

Managing a risky business:
Developing the professional practice of
police and probation officers in the
supervision of high risk offenders

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Abstract

Discussions about risk are central to the formulation of criminal justice and penal policies. They shape ways of perceiving and responding to what is deemed risky behavior. This thesis builds upon research about the application and effects of “the new penology”, with its emphasis on “actuarialism”, which promotes quantitative methods used in accountancy as an analytical method for risk assessment.

This thesis goes beyond policy texts and theories providing original contribution that explores how the police and the probation services actually interpret and implement policy and manage mutual institutional pressures and biases. It does so by using interviews and debriefing process with police and probation practitioners, as well as by drawing upon the author’s own professional experience.

This thesis identifies some of the effects of implementing actuarial practices within police and probation working, looking at convergent and divergent views. It aims at a clearer understanding of the partnership working between police and probation services arising from different perspectives and response to risk.

The findings support the notion that actuarial practices permeate this arena of public protection; influencing intra and inter-service partnerships and the implementation of MAPPA aims. Actuarial analysis accentuates a tendency to prioritise police crime control policies but not without resistance from probation officers. A number of MAPPA deficiencies including ineffective information sharing processes exist between critical partners impeding partnership working.

Disagreements formed from differences in organisational aims of rehabilitation and crime control, accentuated by the actuarial risk assessment methodology. Repeated working together of personnel and development of collaborative initiatives helped alleviate misunderstandings. Conflict between the two services was most acute in relation to the transfer process, breach of licence conditions and recall to custody of offenders.

Gaps in knowledge and experience created significant issues particularly for those new to risk management and the responsibilities associated to this arena of public protection work.

Activities to aid communal development were identified through organisational learning founded in communities of practice and isomorphic learning encouraging the growth of networks of learning.

Crisis causation models and the systemic lessons learned knowledge model (Syllk) provided diverse perspectives to assess people, learning, culture, social values, technology, process and infrastructure. Improvements in any combination of these factors supported the development of trust and learning between agencies.

The Transforming Rehabilitation agenda transformed the public protection world and amplified the negative aspects of the findings in this thesis. Anxieties about data, information sharing and the effectiveness of the framework to transfer cases between agencies are a contemporary problem for the National Probation Service and Community Rehabilitation Companies to tackle. Failure to do so will place the public at greater risk.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to:

My Mum and Dad for all your love and support.
I wish you were still here to read my work.

My husband Simon for your love, patience and good
humour throughout my research journey.

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Content

Copyright	i
Abstract	ii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgement	v
Contents	vi
Glossary of terms	x
Chapter 1	Political, policy and practice context
Introductions	1
Aims of study	3
The researcher	3
The study	5
Outline of chapters	5
Chapter 2	The changing face of the police and probation services
Introduction	9
Risk society	11
The effect of New Public Management and actuarialism	15
<i>Effect on the Probation Service</i>	18
<i>Effect on the Police Service</i>	24
Transforming Rehabilitation	26
Multi Agency Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA)	28
Development of Approved Premises	31
Information sharing	34
Blurring of roles	38
Conflict and Collaboration	41
Learning from adverse outcomes	43
Organisational Learning	46
Conclusion to Chapter 2	49

Chapter 3 The research process: Reflections on the research design

Introduction	52
Aims of the research	52
The methodological decision	53
Ethical considerations	54
Insider and outsider researcher	56
Sampling strategy	58
Data collection	62
Interview process	62
Structured debrief process- Details of the case	63
Debrief process	66
Association between focus group research and debrief process	67
Procedural issues	70
Thematic analysis	71
Quality assurance measures	72
Validity of the research	73
Gaps in research literature	75
Final reflections on the research process	75

Chapter 4 Organising themes

Introduction	78
Thematic Network Chart	79

Organising Theme 1: Multi Agency Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA)

Introduction	83
Effect of MAPPA	83
Knowledge of MAPPA	85
Role of MAPPA Chair	87

MAPPA administration	91
<i>Attendance at MAPPA</i>	92
<i>Minute taking</i>	93
<i>Local structural variation of MAPPA</i>	96
Information sharing	97
<i>Security Service and terrorist offenders</i>	98
<i>Prison Service</i>	100
Conclusion	104
Chapter 5	Organising Theme 2: Police and probation partnership
Introduction	107
Blurring of roles	107
Rotation of staff	115
Diversity of offenders in Approved Premises	122
Conclusion	126
Chapter 6	Organising Theme 3: Causes of conflict
Introduction	130
The transfer process	130
Breach of licence conditions and the recall process	141
Conclusion	151
Chapter 7	Organising Theme 4: Collaboration activities
Introduction	155
Role of chaperones	155
Police search dogs	163
Communities of Practice	164
Conclusion	169

Chapter 8	Global theme: Organisational learning	
	Introduction	170
	Isomorphic learning	175
	Conclusion	179
Chapter 9	Conclusion of the thesis	
	Introduction	182
	Key findings	183
	MAPPA	185
	Police and probation partnership	187
	Causes of conflict	189
	Collaboration activities	192
	Organisational Learning	194
	In Conclusion	197
Chapter 10	Recommendations:	
	Development of research and professional practice	198
Bibliography		207
Appendices		227
Appendix A	Structured debrief model	
Appendix B	Consent form for participants engaged in debrief process	

Glossary of Terms

Approved Premises (AP) - Formerly known as either probation or bail hostels the properties are now known as Approved Premises. They are primarily a public protection measure to supervise the licence conditions and post sentence supervision requirements of those offenders who pose the highest risk.

Community of Practice (CoP) - Communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and who interact regularly to learn how to do it better.

Critical Public Protection Case (CPPC) - Is managed at MAPPA level 3 and in almost all cases, the offender is assessed as presenting a very high risk of serious harm. And there is a risk of imminent serious harm on release from prison or a significant change in the levels of risk. And the potential event is more likely than not to happen imminently and the impact would be serious; and/or the case attracts or is likely to attract significant national media interest.

Community Rehabilitation Company (CRC) – Provides a wide range of probation services to rehabilitate offenders and protect the public from harm. They supervise low and medium risk offenders, managing their community sentences by giving them the knowledge, skills and support to enable them to stop offending.

Counter Terrorist Unit – Regional dedicated Counter Terrorism Units that operate as part of a national Counter Terrorism network to tackle extremist activity and terrorism.

Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) – In the interest of the public independently assess police forces and policing

Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Probation (HMIP) – Report the effectiveness of work with adults and children who have offended to reduce reoffending and protect the public

Independent Police complaints Commission (IPCC) - Is a non departmental public body responsible for overseeing the system for handling complaints made against police forces in England and Wales.

Multi Agency Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA) - Is an arrangement for the police, probation and prison service to coordinate the management of registered sex offenders, violent and other types of sexual offenders, and offenders who pose a serious risk of harm to the public.

Multi Agency Public Protection Panel (MAPPP) – Formal local panel meetings within the MAPPA framework for agencies to discuss cases, manage the risk posed by offenders and propose rehabilitation activity.

Offender Management Assessment System (OASys) – Is the abbreviated term for the assessment process used by the prison and probation service to measure the risk and needs of offenders under their supervision.

Serious Case Review (SCR) – A review takes place after a child dies or is seriously injured and abuse or neglect is thought to be involved. It looks at lessons that can help prevent similar incidents from happening in the future.

Serious Further Offence Review (SFO) – Is triggered when an offender under supervision, either on licences or on a community sentence, is charged with a serious offence. The Review's purpose is to provide an objective assessment of the case management practices leading up to the serious offence, identifying actions needed to improve its practices in future cases and to update guidance and policy across the probation service

Transforming Rehabilitation Programme (TR) - The programme involved the outsourcing of a large portion of the probation service in England and Wales. 35 individual Probation Trusts were brigaded as the single National Probation Service, responsible for the management of high-risk offenders; and 21 Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRC) developed for the supervision of all other offenders.

Chapter 1 Political, policy and practice context

Introduction

The police and probation services play an important role in the protection of the public and have particular responsibility for the supervision of high risk offenders. Often the influence of politics, policy and practice exerts direction and pressure on police and probation professionals, affecting their ability to work together and driving cultures together or apart.

The partnership working between the police and probation services is essential in the management of high risk offenders by capitalising on their unique skills, resources, and knowledge to keep the public safe and provide offenders with rehabilitation opportunities. Regardless of the level of risk posed by these offenders, permanent incarceration is not an option so they continue to reside in communities under varying levels of police and probation supervision.

Both services are an essential part of a system of public protection developed to prioritise the deployment of resources towards offenders deemed most dangerous; those that pose an imminent threat of harm to others. It is estimated that over 40,000 registered sex offenders live in England and Wales and 2,700 are assessed to be a serious risk to the public (Swinford, 2014).

At first glance their service Statements of Common Purpose have a similar tone, the police describe their goals are to uphold the law fairly and firmly; to prevent crime; to pursue and bring to justice those who break the law; and to keep the Queen's Peace; to protect, help and reassure the community; and to be seen to do all this with integrity, common sense and sound judgement (Newburn, 2003).

Probation describe their purpose is to protect the public; reduce re-offending; provide for the proper punishment of offenders in the community; ensure offenders are aware of the effects of their crimes on the victims and the public; rehabilitate offenders (NPS, 2001).

Both statements contain similar references to protecting the public, reducing and preventing crime and; providing justice and proportionate punishment, demonstrating that both agencies have parallel but different responsibilities and need to work together to deliver those responsibilities.

Parliamentary legislation created the police and probation service as separate entities with different statutory frameworks and goals, often viewed at opposing ends of the spectrum of criminal justice agencies. The demands placed on these services to manage those perceived to pose a risk to society changed, influenced by legislation, media representations of risky people and social transformation described in terms of the 'risk society' Beck (1986, 1992, 1994) and Giddens (1990, 1991, 2003), the 'old and new penology' (Feeley and Simon, 1992, 1994; Simon and Feeley, 1995).

Managerial reforms to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of public services introduced New Public Management models including 'actuarialism' to transform the working practices of the police and probation services and how they worked together to manage offenders. Although outside the scope of the research reference is made to the 2014 Transforming Rehabilitation agenda which significantly changed the probation service and its relationship with other agencies.

Changes in legislation to manage public and governmental concerns about those who were perceived to pose a risk to society led to the introduction of Multi Agency Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA) in 2001. The focus of MAPPA was to assess and manage the risk posed by sexual and violent offenders in order to prevent re-offending and thereby minimise the risk of serious harm to the public.

This framework consolidated emerging practice and established a number of legal responsibilities to be discharged jointly by the police and probation services together with other voluntary and statutory agencies. MAPPA had significant influence on the relationship between the police and probation services and consolidated their joint legal status to manage offenders.

Efforts to improve crime control encouraged partnership working but without shared goals or agreed working practices difficulties ensued. MAPPA drove agencies

together with a statutory duty to co-operate in the protection of the public but interagency arrangements were unclear, communication problematic and training procedures for MAPPA were not in place (Kemshall et al., 2005). Moreover the police and probation services each had their own well defined professional aims and cultures sometimes of divergent purposes, which served to create conflict as well as opportunities for collaboration.

Understanding the relationship between police and probation professionals and the influences on their ability to work together is essential in this arena of public protection; however research to understand how police and probation professionals interpret and implement policy and practice in this arena of offender management is sparse.

Aim of the thesis

The aim of this thesis is to develop a clearer understanding of the partnership working between police and probation practitioners responsible for the supervision of high risk offenders and to develop professional practice. This is achieved by exploring, firstly, the effects of actuarialism and secondly looking at convergent and divergent views within the professional cultures of both agencies in this arena of public protection. The insights for professional practice are set out within recommendations for both organisations.

The Researcher

The researcher was a senior police officer with 32 years experience in a variety of policing commands, including public protection, and especially the management of high risk offenders. During the 1990's her priority was multi agency, proactive investigations into the activities of high risk offenders and predatory paedophiles; some being high profile cases in the UK and abroad. 2000 onwards saw greater involvement in policy development on local and national working practices regarding covert methodology to secure evidence against predatory paedophiles, and the development of proactive child protection strategies which are still in current use.

Her skill base continued to develop in other policing arenas, including organised and serious crime, adult abuse, kidnap and extortion, terrorism and domestic extremism.

When she returned to the public protection arena, she assumed strategic and operational responsibility for directing police resources and liaising with other agencies in the supervision of high risk offenders. She chaired MAPPA, the operational framework for managing high risk offenders and was a member of the Strategic MAPPA Board with regulatory oversight of MAPPA.

She also had experience of the environment and practices within Approved Premises that provide supervised accommodation for high risk offenders. Throughout her police career she had responsibility for a many different investigations but this area of public protection invoked a burden of responsibility and decision making that was not easily replicated in other areas of policing because of the potential consequences to the public.

After some very complex and challenging public protection investigations she moved out of this arena of work in 2010. She chose to engage in a period of academic study and reflection on the demands of the public protection arena and relationship between police and probation practitioners. In light of her experience it seemed a natural progression to explore the offender management world she had just left in order to turn her personal experiences into more analytically based conclusions

Revisiting this area of work, from the perspective of a researcher became a deeply revealing process that reframed practical experience within an academic framework. The focus on actuarial practices and professional cultures is a direct result of connecting research with the practical experience of working with police and probation representatives. As the researcher reflected on her developing academic knowledge she was able to reassess her experiences and identify the impact of actuarialism on her professional environment. These experiences are introduced into the thesis at relevant points.

The study

The study used in-depth interviews and a structured debriefing process to uncover and consider the daily experiences of police and probation respondents responsible for the management of high risk offenders. To produce a sharper picture, a case study (referred to as JJ) is used to explore the relationship between police and probation respondents framed within their rehabilitation and crime control agendas.

JJ is a man in his fifties who has spent the majority of his adult life incarcerated for violence and sexual offences. He began his offending behaviour in his early teens and maintained a consistent pattern of criminality using extreme physical and sexual violence against females. His victims were intimate partners, acquaintances and strangers who he kidnapped from public locations.

JJ was identified as a MAPPA high risk offender, one of the ‘critical few’ that required significant levels of supervision. He became the focus of a two year police operation whilst under probation supervision and resident in Approved Premises. Regular reference is made to JJ’s case to provide an example of the practicalities of offender management. It is supplemented with other cases and the realities of decision-making processes that illustrate links to the literature discussed.

Outline of subsequent chapters

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework of the thesis and introduces the terms risk society, the old and new penology, managerialism and actuarialism. These elements shape the debate about social control, influencing the partnership working of the police and probation services. The changing use of risk assessment models, blurring of professional roles and ineffective information sharing between the police and probation services all come together within MAPPA.

Consequently debates formed around the development and implementation of offender management plans; deployment of resources and use of Approved Premises, claiming they have become tools of crime control strategies rather than opportunities for rehabilitation activities.

The New Public Management of public administration encouraged a reduction in bureaucracy to achieve best value for public money. As a result the role of the police and probation was redefined from a reactive to proactive purpose to protect the public. It was claimed that this change of emphasise relegated rehabilitation and support to offenders to a secondary activity.

The emerging partnership between the police and probation service is explored in terms of conflict and collaboration, which it is argued are essential elements of partnership working. Learning from adverse outcomes is also a key component of partnership working. Crisis and disaster management research is explored to provide a different perspective on learning from human error and systemic factors.

To develop professional practice organisational learning is examined together with communities of practice and isomorphic learning as methods of learning lessons from other industries and environments.

A combination of all these different factors creates tension between crime control (police) and rehabilitation (probation) derived from their professional cultures and from inter-agency arrangements. Managing and learning from these tensions is essential to develop professional practice and ensure that both organisations work together to protect the public and reform offenders.

Chapter 3 describes and discusses the research process, the aims and methods employed and reflections on the research design. In-depth interviews and a structured debrief process were designed and used to generate data across a broad range of themes. A table of demographic information about the interviewees is provided at pages 60-61.

The debrief process is based on a focus group methodology but with differences that are articulated and discussed. To illustrate by example the case of JJ, a high risk offender is described and used to highlight the challenges between rehabilitation and crime control outcomes.

Appendix A is a diagram of the structured debrief model and Appendix B is the consent form for participants who took part in the multi agency debrief process.

Thematic analysis was selected as a tool to assess the data, and a thematic network chart developed to illustrate relationships and interdependences between the themes identified.

Chapters 4 to 10 present the findings illustrated as a thematic network chart and analysis of the key themes concluding with recommendations to develop future professional practice.

Chapter 4 presents the thematic network chart devised from the analysis of the data. The chart describes the themes and their interdependencies beginning with the findings and analysis of MAPPAs and employs literature and agency inspection reports to develop the debates. Included is the effect of MAPPAs on organisational priorities, the consequences of poor information sharing between agencies, dangers of poor administration processes, and the role of the MAPPA Chair.

Chapter 5 presents the findings and analysis of the key factors influencing partnership working, including issues about the blurring of roles between police and probation respondents, rotation of organisational representatives and the diverse range of offenders in Approved Premises increasing the complexities of offender management.

Chapter 6 presents the findings and analysis associated to conflict where there is a clear divergence of police and probation values and goals. The management of licence conditions in relation to an offender's behaviour and the transfer process to move offenders between geographical areas are used to exemplify the tensions between the goals of rehabilitation and crime control.

Chapter 7 presents the findings and analysis of collaborative activities including the reframing of the old and new penology with the role of chaperone to supervise offenders whilst in public settings, the use of a police drug search dog to aid partnership working and development of communities of practice or shared learning forums

Chapter 8 presents the findings and analysis of the global or overarching theme of organisational learning, a key element of future partnership working. Isomorphic learning features as an alternative model to learn lessons from other environments in order to avoid making similar mistakes.

Chapter 9 draws together the themes of the research and discusses the findings in the context of the theory presented. It is argued that actuarialism has permeated throughout the working practices of the police and probation services in this area of public protection but not without resistance from probation officers. Disagreements, which originated from differences in organisational goals, were accentuated by the actuarial risk assessment methodology and explored in relation to MAPPA, partnership working and conflict.

The development of collaboration activities demonstrated a willingness to co-operate and learn together. Opportunities for learning were identified by the existence of the multi agency debriefing process regarding JJ and the communities of practice to share knowledge and experience. These activities indicate a move towards improved organisational learning.

Crisis and disaster management research provided the foundation for additional learning opportunities from other environments.

Chapter 10 presents the recommendations for professional practice in relation to the Police Service, National Probation Service, Prison Service: and National Offender Management Service (NOMS).

Chapter 2 - The changing face of the police and probation services

Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the changing relationship of the police and probation services and the influence of governmental intentions, legislation and societal perceptions of risk. Wider policy changes to the criminal justice system are explored including the New Public Management model of public administration intended to rationalise and deliver a more efficient criminal justice system. Key mechanisms of this rationalisation process are actuarialism used to predict future criminal behaviour and manage offenders according to their potential risk.

The body of research that debates the transition of risk and the influence of the 'risk society' was explored through the work of by Beck (1992, 1994); Giddens (1990, 1991) highlighting the process of modernisation, changing perspectives of society and demands for additional safety and security.

Contemporary methods of crime control that promote public protection, risk management and preventative governance are explored by drawing on the work of Foucault, (1977); Simon (1987, 1988, 1998); Feeley & Simon (1992, 1994). Actuarial justice was examined as a particular feature of crime control that concentrates resources to predicting behaviour and managing offenders according to their risk (Simon 1988). Discussing the contextual shift of risk, managerialism and actuarial practices linked research concepts with the work of police and probation respondents in this thesis.

Claims in some literature view methods of offender rehabilitation as ineffective undermining the ideals of the probation service to reintegrate offenders back into society. It is argued that probation transformed into an agency where surveillance and monitoring processes were prominent in the long term management of offenders. Not every study supports this view Garland (1996) claims the transformation is not so significant and other research describes how actuarial practices are mediated by practitioners (Robinson, 1999; Kemshall & Maguire, 2001).

It is argued that a shift from the traditional probation model of supporting and reforming offenders towards actuarial assessments which viewed the offender as a risk to be managed, drove the probation service towards intervention and preventative practices usually delivered by the police.

A significant element of the public protection system is MAPPA, the operational structure for the management of sexual and violent offenders in England and Wales. The introduction of MAPPA and the use of Approved Premises as an instrument for offender supervision and rehabilitation created a greater demand for effective information sharing between agencies engaged in the protection of the public but particularly the police and probation services. The closer working relationship of these two agencies is explored with a focus on a blurring of roles and implications for crime control and rehabilitation.

The statutory structure of MAPPA draws together appropriate agencies to discharge their duty through consistent approaches to the identification, assessment and management of high risk offenders. Existing research explores a diversity of issues relating to the effectiveness of MAPPA, including the effect of poor information sharing, the growing diversity of offenders for supervision described as the 'critical few', and the notion that enforcement of licence conditions has increased since inception of MAPPA and introduction of actuarial practices (Nash, 1999; Kemshall & Maguire, 2001; Kemshall, 2001, 2003, 2008; Kemshall et al, 2005; Wood & Kemshall, 2007). All these issues appear in later debates about the effectiveness of MAPPA and include perspectives from the respondents.

The closer working relationship between the police and probation services is explored in terms of permeable boundaries described by Nash (1999, 2004, 2008); Kemshall and Maguire, (2001); Mawby & Worrall, (2004); Mawby Crawley & Wright, (2007). They debate the 'polibation' concept and the 'policification' of the probation service by the police. The coming together of the police and probation service created an environment for conflict and collaboration to flourish based on the tensions between crime control associated with the police and rehabilitation associated with probation.

Learning between public services is very often driven by inquiries that into tragic events. Crisis or disaster research and management models feature in this thesis to provide a different perspective regarding learning from systemic and human errors that have occurred in industry and other environments (Shrivastava et al 1988: Wildavsky 1988: Turner 1976, 1978 and 1994:Reason1990: Borodzicz 1999: Munro 2005).

The effect on professional cultures and inter-agency arrangements is an element of this thesis and forms the basis for Chapter 4-9.

Risk Society

The notion of risk is a preoccupation for government, society and the criminal justice system that is charged with managing the risk of crime. There are many different definitions of risk that vary across theories, disciplines and ideologies however this thesis relies upon the work of social theorists Beck (1986, 1992, 1994) and Giddens (1990, 1991, 2003) to consider the critical concepts of risk and development of control strategies to deter or render crimes impossible.

The idea of a 'risk society' is debated by Beck (1986,1992,1994) and Giddens (1990,1991,2003) as reflexive modernisation characterised by a amplified awareness of risk and concentrated activity to know and control risk. Beck suggests the pervasiveness of risk is a catalyst for society and social organisations to move away from acquiring 'goods' such as health care, income or education and towards avoiding 'bads' such as crime, pollution and terrorism. This pessimistic awareness of 'bads' concentrated on the negatives of risks rather than the benefits of modernity.

Beck emphasises that risks only exist in terms of the knowledge about them and can be changed, managed or magnified according to that knowledge. Power and access to and control of knowledge are paramount in a society that is increasingly preoccupied with debating, preventing and managing risk. This preoccupation is described by Rose (2000:32) as bringing future undesired events into the present, concentrating processes, resources and expertise to avoid perceived risk. As a consequence there is a greater concentration on the distribution of hazards not just from new technology

and the creation of new knowledge, but from individuals and particularly those identified as a risk towards members of society. The development of MAPPA to manage offenders reflects this notion as a structure developed to co-ordinate resources to manage future risk.

Giddens, (1990, 1991, 2003) took the view that the response to change and uncertainty is the continual processing of risk information, scientific knowledge and expertise of others to manage future risk. He proposes the notion of reflexive modernisation is achieved through continual re-evaluation with society becoming increasingly self-aware and hence reflexive. He describes trust in experts diminishing together with a declining trust in social institutions viewed as responsible for poorly managed risk situations.

The consequence, it is claimed, is an anxious public who doubt the validity of experts and lack trust in the government and public services to keep them adequately informed and protected. An example is a high profile case describing the errors in management and poor exchange of information about Ian Huntley who murdered two school girls Jessica Chapman and Holly Wells (Bichard, 2004). The subsequent publicity highlighted the inadequacies of data exchange and public protection framework to deal with such an offender, thereby undermining public confidence in organisations and structures in place to protect the public.

The distrust of professionals seeps into other aspects of society creating suspicion of citizens and an increased fear of crime. This is particularly focused on groups who are perceived to be a threat and as a consequence crime strategies are defensive and repressive to exclude these individuals from free access to communities.

Beck and Giddens cover common ground presenting the risk society as a one where anxious citizens live in a highly unpredictable and uncertain world, coping with fear and insecurity through a state of constant reflexivity. They differ on the source of this concern Giddens (1990, 1991) claims this state is partially self-induced as risk is thought to be greater because individual subjectivity is more sensitive to risk. Beck (1992:1994) views the source as the increased number of hazards and risks produced by technology and modern living.

Beck and Giddens claim the notion of risk has always existed but is now, increasingly seen as manmade and adds to an uncertain and insecure world. The demand for risks to be recognised and countered engenders public expectations of safety and security that can never be completely satisfied. The system in place to manage high risk offenders is not foolproof and the risk of harm cannot be completely eliminated. However there is an expectation that the authorities and legislative practices provide adequate protection for the public and keep them safe

Other studies question the notion of a fearful society and challenge the suggestion that citizens are constantly reviewing and processing risk. A key feature is how information is communicated to the public. Walklate & Mythen, (2006) argue the methods effect broader cultural formations of security or insecurity. Narratives, stories or descriptions are remembered and shared because they provide a more compelling picture than data that may actually mitigate the perceived risk. For example assaults on children by strangers are rare but media stories reframe information and created an image of children being subject to constant danger. The publicity campaigns “Stranger Danger” and “Don’t talk to strangers” highlight the threat from strangers but statistically there is more risk and danger to children in their own homes from family members or acquaintances.

The creation of demons that need management and control is a recurring representation that drives not just public fear but also politics and legislative change. It is claimed the public protection agenda became a priority not only within the criminal justice debate, but the focus of political attention. It is argued by Nash (2007); Raynor & Vanstone, (2007) that political parties wanted to be seen to have the protection of the public as a priority and capitalised on public concern about high risk offenders, particularly predatory paedophiles.

Political parties actively sought public support as they competed with each other and changed ideologies to be seen to be ‘tough on crime’. Nash (2007:2010) observes there was virtually no opposition to reform, temporarily satisfying the growing demand for tougher responses to maintain law and order.

The collective approach to this type of criminality provided a foundation to press forward with key pieces of legislation that changed the landscape of public protection and introduced measures to track sex offenders, define multi agency

frameworks to manage risk and apply information sharing protocols to improve collaboration between agencies. Although the legislation appeared to provide a robust response from the Government the practical application is imperfect in the operational environments of the police and probation service, presenting cultural and organisational challenges.

Sentencing options were modified with incarceration becoming reserved as punishment for very serious offences ((Home Office, 1988: 2). The phrase ‘very serious offences’ concentrated on the group viewed as most likely to place the public at risk, primarily sexual and violent offenders. The Government focused on sexual and violent crime in terms of sentencing and agency priorities, resulting in the police and probation services being drawn together towards a shared agenda (Home Office, 1990). This collaborative arrangement did not have shared practices or agreed performance targets so the agencies had to learn how to work together as the relationship developed.

The Criminal Justice Act, 1991 introduced a ‘just deserts’ process matching proportionality with the severity of the punishment. This had the effect of increasing the numbers of violent and sexual offenders who received maximum sentences. Cavadino & Dignan (1997) claim dangerous offenders, primarily sexual and violent offenders, received harsher sentences whilst non-dangerous offenders received their punishments in the community.

The ‘just deserts’ approach increased the prison population and it became the norm for high risk offenders to serve longer prison sentences. It is this group of offenders who are more likely to return to communities under the supervision of the police and probation through MAPPA. The changes to sentencing options provide more complex situations for the police and probation service to manage, driving greater collaboration.

Legislative responses led to the 1997 Sex Offenders Act, requiring designated types of sex offenders to register personal details with the police or face punitive consequences. The introduction of the Criminal Justice Act 2003 (CJA 2003) established the MAPPA framework to protect the public from serious harm. This hardening of political context was recognised by Nash, (2005:19) who claimed crime was redefined as an activity that required control and punishment rather than

rehabilitation options. The introduction of this legislation provided the police and probation services with the ability to have greater direction and control of offenders.

Literature debates the fluctuations of society's demands for improved safety and security and the response of the Government, effect on political opinions and media debates about high risk offenders living in communities. The source of worries about risk varies but the result is greater demands on the police and probation services to keep people safe and secure from hazards especially individuals who pose a risk to others. The ability of the police and probation services to deliver their statutory obligations is discussed next introducing the concepts of managerialism and the new penology.

The effect of New Public Management and actuarialism

Both services were affected by the Governmental introduction of the New Public Management model of public administration described by Hood (1991, 1995); Pollitt & Bouckaert, (2000); Pollitt (2002, 2003) as a change policy to transform systems with business management thinking. The aim was to increase accountability and efficiency of the public sector by applying private sector methods with a greater emphasises on outputs through controlling performance and establishing performance standards.

The principles of managerialism are described by Pollitt (2003) as a labour force disciplined to productivity, managers given the authority to manage, greater use of developing technologies and implementation of professional management roles. In other words an approach that focused on a better use of scarce resources, cutting red tape and the creation of synergies by assembling different stakeholders in a particular policy field or network.

One of the criticisms of NPM was the administrative burden placed on organisations who implemented its principles and the effect on the values and assumptions of those organisations (Brunton & Matheny, 2009). It is argued by Faulkner & Burnett, (2012) that management replaced leadership and competencies replaced wisdom in organisational structures.

Within the criminal justice system the managerialist or actuarial approach was characterised by regulatory and preventive strategies that transformed how the criminal justice was structured with the offender becoming a problem to be managed as determined by their risk.

Kemshall et al (1997) claim that actuarialism changed the nature of the criminal justice system by moving away from treating the causes of criminality and moving towards calculating risk and minimising harm. The traditional view of individual offenders being subject of punishment and rehabilitation transformed them into selective groups of dangerousness, through the use of risk assessment techniques to identify, classify and manage groups determined by their levels of risk (Feeley and Simon, 1992, 1994; Simon and Feeley, 1995).

The work of Simon and Feeley was drawn from Foucault's *Discipline and Punishment* (1977) describing the history of the modern penal system and examining how power relationships effect punishment. Power relationships were viewed as a relationship between people in which one effected the actions of another, for example restricting or altering another's will or action.

Foucault charts a cultural move from the top down form of social control dictated by the sovereign power of the State to a form of social surveillance and process of 'normalised' behaviour. Bentham's Panopticon, an all seeing mechanism of power applied to the abnormal individuals to brand or alter them, was used by Foucault as a descriptive model to describe how power structures operate. The panopticon environment created an impression of permanent observation and visibility. The offender did not know if they were being watched so they governed their own behaviour. This generalised model of surveillance and disciplinary mode was aimed at developing individuals to be self-disciplined and accept the rules of society.

Foucault (1991) introduced the notion of actuarial practice as a mechanism of regulatory control supporting a different exercise of power. The actuarial approach created a shift from understanding the causes of crime to the development of crime control strategies aimed at prevention. Expert knowledge was utilised to regulate and manage offenders and behaviour through actuarial based activities that viewed an individual and population groups as variables.

Foucault presented a perspective of offenders, as the 'knowable man'; identified for the contents of their file, case histories, reviews and predictive data rather than an individual. Information was stored in pre-formed categories to sort offenders into groups for regulation and management. Offenders were reduced to categories of knowledge as they moved through the penal system and assessed according to their calculability, to aid decision making about the risk they posed.

Feeley and Simon (1992, 1994) use Foucault's work as a basis to describe the 'old penology' and 'new penology,' arguing the treatment and rehabilitation of offenders was displaced by a focus on the rationalisation and more efficient management of the criminal justice system. They claim the pursuit of efficiency encouraged a system that classified offenders by the level of assessed dangerousness using actuarial techniques and tools rather than an individual diagnosis.

Differing views from Garland (2001): Lynch (1998): Kemshall and Maguire (2001) describe less of a distinction between the old and new penology, claiming they co-exist within the continuation of the old penology. This notion is supported by studies from America illustrating the continued use of traditional clinical practices together with actuarial models. One approach is not exclusively used in the assessment of offenders. The application of both reactive and proactive investigations skills by parole officers is described by Lynch (1998) and Quinn & Gould, (2003) demonstrating continued access to treatment resources to aid the rehabilitation of offenders.

The literature describes a debate between the traditional rehabilitation model of treating causes of crime with support and reforming activities, and a move towards fragmenting offenders into a collection of data or information which is used to classify them according to their levels of danger towards the public. This approach was part of a greater ideal to rationalise the criminal justice system with the introduction of managerial processes that transformed the offender into a risk to be managed.

The effect on the police and probation services is examined separately and drawn together through the MAPPA framework. The Transforming Rehabilitation

programme is briefly referred to and revisited in the conclusion and recommendations.

Effect on the Probation Service

The probation service was responsible for the risk assessment of all offenders and development of effective supervision for their return to society (Kenshall, 2008). Risk assessment tools such as Offender Assessment System (OASys) are designed jointly with and for use by the probation and prison services to measure the risks and needs of criminal offenders under their supervision in the community and in custodial settings (Burnett et al, 2007). Although the system is considered to be broadly efficient as a risk assessment tool it is not considered user friendly because of the potential for repetition and confusion with the coding and scoring system (Mair et al, 2006).

The assessments take account of an offender's background factors; previous and current convictions, and potential for harm to self, the public and others. The system allocates a score and guides practitioners to the level and type of interventions that may assist in reducing risk (Home Office, 2002). OASys attempts to capture a graduation of risk by using 4 risk categories of low / medium / high and very high risk (Home Office 2001b). The last 2 categories are described by Kemshall, (2001) as being subject of additional assessments using specific tools particularly for sexual and violent offenders.

The system is based upon the prevalence or otherwise of factors associated with reoffending and provides the statistical probability, but not necessarily a prediction of future offending.

In general 'risk' refers to the possibility or likelihood of a possible negative outcome, such as a loss, injury, harm, or death. The concept of risk is a negative effect and an acknowledged possibility of it occurring. An alternative perspective is the statistical concept of 'risk' which has a numerical basis. Risk therefore becomes a numerical value of the effect, its cost or outcome and the estimated numerical probability that it will occur.

This is a shift from a general uncertainty as to what will happen to an uncertainty of a more precise kind. It is not known what will happen, but there is an estimate of how probable the different possible outcomes are, and as a consequence an idea of how probable the unwanted outcome is.

‘Imminent risk’ is the term used to indicate to the police and probation services a high probability of risk; which is usually when an offender has been released from prison into a community. It is this time period that is likely to attract significant attention and resources from the police and probation services. It is argued that if risk factors for offending can be identified, it is possible to implement prevention methods to counteract them (Farrington, 2007).

OASys is part of the assessment process that informs MAPPA and assists in determining the level of risk posed by an offender plus the level of resourcing required in managing that risk. There is greater emphasis on minimising offending through the introduction of ‘tick box’ risk assessment (OASys) to identify the probability of reoffending as well as the potential to respond to treatment and rehabilitation programmes.

This shift away from traditional clinical judgements gave way to empirically derived rules for combining information to produce a quantitative estimate of risk. Clinical judgement relied on an evaluation from an expert who produced an opinion on risk whilst actuarial methods relied on predictive variables produced by analysis of categories of offenders. Both approaches produce a probability of offending but not a certainty.

There is support for both approaches but different considerations within the arena of risk assessment. Borodzicz (2005) described risk as being measured and reduced to its simplest elements to aid understanding through detailed analysis. He claimed the actuarial model which has a scientific basis was a practical model for delivering a level of risk management and risk assessment in a variety of different disciplines. He assessed that scientific evidence may provide estimates of the likelihood of an event, but it did little to challenge the adverse outcome of its occurrence.

Adams (1995) created a debate about turning the idea of risk, a possibility of loss or injury into a calculated risk that was a quantified probability of loss or injury. His

work regarding road safety and wearing of seat belt challenged the claims of experts. They claimed statistics indicated that roads were safer because of seat belt legislation and improved safety devices created a safe zone around the driver and passengers.

Adams argued that statistics did not provide the complete picture and other variables contributed to driver safety including the contrasting notion that drivers engaged in more risky behaviour because they felt safer. He claimed that predicting risk was a process used to inform judgement, but not a substitute for it. He was also clear that the person making the judgement was an important element in the decision-making process.

There are claims that actuarial practices are more accurate and that the predictive efficacy of actuarial assessment methods is superior to clinically based assessments and do not require specialist clinical skills (Meel, 1954; Hanson & Bussiere 1998; Grover et al 2000). However Slovic (1987) is critical of how this type of empirical research can relate to the reality of decision makers who operate in conditions where data sources are often limited, and judgement strategies may be mediated by trust or lack of it or intuition.

The other side of the debate is the assessment of risk through a social sciences perspective which concentrates on the social and cultural contexts in which risk is both perceived and managed. This can include systemic factor or culture aspects. Issues are highlighted by James & Peloille (cited in Robinson, 2003); Fitzgibbon & Green (2006); Whitehead, (2007) who describe the deskilling of professional practice from a clinical perspective towards prescribed routines, replacing high skill levels with a focus on audit and accountability.

It is argued that professional skills gradually diminish together with the ability to tolerate ambiguity and suspend judgement. It is suggested that more time is spent inputting data rather than building the skills to understand the process and offending behaviours (Worrall and Hoy, 2005).

Traditional case work skills are regarded as a key factor in the risk assessment process and it is suggested individuals without these skills have a tendency to over-

assess the risk of clients, particularly if a mental health problem is involved (Fitzgibbon, 2009).

