsibility. Several people would seek a housing slot at the same time for the same offender. By reducing duplication over housing alone, each agency saved ½ a day per week of staff time; the same could be said of duplication over drug prescriptions.²²
- 3.3.6 A lack of understanding between agencies can cause unnecessary friction, and make work less efficient.²³ The review group heard, for instance, that housing providers could become frustrated with Probation because they were not ‘doing something’ in terms of enforcement when offenders were misbehaving (though breaking neither the law nor the terms of their license), without understanding that there was no such action Probation could legally take. Similarly, we heard of a District Council becoming frustrated with a prison because they were releasing an offender before accommodation had been secured; the Council was unaware that it would have been illegal to detain the offender further.
- 3.3.7 By contrast, the London Diamond Initiative (London’s IOM scheme) helped develop mutual understanding through regular interaction. Particularly where members of staff were dedicated Diamond workers, the evaluation rated the project highly for a ‘trusting atmosphere’.²⁴ More broadly, good relationships with those providing mainstream services (housing, for example) can give those providers confidence in granting offenders access to their services.²⁵
- 3.3.8 When members of different agencies were brought together to discuss an issue within Review meetings, the group observed understanding developing; guests even remarked on how much they were learning about related agencies. This at once emphasised the need for closer working and showed that it could work.
- 3.3.9 The Manager of Rehabilitation and Recovery, and Head of Social Work at Cambridge and Peterborough NHS Foundation Trust (CPFT), the county’s mental health provider trust, explained another potential problem to the review group: as agencies come under increasing pressure, it becomes increasingly tempting to classify a certain client as somebody else’s work in order to relieve the pressure. Consequently, decisions are made based on institutional interests to pass a case on to another agency, rather than according to what is actually appropriate. The ideal

²² ad esse, *Integrated Offender Management in West Midlands LCJB*. (Ad Esse Consulting, 2009); with clarification through personal conversation.

²³ Graham Park & Sue Ward, *Through the Gates – Improving the Effectiveness of Prison Discharge: First Half-Year Evaluation, August 2008 to January 2009* (London: St. Giles Trust, 2009), p. 27.

²⁴ Paul Dawson & Betsy Stanko, *An Evaluation of the Diamond Initiative: Year One Findings* (London: Metropolitan Police Service & London Criminal Justice Partnership, 2010).

²⁵ Clarissa Penfold et al., *Homelessness Prevention and Meeting Housing Need for (Ex-)Offenders: a Guide to Practice* (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2009), p. 15.

model to avoid this, he believes, is a multi-agency team to manage offenders, in which individuals are held accountable as a team, not as members of diverse agencies.

3.3.10 Naturally, IOM is not the only model of joint working. It does, however, have several things in its favour.

3.3.11 IOM extends a model of joint working from PPO that the review group heard many agencies have had good experiences with. Luminus already refer non-PPO-eligible offenders to PPO precisely because to access its system (as noted in paragraph 3.2.14 above). Similarly, Peterborough's division of CAMEO (an early-intervention psychosis service for people aged 16-35), while they have had only a small amount of experience with PPO describe it very positively.

3.3.12 It extends a programme which works. The Cambridgeshire PPO project has successfully cut offending by as much as 30%, and IOM schemes elsewhere have reduced offences among their cohorts by 40-45% (see paragraphs 2.1.5 & 2.1.15 above). The Key Project in Peterborough is not an IOM scheme, but does tackle a similar group of offenders (serious acquisitive offenders not included by other existing programmes) through a multi-agency approach. The Constabulary's IOM Strategic Lead told the review group that burglaries in Peterborough had been cut from more 160 per week to fewer than 100 per week.

3.3.13 It is flexible, with the potential to allow tailoring to local priorities.

Recommendation 4 – Agencies, including but not limited to Community Safety Partnerships (CSPs) should recognise the potential benefits of an IOM approach.

Arrangements for Joint Working

3.3.14 In the past, informal mechanisms have been enough to ensure inter-agency co-operation. Several witnesses from different organisations, however, explained the review group that rising caseloads over recent years had put pressure on these relationships. As workers receive more work, the time taken to call or meet with people in other agencies is sacrificed. At the same time, agencies become more prone to stick to their core work, raising barriers to referrals from others. The increasing requirement to evidence referrals, and the reluctance of organisations to simply 'have a quick look' at someone's case increases the amount of work one has to do in order to cooperate.

3.3.15 This was not described as a good solution, but as the inevitable consequence of human behaviour and institutional interests. Working together might have found better, more efficient solutions, but was lost when time was short.

3.3.16 A PPO Coordinator also told the review group that most knowledge about other organisations was currently held as one-to-one interpersonal relationships. As other

projects have found, these rely on the known individual not being absent, and are vulnerable to staff turnover.²⁶

3.3.17 IOM guidance recommends regular case management meetings, which are also held to be effective by independent research work.²⁷ The Operational and Neighbourhood Support Manager for the Constabulary's Southern Basic Command Unity (BCU) characterises getting the right people round the table, at both an operational and a strategic level as 'all we need'. Professor Lorraine Gelsthorpe, who has conducted research with a number of IOM schemes, commends such regular case management meetings.

3.3.18 Elsewhere, these meetings have taken place as frequently as daily, or as infrequently as monthly.²⁸

3.3.19 CPFT's Manager of Rehabilitation and Recovery, and Head of Social Work noted that his staff sometimes had to sit through many cases of little relevance to them at PPO meetings in order to hear those which were more relevant. Meetings can, to an extent, be coordinated to make sure that cases relevant to given groups come together.

Recommendation 5 – IOM should feature regular case management meetings to discuss offenders. These should bring together the agencies involved in providing services for those offenders. Meetings should be organised, as far as possible, to ensure agencies can attend those cases relevant to them without spending unnecessary time in discussions about other cases.

3.3.20 At a strategic level too, it can be difficult for agencies to navigate the landscape of other institutions providing services to offenders. The Dawn Project Coordinator explained to the review group the difficulties of organising across so many different organisations.

3.3.21 The One Service is a 'through-the-gate' intervention which works with short sentenced, male prisoners released from HMP Peterborough. Social Finance raised social investment for this through a Social Impact Bond. The Reducing Re-offending Director at Social Finance highlighted the contrast between the accessibility of strategic offender management communication in Peterborough with that in Cambridgeshire. In Peterborough, one IOM meeting acts as a 'front door' to agencies working with the IOM cohort. In Cambridgeshire there is a patchwork of meetings which makes it more difficult to find the right forum in which to engage with fellow professionals, make suggestions or seek guidance on commissioning decisions.

3.3.22 Peterborough also hosted a single information-sharing agreement for the IOM group, further reducing the costs of engagement.

²⁶ Park & Ward, p. 28.

²⁷ Lawson.

²⁸ Lawson.

- 3.3.23 It has been more difficult for One Service staff to engage with IOM providers in Cambridgeshire due to the number of meetings to attend and distance to travel between them.
- 3.3.24 Where there is effective joint working, resources, like training courses, space etc. can be pooled and shared.
- 3.3.25 The Director highlighted that operational working is more streamlined if contacts have already been made. The One Service has partners within the Peterborough IOM team and as a result can more easily access appropriate providers when required. In Cambridgeshire these links are made on an ad hoc basis due to the lack of a clear strategic forum for offender management.
- 3.3.26 The IOM Project Manager noted that, where strategic discussions are taking place within the county, there is a risk of duplication due to the patchwork structure of meetings relevant to offender management.
- 3.3.27 The Constabulary Strategic Lead hoped that by March 2011, IOM would be set up, so the current IOM Strategic Group would no longer need to operate.
- 3.3.28 In light of the above evidence, however, the review group feels that even when IOM has been set up, there will be a continual need for a forum for discussions about the IOM service.
- 3.3.29 This is made particularly true by the fact that meetings are not only divided by topic, but by locality. Managers within Cambridgeshire County Council as well as those working for provider organisations suggested that the fact that there were, for example, two separate PPO and DIP schemes within Cambridgeshire was problematic.
- 3.3.30 The Dawn Project's Coordinator also told the review group of the particular difficulties of working across the boundary between Peterborough and Cambridgeshire, due to the increased numbers of people who needed to be consulted.
- 3.3.31 In addition, these discussions also highlight the importance of a directory of available interventions, so a lack of prior co-working, or the absence of one's personal contact need not preclude co-operation. The IOM Project Manager, in co-operation with Southern PPO is already creating such a document. This seems doubly important as a service user told the group that he only found out about many key services by chance, following informal conversations with a neighbour or worker.

Recommendation 6 – The governance structure described in Recommendation 3.ii should act as a forum for strategic discussion of offender management services and interaction between agencies. It should be publicised to relevant agencies.

Recommendation 7 – The review group commends the current creation of a directory of interventions as a priority. The group looks forward to its publication, and urges all agencies to proactively cooperate to ensure they are included.

