

**Reducing Reoffending: Collaborative Approaches**  
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**Introduction**

Few of us in our working lives have the opportunity to design from scratch programmes to reduce re-offending. This opportunity occurred in 1999, when along with a team of subject matter experts, we designed four 100-hour interventions for high-risk offenders. The programmes target repeat offending in the areas of: alcohol and drug issues, violence prevention, driving offending, and a mixed programme for offenders. Today I will tell you a little about what we did, what outcomes we sought and something about the design we used.

The trend towards Integrated Offender Management is predicated upon a seamless and focused intervention with offenders who access services within the various aspects of the correctional system – Community Probation Service, Public Prison Service and Psychological Services.

But partnership is more than inter-relationships between correctional system players. It needs to embrace a wider audience for change. Accountability-based practice is a concept that structures any change within a web of relationships of those affected by offending. This model will be presented and discussed as a principle idea that underpins programme design within four 100-hour correctional programmes run in the New Zealand context.

We are at a turning point in our understanding of designing group programmes that have the aim of reducing offending behaviour. In most jurisdictions we have moved away from what I term the “Scattergun”-type approaches – throw as many ideas at offenders as possible and hope that something will stick. We also know that deficit type approaches obscure the reality that offenders are often making interesting, if not anti-social type decisions. The skill of decision-making is not the issue – the decisions that are made are the issue.

As you will know there are disappointing results in terms of reduction of re-offending from some of the cognitive skills programmes and cultural awareness programmes. I caution that these programmes are still required. The challenge is about what we can expect from such interventions. If we are expecting a reduction in the rates of offending, then we are likely to be disappointed. If we are seeking these programmes to increase motivation and responsivity, then we may well be pleased with a result that would see high-risk offenders moving into more advanced and focused criminogenic-type interventions.

Complexity is a word that best describes where we find ourselves internationally in our attempts to curb the high rates of re-offending. We need to lift our game in terms of finding theory that can inform effective practice.

### **What are we trying to achieve?**

If I were to ask you what would give you confidence that on completion of a programme participants had got it sorted and would not re-offend, you would tell me the following:

That the client can:

- identify and understand how their criminogenic needs contribute to offending behaviour
- use strategies to manage such aspects of offending as:
  - offence planning (whether that be overt, opportunistic, or a series of seemingly irrelevant decision-making steps)
  - can describe their unique high-risk situations and have in place escape strategies
  - can manage high-risk mood states that relate to offending behaviour
  - and can identify their cognitions and challenge cognitions that are clearly offending-friendly
- manage the anti-social influence of peers
- locate themselves within a community of relationships where they are accountable for their decision-making.

This reduction in severity is now generally considered the outcome of a robust intervention.

So how do we get there to achieve the results we are anticipating – that magical 10-15% reduction in recidivism rates? While this reduction might appear small, it translates into significant cost savings. For example, New Zealand figures indicate that:

- |   |             |
|---|-------------|
| • Preventing one murder saves                 | \$4,700,000 |
| • Preventing one manslaughter saves           | \$2,500,000 |
| • Preventing one rape saves                   | \$1,600,000 |
| • Average savings of preventing an offence is | \$40,000    |

### **So what does work?**

Recidivism in the rates of offending can be reduced by 10% and up to 50% through offence-specific programmes that meet particular criteria (Andrews, 1999). This is significant when we consider the impact that offending has in terms of harm to others (see Snively, 1994). All of us would agree that the purpose of intervention is to reduce the possibility of further offending practices taking place. From the "what works" literature, several principles have emerged

that underpin the reducing re-offending framework (Andrews, 1995; McGuire, 1996):

**Classify risk:** It is clear from the literature that targeting higher-risk offenders is more effective than more generalised programmes (McGuire, 1996). By the time high-risk offenders access programmes, we are dealing with very entrenched patterns of offending. This has implications for programme design and delivery. One of the challenges for programme development is how we classify risk and ensure that we are working with the most serious offenders.