Wildavsky (1988) describes a different perspective claiming that risk taking can benefit society for example taking a risk in the rehabilitating offenders to prevent reoffending and assisting them to become decent members of society. Although reoffending may occur the learning can be used to enhance future capabilities. Learning from adverse outcome is discussed at the end of this chapter.

The introduction of actuarial assessment methods that classify offenders by their level of risk changed the character of social control. The public expect these risks to be managed or eliminated and as the demand for increased safety grew the reaction from government was the introduction of stricter laws and policies to control crime and deliver security. To illustrate the supervision process in action, reference is made to a number of joint police and probation investigations which typify the practical impact of managing such cases, as is especially revealed in JJ's case. This case is described on page 5 and is subject of a fuller description in the Chapter 3.

A gradual displacement of welfare strategies aimed at rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders back into society were replaced with greater crime control strategies which sought to manage the offender (Giddens, 1990, 1999; Beck, 1992; Garland, 2001; Kemshall, 1998; Hannah-Moffatt, 1999). This change of approach had a significant impact on the probation service, historically organised to deliver a rehabilitation centred approach (Oldfield, 2002; Kemshall, 2003). The guiding principles of 'advise, assist and befriend' were superseded by 'punish, help, change and control'.

The historical approach depended on a relationship developed between the client and probation practitioner to deliver rehabilitation and guidance, facilitating individual change (Vanstone 2004; Burnett, 2004). The foundation of this belief argues criminal behaviour is the product of individual dysfunction and is in part beyond the control of the offender (Hollin, 2007). Garland (2001) describes two opposing schools of thought; the first stresses individual accountability for criminal behaviour and the

second assumes that certain offenders are intrinsically evil and should only be locked away and never treated.

The development of an individual rehabilitation plan is a key component in correcting criminal behaviour, forming the core of the case worker relationship between probation staff and clients. Risk assessment tools are essential to identify the different stages of offender development and suitability for a change or control agenda. Actuarial risk assessment tools alter the character of social control by modifying the goal. The assessments changed the focus from trying to understand deviance and assisting offenders to rehabilitate them back into society to one of minimising the harm of deviance by identifying and managing unruly groups. As part of the changing landscape, there was a move towards anticipating risky behaviour and utilising restrictions and prohibitions as methods of control and prevention.

Nash (2012) observes there is no certainty that an individual would or would not commit seriously harmful behaviour in the future but the use of predictive assessments is enough to legally and morally deploy measures to manage that threat. In practice this approach produces a list of high risk offenders in order of the 'most risky'. With this process there is an underlying assumption that the 'worst of worst' offenders are not capable of change. They travel through the prison system without engagement in treatment programmes and maintain the same belief system they had at the time of offending. Historically probation pursued a resettlement approach and engaged with the individual to develop reintegration skills, but there was a growing opinion that probation objectives were moving towards risk and containment.

A similar notion was observed by Simon (2001); Wacquant (2001); Simon & Feeley (1992); Simon (1987; 1988; 1998) describing the criminal justice system in America as a 'waste management model' concentrating on treating a dangerous class of 'lifetime correctional clients' with 'no realistic potential' to reform so they were 'treated as a kind of toxic waste', 'a pollutant' to be contained and strictly managed.

Permanent incarceration is not an option in the UK so a system of community supervision has developed but literature infers that the historical ethos of a humane and supportive probation service is superseded with a punitive focus in support of

police goals of control and prohibition. A UK study conducted by Kemshall & Maguire (2001:252) utilised interviews with probation managers and identified a creeping cynicism. They observed a developing tendency to accept that sex offenders were unlikely to change and as a result practitioners focused on the issues of control rather than rehabilitation.

It is argued that the goal of risk management is to separate the less from the more dangerous offender and manage them by control strategies, including exclusion and distancing of offenders from society, a view debated by Young (1999); Garland (2001a) Simon (2001) and Wacquant (2001). The priority is no longer the identification of high risk individuals in need of rehabilitation, but controlling the opportunities that facilitate offending behaviour, preventing future crimes (Reichman 1986).

Actuarial practices became a dominate feature of offender management with a move away from individual diagnosis and treatment towards actuarial assessments. Sparrow et al (2002) describes a shift in the nature of probation from being a problem solving agency to a performance culture driven by national standards used as a means of comparison by the government. However the use of performance measures was not a straight forward process as much of probation activity was about reforming an individual not to commit a crime. Although stages of individual change and achievement can be measured probation's success is in a non event, a crime not happening.

It is argued that the probation service transformed from an organisation focused on rehabilitation through reforming an individual offender to one driven by a performance regimen that viewed the offender as a problem to be managed. The tools of management became audit and accountability with reduced reliance on clinical judgement and the professional relationship between a probation officer and offender.

The two probation approaches are positioned within the old and new penology but they were not the only public service to be influenced by a managerial agenda. The changing times in the probation service were also reflected in the police service, described next.

Effect on the Police Service

The effect of NPM on the police was a move from a police force to a police service accountable to customers rather than the public. Police performance was measured against pre-set targets designed to meet national objectives whilst trying to ensuring best value for money (Fielding & Innes, 2006).

A significant degree of central control and accountability was achieved through the use of performance indicators or targets set nationally but delivered locally. The introduction of a fiercely competitive performance framework between command units demanded an increasing focus on those activities that are most easily measured, numerically proven and quantified such as increased detection, higher arrest rates, time spent on patrol. Certain types of crime satisfied these targets better than others such as burglary, car crime and assault which are referred to as volume crime.

A common outcome of NPM was the introduction of lean, flat, autonomous organisations, tight central leadership and greater flexibility of shift patterns (Horton 1988). Performance indicators became the tool for monitoring organisations and setting outcomes to justify resourcing and efficiency but also to monitor the performance of individuals.

Whilst examining police crime recording processes Patrick (2009) identified patterns of recording behaviour including an activity defined as 'skewing'. This is a concentration of effort and resources into areas subject to performance indicators through which police forces are assessed. Patrick claimed that more difficult and resource intensive areas of police activity, such as the prevention and investigation of serious crime associated to child abuse and sexual offences suffered as police leaders focused on other targets. Policing activity associated with the management of high risk offenders did not fit neatly into these targets, creating tensions around performance management, deployment of resources and protection of the public.

The dominant feature of NPM was to provide managers with the accounting information to carry out planning, control functions, manage organisational changes, and rationalise decision making with the aim of improving performance (Lapsley.

1999). The pressure to be effective and efficient was one of a number of demands that resulted in a change from a reactive to proactive policing response.

Traditional policing took the form of a reactive response with a focus on investigating past crime rather than anticipating and preventing future offences. Maguire, (2000:316) identifies a move from, 'reactive investigation of individual crime' to a 'strategic, future-orientated and targeted approach to crime control.' This shift involved an increase in intelligence based proactive operations and covert forms of policing through the use of intrusive surveillance and informants. These techniques were applied across many different areas of policing including the management of high risk offenders. Proactive investigations began to focus on high risk offenders.

In 2000 Operation Talkwell, a highly publicised case brought the idea of travelling predatory paedophiles to reality with the successful conviction of two offenders who planned to abduct, rape and murder of young girls. Two criminals with extensive histories of offending against children formed a plan to travel across the country abducting young girls, committing sexual assaults, eventually killing them and disposing of their bodies. The use of intrusive techniques such as surveillance and an undercover officer provided the evidence to convict the two men. The overwhelming detail of the proposed offending behaviour was significant in revealing the intention of the two men to carry out their murderous campaign. The successful prosecution led to life sentences for these individuals (Finn, 2000).

From a performance management perspective, the 18 month investigation utilised the majority of covert resources across the police force concerned, resulting in one crime detection. On the surface a poor result for the money and resources deployed for such a lengthy period.

The true outcome of the investigation was the prevention of numerous offences relating to the abduction and murder of children, saving many thousands of pounds by not having to investigate those offences and preventing the trauma and terrors associated to child murders. This was a significant investment of personnel and effort to protect children, building public trust and confidence together with the reputation of the police and probation services.

The introduction of proactive offender management and further influence of actuarialism profoundly affected the relationship between the police and probation services suggesting that the police became the dominant agency with their control agenda superseding the probation agenda of change and support. The tensions between the old penology supporting the welfare approach and the new penology of intervention are explored within MAPPA and Approved Premises.

The changing agenda between the police and probation service was stretched further with the introduction of the Transforming Rehabilitation programme which is summarised next.

Transforming Rehabilitation

This research process commenced in 2010 since that time the criminal justice and penal system has changed significantly as have the structures and roles relating to the police and probation services. The introduction of the 'Transforming Rehabilitation' programme (Ministry of Justice 2013a; 2013b; Annison et al. 2014) was to deliver new ways of working for the probation and police service.

In June 2014 a National Probation Service (NPS) was defined by the separation of responsibility regarding categories of offenders. The objective of the NPS was the protection of the public by the effective rehabilitation of high risk offenders which continued the historical aim of the probation service to change the behaviour of offenders, as well as prioritising the protection of the public. 35 local Probation Trusts were merged to form 16 super trusts, reducing the probation service to a small specialist organisation.

At the same time 21 Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRCs) were created within the private sector to manage cases determined to be low and medium risk offenders subject to court orders and post release licences, including post sentence supervision for anyone serving less than 12 months' imprisonment. This was believed to increase the numbers under supervision by approximately 50,000 including some of the most persistent and prolific offenders.

Payment incentives were part of the new structure to provide those delivering rehabilitative services with the flexibility to do what works to support and supervise offenders without adhering to an over bureaucratic system (Ministry of Justice, 2013a).

A number of worries were articulated by the Probation Service before the introduction of the reform agenda which included the reduction of probation staffing levels from 20,000 to between 3,000-4,000 deployed between a variety of locations nationally; loss of local connections and partnership working with the voluntary and statutory sectors; fragmented risk assessment processes; multi providers of Court reports and advice creating inconsistent or inappropriate judgements; perverse outcomes driven by a payment by results model; complicated cases requiring lengthy and complicated support ignored or undervalued; forced competition and regionalisation; technology challenges between agencies and lack of transparency (Unison consultation paper CP1/2013).

Academics have followed the journey of CRC's and NPS and much of the pessimism presented at the start of the change agenda is still present (Annison, Burke & Senior, 2016; McDermott, 2016; Dominey, 2016). The National Audit Office report Transforming Rehabilitation (2016) provides a current insight into the reforms. Although acknowledging the frameworks and relationships are developing many of the concerns articulated in the Unison consultation paper are still issues that influence daily work and decision making.

The Transforming Rehabilitation debate is not explored in detail as it is outside the scope of the research but is referred to at points in the thesis and the conclusion and recommendations.

The next section deals with the development of MAPPA and significance of Approved Premises, both are key features of the public protection structure. MAPPA embodies community protection in practice and is the key operational structure framing the management of sexual and violent offenders in England and Wales. Approved Premises provide supervised accommodation for offenders living in

communities. Both are critical to the effective and efficient management of high risk offenders but each has its own weaknesses and strengths which are debated next.

Multi Agency Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA) and Approved Premises

MAPPA is the most significant feature of the public protection system and the framework that draws together agencies to collaborate in the supervision of high risk offenders. Maintaining the creditability and reliability of the system is essential to keeping the public safe and supervising offenders in a manner suitable for their level of risk. This section examines the relationship of MAPPA with the police and probation services.

The Criminal Justice Act 2003 (CJA 2003) established MAPPA in each of the 42 criminal justice areas in England and Wales. The framework is designed to protect the public, including previous victims of crime, from serious harm by sexual and violent offenders. MAPPA requires the local criminal justice agencies and other bodies dealing with offenders to work together in partnership for the purpose of assessing and managing risk posed in that geographical area.

The MAPPA Guidance is issued by the Secretary of State for Justice under the CJA 2003 in order to help relevant agencies deal with MAPPA offenders. These agencies are required to have regard to the Guidance, and they need to demonstrate and record their reasons if they departed from the Guidance. MAPPA is not a statutory body in itself but is a mechanism through which agencies can better discharge their statutory responsibilities and protect the public in a co-ordinated manner.

Although the police and probation service have informal mechanisms to collate and share information, their arrangements were given statutory definition and further strengthened by placing a 'duty of co-operation' upon key agencies such as health, housing and social services to share the responsibility and engender closer working relationship to predict, manage and prevent risk (Kemshall & Maguire, 2001; Nash, 1999).

MAPPA is an element of an offender management system based on mechanism of control and sanctions as a response to non compliance (Kemshall 2001, 2003, 2008). It is characterised by the use of surveillance, monitoring, control, restrictions, compulsory treatment and the prioritisation of victim and public rights over an offender. These statutory arrangements are created to manage particular categories of offenders and are a mechanism through which agencies can reduce re-offending and better discharge their statutory responsibilities to protect the public in a co-ordinated way. MAPPA guidance identifies three categories of offenders who are subject of the arrangements but this study concentrates on the ‘critical few’ those who pose a risk of serious harm to the public and require multi agency management (NPS, 2004a).

The operational criterion for this group is set by the National Probation Service risk assessment tool OASys to help assess the likelihood of reoffending and the likely seriousness of the offence as well as the risk of harm likely to be posed to the offender or others (NPS, 2009).

Kemshall et al (2005) suggests the term ‘critical few’ is elastic because in practice the range of offenders is extremely wide. This is reflected in the burgeoning responsibility for domestic extremists including animal rights activists, individuals with mental health issues, sexual or violent offenders, individuals who are affiliated to violent gang criminality and terrorist offenders (MAPPA, 2009).

MAPPA is meant to concentrate on the critical few in order to subject them to greater scrutiny and more intense management (Home Office, 2002). There is an inference of a moral distinction between those considered capable or deserving of social inclusion and those who were not, determined by the nature of their offending and potential to cause harm. Hudson (2003) argues that individuals who actively pose risks to others must expect surveillance, punishment or exclusion as a reaction to their offending behaviour.

This notion of undeserving offenders has a similar tone to Simon & Feeley (1992); Simon (1987; 1988; 1998) describing an American penal category of high risk offenders as ‘toxic waste’. The terminology creates an impression of a category of offenders who have no realistic rehabilitation outcome to become less of a threat to society and are subject to continual incarceration. There are similarities between this

group and the MAPPA Level 3 of offenders classified as the ‘critical few’ who are generally serial offenders with significant histories of violence and sexual assault.

There are two significant differences between the American correctional system and the British criminal justice system. Firstly the sentencing options of the British system do not provide for permanent imprisonment so a regulatory framework such as MAPPA is essential in protecting the public whilst creating rehabilitation opportunities for an offender. Secondly the American correction system does not have the same reliance or access to a probation service with the goal of providing rehabilitation and intervention activities.

The UK model of community protection is characterised by compulsory conditions of treatment, restrictions and prohibitions to control activities, movement, and associations. Such controlling measures reinforce a sense of exclusion, an outsider being kept away from others in society. Offenders assessed as resistant to change require supervised management to generate incentives for a change of offending behaviour (Kemshall, 2008).

The Probation Service and other voluntary organisations provide supervised environments where offenders develop hope, supportive relationships and an identity that is not associated with criminality. Some of the restrictions and prohibitions associated to such accommodation create issues of social isolation and limit community engagement, contributing to the creation of distance between the offender and re-entry into a community. Too much distance and marginalisation from society discourages a change of life style and encourages re-offending or, alternatively, restrictions and prohibitions reduce the options for rehabilitation but limit opportunities for reoffending thereby keeping the public safe. These two perspectives are explored through the decision making dilemmas and actions taken by police and probation respondents in later discussions.

MAPPA is an imperfect model but essential to co-ordinate the management of high risk offenders. Its strengths and deficiencies are identified through the analysis process described in Chapter 3 and discussed further in Chapter 4.

Development of Approved Premises

A vital element of the Criminal Justice System is Approved Premises. They provide temporary accommodation, rehabilitation and support for offenders who pose a high or very high risk of harm to the public. Nationally over 100 Approved Premises cater for a wide range of offenders including males and females (HMI Probation et al. 2008). In the probation area referred to in this thesis, 5 Managers/Deputy managers had oversight of 7 Approved Premises and responsibility for over 136 residents. Each Approved Premises had an 'on site' dedicated probation team headed by a Manager or Deputy and they worked closely with on 'off site' dedicated police staff. The location of Approved Premises was determined historically by the probation service and they are an inherited feature of police command units that have geographical responsibility for a local area.

Approved Premises were previously known as bail or probation hostels or halfway houses and described by Sinclair (1971) and Andrews (1979) as providing accommodation to variable groups ranging from petty offenders and offenders on bail without any alternative, to those suffering from mental health or addictions. The demand for Approved Premises expanded in the 1980's. They also became the focus of academic research to establish the effectiveness of accommodated provision (White and Brody, 1980; Pratt and Bray, 1985; Lewis and Mair, 1988).

These studies confirmed the growing demand for accommodation and identified concerns about the variety of offender groups requiring supervision. They describe a broad range of potential clients from offenders on bail that lacked a stable address to those posing a high risk to the public.

The prospect of 'net widening' as portrayed by Cohen, (1985) explored concerns about those individuals who are not high risk but could be stigmatised, harmed or subject of community attention because the criminal justice system has chosen to place them within an Approved Premises.

In 2004 the Probation Service and its estate became part of National Offender Management Service (NOMS) that integrated the prison and probation service. This

amalgamation resulted in the introduction of offender managers working with an offender throughout their involvement with the criminal justice system (NOMS, 2005). As a consequence Approved Premises staff developed an expertise to supervise high risk offenders that is identified as a key element in supporting MAPPA (NPD, 20005a).

The notion that Approved Premises supervision has moved away from a rehabilitation function towards an actuarial environment dominated by surveillance and enforcement activity is debated by Dodgson et al., (2001) and Cherry & Cheston, (2006) who highlight the use of curfews, electronic tagging and close circuit television. Burnett et al, (2007) argue that probation practitioners have begun to view their role as one of surveillance and enforcement, including the more regular use of breaching procedures to recall offenders to prison. This observation contributes to a reoccurring debate that the probation service is being lead by a control and punitive agenda.

The purpose of Approved Premises changed with the introduction of legislation. The ethos of their use altered to reflect the new role undertaken by probation to prioritise public protection with enhanced supervision regimes and the refocusing of monitoring activities (Burnett et al, 2007; Kemshall and Wood, 2007a).

Section 9 of the Criminal Justice Act 2000, historically defined the population of Approved Premises, however, the 2005 Probation Circular 37/05 revised the admission criteria for 'those offenders or bailees posing a high or very high risk of harm'. The new admission criteria limited the effect of a net widening process as it established a clearer focus on accommodating just high risk offenders. Although the 'net' reduced for offenders who were not classed as high risk, the 'net' broadened significantly to accommodate an increasing diversity in the profile of offenders assessed as high risk.

The 2005 Probation Circular 37/05 changed the profile of residents to include high risk offenders who ranged from individuals with mental health issues; sexually violent offenders; terrorist offenders; domestic extremists and Critical Public Protection cases. These cases refer to those offenders who present the highest risk of serious harm, have a significant national or particularly sensitive profile and who, consequently, present particular difficulties with respect to their supervision.

Occasionally individuals, subject of the criminal justice system but not convicted, were provided with accommodation as part of their bail conditions. These offenders were likely to be transferred into an Approved Premises at short notice at the direction of a Criminal Court representative.

A new dynamic introduced into Approved Premises was the inclusion of terrorist offenders who were an addition to an already volatile mix of criminals. Terrorist offenders are released from prison having being convicted of using or supporting violence to achieve political aims and/or recruiting other individuals to assist in their campaigns of violence and terror. Examples of such behaviour include plotting to kill military personnel, grooming others to fight jihad and disseminating terrorist propaganda.

Radicalisation can be described as a process by which an individual or group comes to adopt increasingly extreme political, social, or religious ideals and aspirations that reject or undermine the status quo or undermine contemporary ideas and expressions of freedom of choice. Crenshaw (1981) and Francis (2013) describe potential causes of radicalisation and group them together in three categories: situational, strategic and ideological.

For this study situational factors are the most relevant with concerns about bringing like minded people, who share radical ideas together in an environment that allows access to individuals who are vulnerable due to personal circumstances or their criminal background. Proximity of individuals is just one part of the radicalisation process. Motivation is also an essential element that can arise from various sources and associated, for example, to previous experiences of discrimination, social segregation and/or poverty.

Offenders with a lengthy association with the criminal justice system such as those who originate from gang criminality potentially provide a potential fertile ground for exploitation. Offenders associated with gang criminality generally originate from unconventional and disadvantaged backgrounds with a history of conflict and criminality (Burke and Sunley, 1998). There is no single definition of the term 'gang' even though it is a universally used term within the criminal justice system (Schneider & Tilley 2004). However Marshall et al, (2005) describe 3 levels of delinquent collective; peer groups of individuals involved in petty crime; gangs who

are more likely to use deadly force to secure and defend territory from other gangs and organised criminal groups.

For the purpose of this thesis a gang reference will relate to individuals most likely to use deadly violence to defend their territory. The placing of gang affiliated offenders in Approved Premises within or close to another gang territory brings its own risks which are referred to as an element within the thesis. The diverse range of high risk offenders in one location requires an effective intelligence sharing processes.

The next section refers to information sharing as a key process essential for MAPPA, the work of Approved Premises, inter-agency working and effective protection of the public. The thesis utilises professional inspection reports, reviews and academic studies to explore the value of effective, efficient and timely information sharing between agencies.

Information sharing

Information sharing between different partners is a key element of public protection which, in part, is driven by the premise that crime is a social problem rather than purely a policing problem, requiring many different organisations to work together. There is increasing pressure on public services to share personal information from across a range of different fields, including child protection, crime reduction and public protection.

The police and probation services are well versed in the legislative, ethical and agency restrictions for the sharing of information but a number of Serious Case Reviews, conducted when a child is killed or seriously injured and Serious Further Offence reports, instigated when an offender under the supervision of probation is charged with a sexual or violence offence highlight the tragic consequences of poor information sharing practices.

Cases include firstly the 2002 murders of two young girls by Ian Huntley who had featured within the police intelligence system but poor information sharing between police forces failed to identify the risk he posed to children (Bichard 2004). Secondly the case of Dano Sonnex and Nigel Farmer who killed two French students in

London revealed significant information sharing failings between agencies including the police, probation and prison services (HMIP, 2008).

Kemshall (2003) claims a flaw in partnership work is the failure to exchange critical information or communicate changes in risk status and cites the case of Hanson and White as an example of such failure. Damien Hanson and Elliot White were convicted of the murder of John Monckton and attempted murder of his wife in 2005. Poor communication, inadequate record keeping and lack of clarity and accountability for management of both cases contributed to this tragic event.

Kemshall (2003) concludes that an effective offender management system requires information and decision making to be recorded, stored, maintained, updated and most importantly communicated and acted upon. Literature refers to silo organisations as common despite the current community protection model requiring agencies to work together.

There are many reasons for resistance to dissemination of information even where statute provides a legal basis for exchange and sharing of knowledge. Often an unwillingness to share is driven by different organisational objectives that are not always compatible with other agencies. Two examples illustrate this resistance in action.

Firstly the Audit Commission report (2000) *Calling Time on Crime* describes a lack of understanding on the part of police forces of protocols for data sharing and reluctance by agencies to share information, creating excessive caution for fear of breaching the Data protection Act. Secondly an enquiry into the case of Victoria Climbe, an 8 year old girl who was tortured and killed, reveals information sharing to be unwieldy, bureaucratic and had limited influence on the delivery of front line services (Laming, 2003). These different types of barriers to information sharing had the same effect of limiting access to and the dissemination of relevant information.

In this arena of public protection there are clear regulations and policies that support information sharing and it is recognised that access to and the sharing of appropriate information is fundamental to making effective risk assessments and management

decisions (National Probation Service, 2004a). As such MAPPA guidance (5.3; 2009) provides a framework for information sharing with key elements that must be adhered to, such as; having lawful authority to share the information; the sharing of such information as is necessary and also proportionate; it is executed in a manner that ensures the safety and security of the information shared; and personnel are accountable for their actions.

In addition MAPPA provides a structure to decide how and when information is shared; creating safeguards for its transmission and a decision-making process if information is disclosed to other than Multi Agency Public Protection Panel (MAPPP) representatives.

As explained by Maguire et al (2001); Kemshall et al, (2005) not only is information sharing and disclosure critical to the effective operation of MAPPA, it is also essential for the production of accurate risk assessments and monitoring of risk management plans. At the beginning of every MAPPP a statement of confidentiality is read out and agreed by members of the Panel including references to the Freedom of Information Act 2000, Article 8.2 of the Human Rights Act regarding public safety and protection of other rights and morals.

A diversity statement is included describing equal access to services. The process serves to remind MAPPP representatives of their duty regarding the management and communication of information outside the MAPPA framework. The information sharing process combines local checks and balances to try and ensure proper management and disclosure.

As pressure from the government grew for public services to refine their processes, guidance and local practices, legislation led to enhanced information sharing. Despite the framework of legislation and policies for information exchange, difficulties still exist. Bellamy et al (2006) explored information sharing practices between multi agency arrangements including MAPPA and argued that increased formal regulation does not always lead practitioners to be more confident about information sharing practices.

Despite the legislation and policy guidance around MAPPAs and public protection, local delivery is not always as effective as it could be. The challenges presented by information sharing are highlighted in this thesis, pages 97-104 by examining the relationship with a new partner in the form of the Security Service and traditional partner the Prison Service.

The Criminal Justice Act, 2008 introduced acts of extremism and terrorism into the MAPPAs framework, that required supervision processes to be extended to cater for this type of offender including the provision of accommodation within Approved Premises. There have been a number of significant terrorist attacks in the UK and abroad which led to the imprisonment of individuals convicted of terrorist offences. Like many high risk offenders when they complete their prison sentence they return to the community. To enhance the opportunities to minimise the risk of reoffending and maximise reintegration MAPPAs were extended to supervise this new group of offenders because the multi agency framework with access to a variety of difference services was considered a good way to manage risk.

Literature is sparse on the relationship between the security service and MAPPAs and prison service and MAPPAs. Research by Disley et al (2013) identified some pertinent issues, in particular highlighting the lack of confidence displayed by the security service in probation procedures and practitioners to handle information.

To cater for these concerns about information sharing MAPPAs guidance (5.3; 2009) provided a framework to ensure the right information was provided to the right people. The situation regarding terrorist extremists was linked to the use of the 'Need to Know' principle. The phrase as often quoted but rarely defined in literature however Slade (2007) defined it as: "the necessity for access to, knowledge of, or possession of specific information required to carry out official duties."

Although the 'Need to Know' principle can be difficult to implement, it is vital to the protection of sensitive information and cornerstone of many information security policies. Any use of this principle is coupled with a clearly stated definition of what level or requirement of information is necessary to constitute a 'need' and 'want'.

Once defined it is imperative that the standard is upheld throughout all related systems as the 'Need to Know' is a fundamental aspect of security.

The Transforming Rehabilitation programme has created a different complexity regarding the sharing of information which has yet to mature. CRC work is based on a payment by results model and by necessity they have to compete for future contracts against other providers including the NPS. Dominey (2016) raises concerns about the stability of interagency relationships in an environment where agencies are in competition for contracts.

A consequence is likely to be greater strain on information sharing practices and reduced confidence about what information to share and to whom. Protocols in place to support information sharing between public services and service providers will have to be renegotiated to define responsibilities and ensure safeguards are in place for data sharing to be safe and secure.

The next section deals with a blurring of roles, a factor of partnership working that influences how police and probations respondents work together and effect on the delivery of organisational goals.

Blurring of roles

The police and probation service came together to create a foundation to jointly manage high risk offenders whilst providing rehabilitation opportunities for offenders and protection for the public. Statute and policy set the requirements for police and probation services to work together creating circumstances where a blurring of roles become more pronounced.

In his research about the police and probation relationship Crawford (1997) explored a blurring of organisational roles and articulated concerns about the police developing a social work focus, and the probation service adopting a broader enforcement role. Crawford claimed that issues of role confusion and blurring of organisational boundaries created important anxieties for both groups. Anxieties about the loss of professional identities were expressed by Murphy and Lute, (2007);

Nash and Walker, (2009) based on similar concerns from correctional staff working in the criminal justice system.

A discourse developed about the loss of distinct identities and autonomy creating a shift in professional responsibilities. Nash (1999:2004:2008) described a debate about a blurring of police and probation roles; describing a convergence of responsibilities and activity constructing the status of 'polibation officer'. He observed that probation officers were involved in pre-conviction risk management work focused on public protection, as well as the traditional post conviction activity with offenders. Probation officers were provided with access to police information and intelligence about the activity of offenders that could change the course of their decision making. The focus on an offender as an individual was supplanted by a risk assessment that favoured public protection.

Nash argued the distinct organisational value delivered by probation faded as the interventionist criminal justice policy concentrated on more obvious forms of control such as surveillance and prohibitions. He assessed that probation was being steered from a risk management position to one of risk control, blurring their status with the police. These changes moved probation away from their traditional role and raised concerns about the ownership of information and confidentiality issues, as well as highlighting the potential to over prioritise public rights above the rights of an offender.

Mawby & Worrall (2004) developed the debate by exploring the existence of the polibation concept in their examination of a prolific offender project (POP). They describe police and probation staff coming together in a co-located interagency environment to monitor and supervise offenders. They assessed the polibation concept was not a feature of the POP as police and probation officers predominantly retained their professional identities. The polibation concept was not completely discounted but referred to as a future possibility rather than a current development.

Nash (2004) argued an alternative perspective on the work of Mawby & Worrall (2004) claiming they provided verification that the polibation concept was current and developing. He determined, from the same POP study, a number of points, firstly

probation staff were influenced by the police to increase proactive monitoring of offenders, secondly managing confidentiality issues and sharing of intelligence processes were incomplete, thirdly police officers acknowledged a new understanding of the probation service and expressed a desire to develop the new relationship to enhance proactive offender management opportunities.

Nash concluded that probation skills and their unique contribution were in danger of becoming significantly altered by the police in their desire for proactive offender management.

The debate continued with Mawby, Crawley & Wright (2007) describing their evaluation of an inter agency pilot between the police, probation and prison service to manage street crime offenders. They considered the polibation concept and Nash's observation about agency domination; that is one agency developing more power or control over the other. They concluded professional identities were predominantly retained, unless a temporary merging was required to facilitate a project or other venture. They agreed with the assertion made by Nash that the probation agenda was more likely to become secondary to the police agenda as the drivers of risk management were predisposed toward a control agenda and a greater focus on public protection.

Another perspective, supporting a move towards a blurring of police and probation roles was offered by Kemshall and Maguire (2001) describing an increasing involvement of the police in probation work leading to the 'policification' of probation. They observed the police becoming more involved in probation work and having a growing influence on probation outcomes.

Literature claimed that the traditional probation aim of providing support and rehabilitation to offenders seemed to be slipping further away to be superseded by a control and punitive agenda promoted by the police. Consequences of this changing context was the creation of intra and inter agency conflict as well as opportunities for collaboration which are discussed next.

Conflict and collaboration

This section introduces the concepts of conflict and collaboration which are claimed to be essential elements of partnership work. Literature explains the value of both concepts and how they contribute to the relationship between the police and probation respondents.

The police and probation services have different goals, values and processes, as described earlier and these differences contribute to both conflict and collaboration. The NPM model of public administration and actuarialism drove police and probation behaviours causing positive and negative responses.

Conflict and collaboration are two strands of partnership working that Crawford (1995) claims are a necessary part of the partnership process. Although Crawford & Jones (1995) refer to the term consensus this thesis uses the term collaboration representing the active process of working together to fulfil a goal as opposed to consensus that can be viewed as reaching agreement, a working alliance to achieve a goal.

Collaboration does not depend on a predetermined division of labour because members become connected and negotiate a collective meaning through developing mutually acceptable practices. From the onset, the division of labour is negotiated and agreed upon by the individuals involved. Collaboration is described by Hudson, (1987) as requiring a genuine sharing of authority, accountability, resources, and rewards.

Although there was no generally accepted definition of conflict, literature describes some of the varied perspectives. Parson (1937) views conflict as a 'disease' with disruptive, dissociating and dysfunctional consequences and consensus or collaboration as a diametric value. Whilst DiStefano (1984) claims that assessing conflict and consensus as opposites is unhelpful as they are not mutually exclusive and could occur simultaneously.

A useful description of conflict is provided by De Dreu & Gelfand (2008) portraying a process resulting from the tension between team members because of real or

perceived difference about interests and resources, beliefs, values, or practices that matter to them.

These conflicts can be divided into relationship, process or task conflicts. Relationship examples include interpersonal issues, values, personal style and feelings such as annoyance and frustration (Pinkley, 1990). Process conflict is concerned with how a task is accomplished and issues of resource delegation about who is engaged and what is achieved (Jehn, Northcraft, & Neale, 1999).

Finally task conflict includes a difference of opinion about resources procedures, policies, interpretation of facts and judgement (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). This thesis concentrates on task conflict, a process that increases the tendency to analyse task issues and engage in processing task-relevant information. This promotes learning and the development of new and sometimes highly creative insights, leading the group to become more effective and innovative (De Dreu & West, 2001; Jehn, 1995).

Researchers Gillespie & Milleti (1979) & Distefano (1984) claimed that both conflict and collaboration are necessary for the development of inter-organisational structures and without either; a system is unlikely to have the capacity to develop. In other words conflict is an unavoidable process of inter-organisational delivery systems and Simmel, (1950) explains that groups require disharmony as well as harmony, dissociation as well as association, and conflicts within them to be successful.

The reason for collaboration is to accomplish things jointly that could not be done at all, or as well, by organisations acting alone. To achieve this state each agency relinquishes some of its freedom to act independently and invests scarce resources to achieve their mutual goals (Hudson, 1987). An alternative perspective from Charlesworth et al (1996) claims independence is impaired because agencies surrender a degree of power and resource control to support collaborative efforts. It is suggested that collaboration is more likely in agencies that have similar goals and Alter & Hage (1993) refer to the term 'symbiotic co-operation' for agencies that have similar but not the same operational practices.

The police and probation services have similar goals but operate in a very different fashion coming together at the points in their systems and processes to manage problems or engage in problem solving. These problems solving events provide an opportunity for learning by anticipating problems and avoiding adverse outcomes as well as learning from failure.

The notion of conflict and collaboration is essential for partnership working as is the development of a culture to learn from success and failure. Learning is not restricted to the public protection arena. Industry and engineering for example utilise crisis or disaster management as a valuable tool for learning which is transferable to other environments. The applicability of crisis or disaster management is explored in the next section.

Learning from adverse outcomes

Managing risk and uncertainty is not a new challenge but the context has become more complicated within public services particularly for the police and probation that have a joint responsibility for protecting the public. As argued by Beck at the beginning of this chapter there has been a change in society where old securities and class system have been displaced by risks associated to modernisation contributing to the risk society (Borodzicz, 1999).

Risk as a concept varies across theories, disciplines and ideologies but has also become a common feature of everyday language touching many different areas as varied as food safety to pension and business management.

Borodzicz (2005) argues that risk management is not an operational or technical response it is an institutional and managerial process. In the offender management arena the MAPPA framework and supervision provided through Approved Premises are key elements of the statutory and organisational response. Equally crucial is the process of risk assessment and management to provide a structure and common language for practitioners to communicate with each other to deal with uncertainty and risk.

As discussed at pages 19-21 there are variations in risk assessments models and their application as well as different opinions about their accuracy and relevance in assessing the behaviour of offenders. These different approaches are drawn together through the specific regulations and compliance requirements dictated by MAPPA Guidance providing a framework for decision making and management of offenders to minimise risk. Nevertheless errors and mistakes still happen sometimes leading to tragic consequences.

Examining offender management from a crisis or disaster perspective provides a different outlook to avoid or learn from adverse outcomes. Borodzicz (2005) describes the purpose of risk management as twofold, firstly to manage what should happen if the threats ensue including disaster recovery plans, crisis management and emergency procedures; secondly by minimising the probability of the threat leading to undesired effects by operating internal controls that mitigate, avoid or transfer risk.

Explanations as to why errors or mistakes occur are suggested by crisis causation models. Three well known models include Professor Barry Turner's Chain of Causation (1976, 1978 and 1994); Professor James Reason's Swiss Cheese model (1990); and Paul Shrivastava et al presentation of Industrial Crisis model (1988). They typically concur that causes are multifaceted including the development of unrecognised problems or issues over time and preconditions blending together until a trigger event occurs leading to tragedy.

The traditional inquiry approach following a crisis or disaster was centred on human error and sought solutions that improved human performance and reduced risk. Reason's (1997) model of organisational accidents, directed attention away from human error and towards organisational factors that may have enhanced opportunities for failure. The focus of investigation was transferred from a person-centred to a system-centred approach (Reason, 1990a).

To compare the person-centred and system-centred approach reference is made to two investigation reports about the same nuclear accident at Three Miles Island in America. The Kemeny investigation (1979) took a traditional approach examining human error and technical issues. The investigation concluded there was a deficiency in operator training; failure to learn lessons from previous incidents and the existence of a 'mindset' that focused enormous effort to assure that safety-related equipment

functioned as well as possible but there was little investment in the human operators.

On the other hand Wildavsky (1988) adopted a system's approach. He took the human error as a starting point for investigation, not as a conclusion, and saw how changes to the system intended to improve safety had the unintended effect of making the task for the operator more difficult. For example a purpose built visual early warning system consisting of an excessive number of red lights, over 600 creating confusion about their purpose leading to ineffective decision making. Both models took diverse approaches and provided different but equally valid outcomes for the same incident attributing blame or failure to different parts of the system or human operators.

Reason and Hobbs (2003) offer the view that errors are consequences not just causes shaped by a number of variables such local circumstances; the task, the tools; equipment and the workplace in general. If the influence of these contextual factors could be understood the nature of the system as a whole would be more transparent.