Statutory & Non-statutory Organisations

- 3.3.32 This report has, thus far, made recommendations regarding how agencies might be coordinated, but not addressed which agencies those should be.
- 3.3.33 Several senior figures within the development of IOM told the review group that, with increasing financial limitations for statutory agencies, drawing on third sector contributions would become increasingly important.
- 3.3.34 IOM programmes are able to make significant savings by working collaboratively with the third sector. Statutory agencies are also able to focus on the work to which they are best suited, in the knowledge that third sector partners are covering other areas.²⁹
- 3.3.35 A senior manager within Probation, however, told the review group that Cambridgeshire suffered from a particular division between statutory services and non-statutory/third sector bodies, and contrasted this unfavourably with other areas where the manager had worked. This problem was attributed in part to an historical lack of active attempts to form links on Probation's behalf, but the fact that other organisations had not similarly held themselves accountable may be attributable to a particular (and particularly helpful) candor on this manager's behalf. It was also emphasised that Probation have recently increased their efforts to engage other bodies, with positive results.
- 3.3.36 Managers throughout the statutory bodies the review group heard from suggested that engaging the third sector was important, but that the first step must be effective joint working between statutory bodies.
- 3.3.37 A Probation manager pointed out also that there was some hesitancy among Probation staff to work with other organisations who they worried would, in effect, be replacing them.
- 3.3.38 In sum, the review group heard that Peterborough tends to work much more successfully with third sector organisations than Cambridgeshire.
- 3.3.39 The Reducing Re-offending Director felt that the easy accessibility of the offender management system to third sector organisations in Peterborough was 'crucial', that day-to-day experience gave an 'idea of the value of other people's contributions', and to overcome the 'fear of duplication of work'. In short, it made a 'huge difference'.
- 3.3.40 The account of The One Service itself in IOM Strategic Group publications bears this out. Initially, the predominant description is of a problem – the threat that there may be duplication of work. Over time, this shifts to an opportunity for cooperation, The One Service becoming a member of the IOM Strategic Group itself.³⁰

²⁹ ad esse, p. 4.

³⁰ Goose, *IOM in Cambridgeshire: Project Brief*, Gary Goose, *Integrated Offender Management Progress in the East of England* (2010); Goose & Hancock.

- 3.3.41 There seems to be evidence, therefore, (echoing that given in paragraphs 3.3.6-8 above) that joint working with non-statutory bodies can remove obstacles to understanding, and encourage better working relationships to develop sooner.
- 3.3.42 Professor Gelsthorpe told the group also that teams who spent time together right at the start of the scheme, for example through joint training or away-days, worked together well. By contrast, those who did not start the scheme with such time, and perhaps even began working on the scheme at different times, fared less well. Manchester's scheme used a multi-agency team to set up their scheme, and found this to be a successful model.³¹
- 3.3.43 Where non-statutory bodies have been involved in existing schemes, the group heard that strong, mutually-beneficial relationships have been developed. Workers from Luminus, for instance, told the review group that they found their relationship with the PPO scheme very productive, and that, through regular joint working, Probation increasingly trusted them to draw in the services necessary for an offender's management directly, in collaboration with, not subordination to, Probation.

Recommendation 8.i – Recognising the importance of the joint working of statutory bodies too, the review group recommends that the involvement of non-statutory and third sector organisations should be seen as a priority.

Recommendation 8.ii – The review group notes that, in the course of this review, it has come across many third sector organisations with great energy and drive, and with a well-evidenced approach. The group anticipates that, with a small amount of effort and accommodation on the part of offender management services, more bodies like this can be found to valuably complement the options currently available.

- 3.3.44 Many IOM schemes have experimented with co-location of their multi-agency teams; they have experienced positive results. Research and practitioners affirm that co-location is important; the IOM Strategic Group counts it as 'key to success'.³² The co-located London Diamond Initiative found 70-78% of staff identifying a 'trusting atmosphere' and 86-90% that team members 'shared knowledge, ideas and information'.³³ The evaluation suggests that co-location is largely responsible for the success of joint working.³⁴
- 3.3.45 The review group heard that Southern Probation benefitted from a link worker from Addenbrooke's Complex Cases Unit (which treats complex personality disorders) spending regular time in their offices. Informal advice and conversations, springing from that co-location, significantly improved Probation Officers' skills at recognising and dealing with clients with personality disorders.

³¹ Dave Lea, John Brimley, Cliff Bacon & Kevin Lister, *Integrated Offender Management in Greater Manchester*, presentation (Available at http://www.gov.uk/497468/docs/526727/879658/Spotlight_PP_3_GMP.ppt) [Accessed 17th November 2010]

³² Lawson; Goose, *IOM Progress in the East of England*.

³³ Martin Stevens, Chris Hemstead & Holly Bright, 'The Diamond Initiative', presented at *Better Together: IOM Conference 2010*; Dawson & Stanko, p. 13.

³⁴ Dawson & Stanko, pp. 16-17.

- 3.3.46 A senior figure within the development of IOM noted that, while co-location was desirable, the decision was complicated by costs and discussions over the ownership and funding of the building.
- 3.3.47 The group heard of costs to joint working – such as having to travel to meetings, particularly when one was working on only a small proportion of the cases at a given meeting – which would be mitigated by co-location.

Recommendation 9 – The review group believes that there are very considerable benefits to be gained by the co-location of services, including, but not limited to, police, probation, mental health and drugs services. Partnership without co-location will not bring the same benefits.

Prisons

- 3.3.48 As well as agencies offering services to offenders after release from prison (whether statutory or non-statutory), the prison service is vital to an offender's management.
- 3.3.49 There are two key ways the review group heard that prisons are important to reducing re-offending: interventions offered within prison, and prisons' efforts to facilitate effective post-release (and through-the-gates) interventions by other agencies.
- 3.3.50 The review group heard from the Head of Learning and Skills at HMP Peterborough that they carry out a range of interventions within prison; they do not, however, know how effective these interventions are in the long-term because they do not hear about their prisoners once they have left prison. The Head of Learning and Skills suggested that HMP Peterborough would very much appreciate feedback from other agencies on eventual outcomes for their clients. Such provision is important: one offender spoke negatively about a prison outside Cambridgeshire and Peterborough where there was 'no support network at all'; in particular, the lack of housing assistance left him unaware of services that were available.
- 3.3.51 Interventions shortly after release from prison are vital to an offender's chances of success. Countless witnesses described to the group the temptations available to offenders immediately on release from jail. Offenders are often released with £46 in their pocket, but without knowing when their first benefit cheque will be available – that is, with money to spend in the short-term, but not enough to support oneself on for long, and without the expectation of a sustainable, stable life in the near future. This can be particularly acute when prisoners are released on a Friday: £46 is very little to support oneself on for a weekend without offending and without returning to any old associates for accommodation, let alone to support oneself on until the first benefit cheque comes in.
- 3.3.52 This is made particularly problematic by the fact that the process to apply for benefits cannot be started in prison, meaning that not only are recently released prisoners unsure when their cheque will come through, but they also have a reasonable expectation that it will be a long time. Job Seekers' Allowance does not normally come through until 3 weeks after application; Employment Support Allowance (ESA) takes two months or more.

3.3.53 Moreover, claiming ESA requires extensive documentation, which can take time to gather, and is a very complex process. The group heard that some offenders think that 'a life of crime is easier than claiming ESA'. At present, prisoners must wait to be released and to register with a GP before they can gather documentation for any medical problems.

Recommendation 10.i – Prisoners should be able to begin the process for claiming Job Seekers' Allowance while they are in prison, so that the first benefit payment arrives at the end of the first week after release.

Recommendation 10.ii - Prisoners should similarly be able to apply for Employment Support Allowance in advance of their release. They should be able to get medical problems certified by the prison doctor rather than waiting for release.

3.3.54 These facts demonstrated to the review group that we simply cannot expect most offenders to stay crime-free on leaving prison in the absence of further support.

3.3.55 In some areas, offenders can be 'left to [their] own devices when [they] come out of the gate', as one offender in London put it.³⁵ Cambridgeshire County Council's Youth Justice Officer, however, noted that offenders, particularly young offenders, are almost inevitably going to reoffend if they do not have shelter and occupation within 48 hours. As a member of the Drugs and Alcohol Action Team (DAAT) put it, if offenders are not housed, they will seek accommodation from those they knew before, which is most likely a crack house.

3.3.56 It is thus vital that prisoners are released in such a way that they can receive effective interventions.

3.3.57 Often, however, prisoners are released without anywhere to live, the review group was told by Street Outreach, an organisation tasked with getting homeless people into accommodation. Because early release is conditional on having accommodation to go to, prisoners have an incentive to say they have accommodation. Frequently, they simply give the address of Jimmy's Night Shelter in Cambridge. There is no process of checking addresses prisoners give, meaning they are often released with nowhere to stay, but with the prison thinking that they do have somewhere to stay.

3.3.58 Similarly, the group heard that the release date and time of prisoners can change significantly and suddenly, making it almost impossible for other services to coordinate to meet and assist the offender. The Operations Manager of the St Giles Trust, which provides through-the-gates support to HMP Peterborough, noted that changes in release date and time were often down to accurate calculations of sentences taking place too late. For example, prisons often did not factor in time served in Police Stations until too late; on occasions, prisoners would simply receive a note one evening saying they would be released the next morning. The review group saw no reason why it should not be possible to factor in time served elsewhere as soon as a prisoner comes to prison.