**Meet criminogenic needs:** It is now commonly agreed that targeting criminogenic need or crime-producing factors (Andrews & Bonata, 1998) will ensure the best outcome. Criminogenic need refers to the factors that directly cause or produce the condition for offending to take place, for example, alcohol and drug problems, impulsivity, beliefs and thinking processes, mood regulation factors, cultural disconnectedness, to name a few. The thinking behind this concept is that if we can reduce or manage the influence of these criminogenic needs, we will see a reduction in further offending behaviour.

**Match learning styles:** Effective programmes need to meet the needs of those attending, so consideration must be given to the use of active and participatory learning techniques. Also programme design must take account of providing a match between the learning style of participants and staff.

**Increase motivation:** Lack of motivation can be a criminogenic need and should be the target of intervention rather than used to exclude potential participants from programmes. One of the real challenges for programming is the degree to which they deal with engagement and motivation issues at the beginning of programmes. Many referrals to programmes are mandated and according to Dale (1997) fall into the pre-contemplative or contemplative stages of the model of change developed by Prochaska & DiClemente (1984). Engagement at the beginning is therefore critical for successful programme entry, retention and completion. Some tentative results indicate that where programme participants drop out during the intervention, the rates of recidivism increase markedly (Leon Bakker, per commun.) Holding offenders in programmes is therefore a key challenge for programme staff.

**Emphasize community:** Programmes based in the community are more effective because new skills learned can be immediately applied. However, prison-based programmes can also be effective if adequate reintegration into the community occurs.

**Use effective treatment methods:** The most effective programmes address a variety of problem areas (multi-modal methods), are skills-oriented (teach coping skills) and use cognitive-behavioural methods (address thoughts, feelings and behaviour). One of the clear dilemmas in running programmes is trying to meet the diversity of issues that participants present.

**Encourage responsibility-taking:** At the end of the day the best outcome for programming is the intertwining of responsibility and accountability for

behaviour. Responsibility for learning about and managing individual behaviour can be seen as relating to the individual domain, whereas being accountable to others is viewed as part of being pro-social. Both need to be in place to ensure confidence and are a goal of any intervention. Also included is increased awareness of the impact of offending behaviour on those victimized – victim empathy.

**Use sound methodology:** Over the past twenty years of intervention practice we are getting a better understanding of what is likely to be effective. Evidence-based practice refers to learning from the data about what works. The more interesting question is not ‘do programmes work?’ but what ‘works with whom?’ Evaluation and follow-up is therefore an important aspect of effective intervention.

**Maintain programme integrity:** One of the challenges with programmes is to maintain the integrity of what is being delivered. ‘Construct drift’ is the term used to describe the tendency over time for programmes to move away from the core principles or ideas that they were based upon. Programme monitoring and regular evaluation is one method of ensuring integrity is maintained.

**Well-trained deliverers of interventions:** We know from the literature on interventions in the area of change, that the relationship that the facilitator can establish with the participants is critical for efficacy. Investing heavily in training for the complex task of managing groups with clients who exhibit high degrees of anti-social attitudes and beliefs, while delivering focused interventions, is as important as the programme design itself.

Taking all of the above into account, how do we design programmes that address the effectiveness literature and are appealing for participants? Above all, how do we integrate these ideas within a model of accountability-based practice?