In the child protection arena Professor Eileen Munro explored contextual factors as well as human errors. She applied crisis causation models and research related to repeat inquiries from disasters such as the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island to the child protection framework. She utilised a systems-centred approach looking for causal explanations of error in all parts of the system not just within the individual (Munro, 2005).

Munro's work formed the basis for a number of recommendations to change policy and practices within child protection system. Munro (2005) recommended a systemic approach to investigating child abuse deaths by offering new ways of framing the problems and identifying more effective solutions.

To further develop the debate Fitzgibbon (2012) reframed the observations made by Munro to the probation context and considered their implications. She compared the cases of Baby P with the case of Sonnex and Farmer who murdered two French students whilst under probation supervision. She claimed that similar errors could be attributed to probation officers identifying where practitioners failed to follow the rules, to co-ordinate information, to pass information on, or to make the correct risk

assessments. Fitzgibbon recognised that practitioners were hampered by systemic problems related lack of resources; inexperienced officers and excessive workloads.

Similar systemic issues presented in the 2002 Soham case relating to the death of two young girls murdered by Ian Huntley. A catalogue of poor information sharing events provided Huntley with the opportunity to become a school caretaker (Bichard 2004). A factor that could have broken the sequence of events was the verification of Huntley's references which would have been found to be false. Insufficient administration resources in the education system and a change in policy limited the number of reference checks undertaken. Often there were no consequences in this process but this case was the exception.

The systems investigation approach does not extend to the offender management arena however the Serious Further Offence process examines tragic outcomes and makes recommendations for improvements for the agencies involved (NOMS, 2013c).

The growing public consciousness about errors relating to probation and /or police cases is informed by the media; public inquiries identified by Toft and Reynolds, (1999) as a most valuable source of information to help prevent recurrence of disasters; Serious Case Reviews; Coroner's Inquests, Criminal and Civil Cases to name a few sources.

As a consequence the public have access not just to media headlines but details of cases in the form of the investigation narrative and decisions, transcripts of court hearings, medical and legal assessments which allowed the public to form their own opinions about these failures and cultivate expectations that errors and tragedies should not be repeated.

The purpose of learning lessons is to gain knowledge from past mistakes or failures to avoid future problems or tragedies. The next section explores organisational and isomorphic learning as frameworks to capture learning and translate it into positive changes in professional practices.

Organisational Learning

The police and probation service are at the forefront of a demanding public to be kept safe and secure. To avoid failure there is an opportunity and expectation that lessons are learnt from past tragedies and repeat incidences but how this learning takes place is subject of debate.

The literature in this area of learning is extensive and for that reason is not explored in detail but summarised. Senge (1990) claimed that organisations must continually expand their capacity to adapt and create their future. Organisational learning is part of that expansion process with the automated collection of knowledge and analysis of processes involving individual and collective learning inside organisations. Success can be achieved if organisational action matches the intended outcomes and when a mismatch is identified it is corrected.

If organisations adapted diagnostic and evaluative tools to help identify, promote and evaluate the quality of learning processes then they are referred to as learning organisations (Easterby-Smith and Araujo 1999; Tsang 1997). Although Garvin (2000) argued that there was no consensus on the definition of a learning organisation it was suggested that learning was not enough and that behaviour had to change as members continued to learn and develop.

Learning was not just about absorbing facts but a fundamental shift or movement of the mind to change behaviour (Senge, 1990). Learning began with individuals and was founded on their learning processes but it was the task of learning organisations to integrate individual learning into organisational learning (Ikehara, 1999). As pointed out by Argyris (1977); Argyris and Schon (1978); Fiol (1985) detecting and correcting errors is an essential part of organisational learning, improving actions through knowledge and understanding.

Peter Senge (1990) demonstrated a practical way for organisations to apply and improve learning through development of strategies to promote learning. He argued organisations facing continual change needed to be flexible, adaptive and productive

to excel. For this change to occur organisations need to ‘discover how to tap people’s commitment and capacity to learn at all levels.’ Senge argued that failure provided the richest learning experience to effect change however Levitt and March (1996) argue that success is ambiguous and depends on how it is interpreted.

Literature describes two approaches to organisational learning firstly to learn from the cognitive perspective of the whole organisation and secondly the creation of knowledge networks called communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). The term was coined by Lave & Wenger while studying apprenticeships as a learning model revealing a set of social relationships through which learning took place. These communities of practice encouraged team learning where people who shared a concern or a passion were willing to work together to build new mindsets and transfer knowledge.

Another concept developed from these studies is isomorphic learning which originates from disasters or failures in other organisations. Manmade disasters are generally associated to failures in infrastructure and human behaviour. They can have similar characteristics across a wide range of environments or industries so activity that initially appeared unrelated could actually assist to identify patterns and prevent errors in non related settings (Toft, 1997). The appropriate level of remedial action could be taken in other organisations before experiencing the same or similar type of failure (Toft and Reynolds, 1997). Learning from the mistakes of others offers opportunities to develop hindsight and foresight to learn from the past and plan changes to avoid future problems (Toft and Reynolds, 2005).

The risk management approach taking by the police and probation service differs according to their service ethos and operational responsibilities. They can learn lessons not just from other public services but different settings that rely on infrastructures and human operators for their business delivery. Crisis causation models provide alternative approaches to understanding failure which can be adapted to public services as demonstrated by Professor Munroe and her work to advance the protection of children.

The police and probation services face continual change and have to be flexible, adaptive and productive to excel. For this change to occur organisations need to tap into people's commitment and capacity to learn at all levels. Recognising the existence of communities of practice and opportunities for isomorphic learning is a step change towards creating an environment for organisational learning.

Conclusion of Chapter 2

This chapter has examined a range of literature to build an understanding of the context of partnership working between the police and probation services, more specifically, social and public administrative changes that affected the ethos of the police and probation services.

The notion of a 'risk society' set the scene for the changing public concerns about risk and demands for greater security and safety. The government responded with the introduction of MAPPA together with other restrictive and controlling legislation, aimed at protecting the public, enhancing public confidence and gathering future votes for the governing party. Approved Premises became more than supervised accommodation and developed into a key element of the public protection system.

Public protection became a priority for the government and statutory agencies at a time when the introduction of New Public Management models of public administration intended to establish efficiencies and a 'value for money' ethos into public services. The police and probation services were drawn into a performance culture that directed resources towards activities measured by national assessment frameworks. This approach changed the focus of service delivery towards those activities that were measured to gauge organisational achievements.

A developing reliance on actuarialism in the form of insurance and risk techniques elevated the value of statistical judgements to a level, it is claimed, which dominated the work of the police and probation services in order to provide a cost effective method of crime control. The focus became regulation and incarceration with an increasing emphasis on managing and preventing harm by identifying individuals and categories of people who posed a risk to society. There are arguments which describe

this as a flawed approach as risk is a future concept that does not exist as a fact. Some risk can be estimated with a high degree of confidence using actuarial science but reoffending is based on a probability not certainty.

Literature described a move away from treating offenders as individuals in need of rehabilitation to transforming them into categories of risk and danger. This change was framed as a move from the 'old penology' to the 'new penology,' arguing the treatment and rehabilitation of offenders was displaced by a focus on the rationalisation and more efficient management of the criminal justice system.

It was argued, that in different ways each service became defined by actuarial practices. Probation officers became offender managers whose goal was to prevent further offending with less reliance on traditional aims of rehabilitation and reform. The activities of police officers were driven by targets setting, in other words what got measured got done, producing instances of 'skewing' as described at page 24. The police emphasis was towards targets that were easy to measure such as property crime with less emphasis on areas of public protection offences. The targets that were used evidenced detections, interventions and compliance breaches.

The influence of actuarialism was exposed in relation to the 'old penology' and 'new penology' as well as its effect on other aspects of the relationship between the police and probation services including information sharing and a blurring of roles.

Essential to both services was the sharing of information, which literature described as 'flawed' and claimed to be a particular vulnerability in the public protection arena. The closer working relationship between the police and probation services provided opportunities for an overlapping of responsibilities and decision-making. It was argued that a blurring of police and probation roles compromised their identity and responsibilities as well as creating bias decision-making processes drawing probation into a world defined by intervention and preventative practices previously occupied by the police.

The starting point for the two services was quite different with diverse ethos and values. As they were pushed together into this arena of public protection arena

different tensions and opportunities for growth were created. Conflict and collaboration were described as essential for a successful partnership and without either the relationship was likely to fail.

Unfortunately failure is a consequence of the risk associated with offender management. The failure to recognise systemic problems, human errors, intervention opportunities or prevent incidences of reoffending has led to tragic consequences described in the cases mentioned.

Utilising crisis and disaster management research and causation models can provide another perspective to assess the infrastructure and human behaviour regarding errors associated with risk management. A precedent for change was drawn from crisis and disaster management research into the world of child protection creating a more holistic investigation process that was system centred not just operator focused.

Identifying communities of practice and opportunities for isomorphic learning can contribute to organisational learning and improve service delivery for the police and probation.

The overall picture presented was of two organisations striving to deliver their organisational goals whilst contending with political, legislative, policy and practice issues that drove them to work together whilst also creating barriers that threatened their professional relationship.

The next chapter describes the field work and analytical process to establish the extent to which actuarialism permeates the work of the two services and identifies convergent and divergent themes in the professional cultures of both agencies in this arena of public protection.

Chapter 3 - The research process: Reflections on the research design

Introduction

This chapter reviews the research process, examining its aims, conduct, analytical results and methodological issues that arose during the study. To explain the research two issues are addressed. Firstly, the use of a debrief process to generate data and secondly, ‘insider’ knowledge in relation to the issue of bias. The remainder of the chapter concentrates on the analytical processing, development of a conceptual framework, ethics, protection of data including confidentiality and anonymity, sampling, conduct of the interviews and debrief process involving a real case referred to as JJ, the validity of the research and reflections of the research process.

A number of documents and reports were accessed to inform this study including Serious Case Reviews from the child protection arena, Serious Further Offence reports from the public protection arena, probation and police policy documents and standing orders, reports from the Independent Police Complaints Commission, Home Office, NOMS, HMIC, and HMIP inspection reports.

Aims of the research

The aim of this thesis was to develop a clearer understanding of the partnership working between police and probation practitioners responsible for the supervision of high risk offenders and to develop professional practice. This was achieved by exploring, firstly, the effects of actuarialism and secondly looking at convergent and divergent views within the professional cultures of both agencies in this arena of public protection. The insights for professional practice are set out within recommendations for both organisations.

The researcher’s interest in this topic developed from a professional context whilst working as senior police officer and decision maker responsible for the supervision of high risk offenders. At the time of conducting the study the researcher was a senior member of a police force and had access to many different levels of staff and

although external to the probation service also had access to key individuals responsible for managing high risk offenders. These relationships were built through many years of professional engagement working as a practitioner in the field and policy maker. Initial experiences in the management of sex offenders began in the 1980's as an investigator taking statements from victims and interviewing offenders. Familiarity with the child protection arena provided a detailed insight into interfamilial and stranger abuse that later informed her understanding and decision making as a policy maker.

During the 1990's legislative, political, policy and practices changes referred to in the literature, led the police and probation service to develop a more significant focus on the identification and supervision of predatory paedophiles. The researcher worked in this arena and led interagency teams in high profile investigations in the UK and abroad. Having the opportunity to revisit this arena of work as a researcher prompted her to reflect on of her experiences and explore the relationship between police and practitioners, making recommendations to develop professional practice.

The methodological decision

The experiences of police and probation officers are complex involving organisational tensions associated to different ethos and values as well as variants in professional expertise. The two research approaches available to conduct this thesis were interpretative and positivist. The interpretative approach offered more diversity in trying to discover and explore 'how humans construct meanings in their contextual settings' (Cavana et al 2001). The main focus was to understand and examine words, actions and records rather than analysing information through the application of a positivist approach of mathematical calculations to prove or disprove a theory or assumptions. Advocates of the interpretive method claim that positivism ignores the complexity of social study where there was often no definitive answer to be found (Walker, 1985).

If these two positions are applied to the concept of crime, a positivist may take the position that researchers can measure crime using quantitative methods and identify patterns and correlations. An interpretivist may argue the need to understand what

people mean by crime, how they come to categorise certain actions as ‘criminal’ and then investigate who could be regarded as a criminal. Von Wright (1971) described the core difference between the two positions as positivism explaining human behaviour and, interpretivism understanding human behaviour.

Qualitative research methods were used in this study because they focused on understanding the meaning of events from the respondents, in their own situation and allowed for a range of perspectives to emerge. This approach did not utilise the practices and norms of the scientific model preferring an emphasis on the ways in which individuals interpret their world and perceive social reality as constantly changing and developing aspect of them.

This approach provided the opportunity to develop a personal touch when talking to the respondents in circumstances, which produced a more holistic discussion than attributed to the positivist methodology. It was important to engage in a close relationship with the respondents to allow for the development of questions and data. The qualitative model provided a ‘rich description’ of the respondents’ world through their accounts and descriptions.

Ethical considerations - consent, confidentiality and anonymity

Interviews were used extensively in this thesis. The interview questions were aimed to be broad enough to provide a foundation to identify issues significant for the practitioners but still focused on topics identified in the literature. A series of questions were used to build the interview process and identify themes relevant to the respondents that are discussed in later chapters.

All of the respondents were provided with a verbal and a written description of the research framework either in person at their interviews or by email, telephone calls, and personal visits. The participants of the debriefing were provided with information by email and on arrival at the debriefing, a specially designed consent form was signed ensuring they were freely consenting to the research process and this acknowledgement was reiterated at the start of the debriefing process (Copy of the consent form at Appendix B). The respondents had every opportunity to discuss

the research process and ask questions that were addressed in a prompt and satisfactory manner. The most frequent questions related to how the anonymity process would be applied and security regarding storage of the interview and debrief material.

A declaration was made to the respondents about the observance of confidentiality and maintaining the anonymity of information and respondents. Anonymity was also extended to third parties and place names mentioned in transcriptions (Hadjistavropoulos & Smythe, 2001). Individuals interviewed were assigned pseudonyms and an identifier of police or probation which are referred to in the findings to source respondent quotes.

Respondents were informed that quotes may be used in the thesis but the data would be referred to only by the pseudonym, thus maintaining the integrity of the data along with anonymity of the respondents. Sections of both the interviews and the debrief process were redacted to protect sensitive information and covert policing activity. All the participants knew they could withdraw from the study at any time and withdraw or restrict their contribution.

Although it was felt an unlikely development, information was provided about the circumstances under which confidentiality could be broken, namely on disclosure of information that meant the author felt the respondent or another party might be at risk of harm. Reassurances were provided that all data (including original notes, recordings and transcriptions) would be retained in secure storage units. The identities of the respondents were stored separately from the transcripts and on request respondents could be supplied with a copy of their interview transcripts.

An additional level of confidentiality was introduced by not identifying the police and probation services who contributed to this thesis. This extra measure enhanced the anonymity of the respondents and genuine cases related to contemporary offenders referred to throughout the thesis.

Insider and outsider researcher

At the time of conducting the research the author was a serving senior police officer and consideration was given to how her position of authority and status inside the police organisation and outside the probation service might affect the respondents responses. A characteristic of qualitative research is to be close to the data and take advantage of an 'insider' perspective rather than being an objective 'outsider'. Brown, (1996 p. 179-86) identified four different research approaches the 'inside insider', the 'outside insider', the 'inside outsider' and lastly the 'outside outsider'. Each approach provides the researcher with a different status and each has its advantages and disadvantages, only the two perspectives of an 'inside insider' and 'outside insider' are discussed as they are most relevant to the thesis.

Those who study the group to which they belong are described as 'insiders' while those working outside the organisation are 'outsiders'. Therefore, the 'inside insider' is a researcher who conducts a study that is directly concerned with the setting in which they work (Brown 1996; McManus 1997). Sheptycki (1994) suggests the in-house researcher; 'inside insider' may be deterred from conducting research on their organisation due to imposed organisational limitations whilst Weatheritt (1989) was critical of the potential to produce research with a foregone conclusion to support an already preferred option. She argues that a researcher in this position would not be able to detach themselves from organisational goals and would succumb to affirming only positive organisational achievements.

The researcher for this study did not have any intentional bias towards either the police or probation services but did recognise that her lengthy association with policing brought its own potential for preconceived opinions and bias.

The 'inside insider' role had disadvantages described by Kanuha, (2000, p. 444), who recognised the opportunity for an insider researcher to enhance the depth and breadth of understanding that may not be accessible to a non-native researcher. But questions about objectivity, reflexivity, and authenticity of the research project were

raised because the researcher may be too knowledgeable or similar to those being studied.

The researcher recognised the issue of bias relying too much on her knowledge rather than taking a robust questioning or probing approach. After being in the public protection arena for a number of years she was afforded an element of legitimacy which provided access to individuals and a more complete acceptance by the respondents. She had the advantage of understanding the organisations and cultures, but had also to develop a fresh and independent mindset that did not rely on a police originated perspective which might compromise the interviews or analysis.

Police respondents appeared very open about their personal experiences describing moments of fear and stress. This was not a usual response for police officers as observed by Reiner (1992) in his commentary about police culture being suspicious of external interest in their profession. There was no complacency about ensuring the respondents provided true consent and any influence or intimidation by the status of the researcher was reduced or eliminated by conducting the interviews wearing plain clothes instead of police uniform, and by meeting at a location comfortable for the respondent. Steps were taken to minimise the effect of the author's personal opinions by self briefing and debriefing after each interview to ensure the research objectives remained the focus of the interviews. Also reflecting on the previous experiences of other researchers and asking the participants if they would have preferred a different approach.

The researcher's status altered to that of an 'outside outsider' with the probation respondents. The author had a professional relationship with the probation respondents and was familiar with individuals and their roles. On the other hand she acknowledged that she was less cognisant with their organisation and culture, also less influenced by their practices and local issues. The author relied on this relationship and the fact the study was legitimised by support from the hierarchy within the police and probation service.

The researcher recognised there was an actual and, or perceived differential between her and the respondents in the debrief process. Kelman (1972) argued the research

situation itself can make subjects feel powerless and therefore agree to things that may cause them to be apprehensive or feel discomfort. This situation can be amplified if a researcher held a position of authority and as such this author was even more aware of her ethical obligations towards the participants (Raven, Schwarzwald & Koslowsky, 1998).

The subject matter is socially and organisationally sensitive so a balanced, methodologically clear and accurate reporting process was essential for acquiring the data and for turning it into an accurate and transparent research thesis.

Lastly it was suggested the 'outside insider' distinction is a false dichotomy as regardless of their status researchers have to contend with similar methodological issues (Banks, 1998; Merton, 1978). Although the 'inside outsider' debate was used to frame the researcher's status ultimately her approach was open and honest with a focused interest on the respondents and a commitment to accurately and appropriately representing their experiences.

In part a return to the philosophical debate at the start of this chapter is also relevant. The distinction between the insider and outsider approach corresponds to contrasting positions concerning the theory of knowledge. Interpretivism is especially appropriate for insider research as the process and products are designed to try and give 'voice' to the participants (Crotty, 1998; Patton, 2002).

Sampling strategy

The respondents were police and probation officers who contributed different perspectives about their relationships and cultures as well as providing a vivid insight regarding the case involving high risk offender JJ.

Two groups of people took part in the interview process, managers of probation Approved Premises and police officers who had specialist knowledge and experience in the management of high risk offenders.

The respondents were selected by non-probability sampling also known as purposive or judgemental sampling as they were the most likely candidates to provide the

greatest insight into the research questions. Patton (1990) describes purposeful sampling as seeking information rich cases that can be studied in depth. This type of sampling is aimed at gathering information to develop and refine emerging themes rather than creating a general theory representing a particular population.

The Head of the Public Protection Unit for the Probation Service granted access to the Approved Premises managers with responsibility for the range of facilities in the local probation area. They were invited to join the study and the request supported by a personal presentation at their regional meeting to collectively address all the potential respondents. They were invited to assess the aims of the project and provide an indication of their willingness to become a respondent. Approved Premises Managers for the local areas volunteered to be interviewed and assist in the research. The group consisted of Managers or Deputy Managers of Approved Premises and their supervisor, Deputy Head of the Public Protection Unit (n = 5). They had responsibility for all aspects of the management in the Approved Premises as well as their staff and residents.

The police officers were identified for two important features, firstly their knowledge and experience of MAPPAs and secondly operational responsibility for the supervision of high risk offenders. They were invited to join the study by an email request, followed by a personal visit to deal with any questions. The group included the senior policing ranks of Chief Inspectors, Superintendents and Chief Superintendents (n = 5) who had experience as MAPPAs Chairs as well as strategic responsibility for the management and deployment of resources to respond to MAPPAs offender management plans. Within this group was a breadth and depth of knowledge that could not be easily found without significant research in other police forces and a commitment to travel across the country.

A third group comprised of interagency representation of police and probation officers with specific responsibility for supervising JJ. The respondents (n = 22) were invited to contribute through a debrief process that explored the case of JJ. This group consisted of 19 police representatives (1 had been interviewed previously) and 3 probation officers (1 had been interviewed previously). Quotes from 11 officers are referred to in the following chapters. These respondents had range of knowledge

about managing high risk offenders but more importantly they were prepared to share their experience of supervising JJ.

This group all had very different roles and responsibilities in managing JJ. The police were represented by surveillance officers, investigation and intelligence staff and representatives from 3 Public Protection Units from different command units across the force as well as senior police managers. Probation was represented by an Approved Premises manager and case officers who supervised JJ. The variations in roles and responsibilities provided an opportunity to gather a diverse range of responses.

A description of the interviewees and their role in their organisations

	PSEUDONYM	GENDER	ROLE	RESPONSIBILITY	LENGTH OF SERVICE
1	Peter	M	Probation Officer	Manager of 2 Approved Premises	10 years
2	John	M	Probation Officer	Manager of 2 Approved Premises	30 years
3	Alan	M	Probation Officer	Approved Premises manager	10 years
4	Lisa	F	Probation Officer	Approved Premises manager	25 years
5	Grace	F	Probation Officer	Oversight role of 10 Approved Premises	19 years
6	Sean	M	Police Officer	Chair of MAPPA and Crime Manager	27 years
7	Shirley	F	Police Officer	Chair of MAPPA and Operations Commander	16 years

8	Paul	M	Police Officer	Chair of MAPPA and Operations Commander	29 years
9	Annie	F	Police Officer	Chair of MAPPA and Crime Manager	15 years
10	Luke	M	Police Officer	Chair of MAPPA and Operations Commander	31 years
11	Simon	M	Police Officer	Intelligence Officer	21 years
12	James	M	Police Officer	Surveillance Officer	17 years
13	Phillip	M	Police Officer	Detective Officer	12 years
14	Keith	M	Police Officer	Offender Manager	14 years
15	David	M	Police Officer	Detective Officer	19 years
16	Adam	M	Police Officer	Intelligence Officer	12 years
17	Doyle	M	Police Officer	Detective Sergeant	15 years
18	Roy	M	Police Officer	Offender Manger	13 years
19	Sue	F	Police Officer	Detective Officer	11 years
20	Karl	M	Police Officer	Intelligence Officer	9 years
21	Ken	M	Police Officer	Detective Inspector	28 years
22	Kim	F	Probation Officer	Offender Manager	14 years

Data collection

The interview process

Broadly there are three types of interview that could have been selected for this thesis in the form of structured, semi structured, and informal conversations (Fielding, 1993; Lofland et al, 1984; Newell, 1993; Patton, 1990). Lofland and Lofland describe semi-structured interviewing as a, 'guided conversation whose goal is to elicit from the interviewee rich, detailed materials that can be used in qualitative analysis' and 'the intensive interview seeks to discover the informant's experience of a particular topic or situation' (Lofland et al, 1984: 12). To achieve these goals an interview guide or schedule of questions and general topics were prepared for each interviewee based on the research questions and research context. The topics were determined to assist in answering the research questions and provide a foundation to record other themes as the interviews progressed. Although the same data was sought there were no pre-determined responses so the style of semi-structured interviewing allowed the researcher to probe and explore variations within each interview.

This flexible approach assisted the researcher to modify the questions during the interviews, spending less or more time on areas of discovered importance, excluding questions that were unproductive and introducing new topics as the interviews developed.

The choice of a semi structured interview provided a balanced framework that was not too subjective or too informal allowing for the researcher to develop a relaxed and less imposing stance. The disadvantage was the potential to amplify issues of bias and more seriously 'going native' by over identifying with the group subject of the research (Burgess, 1984).

This was recognised as a potential issue as the interviewees were from the same police and probation peer group as the researcher. A pre-interview discussion set the scene for the interviews, dealing not just with the practicalities of the interview and security of the data but reframing the role of the researcher rather than that of a colleague or member of the peer group.

A less formally structured interview framework may have obtained knowledge pertinent to the study but it would have been very naive to assume that developing a less formal approach was sufficient to prevent interview bias (Holstein and Gubrium, 1997). Interview bias can always occur but openness, transparency and awareness is the key to understanding and managing the effect.

The researcher's occupational identity and professional experiences provided an advantage as an in-house researcher (Burgess, 1984; Chandler 1990). Her status with the police interviewees was of an equal or junior rank so there was no power base to influence or coerce the respondents. However as a representative of the police interviewing probation officers the situation was different but nevertheless the researcher's professional experience and previous working relationship provided a foundation for frank and informative interviews.

The respondents were briefed on the aims of the research and the interview process which developed into a two way discussion. All those interviewed were very keen not just to describe practice deficiencies but also to provide solutions or innovations to manage those issues.

The structured debriefing process - Details of the case

An interview process was used to engage with senior police officers and probation officers but a different approach was taken with the respondents responsible for the supervision and investigation of JJ, referred to throughout the thesis. A structured debrief process is described next and was selected for this larger group because interviewing each individual was too time consuming and unwieldy.

A structured debrief process was used to draw together police and probation respondents engaged in a live investigation over a two year period. This approach provided a different perspective from the officers interviewed and presented an operational perspective of a real life scenario. The debrief process provided a framework for respondents to discuss the challenges they faced and suggest recommendations to improve future investigations.

An insight is provided into JJ's background and worries about his future offending behaviour followed by literature references that establish the structured debrief process as a variant of focus groups.

JJ was a man in his fifties who spent the majority of his adult life incarcerated for violent sexual offences including rape, buggery and kidnapping. He began his sexual offending in his early teens and maintained a consistent pattern of offending against strangers and intimate partners throughout his life. Other criminal offences include burglary, theft and assaults. The use of extreme violence was directed towards his female victims as well as individuals who sought to intercede and protect those victims or limit JJ's control of them. These individuals included husbands and partners who were beaten and forced to distance themselves from their female companions.

Children were a distraction that JJ did not want in a relationship so he coerced his victims to create circumstances that resulted in the children entering the care of Social Services or being placed with other family members leaving the victim under his complete control and without any distractions.

JJ entered not guilty pleas at his trials for sexual offending and all his victims were required to attend court to give evidence in person. He has never acknowledged his offending behaviour or predisposition for using serious violence. Whilst in prison he declined to take part in any treatment programmes and only took part in educational programmes that benefitted him. The risk assessments on JJ indicate a very high risk of reoffending by using extreme sexual violence on strangers as well as those who sharing a closer relationship with him.

JJ was managed as a MAPPA high risk offender and identified as a Critical Public Protection Case which resulted in additional funding for increased security and supervision at the Approved Premises as well as increased supervision in the community by the provision of a chaperone.

On release from an extensive sentence, JJ was the subject of probation supervision including residency in Approved Premises. Police commenced a surveillance

operation that was in place for over two years as well as utilising Sexual Offence Prevention Orders and the conditions of his prison licence to restrict and direct JJ's behaviour and movements.

Examples of his restrictions included an exclusion zone from specific geographical areas, prohibitions on possessing or accessing mobile phones or telephones, drinking alcohol and associating with females without notifying his probation officer. JJ tried to create the impression he was complying with all aspects of his supervision so the restrictions would be reduced and allow him additional freedoms. The respondents provide examples of how JJ tried to mislead and manipulate his probation supervisors to extend his freedoms and exert his control over others.

JJ secretly developed a superficial friendship with a local man and through furtive activity involving a third party he met and formed a relationship with a woman referred to in the thesis as Miss Jones. Within a few days JJ was engaged in a sexual relationship and directing her decisions including where she lived and surrendering her children to the care authorities.

JJ was recalled to prison for breaching his licence conditions by failing to inform his probation officer he was having a relationship with a female. The restrictions were in place not to prevent the development of relationships but to assess potential difficulties and dangers for other parties. JJ arranged a covert communication process via male contacts to maintain his relationship with Miss Jones and kept his communications secret.

In order to break the bond between JJ and Miss Jones, representatives of a MAPP shared information with Miss Jones so that she could assess for herself and understand the risk posed by JJ. Despite receiving pertinent information about the risk presented by JJ, Miss Jones chose to remain in the relationship. Fearing for her personal safety the police remained supportive to Miss Jones and built a distanced relationship so when Miss Jones needed support it was available.

Over a lengthy period of time JJ committed a series of serious sexual assaults against Miss Jones that she did not disclose despite being in regular contact with the care

authorities and the police. After a particularly violent rape in a public, but isolated setting she reported the assaults to the police, leading to JJ's arrest. Miss Jones attended court to provide evidence about the violent sexual assaults committed by JJ. After a lengthy trial he was found guilty and received a significant term of imprisonment.

Scenarios from JJ's case and other events are used to link real situations with research literature described in the following chapters.

The literature presented next describes the history of debriefing and its research links to focus groups which are commonly used research tool.

Debrief process

Debriefing originated with the United States Air Force during World War II, and is still a commonly used means by which military personnel are interviewed after completing their missions. The purpose was to obtain an account of their actions with reference to operational and educational objectives (Colby, 1980). There are various applications of debriefing processes within the police service as recommended by the National Intelligence Model (2000) to identify aspects of operational deployments, intelligence management and recommendations for future best practice. Debriefing is a practice regularly utilised in policing to guide single members of personnel to review their working day or with large group of police or multi agency personnel to explore critical events.

Debrief processes are applied across a wide range of agencies with health professionals regarding debriefing as common practice for understanding patient's views, as described by Blake, Gusella, Greaven, & Wakefield (2006). As well as assessing simulated medical training exercises (Johnson-Russell, 2008). Deahl, (2000) described debriefing as a widely accepted intervention for traumatised victims, however, other studies recommend further exploration of the benefits of a debriefing experience for traumatised victims (Raphael, Meldrum & McFarlane, 1995). In education Lederman (1984) differentiated educational debriefing from other processes because of the emphasis on the learning derived from the experience.

All these aims are very different from the management of critical incident stress, framed to overcome the effects of post traumatic stress particularly relevant for emergency service personnel (Mitchell, 1983).

In summary, debriefing processes are applied to very different professional areas with different aims and outcomes, but with common themes, including identifying and reflecting on experiences and transferring learning into other aspects of a professional practice.

Transforming the debriefing process into a research tool for this thesis was achieved by illustrating the association to focus group research and noting the similarities and differences were not so significant to compromise the research process.

Association between focus group research and the debrief process

Focus group research provides a social science foundation for the structured debriefing process and evidences its value as a research tool. Merton et al, (1956) developed the focus group concept by testing responses to a programme of radio broadcasts designed to maintain domestic morale in time of war. They introduced carefully planned discussions with the aim of capturing feelings, perceptions, attitudes and ideas of the participating group in relation to a particular area of interest (Morgan, 1988: Krueger & Casey, 2000).

One of the key outcomes was the improvement of group interaction in generating data (Goldman and McDonald, 1987; Morgan, 1988; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990). To achieve the optimum group the participants were carefully selected and were homogeneous with respect to the topic of interest because the objective was to highlight where there was commonality within the group.

Generally, participant selection was tailored to share viewpoints relative to the aims of the study (Kitzinger 1994). The composition of the group, structure of the facilitators guide and clearly formulated questions were key issues to achieve the objective of the process (Stewart & Shamdasani 1990). Group dynamics were identified as an integral part of the procedure with participants engaged in

discussions with each other rather than directing their comments solely to the moderator (Kitzinger 1994). Participants were encouraged to question each other's responses, extract clarification and explore limitations to their statements.

This approach sought to promote a safe, non-threatening, informal environment for self-disclosure through careful participant selection, sensitive questioning by a facilitator and the prior establishment of clear ground rules for participation (Krueger 1994). Generally focus groups consisted of between 6 and 12 members drawn from a study population of interest, and sessions typically lasted between one and two hours until the topic had been covered to the satisfaction of participants (Stewart & Shamdasani 1990). This number of participants was small enough for everyone to contribute, but large enough to share diverse opinions across the whole group rather than fragmenting into smaller parallel discussions (Krueger 1994). There are clearly elements of the focus group format that feature in the structured debriefing process but also some differences.

Structured debriefing was participant centred and guided by a trained facilitator who had a clear understanding of the objectives of the process. The structured debrief process was particularly relevant to and is widely used in the police service to help staff in communicating their experiences of how they and their organisation or other agencies operated in an emergency, an exercise or other activity. The aim is to learn through reflection and improve future practise including relationships, interagency plans or training processes.

The originator of the process, John Arney, is internationally recognised for his expertise in this area and describes the process as being: "... a disciplined but flexible technique for learning through reflection by sharing experiences, gathering information, and developing ideas for the future." (Arney, 2000). The application of the debrief model is described and the framework illustrated at Appendix A.

There was some variance between the focus group structure and debrief process because the debrief process did not initially encourage debate, discussion or problem solving between participants. The purpose was to respond to the questions from the facilitator and ensure questions were answered as fully as possible by each individual

participant. The facilitator provided a very structured and time constrained process whilst ensuring those participants who wished to contribute had ample opportunity to do so.

A primary difference between the focus group and structured debrief process was related to the participants. Although they were homogeneous, they had shared experiences of JJ. Their commentary on that experience was likely to be quite different as it reflected their professional roles and responsibilities. The participant's role was to describe and define their own experiences to the facilitator rather than engaging in a debate between each other. The numbers of participants could be a much larger group as the focus was on the issues relevant to the topic under discussion.

Arney (2000) recommends the debrief process is carried out in a manner conducive to promoting organisational learning and encouraging a no-blame, non-hierarchical culture. The following ground rules were suggested for the debriefing process: to be conducted openly and honestly, pursue personal, group or organisational understanding and learning, to be consistent with professional responsibilities, respect the rights of individuals and value equally all those concerned. These ground rules are independently compatible with the ethos of a focus group and the ethical guidelines for this thesis. In addition to securing and recording verbal consent, signed consent forms were utilised to provide a clearer ethical framework (Appendix B).

Focus group research provides a social science foundation for the structured debriefing process and validates its relevance to qualitative research methods. Importantly the approaches provide a rich understanding of people's lived experiences and perspectives, situated within the context of their particular circumstances and settings (Murphy et al, 1998). Wilkinson (1998) supports the notion of focus groups to extract a complete picture from the participant regarding their understanding of the issues under question.

However the presence of multiple voices and the interactional complexity of the process could make it difficult to infer and develop aspects of the study. Webb & Kevern (2001) questioned the value of focus groups as the group context provides an

opportunity for each participant to influence or corrupt the opinions of others in the same group, thereby not allowing data to be gathered in an uncontaminated way. Thus, there is a difference in opinion about the paradigmatic assumptions of focus group research that can be reflected on the structured debrief process. The structured debrief process provided a particular insight into an operational scenario and yielded data that was subject to further analysis.

Procedural issues

The semi-structured interviews varied between 1 – 2.5 hours in length and took place at a location nominated by the respondent that was generally their normal place of work. The interview topic guide comprised a list of questions that formed an aide memoire or prompt. Sometimes the dialogue took the form of a debate or story telling that distracted the purpose of the interview if it was allowed to develop for too long. Moving from topic to topic provided an opportunity to guide the interview process whilst allowing time to ‘free wheel’ and ‘talk outside the box’ so that unexpected themes could develop (Fielding, 1998). This approach reflects the iterative nature of qualitative research with the collection and analysis of data informing each part so they are not distinct processes.

The majority of interviews were organised at the respondent’s place of work which was most convenient for them but did have some negative points. Daily police business intruded into one interview, because of a firearms incident the respondent had to leave and supervise the situation. Another respondent had an urgent personnel issue to manage. The interviews were rearranged but it was an indication of how the work place responsibilities took precedence. The probation interviews were conducted within the Approved Premises and one of the interviews were disturbed by a noisy dispute between residents, which was quickly resolved.

The interviews were recorded on an analogue dictaphone with an additional microphone for added clarity. Written notes were made of the interviews in case of a recording failure and to identify key themes as the interviews progressed. The transcription process was conducted by two trained typists and the content checked by the researcher for consistency and accuracy. All of the interviews were transcribed

in full with a high degree of accuracy. As this research did not utilise discourse analysis or conversational analysis ‘umms’, ‘ahhs’ etc were omitted. Where the typists used abbreviated police terminology the phrases were written in full and place names, identities of individuals and sensitive information were redacted. Interview data was presented using pseudonyms for each respondents and identifying the profession they represented.

The debrief process was recorded using digital audio equipment and the data transcribed in a similar manner to the interviews.

Thematic Analysis

The thematic analysis framework described by Attride Sterling, (2001) was used as the foundation to develop themes displayed as a network chart at page 79. The process focused on identifying basic themes in the transcripts and grouping them together labelled as organising themes. These themes cluster together to identify a global or over-arching theme. The process is represented as a web-like diagram depicting the salient themes at each of the three levels, and illustrating the relationships between them. This is a widely used procedure in qualitative analysis and parallels are found in grounded theory (Corbin and Strauss, 1990). The procedure of thematic networks did not aim to discover the beginning of arguments or the end of rationalisations; it simply provided a technique for breaking up text, and finding within it explicit rationalisation and significance.