³⁵ Dawson & Stanko, p. 27.

- 3.3.59 There can be a particular rush of releases on a Friday as prisoners are identified whose sentence should not keep them in prison for the full weekend. Concerningly, the review group heard that the weekend was a particularly dangerous time for offenders: support is often less available, and their friends would be going to the pub or similar. The likelihood of drinking combined with a lack of money to fund such entertainment can make re-offending more likely.
- 3.3.60 Through-the-gates interventions can be particularly valuable.³⁶ A manager in Probation told the review group of plans to increase inreach work; other agencies, however, including third sector agencies, talked of layers of bureaucracy necessary to gain access. These barriers included some forms initially insisted on, then later no longer designated as necessary, suggesting that either i) a lack of understanding of the actual requirements on behalf of the prison, or ii) institutional resistance to other agencies was responsible for these barriers, rather than strict legal necessity.

Recommendation 11.i – The Prison Service should be centrally involved in IOM

Recommendation 11.ii – IOM should be an opportunity for all agencies, including prisons to receive feedback on their clients and interventions from other agencies

Recommendation 11.iii – Prisons should routinely calculate expected dates of release as early as possible, and communicate them to prisoners’ needs assessment meetings. Subsequent changes to this date should be avoided, and, in any event, should be communicated to IOM.

Recommendation 11.iv – Unexpected release on a Friday should only take place where it is genuinely unavoidable.

Link Workers

- 3.3.61 The review group heard from the Education, Training and Employment (ETE) Coordinator for the Youth Offending Team (YOT), and from a representative from Connexions, a key agency for youth ETE. Both reported that the recent creation of the specific ETE Coordinator role within the YOT had made a significant difference to the effectiveness of the working relationship between YOT and Connexions. They noted that, while ETE work had been conducted in YOT before, the use of a single point of contact, and a person with particular responsibility for maintaining relationships with ETE providers had been vital.
- 3.3.62 They reported also that the similar creation of a Housing Coordinator had brought similar benefits.
- 3.3.63 The Trust Development Manager at Probation reported similarly the importance of ‘pathway leads’ (‘pathways’ are areas of need towards which interventions might be targeted, such as ETE, housing, substance misuse, health and finance) in creating improved working relationships with other organisations.

³⁶ Stevens, Hemstead & Bright.

Recommendation 12 – Link workers are a valuable tool for all agencies because they give a named individual responsibility for keeping up links with a particular sector. The review group recognises that some bodies which provide services to offenders will not be part of every IOM meeting. Where this is the case, the group recommends IOM itself give a named IOM worker particular responsibility for liaising with that organisation/group of organisations. For example, if not all education providers attend IOM meetings regularly, there should be an IOM worker with particular responsibility for liaising with education providers.

Case Management

3.3.64 The literature identifies that continuity of contact with a single case manager is important to the success of a programme of interventions. Measures such as three-way meetings between offenders, their case managers and the providers of any new interventions are supported.³⁷

3.3.65 The group heard many different recommendations regarding who IOM's case managers should be. An academic at the Cambridge Institute of Criminology recommended the police; some practitioners assume Probation are most suited; other IOM projects have successfully drawn case managers from a variety of different statutory and non-statutory bodies, deciding who is best suited to a particular offender based on their particular needs. This latter approach was credited with creating a good team atmosphere founded on equal respect.³⁸

Recommendation 13 – The review group does not presume to determine who should be the case managers in IOM. Rather, it suggests that this should be discussed directly and openly between all interested bodies.

Mainstream Staff

3.3.66 Other IOM programmes which have involved members of IOM organisations who are not themselves IOM workers have been successful. Bolton's IOM scheme, for instance, saw the involvement of Neighbourhood Policing Teams as central to their success.³⁹ While there are clear reasons for a separate IOM team, the management of offenders is part of many agencies' core business. Accessing such resources beyond the core team helps programmes succeed.

3.3.67 Manchester's Spotlight Programme used a computer system called the Spotlight Offender Management System (SOMS). As well as carrying out the work of the Spotlight team, SOMS makes that information available to mainstream staff, helping to involve them in IOM work.⁴⁰

³⁷ Gemma Harper, Lan-Ho Man, Sarah Taylor & Stephen Niven, 'Factors Associated with Offending', in *The Impact of Corrections on Re-Offending: a Review of 'What Works'*, ed. by Harper & Chloe Chitty, Home Office Research Study 291, 3rd Edition (London: Home Office, 2005), pp. 17-30 (p. 28).

³⁸ Dawson & Stanko, p. 13.

³⁹ Lawson.

⁴⁰ Spotlight, p. 36.

Recommendation 14 – All agencies involved in IOM, while continuing to focus on engagement with other organisations, should remember the importance of engaging internally and getting staff not specifically assigned to IOM on board with its work.

RATIONING

- 4.1.1 There is a wide body of academic literature regarding the efficacy of interventions in reducing offending behaviour.⁴¹ Particularly, but not only, because resources will come under increasing pressure, it is the opinion of the review group that effective and evidence-based rationing is vital.
- 4.1.2 The review group was unable to ascertain that agencies it spoke with, including statutory agencies, had clear frameworks to determine the most effective use of intervention resources.
- 4.1.3 Agencies were more likely to explain their basis for determining *who* got interventions of some sort, than that for assessing *what* interventions they received and *how much* resource was expended. For example, one manager from Probation responded to a question on how it was determined what resources should be expended by explaining how the cohort of offenders to be managed was determined. There was little sense that, once an offender was included in a cohort, any conscious rationing decisions were taken.
- 4.1.4 Several agencies warned that, in the presence of resource constraints, rationing became informal and even random. A senior manager in CPFT, for instance noted that, with the scarcity of specialist mental health resources, which offenders were able to access a given team was determined largely by whether one of the handful of staff members was free when they were arrested (the point of entry to the system).

Recommendation 15 – All budget-holding agencies should produce clear frameworks for deciding what services are provided to whom and in what quantity. Such frameworks should be evidence-based and robustly linked to outcomes.

- 4.1.5 The review group received evidence from a large number of organisations which provided services to offenders. As a general trend, most organisations presented a small number of (almost always positive) case studies to demonstrate the efficacy of their programmes. More systematic evaluations were rare. The evidence presented demonstrated that some valuable work was being done by agencies, but did not enable viewers to quantify this, compare interventions with each other or understand how services could be improved.
- 4.1.6 The evidence the review group saw may or may not have been representative of the level of evaluation technically available within services. It was, however, the type of evidence agencies chose to present to demonstrate their interventions' value.

⁴¹ See, for instance, Gemma Harper & Chloe Chitty, eds, *The Impact of Corrections on Re-Offending: A Review of 'What Works'*, Home Office Research Study 291, 3rd Edition (London: Home Office, 2005).

Recommendation 16.i – Agencies providing interventions should regularly and routinely evaluate their programmes, including their value for money. Agencies funding interventions should expect this level of evidence-based evaluation and provide advice necessary to achieve it.

Recommendation 16.ii – While some existing projects might struggle to fulfill R16.i in the short term, it should be considered a medium-term priority, and all new projects should provide the evaluations R16.i describes.

- 4.1.7 The review group was, however, impressed by the efforts made by some organisations to rigorously evidence-base their interventions, and justify their use of resources.
- 4.1.8 For example, the One Service is able to provide a wealth of evidential support both for the specific project it runs out of HMP Peterborough and similar through-the-gates interventions carried out elsewhere.⁴² In part, this is likely due to the particular evidential requirements of the Social Impact Bond model, which can ensure that interventions are able to demonstrate their achievement of defined targets linked to social benefit.⁴³
- 4.1.9 Equally, however, the review group were impressed by the evidence base of the Dawn Project, who were again able to point to data regarding their own project and to wider evidence on the importance of interventions for female offenders, ex-offenders and potential offenders, demonstrating, for instance, that for every £1 invested in 'support-based alternatives to prison', £14 of social value accrues over ten years.⁴⁴ The Project also provided the review group with evidence of their level of successful outcomes across nine different sets of needs. As of September 2010, for the cohort of women referred between December 2009 and March 2010, each need had been positively affected in between 60% and 100% of women with that need, with 7 of the 9 pathways showing over 75% improvement.
- 4.1.10 The review group also heard evidence that having an evidence-based intervention for women was important as female offenders can have different, complex needs compared to the male offenders who form the significant majority of most organisations' client base. Women offenders are more likely to suffer from drug problems, and significantly more likely to suffer from mental disorders; they are also more likely to have emotional or relationship needs, or to have suffered sexual or physical abuse (whether as a child or an adult) and to require assertiveness support.⁴⁵

⁴² Park & Ward; Pro Bono Economics, *St Giles Trust's Through the Gates: an Analysis of Economic Impact* (Pro Bono Economics, 2009).