### **Accountability model of change**

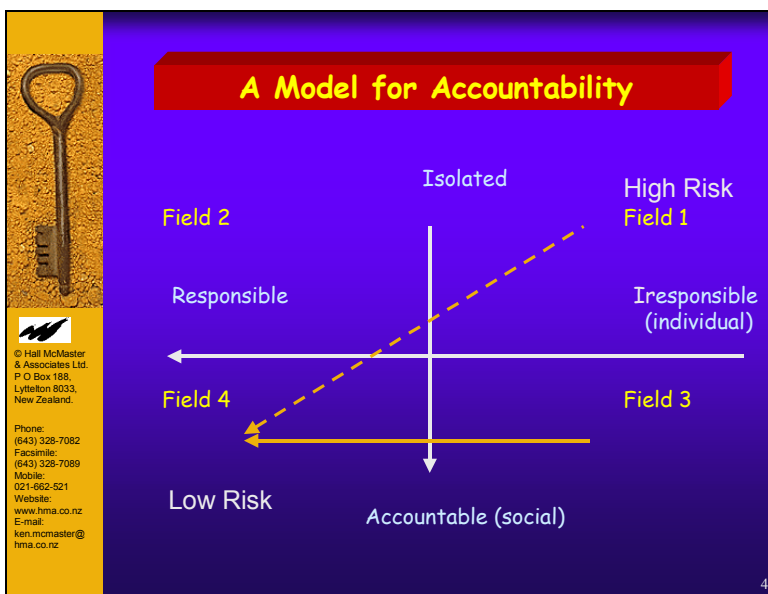
One of the key factors in terms of engagement is to understand the process of change and where people position themselves in relationship to each of the stages. Starting with the outcome in mind is a key idea in working with people. We need to consider what a person’s hopes are and try to work with them to find a way to achieve these, provided they are pro-social.

Family/whanau accountability is an integral aspect of any change work. Maintenance of change has been greatly underestimated as a key component of the change process. Evidence now suggests that the focused intervention with long-term follow-up has the best chance of imbedding change on a long-term basis. Utilising the support available through family/whanau is seen as critical in consolidating change.

Where participants locate themselves in relation to accountability/responsibility

is a core aspect of maintaining long-term change. As Alan Jenkins (1993) indicated, men in particular are generally deficient in appreciating their exaggerated sense of entitlement and status in relation to others, often avoid social-emotional responsibilities, and generally have a reliance on others (especially females in the case of males) to face social-emotional responsibilities.

In helping offenders to construct a model to offset these issues, it is possible to work with two interrelated themes – the first based around the notion of responsibility, the second around accountability (see Figure 1). We can view responsibility as being from the individual domain, that is, “I either take responsibility for my actions or I don’t.” It is important to not give the impression that this is a binary phenomenon – at times people may take responsibility for some aspects of behaviour and not others.



The second dimension is related to the continuum of being unaccountable to accountable. It is clear from clinical experience that many people tend to be isolated within their family/whanau/peer groups at a physical and emotional level. Many offenders due, to early onset of anti-social behaviours, find themselves facing social exclusion in the wider community. The isolation/accountability dimension relates to the social domain – that is, the need as an individual to be socially connected and accountable for one’s actions to the wider social group. In terms of addressing behaviour, bringing the locus of decision-making back to the family/whanau level is important in rebuilding these accountability relationships.

Within the model people may occupy several different positions in relationship to others within their life. They may start their journey in Field 1 (a position of irresponsibility and isolation indicative of a secret, sneaky and private lifestyle – both in the individual and social domain). On the other hand, they might occupy

a position in Field 3 indicating movement towards accountability to others but irresponsibility in terms of ongoing work. This may sound like a contradiction but some people develop pseudo-accountability to a wider group, but are reluctant to do the work in becoming personally responsible for their behaviour. Unfortunately, some church communities collude with this position expecting faith to carry the day.

Field 2 is a position of taking some individual responsibility for understanding and managing the behaviour, but reluctance to be open about these ideas within the wider social group. This position is typical of the people who move on from relationship to relationship, making a fresh start, but not being responsible for ongoing involvement with prior family/whanau members.

Where we want to get to in this process is to move people into Field 4, which is moving towards both a position of responsibility and one of accountability. This allows for an interweaving of both individual responsibilities for behaviour and the need to take care of the social and emotional impact of their behaviour within the wider group. This process provides a map for people to explore how they are progressing in terms of their own development of a model of respect. Also we know from the work of Prochaska (1999) on the importance of long-term maintenance that investing early in establishing pro-social accountability groups is critical for long-term maintenance of change.

### ***What would innovative programme design look like?***

There are many aspects to developing, strengthening and maintaining accountability relationships with others. Today I will deal with four core ideas that in my view can be embedded in the programme design:

- Use of story
- Stages of change
- Training competent Tour Guides
- Dosage

#### *Use of story*

All cultures use storying as a means of conveying important ideas. In the programme design we had a story written specifically to illustrate ideas and challenges that participants would be grappling with at various times as they worked their way through the programme structure. Here is an example of a piece of the story that talks to the ideas of victim impact.

I'd been listening to some music in the lounge, with the headphones on. I must have fallen asleep. When I woke up, it was dark and the music had finished. There was light coming from the kitchen though, and when I took the headphones off I could hear people talking.



It was Mum, Heather and the kids. They didn't know I was there.

'He doesn't understand what it's been like for us,' Heather was saying. 'He was the one in jail but we suffered too. If he went away again . . . '

'Daddy go 'way.' Te Hou's little voice.

Mum chuckled softly. 'No, darling. Daddy not go 'way again.'

'He better not!' said Heather. 'I do worry about it sometimes. He's still drinking from time to time, which we can't really afford – but apart from all that, he could kill someone driving in the state he gets into! How long would he go away for if that happened? It'd be years! The kids could grow up without him around at all. I don't want that for them! And I don't want it for me! Let's face it, he could kill himself! Doesn't he care, Mihi?'

'I just don't think he realizes . . . '

'Why doesn't he realize? I get so angry sometimes! Like when he lost his licence and I had to drive him everywhere. It was like having another kid to take care of instead of him helping me – being responsible. And he used to criticize my driving! Him! Then there was that time the car got confiscated 'cause he got caught driving it. At least he wasn't drunk that time. Aah, but it was such a nuisance for me with no car. And did he walk to the supermarket with two kids and a pram to lug the groceries back? No!'



I lay in the dark, my skin tingling. I was quite shocked really. This was me they were talking about. It didn't sound like the me I thought I was.

Angel was asking for something to eat. I heard the clanks of cupboard doors, the rattles of plates and cups and the fridge being opened and closed.

Mum was saying, 'I think he is really wanting to change this time. Do you notice any differences, Heather?'

There was a silence. Then Heather answered slowly, 'I guess so. He's definitely not drinking as much. And there's no alcohol in the house now, ever, which I should be grateful for. I think, the trouble is that I kind of expect him to try and make up for what's happened to us, when in actual fact, he doesn't have a clue.'

‘You know, I hated going there to that prison to see him.’ That was Mum.

‘Me too, Nana,’ said Angel’s voice.

‘Horrible place,’ said Heather, ‘and just another big hassle to organize in your week. Actually, I think it used to give Angel nightmares. Sometimes, she’d wake up in the night after a visit yelling and crying.’

‘Because of the monsters,’ said Angel.

‘So I’d have to get up. Naturally, Te Hou would wake up too. There would be the three of us at one o’clock in the morning, all crying . . . ‘

At least she was laughing about it now – a bit.

‘When I think of those times, I must say, it’s great to have him back. Not to be lonely at night – to have someone to cuddle up with. Well, I’m crazy about him. If I wasn’t, I wouldn’t put up with all the crap.’

‘That’s right,’ said Mum. ‘It’s that love, that aroha, that keeps you going. That’s what I kept telling Rangi. It was hard for him to go and see Hemi in prison. He was so whakama (shamed) about it, see? The two of us, we’d put on our brave faces, hold one another’s hands and off we’d go. Because those prison staff people, they look at you like you’re rubbish.’

‘So do those WINZ staff,’ said Heather. ‘That’s what it feels like anyway. You feel like a beggar asking for a benefit ‘cause your husband’s gone to jail. And you are a beggar, basically. That’s what I mean, you suffer when it’s not you that’s done the crime. You do your own time though, in your own way. No doubt about that!’