To apply this process, each interview recording and the debriefing process were transcribed verbatim and the transcription document had margins for note-taking. Notations included the coding convention for the participants and numerical coding for the sentence within the transcript was noted for ease of identifying extracts. The researcher listened to the recordings and repeatedly re-read the transcripts to familiarise herself with the content. During this phase the key text was identified and transferred to an index section. This section was subject of a cut and paste process with the information being transferred to notes and displayed on large sheets of paper.

This process was completed for all the interviews and the researcher made notes of any thoughts, observations or reflections that occurred whilst reading the text, a process suggested by Smith et al, (1999). These notes were recorded in the right hand column of the interview transcripts.

The transcript from the structured debrief process was analysed in the same manner and the same coding process used within the transcripts to allow for ease of identifying extracts. Extracts that contained sensitive information, covert tactics or other confidential information were redacted to prevent inappropriate disclosure of information.

The basic themes identified from the text were transferred via a cut and paste process and placed together as statements of a similar nature, those anchored round a central notion, similar subject or other references. In order for them to make sense the basic themes were sorted and read together in different groups to represent an organising theme. The organising themes summarise the principal assumptions of the basic themes enhancing their meaning and significance. Lastly a global theme or overarching is a concluding or final principle.

The result of each stage is identified at the start of Chapter 4 together with a thematic network chart.

Quality assurance measures

There has been criticism of the trustworthiness of qualitative research compared to quantitative research. Klenke (2008: 10) claims the quantitative approach provides a level of subjectivity that is not present in qualitative research suggesting it will be rendered as unreliable, invalid and non-replicable. Conversely there are qualitative authors Lincoln and Guba, (1985), cited in Klenke, (2008) who question the objectivity of statistical analysis. The next section explains the approach taken to demonstrate the trustworthiness of this study.

Validity of the research

There are no statistical tests for significance in qualitative studies and traditional quantitative outcomes such as external and internal validity, reliability, and objectivity are not considered appropriate in qualitative methodologies (Bradley, 1993). Academics such as Smith & Heshusius, (1986) argue that qualitative research is only an “interpretation of the interpretation of others”, so findings can vary from individual to individual. To maximise the research rigour Lincoln & Guba, (1985) provide a framework of procedures described in four stages as credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability which are used in this thesis.

The first stage is credibility a key factor to establish ‘trustworthiness’ so that findings can be factually accurate and reflect the circumstances described (Bradley, 1993). This is achieved by adopting reputable research methods and presenting them with detailed, descriptive data so there is an understanding and appreciation of the meaning of the experiences shared by the respondents. The selection of the respondents is an important element, and although random sampling is recommended to avoid researcher bias, in this case ‘purposive sampling’ was necessary because the management of high risk offenders is such a specialism. A more random group would not have been as able to contribute to the aims of the study.

Researchers Lincoln & Guba, (1985) and Erlandson et al (1993) support a familiarisation process with participants but also recognise the dangers of prolonged engagement between a researcher and respondents, which might develop a potential for professional judgement to become obscured by familiarity with the subjects of the study. This point is addressed during the author’s reflections at the end of this chapter.

The data was analysed from a number of perspectives by using a triangulation process to facilitate deeper understanding as described by Denzin, (1978) and Patton (1990). Triangulation of methods sources was achieved in this thesis by using semi-structured interviews and a structured debriefing process with a data collection targeted to a wide range of respondents from the police and probation service. Although there could be criticism for using purposeful sampling instead of random

sampling, the process was adopted to provide the most relevant and informed commentary from respondents in the public protection arena.

Van Maanen (1983) recommends 'checking out bits of information across informants' to verify viewpoints or experiences against each other. This process was used to corroborate observations or opinions from different levels and roles of respondents. In addition triangulation of data sources illustrates a correlation between the findings in this thesis and literature, as well as professional practice commentary from serious case reviews, and recommendations from HMI Probation and HMI Constabulary.

The second stage is transferability or generalisation referring to the extent to which research work can be applied to another context or wider population by providing data sets and descriptions that are rich enough for other researchers to make judgments about the findings. Holloway, (1997) describes 'rich enough' material in terms of 'a detailed account of field experiences in which the researcher made explicit the patterns of cultural and social relationships and puts them in context'.

Providing a detailed description of both the setting and the respondents involved in the thesis allows the reader to assess the credibility and transferability of findings to different contexts. It is suggested that sufficient detail is available in this thesis for readers to assess similarities across other settings, a point supported with references to other comparable findings in other settings.

The third stage is dependability, having the ability to trace the researcher's decision making process. A key factor was the extent to which the researcher acknowledged her predisposition and recognised the strengths and limitation of the research techniques. At the start of the study process, the researcher recognised her knowledge and experiences were essential in accessing police and probation participants and data, but the same factors were able to undermine the process by guiding the researcher along her own points of interest rather than following the data. This bias was managed by continually revisiting the data and reviewing the analytical process, as well as reflecting on the influence her knowledge and opinions may have on the analysis. Maintaining a record of the research journey helped the author to remain objective and true to the aims of the research. Sharing the findings and progression of

the research process with peers within the police and probation services also assisted in remaining objective and debating some of the key issues.

Fourth and last stage refers to confirmability, sought by having a clearly recorded journey of research methodology using Lincoln & Guba, (1985) framework to monitor the development of the thesis and identify a rational pathway to gather and analyse the findings which are described in the following chapters. In addition the reflections of the researcher provided an indication of the objectivity consistently strived for in the thesis, and reviewed at regular points along the research process to reduce bias.

This framework provided a process to validate the research and assess if the thesis was trustworthy and credible with peers, subject to a visible and transparent audit trail of decision making and capable of transfer to other studies and settings.

Gaps in research literature

Some unexpected findings were also identified from this thesis and reveal a gap in the research literature. High risk elderly offenders were released from prison for supervision in communities and there was a growing dilemma about providing suitable supervised environments with the appropriate service provision to manage geriatric conditions as well as mitigate any risk to the public and the offender. This issue required additional research to explore the difficulties and identify opportunities to build relationships in the public and private sectors.

Final reflections on the research process

The research started after the author concluded a 32 year police career immersed in a broad range of criminal investigations and policy making within the public protection arena. This was layered with years of partnership work, not only with the probation service, but other agencies responsible for offender management and protection of the public. This background provided considerable experience about the realities of

managing high risk offenders but did not provide exposure to the literature and academic context of this arena.

The decision to select a qualitative approach to the research was based on a desire to understand the arena in which she had worked from an academic perspective and explore the systemic difficulties faced by the police and probation respondents, as well as the challenges they face protecting the public, whilst also providing rehabilitation opportunities to offenders. It was recognised that this starting point was likely to bias the research and analytical process unless the researcher took steps to maintain an objective state.

This was achieved by engaging in an iterative process to assess and reassess the literature. It became apparent as the thesis developed that some literature read early became more relevant and required additional research.

The research journey was a very revealing experience for the author of her own career which created a greater understanding of her role within the public protection arena. The thesis provides, it is hoped, a basis for readers to experience a similar journey of understanding. Her appreciation of the role of the probation service grew as she recognised the delicate balance between their traditional role of rehabilitation and their new MAPPA imposed responsibility to collaborate with the police and other agencies to protect the public.

The study was qualitative, exploratory, small scale and holistic in its approach. It was not aimed at establishing cause and effect but producing a detailed picture of this arena of public protection, from which recommendations to develop professional practice between the police and probation services could be drawn. The nature of the data analysis presented within the findings highlights key points and relevant issues but the process was not without its difficulties. It evolved from a time consuming but transparent procedure of thematic analysis to a frustrating and complex reassessment of the literature, as the researcher's knowledge developed along with the findings and recommendations.

The methods chosen for the study were suitable for their purpose and the in-depth interviews and debrief process provided unique, detailed and descriptive insights into the realities of the public protection world occupied by police, probation officers and offenders. The introduction of another dynamic was considered by producing a questionnaire for members of local Independent Advisory Groups (IAG), representatives of the public with a scrutiny and advisory role to the police. These groups would have provided a different perspective about the management of high risk offenders. Unfortunately the austerity measures and changes to police consultation processes eliminated the opportunity to use this option.

Finally, the methodology gave a voice to the participants and the inclusion of direct quotes in the findings was an advantage of the qualitative approach, producing a real insight into this arena of offender management.

The data from the interviews and debriefing process were analysed as described in Chapter 3 and five key themes identified. The themes identified are illustrated as a thematic network chart displaying the basic themes clustered together forming an organising theme of similar issues and global or over-arching theme embracing all the themes.

This next chapter introduces the thematic network chart, illustrating themes and interdependencies beginning with MAPPA.

Chapter 4 - Organising themes

Introduction

The analysis of the data described in Chapter 3 identified 13 basic themes, 4 organising themes and 1 global or over-arching theme. The 4 organising themes are: organising theme Number 1 MAPPA; organising theme Number 2 partnership factors; organising theme Number 3 is conflict and organising theme Number 4 is collaboration. The global or over-arching theme is organisational learning.

Thematic Network Chart

The thematic network on the next page illustrates the themes positioned together and the interdependencies between them.

Basic themes are represented by squares and oblongs, linked by a thin black line to the organisational themes which are represented by an oval.

The darker dash lines indicate, where relevant, the interdependencies between themes.

The global or over-arching theme is displayed as box framed with a black border at the top of the page. The encompassing oval of small dashes indicated the global influence of organisational learning.

The themes are described next.

Organising Theme 1 is identified as MAPPA located at the bottom of the chart. MAPPA is structured from right to left with 5 basic themes described as;

- a) the effect of MAPPA on the work of public protection agencies
- b) poor practitioner knowledge about MAPPA, its processes and responsibilities
- c) the role of MAPPA Chair
- d) deficiencies in the administration of MAPPA
- e) poor information sharing from the security service and the prison service

Poor information sharing created particular problems for partnership working as well as effecting the efficiency and effectiveness of MAPPA. These issues are discussed in this chapter.

Organising Theme 2 is identified as partnership factors and is located on the left side of the chart. It is structured from three basic themes described as;

- a) the blurring of roles between police and probation respondents
- b) the diverse range of high risk offenders within Approved Premises
- c) rotation of police and probation personnel involved in the management of high risk offenders

Interdependencies are identified firstly a blurring of roles effecting partnership working and representation within MAPPP, secondly the growing diversity of offenders in Approved Premises and the administrative structure of MAPPA to manage such a variety of offenders, thirdly how the rotation of personnel effects the

relationship with offenders and professionals. The role of chaperone was affected by the issues identified in the last two themes. These issues are discussed in Chapter 5.

Organising Theme 3 is identified as conflict, located in the lower right side of the chart, is formed from basic themes describing;

- a) the transfer process of offenders between Approved Premises nationally and locally across police and probation geographic boundaries
- b) conflict between police and probation respondents regarding breaches of licence conditions and decision-making about the recall to custody process.

Interdependencies exist between these two themes and MAPPA which is the multi-agency co-ordinating forum to consider breaches of licence conditions and joint decision-making regarding a recall to custody. The transfer process is perceived to be another area of conflict that has implications for the efficient management of MAPPA cases.

Breach of licence conditions and the recall to custody are also interdependent with the role of chaperones, communities of practice and associated to the use of police search dogs in Approved Premises. All these issues are discussed in Chapter 6.

Organising Theme 4 is identified as collaboration located at the top right side of the chart. It is formed of three basic themes

- a) creative use of chaperones to monitor offenders whilst in public settings
- b) use of police search dogs to support the probation compliance activities
- c) shared learning or communities of practice between police and probation practitioners

The interdependencies between conflict and collaboration also influence the work of MAPPA and play a role in the supervision and enforcement of licence conditions. These issues are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

The global or over-arching theme of organisational learning encircles all the themes as a primary activity to influence improvements and development of systems, processes and individual learning. Chapter 8 discusses the relevance of organisational learning.

Organising Theme 1: MAPPA

Introduction

Chapters 4-8 report the findings from the analysis in Chapter 3. Direct quotes from the respondents are identified by bullet points and used to illustrate a real world perspective and dilemmas associated to literature. The conclusion of the thesis is presented and discussed in Chapter 9 and recommendations in the form of future professional practice are presented in Chapter 10

The analysis describes the effect of actuarialism on aspects of the police and probation partnership and identifies convergent and divergent themes associated to professional cultures of both agencies in this arena of public protection.

MAPPA

MAPPA aims to protect the public and reduce serious harm with the provision of a framework that coordinates agencies to provide a consistent approach in assessing and managing the risk posed by some offenders. It is the regulatory framework through which levels of risk posed by an offender are determined, along with the levels of resourcing required to manage that risk.

This section explores a range of issues about MAPPA. Firstly the effect of MAPPA on partnership working, secondly levels of respondent knowledge to inform MAPPA decision making, thirdly the role of MAPPA Chair, fourthly MAPPA administration and lastly information sharing. The interdependencies between MAPPA and partnership working that relate to a blurring of roles and information sharing form part of the discussion.

Effect of MAPPA

Police and probation respondents recognised that legislation succeeded in drawing agencies to work together improving public protection and management of offenders:

- I think the MAPPAs arrangements that came into place, and I mean that in terms of the paperwork and the information sharing, the structure, really helped put us on a sure footing in terms of understanding what each of us needed, the expectations of a meeting, and as a Chair you're not doing it from your own perception of what's needed but there's actually some structure put behind it, everybody was held accountable to somebody. Annie Police
- All agencies should be encouraged to contribute to MAPPAs to fully understand and manage the risk. If I don't understand a case I'll ask a professional say mental health (to) tell me what this individual needs help with – is it alcohol, is it this, is it that is it the other? And then somebody else might challenge the decision to put them out into the community or this, that or the other. The whole debate has to encompass all these different areas, so when the decision comes it is out of the whole remit not just the Chair saying that they're really risky, they need to be put under surveillance and we'll have another look at them in four weeks. Shirley Police
- Probation was positively influenced by the introduction of MAPPAs and the development of multi disciplines teams. Lisa Probation
- The result of having more serious offenders in Approved Premises is greater involvement in MAPPAs and a need to furnish information in both directions between police and probation. John Probation

The strength of MAPPAs was an assembly of representatives from various organisations coming together to discuss how each agency could contribute to the protection of the public whilst debating resettlement and rehabilitation opportunities for offenders. Although implementing change often presented organisations with considerable challenge, in this research there were signs that respondents were motivated by a professional and personal desire to ensure that MAPPAs was delivered in a manner that protected the public and capitalised on the knowledge and skills of each agency and respondents.

The National Offender Management Service asserted that the effectiveness of MAPPA depended largely on a closer working relationship between the Responsible Authorities, the Police, Prison, Probation Services and their relationship with their local Duty to Co-operate agencies such as Social Services, Health and Housing. It was their collective responsibility and that of other agencies to exchange information for the purpose of protecting the public. The introduction of MAPPA was viewed as a positive advancement to assist agencies to actively contribute in the decision making, identifying the most positive outcomes for the public and an offender.

Newman (2001) described multi-agency work as the strength of MAPPA when agencies worked in harmony but also the cause of tensions and problems when that harmony was not present, a view later reflected by some of the respondents.

Knowledge of MAPPA

To make an effective contribution to MAPPA having knowledge of the processes and an understanding of MAPPA Guidance was essential but it was also apparent there were variable levels of police understanding regarding MAPPA. These divergences of knowledge were identified by police and probation respondents about police decision makers together with observations about the causes of professional friction undermining the objectives of MAPPA:

- The police need to understand fully what MAPPA should be doing, what people around the table are responsible for and what they have the capability to deliver. Sean Police
- It's about having the knowledge and understanding and ability to manage. You're not alone in the MAPPA situation, you've got an entire room full of professionals to whom you can bounce, check and assess what your gut feeling is, what the process says and what the protocol says. Annie Police
- The knowledge of MAPPA amongst senior police officer is not very good. Sean Police

- I mean if you talk to the individual sex offender managers, actually they recognise the risk but the bosses don't. So you then get into argument. Annie Police
- In terms of MAPPAs meetings, there was a new Superintendent who would be so dependent on the police offender managers, and I've been at some meetings where the lack of knowledge has been embarrassing. I have really felt for the Superintendents because they've obviously been put in the position of Chair without the relevant knowledge and experience. Therefore, I think training is a vital missing ingredient. Lisa Probation

The observations from police respondents about their colleagues revealed a lack of confidence in police decision makers. They also expressed concerns about the lack of organisational support for MAPPA activities and poor organisational appreciation of the associated challenges. Knowledge of MAPPA guidance and risk management goals was an essential requirement to contribute to offender management plans and more importantly for those senior officers who had a responsibility for chairing MAPPP's, a subject for later discussion.

It was emphasised that senior police officers only had a rudimentary understanding of MAPPA and that less senior police officers who engaged in daily contact with high risk offenders were instrumental in guiding decision making. This imbalance of knowledge led to disagreements and frustrations in formulating risk management plans. It brought into question the accountability of officers and the police organisation where such knowledge and confidence was lacking. The effects of this situation were described by a probation respondent highlighting the reliance of a Superintendent on a more knowledgeable but junior offender manager, describing the lack of knowledge as embarrassing and recognising the vulnerability of the police officers.

It was recognised by Sean Police that representatives at MAPPP had access to knowledge and skills that could be shared to improve risk management plans but he also described the lack of knowledge presented by police representatives undermining MAPPA and introducing mistrust between practitioners.

In much the same way that Fitzgibbon (2009) described the probation service as losing traditional case work skills, the police service was losing experienced and knowledgeable officers and the gap was not being closed by training for newer decision makers, particularly Chairs of MAPPP's.

Role of MAPPA Chair

The role of MAPPA Chair was recognised as a key feature in leading and facilitating the contribution of partners to produce a risk management plan. Police and probation respondents described their experiences as the Chair of MAPPA.

- I would say now that I was and still am left alone to manage as the Chair of the MAPPA's,... When I began to chair the guns and gangs MAPPA , as much as I'm competent and capable of asking for help, they just dumped people into these roles and they haven't a clue, and I think it can be a very lonely place.... help is not there and you can be quite invisible. There are no checks that you have the various skills required for the role and that the implications are not fully understood. Realistically does the organisation know about the decisions, the risks, do they check to see if the support is right? Annie Police
- It was really a bit of a 'baptism of fire' starting off by chairing some MAPPA meetings and then latterly being the SIO in some of the more critical cases around the Approved Premises. Sean Police
- A better understanding of the role of the Chair of MAPPA is required together with the roles of each agency. Sean Police

The respondents described a bleak image of the Chair role with emotive phrases such as, "baptism of fire" and "a very lonely place". The term baptism by fire can be interpreted as a testing experience or a first encounter with a difficult situation. The collective impression from the respondents was a challenging experience of learning on the job without a basis of knowledge or training.

One of the consequences of this approach was respondents felt overwhelmed by the responsibility and unable to ask for help as organisationally any assistance was considered invisible and therefore not available. The police respondents were key senior decision makers within an organisation that did not appear to appreciate the challenges or risks they were managing and as a result they were unable to access appropriate support or training.

Loneliness and isolation in the work place can cause an individual to be overly self critical, have concerns about belonging or being uncomfortable in role and the possibility of being stigmatised if the loneliness was identified (Jones, 1982). For senior police officers, any suggestion that they were unable to function in the role or perform as a decision maker would have negative consequences for their career aspirations.

There was an organisational expectation that officers were effective in their role regardless of the pathway to gaining that responsibility. This type of culture left professionals dealing with dilemmas without seeking assistance because support was not available or they felt others would not be able to alleviate their burden. There was potential for practitioners to withdraw their commitment to the role and impair their performance as well as that of colleagues and partner agencies. This situation might have been expressed as indecision by delaying decision making until future Panel meetings, inappropriate delegation of decision making, or bouts of sickness to stay away from work.

Descriptions of uncertainty, worry and stress with feelings of isolation were attributed to a lack of organisational understanding in circumstances where the risks were very high and support assessed as low. These experiences correlate with a description provided by Reiner (1992) and the difficulties of the showing a sign of weakness or vulnerability in a police culture. This undermined the ability of respondents to manage the responsibility associated with the role of Chair.

There was recognition by probation and police respondents that a combination of factors provided a weak foundation that undermined the role of MAPPA Chair.

- The challenge for the police is the lack of stability. No sooner has a Superintendent been appointed to an area and six or nine months later they are moved. This is detrimental to MAPPA. Lisa Probation
- Chairs have different knowledge (about MAPPA). Karl Police
- I've had no MAPPA training in the 4 years I have been Chair. Annie Police
- A better understanding of the role of the Chair of MAPPA is required. Sean Police

MAPPP Chairs like other police and probation officers in this arena rotated out of the role too quickly reducing the opportunities to gain experience and knowledge to be of value in the MAPPA process. The lack of knowledge described in the previous section meant officers in the role of Chair were reliant on their Offender Managers for guidance and assistance to understand and administer MAPPA. This provided inconsistent decision making and caused stress to the individuals concerned. A further debate about staff rotation is contained in Chapter 6.

The respondents who supervised JJ had the opportunity to compare and assess Chair abilities as the role changed each time JJ moved between Approved Premises. They observed a lack of confidence and knowledge in some MAPPA Chairs. This resulted in contradictory decision making, such as, a reduction or increase in surveillance depending on the knowledge of the Chair.

For example, JJ's place of residence altered a number of times and he moved between internal police force geographical boundaries becoming the responsibility of different MAPPP's. One Chair engaged a significant surveillance commitment and JJ was monitored on a daily basis whilst another Chair reduced the surveillance to an occasional deployment. This was in response to the same intelligence assessment.

The change of MAPPA Panel ownership caused anxiety for respondents as they recognised that different Chairs had different levels of knowledge, which effected the development and implementation of the risk management process.

The Chair of MAPPP was generally a police Superintendent or Chief Inspector and occasionally this responsibility was also shared with a peer in the probation service. This shared representation was viewed as a positive activity that enhanced professional relationships but to be successful the Chair required knowledge and experience to undertake the role. Rotating the Chair for the sake of diplomacy would have undermined the credibility of the process.

Police respondents observed that the responsibility associated to the role of MAPPP Chair created an additional source of pressure and stress for senior police managers:

- Managing risk (within MAPPA) is a full time occupation. Paul Police
- There is critical incident management (regarding MAPPA) in addition to other duties. Annie Police
- Chairing a MAPPA is a burden that should be shared. Karl Police

Involvement with MAPPA was assessed to be a full time responsibility but in reality it was actually an additional task to the workload of senior police managers. The Chair role was not undertaken as a single responsibility but combined with other duties and tasks linked to the management of a police command unit. Taken together the duties placed a severe burden of work and responsibility on individuals.

Despite having the passion to be a 'competent and proactive Chair' the respondents had no access to training provision and struggled to maintain their other responsibilities together with their contribution to MAPPA. Practice standards were also undermined a point for discussion next regarding the production of minutes of meetings.

Kenshall et al (2005) identified a number of critical success factors for effective panel meetings which included; competent and proactive Chairs, the active participation of all attendees and practice standards for the conduct of meetings.

Maguire et al, (2001) observed that for senior police officers “tasks were simply added to their normal duties and institutional support was lacking”. This situation has not changed and in fact the stresses and pressures increased with the introduction of NPM model and its focus on a performance culture. These additional pressures created difficult choices for individuals who were required to contribute to the performance culture and achieve their personal and organisational targets as well as manage the MAPPA process directly focused on the protecting of the public.

This point was outlined by Patrick (2009) describing the introduction of a fiercely competitive performance framework between command units demanding an increasing focus on those activities that were most easily measured, evidenced and quantified such as increased detection, higher arrest rates, time spent on patrol but not the public protection arena.

MAPPA Guidance (MOJ, 2009 made specific reference to the Chair role:

“The Chair should be someone who has the necessary skills and ability required to fulfil the role. All new Chairs should receive an induction, which provides a “buddy system”, where they are linked to an experienced Chair in their area region and they should also receive appropriate MAPPA Chair training. Chairing MAPPP meetings was essentially one of combining the roles of facilitator and leader. The task was to ensure that the business of the meeting i.e. the identification of the risks, with the production and appropriate review of the MAPPA, was conducted in an effective and efficient manner... “(p. 104).

There was real practical value in this statement but in reality there was a gap between policy and practice linked to a lack of organisational support, limited preparation and no training for the role. Administration support was also lacking and is discussed next.

MAPPA administration

MAPPA administration referred to factors relating to the inconsistency of attendees at MAPPP’s, consequences of inadequate minute taking, lack of connectivity

between MAPPA and a similar framework responsible for the supervision of offenders affiliated to criminal gangs. Literature is referred to as well as other sources of commentary including a thematic inspection and Coroner's investigation.

Attendance at MAPPA

Firstly attendance at MAPPP's is described:

- The continuity of people is very important for MAPPA.
Lisa Probation and Annie Police
- There was one key probation officer who was not always invited to MAPPA's. Sue Probation
- There needs to be improved communication to ensure the right people are invited to the right places. Peter Probation
- With MAPPA on occasions you don't get the same representation around the table which makes it very disjointed. You then get different levels of experience of people who are coming to MAPPA. Sean Police
- because you have different stakeholders involved, I come back to who's sitting round your MAPPA table, what are their experiences and level of understanding of what they're doing there to manage risk. Sean Police

Consistent agency representation was viewed as essential in developing a foundation of trust and confidence between MAPPP members who regularly engaged in the risk assessment and management of offenders. It was identified that representation at MAPPP's was varied and an example given described that the principal probation officer for an offender under discussion was not always invited to the meetings, thus limiting the sharing of key information and reducing access to firsthand experience of dealing with the offender. The inconsistent attendance was due to ineffective administration arrangements.

Police and probation were viewed as core members of MAPPP because their role was defined by statute, they had primary responsibility for managing offenders and generally one or the other representative was the Chair of MAPPP. Although other attendees were considered proficient within their own field, the police and probation representatives directed the Panel meetings and decided which agencies and personnel were invited to the meetings.

This point concurs with the findings from a study by Maguire et al, (2001) that examined the effectiveness of MAPPP. They discovered variable standards including the absence of key Panel members limiting the information exchange and undermined the decision making ability of attendees.

The introduction of leaner organisations as a consequence of the NPM model and regular rotation of officers, to be described in Chapter 6 reduced the ability of MAPPP to have a consistent panel of skilled and knowledgeable representatives.

A key factor for effective MAPPP's was to ensure the same attendees were present for meetings and they had appropriate levels of seniority to direct resources and other activities in support of a risk management plan. There was an expectation that representatives would assert and maintain their expert status contributing best practice from their areas of work.

There was potential for a blurring of roles to undermine the aims of MAPPA and Chapter 5 describes the notion of blurred roles between respondents and introduces the 'polibation' concept, setting the scene for an unsuccessful outcome of partnership working.

Minute taking

The issue of minute taking had a single mention by Annie Police but was actually a significant issue for the effective management of MAPPA and adversely affected the ability of the police and probation services to record decisions and justify their actions in the management of high risk offenders.

- A lack of proper minute taking undermines the MAPPA process. Annie Police

Minutes were the only comprehensive source of information to demonstrate discussions within MAPPP's, how and why management decisions and plans were instigated and developed. Poor minute taking left practitioners and agencies vulnerable with incomplete records and lack of detail about MAPPP proceedings.

It is the responsibility of the Chair to organise the recording, formatting and dissemination of accurate records which is a difficult situation if the Chair does not have the knowledge or support to comply with such a requirement.

Similar situations were highlighted in the following examples from the HMIP, IPCC and professional inspection reports.

a) During the Inquest of Naomi Bryant, who was murdered by high risk offender Anthony Rice (HMIP 2006a). Poor minute taking was identified by the Coroner as an issue that undermined the ability of the MAPPP to demonstrate defensible decision making.

b) A similar issue was noted by the Independent Police Complaint Commission regarding Case 2.15 Bulletin 4 relating to the murder of a woman by a registered sex offender (IPCC, 2008). There was a failure by the police to provide detailed rationale for MAPPA decision-making. The minutes of the review showed no clear rationale for the police risk assessment remaining at medium even though the offender was suspected of a serious sexual offence. The offender was not promptly arrested and went on to murder a woman. The IPCC noted the responsibility for compliance issue regarding minutes lay with the Chair of the meeting.

c) Further examples are referenced by the thematic inspection report '*Putting the pieces together*' which explored various aspects of MAPPA and drew similar conclusions regarding the poor quality of minutes. A quote from the report was clear about the consequences of poor minute taking:

“Minutes of MAPPA meetings were often not fit for purpose. Minutes recording the details of MAPPA meetings were generally poorly written and presented. In many instances, there were delays in distribution and we found numerous examples of minutes that contained out of date information, or information that was wrong. Some were lengthy and difficult to read because discussions had been transcribed verbatim.

In one area, the minutes contained pages of action points, whilst in others, there were almost none. As a result, the minutes were rarely used as a working tool and staff tended to develop their own recording systems. The poor quality of the minutes meant that the agencies within MAPPA would not always be able to demonstrate that they had made defensible decisions in the event of a challenge” (CJJI, P7:2011).

The following professional documents make reference to similar issues of poor information sharing, limited victim focused discussions and weak systematic co-ordination of activity (NPS, 2003c). Other observations include the need for clearer recording of minutes and risk management decisions; provision of appropriate and dedicated resources for co-ordination and administration of MAPPA (Kemshall et al., 2005).

d) An inspection report HMIP (2005) titled *Managing Sex Offenders in the Community – A Joint Inspection on Sex Offenders* identified issues regarding MAPPA practices. Probation case managers were not completing or not reviewing the Offender Assessment System, MAPPA meeting minutes were not properly incorporated within records and contacts with offenders and other agencies not always fully recorded, there was a need for comprehensive training or processes to tackle gaps in training for police and probation staff in the assessment and management of risk of harm.

e) The report *Putting Risk of Harm in Context* (HMIP, 2006) revealed comparable areas of concern including different criteria being applied in different areas to determine the levels at which offenders were managed, substantial variation in the structure and frequency of MAPPA meetings; varying quality of MAPPA meeting minutes and action plans.

These areas of concerns are repeated within this research even though the documents are reporting findings that are at least 4-14 years old. It was clear that the administrative practices examined in this research are still outdated despite the problems recognised in literature and judicial proceedings. The processes were problematic and ultimately undermined accurate recording essential for an organisation to demonstrate defensible decision in relation to keeping the public safe.

This is an issue for the professional conduct of the police and probation service as well as having implications in Coroner's Court and judicial proceedings.

Local structural variation associated to MAPPAs

A variation in a local structure managing gang affiliated offenders undermined the administration of MAPPAs in a different way. Alan probation and Annie Police described the situation:

- There is a lack of connectivity between individuals, teams and agencies that deal with guns and gang offenders. Alan Probation
- Currently, the guns and gangs MAPPAs works in one room and does its work and dumps X Y Z in ABC. Then you have a local MAPPAs doing whatever it does and the connectivity is lost. Annie Police

These offenders are categorised as violent individuals associated with gang culture and more than likely use violence to defend their geographical defined area, as described earlier at pages 33-34. The variation was a lack of connectivity between MAPPAs and a separate local framework that drew together the agencies involved in the supervision of this group of offenders. This framework and the practitioners utilised the MAPPAs ethos and processes but were not connected to the governance structure of the Strategic MAPPAs Board. Decisions were made at separate meetings between the police, probation and other agencies to access Approved Premises accommodation. The assessment of risk was incomplete for MAPPAs and also for the police responsible for the Approved Premises within their geographical area.

The most contentious issue related to the allocation of accommodation in an Approved Premises for offenders with a gang association. Many of the Approved Premises were located within inner city areas that had active gangs within local communities. Introducing opposing gang members into a different geographical area had the potential to cause instability within the local criminal gang and increase the opportunities for violent confrontation by placing the offender or others at risk.

The supervised environment of Approved Premises provided an opportunity to move gang affiliated offenders away from their local area and mitigate the influence of other gang members or criminal associates. Although this was a positive option for an offender on occasions it brought additional conflict, with an extra burden being placed on local probation and police practitioners to deal with the threat from the offender, as well as managing any developing risk issues related to gang associated violence that follow the offender.

The framework used to facilitate the assessment of gang affiliated offenders and the allocation of accommodation within Approved Premises was incomplete and ineffective. This interdependent process in the allocation of accommodation can be strengthened by improved liaison between the decision-making forum regarding gang criminality and MAPPA so accommodation issues are dealt with in a more holistic manner. The additional of a representative to the Strategic MAPPA Board will add an element of oversight and develop partnership working.

The final element is information sharing and the identification of two organisations the Security Service and Prison Service that have under developed systems and processes to support MAPPA.

Information sharing

There was diversity of views about the availability and quality of information transferred to and from respondents and the subsequent impact on their ability to supervise offenders and protect the public. A particular focus was given on two areas with deficiencies firstly the intelligence sharing process regarding terrorist offenders and secondly information sharing practices with the prison service.

A key feature of partnership work is the ability to share information in an effective and efficient manner. Despite national policy in the form of MAPPA Guidance (MOJ, 2009) to encourage better information sharing there are still gaps in the process affected by organisational practice and culture. This chapter focuses on the variation in local practice and highlights inadequate information sharing from the Security Service and from the Prison Service to the Probation Service.

Security Service and terrorist offenders

Terrorist offenders are a comparatively new addition to the diverse range of residents in Approved Premises. Not all the respondents had experience of this category of offender but it was identified as new and important vulnerability for probation respondents. There was a desire for additional information about terrorist offenders to enhance decision-making and respond accordingly to their behaviour. Peter Probation described the situation:

- There are concerns about the terrorist and extremist cases, because the arrangement we're working on at present is that the information provided in the case file is much more restricted. I have copies of the paperwork but it's not readily available to staff as it is in other cases, and thus staff have expressed concern that they are not told what the risks are or what they should be doing. However, we do seek to provide our staff with whatever information has been deemed necessary to manage the case. Peter Probation

The primary source of intelligence was the Security Service (MI5) whose aim is to provide domestic security and intelligence in collaboration with Police Special Branch or Counter Terrorism Unit's (CTU).

The conduit for information was police officers in the CTU via a probation representative who was a designated Single Point of Contact acting as a liaison point for intelligence sanctioned by the security service. When probation officers sought additional information to enable them to be confident and effective in their role there was vagueness about how to access that information.

Probation officers wanted more information about this type of offender including details about their background and offending behaviour. Peter Probation recalled:

- We had a fairly recent high profile case and everything was very cloak and dagger and in this sort of situation there's a danger the right people are not getting the information they need. I am aware that some things need to be kept under wraps and not everyone should be privy to all the details, but maybe this is something we need to look at more closely. Peter Probation

Peter felt there was a lack of trust in the ability of probation officers to manage sensitive information and although as a manager Peter had access to greater detail, he thought more needed to be done to improve the confidence of other practitioners. He further articulated:

- In some cases, I think we do need to be more open with staff, for operational reasons, I could do this but I would be seen as a maverick and to be going down a different route to everyone else. I think therefore it needs to be addressed at Senior Manager level. However, I think it just takes time some staff are more accepting of it than others. At a recent team meeting, some staff expressed concern that they didn't know anything about a certain case, whereby I assured them that they didn't need to know everything. They were reassured that there wasn't an assessed risk to staff and that they were not likely to find an explosive device in his room or anything like that Peter Probation

Peter did not want to be viewed as a 'maverick' and applied policy even though he felt there was an opportunity to improve supervision of offenders and security arrangements by sharing additional information. He acknowledged there was a process to seek authority to release information but it was not viewed as timely and there was a lack of confidence in the outcome of that process which created a basis for staff frustrations. A manager tried to reassure staff that the offender concerned was not a risk to them or any occupant at the Approved Premises. However there was an anxiety that permeated from the practitioner's description not just unease regarding restrictions on information sharing, but also the perceived lack of confidence in the process to trigger the request for additional information.

There was confusion about how sensitive information was shared between agencies and a lack of information associated with the release of prisoners. The management of personal expectations versus professional necessity to access information was an important issue to be addressed, as the perceived lack of trust about handling information undermining the confidence of probation officers to supervise offenders.

The perception was that the quantity and quality of information from the security service was shared at an inappropriate level to assist probation officers, creating mistrust and a lack of confidence in managing terrorist offenders. The management

of professional expectations and professional necessity to access information was an important issue to address.

The literature on information sharing about terrorist offenders was very sparse except for Disley et al (2013) indicating the security service found it difficult to share information because they were concerned about exposing sources of intelligence. It was extremely unlikely that information would be shared to any degree if there was a possibility of compromising a source of intelligence. It was more likely the security service was inexperienced in working with the probation service and therefore lacked confidence about probation processes and data management.

The information exchange regarding terrorist offences was linked to the use of the 'Need to Know' principle, vital for the protection of sensitive information and cornerstone of many information security policies as described earlier. A study by Bellamy et al (2006) suggested there was an advantage in additional regulation to support greater information sharing. In this arena the regulations and guidance were plentiful but there was a lack of confidence between practitioners in the information sharing processes. This particularly clear in the mismatch of expectations between probation staff, their management, the police and security service regarding the appropriate level of information required to supervise terrorist offenders.