⁴³ John Loder, Geoff Mulgan, Neil Reeder & Anton Shelupanov, *Financing Social Value: Implementing Social Impact Bonds* (London: The Young Foundation, 2010); Social Finance, *Social Impact Bonds: Rethinking Finance for Social Outcomes* (London: Social Finance, 2009).

⁴⁴ Eilís Lawlor, Jeremy Nicholls and Lisa Sanfilippo, *Unlocking Value: How we all Benefit from Investing in Alternatives to Prison for Women Offenders* (London: New Economics Foundation, 2008).

⁴⁵ NOMS East of England; Harper, Man, Taylor & Niven, pp. 23-24.

Recommendation 17.i – The review group commends the evidence-based approach of organisations like the One Service and the Dawn Project.

Recommendation 17.ii – The review group notes that the Dawn Project’s Ministry of Justice funding is set to run out in March 2011; it recommends that commissioners do not allow the county to go without good provision for female offenders.

- 4.1.11 One important aspect of rationing will be ensuring that offenders do not continue to receive intensive interventions after the point at which this intensive resource could, with more likely benefit, be used on another offender.
- 4.1.12 Deselection criteria for the IOM scheme have not yet been set.⁴⁶ There is, however, a recognition that IOM needs to be ‘quicker on and off’ than PPO was.⁴⁷
- 4.1.13 As noted in paragraphs 2.1.7 and 3.2.7-9 above, a key challenge for the PPO scheme was the fact that it kept offenders for longer than planned, and, probably, for longer than justified. Part of the solution was to be IOM’s ability to offer a lower-intensity intervention such that PPOs could be safely moved from the higher-intensity PPO-style programme.
- 4.1.14 A manager within Probation, however, suggested to the review group that interventions offered to offenders who would not have qualified for PPO but are part of IOM might not be ‘less’ than those PPO used to offer, but ‘just different’. The review group recognises there may be some instances in which ‘non-PPO IOMs’ might benefit equally from ‘PPO-strength’ interventions. They are concerned, however that if PPO-strength interventions are regularly offered to non-PPO IOMs, the benefit of providing somewhere less resource-intensive for ex-PPOs to go will be lost.

Recommendation 18 – Deselection criteria should be a priority interest in the creation of the IOM scheme. They should emphasise passing on resource when it could be better used elsewhere, even where practitioners are not certain that the offender currently receiving that resource would no longer benefit from it at all.

Recommendation 19 – There should be a sliding scale of strengths of intervention available through IOM, based on the likely benefit gained from resources. This is likely to generally correlate with lighter interventions targeted towards less prolific/less serious offenders. The appropriate level of intervention should be regularly re-appraised, and should be expected to change over the course of an offender’s time on the scheme.

ACCOMMODATION

- 5.1.1 Factors predisposing to crime are conventionally understood as ‘criminogenic needs’, and categorised for analysis. The system is used with individual offenders by giving

⁴⁶ Goose, *IOM Progress in the East of England*.

⁴⁷ Goose, *IOM in Cambridgeshire: Project Brief*.

them a score on each factor, on a sliding scale. For research, a boundary score is defined such that offenders either 'have' or 'do not have' each factor.

5.1.2 Accommodation is not one of the most common factors among offenders; nor is it one of the factors most strongly predisposing to re-offence.⁴⁸ The review group found, however, that it is strongly linked to many of the most significant factors, such as education, training and employment (ETE) and lifestyle & associates, because getting a job, and freeing oneself from an unhelpful lifestyle can rely on stable accommodation. Moreover, those offenders most likely to reoffend are 2½ times as likely to have a housing need as offenders as a whole.⁴⁹

5.1.3 The criminogenic needs, including accommodation, of offenders in Cambridgeshire are shown in Figures 3, 4 and 5 below.

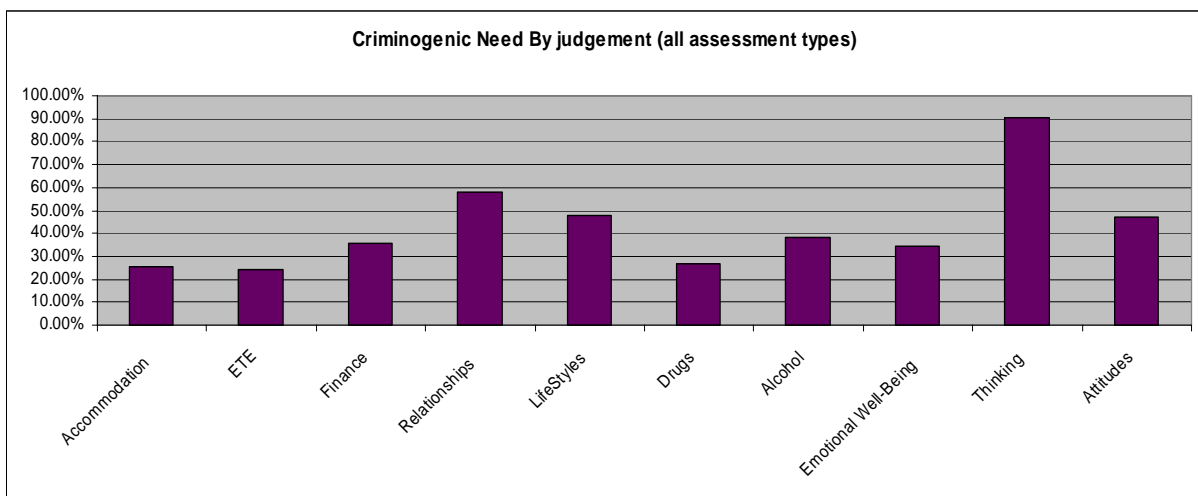
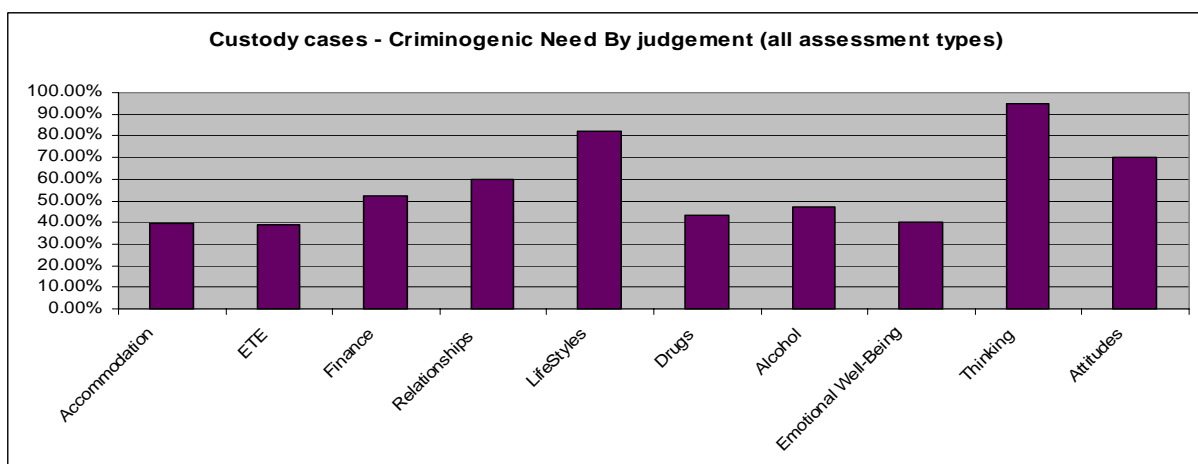


Fig 3 – The criminogenic needs of offenders in Cambridgeshire and Peterborough being managed in the community



⁴⁸ Harper & Chitty, p. x; Harper, Man, Taylor & Niven, p. 18.

⁴⁹ Suzanne McBride, Trevor Baker & Trish Reed, *The Housing and Support Needs of (Ex-)Offenders in Cambridge and the Cambridge Sub-Region: a Report for the Cambridge Homelessness Strategy Offender Task Group* (Heron Consulting, 2010), p. 6.

Fig 4 – The criminogenic needs of offenders in Cambridgeshire and Peterborough being managed in custody

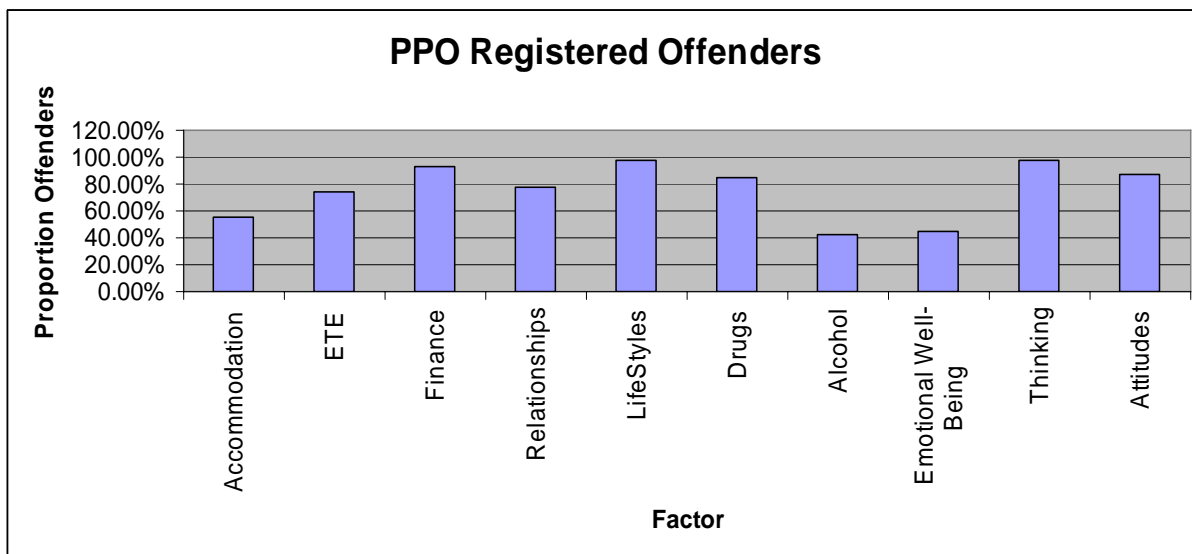


Fig 5 – The criminogenic needs of Cambridgeshire and Peterborough’s PPO Cohorts

- 5.1.4 The group heard strong and widespread professional and academic support for the idea that accommodation is a key need. Professor Gelsthorpe felt that a project’s ability to fulfill accommodation needs was a key determinant of its success. Workers on the St Giles Trust’s Through the Gates project in London also noted that accommodation was key.⁵⁰ One manager in an offender management programme thought it was one of the top criminogenic needs. While this differs from the bulk of research, it was informative that this was what the worker believed: it emphasised to the group the real-life importance of fulfilling offenders’ accommodation needs.
- 5.1.5 Nationally, accommodation needs are not well-provided for. Offenders suffer from the same shortages of accommodation that others do, and face additional difficulties meeting criteria for tenancies, affording private rented accommodation and being perceived by landlords as suitable tenants.⁵¹ The 2001 Resettlement Survey found that around a third of prisoners had nowhere to live upon release from prison.⁵² Local Authorities often fail to explicitly consider offenders in their housing strategies.⁵³ Other IOM projects, such as that in Bolton, have felt that accommodation provision is a key gap in their work.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Park & Ward, p. 21.

⁵¹ Penfold et al., pp. 14-15.

⁵² Elliott-Marshall, Ramsay & Stewart, p. 63.

⁵³ McBride, Baker & Reed, p. 12.

⁵⁴ Lawson.

- 5.1.6 Cambridgeshire and Peterborough struggles to meet offenders' needs.⁵⁵ The group heard, however, from groups such as CAMEO, who work in both areas, that Peterborough's provision is less problematic.
- 5.1.7 The review group heard that the Wide Market Rental Area limit on Housing Benefit means that it is almost impossible for offenders to find accommodation within Cambridge itself where market rents are high in relation to this artificial limit.
- 5.1.8 The One Service told the group that, where Housing Benefit fell short of covering an offender's rent, they did not consider offering it to them unless a family member had offered to cover the difference. The need to somehow 'find' even an extra £5 or £10 per week could provoke a return to acquisitive crime.

Recommendation 20 – The Review Group requests that the County Council writes to the Secretary of State asking for a review of the Wide Area Market Rent Limit as it affects higher market rent areas such as Cambridge.

- 5.1.9 The group heard from various witnesses, including Cambridgeshire County Council staff and those working for organisations providing services to offenders, that provision in Cambridgeshire tends to be very large-scale and that this is undesirable because large-scale projects tend to be more anonymous and are less able to give offenders individual attention.
- 5.1.10 Moreover, large-scale housing projects can locate more offenders in one place, making it easier for negative networks of associates to arise. One ex-offender told the review group that he had addressed his offending and drug problems in a large housing project by shutting himself in his room and deliberately avoiding the society of other tenants. Other ex-offenders, interviewed by Heron Consulting for Cambridge City Council portrayed such large housing developments as ineffective, with too-prevalent drug problems; they preferred smaller schemes.⁵⁶
- 5.1.11 The group visited a large housing project, the YMCA, and a smaller one, the Cambridge Youth Foyer. While the former did feel more anonymous and institutional, the group recognised the importance of the work being done there. The group appreciated the chance to see the Youth Foyer in action, appreciating its effectiveness, though recognising that it is resource-intensive.

Recommendation 21 – The review group does not presume to determine what the 'right' sort of housing provision is. It should be ensured, however, that the type of housing intervention used is appropriate to the client in question, and that housing projects are regularly evaluated, including value-for-money assessments which take into account their success rates (coupled, of course, with a recognition that different projects deal with different client groups).

⁵⁵ Chris Mackett, *Integrated Offender Management Provision in Cambridgeshire and Peterborough* (2010).

⁵⁶ McBride, Baker & Reed, p. 53.

- 5.1.12 The group heard that even housing providers who say they take offenders can be reluctant to house them in practice. In particular, a youth housing worker told the group that the most complex offenders sometimes struggle to find accommodation at all.
- 5.1.13 The East of England Supporting People Strategy 2008-2011 argues in favour of intensive, specialised housing provision for this group; so too do service users themselves.⁵⁷

Recommendation 22.i – Specialised housing provision should be available for those offenders facing the most problems, including mental health problems.

Recommendation 22.ii – There should, in general, be greater housing availability.

- 5.1.14 The group heard strong evidence that the ability of offenders to move away from a location where they have a criminal past is valuable. Professor Sherman cited a study examining re-offending rates in which 25% of offenders returning to their prior home re-offended, compared with 11% of those who moved. Similarly, he noted, whether one returned to one's previous home was a good predictor of whether juvenile delinquents posted abroad during World War II continued in a criminal career upon their return.
- 5.1.15 Within Cambridgeshire and Peterborough and elsewhere, authorities tend to have 'local connection policies', which insist housing priority will be given to those with a connection to the area. In practice, due to the scarcity of housing generally, this means that public- and some voluntary-sector housing is near-enough unavailable to those not from the area.
- 5.1.16 Luminus staff told of their frustration at not being able to keep working with offenders doing well in one location because no housing was available, and being forced to send them back to areas where they had a criminal past.
- 5.1.17 The group recognised that local connection policies were brought in, in most instances, for laudable reasons: Cambridge City wanted to ensure the maintenance of public support for provision for homeless people, something they felt they may jeopardise if large numbers of people from other large cities continued to come to the City. Given that relocation works, however, they felt it would be unfortunate if such policies could not be made more flexible.
- 5.1.18 The group discussed the possibility of a 'swapping' arrangement, in which a number of offenders are exchanged between similar districts in different areas: those offenders have a better chance of escaping offending, and localities have the same number of offenders as before, but ones who should be easier to manage. The review group understood that expecting offenders to move from a city to a rural area or vice versa might be unrealistic. Accordingly, this reinforced its preference for arrangements to be made at a housing authority (i.e., district) level rather than at the level of the County.

⁵⁷ McBride, Baker & Reed, p. 10; 53.

5.1.19 A manager at Luminus emphasised that, were this to happen, openness and honesty about offenders' levels of engagement would be necessary to ensure that a fair deal for all.

Recommendation 23 – Districts should form agreements with other districts elsewhere in the country, whereby a number of offenders who wish to leave their current area are 'swapped' each year, and management responsibilities handed over, to help offenders make a fresh start in a new environment.

5.1.20 The review group recognised how much harder it is for services to provide for those returning from a far-off dispersal prison if their needs are only addressed after release. The group acknowledges that the above recommendations are more challenging, but suggests they are also more important, for this group.

MENTAL HEALTH

6.1.1 50% of prisoners have three co-occurring mental health conditions.⁵⁸ The group also heard that 70% have at least two such conditions, but only 10% have a formal diagnosis. It has been emphasised elsewhere that mental health provision is central to the effective management of prisoners and offenders.⁵⁹

6.1.2 The review group heard that, while things were improving, there had been historical problems with the integration of mental health into offender management systems, and that they were currently less integrated than some other organisation.⁶⁰ They also heard evidence from NHS Cambridgeshire (for example) that noted with admirable candour that, under the pressure of targets elsewhere, services for offenders had not been a top priority for the organisation.

Recommendation 24 – Mental health should be seen as central to the management of offenders; offenders should be seen as a key constituency for mental health care. Mental health representation must be at the heart of IOM just as, for example, the police are. This should extend to co-located workers and representation at IOM meetings.

6.1.3 The review group recognised the hard work which has been done to integrate mental health further into offender management systems, which has culminated in the Clinical Director of CPFT, the county's provider trust, sitting on IOM Strategic Meetings.

6.1.4 Several managers from Probation told the review group that referring clients in to mental health services could be very difficult. While many (not all) Probation Officers were aware that the designated route in was through an offender's GP, the review group heard that this was not always possible or appropriate. Offenders may not be registered with a GP (and may be reluctant to register), or may struggle to attend

⁵⁸ Mulheirn, Gough & Menne.

⁵⁹ Lord Bradley, *The Bradley Report: Lord Bradley's Review of People with Mental Health Problems or Learning Disabilities in the Criminal Justice System* (London: COI, 2009).

⁶⁰ Mackett.

appointments at designated times. They may also find GPs reluctant to refer offenders on for mental health treatment.

- 6.1.5 Probation's Trust Development Manager told the group that she had spoken with mental health representatives about this issue, and had been told that the ideal was to keep offenders out of the service, to avoid their becoming stuck in an institutionalised mental health system, rather than being able to recover without formal acute-sector treatment. The Trust Development Manger gave this response credit.
- 6.1.6 A senior manager at CPFT appreciated the challenges Probation Officers (and others working with offenders) face when using conventional referral pathways, and expressed willingness to re-examine pathways in this context. So too, a commissioning manager for mental health services at NHS Cambridgeshire was open to more direct referral pathways, so long as due consideration could be given to which referrals were appropriate, and so long as staff were properly trained to make a referral. To facilitate this was 'common sense'.

Recommendation 25.i – There should be clear pathways for the mental health care of offenders, which do not rely on GP referral.

Recommendation 25.ii – The mental health representation on IOM called for in Recommendation 24 above should be used to help with decisions regarding referral.

Recommendation 25.iii – In the absence of this representation, there should be direct referral pathways from IOM workers into mental health.

- 6.1.7 The review group heard, from sources within Probation and CPFT of the significant contribution made by a worker who spent time in both Cambridgeshire Probation and the Addenbrooke's Complex Cases Unit, which treats complex personality disorders.
- 6.1.8 This 'link worker' was able, through informal conversations with Probation colleagues, to progressively inform the Service on personality disorders, enabling quicker recognition and facilitating referral. Sometimes, she could see clients directly in Probation to assist with personality disorder problems; at others, she could simply advise the Probation Officers working with them.
- 6.1.9 At the same time, she was able to use her links with the Complex Cases Unit to draw on resources that were previously inaccessible to Probation. For example, when junior psychiatrists were asked by the link worker, who had developed a relationship with them, whether they would be interested in assisting with Probation clients, they were keen to take part in an exciting opportunity. Where it had once been difficult to access mental health professionals for this client group, once relationships had been developed through the link worker model, there were in fact more volunteers than could be accommodated.

Recommendation 26 – The link worker model works, and should be extended. The review group welcomes the prospect of funding for a Probation-mental health link worker in Cambridgeshire and in Peterborough.

6.1.10 Provision of assistance to those with mental health needs at the point of arrest is important.⁶¹ The group heard that a pilot was underway in Huntingdonshire to check the mental health records of all consenting people brought into custody to provide support if necessary.

Recommendation 27 – There should be a thorough review of practices to ensure mental health access and provision at the point of arrest. This should not be considered an optional extra, but a key part of at-arrest procedures.

6.1.11 The group heard of complications surrounding the commissioning of forensic mental health teams, including from managers at CPFT. The health care components of such teams are commissioned by the local Primary Care Trust (PCT): NHS Cambridgeshire or NHS Peterborough. The social care components are commissioned by the relevant local authority: Cambridgeshire County Council or Peterborough Unitary Authority. It should be noted that Peterborough City Council and NHS Peterborough have an integrated health and social care commissioning and operational service.

6.1.12 In southern Cambridgeshire, including Cambridge itself, there is a service commissioned from both health and social care. The health care component operates from Cambridge.

6.1.13 In Peterborough, only the social care component is commissioned; as the single member of staff this constitutes is less useful without the health care components of the team, at time of writing this post is currently unfilled, leaving no forensic mental health service. The vacant post has now been filled.

6.1.14 In central Cambridgeshire, only the health care component is commissioned (using the same service as southern Cambs, operating out of Cambridge); there is no social care cover. Furthermore, some of the northernmost parts of Cambridgeshire do not receive good coverage from the Cambridge-based service. NHS Cambridgeshire told the review group that the reason this poor coverage remains is that they felt the best suggestion to cover this area was to create a Peterborough-based service to match the Cambridge-based team. This did not happen because NHS Peterborough did not, for a time, prioritise it.

⁶¹ Bradley.

Recommendation 28 – The commissioning of mental health services for offenders, particularly of forensic mental health teams, should be joined-up. Cambridgeshire County Council & NHS Cambridgeshire and Peterborough Unitary Authority & NHS Peterborough should liaise to ensure social care and health care provision matches up.

Recommendation 29 – There is a lack of forensic mental health cover where it is most needed (Peterborough and Wisbech). This should not be the case.

FURTHER WORK

7.1.1 The review group heard from the YOT ETE Coordinator and from Connexions that the provision of Foundation Education is vital and often well-provided. They noted also, however, that a recent change in the structure of some provision, from continuous drop-in education to 12-week courses, while well-intentioned, had led to a new problem: if an offender decides to engage 2 weeks in to a course, there is now a 10-week period during which interest and motivation must be sustained before the service can be accessed. This is a very significant challenge, and one which a more continuous system does not suffer from.

Recommendation 30.i – Long waits for the start of a Foundation Education programme can lead offenders to give up on the system. Foundation Education providers (such as Cherry Hinton Hall, the YMCA etc) should coordinate with one another to stagger the starts of their programmes to ensure there is always a programme starting soon.

Recommendation 30.ii – Education providers should ensure there is some quick-access ‘drop- in’ education available to buffer before the start of a fixed-term programme.

7.1.2 Workers from Luminus reported to the group their difficulties securing education for offenders who, while not suffering from a learning disability, had difficulties with learning. Neither learning disabilities services nor traditional adult learning services are suitable for this group. This group could fall through the cracks, either not receiving education at all or rapidly dropping out of a service not suited to them. This applies, of course, to non-offenders as readily as offenders.

Recommendation 31 – Adult learning and learning disability education should coordinate their eligibility criteria to ensure any given offender is eligible for, and suitable for, one programme or another.

7.1.3 As shown in fig. 5 above, finance is one of the key criminogenic needs, particularly for PPO offenders, below only Lifestyles and Thinking. There seems to be little provision of services to provide offenders with assistance with their finances. The group heard that some wider organisations, such as Probation, used to have the capacity relative to their caseload to provide this to offenders, but no longer do. Specifically, a senior manager at Probation noted that there were no gambling addiction services in the county.

Recommendation 32 – There is a lack of services to help offenders with financial issues (paying bills, claiming benefits, budgeting etc) which merits further scrutiny.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ad esse, *Integrated Offender Management in West Midlands LCJB*. (Ad Esse Consulting, 2009).

Bradley, Lord, *The Bradley Report: Lord Bradley's Review of People with Mental Health Problems or Learning Disabilities in the Criminal Justice System* (London: COI, 2009).

Critchley, Ian & Holland, Jeremy, 'Coordinating a Clean Slate with a Community Sentence', presentation at *Better Together: IOM Conference 2010*.

Dawson, Paul & Cuppleditch, Lucy, *An Impact Assessment of the Prolific and other Priority Offender Programme*. Home Office online report 08/07 (2007)

(Available at

<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100413151441/http://www.crimereduction.homeoffice.gov.uk/ppo/rdsolr0807.pdf>)

[Accessed 10th September 2010].

Dawson, Paul & Stanko, Betsy, *An Evaluation of the Diamond Initiative: Year One Findings* (London: Metropolitan Police Service & London Criminal Justice Partnership, 2010).

Elliott-Marshall, Robin; Ramsay, Malcolm & Stewart, Duncan, 'Alternative Approaches to Integrating Offenders into the Community', in *The Impact of Corrections on Re-Offending: a Review of 'What Works'*, ed. by Gemma Harper & Chloe Chitty, Home Office Research Study 291, 3rd Edition (London: Home Office, 2005), pp. 31-55.

Goose, Gary, *Integrated Offender Management (IOM) in Cambridgeshire: Project Brief* (2010).

Goose, Gary, *Integrated Offender Management Progress in the East of England* (2010)

Goose, Gary & Hancock, Alison, *CCJB Integrated Offender Management (IOM) – Update Position* (2010)

Harper, Gemma & Chitty, Chloe, Executive Summary to *The Impact of Corrections on Re-offending: a Review of 'What Works'*, ed. By Harper & Chitty, Home Office Research Study 291, 3rd Edition (London: Home Office, 2005), pp. i-xx.

Harper, Gemma & Chitty, Chloe, eds, *The Impact of Corrections on Re-Offending: A Review of 'What Works'*, Home Office Research Study 291, 3rd Edition (London: Home Office, 2005)

Harper, Gemma; Man, Lan-Ho; Taylor, Sarah & Niven, Stephen, 'Factors Associated with Offending', in *The Impact of Corrections on Re-Offending: a Review of 'What Works'*, ed. by Harper & Chloe Chitty, Home Office Research Study 291, 3rd Edition (London: Home Office, 2005), pp. 17-30.

Home Office, *Integrated Offender Management: Government Policy Statement* (London: COI, 2009).

Home Office, *Prolific and other Priority Offenders Programme: Five Years On – Maximising the Impact* (London: COI, 2009).

Home Office, *Prolific and other Priority Offender Strategy: Initial Guidance – Catch and Convict Framework* ([London]: [Home Office], 2004).

Home Office, *Prolific and other Priority Offender Strategy: Supplementary Guidance – Rehabilitate and Resettle Framework* ([London]: [Home Office], 2004).

Lane, Bernard; Bacon, Cliff & Ross, Edna, 'PPO & DIP within IOM', presented at *Better Together: IOM Conference 2010*.

Lawlor, Eilís; Nicholls, Jeremy and Sanfilippo, Lisa, *Unlocking Value: How we all Benefit from Investing in Alternatives to Prison for Women Offenders* (London: New Economics Foundation, 2008).

Lawson, Charlotte, *Integrated Offender Management Good Practice*, (Leicester: Perpetuity Research).

Lea, Dave; Brimley, John; Bacon, Cliff & Lister, Kevin, *Integrated Offender Management in Greater Manchester*, presentation

(Available at http://www.gov.uk/497468/docs/526727/879658/Spotlight_PP_3_GMP.ppt)

[Accessed 17th November 2010]

Loder, John; Mulgan, Geoff; Reeder, Neil & Shelupanov, Anton, *Financing Social Value: Implementing Social Impact Bonds* (London: The Young Foundation, 2010).

Lowthian, Jackie; Gartland, Louise & Wilson, Ian, 'Third Sector Services at the Heart of Integrated Offender Management', presentation at *Better Together: IOM Conference 2010*.

Mackett, Chris, *Integrated Offender Management Provision in Cambridgeshire and Peterborough* (2010)

McBride, Suzanne; Baker, Trevor & Reed, Trish, *The Housing and Support Needs of (Ex-)Offenders in Cambridge and the Cambridge Sub-Region: a Report for the Cambridge Homelessness Strategy Offender Task Group* (Heron Consulting, 2010).

Mulheirn, Ian; Gough, Barney & Menne, Verena, *Prison Break: Tackling Recidivism, Reducing Costs* (London: The Social Market Foundation, 2010).

NOMS East of England, *East of England: Commissioning for the 'Rehabilitation Revolution': a Consultation Document* (Peterborough: NOMS East of England, 2010).

Park, Graham & Ward, Sue, *Through the Gates – Improving the Effectiveness of Prison Discharge: First Half-Year Evaluation, August 2008 to January 2009* (London: St. Giles Trust, 2009).

Penfold, Clarissa, et al., *Homelessness Prevention and Meeting Housing Need for (Ex-)Offenders: a Guide to Practice* (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2009).

Pro Bono Economics, *St Giles Trust's Through the Gates: an Analysis of Economic Impact* (Pro Bono Economics, 2009).

Sherman, Lawrence, et al., 'Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't; What's Promising', *National Institute of Justice: Research in Brief*.

Social Finance, *Social Impact Bonds: Rethinking Finance for Social Outcomes* (London: Social Finance, 2009).

Stevens, Martin; Hemstead, Chris & Bright, Holly, 'The Diamond Initiative', presented at *Better Together: IOM Conference 2010*.

Spotlight, *Greater Manchester: Integrated Offender Management Toolkit* (London: Home Office, 2010).

Turner, Helen, memorandum regarding Integrated Offender Management (2010).

APPENDIX 1 – A SERVICE USER’S STORY

What follows is the story of a man who has accessed services targeted at ex-offenders. ‘John’ is a pseudonym given to the man. The story is told as far as possible as John told it to us, and the text has been approved by John as a good telling of his story.

John was, in his words, ‘a normal working guy’. He was married, and owned a four-bed house in a village a medium-sized settlement in Cambridgeshire. He had come from a middle-class background.

John came into a problem with Class A drugs; he did some shoplifting and credit card fraud to fund this, and ended up in jail a few times. This caused him to lose a lot of what he had; he lost his house, separated from his wife, and his relationships with his family was put under strain.

Following one spell in jail, John was living in a tent in an area of woodland; he continued to have drug problems. He was put in touch with Winter Comfort, a Cambridge charity providing food and support to those without homes. A worker there mentioned to him in passing 222 Victoria Road, an English Church Housing Group (ECHG) development. The worker hoped that, as John was making good progress with his problems, he might be able to get a space. He was indeed able to get a room there.

While glad to have a room, and grateful for the service, John felt surrounded by those with drug problems. During the year and a half for which John was at 222 Victoria Road, he describes shutting himself away in his room and avoiding the company of other residents. When people came knocking, John feared to ask for help with getting drugs, he would not open his door. It was by doing this, John feels, that he was able to keep making progress with his drug problem.

John heard from another resident about the Housing and Returning Prisoners (HARP) Board, which had upgraded her level of housing priority such that she would be able to get a house. John pursued this option with his worker at 222 Victoria Road and, after doing a lot of chasing himself, had an application submitted to the Board, which upgraded him to ‘A’ priority.

Today, John lives in a one-bedroom house accessed through the District Council. He is pleased with this, and is very keen to continue working to get his life back on track. He no longer offends, is on a methadone prescription, and is hoping to start employment soon.

John gives others a lot of credit for the recent improvements in his life. The methadone prescription from Addaction, combined with his accommodation security means that he is not drug-dependent and has time and space to reflect on his situation and address it. He also highlights the importance of agencies seeming to value him enough to take the time to help ‘as if they were interested in me’, as making it easier for him to value himself enough to address his problems.

APPENDIX B – COMMENTARY ON RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations in this report are for consideration by the IOM Board and the agencies involved, except in the cases where agencies are in bold in the summary of recommendations below.

1.i – The cohort for IOM should be wider than the current cohort for PPO.

1.ii – Specifically, it should include the more prolific of those offenders currently receiving no interventions because they served less than 12 months, and those who need lower-intensity interventions following intensive, ‘PPO-style’ work.

2.i – Agencies should consider IOM, including non-statutory clients, as part of their core business.

2.ii – Agencies should ensure this perception cascades throughout their organisations.

2.iii – The review group welcomes Probation’s commitment to taking on the cohorts of offenders outlined in Recommendation 1.

2.iv – Probation and other agencies should ensure that resources are aligned to give due priority to these cohorts. They should ensure that this attitude is embedded within their working practices. This should include altering performance management arrangements as necessary to make certain that staff are held to account for their work with non-statutory offenders as they are with statutory offenders.

These ought not to be controversial in Cambridgeshire, given the comments from the various agencies involved.

3.i – New IOM clients should not be treated as new cohort of ‘IOMs’ alongside cohorts of ‘PPOs’, ‘DIPs’ and ‘MAPPAs’. Rather, once MAPPA and DIP have been separated out, IOM should treat all its remaining clients (that is, those formerly classed as ‘PPOs’, plus those new clients IOM expands its cohort to include) as one continuous cohort. There should be a sliding scale of interventions available, to be individually tailored to an offender’s needs.

There is a real choice for the IOM programme between simply creating a new cohort of offenders who are ‘quite persistent and quite prolific’ but not as persistent and prolific as those in the PPO scheme or creating a more dynamic set of criteria that could better facilitate paths into and out of intensive interventions. Given the issues around how long offenders stay within PPO without a successful ‘glide path’ out of intensive intervention, we favour the latter.

Recommendation 3.ii – Cambridgeshire’s IOM should use a single governance structure. This structure, however, should be flexible enough to allow districts to pursue local priorities within IOM.

Recommendation 3.iii – It is neither likely to be appropriate that a fixed, equivalent number of IOM clients are found in each district, regardless of the severity of that district’s problems, nor that exactly the same thresholds for selection are used in each district, even if that leaves some almost entirely unserved by IOM. The review group recommends that a balance be struck between allocating IOM resources to the most prolific offenders in the county and ensuring all districts are served.

In the first place, we favour establishing a single model of governance for IOM within Cambridgeshire so that the methods of interaction between agencies are common across

the county. We believe however that this model should allow for diversity between districts in the relative priorities of the cohorts and the interventions. We are in no position to take a view on whether this single model should remain in place beyond the first few years.

4 – Agencies, including but not limited to Community Safety Partnerships (CSPs) should recognise the potential benefits of an IOM approach.

We state unequivocally that we believe an IOM approach to offender management is beneficial and good value for money. We particularly call on **Fenland CSP** to recognise the long-term potential of better-integrated rehabilitation services for reducing reoffending rates and thus crime levels in their area.

5 – IOM should feature regular case management meetings to discuss offenders. These should bring together the agencies involved in providing services for those offenders. Meetings should be organised, as far as possible, to ensure agencies can attend those cases relevant to them without spending unnecessary time in discussions about other cases.

A unified case-management system is a good idea.

6 – The governance structure described in Recommendation 3.ii should act as a forum for strategic discussion of offender management services and interaction between agencies. It should be publicised to relevant agencies.

7 – The review group commends the current creation of a directory of interventions as a priority. The group looks forward to its publication, and urges all agencies to proactively cooperate to ensure they are included.

Although these recommendations seem innocuous, they are oft talked about but little implemented. As a result professionals struggle to connect offenders to the most appropriate interventions.

8.i – Recognising the importance of the joint working of statutory bodies too, the review group recommends that the involvement of non-statutory and third sector organisations should be seen as a priority.

8.ii – The review group notes that, in the course of this review, it has come across many third sector organisations with great energy and drive, and with a well-evidenced approach. The group anticipates that, with a small amount of effort and accommodation on the part of offender management services, more bodies like this can be found to valuably complement the options currently available.

There is so much energy in many parts of the voluntary sector that deliver fresh-thinking, innovation and commitment. Importantly they also seem to provide good outcomes and good value for money. The statutory providers, especially Probation, need to embrace this culture rather than defend the status quo.

9 – The review group believes that there are very considerable benefits to be gained by the co-location of services, including, but not limited to, police, probation, mental health and drugs services. Partnership without co-location will not bring the same benefits.

Co-location of the essential agencies in one building is the single most important recommendation of this Review. Without this, 'partnership' between agencies is simply an

additional layer of meetings. With co-location, professional staff are able to liaise on a practical day-to-day basis with significant benefits for efficiency and good judgement.

10.i – Prisoners should be able to begin the process for claiming Job Seekers' Allowance while they are in prison, so that the first benefit payment arrives at the end of the first week after release.

Notwithstanding the pending reform of benefits, the **coalition government** must change the JSA system at the earliest opportunity so that the process of claiming JSA can be started while an offender is still in prison.

10.ii - Prisoners should similarly be able to apply for Employment Support Allowance in advance of their release. They should be able to get medical problems certified by the prison doctor rather than waiting for release.

The ESA system is so inaccessible and delay-ridden that it needs wholesale reform. However, we presume this cannot be done in time to be implemented prior to the ESA's abolition in the benefits review. **Prisons** should strive to ensure prisoners have all necessary documentation before release.

11.i – The Prison Service should be centrally involved in IOM

11.ii – IOM should be an opportunity for all agencies, including prisons to receive feedback on their clients and interventions from other agencies

11.iii – Prisons should routinely calculate expected dates of release as early as possible, and communicate them to prisoners' needs assessment meetings. Subsequent changes to this date should be avoided, and, in any event, should be communicated to IOM.

11.iv – Unexpected release on a Friday should only take place where it is genuinely unavoidable.

We hope that the **Home Office** and **Prison Service** will take note of this recommendation. We believe there is real marginal benefit to be gained from greater efficiency at assessing the release date early in a prisoner's sentence, sticking to it and ensuring that IOM agencies are kept fully-informed of the release date. The cost involved in getting this right ought to be tiny, while the benefits ought to be measurable, even if not huge.

12 – Link workers are a valuable tool for all agencies because they give a named individual responsibility for keeping up links with a particular sector. The review group recognises that some bodies which provide services to offenders will not be part of every IOM meeting.

Where this is the case, the group recommends IOM itself give a named IOM worker particular responsibility for liaising with that organisation/group of organisations. For example, if not all education providers attend IOM meetings regularly, there should be an IOM worker with particular responsibility for liaising with education providers.

This may look innocuous but the alternative option is that all staff be generalists with no-one taking specific responsibility for aspects within IOM. Our review finds knowing the name of specialists in other agencies leads to better outcomes.

13 – The review group does not presume to determine who should be the case managers in IOM. Rather, it suggests that this should be discussed directly and openly between all interested bodies.

In the face of countervailing theories, the review group had too little evidence to take a view. The issue is however important and needs addressing by the IOM board.

14 – All agencies involved in IOM, while continuing to focus on engagement with other organisations, should remember the importance of engaging internally and getting staff not specifically assigned to IOM on board with its work.

This seems uncontroversial but would seem to have greatest implications for the **Police**.

15 – All budget-holding agencies should produce clear frameworks for deciding what services are provided to whom and in what quantity. Such frameworks should be evidence-based and robustly linked to outcomes.

18 – Deselection criteria should be a priority interest in the creation of the IOM scheme. They should emphasise passing on resource when it could be better used elsewhere, even where practitioners are not certain that the offender currently receiving that resource would no longer benefit from it at all.

19 – There should be a sliding scale of strengths of intervention available through IOM, based on the likely benefit gained from resources. This is likely to generally correlate with lighter interventions targeted towards less prolific/less serious offenders. The appropriate level of intervention should be regularly re-appraised, and should be expected to change over the course of an offender's time on the scheme.

Almost all agencies seemed unclear as to whether different levels of service should be provided within a given cohort. When budgets are to be so tight, we would prefer to see a greater recognition of different levels of service based not only on different levels of need but on the different likely benefits of providing such a service. In offender management, offenders have never had equal rights to the same level of rehabilitation and we should not design or provide services as if they do. The money should be used to generate the greatest benefit to society in terms of reducing the levels and harm of crime.

16.i – Agencies providing interventions should regularly and routinely evaluate their programmes, including their value for money. Agencies funding interventions should expect this level of evidence-based evaluation and provide advice necessary to achieve it.

16.ii – While some existing projects might struggle to fulfill R16.i in the short term, it should be considered a medium-term priority, and all new projects should provide the evaluations R16.i describes.

17.i – The review group commends the evidence-based approach of organisations like the One Service and the Dawn Project.

17.ii – The review group notes that the Dawn Project's Ministry of Justice funding is set to run out in March 2011; it recommends that commissioners do not allow the county to go without good provision for female offenders.

There is so little evaluation done of different interventions. This has to change if the taxpayer is to get even close to maximum value for money. There is no shortage of willing evaluators, especially given Cambridge University's Institute of Criminology. Greatly increased monitoring and evaluation of programmes will help them adapt and improve. The state sector must be alert to this if it is not to lose out to the more adept voluntary sector organisations whose very dependence exists on proving their value.

20 – *The Review Group requests that the County Council writes to the Secretary of State asking for a review of the Wide Market Rental Area limit as it affects higher market rent areas such as Cambridge.*

A recommendation for the **County Council** itself. The Wide Market Rental Area limit is a real and unnecessary problem for dealing with offenders successfully in Cambridge.

21 – *The review group does not presume to determine what the ‘right’ sort of housing provision is. It should be ensured, however, that the type of housing intervention used is appropriate to the client in question, and that housing projects are regularly evaluated, including value-for-money assessments which take into account their success rates (coupled, of course, with a recognition that different projects deal with different client groups).*

22.i – *Specialised housing provision should be available for those offenders facing the most problems, including mental health problems.*

22.ii – *There should, in general, be greater housing availability.*

Housing was seen as the single biggest problem facing offenders coming out of prison. We urge the **government** to allow a greater supply of housing to be built.

23 – *Districts should form agreements with other districts elsewhere in the country, whereby a number of offenders who wish to leave their current area are ‘swapped’ each year, and management responsibilities handed over, to help offenders make a fresh start in a new environment.*

We hope that **District Councils**, in collaboration with other agencies, will develop relationships with similar districts elsewhere in the country to swap offenders so that they can be resettled away from existing, unhelpful friends.

24 – *Mental health should be seen as central to the management of offenders; offenders should be seen as a key constituency for mental health care. Mental health representation must be at the heart of IOM just as, for example, the police are. This should extend to co-located workers and representation at IOM meetings.*

25.i – *There should be clear pathways for the mental health care of offenders, which do not rely on GP referral.*

25.ii – *The mental health representation on IOM called for in Recommendation 24 above should be used to help with decisions regarding referral.*

25.iii – *In the absence of this representation, there should be direct referral pathways from IOM workers into mental health.*

26 – *The link worker model works, and should be extended. The review group welcomes the prospect of funding for a Probation-mental health link worker in Cambridgeshire and in Peterborough.*

27 – *There should be a thorough review of practices to ensure mental health access and provision at the point of arrest. This should not be considered an optional extra, but a key part of at-arrest procedures.*

28 – *The commissioning of mental health services for offenders, particularly of forensic mental health teams, should be joined-up. Cambridgeshire County Council & NHS Cambridgeshire and Peterborough Unitary Authority & NHS Peterborough should liaise to ensure social care and health care provision matches up.*

29 – There is a lack of forensic mental health cover where it is most needed (Peterborough and Wisbech). This should not be the case.

The easy availability of mental health care for offenders was seen by the Review as the most shocking failure of service provision within Cambridgeshire (though we have little reason to think Cambs is worse than elsewhere). With so many offenders suffering from poor mental health we insist that mental health become a core part of the IOM schema.

30.i – Long waits for the start of a Foundation Education programme can lead offenders to give up on the system. Foundation Education providers (such as Cherry Hinton Hall, the YMCA etc) should coordinate with one another to stagger the starts of their programmes to ensure there is always a programme starting soon.

30.ii – Education providers should ensure there is some quick-access ‘drop-in’ education available to buffer before the start of a fixed-term programme.

31 – Adult learning and learning disability education should coordinate their eligibility criteria to ensure any given offender is eligible for, and suitable for, one programme or another.

Education for offenders provided by **Cherry Hinton Hall** and the **YMCA** seemed to suffer from some unnecessary difficulties, which we hope these recommendations will address.

32 – There is a lack of services to help offenders with financial issues (paying bills, claiming benefits, budgeting etc) which merits further scrutiny.