Looking over, I could see Angel’s little figure outlined in the doorway.

‘Mummy, there’s someone on the couch.’

I shoved the headphones back on and pretended I was asleep.

In the programme we read stories such as this, which allows participants to connect to issues at a wider level. We would process the main themes that emerge, then ask participants to link what might be common with this story to their own or that of their partners.

### *Tour Guiding*

We have adopted for these programmes the notion that facilitators should act as tour guides or in narrative language, co-researchers. A good tour guide has the responsibility to ensure that people arrive at the right destinations on time,

know what they are meant to be looking for, and make the most of the opportunity. This latter point might be about capturing the memories and learning. We have been particularly interested in following this theme into the style of facilitation and creating a sense of fun and adventure. Most offenders have had negative experiences of learning situations and exhibit significant responsibility barriers to programmes.

Tour guides utilize motivational questioning approaches that invite participants to inquire and make meaning out of their lives. In our view, tour guides do less telling and a lot of asking. This invites self-responsibility on the part of participants and invites them to work very hard cognitively – they need to own the changes and create those alternative stories to offending.

To that end, to maintain programme integrity and manage the potential for construct drift, a significant investment in training is required. For the four criminogenic programmes, probation and prison officers, who are the programme deliverers, go through a twenty-day residential-based training programme. The training programme is intensive and extensive in its coverage of materials.

#### *Maintaining responsibility*

One of the major challenges of group work is to maintain energy and focus while undertaking the task at hand (McMaster 2003). Many groups are easily side-tracked, particularly when group members have little experience of maintaining their own focus and view the group programme as not relevant to their situation. One of the most common traps that facilitators can fall into is to focus on individuals within the group rather than relying upon the group itself to provide the energy and information required. This ultimately leads to group facilitators undertaking individual work with an audience. The downside of this particular approach to working in groups is that while the person who is the focus of attention may well be engaged in the work, other group members are not. They can become bored, distracted and disruptive in the group. We can minimise this by working with four levels of group interaction.

Level 1. Interaction with an individual

Level 2. Interaction in a subgroup

Level 3. Interaction with the whole group

Level 4. Interaction with a person outside the group

The rationale behind using the four levels of interaction in groups can be reduced to a very simple mathematical formula. If, for example, you have a group of ten participants and you work individually with these participants, the amount of time that you have to spend with each is reduced to six minutes per hour. What this means is that for 54 minutes of that hour the other members of the group are not actively engaged in work for themselves. In a two-and-a-half-hour group session this effectively means that each individual member has potentially 15 minutes of time. Many of us would not think this was worth the investment of time and energy. Group members will agree.

	<b>Individual</b>	<b>Pairs</b>	<b>Sub-groups (4)</b>
Time working	6 minutes	30 minutes	15 minutes
Time listening	54 minutes	30 minutes	45 minutes

If we are working in pairs for one hour of a group each individual has 30 minutes interaction time, a vast improvement. I am not suggesting that this is an either/or situation but merely to illustrate that by using robust and creative group interaction the ability to maintain energy and focus within the group is greatly enhanced. This is important because one of the clear indications when groups are not working well is that its members do not feel involved or engaged.

But using the four levels of interaction is only part of the structuring required for running a group. In thinking from a solution-based perspective we can identify three distinct phases of the change process. If, as a worker, you take care to work with these phases, then you are more able to match your work with where people are at in their change process.

When I am framing a piece of work I am interested in considering three phases of change. The three phases are:

- Talking about the talking
- Doing the talking
- Reflecting upon the talking

*Talking about the talking* is about motivation and buy-in to the work to be undertaken. Before undertaking a piece of work it is critical that participants have warmed up to, and engaged at some level into the purpose. The purpose of 'talking about the talking' is to create the space for the conversation in the first place. If we have not cleared a pathway or engaged the person in the conversation, then we cannot progress to any depth when it comes to actually exploring the issue at hand. In terms of motivational approaches, this stage is the most significant in terms of change. Get this aspect right, and then a very meaningful conversation will often develop.