Prison Service

The sharing of sensitive information was not just relative to distanced organisation like the security service but also with closer and more traditional partners such as the prison service. Information sharing was described as a deficiency and began at a very early stage of the offender management process. The case of JJ, a violent sex offender provides a vivid insight into the frailties of the information sharing process: Police respondents observed information sharing difficulties regarding JJ:

- Police organisational co-operation and communication was not good and individuals plugged the gaps of missing intelligence rather than relying on incomplete systems. Phillip Police

- The offender was only identified because an officer with previous knowledge was proactive in finding out how he was to be supervised on release. Had this officer not raised the question the offender would not have been identified early enough to manage him effectively. The processes need to be clearer. David Police
- Reception (of JJ) was at short notice and we were unable to access intelligence quickly. Initially it was thought there was none or limited intelligence from other areas when there was substantial information. Different police officers and probation officers dealt with the offender so no one person or group had overall knowledge or control. Adam Police
- This operation was a positive result however there was a lack of background information which reflects poorly on the police rather than the probation service. Doyle Police
- Communication and intelligence sharing was not standard everyone had a different way of sharing. Keith Police

The respondents identified that individual police officers relied on their personal knowledge of an offender to anticipate the date of release from prison rather than relevant agencies having an efficient notification process. The police, probation and prison service are key agencies that have a statutory duty to co-operate with each other to protect the public and manage high risk offenders, however, in this case the systems in place between the agencies to aid the transfer of information regarding the release of an offender were not timely or efficient.

A police officer with previous knowledge of JJ proactively sought information to confirm release details and alerted MAPPP. Although MAPPA Guidance (MOJ, 2009:49) dictated the time scales of notification there were cases belatedly identified through the prison release process. The ill-timed release of JJ did not provide an adequate time period to gather information and hampered the production of an effective initial risk management plan.

Access to and the sharing of appropriate information is fundamental to developing effective risk assessments and management decisions. Failure to share information is,

unfortunately not a new. The National Probation Service, (2004a) and Maguire et al. (2001) identified information exchange and disclosure as problematic between agencies. The Bichard Inquiry (2004) additionally referred to issues relating to the collation, storage and exchange of information. To cater for these concerns about information sharing MAPPA guidance (MOJ, 2009) provided a framework for to ensure the right information is provided to the right people.

Research by Kemshall (2003) concluded that an effective offender management system required information and decision making to be recorded, stored, maintained, updated and most importantly communicated and acted upon. Achieving these aims was proving difficult with the prison service.

Significantly the issue of the prison service failing to share information was a feature of the Serious Further Offence review related to Anthony Rice (HMIP 2006a). Key information held in a prison file about his past history and previous sentences relating to his offending against girls and women was not shared. This information may have influenced subsequent risk-management planning and other agencies' decision making if they had been aware of it.

Maden (2007) argued that as much information as possible about an offender, including prison behaviour was required for an effective risk assessment. Prison information regarding JJ should have been easily available but it was located at different prison establishments around the country. Given JJ's long offending history it was a surprise to find that his antecedence was so dispersed. Not only was the date of release delayed there was information within his prison records about his attempts at deception and manipulation of staff whilst in prison. The sharing of this information would have alerted his subsequent probation managers that he was practised at manipulation and deception.

As an example, soon after JJ's release into probation supervision, he tried to create an impression of compliant behaviour and persuade probation officers that he was a model resident. There was no reason to doubt how he was presenting himself as his prison records did not reveal any concerns about his demeanour whilst in prison.

JJ claimed he was rebuilding his relationship with his family to develop a network of support, and organising visits and social activities with them.

Police surveillance revealed that JJ was actually spending time gambling and drinking alcohol in local pubs. Sharing this intelligence altered the assessment of JJ alerting probation staff to his capacity for deceit. Had probation accepted JJ's information without examining its validity, they would have been duped into removing some of the restrictions that controlled his freedom of movement. The appropriate sharing of police intelligence was very important to show that JJ was trying to influence his licence conditions by creating an impression that he was in a stable relationship with his family.

The examples regarding JJ correlate with observations by Nash (1999:2004:2008) that probation officers were increasingly involved and influenced by risk management information focused on mitigating or removing opportunities for reoffending. The access to police intelligence in this case rightly provided a different perspective on JJ's behaviour and influenced probation decision making to maintain prohibitions and restrictions. Having the confidence to try and manipulate staff and develop a series of false stories indicated that JJ was not engaged in changing his offending behaviour and was still a high risk to the public.

A comparable situation was described regarding the offender Dano Sonnex when he demonstrated a similar pattern of compliant behaviour; he was punctual at supervision meetings, well dressed, tidy and co-operative, however he went on to torture and murder two French students (IHMIP 2008). It is suggested by Fitzgibbon (2009) that greater scrutiny by probation officers and less reliance on actuarial assessments may have identified Sonnex's deceptive behaviour sooner, a point discussed later.

The negative impact on MAPPA is significant if information is not made available in an effective and timely manner, a point supported by the literature. The interdependency between information sharing and effective partnership work is fundamental. Without access to timely and accurate information MAPPA cannot

make appropriate decisions, undermining public safety and the ethos of the police and probation services to protect the public.

Conclusion of Chapter 4

The MAPPA basic themes varied and included core functions such as information sharing, depth of knowledge to effectively contribute to MAPPA, and availability of adequately trained officers to function as a MAPPA Chair. Administrative issues relating to attendance at MAPPP, minute taking and a variance in a local MAPPA structure all served to undermined partnership working and risk assessment processes.

There was no doubt that the introduction of MAPPA had a beneficial effect on the relationship of the police and probation services, as well as other voluntary and statutory organisations. Bringing agencies closer together to capitalise on their knowledge and skills in a forum to co-ordinate offender management, minimise the risk to the public and provide rehabilitation opportunities to offenders has been a positive experience.

Despite the value of this framework working practices were fragmented and actually undermined MAPPA aims. Knowledge of MAPPA processes and goals were variable, particularly in senior police decision makers who relied on junior officers to guide decision making. This lack of knowledge was recognised by probation respondents creating worry and mistrust in the ability of police MAPPA Chairs. Clearly these concerns were felt by the individual police Chairs and their police colleagues but the lack of training and confidence in their own organisation meant they did not seek support for fear of being judged incompetent and unable to manage the requirements of the role.

Although MAPPA Guidance provided an assessment of the personal qualities for the role of MAPPA Chair and suggestions for a regime of support, none of these activities were observed. In addition the police officers skilled in MAPPA processes were also those who had been subject of a recent retirement process and as a

consequence of austerity measures the skill base was dwindling without a training process to close the gap.

The pressure of contributing to a police performance culture introduced by New Public Management models brought additional stresses which added to the burden of responsibility for MAPPA Chairs. Failure to deliver performance targets brought additional scrutiny from their senior managers leaving individual officers vulnerable to internal sanctions for performance failures.

It is clear that lack of personal knowledge and experience resulted in significant variation in police operational decision-making creating inconsistent offender management plans and responses. This was amplified by inadequate administration issues that limited information sharing creating an incomplete risk assessment process; generated inaccurate records of the proceedings and rational for decision making; sanctioned a local variation of MAPPA structure that created compromised risk assessment processes and competed for accommodation at Approved Premises.

Inadequate minute taking was a noteworthy issue that created vulnerability for the reputation of the police and probation services. Judicial proceedings, observations by a Coroner and professional inspection reports described similar concerns about minute taking over a 4-14 year period of time. These inadequate minute taking processes are not new and have not been addressed effectively.

Effective information sharing processes are essential to MAPPA and all aspects of partnership work but this research highlighted poor exchange processes with two agencies. The difficulties with the security service and prison service related to the quantity and timeliness of information. The development of trust was required with the security service so they had confidence in probation officers and their processes to manage information about terrorist offenders. Regarding the prison service their information collection and dissemination processes were incomplete and not timely enough to support MAPPA goals.

Individual police and probation practitioners used their knowledge of offenders to monitor their release dates from prison. Although they should be commended for

their commitment to offender management there should be an effective and efficient system in place to automatically identify offenders subject of MAPPA. This weakness can only support mismanagement in the future.

The impact of actuarialism in the MAPPA theme was associated to the demands of the police performance culture on senior police officers who were also MAPPA Chairs. The two sets of different demands brought additional stress and pressure amplified by lack of training and support in the MAPPA role. The organisational pressure to deliver performance targets was significant on each individual and a challenge to also manage the demands of MAPPA.

The convergent and divergent themes identified by police and probation respondents described a range of issues associated to systems, processes and cultures of each organisation and other agencies which will be referred to again in Chapter 8 in relation to crisis causation models .

The narratives from the respondents provided real life experiences and concerns that concur with the research described and present difficult situations, that if addressed will enhance the public protection system and improve the safety of the public.

Chapter 5 - Organising Theme 2: Police and probation partnership

Introduction

The discussion refers to relevant literature including the notion of actuarialism described by Feeley and Simon (1992, 1994). They claim the ‘old penology’ aimed at the treatment and rehabilitation of offenders was displaced by a ‘new penology’, favouring a greater focus on crime control and punitive enforcement activities.

The analysis assessed the impact of actuarialism on aspects of the police and probation partnership and identified convergent and divergent themes associated to professional cultures of both agencies in this arena of public protection.

Three themes identified from the thematic analysis described in Chapter 3 shaped the relationship between police and probation respondents and are discussed in turn. First, a blurring of roles, second the rotation of respondents in the supervision of high risk offenders and third the diverse range of offenders resident in Approved Premises.

Blurring of roles

These findings provide a perspective on the changing probation and police ethos, the effect on the respondents and consequences for MAPPA. Firstly respondents expressed their views about the changing goals of probation:

- Historically the police were perceived as the enemy and we were working from different points of view. The Probation Service was set up to advise, assist and befriend. Therefore, I think with the befriending role, many offender managers wouldn’t speak to the police or share information, and that’s changed completely of course since we now recognise that risk is the most important factor and that we have lots of things in common and that we need to work together. Lisa Probation

- I still believe in the principle of rehabilitation equally I see my role in terms of managing the risk and trying to protect the public. Peter Probation
- We don't see ourselves as just being here to contain people we're here to develop them, to provide opportunities to improve social skills and their reading and writing abilities. John Probation
- Our job is to protect the public but it's not all about locking up and imprisoning, it's also about finding out where people are, why they offend. If you just lock them up and don't try to understand where they're coming from, they are just going to keep on going back to prison and nothing is going to change. Grace Probation
- We help people and change people's lives and of equal importance is the need to protect the public. Alan Probation

A principle common to all probation respondents was recognition that the ethos of the probation service had changed and the once primary focus of rehabilitating offenders became a shared goal of risk management and working more closely with the police. Respondents acknowledged the strategic aims of probation included managing risk and protecting the public but they also viewed rehabilitation and developmental work to improve the skills of offenders as an essential part of their role.

The respondents retained the original probation ethos to reform offenders and viewed their work as more than containment or overseers of security measures. The traditional approach of advise, assist and befriend remained, and translated into practical help to develop the social and communication skills of offenders.

The historical provision of opportunities for offenders to change their behaviour and improve social skills was firstly to benefit offenders and secondly to reduce re-offending thereby avoiding future criminality which in turn enhanced the protection of the public. The introduction of a risk management ethos changed the

priority for probation and the emphasis on rehabilitation was re-focused to firstly protect victims of crime and secondly reform offenders.

The changing emphasis had the effect of drawing probation into more punitive activities with the police. As opportunities for closer working relationships grew the potential for roles to become blurred or less distinct became a reality. The potential for a blurring of roles and implications are discussed next.

Grace Probation observed a probation practitioner as they participated in a MAPPP discussion, contributing to the decision-making process together with other agency representatives:

- The two services worked so closely that some of the probation officers were agreeing with the police too easily, and I would be thinking, hang on a minute, remember who you are and what you are to do and I would challenge that. It is very important that agencies represented their own organisations during MAPPP. Grace Probation

The expression of frustration and determination to ensure that probation values were adequately represented was directed at a probation officer who, in the view of the respondent, was inappropriately supporting police decision-making. Grace assessed the situation as undermining the organisational aims of the probation service and collaborating too much with the police. She held very strong views that each individual representative was only effective if they demonstrated their organisational core values.

The consequence of a blurring of roles was described by Annie Probation in terms of the police taking more responsibility for probation activities:

- At one time I think both probation and police saw the police's job was to catch offenders and lock them up. Since the creation of the offender manager role, the police are also now taking on a more social work type role...it's the whole thing of taking offenders to appointments, helping them find jobs, taking them to the Benefits Agency, that never went on years ago. Annie Probation

The police officer was described in a non enforcement role prioritising assistance to an offender for engagement in employment opportunities and rehabilitation activities. This responsibility was beyond the normal scope of their policing role and within the range of probation activity.

A similar view was presented by John Probation:

- Offender managers work for the police but in reality they perform the role of probation officers and in many ways are providing a service that years ago we would have provided. However, because the police are now providing this service, this gives probation officers a chance to back off in the safety of the knowledge that the police are taking care of it. John Probation

John identified the police replicating probation activities to support an offender by providing the opportunity for probation staff to relinquish their responsibilities. There was an intimation that probation staff relied on the police as a safety net for their probation responsibilities.

Maintaining unique organisational perspectives was essential in the development of effective offender management plans through MAPPA. The blurring of organisational values was a detrimental issue for MAPPA, as a key strength of the framework was the ability to utilise the knowledge, skills and services of each representative to supervise high risk offenders. Blurring the boundaries between representatives encouraged communal decision making rather than independent challenge and mutual agreement.

Paul Police recognised a blurring of roles favoured punitive activities:

- When I used to run MAPPA there were two or three probation officers and they were talking and thinking like police officers. They were talking about the need to control these people and put this condition on them and that condition on them. Sometimes I thought this person was acting like a police officer. Paul Police

Paul was in a position of authority as the MAPPA Chair. He recognised probation officers were problem solving in a similar manner to police officers undermining

their probation role. Their approach was aligned more towards enforcement activity than a welfare focus and minimised the opportunities to debate rehabilitation goals.

Lack of intervention by Paul as the Chair of the meeting created a bias away from a welfare focus towards a punitive agenda. Controlling the offender became the priority using restrictions and prohibitions as part of licence conditions to reduce re-offending opportunities.

The frustrations articulated by Grace Probation as she observed one of her colleague's represent a punitive agenda was also recognised by Paul Police as he described the advantage he saw in the situation :

- From a probation point of view, the downside for them is they were probably thinking more enforcement tactics and not enough around reintegration tactics so I could see that while it was great for me (as a police manager), I would imagine for their managers, it could be a source of frustration. Paul Police

Paul recognised the decision-making of probation practitioners was weighted towards the police agenda of enforcement with insufficient attention on a welfare approach. Paul noted the situation was likely to cause tension between the practitioners and probation manager but nevertheless he was not inclined to redress the balance because he prioritised a more punitive supervision regime. Paul allowed the police agenda to dominate the MAPPP outcomes minimising the value of probation and other agencies equally responsible for management of high risk offenders.

The respondents were not just observant about the deficiencies of their relationship but are also alert to potential solutions. Grace described the value of agency representatives maintaining their own organisational goals, a view supported by John Probation:

- Personally I think that it's best to have two organisations with a clearer and broader interface, so there's a clearer understanding of what each

organisation is doing, and I believe this would highlight the valuable roles that both police and probation have to play. John Probation

John Probation highlighted the value of more distinct organisational boundaries to maintain agency identities, improved knowledge about each agency to minimise the impact of bias and greater transparency in MAPPP discussions.

The next section considers relevant literature and reflects on the analysis through the influence of actuarialism and impact of a blurring of roles between police and probation respondents.

Literature described the original goals of both organisations and Fitzgibbon & Lea (2010) explained that traditional police and probation roles were at opposing ends of the criminal justice process. The police were viewed as crime fighters, apprehending criminals to prevent and detect crime, and probation focused on the same group of offenders but viewed them as clients to change and rehabilitate. A shift in goals was identified by Giddens (1990, 1991); Beck (1992); Garland (2001); Hannah-Moffatt, (1999) noting the gradual displacement of a welfare approach in favour of enforcement, drawing probation officers into a closer and more proactive partnership with the police.

This thesis described the coming together of the two agencies and a move from separate activity to an overlap of functions and service delivery. The change of goals described by the probation respondents at the start of this chapter reflected the same fundamental shift in organisational ethos described in the literature, with rehabilitation becoming a secondary objective and protecting the public the primary objective.

One of the influences for prioritising public protection was linked to the development of actuarialism described in Chapter 2 with a move away from the traditional view of offenders as subjects for punishment and rehabilitation to transforming them into categories of offenders determined by their level of risk to society (Feeley and Simon, 1992, 1994; Simon and Feeley, 1995). The objective became the management of the risk of crime not the correction of the individual offender.

Research by Kemshall and Maguire (2001) observed a similar notion in their study of probation officers. The officers assessed that sex offenders were unlikely to change and so the officers became more focused on issues of control rather than the possibilities of rehabilitation. They argued that the traditional probation aim to provide support and rehabilitation to offenders seemed to be slipping further away, to be superseded by control and punitive focus promoted by the police.

This perspective became a contest area with Garland (1997, 2001) arguing the two approaches of rehabilitation and risk management were adjacent positions and co-existed. He claimed rehabilitation was still viewed as a significant feature of probation work but presented within the framework of risk management rather than a component of a welfare service. Hence the changed status of the public as their protection became a primary goal of the probation service.

The variation of views in the literature about the prominence of a punitive or rehabilitative focus was reflected in the fluctuation of views from the respondents particularly Paul Police and Grace Probation who observed the detrimental impact of probation respondents taking more of a police perspective.

The change of police and probation ethos was reflected by Nash (1999:2004:2008) as he described the notion of 'polibration' officer, practitioners becoming too similar and losing their distinct contribution and core cultural characteristics. Nash (2008) emphasised in multi agency settings individual practitioners moved away from their roots in terms of professional practice and culture, examples of which have been described by the respondents Anne Probation, John Probation, Paul Police and Grace Probation.

The concept of polibration described by Nash (1999:2004:2008) and debated with Mawby & Worrall (2004); Mawby, Crawley & Wright (2007) described probation fading into an interventionist programme of restrictions and prohibitions. In this thesis Paul Police and Grace Probation describe such events with Paul determined to deliver opportunities for intervention and prepared to dominate MAPPP for that purpose. Grace recognised the expanding police agenda and was equally determined to represent the probation service and encouraged colleagues to robustly represent

probation goals. These two individuals were in supervisory roles but the police influence was more apparent as Paul was also Chair of MAPPP.

The role of MAPPA Chair was critical in setting the tone of the offender management discussions and is discussed in Chapter 4 but it was also relevant to the discourse by Nash (1999:2004:2008) regarding agency domination through the Chair of MAPPP . The Chair had significant influence on the outcomes of MAPPP and the nature of offender management debates. The observations by Paul Police and Grace Probation supported the assertion that the profession of the chair was an important factor. Transparent arbitration was essential in MAPPP debates to establish proportionate decision-making balanced with rehabilitation opportunities for offenders and the protection of the public.

A further contribution to the probation debate from Mawby Crawley & Wright (2007) also suggested the probation agenda was more likely to become secondary to the police agenda. Although the organisational goals determined a shared priority of rehabilitation and public protection the reality was determined by the discretion of probation respondents to deliver those goals. Observations in this research about the actions of probation respondents support the notion that individual officers decided on the position they were going to adopt. Grace strongly represented probation goals whilst other colleagues erred towards police agenda of control and intervention.

A different perspective proffered by Kemshall and Maguire (2001) illustrated the notion of 'policification' identifying a changing relationship between police and probation respondents as the police extended beyond their professional remit to engage in activities that were not part of their traditional crime fighting role. This position was articulated by Annie and John Probation noting police officers undertaking activities that were historically probation responsibilities. This extension of police activity is likely to reduce as austerity cuts across the public service putting pressure on the police to concentrate on their core goals.

The findings support the notion that actuarialism has become a defining notion in the supervision of high risk offenders categorised by their potential to offend in the future. Police respondents remained within their core role of crime control by driving punitive activities while probation respondents tried to maintain their welfare ethos.

The polibation debate describing a blurring of roles was verified by observations from respondents who were alert to its impact. The vulnerability of probation goals was more obvious with probation officers displaying a police perspective of intervention and not rehabilitation. However individual probation respondents were prepared to demonstrate agency values and challenge their colleagues and police officers to maintain their probation identity.

This presentation of distinct roles was particularly important during MAPPP proceedings to ensure that the unique contribution of each agency was considered in a fair and proportionate debate about offender management as described in Chapter 4.

Despite the recognition and preparedness for some probation respondents to maintain their organisational goals, decision-making was typically drawn towards control and prevention tactics to deliver police outcomes. This was most detrimental in a MAPPP where the Chair was a police officer and the tone of the debates erred towards intervention activities.

As explained in Chapter 4 the role of the Police MAPPA Chair was not supported with a training programme and other organisational demands were likely to encourage decision making towards the comfort zone of police crime control agenda.

This next section explores the second theme the rotation of staff. Rotating police and probation officers created instability between respondents and encouraged different levels of knowledge and confidence in decision making.

Rotation of staff

Positive and negative examples were provided by police officers Tony, Annie and Simon illustrating their concerns about the rotation of colleagues:

- I think one of the failings of the organisation (police) is when you continually change people, especially when you're managing serious areas of

business like Approved Premises. It takes such a long time to build that level of trust and understanding with probation staff. Tony Police

- I think some relationships have improved but we could do with more continuity. I suppose talking personally, I was there (in charge of a public protection unit) for three years, by the time I'd finished three years, I knew people intimately, they knew my expectations and I knew theirs. Annie Police
- We needed greater continuity of police staff to co-ordinate the operations and manage the risk. Simon Police

The police respondents recognised the value of building longer term relationships within and external to the police. Paul thought the transient nature of police resources was detrimental to managing high risk offenders and the associated risk, particularly those residing in Approved Premises. Trust, knowledge and experience were valued features of partnership working which were undermined by the regular rotation of police officers.

Annie had the benefit of a three year partnership with police and probation officers where continuity of staff had been maintained. The advantage was a close relationship where trust was implicit because the depth of knowledge about colleagues creating enhanced levels of confidence in each other and their decision-making processes.

Simon described a lack of continuity of staff engaged in the JJ investigation. The investigation progressed over a two year period so staff roles changed during that time. There was no plan to replace staff, so identifying knowledgeable individuals with the confidence to work in this arena of risk was a repeated challenge, creating a fragile investigation structure.

Police respondents wanted a more stable arrangement of police and probation colleagues to enable relationships across agencies and facilitate the building of trust and confidence internally and externally. Regular interactions helped to build

knowledge of individual decision making processes and added value to group decisions.

Probation respondents acknowledged the value of a strong relationship with the police and recognised the movement of police resources caused them difficulties in building their relationships:

- At one hostel where I work we have a good relationship with the Police. They will often drop by on their rounds and we'll catch up on any issues or concerns. However, at the other hostel communication is pretty poor, and there seems to be a rapid turnaround of officers and so the same rapport is not present. Peter Probation

Peter described his relationship with the police and highlighted the confidence between agency representatives. The police felt comfortable to 'drop in' and deal with spontaneous matters or problems and Peter valued this informal rapport. He provided a contrast of a lesser relationship with the police at a different Approved Premises because officers rotated too quickly, limiting opportunities to build rapport.

The habitual rotation of police and probation officers undermined their relationships but the consequences identified by probation officers Alan and Grace travelled beyond professional relationships and impacted on the ability of probation officers to assess offenders:

- New assessment tools have been introduced, such as OASys. The risk assessments carried out are now a lot more thorough than they were previously. This enables the Service to better analyse and assess the key cases and the ones that need to be the main focus for resources. Maintaining consistent case officers is a challenge which creates a reliance on OASys and less of a focus on individual offenders. No one pretends it's running perfectly, but risk management is much more effective than it was ten years ago. Alan Probation
- Introduction of OASys a risk assessment tool changed how offenders were risk assessed from a qualitative approach to one emphasising actuarial

information. Both are useful but staff rotation creates difficulties in retaining a traditional case worker relationship. Grace probation

Alan and Grace acknowledged the benefits introduced with the OASys model but emphasised the value of consistent case workers to sustain a relationship with an offender, building a more intimate knowledge of individuals. The rotation of staff had the potential to undermine the case worker approach as individuals did not have the opportunity to develop experience and confidence with this type of offender management. This situation inferred a reliance on an actuarial approach that did not require such a close relationship with an offender.

John highlighted the rotation of staff was restricted in an Approved Premises that specialised in supporting offenders with mental health challenges:

- The policy changed for probation staff to prevent them being moved for up to 5 years to utilise experience (in mental health settings). Staff know the residents, and are familiar with their various mental conditions, enabling them to recognise when somebody is becoming ill. John Probation

Practitioners had the option to remain in post for 5 years building their knowledge of mental health practice and offenders under their care. A positive was the ability to recognise when an offender's behaviour was deteriorating and to intervene early to prevent a significant deterioration in their health. The benefit of being familiar with an offender was described by Lisa Probation:

- Quite a few of our residents when they have spells of being unwell will talk of carrying out acts of terrorism; however, it is merely part of their mental condition..... We had somebody here who was mentally sectioned and ranting, "My brother's a bomber and we're going to blow you English b-----d and you white b-----ds up," and all that sort of stuff. This particular person was bipolar and his ranting was due to him being unwell not because he had any serious intension of causing harm.... Staff that have been here for a while don't worry as they see people for what they are. Lisa Probation

The team of probation officers associated to this Approved Premises had sufficient experience to the different between genuine threats and those originating from a

mental condition. This informed decision making was of benefit not only to the offender receiving an appropriate response but also to the probation and police service, which have to react to events that threaten the safety and well being of others. Having experienced staff in this type of a mental health setting was essential to support mature assessments about the behaviour of residents.

From an organisational perspective the rotation of staff was recognised as a necessary part of agency practice. Diversity of experience and promotion often depended on staff having a range of experiences in different locations and roles. There was an expectation that practitioners changed roles frequently as remaining in one role or location might be viewed as a limitation for an individual's progression.

The rotation of staff between roles was valued for a number of reasons including a barrier to corruption, achieving increased understanding of an organisation, aiding staff to be 'better able to cope' with the various roles and pressures within police and probation services. However adhering to policy directives contrasted with the views of respondents who wanted the time and opportunity to build relationships in order to sustain difficult and complex debates and to develop informed and detailed decision making processes regarding high risk offenders.

Respondents felt that peers were moved out of their roles too quickly to fully experience and contribute to this arena of work. It is argued in this research that the actuarial risk assessment process was more likely to thrive in these circumstances as staff rotation did not provide sufficient exposure to the complexities of managing high risk offenders.

Literature centred on two arguments about the use of risk assessment tools, firstly the predictive efficacy of actuarial assessment methods described by Meel, (1954); Hanson & Bussiere (1998); Grover et al (2000) claiming actuarial assessments were superior to clinical judgements. Secondly the deskilling of professional practice towards prescribed routes of risk assessment, replacing skills and experience described by James & Pelouille (1970); Fitzgibbons & Green (2006); Whitehead, (2007).

The actuarial approach does not require the same levels of experience and knowledge as a case worker working directly with an offender and is more supportive of a distanced relationship. Staff rotation created a less intimate relationship with offenders creating a setting that supported an actuarial assessment process.

James & Peloille (1970) argued that professional status was associated with the capacity of occupations to retain specialist knowledge and therefore increasing technicality was associated with a reduction in professional status. The respondents supported the notion that knowledge and experience were valued and desirable in this area of offender management but were undermined by staff rotating too quickly from roles. There was a perception that time in a role equated to knowledge and experience therefore greater professional status. In contrast the use of procedural assessments did not rely on experience in a role hence technicality was more easily acquired.

The notion was further explored by Fitzgibbons & Green (2006) and Whitehead, (2007) describing a prominence of form filling in actuarial assessments rather than the use of discretion and judgement. Instead of developing assessment skills through the handling of difficult and complex cases greater emphasis was given to impartial 'tick' box risk assessments, delivered in a distanced and detached manner by probation officers.

It was argued that professional skills gradually diminish and the ability to tolerate ambiguity and suspend judgement reduced. The rotation of staff described by the respondents contributed to the deskilling of practitioners as they did not have the time or capacity to develop case worker skills to support clinical judgements.

Adams (1995) supported Fitzgibbon's claims by arguing that predicting risk informed judgements but was not a substitute for it. Practitioners still required skills to understand and apply assessment processes and response to the outcomes.

Traditional case work skills, once regarded as a key factor in the risk assessment process, were reducing and it was argued by Fitzgibbon (2009) that individuals without those skills had a tendency to over-assess the risk of offenders. Lisa

Probation described a situation in which probation staff had the time to develop skills and confidence to assess and manage the risk posed by an offender threatening to engage in terrorist activity.

This scenario supported Fitzgibbon's (2009) assertion about over-assessing risk by reversing the emphasis and demonstrating that skilled practitioners had the ability and confidence to de-escalate incidents. If the situation had been assessed differently the potential police response may have included an extensive review of the offender's background and investigation of family members, especially his brother, and a requirement to undergo additional medical assessments to determine the level of actual risk posed by the individual, and a potential transfer to a more secure residential environment. Having confident and experienced probation practitioners in this mental health setting was vital to ensuring the most appropriate outcome for offenders and protection of the public.

Regularly moving practitioners from this arena of offender management limited the opportunities to build knowledge about offenders, to develop skills and reduced opportunities to improve professional relationships. The use of actuarial practices was supportive of such situations because knowledge, skills and relationships were not viewed as a priority. The New Public Management model described in Chapter 2 encouraged such an approach as organisations were leaner and resources subject of greater demands to be multi-skilled, more flexible and mobile in their work place. This approach supported actuarial practices as less time and energy was available to develop clinical assessments skills of evaluation and judgement.

Having a consistent group of the same representatives working together as representatives of MAPPA was considered an advantage by the respondents to build relationships and contribute to partnership working. Trust was highlighted and valued by the respondents as a positive factor to improve the effectiveness and quality of organisational knowledge and confidence in decision making.

The rotation of officers made it difficult to establish and maintain relationships between agency representatives and undermined the traditional qualitative risk assessment process conducted by probation case workers. Where staff rotation was limited in a mental health setting the benefits were articulated in terms of confident

and proportionate decision making that provided adequate protection to the public and an appropriate response to an offender's behaviour.

A regular turnover of staff was viewed as a negative for the development of professional relationships with peers and offenders, creating opportunities for the loss of or incomplete transfer of information. This was a significant factor during the transfer of offenders across geographical areas to or from different MAPPP's and is explored in Chapter 6.

Dealt with in Chapter 7 is the link to collaborative activities, requiring a level of trust from knowledgeable and skilled respondents as they contributed to innovative offender management initiatives.

Diversity of offenders in Approved Premises

The next section explores the third theme related to partnership working and the diversity of offenders in Approved Premises. These hostels were historically utilised to provide a supervised environment for sex offenders but they are now a prominent supervision option for the management of individuals who originate from very different offending backgrounds, ranging across terrorists and domestic extremists, sexual and violent offenders, individuals associated with organised crime gangs; those with mental health disorders and elderly high risk offenders.

Police and probation respondents had differing perspectives on the level of risk posed by each group of offenders. Probation respondents were less concerned about sexual and violent offenders as they were very experienced in managing this type of offender and understood the demands associated with their supervision. However police respondents Paul, Annie, Roy and James express their anxieties about this category of offender:

- My concern was the kind of people in there (AP), who were linking in with each other and bearing in mind, sex offenders in my experience are very calculated, very devious in the way that they will go about some of their activities, hiding mobile phones, a whole host of things - my biggest worry

was that we were in danger, still are in danger of cultivating a paedophile ring. I think that from a reputation point of view, if ever that happened, God forbid, it would be difficult. Paul Police

- When you're housing violent offenders alongside paedophiles and sex offenders, I do think it's a difficult position for staff. I don't know the answer to it but I would suggest you don't want to put the same violent offenders together, for the same reason you wouldn't want to put high risk sex offenders together. There are prisons where you actually have postcode differences indicating those from different gangs so you wouldn't put those together. But you also have to bear in mind, some of these people have shot someone for little more than they didn't like the way they looked at them. Imagine what would happen if they had gone into a hostel and were surrounded by 20 plus paedophiles, sex offenders? You can just see there is a constant risk assessment. It's a full time occupation just managing that risk. Annie Police
- The offender was released and given his background he was placed in an Approved Premises with significant other sexual predators a big concern for us. Roy Police
- There is a quick turn over of AP staff, police have no knowledge of training for AP staff, over 21 sex offenders in one place so what is the training to prevent grooming staff. Most offenders are on licences not to associate with other sex offenders and they can't outside AP but do inside. James Police

The police respondents articulated apprehension about the consequences of integrating high risk offenders together, potentially creating networks, associations, development of new knowledge or exploiting the prospect of collaborating with other types of criminals. There was speculation about the variety of offenders residing together in Approved Premises creating relationships that were not previously feasible. For example in prison sex offenders trade details of victims who have not reported sexual assaults so offenders can re-victimise individuals with little fear of

consequences. Potentially Approved Premises provided a different environment for trading information and developing or continuing inappropriate relationships.

Paul continued the debate:

- Well the biggest issue is again the risk placed in one area and you are asking staff to manage a different profile of offenders. They could have people from guns and gangs, paedophiles, terrorism, domestic extremism and others in there and we are asking these managers to multi-skill their awareness. You're asking them to have an awareness of these people who are quite different – paedophiles are quite devious in terms of SIM cards, mobile phone technology, pictures and so forth. You've then got domestic extremism, with access to social networking sites, computers, then there are the violent offenders – they have curfews, are they allowed be in certain places? There are all these things we're asking, at all different levels of awareness that we're asking staff to deal with and I think that's quite difficult for the staff and the officers and could be a potential source of frustration and conflict. Paul Police

Paul observed that practitioners required knowledge about each type of offender to be effective in their monitoring role as well as some technical ability to understand how offenders used technology to further their criminality. He described the requirement for multi-skilled individuals to be proficient not just in offender management, but also have the capacity to be resilient in the management of such a variety of offenders. Although the offending behaviours had different outcomes, the use of technology to support offending activity was a common feature requiring practitioners to be additionally knowledgeable about telephone technology and cyber crime.

Police respondents were concerned about the management of sexual and violent offenders and potential implications to develop networks. Probation respondents were more concerned about their personal safety in relation to offenders affiliated to gang criminality.

- The staff expressed to me some anxiety about the guns and gangs offenders, which were seen to pose more of a direct risk to staff than extremists. Peter Probation
- There have been concerns expressed but we haven't actually encountered any such problems, and not forgetting that we deal with the violent offender also regardless, whether they are in a gang or not. We have had threats made to members of staff and we just have to have a high state of vigilance. Each approved premises does have levels of security which should enable us to cope with the majority of events. John Probation

Probation respondents felt a greater threat from offenders who originated from a gang culture than from a terrorist offender because of the proximity of gang related criminality in their own communities. Accommodating gang members in Approved Premises required increased vigilance from probation and police respondents to identify and prevent activities that could endanger the safety of residents or staff.

There was potential for gang members to be placed in Approved Premises located in opposing gang areas putting individuals at risk. The local variation to the MAPPA structure described in Chapter 4 amplified the concerns as offenders were identified for Approved Premises accommodation from two different and isolated forums, MAPPA and the local variation that assessed gang members. This anxiety added an additional burden of responsibility for both agencies to understand and respond to the gang culture in those particular geographical areas.

Adding to the mix of offenders supervised by probation and the police are terrorist offenders, monitored through a separate process regulated by the Terrorism Prevention and Investigation Act. This procedure is a complex level of monitoring that includes liaison with the Home Office and Security Service to ensure that intelligence about an offender's behaviour is carefully assessed in conjunction with the terms of licence conditions. The police officers monitoring this type of offender originate from a Counter Terrorism Unit (CTU) and they work, isolated from other Offender Managers due to the sensitive nature of their work. Although there was a conduit for information exchange it was mainly a one way process into the CTU. The lack of information sharing between the probation service and security service was referred earlier in this chapter.

The literature was sparse in this area especially regarding gang and terrorist offenders but the Scottish Executive (2003, 2006) acknowledged that supervised hostel placements did not provide the safest environments for managing most sex offenders because it could lead to a concentration of this type of offender with risks of networking. The potential for networking was equally possible for other categories of offenders and worthy of additional research.

Conclusion of Chapter 5

The literature and the findings in this chapter of the thesis concur with each other about the changing goals of the probation service. Literature described a move from the traditional approach of advise, assist and befriend towards control, help and change. Respondents supported this notion and described the effect on their working relationships and practices.

A developing reliance on law and order policies to control crime and deliver security, in part displaced the welfare focused penal system creating tension and confusion between the two agencies that was played out through the management of high risk offenders. Rehabilitation was not completely excluded but tensions developed as each agency tried to promote their organisational identity and goals.

Research by Crawford (1997): Nash (1999; 2004; 2008): Mawby & Worrall (2004): Mawby, Crawley & Wright (2007): Kemshall & Maguire (2001) highlighted the potential for a blurring of roles through the polibation and polification concepts as well as the influence on both agencies.

This thesis corroborates the literature regarding the existence of the polibation concept and identified the blurring of roles that took place between police and probation officers. However there was also evidence that probation officers recognised the vulnerability caused by a blurring of roles and were prepared to demonstrate agency values and challenge their colleagues and police officers to maintain their organisation identity.

Despite the recognition and preparedness for probation respondents to maintain their organisational goals, decision-making was drawn towards control and prevention, used as drivers by the police to support their own organisational goals. Police respondents recognised the potential for roles to blur and were supportive of this fusion because it enhanced their interventionist goals of surveillance and prohibitions.

Actuarialism was framed within the approach taken by the police and supported in part, but not wholly by probation respondents. There was unambiguous recognition of the goals of probation but they were not always maintained throughout the negotiations with the police in the supervision of high risk offenders. Critically MAPPP debates were affected by the blurring of roles with probation officers making decisions about an offender's supervision plan based on police goals of control and prevention, thus moving away from their welfare ethos.

The other partnership factors of rotating staff and the diverse range of residents in Approved Premises augmented the circumstance that supported the growth of actuarialism. No argument is made for personnel to occupy a role permanently but the rotation process was too swift for experience, knowledge and trust to develop between parties involved in offender management. Trust was viewed as an integral part of the respondent's relationships and an element essential to build levels of confidence in practitioners and their decision-making processes.

The rotation of staff undermined the ability of probation officers to build specialist knowledge and judgement skills, creating a reliance on actuarial practices (James & Peloille (1970); Fitzgibbons & Green 2006; Whitehead, 2007). The retention of specialise knowledge was a key feature of the agencies in the public protection arena who are relied upon by the public to keep them safe. A bias towards actuarial assessment practice had the potential to create risk assessors with technical knowhow but with little knowledge about an offender (James & Peloille 1970).

The value of a longer time period to develop skills to supervise of high risk offenders was demonstrated by Lisa Probation who worked in a mental health setting. The decision of probation officers not to take action in relation to an offender's behaviour

was based on their confidence and judgement skills originating from their knowledge of that offender. The risk was not elevated to an inappropriate level and the response was proportionate to the threat.

Over assessing risk was a danger highlighted by Fitzgibbon (2009) for probation officers with limited clinical assessment skills and one that can be mitigated, as described by ensuring probation officers had adequate opportunities to develop skills beyond an actuarial or 'tick the box' approach.

The rotation of police and probation officers to fulfil policy requirements was highlighted as a means to undermine the development of personal relationships and collaborative initiatives. Great value was placed on the ability of respondents to trust their colleagues and be confident in their assessment and decision-making skills. Having the knowledge and experience to manage such as diverse group of high risk offenders was a key factor in identifying and managing risk but the process was undermined by organisational practice which rotated respondents by policy directives and not individual work place assessments.

The other factor that influenced partnership working was the diverse range of offenders in Approved Premises. Each offender group had particular challenges and levels of risk requiring consistent and effective monitoring. The police offender managers responsible for terrorist offenders worked in isolation limiting the sharing of intelligence and exchange of practitioner experience. This arrangement was a protective feature to maintain the security of information but it also introduced limitations on professional engagement between agencies. Other deficiencies associated with sharing information are referred to in Chapter 5 and highlighted additional weaknesses in the management of terrorist offenders and the arrangements for offenders affiliated with gang criminality.

The supervision of sex offenders was a traditional activity for probation officers but of concern to the police who feared inappropriate networks developing. This concern was supported by the Scottish Executive (2003, 2006) acknowledging that supervised hostel placements did not always provide the safest environments for managing sex offenders. Probation was alert to these issues but was less confident about the

supervision of offenders associated to gang criminality. Offenders associated to gang criminality were a primary cause of anxiety because of their proximity to the communities in which many probation staff lived and worked.

The notion of actuarialism permeated through the layers of probation and police practice, and tended to accentuate police attempts to dominate decision-making processes. A blurring of roles encouraged this situation whilst the practice of rotating staff and the diverse range of offenders added elements of change which together reduced the gap between the police and the probation service to deliver an appropriately balanced service.

The research in this thesis supports the notion by Giddens (1990, 1991); Beck (1992); Garland (2001); Kemshall, (1998); Hannah-Moffatt, (1999); Nash (2012) that there was a displacement of welfare strategies aimed at rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders back into society, in favour of greater crime control strategies. Blurring of roles compromised the maintenance of clear organisational boundaries and delivery of organisational goals required for a transparent and proportionate supervisory process, undermining MAPPA and the protection of the public.

The next chapter examines the conflict and tensions that occurred in the work of the police and probation service.

Chapter 6 - Organising Theme 3: Causes of conflict

Introduction

This chapter explores the challenges associated to conflict as part of partnership working. The primary focus was task conflict examining the influence of systems, processes and organisational structures on the work of the respondents.

Arenas involving multiple agencies inevitably face challenges and barriers internally and externally with partners, particularly as differences collide in attitudes and responsibilities when boundaries and roles are broken down. Some of these challenges have already been explored in Chapter 4 regarding MAPPA and Chapter 5 describing a blurring of roles.

This part of the thesis explores task conflict between police and probation respondents. Analysis revealed two areas of anxiety and conflict about procedures and judgement regarding firstly the transfer of offenders between Approved Premises nationally and across internal local police boundaries, secondly the decision-making process associated to breaches of licence conditions and the recall to custody process.

The transfer process

Probation respondents viewed the transfer process as unique to their organisation and within their decision-making domain and responsibility, whereas, police respondents felt they were excluded from making an effective contribution to the decision-making process and were particularly anxious at the start of the transfer process. Probation respondents explained their dilemma:

- The problem is we (probation) get a request for a referral from the Court and then we only have a couple of hours to look at it while the Judge is waiting for a decision. It's having the systems in place to be able to contact someone from the Police and get a response. We're criticised already for the time taken for responding to bail referrals. Peter Probation

- We have a central referral system that deals with all the transfers and it is the role of the Deputy Manager Public Protection Unit to make the final decision on these cases. A local MAPPA will then be set up and fed all the relevant information. However, the central referral system mostly deals with external cases, as there are systems in place to deal with internal transfers. Grace Probation

A typical example described an offender involved in Court proceedings that could not reside in a particular geographical area but had to be accommodated in a supervised residential environment. This type of request required an immediate response from the probation service because the transfer was at the request of a Court. These short notice transfers brought additional demands to the local police with little assessment of any aggravating factors created by accommodating that individual in a particular geographical area.

There was an expectation from the Court that these offenders would be found accommodation but there was also an expectation from the receiving probation area that this arrangement would be a short term option until a more appropriate facility was identified, if required. These types of accommodation requests were dealt with swiftly and without consultation with the police as they were assessed to be a temporary situation. It was commented that the police were generally unavailable for consultation at the time the transfer was considered:

A similar view was taken about the provision of accommodation for an offender to be released from prison. Probation respondents explained their assessment of the situation:

- My stance is that we will offer a bed to any individual coming out of prison who is a MAPPA level 3. Sometimes this means I have to do a bit of swapping around, but we will offer them a bed. Because if they went back to their home area and committed a similar offence, we would have let them down as well. So I will always do my best to accommodate. I can only think of one instance where this was not possible, and that was simply because we had no vacancies. Grace Probation

- We can take any type of offender. However, the two hostels I manage have an internal target of 70% admissions for very high risk to high risk cases. Other approved premises have similar targets and others for various reasons have slightly lower ones. Peter Probation

There was an organisational obligation to ensure that high risk offenders were provided with appropriate accommodation, affording them an environment for rehabilitation and a level of protection to the public and other people such as victims and witnesses from previous offending incidents. The only circumstance that interfered with the provision of accommodation was the physical lack of a bed. A performance target of more than a 70% occupancy rate influenced the decision-making regarding the transfer process regardless of the potential difficulties that may have been created. Approved Premises are an expensive commodity and efforts are made to utilise all bed space where possible.

Sometimes the pressure to accommodate the demands of a national transfer process caused its own difficulties which are explained:

- If there was an emergency, we can form an Emergency MAPPA meeting and they would have to go through the system. However, nationally sometimes I feel like there's a bit of pressure. At present I have three national referral cases in my desk and the Heads of Probation in those areas are putting pressure on me to take them as they have nowhere to put them. However, I have told them that if we have a bed then we would be happy to accommodate but we have to prioritise our own people. So there is some contention there. However, we only refuse such requests on the grounds of lack of accommodation. Grace Probation
- Ministry Of Justice say it is your turn to have an offender and he is going to kill 3 people and there is pressure nationally to accept these people. We try and alert the police ASAP but that can still be at short notice and we have no control on who we get. Kim Probation

Probation respondents recognised their part in maintaining the movement of offenders through the national dispersal system whilst feeling pressure from other

probation areas as well as National Offender Management Service (NOMS) to receive offenders that did not originate from their local geographical area. Maximum use of accommodation was sought across the country and performance indicators aim for 70% or higher admissions targets were strictly applied nationally.

There was acknowledgement that the system was based on 'it's your turn next' and 'you have a bed available' rather than an initial assessment of threat or risk based on the local police and probation service context. This assessment of risk and threat was addressed later in the reception process but only once an offender was accepted into an area so the risk became a locally managed issue.

An actuarial process created the performance targets for Approved Premises managers regarding the provision of bed space. There was potential for performance targets to be prioritised resulting in a reduced focus on the creation of risky or inappropriate networks of offenders in the same location or less consideration of local intelligence. The discretion of probation decision-makers became very important to avoid enhancing or creating risky behaviours.

The 'matter of fact' language used by Kim Probation "...it is your turn to have an offender and he is going to kill 3 people" was not a flippant comment but accurately reflected the reality of the type of dangerous offender managed at this level.

Probation did not view the police as an essential part of the transfer decision-making process as articulated by Peter:

- As it stands, although the Police can advise on MAPPA cases, the Probation Service ultimately makes the decision on who they have in Approved Premises. However, if we had to seek Police approval each time we had a referral, there is a danger that it could be perceived that in effect the Police have taken charge of the Probation Service. Peter Probation

There was a sense of professional pride and responsibility with the probation respondents to co-operate with and support accommodation requests where possible. The final decision for a transfer lay with the probation service and they were professionally bound to make the decision without relying on the police to ratify their

acceptance criteria. Probation respondents viewed the transfer process as a key part of their service and they described managing it effectively across the country, with networks and mechanisms in place to assess the availability and suitability of accommodation and offenders.

Police respondents had a different perspective and articulated their concerns and frustrations:

- In this particular case, they hadn't even gone through the process of letting the MAPPAs know at all, they just literally landed on his doorstep and said, such and such a person made a phone call and it's been sorted, and even the manager of the Approved Premises wasn't aware. So there's wheeling and dealing, or there was wheeling and dealing that happened that just totally undermined the processes, totally undermined risk management, and therefore the amount of time and energy put in to try and manage an individual goes well beyond what it should be. Annie Police
- When they (the probation service) are considering where to place someone, police must be involved as we're talking about community reassurance, trust and confidence, we're talking about a community impact assessment and I don't think you can place someone without speaking to your partners. What we have to have is a mature conversation, not because you don't want them because they're a sex offender or because they're a violent offender, it's a case of, how is this person, in this location with other people, etc etc? It has to be a more detailed, mature conversation like we do at MAPPAs but much wider. Paul Police
- However, we might only have three days to go and we don't have accommodation, we've got no risk plan, the offender has no family management, we don't know about any critical need and whether we need surveillance, extra support etc. We know nothing, with only three days to go. And that used to happen on a regular basis. Annie Police

The perception of the police was quite different referring to the process as "wheeling and dealing" and they (probation) "make a telephone call and it's been sorted". The

police were excluded from the initial decision making process made on the basis of available accommodation rather than an early assessment of potential risks associated to the transfer.

Police respondents described the process that occurred before a MAPPP was convened, commencing at short notice to assess the suitability and availability of accommodation and risk management issues. The process did not allow time for the police to contribute to the initial decision-making or to gather information they required to make their own assessments regarding community safety or managing the risk posed by the offender. They cited varying occasions when they felt they were unprepared and at a disadvantage in managing a high risk offender who had already been accepted into their geographical area without any initial consultation. They described being excluded from the transfer decision making process but nevertheless had a responsibility to provide a policing response to supervise that offender.

The consequences of a transfer without prior notification led to an excess of police time and energy to ensure they matched the demands of offender management. Tensions developed if a decision was made to accommodate an offender and the police had to reallocate resources to supervise a risk management plan without being able to assess the ramifications locally. The police had the flexibility to manage these referrals but the situation was exacerbated because the police received information at short notice.

There was a belief within police circles that probation had advanced notice of the transfer time scales but did not share the information in a timely manner undermining the ability of MAPPP to organise a meeting and response:

- I suppose encouraging people to have less of a NIMBY attitude (Not In My Back Yard) and more of a worldly-wise perspective. If there are clear reasons to move someone to a different area and they are clearly argued and logical, then that's the road down that we may need to go. However, if it is just that a particular region just wants to get rid of someone, then that's not a reason. John Probation

- My view is get a grip. We would all be naive not to think there are dangerous people out there who need to be managed. They have to go somewhere. Shirley Police

Respondents desired a 'mature conversation' about the placement of an offender before a transfer was accepted so they had the opportunity to assess the impact of the offender in their communities. Both police and probation respondents recognised their responsibilities as statutory agencies and took a similar stance in describing their commitment to protecting people. The language of John Probation and Shirley Police was very similar referring to a reduction in the attitude of NIMBY whilst recognising the need for a transparent transfer process and proportionate decision-making to decide where an offender should be accommodated.

From a policing perspective it was acknowledged that dangerous offenders must be supervised and wherever they were accommodated a professional commitment made to manage the responsibility and deal with the consequences. The practicalities of managing the consequence were a drain on local resources from all agencies but particularly the police and probation officers. An example of this type of situation was described by Paul Police.

- I was aware there were some individuals from other areas. One in particular who was an offender whose MO (modus operandi) was to exploit elderly people and more vulnerable people with a view to gaining access to any wealth they may have. He had connections to other counties but every time he absconded he was brought back here because his bed was here. Paul Police

This offender was a charlatan who befriended elderly, wealthy females or vulnerable individuals to access their money and engage in sexual assaults. The police committed significant resources to managing him and viewed him as a drain on resources diverted from other duties including tackling local policing issues. The concerns focused on the ability of the police to continually manage large numbers of high risk offenders in one geographical area. Other frustrations were articulated by police respondents:

- Surely an ongoing assessment needs to be made of these premises - this one is glowing red because we've got a lot of people there that takes a lot of management. Paul Police
- We need wider force (police) perspective, where are they at any one time? My frustration is we tend to attract people from all over the country and I feel there is no reciprocal arrangement, just one way to us. Ken Police

Even if the reality was that police areas nationally were allocated an equal share of responsibility for high risk offenders there was no framework to assess the operational commitment and financial cost for the police, probation and other agencies. Police respondents thought they were overloaded as the recipients of offenders and were not aware of any reciprocal arrangements with other areas. Access to information about the numbers and types of offenders moved about nationally may alleviate some of the police concerns and frustrations.

The issues regarding the transfer process were not just about an offender coming into the force area from elsewhere in the country but also moving from Approved Premises to Approved Premises within the force area. There was a real variation within the police force boundary as described by Annie.

- I think realistically it depends on who's the Chair of the MAPPA. I've had some very good transfers and I've had some really appalling ones. I've had a couple that came across to us that were done professionally, the sex offender manager attended my pre-MAPPA a month or two months before to discuss the case and provide information. However, I have also had people with two days' notice turn up from another area. It just depends on the individuals managing the case. One was the worst at the time, absolutely appalling behaviour, and all they would do is just say that the risk was too high without any justification. Annie Police

The movement of offenders across internal boundaries involved a change of Approved Premises accommodation and also a transfer of responsibilities between MAPPP's. This process introduced inconsistent decision-making as each Chair developed their own individual approach based on their knowledge and as revealed

in Chapter 5 the knowledge of MAPPP Chair's or lack of it effected the running of MAPPP and the decision making process.

In the case described by Annie the description of the transfer process ranged from very good to appalling, too broad to be confident that the process was efficient and effective. A key issue was the availability of timely information described as somewhere between professional with plenty of advanced information and personal briefing opportunities to appalling. Timely and accurate information sharing is a key component of effective offender management and as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 it was not always appropriate or timely.

There was no suggestion the police wanted to take control of the transfer process and become the arbitrators but, as described by Shirley Police, they wanted to be involved at an earlier stage:

- In saying that, I don't think we (the police) should be the arbiters around making the final decision as to where they go. I do think that this ultimately is a probation decision. However, I think we should be able to inform that decision making process because I often felt that things were done in a disjointed ad hoc sort of way. Instead of having a local strategic overview, we need a wider regional level and then a national level and then joining it all up in an effective manner. Shirley Police

The police wanted an early opportunity to contribute their knowledge and assessment about the potential effect of moving an offender into a local community and the subsequent demand on police resources. In contrast the probation service was obliged to support the requirements of court proceedings with the provision of timely accommodation for offenders who were under the direction of a court. This obligation cannot be avoided. Although the probation service was prepared to take a view from the police they were not prepared to delay their decision-making until a police representative was available.

The position of the probation service was to accept a transfer unless exceptional circumstances prevailed. The police felt constrained by lack of consultation and

sometimes overwhelmed by the requirement to closely supervise an offender(s) with surveillance and other key but finite resources.

Annie Police and Grace Probation recognised the difficulties faced by their organisations as well as the practical issues:

- We don't get extra funding for any transfers that come in. However, our job is still to protect the public and that is our responsibility. In addition to lack of accommodation in certain areas, people may be transferred for a variety of reasons; victim protection, guns and gangs etc. Guns and gangs are currently presenting a real challenge for us, as we cannot put opposing gang members in the same premises. Grace Probation
- There is limited additional funding stream from NOMS to provide extra resources and or security for MAPPA 3 category offenders but this is a temporary and time restricted support. The police recognise the extra demands placed on them, 'if you have four or five gang members who need housing along with four or five critical Level 3 sex offenders, and they all land at two Approved Premises, that's a huge demand to manage. Annie Police

It was identified there was no extra financial support provided to supervise high risk offenders although a temporary fund was available to provide specific types of security or resources if the offender was deemed even more risky and assessed to be a Critical Protection Case. For example additional physical security included alarms on the doors and windows of an individual's room, improved locks on doors and windows throughout an Approved Premises, increased availability of personnel at night and the temporary provision of a chaperone service.

A perverse aspect of improving physical security of an Approved Premises meant the accommodation became the principal choice for that category of offender. The consequence of greater investment was an increased allocation of offenders who required those higher levels of supervision.

Another area with increasing demand was accommodation for offenders affiliated to gang criminality. Criminal gang networks extend nationally and it was possible for

this type of offender to be transferred to an area where gang affiliations were very strong from an opposing gang. Relocating gang members increased the demands on police and probation respondents as well other organisations.

The framework used to facilitate the assessment of gang affiliated offenders and the allocation of accommodation within premises was incomplete as described in Chapter 4. The allocation process can be strengthened by improved liaison between the decision-making forum regarding gang criminality and MAPPA so accommodation issues are dealt with in a more holistic manner.

The transfer process to move offenders from prison to Approved Premises or between Approved Premises are regulated by MAPPA and protocols of the lead agency. The probation service has responsibility for the supervision of three types of high risk offenders those who are subject of Court proceedings, those released into the community subject to bail conditions, and those released from prison who are subject of licence or parole conditions.

Although probation made local decisions regarding transfers, NOMS had a national responsibility for offender management through their Public Protection Unit. Part of their core function is to provide central support to local MAPPA's with the provision of expertise, policy and operational guidance. They do not engage in negotiations about the placement or transfer of offenders but rely on local probation areas to work together to organise the reception of, as well as transfer of offenders.

There appears to be no literature related to the transfer process associated to the movement of offenders but there are some references within Serious Further Offences Reviews, that are triggered when an offender under supervision by the probation service, either on licence or on a community sentence, is charged with a serious offence such as murder, manslaughter, rape, serious sexual assault, or arson with intent to endanger life. The Review's purpose is to provide an objective assessment of the case management practices, and to assure the public that everything that might have reasonably been expected has been done, and to correct past bad practises. An integral part of its purpose is to learn and improve future offender management practices.

However many of these reviews are not public documents. This is to encourage all those providing information for the Review to be completely frank, open and not to be discouraged by the prospect of material which is normally held confidentially (e.g. the detail of the offender's supervision) being published (NOMS, 2013c). There are opportunities to access Review information where there is a connection between a MAPPA case and the child protection arena through Serious Case Reviews. This type of review takes place after a child dies or is seriously injured and abuse or neglect is thought to be involved and are published documents.

An example of case details being restricted in one arena and shared in another is revealed in the findings related to child 'K' (Cocker 2012). The review identified a breakdown in communication between the MAPPA agencies in Humberside and Leeds including West Yorkshire Police and the Prison Service. They failed to communicate vital information relating to the transfer of an offender, hampering continuity of planning through MAPPA. The offender arrived one day after the advanced notice was received and an emergency MAPPA was not convened for a month during which time a series of events were instigated that led to the tragic conclusion of the case. The result of an incomplete or inadequate transfer process is significant for MAPPA, undermining its purpose to protect the public and react to the arrival of high risk offenders into the locality.

Further research into the transfer process and effect on professionals and offenders is required as the only source of information appears to be via reviews connected with other areas of public protection.

The next section deals with the other area of conflict related to the breach of licence conditions used to supervise an offender and consideration of the recall to custody process.

Breach of licence conditions and the recall process

Key to the delivery of proportionate risk management plans was the utilisation of licence conditions that afforded an opportunity for rehabilitation, crime control and the protection of the public. Actuarialism is inherent within this area of offender

management with tensions identified between the probation goals of rehabilitation and police aims of intervention and prohibition. Consequently conflict between police and probation respondents is exemplified through the management of licence conditions and use of the recall process.

When an offender is released from prison 'on licence' or on parole, they are supervised by an Offender Manager and given a copy of their licence with all the conditions they need to adhere to. The licence may have included: exclusions zones prohibiting geographical movement, restrictions on using public transport or communicating previous victims or witnesses, curfew times, zero tolerance of drinking alcohol or having access to a mobile phone or computer. If the offender did not comply with the conditions of their licence they can be recalled to custody.

Although the responsibility for setting licence conditions to restrict or direct the activities of an offender lay with probation, the police contributed to the debates and generally sought very restrictive conditions to create a monitoring environment in which it was easier to identify a breach of licence conditions. Grace Probation described her thoughts about the issue:

- The police are very strong in terms of curfews and conditions that should be on the license and I always have to stop them and say, "No, it's not your decision what conditions go on the license, it's the offender manager's decision," because the police are tighter curfew, tighter this, tighter that. And I'm thinking, "Are we setting up this person to fail, when they come out they can't breathe". They're just going to re-offend and go back on recall. Therefore, we need to ensure that any license is proportionate and appropriate. However, the police's views are not proportionate, so I end up trying to explain what is proportionate and then we make a decision..... If we place too many restrictions on them, they will just feel like they are still in prison and are bound to breach. Grace Probation

The debate between the two services became polarised by the goals of each agency with police striving for greater control and restrictions while probation sought opportunities for an offender to evidence a change in mindset and behaviour. The

following example from the supervision practice of JJ highlighted such organisational differences.

Probation officers tried to deliver their core responsibilities and strengthen their relationship with JJ by developing rehabilitation and resettlement activities through gardening, education opportunities and development of employment skills. To monitor JJ's compliance the police asked for significant prohibitions and restrictions on JJ's movements. They wanted JJ to adopt specific travel routes to and from work experience or educational locations, only use public transport or walk and contact the Approved Premises at identified times, from public telephones so a call back process could be instigated to confirm his location. The proposals were declined or had limited application as probation officers thought they were too restrictive and undermined their intentions to build a relationship with JJ in a climate of trust and cooperation.

JJ had his own view about the regime developed for his supervision. He wanted as much freedom as possible and saw any restrictions as a demonstration of the power that others held over his personal freedom. He was very vocal in challenging the overtly visible restrictions such as the reporting mechanism in and out of the Approved Premises and defined travel routes. His relationship with probation officers was dominated by his desire to have his licence conditions reduced and redefine probation's span of control.

As a professional response probation respondents were keen for JJ to demonstrate his desire to reform providing opportunities for him to show he could be trusted by complying with proportionate licence conditions. The role of the police became one of surveillance to assess JJ's compliance with licence conditions and confirm his desire to engage in rehabilitation activities without placing others at risk.

The recall process provided a framework for agencies to work together to supervise offenders, enforce their licence, and return to prison those who breached their licence conditions. The recall process was instigated by the probation offender manager via their senior management to NOMS. Once the process was authorised the police were required to arrest the offender and organise a return to prison.

The recall process can be invoked if an offender was charged with another crime or they behaved in a way that led their Offender Manager to think they might be about to commit another offence. When a breach occurred a MAPPP was the forum to discuss an appropriate multi agency response but this process did not always take place.

Probation respondents John and Lisa explained some of the issues:

- So it's not just the police that may have different views on how to handle offenders, within probation there are a variety of views as to what stage someone should be recalled, and thus such cases are the subject of some debate. For example, we may see how someone has actually developed quite a lot as regards to their attitude to police and probation and to authority, and they may then do something that is wrong. Therefore, in theory if someone was going purely by the rules, that person would have breached the rules and therefore could be recalled. If they're recalled they go back to prison and when they come out again they may be much further back in the queue as regards to re-housing and access to other resources. Therefore, I think one has to have a far more rounded approach. However, I would imagine that the majority of police officers would probably just be glad to get them off the streets and be able to lock them up for another month or so for re-offending, which I can understand. We're coming from different backgrounds aren't we? It's the police's duty and responsibility to investigate crime and arrest the offender. John Probation
- There are examples where the police have been unhelpful when the Probation Service, wanted to keep someone (in an Approved Premises) because we've felt that they've made such progress that we haven't supported the decision to recall..... I think what the police sometimes forget is that we have the primary responsibility of managing the offenders. Lisa Probation

John and Lisa Probation described levels of disagreement based on the ethos of each organisation, probation encouraging and supporting a change of behaviour and the

police more focused on an intervention process in response to a breach of licence conditions.

Probation officers had a responsibility for rehabilitation as well as public protection and balanced their assessment with a holistic approach to ensure that a breach of a licence condition was not viewed in isolation. For example, when an offender had made some progress and displayed improved behaviour a breach could be assessed by probation as a minor or technical lapse. In the case of an offender who had continually displayed challenging or concerning behaviour the same breach may be viewed as the final activity that supported a recall option.

Probation respondents felt that police decision making was in some cases too restrictive and focused on using every opportunity to invoke the recall process and return an offender to prison. An illustration of this tension was revealed in the following scenario about discarded beer cans found in the garden of an Approved Premises. Probation wanted to use the find to challenge the behaviour of offenders and considered it as an opportunity to reform their drinking habits. In contrast the police wanted to fingerprint the cans, identify the offenders and use the information to evidence a breach and progress the recall process.

The police reverted to their core role of crime control by recommending enforcement tactics that increased the potential of identifying a breach of licence conditions and a return to custody. However probation officers reflected that some recall processes were a short term option of incarceration because offenders were eventually released back into society. Where appropriate, probation respondents preferred to use the circumstances of a breach, as a learning experience or an opportunity to challenge an offender about their behaviour.

Sean Police observed the difference in approach was actually restricting the information flow about licence breaches from probation to the police.

- Minor breaches of curfew, probably are not reported as much as they should be but then you've got to ask the question, from a police point of view, what is that individual doing while they are out? Secondly are they becoming a trigger factor for behaviour that is not going to be conducive for a person who is going to resettle and rehabilitate. Sean Police

Sean believed that breaches assessed as ‘minor’ by probation officers were not shared with the police or other agencies through MAPPP, removing the debate about how to respond to the incident. Peter Probation described the tension displayed with probation peers between rehabilitation in support of an offender and protecting the public.

- There is still an element where some staff view the rehabilitation of the offender as their primary goal, and in doing that, perhaps allows behaviours to go unchecked. I still believe in the principle of rehabilitation and trying to help people to change, however, equally I see my role in terms of managing the risk and trying to protect the public. Therefore, in terms of ethos, it has changed, with more emphasis on public protection; however, there is still some way to go. This shift in emphasis however doesn’t necessarily take away our dual role of helping to rehabilitate offender. Peter Probation

Peter acknowledged the probation service had moved towards a more comprehensive public protection role but recognised that some peers had not made the transition and viewed rehabilitation as their primary role. The police expected probation officers to challenge and educate an offender when their behaviour was unacceptable but they were not confident that all probation officers approached this responsibility in a similar manner.

It was inferred that probation officers were content to make decisions in isolation about the response to breach of licence conditions in support of a reform agenda for the offender. The consequent for MAPPP was incomplete information sharing that was detrimental to the risk assessment process undermining the ability of agencies to respond to an offender’s behaviour and deliver an appropriate management plan. Concealing the level of risk posed by an offender undermined the purposes of MAPPA and potentially placed the public at risk.

The most serious consequence of contravening licence conditions for an offender was a recall to prison to serve their sentence in a custodial environment. Lisa Probation described the police reaction to the recall process:

- There is an issue in terms of when we recall people how quickly the police respond, because sometimes we don't want people to stay. In addition, when the police are called out to an incident sometimes they take a long time to come, which puts staff and other residents at risk. Lisa Probation

Once a decision was made to revoke an offender's licence, there was an expectation that the police would enforce the recall and take the offender into custody as soon as possible. It was viewed as a negative situation if the response from the police was too slow as the delay undermined the role of probation officers to enforce the licence breach. To effectively supervise offenders, the recall process needed to be rigorously assessed and progressed quickly otherwise it was viewed as ineffective by the offenders.

The scenarios described by respondents revealed the tensions between the old and new penology with probation respondents trying to deliver a reform agenda and the police respondents aiming for interventions and crime control agenda.

Returning to the literature Foucault (1991) described the notion of actuarial practice as a mechanism of regulatory control supporting a different exercise of power. The actuarial approach created a shift from understanding the causes of crime to the development of crime control strategies aimed at prevention. This divergence of views resulted in probation respondents working towards the old penology of rehabilitation and the police relying on new penology options of control and intervention reflecting the research by Feeley & Simon (1992, 1994).

Inevitably conflict arose from these two different stances which the literature referred to in Chapter 2 described as an unavoidable part of the multi-agency working without which the capacity to develop would not be present. The task conflict in this thesis drove respondents apart and towards their organisational goals.

The response to a breach of licence conditions placed the police and probation respondents in conflict as they reverted to their core roles defined by control strategies and rehabilitation activities. The literature and findings from this thesis correlate to the research that assessed police activity in terms of restrictions,

prohibitions and control (Feeley and Simon, 1992, 1994; Simon and Feeley, 1995). However, significant resistance was revealed from probation respondents to reinstate their core values.

The example provided by Grace suggest the intention of the police was to develop such restrictive conditions that the offender could only fail. Contributory research by Padfield (2012) included the interviewing of 46 offenders. A number of offenders described being, 'set up to fail' through the application of unreasonable conditions imposed on release. Some felt they had been released into "a prison in the community". Grace Probation reflected similar views in describing why she resisted police pressure to apply too many restrictions, "If we place too many restrictions on them, they will just feel like they are still in prison and are bound to breach".

This concurred with an assessment by Nellis (1999) and McNeill, (2009a) that licences were created with untenable conditions in order to precipitate a breach and recall to custody. Grace robustly represented the goals of probation and resisted the introduction of restrictive conditions in favour of proportionate rehabilitation activities.

The position adopted by probation officers in the previously described scenarios at page 146 about not reporting breach of licence conditions was contrary to the research by Nellis & Chui (2003) and Padfield & Maruna (2006). They argued the introduction of actuarial practices influenced the mind set of probation officers and altered their view of offenders. They argued, as did Kemshall & Wood (2007) that officers assessed an offender as a member of a high risk population rather than an individual. This produced a risk adverse stance that removed any leniency in assessing if an offender's behaviour was sufficiently deviant to result in a recall to custody. This notion was not reflected in this research as probation officers were more lenient in assessing a breach of licence conditions so as to favoured rehabilitation opportunities for an offender.

Grace was not alone in favouring rehabilitation options. Other probation officers maintain their old penology even if this was done in a covert process, regardless of the potential consequences for MAPPA.

Adding to this debate was research by Kemshall and Wood, (2007b) describing the new penology as defensive and repressive with control strategies built to direct as much as possible an offender's behaviour with restrictions and prohibitions. They argued that the introduction of risk management, risk control and prevention measures were intended to exclude and distance offenders from society. The insight from Grace about setting up offenders to fail provided a practical application of this approach and the creation of a greater distance between offenders and the public.

Prior to the introduction of actuarial practices the return to prison of an offender was viewed as a failure because the offender had been unsuccessfully treated or supervision was considered inadequate. Feeley & Simon, (1992) discuss that under the actuarial model the recall process became a sign of an efficient system that controlled risks before an offender committed an offence. Effectively the use of punitive conditions and increased use of recall to custody became measures of success. The change was interpreted as increased effectiveness by Wood & Kemshall (2007) with an over emphasis on process and procedural compliance rather than promoting reintegration and encouragement to reduce future offending (Barry, 2007); (Hayles, 2006).

Consequently offenders became subject of a 'zero tolerance' policy regarding breach of licence conditions creating an impression of timely crime prevention. However the literature claimed that the majority of breaches were likely to be non compliance technical conditions, not related to a reoffending issue therefore having no real effect on the safety of the public. The perverse result may actually leave the public more, not less vulnerable.

The police believed that information about a breach of licence conditions was not shared by probation. In contrast John and Lisa Probation claimed the police pressed for a recall to custody regardless of the circumstances presented by probation. Probation pursued a less aggressive approach to a breach of licence conditions if there was merit in utilising the circumstances to reform an offender's behaviour. The 'zero tolerance' response by the police was not lenient enough to support the probation assessment, creating conflict and mistrust that impaired public protection and the accuracy of the risk assessment process was impaired.

The police viewed the use of restrictive conditions as an effective method of control even if there was a detrimental impact on rehabilitation activities, a notion explored by Giddens (1990, 1991); Beck (1992); Feeley & Simon (1992, 1994, 2005); Kemshall (1998); Hannah-Moffatt (1999); Garland (2001) describing a displacement of welfare strategies aimed at rehabilitation and reintegration being replaced with greater crime control strategies. In the case of JJ the restrictions and prohibitions were numerous and the risk adverse stance taken by the police to JJ reflected their core values of crime control and prevention whereas probation tried to provide opportunities for reform.

This distinct separation between police and probation respondents in dealing with licence conditions did not present a blurring of roles as referred to with as the polibation concept by Crawford (1997); Nash (1999; 2004; 2008); Mawby & Worrall (2004); Mawby, Crawley & Wright (2007); Kemshall & Maguire (2001) in Chapter 6. The core distinction between the two responses was very different. The debate about the polibation concept originated in settings involving Prolific and Persistent Offenders where a blurring of roles occurred. In these arrangements there was more flexibility in managing this type of offender, more opportunities for reintegration and rehabilitation activities and less potential for tragic consequences. The circumstances described regarding breach of licence conditions for high risk offenders did not reveal a blurring of roles. Quite the opposite as respondents reverted to their organisational goals of rehabilitation and enforcement.

This research argues that a blurring of roles is situational event and can be influenced by the context of the decision making as well as the professional and personal opinions of the individual practitioners involved in the decision making.

An area where the distance between the police and probation respondents was too great related to the recall to custody process. The probation service has responsibility for instigating the recall process and the police have responsibility for apprehending offenders unlawfully at large. Lisa Probation identified that the police did not always respond to the recall process in a timely manner, undermining the role of probation officers and placing the public and others at risk.

The consequences of ineffective recall practices have already been realised in the tragic murders of Laurent Bonomho and Gabriel Ferez who were killed in London by Dano Sonnex and Nigel Farmer. Although the recall process had been authorised it took 16 days for Sonnex to be returned to custody by which time the murders had been committed (IPCC, 2009). There was speculated that the murders would not have taken place if the recall process had been instigated earlier.

MAPPAs were extremely important in maintaining proportionate and effective oversight of the decision-making process between the agencies. Surveillance control and exclusion tactics were identified by Nash, (2000); Kemshall & Wood, (2007a) as tactics favoured by the police to reduce the risk to the public. They assessed the police were comfortable in the decision-making process required to deploy such tactics as they had greater professional knowledge and access to specialist resources.

Literature claimed that the police had greater influence in multi-agency settings because of their knowledge, and expertise in covert tactics was essential for understanding the level of risk posed by an offender and managing that risk. This assertion was supported by this research with descriptions of how the respondent's environment was influenced by the use of risk management and reduction tactics, including a greater reliance on control and supervision supported by surveillance resources.

Conclusions of Chapter 6

The lack of research about the transfer process and its impact on this arena of public protection hampered the analysis in this section. The reference to the Serious Case Reviews indicated that the transfer process was imperfect and would benefit from additional research as NOMS do not disseminate information about Serious Further Offences. Further reference will be made about this point in Chapter 9 on Organisational Learning.

The transfer process was a key mechanism for the dispersal of offenders across the country and between local Approved Premises. NOMS was not a co-ordinating hub and relied on local agreements to facilitate the process rather than taking a directing

role in the process. Probation respondents described professional pride in providing accommodation, and viewed this role and associated decision-making as part of their core responsibility and not one for debating with the police. However the police had to respond to the risk posed by these offenders and wanted more involvement at an earlier stage of the transfer process to ensure that they were aware of the issues of additional risk in their area and contribute any intelligence relevant to the decision-making process.

The literature regarding a breach of licence condition and recall to custody was more extensive and identified a relationship with actuarial practices. Literature and the findings in this thesis concur with each other about the changing goals of the probation service with a move from the traditional approach of advise, assist and befriend towards control, help and change. This shift in goals reduced the prominence of a welfare approach in favour of enforcement.

Risk management plans were developed for each individual offender to prevent re-offending and provide rehabilitation opportunities for the offender. As part of the process licence conditions were used to manage an offender's behaviour and if they failed to comply with those conditions they could be recalled to custody. The use of licence conditions and the debates about the recall to custody process demonstrated the application of actuarialism from the perspective of both the police and probation respondents. The tension between the probation goals of rehabilitation and police aims of intervention and prohibition were clearly demonstrated.

The old and new penology described by (Feeley and Simon, 1992, 1994; Simon and Feeley, 1995) was apparent through the various scenarios of probation working towards rehabilitation goals and the police maintaining a crime control agenda. The findings in this thesis concur with the research by Giddens (1990, 1991); Beck (1992); Kemshall (1998); Hannah-Moffatt (1999); Garland (2001) describing a displacement of reintegration opportunities with greater crime control options.