*Doing the talking* refers to that stage when we know we are in very meaningful conversation with another person. This the most active part of the process in that this stage allows us to unpack or deconstruct what is going on. This allows the group to develop solutions from their lived experience and contribute these to each other. In essence, what we are doing at this stage is doing the work, or the teaching, around a particular piece of practice.

*Reflecting upon the talking* is the third stage, and as such, is where we translate the talking into meaningful action. It is my view that unless we are able to translate the talking into action, then we have somehow missed an important

aspect of the process.

*Example of this model in action – a case study*

This case study is from part of a session designed to deal with the issue of developing empathy in a group of men who had been referred for being abusive towards their female partners. The role of the facilitator is to put a process around the issues that the group members need to work with to avoid a continuation of the problem behaviour.

<b>Phase in process</b>	<b>Task</b>	<b>Level of interaction</b>
Talking about the talking	Introduce the topic: Our theme for today is to focus upon empathy – that is putting yourself in the shoes of someone else.	Whole group
Talking about the talking	What would interest you most in learning about how to place yourself in someone else's shoes?	Pairs – 2 minutes
Talking about the talking	Process and list responses on a whiteboard or flip chart	Whole group – 5 minutes
Talking about the talking	On a scale of 1 to 10 what is your interest level?	Whole group
Talking about the talking	Identify three things that might get in the way of learning more about what it is like to be in someone else's shoes? Identify a strategy you will use to manage each block.	Pairs – 2 minutes
Talking about the talking	Process and list responses on a whiteboard or flip chart	Whole group – 5 minutes
Doing the talking	Think of a time when you have been open to hearing about what it is like for another person and answer the following questions: What did you need to do in order to be so open? What did you say to yourself to remain open? What did you need to think about the other person in order to remain open? How did it help you to understand that person's experience of the world more? What impact did being open have on your relationship with that person? List your answers on flipchart paper.	Sub-groups (4) – 20 minutes
Doing the talking	Have the sub-groups report their findings to the whole group	Whole group – 15 minutes
Doing the talking	You all have the ability to put yourself in someone else's shoes. Now put yourself in the shoes of your partner or children. What would they say it was like living with the impact of violence? How might they describe it?	Pairs – 5 minutes
Doing the talking	Have the pairs report their findings to the whole group	Whole group – 15 minutes
Reflecting upon the talking	What have you become aware of through doing this exercise? What will you be doing differently as a result of what you have learnt? What will others in your life notice in your	Pairs – 3 minutes

	behaviour?	
Reflecting upon the talking	Who needs to know about what you now know? What do you need to tell them? How will you tell them?	Pairs – 3 minutes
Reflecting upon the talking	Have each member of the group state what they have learnt and what they will do as a result. This helps to achieve two goals: 1) building accountability for change with the other group members, and 2) translating learning into action that can be evidenced.	Whole group – 10 minutes

You will notice from the above process chart that the levels of change and the three phases of change are integrated to develop a dynamic and energetic experience. You will also notice that the facilitator is a guide and manager of the process. What is interesting from this approach is that the group members are effectively sharing strategies with each other, and are thereby empowered to search for solutions from within their own experience. The process of talking to another person, reporting back to the main group, and having this material captured in a visual representation reinforces learning on a number of levels. In addition, having other peoples' ideas broadcast (verbally and visually) allows for links to be made which act as reinforcers.

An assumption is made that problem behaviour does not exist all of the time and that there will be times when participants have been able to make connections and experience empathic behaviour towards others. By taking this approach participants are starting at a point of competence rather than incompetence.

In the case study above the outcome is both evidenced and visible to others. Insight is not the goal of the process but an ability to build upon existing skills and then change behaviour within a framework of accountability. In other words, building connections with others through responsibility for behaviour. The second task is broadcasting these changes with others.

### *Dosage*

One point needs to be made about programme design in relation to programme intensity. Many current interventions operate on a weekly session of between two-and-a-half to three hours duration. Most also operate over a period of between 40 to 50 hours duration. Clearly the longer the programme duration the greater the likelihood of men dropping out (Gondolf, 2002).

Another compelling reason for more intensive programmes is that high risk offenders have extensive patterns of anti-social behaviour. We cannot hope to get significant change from low intensity programmes given the degree of anti-social influence that exists outside of the programme setting.

One of the ongoing challenges in programming is to build momentum for change. One clear strategy for this is to increase the number of sessions on a weekly basis. This has worked particularly well? for high-risk offenders within the New Zealand Corrections system, which has four two-and-a-half hour

sessions per week over a ten-week duration (100 hours of group time). This allows for a momentum to be established within the group. By time-limiting the intervention to two-and-a-half months it is possible to reduce the risk of dropout.

### **A Client's story**

As a final note, the following story talks to the experience of one woman who recently graduated from a substance abuse programme. The grammar has not been changed and the words are in her own voice of what the experience meant to her.

My name is C, I'm one of the students at the SAP (Substance Abuse Programme) course. I've been going to the course since it started. I'm surprised I'm still going there. Before I started going to this course I had been going to a number of other courses and counselling sessions, none of which have helped me get anywhere. I have found that this course has given me a chance to look deeper into my own needs, and helps me to see life at a different angle. I can say that it has helped me realise the situations I was putting my family through; my children suffered the most.

And it was all my fault I did it to myself as well as them, since all the crime I was always blaming everyone else including them and my partner for all the crimes I was going through and it wasn't even them. I allowed myself to be manipulated into committing crimes and drinking alcohol and taking drugs; they didn't shove it down my throat and into my lungs, I did, and I feel ashamed about what I did. I blamed the ones I loved and who loved me for my dumb actions.

This course has shown me amazing work programmes and lifestyle programmes that I have actually used at home and in my new lifestyle. I have found that they actually work.

For the life of me it took me years and years of suffering and pain and going to the wrong places for help and using substances to ease my pain and suffering when I could have just come to this simple course that only took me ten weeks to find the help that needed to take me forward in life and put me on the right track.

I feel so thankful to my Tutors, Gloria and Vijay, and my probation officer, Martin Cook, and the courts for giving me a chance to prove myself and see life in a new ray of light.

I feel that my candle has a new flame and that even God has given me a new beginning in life and another pathway for both my family and myself.

Thank you so much to all of you who have helped me to change my life around and gave me hope to get on with life and not dwell in the past.

Sorry to all my children for all the suffering and pain that I put you all through and for being with it or there for you all. There is nothing on this planet that can fill the blank spot that I myself created in your lives.

Sorry to my partner for all the bullshit you had to put up with and the anger I had that made us distant and our relationship harder to cope with all because of me and my past. You didn't have to put up with it but you did and I thank you that you are still here with me supporting me on my new journey and with our new life together. I say this with much love and devotion.

Also my ex husband T, for being there and your support through all my ordeals. You helped a lot with the court cases and gave me good thoughts and wishes to cope with the outcome of my court case. Thank you very much.

I would like to say that if it wasn't for this course I wouldn't have come this far and as the star student I would recommend this course to anyone needing direction in life and to use this course for a more realistic outcome. It works not only for some but for all in need of help and freedom of burdens.

## **Conclusion**

Demands for effective programming are a challenge as correctional jurisdictions adopt criminogenic, needs-focused approaches. In this keynote I have described how in the New Zealand context the translation of the theory into practice has occurred. The challenge is not to be complacent; there is much we still do not know. It is now acknowledged that focused intervention around criminogenic need is likely to result in more effective outcomes for offenders than more generalized programmes. We need to acknowledge that we are in the early stages of these developments and time will tell about the effectiveness and efficacy of these approaches.

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