Tensions were apparent in the police and probation relationship as licence conditions were created to be so strict that offenders could only fail. Interviews of 46 offenders by Padfield (2012) identified the use of unreasonable conditions and a sense of being in 'a prison in the community'. Grace Probation identified a similar approach

undertaken by the police and worked hard to robustly represent probation goals to implement proportionate licence conditions. Despite the intention to prioritise interventions and prohibitions the police were not always successful when faced with determined probation representatives.

The status of an offender changed with the actuarial model and the use of the recall process became a sign of success that risks were under control (Feeley & Simon, (1992). The performance measures in this area were easier to achieve with an over emphasise on procedural compliance rather than encouragement to reduce future offending which relied on a behavioural change (Barry, 2007); (Hayles, 2006).

Literature claimed the actuarial approach changed the mind set of probation officers and suppressed lenient decision-making (Nellis & Chui 2003); (Padfield & Maruna 2006). This approach was not experienced in this research, in the fact the opposite was identified with probations officers being over lenient, in the view of police respondents. There was a concern from police respondents that probation representatives were so lenient that information about minor licence breaches were not shared with MAPPA. This speculation was not confirmed but Peter probation acknowledged that some 'behaviours were unchecked'.

The blurring of roles or the concept of 'polibation' described by Crawford (1997): Nash (1999; 2004; 2008): Mawby & Worrall (2004): Mawby, Crawley & Wright (2007): Kemshall & Maguire (2001) referred to in Chapter 6 was not found in these processes. A blurring of roles did not feature in this area of decision making as each agency firmly retained their organisational goals of rehabilitation and intervention. The blurring of roles identified in Chapter 6 related to debates about the creation of an offender management plan at a time when opportunities for reform were easier to negotiate. Once offending behaviour moved into a breach situation the negotiations ceased and respondents adopted their organisational goals.

A blurring of roles in the debates about licence conditions and the decision-making process to consider a recall to custody would be undesirable if the debates were to be to be fair, proportionate and based on all the information available. The aims of MAPPA would be significantly undermined if the 'polibation officer' influenced

these decision-making processes creating an imbalanced and disproportionate framework. There was no evidence that the ‘polibation officer’ existed in these debate as each agency reverted to their core organisational goals of enforcement and rehabilitation.

These areas of conflict did not limit the interactions between respondents and promoted other opportunities to work and learn together. Some of their creative activities are discussed next in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7 - Organising Theme 4: Collaboration activities

Introduction

The next chapter explores the notion of collaboration described in literature as a product of conflict and a key component of a success partnership (Crawford & Jones 1995). The practical applications are varied and creative with wide-ranging consequences for police and probation respondents.

Partnerships are not realised purely in terms of constraints but also creativity and by the ability of managers and practitioners to handle the tensions and challenges posed by working across agency boundaries. The police and probation respondents in this arena had similar goals but operated in a very different fashion when coming together to manage problems or engage in problem solving processes. Utilising specialist skills and knowledge was a key feature of collaborative work expressed in this research through the role of a chaperone, use of police search dog and development of a shared learning forums organised by the respondents. They are all examples of interagency co-operation developed mutually to improve working practice.

Role of chaperone

The role of chaperone brought together the tensions that exist between the police and probation service in supervising an offender through a rehabilitation programme whilst endeavouring to keep the public safe. The role of chaperone, developed to accompany offenders in public, was viewed differently by the respondents causing debate about its purpose and value to influence an offender's behaviour. Key to that debate was the cost of such activity.

Critical Public Protection Cases, a status given to known offenders who posed a very high risk of offending or high profile individuals such as Gary Glitter, were subject of additional funding to support very intense supervisory options. Funding for supplementary resources was provided by NOMS but only for a very brief period of

time. John Probation provided an insight into the funding challenges:

- We had a Critical Public Protection Case here about two years ago, whereby we had to employ an additional member of staff at a considerable cost to be available, both within the hostel and to accompany the person when he went out, so at no time when he left the building was he unaccompanied. It's a very expensive thing so obviously centrally they need to look and see how practical as it is funded by the central point down in London. John Probation
- Eventually we had to step down the chaperoning because there's an assumption from the CPPC Unit that one can provide that for about a month and then one would look to gradually reducing it after that. So we had to reduce it, which meant obviously the police had to conduct a certain amount of surveillance, but their capacity for that was clearly limited. John Probation

The extra funding provided by NOMS was for the provision of additional resources in the form of escorting or chaperoning duties, temporary additional staff, improvements to security at Approved Premises or other specific interventions to contribute to public protection or facilitate the co-ordination of national cases. One of the issues identified was the time limitation placed on external funding for the provision of a chaperone. The average time scale was about a month unless circumstances demanded additional support.

Any short term funding support for a chaperone was provided by the probation service to enhance their resources but inevitably once that extra financial support was removed a greater financial burden was borne by the police to provide surveillance resources. The daily cost for the deployment of a surveillance team of 12 people was in excess of £3000 a day and the cost of 1 chaperone approximately £200 a day so there was a significant difference between the deployment costs for the two sets of resources. Deploying a chaperone appeared to be a financially cheaper option but a key issue was the aim of the deployment and the ability of the chaperone to effectively supervise the offender.

John Probation and Sean Police shared their opinions regarding chaperoning of offenders:

- There is a difference between chaperoning and surveillance isn't there? Because with chaperoning, anyone with a reasonable amount of intelligence will realise that they shouldn't and wouldn't do anything inappropriate when there's a person standing right next to them whereas with surveillance, there shouldn't be that knowledge or concern. John Probation
- I don't advocate that high risk offenders should be monitored in such a way that you are putting off the inevitable. By shutting them down, rather than putting a more covert control plan around them so if they are going to commit offences they do so early and we catch them early. That's the predicament. That's the predicament. Sean Police

The first perspective by John Probation compared the difference between surveillance that was covert in nature and a chaperone who was a visible and overt representative of the probation service. The validity of the overt role was expressed as an inhibitor with the presence of a chaperone preventing offending or the development of preparatory actions towards an offence as well as an 'on the spot' advisor to support or assist an offender. There was recognition that surveillance resources were hidden from an offender creating more opportunities to assess voluntary compliance or identify risky behaviour.

The value of surveillance was illustrated with two examples of non-compliant behaviours observed by police officers. Firstly, the activities of a paedophile spending time looking in shop windows in an apparently harmless manner. The real focus of his gaze was not the window display but children playing close by who were reflected in the glass. Second the activities of a sexually violent offender who created opportunities to contact women. He was viewed by a surveillance officer furtively passing a small piece of paper to a woman. Further investigation revealed the paper contained words of endearment and a mobile phone that the offender had in his possession. He breached his licence conditions twice, once by failing to inform his probation officer that he was trying to instigate relationships with women and second

by having possession of a mobile phone. Neither of these incidents would have been identified without surveillance officers observing a pattern of behaviour that could have escalated to criminal activity.

Sean Police recognised a value in the chaperone role and effect on the behaviour on offender. He was concerned that an offender would delay their criminal activity until there was less surveillance of their activity. Sean was worried that the initial flurry of attention at the start of an offender's release had a positive effect but as time moved on the allocation of resources and finance diminished to a routine level. The potential for re-offending grew at a time when additional resources were reducing.

Sean expressed additional concerns:

- Where I have a concern about chaperones is what are they there for and what can they do if the person walks off, runs off, or indeed looked at material that would be an indication of a propensity to reoffend. For example if a sex offender went into a shop and started looking at children's clothing or bought a pornographic magazine with the chaperone nearby what could the chaperone do? Sean probation

Sean Police viewed the role as an inhibitor but expressed concern about the timing of deployment and the effect a chaperone could have on an individual's propensity to offend. Chaperoning was viewed as a constructive option, forming part of a risk management plan in the short term, but it was also assessed to be potentially detrimental in the protection of the public.

It was a judgement call as to whether the role was inhibiting offending at a time when a greater amount of resources were available to monitor the offender, or they were delaying offending behaviour for it to manifest in the future when less resources would be available to monitor an offender.

Once a decision was made to deploy surveillance the most contentious decision was when to withdraw that monitoring process. Sean Police assessed the most opportune time to deploy overt and covert supervision was at the start of an offender's release

period when resources were more readily available in the form of finance and staff. It was also the time period when an offender's actions might indicate co-operation with the rehabilitation processes and comply with licence conditions. If it was revealed an offender's behaviour was deteriorating there was an opportunity to gather evidence of that deterioration and intercede to protect the public.

In assessing the role of chaperone there were concerns about the ability and confidence of individual officers to intercede in behaviour that was not criminal but considered inappropriate and potentially preparatory activity to offending:

- Chaperones don't have any training. We have to remember, these offenders are not just harming children, and these guys can kill anybody if they choose to. What on earth does a chaperone do stand next to somebody and watch them harm or kill others or even the chaperone? Therefore, there's also a real issue of the chaperone's safety and that risk needs to be managed too. Annie Police
- It's a high level of responsibility and risk for just one person. The chaperone may feel pressured to allow his client to take him to places he was uncomfortable with. Offenders can often manipulate and seek to get their own way. One person refused because they lived locally and didn't want to be seen walking with the offender by people they knew. Others just didn't want to do it. Peter Probation

Undertaking the role of chaperone was not a compulsory requirement and probation officers had to volunteer to be a chaperone. Not everyone wanted the responsibility of the role or to be seen in their own community with an offender. Those who undertook the responsibility were assessed by their peers to be ill equipped for the demands of the role. There was no formal training programme and any briefing or debrief framework was devised locally so there was no consistency about the role.

Probation peers thought there was potential of a physical risk from the offender based on their criminal background and their positive or negative reaction to being accompanied in public. Examples were provided of activity that did not endanger the chaperone but demonstrated an offender's willingness to create difficulties in the

chaperoning process. An offender went into a club which advertised dancing girls and exited via the rear door to escape the chaperone. The chaperone did not enter the club to avoid compromising their personal values and did not wish to be seen at that type of venue. Other activities included running away from the chaperone but returning to the Approved Premises later that same day or viewing pornographic material in a newsagent shop. Overt and covert surveillance were used to monitor the offender and to demonstrate compliance or a potential breach of licence conditions.

The following example provided by Annie Police illustrated how the two agencies worked together to prove non-compliance and relates to the discussion in Chapter 7 about responding to a breach of licence conditions.

- He (the offender) would take the chaperone on the bus so we removed the chaperone, because we wanted to see what he (the offender) did. He breached his licence in front of surveillance officers by approaching a lone female on the bus, and that's where he used to attack. However, that took three incidents to get probation to breach him for that. Every single time it was never about getting him locked up, probation always wanted to manage him back into rehabilitation. I haven't got time to watch somebody just so that they debate a breach. Annie Police

This incident highlighted the tension between the police and probation and emphasised the different outcomes that were aligned to their organisational values. The police sought a punitive outcome of a recall to custody whilst probation wanted to utilise the events to challenge and change an offender's behaviour. The police respondent expressed frustration at having to repeat the surveillance process on three separate occasions until the offender had shown he was not responding to rehabilitation opportunities by repeatedly reverting to his preparatory offending behaviour.

The rehabilitation versus control debate was manifested in this example. The probation service wanted to use the circumstances to re-educate the offender and develop trust which in the longer term may afford the public greater protection. In the shorter term the police were a safety net to monitor the offender until the behaviour

was assessed to be too risky to the public. It was the responsibility of the police to justify the legal criteria to authorise surveillance and outline a necessary and proportionate case, including any risks and activity to minimise those dangers. It was a challenge to persuade the police to continue a surveillance operation when non-compliance by an offender had already been evidenced.

There were varying perspectives on the value of chaperone deployments:

- If the risk assessment is such that a chaperone is required then a covert operation is also required as the offending is expected we just don't know when. I'd actually say it is control on the cheap, or management on the cheap. Sean Police
- I think they would use it as a cop out for managing risk. I think it's the same as putting stringent conditions on somebody that they can only go out for an hour a day but without understanding the implications. Annie Police
- The common denominator for me in terms of effective offender management is a very upfront transparent relationship with the offender. From agencies, right across the board to the partnership. So whether it be a housing officer, a police officer or probation officer, that offender is under no illusion that the focus, the spotlight of those partners is on them and their behaviour, as opposed to a situation where we understand and accept the risk but then start to have a covert relationship with those people and that covert relationship starts to cost a lot of money. We say to them (offender) your behaviour is going to be managed in the community but we're going to do it in a very overt way. That's where prevention saves money over cure. Luke Police

The police respondents described the role of chaperone as a valid tactic as part of a risk management plan. Monitoring a high risk offender in public warranted the use of a chaperone and covert surveillance. Both options were interchangeable, releasing the surveillance resources to support other investigative activity and reducing the financial commitment as the chaperone service was a less costly alternative.

Police respondents Sean and Annie thought the use of a chaperone to manage risk was policing on the cheap or a 'cop out' for lack of police resources. Luke Police

adopted a different perspective and advanced the notion that effective offender management was visible, transparent and involved an assortment of agencies within and external to the criminal justice system. This overt stance was the starting point for the prevention of further offences and a cheaper financial option.

There was support for the role of chaperone and the respondents thought there was an opportunity to develop a specialised and more professionalised role. Probation respondents provided their thoughts:

- There is no blue print for using chaperones, no local or national guidance, and a missed opportunity to learn from each other. Annie Probation
- A security company could provide a chaperone service if the demand is sufficient. John Probation
- More could be done to professionalise the role. I must say, however, that one of the chaperones we had stood out, and gave us some excellent reports, details of conversations, where they had been etc, more than we'd probably get from our staff. Peter Probation

When comparing the role and cost of a chaperone and surveillance resources there was a significant financial difference but there was also an important difference between the purpose and expectation of each role. The role can be delivered by non probation staff provided the individuals were trained appropriately and had adequate support.

Within the police and probation service there was no policy or training programme regarding the deployment of chaperones and insufficient clarity about how a chaperone was expected to react to offender behaviour. The lack of clarity about the role and absence of policy or commonly agreed guidelines for the chaperone revealed an operational void that undermined the ability of the respondents and their organisations to fully utilise and protect the chaperone and the public. The lack of policy impaired the organisational ability to anticipate risk and reduce or minimise the impact on the chaperone, the public or the offender. Individual risk management plans were in place that considered some of these issues but some chaperones were better supported than others.

The earlier observations in Chapter 5 about the rotation of probation and police officers and the diverse range of offenders in Approved Premises had an influence on responsibility associated to the role of chaperone. The officers engaged in this role would have to be knowledgeable about the offending behaviours of the individual in their charge and confident enough to intercede or deter inappropriate behaviour. With the criticisms of the current staff rotation process it was unlikely that officers would be confident and knowledgeable enough to engage in this role in a meaningful manner.

Chaperoning a terrorist offender presents a different set of stresses particularly if the intelligence provided to the probation service is judged to be insufficient as described in Chapter 4.

Police search dogs

Probation respondents viewed the police as a professional partner and sought a close working relationship that included assisting probation officers to challenge individual offending behaviour, as well as setting boundaries of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour within an Approved Premises. An innovative partnership process was the use of a police drug search dogs.

- Although we can search clients' rooms, we do not have the authority to perform body searches, and so the police need to come in to do this and bring the dogs in. However, in some AP's I understand that more and more the police are not happy to do this anymore. So communication level in some cases is not good. Grace Probation
-because of the fact that we're talking about drug using offenders, they need to have the drug dog along. In the last two and a half years since I've been manager of both hostels, I think that's happened on three or four occasions, which has been really useful and has gone down really well. It's scared some of the offenders, which is what we want really. We ourselves do regular room checks, ask to see people's bags when they bring them in, but obviously they can secrete drugs and we're not allowed to search them. The

system of bringing the drug dog along is dependent upon if and when a time slot can be found, and I know obviously there are pressures on the police, but it would be nice to make it more regular. John Probation

Approved Premises respondents sought to create an environment that encouraged and enforced 'zero tolerance' for drug use that was crucial in maintaining safe surroundings for residents and staff as well as deterring drug offences. To achieve this aim the police used to collaborate with probation officers by delivering structured drug searches at Approved Premises, both of the building and offenders.

The drugs search dog provided a proactive deterrent at irregular periods. The use of this resource was a visible representation to offenders of the co-operation between the two services as well as providing an effective tool to find drugs or deter their presence in the Approved Premises. Unfortunately the reduction in the number of police dogs limited the ability of the police to consistently deliver this service to probation officers. The opportunity for that collaboration reduced considerably much to the disappointment of probation officers.

This search activity was a valuable tool to supervise and even influence the behaviour of offenders as well as displaying an effective working relationship between the two services. There was merit in prioritising police deployment to support this activity as it was beneficial for both organisations. The reduction in drugs search dogs and handlers was a consequence of the New Public Management model that reduced the organisational structure and decreased financial support and resources in many areas including specialism's such as the dog section.

Shared Learning Forums or Communities of Practice

Shared learning forums or Communities of Practice developed in various guises and structures. Police and probation officers organised their own exchange of knowledge and skills; sharing information about the sexual offending cycle, behaviours of sex offenders, police and surveillance tactics. This exchange process built the knowledge of those engaged in surveillance or chaperoning to identify and recognise the significance of offending behaviour.

In exchange probation officers received an insight into the requirements of a surveillance deployment by police officers and developed their understanding of what information was required by surveillance officers and why. Added value was further achieved by police officers engaging in a crime prevention exercise at Approved Premises. Examples of the value of this exchange of knowledge are described next.

Example 1 was provided by surveillance officers who followed an offender to a public house where he became a regular customer buying soft drinks. The officers noted that alcohol was not purchased so the individual was not breaching his licence conditions. Having received an insight from probation officers about aspects of the individual's offending history the officers returned and sat in the seat used by the offender. It was from this position they could see into the private accommodation and saw a young child sat at a kitchen table. The view was so narrow that the child could only be seen at the angle where the offender sat. Steps were taken to challenge the behaviour of the offender and he was restricted from visiting that public house again.

Example 2 originated from police officers as they explained to probation officers the type of information they required to support their surveillance operations including a daily description of the clothing worn by an offender. This request for support led to a debate between practitioners about the goals of each agency and the potential to compromise the rehabilitation approach taken by probation in favour of the crime control purpose of the police. The police did not have any dilemma about their aim to secure intelligence to prevent re-offending or providing information to probation to confirm that an offender was compliant with licence conditions. Probation practitioners were divided with some declining to provide the information and others viewing their assistance as an important feature of public protection.

Example 3 described shared practice achieved by a physical security assessment of each Approved Premises. The assessments were conducted by police crime prevention officers to identify security issues associated to the building and grounds. In one location a large tree in a rear garden was located near the boundary line and hung over into a nearby street. There were signs of wear and tear on the limbs from climbing and cigarettes burns in the wood. Although there was no evidence that an

offender had used the tree to exit the Approved Premises it was reduced in size to prevent such an occurrence.

Two areas of literature are relevant to these operational scenarios. The first discussion is about Foucault's notion of disciplinary power pertinent for the role of chaperone and the use of police search dogs. The second discussion describes the shared knowledge forum as a representation of community of practice, a social tool to connect, engage, and share knowledge in organisations.

There was no research available about the use of chaperones as a feature of licence conditions or as part of a rehabilitation programme for offenders. In America and UK, the role of chaperone was focused on child safeguarding and supervising sex offenders whilst they were engaged in activities where children were present such as at a church or other social events.

Research by Foucault (1977) claimed that 'disciplinary power' was exercised by those with power to influence the behaviour of others. The role of chaperone and the use of police search dogs reflected elements of the panoptican concept to influence the behaviour of offenders. The panoptican environment created an impression of permanent observation and visibility. The offender did not know if they were being watched so they governed their own behaviour. This generalised model of surveillance and disciplinary mode was aimed at developing individuals to be self-disciplined and accept the rules of society.

This notion was reflected in the use of police search dogs as a tool to enforce a 'zero tolerant environment' for drug use. The threat of a potential search with a dog trained to locate drugs acted as an inhibitor on those offenders who had not yet controlled their addiction and a deterrent to hide or have personal possession of drugs in Approved premises. The finding of drugs was considered a breach of licence conditions as well as a criminal offence. The withdrawal of the search dog undermined partnership working and removed a valuable inhibitor of criminal behaviour.

The role of a chaperone is obviously not covert but can be presented as part of a surveillance framework that contains overt and covert options to monitor the

behaviour of high risk offenders. The role of chaperone drew a variety of responses about its value and aims. In isolation its value was limited, relying on an unstructured process of supervision to monitor an offender. Its value was strengthened when used in conjunction with covert surveillance and the offender was made aware that the two approaches were utilised to monitor their behaviour.

The overt and covert application of this type of surveillance model created Foucault's 'uncertainty' of being watched. The chaperone component was an element of rehabilitation and aid to develop self discipline encouraged by the disciplinary power of transforming an offender from law breaker to law abiding citizen.

The joint use of both approaches also provided a financial resolution to the costs incurred through the deployment of a police surveillance team. As noted previously the potential cost of such a team is in excess of £3,000 a day when compared to the daily cost of a probation officer. A joint deployment process potentially provides an opportunity to balance budgets and share the resourcing demands to manage high risk offenders.

The role of chaperone was an activity that caused both conflict and collaboration. The role required respondents to work in concert with each other and utilise their resources to monitor the offender together or separately and share the information gathered. Probation officers with experience and knowledge of high risk offenders were most likely to be comfortable in this role hence the interdependency with the theme about the rotation of experienced officers out of this arena with such a diverse offender profile.

The last collaborative activity was described as a shared knowledge forum but also identified as a Community of Practice. These communities develop a body of knowledge that emerged from a need to solve problems or develop new knowledge (Cook and Seely-Brown, 1999). Their membership may be individuals who share the same expertise or practices or operate independently of the formal setting (Seely-Brown and Duguid, 2001).

Examples 1 and 2 related to police and probation officers who shared a common aim of managing high risk offenders and expertise that complimented the supervisory process. Example 3 drew on expertise beyond the traditional offender management

setting but nevertheless the resulting crime prevention advice contributed to an improved supervision process. Child and Heavens (2001) suggested that bringing together people from diverse specialities, backgrounds and disparate roles can enrich the learning process, as demonstrated with the intervention and prevention outcomes.

Knowledge within the police and probation service was described as a hard earned commodity by Coopey and Burgoyne, (2000) who claimed that some officers may even hoard information to protect their status or retain an advantage over colleagues. The dialogue between surveillance officers and probation officers described in Example 1 was restricted to identifying and assessing the behaviour of offenders so that surveillance officers could interpret offender activity as described in the public house to protect children.

Example 2 described the exchange of information to assist probation officers to develop knowledge and an understanding of the information required to support a surveillance operation. The debate was not just about the practical aspect of information exchange but the philosophical nature of both organisations and the blurring of roles. Some probation officers thought it was a 'step too far' to disclose such information to the police whilst others viewed the exchange as part of their role to protect the public.

Communities of practice provided a foundation to enhance organisational learning and created new organisational knowledge by exchanging views, information and attitudes (Ellis and Spielberg, 2003). The fact that they exist to further joint learning between police and probation officers was a positive sign for the acceleration of organisational learning discussed in the next chapter.

The three areas discussed, the role of chaperones, police search dogs and shared learning forum or communities of practice are interdependent with the monitoring of licence conditions. Two of these activities physically intervene with the conduct of an offender by introducing a human or animal presence into their life. As described earlier the two activities create an environment of 'uncertainty' to effect the behaviour of an offender. The communities of practice provided an opportunity for skills and knowledge to be transferred between agencies to enhance the ability of respondents to monitor licence conditions for high risk offenders.

Conclusion to Chapter 7

The use of Foucault's (1977) idea of a panoptican environment provided a framework to examine the value of chaperones and police search dogs. The 'uncertainty' of being watched was a powerful tool to encourage offenders to develop their own self discipline and work toward behavioural changes.

The value of the role of chaperone was perceived very differently by the respondents from a useful tool to policing on the cheap. The role itself was immature and the development of policy and operational guidance was required to protect the practitioners, public and offender.

Nevertheless there was a value in developing the role as part of an overt and covert methodology to supervise offenders and assess their compliance with licence conditions. This is an area for further research as there does not appear to be any literature on this issue.

The specific use of the police drugs search dog demonstrated partnership working in action to practitioners and also the residents of probation premises. The effect of the NPM model supported fewer resources and the austerity cuts reducing budgets. Both approaches had a negative effect on the availability of police dogs, removing this aspect of supervision and illustrating the reducing prioritisation for this type of partnership work.

The development of communities of practice, sharing of resources and knowledge helped to improve relations between the practitioners and provided a basis for mutual understanding. It was also an indication that an element of organisational learning was already present between the two agencies. Learning organisations encourage self-organisation, so that individuals or groups can come together to explore new ideas without being directed by management. Examples of this approach are found in this chapter.

The next chapter describes the value of organisational learning for both agencies and sets the context for future partnership work between the police and probation service.

Chapter 8 - Global theme: Organisational Learning

Introduction

Learning was the global or over-arching theme identified during the thematic analysis that linked to all the other themes. It was identified as a key factor to support and drive partnership working. The necessity for individual learning described during this research, highlighted organisational weaknesses to support respondents in their development, and thereby undermined aspects of partnership working. Shared knowledge forums or Communities of Practice developed opportunities to learn or to come together with other agency representatives to exchange knowledge and experience. Examples of this type of sharing are described in Chapter 7 and also highlight the alternative methods available to build knowledge and trust.

The following analysis identified issues more complex than just a lack of formal training. The lack of knowledge impaired the ability of respondents to learn and develop skills and knowledge required to supervise high risk offenders as described in Chapters 4 and 5. Their experiences were replicated within other arenas of public protection and illustrated through 'lessons learnt' reports and reviews into the failings of other statutory agencies.

The analysis of the role of MAPPA Chair in Chapter 4 revealed that both sets of respondents recognised the deficiency and embarrassment caused to senior police officers who did not understand the arena in which they worked. Respondents provided a basis for this lack of knowledge whilst describing the gap in training provision for both organisations:

- I think if we go back to when I first became involved, first of all I didn't know much about the world (public protection), so I had to do a huge amount of learning myself. Annie Police
- I had no training, just learnt on the job. Sean Police

- I didn't have any specific training to work in an Approved Premises. When I was appointed as a Senior Probation Officer, I did receive management training, which was mainly theory. However, there was nothing specific in terms of my present role. Before coming here I worked with drug users, I hadn't actually done a lot of work with high risk of harm cases or had any involvement with MAPPAs. Therefore, I learned a lot through working there and attending MAPPAs meetings, which was good grounding for working in an Approved Premises. Peter Probation
- I spent a morning with one of the Senior Managers going through the MAPPAs handbook. On reflection, I recognise when I attended MAPPAs meetings I was totally unprepared and still learning. Peter Probation
- You don't receive prior training for the post and there wasn't even a handover period. Managers are expected to go to various locations and very rarely is there a handover period. However, because I had experience in managing a public protection team, and Approved Premises deal mainly with high risk of harm offenders, it was a transferrable skill. However, if a new manager came who didn't have that experience; I think they would find it quite difficult. Lisa Probation
- I've had quite a lot of experience in the role now, and during that time, I have met a lot of new AP managers. Even I found it stressful and difficult to begin with, because with the Probation Service you are told you will be going to such and such on Monday and you're just left to get on with it. There's no mentoring as such, you might get supervised once a fortnight, but it can be difficult. Lisa Probation

These descriptions by respondents provide an insight to their vulnerabilities and attempts at self learning about MAPPAs and the public protection arena. Phrases such as "left to get on with it" or "it was stressful and difficult" or "I didn't know much about the world (public protection)" are all indications of gaps of knowledge and support that undermined the confidence of respondents. They tried to aid their own development and progress to a state where they had a higher level of skill, knowledge and competency.

The lack of training and organisational understanding of partner roles was a significant impediment to staff responsible for managing high risk offenders. Senior police officers acknowledged the pressures of this arena of risk which were amplified without a training regime or a basic understanding of the role and objectives of the probation service.

The similarities of views from police and probation respondents illustrated that experienced officers recognised they were in 'a lonely place' with limited or no knowledge about high risk offenders or associated areas of offender management including MAPPA. This situation undermined their personal status but also their ability to behave as a viable leader. A reliance on junior police officers to inform or support decision making was a regular occurrence that created tensions in decision-making and between respondents as described in Chapter 4.

The probation service provided an initial induction course that catered for some elements of knowledge required by Approved Premises managers however the incumbent managers who contributed to this research 'learnt on the job' in much the same manner as the police officers. The managers and staff at Approved Premises had a very challenging role because they had continuous daily contact with a diverse range of high risk offenders but their training and support to deal with these distinct offenders was incomplete or non-existent.

The descriptions from both sets of respondents were interchangeable with similar references to limited or no training provision despite the requirement to make decisions that had a lasting consequence for the offenders and protection of the public.

Guidance on Protecting the Public – Managing Sexual Offenders and Violent Offenders (2010, p3.3) described staff training and the first sentence provided the bench mark, “supervisors, managers and force policies should ensure that staff receive the training required to perform their role”. The guidance further described the training standards required, however, the commentary from respondents from both organisations clearly articulated the lack of support and training regimes for their roles.

The consequence of poor training was manifested in different ways. It undermined the ability of senior managers to provide adequate leadership and conduct their responsibilities in an effective manner adding to the stress of a complex role. Annie Police described the lack of understanding within the police organisation and Lisa Probation described how another member of staff was demoted because of lack of organisational support:

- Most (police) don't understand what they're there for (AP); they see them as a bit of a hotel or as hostel accommodation and the broad base in terms of understanding not only serious sex offender management, but the management of violent offenders, people with mental health issues, and also the guns and gangs world. Probation will put what I would deem a very risky individual into a hostel or wherever and those who don't deal directly with Approved Premises don't understand what it is, never come across one, what does that mean? Therefore, it's probably just the need for training and understanding. Annie Police
- In the past we have had new senior manager who was demoted, and this is simply because they are just left without any training or assistance. I think training is a vital missing ingredient. Lisa Probation

Both Annie and Lisa identified organisational gaps in knowledge and training. Annie Police was concerned that her own workforce did not understand the nature and value of Approved Premises and Lisa described the demotion of a colleague who was inadequately prepared for the role of Approved Premises Manger. Similar sentiments are expressed about the lack of training for Chairs of MAPPA in Chapter 4.

Literature described that learning was not restricted to individuals but extended to influencing an organisation systematically through the accumulation and dissemination of knowledge and experience of individuals. The work of Argyris and Schon (1978) claimed organisational learning occurred when members acted as learning agents by identifying and correcting errors in the organisation. Whilst Senge (2006) found the literature was not completely supportive of learning organisations as they are hard to define.

Reynolds et al (2002) distinguished learning from training describing, 'Learning is the process by which a person constructs new knowledge, skills and capabilities, whereas training is one of several responses an organisation can undertake to promote learning'. The situation described in this research is broader than the development of a training package it is also about an organisational commitment to introducing learning mechanisms for practitioners in the stressful and complex world of public protection.

Informal learning does not rely on a traditional class room training structure. As claimed by Chao, (1997) the majority of learning in organisations did not occur in formal settings, and in fact informal or unstructured training was becoming more influential.

A study by the Centre for Workforce Deployment (1998) found that 70% of what people knew about their roles was learnt informally from the people with whom they worked. Informal training can be regarded as 'part of the job' or a mechanism for 'getting the job done' (Boud & Middleton, 2003). Respondents in this research used informal learning as their primary source of knowledge and experience.

Some specific training modules were available which focused on enhancing technical knowledge in utilising specific data bases and electronic risk assessment programs. The effectiveness of these programmes was based on actuarial measurements and assessments conducted on the design, delivery and value of each programme. The value of 'on the job' training was not measured but was clearly invaluable for respondents to develop an understanding of their roles.

Training was a key driver for police organisations to improve both police performance and service delivery (HMIC, 1999). Effective workforce training was dependent on an alignment of training with strategic priorities and improving performance to meet overall organisational goals. In the pursuit of such alignment training did not drift away from the strategic priorities of the organisation (Anderson, 2009). The desirable result was a holistic and systematic approach to training producing successful individual and organisational performance results.

However public protection was not a clear priority within the performance framework as described in Chapter 2 so training programmes to educate senior police

officers and their peers in aspects of managing high risk offenders and MAPPA were nonexistent. Probation had a more extensive programme but there were still areas for improvement to formalise the relationship and create stronger partnerships. An ineffective training framework produced a variance in interpretation of legislation and policies as well as poor decision making as described in Chapter 5.

Isomorphic Learning

Recognising lessons to be learnt from other sectors of public service is a process that can enhance the management of high risk offenders. The following are snap shots of other sources of information available and relevant to this area of public protection from the child protection arena; OFsted; Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC)

The themes from Serious Case Reviews conducted by the Office for Standards in Education are as relevant to this arena of public protection and have similar recommendations for improvements. The Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) inspects or regulates a number of child-related services and their inspection report for 2009-2010 identified a number of key findings included the following three:

Firstly, six themes recurred during the inspection; i) the importance of focusing on good practice, ii) ensuring action plans were implemented, iii) making full use all sources of information, iiiii) carrying out assessments effectively, v) implementing effective multi-agency working, vi) valuing challenge, supervision and scrutiny. All points which are relevant to this arena of public protection.

Secondly, a consistent finding was failure to implement and ensure good practice rather than an absence of the required framework and procedures for delivering services. This assertion supported the findings in this thesis and a study by Bellamy et al (2006) identifying that regulations and guidance were plentiful but there was a deficiency in the knowledge and confidence of practitioners.

Thirdly, identified sources of information were not utilised to create a better understanding of the children and their families. They also highlighted concerns about the effectiveness of assessments and shortcomings in multi-agency working.

Serious Case Reviews for children provide information to improve practice which is shared in the public domain but Serious Further Offence reviews regarding criminals who have reoffended are not published documents. The following examples reveal issues for MAPPA within SCR's.

The Serious Case Review about the death of 18 month old Jordan McGann in 2004 identified issues about the information flows between agencies and highlighted the need for better information sharing between the police, probation and prison service to improve the recall to custody process.

The investigation into the death of a 22 month old child by Ross (2009) identified the following relevant issues; i) a lack of information sharing between professionals who missed the opportunity for a co-ordinated strategic approach to manage risks, ii) lack of action by MAPPA to co-ordinate efforts of a risk management plan, iii) MAPPA risk assessment failed to take into account intelligence and information from other agencies and lack of interagency training.

All these issues are relevant to this research identifying that available sources of information were not fully exploited and MAPPA was undermined by practitioners with a lack of MAPPA knowledge and had no access to training.

Investigations by the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) add to this debate by providing an assessment that can be used as a bench mark for improving service delivery. The case of Peter Chapman (IPCC 2011) a registered sex offender who offended whilst under police supervision highlighted issues for consideration throughout the police service. The investigation found; i) poor levels of trained resources to manage the work load within a Sex Offender Unit, ii) lack of organisational recognition of the demands on staff, iii) failure to provide logistical help in the form of a car, iv) poor supervision and inadequate processes that contributed to inadequate risk assessment, v) failing to identify Chapman as a high risk offender.

A Serious Case Review from Leeds by Cocker (2012) involving the death of child identified that late notification between police forces and probation service about the transfer of an offender from one area to another, hampered continuity of planning through MAPPA. Similar issues were identified in the discussion about the transfer process in Chapter 6.

The same 2012 case highlighted instances of poor information sharing with the probation service failing to provide information in a timely manner about the offender's risk, the prison service failing to share information contained within a psychiatric report about the offender and lack of clarity about sharing information with housing providers. Similar difficulties are identified in Chapter 4 between probation and security service and also the prison service and probation.

Isomorphic learning was available within this arena particularly where the IPCC provided access to their Learning Lessons reviews. The IPCC online website highlights recommendations for improved practice for a number of agencies including the police, HMRC, NCA, and Healthcare Commission.

The Education Department represented by Ofsted and Serious Case Reviews pertinent to child death or significant injury all made recommendations that were transferrable into the offender management arena. The biologist von Bertalanffy (1968) who developed the concept of system theory said 'different systems may possess common properties' and this statement is supported by the commonality found in the different agencies mentioned in this chapter. Learning from the mistakes of others is much easier with the technology now available but implementation is still proving difficult.

The recurring themes from all these different sources of information are similar and available in the public domain for scrutiny and discussion. However it was unclear how the identification of learning through Serious Further Offences Reviews is translated into operational change.

Serious Further Offence Reviews conducted on behalf of NOMS and the Ministry of Justice are rarely disseminated in a public forum. The notable exceptions are the cases of Hanson & White (HMIP, 2005), Rice (HMIP, 2006a), Sonnex & Farmer (HMIP, 2009), considered so significant to public interest that the reviews were conducted locally, not by NOMS and aspects were widely shared. Generally details of these reviews are not shared publicly but disseminated from NOMS through to local MAPPA Strategic Management Boards. The effectiveness of this process was not assessed in this thesis but requires scrutiny and an opportunity for additional research to ensure practitioners are informed of each learning opportunity.

Applying crisis causation models such as those described by Professor Barry Turner's Chain of Causation (1976, 1978 and 1994); Professor James Reason's Swiss Cheese model (1990); and Paul Shrivastava et al presentation of Industrial Crisis model (1988) provides a different perspective on the themes in this thesis and enhances opportunities for learning.

For example the systemic lessons learned knowledge model or Syllk (pronounced Silk) is a variation or adaptation of Reason's (1997, 2000) Swiss cheese model. Reason's model was developed to assess accident causation primarily in the aviation industry whereas the Syllk model was developed to conceptualise learning from past project experiences and distribute successful project know-how across organisations (Duffield & Whitty 2014).

Reason's (1997) model conceptualises organisational accidents as a complex chain of active failures and latent conditions. Defence barrier layers are categorised to assess the person and workplace as well as organisation factors such as policies and procedures, and activities that could defend against an adverse outcome in the form of technology, training and regulations.

Briefly applying Reason's model to some of the themes in this thesis provides a pessimistic outcome. As an example the MAPPa theme reveals weaknesses in training; administration processes; information sharing; identifies inexperienced police personnel in the role of MAPPa Chair and other personnel with limited knowledge of MAPPa processes.

Link these deficiencies with the partnership factors that identify a quick rotation of staff so knowledge and experience can be limited; diverse dangerous offenders to supervise; and the loss of professional identity particularly for probation officers. Add confusion about the transfer and recall process and all the elements are present for adversity to travel through Reason's layers of Swiss cheese to create a tragedy or disaster.

Defences against this outcome are provide by knowledgeable, selfless and experienced police and probation personnel who recognise the deficiencies in the system and work together formally and informally to create networks of knowledge

and innovation to counteract some the negative issues identified. An example described on page 100-101 reveals that practitioners knew the system of information exchange was inefficient and so used their knowledge and experience to correct the deviation and organise a MAPPA response for the release of JJ.

The Syllk model modifies these categories with the organisational elements associated to people altered to include learning, cultural influence (what they do) and social values (how they relate to each other). The systems lead activity became based on technology, processes and infrastructure.

Applying the Syllk categories to the recommendations indicates that 21 are associated to learning; 13 to processes; 13 to the infrastructure; 7 to culture; 2 to values and 1 to technology (this would be a low number as technology was not explored in the research).

This format can prioritise future changes by concentrating effort into developing learning activities and addressing the issues identified regarding processes and infrastructure.

Conclusion to Chapter 8

Learning was identified as the global theme that influenced all aspects of managing high risk offenders. Gaps in knowledge and experience created significant issues for respondents particularly those new to risk management and the responsibilities associated to this arena of public protection work. There was a desire for joint training to become the norm for the practitioners supported by a buddy scheme; mentoring; and networks of practitioners locally and nationally.

Raising the profile of isomorphic learning from other areas of public service such as safeguarding children and police complaints investigations provide the opportunity to learn lessons from professionals facing similar challenges in similar areas of public protection. There is also benefit in looking outside public services and into industry and engineering. The research on causation models and learning from the Syllk model provides a different perspective and valuable learning if the models are

accepted as relevant for public services. Professor Munro has already set a precedent by transferring system inquiry into the child protection arena.

Serious Further Offence reviews that identify reasons for failings in this arena are not routinely shared publicly to encourage full cooperation from agencies and minimise an individual blame culture. A more public sharing of information provides greater transparency about all the different categories of problems and tensions that exist whilst creating opportunities to reassure the public following tragic events.

Within the police structure a barrier to the development of a learning regime was the performance culture that concentrated on developing practitioners with skills and knowledge to contribute to national performance targets. This arena of public protection was not prominent and did not attract the same organisational commitment to training as in other areas.

The pervasive effects of the New Public Management model were particularly visible in the policing with leaner organisational structures, multi skilled and mobile personnel who rotated more quickly through their roles. This approach created a constantly changing workforce trained for areas of policing important within a performance regime.

Reductions in levels of personnel supported a move away from experienced individual skills and a move towards actuarial decision-making processes and assessments that relied more on taught skills rather than clinical judgment or experience. This approach required less interaction with offenders and less practitioner knowledge to deliver MAPPA aims.

The aim of organisational learning is to match organisation action to the desired outcomes of the establishment. This is difficult if, for the police the management of high risk offenders does not have a high priority to train or support staff as described in Chapter 4.

There were positive indications that learning was not complete disregarded and practitioners took their own action to improve learning. The development of Communities of Practice is an indication of the desire from practitioners to share knowledge and experience, also to find methods to deal with conflict in the least corrosive manner.

The use of multi-agency structured debrief processes which provided the foundation for primary research demonstrated an organisational desire to learn from events related to the management of high risk offenders but the occasions were so rare that organisational learning was limited.

Organisational learning was found to be present between the police and probation service but required significant investment and support to be a productive element of the public protection arena.

Chapter 9 – Conclusion of the thesis

Introduction

This research process started in 2010 and since that time much has changed in the criminal justice system. The effect of austerity measures has culminated in diminishing budgets, loss of police and probation personnel through enforced retirement and redundancies. Traditional representations of the Establishment such as Court officials and Crown buildings, police officers and the Probation Service have disappeared to be replaced by modern technology, leaner processes and amalgamation of local services to create large, multi-agency, centralised operating centres.

Following implementation of the Transforming Rehabilitation (TR) agenda in June 2014 probation services were divided into a National Probation Service (NPS) across seven regions managing high risk offenders and 21 new community rehabilitation companies (CRCs) managing low and medium risk offenders. 20 % of cases were allocated to NPS including domestic violence and sexual offences, the remaining cases were transferred to CRC's.

The NPS are still statutory partners with the police and maintain a close relationship with the police particularly those officers engaged in MAPPAs and offender managers who worked with Approved Premises staff.

Within this changed service delivery framework there was still an expectation that the police and probation services continued to deliver criminal justice legislation and policy aimed at the effective management of high-risk offenders. The effects of these organisational changes are reflected in the conclusion and the recommendations.

The context for the police and probation services has changed since this thesis began but the findings are still relevant and even more amplified because of the growing deficiencies in personnel and resources for both services and influence of the Transforming Rehabilitation agenda.

Aim

The aim of this thesis was to develop a clearer understanding of the partnership working between police and probation practitioners responsible for the supervision of high risk offenders and to develop professional practice. This was achieved by exploring the effects of actuarialism and identifying convergent and divergent views within the professional cultures of both agencies in this arena of public protection. The insights for professional practice are set out in Chapter 10 with recommendations for the Police Service, National Probation Service, Prison Service and National Offender Management Service (NOMS).

Key Findings

Introduction

This unique contribution of this thesis was exploring how the police and the probation services actually interpreted and implemented policy and managed mutual institutional pressures and biases. Interviews and debriefing process with police and probation officers provided the framework for data collection. A thematic analysis followed with the production of a thematic network chart and identification of a hierarchy of the themes including MAPPA, partnership working, conflict and collaboration activities. An over arching theme to improve intra and inter-service relationships was organisational learning, a process that can be used to improve partnership working through the generation of better knowledge and understanding. Communities of practice and isomorphic learning were found to be a feature of organisational learning.

On the basis of the findings in this thesis there is significant evidence that actuarialism has permeated throughout the working practices of the police and probation services in this area of public protection. The actuarial approach created a shift from understanding the causes of crime and the provision of opportunities to reform offenders towards the development of crime control strategies aimed at prevention.

The effect of this change was viewed through the experiences of the police and probation respondents as they described their real world challenges as well as resistance to the effects of actuarialism. Often disagreements, which originated from differences in organisational goals, were accentuated by the actuarial risk assessment methodology. These perspectives were observed in the case of JJ, other scenarios and decision-making processes relating to MAPPA, partnership working, conflict and collaboration activities.

As was suggested in Chapter 2, the idea of a 'risk society' formed the basis for creating distrust particularly of groups perceived to be a threat to society. This growing awareness about threat and risk led to demands for greater security, a key driver for changes in legislation and policy. In time wider policy changes to the criminal justice system were introduced including the New Public Management model of public administration intended to rationalise and deliver a more efficient criminal justice system. A key mechanism of this rationalisation process was actuarialism which was used to try and predict future criminal behaviour and manage offenders according to their potential risk.

Debates about the notion of actuarial practice referred to the 'old' and 'new' penology describing a mechanism of regulatory control creating a shift from understanding the causes of crime, the old penology to the development of crime control strategies aimed at prevention, the new penology. Literature provided a basis to claim that the probation service transformed from an organisation focused on rehabilitation to one driven by a performance regimen that viewed the offender as a problem to be managed. It was argued that actuarial practices became a dominate feature of offender management providing the opportunity for the police to dominate debates with their control agenda. The findings in this thesis do not fully concur with the image of a police dominated agenda but acknowledge that actuarial practices play a significant part in the daily lives of police and probation officers.

The effect of actuarialism together with convergent and divergent views within the professional cultures of both agencies are explored through MAPPA, partnership working, conflict and collaboration activities in this world of offender management.

MAPPA

MAPPA was the primary mechanism to bring agencies together in a statutory environment to debate the management of high risk offenders and produce risk management plans. The findings in this thesis identify strong support for the MAPPA framework and acknowledge the positive effect on multi-agency working. However gaps and weaknesses in systems, processes and the personal skills of the police and probation services continue to support the deficiencies already identified in the literature and corroborated by the findings in this research.

The role of MAPPA Chair was criticised for the lack of knowledge displayed by the incumbents who were primarily police officers and the absence of training provision undermined the officers in these roles. The deficiencies affected the tone of MAPPP and introduced a reliance on junior officers to determine officer management strategies. Senior police officers were reluctant to seek assistance because the support they required was not offered within the organisation and they did not want to be judged as incompetent or ineffectual. MAPPA Guidance provided a framework of potential training or familiarisation processes none of which were observed during the research process.

The pressure of contributing to a police performance culture introduced by New Public Management models brought additional stresses. Failure to deliver performance targets brought scrutiny from the senior officers leaving individuals vulnerable from internal sanctions for performance failures.

The forced retirement of a number of senior police officers as part of an austerity programme introduced a shortage of trained officers as those who had retired were the most experience in MAPPA. The training gap to replace this group continues to grow.

Poor administrative practices added another layer of weakness with inconsistent attendance of key agency representatives and incomplete minutes of the proceedings to demonstrate the rationale for decision-making. Professional reports and inspections produced over a period of between 4-14 years showed little improvement

in the minute taking process leaving both services vulnerable in explaining their rational and decision making processes.

The variation in a local decision-making forum that dealt with offenders affiliated to gang criminality replicated the MAPPAs philosophy and utilised the facilities of Approved Premises but the forum functioned outside the MAPPAs structure. This variation was a local matter that created conflict in the movement of offenders and disturbed the dynamics of offender management in Approved Premises.

Poor information sharing processes negatively impacted on MAPPAs. The interdependency between information sharing and effective partnership work was fundamental. Without access to timely and accurate information MAPPAs could not make appropriate decisions, undermining public safety and the ethos of the police and probation services to protect the public. Additional regulation was not considered an answer to the problem but improvements in the timeliness of systems and processes were essential.

The introduction of the National Probation Service provides opportunities to further professionalise the relationship with the police as there will be a smaller number of probation staff involved with MAPPAs. This smaller group can form closer working relationships with the police staff who are dedicated to the role of MAPPAs Chair.

The findings in Chapter 4 regarding MAPPAs are consistent with the literature described in Chapter 2 identifying many of the same historical MAPPAs problems. It is regrettable that the risk in the form of systems, processes and lack of individual skills identified historically is still prominent in current working practices creating dangers for the public and professionals.

The MAPPAs host the debates about the old and new penology which are laid out in the next section across a range of themes.

Police and probation partnership

Chapters 5 described the changing role of the probation service from the traditional approach of advise, assist and befriend towards control, help and change. This shift in goals reduced the prominence of a welfare approach in favour of enforcement, a manifestation of the old and new penology. The developing reliance on law and order policies to control crime and deliver security in part displaced the welfare focused penal system and brought the probation and probation services into a closer and more proactive partnership. This research confirms the tensions between the goals of the two agencies and provides illustrations of the debates and effect of the old and new penology.

A body of research described the potential for a blurring of roles effecting working practices and the relationship between the two services. The findings in this thesis concur with the literature regarding the existence of the polibation concept and confirm that a blurring of roles can occur between police and probation officers. However the blurring is not a consistent feature of the relationship.

Chapter 5 described a blurring of roles in some of the MAPPAs debates about the formulation of risk management plans and the arrangements to supervise offenders. Some individual probation officers erred towards control strategies associated with the new penology however other probation officers took a clear position that a blurring of roles undermined the traditional ethos of reforming offenders and resisted the influence of actuarialism.

In comparison Chapter 6 claims the debates about breaching licence conditions and instigation of the recall to custody process were not affected by a blurring of roles. In these circumstances there was a clear delineation between the two services based on their organisational goals, rehabilitation for probation and the police goals of intervention and prohibition.

Probation respondents tried to minimise the impact of a blurring of roles by demonstrating their core goals of reforming offenders. Conversely the police used the blurring of roles to introduce crime control strategies and restrictions to manage

offenders. The analysis in this research supports the notion that the police can have a dominate role especially in MAPPP debates if the Panel Chair is a police officer as they have the authority to influence the tone and structure of Panel debates towards a crime control agenda.

Literature claimed that professional skills gradually diminish as more focus was given to prescribed routes of risk assessment, replacing skills and experience. The research in this thesis described officers rotating out of this arena of offender management helped to create an environment to support actuarial practices by breaking established relationships and trust between practitioners. The rotation of probation officers contributed to a deskilling of professionals as replacements did not have the time or capacity to develop case worker skills to support clinical judgements. An example of the value of clinical skills, gained from longevity in the role, was displayed in the decision-making not to over react to an offender with mental health issues.

The growing pressure on Approved Premises to provide supervision for a diverse range of high-risk offenders added to the pressure on probation respondents to know and understand the challenges presented by these offenders. These demands created a setting that supported the use of procedural assessments so that practitioners acquired technicality skills more easily, a key feature of actuarial practice.

Additional research is suggested to understand the implications of offenders in Approved premises networking with each other especially since the introduction of terror offenders and those associated with gang criminality as there maybe opportunities for offenders to advance each other's criminal aims.

Causes of conflict

The causes of conflict were examined through the assessment of the transfer process and breach of licence conditions and the recall process to custody process.

Transfer process

The transfer process to move offenders from prison to Approved Premises or between Approved Premises was regulated by MAPPA and protocols of the lead agency. The probation service viewed this decision-making process as part of their core role in the provision of supervised accommodation for high-risk offenders. This contrasted with concerns demonstrated by the police about their lack of involvement and influence on this process. Police and police respondents recognised the tensions here but the probation service valued their autonomy.

The acceptance of an offender into a probation area was based on levels of accommodation set at about 70% which was a performance indicator for Approved Premises managers. There was potential for the actuarial performance cultural to take precedence over the risk assessment process in the desire to achieve the accommodation target which heightened police concerns.

The role of MAPPA Chair was crucial in managing the effect of a transfer in or out of a police geographical area. But as described in Chapter 5 the knowledge and experience of the Chairs was limited creating a wide variance in the successful management of a transfer. The result of an incomplete or inadequate transfer process was significant for MAPPA, undermining its purpose to protect the public and react to the arrival of high-risk offenders into a locality as described in Chapter 6.

NOMS did not play a role in the transfer process and relied on local probation areas to organise their own transfer requests. As a result of this disengagement there was no national overview of the location of high-risk offenders and no information about the cost of supervising high-risk offenders on a local or national basis. Many of the Approved Premises were located in metropolitan police areas and NOMS had little understanding of the financial or staffing demands on police forces.

Serious Further Offences Reviews identified issues relating to problematic transfer processes and inadequate preparation by agencies to receive an offender. However the Reviews are not published to encourage full co-operation from practitioners. Good practice was shared through an internal process via NOMS to Strategic MAPPA Boards but there was no indication of the success of the process. Given the repeated errors identified over a 14 year period, described in Chapter 4 it is timely to examine this 'lessons learnt' process in more detail.

The Transforming Rehabilitation programme created the opportunity for a different set of issues to develop during the transfer process from CRC's when an offender's risk assessment rises from low or medium to high risk and they become the responsibility of the NPS. There is less likelihood that a high risk offender will reduce to medium risk but a process is required to manage such an eventuality. There is still a lack of clarity regarding the operating model for this transfer process creating gaps that leave both organisations vulnerable.

The conclusion of this section was undermined by the lack of research about the transfer process and limited public access to Serious Further Offence reports that highlight deficiencies in this area of offender management. Additional research is needed for the police and probation service to understand and resolve the difficulties of the transfer process from a national perspective and ensure the new arrangements are effective.

Breach of licence conditions and the recall process to custody process

The findings in this section of the thesis correlate to the literature described in Chapter 2 and the findings from Chapters 5 about partnership working confirm actuarialism influences the development of licence conditions and the recall process to custody process.

The breach of licence conditions and the recall process to custody process exemplified actuarialism in practice together with opposition demonstrated by probation officers. The argument about the old and new penology was focused on the deliberations

about the prominence of welfare or control strategies in creating licence conditions. The debate between the two services was polarised by the goals of each agency with police striving for greater control and restrictions while probation officers sought opportunities for an offender to demonstrate a change of mindset and behaviour.

Literature claimed the police were too restrictive on their licence conditions and created a prison in the community. In contrast probation respondents tried to maintain a holistic assessment approach to ensure that the breach of a licence condition was not viewed in isolation of other positive behaviours. To avoid creating circumstances where a breach was the only possible outcome of licence conditions a probation respondent robustly challenged police insistence for unreasonable conditions and avoided disproportionate restrictions.

Prior to the introduction of actuarial practices literature described the return to custody of an offender as a failure claiming an offender had been unsuccessfully treated or supervision was considered inadequate. After actuarial practices became a dominant feature the status of an offender changed and the use of the recall process became a sign of success that risks were under control. The police demonstrated a 'zero tolerance' attitude and wanted to use every opportunity to return offenders to custody. Firstly, this reduced the number of police resources in the supervision of offenders and secondly, created an impression of a successful intervention when the reality was quite different. Chapter 6 provided examples of response to breach incidents that did not enhance the safety of the public.

In this research a police respondent suggested there was a lenient attitude towards offenders who had breached their licence conditions and knowledge of the breach was not shared by probation officers. It was suggested the 'zero tolerance' attitude of the police undermined probation goals so much that information was withheld from the police.

This approach undermined MAPPA in an attempt to support rehabilitation outcomes and avoid the punitive aims of the police. This situation contradicted literature referred to in Chapter 6 arguing that probation officers demonstrated risk adverse

attitudes limiting any leniency in assessing if an offender's behaviour was sufficiently deviant to result in a recall to custody.

The last three paragraphs demonstrate the tensions between police and probation officers as they try and negotiate their way through the continuum of the old and new penology.

The notion that probation officers could be hiding information from the police to support rehabilitation activity because the police were so inflexible would be detrimental to partnership working and safety of the public if it were established as a common practice.

A blurring of roles did not feature in this area of decision making as each agency firmly retained their organisational goals of rehabilitation and intervention. The blurring of roles described in the literature in Chapters 2 and the findings of this research in Chapter 4 refer to different settings. The original literature was described the relationship between practitioners engaged with persistent criminals known for volume crime and offences against property. Opportunities for rehabilitation were easier to negotiate and the consequence less serious for the public if offending continued.

In the management of high risk offenders once the offending behaviour moved into a breach situation the negotiations ceased and respondents adopted their organisational goals of rehabilitation and enforcement. This research argues that a blurring of roles is a situational event and influenced by the context and practitioners involved in the process.

Despite the tensions and different organisational goals respondents had an enthusiasm for working together and demonstrated different collaborative activities.

Collaboration activities

The deployment of a chaperone with surveillance support and the use of police search dogs demonstrated a model of collaboration to create an environment of

‘uncertainty’ that encouraged offenders to develop their own self discipline to prevent reoffending taking place. These activities concur with description of a panoptican environment described in Chapter 2, a generalised model of surveillance and disciplinary mode aimed at developing individuals to be self-disciplined and accept the rules of society.

Although the role of chaperone was not universally supported by respondents and there was a need to develop a terms of reference and job description respondents saw some value in the role. It was strengthened with the use of a covert option to monitor an offender’s behaviour when they thought they were unsupervised in public. Examples of offender management scenarios involving both a chaperone and surveillance officers show their value in practice. There was also a monetary value in limiting the use of a surveillance team consisting of 12 people and replacing them with 1 probation officer.

The use of police search dogs was viewed as an inhibitor of offending behaviour by creating the anticipation of a search for drugs, alcohol or other items. The removal of this facility because of austerity measures and redeployment of resources removed the use of a valuable tool to deter offending and was a visible illustration of joint working practices between the police and probation services.

The final collaborative activity was the shared knowledge forum or communities of practices bringing together people from diverse specialities, backgrounds and disparate roles so they could learn from each other and improve the management of high risk offenders. The practitioners formed their own networks and developed opportunities to share knowledge and experience to improve professional practice.

The findings in this section identify that the role of chaperones, police search dogs and communities of practice have interdependency with the monitoring of licence conditions. Two of these activities physically intervene with the conduct of an offender by introducing to affect their behaviour. The intention was to create an ‘uncertain’ environment and cause the offender to modify their behaviour and avoid re-offending activities.

The communities of practice provide an opportunity for skills and knowledge to be transferred between agencies to enhance the ability of respondents to monitor licence conditions for high risk offenders. It was a positive indication that police and probation respondents were enthused to work with each regardless of the organisational tensions that may exist.

Communities of practice are a forum that the NPS and police practitioners should promote and support building networks and learning across three organisations, include CRC's to compliment new ways of working.

Collaboration can develop in other facets of the relationship, For example reductions in office space for probation staff to meet offenders and increased geographical responsibilities pose a problem for practitioners. There is an opportunity for local negotiations to develop shared working environments with the police. However greater visible association with the police such as working and organising meetings in their premises may be a step too far from the perspective of offenders and undermine the legitimacy of the NPS.

The global or over-arching theme of organisational learning is the final tenet of this thesis.

Organisational Learning

The training of the probation and police work force was aligned to their performance and service delivery framework. Training priorities were aligned to strategic performance and achieving organisational goals. The effect of New Public Management principles and actuarialism drove police and probation activity towards those areas assessed by performance targets. Public protection, within the police service was not viewed as an imperative in comparison to volume and property crime so the provision of training was not a priority.

Changing the priority of policing to concentrate on public protection issues including offender management is gaining momentum. Implicit with these changes is the

development of training programmes to assist officers embrace their responsibilities and understand their relationship with other agencies.

These changes can only enhance public protection at a time when agency relationships are fragile. The lack of training for MAPPA Chairs and Approved Premises managers leaves them vulnerable in their role and undermining the delivery of MAPPA aims. The ability of senior police officers to provide adequate direction, leadership and conduct their responsibilities in an effective manner was compromised leaving junior officers to guide MAPPA decision-making. Probation officers were equally exposed in the role of Approved Premises Manager describing similar stresses and tensions. The lack of support and training regimes for practitioners from both organisations was clear.

However the communities of practice described indicate that respondents from both organisations have a desire and commitment to develop their own networks and share knowledge to improve their management of offenders and protect the public. This activity should be encouraged as a basis to build resilience and capacity.

Learning from crisis or disaster management models can be transferred to this arena and where tragedy has happened the application of a system led inquiry process provides a more holistic perspective than concentrating on human error which is just one part of a more complex environment.

Isomorphic lessons from other areas of public protection, other police forces and industry identifies an opportunity to share good practice and learn from the errors of others.

However even where recommendations are made in academic research, professional inspections reports or statutory investigations the delivery mechanism are ineffective and changes that could make a difference are not implemented.

Even though actuarialism plays a significant role in the working practices of the police and probation service the concept is not fully dominant. A better understand of the relationship between the police and probation service can only be beneficial

particularly as the effects of the Transforming Rehabilitation programme have yet to be fully realised

The Transforming Rehabilitation programme has fragmented the probation service and spilt the work force into two different environments. This change requires an extensive training programme in the CRC world to ensure practitioners are fully trained and qualified for their roles.

The determination of some probation respondents to maintain a traditional welfare prospective should be nurtured and enhanced through training programmes that assist practitioners to acknowledge and thrive in the complex and fragmented world of offender management.

In conclusion

The work of the police and probation practitioners responsible for the management of high risk offenders is clearly complex, difficult, sometimes dangerous and often frustrating. The officers strive to provide the best service they can regardless of internal challenges from their organisations and external changes enforced through legislations such as the Transforming Rehabilitation agenda which has served to divide the probation service into two separate entities.

Despite the challenges faced by austerity imposed government cut-backs in budgets and personnel, the lack of training provision, systemic differences in purposes and intricate risk assessment methodology, the two services, police and probation, work hard and effectively together, overcoming difficulties, to try and deliver maximum public safety because of their ethos of public service and high professional standards.

Community Rehabilitation Companies have introduced a different and yet immature dynamic which has changed the police and probation relationship. The benefits of this re-organisation have yet to be realised.

It is the men and women of the police and probation services that make the difference to the lives of offenders and the safety of the public. The systems and processes provide a framework for their working environment and practice but without their professional attributes and selfless dedication to public service we would be facing a more dangerous and uncertain future.

Chapter 10 Recommendations: The development of research and professional practice

The following areas were identified for additional research to develop or inform current theories.

1. Revisit the discourse about a blurring of roles within the relationship with the newly formed National Probation Service and the Police Service.
2. Examine the potential for networking between the diverse range of offenders in Approved Premises and identify method of prevention
3. Research the high risk offender transfer process for a clearer understanding about its effect nationally and locally, together with demand on police and probation resources and finance.
4. Explore the effectiveness of chaperones and their value in reforming offenders and protecting the public
5. Review the effectiveness of the Serious Further Offences process to deliver recommendations for changes to policy and practice.
6. Review the local impact of the Transforming Rehabilitation programme for agencies involved in the management of high risk offenders

The following recommendations are formatted in chronological order and developed from reflections on the literature and findings from this research. They are directed towards the Police Service, National Probation Service, Prison Service: and National Offender Management Service (NOMS).

MAPPA

1. That an accredited training programme is developed for police and probation service to improve effective and efficient delivery of MAPPA.
2. That an accreditation scheme is developed for all MAPPA practitioners to improve professional knowledge and understanding of the issues relating to MAPPA and the management of high risk offenders.

3. That multi agency training packages within Hydra and Minerva (simulated training situations) are developed to test the ability of police and probation practitioners to work together to manage high risk offenders within a safe learning environment.
4. That multi-agency structured debriefing is used for police and probation practitioners to identify good and weak practices and learn lessons from historical cases.
5. That MAPPA Responsible Authorities of the police, prison and probation service identify 'expert' representatives and organise deputising arrangements to ensure consistent MAPPA attendance, proportionate decision-making and relationship building with other MAPPA representatives.
6. That NOMS changes the MAPPA Form C declaration containing the opening address at the start of MAPPP's to include an additional statement reminding attendees about their organisational responsibilities and the value of their unique contribution to the decision making process.
7. That the police and probation service review the administration support for MAPPP's. Resources and funding to be jointly agreed so the administration and minute taking is professionalised and formally supported by MAPPP members and their organisations.
8. That the police and probation service utilise modern technology to reproduce accurate minutes and improve the dissemination process.
9. That the local police and probation service review the process for the allocation of Approved Premises accommodation for gang affiliated offenders to improve a co-ordinate and a more holistic delivery process.

10. That a representative of the Gangs Unit that deals with gang affiliated offenders becomes a member of the MAPPA Strategic Management Board to improve the allocation of accommodation and develop a more holistic approach to the management of high risk offenders. Alternatively provide regular briefings to the MAPPA
11. That the changes driven by the Transforming Rehabilitation agenda are recognised and the effect on services evaluated

Information sharing associated with MAPPA

12. That the information gathering processes between the Responsible Authorities of police, probation and prison services are reviewed to ensure that information and intelligence is collated systematically.
13. That police and probation practitioners engage with the Counter Terrorism Unit in a training environment to explore their concerns related to the management of intelligence about terrorist and domestic extremist offenders.
14. That probation and police practitioners receive joint training about the intelligence collection and management.
15. That an awareness programme is developed for police officers and the extended police family such as support staff, PCSO's and Specials who are not regularly engaged in MAPPA activities, to improve their understanding of MAPPA and guide their management of information, improving intelligence and feedback about offenders.
16. That information sharing protocols with CRC's introduced by the Transforming Rehabilitation agenda are adequate and contain appropriate safeguards for data sharing

MAPPA Chair

17. That a bespoke Chair training programme is developed for police and probation practitioners in the form of inter-agency training.
18. That the role of MAPPA Chair is rotated between trained representatives to encourage agency participation and limit the influence of one agency over another in the decision-making process.
19. That independent counselling or alternative support is available for practitioners undertaking Chair responsibilities to share the burden of the role.

Blurring of roles

20. That training programmes describe the implications of the 'polibation' and 'polification' concepts by referencing academic research and practical examples to encourage balanced and proportionate decision-making.
21. That additional information is provided to police and probation practitioners about the roles and responsibilities of agencies within the criminal justice system to enhance confidence and knowledge.
22. That information about New Public Management models and actuarialism are a key part of a future training programmes to identify the historical context of performance management and impact on public service relationships

Rotation of staff

23. That the police and probation service assess the implications of rotating staff from roles too quickly impairing the development of knowledge and skills.

24. That the police and probation service provide awareness training to understand the influence of clinical judgement and actuarial models on risk assessment processes.
25. That the Police and probation service develop legacy programmes so that experience and knowledge are not lost in the transition of personnel.
26. That the police and probation service develop an 'exit interview' initiative for practitioners, to identify innovative methods of offender management and weaknesses in the system before leaving the public protection arena.

Diverse range of offenders in Approved Premises

27. That the police, probation service and NOMS examine the effectiveness of the transfer process to ensure a balanced diversity of offenders in Approved Premises across the country.
28. That the police, probation service and NOMS define how decisions are made about balancing the diverse range of residents in Approved premises to mitigate the development of inappropriate networks of offenders.
29. That the probation service assesses Approved Premises procedure to ensure that developing offender networks can be identified early and interventions developed.
30. That the probation service develop a robust process to record, monitor and respond to probation practitioners worries about offenders and potential threats.
31. That the probation service develops a local network of Approved Premises staff for mutual support and exchange of good practice.

32. That the police and probation service develop a training package that enhances the knowledge of practitioners about the new offender trends such as application of computer and phone technology.

Transfer process

33. That the police service introduces easily accessible police contact points in local Public Protection Units to discuss urgent transfer situations.
34. That the police and probation service considers restructuring the role of the MAPPA Co-ordinator and team to improve collaboration between the police and probation regarding the transfer process.
35. That the police and probation service review the current arrangements for the transfer process and improve the communication system between the agencies.
36. That NOMS produces sanitised information about the movement of offenders nationally to assess the demand and cost on probation and police services.
37. That the police, probation service and NOMS produce information to evidence the true cost of managing high risk offenders in the community.
38. That the transfer processes between the National Probation Service and Community Rehabilitation Companies are assessed and the results shared with the police service.
39. That the operating model used to transfer cases between the CRC's and NPS is reviewed to ensure lessons learned from historical transfer errors are recognised and addressed to prevent a future reoccurrence.

Breach of licence and recall process

40. That the police, probation service and NOMS review the recall process to ensure it is as effective and efficient as possible.
41. That local police command units develop a process to improve their relationship with the staff in Approved Premises and develop joint working practices to support the recall process.
42. That the police, probation service instigate a joint training programme and explore the debate that exists in relation to licence conditions and breaches using examples and table top exercises.

Role of chaperone

43. That the police and probation service develop an awareness programme for practitioners utilising previous experiences of chaperones and offenders.
44. That the police and probation service agree an interagency policy between police and probation services.
45. That the police and probation service organise an exchange of national good practice to professionalise the role.

Police Search dogs

46. That the police and probation service develop opportunities to work with Approved Premises managers to encourage a drug free environment including the use of a drug search dog to support a proactive approach.

Communities of Practice

47. That the police and probation service recognise the value of communities of practice and encourage their usage.

Organisational Learning

48. That the police and probation service introduction of a buddy system for 'on the job training' and a network of support for new practitioners.
49. That the police and probation service introduce adequate handover periods for new practitioners to understand the role and become effective in a short period of time.
50. That the police and probation service develop a joint training programme for police and probation practitioners.
51. That the police and probation service build mentoring networks across agencies to develop understanding and support networks.
52. That the police and probation service establish a corporate memory that can be developed by the current knowledge of staff and lessons learnt from current or historical investigations and reviews.
53. That the police and probation service introduce a placement or exchange scheme between the two agencies to enhance practitioner knowledge and understanding.
54. That the police and probation service acknowledge the value of isomorphic learning and engage in a research to project to distil the potential learning to inform future practice.

55. That the police and probation service improve the organisational knowledge locally and nationally about offender management so that expertise is shared and retained in centres of excellence.

56. That NOMS ensure the national dissemination process regarding lessons learnt is effective and influences local delivery arrangements.

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APPENDICES

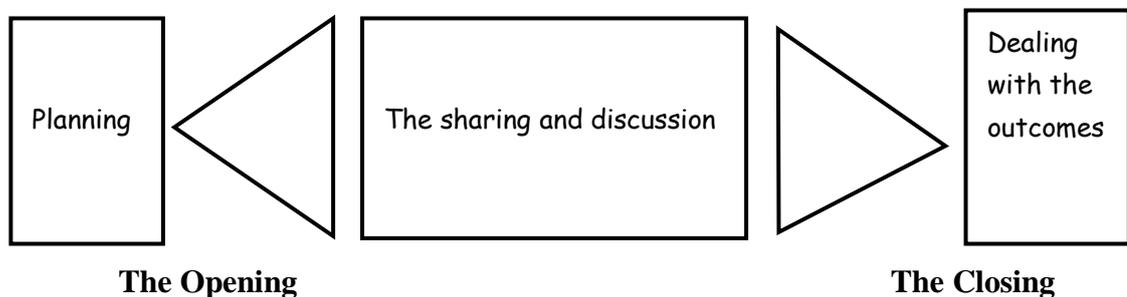
Appendix A

Structured debrief model

A structured debrief was organised within the following framework and the questions posed to the respondents were shaped to be relevant to the aims of this thesis.

The process was separated into two distinct topics firstly the management of a high risk offender (HRA) and the secondly the relationship between police and probation officers.

The following is a description of the debrief model.



Structured debriefing model (Arney, 2000)

Stage I: The opening

The introduction had an initial formality which provided:

- a welcome to participants
- overview of the reason for the debrief
- overview of the aim of the debrief

- overview of the method for debriefing, including potential actions following the debrief. The notes would be written up, given to the person initiating the debrief and a process developed for addressing the lessons identified
- opportunity for participants to introduce themselves and their role in the event
- details on the discoverability and transparency of debriefing documentation
- explanation of how and why the debrief facilitator was appointed.

Review

The participants were provided with an explanation of the prompt diagram which was based on the event or issue being explored in the debrief. The prompt was used to stimulate discussion and in this case was a diagram of the time line of the movements of the offender across police command unit boundaries.

Ponder

The participants were asked to take 2-3 minutes to consider the first two prompt questions which in this case were:

(i) What were the three least satisfying aspects of the management of HRA?

(ii) What were the three most satisfying aspects of the management of HRA?

Participants wrote three answers to the first question on the three blue post-it notes and the three answers to the second question on the pink post-it notes.

Stage II: The sharing and discussion

- Once the participants had finished writing down their answers, one at a time they volunteered a brief explanation (about 20 seconds) of their three answers to the first question and then placed the blue post-it notes on the relevant place on the prompt diagram. It was optional for people to verbally share their experiences with the group.
- When everyone who wanted to had given their responses to the first question, they continued with the same process to answer question two.
- When everyone had spoken the facilitator asked if anyone had any additional comments to make before summarising the main points raised.

Stage III: The closing

Ponder

Each of the participants was given one yellow post-it note and had 2-3 minutes to consider the next questions:

- For me the two least successful aspects of the relationship between the police and probation service in respect of Approved Premises are
- For me the two most successful aspects of the relationship between the police and probation service in respect of Approved Premises are
- If I was seeking to develop the relationship between the police and probation service in respect of Approved Premises the two recommendations I would make are

Once the participants have finished writing down their answers, they volunteered a brief explanation (about 20 seconds) of their answer and then place their yellow post-it notes on the relevant place on the prompt diagram. When everyone who wanted to gave their answer, the facilitator summarised the main points raised and reiterated what actions would be taken following the completion of the debrief. i.e. that the notes would be written up, given to the person initiating the debrief and a process developed for addressing the lessons identified. All participants were thanked for their contribution as well as their attendance and the debrief was concluded.

Appendix B

Dear Participant,

I am engaged in a Professional Doctorate in Policing, Security and Community Safety. I am conducting research under the supervision of the Metropolitan University in London and I am inviting you to take part in my research project.

Your participation is completely voluntary and you may withdraw your consent at any time.

The project will examine/evaluate the partnership/working practices between the Police and Probation Service specifically related to Approved Premises and recommend initiatives for the future.

Head of Public Protection [REDACTED] is aware of the project and Assistant Chief Constable [REDACTED] supports the aims of the research.

The exercise today may or may not contain information that is relevant to my research.

To aid the review and assessment process I have the facilities to audio record the process but would not seek to use the equipment without your permission.

The information recorded by the facilitator will contribute to a final 'Lessons Learnt' report which is separate from the research document.

I would like you to indicate your preferences as follows: (Please place a cross (X) next to the statements that you agree with:

	I wish to take part in the research project
	I do not wish to take part in the research project
	I agree to be quoted directly.
	I agree to be quoted directly if my name is not published (to remain anonymous/ use a pseudonym).
	I agree to the use of audio recording equipment
	I do not agree to the use of audio recording equipment

1. I understand that the information will be treated as confidential and securely stored with restricted access.

2. I have asked all the questions I consider relevant at the moment
However I know I can contact Cath Hannon on or email



By signing this consent form, I am indicating that I fully understand the above information and agree to participate in this exercise utilising audio recording facilities.

Participant's printed name and signature

Date:

Researcher's printed name and signature:

Date: