



Transforming Rehabilitation: probation practitioners negotiating change

Thesis submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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September 2017

Acknowledgements

This research could not have taken place without the co-operation and support of Bronwen Elphick and her team in Durham Tees Valley CRC. They provided access, contact lists, publicised the research and organised rooms for interviews and the feedback event. I am grateful to all those who completed the survey and especially to the cohort of practitioners and managers who took part in the interviews and feedback event. I am also grateful to Professor Joanna Shapland and her team at Sheffield University who allowed me to use part of a questionnaire they developed in my survey.

Special thanks go to my supervisors, Dr Kirsty Hudson and Professor Trevor Jones, their patience and sound advice kept me going throughout the process of completing my research. Dr Rachel Swann reviewed my progress and provided additional support and encouragement. The postgraduate support team in Glamorgan ensured I kept on-track and were always cheerful and ready to help with technical, financial and administrative tasks.

Embarking on a PhD in your late fifties means the tables are turned and your children become sources of advice, particularly with new software and computer melt downs, so thanks go to my sons Adam and Lee. My partner Alan had to put up with my need to write things down when they popped into my head, usually in the middle of the night, and listen to me rambling on about my findings as well as calming me down when I was stressed.

Finally, thanks go to someone I worked with just as I was preparing my proposal for this research. At a time when my self-confidence was low, Dr Sue Rex had confidence in me, without her I doubt this journey would have begun.

I'm not able to thank my parents in person, as sadly they both passed away before I started my studies. But in return for their unconditional love and support in my formative years I dedicate this thesis to them.

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List of Abbreviations

ACPS	Advisory Council on the Penal System
ACTO	Advisory Council on the Care and Treatment of Offenders
ARCC	Achieving Real Change for Communities
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CIC	Community Interest Company
CJA	Criminal Justice Act
CJS	Criminal Justice Service
CRC	Community Rehabilitation Company
CSS	Community Supervision Service
DTV CRC	Durham Tees Valley Community Rehabilitation Company
DTV PT	Durham Tees Valley Probation Trust
EPI	Effective Practice Initiative
FMI	Financial Management Initiative
HQ	Headquarters
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
NACRO	National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders
NAPO	National Association of Probation Officers
NfP	Not for Profit
NHS	National Health Service
NOMs	National Offender Management Service
NPM	New Public Management
NPS	National Probation Service
OASys	Offender Assessment System
OBP	Offender Behaviour Programme
OEP	Offender Engagement Programme
OM	Offender Manager
PbR	Payment by Results
PO	Probation Officer
PSO	Probation Service Officer
SNOP	Statement of National Objectives and Priorities
SPO	Senior Probation Officer
TPO	Trainee Probation Officer
VfM	Value for Money

Abstract

The focus of this research is probation practitioner reaction and adaptation to change. Previous studies have shown probation core values to be resilient, practitioners managing to react and adapt to change whilst remaining committed to traditional humanistic values. However, predictions emerging as the latest programme of change, brought about by 'Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform' suggest these changes could result in the end of probation as it had come to be known. This research is a case study of Durham Tees Valley Community Rehabilitation Company the only not for profit Community Rehabilitation Company in England and Wales. The study follows a cohort of practitioners through the first 15 months of implementing a new operating model. The research argues that in some ways the flexibility afforded by Transforming Rehabilitation allowed practitioners to regain professional discretion and work in ways that reflected probation's original purpose and values. However, it is also argued that this flexibility came at the cost of fragmentation of the service and a subsequent loss of trust within and between different parts of the service.

The mixed methods case study design allowed for in-depth exploration and tracking of a cohort of practitioners as they negotiated the process of change. Analysis and interpretation of the data revealed significantly different practitioner reactions to the changes, dependent mainly on the length of time practitioners had worked in probation and to a lesser extent on their level of qualification. Practitioners appeared to move through the process of adaptation at different rates, with qualified probation officers, trained during the height of national standards appearing to find the process of change most difficult. The thesis concludes by critically evaluating earlier predictions for the future of probation in light of these findings and information emerging about other Community Rehabilitation Companies.

Chapter 1: Thesis Introduction

1.1 Background to Research

The focus of this research is the reaction of Probation Officers (POs) and Probation Service Officers (PSOs) to the changes brought about by partial privatisation of probation following implementation of Transforming Rehabilitation (TR) (Ministry of Justice, 2013). This research is a case study of Durham Tees Valley Community Rehabilitation Company (DTV CRC), the only not-for-profit CRC in England and Wales. The CRC is headed up by Achieving Real Change for Communities (ARCC), a consortium based on agencies from the public, private and third sectors in the North East, operating within the boundaries of the former Durham Tees Valley Probation Trust (DTV PT). The research follows a cohort of practitioners through the first 15 months after the new operating model adopted by this CRC was announced. The data collection period ran between April 2015 and June 2016. The context in which the study was carried out was a period of rapid change. Under New Labour, and the preceding Conservative government, the main penological aims of probation were punishment and risk management. Increasingly prescriptive monitoring regimes were introduced, arguably reducing professional discretion and autonomy. Standardisation was conflated with quality. However, towards the end of New Labour's term of office, desistance theory was beginning to exert increasing influence on policy makers. It will be argued here that, although, theoretically, this was more consistent with the original purpose of probation, to 'Advise, Assist and Befriend' offenders, the flexibility afforded by this new approach also made probation more attractive as a market commodity. When the Conservative-led coalition government took office in 2010, amid a financial crisis, the progression

from the mission to the market was completed and services to around 70% of offenders supervised in the community were offered up for sale.

This research is interested in practitioner reactions to these latest changes and the extent to which underlying probation values influenced, or were influenced, by TR. Thus, to interpret the findings, it is important that the methods used capture change across the practitioner sample and for individuals and groups of individuals over time. To achieve this, a mixed methods case study research design is used. Underpinning the methods used to collect, analyse and interpret the data is a critical realist theoretical framework. Details of and justification for the research design and methodology are included in Chapter Four.

1.2 Research Questions, Originality and Relevance

This research addresses four main questions, with supplementary questions linked to each:

1. To what extent do probation practitioner descriptions of their relationships with offenders reflect traditional probation values? Are values shared across practitioners and over time?
2. How do practitioners negotiate the changes brought about by privatisation? Are reactions to change consistent across all practitioners and stable over time?
3. To what extent has the fragmentation of structures and processes impacted on solidarity within probation as a service and as a profession?
4. What are the pre-conditions for successful adaptation to change? To what extent are these likely to be met within the context of privatisation?

The originality of this research lies mainly in the unique situation in which the research was carried out. The subject of the case study is the only not-for-profit CRC in England and Wales. Having the opportunity to engage in depth, over 15 months, as the organisation and the practitioners within it negotiated the move from the public to the private sector provided unique insight into how practitioners

reacted to and negotiated these changes. Relationships were re-negotiated between offenders, practitioners, competitors and contractors. There is also originality in the research design. Mixed method studies are now quite common within policy research. However, this study added an extra dimension to the research by holding a deliberative enquiry event at the end of the research period, providing a 360-degree, collective opportunity for participants and other stakeholders to reflect, deliberate and feedback their reactions to initial interpretations of what they had told me individually. Further to this, following feedback on the results, an opportunity was provided to consider how the research might inform the future development of the organisation and relationships within and outside the CRC.

The relevance of this research is three-fold. First, it casts light on how practitioners interpret and negotiate change, in light of their values and previous experience. Second, it identifies the contexts in which professional practitioners with different levels of experience can find ways to adapt their practice whilst maintaining their professional values. Finally, it demonstrates the ways research, if carried out in a way that gives practitioners a voice, can both interpret and contribute to the process of change.

This chapter concludes by outlining the structure of the thesis, with a brief summary of the aims and contents of each chapter.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter Two reviews the literature related to the journey of probation from the mission to the market. Five eras in its development are considered: the early years, from 1907 to the Second World War; post-war developments; the Thatcher years; the Major years; New Labour's time in office; and, finally, privatisation. Chapter

Two focuses on significant events related to the structure, organisation and purpose of probation that marked its pathway to privatisation. Chapter Three moves the focus to practitioners. Key themes within this chapter are professionalism and values. These are discussed within the context of increasing standardisation and expectations of compliance with the managerial and ultimately commercial agendas of successive governments. The chapter concludes by considering the likely impacts of a market culture and privatisation and offers two different propositions for the future of probation. Chapter Four outlines the theoretical framework and methods used in this study. Chapter Five sets out the context in which the research was carried out, beginning by exploring the background to probation in the Durham Tees Valley. It then looks at how this contributed to the successful bid by ARCC to run probation services in the area, moving on to discuss the new operating model introduced to deliver the contract awarded by the National Offender Management Service (NOMS). Chapter Six considers practitioners within the CRC. Drawing on statistical data from the two-stage panel survey and in-depth interviews with practitioners, a dynamic model of change is developed to aid the explanation of the different reactions from practitioners as they negotiated their way through the process of change. Chapter Seven explores a core theme that emerged whilst analysing the data and developing the model of change, namely, fragmentation. One manifestation of the fragmentation of probation was a lack of trust; between the National Probation Service and the CRC; between different CRCs; and even between practitioners within DTV CRC. The thesis conclusion returns to the research questions and critically reviews, in light of the study, the propositions for the future of probation introduced at the end of Chapter Three. The chapter concludes with suggestions

for future research and a summary of the contribution this thesis has made to probation and academia.

Chapter 2: From the Mission to the Market: Structure, Organisation and Purpose of Probation

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the significant events in the history of probation that brought about changes to its purpose, structure and governance, culminating in the privatisation of services to around 70% of offenders managed in the community. Three key arguments are presented in this chapter. First, privatisation was a journey that unfolded over many years rather than a single event. Second, the failure of probation to develop a sound evidence base to support social casework left the service vulnerable to change. Changes were brought about by government attitudes to the welfare state and fluctuations in the economy resulting in changes to the funding, structure and governance of probation. These changes moved it away from local influence, making it easier to standardise practice. In turn, it is argued that this facilitated the categorisation (and, ultimately, commodification) of offenders, rendering the service attractive to the market. Whilst brief mention will be made of the impacts on professional practitioners, detailed discussion of their journey through the process will be covered in Chapter Three.

During its first 100 years, probation was transformed from local arrangements with individual courts, served by practitioners, some paid public-sector employees, others working as volunteers through charities largely connected to the church, to a wholly public service with a Home Office-approved training programme and written rules of engagement. Prior to this, the work of probation went largely unchallenged. Next, developments during the post-war period through the relative affluence of the 1960s and into the recession of the early 1970s will be considered.

This period saw mechanisms put in place to enable research to be carried out in order to establish an evidence base for probation. The next section argues that this opportunity was largely missed, that 'naïve optimism' replaced rigorous evaluation, and further, that this contributed to probation being unable to withstand rigorous critique when neoliberal emphasis on cost-efficiency began to have an impact on the public sector as Thatcher was elected in 1979. The pragmatism associated with managerialism led to less rigorous research and more performance management, concerns directed towards cost rather than theories of offender change. Thus, by the end of the conservative governments of Thatcher and Major, probation as a service of expert practitioners had become a service led by managers, increasingly governed by national standards and performance regimes. When Tony Blair was elected, some hoped that probation would return to its social welfare roots, refocusing on the socio-economic determinants of criminal behaviour. However, as the next section reveals, New Labour continued, and even intensified, the focus on a managerial approach to public services as Blair's modernisation programme was implemented. By the end of New Labour's 13 years in power, the legislative foundations for privatisation were already in place. The final substantive section tracks the process of privatisation embarked upon by the Conservative-led coalition government elected in 2010, concluding with propositions of likely futures for probation as 70% of its work moves out of the public sector. These propositions will be returned to in the conclusion of the thesis, considered in light of the findings of this research.

2.2 The Early Years

The roots of probation were, like many welfare services, within the voluntary sector (Nellis 1995a, 2007; Goodman 2012). Capitalism was the dominant ideology in

Victorian times and governments saw their role as making sure industry could thrive, leaving welfare provision to private benefactors and charities, many of which were linked to the church (Whitehead and Statham 2006). For almost 30 years after its creation as a public service following the Probation of Offenders Act 1907, probation was under dual control, with police court missionaries¹ continuing to serve as volunteer probation officers. The Act described the role of probation as to 'Advise, Assist and Befriend' offenders. Probation officers reported directly to the courts, and each offender, after agreeing to a period on probation, had the name of 'their' probation officer on the order of the court. The support provided was individual and discretionary, depending on the characteristics of both probationer and probation officer (Rose 1947; Vanstone 2004). Vanstone describes it as a collection of 'pseudo-scientific, religious and common sense theorizing' (Vanstone 2004, p. 96). Thus, at this early phase of the development of probation, the service was fragmented, and trust resided in individual relationships between offenders and their officers and between probation officers and the individual courts they served. However, it was not long before questions were raised about the failure of courts to offer probation to all suitable offenders. The resolution to these problems put forward was greater standardisation. The first proposal came in 1919, when a call was made by Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, Chair of the Prison Commissioners, for drastic reorganisation measures because, despite the 1907 Act, take-up through the courts was limited. During the period between the two world wars, probation underwent further reorganisation efforts in order to create a professional service. Home Office training was introduced in 1930. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation, founded in 1936, focused on efficiency and

¹ Police court missionaries were volunteers, linked to the church, who worked in courts to offer support to offenders. These workers had operated mainly in London courts since 1876.

standardisation of practice. The first indication of a move away from treating offenders as individuals came when the 1932 Departmental Committee on Persistent Offenders² (Home Office 1932) recommended differential treatment for persistent offenders. This began the process of defining 'classes' of offenders, paving the way for categorisation and, later, commodification of offenders.

The last Departmental Committee before the Second World War reported in 1936 (Home Office 1936). This report continued to support local services run by local committees but recommended the end of the dual control and split loyalties of probation officers to courts and the voluntary sector, bringing probation wholly within the public sector. This committee was chaired by Sydney Harris, a long-standing supporter of probation. Other members included the president of the National Association of Probation Officers (NAPO) and others closely associated with probation. With the increasing size of the service, the report also advocated a more hierarchical system of management, with recommendations for more principal and senior probation officers. Main grade officers still maintained considerable autonomy in the supervision of individual offenders but their direct relationship with courts was reduced. Gupta et al. (1994) explored '... the impact of the increasing size of organisations on the way they are monitored and controlled. Drawing on institutional and contingency theory, their work suggests that the increasing size of an organisation results in a more bureaucratic style of management and suggests that, once personal contact is reduced, a sound evidence base is required to produce guidance for practitioners, resulting in complex tasks being made routine. The introduction of a Home Office inspection

² See also Lord Polworth's comments in Parliament in March 1933 Lord Polwarth. 1933. *PERSISTENT AND YOUNG OFFENDERS* [Online]. Hansard. Available at: <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1933/mar/29/persistent-and-young-offenders> [Accessed: March 10th].

process, which focused on efficiency, was further evidence of a move towards standardisation and central control. In the context of all-party commitment to welfarist policies, this was considered essential to putting probation on a professional footing. Evidence to support the effectiveness of probation was drawn from a report published in 1938, 'The Probation Service – Its Objectives and its Organisation' (Home Office 1938). This report reflected on the achievements of the first 30 years of probation and, significantly, was the first to draw on newly commissioned statistics. Reporting that, of the 2,311 offenders on probation included in the report, over 70% were deemed successful, it is interesting to contrast the language of this report with the current tendency to report 'failure' rather than success. The report reminded magistrates that it was their responsibility to decide who should be placed on probation and how they should be supervised, saying that the success or failure of probation was in their hands. There were also indications of a return to the classical theoretical principles of proportionality in the warning not to use extravagant offender supervision requirements. Whilst the report was generally supportive of probation and viewed it as successful, it also included criticisms and recommendations to improve efficiency. It suggested that smaller areas could combine to make larger units and criticised some area committees for not meeting on a regular basis. It raised concerns about some probation officers not being fully trained and supported the role of the principal probation officer, going further than the 1936 report by specifically mentioning their supervisory role, particularly in larger areas.

Thus, at the outbreak of the Second World War, probation was a service overseen by many local committees. Whilst practitioners continued to enjoy autonomy and discretion with individual offenders, new training regimes, mergers of committee

areas, and inspections driven by central government were beginning to introduce the notion of standardisation.

2.3 Post-war Developments

As noted above, the recommendations of both the 1936 and the 1938 reports had to wait until after the Second World War to become law in the form of the Criminal Justice Act 1948. It could be argued that the period from the end of the Second World War up to 1979, when Thatcher was elected prime minister, was characterised by cross-party consensus regarding welfarism and commitment to the welfare state, and ended with a breakdown of that consensus brought about by recession and the emergence of neoliberal ideas about state-funded public services.

2.3.1 Consolidation and Integration into the Welfare State

According to Joan King (1964), the 1948 Act superseded the 1907 Act, consolidating the legislation that underpinned the supervision of offenders in the community. It also extended the role of probation officers to the supervision of offenders leaving prison. One important change, sometimes overlooked, is that, prior to the 1948 Act, it was possible to be placed on a probation order without a conviction being recorded. The conviction was only recorded when the offender was brought back to court following a breach. After the 1948 Act, whilst the offender's consent to being placed on probation was still needed, a conviction was recorded at the time the offender was given probation. Added to the evidence presented above of an expanding and potentially less individualised service was the removal of the requirement to state the name of the probation officer on the order. The 1948 Act made further attempts to clarify the role and responsibilities of probation officers and made some changes to the composition of probation area committees. Whilst

sentencers still made up most of the personnel on the committees, after 1948, up to a third of the committee could be co-opted from elsewhere and provision was also made for petty sessional areas to combine. The role of local authorities as bankers and administrators for the probation service was reinforced and clarified. At this time, the Home Office provided 80% of the funding for probation, with local authorities contributing the remaining 20%, a situation that did not change until 2001. A further development in this period were the recommendations of the Streatfield Committee of 1961. According to McWilliams (1992), writing over 30 years later, these recommendations represented a major shift towards national rather than local policy. The Streatfield Committee, acknowledging the knowledge and expertise of probation officers, recommended a national policy to ensure that social enquiry reports (SERs) were completed after assessment of an offender's culpability and likely reaction to different types of sentence; SERs should be made available to the court prior to sentencing (Home Office 1961).

2.3.2 Opportunities Lost: Failure to Evidence the Value of Individual Casework

The budget for probation remained small compared to other parts of the criminal justice system (CJS). However, after the Second World War, with cross-party consensus on the need for the welfare state, probation continued to grow in both size and complexity. The importance of research was recognised in the Criminal Justice Act 1948, in which Section 77.1. (b) legitimated funding for research, stating *'the causes of delinquency and the treatment of offenders, sanctioned by the Secretary of State would be paid for by the government'*. This led to the Home Office Research Unit being set up in 1957. Most early research carried out by the Home Office was no more than an account of what was done, with a number of

commentators simply declaring that probation ‘worked’ (Grunhut 1952; Radzinowicz 1958). The core of probation work, namely, one-to-one relationships with offenders, was largely ignored. Thus, the combination of increased size, complexity of tasks, and the lack of evidence may have contributed to the end of ‘naïve optimism’ towards probation (Raynor 2003). Further, as crime rates and prison populations increased in the 1960s, government attitudes towards the work of probation with offenders began to change. Critical reports raising doubts about the effectiveness of rehabilitation crossed the Atlantic (Martinson 1974; Bochel 1976) and opened probation up to critique. When the ability of probation to reduce reoffending *was* challenged (Martinson 1974; Brody 1976; Pease et al. 1977), the response from the profession and its supporters lacked the consistency and conviction that would have been possible if underpinned by firm evidence to support the arguments. Instead, a raft of proposals for new ways of working within probation were put forward. This included: splitting social work from punishment (Harris 1977); the notion of being ‘sentenced to social work’ (Bryant et al. 1978); the ‘non-treatment model’ (Bottoms and McWilliams 1979); and the Kent Control Unit (Raynor 1985).

2.3.3 From Individual Advice and Support to Group-based ‘Alternatives to Custody’

Neoliberal ideas are often attributed to Thatcher’s Conservative government, which came to power in 1979. However, social casework with offenders came under scrutiny some 10 years earlier. As crime rates rose towards the end of the 1960s, and the recession and oil crisis of the early 1970s reduced the amount of discretionary budget available to fund the growing welfare state, the role and efficiency of all public services were brought into question. The challenge to the

role of probation within the CJS coincided with this neoliberal turn. Neoliberal ideas were associated with the application of market principles to the delivery of public services, resulting in a reduction in state contributions by contracting work out to the private sector and, thus, applying managerial policies to public services to increase efficiency and drive down costs. Managers became the new experts and professional practice was constrained by standardisation and prescription (Gray and Jenkins 1993; Clarke 1998; Freidson 2001). The purpose of probation shifted from the individual achievements of service users to ideologically driven goals, and moral discourse was replaced by the economic (Gregory 2016; Kemshall 2016). When the Wootton Report was published in 1970, it proposed a first sentence to be served wholly in the community, namely, the community service order (Advisory Council on the Penal System 1970), the purpose of probation began to move from 'Advise, Assist and Befriend' towards punishment in the community. Groups of offenders would carry out work in the community. This move from individual treatment to work with groups of offenders (Vanstone 2003) also saw the introduction of unqualified staff who supervised offenders' work placements. Baroness Wootton recognised that this was a new direction for probation and advocated properly evaluated trials before full implementation (Advisory Council on the Penal System 1970). Community service was trialled and evaluated but roll-out occurred before evaluation was completed. When the evaluation was published, the results were unimpressive but, by then, wider roll-out was well under way (Mair 2008). This pattern of commissioning research to evaluate new ways of working, only to adopt the new practice before the results are available, has been and continues to be a feature of successive governments' attitudes to evidence.

The structure of probation also continued to change. In 1948, there had been hundreds of probation areas, linked to petty sessions (magistrates) courts. During the 1950s and 1960s, areas began to merge, and by 1965 there were 59 committees. As noted earlier, by 1974, the Home Office provided 80% of the cost of probation, giving it considerable control over the way the service operated. As attitudes changed towards the welfare state, the role of probation in supporting and treating offenders began to be challenged and a new purpose was sought.

2.4 The Thatcher Years: From Welfarism to Fiscal Control

The previous section acknowledged that 'naïve optimism' regarding probation came to an end before Thatcher came to office in 1979. As the economy went into recession in the early 1970s, questions were asked about rehabilitation methods. This eased the path for neo-conservative ideas about the welfare state to be introduced after Thatcher was elected. Neo-conservative approaches to the welfare state involved monetarist supply-led policy, greater accountability, and value for money. Although neoliberalism and neo-conservatism shared beliefs about rolling back investment in the welfare state, their approach to public servants differed. Whereas neoliberal ideas suggested that public services should be governed by the principles of the market, with minimal involvement and thus responsibility from government, Thatcher's neo-conservatism introduced authoritarian control as the means to ensure efficiency savings (Whitehead 2015). Doubts about the ability of the social casework model to reduce reoffending alongside a context of recession, rising crime, and neo-conservative attitudes to public services combined to confirm Thatcher's distrust of experts. This led to a change in the role of probation within the CJS. As evidence suggested probation was unlikely to reduce crime, attention became focused on its potential to save

money by diverting offenders from expensive prison sentences. Whilst this strong law and order approach supported prison as a viable punishment, William Whitelaw, the Home Secretary, was also keen to make use of probation. By increasing the rigour of probation and the accountability of probation officers, for both delivery and cost, probation would become a more viable alternative to custody.

2.4.1 From Research to Pragmatism

Thatcher's time in office as prime minister marked a period when pragmatism and quantitative techniques, such as those used by operational researchers, made possible by advances in technology and statistics, began to take precedence over social research. The 'how' rather than the 'why' was important. During the 1980s, little research at the national level was carried out, although, according to Whitehead, practitioner research at the local level was commonplace (2017). The fact that such evidence did not appear to influence national policy was perhaps a downside of locally driven, semi-independent probation areas. As managerialism replaced welfarism, and performance management replaced research, the notion of 'value for money' was applied to public-sector services (Mair and Burke 2012). Evidence of Thatcher's distrust of 'experts' came when the Advisory Council on the Penal System (ACPS)³ was disbanded in 1980 in favour of a series of right-wing 'think tanks' aimed at bringing commercial expertise into the public sector (Bell 2011). An example of an attempt to capture what probation officers did at work was the 1977 National Activity Recording Study, which, according to Goodman (2012), fitted with Taylor's managerial principles (Taneja et al. 2011), in which

³ The Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders (ACTO) was originally set up in 1956; after the Royal Commission on the Penal System was disbanded in 1966, it was replaced by the ACPS.

complex practice is reduced to a series of tasks, minimising the skills required by practitioners and making savings possible.

2.4.2 A Punitive Turn Away from 'Alternatives to Custody'

Following the second Conservative victory in 1983, Leon Brittan replaced William Whitelaw as Home Secretary and David Faulkner took over as the senior civil servant responsible for probation. This marked the beginning of a more penal tone, demonstrated in an interview with the new Home Secretary shortly after he took office, in which Brittan justified his claims that more prisons would be needed. He also repeatedly referred to the importance attached to the confidence of the courts in the ability of probation to manage offenders who had committed more serious offences. This signalled a shift in the role of probation from supporting first-time offenders and juveniles to a position where more serious offenders would be diverted from custody. This appears to have been a veiled threat rather than an attempt to increase the use of probation. For example, when faced with potential industrial action in response to cost-cutting measures, Brittan said, *'I would ask the Probation Service to think long and hard about whether it isn't damaging itself very much by this wholly self-defeating exercise'* (Stone 1984, p. 6).

2.4.3 Statement of National Priorities: Enter Managerialism

The publication in 1984 of the Statement of National Objectives and Priorities (SNOP) was a clear message that the full weight of the managerial approach to the funding⁴ and control of public-sector agencies was to be applied to probation (Drakeford 2016; Gregory 2016; Senior 2016a). Each probation area was required to develop a three-year plan demonstrating how it would work towards the

⁴ Following the 1983 Government Circular on the Financial Management Initiative (FMI), value for money (VFM) and business management principles were applied across all public services.

priorities in the statement (namely, working with the courts, supervising offenders in the community, through-care, and other work in the community). Probation areas needed to set clear objectives and state how they would be measured, including information about costs and the management training needed to deliver the plan. It appeared that the role of probation officer was beginning to change from individual casework to 'managing' offenders, increasingly in group-work activity such as community service. McWilliams (1992) and Coker (1988) offer insight into this impact of managerialism on the relationships between offenders and their supervisors by concluding that discretion was relocated away from progressively de-professionalised frontline staff to the growing body of managers brought in to monitor compliance, first with the SNOP and later with national standards that became increasingly more prescriptive, leaving little room for professional judgement and decision making.

Further structural changes continued the move away from local governance. By 1990, the number of probation areas had fallen from 59 to 54. Funding remained at 80% from the Home Office, with local authorities making up the remaining 20%. Bureaucracy, depersonalisation, and de-professionalisation features associated with rational management had begun to replace humanism in public-sector provision (Whitehead 2010, p42).

2.5 The Major Years

John Major replaced Thatcher as leader of the Conservative party on 28th November 1990. On 9th April 1992, despite financial crises and unrest within the party, Major won a surprise election victory, although he was returned with a greatly reduced majority. The term of Major's office saw further changes to the role and regulation of probation as both sentence and service.

2.5.1 'Just Deserts' or Market Readiness?

Following National Audit Office and Audit Commission recommendations in 1989, a comprehensive time and motion study was carried out in 1990. Raine and Wilson (1993) comment that the consequences were to render probation more business-like, implying that, if the 'business' was not run effectively, it could go 'out of business' and be replaced by a more efficient model. Managerialism and the new public management (NPM) model sought to make the public sector more efficient by opening it up to market forces whilst simultaneously exerting central control through performance targets and sanctions for non-compliance (Nellis and Gelsthorpe 2003). The CJA 1991 saw the return of classicism to penal policy, with the focus of sentencing switching from the offender to the offence, a change that heralded the introduction of punishment in the community. Some argued that this went some way to address the indeterminacy of sentencing policy associated with welfarism in the 1960s and 1970s (American Friends Service Committee 1971; von Hirsch 1976; Cullen et al. 1988). Mair and Burke (2012) offer a different interpretation, suggesting that the principles of 'just deserts' and the predictability of proportionate sentencing may have been another way of creating a service capable of being offered out to competition. Commercial companies look for some degree of confidence when calculating the cost and benefits of providing services. Thus, 'just deserts' and the associated classification of offenders as a way of allocating them to particular types of provision could have been another strategy for getting the service 'market ready', a proposition originally made some 20 years before by Bottoms (1995). Further evidence of the application of the NPM model to criminal justice in the early 1990s came when the first UK private prison, HMP Wolds, opened in 1992. Since then, a further 13 private prisons have opened under both Labour and Conservative governments (Grimwood 2014).

2.5.2 Moral Panic, Justifying another Punitive Turn

Ken Clarke replaced David Waddington as Home Secretary on 11th September 1992, but his time in office was short and he was promoted to the position of Chancellor of the Exchequer in May 1993. He was replaced by Michael Howard, who was brought in for his reputation as being strong on law and order, partly in response to the moral panic that followed the murders of James Bulger and Stephen Lawrence earlier that year and partly to challenge the increasing competition for the position as the party strongest on law and order following Tony Blair's appointment to the office of Shadow Home Secretary. The combination of another recession and the moral panic that followed these murders, again, set the scene for an even more punitive turn to criminal justice policy (Bell 2008; Farrall and Jennings 2012). According to Garland (1985, 2001), wider political and economic circumstances shape penal policy. The public outcry following these murders provided context and justification for Major's 'back to basics' campaign, wherein permissiveness and further demonisation of the 'underclass' were used to deflect public attention away from structural issues and social welfare deficits. Howard used his conference speech in autumn 1993 to announce his 27-point plan for law and order. His proposals included abolishing the right to silence, building six new prisons, ordering a review of community sentences, and reversing the decision in the 1991 Criminal Justice Act (CJA) to disallow information about previous convictions during sentencing. Many of his proposals were implemented in the Criminal Justice Act 1993. The impact of the changes can be seen by the steep increase in the prison population from 44,566 in 1993 to 61,114 in 1997.

Attempts were made to refocus attention towards the impact of social deprivation on criminality. While Howard was developing his next attempt to make community

punishments more rigorous, research was being published that tried to demonstrate the link between social circumstances and offending (Stewart and Stewart 1993; Millar and Buchanan 1995). Millar and Buchanan showed that around 80% of young offenders had left school without qualifications and a similar percentage were not in waged employment. In an audit of crime, policing, and criminal justice issues, Benyon (1994) claimed:

The real reasons for current difficulties are, of course, to be found in the deep fractures and fissures in British society as a result of the policies and ideology of recent years under the Thatcher and Major governments. A fractured society will have higher levels of crime and disorder than a consensual and less divided one. When people have despaired, little to hope for, and low levels of investment in society, crime is likely to increase (Benyon 1994, pp. 66-68).

These statements appear to have been overlooked in the increasingly punitive approach towards offenders in the community. A Green Paper (Home Office 1995) presented the government's plans to respond to claims by sentencers that the public still viewed community sentences as a soft option. Further evidence of the move away in government understanding of the link between social problems and crime came in 1996 when Howard severed the link with social work values as the requirement for probation officers to first train as social workers, creating a gap in the supply of trained officers entering the service and paving the way for the introduction of unqualified support workers.

To end this discussion of the history of probation during the years of the Conservative government from 1979 to 1997, brief mention of the Crime (Sentences) Act 1997 will be made. This Act finally removed the need for the offender's consent to a community punishment and introduced mandatory minimum sentences for repeat violent and sexual offences and, in line with the US

‘three strikes’ sentences, introduced a seven-year minimum sentence for a third Class A drug trafficking offence and three years for a third burglary conviction.

Even though the structure, organisation, and governance of probation changed little under successive Conservative governments, its purpose and position did change, from diverting offenders from prison, to punishment in the community. Thus, probation became a bona fide part of the CJS with the declared role of punishment in the community. Some attribute the blame for the punitive turn to Michael Howard (Teague et al. 2012). However, as noted above, Tony Blair, as shadow Home Secretary, began to reach out to the middle classes with strong law and order proposals, leaving Howard with few alternatives other than to respond to ‘populist punitivism’ by ending his term of office on this punitive note (Jones and Newburn 2007; Downes and Nelken 2011). New Labour then had to continue and even build on the punitive turn to deliver on its 1997 manifesto promises.

2.6 New Labour: Modernisation or Managerialism Plus?

When New Labour were elected in a landslide victory in 1997, many in probation thought it would end the punitive turn that criminal justice policy had taken. However, New Labour’s electoral success was seen, at least in part, as being down to its ‘Tough on Crime, Tough on the Causes of Crime’ mantra. This was translated into an authoritarian approach underpinned by another New Labour soundbite, ‘No Rights without Responsibilities’. It is argued here that probation was vulnerable to change as it was not operating as a cohesive whole. The 54 probation area committees tended to defend their local allegiances, resulting in 54 separate voices. Also, as discussed above, in the absence of a sound evidence base on how to reduce reoffending, it was difficult to counter policies presented in an articulate and considered way. Given the level of public support demonstrated by the election

result, the new party in government had the ear of even the right-wing press, aided by an army of 'spin doctors' (Osborne 2005).

2.6.1 The First National Probation Service

New Labour came to office with support not only from its traditional working-class supporters but also from much of the middle classes, paving the way for the party to introduce widespread change with impunity. Probation was soon to come under scrutiny again, as the Prisons-Probation Review was announced by Jack Straw in 1997 with a remit to explore the benefits of closer integration of prisons and probation. When the first consultation document was published in 1998, it spoke about the need for national leadership for probation and the need to make use of technology to improve efficiency and effectiveness (for example, through electronic monitoring and the use of electronic systems to facilitate risk assessment). At that time, it did not recommend joining prisons and probation. However, it did recommend 100% funding by the Home Office, that all staff should become civil servants, and the creation of a National Probation Service (NPS). The first NPS and 100% funding were introduced in 2001. The number of probation areas was reduced to 42, each coterminous with police force areas in England and Wales. However, probation staff did not become civil servants until much later when probation was partly privatised in 2014. The idea of probation staff being civil servants had previously been rejected in 1936 by the Departmental Committee on the Social Services in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction (Home Office 1936) as being unlawful as, in view of the role of probation in making recommendations regarding sentencing, the boundaries between the judiciary and the executive would be blurred.

Some elements of New Labour's proposals that had been built on ideas originally put forward by the previous Conservative government could be seen in New Labour's plans for criminal justice. The CJA 2003 revisited some of the proposals from the Criminal Justice Act 1991 that had been set aside when Michael Howard replaced Ken Clarke as Home Secretary. Community orders were streamlined such that a single order would be available. These orders could be tailored to individual cases by the sentencer selecting requirements from a pre-prescribed list (Burnett et al. 2007). On reflection, this style of packaging services resonates with the way private companies market their wares, with a core product and optional extras.

2.6.2 The Carter Review: From Probation to Offender Management

Lord Carter, a businessman, was invited to review correctional services in England and Wales, and his report was published in December 2003. The report painted a picture of increased demand on both prisons and probation and the failure of previous attempts to convince sentencers that community penalties were real alternatives to custody. In line with his business credentials, Carter used hard data to show that, although the use of community sanctions had increased, it had been at the expense of lesser penalties rather than diversion from custody. Expenditure on corrections increased from £2.5 billion in 1993 to £3.5 billion 10 years later. Carter appeared to blame the 'silo-like' structure of the corrections services and put forward proposals for an end-to-end offender management service. Unsurprisingly, given Lord Carter's background, the review also firmed up earlier proposals to 'market test' corrections services and introduce the concept of commissioning.⁵ The proposals also separated offender supervision, which, at the

⁵ The term 'commissioning' covers a range of widely used activities, business processes and behaviours that are designed to ensure that resources are deployed in the best way possible to meet the twin aims of NOMS: protecting the public and reducing reoffending through

time, was considered a role that should be retained in the public sector, from offender interventions. Interventions would be progressively 'market tested', starting with unpaid work (renamed Community Payback in April 2010) and victim services. An additional tier to the governance of probation and prisons was introduced when 10 regional offender managers were recruited to oversee the work of prisons and probation in the nine regions of England plus Wales. To embed market principles into probation and achieve the separation between purchaser and provider, probation areas would apply for Trust status. The progression from proposal to policy was initially rapid, with Home Secretary David Blunkett publishing the government's response in January 2004, the consultation ending on 18th February 2004. The government's consultation resulted in acceptance of the proposal for the creation of NOMS, thus marking the end of the first NPS just three years after its inception. NOMS was created in June 2004. However, the creation of probation trusts was delayed as the required legislation was held up by the election in 2005; thus, the Offender Management Bill did not complete its journey through Parliament until 2007.

2.6.3 Legitimising Privatisation

The Offender Management Act 2007 contained many clauses that marked the intention to widen the provider market for probation services. To pass the test to become a probation trust, business cases had to include proposals for contracting out 10% of services. Section 3.2 of the Act transferred responsibility for providing probation services from local probation committees to the Secretary of State, ending 100 years of local control:

effective delivery of the orders and sentences of the courts. Ministry of Justice (2011), Commissioning Support Guidance: An Introduction to NOMS Offender Services Commissioning, NOMS, London.

That the Secretary of State may make contractual or other arrangements with any other person for the making of probation provision. In most cases, it is envisaged that arrangements will be made under contract but this subsection does allow for other possibilities (Offender Management Act 2007, Section 3.2).

Labour MPs and NAPO have since denied that the intention was to do away with the local commissioning role of public-sector probation trusts, subjecting this clause to lengthy debates in both houses (Bardens and Grimwood 2013). The debate concluded that privatisation as proposed in TR could go ahead without the need for new legislation. While still in government, New Labour, using the Offender Management Act 2007, began to realise Carter's proposals to offer whole services out to competition when competitions for Community Payback and Victim Services commenced. This process was specified whilst New Labour was still in office, although it was not formally launched until June 2011, a year after New Labour's defeat in the general election of May 2010. Thus, by the time the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government came to power, much of the ground had been prepared for probation to be privatised.

Whilst the pace of these final steps towards privatisation seem rapid, this section has shown that, rather than a sudden change, privatisation has been a continuum extending back throughout the history of probation. The pace increased as neoliberalism took hold within western nation states in the 1970s, arguably adopted and interpreted by political parties of right *and* left as budget deficits increased along with public welfare expenditure (Bell 2011). The rise of neoliberal ideas and notions of the market coincided with disruptions to the supply of resources, such as oil, needed to fuel capitalism and a succession of financial crises. These political and economic circumstances, aided by improvements in technology, have resulted in a probation service where, it is argued (Burnett 1996; Robinson

1999), risk can be predicted and offenders 'managed' in segments. The segments in turn can then be marketed to a range of providers.

2.6.4 What Works: Managerial Evidence Development

Before concluding this section, New Labour's approach to evidence will be reviewed. If the Conservative government's approach to evidence and expert practitioners was distrust and scepticism, it could be argued that New Labour's was control. Performance management and managerialist policies continued. The 2000 version of national standards that replaced those published by the previous government were even more prescriptive, further removing opportunity for discretion or professional judgement. The Effective Practice Initiative (EPI), which was launched in 1997, was an attempt to demonstrate a commitment to evidence-based practice in response to Vennard et al.'s (1997) claims that cognitive behavioural approaches could reduce reoffending, but only if properly executed. A survey by Hedderman and Sugg (1997) of 200 probation programmes, published at the same time as Vennard et al.'s claims, suggested that programme integrity was poor, that general rather than specialised programmes were being run, and that offenders were not allocated effectively according to need and risk. The EPI concentrated almost exclusively on accredited programmes, with little attention paid to the probation officer–offender relationship. The professional judgement of probation officers was questioned, adding further weight to the need for standardisation and prescribed practice. The Joint Prison/Probation Accreditation Panel was established in 1999 to introduce quality assurance into the development and implementation of offender behaviour programmes. The panel was made up of Home Office officials, HM Inspectorate of Probation, Association of Chief Officers

of Probation, the prison service and 12 'independent' experts, mainly academics from universities from both sides of the Atlantic.

The Crime Reduction Programme was launched in 1999 and came with significant resources for evaluation. The role of the Home Office as the lead commissioner of criminological research was established. Four key areas of work became pathfinders: general offending behaviour programmes, basic skills programmes, enhanced community service and resettlement for short-term prisoners, with the notable absence of the one-to-one relationship between offenders and their supervisors (Mair and Burke 2012, p. 162). These programmes were evaluated externally; the words 'independently evaluated' have deliberately been avoided as, according to Raynor (2008), the methods and success criteria were tightly prescribed and reporting timescales were tight, thus the rigour usually applied at the design stage by academics was constrained. The researchers carrying out the evaluations were pressed for interim results. Although early results from the evaluation were encouraging, the results were disappointing, leading to conflicting messages. For example, the evaluation of the Offending Behaviour Programmes (OBPs) at three prisons initially suggested that the programmes reduced reconviction, then that they did not, and later, that they worked for some but not for others (Friendship et al. 2002; Cann et al. 2003; Falshaw et al. 2003). It was recognised that the outcomes, particularly given the short timescales, were overly ambitious (Mair and Burke 2012, p. 167); however, the blame for failure was generally attributed to 'research failure' (Homel et al. 2005; Raynor 2008; Mair and Burke 2012). This led to even more prescription from the Home Office about how future evaluations and reviews of the evidence were to be carried out, and it became increasing difficulty to gain permission to conduct research outside the intentions of the Home Office (Whitehead 2017).

Ironically, having for so long lacked an evidence base related to the core role of probation of one-to-one work with offenders, the emergence of the 'What Works' agenda overshadowed a new branch of research that began to explore the nature of these relationships between offenders and their supervisors (Maruna 2001; Rex 2002; Burnett and McNeill 2005; McNeill 2006; Deering 2014; Ugwuodike et al. 2014). This research posed a new theory of pathways out of crime: desistance theory. Desistance theory recognises that desistance is a process not an event and research explored what was associated with successful desistance, focusing on offender strengths rather than the means to manipulate risks, a key feature of much of the 'What Works' evaluations. However, it was almost 10 years before this approach was tested in the field on a large scale. The Offender Engagement Programme (OEP) was launched in 2010. This programme was headed up by Dr Sue Rex, who was one of the earliest contributors to the research into desistance and the role of relationships between offenders and their supervisors (Rex 1999). A comprehensive multi-method evaluation was commissioned to evaluate the programme. Just as in previous new directions for probation, before the final report from the external evaluation was published, the end of probation as a public service had been announced. The research reported in this thesis will build on early findings from the OEP pilots and research based on desistance theory, drawing on lessons learnt from the pilots and associated work, and aimed at understanding what constitutes a successful relationship between offenders and their supervisors within the context of a privatised probation service.

By the time New Labour left office in 2010, there were 35 probation trusts. Prisons and probation were governed by a two-tier system. Within regions, prison governors and probation chiefs reported to Regional Directors of Offender Management. Regional Directors reported to the Chief Executive of NOMS, a

former head of the prison service. This represented a shift away from the centrally organised National Probation Service towards arms-length oversight of these quasi-commercial entities. Reminiscent of Thatcher's neo-conservatism, oversight was authoritarian, backed by a raft of national standards and a stringent performance management regime that included performance-related pay for Trust Chief Executives.

2.7 Coalition Government: Transforming Rehabilitation

This section covers the changes brought about following the general election in 2010 that resulted in a Conservative-led coalition with the Liberal Democrats to form a government with a small but workable majority. At the time of writing, these reforms were the focus of an emerging policy debate, too early for empirical research into their outcomes. Thus, the literature is largely theoretical or speculative, hypothesising the likely outcomes for the future of probation as a profession and as a service.

2.7.1 Transforming Rehabilitation: The Process

Kenneth Clarke was appointed as Justice Secretary when the coalition government took office in May 2010. In December of the same year, the Justice Secretary set out his plans to reform the CJS in a Green Paper (Ministry of Justice 2010). This paper introduced the idea of paying local voluntary and private-sector organisers to deliver rehabilitation services based on the results achieved, namely, their ability to reduce reoffending. To test these proposals, three pilot projects were set up, which were due to conclude between 2013 and 2016. The business plan that accompanied the proposals described them as 'ambitious'. Less than two years later, on 4th September 2012, Kenneth Clarke, a respected and experienced reformer, was replaced by right-wing Eurosceptic Chris Grayling, the first non-

lawyer to hold the office of Lord Chancellor. Wasting no time, Grayling announced his own plans for a 'Rehabilitation Revolution', whereby, in a speech to the House of Commons on 20th November 2012, he declared his intention to move ahead with plans to introduce 'Payment by Results' (PbR), without waiting for the results of the pilot projects set up by his predecessor. His intentions were set out in another Green Paper published on 9th January 2013 (Ministry of Justice 2013a). Answering questions in the House of Commons about his decision not to pilot his proposals, he defended this by claiming:

The last Government were obsessed with pilots. Sometimes those in government just have to believe in something and do it, but the last Government set out a pilot timetable under which it would have taken about eight years to get from the beginning of the process to the point of evaluation and then beyond. Sometimes we just have to believe something is right and do it (Grayling 2013).

Consultation on the proposals attracted criticism from several sources connected with probation, but there was limited comment from the public. Arguments against the proposals are outlined below in Section 2.6.3. With few exceptions, such as broadening the measurement of reoffending to include a frequency measure (Ministry of Justice 2013c), when the strategy to transform rehabilitation was published on 3rd May 2013, Grayling's plans to divide the service, privatising services to around 70% of offenders in the community, remained largely intact.

Once the strategy was launched, debate initially surrounded the legal basis of the proposed changes. The government eventually won the argument across both houses that the Offender Management Act 2007 made privatisation possible. Legislation was required for two processes essential to the changes, both relating to sentencing. The Offender Rehabilitation Act 2014 achieved royal assent in April 2014. This act required a period of supervision, following a prison sentence of less

than 12 months, and removed the opportunity for sentencers to determine the content of community orders. They now only had the power to determine the length and the number of days during the sentence on which offenders should engage with community rehabilitation companies (CRCs). These two changes were important for different reasons. The first was linked to government rhetoric about the need to change the way offenders were managed. Offenders serving short-term prison sentences had the highest rates of reoffending (Ministry of Justice Analytical Services 2013), and these data were quoted as evidence of the failure of probation to reduce reoffending, even though, at that time, these offenders were not on probation's caseload. Frequent reference was made to Grayling's comment about current provision for these offenders:

What we do at the moment is send people out of prison with £46 in their pocket, and no support at all. No wonder we have such high levels of reoffending. It is madness to carry on with the same old system and hope for a different result (Ministry of Justice 2013b).

This statement appeared to be aimed at appealing to those who supported rehabilitation. The second change was linked directly to privatisation. Whilst privatisation was sold as an opportunity to encourage innovation, critics (Calder and Goodman 2013; Hedderman 2013) claimed that it was to provide the opportunity for companies to make a profit by delivering just enough to avoid sanctions and financial penalties, whilst the PbR mechanism for payment would likely result in private companies 'creaming and parking' offenders, with those perhaps most in need or resistant to change being 'controlled' rather than rehabilitated.

The original timetable anticipated that the new providers would be up and running in the Autumn of 2014, just one year and five months after the strategy was published. In the end, the date when new providers took over legal responsibility came in February 2015 (although shadow CRCs continued delivery until April of the same year). Whilst this represented a five-month delay on the original timeframe, given the magnitude of the changes that took place, the pace of change was remarkable and, as this thesis will demonstrate, was one source of the problems experienced during implementation. Probation staff were allocated to work in the CRC or the NPS in March 2014, but those allocated to the CRC had to wait until the end of October 2014 to find out who their new employers would be.

The debate about privatisation was complex. It is difficult to identify aspects that received universal support or censure. The next sub-section explores these arguments.

2.7.2 Transforming Rehabilitation: The Debate

Moving probation supervision out of the public sector and into the market where profit-seeking companies competed for business raised a number of ethical concerns related to delivering services to involuntary clients.

Grayling justified his intentions to move forward with his plans to privatise probation in the ministerial foreword to 'Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform':

It is clear that in order to invest in extending and enhancing rehabilitation, we need to free up funding through increased efficiency and new ways of working. I want to bring in the best of the public, private and voluntary sectors to help us achieve this and we will design a competition process which allows a range of organisations, including mutuals, to bid to deliver services. I want to give the front-line professionals the flexibility and resources to innovate and do what works. It is

also clear to me that if we are to keep a relentless focus on rehabilitation, providers must have a clear incentive to do so – that is why I am determined the taxpayer will only pay providers in full for those services that actually deliver real reductions in reoffending. When it comes to awarding probation contracts, driving efficiencies will be one factor, but quality of service and the ability to stop the cycle of crime are the central tests. Only by doing this will we bear down on the long-term costs of the criminal justice system (Ministry of Justice 2013d, p. 13).

This was a complex statement that promised to extend and enhance rehabilitation; to ‘keep a relentless focus’ on rehabilitation suggested commitment to a progressive approach to probation underpinned by welfarist ideals. Closer reading revealed that, each time the word rehabilitation was used, it was followed rapidly by reference to neoliberal ideas of efficiency, introducing the language of the market, even adopting one of Thatcher’s favourite appeals to ‘tax-payers’, serving to exclude the poor and the unemployed, and thus potentially most of those supervised by probation, as partners in the new approach. In the more detailed strategy, there was reference to the importance of working in partnership with local public and voluntary sector organisations to address criminogenic needs such as lack of appropriate accommodation, employment and access to health services, to include drug and alcohol services. However, Bowen and Donoghue (2013) argued that the move away from probation trusts to privately owned CRCs would sever local ties. Trust boards had included representatives of local public and voluntary sector agencies. As they were dissolved, power shifted to corporate boardrooms, representing the interests of shareholders. Local interest is important as desistance theory recognises the importance of reintegration into the community. This included tackling practical issues, such as housing and employment, if desistance from crime was to be maintained (Rex 1999; Burnett 2004; Farrall 2004; McNeill 2006; Healy 2012; King 2012). Frequent reference was made to ‘innovation and

flexibility', freeing up practitioners to work creatively with individual offenders, for example by drawing on services provided by local voluntary and community groups. This also resonated with desistance theory and traditional notions of probation work and values (Williams 1995; Nellis and Gelsthorpe 2003; Phillips 2008; Shapland et al. 2012; McNeill 2013).

Thus, the debate about the benefits and drawbacks of privatisation is complex. This part of the discussion will be divided between two platforms for debate: first, ideological considerations underpinning privatisation, and second, the practicalities of splitting the service.

2.7.2(i) The End of Probation as We Knew It

Several authors (Guilfoyle 2013; Worrall 2015; Burke and Collett 2016) have claimed that the changes brought about by TR meant the end of probation as it had come to be known. During previous changes and reorganisations, traditional probation values had been shown to be remarkably resilient (Deering 2014). Others suggested that, as earlier sections of this chapter have discussed, the changes represented a continuum, with successive reinventions (Clarke 2013; Whitehead 2016) driven first by neoliberal and later managerial ideologies. James (2007) suggested that probation, in its traditional form, ceased to exist when probation became a punishment in its own right following the CJA 1991, although an alternative view suggested this legislation was a positive move away from increasing imprisonment. According to Collett (2014) this view saw the demise of probation as more certain under the managerial policies of New Labour, which culminated with the Offender Management Act 2007 that ultimately put the legislation in place that was used to break up the service and sell it off to private companies.

Ideologically, plans to privatise probation suggested a neoliberal approach, with a reduction in support for a strong welfare state, leaving the market to determine the most efficient way to deliver services (McLeavy 2011). Whitehead (2016) suggested looking at Kantian ethics to explain moral rejections of the market model for delivery of public services. Kant (2007) described work done with 'good will' as 'duty', that humanity should be an end rather than a means to an end. This could help to explain moral and ethical objections to making profit from offenders, who, following categorisation, would become the means to make a profit. This helped to explain why proponents of TR, when expected to focus on cost and efficiency, also referred to rehabilitation and professional judgement along with flexibility and innovation as these were the mechanisms likely to achieve success and thus profit. However, when the goal is profit, if desirable mechanisms fail to deliver, alternative means may be employed. Critics of privatisation suggested that, within a marketplace dominated by large private corporations that are rewarded through the mechanism of PbR, rather than driving up performance, corporations may simply drive down cost if the targets for reductions in reoffending prove elusive. The most likely savings predicted in early research into the likely impacts of TR were staff reductions, with a respondent in one study saying:

They are about profit, the only way to save money in probation is staff cost, that means less pay, less staff and higher caseloads, Probation Officer: N.H. Private Conversation, cited in (Calder and Goodman 2013, p. 180).

Evidence of the way different motivations could be concealed through rhetoric was provided in Grayling's statement in the foreword to the strategy for delivering TR. His words resonated with the ideas of the market determining the most efficient way to deliver services. There was also an appeal to the traditional values of probation when reference was made to the idea that offenders could change.

Frequent mention was made of the centrality of rehabilitation to the proposals. Supporters of TR crafted their market-driven claims in ways that were both appealing to a public coping with austerity and simple to understand. Lord McNally, when introducing the Offender Rehabilitation Bill to the House of Lords, started with:

The Minister of State, Ministry of Justice (Lord McNally): *My Lords, the purpose of this Bill can be summed up very simply: to improve the support we give to offenders in order to break the cycle of reoffending. There are many noble Lords speaking today who have championed reforms on this topic with successive Governments. Faced with such experience and expertise, it may seem unnecessary to dwell on why we need an Offender Rehabilitation Bill, but let me remind the House of the problems that have inspired this Bill, and of what has driven those who have campaigned long and hard for those reforms (Lord McNally 2013).*

Two thirds of the way through his speech, he began to introduce the government's plans to privatise probation but carefully avoided the word 'market', instead seeming to tap into traditional probation values regarding the community, expertise and rehabilitation:

Alongside this, we will open delivery of services for offenders in the community to a diverse range of new rehabilitation providers, as envisaged in the Offender Management Act 2007. We expect to see a wide variety of voluntary and private sector providers, from local community groups to regional and national organisations. In particular, we want to see a system which values and utilises the local expert knowledge of the voluntary and community sector. These providers will work alongside the National Probation Service and will manage the vast majority of offenders. We expect that most staff currently performing probation roles will transfer to the new providers. We will put in place a new system where the skills and expertise of probation professionals, coupled with the innovation and versatility of voluntary and private sector providers, support the rehabilitation of all offenders (Lord McNally 2013).

He then went on to justify the use of PbR as a mechanism to drive up performance and even increase the equity of provision:

Opening up these services will allow us to make savings which we will invest in rehabilitation. It will also allow us to make better use of the money we already spend on managing offenders. We will create incentives for providers to focus relentlessly on reforming offenders, giving those delivering services flexibility to do what works and freedom from bureaucracy, but only paying them in full for real reductions in reoffending. Our payment structure will ensure that providers have to work with all offenders, including the most prolific and hardest to reach (Lord McNally 2013).

In contrast, initial reactions to the changes made by practitioners and their supporters were passionate rather than reflective. The public response from probation practitioners and NAPO appeared to draw only on the language of managerialism (Phillips 2014b), citing the success of probation in achieving its targets rather than the value of the work of probation and its ability to bring about real change in the lives and behaviour of those with whom probation practitioners work. This was unsurprising as, at the time, practitioners were largely unaware of what the operating models would look like or even for whom they would be working. Thus, the claims and counter claims made in the period following the announcement that most of probation would be privatised appeared to conflate and confuse earlier critique of the impact of managerialism on relationships with offenders. For example, criticism of proposals to move supervision out of probation offices into the community seemed at odds with earlier practitioner and academic claims about the importance of addressing imbalances of power in order to promote relationships based on respect and trust (Phillips 2014c, a).

As more detail of actual operating models emerged, practitioner-researchers were able to reflect on what the changes might mean. McDermott's study (2016) was

based on a mode of work variously described as ‘agile’ or flexible’. This study aimed to penetrate the rhetoric within publicity material issued by some of the new owners of probation; for example, ‘*We work with people to maximise their potential by delivering innovative interventions*’ (Working Links 2017) and ‘*reviving best values of probation services through modern, innovative proven methods of best practice*’ (MTCnovo 2017). Despite these claims, McDermott revealed examples of offenders having to travel greater distances to be seen and then queuing for limited interview space. Further, several of the new ideas depended on new information technology systems which had not been delivered. This brings the discussion to some of the practical implications of TR.

2.7.2(ii) The Practical Implications of TR

The changes brought about by TR were not only ideological; they included major structural and procedural change. Most notable was the division between those services to be delivered by the newly formed private CRCs and those retained within the public sector: reduction in national standards and the introduction of PbR as part of the contracts with new providers. There was no clearly articulated evidence base that made a case for splitting the service; rather, the claims made related to the benefits of competing probation services in the market. The need to split the service derived in part from the legislation used to legitimise the decision to privatise, i.e. the Offender Management Act 2007. Whilst the Act made it possible for the Minister of State for Justice to take control of probation and offer services out for tender, Section 4 precluded specific functions from being delivered outside the public sector.

Section 4 Restriction on certain arrangements under section 3
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| <p>(1) Arrangements under section 3(2) relating to restricted probation provision may only be made with a probation trust or other public body.</p> <p>(2) In this section “restricted probation provision” means probation provision which—</p> <p>(a) is made for a purpose mentioned in section 2(1)(a) or (b); and</p> <p>(b) relates to the giving of assistance to any court in determining the appropriate sentence to pass, or making any other decision, in respect of a person charged with or convicted of an offence.</p> |
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(Ministry of Justice 2007, Section 4).

In addition to keeping precluded services to the courts within the public sector, the management of high-risk offenders was also retained. The Ministry of Justice (MoJ) press release that accompanied the launch of the strategy appears to suggest that only the public sector could safely manage offenders that posed a high risk of harm:

Under plans laid out in the consultation ‘Transforming Rehabilitation’, a new refocused and streamlined public sector service will be tasked with keeping the public safe from the most dangerous and high-risk offenders. Private and voluntary sector organisations will work together on closing the ‘revolving door’ of the criminal justice system by tackling lower risk offenders (Ministry of Justice 2013b).

Thus, unless offender criminogenic needs could be viewed as static, this statement justified critics’ claims that the proposals represented an acceptance that risk to the public would increase as a result of transferring the management of some offenders outside the remit of the public sector. McNeill (2013) challenged claims that offenders could be easily categorised as low, medium or high risk, or that, once categorised, risk would remain static. McNeill took this argument further, suggesting that privatisation, particularly in the context of a PbR reward system, would increase risk by encouraging corporations to prioritise profit over risk.

Previous research suggested that consistency and trust were important aspects of desistance promoting relationships (Rex 1999; Shapland et al. 2012). Further, according to Folkard et al. (1966), changes to the person providing supervision were associated with an increase in the risk of reoffending. Escalation from supervision by CRCs to the NPS is likely to be triggered by changes in offender circumstances, such as a return to drugs or alcohol or loss of accommodation. As offenders are escalated, these two risk factors are likely to coincide; thus, splitting the service based on risk may prove to be criminogenic.

In the period leading up to TR, the Justice Committee published its report entitled 'The Role of the Probation Service' (House of Commons Justice Committee 2011). This report was used by the government to justify some of the claims it made for privatising probation, namely, reduction of bureaucracy and allowing practitioners more time with offenders. The report noted that probation officers were spending up to 75% of their time away from direct contact with offenders. The number of targets and measures included in the national standards were cited as being responsible for excessive time spent away from direct contact with offenders. The government response compared the proportion of contact time for practitioners involved in supervision with those involved in community payback (Ministry of Justice 2011), a service that had recently been partly privatised. Fitzgibbon (2016) cited another example used by the government as an example of reducing bureaucracy in order to 'liberate' practitioners from excessive administration: the pilot project in London to use biometric reporting, which was feared by many at the time to be used to reduce staff numbers rather than to free up time for additional one-to-one contact.

The final aspect of the changes brought about by TR considered here is the introduction of PbR as part of the reward and sanction system aimed at increasing both efficiency and effectiveness. Shortly after the Coalition government took office, the MoJ, in its response to the *Breaking the Cycle* consultation (Ministry of Justice 2010), stated:

We will change our whole approach to the management of offenders and their rehabilitation, so we only pay for what works in delivering reduced levels of crime.

Gains to be realised through the use of PbR included: opening the market to new providers, including small voluntary groups; driving down the cost of probation; increasing innovation; and better understanding of what works to reduce reoffending. PbR was relatively new within criminal justice, and the only empirical evidence came from a small-scale resettlement project for offenders released from HMP Peterborough (Frontier Economics 2009). Although, according to Hedderman (2013), the methodology was weak, the MoJ made large claims (Mair 2013) based on the project that were cited in support of the use of PbR as part of the plans to privatise probation. PbR had been used previously in health and as part of the reforms to the benefit system, but the Audit Commission's UK and international review of evidence of the effectiveness of PbR concluded that there were no rigorous and complete evaluations on which to base recommendations (Audit Commission 2012).

It will be some time before claims about reductions in reoffending can be evaluated. According to Hedderman (2013) there are specific flaws in using PbR within probation. First, the evidence base about how to reduce reoffending was inconclusive and partial, perhaps the most important message being that reducing reoffending was complex and difficult (hardly messages that are likely to attract

new providers). Further, with increased restrictions by the MoJ in access for independent researchers to prisons and probation, as well as cut-backs in funding for research commissioned by the MoJ, it is unlikely that gaps in the knowledge base will be filled. Finally, as probation was sold off to private companies, McNeill (2013) questioned whether they would be willing to spend their own resources on research that, if shared, could improve the results of their competitors.

The discussion so far has assumed that, if we knew how to reduce reoffending, it would be relatively simple to implement the proposals to PbR. This assumes, though, that we are able to measure efforts to reduce reoffending reliably to reflect the efforts providers have made to achieve the required reductions. Existing evidence on reoffending has generally used a binary measure: the proportion of offenders within the relevant cohort that have been *reconvicted* within a set period, either from the date of release from prison or from the start of a community order. Critics of this form of measurement claimed that this was both unfair, in that it did not take into account reductions in either the seriousness of the reoffence, nor the number of reoffences (Hedderman 2009; Clarke 2014), and unreliable, as not all reoffences were detected or prosecuted. Reoffending rates were dependent on police and court resources and efficiency, both of which had been reduced in recent years. Consultation on the original plans to rely completely on a binary measure resulted in the MoJ introducing a second-level measure that took account of the frequency of reoffending. Too much reliance on a binary measure would be likely to result in the ‘creaming’ and ‘parking’ of offenders based on their likelihood of responding to interventions rather than their actual level of need (Hayes 2010; Goodman and Knight 2016). This was reminiscent of the discussion above regarding motivation and rhetoric.

Finally, LeVay (2016), in his analysis of the market for private prisons, suggested that, where there was a market but it resulted in an oligopoly (dominance by a few suppliers), there was a tendency for '*sustained high prices, high margins, limited or no market entry (or exit) and limited innovation*' (p. 92). Some CRCs only attracted two bidders, suggesting that the market in which probation sat approached the definition of an oligopoly. Further, when discussing the risks posed by the nature of wholesale privatisation applied to probation, LeVay questioned the government's ability to deal effectively with failure, either financial failure of individual suppliers, or failure to perform as expected. Unlike prisons, where the public sector retains the major share of the market, and thus would be likely to have the capacity to step in to deliver the failing service, what is left of public-sector probation is unlikely to have this capacity. According to LeVay, the most likely outcome of failure of part of the system would be market consolidation leading to even more domination by bigger providers such as Sodexo and Interserve, making the situation described above more likely if failures occur.

To summarise, arguments in support of the changes anticipated as a result of TR include:

- Widening the market to include the private and voluntary sectors in the delivery of probation will introduce innovation and creativity to reduce reoffending. This will be enhanced by a reduction in bureaucracy. Relaxing national standards and making community sentences less prescriptive will allow new providers to introduce creative new delivery models.
- Adoption of PbR to reward achievement in reducing reoffending targets. This will mean that tax payers' money is used only when reductions in reoffending are achieved.
- Greater efficiencies will free up resources to deliver support to offenders leaving prison after short prison sentences, with no increase in funding (Ministry of Justice 2013d).

Criticisms put forward by those opposed to the changes included:

- The main justification for the need for change was flawed. The case for change was predicated partly on the high reoffending rates of offenders released from short prison sentences. Rather than embarking on wholesale change, probation, as an award-winning service, should have had the opportunity to deliver to this offender population. This could have been tested through the pilots planned by the previous Justice Secretary (Calder and Goodman 2013; Grayling 2013; Burke and Collett 2016; Senior 2016b).
- It is morally wrong to make a profit from offending. Probation work should be driven not by profit, but by the duty to help offenders (Whitehead 2016). Symptoms of decisions made when profit drives practice include:
 - Failure to work with the most difficult cases who are unlikely to desist and thus contribute to the achievement of targets subject to PbR (Marples 2013).
 - As profit is the goal, if increased income through PbR seems unlikely, the alternative is reduction in costs. Staff costs are likely to be targeted, resulting in reductions in staff numbers, training and experience (Calder and Goodman 2013).
- Splitting the service will increase risk to the public as supervision is interrupted when offenders move between different parts of the service. Further, the process of segmenting offenders into high, medium and low-risk categories is deceptive, as offenders' risk is dynamic and always subject to change (McNeill 2013).
- Not enough is known about how to measure reoffending, meaning that reliance on this measure to reward performance is problematic (Hedderman 2009; Hedderman 2013).
- Strong local ties built up by probation over many years will be eroded as areas are merged and power is transferred to large remote corporations (Dominey 2016; Le Vay 2016).
- Competition for running probation attracted few potential suppliers considered capable of delivery. Currently, there are only eight different suppliers. Three of the existing suppliers deliver around 70% of the services contracted out. This could reduce if failures occur (Le Vay 2016).

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the development of probation and links with broader social policy and political ideology to gain insight into the way probation practitioners negotiated changes brought about by TR. It is argued here that, although TR represented a major change to the way probation services were delivered, the

changes that began as early as the 1970s were part of a continuum from a welfare-based service, delivered through individualised social casework, through the delivery of actuarially determined cost-efficient punishment, to a service delivered by private companies seeking profit. It is further argued that lack of sound evidence of what really works to reduce reoffending or of what probation meaningfully contributes to the lives of offenders, their families and the wider community, within this context of constant change, constrained its attempts to mount an effective challenge when changes threatened its core value base. Further, the dissonance between the importance of local roots and partnerships *and* a strong national voice also reduced the ability of probation to defend itself. However, as recent research has shown (Deering 2008; Mawby and Worrall 2013), despite this relentless continuum of change, the traditional values of probation, namely, opposition to custody; opposition to oppression and commitment to justice for offenders; clients' right to confidentiality and openness; valuing clients as unique and self-determined individuals; protecting victims and potential victims of crime; and, perhaps most fundamentally, in the context of this paper, that purposeful professional relationships can facilitate change in clients have remained largely intact (Williams 1995, p. 113-114). Chapter Three picks up this discussion, focusing on probation as a profession and the role of values in establishing and maintaining professions, concluding by drawing together the arguments developed here and in Chapter Three to propose potential futures for probation as a service and as a profession.

Chapter 3: Probation Practice: Values, Professionalism and the Future of the Profession

3.1 Introduction

To understand the role of professional practitioners in probation, we need to understand what probation is supposed to do, i.e. its purpose. Since its inception over a hundred years ago, the declared purpose of probation would appear to have changed from 'saving souls', when police court missionaries worked with juveniles and first-time offenders, to 'treating damaged minds' and 'tackling inequality', providing 'alternatives to custody' and finally 'punishing in the community'. As discussed in Chapter Two, this change was brought about by changes in attitudes to welfare provision generally and services provided to offenders more specifically, as well as fluctuations in the economy and the impact of neoliberalism across the public sector. Changes to the purpose of probation called into question the values that underpinned the service. Whilst this thesis does not set out to determine the values of probation, it does pose a question about whether practitioners maintained their commitment to those values when probation was partly privatised. Thus, this chapter starts out by identifying the traditional values of probation and critically reviews the debate about values that ensued when the Criminal Justice Act 1991 made probation a sentence and probation practitioners were no longer required to train as social workers. To explore whether probation practitioner values did change as a result of these and subsequent changes up to the time when 'Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform' (Ministry of Justice 2013d) was implemented, three empirical studies will be reviewed (Deering 2008; Mawby and Worrall 2013; Robinson et al. 2014). To aid the discussion, a

three-level framework for 'values talk' as described by Lancaster (2008) is introduced. In line with the first level within this framework, namely, the values that underpin practitioner interactions with offenders, the chapter goes on to explore the relationship between values and what practitioners see as good-quality, professional practice. This brings the discussion around to what it means to be a professional, including changes to the ways in which public-sector practitioners and managers were viewed as ideas about public services shifted from welfarism to managerialism and, ultimately, commercialism. Next, the discussion moves on to the way in which practitioners negotiate change. The chapter concludes by exploring practitioner and academic predictions about potential futures for probation as a service and as a profession after the implementation of TR. The propositions derived from these predictions will be critically examined when considering the analysis of the empirical data from this research.

3.2 The 'Probation Values' Debate

Following the perceived failure of rehabilitation based on the social casework model and the increasingly punitive turn in community justice policy described in Chapter Two, probation moved away from social work. Probation as punishment in the community was formalised when probation became a sentence following the Criminal Justice Act (CJA) 1991. The formal break with social work came when Michael Howard announced that it would no longer be necessary for probation officers to first qualify as social workers (Raynor and Vanstone 2007). Since its inception, following the Probation of Offenders Act 1907, the values of probation had reflected its link with social work, which was embodied in the statement of its purpose to 'Advise, Assist and Befriend' that appeared in legislation up until the CJA 1991. In the mid-1990s, a serious debate about the values of probation for the

future ensued. As introduced in Chapter Two, the probation values put forward by Williams (1995) for working with prisoners are a useful starting point for this discussion. Williams suggested that, opposition to custody; opposition to oppression and commitment to justice for offenders; clients' right to confidentiality and openness; valuing clients as unique and self-determined individuals; protecting victims and potential victims of crime; and, perhaps most fundamentally in the context of this thesis, the belief in purposeful relationships, were values likely to be associated with successful outcomes for probation clients (p. 113-114).

Nellis (1995b) took a lead role in the debate on values. He put forward the idea that, to resist deconstruction, probation needed to make some changes to the way it articulated its values. Nellis suggested that social work generic values were no longer sufficient to protect the identity of probation within an increasingly corporate CJS. This suggestion was based on the argument that social work generic values focused only on individuals, which resulted in a failure to address the structural factors that caused many of the problems faced by social work clients. Nellis proposed that anti-custodialism, restorative justice and community safety as values would clarify the role of probation within the CJS and provide it with a foundation for discussion with other parts of that system. Nellis's ideas met with criticism. Spencer (1995) suggested that Nellis's proposed values represented a 'paradigmatic shift' (p. 345) in the way individual offenders would be viewed, suggesting that Nellis's values were aims rather than values. This, he suggested, meant that individual offenders became the *means* to achieve the aims of probation and that the focus of probation would move from being an agent of individual change to becoming an agent for *social* change. Nellis (1995c) countered this critique by drawing attention to the potential for community safety to reflect the need to address the structural issues faced by offenders in the community,

something overlooked, not just by focusing on the individual, as noted above, but also when adopting a classical 'just deserts' approach to offending. Furthermore, a focus on restorative justice reflected the priority practitioners attached to relationship building with offenders *and* victims. James's critique (1995), on the other hand, focused on Nellis's suggestion that, to survive within an increasingly corporate CJS, its values needed to be capable of engaging other parts of the service in dialogue about the role of probation within the CJS. James appears to have felt that, if probation opened its values to this kind of dialogue, it could jeopardise its ability to protect traditional humanistic practices behind a veil of rhetoric that instrumentally appeared to comply with government attempts at centralised control whilst continuing to normatively comply with its traditional values in face-to-face work with offenders. On reflection, these arguments and counter-arguments do not seem to differ fundamentally regarding the contribution that each of Nellis's values could make to the lives of victims and offenders. Rather, the level at which these 'values' are situated is where the difference occurs. Both Spencer and James seem to be commenting on values that inform *practice*, whilst Nellis is speaking of values for the service overall.

In a later article, Nellis (2005) introduced the impact of three competing discourses that '*pervade Western European penalty*' (p44). Nellis describes these as, 'punitive-repressive', 'surveillant-managerial' and 'humanistic-rehabilitative'. Punitive-repressive approaches aim to maximise pain to deter future offending. Custody is prioritised either as a short-term lesson or long-term incarceration. Surveillant-managerial systems make use of technology to categorise and manage risk and standardise practice, whilst the humanistic-rehabilitative approach suggests that offending can be addressed through education or treatment. Nellis suggested that restorative justice, citizenship and human rights embody these principles without

the coercion often associated with earlier attempts at rehabilitation (American Friends Service Committee 1971). Building on the notion of multi-level values introduced above, these three discourses reflect a third level at which values operate. Further, by linking restorative justice to the principles of humanistic, rehabilitative values, Nellis (1995) continued to argue that his proposed values do not reject the traditional values of probation.

Lancaster (2008) built on the notion of multi-level values systems. Lancaster drew on Shardlow's (2002) framework for discussing values in a social work setting. Shardlow described three levels: a narrow interpretation of values concerned mainly with the worker–client relationship; mid-range values that included the characteristics of organisations, and a broad definition of values that looked at criminal justice as a social activity. Lancaster suggested that Nellis's three competing discourses, i.e. 'punitive-repressive', 'surveillant-managerial' and 'humanistic-rehabilitative' (2005), provided a useful framework for values at this third level.

The importance of a multi-level values system to this thesis lies in its contribution to understanding the way practitioners negotiate change. Key to this understanding is a recognition of the impact of dissonance between the values at different levels. When the purpose of probation, defined as to 'Advise, Assist and Befriend', was supported by a broader penal–welfare discourse, values across all three levels were broadly congruent. As the wider discourse became more punitive and its aims more concerned with managing risk than with individual offender journeys (Vanstone 2004; Whitehead and Statham 2006; Gregory 2016), value dissonance emerged. To consider the impact this dissonance had on practitioner level values, the section

below reviews empirical research that investigated practitioner values in the period just prior to TR.

3.2.1 Values and Quality in Probation Practice Prior to Transforming Rehabilitation

NOMS commissioned research in 2010 to explore probation staff's views about what constituted 'quality' in offender supervision (Robinson et al. 2014). Whilst this research was not specifically asking about values, the findings cast light on the first of the three levels of values described above, namely, those that underpin relationships between practitioners and offenders. This study involved 116 participants employed across three probation trusts. Volunteers to take part in the study were recruited with the aim of seeking the views of a range of staff from different teams who had different lengths of probation experience. The study also aimed to be broadly representative of the demographic characteristics of the staff group. Data collection included 47 in-depth practitioner interviews (probation officers (POs), probation service officers (PSOs) and senior probation officers (SPOs)) and nine focus groups (three in each trust). The focus groups included case administrators and reception staff as well as practitioners. The findings demonstrated a high level of consensus about what constitutes quality in supervision across the whole sample. The findings of this study revealed that, 20 years after probation became a punishment in its own right, practitioners still valued good-quality relationships that were built on respect for the offender and an open and honest approach. Participants saw professional discretion as important for tailoring support to individual needs. The constraints imposed on discretion due to the requirement to comply with national standards was not associated with quality. However, participants did see the importance of having

goals and outcomes linked to reducing the risk of harm and reoffending. However, this aspect of quality was qualified by statements that suggested that the foregoing characteristics of quality supervision needed to be prioritised first and, further, that offenders should be involved in the goal-setting process and goals should be tailored to individuals. Participants felt that the values, skills and attitudes that staff brought into the service were at least as important as technical skills. Characteristics that were valued included: belief that people could change and treating individuals as whole people rather than just focusing on their offending. A range of resources were identified as supporting quality supervision. Time was mentioned most frequently. Also seen as important were: the environment in which supervision took place, the availability of training and access to specialist knowledge. Finally, support from colleagues, who provided advice and knowledge as well as friendship and camaraderie, good line-managers who did not focus only on what went wrong, and outside agencies were also seen as important contributors to good-quality supervision.

While there was consensus among staff about what supported quality supervision, participants did not perceive that senior managers and NOMS shared their values and beliefs about quality. Indeed, many felt that quality in the sense described here was 'hidden', and what counted for the organisation was related to written work and process targets. For example, the timeliness rather than the quality of OASys⁶ assessments and reviews and pre-sentence reports was valued by management. This suggests that, prior to TR, there was dissonance between the values of the frontline staff and the intermediate-level values of the organisation.

⁶ OASys=Offender Assessment System

The resilience of the values of probation at the practitioner level was also shown by Deering's (2008) research study, 'The Attitudes, Values and Beliefs of Practitioners, Managers and Trainees in Probation'. Deering interviewed 43 practitioners, five middle and three senior managers across three probation offices. The practitioners were a mix of POs and PSOs. Additionally, trainee probation officers (TPOs) completed a questionnaire and two focus groups, comprising a sample of those involved in the interviews, were held to discuss emerging findings. The data collection period straddled an earlier major change to probation as the Offender Management Act 2007 was put into practice with the renaming of probation officers as offender managers and the creation of probation trusts. Deering found that some of the managerial language and practice, such as risk management and public protection, had entered the discourse of probation. However, operationalisation of the government agenda for punishment in the community had been interpreted and crafted through a value system that still embodied its founding principles of 'Advise, Assist and Befriend'.

Finally, a study by Mawby and Worrall (2013) sought to understand the way probation officers and their managers constructed their occupational identities, values and cultures. Their research adopted a reflective style by engaging in hour-long interviews that took the form of a conversation based on a pre-seen schedule of themes. The sample included 52 current and eight former probation officers. The grades of the staff interviewed ranged from PSOs to chief executive officers, with lengths of experience from newly recruited trainees to over 30 years. The themes they were asked to talk about included: 'What motivated you to become a PO/PSO?'; 'How did training change you?'; 'How has the work of POs/PSOs changed?'; and 'What rewards you now and keeps you motivated?'.

Just as in the two studies described above, this study also found that, despite the many changes to the role and working environments in which probation staff operated, probation workers seemed to retain a strong sense of their roots, tradition, cultures and professionalism. Further, the values noted above, particularly the importance of good-quality relationships with offenders, appeared to be resilient to change, although there was a difference in the confidence in the skills of relationship building between those trained many years ago and those trained more recently. While those trained earlier described being '*inculcated*' with these skills, those still in training and those recently trained felt the training they received had not prepared them for this aspect of their role.

Where this study differed from the two mentioned above is that, even though there still seemed to be a consensus about the values that underpinned practice, differences did emerge about how probation staff described their experience of probation work. Analysis of the background characteristics of participants in the research resulted in the proposal for a typology of practitioners, with three different 'types' emerging. Mawby and Worrall (2013) described these as: Lifers, Second Careerists and Offender Managers. 'Lifers' had come into the profession straight from full-time education and saw it as a lifetime vocation. This group of practitioners had experienced many changes during their careers, but they remained loyal and optimistic about the future of their profession. The 'Second Careerists' had spent several years in a former career, or careers, before joining probation. Several of those that formed part of this group had come from previous careers in health and social work, although some had worked in craft industries such as building and plumbing. Their decision to change role was driven by a desire to make a difference. While some of this group remained optimistic about the future, many were worried about it and did not feel in control. This meant that

some had considered leaving or became absent because of stress-related illness. The final type, the 'Offender Managers', tended to be more recent recruits who had joined since the split with social work training. For some in this group, the choice of career had been pragmatic, based on status, job security and promotion (Mawby and Worrall 2013, p. 34), although they still held a principled approach to the value of rehabilitation. Many remained optimistic about the future and the possibilities of promotion. This combination of principles and pragmatism meant that, for those who became disillusioned with the role if it did not live up to their expectations, they were prepared to move on to a different career; this was not a vocation.

For all three types, a key motivator for probation workers to stay in their role was the sense of satisfaction they derived from their work. This was despite the argument put forward by Mawby and Worrall (2013), that probation workers are 'socially tainted' as they worked with people who are seen by society as 'undeserving' and difficult (p. 142). The way that probation workers achieved job satisfaction was to perceive themselves as professionals who could work autonomously. However, since the 1990s, practitioner discretion had been constrained by the organisation they worked for due to the requirement to demonstrate compliance with national standards and process-driven performance indicators. This is an example of dissonance between individual and organisational beliefs and values. Referring back to the three types noted above suggests that Lifers and Second Careerists were able to reflect back to a time when discretion was encouraged. However, for Offender Managers, for whom discretion had generally been discouraged, this was an aspiration driven by what motivated them to join the service.

Despite the pessimism that seemed implicit in the debate about the values of probation that took place in the 1990s, these studies suggest that, at the level of face-to-face supervision, the traditional values of probation remained intact up to the time it was privatised. The next section looks more closely at the way practitioners coped with dissonance between their own values and those of the organisation for which they worked.

3.2.2 Coping with Value Dissonance

To help explain the resilience of the traditional values of probation and the different ways this was achieved, it is helpful to draw on two further concepts: habitus and compliance. Grant (2016) introduced a potential fourth level at which values operate by drawing on Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*. Grant explained that habitus embodied '*the beliefs, desires, understandings and knowledge that shape how agents think feel and act*' (p. 756), thus linking this concept to the first level of values described above. Grant went on to explain the difference between primary and secondary habitus. Primary habitus relates to dispositions absorbed early in life through family and schooling, while secondary habitus is, according to Wacquant (2014), '*grafted on through specialised pedagogical labour*' (p. 5). This explanation suggested that, while the nature and content of later, more specialised learning may differ, the underlying primary habitus remains. The concept of primary habitus goes some way to explain the findings above, namely, that the underlying values of probation practitioners showed a level of consistency, as people with similar dispositions were attracted to this type of work. On the other hand, secondary habitus helps to explain the differences noted by Mawby and Worrall (2013) between practitioners whose professional training and formal experience differed.

It was noted above that part of the reason for dissonance between organisational values and individual practitioner values derived from the managerial-driven requirement for public servants (including probation practitioners) to demonstrate compliance with national standards and performance indicators, even though these were not seen as contributing to 'quality' supervision (see Robinson et al. 2014 above). Much of the literature relating to compliance describes offender compliance with CJS expectations. Key to discussions of offender compliance is the involuntary nature of their relationship with the CJS. However, just as Trotter (1999) argued that, since the Crime (Sentences) Act 1997, offenders had become involuntary clients, probation practitioners generally did not choose to move out of the public sector. Thus, it is argued here that the principles of compliance previously applied to offenders are relevant when exploring practitioner responses to their move out of the public sector. Drawing on Bottoms' (2001) theory of compliance, Robinson and McNeill (2010) introduced two main types of compliance. Formal compliance was described as 'purely following orders', distinguishing it from 'substantive compliance', which involved active engagement and resulted in longer-term adoption of the required behaviour. Formal compliance could be described as performing or 'game-playing' to satisfy those seeking to achieve compliant behaviour (Braithwaite 2003) in order to avoid potential sanctions.

In the study by Deering (2008), discussed above, probation practitioners adopted the skills of performativity or game-playing (Gond et al. 2016), engaging in formal compliance with requirements brought about by managerialism, appearing to conform while subtly engaging in behaviour that resisted changes that threatened their underlying values such as the belief that offenders were capable of change and in need of practical support rather than punishment. In a similar way, Mawby

and Worrall (2013) used the term 'edgework' to describe probation practitioners exerting their autonomy in creative ways while '*controlling the boundary between safe and risky behaviour*' (p. 117) where 'risky' was, at least in part, acting in subversive ways that conflicted with the prevailing punitively compliant culture. As noted above, in his response to Nellis's (1995b) 'Probation values for the 1990s', James (1995) suggested that the ability for probation practitioners to engage in this type of compliance was important if traditional probation values were to survive. Linked to these discussions about values and compliance are debates about the impact of the erosion of welfarism on the status of probation practitioners as experts. With the demise of, first, the treatment model, then the split with social work and the replacement of discretion with national standards, questions have been raised about the status of probation as a profession (Whitehead 2015). The next part of this chapter explores what it means to be professional and how this changed in the period prior to TR.

3.3 Being Professional

The definition of 'professionalism' and what it means to 'be professional' requires careful consideration. The term is socially constructed, and it has changed over time. The term and to whom it was applied was reworked and redefined when neoliberal ideas began to impact on public service in the 1970s. Friedson (2001) suggested that professionalism was 'The Third Logic' or ideal type for the organisation of work. It was an alternative to Adam Smith's 'free market' ideology (1963) and Weber's 'bureaucracy' (1947). Organisations based on the professionalism ideology are recognised in the assertion by staff that greater commitment is made to doing good work than to economic gain and that quality is favoured over efficiency. Thus, there is a link between professionalism and values.

Further, in their study of probation workers in the Netherlands, Butter and Hermanns (2011) hypothesised that there was a relationship between experienced professionalism and work engagement. According to Bakker (2009) and Schaufeli and Salanova (2011), work-engaged employees are highly motivated and energetic and are prepared to take control of their own circumstances through crafting their work and exercising professional discretion. In view of Rex's (1999) research that explored the characteristics of desistance promoting relationships with offenders, it would appear that a work-engaged staff team is desirable if the aim of probation is to secure normative compliance (Bottoms, 2001) and, through that, desistance from offending.

3.3.1 Traditional Professionalism

According to Noordegraaf (2007), traditional notions of 'the professional', were applied to a narrow group, mainly doctors and lawyers. Positivist approaches to welfare provision resulted in practitioners becoming 'experts' and increasingly labelled as 'professionals'. There are difficulties when attempting to apply traditional definitions of what Noordegraaf called pure professionals to professional practitioners working within the public sector. Real or pure professions sought to achieve two types of control (and thus compliance with their values and practices): control over their knowledge base and how the service they deliver is constituted and codified (Freidson 2001); and control over who gets to enter 'the profession', resulting in occupational closure and resistance to outside interference. Quality, standards and mistakes were self-regulated through professional associations whose membership was restricted to those who had the required qualifications and from which those who did not comply with expected behaviour were removed (Abbott 1988). According to Noordegraaf (2007),

professionals had control within their own jurisdiction. Traditional or status professions came under increased scrutiny as access to knowledge within the general public increased and 'new' professionals emerged within public-sector welfare services such as social work and nursing.

3.3.2 'New' Professionals

These new 'professionals' shifted the definition of what it meant to be a professional. These groups did not have the same professional or occupational control referred to above; they were employed within an organisation that had its own priorities and objectives. Noordegraaf (2007) referred to these as 'situated' professionals. Terms such as semi-, quasi-, or proto-professional were sometimes applied in an attempt to distance them from traditional or 'pure' professional groups (Exworthy and Halford 1999). Snizek's (1972) revision of Hall's Professionalism Scale captured the key tenets of this version of what it meant to be professional in social work and probation, before the major impact of the neoliberal ideas associated with Thatcher's Conservative government or the managerialism of New Labour under Blair. Snizek's revised scale had five dimensions: use of a professional organisation as a major referent; belief in public service; belief in autonomy; belief in self-regulation; and a sense of calling to the field. Being professional would appear, therefore, to be linked to values and compliance. The section below explores how the tension between compliance with professional values and compliance with organisational expectations is negotiated by probation practitioners when the context and ideology underpinning the environment in which they work changes.

3.4 Professionals, Practitioners and Managers

Butter and Hermanns (2011) surveyed 178 probation officers from three probation organisations as they attended a university conference; 128 (76%) completed the survey. Utilising Freidson's notion of professionalism as an ideal typical organisation form, Butter and Hermanns constructed three dimensions of professionalism: professional ethos (for probation, signified by its traditional values); professional facilitation (the degree of embeddedness within the organisation); and professional challenge (signified by the degree of complexity of the job). The results showed that, of these, professional ethos was the most important predictor of work engagement, with professional facilitation also proving significant. Within the study, professional challenge had a low bearing on the results, which was explained as a consequence of the design of the data collection tool. Professional challenge was deemed fundamental to practice and, as such, there was little variation to be accounted for and a more nuanced set of indicators was needed.

As shown in Chapter Two, while the welfare state was supported by left- and right-wing politicians, successive governments were also able to provide full employment. Investment in professionally qualified public-sector practitioners meant that demand outstripped supply. In probation, this was evidenced by the need to recruit unqualified staff to support qualified practitioners. This context allowed probation as an occupational profession to flourish. One key aspect of professional status that was assumed rather than empirically tested was the overall 'product' that was probation. However, the knowledge base of probation, a key and protected feature of a traditional profession, was underdeveloped (Grunhut 1952; Radzinowicz 1958). In the 1970s, when neoliberal ideas spread across from the US

and when the economy was plunged into recession by the oil crisis, the cost of 'welfare' generally was questioned. Following Martinson's 'Nothing Works' article (1974), the whole idea of rehabilitation in the community and its association with a fundamental probation value, namely, that offender behaviour can be changed, was also questioned. A key feature of the professionalism of probation is the values that underpin practice (Faulkner 2008; Gregory 2008; Clarke 2013). Butter and Hermann's (2011) study revealed that the professional ethos of probation, strongly linked to its values, was key in achieving staff engagement. Neoliberalism was associated with measurable performance targets, functional goals and efficiency were valued over satisfaction of need. Noordegraaf (2007) argued that this signalled another change in the nature of professionals within public service and a further broadening of the occupations that were drawn into the category of professionals, the most notable of which was professional managers.

3.4.1 Management, Values and the 'New Professionals'

This era of new professionalism saw organisational or situational professionalism (Brint 1994, 2006; Noordegraaf 2007) seeking to replace occupational professionalism. Professional practitioners such as probation practitioners, previously viewed as experts, began to be viewed as inefficient and costly as support for welfarism waned during the recession of the 1970s. As argued in Chapter Two, without a sound evidence base, these challenges to professional practitioners were difficult to refute. Mawby and Worrall (2013) described the type of work done by probation as 'dirty work', work viewed by society as a 'necessary evil'. Managers were variously professionals who became managers of professionals or those recruited directly into management. Writing 40 years ago and around the time when management techniques from the private sector were

beginning to be applied to the public sector, Mintzberg (1975) suggested that management was complex, more an art than a science. Mintzberg's research with private companies painted a very different picture to the rational, reflective, theory-driven efficiency machine sometimes painted by those attempting to reform the public sector. In his summary of real-world research into what managers did, he painted a picture that many practitioners might recognise: working at an unrelenting pace, jumping from one activity (or crisis) to another; performing routine activities; linking the organisation to its environment; favouring verbal media for communication, while carrying much of what they knew inside their heads and relying on judgement and intuition. He concluded that, while some may have claimed that management was a profession, it was anything but. It seems, therefore, that, despite the perception that managers in the private sector were somehow fundamentally different types of people to those working in the public sector, this perception was, to an extent, false. The neoliberal ideology painted a powerful picture of the public sector as costly and inefficient while the private sector was focused and efficient. Just a few years later, Peters and Waterman (1982) suggested that values were key to business success. While Peters and Waterman were commenting on private-sector success, it could be argued that their findings resonate with the empirical research into what probation staff valued as the characteristics of good-quality supervision, as discussed above (Deering 2010; Mawby and Worrall 2013; Robinson et al. 2014):

1. A belief in being the 'best'.
2. A belief in the importance of the details of execution, the nuts and bolts of doing the job well.
3. A belief in the importance of people as individuals.
4. A belief in superior quality and service.
5. A belief that most members of the organisation should be innovators, and its corollary, the willingness to support failure.
6. A belief in the importance of informality to enhance communication.

7. Explicit belief in and recognition of the importance of economic growth and profits.

(Peters and Waterman 1982, p. 271)

Probation practitioners might prefer to 'adopt best practice' rather than be the 'best' (Clarke 2013; McNeill 2013), and prefer to see values that reflect their belief in the ability of service users to change rather than chasing profits and economic growth. However, belief in quality and the importance of people as individuals are core practitioner values in probation. 'Cultural conditioning' (Hofstede 1980) of public-sector workers may make it difficult to accept values related to profit; although, it could be argued that this is a recognition of the need to 'work efficiently and increase capacity', values that most public-sector workers have already embraced. Statement number five has real resonance with current proposals for CRCs to innovate.

3.4.2 Probation Practitioners as Managers

Progressively, management discourse influenced the profession of probation, senior practitioners became removed from direct contact with offenders and main grade officers began to manage the increasing number of less-qualified probation service officers. A notable event on this continuum was the replacement of the term 'probation officers' with the term 'offender managers', following the creation of NOMS in 2004. Noordegraaf (2007) described this new organisationally based professional, with its broader base of occupations and skills, as 'hybrid' professionals. Hybrid professionals were described by Noordegraaf as having come almost full circle, drawing on the mechanisms used by traditional professionals to establish new 'professions' in the modern world where managerial control had become professionalised. The technical basis of public management was formalised through training programmes, books, conferences, journals and research.

Occupational professionals who became managers were taught how to speak, act and behave like managers. Perhaps this was part of what Hofstede (1980) described as 'Cultural Conditioning' (p. 475) for working in the quasi-commercial environment that had emerged in public-sector services. An alternative explanation may come from Hodgson (2005), who claimed that this process is part of being able to put on a professional performance, which has resonance with Robinson and McNeill's (2010) formal compliance or Goffman-style performativity (Gond et al. 2016), as discussed above. It is argued here that this may cast light on the way probation practitioners, despite appearing to embrace some of the changes brought about by neoliberalism and managerialism, have continued to practice in ways that are based on their traditional values (Annison et al. 2008; Deering 2008; Mawby and Worrall 2013; Robinson et al. 2014). This brings the discussion back to the context in which professional values are maintained.

So far, this chapter has presented a range of theoretical and empirical evidence. These were based on what had gone before. However, probation is exploring new territory, where it is no longer the application of market values to a public-sector organisation; now, much of probation is 'in the market', owned and managed by private companies, all but one of which is profit seeking. It is early days in the implementation of the new ways of working. Thus, partly because of this and also because of the difficulties of conducting research within the newly fragmented privatised probation service (Raynor 2014), what is presented below is, at least in part, speculative.

3.5 Professionalism, Values and Identity as Probation is Privatised

After the coalition government came to power in 2010, public-sector practitioners were once again at risk of being de-professionalised. Teachers and social workers,

along with probation practitioners, saw their professions eroded as unqualified staff were brought in to carry out work previously done by professionals. It should not be assumed that change is always negative. An empirical study carried out in the Netherlands, comparing experiences of professional teachers in schools that were under private and public sector control (Honingh and Hooge 2009), offered insight into both benefits and concerns for professional practitioners operating within a private company. In private schools, it was more likely than in public-sector schools that the most senior manager was not a trained teacher. Some professional teachers said they would prefer to be managed by someone who had experience of classroom teaching, but others claimed that teachers as managers were not always as effective as professional managers. In private schools, teachers were more likely to be left alone to work in the classroom in the way that their professional training suggested was good practice, and they spent significantly less time doing paperwork and general administrative work. This suggests that probation practitioners could do well within privately run CRCs as they would be deemed the 'experts' in offender management. It should also be noted that in Honingh and Hooge's study (2009) it was the replacement of the management of teachers and the ownership of the schools that changed; those teaching children were still professionally qualified as teachers. It remains to be seen how many professionally qualified probation officers will survive the first few years of CRC operation. Also, on a further cautionary note, within the private schools included in the study, one of the effects of teachers being left alone to teach was that they were not generally involved in strategic decision making within the schools and, as such, did not have opportunity to influence future development. This raises the question of whether professional practice values are really at risk from privatisation.

3.5.1 Market Values and Quality of Service

It is easy to assume that market values and public-sector values represent a dichotomy rather than a nexus of values. Deering et al. (2014) carried out a small-scale research project in 2012–13, at the time when the proposals for privatisation were being developed; they finalised their work shortly after the announcement in May 2013 that privatisation would go ahead (Ministry of Justice 2013d). The aim of the research was to explore perceptions of the private sector from the perspective of six ex-probation managers who had chosen to move from the public to the private sector. The results need to be considered within the context that the interviewees had all chosen to move, were all employed as managers (with five having previous management experience within public-sector probation) and were self-selecting. Thus, Deering et al. (2014) suggest caution in relating their findings to the current context within probation, although they do explain that the six interviewees had had a wide range in length of experience working within the public and private sectors. The interviews sought to explore: reasons for leaving the public sector; joining the private sector; differences between public- and private-sector views about the ideal form of offender management; and, finally, what the ex-probation managers thought about the government's plans for probation. The interviews deliberately avoided using words that might bias the findings such as 'bias', 'legitimacy', 'flexibility' etc. The findings are interesting, reflecting Peters and Waterman's (1982) study, which revealed that private-sector managers value similar aspects of their work to those that might be expected when speaking with their public-sector counterparts. For example, quality of provision was valued within the private sector as it was seen as essential for securing future work and profit. This motivation could be seen to be reflected within senior managers in the public sector, whose pay depended on performance against key performance

indicators. Robinson and Ugwudike (2012) suggested that senior managers adopted a form of 'creative compliance' when reporting their performance against enforcement targets, with some areas manipulating performance data to give the impression of compliance, while maintaining traditional practice behind the scenes. If 'traditional' market practice is profit seeking, could the same type of compliance compromise quality, with private-sector managers appearing to value quality, while maintaining their focus on profit?

When commenting on their reasons for joining the public sector, the interviewees in Deering et al.'s (2014) study did not suggest that legitimacy to deliver punishment was dependent on being part of the 'state'. The main reasons given were working with people in trouble and helping people to change. Job security was also seen as important by one respondent. Reasons for leaving were remarkably consistent with messages within the proposals for privatisation: increasing bureaucracy, lack of flexibility and the freedom to innovate, and the perception that public-sector probation had gone 'stale' (p. 239). For one respondent who had recently moved across to the private sector, comments were made about the impact of policies driven towards 'punishment in the community' and the introduction of national standards and performance management, impacting on the 'ethos' of probation. Probation officers were 'managing sentences' and 'managing risk' rather than 'caring' for offenders. There were also comments from those who had moved some time ago, about resistance within the public sector to address bad practice. Others commented that, recently, this had begun to change, going on to attribute this to a merging of practice between the public and the private sectors, with one respondent even saying that values were similar.

Although persuasive reasons were given for making the transition, two respondents mentioned either the need to justify their move or that they were made to feel their decision was 'morally dubious'. While moral issues about profit making were acknowledged, these appear to have been outweighed by the benefits of increased flexibility and innovation available within the private sector. On first reading, these findings suggest that 'private is best'. Deering et al. (2014) note that responses were relatively consistent, despite differences in the time spent in each sector and the level of seniority reached prior to transfer. However, these managers chose to move out of the public sector and they did concede that their private-sector experience was as managers only; thus, their views do not represent a view from the frontline of service delivery. There appears to be greater devolution of responsibility and accountability within the private sector as management hierarchies tended to be flatter. One further issue to consider is the specific roles carried out by the private sector at the time of this research. Current private-sector roles appear to be specific and task focused (gaolers, managing electronic monitoring etc.). The complex practice of face-to-face supervision of offenders had yet to be transferred to the private sector. Also, at the time of Deering et al.'s (2014) research, there were few practitioners working within the private sector who had transferred from the public sector. Indeed, public-sector practitioners tended to be viewed unfavourably, with one manager reporting a discussion with private-sector colleagues in which they suggested that the private sector could deliver local authority social services with half the current number of staff, but only if they were able to get rid of established public-sector practitioners and employ people with a different approach (Deering et al. 2014). There were clear indications that quality within the private sector was motivated, in part, to sustain profitability and hence job security. Experienced, qualified probation practitioners are reflective

practitioners. Will reflection fit with this need to comply with profit seeking, with quality as a mechanism rather than an outcome? What happens when a choice has to be made between profit and quality?

3.5.2 Probation Culture and Identity as Privatisation Approaches

Robinson (2013) used her own experience of delivering training programmes for probation workers alongside empirical findings from Mawby and Worrall's (2013) research to explore and explain probation culture and identities. Robinson started by summarising two broad predictions for the future of probation. Mair and Burke (2012) and Whitehead (2010) predicted a gloomy future for the profession. They suggested that the future of probation had already been sealed following changes brought about by New Labour and managerialism. On the other hand, different scholars have suggested that probation is used to change, that its culture and value base are strong, and thus practitioners may be able to take their value base and culture with them into the new organisations that will deliver community justice going forward (McNeill and Weaver 2010; Canton 2013; McNeill 2013). Robinson (2013), like Mawby and Worrall (2013), saw practitioners in the post-social-work era as less vocational, although still committed to bringing about offender behaviour changes in the pursuit of desistance. The approach of these more recently qualified practitioners was more dependent on technical and bureaucratic systems, within what Mair and Burke (2013) described as a 'culture of utility'. Robinson (2013) saw contemporary practice as situated within modern offices, behind closed doors, allowing practitioners to maintain outward compliance with managerial expectations but able to conduct one-to-one supervision according to more traditional practice. Again, this reflects the mechanism identified by James (1995) almost 20 years previously, in which practitioners maintained their

traditional values by hiding them from open dialogue with other criminal justice agencies.

Robinson et al.'s (2016) empirical study is part of a growing body of research that aims to explore the impact of the transition of workers from public-sector probation trusts into newly established CRCs. This ethnographic study was carried out in a single CRC, one of 14 whose boundaries had remained consistent across the transition. The data collection period spanned the period between March 2014, a few weeks after staff learnt whether they were to be transferred to the CRC or the NPS, and April 2015, as the new owners were about to embark on their first full year of operation after contracts had been signed in February of the same year. Access was negotiated with the managers of the shadow CRC. The study comprised three phases of data collection. Phase one ran from March to May 2014, and phase two from June to October 2014, covering the period from transfer to shadow CRCs to the announcement of who would be the new employers. The final phase tracked the first few months of operation under the new owners. During the research, a total of 60 management meetings and briefings were attended and around 50 staff of all grades were interviewed or attended focus groups, of which around 20 were interviewed in both phases, providing a longitudinal aspect to the research. The research drew on previous studies, mainly conducted within the NHS, where professional and support staff had been transferred involuntarily from the public to the private sector (Waring and Bishop 2011; Waring 2015), as well as work by Mawby and Worrall (2013), who explored probation practitioner identities through periods of change. Practitioners and managers included in Robinson et al.'s (2016) study demonstrated different reactions to change. The findings were grouped into a number of themes: liminality and insecurity; separation and loss; status anxiety; loyalty and trust; and liberation and innovation.

3.5.2(i) Liminality and Insecurity

The protracted period during which probation practitioners were transferred out of the probation trust, without knowing the identity of their future employers, resulted in a period of liminality, characterised, according to Robinson et al. (2016) as being 'between identities'. This brings in the notion of trust, and, in particular, the trust that derives from clarity of purpose and role. Just as Trotter (1999) argued, that, since the Crime (Sentences) Act 1997, offenders had become involuntary clients, probation practitioners generally did not choose to move out of the public sector. Further, with announcements of potential job losses, failure to adapt and comply with the expectations of new employers could have significant consequences. With a multiplicity of providers, reversal of years of standardisation, changes to the 'architecture' in which supervision and administration tasks were carried out and a reduction in support for practitioner training, it would be remarkable if practitioners had clarity about what was expected of them or trust in what their future held. Dietz and Hartog's (2014, p. 6) review of existing research on the topic of intra-organisational trust suggests that it is a continuum, extending from a position of 'distrust', through a stage of calculation, typified by suspicion, reaching a point at which reference to evidence of prior predictability begins to establish confidence and trust. As relationships develop, if interests (or values) are shown to converge, trust becomes embedded. In a context in which practitioners have been moved involuntarily from the public to the private sector, the structure and organisation in which they are employed and serve offenders become fragmented and the values at the core of the profession of probation challenged by those of the market; trust, as it is manifested in compliance with new ways of working, is likely to be key to understanding practitioner reactions to change and likely futures for the profession.

Not all reactions to the process of change were negative. Within this space between sectors, some practitioners used the process of reflection to envisage new identities, and some were energised by the process, which was helped if they were given opportunities to become more involved in the process of change if allocated a new role to 'try out' during the transition. Other staff, after reflecting on what the changes meant, came to the decision to leave the service. For many of the staff involved in this study, the separation between NPS and the CRC did not involve moves to a new physical space. However, there was a powerful sense of a psychological separation: from previous colleagues, from their identity as public-sector workers and from the identity of their previous organisation, as many workers had been employed by them for many years. Many longer-in-service practitioners and managers felt they had been 'coerced' out of their public-sector roles; as one probation officer said in the interview, *'cast out from a formerly happy relationship in an unwanted divorce'* (p. 7). These findings suggest that the changes brought about by TR had resulted in a reversal of Mawby and Worrall's (2013) finding that experienced practitioners (lifers) were more likely to have confidence in the future of probation.

3.5.2(ii) Status Anxiety

Status anxiety was described by Robinson et al. (2016) as concern that losing the word 'probation' from the title of the organisation they worked for would make probation practitioners 'socially invisible', and that the term CRC lacked meaning and may result in them being rejected by partners important to their work with offenders such as police, prisons and the courts. Further, the NPS would be viewed as the 'elite' part of the service, with examples given of CRC staff already being excluded from multi-agency meetings. Some staff reacted by refusing to adopt their new identities, still referring to themselves as being 'from probation', continuing to

use the old probation logo rather than the new company insignia. Those most likely to exhibit status anxiety were qualified probation officers, whether qualified recently or with several years' experience. Status anxiety was linked to concerns over future job security as practitioners were unable to see how their qualifications would be utilised within the new CRCs.

3.5.2(iii) Loyalty and Trust

Just as Mawby and Worrall (2013) found in their research, Robinson et al. (2016) also recognised trust (or the lack of trust) as a powerful influence on the way staff negotiated change. Indeed, an appeal to loyalty or compliance with 'probation values' was used by the managers in this CRC to establish collective commitment or 'confluence' to build the legitimacy of the new organisation in order to encourage new attachments and loyalties. Within the phase two interviews, 'loyalty' was explored. Responses suggested that staff were loyal to 'colleagues, offenders and the profession', but, at the time of the interviews, they appeared detached from the organisation for which they worked. Loyalty, here, appears to resonate with normative compliance to those with whom we have developed a relationship, as described by Bottoms (2001), while exhibiting instrumental compliance with organisational expectations and values. Staff also expressed a level of distrust for their senior managers, suggesting that they felt that the managers had not fought hard enough to reject the proposals within TR; rather, the managers were trying to demonstrate their ability to effect change, with several staff feeling as though they were not involved in any of the decision making. Before moving on to the final theme of this study, namely, 'liberation and innovation', the theme of trust as it is linked to values is explored further.

These findings are in line with a growing body of evidence that suggests that organisations in which trust of and between staff and managers is associated with better performance and reduced staff turnover (CIPD 2012). Bruhn (2001) characterised trusting organisations as those that are respectful towards people; adherent to specific values; led by people who value and trust others; encourage participation and risk-taking to improve; are consistent and open and can tolerate periods of change; and generate, pride, loyalty and trust in staff. Whereas low-trust organisations exhibit a tendency not to listen to staff (Pate et al. 2007).

In a context in which practitioners have been moved involuntarily from the public to the private sector and in which the structures in which they work have become fragmented and the values at the core of the profession of probation challenged, an understanding of trust is likely to be important for understanding practitioner reactions to change and likely futures for the profession. Misztal (1996) suggested that trust as habitus '*is a protective mechanism relying on everyday routines, stable reputations and tacit memories*' (p. 102). The final theme explored by Robinson et al. (2016) reveals a potentially more hopeful aspect of the changes brought about by TR.

3.5.2(iv) Liberation and Innovation

The final theme to emerge was more positive. Some staff, by phase two, were beginning to identify potential benefits of the new proposals: hopes that they would be liberated from desktop computers, old data management systems and national standards. Staff were beginning to use the liminal space to experiment with different ways of working (Beech 2011), such as moving out of offices and seeing offenders within the community. However, different meanings were attached to the changes that were in line with Mawby and Worrall's (2013)

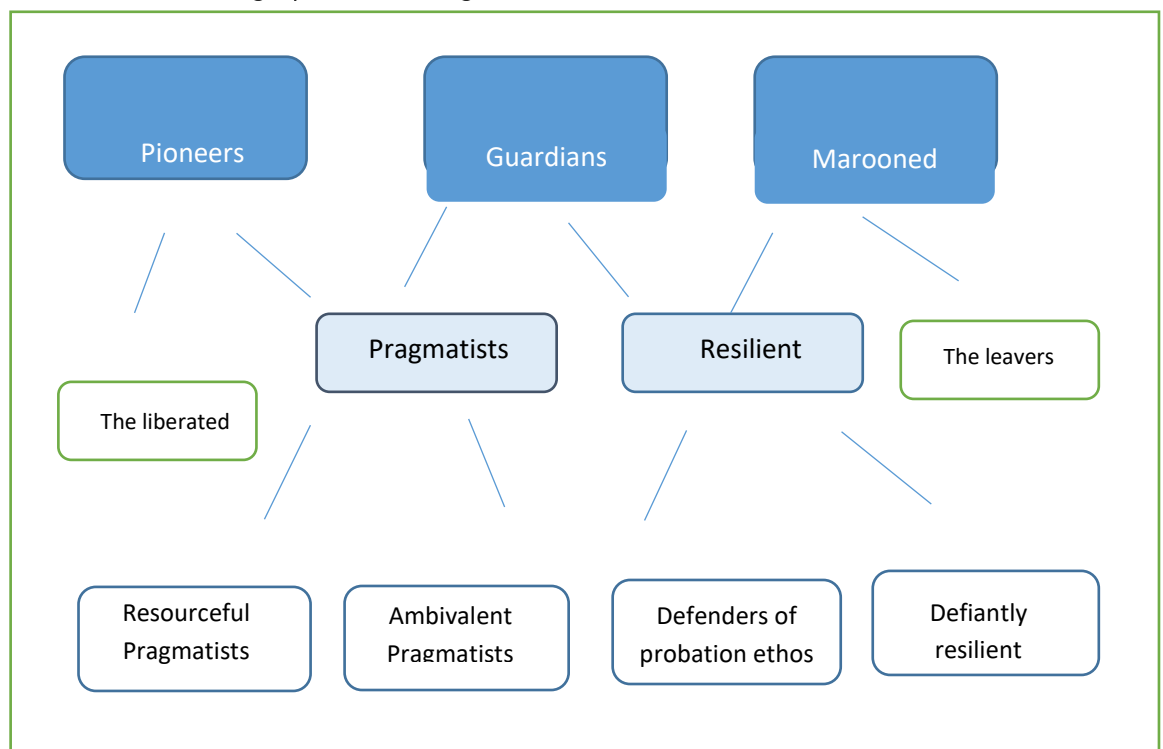
typology of practitioners. These different reactions to change are discussed further in the next section.

3.5.3 Typologies of Change

In a more recent paper based on the same research, Burke *et al.* (2016a) make further links with the work described above that explored the migration of NHS workers to private-sector organisations (Waring and Bishop 2011; Waring 2015). Waring and Bishop described a typology of occupational identity narratives: 'pioneers', 'guardians' and 'the marooned', further recognising that pragmatism and resilience could be underlying these identities. Pioneers viewed the move from the public to the private sector as an opportunity to reinvigorate their practice, feeling a sense of freedom. Guardians were more cautious, keen to protect the traditions of their profession but still able to recognise opportunities within the move. The marooned struggled to adapt, and felt abandoned by their former employer, with the result that they exhibited less agency for new practices, tending to look back nostalgically on what had been lost. Burke *et al.* observed each of these identities within their subjects, some exhibiting multiple identities, mainly depending on whether they were acting as managers or practitioners, when the guardian identity was most apparent, or as individual professionals negotiating change, when the characteristics of pioneers or 'the marooned' were more apparent. Within this study, pioneers were most likely to be senior managers or more recently appointed staff, while longer-serving staff were more likely to adopt guardian or marooned identities. Burke *et al.* developed these three main typologies, seeing variations within each. Figure 3.1 below illustrates these variations, suggesting that there is overlap between them. The study concludes with a mixture of hope and concern for the future. Hopes are based on the

resilience of probation values during previous changes thrust upon the profession, suggesting that practitioners will practice in what Worrall (2015a) has described as a 'civilly courageous' manner as long as the new owners recognise its value. However, Burke *et al.* (2016) raised concerns regarding the potential for the dilution of collective memory as the number of ex-probation staff working within CRCs dwindles and further, the potential for the value placed on 'values' unless they prove commensurate with commercial objectives. This increases the potential for compliance or loyalty to switch from professional to organisational values. Since TR was announced and the proposals confirmed in 2013, academics and practitioners have proposed a variety of predictions for the future of the profession. The next section looks at these predictions in the light of previous research.

Figure 3.1: Pioneers, guardians and the marooned; a typology of practitioners during a period of change



Source: Burke et al. (2016a, p. 7)

3.6 The Future of Probation as a Profession

Deering (2014), writing just after the proposal to privatise probation, suggested that the future of probation was uncertain. At the time of writing, he commented that the development of the Offender Engagement Programme (OEP) represented a move by NOMS that appeared to value the professional relationship between practitioner and offender and brought back, along with some relaxation in national standards, an element of professional discretion and judgement that had been lost in the preceding decade. This he contrasted with proposals to introduce PbR as part of proposals to privatise the service, which Deering predicted would result in private companies wanting to seek certainty and services that could be costed. He also suggested that the relaxation of national standards might itself be designed to make 'probation' a more attractive proposition to private companies, allowing them more flexibility, perhaps even regarding law enforcement (e.g. the requirement to breach) and public protection. He concluded by predicting a fragmented future for probation, which is emphasised in a footnote, written after the publication of 'Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform' (Ministry of Justice 2013d) and the announcement that the OEP would close (National Offender Management Service 2013). Of particular relevance to the discussion here, Clare (2015) offered a prediction of mixed fortunes for the future of the professional practice of probation in CRCs. Clare suggested that CRCs should seize the opportunity of drawing on the wealth of expertise and professionalism of probation professionals allocated to work within them and quoted examples of innovation within CRCs brought about by professionals freed up from some of the restrictions of bureaucracy. Accounting for these innovative actions, Clare also drew on management theory (Argyris 2002) and definitions of professionalism (Schein 1972)

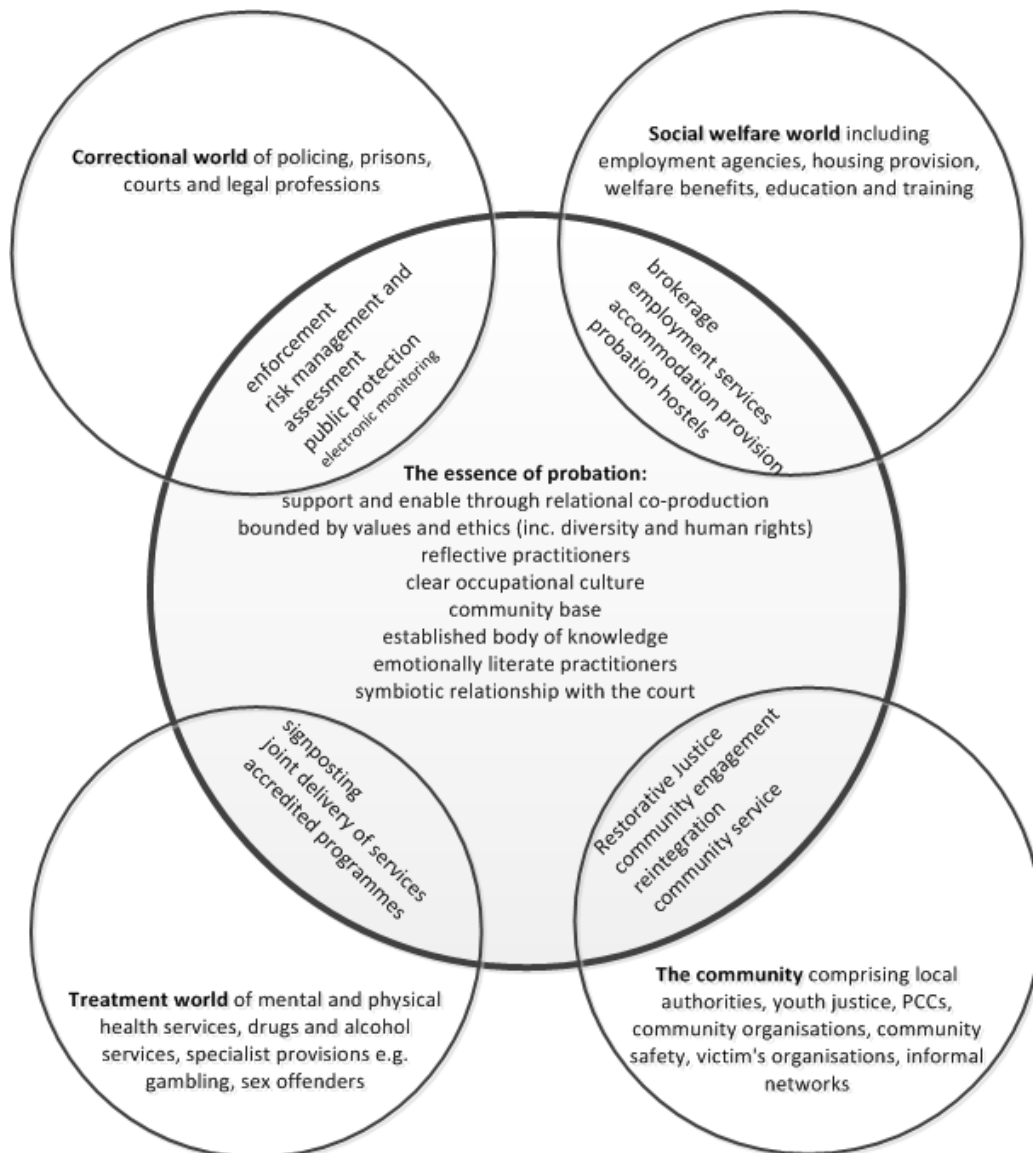
while suggesting that management theory was unable to fully account for professional probation values that drove practitioners to not simply do a good job but also improved the service for which they work. This assertion offered hope for the future, but the experience in private schools discussed above could result in frustration unless probation professionals can help to craft and shape the future direction of the CRCs in which they work. The importance of time and space to reflect should also not be forgotten if practitioners are to maintain their values and develop their practice within new organisational and structural environments (Schon 1983). More recently, and in light of developments since Deering published his prediction for the future, Senior (2016b) reflected back to a review of research conducted by the Ministry of Justice (Ministry of Justice Analytical Services 2013) when preparing proposals for TR. This review suggested that at the heart of the new arrangements there should be: skilled, trained practitioners; well-sequenced, holistic approaches; services and interventions delivered in a joined-up, integrated manner; and, overall, the need for high-quality services. Senior went on to question the extent to which these ideals materialised and were likely to feature in probation in the future. He acknowledged that there were examples of good practice across the country brought about by trained, experienced practitioners. However, he also suggested that probation was under threat. To capture the contemporary situation of probation, a group of academics whose area of expertise was offender supervision and probation as a profession met in the spring of 2016 for a 'conversation' about probation. Following the meeting, a special edition of the *British Journal of Community Justice* was published. The journal captured the results of the meeting, along with other recent articles from those at the forefront of commentary about the impact of TR on probation as a profession. This section

concludes with a summary of their deliberations and their predictions for the future.

3.6.1 Capturing the Essence of Probation, Past and Present

Senior *et al's* (2016) article attempted to capture '*The Essence of Probation*', and proposed that probation operates within a number of distinct 'worlds', including the correctional world, the social welfare world, the treatment world, and the community. The diagram below captured the various roles of probation professionals, along with the 'essence' of probation, namely, those elements and characteristics that collectively distinguished probation relationships with offenders from those formed with a volunteer or lay person.

Figure 3.2: The Essence of Probation



Source: Senior *et al.* (2016, p. 14)

Senior *et al.* (2016) proposed that the first element of the 'essence' of probation, to 'support and enable through relational co-production bounded by values and ethics', reflected the original role of probation, namely to 'Advise, Assist and Befriend' offenders, using contemporary language. Interestingly, though, given the recent moves to privatise probation, there was no reference here to 'the commercial world', while it may be the case that those discussing the essence of

probation felt that there was an inherent incompatibility between the public service values espoused by supporters of traditional forms of probation and those of the market. Deering et al.'s (2014) research with ex-public-sector probation managers working in the private sector suggested there was an overlap. Perhaps, going forward, this should feature in any new 'essence' of probation if it is to relate to the real world as it was at the time of writing in 2016. Senior *et al.* (2016) then used this 'essence' of the profession, alongside their own experience of working within and researching probation past and present, to debate what the future held for probation occupational cultures (Burke et al. 2016b). Change is not new for probation. Previous research, as shown above, has demonstrated that probation values and culture have been remarkably resilient in the face of successive changes to 'official' purpose and structure (Annison et al. 2008; Deering 2008; Shapland et al. 2012; Mawby and Worrall 2013; Robinson 2013). However, the nature, pace and scale of the changes brought about by TR did cause Senior *et al.* (2016) to raise a number of concerns for the future. Given the importance attached to shared values, shared knowledge base and, traditionally, shared training and practice, which collectively could equate to what Butter and Hermanns (2011) described as 'professional ethos', concerns about practitioners being set in opposition through the separation of those allocated to the NPS and those transferred to CRCs, and the competition between CRCs, could detract from the notion that there could be a single 'essence' of probation when it is no longer a single service. If this is the case, it suggests that organisational values now transcend professional values, leaving CRCs vulnerable to erosion of traditional values by those of the market. Butter and Hermanns noted the importance of the degree of embeddedness of professional values within the organisation in which professional probation practitioners worked for them to be fully engaged in their relationships with offenders. According

to Knight et al. (2016), space for reflection and articulation of ideas and concerns appeared to be important components of being able to fully engage in the emotional labour of probation. Could restrictions posed on the right to comment on government policy that come with being a civil servant (NPS) or those brought about by commercial sensitivity lead to less reflection, or less attention to the products of reflection?

3.6.2 Capturing the Essence of Probation, the Future

What might the role of a probation practitioner look like in 2020? The special edition referred to above published two future-gazing propositions. Both pieces were written by practitioners who have subsequently become academics.

3.6.2(i) Proposition One: Fragmentation, Burn-out and De-professionalisation

First, Dominey and Burke (2016) described a day in the life of a CRC practitioner and an NPS practitioner. There were many continuities with current practice, such as long hours and frustration at securing services such as housing or employment. However, there were also new concerns: working in a fragmented service; replacement of relationships based on trust through regular face-to-face work with offenders, with greater reliance on technology and a range of different providers; the threat of job insecurity due to failure to hit reoffending targets and reduce operating costs; and frustration at the lack of career development opportunities. Both CRC and NPS practitioners expressed dissatisfaction with their counterparts and communication between them appeared impersonal and incomplete. Having started this section with Deering's (2016) predictions for the future of probation just as TR was announced, it is fitting to end with his updated thoughts, written three years later. Deering reflected on his earlier work, focusing on the importance of training and recruitment to maintain the value base of the profession, drawing

attention to the different requirements for training within the two arms of the service. While the NPS remains committed to a professionally trained workforce, there is no requirement for CRCs to employ trained probation officers. Building on this, Deering identified a potential threat to probation going forward: the part of the service that is committed to training (NPS) works almost entirely with high-risk offenders, raising the question of whether this might result in future recruitment being directed more towards law enforcement and public protection. Could this, in turn, change the nature of the training and thus the nature of the profession?

3.6.2(ii) Proposition Two: Resilient Values, Determination to Deliver

On the other hand, Clare's (2015) proposition that probation values might transcend marketisation could result in a different future. Deering (2016) also recognised that there may be a future for rehabilitation within the CRCs but expressed concerns that, even though the CRCs might attract empathetic practitioners, their professionalism and skills may not be valued in this context. Deering noted that, to date, the evidence has been largely negative, citing high workloads and stress within the NPS and job cuts and redundancies within the CRCs. He concluded that, while it was difficult to be optimistic given the number of staff leaving the profession, previous research suggested that even TR may not dissuade those who do want to help people to change by working within probation, then and in the future (Mawby and Worrall 2013). Thus, offering hope for probation practitioners to continue to comply with their traditional values rather than the values espoused by their new employers. Dominey and Burke (2016) also refused to give up on their belief in practitioners' commitment to the values that underpinned their profession. The fictional workers in their piece both exhibited a determination to do their best for those they supervised, each working long hours to compensate for lack of resources; but, like Knight et al. (2016), Dominey and

Burke (2016) also recognised the emotional demands on practitioners working in this environment. Time will tell whether these emotional demands are sufficient to reverse the trend of compliance with professional values over organisational values.

3.7 Conclusion

The main arguments put forward in this chapter centred around the importance of values to professional practice. Further, the chapter argued that, for an organisation to operate as a professional entity, it is not enough for practitioners to simply hold on to its values; senior managers also need to embed these values into system design and organisational aims. To explore these arguments, first, literature was reviewed on the impact that changes to probation, brought about in part by the Criminal Justice Act 1991, had on the way the values of probation were articulated. This included the introduction of a multi-level system of values. Next, research conducted in the run-up to TR was reviewed. These studies looked at links between values and what practitioners considered important to good-quality practice. Further, practitioners appeared to have held onto the traditional values of probation while publicly appearing to comply with the requirements brought about by managerialism, namely, national standards and constraints on autonomy and discretion. Links between coping with dissonance between different levels of values and different ways of complying with expectations were explored briefly. Next, the chapter considered what it has meant to be a professional practitioner within the public and the private sectors, as managerialism has changed the way expert practitioners are viewed. Coping with value dissonance is key to the final substantive section of the chapter. Here, the discussion moved on to changes to the professional probation practitioner role brought about by TR. This section

explained that, to date, little research has been carried out with practitioners working within the new CRCs since the new owners took over: the empirical research published and reviewed here, covers the period before the new owners took over. This research captured many of the fears (and a few of the hopes) of practitioners as they went through the move from public sector probation to shadow forms of the new CRCs. Some of this research suggested that practitioners, while rejecting the notions of privatisation and the fragmentation of the service, remained committed to doing 'good' work with the offenders they supervise. They remain compliant with their traditional values. Links were made between the experiences of practitioners in shadow CRCs and the characteristics of high- and low-trust organisations. Deering and Feilzer's (2014) research with probation managers who had moved voluntarily across to the private sector suggested that the difference in what is valued may be similar in the private sector, even though ultimate goals may differ, resonating with the differences between Kantian ethics of duty and utilitarianist approaches that are often used to justify business decisions. Key academics from the field of probation research (Clare 2015; Deering 2016; Dominey and Burke 2016; Knight et al. 2016; Senior et al. 2016) have made predictions about likely futures for probation. While many of these predictions reflect the view that the profession is under threat, the resilience of probation practitioners (including those of the future) to remain normatively compliant with the values associated with professional probation practice does hold some hope that probation as a profession may survive. Based on these predictions and research carried out during the early stages of implementing TR, two theoretical propositions for the future of probation were put forward. This thesis will seek to critically examine, adapt and refine these propositions in light of empirical data.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1: Introduction

This chapter describes and justifies the methodology of this research. First, the critical realist theoretical framework for the research is explained, and this choice is justified by reference to the characteristics of the research aims and questions. Brief mention is then made of the axiological position adopted. Next, the research design is introduced, to include operational challenges faced during the research. The chapter then moves on to explain the more practical elements of carrying out the research, to include choice of setting, samples and methods of data collection and analysis. Ethical considerations and limitations of the research are explained before the chapter concludes with a brief reflection on the methods used and the relevance this might have to future research in this field.

4.2 Theoretical Framework and Research Design

This research took place in a real-world context. The theoretical framework needed to take account of both the agency of practitioners and the context in which they worked required rigour and pragmatism. Empirical evidence was important, but I recognised that claims for the existence of a single truth within a fast-moving social context were unreasonable. I also knew that, as an individual, any research I committed to needed to have practical relevance. My introduction to the philosophy of research, methodology, epistemology and ontology was a steep learning curve but one that I enjoyed immensely. The more I learnt, the more I realised that, within the debate between positivism, constructionism and critical

realism, the questions I wanted to answer and my preferred way of working were mostly congruent with the latter.

Critical realism was first described by Bhaskar (1978) as an alternative theoretical framework for social scientific research. In line with positivists, critical realists hold that an objective world does exist independently of people's perceptions, language or imagination (O'Mahoney and Vincent 2014). However, critical realists also hold that, given the complexity of social situations and organisations, we cannot fully understand, make sense of, or attribute causation in social settings based only on that which we can observe directly. Theories, developed and captured within existing literature, and personal experience can be 'added to' that which is observed through a process known as abduction⁷ to understand and draw conclusions from real situations. A further key concept adopted by realist research is the notion of the 'open system' (Checkland 1981; Checkland and Scholes 1990). The notion of the 'open system' helps to explain why context is important, and why we cannot investigate social situations in the same way we might carry out physical scientific experiments in laboratory conditions. While critical realism appeals to notions of 'common sense', it is not without its critics. Hammersley (2009) argues that critical realism is not truly critical. He bases his criticism on the abductive premise that critical realists draw 'value conclusions' after establishing 'some fact about the world' (Hammersley 2009, p. 2) that is assumed to be true, 'all things being equal'. Hammersley adopts a largely constructivist viewpoint, suggesting that the assertion can only be 'true' according to the view of the person drawing the conclusion. Pawson (2006), on the other hand, criticises critical realism for being too ideological and not being of practical relevance as it dwells too long on the

⁷ Abductive reasoning starts with an observation and then seeks the simplest explanation.

ideological rather than committing to a viewpoint, albeit after having assessed empirical evidence within the context in which it is observed. In defence of Bhaskar's (1978) claims about the critical credentials of critical realism, ironically, I look to Hammersley's (2009) description of critical realism. Hammersley acknowledges that it does not blindly accept a one-sided approach to judging change and is instead prepared to find evidence for and against the impact of change. As to what is assumed to be real, and from which arguments are constructed, this research has taken Bhaskar's 'all things being equal' to mean, for example, that the statements of quality drawn on in my panel survey (see below) have derived from a rigorous process, combining empirical observation and the application of the theory of desistance through the process of abduction (O'Mahoney and Vincent 2014). The data for this research were gathered within a particular context, that of the DTV CRC. The opportunity to revisit participants on multiple occasions resulted in a rich description of the context as it evolved over a 15-month period. In turn, features (or as critical realists would have it, 'generative mechanisms') of this particular context that supported or suppressed successful adaptation and inculcation of traditional values were used when relating the findings here to the wider probation community.

4.2.1 Research Aims and Questions

The aim of this research was not to judge overall success or failure, but rather to identify which conditions and mechanisms within a particular context appear to support successful adaptation to change and which appear to work against it.

The choice of theoretical framework and the type of questions posed were inextricably linked; this in turn influenced the way the research was designed and the methods used to collect and analyse the data. In a quantitative, positivist-

informed study, a null hypothesis may replace the central research question, and where questions are posed, they are likely to be closed, descriptive questions or questions that seek quantification or prediction based on hard observable facts. Questions may begin with the word 'why' to imply a cause and effect situation with a single conclusion. Social constructionists may also start with a descriptive question, but this is more likely to be open with 'how' rather than 'what'; they are then likely to move on to questions that invite a critical response, and instead of asking 'why', they are more likely to use 'does' (Cresswell 2003). Critical realists' questions, according to Cresswell (2003) may contain a mixture of both qualitative and quantitative questions, but a sequential study order is important, with some studies situating the questions at the point they arise in the study.

My research asks four main questions, with linked follow-up questions attached to each that serve to add detail and structure to the analysis of the data. First, I was interested in the impact of TR on a mechanism that is key to probation practice, namely, the relationship formed between probation practitioners and service users and what constitutes quality within that relationship, and also the values that underpin the relationship. Thus, the first question asks, 'To what extent do probation practitioner descriptions of their relationships with offenders reflect traditional probation⁸ values?', supplemented by, 'Are these values shared across practitioners and over time?' to identify the consistency and resilience of practitioner values during this period of rapid change. Next, the research focuses on the way that practitioners reacted to the changes and how they negotiated change and reconciled their reactions with their value base, again, seeking to explore whether practitioner reactions were shared across the whole practitioner

⁸ The traditional values of probation are taken to include belief in an offender's ability to change and the adoption of a non-judgemental approach to offenders.

base and across time, by asking ‘How do practitioners negotiate changes brought about by privatisation?’ and ‘Are reactions to change consistent across all practitioners and stable over time?’. The relevance of organisational structure and culture to critical realist research is described by Vincent and Wapshott (2014). They explain how changes in structure can result in both upward (i.e. practitioner behaviour impacting on the whole organisational culture and processes) and downward (i.e. organisational culture changes team and individual practice and, ultimately, values) impacts. Deciding on the final form of question three was an iterative process. Iteration went between what the existing literature had to say about professions and quality in service delivery (McNeill 2006; Farrow et al. 2011; Rex et al. 2012; Shapland et al. 2012; Rex and Hosking 2014) and newly emerging propositions for the future of probation as evidence emerged from academic theorising and practitioner-based research conducted during the transition from public- to private-sector ownership (Burke et al. 2016a; Deering 2016; Deering and Feilzer 2016). Question three asks, ‘To what extent has fragmentation of structures and processes impacted on solidarity within probation as a service and as a profession?’.

The final research question adopts abductive reasoning,⁹ linking existing and emergent propositions about the future of probation, with empirical findings from this research to suggest the most likely futures for probation and the contexts associated with these alternative futures, by asking, ‘What are the preconditions

⁹ Abductive reasoning is appropriate here as the claims made are those that are most likely to be based on what is known. As detailed investigation was not possible to test the knowledge gained about other CRCs, some degree of assumption is needed. This is in line with the pragmatism inherent in critical realist research.

for successful adaptation to change?’ and ‘To what extent are these conditions likely to be met within the context generated by privatisation?’.

4.2.2 Axiological Position

The axiological position of this research proposes that practitioners are well placed to act as informants on the process of implementing the changes brought about by TR. Proponents of standpoint theory (see, for example Wylie 2004) might argue that only the recipients of a service are in a position to provide ‘expert’ knowledge of what is working and what is needed. Others would argue that it takes time for major changes to be felt by recipients of a service, particularly where practitioners try to protect them from change (Deering 2008). Further, research by Shapland et al. (Shapland et al. 2012; Shapland et al. 2014) suggests that practitioners and service users have similar perceptions of what constitutes quality within the offender–supervisor relationship. Thus, practitioners were cast as ‘experts’ in this research.

Before describing the research design ultimately adopted for this study, a brief summary of the key operational challenges and the way they were addressed is provided below.

4.2.3 Operational Challenges to Research

The main operational risks to this study were: gaining access to undertake the research within newly formed CRCs; potential reluctance of practitioners to get involved during a period of rapid change; and delays in the policy process. Prior to the announcement of preferred bidders, access was agreed with two shadow CRCs, one formed through the merging of several probation trusts, the second a single trust seeking ownership through the staff mutual route. Each of the chief executive officers (CEOs) was enthusiastic about the research and provided me with

opportunities to meet staff and pilot research instruments. Shortly after preferred bidders were announced and after approval had been given by NOMS for the research to commence, one CEO expressed the need to seek approval from the new owners. Three weeks before going live with phase one of the panel survey, I was informed that the new owners had decided that it would not be appropriate to undertake research at this time while new processes were being developed and rolled out. Two days later, the other CEO contacted me to say that they too would have to pull out. Both CRCs were 'owned' by the same provider. Initially, attempts were made to recruit other corporate-owned CRCs to take part in the research, but despite attempting to contact all the new owners, only one other CRC responded, the CEO reporting a few days later that, after presenting my proposal to the board, it had been decided that they would not take part. This appeared to confirm Clarke's (2013) concerns that one risk of privatisation would be its impact on the evidence base. The reluctance experienced here by large private corporations to expose emergent processes to independent research scrutiny would appear to support this view. After consultation with my supervisors and reviewing the research design, it was decided that I would undertake a more in-depth study of a single CRC.

Prior to these two CRCs pulling out, it became clear that neither of my proposed CRC sites would be managed by a staff mutual. DTV CRC was the only CRC in which the managing partner was a staff mutual. I decided to invite them to take part in the research. After hearing the objectives of my research, Bronwen Elphick, the CEO of DTV CRC, agreed to take part and went on to remain supportive and enthusiastic throughout. Thus, following the withdrawal of the other two CRCs, the research became a single-site case study. Once they knew what the research was about, practitioners were keen to be involved. Given the scale of the changes already

experienced and those just announced as new operating models were implemented, I was conscious of the need to adopt a transparent, collaborative style within the research. I took care when negotiating participation to seek informed consent from all those taking part in interviews, providing the opportunity for participants to review what they had said during the interview by offering full recordings of the taped interviews. From the meetings that took place early in the process, it became clear that there was a lot of enthusiasm for the project. Senior staff from the CRC saw it as an opportunity to gain valuable insight into the advantages and potential problems with the new arrangements for delivering offender services in the community. Their support for the research was demonstrated by agreeing to staff taking part and respecting their right to confidentiality by allowing me to contact practitioners directly. Further, interviews were conducted at locations and times agreed individually with practitioners.

Delays in the policy process were out of my control. However, the Secretary of State for Justice, Chris Grayling, was keen to implement the changes 'at pace' so, ultimately, delays were kept to a minimum. The pace of change became a theme that influenced the findings of this research rather than a barrier to carrying it out.

4.2.4 Research Design

Thus, the study adopted a single-case study design using multiple methods of data collection and analysis. The research was informed by a critical realist theoretical framework. According to Bryman (2016), case studies often use both qualitative and quantitative methods to produce in-depth understanding of the 'case'. Bryman goes on to suggest that what defines a study as a 'case study' is the search for evidence of what makes the 'case' unique, distinguishing this type of study as idiographic, in contrast with the nomothetic approach associated with cross-

sectional designs. As the case that is the subject of this study is the only not-for-profit CRC, Yin (2014) would describe it as an extreme case. Yin explains that extreme cases are useful in helping to identify the aspects of the case that account for outcomes that differ from the norm. Thus, although detailed comparison between different CRCs was no longer possible, this style of research allowed for a more in-depth analysis of this unique case and the identification and exploration of how particular mechanisms influenced the way practitioners negotiated change. As information began to emerge from other CRCs, in the form of inspection reports and structural changes, application of the findings from this study helped to inform the conclusion to the thesis and respond to my final research question that looks at likely futures for probation more widely post-TR. Given the fast-moving political and policy context in which the study was undertaken, flexibility and a certain amount of pragmatism were required during every stage of the research. Regular reflection on progress to date and discussion of changes to methods and sample selection with my supervisory team and key stakeholders at the research site were important features of the research, and fitted well with Kantian transcendental argumentation that is a feature of critical realism (Rorty 1979).

According to Brannen (2008), combining methods of data collection results in greater meaning and depth than single-method designs provide. The quantitative elements within a mixed-method study provide context and the opportunity to derive a purposive sample and generate themes for exploration during qualitative stages. In turn, the qualitative elements add meaning and depth to the results of the quantitative analysis. Mixed-methods designs and the associated eclecticism with regard to methods of data collection are, according to Ackroyd and Karlsson (2014), congruent with critical realist informed research. Lipscomb (2011) urges caution, suggesting that, when making assumptions about the fit between design

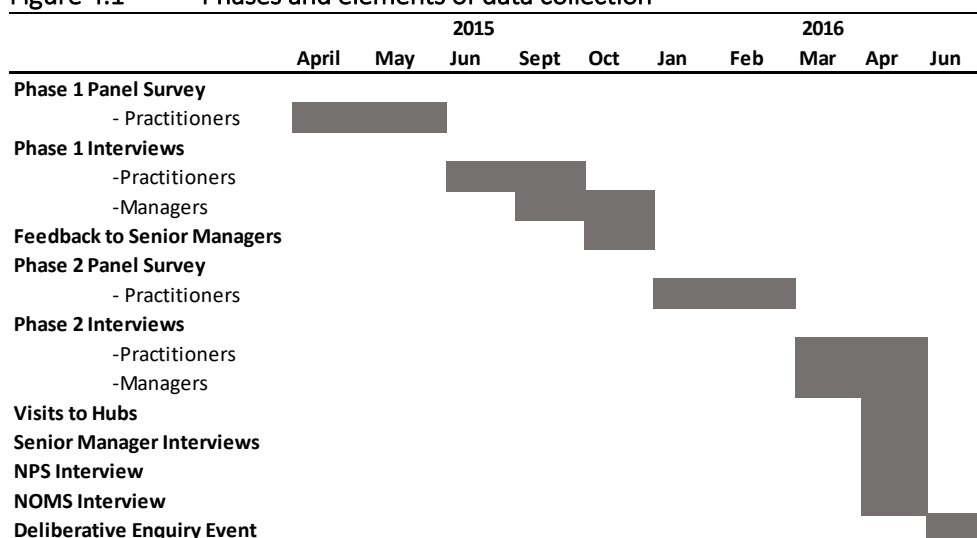
and theory, researchers should be clear about how they interpret the term 'realist' and thus how each method fits with the theory used to interpret the results. This research responded to Lipscomb's concerns by drawing on Ackroyd and Karlsson's (2014) proposal for a typology of eight designs that are relevant to realist-informed research (p. 27). These designs are divided along two dimensions. Dimension one considers the intensity of the study, with dimension two considering whether the researcher is engaged or detached from the field in which the research takes place. Intensive studies, it is suggested, are those in which the context is already known, and the aim is to identify causal mechanisms, thus requiring detailed information on processes and interactions. Where the researcher is detached from the field, Ackroyd and Karlsson suggest that a case study is the appropriate design, and where the researcher is 'of the field', it is more likely to be described as action research. At the other end of the scale, where the causal mechanisms are already inferred, the most likely designs relevant to a realist-informed study would be a research survey or analysis of census data (detached), or an extensive realist evaluation (engaged). The design suggested for this research draws on several of Ackroyd and Karlsson's strategies. As the researcher, I am situated between the position of being engaged in the field due to my previous work within NOMS, and detached, as I have never been a probation practitioner or worked within a probation trust. Thus, my design is mainly in the form of an in-depth case study, but my engagement with senior managers from CRCs and NOMS itself resulted in a request from NOMS in their access approval letter to adopt elements of action research. This took the form of providing periodic feedback of emerging themes at each stage of the research and building in and exploring emerging themes as each phase of the research progressed. Finally, at the end of the data collection period, a deliberative enquiry event brought together representatives of each stakeholder

group to consider the themes that had emerged. This provided an opportunity for collective comment on my interpretation of what had been found. Ackroyd and Karlsson (2014) suggest that, to identify causal mechanisms within social interactions (such as that within a supervisory relationship with an offender), an intensive approach to data collection and analysis is needed. Even though previous research (Shapland et al. 2014) had already identified the components of good-quality relationships (i.e. generative mechanisms) between probation practitioners and service users, the extent of the changes brought about by TR meant that this research design would need to capture detailed accounts and explanations of these mechanisms within this new context. Key to this in-depth inquiry were opportunities for reflection, providing practitioners time to think, consider and process their own perceptions alongside themes already emerging. The value and validity of research that encourages reflection has been acknowledged by Flyvbjerg (2006). At the end of the interviews, some practitioners commented that the opportunity to articulate how they felt about the process of change was helpful in their own rationalisation of the process of change. Critical realism requires reflection to relate new experiences and insights to the current context. It is argued here that, when the context itself is going through a process of rapid change, using the tools of reflection and assimilation adds meaning and understanding to new and emergent issues.

In this context of change, it was decided to avoid the risk of reactions to individual events and announcements distorting the findings by introducing a longitudinal approach (Holland et al. 2006). Pollard and Filer describe this as '*distinguishing the enduring from the transient*' (2002, p. 7). As noted above, the data for the research were collected over a period of 15 months. Phase one covered the period from the announcement of the new operating model in April 2015 up to October 2015.

During this period, while some elements of the new operating model were being introduced, staff remained within their original teams and were mainly working out of existing offices. Phase two was timed to capture the period around and just after office closure and the implementation of new IT solutions in preparation for agile working. Once complete, practitioners would work largely out of 'Hubs',¹⁰ doing their administration work at home or in the two new divisional headquarter buildings. Full implementation of this stage of the changes took longer than anticipated; therefore, despite delaying phase two by three months, data collection was carried out during rather than after full implementation of these changes. The deliberative enquiry event was carried out in June 2016; by this time, all local offices were closed. Figure 4.1 below summarises the elements and timings of each phase of data collection.

Figure 4.1 Phases and elements of data collection



The two-stage panel survey, along with the initial and follow-up interviews with a sub-set of respondents to the questionnaire, allowed for the capture of data from

¹⁰ In total, there were 54 community Hubs across the area, replacing 13 local offices. Hubs were held in a range of venues such as community centres and voluntary sector premises. These will be described in detail in Chapter Five as part of the findings of this research.

a sub-set of participants at four points within the change process. This provided an opportunity to explore change at the individual practitioner level over time. Capturing data at multiple points and through different methods is not without methodological risk. According to Cresswell et al. (2008), mixed-method, longitudinal research can introduce risks to the reliability and validity of the findings. For example, data obtained at different points, through different methods can appear contradictory. However, being able to follow up early perceptions in in-depth interviews of a structured sample derived from those completing the survey provided the opportunity for clarification. Following up the initial responses from the phase one interviews six-to-nine months later in phase two served to reduce the impact of events that had a transitional effect on perception and provide comment on the process of change for individuals, while the panel survey results provided the opportunity to track change at an aggregated or group level.

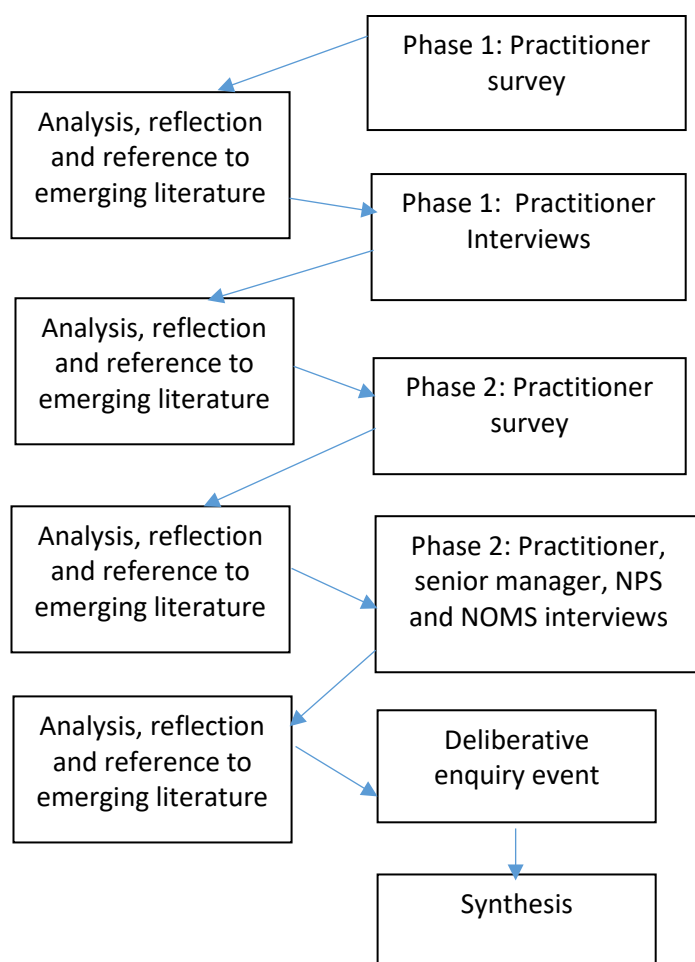
Cresswell et al. (2008) identified the potential for bias in sample selection and analysis in mixed-methods studies. Structured sampling to select participants for in-depth interviews to create a representative sample based on length of experience, training and type of CRC and rigorous procedures during transcription, coding and analysis during the qualitative phase were used to reduce this potential for bias. The deliberative enquiry event at the end of the data collection phase offered participants and other key stakeholders an opportunity to challenge my interpretation; thus, I was required to be transparent about the process of analysis and interpretation. Abelson et al. (2003) comment that one risk of deliberative enquiry events is that, while appearing to give all participants an equal opportunity for comment, some will be more proficient at taking part than others. While it was important to bear this in mind, and in line with the axiological position adopted for this research, practitioners were involved throughout the research and thus had

more opportunity than managers and senior managers to develop and reflect on their contributions that were central to the findings presented. This was an attempt to address potential power imbalances between practitioners and managers. At the deliberative enquiry event, while other stakeholders and middle managers took part in the deliberation, senior managers withdrew but returned for the practitioners to present their collective reflections following the group discussion.

4.3 Research Methods: Sample Selection, Data Collection and Analysis

The choice of DTV CRC as the single case for this study has been described above. Data collection for this study employed three main methods, supplemented by documentary analysis to provide background and context to the research sites, along with secondary data on performance, inspection and structural changes to other CRCs for comparative purposes. The pattern of data collection broadly follows that of a sequential mixed-methods model (see Figure 4.2 below), where each phase of data collection informs and/or triangulates the next. It was decided at the design phase that no individual method would take precedence and that methods and instruments would adapt as findings emerged. This, it could be argued, borrows from the principles of action research, which, according to Ackroyd and Karlsson (2014), is important in critical-realist-informed research as it facilitates the acquisition of rich data relating to the context and causal mechanisms within the research site, unconstrained by rigid conformity to particular data collection prescriptions. The ontological depth associated with critical realism provides the basis for this eclectic approach to data collection (O'Mahoney and Vincent 2014).

Figure 4.2 Sequential mixed-method model



The methodological implications of sample size and selection are considered alongside explanations of each method of data collection. However, for clarity, the overall sample sizes and response rates are summarised in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 below.

Table 4.1 Practitioner sample sizes by staff role and grade

	Total Available to complete Phase 1	Phase 1 Responses	Volunteered for Interview	Interviewed Phase 1	Phase 2 Responses	Follow-up Interview
Probation Officer	39	23	12	7	15	6
Probation Service Officers (PSOs)						
- Offender managers	56	29	7	6	13	5
- Interventions	8	5	2	2	4	2
- Community Payback	20	9	3	2	5	1
Total PSOs	84	43	12	10	22	8
Total	123	66	24	17	37	14

Table 4.2 Response rate by staff role and grade

	Phase 1 Response Rate	Phase 2 Response Rate*
Probation Officer	59%	71%
Probation Service Officers (PSOs)		
- Offender managers	52%	50%
- Interventions	63%	80%
- Community Payback	45%	56%
Total PSOs	51%	55%
Total	54%	61%

4.3.1 Two-stage panel survey

4.3.1 (i) Survey Design

The survey was carried out in two phases, the first soon after the new owners of probation took over management of the CRC and the second nine months later. When repeated observations are collected from the same sample at more than one point in time, the survey is described as a panel survey. This survey was particularly helpful in providing data across all groups of practitioners working face to face with service users. The focus was on practitioner values, the relationship with service users and the support they received to put their values into practice. The two-stage approach captured changes in practitioner perceptions over the period as the new operating model was announced and implemented. Demographic data were

collected to include age, gender, qualification and length of probation experience. This provided the opportunity for comparison within the sample and the development of typologies as part of the process of gaining insight into the mechanisms of change. Practitioner views of the organisation, line management and training received were sought as indicators of job satisfaction and investment by the CRC in professional development and support for practitioners.

Section five of the survey (see Appendix 2) was originally developed by a team of academics from Sheffield University. The team was contracted by NOMS as part of the preparation and design of the Offender Engagement Programme (Shapland et al. 2012; Robinson et al. 2014; Shapland et al. 2014). Permission was sought and granted from NOMS and the research team to use these statements in this study. As in the study that resulted in the development of the quality indicators¹¹ (Shapland et al. 2014), those completing the survey had the opportunity to respond to the statements twice. In my survey, the practitioners first gave a score of 0–10 on the importance they attached to each statement and, second, using the same scale, scored what was happening in practice at the time they completed each phase of the survey. Prior to sending the questionnaire out to the practitioners in phase one, the survey was piloted with eight senior practitioners. It was important that the language was appropriate and unambiguous and that instructions for completion were clear. Comment was made by those completing the pilot survey regarding the cut-off points for questions relating to years of experience in order that they could be related to earlier changes within probation, an example being changes to probation training and the break with social work some 15¹² years prior

¹¹ Henceforth, these statements will be referred to as 'Indicators of Quality'.

¹² While the decision to end the link with social work training came in 1996, those already in training would have completed the course. Following this, there was no formal training programme in place until 2001.

to this study. This was addressed in the final version sent out to the practitioners. Overall, feedback was positive. Minor changes were made to the instructions for the completion of the Indicators of Quality sections of the questionnaire but, with the exception noted above, the body of the questionnaire remained unchanged. The preferred name for those supervised at the start of the research was 'service users'. However, by phase two, after implementation of the new operating model, this had changed to 'participants'. While the new terminology was used in the interviews, the questionnaire, for consistency, was not changed. While recognising arguments about the way people supervised by probation are addressed, to avoid confusion between these terms and the use of 'participant' to describe those taking part in the research, the term 'offender' was used when writing up this research.

A key feature of this research was reflection. In phase one, this was operationalised by inviting the practitioners to provide free-text explanations for their scores to questions about their experience of line management and the Indicators of Quality sections (see Appendix 2 for full questionnaire). In phase one, 44 (66%) respondents provided a reflection on how they came to their scores. Comments providing explanation of the differences between personal attribution of importance scores and perceptions of the degree to which this was reflected in everyday practice were particularly helpful as they prompted further exploration of emerging conflicts between the traditional values of probation and market-driven values. Some practitioners took time to provide quite detailed explanations for their scores and these comments were included in the qualitative analysis. Reflection was further encouraged in phase two by including a copy of phase one responses when sending out the phase two questionnaires. For phase two, the respondents were invited to provide explanation of any changes to the scores provided in phase one. One concern about this approach was that busy practitioners might simply return the

questionnaire unchanged, without reflecting on the content, or make blanket changes. This concern proved largely unfounded with only four of the 37 respondents in phase two returning unchanged scores and none making blanket changes. Again, the practitioners provided detailed free-text explanations of the changes to their scores. This was further evidence of the level of investment and ability to reflect demonstrated by the practitioners taking part in the study.

The original intention was to carry out both phases of the survey online. Phase one was initially sent out online. However, various problems were encountered with access to the survey. To improve the response rate, after three weeks, the practitioners were given the opportunity to complete a paper copy of the questionnaire. Of the 66 responses received, 18 were in paper form, increasing the response rate from 40% to 54%. One concern about changing the medium of the questionnaire was the potential to alter the way the practitioners approached it. While there was a small drop in the likelihood of practitioners completing the free-text sections (from 68% to 56%), it would be difficult to be confident that the medium was responsible as those most motivated to engage perhaps completed the survey in its original form.

Phase two was originally timed to come after all the local offices had closed. This was expected to occur in November 2015. There were some delays in completing the office closure programme. Before the offices closed, staff needed to be issued with and trained on new laptops and mobile phones in order to be able to work remotely, described by the CRC as 'agile working'. To roll out the new IT solution, NOMS needed to provide 'bridging' software that would enable staff within the privately owned CRCs to access the most recent assessment and sentencing details for the offenders allocated to them. This solution had not been made available by

NOMS when data collection finished in June 2016. A decision was made by the CRC to move ahead and install existing software that included access to Delius, the national case management system, and OASys, the national risk assessment tool, in order for the planned office closures to go ahead. This delay resulted in the phase two questionnaires being sent out just as the new laptops were being issued and the offices closed. In hindsight, it might have been better to delay phase two data collection for another two months. One advantage of the timing that emerged was that staff could reflect on the process of change as it happened, which provided useful insight into the impact on the practitioners of major structural changes in an era when we are very dependent on electronic data and additional evidence about how practitioners cope with change and uncertainty. Further, the deliberative enquiry did provide the opportunity to revisit the practitioner and manager views three months later when the IT roll-out was complete.

4.3.1 (ii) Survey Sample

The online survey was made available to all practitioners within the CRC who had a face-to-face role with offenders. Senior managers were enthusiastic and agreed to encourage staff to take part, while assuring them that individual responses would remain confidential. This was formalised through an agreement between myself and the CEO of the CRC (see Appendix 1). The response rate for phase one of the panel survey was 54%, as shown in Table 4.2 below. In total, 24 practitioners volunteered to be included in the semi-structured interviews. From these, 17 were interviewed. The job roles from which these were recruited are also included in Table 4.2. All practitioners interviewed in phase one agreed to be contacted for a follow-up interview in phase two. Generally, probation officers were more likely, although not significantly so, to come forward for interview than probation service officers. As noted above, in phase two, all those completing the questionnaire in

phase one were sent a copy of their original questionnaire and invited to update it after considering their experiences over the previous nine months. Unfortunately, due to phase two data collection coinciding with the roll-out of the new IT solution, some staff had only limited access to computers and emails. Despite this, 61% of those available¹³ returned their questionnaires and 14 of the original 17 practitioners were re-interviewed. Two were known to be on long-term sickness or maternity leave. In addition, two further probation officers were interviewed to follow up on comments made on their questionnaires regarding specific roles they had played in the process of change. To give those who had not completed the questionnaire in phase one an opportunity to engage in phase two, an email was sent to each of the 55 non-completers (two had left their roles since the phase one questionnaires had been sent out). Three took the opportunity to respond to the email, providing lengthy free-text responses; their contributions have been included in the qualitative analysis.

To enable tracking over time, a dataset comprising the 37 practitioners who completed both phases of the survey was used for statistical analysis, comparing phase one and phase two responses. The potential for bias by excluding those who only completed phase one should not be ignored. Overall, POs (71%) were more likely to complete both phases than PSOs (55%), and practitioners with over 15 years' experience (67%) were more likely to complete the second survey than their less experienced colleagues (58%). As shown in Table 4.3 below, mean 'Importance'¹⁴ and 'Happening' scores for each domain show a tendency for the gap between 'Importance' and 'Happening' scores to be wider for those completing

¹³ Five practitioners who completed the phase one survey were unavailable to complete phase two due to sickness, compassionate or maternity leave (two POs, three PSOs).

¹⁴ See p. 104 for explanation of 'Importance' and 'Happening' scores.

both phases of the survey, although none of the differences are significant. As the focus of this study was change over time, it was concluded that the database containing those who completed both phases would be used for statistical analysis purposes. Table 4.3 summarises the main characteristics of those who completed the panel survey once and twice.

Table 4.3 Phase one survey results: comparison of phase two survey completers and non-completers

	P2 Completer				
	Yes		No		NA
	Count	Mean	Count	Mean	Count
Probation Officer	15 (71%)		6		2
Probation Service Officer	22 (55%)		18		3
Under 15 years	25 (58%)		18		3
Over 15 years	12 (67%)		6		2
What the practitioner brings					
Importance		9.2		9.2	
Happening		6.7		7.5	
How practitioners work					
Importance		9.4		9.3	
Happening		8.2		8.2	
What supports best quality 1:1 work					
Importance		9.3		9.2	
Happening		7.8		8.2	
The outcomes of 1:1 work					
Importance		9.3		9.6	
Happening		7.5		8.0	

4.3.2 Semi-structured Interviews

According to Smith and Elger (2014), interviews are one of the most common forms of data collection used in social research. However, interviews vary in form and purpose. Positivist research is associated with highly structured interviews, where the results are in a form that can be analysed statistically. Dialogical interviews are criticised for introducing subjectivity and potential bias as the researcher's own

perspectives are introduced. Constructivists (Holstein and Gubrium 1995) and realists, on the other hand, see this as a strength of dialogue, making room for reflection and an opportunity to add meaning to phenomena and themes emerging from other sources of data. Pawson and Tilley (1997) and Pawson (1996) comment directly on the way interviews are used in critical-realist-informed policy evaluations. According to Smith and Elger (2014), Pawson and Tilley (1997) also prescribe a particular way in which interviews are carried out to achieve the objectives of critical-realist-informed policy reviews. The interview should be theory led, where the theory, or tentative theoretical claims, are set by the researcher (Pawson and Tilley p. 117). The researcher initially performs the role of informant, summarising and explaining how the current contexts and causal mechanisms identified so far have been interpreted using extant literature and theory. The interviewee is then invited to reflect on these interpretations, particularly when the interviewees are themselves 'experts' in the field of study (as is the case here) before providing their own views, motivations and attitudes to the situation that is the focus of the study. The schedules for the interviews with the practitioners (see Appendix 3) were broadly in line with Pawson and Tilley's (1997) realist approach, with an informative preamble based on themes suggested by the review of the literature and themes emerging from initial analyses. While this research is not an outcome evaluation, it is an exploration of the causal mechanisms (processes) identified within the context of a newly privatised probation service. Towards the end of each initial interview, the practitioners were invited to summarise their perceptions by identifying the three biggest benefits and drawbacks of the changes brought about by TR. This provided a useful starting point for identifying key themes emerging from these interviews, and also provided an opportunity for the respondents to take an active part in determining the issues

they felt were most important. Adopting the technique of promoting an active discussion and changing the style of questions between those aimed at encouraging reflection and meaning making and those overtly seeking more factual information fits with Holstein and Gubrium's (1995) 'active interview'. It is their contention that this style of interview seeks the 'hows' and the 'whats' of the respondent's experiences. 'Hows' provide reasons, while the 'whats' identify key themes. This style of interview is well placed to set the context and explore mechanisms related to relevant processes within the case study. Casting respondents as active participants within the research is also congruent with the axiological position of casting practitioners as experts. While the content of the panel survey was kept constant across phases to enable statistical comparison, the interview schedules varied. In phase one, the content derived in part from examination of existing, mainly speculative, literature. The research also built on themes arising from the hard and soft data produced from the survey. Phase two built on the analysis of phase one data. For example, prior to conducting the phase two interviews, I was able to test a hypothesis derived from my second research question, namely: *'Practitioner reactions to change differ according to length of experience and grade'*. This was useful as, subsequently, during the phase two interviews, I could describe my early ideas about different practitioner groups (see Appendix 5 for the phase two interview schedule) and record the practitioner reactions to these descriptions. Thus, despite the small sample, this constant reflection through analysis and testing with the participants served to strengthen my findings.

The phase one practitioner interviews were mostly conducted face to face (15 face to face, two by telephone). The interviews were carried out in two tranches, the first in June 2015, the second in September–October 2015. The phase two interviews were conducted in March and April 2016, and were mainly conducted

by telephone, although those who took part in telephone interviews in phase one were interviewed face to face in phase two (three face to face, 11 by telephone). Of the three who dropped out between phases, two were on long-term sick leave and one was on compassionate leave. Four probation managers (formerly known as senior probation officers (SPOs)) were interviewed in phase one, (three face to face, one by telephone). Two were followed up face to face in phase two, while a third attended the deliberative enquiry event. When reviewing the interview recordings after phase one, it was apparent that the quality of the data was better from the face-to-face interviews. The face-to-face interviews tended to be longer, with the interviewees speaking for a greater proportion of the time, expanding on points raised more readily. This is in line with the findings of Irvine's (2011) research comparing the two forms of semi-structured interviews. Encouraging reflection requires the opportunity for interviewees to take time to reflect, and silences seemed more difficult on the telephone. However, when interviewing people who I had already met face to face, I was able to quickly develop a rapport on the telephone with these interviewees. The importance of rapport is stressed by Novick (2008) in her comprehensive review of the literature that compares results obtained from both telephone and face-to-face interviews for qualitative research.

Senior manager interviews were carried out towards the end of the data collection period, informed by both phases of the survey and practitioner interviews. The interview schedule for senior managers and commissioners (see Appendix 6) followed a similar pattern and rationale to that used for practitioners. In the preamble, I included findings from the practitioner interviews and phase two of the online survey. Smith and Elger (2014) urged caution when interviewing senior managers, suggesting that they are capable of providing polished, rehearsed responses that may not reflect their own attitudes and motives in reaction to the

information presented to them. They suggest that interviewing elite respondents more than once may help to mitigate this risk to data quality. While the senior managers were interviewed only once in this research, the deliberative enquiry event provided a second opportunity to meet and hear the views of this group. The rationale and format of this event is described below.

Three senior managers from DTV CRC and a senior member of the NOMS contracting team were interviewed at the end of phase two. Julie Gallant, the practitioner responsible for the research that resulted in the 'Gallants' (an early version of the community justice Hubs¹⁵), was interviewed in phase two. Julie also arranged visits to two operational Hubs. Following phase one data collection, it became clear that a key theme to emerge was the relationship and information exchange between CRC and NPS practitioners. Permission was requested and granted from NOMS and the NPS to interview NPS practitioners during phase two. Despite support from a senior manager from NPS, only one practitioner came forward to be interviewed.

4.3.3. Deliberative Enquiry Event

The final data collection event of the study was a deliberative enquiry event. This event brought together those who took part in earlier phases of the research with other key stakeholders from within the CRC and partner agencies. In her report on the value of deliberative events in social research, Burchardt (2012) suggests it is interested in foregrounding the views of the powerless:

Compared to deliberative approaches, more traditional methods to study people's values such as in-depth interviews and large-scale surveys offer limited opportunity for

¹⁵ For information about Gallants and Hubs, see Chapter Five, section 5.2.3.

respondents to reflect on their own position, and they do not involve encounters with the views of others (p. 6).

She went on to say:

Deliberative methods appear to occupy a middle ground between these two poles [positivism and constructivism] (p. 8).

Burchardt appears to situate the approach within the realm of critical realism, accepting that there are facts out there that, if shared and debated between people who may hold different interpretations, can lead to a shared conclusion that could inform future policy can be reached. This approach also fits with my axiological position whereby the views of less powerful groups (in this case, practitioners) are privileged as 'expert'. Involving practitioners throughout the process, to include sharing and discussing early findings, helped to remove some of the power imbalances so that, at the event, they could take a meaningful part in the process.

The focus of the event was three-fold. First, the participants were invited to consider my interpretation of the findings, especially where findings between phases, methods of data capture or stakeholders conflicted. Next, the participants had the opportunity to consider the notion of different practitioner groups and how my research used these to explore different pathways through the process of change, identifying themselves within these groups and using them to explore collectively if this is useful when trying to understand different reactions to the changes brought about by TR. Finally, at the request of the CEO of DTV CRC, practitioners and others attending the event were invited to suggest how the findings could be taken forward to assist future development of the CRC. Data was captured from the event using flip-charts and recordings of the discussion groups, along with notes taken throughout the day.

4.3.4 Data Analysis

As shown in Figure 4.1 above, analysis was iterative and abductive, the analytical results of each phase of data collection informing later data collection and analysis.

The sections below explain how each strand of the data was analysed.

4.3.4(i) Quantitative Data Analysis

Panel surveys collect data at more than one point in the same sample. The quantitative data collected by the panel survey were analysed using SPSS v23. Initially, the sample was described by studying distributions across age, gender, role, qualifications, length of service with probation and experience supervising offenders. Comparison of the first three of these variables to the total workforce of practitioners within the CRC provided the opportunity to assess the extent to which those completing the survey were a representative sample. There was no recruitment and only two leavers between phase one and phase two. All practitioner names used in this thesis are female to protect the identities of the small number of male participants in the sample.

Taking account of the multi-level framework for values discussed in Chapter Three, 'Importance' scores within these data are taken as a proxy for the values that underpin the practitioner client relationship (Mawby and Worrall 2013; Robinson et al. 2014), while 'Happening' scores are considered to reflect perceived reality. The gap between the scores given to 'Importance' and 'Happening' is, therefore, key to this research as it represents a deficit, a measure of the extent to which current context supports traditional practitioner values. The 60 indicators of quality in section five of the survey were divided into four domains, each exploring a different aspect of the supervision process. These four domains comprise: what the practitioner brings to supervision (10 statements); how the practitioner works with

service users in the supervision (15 statements); what supports the best-quality one-to-one supervision work (22 statements); and the outcomes of one-to-one work (13 statements).

Statistical analysis focused on the first two research questions for this study. First, data were analysed at an aggregate level. This provided insight into the gap between 'values' and 'reality' and how these values changed over time, thus responding to the first research question. The scores were aggregated for each domain and the mean values calculated. To gain an understanding of the spread of scores for each domain, the range of scores and the standard deviation were examined. These two measures are linked: the range of scores can be inflated by a single outlier, while the standard deviation reflects a combination of the range and the distribution of scores across the range.

For the next set of tests, the practitioners were divided into three groups, based on a hypothesis that practitioners (POs and PSOs) who had experience of working with offenders prior to 2000 (when, according to Senior et al. (2016), practitioner discretion and use of professional judgement were encouraged) would react differently to the new working model than those recruited and trained since. Those recruited within the last 15 years were further divided into POs and PSOs. This division was justified as PSOs within DTV CRC had already experienced working from the Gallants¹⁶. These tests cast light on the second research question. Table 4.4 below summarises the analyses carried out at the aggregate and group levels.

¹⁶ See Chapter Five, section 5.2.3.

Table 4.4 Statistical tests performed on section five of the survey

Description of data	Question or proposition	Level of analysis	Method of analysis
Phase 1 and Phase 2 'Importance' scores for each domain	Q1: To what extent do practitioner descriptions of their relationships with offenders reflect traditional probation values? Are values maintained over time?	Aggregate (all practitioners)	Mean, range and standard deviation for each domain
Phase 1 and Phase 2 'Happening' scores for each domain	As above, but related to reality rather than belief	Aggregate	As above
Phase 1 scores by domain - 'Importance'	Q1: Are values shared across practitioners?	By practitioner group	t-tests: mean scores across practitioner groups and domains
Phase 1 scores by domain - 'Happening'	As above, but related to reality rather than belief	By practitioner group	t-tests: mean scores across practitioner groups and domains
Phase 2 scores by domain - 'Importance'	Q1: Are values stable over time?	By practitioner group	t-tests: mean scores across practitioner groups and domains
Phase 2 scores by domain - 'Happening'	As above, but related to reality rather than belief	By practitioner group	t-tests: mean scores across practitioner groups and domains
Change in gap between 'Importance' and 'Happening' scores from phase one to phase two.	Q2: Are practitioner reactions to change consistent across all practitioners and stable over time?	By practitioner group	One-way ANOVA: mean scores for changes in gap between 'Importance' and 'Happening' scores by domain and practitioner groups.
Change in gap between 'Importance' and 'Happening' scores from phase one to phase two.	Q2: Are practitioner reactions to change consistent across all practitioners and stable over time?	By practitioner group	Bar chart: visual representation

4.3.4(ii) Qualitative Data Analysis

Qualitative data were collected through interviews with practitioners and managers. These were supplemented by extensive free-text comments from the panel survey. Interviews were recorded and fully transcribed. Transcriptions were initially manually coded and later uploaded into an NVivo database. The coding and

analysis framework went through several iterations. The framework was informed by reference to existing literature, theory and research questions, along with the results of the proposition tests, as noted in the section above.

These analyses included two main strands. First, the coding framework was used to conduct thematic analysis of the qualitative data to identify key themes¹⁷ that influenced the process of change and perceptions of quality within this CRC as the changes brought about by TR were implemented. These were initially presented in graphical forms to provide a visual representation of patterns within the data. The second strand of analysis was interested in how individual practitioners negotiated and made sense of the changes in the context of professional practice, noting whether their responses reflected a positive or negative attitude towards the changes. The patterns within the qualitative data were then related to the statistical development of three distinct practitioner groups, noted in section 4.3.4(i): Reflective Pragmatists (POs and PSOs with ≥ 15 years' service); Risk Managers (POs with < 15 years' service) and Problem Solvers (PSOs with < 15 years' service). Having revealed these patterns and explored how they strengthened or questioned the argument for different practitioner groups, a case that represented the most extreme reactions to change from each group was selected and described. Long quotations from each case were used to explore the different routes practitioners took through the process of change. These findings were supplemented by quotations from other practitioners within the same group to challenge or support the homogeneity of each group over time.

¹⁷ Within critical realist research, these would be mechanisms.

Data from interviews with managers and other key stakeholders provided additional contextual and explanatory data. These data were synthesised with the results of the thematic analysis of the practitioner qualitative data.

Analysis of the data collected at the deliberative enquiry event followed the same pattern as the in-depth interviews. These data were then compared with findings from previous stages in the conclusion to the thesis.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval was sought and granted by Cardiff University, NOMS and the NPS. The risks of harm in this research comprise: the potential for commercial compromise of DTV CRC, professional compromise of practitioners and managers taking part in the panel survey and in-depth interviews and the potential for disclosure of sensitive information during the deliberative event. The measures put in place to minimise risks to those participating in the research are described below.

4.4.1 Commercial Sensitivity of CRC

A balance needs to be struck between the researcher's ethical duty to honestly reflect the findings from research undertaken and respecting the need for a commercial company to protect its reputation. Prior to working with this CRC, potential risks were explained and discussed with the CEO. This organisation, being the only not-for-profit CRC in England and Wales is unique. Thus, part of this discussion revolved around difficulties in maintaining its anonymity once the results of the research are published. The CEO understood this and agreed that the best way forward would be to be open about the name of the CRC but that the findings, as they emerged, would be discussed and the contents of publications and other opportunities for dissemination would be shared with the CRC prior to making them

public. The details of this conversation were captured in an agreement between the researcher and the CRC (see Appendix 1). While the detailed content of presentations based on this research was not shared with the CRC, out of courtesy, in the period before the draft findings were presented at the deliberative enquiry event, the CEO was informed of planned presentations and publications.

4.4.2 Participant Confidentiality

To encourage the practitioners to take part in the online survey and to provide reassurance that their views would be respected and valued, a proposed statement of support for the research was provided by the CEO of the CRC (see Appendix 1). This included assurance that staff participation within the research would be negotiated directly with the researcher and that no details of who was involved in each stage would be provided to anyone at the CRC. In the final report, the participants in the research are given pseudonyms and referred to by their role within the CRC and the practitioner group of which they were part.

At the start of the recorded interviews, the purpose of the research and the measures put in place to protect the identities of participants was explained. Participants had the right to withdraw the whole or part of their interviews and were offered a copy of the tape recording of their interview or the typed transcript. Verbal consent (on tape) was recorded. Including consent as part of this discussion, along with any concerns or requests expressed, was felt to be the best way of obtaining properly informed consent. These processes were reviewed when follow-up interviews were carried out. None of the participants requested copies of the recorded interviews, although three did ask for a typed transcript of the phase one interviews prior to the phase two interviews, to remind them of what they had said before.

The interactive format of a deliberative event means that the researcher does not have control over what is said or who hears it. Thus, participants need to take some personal responsibility for what they disclose. Ground rules were negotiated to cover issues such as respecting everyone's right to have the opportunity to express their views, the right to withdraw from the event at any time, and after group work only feeding back in the first person or collective views from the sub-group (i.e. not speaking for (and naming) someone else without their permission).

It is a credit to this organisation that, while these processes for confidentiality were rigorously enforced by the researcher, participants in the research were quite open about participation. This was demonstrated in their willingness to take part in the deliberative enquiry event where they took ownership for their personal views and perspectives.

4.5 Limitations of the Research

There are two main limitations of this study: first, the ability to generalise the results, and second, the research was carried out during a period of major and rapid change; thus, using the findings to draw conclusions about the future of probation could prove problematic.

4.5.1 Generalisability

4.5.1(i) Ability to Generalise Across other CRCs and the Profession More Widely

Within the time and resources available to this study and the unwillingness of private, for-profit CRCs to take part, an early decision was made to carry out an in-depth single-site case study. This restricted the potential for generalisation of the results across other CRCs, although secondary data from performance and inspection results of other CRCs, along with evidence presented at the Select

Committee Review of CRCs in March 2017, has been used when relating the findings from this research to predictions about the future of probation as a profession and as a service.

The intrinsic value of in-depth research should not be dismissed. According to Flyvbjerg (2006), in-depth context-specific case studies are important for understanding the complexity of 'expert' everyday human situations. Experts interact with their environments at a level that cannot be captured fully and thus understood through traditional analytical methods. Flyvbjerg even asserts that, to become expert researchers, to develop the skills needed to become proficient in qualitative enquiry, new researchers need to engage in this type of study. Further, while this CRC is unique, study of this variant of privatisation adds to existing knowledge in that it may prove helpful in future rounds of competition for delivery of probation and other public service delivery to understand some of the advantages and drawbacks of a small not-for-profit organisation operating alongside large, profit-seeking corporations.

4.5.1(ii) Ability to Generalise Across Other Practitioners

When dividing the practitioners across the three practitioner groups, because of the sample size and characteristics, it was not possible to test the data statistically for variables such as gender, race and age. This was, in part, due to the nature of the area in which the study was carried out; for example, this area has a largely white British population. This is reflected within the staff employed by the CRC. Only one interviewee was not white British and, due to the profile of staff within the CRC, the participants' ethnic origin could not be noted to protect anonymity. Further, while three of the interview sample were male, again, because of the small

number of male practitioners within each of the practitioner groups, it was necessary to conceal gender by attributing female pseudonyms to all interviewees.

4.6 Reflections on Method

This study was carried out during a period of rapid change. In June 2014, the staff of the CRC moved from the public sector to shadow-CRC status, and staff were nominally split between the NPS and the CRC. Then, in February 2015, their employment had transferred to DTV CRC, a not-for-profit company operating within commercial company conditions. If the aim of the study was to evaluate the outcomes of this new style of providing offender services in the community, this would have been a serious limitation. However, the aim of this study was to explore the process of implementation, the way professional practitioners negotiated the changes and reconciled privatisation with their traditional probation values and their perceptions of what constitutes quality in practice, using the findings to consider likely futures for probation. Having access to a group of practitioners across the first 15 months of operation of the new company provided a unique opportunity to gain insight into this period of change. While caution is needed if the results are generalised across other CRCs, the research did provide insight into how practitioners negotiated and coped with change, and the unique status of this CRC proved beneficial. As this was a not-for-profit CRC, certain aspects of the changes, such as splitting the service between higher- and lower-risk participants and introducing a business model, could be explored here without the additional emotive issue of working for a company whose ultimate objective was profit.

Methodological benefits of introducing a longitudinal aspect to the research were discussed in section 4.2 above. However, there were additional benefits. Engaging with the interview cohort on two or three (if they attended the deliberative enquiry

event) resulted in practitioners becoming more comfortable with engagement with the project and enhanced opportunities for reflection as earlier responses could be put to participants, enabling them to consider their journey through the process of change. The value of this was highlighted when two participants joined me at the Probation Institute Practitioner conference a year after data collection was completed (June 2017). The two practitioners were surprised at how far they had come when I put their responses from phase one to them. They both commented on how being involved had helped them along that journey.

As Chapter Two showed, change is an enduring feature of the history of probation, and, as we await the results of the government review of TR and the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee, change is likely to continue to feature in whatever the future holds for probation. The reason given by commercial CRCs for not taking part in this study was that it was too soon in the process of change. If change is continuous, this will always be the case. Perhaps it is the style of research that needs to adapt if this hurdle is to be surmounted. It is hoped that one outcome of this research might be to demonstrate the value of the style of research adopted here.

Chapter 5: Durham Tees Valley Community Rehabilitation

Company: Development, Structure and Organisation

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Two described the history of probation and the policy developments that culminated in TR. This strategy resulted in the formation of the NPS and 21 CRCs. This chapter sets out to describe one CRC, DTV CRC, the only CRC in England and Wales that is not headed up by a profit-seeking corporation. The chapter will explore how this unique entity was formed, by looking back at significant events in the history of probation within the DTV area that may have culminated in this CRC's successful not-for-profit bid in the probation share sale. As described in Chapter Four, this research adopts a critical realist framework. In line with this theoretical framework, this chapter provides a detailed analysis of the context within which the process of change took place. Further, taking account of Yin's (2014) 'extreme' case study type, the chapter will seek to identify the features of this CRC that set it apart from other CRCs, using this insight to set up the discussion in subsequent chapters about how this impacted on practitioners as they negotiated change.

The chapter will argue that the history and culture of probation in the DTV area and its previous responses to the need for change contributed to its successful bid to be the only not-for-profit CRC in England and Wales. It will further argue that part of its success came from its approach to staff; consultation was the norm and staff ideas were taken on board, and staff were developed within the organisation resulting in a stable, loyal workforce. However, to comply with an ethical approach to competitive bidding, this culture of consultation had to be suspended as the bid was developed. Next, the chapter will move on to reveal some of the reactions of


practitioners to the mechanisms that brought about change. Explication of the structure, mission and stated values of the new organisation will provide a basis from which to explore the challenges faced as the new organisation took over from its predecessor. Empirical findings from both the qualitative and quantitative data collection phases of the research will be presented, to include practitioner and manager reactions to the changes as they were proposed and implemented. The final section will look at preparations for the future, early performance results, changes to the volume of work allocated to the CRC, and the management re-structure. This chapter will conclude with findings from the practitioners and managers about their hopes and fears for the future of the organisation and the profession more widely. Alongside these views from within the CRC, the views of a senior commissioner from NOMS and an NPS practitioner will be added to provide regional and national perspectives from those working directly with and monitoring the CRC. Besides establishing the context for this research, this chapter presents important findings, namely, an in-depth analysis of the core changes that were proposed from the perspective of practitioners and other stakeholders. From these initial perceptions and responses, key themes and mechanisms were identified for further exploration in later chapters.

5.2 Background to the Only Not-for-profit Community Rehabilitation Company

Prior to the establishment of DTV CRC, probation in the area underwent several structural changes. The diagram below shows the mergers and name changes that took place. First, following a period of increasing collaboration and asset sharing, Durham County Probation merged with Cleveland Probation to form the DTV Probation Trust in 2010. Four years later, in June 2014, the shadow CRC was

formed, followed by the creation of the DTV CRC, after a successful bid by Achieving Real Change for Communities (ARCC).

Figure 5.1: Probation in Durham Tees Valley from 1974 to the creation of DTV CRC

Durham Probation – 2007	Durham Probation		Durham Tees Valley
			Community Rehabilitation Company
Teesside (previously Cleveland) Probation – 2007	Teesside Probation collaboration prior to merger 2007–2010	Durham Tees Valley Probation Trust 2010–2014	June 2014–February 2015 (shadow status) Feb 2015 transferred out of public sector, now owned by ARCC

ARCC is a consortium of nine public, private and voluntary organisations. According to its website, ARCC's mission is:

To reduce the enduring scourge of re-offending which damages people, families and communities. ARCC will reduce the cycle of re-offending by supporting ex-offenders to become active citizens and by harnessing their potential to strengthen our local communities (ARCC 2016).

The managing partner in ARCC is 'Changing Lives in the North East', a community interest company (CIC) formed by the Durham and Tees Valley Probation Trust (DTV PT) staff, 'to enable its previous intelligence and expertise to contribute to ARCC's bid' (ARCC 2016). The other partners in the consortium include: three borough councils, an NHS trust, Safe in Tees Valley (a community safety partnership), and two charitable organisations providing housing, employment and family support for offenders, along with the Vardy Foundation, which encourages social action projects within deprived communities.

Durham Tees Valley was one of 12 probation trusts that was not merged with other trusts when the contract package area (CPA) (the term used to describe the 'lots' that were put up for sale when probation was offered to the market) boundaries

were determined. In total, when the sale was complete, the 35 probation trusts became 21 community rehabilitation companies. While 10 other bids had a probation staff mutual company as one of the partners, DTV CRC is the only CRC for which the staff mutual company became the managing partner after the contract was awarded. The rest of this section will describe factors that help to explain why a staff mutual was successful in this area, starting with a brief history of probation in the area.

5.2.1 Probation Service Delivery in Durham Tees Valley: A Brief History

Probation in the DTV area has a long history of innovation and willingness to embrace new ideas. Further, when government policy or local circumstances impacted on service delivery, they were prepared to challenge the status quo. However, what perhaps set this area apart was its apparent foresight in recognising that probation would have to adapt in a world dominated by neoliberal ideas, with the concomitant need to demonstrate efficiency and effectiveness.

5.2.1(i) Responding to Change: Maintaining Resources in the 1980s

As shown in Chapter Two, although TR represented a major change to the way probation services would be delivered, ideologically, it represented just another step along a path from welfare to the market. As early as 1983, Home Secretary Leon Brittan threatened to deconstruct probation as a single service and open it up to alternative providers (Stone 1984). The Statement of National Objectives and Priorities (SNOP), later to become national standards, was introduced in 1984, requiring each probation area to produce a local plan that demonstrated how it would work towards the objectives set.

Phillip Whitehead's PhD thesis captured the process that Cleveland Probation (which covered the Tees Valley part of DTV) went through to produce its local plan

(1988). Whitehead captures the culture of Cleveland Probation, characterising it as forward looking, wanting to respond to the proposals rather than have externally determined priorities thrust upon it. Cleveland Probation exhibited a real commitment to consulting with all grades of staff and the recognition that additional resources would be required if it were to successfully deliver its plan. Its efforts were rewarded at the time with additional resources that meant that, at a time when others faced cuts, Cleveland expanded its team and successfully delivered its plan.

5.2.1(ii) Responding to Change in the 1990s: Developing the Workforce

Ten years later, as penal policy took a punitive turn and Michael Howard declared that 'prison works' (Howard 1993) and probation's links with social work training were severed. This led to a gap in training and a shortage of qualified practitioners. According to Whitehead and Statham (2006)¹⁸, probation in the North East was hard hit by these changes as recruitment was made difficult due to a combination of '*high caseloads and acute social problems*' (p. 195). Ironically, the enduring socio-demographic context of the area may have contributed more recently to the stable nature of DTV CRC's workforce as few alternative opportunities for employment existed.¹⁹ Again, Cleveland Probation demonstrated its forward thinking. The senior management team, following crisis discussions around the difficulty in recruiting enough qualified practitioners to deliver its key objectives, recognised that, while the role of the professional practitioner was key to probation service delivery, not every aspect of its work with offenders required the skills of a fully trained practitioner (Whitehead and Statham 2006, p. 195). Cleveland Probation proposed

¹⁸ Roger Statham was Chief Probation Officer at Cleveland (now Teesside) from 1989 to 2001 and Phillip Whitehead worked in probation in Teesside between 1981 and 2007, latterly with responsibility for the training and development of practitioners.

¹⁹See Appendix 7 for evidence of deprivation in the DTV area.

that supervision could be divided into different phases, with fully qualified staff performing the critical role of assessing risk, formulating a sentence plan and then overseeing but not necessarily delivering all elements of the plan. In retrospect, given that this was conceived in the late 1990s, these ideas, as will be seen below, continue to underpin the way probation is delivered in this area and may have contributed to the successful bid to run the CRC twenty years later. Even when the new PO qualification became available in 1998, it did not fill the gap in supply of fully qualified POs. Thus, in 1998, an advert for the post of 'offender supervisor' was placed in Teesside. Offender supervisors were the precursor to today's PSOs.

Not everyone shared Cleveland Probation's views about the potential of a mixed economy of practitioners and providers within the supervision process. NAPO challenged the role of offender supervisor, declaring it 'unlawful', and took legal action. The case was heard by Mr Justice Collins in 1998, who, after considering the arguments put forward by both sides, dismissed NAPOs application (Whitehead and Statham 2006). The literature is remarkably sparse regarding the range of views held about the employment of unqualified practitioners within probation; although, elsewhere in the public sector, objections have been raised regarding the 'erosion of the profession' in teaching (Wilkinson 2005) and policing 'on the cheap' (Caless 2007; Loveday 2007). These claims suggest that moves such as this diluted the profession and played into the hands of neoliberalism and privatisation as private companies tended to want workers who followed instructions rather than questioning them (Spolander et al. 2015).

Although Cleveland Probation felt that not all practitioners needed to hold the full PO qualification, investment in staff training was recognised as important, and the introduction of the new NVQ qualifications provided an opportunity to train PSOs.

At the time of this study, a third of operational staff employed by DTV CRC commenced service prior to the turn of the century and, of those, over half are PSOs. Most PSOs attained the NVQ3 qualification that commenced in 1998, and some had gone on to become fully qualified POs, as shown in the quotation below:

Oh, I wouldn't say a massive shift but obviously the people come now with different skills to me. I came into this job – I'd worked for another, I'd worked in industry for 20 years before I came here, and I didn't have a degree in criminology. I mean they paid for me to go to university and I got my degree, but I am assuming they brought people like me in, because I'm not unique, because I had life skills and I maybe had that sort of personality where you can sit down and you can get things out of people (Simone, Probation Officer, June 2015).

This belief in developing staff from within the organisation goes some way to demonstrating a commitment to a mixed economy of practitioners who are trained for specific roles in the supervision process. The link between core values and loyalty and the link between professional loyalty and working in an organisation where there is congruency between organisational and professional values appears to have continued. This is illustrated by the remarks of a PSO about a session held within the CRC, where staff were invited to collectively develop the new organisation's mission and values a few months after the new owners took over. The observations seem reminiscent of the process 30 years before, when Cleveland Probation developed its local delivery plan in response to the SNOP. This finding was in contrast with findings elsewhere, where practitioners working in a CRC taken over by a private company felt let down by their senior managers, whom they felt had not fought hard enough against the changes (Robinson et al. 2016):

That [senior management values and willingness to consult on staff views] gives me faith, it really does, and I like to think that the core values of the organisation, if people will just embrace them. We all had an opportunity to write down what we

thought and that they are now the core values of our organisation and the core values are about respect and dignity and embracing all of that. Because, at the end of the day, it's all about the participants and it's about the service that we deliver to our participants. We have to – we have a moral obligation to make that a good journey for these people and to support – and I do not have rose-tinted glasses. You know, I've worked in this line of work for a lot of years but it's not – you know, it's not – it's what we should do for these people (Penny, Probation Service Officer, April 2016).

Thus, as DTV prepared for the implementation phase of TR, it did so with a stable, loyal workforce.

5.2.1(iii) Responding to Change: Developing Practice

The global financial crisis of 2007–8 brought another period of austerity for public services across the UK. Probation in the DTV area once again found itself short of qualified probation practitioners. Just as before, DTV took a pragmatic approach to tackle resource issues. In anticipation of the implementation of the Offender Management Act 2007 and probation areas having to make business cases to become self-governing trusts, Durham County Probation and Cleveland Probation began to work collaboratively. By 2008, plans were under way to merge into a single trust. Durham Tees Valley Probation Trust formerly came into being in April 2010.

The area was also tackling resource pressures by investigating new ways of delivering offender supervision that took account of desistance theory and made the best use of the experienced but diverse practitioner workforce and the additional resources that volunteer workers and partner agencies could provide. Initially, in Durham County, a working group was set up with practitioners and managers of all grades taking part. The group was supported by a leading forensic psychologist, Clive Hollin, with the active support of Russell Bruce, then Chief Officer of Durham County Probation and later Chief Executive of DTV Probation

Trust. The result was the Citizenship Programme. Citizenship drew on desistance theory, which had the aim of reintegrating offenders back into their communities. The programme used the information from OASys about local priority needs and risk factors experienced by offenders supervised in the area. Hollin's involvement ensured the programme took account of international research into the characteristics of best practice for achieving reductions in reoffending (Bonta et al. 2008; Andrews and Bonta 2010). Where the DTV model differed from existing programmes was its suitability for *all* offenders, with a degree of flexibility that allowed practitioners to use some professional judgement in determining which elements of the programme would benefit each individual. The programme comprised three stages: induction, referral to the community supervision service and next steps. During the induction phase, experienced practitioners (POs and PSOs) assessed need and carried out initial offence-focused work. This phase used motivational and problem-solving techniques, drawing on Priestley's (1993) One-to-One programme. Offenders would then work with their supervisors to develop individually tailored sentence plans to tackle specific criminogenic needs (Collins and Graham 2015). Part of this plan included referral to outside agencies and work aimed at reintegration into the community. Again, with the shortage of qualified practitioners, it was soon recognised that, at this stage of the sentence, support did not always require the specialist skills of a trained probation officer. The Citizenship Programme was piloted in 2009 and rolled out to the whole area following evaluation in 2012 (Pearson et al. 2014). The development of citizenship took account of the importance attached to community integration and forward planning that were key to desistance theory (Farrall 2004; McNeill 2006; McNeill and Weaver 2010; King 2012). Moving offender supervision out of probation offices and into the community aimed to reduce labelling and contamination of lower-risk

offenders (Lowenkamp and Latessa 2004), making it easier to move on from the identity of ‘offender’ (Maruna and LeBel 2010). The quotation below illustrates the thinking that underpinned the Gallant project, which took offender supervision out of probation offices and into the community, drawing on support from volunteers and peer mentors:

Yes, so – and what we thought was – so to look further into desistence, so how do we manage the de-labelling of our participants so they don’t always feel that their offender tag is there? So again, our business development unit, the team thought, right, okay then, let’s move CSS away from your normal probation offices where people have to report. Let’s move it out into the community – let’s make it more of a communal, you know a community project. So, people – you know, can feel more part of the community and they engage better (Julie Gallant²⁰, Volunteer Co-ordinator, April 2016).

This long-serving practitioner went on to seek permission from senior managers to carry out research that resulted in the development of the Gallant project. The quotation below captures the spirit of practicality and reflection that typified practitioners working in this area:

Right, right – so we had that [Cognitive Behavioural Programmes] to support the thinking and behaviour and that and – but there was still a gap there. So, one of the things that I thought of was, when it came to problems and problem solving, our participants don’t just have a problem once every fortnight or once every month when they report – it would be lovely if they could come in and we had a one-stop shop where people could come in when they were in crisis or whatever – or whether they just wanted someone to talk to. And we thought, well we don’t – what resources do we have? And we really didn’t have any. So, I suggested maybe that, you know, that we look at some resource that didn’t cost us anything or didn’t cost a lot, which was volunteers. And so, I got my pen and

²⁰ Julie Gallant originally carried out local research that resulted in the Gallant Hubs being established. She agreed to have her real name attached to her quotations.

paper and started to recruit volunteers (Julie Gallant, Volunteer Co-Ordinator, April 2016).

By 2012, the Gallant project was embedded within the DTV offender management arrangements, along with the newly formed Community Supervision Service (CSS). Table 5.2 below shows the structure of offender supervision in the DTV Probation Trust. The only other area to implement the Citizenship Programme was Bedfordshire Probation Trust, although its implementation did not include the additional phases reflected in the table below.

Table 5.1: Durham Tees Valley Probation Trust delivery model

One-to-one supervision	Community Supervision Service	Gallant
<p>Qualified practitioner (PO or Experienced PSO, depending on offender risk level):</p> <p>Citizenship Programme: All offenders do induction module, specialist modules, including Offending Behaviour Programmes and/or Drug and Alcohol Treatment.</p> <p>This phase typically lasted 4–16 weeks, with most medium-risk offenders completing within eight weeks.</p>	<p>PSO: Continued one-to-one using various cognitive behavioural therapy techniques, plus referral to outside agencies for dealing with practical issues. Some medium- to low-risk offenders, especially those in work, did not pass through this phase.</p>	<p>Lead by PSO: Supported by volunteers, peer mentors and a range of partner public and voluntary-sector agencies. Community based drop-in service; some offenders may be required to attend on occasions but can attend without an appointment. Volunteers may accompany offenders to appointments.</p> <p>Some high- and a few medium-risk offenders were deemed unsuitable for Gallant; they would continue to be seen in probation office by PO.</p>

Community supervisors were trained in desistance theory and were encouraged to develop projects that reflected the future orientation of desistance-based programmes in contrast to approaches that focused back on previous offending lifestyles. Evaluation of the Citizenship Programme and the Gallants was positive, with low- and medium-risk offenders showing significant reductions in rates and frequency of reoffending (Pearson et al. 2011). Partnership agencies gave their time

free of charge to the Gallants as they provided an opportunity to achieve some of their own targets for harder-to-reach clients. These developments showed that practitioners and managers working together with outside agencies and volunteers, to develop, implement and evaluate practical cost-efficient solutions to problems had become part of the culture in DTV. The quotations below from PO and a PSO, each with many years' service with probation in this area, demonstrate this commitment:

Yeah, getting people in with other agencies, getting them to use their resources. For example, one of my old participants I've referred to a social worker. Another one, again an alcoholic, I'm doing a lot of multi-agency and we're actually giving him a timetable and saying you have to go five times a week. Because his offending behaviour is when [he's] drunk, he'll make nuisance calls to the ambulance service going into accident and emergency, plus the police, is so financially costly compared to a lot of offences that we've now actually put a timetable together (Jane, Probation Officer, June 2015).

I think desistence is very good and we've had the Hubs for a while and because I was the CSS officer before, I'm quite, I'm with the flow of seeing people here but then also moving them across other agencies, more of the agencies, coming in (Sally, Probation Service Officer, June 2015).

5.2.1(iv) Responding to Change: Preparing for Privatisation without Profit

When David Cameron announced that he supported the idea of staff mutual companies competing in the market for the delivery of probation services, it was unsurprising that DTV put forward such a bid. Its history of partnership working, with other public and voluntary sector partners, gave it an advantage over bids submitted by staff mutuals working alone. The bid from ARCC was not the only bid for probation work in the DTV area. Four other bids were received, from: Innovo, Interserve (now Purple Futures), Sodexo and The Rehabilitation Company (Webster 2013).

A small group of staff of all grades worked on the bid. To comply with the rules of competition, an ethical wall²¹ had to exist between those preparing the bid and staff who were not involved, whatever their grade. This was not the way DTV had worked previously, as shown above in the preparation of the response to the SNOP, where developments were openly discussed and staff were included in the planning process. Although staff understood that this was part of the process, it still caused anxiety among practitioners, as shown in the quotation below from a middle manager in phase one of the in-depth interviews:

Yeah, well yeah, there was not a leak of it whilst it was going on, which obviously there couldn't have been but there absolutely wasn't a leak of it, so it was really, it was really kind of when it was unveiled, what is the script? And it wasn't there was it? (Middle Manager, September 2015).

The requirements of NOMS for the content of the bid meant that it contained little detail about how the promises of delivery and cost would be delivered if the bid was successful. Taken together, at the beginning of the research period, this secrecy and lack of detail contributed to practitioners feeling excluded and worried that their senior managers were unprepared for rolling out the changes needed for contract delivery. This concern and explanation about how the bid was prepared is demonstrated by the two quotations below. The first comes from an experienced practitioner, in June 2015, shortly after the new model had been announced. This practitioner reflects a theme that emerged during the research, whereby responsibility for negative aspects of the changes tended to be attributed outside the CRC; in this case, 'they' are the government:

²¹ When public sector contracts are offered to the market and bids are accepted from those already working within the service up for sale, efforts are made to isolate those working on the bid from current everyday practice within the organisation, the idea being that external bidders are not at a disadvantage; this is known as an ethical wall.

The detail is not in – which seems a bit odd, but I am sure in every Trust, every – because it was all, it appeared, I mean we are getting a bit political now, but the whole thing just seemed so rushed that they [the government] wanted to do it so quickly before the election and everything else. They thought right, just tell us what you are going to do. But we don't need to know, I don't want to know what is going on. I don't want to know how you are going to do it because you've said you are going to do it. That's your problem further down the line. And now it's become my problem and those above me, right, how are we going to do this because it's a massive task with a fraction of the workforce? Because people are so worried about jobs (Simone, Probation Officer, June 2015).

The quotation below from a middle manager explains her surprise at the lack of detail contained in the successful bid:

I think there was because there was, the contract itself or the bid that went in, I've had no experience of that but when I'd seen that I thought there would be more details. So, I think, initially, even when staff were saying to me about what's it going to be like? I was saying, well, when the contract is released or the bid is released, we will have a lot more detail. But it was actually quite surprising that it was just a few legal words that they will provide certain services to respond to that. And it was almost like a blank sheet, as it were, where, right, now we've got to fill in the gaps about how we do that.
(Middle Manager, September 2015).

Thus, it could be argued that practitioners working for DTV CRC entered the implementation phase of TR with a mixture of feelings and perceptions. There was frustration at being excluded from the bidding process and anxiety and confusion about what the bid contained. Before exploring staff reactions during the process of change, the next section briefly summarises the new model as it was announced in April 2015 and changes brought about by a reduction in anticipated volumes of work that were introduced in April 2016.

5.2.3 The New Operating Model

There were three main strands for implementation of the new operating model.

Structural changes to the estate, to include:

- Closure of the 13 existing local probation offices and the headquarters building in Middlesbrough town centre
- Commissioning of two new district centres, one in the north (Durham County) and one in the south (Teesside) of the area covered by DTV CRC. These would be purpose built and include interview rooms for those offenders who could not be seen in the Hubs and new facilities for the delivery of offender behaviour programmes
- Increasing the number of community justice centres (previously Gallants and now referred to as the Hubs)

Establishing the community justice model of supervision, to include:

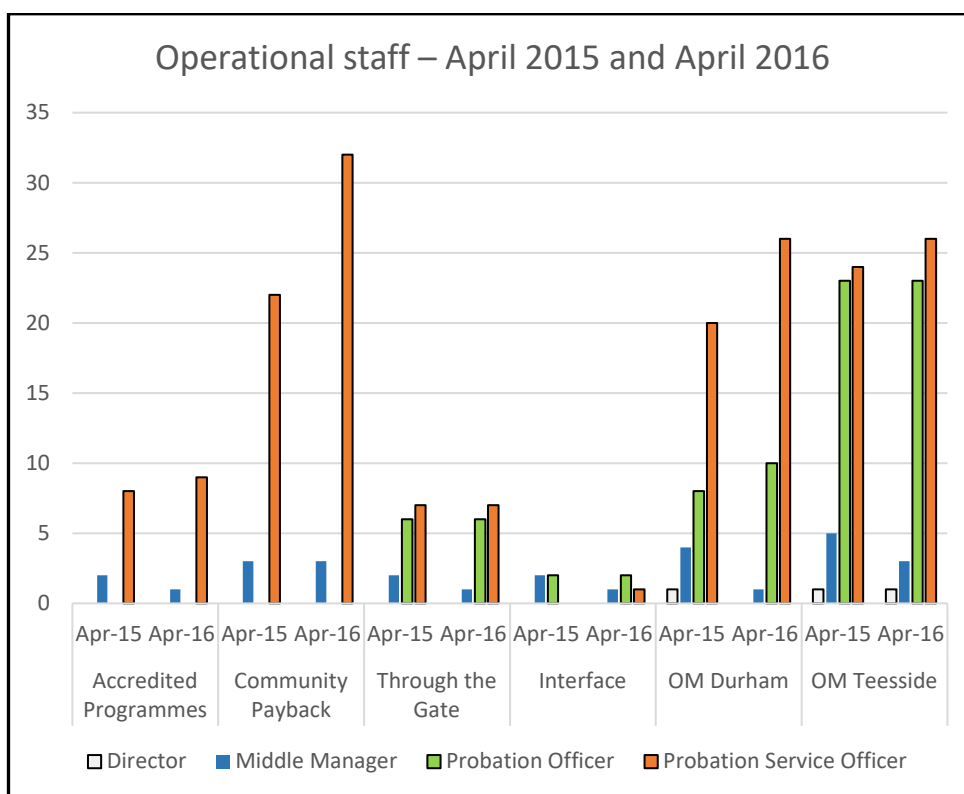
- Setting up the systems and processes for offender supervision to take place in the Hubs
- Creating the new service that would deliver the requirement to become more involved in working with offenders 'Through the Gate' (TTG)

Agile working, to include:

- Introduction of a new IT solution, practitioners issued with smart phones and laptops. Once in place practitioners would work in a largely paperless field and the link between NOMS OASys and other legacy case-based systems would be removed

Figure 5.2 shows the number of operational staff in post as the new model was announced in April 2015, and a year later, following the management restructure to make the savings needed when actual volumes of work directed towards DTV CRC failed to meet those anticipated at the time of the bid.

Figure 5.2: Staff totals by grade and role



Although no new offender management practitioner posts were created between the two phases of the research, some staff returned from maternity leave and additional Community Payback posts were filled. Thus, while the number of manager posts was reduced, the offender-facing services were maintained. What is not reflected here is the reduction in administration support. When the local offices were open, there were seven administration managers providing support to practitioners as well as managing the day-to-day operation of the offices. The criminal justice Hubs, where offender supervision is carried out in the CRC, do not have dedicated administration support or paid reception staff, leaving practitioners and volunteers to welcome offenders as they arrive. There was also a small reduction in the number of case administrators who provided direct support to practitioners, from 32 in April 2015 to 26 in April 2016.

Attempts were made to place this comparison in context by comparing these data with workload and staff profiles from each CRC at the beginning and end of the data collection period. Two freedom of information (FOI) requests were submitted to the Ministry of Justice. However, the data requested was not forthcoming. The response indicated that the data was available but that it would be too expensive to extract, a difficulty likely to recur as FOIs have to be sent to the Ministry of Justice as a single request but then the data has to be collected from each provider separately. As a result, this section draws on data contained in a report commissioned by NAPO in 2015 (see Kirton and Guillaume (2015) below) and information reported in the media (Brown 2015; NAPO 2016b, a). There have been announcements by a number of CRC owners about their intentions to reduce their staff numbers, some by more than 40%. Table 5.2 summarises the announcements made by CRCs up to spring 2017.

Table 5.2: Proposed redundancies in CRCs

Name of CRC owner	CRCs owned	% reductions announced
Sodexo	Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire; Norfolk and Suffolk; Essex; Northumbria; Cumbria and Lancashire; South Yorkshire (= 6 in total, with 20.2% of starts in 2010)	Up to 40%
Working Links	Dorset, Devon and Cornwall; Bristol, Gloucestershire, Somerset and Wiltshire and Wales (= 3 in total, with 13% of starts in 2010)	Up to 42%
Purple Futures	Humberside, Lincolnshire and North Yorkshire; Cheshire and Greater Manchester; Merseyside; West Yorkshire and Hampshire and Isle of Wight (= 5 in total, with 18.8% of starts in 2010)	10–12%

This table suggests that 14 of the 21 CRCs, covering 53% of the volume of predicted offender starts, had, by June 2016, announced significant redundancies. Table 5.3 looks at the volumes of work and staff complements when shadow CRCs were first created (Kirton and Guillaume 2015). This paints a different picture. While it is not possible to make a direct comparison across CRCs regarding workload, due to geographical variations and differences in offender characteristics, it is unlikely that these features could account for the differences shown here. Kirton and Guillaume reveal that some shadow CRCs had already begun to make savings, through natural wastage prior to the share sale.

Table 5.3: Distribution of predicted offender starts across CRCs

CRC	CRC Owners	Approx. No. of Offenders	Size of CRC workforce (FTE)	No. of Offenders per FTE	Variation from Mean
Cumbria and Lancashire	Sodexo	10,000	337	29.7	3.8%
Cheshire & Greater Manchester	Purple Futures led by Interserve	20,000	586	34.1	19.4%
Merseyside	Purple Futures led by Interserve	8,000	279	28.7	0.3%
Staffordshire & West Midlands	The Reducing Reoffending Partnership	19,000	698	27.2	-4.8%
Wales	Working Links	16,000	586	27.3	-4.5%
West Mercia and Warwickshire	EOS Works	6,000	210	28.6	-0.1%
Thames Valley	MTC Novo	7,000	290	24.1	-15.6%
Gloucestershire, Avon & Somerset and Wiltshire	Working Links	9,000	386	23.3	-18.4%
Dorset, Devon & Cornwall	Working Links	7,000	275	25.5	-11.0%
Hampshire	Purple Futures led by Interserve	7,000	273	25.6	-10.3%
Kent, Surrey & Sussex	Seetec	14,000	468	29.9	4.6%
London	MTC Novo	33,000	899	36.7	28.4%
Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire & Cambridgeshire	Sodexo	12,000	385	31.2	9.0%
Essex	Sodexo	6,000	279	21.5	-24.8%
Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire & Leicestershire	The Reducing Reoffending Partnership	14,000	581	24.1	-15.7%
Norfolk & Suffolk	Sodexo	5,000	190	26.3	-8.0%
South Yorkshire	Sodexo	7,000	233	30.0	5.1%
West Yorkshire	Purple Futures led by Interserve	12,000	456	26.3	-8.0%
North Yorkshire, Humberside & Lincolnshire	Purple Futures led by Interserve	10,000	354	28.2	-1.2%
Durham Tees Valley	ARCC	8,000	208	38.5	34.5%
Northumbria	Sodexo	7,000	317	22.1	-22.8%
Totals		237,000	8,290	28.6	

Source: Kirton and Guillaume (2015, p. 58)

Table 5.3 reveals some irregularity between the distribution of offenders and the distribution of staff across CRCs (staff and offender data as of December 2014). It should be borne in mind that there will always be some disparity; for example, in rural areas, staff may have to cover wide geographical areas, perhaps working from

two or more local offices. Further, the characteristics of the offenders managed in different areas may also vary. However, this table goes some way to explain some of the readjustments needed when CRCs took over. Kirton and Guillaume also report that 17 CRCs saw a fall in staff numbers between September 2014 and December 2014, with Derbyshire, Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire (DLN) (4.76%) and DTV (4.72%) seeing the biggest falls. Interestingly, these two CRCs are at opposite ends of the spectrum; DTV has one of the leanest workforces, while DLN, even after these reductions, still had one of the lowest offender-to-staff ratios. Of relevance to the changing profile of staff within CRCs, there were also few current vacancies and, where they did exist, they tended to be in the lowest pay grades, mainly administration posts (p. 24). DTV's lean structure going into TR is also evidence of its response to impending change and its preparation for privatisation, making changes in a planned rather than a reactive way.

Having described the structure of DTV CRC, before and during the transition from its status as a public-sector probation trust to its new position as a not-for-profit company, the next section explores the changes brought about as the new operating model was introduced.

5.3 Implementing the New Model

The new operating model represented both continuity and change. First, changes to the buildings from which the service was supported and delivered represented a whole new approach to architecture and facilities. Next, the operating model based around community justice Hubs within DTV CRC represented some continuity from before; lower-risk offenders and those who had successfully completed offence-focused work had previously been supervised within the Gallants. Finally, although not the focus of this research, TTG was established as a

new service to respond to the requirement to supervise all offenders receiving a prison sentence.

5.3.1 Changes to Architecture and Facilities

The buildings from which DTV probation trust operated prior to the introduction of the new operating model were mainly old. These buildings had been adapted for use as probation offices. Newer buildings reflected the era of offender management when probation supervision sessions took place in individual interview rooms, protected and surveyed by access control systems and closed-circuit television (CCTV). Jake Phillips's (2014a) research critically examined the architecture of probation offices that developed as managerialism began to pervade offender supervision. Phillips described the separation between zones where offenders were allowed, signified by sterility, control and compliance, and those reserved for probation staff, where conversation was free from the compliant tones of offender zones and walls were covered with personal and team photos and mementoes. Phillips also noted the dissonance between the environment of offender areas and the philosophy and research that underpinned desistance theory. Relationships that support desistance were characterised by: trust, respect and community integration, whilst the architecture of probation offices was described by Phillips as creating an 'us and them' attitude (Phillips 2014a p. 117). The sections below introduce themes that emerged in response to changes to the architecture and facilities provided by DTV CRC.

5.3.1(i) Community Justice Hubs²²

Practitioners were divided about the impact of the Hub environment on their relationships with offenders. Generally, in phase one, POs were largely suspicious

²² Community justice Hubs will subsequently be referred to as Hubs.

of the new delivery model, worried that privacy would be affected. Even if conversations were not overheard, requesting a private space in the open environment of the Hub might draw attention and make offenders feel vulnerable. For some, this view persisted into phase two, as shown in the quotation below:

I think that you never really – we’re never going to know just what we’re going to lose in terms of confidentiality. The one-to-one private room that was a given, you were always going to be in that environment, so you weren’t going to be making a deal about being in a one-to-one room, always allowed anything to come up and to be discussed in that moment without any attention being drawn to anyone else. And we lost that, and I think that’s a significant loss (Sharon, Probation Officer, March 2016).

The next quotation from a PSO suggests that the environment of the Hubs tackled some of Phillips’s (2014a) critique of the impact of probation architecture prior to TR. This practitioner felt that the more relaxed environment helped to develop relationships that were equal, helping offenders to engage positively with supervision:

This is who I need to see, I need to see this person; so they can have a cup of tea and wait for me if I’m busy at the time but – and that’s – so we still offer all of that and the trust and the relationships, we’ve got the private interview facilities and to be able to sit down and have a cup of tea or a coffee, or not even a drink if they don’t want one, with a person on an equal level and an equal footing, you get a lot more from these people. Our compliance is a lot higher than it used to be, we’re seeing them in their local community (Penny, Probation Service Officer, 2016).

PSOs had had experience of working in this type of environment before the changes and they had supervised offenders with less complex risks and concerns than their qualified colleagues. The variation in perceptions about this way of working between practitioners will be explored further in Chapter Six.

5.3.1(ii) Local Office Closure

Local offices had provided much more than simply a space in which offender supervision was carried out. Practitioners expressed concern about the loss of opportunities to share information, between colleagues within the CRC and between CRC practitioners and those who had been moved into NPS. While the local offices remained open, NPS and CRC practitioners tended to be co-located and interactions between them were frequent and mainly informal. However, after office closure, meetings between NPS and CRC practitioners became more formal and less frequent. This is described from the perspective of both organisations in the quotations below, made shortly after office closure. The first, a PSO within the CRC, explains how the structural changes impacted on what were originally close relationships, even friendships. She also makes the point that separation of IT systems between the NPS and the CRC has made access to information more difficult:

Because the colleagues we worked with we'd worked with quite a long time, they were good at sharing information verbally, you know, when we were having a coffee or having our dinner, they would still say, 'Oh, so-and-so's in court, by the way, did you know so-and-so was living with so-and-so?'. You know, and we all knew that although officially we weren't supposed to be sharing information we still were verbally because you do with your colleagues. But we were all really aware that when we moved out, not only would we not have it on the system, which was one thing we really missed, but obviously we wouldn't have any contact with our colleagues. And I must admit that's still a big negative, but I don't think there's a lot we can do about that and especially now we're out of the offices and we're not even going to see them, and I think that's still a bone of contention. It's so unfortunate that we don't have the access – even on the computer. I mean we had the previous record, we had the OASys (Sally, Probation Service Officer, March 2016).

The quotation below, from a PO working for the NPS, reinforces this view. Her interview was carried out during the transition from old NOMS IT systems to the new CRC system, which temporarily exacerbated difficulties with information transfer and communication. However, it is the physical separation between CRC and NPS staff that seems to have made it more difficult for both sides of the service to carry out their roles:

RESP: Well yeah, because if, for example, I was writing a pre-sentence report on somebody and was talking to my colleague who was sat in the office opposite, I could just go over and talk to them; whereas now I have to send them an email or try and phone them and it's such tight timescales by the time they get back to you, because you don't know when they're in or about you don't share that information.

INT: And because now they're sort of agile working, I know they've now got their laptops but I certainly found when I was trying to sort of – because the people that I've tracked, trying to get hold of them was really quite difficult this time because they are not office based anymore.

RESP: And at the minute it's the thing with they've only got mobiles and they haven't got landlines and then they didn't have computers, they didn't have this and – it's been a nightmare really. But I know I've wrote a pre-sentence report recently and I've emailed the officer for an update on their view of what the contact has been like and their engagement with supervision and they didn't get back to me. They never replied. But she used to sit in the office down the corridor from me before (Probation Officer, NPS, April 2016).

5.3.1(iii) Changes to Administration and Interventions Facilities

The other main element of the structural changes to DTV's estate was the closure of the headquarters building in central Middlesbrough and the commissioning of two new district centres, one in the Teesside area of the CRC and a second in Durham County. The purpose of the district centres was four-fold. First, they provided accommodation for the non-operational services that used to operate out

of the headquarters building. Second, each building included purpose-built facilities for running the interventions programmes to CRC and NPS offenders, supported by a fleet of minibuses to pick up offenders from locations close to their home addresses. Third, if offenders were not considered suitable to attend the Hub, a few interview rooms were available where practitioners could undertake one-to-one supervision sessions. Finally, they provided 'hot-desking' facilities for practitioners to use to meet with other practitioners and managers, dock and update their laptops periodically and attend training and team meetings. These buildings, one reconfigured from an existing building and the second built from scratch, were opened less than a year after the new owners took over the CRC.

It could be argued that closure of the local offices created divisions between practitioners and between practitioners and their managers. However, for CRC staff, the new district offices brought senior managers into closer working contact with practitioners and offenders, although a divide was created between NPS and CRC staff. Practitioner perceptions of the impact of these changes will be explored further in Chapter Six. The next section describes how managers and practitioner teams worked together to set up the community justice Hubs and develop local working practices for offender supervision.

5.3.2 Establishing the 'Hub' Model of Offender Supervision

As described above, a template for the new Hubs already existed in the form of the Gallants, established as part of rolling out the Citizenship Programme. However, prior to the implementation of the new model, most offenders were seen by qualified POs or experienced PSOs in one-to-one sessions within the local probation offices before moving on to the Gallant. The induction module of the Citizenship Programme would be used, which dealt with offence-related issues and created a

sentence plan. Some practitioners saw this offence-based work as setting probation apart from other agencies and thus justified its existence, particularly the existence and need for qualified probation officers. The quotation below, made after the announcement of the new model and before probation officers began working within the Hubs, expresses anxiety about the quality of work with practitioners as well as concerns for the future of the profession more generally.

But – so our work as a PO and a PSO was, you are doing the offence-focused work; you are doing it one-to-one with a client. And actually, what we are going to be asked to do from December onwards is – and no one has said this out loud I don't think, not offence-focused work. Because offence-focused work truly can only happen in a one-to-one environment because of all the implications of confidentiality and everything around that. So, we will be doing the practical work from the Hub from the get go. So, ultimately, if we're not doing offence-focused work, will we be doing the work that any other voluntary organisation could be doing? (Ruth, Probation Officer, June 2015).

The way different groups of practitioners viewed the future of the profession will be explored later. This quotation reflects anticipated problems articulated during phase one. At this stage, most qualified officers had yet to experience working in the Hubs. Anticipated concerns were also raised regarding lack of privacy while discussing sensitive issues and lack of continuity if responsible officers²³ did not see their own offenders on a regular basis. The quotation below, is an example of a reflective practitioner who is aware of potential problems but uses this foresight to anticipate and problem solve:

Interviewer: Okay, and in the current situation, in the current climate, and I know some of this will be a bit speculative because, as you say, you are just at the point of the major

²³ 'Responsible officer' is the generic term used for offender managers who are allocated specific cases; the term does not distinguish between POs and PSOs.

changes starting to take place, do you feel able to put those values into practice?

Jane: Yes and no. I think that I can, where I have the freedom to do in terms of trying to find the space and time, because we see them at the Hubs, trying to divide my time, trying not to get people come in at the same time so I can do specific pieces of work. Or I might do more home visits and I will try and be a little bit more flexible in my work, but I think yes (Jane, Probation Officer, September 2015).

Unlike the practitioner above who was beginning to work through these problems, not everyone was able to do this. The quotations below, taken from phase one and phase two interviews with the same practitioner, suggest that practitioners did not all adapt to change in the same way:

They are not giving us, I mean, for instance they are taking all our files from us now, all the – whenever I come down to see somebody I'll bring my file, bring their file, come down and say, okay, how have you been doing from last time I saw you and all this kind of thing? Oh, so and so and so and so – and then they'll talk about something and I'm saying, well, have you seen your previous convictions? Well no, I've never seen – well, let's have a look because they are in here. Do you know what I mean? (Donna, Probation Service Officer, June 2015).

This is it and they're sat waiting and so somebody will come up and say, 'Donna, you've got two waiting, or you've got three waiting, do you want me to see one of them?' And I'll look up and I'll look at the people and say, 'Well, I need to see him and I would like to see her,' and so they can't necessarily do that. But if they do, and if, I mean, there again, you see, I mean everybody who sees people, the volunteers and the staff, they're great but you don't get that quality of information that you would get yourself (Donna, Probation Service Officer, March 2016).

In line with the consultative, inclusive approach that typified probation in DTV prior to TR, flexibility and local discretion in setting up the Hubs to meet local needs was built into the implementation plan. However, the extent to which practitioners were involved in the design of the Hubs seemed to vary between areas and team

leaders. Some practitioner teams were given the opportunity and responsibility for identifying suitable locations for new Hubs. They were also encouraged to establish protocols and processes for the Hubs in which they worked. I spent time in two of the Hubs, observing the creativity of practitioners working with other agencies and volunteers to provide offenders with support and access to services related to their offending. Job Centre staff, Housing Association staff and, in a city centre women's Hub, the local street-work support worker were present, along with a volunteer offering manicures for the women attending the Hub. At another, out-of-town Hub on a deprived estate, links into community projects and support agencies provided a sense of inclusion and integration into mainstream provision. This quote from a practitioner who had worked in the Gallants prior to privatisation expresses what good practice in this environment can look like:

I think it's because of the way that we work, and you know it's like a partnership, they treat us, the agencies we very much treat as part of our team within the Hub. So, it's a team around a person (Penny, Probation Service Officer, April 2016)

When interviewing practitioners, it did appear that the Hubs varied, both in the way they were run and the degree of investment staff and partner agencies made in them. For example, the first practitioner below commented on the difficulty in getting some agencies on board. Austerity measures had cut resources and partner agencies were sometimes reluctant to attend a Hub unless there was some degree of certainty that they would meet offenders who would match their own requirements to meet targets and secure their own funding streams. The second quotation suggests that it was not just partner agencies but also some practitioners who did not fully commit to the Hubs:

But everybody's got their own – I mean we used to have somebody who came here from the Department of Work and

Pensions and he was always here on a, say, a Monday, but because the appointments dried up that were being made, they thought, and rightly so, I can see why – well, you know I’m sat here. I could be seeing drop-ins at my own base where I could maybe get twenty in an hour and yet I’ve only got three people over eight here. So, they’ve got their own agendas. They need targets to meet. So, it’s a case of getting them through the doors to be able to get the numbers. So, it’s very much trying to get others on board now, you know and that’s always been the case (June, Probation Service Officer, June 2015).

Yeah, there’s a minority, yeah, it is just a small minority but there’s still groups of people that don’t believe they should be, you know, doing that. ‘That’s not my role, I’m coming to see my people and that’s it’, whereas we come here and we run it different to a lot of Hubs where, if we’re not busy with one of our clients, we’ll go and see one of our colleagues’ clients (Sharon, Probation Officer, April 2016).

This variation across different Hubs was identified at the feedback event held at the end of the data collection period. It was also picked up by an inspection report, as shown by the comment below:

Community justice Hubs offered differential levels of provision to participants, and the hours some Hubs were available were limited (Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Probation 2016b, p. 29).

The introduction of agile working was linked to issues arising from office closure and setting up and working mainly out of the Hubs. The next section first describes what is meant here by ‘agile working’ before exploring practitioner reaction to its introduction in DTV CRC.

5.3.3 Agile Working

Different terms emerged as data collection progressed to describe a new way of working that was not dependent on having a permanent desk space for personal use. Initially, I heard ‘remote working’, then ‘flexible working’ and finally ‘agile working’. It is perhaps understandable that the term ‘remote’ was quickly dropped,

as this implies distance, loneliness and seems a negative term. Flexible working has fewer connotations but, perhaps, in the context of a service already fragmented through the division between NPS and CRCs and the range of different providers of services that own the CRCs, 'flexible' connoted too much choice. Reference to agility appears within the CRC's value statement, under the heading of 'Flexibility':

Flexibility: Our not-for-profit business model means we can reinvest to provide the best interventions, alliances and partnerships. Through our specialist knowledge we develop creative and innovative approaches to our work with participants. We use professional freedom together with agility to make a real impact on measures and our vision to enable people to participate in a positive future. DTV CRC (2016).

According to the Agile Organisation (2016) agile working '*incorporates dimensions of time and place flexibility, but also involves doing work differently focusing on performance and outcomes – it is transformational*'. This would appear to capture the sentiments above as well as some of those espoused by the TR agenda. The same website goes on to explain that agile working is more than new processes and new technology; to succeed, it requires a culture shift and real commitment from staff, particularly from management. The statement below captures some of the potential risks to a successful move to agile working:

*However, for many organisations the main barriers to agile working revolve around culture and mindset. Simply buying new technology and investing in new workspaces are not enough. Engaging with your workforce, empowering people in a relationship of trust and responsibility are the key. This involves change in organisational culture and individual mindset – particularly in senior and middle management – focusing on a shift to embrace the **Agile Agenda**, only then will organisations be able reap the full benefits of the new way of working (The Agile Organisation 2016).*

As discussed in Chapter Three, this representation of agile working would appear to reflect the tenets of a trusting organisation, although others are more sceptical.

For example, Mair and Burke (2013) link such changes to working practice as utilitarian, rather than value-laden. Agile working was central to the new working model at DTV CRC and, thus, the extent to which practitioners embraced the changes is likely to have a major impact on the success of the new model. It would appear from the description of how DTV CRC came into being that the culture of the organisation does seem to encourage innovation and openness to new ways of working. It was also apparent that, within the existing estate of small local offices with practitioners tending to stay in the same place for long periods of time, another aspect of the culture within DTV CRC was a sense of belonging that had strong roots in 'place', or 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Khanchel and Ben Kahla 2013). So, how successful was the organisation in taking practitioners with it into this new way of working? As might be expected, views differed; again, these will be explored further in Chapter Six. There was an overlap between the characteristics of practitioners that embraced the more relaxed way of working in the Hubs and those who also embraced agile working. Further, there are several aspects to agile working. Some practitioners embraced some aspects of agile working but rejected or resisted others. For example, one aspect to agile working is that it offers some flexibility of when and where work that does not involve face-to-face contact is carried out, leading one practitioner to comment:

Like, I feel like my assessments aren't as good as what they potentially could be if I had more time. But I'm hoping that can get back to normal once we have the laptops and then we do have the flexibility. And, I mean, it's good for me because I've got three young children, so it does give me more flexibility around childcare and stuff like that, so ... (Susan, Probation Officer, March 2016).

Others worried that blurring work and family responsibilities could prove difficult and make it difficult to relax when away from work, and might even increase the

number of hours worked as having a laptop available could prompt dedicated professionals to log on even when on leave or on a rest day:

There's no doubt that I'm going to do the hours that I'm supposed to do but I'll do more probably, but I do not want to sit at home and work. Home is separate from work (Donna, Probation Service Officer, Interview, September 2015).

I have boundaries, very definite boundaries. So, on a personal level, I will arrange my working day as a working day and then I will go home when I'm finished (Michelle, Probation Service Officer, Interview, June 2015).

The two most consistent concerns were loss of contact with and support from peers, and less access to line management and supervision. Some colleagues had already moved across to the NPS. Once local offices closed, day-to-day contact would be broken:

Right now, we are a stable team with a wealth of local knowledge and information. I am aware that might change (Gina, Probation Service Officer, Phase One Survey, April 2015).

The concern is that there will be a lot of individual working and staff will lose the close contact with colleagues in the office for information sharing and general discussion and advice (Danielle, Probation Service Officer, Phase One Survey, April 2015).

I think you do because if you think your manager is not there or maybe your manager wouldn't be your first port of call for whatever reason. If somebody is there you sort of bounce things off colleagues, you know? And that is a nice thing to have (Sally, Probation Service Officer, Interview, June 2015).

This last quotation alluded to the second main concern. This concern was also reflected in early inspections across the new CRCs: the impact of less accessible line managers. This was compounded by getting to grips with new ways of working and the need to use greater professional discretion when working with offenders. Practitioners were generally very loyal to their personal line managers but

concerned about the impact of further cuts to management brought about by the management restructure.

So that's put a downer on everybody, so I think – you know, that sort of nervousness about is my job safe? How are we going to be managed in the future? It has come at a really bad time and it's upsetting for staff but, again, it's change isn't it? And change is what we've always had (Mary, Probation Service Officer, March 2016).

The role of line managers in having oversight of the quality of the service provided to offenders was also a concern expressed by some as offering an opportunity for some colleagues to do the minimum:

Yes and no, because I think it's very much back to how it used to be because, although we've always had national standards before and seen people – I mean, some of the managers will say just see people once a month. I don't agree with that and I'll use telephone calls more than that. I will have some people in weekly and I will still do work with people (Jane, Probation Officer, March 2016).

The quotation above by Jane about the impact of a reduction in national standards from an experienced PO captured the potential for a reduction in the quality of supervision provided for offenders. This was also identified in the Quality and Inspection report by HMIP (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation 2016b). The way that quality practice could be assured within the new service was a main feature of the discussion at the feedback event. One practitioner who had, up until that point, been reflectively critical of the changes, suggested that, in the absence of national standards and management oversight, teams needed to use features of the new environment to ensure a quality service was delivered:

With regard to quality assurance – again, the Hub pre- and post-meeting could be a record. When I left the community team, this was very informal, and I wasn't aware of it being recorded from a stats or quality assurance point of view. But it seems like a useful tool already in use. Quality assurance and

evaluation should be embedded into a process from the start, like equality impact evaluations. And not made onerous or difficult to record – so to latch them onto the pre-post Hub meeting makes sense (Ruth, Probation Officer, Feedback Event June 2016).

So far, the themes emerging as the new model was introduced have focused on those elements of the changes that were part of the local response to TR. The final theme relates to changes imposed by TR itself, as national standards were relaxed, and the community sentence framework made less prescriptive.

5.3.4 Reversing Standardisation

The theme of reversing standardisation arose in a number of ways. Most notably, practitioners were divided about the benefits or drawbacks of a relaxation of national standards. Practitioners had more discretion and were able and, indeed, encouraged to use their professional judgement in determining the frequency, nature and content of contacts with offenders. Prior to the fragmentation of probation as a national public service, practitioners and academics had criticised the level of prescription enforced by national standards, suggesting this was de-professionalising practitioners (Nash 2003; Vanstone 2004; Whitehead 2010; Mair and Burke 2012). However, in the context of post-privatisation, some practitioners were concerned that this lack of standards could impact on the quality of the service offered to offenders. Building on Jane's earlier quotation, here, she sees the combination of more remote line management and the reversal of standardisation as opening the possibility of some practitioners offering less support to offenders:

Yes and no, because I think it's very much back to how it used to be because, although we've always had national standards before and seen people – I mean, some of the managers will say just see people once a month. I don't agree with that and I'll use telephone calls more than that. I will have some people in weekly and I will still do work with people. And I think we do have the scope to do that because of the changes with the

administration, but I think that it's a smaller percentage probably take that view. Some will do sort of the bare minimum but then I think, well, are you (a) building up the relationship, and (b) are you actually doing meaningful work?
(Jane, Probation Officer, March 2016).

Others extended their concerns beyond the boundaries of DTV CRC to the differential experience offenders received if moving between CRCs:

I'm currently care-taking a case from another area and I'd scanned all the supervision contract and sent it to her and said, 'There's all the paperwork ready – I'm aware that you need to do the ISP, can you upload it to Delius?' So, therefore, she sent me an email back saying, 'When I have time I'll complete the ISP', and I thought, that's out of our nine days, way out. And I just thought, wow! This poor guy ended up getting recalled because they sent him away twice, so he just slipped through the net. And you just think, hang on a minute, if you'd have taken him in we wouldn't have had any of this. Where he went to another [name of area] area prior to that and they see him at least twice for me – different – [name of area] is appalling, it really is appalling for the transfer process (Sharon, Probation Officer, April 2016).

This view is resonant of some of the arguments put forward when national standards were first introduced, summarised here by Mair and Burke:

Partly as a result of the local nature of probation services and partly because individual probation officers had a great deal of discretion in how to carry on their work, a regular criticism of probation work in general was that it was all too often inconsistent, not just between areas but within areas. And such inconsistency can mean that offenders are treated differently, which is not compatible with justice (Mair and Burke 2012, p. 141).

Attitudes to the relaxation of national standards and greater discretion were a theme that tended to provoke different responses from practitioners, in part dependent on when they joined the profession and the type of training undertaken. This will be expanded on in Chapter Six, while the impact of a reduction in

standardisation on trust between practitioners, within the CRC and between different parts of the newly fragmented service will be explored in Chapter Seven.

In summary, the new operating model met with mixed reactions. While practitioners were critical of some of the changes, most remained loyal to the senior management of the organisation and, attributed most of their negative comments to causes that arose from outside their own organisation. Practitioners were reflective, drawing on existing knowledge and experience to evaluate potential impacts of the move to new ways of working. What did begin to emerge, during phase two of the data collection, was that practitioners who had experience of practice prior to the height of national standards and a less prescriptive way of working tended to approach the change with more enthusiasm and confidence, while those with less experience were more anxious. Prior to moving onto a more in-depth discussion of the findings in the next two chapters, the final section of this chapter will present evidence from the study about how practitioners, managers and those external to the CRC saw the future.

5.4 Preparing for the Future

Transformation requires vision, a vision that is shared with those tasked with making it happen. Transformational leaders are able to communicate their vision in a way that motivates (Doherty et al. 2014). This is particularly true when working in an environment where a public service is being delivered, where practitioners are expected to value, respect and motivate their clients. The history of probation within the DTV area shows that successive leaders have had vision and that this perhaps contributed to the success of the bid made by ARCC when other not-for-profit bids failed. The senior manager quoted below felt the future of DTV CRC depended on it maintaining its ability to innovate and stand out from the rest:

So, for us, because we're small and we need to survive, what was it that gave us that unique edge in the first place? And I think part of it was the kind of honest discussion around motivation, but critically that bit about desistance and social action – if we are not doing that then I really worry for us about moving forward (Senior Manager, May 2016).

Again, practitioners varied in the way they saw the future of DTV CRC and probation more widely. Unsurprisingly, during phase one of the research, when the new model had just been announced, there was still a degree of uncertainty about the future. Most practitioners tended to focus on what was happening now, how it would affect their day-to-day work with offenders and how it might impact on their private lives, while others were quite despondent about what the future held for this CRC. This is captured in the quotation below:

My fear is that, in time, whether we win or lose as a CRC, whether we hit all our targets and are seen as extremely successful or whether we fail and are seen as failing, will not make a difference to the encroachment of an organisation the likes of [name of provider] or whoever, in buying us in the future. I don't think success or failure of our – we keep getting told, if we succeed, if we succeed we'll keep going, we'll keep going but actually I think the likes of [name of provider], if we are succeeding will think, oh, we'll have them, and if we're failing, they'll think, we'll get in there and kick them out and we'll have them (Ruth, Probation Officer, June 2015).

This is a very stark comment, and while not the view of most participants, this underlying insecurity cannot be dismissed. Robinson et al.'s (2016) research identified similar patterns of concern when interviewing practitioners during an earlier phase of implementing TR, describing it as 'liminality'. Ruth's observation was put to one of the senior managers within the CRC, who recognised these concerns in a period of uncertainty and change:

The issue about being taken over, you know, if we're successful or unsuccessful, that's always something we're going to have to live with. Actually, it's to do with the financial model within

the organisation and how viable that is over the long run
(Senior Manager, May 2016).

However, towards the end of phase one, and particularly in phase two, practitioners and managers were beginning to look to the future. One experienced practitioner explained how she saw the new ways of working going forward and perhaps how this might expand the remit of the CRC into other aspects of social support work in the DTV area:

We could have all of these people under our umbrella and it gives more scope for those within us and it also brings income in and there is a lot of scope. Why can't ARCC be as big as Lifeline or NACRO²⁴ and have its fingers in just as many pies because then, that way, you are protecting staff in a number of ways. You will win and lose bits but there's also other ones come up. You know, can you then have your own accommodation? Look at the areas that are problematic. Are there ways of us having a training provider? There are lots of different things but it's having a CRC that can see the scope for a small organisation to become a much bigger organisation
(Jane, Probation Officer, September 2015).

At the same time, a middle manager reflected on the importance of being mindful (Levinthal and Rerup 2006), focusing on the need to maintain routine practice in the present but also being open to ideas of expansion and creativity for the future:

Or to have a better reputation to bid for different work like working with victims and things like that and – we've got to think outside of the box and I don't worry what this is going to be like in ten years' time because I haven't got that much control over that really. I've just got to do my best for the now in the up and coming two or three years and that's kind of – If I sat and worried about it then I'd never get anything done really. Nothing done positively – I wouldn't maybe take the risk
(Middle Manager, September 2015).

Potential futures are reflected on below by senior managers from DTV CRC and NOMS. Both refer to the disabling effects of uncertainty but, more positively, both

²⁴ National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders.

refer to the positive start made by DTV CRC. The senior manager from within the CRC uses language associated with transformational leadership. The representative from NOMS also recognised the importance of quality, although the language of his account is notably more managerial, using market-influenced terminology, perhaps indicating subtle differences that are beginning to emerge between different parts of the service:

So, for us, because we're small and we need to survive, what was it that gave us that unique edge in the first place? And I think part of it was the kind of honest discussion around motivation, but critically that bit about desistance and social action – if we are not doing that then I really worry for us about moving forward (DTV CRC Senior Manager, May 2016).

I think for them [DTV] the future is interesting. A personal view [...] I'm interested in buying a CRC, who would I buy? I think Durham Tees Valley are more attractive than some because you go there, they are physically in new buildings, their ICT system is on its way. They haven't got rid of swathes of staff with that experience. You go into some other CRCs elsewhere and you might look and think well they are half in, half out of the local authority buildings they were in before. Are we happy with what the new buildings are they are going to move into?

They've lost a lot of experienced staff – it, you know, the overall health of some of the CRCs I think is in – and I don't just mean that kind of financially. I just mean in terms of what they look like as organisations is quite interesting. Do they feel – they look and feel very different to what went before in the trust or are they sort of a hybrid, halfway between the two in a minute? (NOMS contracting team, May 2016).

Changes within the environment in which practitioners work have an impact on the confidence of staff and their perceptions of the future of the organisation and their profession. Towards the end of phase two data collection, an announcement was made about a management restructure. The restructure was brought about by changes in the expected volume of work coming to the CRC. This, in turn, impacted on the income of the CRC. The announcement made it clear that practitioners were

not part of the restructure, that it was middle managers and senior managers who would be affected. Below are two quotations, from the same PSO, first, in phase one, the second, from the same practitioner, recorded in phase two, just after the announcement about the restructure:

Yes, I feel very – whether or not it's optimism or over-confidence I don't know, but I do feel confident that our current management, from this level up, have bought into this concept that we do want to deliver. We don't want to go down the road of certain other private organisations and looking for a cheap fix and making a profit. It is like at the meeting we had, the big meeting, they said, we are a not-for-profit organisation, but we are also a not-for-loss organisation because we can't function that way and if we can make a profit somewhere along the line to put back in that's great (Michelle, Probation Service Officer, June 2015).

Nine months later, Michelle said:

I said, 'You cannot put a business plan together', I mean I was in business for years, you know, I said, 'You cannot put a business plan together on a guestimate, which is what you're talking about'. If you were looking at a 10% discrepancy either way, you are looking at a 20% discrepancy overall. I said, 'You can't possibly put a business plan together and costings on that basis', but anyway that's – But we noticed on this email it said, this will not affect frontline staff and I thought, are you serious? Because anybody who believes that is either very naïve or very stupid because ... (Michelle, Probation Service Officer, March 2016).

These two quotations show that perception is a mixture of current changes and longer-held attitudes. This reinforced the importance of not relying on a single data point for each respondent and for drawing up a rich picture of the environment in which the research took place. Middle manager posts were to be cut by 50% in the proposed new structure. I interviewed two middle managers during the period between the announcement of the proposed redundancies and them finding out whether they still had jobs. This is what one manager had to say:

RESP: So, there's different anxieties about change and what is happening and it's – I suppose, at the end of the day, when we get through this, it's about how we get this message particularly over. Because you can say enough times that we don't think at this moment that – but people read into that what they want.

INT: Yes, yeah, it's that little nugget of doubt isn't it?

RESP: Yes, there's that nugget of doubt there with regards to it. But I think it's created that with particularly what's happened to managers at the moment (Middle Manager, April 2016).

This section has reviewed some of the evidence collected during this research that relates to the future of DTV CRC. It has recognised that, when carrying out this type of research during a time of rapid structural and cultural change, there will be multiple reactions and explanations offered of the impact of the changes on current and future practice. Further, it has shown that individual practitioner views change over time; some changes appear to come about as part of a process of assimilating change and finding ways to adapt, although the final quotations are a reminder that responses are also a product of recent events.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented and described the context and some of the mechanisms that brought the changes that are the basis of this research into practice. DTV CRC represents a product of the recent history of probation, most notably, the impact of neoliberal ideas, economic crises, political ideologies and theories of desistance. However, the CRC was also a product of local innovation and the socioeconomic demographics of the area. These are features of the environment in which it was created. Internally, the CRC is also a product of the collective knowledge, experience and enthusiasm of the practitioners and staff working for the CRC. A number of themes emerged while describing the 'case' for this case study and in

the earlier review of recent literature about potential futures for probation post-privatisation. The themes fall into two main groups: those that relate to mechanisms emerging out of TR that were largely outside the control of the CRC, and those that resulted from the way that DTV CRC responded to TR. This is not to imply that there is no overlap between the two types of change.

Themes that emerged in direct response to TR included:

- Reactions to the move from the public to the private sector
- Reactions to splitting the service into the National Probation Service and 21 community rehabilitation companies
- Reactions to the relaxation of national standards and the impact of the new community sentence

Themes emerging in response to the local structure and operating model included:

- Reactions to the impact of supervising offenders within community justice Hubs
- Reactions to agile working and changes to practitioner supervision
- Perceptions about job security and the future of DTV CRC

The focus for this research was practitioners working for the CRC. As the data collection and analysis progressed, it became apparent that the distinction between these two groups of themes provided a useful framework for analysis and discussion. Reactions by practitioners to changes imposed from outside showed a broad consensus across most practitioners, while reactions to changes implemented by the CRC differed. Some of the different types of reaction will be explored in Chapter Six, where the statistical and thematic analysis revealed three different groups of practitioners. These groups are used to provide a framework for discussion of the themes emerging from this research and from existing evidence or speculations about the potential impact of privatisation.

Chapter 6: Practitioners Negotiating Change: Culture, Values and Job Satisfaction

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the patterns of culture, values and job satisfaction of a group of probation practitioners negotiating the process of change as DTV CRC introduced its new operating model. The chapter commences by exploring aggregated data (across all 37 practitioners completing both phases of the survey), first for phase one, followed by similar data for phase two. Next, these data, at an individual level, are investigated further in response to one of the questions posed by this research, *'Do all practitioners experience the changes in the same way?'.* To answer this question, a hypothesis is proposed based on earlier research discussed in Chapter Three (Waring and Bishop 2011; Mawby and Worrall 2013; Waring 2015; Burke et al. 2016a; Robinson et al. 2016) and emerging findings from phase one, *'Practitioner reactions to change differ according to length of experience and qualification status'*. This hypothesis was tested through analysis of data derived from the survey and interview data. During the analysis, three groups of practitioners emerged. The criteria used to test this hypothesis were derived partly from the research cited above and partly from practitioners who piloted the research instruments for this research. These practitioners suggested the length of service variable should tie in with the different eras of probation training, with the most significant change coming as probation broke its links with social work training, which coincided with the introduction of more prescriptive national standards in 2000. I therefore hypothesised that practitioners who came into the service more than 15 years prior

to TR²⁵ would react differently to the changes than those recruited during the height of the managerial era after social work training ceased. Further, of the latter group, in this CRC, PSOs had, since 2012, been working with Gallants; thus, this group may perceive the changes differently to those new to the idea.

After a summary of aggregated data across each phase, changes between the two phases are considered. To support these analyses and to respond to the hypothesis above, two tools are used. The first tool comprises three individual practitioner case studies, each representative of a different group of practitioners. Second, a dynamic model of change was developed to position each of these groups of practitioners on the journey of change across the duration of the research. The model captures three stages of reaction to change. The first phase was called reflection and problem identification (looking back), as practitioners tried to understand the changes and relate them to previous experiences. The second was a problem-solving phase, in which practical issues arising from the changes were faced and dealt with (focusing on the 'now'). Finally, as new practices became more familiar and routine, there was a phase in which practitioners were able to look forward, seeing a future.

As noted above, before adopting a chronological approach to the data, deconstructed across the three practitioner groups, the results of the aggregated data from the part of the survey that explored practitioner perceptions of quality²⁶ across both phases of data collection are reported.

²⁵ Although social work training ended in 1996, practitioners qualifying under the new framework did not emerge until around 2000.

²⁶ See Appendix 2 for details of the panel survey. Section 5 contains 60 quality criteria statements across four domains, described below.

6.2 Aggregated Data: Practitioner Values over Time

These results are based on data obtained from the 37 practitioners who completed both phases of the survey. The 60 statements were divided into four domains (see Appendix Two for a full list of statements), each exploring a different aspect of the supervision process. These four domains comprised: what the practitioner brings to supervision (10 statements); how practitioners work with service users in the supervision (15 statements); what supports the best-quality one-to-one supervision work (22 statements); the outcomes of one-to-one work (13 statements). The wording of the statements was such that higher scores tended to reflect congruence with the values of probation and what Robinson et al. (2014) found was associated with good-quality practice. Each statement was scored twice at each phase. The first score (Importance) invited practitioners to consider how important they felt the statement was in the delivery of good-quality supervision; this was used as a proxy for values that informed practice in line with the first-level values discussed in Chapter Three (Lancaster 2008). The second score (Happening) invited practitioners to consider the extent to which the statement was embodied into actual practice within their own team. To gain an overall picture of practitioner scores, scores across all 37 practitioners were aggregated for each domain and the mean value calculated. The spread of scores for each domain was described by calculating the range and the standard deviation. As shown in Table 6.1 below, Importance scores tended to be higher than Happening scores. This is to be expected as reality is unlikely to match an ideal state. There is greater variation within the Happening scores than within the Importance scores, indicated by the range and standard deviation scores. Further, these indicators of variation increase between phase one and phase two. However, overall, at the aggregate level, the

mean scores across domains, for Importance and Happening scores, show little change between the phases.

Table 6.1: Practitioner overall scores: phase one and phase two

a) Phase one mean scores by

Phase 1 (P1)	N	Range	Min	Max	Mean	SD
What supports quality practice:						
Importance	31	3.18	6.82	10	9.2493	0.7678
Happening	30	5.14	3.36	8.5	6.7167	1.35676
How practitioners work:						
Importance	34	1.73	8.27	10	9.398	0.55109
Happening	34	5.87	4.13	10	8.1882	1.27609
Outcomes of 1:1 work:						
Importance	34	2	8	10	9.3054	0.63869
Happening	33	4.69	5.15	9.85	7.8415	1.16944
What the practitioner brings:						
Importance	36	2.2	7.8	10	9.3056	0.64937
Happening	36	7.2	2.8	10	7.5389	1.6732

b) Phase two mean scores by

Phase 2 (P2)	N	Range	Min	Max	Mean	SD
What supports quality practice:						
Importance	33	3.14	6.86	10	9.2686	0.74268
Happening	32	6.18	2.82	9	6.7955	1.68603
How practitioners work:						
Importance	37	1.73	8.27	10	9.4108	0.53944
Happening	37	6.53	3.47	10	8.0054	1.52893
Outcomes of 1:1 work:						
Importance	36	1.85	8.15	10	9.3611	0.5448
Happening	36	5.77	4.23	10	7.8141	1.41222
What the practitioner brings:						
Importance	37	4.1	5.9	10	9.2297	0.89376
Happening	37	7.5	2.5	10	7.4351	1.95451

My first research question asked, *‘Do all practitioners perceive the process of change in the same way?’*. Previous research, discussed in Chapter Three, would suggest they do not (Mawby and Worrall 2013; Burke et al. 2016a; Robinson et al. 2016). Further, question two asked, *‘How do practitioners negotiate change*

brought about by privatisation?’, followed-up by ‘*Are reactions to the changes stable over time?*’. These data, analysed at this aggregate level, suggested little changed in perceptions during the nine months between phase one and phase two. Both measures of the variation in the scores across practitioners reveal less variance for Importance scores than for Happening scores, suggesting that practitioners shared similar values but differed as to the extent they perceived these values were embedded in everyday practice within their team.

The next section begins to explore the position in phase one in more depth, broken down across the three practitioner groups (noted above). These analyses sought to identify whether there was a consensus across practitioners as the new model was announced. Following this, additional detail and explanation is provided by the phase one interview data.

6.3 Anticipating Change, Practitioner Values and Practice: Phase One

The data presented here are drawn from phase one of the panel survey, administered in April 2015, and interviews carried out in June and September 2015.

6.3.1 Phase One Scores Across Practitioner Groups and Domains

Table 6.2 below summarises the results of section five of the survey at the start of phase one across the three practitioner groups mentioned above.

Table 6.2: Phase one survey scores across domains and practitioner groups

Probation Officers and Probation Service Officers with >=15 years' service				
Mean Scores	Importance	Happening	Difference	N
Domain 1: What the practitioner brings	9.24	7.85	1.38	11
Domain 2: How practitioners work	9.25	8.23	1.02	10
Domain 3: What supports quality practice	9.12	6.82	2.30	10
Domain 4: The outcomes of supervision	9.40	8.08	1.32	10
Probation Officers with <15 years' service				
Mean Scores	Importance	Happening	Difference	N
Domain 1: What the practitioner brings	9.34	6.78	2.56	10
Domain 2: How practitioners work	9.54	7.71	1.83	10
Domain 3: What supports quality practice	9.59	6.13	3.47	8
Domain 4: The outcomes of supervision	9.42	7.31	2.11	9
Probation Service Officers with <15 years' service				
Mean Scores	Importance	Happening	Difference	N
Domain 1: What the practitioner brings	9.33	7.81	1.52	15
Domain 2: How practitioners work	9.40	8.50	0.90	14
Domain 3: What supports quality practice	9.14	7.02	2.11	12
Domain 4: The outcomes of supervision	9.16	7.81	1.35	14

Simple observation of this table reveals little difference between the groups as data collection began. This was confirmed by t-tests across the domains and groups. With the exception of a narrowly significant difference between the Importance scores for domain three, 'What supports quality practice' between POs and PSOs with less than 15 years' service ($t_{18.89}=2.143$, $p=0.045$), all other test results were non-significant (see Appendix 11 for the full result tables). However, Table 6.2 does reveal a gap across all three groups between the Importance scores and the Happening scores. Importance scores reflect values and ideals about what good-

quality practice should contain (Robinson et al. 2014), while Happening scores reflect how practitioners perceive the reality of what is being done. Qualitative comments made within the phase one survey appear to confirm the existence of this gap, and a degree of consistency between the three practitioner groups at this stage (see below).

6.3.2 Developing Tools to Aid Interpretation of Results

Before moving on to the phase one interview data, the statistical analysis of the phase one survey results will be complemented using the tools mentioned above. The first tool uses a case example for each practitioner group. This tool provides a framework for gaining insight into the detail of practitioner perceptions at different points in the process of change. Further, this tool also supports comparison and contrast between the characteristics of different practitioner groups. The cases chosen reflected the most extreme cases for each group. Additional quotations from other members of the same group were used to illustrate that, although members of each group shared similar views overall, differences within groups did exist. The second tool is a visual representation of practitioner accounts of practitioner group journeys through change, based on qualitative data. This model will be updated as practitioner reactions to the changes evolved during the process of change. The final names for the practitioner groups are shown below. These names emerged as analysis progressed. The labels applied were:

- Reflective Pragmatists (POs and PSOs ≥ 15 years' experience): These practitioners tended to initially approach the changes in a critical way. Then, they reflected on previous experience when they had been encouraged to use discretion and professional judgement. This process helped them to make sense of the changes and find ways of working within the new model that were commensurate with their value base.
- Risk Managers (POs < 15 years' service): These practitioners approached the changes in a critically reflective way, like their more experienced colleagues. However, their previous experience had been gained during a period when managing risk and standardisation had taken priority over

discretion and professional judgement. This, for most of the data collection period, made it difficult for these practitioners to reconcile the new ways of working with their attitude to risk.

- Problem Solvers (PSOs < 15 years' service): These practitioners had already experienced working in an environment like the community Hubs. Their focus was on the practicalities of implementing the new model.

6.3.2(i) Case Examples from Each Practitioner Group

Even though the scores at the beginning of phase one for the quality statements revealed a broad consensus across practitioner groups regarding perceptions of quality, responses in the Table 6.3 suggest that differences were beginning to appear across these three cases regarding job satisfaction and perception of workload.

Table 6.3: Three cases as the new model was announced

	Reflective Pragmatist (Jane)	Risk Manager (Ruth)	Problem Solver (Penny)
Age	41-50	41-50	41-50
Role	Mainly one to one	Mainly one to one	Mainly one to one
Qualification status	PO CQSW	PO NVQ4	PSO NVQ3
Years' service	> 15 years	< 15 years	< 15 years
Perception of workload	About right	Too much to do	About right
Perception of change in workload	Increasing	Increasing	Increasing
Skills matched to workload	Matched	Under-used	Under-used
Supervision	Irregular, no reflection	Irregular, no reflection	Irregular, no reflection
<i>Likert Statements:</i>			
I am seldom bored	Agree	Neutral	Agree
I like my job better than the average person	Agree	Neutral	Agree
I feel valued by my line manager	Agree	Neutral	Neutral
I feel valued by senior management	Agree	Disagree	Neutral
I am proud to work for this CRC	Agree	Disagree	Agree
This job inspires me to perform well	Agree	Disagree	Agree

These results show that, while Jane and Penny seemed satisfied with their workload, Ruth felt over-worked. Further, even though Jane was an experienced qualified practitioner, she felt her skills were being used appropriately, but Ruth and Penny, her less-experienced colleagues, felt their skills were under-used.

Interestingly, none of the practitioners presented here were receiving regular supervision with time to reflect. Scores for the Likert scale statements suggest this seemed to impact more on Ruth's perception of her job than the other two practitioners. However, it was interesting to note that, when their relationships with managers was raised, both Penny and Ruth were uncertain whether their work was valued, while Jane, even at this early stage, was more confident that she was valued by line and senior management.

Free-text comments made on the phase one survey offered some insight into these differences; although, in line with the statistical results presented above, the differences were subtle. Each quotation reveals a degree of uncertainty and concern; the differences are in the tone and emotion of the statements. Further, all three quotations demonstrate a commitment to deliver good-quality work with the offenders they supervise. Ruth, a risk manager, shows emotion in the quotation below; she reveals the pressure she is under and her awareness that it is affecting her relationships with both colleagues and offenders:

I have always been patient with service users and colleagues alike until this year – I have become short tempered with everyone around me. This is deeply upsetting for me, but it only reflects the stress I am under (Ruth, Risk Manager).

Penny, a Problem Solver, also brings emotion into her responses. However, Penny reveals *her* passion in a positive comment about her job, but goes on to express frustration with practitioners who lack her enthusiasm. It is not clear from this brief comment on the questionnaire whether this was the case before the changes. This shows the importance of being able to follow-up the questionnaire with a face-to-face interview, where ambiguities can be probed and clarified:

I am very passionate about my job, I truly believe everyone has the ability to change, the team in which I work have certain

members of staff who do not like working with offenders, they do not work the hours they are contracted to and have no motivation to make a difference in the lives of others (Penny, Problem Solver).

Jane, a Reflective Pragmatist, is more pragmatic, and identifies potential problems, but at this early stage had not begun to seek solutions.

Hub not fit for purpose, need more appropriate places in the community with more resources, cannot get accommodation, or appropriate treatment and resource stuff needed to help our service users (Jane, Reflective Pragmatist).

The views of these three practitioners will be revisited throughout the rest of the thesis, to cast light on their progress through the process of change. Next, the dynamic model of practitioner reaction to change is introduced.

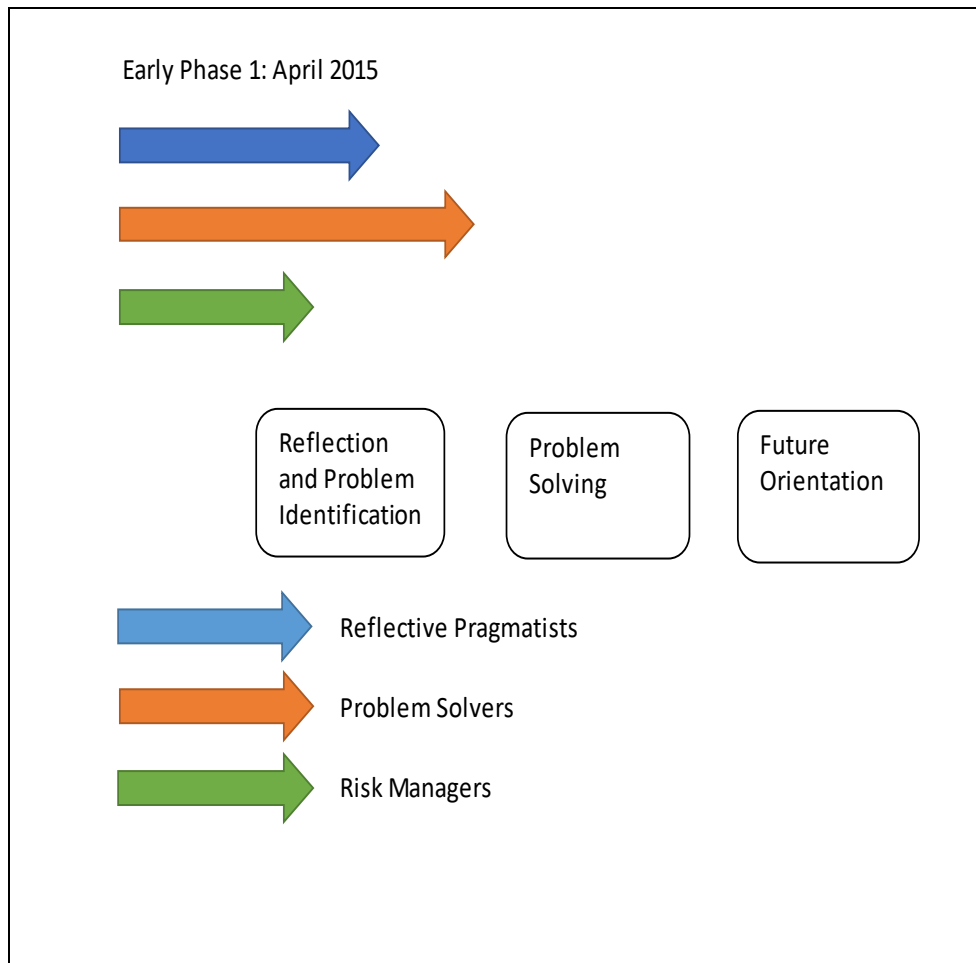
6.3.2(ii) A Dynamic Model of Change

The model provides a visual presentation of the progress of each practitioner group through the process of change. While it is important to introduce the model here, just as the practitioner group labels emerged as the analysis developed, so did the dynamic model of change. The stages used in the model were not finalised until all data had been collected and analysis was under way. The model contains three stages: reflection and problem identification; problem solving; and future orientation. During the reflection and problem identification stage, practitioners reflected on previous experience to try to make sense of changes in light of their values and theories about offender supervision. This resonates with the way the 'guardian' type in Burke et al.'s (2016a) research contemplated the likely impact of the changes. When inconsistencies with beliefs about quality practice were identified, they were articulated as problems. For some practitioners, reconciliation can only be achieved by trying to replicate the past, sometimes requiring practitioners to duplicate their actions to comply with their own beliefs and new

expectations. This is commensurate with Stewart's (1991) 'Anomic Team Reaction Paradigm' (p140), where members of newly formed teams experience uncertainty as traditional norms and standards are undermined without being replaced by new ones. This might account for Ruth's perception of feeling over-worked. Problem solving comprises a phase in which the focus is on day-to-day practice, tackling problems and making the best of what is available, while attempting to minimise the impact of negative aspects of changes. During this phase, new processes may seem difficult as actions are still conscious, akin to how we feel when learning a new skill such as driving: every action is thought about. It is not until new processes become more natural and less deliberately conscious that practitioners can divert some attention to the bigger picture (Duhigg 2013), to the future of their organisation and, perhaps, eventually, to the future of the profession.

As shown in Figure 6.1, early in phase one, as the research commenced, all three groups tended to reflect on earlier experiences and anticipated problems when the new ways of working were introduced.

Figure 6.1: Dynamic model of practitioner reactions to change, early in phase one



Phase one was a long phase with three data collection points, the first of which is described above. The interviews were carried out in two batches, the first in June 2015, just two months after the survey, and the second in September when changes were well under way, although offices remained open and supervision was split between traditional individual offices and the increasing number of community Hubs. It was not possible to fully embrace agile working and move bases to the Hubs until the new mobile IT solution, comprising mobile smart phones and laptops, was implemented. The next section moves on to the phase one interview

data, first reporting aspects of the changes on which there was consensus across practitioner groups, then moving on to those aspects where differences emerged.

6.3.3 Phase One Interviews: Consensus and Difference

6.3.3 (i) Areas of Consensus

Practitioners were generally united in their rejection of the notion of privatisation and the potential to make a profit out of offenders and the need to divide probation between a single public sector NPS and 21 CRCs:

If ARCC hadn't won I wouldn't have stayed – I think it is morally and ethically wrong that there should be profit made out of people who are serving a sentence, I couldn't work for an organisation that is making a profit out of my lad's unpaid work (Sadie, Risk Manager).

I mean it's the government making money, it's the Conservative government making money out of people like they have in parts of the NHS (Mary, Reflective Pragmatist).

First of all, I believe it's morally wrong for a company to be making money out of the type of work we do (Emma, Problem Solver).

I think it's come across I am very angry about this (Ruth, Risk Manager).

The probation I joined is not the probation that is now. Because it has been privatised so now a private company is making money out of offending behaviour and it's making a mockery out of the work we do (Donna, Problem Solver).

Practitioners also believed that dividing the delivery of community supervision and services to the courts would create additional bureaucracy and reduce information flows. This, in turn, would increase costs and disrupt offender supervision:

And I refuse to believe that when all of this is finished there will have been any savings (Emma, Problem Solver).

TR was presented on two [lies] ... the other one was to improve efficiency and effectiveness; and so far, I don't see this

improving at all, the only things that have happened as a result of TR is increased bureaucracy, increased steps ... (Ruth, Risk Manager).

Because sometimes we get our information a bit too late, you know, when we shouldn't have been seeing somebody (Teresa, Reflective Pragmatist).

I think that NPS will always have more clout in the courts – I don't think you will get judges to listen to you (Michelle, Reflective Pragmatist).

This consensus did not extend to attitudes to the new ways of working. By the end of phase one, differences began to emerge between the practitioner groups introduced above.

6.3.3(ii) Areas of Difference

Aspects of the changes where differences across practitioner groups began to emerge related to changes introduced by the CRC itself: the new operating model, where delivery of supervision would take place largely within community Hubs *and* the changes brought about directly by TR; splitting the service; relaxation of national standards and less prescriptive sentences. The focus here will be on differences between Reflective Pragmatists', Risk Managers' and Problem Solvers' reactions.

a) Community Hubs

The first two quotations cited below come from Jane, a PO, the case example for the Reflective Pragmatist group, and Michelle, another Reflective Pragmatist, this time a very experienced PSO. These quotations relate to operating out of the Hubs. In contrast to the comment Jane made in April 2015 on the panel survey (see section 6.3.2(i)), the quotation below shows she is beginning to work through problems in a practical way. Acceptance of the new ways of working is also shown

in the quotation from Michelle, who explains the value of taking supervision into the community and including other agencies in supporting offenders:

I thought initially you wouldn't be able to do things like that [in-depth discussion of offender problems] but there is quite a bit of privacy. We do have separate rooms as well, but I actually don't mind [working in the community space] and have adapted quite well I think to the Hubs (Jane, Reflective Pragmatist).

I personally feel it's a good thing because I always feel that probation hijacked offenders and we said, we are the only people in the world who can manage these people and who can reintegrate them into the community. But we never tried to reintegrate them into the community because we kept them to ourselves. And this is what we need to do – to stop seeing them in the office here and to share them with the community (Michelle, Reflective Pragmatist).

The Problem Solvers quoted below demonstrate an enthusiasm for the new ways of working. First, Penny, the case example for the Problem Solver group appears to feel comfortable working in the Hubs, while Megan looks forward to agile working. What is noticeable is that these practitioners seem to focus on the job in hand rather than reflecting back to previous ways of working:

It is absolutely fine. They get things specific by myself or whoever is their responsible officer if needs be. But if they don't – they are quite often encouraged to engage with peer mentors as well (Penny, Problem Solver).

Once we are agile workers then I will be doing however many Hubs a week and thinking about the time at my desk because that does my head in because I like face-to-face and I do – I do feel that it works (Megan, Problem Solver).

Finally, we come to the Risk Managers. Here, we see more caution and more concern about their ability to manage risk within the new environment. Closer reading shows a hierarchy within the three practitioners quoted below who are all qualified POs, all with less than 15 years' service. While Ruth's (the case example

for the Risk managers) tone reflects her underlying anger and scepticism, Susan and Sharon suggest that there is some acceptance of change. When Susan says, 'the only problem is', this indicates that there are positive aspects to working from the Hubs, while Sharon suggests that, despite starting out wholly negative towards working in the Hubs, her views have changed, saying, 'I was the biggest one [critic] of all':

Yeah, yeah, 'Everything is going well; I can see him less', blah, blah, blah – 'Send him to the Hub', great. But now if there's, particularly in concern from a CSS²⁷ point of view, anyone who is increasing in risk, I think it will become more and more commonplace to not even realise that what we're doing is keeping that risk in the tier lower (Ruth, Risk Manager).

The only problem is the kind of, at the moment aren't really, there's no privacy, whereas with the offices that we have now we have individual interview rooms you can take somebody up and see them in that room and no one else can hear (Susan, Risk Manager).

Because initially when you've mentioned about Hubs, I was the biggest one [critic] of all, I hold my hand up, to say, it's not going to work. I really can't see how it's going to work. You can't monitor risk and you can't do this and you can't build up a relationship sat in a hall somewhere and I was really opposed to it (Sharon, Risk Manager).

b) Reversing Standardisation

The difference between Reflective Pragmatists, Problem Solvers and Risk Managers was also demonstrated in comments about the relaxation of national standards, which afforded practitioners greater discretion about how offenders were managed. As might be expected from the comments above related to working out of the Hubs, although these changes were welcomed by Reflective Pragmatists and Problem Solvers, they were viewed with suspicion and concern by Risk Managers.

²⁷ Community Supervision Service (see Table 5.1).

While the language used by the Reflective Pragmatists still showed signs of caution, commensurate with reflection, the general response to more discretion appeared positive:

I think it's a good thing now because we don't have national standards per se and we do it on risk, so if I've got Child Protection I'll see them weekly. If I want to do a piece of work on Domestic Violence and there's major marital reservations, then I will probably see them weekly (Jane, Reflective Pragmatist).

I think having our own control of our making the decisions. I quite like the fact that we can make that decision sometimes with cases, in that, well, they don't need to be seen weekly, we can drop them down. I like that (Teresa, Reflective Pragmatist).

As would be expected from a group of professional practitioners, views within groups did reflect some variation. The Reflective Pragmatist commenting below mentioned the 'double whammy' of relaxation to national standards and the new, less-prescriptive sentencing framework:

The greatest frustration we have now – I guess I have to be careful how I say this, is that when we were the old Trust, you had very clear, these are our national standards. These are the standards we work to ... Do we have to see them – especially, and we've been hit with a double whammy because not only are we doing our ways of working but new orders are coming out of courts like (RAs²⁸) and (ORAs)²⁹ and all these other things (Simone, Reflective Pragmatist).

Problem Solvers, again, took a practical approach. They related their comments to the way the changes might be perceived by those they supervised. Previous experience of working in this type of environment meant that, even in phase one,

²⁸ Rehabilitation activity. See Appendix 14.

²⁹ Here, the interviewee was referring to the new requirements brought into effect following the Offender Rehabilitation Act 2014; for example, the requirement for offenders released after sentences of less than 12 months being subject to supervision by probation.

they were speaking from experience rather than simply speculating about what it would be like:

The way in which we work with people; we treat people in a more humane way actually. We sit and have a cup of tea and engage them in a very different way, which is a lot better [...] it is less formal. They engage more and compliance is a lot better
(Penny, Problem Solver).

I like the idea that I'm not as tied to doing things in a structured way. You can have your own structure without actually having that rigid time can't you? And this gives us so much more free reign to actually concentrate on the needs of the people (Megan, Reflective Pragmatist).

Finally, the Risk Managers. Ruth's quotation refers to the anxiety and confusion felt by some practitioners for whom the new freedom was both liberating and worrying. There seems to be a tension between wanting to work in a way that responded to offender need while wanting to be reassured that risks were managed. She also feels she has lost some of her expertise as familiar ways of working had been eroded:

So, when the split came in we were pretty much told well we don't know what we are doing any more. You can carry on doing your Citizenship if that's what you are used to but we're not tying you to it in the same way. And actually, that gave me a freedom to do the things I felt were relevant within Citizenship and not to be tied to what was quite a strict and restricting formula. And for a while, the only thing that I felt quite confident of was my one-to-one work with my clients. And I felt I really had my, I'd been doing Citizenship for a while and I'd felt an intrinsic sense of knowledge about it and in what I was trying to achieve (Ruth, Risk Manager).

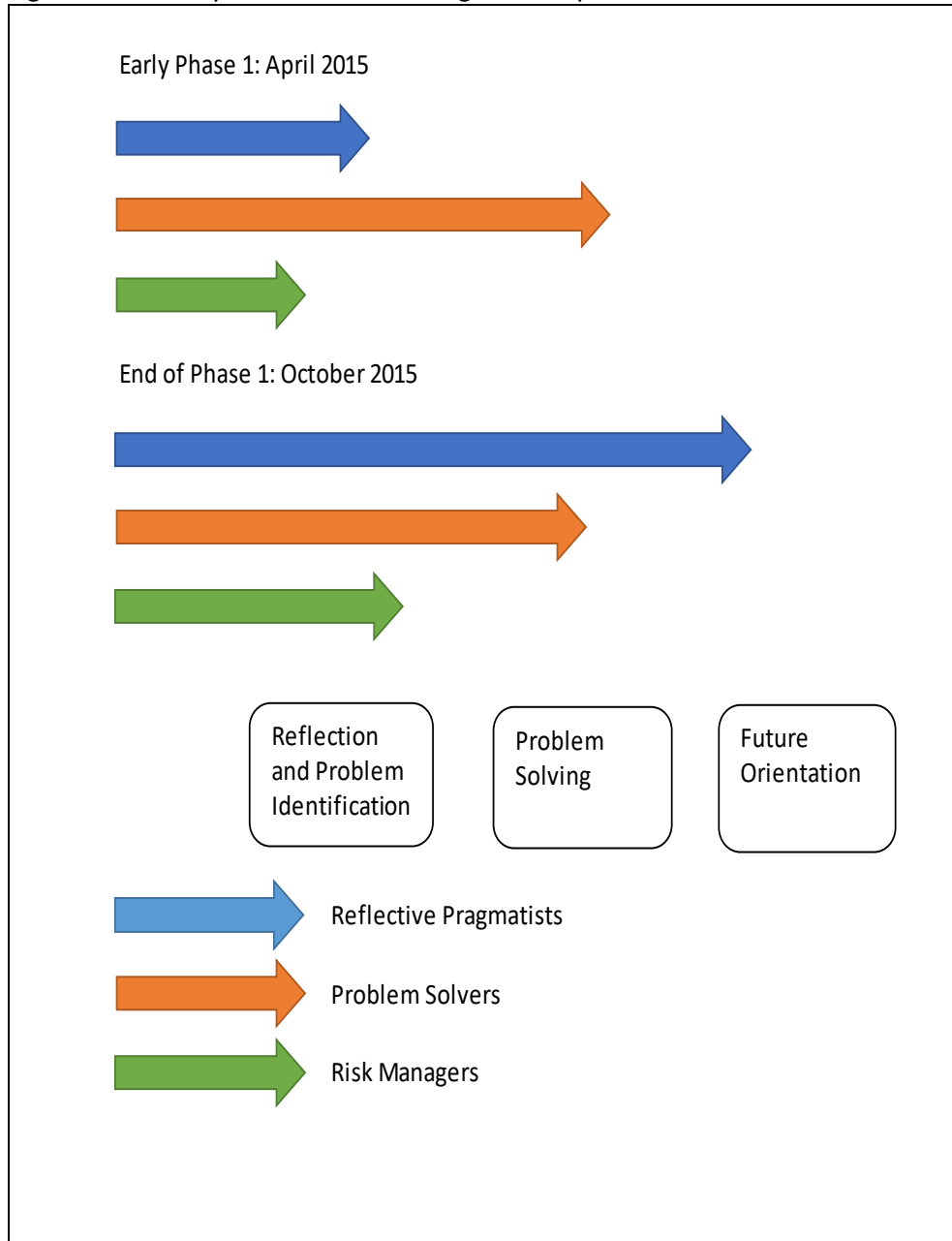
Emma also reflects on issues of risk, this time drawing attention to the potential of serious further offences (SFOs) arising from the offenders managed by CRCs. In the past, when investigations were carried out into SFOs, national standards provided

evidence that practitioners had followed guidance; thus, their removal might put them at risk of sanction or criticism:

The things that I don't like – I am really worried about the way that we are going to manage risk in this type of environment. [...] the people who are more likely to do SFOs are medium-risk people. Not the high-risk who go to the NPS (Emma, Risk Manager).

These quotations suggest that, by the end of phase one, some Reflective Pragmatists were already beginning to look to the future, while Problem Solvers were taking a practical approach to finding solutions to day-to-day problems, keen to make things work. However, Risk Managers were still reflecting, still seeking and finding problems, not yet finding solutions. Although some showed signs of accepting some aspects of Hub working, they all remained deeply concerned about the relaxation of national standards. Figure 6.2 illustrates this with an updated version of the dynamic model of change introduced above.

Figure 6.2 Dynamic model of change: end of phase one



The next section moves onto phase two, first introducing the results of the phase two survey administered in January 2016, just as offices were closing and agile working was being implemented. Following on from this, the results of the phase two interviews carried out in March and April 2016 are discussed.

6.4 Practitioner Change, Phase Two: From Anticipation to Reality

This section introduces the phase two results into the discussion. In line with the longitudinal nature of this study, the results presented here include the phase two results, but key arguments are developed around the way the perceptions of individuals and groups of practitioners changed over time; thus, data from phase one are also used and, in some cases, reiterated within the discussion below.

6.4.1 Phase Two Survey Results: Changing Perceptions

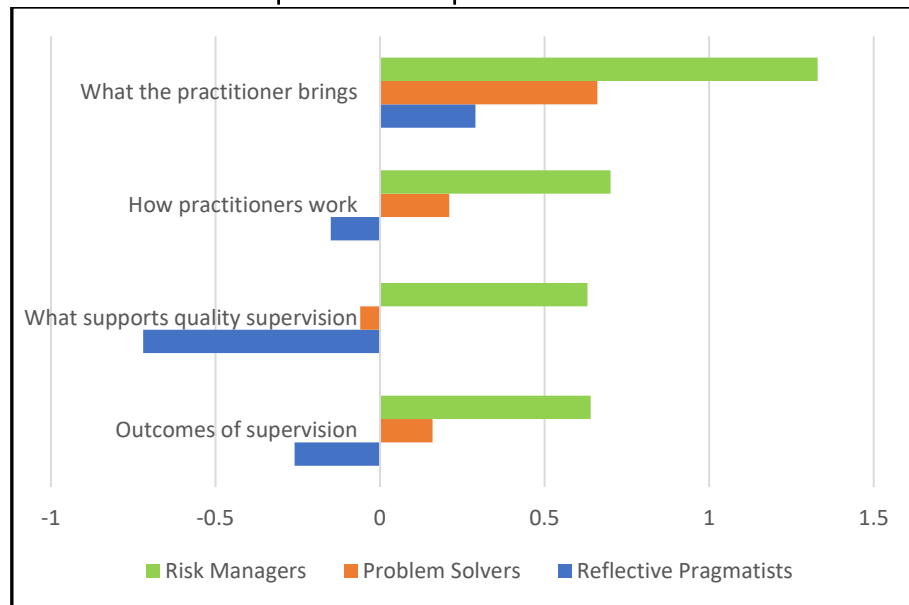
Phase two commenced in the same way as phase one. Practitioners revisited the panel survey, updating earlier scores and responses considering experience as the new model was rolled out. Thus, when analysing the phase two results, it was possible to explore changes over time as well as changes in the gap between Importance and Happening scores across the three practitioner groups. First, this section tests the hypothesis that separating practitioners into the practitioner groups described helps to explain these changes. To test this hypothesis, a one-way ANOVA test was carried out.³⁰ Appendix 12 contains the full results of the test. The results of the one-way ANOVA test proved statistically significant at the 95% confidence level for two of the domains, what supports quality supervision ($F_{(2,27)} = 4.021$, $p < 0.05$) and the outcomes of supervision ($F_{(2,30)} = 4.450$, $p < 0.05$). These results suggest that the practitioner groups do offer a useful approach to understanding the process of change across the practitioner groups.

Figure 6.3 reveals the mean scores for changes in the gap between Importance and Happening scores across domains and practitioner groups, between phase one and phase two. These results reveal that the gap between Importance and Happening

³⁰ As described in Chapter Four. A one-way ANOVA is a more robust way of determining the significance of differences across three or more groups.

scores generally narrowed for Reflective Pragmatists, whereas for Risk Managers, the gap widened, with less significant changes noted among the Problem Solver group.

Figure 6.3: Change in the gap between Importance and Happening scores between phase one and phase two



To explore these findings further, the same t-tests carried out on phase one data were repeated on phase two data. Means were compared across domains and practitioner groups. The mean scores are summarised in the tables below.

Table 6.4: Phase two survey scores across domains and practitioner groups

Reflective Pragmatists				
Mean Scores	Importance	Happening	Difference	N
Domain 1: What the practitioner brings	9.38	8.13	1.25	11
Domain 2: How practitioners work	9.25	8.51	0.74	10
Domain 3: What supports quality practice	9.11	7.51	1.60	10
Domain 4: The outcomes of supervision	9.38	8.42	0.96	10
Risk Managers				
Mean Scores	Importance	Happening	Difference	N
Domain 1: What the practitioner brings	9.25	6.24	3.01	10
Domain 2: How practitioners work	9.57	7.05	2.53	10
Domain 3: What supports quality practice	9.64	5.53	4.11	8
Domain 4: The outcomes of supervision	9.45	6.86	2.58	9
Problem Solvers				
Mean Scores	Importance	Happening	Difference	N
Domain 1: What the practitioner brings	9.09	7.67	1.42	15
Domain 2: How practitioners work	9.43	8.24	1.19	14
Domain 3: What supports quality practice	9.15	7.09	2.06	12
Domain 4: The outcomes of supervision	9.29	7.97	1.31	14

The t-tests comparing the means of Importance scores, a proxy for practitioner values, revealed consensus between practitioner groups and across domains. However, when comparing Happening scores, those measuring the extent to which these values were observed in practice, a different picture emerged. T-tests revealed Risk Manager scores to be significantly lower than Reflective Pragmatist values across all four domains: 'what the practitioner brings' $t_{13.598}=2.438$, $p=0.029$; 'how practitioners work' $t_{13.844}=2.227$, $p=0.043$; 'what supports good quality practice' $t_{13.042}=2.591$, $p=0.022$; and 'the outcomes of supervision' $t_{17.204}=2.548$, $p=0.021$ (full results available at Appendix 13).

These results, taken together with the results of the one-way ANOVA test where the gap between Importance and Happening scores widened for Risk Managers while it narrowed for Reflective Pragmatists, suggest that Risk Managers were finding that the reality of the changes challenged their underlying values including what they viewed as 'quality'. However, their more experienced colleagues were able to reconcile the new ways of working with their beliefs about good practice. Grant's (2016) review of primary and secondary habitus helps to shed light on how probation practitioners can share a value base, while differing in their reaction to changes brought about by TR.

While my findings in phase one tended to agree with Burke *et al.*'s (2016a) research that was carried out at a similar time, where longstanding practitioners (Reflective Pragmatists) tended to react negatively towards the changes, these findings differ. By phase two of my research, these practitioners were moving on to problem solve and, as will be shown below in the interview data, beginning to look positively towards the future. This demonstrates the value of tracking individual journeys over time.

While the tables above reveal some differences between the mean scores for Problem Solvers and the other two groups, the t-test results were generally not significant.³¹

As Importance scores were used as a proxy for practitioner values, these data also suggest that, almost a year after the new operating model was announced and implementation was under way, all practitioner groups continued to share similar values about what constituted good practice. This appears consistent with earlier research reviewed in Chapter Three (Deering 2008; Mawby and Worrall 2013; Robinson et al. 2014) that explored the resilience of probation values in times of change. However, Risk Managers, recruited and trained during the height of managerial practice, differed from their more experienced colleagues in their reaction to the way the changes impacted on their perceptions about the congruence between the new ways of working and these core values.

There were several possible explanations of these differences. It could be that longer-serving practitioners recognise, within the new ways of working, elements of good practice that had been eroded by managerialism and the associated risk management model of practice (McNeill 2001; Raynor 2008; Raynor and Vanstone 2015). Or, it could be that experience brings with it the ability to adapt; although, this seems to be at odds with research elsewhere that describes longer in-service practitioners being more resistant to change, even leaving to escape changes that conflicted with their core values (Mawby and Worrall 2011, 2013). For Risk Managers, it could suggested that they felt threatened by the changes, that their

³¹ Only one t-test comparing mean importance scores produced a significant result. When comparing phase two importance scores for 'What the practitioner brings' between Risk Managers and Problem Solvers, the latter mean score was significantly lower $t_{19.991}=2.491$, $p=0.022$. Further exploration revealed this was influenced by a single outlier.

previous experience had not prepared them for this level of discretion. Or, it could be that the changes threatened their core values. Grant (2016) explains these differences as differences in their secondary habitus, i.e. the way they acquired their specialist skills and gained their early professional practice was different to their more experienced colleagues. The discussion below demonstrates that each of these propositions has some value in explaining the differences. However, a further explanation should not be ruled out, i.e. that each of the practitioner groups negotiates the process of change in a different way and at a different rate, suggesting that the results capture perceptions at different points in personal journeys of change.

In summary, statistical analysis of the data from the two-stage panel survey supports the hypothesis that practitioners who entered the service more than 15 years prior to the implementation of TR reacted to the changes differently to POs recruited more recently. Further, PSOs recruited more recently show evidence of sharing some attributes of both their more experienced colleagues *and* POs recruited more recently. Differences between Reflective Pragmatists and Risk Managers appear to have developed during the process of implementation as the scores in phase one were consistent across all three groups.

Before moving on to the phase two interview data, variations in scores on specific statements within each domain will be drawn into the discussion, adding detail to the results reported above. Statements that appear to contradict the aggregate scores as well as those congruent with the findings above will be explored. Those statements for which the mean difference between Importance and Happening scores differed most and least between Reflective Pragmatists and Risk Managers are listed in Table 6.5 below.

Table 6.5: Summary of statements with greatest similarity and difference as measured by change in gap between means, phase one to phase two

Domain	Areas of Similarity	Areas of Difference
D1: What the Practitioner brings	Empathy for the service user's situation A straightforward direct and honest approach to working with people	Enthusiasm for working with people who have offended ¹ An ability to adapt to work differently with many different kinds of service users ²
D2: How practitioners work	Maintaining professional boundaries with service users	Working hard to ensure the service user plays an active part in the supervision plan and takes the lead in any change process ¹ Always responding to the service user's priorities ³ Always responding to the service user's concerns ³
D3: What supports quality practice	Having managers with relevant practice experience Being resourced to see service users outside probation premises (e.g. home/prison visits) Counselling for staff Efficient administrative support	Good modern offices ⁴ A welcoming reception area and enough suitable interview rooms ⁴ Flexible local/national policies which allow practitioners to take longer on some supervisions where necessary ² Having enough time for face to face work with service users ³ Team working amongst probation staff being encouraged ¹ Accessible and available managers with whom you feel comfortable discussing your cases ⁵ Supportive managers who back practitioners up when they use their discretion appropriately ⁵ Expertise on specialist areas available in the office ⁵ A manageable workload ³
D4: The outcomes of supervision	Meeting performance targets	Helping the service user make reparation/payback for their offence ⁶ Challenging the service user's attitudes towards offending ⁶ Enforcing the order or licence robustly in event of non-compliance ⁶

Key to Table 6.5: 1 – morale and enthusiasm, 2 – flexibility, 3 – workload and time, 4 – architectural, 5 – line management, 6 – offence-related action.

The areas of similarity saw a widening of the gap for both groups between Importance and Happening scores between phase one and two, or little change in both scores. On the other hand, the areas of difference all saw the gap narrowing

for Reflective Pragmatists, while the gap widened for Risk Managers. Scores for Problem Solvers, in line with the statistical tests reported above, tended to lie between those for Reflective Pragmatists and Risk Managers. This indicates that, while Reflective Pragmatists became more reconciled with some elements of the new model as time went on, Risk Managers experienced increasing dissonance with most of the changes. There are few surprises among the areas of similarity, the first three describing characteristics expected of all probation practitioners. The statements within 'What supports quality practice' could be explained by the recent experience of moving out of old offices and getting used to new technology, and it has already been acknowledged that TR had impacted negatively on the availability of line managers. Similarly, most practitioners were aware of the increasing importance attached to meeting performance targets, while recognising that this was not a new dimension to their work. Being able to see service users outside of the probation offices was welcomed by most practitioners, although opinions differed as to whether meeting them in the Hubs was part of this improvement.

The areas of difference included in Table 6.5 can be grouped into six categories: (1) morale and enthusiasm; (2) flexibility; (3) amount of time available to deliver good-quality supervision; (4) the changed architecture in which supervision takes place; (5) support from line managers; and (6) offence-related action. These items were explored in the interviews that followed completion of the survey. The section below reports the findings from these interviews.

6.4.2 Phase Two Interview Results

The longitudinal aspect of the research continued during the interview stage with 14 of the original 17 practitioner interviewees taking part in phase two interviews.

Therefore, it was possible to build on the practitioner groups and case studies during the analysis of the phase two interview data. First, summary data from the interviews will be presented, the purpose of which is to demonstrate how practitioners continued to demonstrate reactions to the changes that generally supported the conclusions of the previous section. Next, discussion of the areas of difference introduced above will be revisited, drawing on the three case studies of: Jane, the Reflective Pragmatist; Ruth, the Risk Manager; and Penny, the Problem Solver. Their responses are supplemented by quotations from other interviewees. Interview evidence will be used to further investigate the notion that length of service is the defining factor that explains different ways of negotiating change, while also recognising that reality is more complex than simple statistical analysis can convey (Boeije 2010). Further, exploring how individual perceptions changed over time provided evidence that, to really understand practitioner reactions and beliefs, multiple data points are needed.

Coding of the phase two interviews divided responses into 'positive' and 'negative' dimensions. A positive code was applied where the interviewee made comments that were supportive of the changes, while a negative code indicated concern or rejection of change. This provided an opportunity to compare responses related to specific themes at group or individual levels. Figure 6.4 presents the results of carrying out an analysis of phase two interview data using NVivo's similarity of coding tool. In line with the importance attached to individual journeys through the change process, while this section focuses mainly on phase two data, where differences between phase one and phase two comments offer additional insight, quotations from each phase of the research will be presented.

Figure 6.4: NVivo output, phase two interview data clustered on similarity of coding

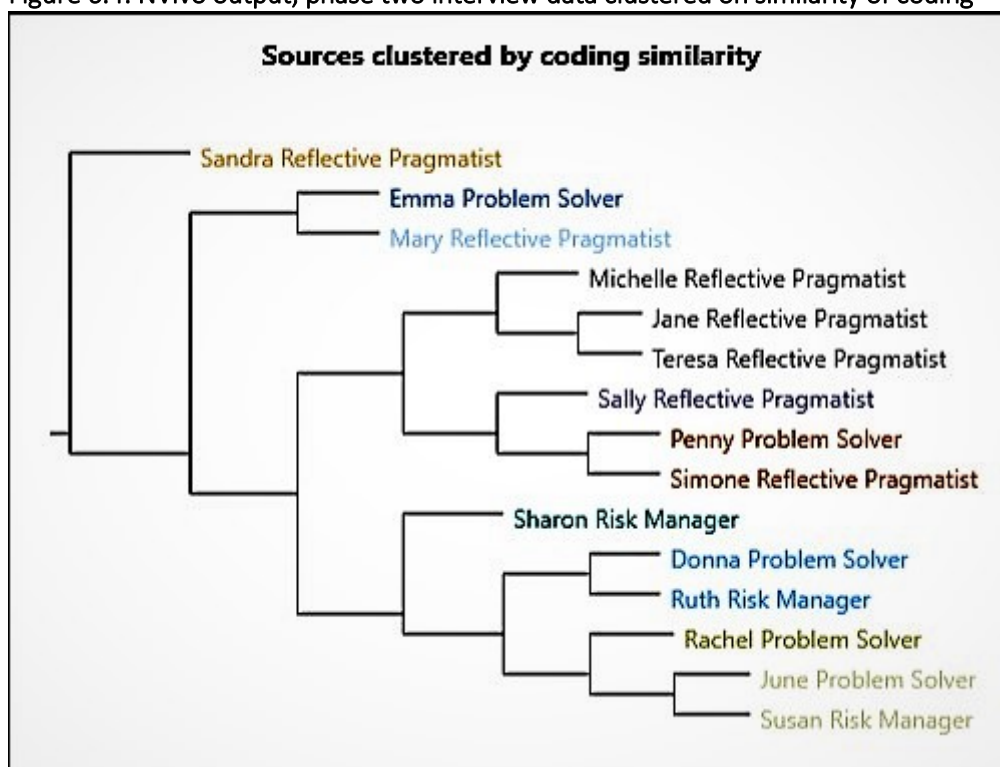


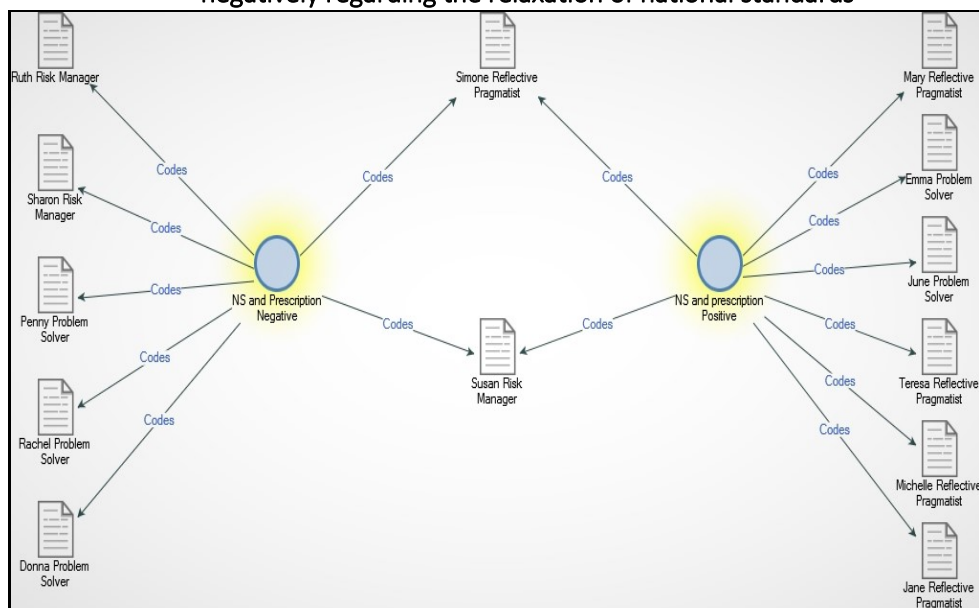
Figure 6.4³² supports the findings from the statistical analyses above, with Reflective Pragmatists and Risk Managers generally responding in different ways, and Problem Solvers distributed across both poles. However, this diagram does not reveal the nature or detail of responses from each group. To identify whether the groupings were also supported by the nature of comments made by practitioners from each group relating to specific themes, additional comparisons were made. These comparisons drew on the themes discussed in phase one, namely, attitudes to the relaxation of national standards and Hub working.

³² Figure 6.4 uses cluster analysis to produce a visual representation of coding similarity between interviewees. The views expressed by interviewees (captured by the coding process) that appear close together in the cluster diagram are more similar than those that are far apart.

6.4.2(i) Relaxation of National Standards

As shown in Figure 6.5 below, reactions to the relaxation of national standards appeared polarised between Reflective Pragmatists and Risk Managers, with Problem Solvers distributed across the divide. Reflective Pragmatists were generally positive about the greater discretion this allowed, while Risk Managers expressed concern about this aspect of the changes. Interestingly, the two practitioners expressing both positive and negative perceptions came from each of the two most polarised practitioner groups, revealing the need to look beyond the surface, beyond statistical tests, to individual explanations and perceptions.

Figure 6.5: Comparison of interviewees responding positively, neutrally or negatively regarding the relaxation of national standards



The quotations below continue the development of the three case studies introduced above. While the focus is on these three cases, additional views from the same practitioner group will be drawn upon where appropriate, some supporting and some conflicting with the prevailing view. First, the journey of Jane, the Reflective Pragmatist, will be explored. As reflected in the previous chapter, in phase one, Jane commented:

I think it's very much back to how it used to be because, although we've always had national standards before and seen people – I mean some of the [offender] managers will say just see people once a month. I don't agree with that and I'll use telephone calls more than that. I will have some people in weekly and I will still do work with people. And I think we do have the scope to do that because of the changes with the administration but I think that it's a smaller percentage probably take that view. Some will do sort of the bare minimum but then I think, well, are you (a) building up the relationship and (b) are you actually doing meaningful work?
(Jane, Reflective Pragmatist, September 2015).

This is an interesting and complex quotation. Jane qualified prior to the split with social work training; thus, she starts out by recognising elements of the new model that reflect the earlier era when professional discretion was allowed. However, Jane is concerned that, given more discretion, some practitioners will do the minimum required. She recognises both the scope and risks of more flexibility. However, as shown by her later observation below, while Jane welcomes greater freedom and flexibility in determining how to work with individual service users, she also recognises why some practitioners find the change to more discretion difficult:

I think because we've been where we've been, compliance and then not so much compliance and where we've had autonomy and then not had it and, it is going back to that time. I think the other thing is because I'm confident about my ability to work with people, to meet their needs and to treat – I always treat everybody as individuals and they are all very different, so I work with them differently whereas some people are very prescriptive. And I think if you're prescriptive I don't think the Hub and the CRC model of working now is particularly good on that level because of that reason (Jane, Reflective Pragmatist, March 2016).

Jane's quotation seems to capture the essence of the difference between the groups of practitioners identified in my research. Jane is very experienced and has confidence in her ability to make decisions, so was quite quickly able to adapt her

practice to the new environment. Not everyone who came into probation over 15 years ago was as enthusiastic about freedom from national standards. Simone, one of the practitioners who is positioned in the centre of the figure above, also reflects back, this time expressing the view that, even with national standards, practitioners were able to use discretion. This reflects Deering's view (2008) that practitioners continued to apply traditional values to achieving individualised supervision, while appearing to comply with the expectations of national standards. Simone, speaking early in phase one, appeared to conflate the changes to sentencing with the relaxation of national standards, adding the view that the latest changes might reduce probation's credibility with sentencers *and* offenders to concerns about supervision practice:

So, I think, I think that's where – and solicitors or defence lawyers or whatever will say, 'Well this is a nonsense, his co-accused only goes once a month and you've brought this man back to court because he hasn't come every week' [...] it's nice to have a standard that can be flexible, but I personally would like to see where you say, right, someone has just got an order and this is what is expected, which is what we always used to have. We always used to be able to have flexibility as in, depending on risk we could tell someone to come in every day; I mean that's an extreme example and that would hardly ever happen. Or you could say, 'Right, this guy is doing so well I'm even going to take it back to court because he doesn't need any intervention now, he's done so well' (Simone, Reflective Pragmatist, June 2015).

The first part of this quotation raises a key theme to emerge from my research that transcends the different ways practitioners negotiated change: fragmentation. When the structural fragmentation created by TR is combined with the relaxation of national standards, opportunities for different expectations and levels of service seem to emerge depending on the approach of the CRC owner. The potential for

this to influence the future direction of probation will be explored further in Chapter Seven.

Ruth, the Risk Manager, looked outside her immediate working context for explanation about the motives behind the relaxation of national standards, as shown by the quotation below. Still angry about the idea of privatisation, she believed the changes were motivated by making probation more attractive to potential buyers, a view already raised by academics (Bauwens and Burke 2014):

Well again [...] the reason we're losing our – these national standards and structures or they are lessening and – is because it's politically and economically convenient and that's the only reason. Ever since I've been in probation, national standards have been, you know, waved in front of you as if, don't you dare breach these national standards. They were of paramount importance, we must meet them, and these were all target linked, cash linked. So, the notion of working for a cash-linked target is not new to us (Ruth, Risk Manager, March 2016).

Sharon, another Risk Manager, also demonstrated a reluctance to embrace the changes, while also demonstrating evidence of Deering's (2008) view of the resilience of probation practitioners to assaults on traditional values. Sharon negotiates her concern by holding on to past practice. She, like Jane, alludes to the potential for some practitioners to use the greater freedom to relax *their* standards of delivery:

I like targets. I like – I like structure and when I know I need to stick to a plan I stick to it rigid, absolutely. And I know what I'm doing, I get up and I know what is expected of me. When there's a massive blurring, I just think it's difficult because you've got, different groups of staff, which would quite easily – I don't know, really blur and just leave everything go. Whereas when there's others that are still conscientious and get a set target into their head. I tend to work as if I'm still under standards as before [...] And it keeps me going that (Sharon, Risk Manager, April 2016).

Finally, we consider the third case, Penny the Problem Solver. Penny, like Sharon above, focuses on the need for certainty and structure. What is interesting here is how these views about national standards conflict with research about the impact of national standards on practice (Kemshall 2000; Robinson 2002; House of Commons Justice Committee 2011). The prevailing view was that national standards were bad for the service and constrained professional discretion and judgement. Now, as the service has become fragmented, national standards are viewed as important if good-quality supervision is to be maintained. Penny, like Simone above, reflected that national standards were not totally constraining, that practitioners could, even before the changes, adapt and comply with them in ways commensurate with traditional values:

In terms of national standards, I don't – it's not a control thing, it isn't clear – it isn't exactly clear how often we are supposed to see our participants; although, if I have a person who gets 15 days, that is very clear. I could instruct them within three weeks and have their 15 days done. They have a community order for the next 12 months, there is an expectation we will keep in touch with them for the remainder of that time – what's defensible and what isn't? We are professionals and we make defensible decisions all of the time. Personally, I like structure, I like policies, I like procedures and I like to work towards them. And that is the way I perform better really. That has nothing at all to do with controlling our participants because that's not what it's about. It's about giving them the best service that we can possibly give these people, but I don't know about national standards, I really don't know. I think they were there for a reason, we need boundaries ... (Penny, Problem Solver, April 2016).

Each of these quotations in its own way illustrates dimensions of Burke et al.'s 'guardian' type (2016a, and see section 3.5.3 for discussion), where practitioners were characterised by their desire to maintain standards and protect the profession and the offenders they supervised. Ruth, Penny, Sharon and Simone, representing all three of the practitioner groups, show signs of 'resilient guardianship', reluctant

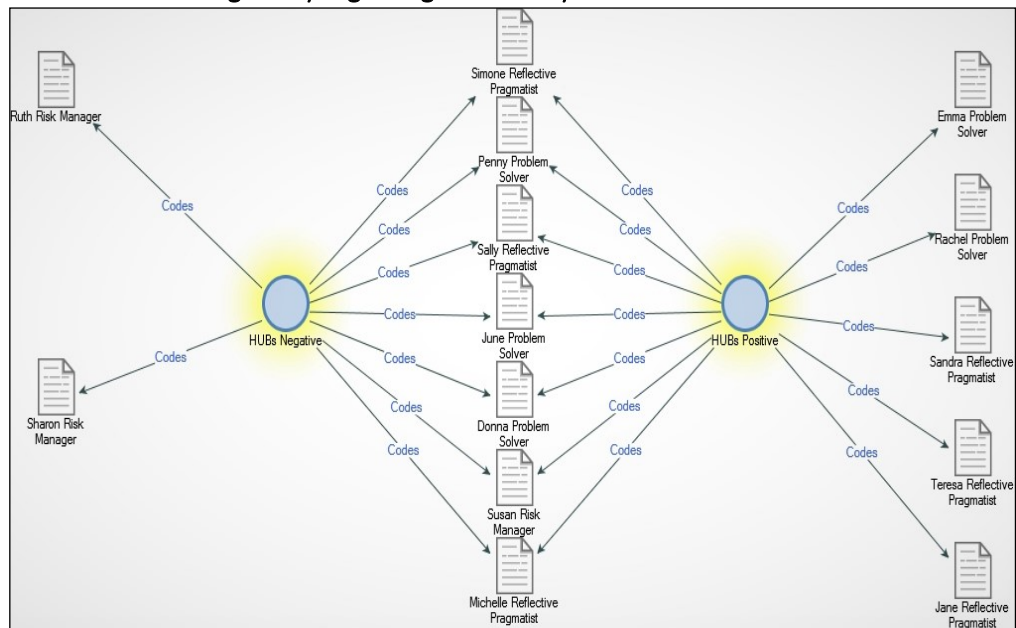
to recognise the need for or to embrace the changes. Jane, however, seemed more in line with the 'pragmatic guardian' type, trying to find ways to embrace change while protecting traditional values (Burke et al. 2016a).

This section has presented a range of views that both support and question the practitioner groups developed above. Practitioners from all groups showed some discomfort with the reversal of standardisation. Perhaps it is unsurprising that Problem Solvers were in greater agreement with Risk Managers as, like Risk Managers, they have always known a probation context in which national standards and risk management were at the fore. The next section presents a different picture. Hub working as a theme differs from the relaxation of national standards. Hub working was the model chosen by the CRC, rather than a policy decision made nationally. However, just as the Reflective Pragmatists drew on earlier experience when discretion and professional judgement were encouraged, in the Hubs, Problem Solvers could draw on their experience of working in the Gallants.

6.4.2(ii) Community Hubs and Agile Working

As in the section above, the starting point for this section is a summarised comparison between the way practitioners from each group reacted to this aspect of the changes. Figure 6.6 shows the distribution of practitioner views about the community Hubs as expressed in the phase two interviews.

Figure 6.6: Comparison of interviewees responding positively, neutrally or negatively regarding community Hubs



The pattern here is more complex, with fewer practitioners expressing wholly negative views. However, again, none of the Reflective Pragmatists appeared on the left (negative towards the changes) while none of the Risk Managers appeared on the right (positive towards the changes). This time, however, more of each group expressed both positive and negative views. As before, the discussion will commence with the views of the three cases. First, Jane, whose initial reaction to Hub working, derived from the phase one questionnaire in April 2015, is reiterated:

Hub not fit for purpose and need more appropriate places in the community with more resources. Cannot get accommodation, appropriate treatment and resource stuff needed to help our service users (Jane, Reflective Pragmatist, April 2015).

This quotation came at around the time of Burke et al.'s (2016a) final data collection point. At this stage, Jane would perhaps have been viewed by Burke et al. as 'marooned'. However, the ability for reflective practitioners to embrace change, using previous experience to build confidence in new ways of working, was demonstrated in Jane's interviews held in September 2015 and March 2016. First,

she returns to the theme of differences in the level of commitment from colleagues, as revealed in her views about national standards; then, she reports how she has found practical ways of adapting to working from the Hubs:

Well, this is one of the arguments that I've had with colleagues that have said, well they should just see anybody. And I'm saying, no, the majority of the time, while there's work needs to be done, they need to see me and if they do have to wait a bit or whatever then fine. I try and give them different times because I feel if I don't do that then I'm not going to affect that change, so therefore I'm much less likely to hit the target of reducing offending (Jane, Reflective Pragmatist, September 2015).

Clearly, here, Jane was working through the concerns she had regarding maintaining the quality of engagement with offenders. At this stage, she was problem solving, appearing more congruent with Burke et al.'s (2016) 'pragmatic guardian' type. Six months later, having resolved some of the practicalities of the changes, she reflected again, moving beyond practicalities to the wider benefits of the new ways of working. She was beginning to look to the future of the organisation:

I absolutely love doing the Hubs; we're going to be doing five days at the same Hub and what we're actually doing is – we have a good deal in terms of finances with what they charge us, but because we are now going to be doing like ten hours, two hours each day from there, then you know we're helping a charity that struggles with funds. So that's quite good. We've got a fantastic relationship with the staff in there. We get sort of like help and support from them so that's great in itself in terms of the building. And then we have like a big hall where we meet and then we have one separate room and there's other rooms that they will allow us to use downstairs. So, if we want to do swabs or if there's somebody really upset – so it works well for us (Jane, Reflective Pragmatist, March 2016).

This ability to look beyond individual tasks to the broader picture would suggest that this practitioner has now moved on, beginning to show signs of Burke et al.'s

(2016) 'pragmatic pioneer'. Thus, this research suggests that, rather than allocating practitioners to a static typology, they embark on a process, passing through different stages, adopting different approaches to change as time passes. The question here is, does this apply to everyone? And, perhaps more importantly, how does the very local context, the practitioners' everyday experience and support, influence this? Is the difference between the groups one of the rate of transition, rather than practitioners belonging to one group or another? Another experienced practitioner related her increasing acceptance of working out of the Hubs to the experience of service users, again, showing evidence of the 'guardian' type:

As a practitioner, it is vital to lead by example and the attitudes we display impact on the participants, I have noticed, as I have become more acceptant of the Hubs, as have other staff. This has had a dramatic impact on the service users. In a way they behave, even small changes are important changes and just having appropriate social interaction is the start (Teresa, Reflective Pragmatist, March 2016).

As noted above, Problem Solvers may not have had early experience of using discretion, perhaps accounting for some of their concerns regarding the relaxation of national standards, but they had been involved in working in the environment of community Hubs through the Gallant project. Thus, they were quick to adopt a practical problem-solving approach to the Hubs as demonstrated by Penny's quotations below from phase one and phase two:

The way in which we work with people, we treat people in a more humane way actually. We sit and have a cup of tea and engage with them in a very different way, which is a lot better [...] They engage and compliance is a lot better (Penny, Problem Solver, October 2015).

We have pre-meetings and debriefs and that's around risk management. It's around information sharing and it's about risk management, and so, if I have a wife and a colleague has the husband then we would know that. And any issues with

child protection or any concerns around drug use, recent arrests, that is all – the pre-meetings are all about that risk management (Penny, Problem Solver, March 2016).

Penny's views were more congruent here with those of Jane. Penny welcomed the informality of the Hubs and, by phase two, was continuing to find solutions to problems encountered. While Penny does look to some of the wider benefits for offenders and their families, her roots in the era of risk management are also revealed.

Moving on to Ruth's journey, a different picture emerges. Ruth's account was in stark contrast to those of both Jane and Penny above. Ruth's views reveal characteristics in line with Burke et al.'s (2016a) 'resiliently marooned' group. In phase one, anxiety and fear of the unknown appeared to be compounded by requests for help being deflected. She felt 'left behind', conscious that her less-qualified colleagues, who might previously have sought her help, were already moving on:

So, for a CRC PO, for sure, the future feels completely unknown and yet it is only months away, months away. I actually have asked for help in understanding how, what to do at the Hub or get to the Hub or this sort of thing and it was sort of dismissed. It was in a team meeting and it was like, oh well, you just get in your car, it's just over the road, you know. And it just feels like a lot of people have moved on, perhaps some seniors, looking at what this Hub is and examining how to make it work, but the PO has been left doing the PO job as was and we haven't, you know, we might get told some missives, some emails, but we're going to be walking into it and we're also possibly going to be treading on the toes of the PSOs who are already running those Hubs. And that worries me because that is not something I would want to do (Ruth, Risk Manager, June 2015).

Nine months later, now having experienced working out of the Hubs, Ruth continued to have concerns; these had now shifted to the quality of work carried

out in the Hub environment. She is acting as a guardian towards service users while remaining resilient to embracing change, as shown below:

And in this transition, I don't think, I think we've kind of, well thrown the baby out with the bath water. I think offence-focused work now is haphazard and it depends on the officer whether they've got the time with that client, whether they have found a space to do it? It – there's no quality assurance of the actual work that we're doing and – (Ruth, Risk Manager, March 2016).

Trained at a similar time to Ruth, Sharon initially expressed concerns about working out of the Hubs:

Because initially, when you've mentioned about Hubs, I was the biggest one [critic] of all, I hold my hand up, to say, it's not going to work. I really can't see how it's going to work. You can't monitor risk and you can't do this and you can't build up a relationship sat in a hall somewhere and I was really opposed to it (Sharon, Risk Manager, June 2015).

Sharon's response was different to Ruth's; she got involved with setting up the Hubs in her local area and her line manager encouraged her to have a say in how they would be run. She went on to say:

I like the idea that we are actually being allowed to get in there with our line managers and sit down and discuss how we want the Hubs running. We haven't been directed from the top. We actually, we're a small team and we are actually getting on board and how all of our views are being heard by our line manager (Sharon, Risk Manager, June 2015).

Sharon felt supported by her line manager and she felt she was listened to, whereas Ruth expressed frustration at having tried to get involved but feeling her voice was not heard, as shown by the quotation below:

But I was so exhausted of high caseload and not really being – having, not feeling I had the time to develop an idea to discuss or just to then actually properly develop some ideas. I've been sort of actually put down in team meetings and one-to-one

about things that I've thought could be – no, can't do that and quite abruptly, properly abruptly, and felt, right that's it, I'm not going to put anything more forward (Ruth, Risk Manager, March 2016).

Ruth demonstrates an awareness that other colleagues are frustrated by her questions. Tensions with colleagues who did not embrace change were revealed in quotations from both Jane and Penny above. This issue of a negative attitude towards colleagues might be symptomatic of fragmentation of the service. This was tackled directly at the final data collection event of the research when all three cases, plus most of the other interviewees, their line managers and senior managers from the CRC came together with representatives of NOMS and the NPS to hear and debate my findings. It is appropriate here to see the impact of Ruth having the opportunity to be heard and the impact this had on the way she spoke about working out of the Hubs:

To some extent, the Hubs in DTV CRC seem to be running well, and probation staff are good at creating [a] conducive, supportive atmosphere which keeps people calm. A lot of this may be in place already now. But that sense of a need to check with your colleague – keep an eye on emotions rising, noticing if they need a 'get out' card. That's something that a team could practice. I.e. interrupting your colleague to ask if they 'need anything from a stationery order' and if the answer is no ... the RO and participant can be left. But the RO knows someone's got their back. If the answer is 'not at the moment, I'll look at the order before we close the Hub' means 'stay close by, I'm not sure how this is going to develop' (Ruth, Risk Manager, June 2016).

While Ruth still had concerns, at the feedback event, in the presence of colleagues and managers, she began to problem solve, to suggest ways for colleagues to support each other. Her first words reflect a very different attitude to the changes to those reported above. The importance of having opportunities to be heard appears to be an important mechanism in enabling practitioners to negotiate the

process of change successfully. As discussed in Chapter Three, creating an environment in which staff are listened to and included in the change process is a feature of a trusting organisation. Key to the development of this type of organisational culture are leaders who embrace this style of management (Bruhn 2001). The next section explores practitioner attitudes to senior managers within the DTV CRC.

6.5 The Role of Senior Managers in the Process of Change

Chapter Three explored the conditions required for a professional ethos to flourish, the most important being the extent to which professional values were embedded within the organisation, reflected in the sincerity of support for those values by senior managers (Freidson 2001; Noordegraaf 2007). In May 2015, just before the phase one interviews were carried out, DTV CRC held a whole staff meeting in which staff had the opportunity to hear directly from members of the new board and senior management team. This event seemed to reassure staff that, whatever the future held, those leading the CRC shared their core values:

But basically, we went to Hardwick Hall and everybody was there. Our new directors, and from what they were saying, I took that quite positively in the fact that I thought, well, actually they are, there are a lot of the values there that I believe in (Ruth, Risk Manager, June 2015).

Practitioners from all three practitioner groups made similar comments about senior management. Some used other for-profit CRCs as their reference point:

Yes, yeah, I've seen nothing – you know, I might not agree with some of the things, but I've seen nothing that the values at the top aren't the same as mine in theory (Simone, Reflective Pragmatist, June 2015).

I mean, I know I've heard things like, in one CRC, for example, apparently a Case Admin was a Case Admin one day and the

next day they came in and had a caseload and that was like, 'Whoa!' That certainly isn't happening here [...] But we don't think we'll be going down that road anyway (Susan, Risk Manager, October 2015).

It does, it definitely comes from the top of our organisation [...] Definitely, yeah, we have a strong leader who believes in that [core probation values] (Penny, Problem Solver, September 2015).

Several practitioners, when expressing their dislike of the notion of privatisation, defended their own senior management team by implying that their leaders were doing the best they could in very difficult circumstances, as shown by this practitioner:

I think they've got – they've got the worst job in the world [...] the senior managers are making massive decisions now in terms of what they think are the morals and principles of what they entered into (Rachel, Problem Solver, September 2015).

The quotation below takes this further, acknowledging that TR has happened, that probation is now part of a commercial market but feeling some reassurance that their senior management still share the same values as practitioners:

I think the chiefs are probably [...] I think that she does share the same values and I do think she is very experienced throughout her working life within probation and I do think, yes, I do think that the majority do share [...] But I think we all have to – because it's being run as a business we have to meet those targets and it doesn't matter which way we look at it, we can't ignore that (Jane, Reflective Pragmatist, September 2015).

Even Risk Managers were generally supportive of senior managers, as shown by Ruth in the quotation below, which also came in response to a question about the values held by senior managers:

And I think everyone has that [probation core values] at heart, I really do. You know, I am hopeful that, despite all my negativity and pessimism, there is hope, there is always hope

and I think that is the type of perhaps people that do this job you know because it's relentless (Ruth, Risk Manager, March 2016).

Ruth reflected here the importance of the traditional values of probation being embodied at the heart of the organisation. The views expressed here about senior managers derive in part from the fact that DTV CRC is a not-for-profit organisation.

However, to survive, DTV CRC still must operate as a commercial company. The quotation below demonstrates that support for senior managers should not be viewed as unconditional or immune to proximal changes. Anxious as the management restructure (see Chapter Five for details) that was brought about by a downturn in anticipated income was announced, Michelle raised questions about the financial security and future of the organisation:

When they've set the CRC up they've either haven't done their homework properly or somebody has been extremely optimistic about what they can do [...] But we noticed on this email it said, this will not affect frontline staff and I thought, are you serious? Because anybody who believes that is either very naïve or very stupid (Michelle, Reflective Pragmatist, March 2016).

However, practitioners seemed confident about the values held by their senior managers, in contrast to Robinson et al.'s (2014) findings, prior to TR, where practitioners felt that senior managers did not share their ideas about good-quality supervision. Their confidence seemed to help them to reconcile their rejection of moving services for offenders out of the public sector and accept the new ways of working brought about, in part, because of TR. One indication of a level of acceptance of the new ways of working came from responses to questions about job satisfaction. The section below considers this indicator across practitioner groups.

6.6 Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction is important to discussions about professionalism and good-quality practice. According to Fox (1982), higher levels of job satisfaction among practitioners are associated with greater support for rehabilitation and compliance with organisational rules, while Culliver et al. (1991) found higher levels of attitudinal organisational commitment were associated with higher levels of job performance. Further, within the context of probation practitioners, Mawby and Worrall (2013) found that job satisfaction was key to practitioners staying in their current roles and that much of their job satisfaction came from being able to work as professionals; this was associated with being able to use their professional discretion.

A scale developed by Mowday et al. (1979) was used to elicit levels of practitioner job satisfaction within DTV CRC. The scale contains nine statements:

1. This job really inspires the best in me in the way of job performance
2. I am proud to tell others that I am part of this organisation
3. I find real enjoyment with my job
4. I am fairly well satisfied with my job
5. Most days I am enthusiastic about my job
6. I feel valued by the senior management of the CRC
7. I feel valued by my line manager
8. I am seldom bored with my job
9. I like my job better than the average worker does

Statements one and two measure organisational commitment, while statements three to nine derive from a job satisfaction score originally developed by Brayfield and Rothe (1951) and later adapted by Lambert and Paoline III (2008).

Figure 6.7: Job satisfaction scores across phase one and phase two data collection

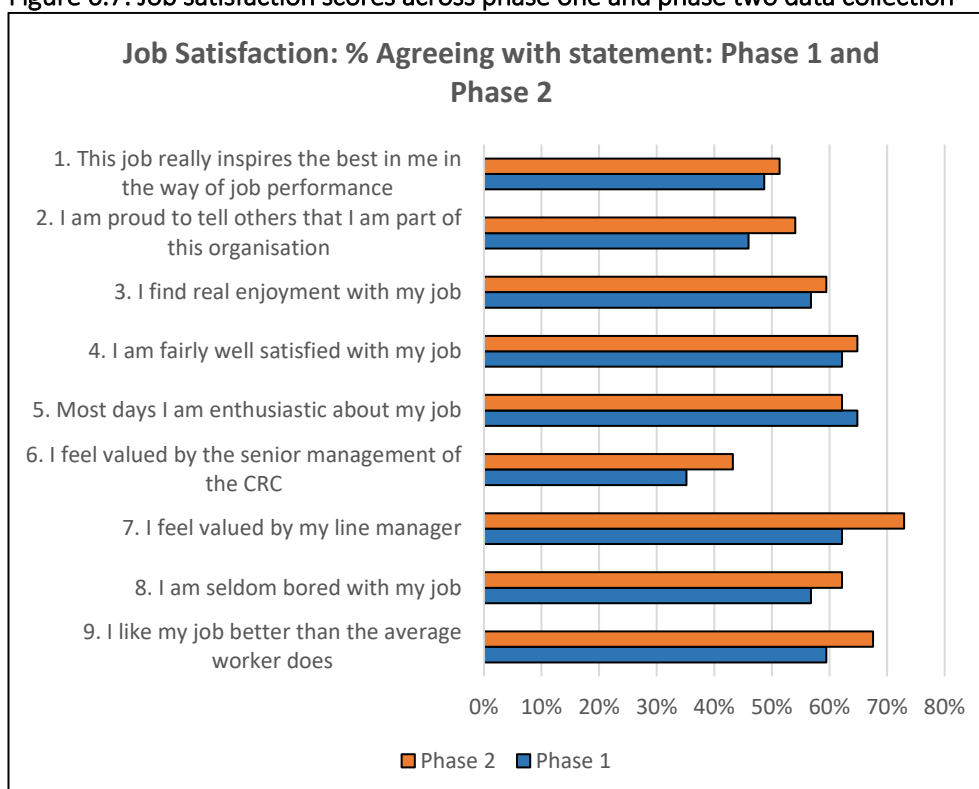


Figure 6.7 shows that around 50% of those completing the survey responded positively to these statements, and further, except for statement five, this proportion increased between phase one and phase two. A little surprisingly, in view of the comments reported above suggesting that staff generally had confidence in senior management, the lower scores for statement six ‘I feel valued by the senior management of the CRC’ (phase one 35%, phase two 43%) were unexpected. A potential reason for the low score in phase one might be that the CEO was new to the CRC, having taken up the post when the shadow CRC was formed.

High levels of job satisfaction were also identified in a quality and impact report, prepared by HMIP, following an inspection of DTV CRC in March 2016. This was the first report of its kind since the CRCs were handed over to their new owners. While the inspection found that some processes had still to mature, staff morale was

reported as high. The quote below suggested that staff morale in the DTV CRC compared favourably with other CRCs:

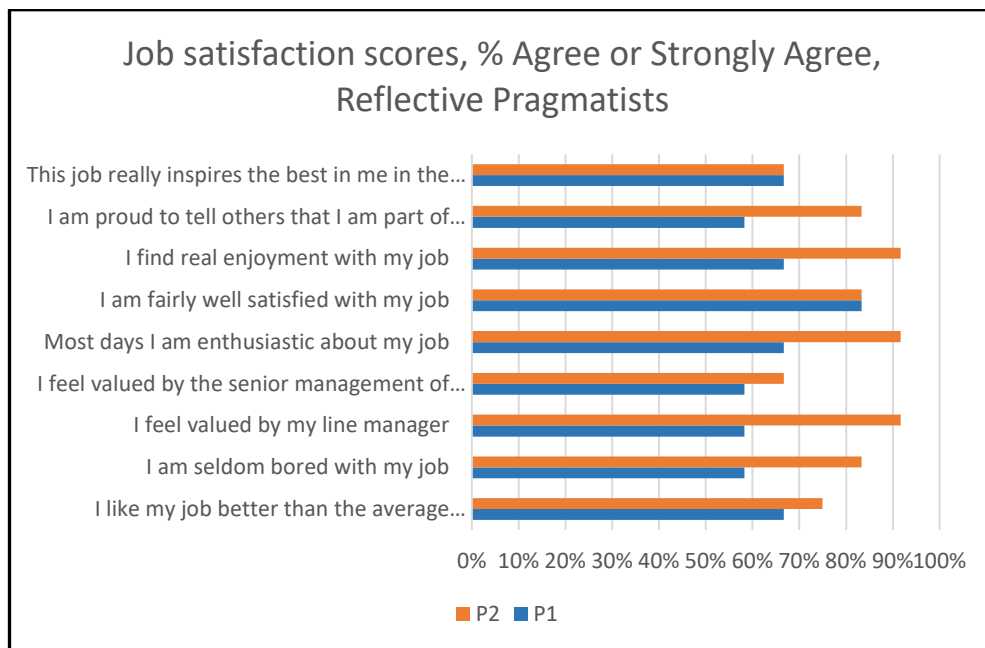
In contrast to most other areas, morale of staff within the Community Rehabilitation Company and National Probation Service in Durham was generally good (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation 2016b).

Despite having to cope with big changes to working practices, locations and even losing contact with many colleagues who had moved over to the NPS, these findings suggest that staff morale was good and, indeed, improved over time.

As before, these results concealed differences between different groups of practitioners. Both Reflective Pragmatists and Risk Managers tended to increase the extent to which they agreed with the statements (suggesting satisfaction with their job and the organisation for which they worked) over time; changes were less evident for Problem Solvers. Scores for each group are shown in the three charts in Figure 6.8 below. Generally, 50–60% of Reflective Pragmatists and Problem Solvers agreed or strongly agreed with the statements in phase one; this rose to 70–80% in phase two. The equivalent figures for Risk Managers were around 30% for phase one and 40% for phase two. These results suggest that Reflective Pragmatists and Problem Solvers had higher levels of job satisfaction than Risk Managers.

Figure 6.8: Job satisfaction scores across phase one and phase two, by practitioner group

a) Reflective Pragmatists



b) Problem Solvers



c) Risk Managers



The next section builds on the results so far to propose a way of making sense of practitioner reactions to change. Findings are related back to the literature about professionals, professionalism and professional identities. This will be revisited in the conclusion, where the likely futures for probation as a profession and as a service will be discussed.

6.7 Practitioners: Group Effects or Change Trajectories?

Chapters Two and Three reviewed how probation and its practitioners arrived at the point of privatisation. The early days of probation were typified as an informal, localised service, working mainly with low-risk-of-harm offenders and their families. Their role, defined by the Probation of Offenders Act 1907, was to 'Advise, Assist and Befriend' low-risk offenders, helping them to re-establish their role within the community. They later also supported families through their civil work during divorce and child care applications following the Criminal Justice Act 1961. Later, as prison populations rose and neoliberal ideas brought a focus on public

expenditure, probation was centralised, standardised and made more formal, making officers ready to 'manage' more serious offenders as probation became a sentence in its own right after the Criminal Justice Act 1991, and through their role supervising offenders released from prison on licence conditions from the parole board (Goodman 2012). The role of probation increasingly became one of risk management.

The evidence presented here suggests that most probation practitioners were aware of the need to achieve performance targets and, while all groups recognised the need to manage risk, for Risk Managers and Problem Solvers it defined their role. Chapter Three set out the arguments from previous research that probation practitioners were used to complying instrumentally with expectations brought about by previous change programmes. Examples include: the introduction of increasingly prescriptive national standards and the move from individual case management to risk management of categorised offender groups, while continuing to comply normatively with traditional probation values (Annison et al. 2008; Deering 2008; Shapland et al. 2012; Mawby and Worrall 2013; Robinson 2013). The consistency between practitioners, qualified and unqualified, and from all lengths of service, in response to the importance of the statements of quality in the questionnaire discussed above supports this claim (Section 6.3.1). Chapter Five revealed how the history of innovative responses to policy challenges by probation in the DTV area contributed to ARCC's successful bid to deliver offender services following a competitive bidding process. The current chapter has revealed how different groups of practitioners, working within this unique CRC, negotiated subsequent changes brought about in response to this bid as the contract was delivered. The changes were, in part, a direct result of policy and legislative changes brought about by TR and thus relevant to all CRCs (for example, the relaxation of

national standards) and those specific to the delivery model designed in this area (for example, closure of local offices and delivery of most offender supervision through community Hubs).

This chapter set out to use the data collected during the first 15 months of implementation of the new delivery model (as described in Chapter Five) to explore how different groups of practitioners approached and negotiated change. To build on the structural context of DTV CRC, the current chapter presented the results of the statistical analysis of the quantitative data derived from a two-stage panel survey and the results of the interviews with a cohort of practitioners conducted after each phase of the panel survey. The analysis here has revealed statistically significant differences in the way three groups of practitioners perceived changes in the quality of delivery. These groups were determined primarily by length of service and previous experience. Qualitative data added meaning to these results, revealing a more complex pattern than a straightforward typology could explain. Reference was made to two previous studies (Mawby and Worrall 2013; Burke et al. 2016a), each of which proposed a typology of probation practitioners. While Mawby and Worrall's study utilised career pathways within their typology, Burke et al. drew on more emotional reactions to change. This research proposes a dynamic model, suggesting that most practitioners entered the period of the investigation reflectively, concerned about potential risks. What united practitioners at this stage, as previous studies suggest (Annison et al. 2008; Deering 2008; Shapland et al. 2012; Mawby and Worrall 2013; Robinson 2013), were shared values and beliefs about what constitutes good practice in offender supervision. Furthermore, despite practitioners embarking on different change trajectories, these values and beliefs continued to underpin practice. It is argued here that, as the new model was implemented, most practitioners, through this process of

reflection on past practical experience and theoretical study, began to 'problem solve', looking for solutions to their concerns about offender, practitioner and community risks. Finally, some began to move on to look beyond everyday tasks and concerns to envisage a future for themselves and the organisation for which they worked. Not all practitioners completed this journey. Some remained stuck in the reflection and problem-identification stage. The analysis above begins to offer explanation for this. Those practitioners who appeared to find it hardest to move on were the Risk Managers, trained during the managerial era. While they expressed the same values as the other two practitioner groups, they appeared unable to reconcile their need to manage risk within the new environment of delivering supervision in the community Hubs. There were differences between practitioners even within this group. There seems to be an interaction between the relationship and accessibility of the line manager, the sense of feeling listened to and the ability to make the transition to become problem solvers. This may have been harder for Risk Managers, for whom the changes meant working in ways and using skills not previously developed or required. The importance of previous experience and involvement is revealed in the way the PSOs adapted to the changes. PSOs had already experienced Hub-style working. As described in Chapter Five, PSOs were managing medium- and low-risk offenders in the Gallants. Progress through the process of change is unlikely to be wholly linear; reflective practice results in iteration between stages as new challenges are faced. Successive iterations of where each practitioner group sat within the continuum from Risk Managing to Change Making have been presented above at each stage of the research process.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter set out to investigate the proposition that probation practitioners are not a homogenous group in the way they negotiate change. Analysis of the data collected during this research revealed a consensus across practitioner status (probation officers, qualified and unqualified probation service officers) and length of service, about the components of good-quality practice in offender supervision. However, even in phase one, differences were revealed during the interviews about the gap between what practitioners from different 'groups' viewed as important in good-quality practice and the extent to which this was happening in practice. Furthermore, this gap changed over time. Thus, the model developed here is a useful tool for making sense of the way practitioners negotiate change. Reflective Pragmatists and Problem Solvers appeared more able to reconcile new ways of working with their values and beliefs about what constitutes good-quality practice. Although Reflective Pragmatists were initially cautious about the changes, by phase two, they were moving beyond day-to-day problem solving and beginning to look to both the future direction of the CRC and to potential benefits for the wider community. This is in contrast with claims from other research (Mawby and Worrall 2013; Deering and Feilzer 2016) that has suggested that this group resisted change. It does seem that probation officers recruited and trained more recently found the changes more difficult to accept. Detailed exploration of individual practitioner responses over time revealed mechanisms that could promote or obstruct practitioners from adapting to the changes and reconciling them with their core values. In this CRC, support for adaptation to change came in two main ways. The first was at the team level; where line managers listened to concerns and encouraged and supported staff to get involved in shaping the new ways of

working, Risk Managers were more likely to adapt and accept change. The second was at the level of the organisation. Practitioners across all three groups reported that senior managers of DTV CRC shared their traditional probation values, even though some practitioners felt that upholding them fully would be difficult within the new environment post-TR. Further exploration of these mechanisms of support will form part of the discussion in the concluding chapter of this thesis, where the findings from this research will be used to cast light on potential futures for the probation profession post-privatisation.

Chapter Seven brings together two themes: fragmentation, first identified in Chapter Five, and a finding from this chapter that practitioners sometimes doubted their peers after relaxation of national standards. Chapter Seven proposes that these two findings are united by a single theme, namely, 'trust'.

Chapter 7: The Role of Trust in a Fragmented Service

7.1: Introduction

The previous chapters have presented a relatively optimistic view of the way this unique CRC has implemented the TR agenda. Headed up by a not-for-profit consortium, led by a probation staff mutual within the existing boundary of the probation trust, practitioners here have, to date, at least, been protected from some of the pressures experienced in other CRCs. No redundancies at practitioner level had been announced. This chapter explores a particularly salient feature of TR, namely, fragmentation, which was first raised in Chapter Three. Fragmentation then emerged as a theme as the data from this research were analysed. Further, practitioners across all three practitioner groups, introduced in Chapter Six, demonstrated, in different ways and to different extents, a loss of trust. This chapter argues that these two themes are linked. The loss of trust will be explored at three levels. The first two relate directly to the way the service was divided because of TR. First, the relationship between practitioners within this CRC and the NPS will be considered. Second, the focus turns to relationships between different CRCs. Third, attention will be given to examples where practitioners within DTV CRC demonstrated a lack of trust in each other. The first two of these levels requires the focus of this research to extend beyond the boundaries of this CRC. Where appropriate, reference will be made to similarities and differences in the way Reflective Pragmatists, Problem Solvers and Risk Managers explained their lack of trust, noting the role of trust in the process of adapting to change.

7.2 Trust and the Fragmented Workspace

As noted in Chapter Three, Misztal (1996) suggested that trust as habitus '*is a protective mechanism relying on everyday routines, stable reputations and tacit memories*' (p. 102). It is argued here that, despite the unique status of this CRC, the process of TR has, in part, eroded each of these components of trust. While Misztal's work was not related directly to criminal justice systems, Knight (2014) described a similar phenomenon in her research that explored emotional literacy among probation workers. Emotional literacy as used by Knight (2012) was summarised by Phillips and Fowler (2016), as '*Emotional literacy – skills that probation officers may use in understanding their own emotions and working effectively and appropriately with the emotions of people on probation*'³³. Knight reported on the importance of having the opportunity to 'let off steam' and express immediate feelings with trusted colleagues as an important resource to maintain emotional literacy. Further, the availability and support of line managers was acknowledged but not always perceived as 'safe' for emotional expression, particularly within a highly managerial context. Thus, in a service undergoing rapid change, where work involves emotional labour (Phillips and Fowler 2016), trust is an important concept for the future success of probation as a service and as a profession. Trust is an important concept not just between individuals but as a feature of whole organisations. It is associated with better performance and adaptation to change (Bruhn 2001; Gould-Williams 2003; CIPD 2012). According to Bruhn (2001), trusting organisations respect people, adhere to specific values, have leaders who value and trust people, encourage participation and risk-taking to improve, are consistent and open and can tolerate periods of change, and generate

³³ This quotation appeared on a slide used at the Eurocrim 2016 conference.

pride, loyalty and trust in staff. Brehm and Gates (2004) are more cautious; in their study of trust in social work organisations, they found that, while trust was associated with more discretion and less monitoring and control of practitioners, trust could be eroded if the boundaries of discretion were unclear. Both perspectives were observed in this research. The concept of trust is linked below to the other theme introduced above, namely, the fragmentation of probation.

7.3 Loss of Familiarity, Confidence and Trust

According to Luhmann (2000), *'trust has to be achieved within a familiar world, and changes may occur in the familiar features of the world which will have an impact on the possibility of developing trust in human relations'* (p. 95). Luhmann went on to distinguish between confidence, the belief that, in making a decision for a particular action, we will not be let down, and trust, which *'depends on our ability to distinguish between dangers and risks'* (p. 98) between reality (dangers) and potential (risks). Given the extent of change brought about by TR, dividing the service and setting CRCs into a position of competition with each other, in a service where risk reduction has long been its central motive, it is unsurprising that signs of a 'lack of trust' were identified within practitioners as they negotiated the process of change. This section will explore three habitats where signs of a lack of trust were observed. The relationship between NOMS and probation, even prior to TR, had not been easy (Bailey et al. 2007), many practitioners seeing NOMS as a symbol of the escalation of prescriptive performance management regimes and control of discretion and innovation by professional practitioners. However, here, the nexus of distrust is *between* practitioners whose role is, at least in part, supervision of offenders. While practitioners within the NPS are now civil servants, they are still employed as professional probation practitioners, managing high-risk

cases and carrying out initial assessment of all offenders prior to sentencing and allocation. As noted above, three relationships where distrust between practitioners was observed are considered here: between the NPS and DTV CRC; between practitioners within DTV CRC and practitioners within other CRCs; and between practitioners within DTV CRC.

7.3.1 Trust between NPS and CRC Practitioners

Practitioners across all three groups, identified in Chapter Six, were united in their rejection of the decision to split the probation service between public and private sector providers. Objections tended to conflate the ideology that underpinned privatisation *per se* and the practical difficulties created by physically dividing the service. It is the practical everyday difficulties that are of greatest concern here. For most practitioners, regardless of length of experience or level or nature of training, the problems seemed insurmountable and the general feeling towards the split was that, despite supporting the way DTV CRC worked, the split diminished their ability to manage risk effectively and support the process of desistance. However, first, a background to the distrust that developed between practitioners employed by DTV CRC and those working for the NPS is provided and the process by which practitioners were allocated between the NPS and the CRC is reviewed. Next, practitioner perceptions of assessment, allocation and escalation processes, each of which required input and/or approval from NPS, are considered and, finally, information exchange between DTV CRC and the NPS, both formal and informal.

7.3.1(i) Arbitrary Nature of Decision to Split

The decision to split probation, creating a new NPS and 21 CRCs, appears to have been driven by the decision to privatise, rather than a response to evidence that suggests it is the best way to deliver services for offenders in the community. While

the Offender Management Act 2007 provided the legal basis for the Justice Minister to take control of procuring probation service, it went on to proscribe certain parts from delivery outside the public sector, namely, services that *'relate to the giving of assistance to any court in determining the appropriate sentence to pass, or making any other decision, in respect of a person charged with or convicted of an offence'* (Ministry of Justice 2007). While this does not refer to high-risk offenders, it does require some probation functions to remain within public-sector provision. Thus, if services for most offenders were to be privatised, the split was inevitable. Thus, unlike other privatised public services, there are three layers to the system: the contractors, NOMS, the NPS, delivering those services precluded by legislation and 21 newly formed CRCs, owned by private companies. Proponents of the split may point to evidence that suggests it is good practice to separate low-risk offenders from their high-risk counterparts as the latter may 'contaminate' the former with their more experienced offending ways (Lowenkamp and Latessa 2004). However, the allocation is based on risk of harm, rather than risk of reoffending, while Lowenkamp and Latessa's research focused mainly on risk of reoffending, making justification on these grounds less convincing.

The decision to embark on wholesale privatisation without waiting for the results of pilot initiatives came as a shock to practitioners. The lack of consultation left many feeling excluded, their knowledge and experience dismissed. Here, June, a Problem Solver, speaking in phase one, describes how TR was presented to probation staff:

But I think people felt that they just decided. I mean you know we had it said to us, this is the way forward, this is how we're going to do it and the very, very first meeting we had ... the guy stood up and gave this long spiel and then he said, 'but I should make it quite clear, this is the way it is going to be, if you don't

like it I suggest you get another job'. That was it (June, Problem Solver, June 2015).

For others, the misinformation used to justify the proposals provoked anger and distrust. Ruth, a Risk Manager quoted below, questioned the government's motives for privatisation:

The notion of being able to work in a more innovative way – the idea exists and I think there's some will for that to happen but if truly we wanted to work in an innovative way, whether it be in a church hall or whatever, you didn't need to privatise probation to do it at all – a lot of money has been spent on the legal wrangling of putting people up for sale, tendering the bids, creating different organisations up and down the land ... If you'd wanted to allow us just to be more innovative and to deal with prisoners of any sentence length, whether it's 12 months and less or 12 months or more, whichever, just allow us to do that. They did not need to privatise us for any of this because so much time and effort has gone into organising the split, organising us being in the private sector and meeting the challenges legally, contractually of that; that actually the notion of innovation in the way that we work is – not even a poor second, it's really lagging behind (Ruth, Risk Manager, April 2016).

Within this context of distrust and exclusion, practitioners were allocated to either the NPS or a shadow CRC. At the time of the allocation, no one knew who the new owners would be. The process of allocating practitioners was equally arbitrary; without an open process of application and selection, some practitioners were left feeling the process had been unfair. The decision was made based on the composition of practitioner caseloads on a specific date. Some were suspicious that, further to the process being arbitrary, it was also open to manipulation:

There was a lot of divisiveness with some officers and some managers putting all the cases up to high risk so that certain people went over to NPS (Jane, Reflective Pragmatist, September 2015).

Practitioners were not blind to deficiencies in the existing systems and practices. The track record within the DTV area, described in Chapter Five, has shown them repeatedly rising to the challenge to change. It was unsurprising, therefore, to find practitioners expressing their willingness to change, as shown by the quotations below, from Simone, a Reflective Pragmatist and a middle manager, who was a supervisor of practitioners:

I mean we talk about the good old days but my memory of it is, it wasn't always good old days. I remember high workloads. I remember a massive amount of bureaucracy about why on earth do we write this? But, you felt you were doing a good, in fact it wasn't just that you felt you were doing a good job; you were doing a good job – an award-winning service. And for political reasons and financial reasons, they blew us out of the water. But I suppose to be positive, there's no reason why like a phoenix we can rise again! [Laughs] Well you could, couldn't you? I mean this CRC here could be an award-winning service but we're just, the problem we've got is we're held back because we can't do the job properly. And what we would like to do, to do the job properly is you need what we had twelve months ago. You need to have access into court and all the other things that have gone and that's the important thing (Simone, Reflective Pragmatist, June 2015).

My point of view was I think probation needed shaking up and I think we were ineffectual but I think there would have been a better way to do it and I do worry that the split will result in mistakes being made really. The lack of communication and consistency of relationships is a concern (Middle Manager, September, 2015).

What each of these quotations has in common is using reflection to identify the need for change, rejecting the means used by government to bring about change. Having allocated practitioners in this arbitrary way, new processes were introduced to enable offenders to be assessed, allocated and escalated (National Offender Management Service 2014).

As has been shown above, CRC practitioners were suspicious about the process for allocating them to the NPS or the CRC. The hurt and distrust continued after allocation. There was the perception among practitioners that this created a hierarchy, with the NPS cast as the upper tier:

The split, the main problem is that we are two-tier now and that's just a nonsense (Simone, Reflective Pragmatist, June 2015).

If we need to breach then we are dictated to by the NPS and this does not provide a service, just another hurdle to overcome (Jackie, Problem Solver, survey response, January 2016).

And it's as if you are the poor relative of the service really. Your voice doesn't matter anymore (Sharon, Risk Manager, June 2015).

The quotations below describe how practitioners were affected when their line managers expressed a preference for the NPS but had been allocated to the CRC. The line managers, clearly seeing the NPS as the elite part of the service, were disappointed at being allocated to the CRC.

I think at the outset it was difficult because I think my line manager wasn't happy that they got a CRC role and they, so they clearly wanted NPS. So – and it was very much, when they were talking to you that it was, you could see that there was a little bit of animosity and it wasn't good really (Sally, Reflective Pragmatist, June 2015).

Talking to my colleagues, a lot of us felt that our line management was – how shall I put it, sort of, oh well, I've got you but I didn't really want you. We sort of felt that our management didn't really want what they'd got. So, we felt sort of a bit second class (June, Problem Solver, September 2015).

This perception was reinforced by the NPS having control over initial assessment and recommendations for sentencing to the court; allocation to CRC or the NPS; and accepting or rejecting recommendations for escalation from CRC to the NPS,

breach or recall to custody. Practitioners, particularly qualified probation officers, felt disempowered by this relationship, some focusing on the impact on their status as professionals, while others doubted whether the tools and systems introduced to manage this new stage in these vital processes would be fit for purpose.

The next two sections consider some of the practicalities of operating in a divided service, where confidence and trust that develops from familiarity was disrupted.

7.3.1(ii) Assessment, Allocation and Escalation

As noted earlier, trust as habitus '*relies on everyday routines, stable reputations and tacit memories*' (Miztal, 1996, p. 102). Here, routines, reputations and memories were yet to be established or called into question by the divide. Thus, the context in which these process changes were introduced was one of uncertainty and unfamiliarity. For all practitioners, recent experience had been gained in an environment in which the control of risk was central to the work of practitioners and their practice in turn controlled and prescribed through rigorous national standards (Kemshall et al. 1997; Hedderman and Hough 2000; Robinson 2002). Thus, there was dissonance between greater trust, indicated by having more discretion and a loss of 'trust as habitus' as working environments changed and new expectations were not always understood.

Sadie, a Risk Manager, speaking in phase one and quoted below, expressed her lack of confidence in the tools used by the NPS to allocate offenders and raised concerns about disrupting relationships with offenders just as risk is escalating, a move likely to further increase the likelihood of reoffending or relapse (McNeill 2009; Robinson and Crow 2009; Shapland et al. 2012; Robinson et al. 2014). Her formative years as a practitioner when she developed her 'secondary habitus' (Grant, 2016) were influenced by high-profile cases such as Hanson and White (Her Majesty's

Inspectorate of Probation 2006), used as justification for more stringent national standards (see Appendix 15 for a summary of the recommendations):

Currently, I am a Probation Officer (PO) with a caseload of 60 and am constantly on the alert for potential high-risk cases at the point of allocation as I have no real confidence in the current NPS risk recognition tool. TR also does not understand how quickly people's risk can change and the importance of stable relationships between the offender and the OM at such times, nor that serious further offences are more usually committed by low- and medium-risk cases (Sadie, Risk Manager, June 2015).

The difficulties and potential impacts of the split on building relationships with offenders, identified above, have also been observed in early HMIP quality and impact inspections. The first, carried out in March 2016, took place in the Durham part of DTV CRC. This inspection identified a lack of involvement of offenders in the sentence planning process.

Participants we spoke with were generally unclear what was contained in their sentence plan, some telling us they did not think they had one (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation 2016b).

Sadie, cited above, goes on to describe how the changes following the split have disrupted the continuity of supervision:

Yeah, even though you hadn't completed OASyS, you were already in your mind building those risks and that assessment because, then, once they'd passed through the court, if they'd got the order that you'd stated, you then did the initial sentence plan on them and did the OASyS. Which brings me now to the TR; what we understood initially was that the NPS staff would do a full risk assessment with the PSR before it came to us. What we found was, very rarely do we get a full risk assessment OASyS. In fact, I can only think of one time since the split when I've had an OASyS risk assessment done on somebody before they've come to me. So, we are reliant on the information and the quality of the information, the quality of the reporting officer's investigative techniques to give us, the

providers of the information, that we need to be able to do a risk assessment when we do them (Sadie, Risk Manager, June 2015).

While the CRC is responsible for creating the sentence plan and using it to engage offenders in the process of desistance, Sadie's account of the process post-TR, particularly in the context of working in the community Hubs where offenders may not always see the same offender manager, goes some way to explaining what HMIP found.

Sally, a Reflective Pragmatist, and Susan, a Risk Manager, speaking in phase two, agreed that, as formal systems replaced the informal, the co-operation between NPS and CRC practitioners during the early days of the changes deteriorated. Susan was concerned it might get even worse once the local offices closed:

Yes – well what used to happen was if somebody was in court, the court team, who are NPS as opposed to CRC, used to phone across and put somebody in the office duty book and if by the time they came in – it was say within three or four days of sentence – if by the time that person came in it had been allocated to you or somebody else, the allocated person would organise to see them so they could gather the information ... Unfortunately, it has now changed that the court team do not give a first appointment, so you get an allocation by your manager, who sends you an email [...] So the first appointment isn't made now and I don't really think that's ideal because somebody's been to court, sentenced and it's down to us to organise the first appointment, which is crucial (Sally, Reflective Pragmatist, April 2016).

But it is starting to kind of creep in from the court and stuff like we would use to maybe get a phone call to say, 'When do you want this guy in?' Or they would contact at least the case admin to give them a duty appointment, whereas now that's not happening, so we're kind of having to – they're getting sentenced and then we're having to then start sending appointments out. So, it slows the process a little bit on that; so what impact that will have when we're not in this office or not I don't know (Susan, Risk Manager, April 2016).

This notion that the gap between the two delivery arms of probation would widen over time was identified by practitioners across all three groups, as shown by the quotations below:

The divisions between CRC and NPS deepen (Ruth, Risk Manager, March 2016).

There is a widening gap between communication between CRC/NPS when it comes to sentencing [...] Breaches – NPS sometimes make decisions for CRC and reject applications when it should be the decision of the court. This affects the CRC OM who might feel less likely to proceed with a breach (Joan, Risk Manager, Phase two survey response, February 2016).

Well it will eventually when people like me have gone, it's a natural progression of things. In five years' [...] they won't know old-style probation. They'll only know two different companies (Simone, Reflective Pragmatist, March 2016).

CRC staff were not alone in feeling frustrated about the allocation (or retention) of offenders within the NPS:

NPS: So, we've got all these people in NPS that don't need to be NPS. For me somebody needs to realise that when they go back to court – if that sentence that made them NPS eligible has expired and terminated and then they come back around and they score CRC, why are they staying with NPS?

INT: Because there isn't a de-escalation process is there?

NPS: No, and it's – but the answer I get is, well you'll have to wait till that sentence expires. But they go to court every week for shoplifting so that sentence is never going to expire (NPS Risk Manager, May 2016).

Whenever communication channels are made more complex, there is a possibility that key information may not reach its destination in a timely manner. The next section discusses the role of trust in communication pathways in the context of splitting the service.

7.3.1(iii) Information Sharing

Trust is also essential for facilitating effective communication, because *'it encourages the exchange of relevant information and determines whether team members are willing to allow others to influence their decisions and actions'* (Carnevale and Wechsler 1992, p. 471). This section looks at the impact of trust on information flows between different parts of probation. The sections above explored processes that rely on efficient information flows between the NPS and the CRCs. This section focuses on what practitioners said about the impact of splitting the service on information exchange. Information transfer can be formal, where documented processes and expectations are followed and fulfilled. However, informal exchanges also emerge as systems mature and where those working within the system are comfortable with boundaries and trust those around them to understand when information can be shared. Bringing in a new system, where new boundaries are negotiated and where established roles and relationships are changed, is likely to disrupt routines. My research was carried out during a period of major change. In phase one, new processes were being worked out, although practitioners from each part of the service continued to work out of the same buildings, albeit in different offices. By phase two, agile working had commenced, and most CRC practitioners had moved out of local offices. This created new problems, and face-to-face communication became physically more difficult. Further, as CRC staff were getting used to new IT systems, familiarity with these had yet to develop. The quotations below create a mixed picture of the practicalities and difficulties encountered alongside those where relationships were becoming more strained. June, a Problem Solver, explains how concerns about data flows emerged early in the process of splitting the service, commenting

here on how historical data on offending histories were no longer available to those working in the CRCs:

Yeah, that's the biggest thing. When we were very first splitting and the new systems came out, it was the first thing that everybody said. And obviously now we don't have the access to the records. Before, if you'd got an offender, you could go back through all their OASys and often you would pick things up that weren't on the current one, that isn't in the PSR if you like. Oh God, she used to live with him or, oh I didn't realise that. And all of that now has gone. So, I think there is a significant amount of information that really is helpful and I think that is one of the biggest dangers that it is something that we all feel really, really adamant about and really don't like that at all (June, Problem Solver, June 2015).

Next, Sharon, a Risk Manager, also speaking early in phase one, was predicting a future where, once existing NPS staff moved on, sharing informal detailed information about offenders would cease:

Yes, I don't think you'll get any information. I think there will be a real breakdown, totally, because they'll have come into the service and they'll just take on the role of whatever the NPS is doing and, you know, like you said, they haven't taken the time to even build up a relationship with anyone there and I think that will have gone. I think it will be so impersonal it will be a case of you are really chasing around on the issues (Sharon, Risk Manager, June 2015).

Problem Solvers also experienced frustration at the lack of information on cases allocated by the NPS for supervision by the CRC:

We do an assessment on a person and get very, very little information. I have full OASys to carry out next week on the lady and the only information from the NPS I've got is her name and date of birth and what she was sentenced to at court. There's been no report and they are now not required to do a report for us (Penny, Problem Solver, April 2016).

Reflective Pragmatists, too, felt frustrated by the lack of information about allocated offenders. However, these practitioners tended to look past current

problems to a more positive future. Teresa, quoted below, felt that, given time, formal systems would develop and that they may be more robust than the informal processes that relied on personal relationships between practitioners:

Information sharing from NPS, well, I've found it very poor to be honest, in terms of when they are allocating orders and things no one ever speaks to us; whether they think it's appropriate on your offender – well participants as they are now. So, I have found that an issue. For example, I'm having to take orders back to court when they've been given unpaid work when they're on sickness benefit; so, it's obviously a waste of time and effort. And I just think, why aren't they speaking to them? Surely, it's more – but anyway, that's maybe something that might be ironed out when we are actually two separate entities. Because I still think there's that process, because obviously, we have worked together that you sort of assume that people know, or know you – where, if we were two separate entities, they'd maybe have to make more of an effort to contact us in a way (Teresa, Reflective Pragmatist, March 2016).

The feeling of a real separation or even a rift in the relationship between NPS and CRC practitioners as people moved out of offices to begin agile working was also felt from the NPS side. Frustration at not knowing the offenders they represented at court seemed to contribute to feelings of distrust between the two organisations:

NPS: So, they were in our office from TR up until December and that was fine because it was no different really. You were still talking to them because they manage their own caseload and we manage our own caseload and even though we didn't have any offenders crossing over you would still talk to each other about your offenders and what's going on with things. But, since Christmas, they've moved out, so we literally have nothing to do with CRC, no communication. We don't see them or anything.

INT: Okay, and how do you think that has impacted on the work – has that had an effect on –?

NPS: Because, if, for example, I was writing a pre-sentence report on somebody and was talking to my colleague who was sat in the office opposite, I could just go over and talk to them; whereas now I have to send them an email or try and phone them and it's such tight timescales by the time they get back to you, because you don't know when they're in or about you don't share that information (NPS Risk Manager, May 2016).

These quotations show that there was a consensus across practitioner groups that the split was problematic, although Reflective Pragmatists were trying to find ways around the difficulties experienced. However, no one interviewed suggested there were any benefits in creating a two-tier system by separating provision of community supervision between different organisations. The next section continues to explore reactions to another aspect of fragmentation, the impact of introducing eight different owners of CRCs, within a context of less-prescriptive sentencing and the relaxation of national standards.

7.3.2 Trust between CRCs

TR introduced three aspects to the reversal of earlier moves to standardise probation brought about by legislation, policy and performance management regimes since the 1930s. First, changes to the community order sentence³⁴ allowed considerable discretion for CRCs to determine how a community order should be carried out. Second, the relaxation of national standards allowed the new providers more discretion regarding timeliness and frequency of contact with offenders. Finally, the introduction of multiple providers to deliver community supervision has resulted in differential provision across England and Wales, with providers set in competition with each other. Within DTV CRC, the three practitioner groups all

³⁴ See Appendix 14 for an explanation of the rehabilitation activity requirement that is a key part of the revised community order sentence.

agreed that, whatever they felt about this CRC, things were worse elsewhere. This set up conditions for a second layer of distrust, between CRCs.

Having eight different providers delivering offender services across 21 CRCs, with different approaches to the way offenders are supervised, also provided opportunities for differences in the level of support available to offenders and the expectations placed on them, which, if breached could result in additional sanctions and even a custodial sentence. The quotations below, from each of the three practitioner groups, in response to a question posed in phase two about their observations of different levels of service offered to offenders in other CRCs, revealed concerns about the quality of service offered to offenders and the impact this might have on practitioners and offenders:

I would think it would be unrecognisable. I would think if you had a community order with 30 RA days and supervision and you had it in Teesside it would be very different, say, if you had it in Inner London ... So yeah, so you haven't got national – you haven't got national continuity because you've given contracts out to a variety of different companies who are running it a variety of different ways (Simone, Reflective Pragmatist, March 2016).

... I have had people transferred in from that area on a care-taking basis who have said it's not like that up there. We don't have to come in. We don't have to do this and you never see anybody. So, it is very, very different. Yeah, it is very, very – and that can be difficult to manage because there's an expectation from myself that I will at least see a person, because that is how we built a relationship – get to know them and get to know what is going on for them (Penny, Problem Solver, April 2016).

Serious[ly] appalling for the transfers. There's been so many complaints. Nearly every guy that's ever transferred out there, even the care taking side, I just got told by staff that they can't just drop in, we don't just have duty and it should have been arranged. And, you know, I had the discussion saying, 'I've asked him to go to his nearest office, CRC office, to report in so

I can have a contact name', I said, 'And then I can liaise'. Because if I don't know exactly where he's living and he doesn't really know where he is, what else could I do? This poor guy ended up getting recalled because they sent him away twice so he just slipped through the net (Sharon, Risk Manager, April 2016).

These concerns were put to the CEO and another member of the senior management team (SMT) in interviews a few weeks later. These senior managers reinforced practitioner views, drawing attention to additional issues when local resettlement prisons straddled two or more CRCs, setting up a situation in which two offenders released from the same place would be going to very different levels of supervision and support:

CEO: As other CRCs start to move onto their IT solutions, it's going to get harder. The bridge³⁵ is still there and, I mean, I think it's difficult because they are the sorts of things that we have to then go back through the NPS on and you're then in their hands around timescales and passing of information and that sort of stuff. And it's like anything isn't it? You add a third party into the mix and things just get diluted and more complicated and I do think that's a very real situation, that, and particularly Through the Gate staff. So, Through the Gate as in – because if you take HMP Durham, so our Through the Gate offering and Northumbria's Through the Gate offering are very different. And prisoners themselves have said to our contract management teams on their visits, actually we want to go and live in Durham because we want to be under the DTV. And, you know, whilst I can say, 'Oh that's great', actually that is not good practice and the governors are fed up because, obviously, to be fair, it's the prison staff who are actually managing that on a daily basis with individuals, with individual prisoners (CEO, May 2016).

The senior manager quoted below also recognised the potential for difficulties as offenders either perceived additional support and expectations as a benefit or as additional control. Probation service users are involuntary and do not have the

³⁵ The bridge provides a temporary link between NOMS IT and CRC IT systems, until new CRC systems are approved by NOMS.

power to choose between providers; thus, competition and differential provision can have perverse impacts, with practitioners and prison staff sitting in the front line of any complaints:

So, the situation you have in Durham is that we're in there offering services as lead host provider, Sodexo are also in there offering services to Northumbria CRC offenders. Now, the things that they are offering are very different so you already have got a kind of a real – a position where, from the prison's point of view, one set of offenders gets offered X and another set of offenders gets offered X+ or X-, depending on which way you want to look at it. And that's a kind of situation where somebody going out from Durham might be going to an area where – well, all they know that they are going to have to do is give a thumb print. Whereas somebody else might be coming out through one of our Hubs where they know they are going to have to actually see and speak to people. That might be a kind of a negative thing in some people's perception (Senior Manager, May 2016).

Finally, these views were put to a representative of the NOMS contracting team, who had a different view:

So – it is; I think justice by geography is an interesting concept. I mean the whole idea of TR stuff is to bring in a level of competition between the CRCs, to be honest, so that the better service providers emerge victorious from that for want of a better phrase. So, there's opportunities for CRCs to emerge as quite a specialist service provider. To be seen and recognised for that and then for that to be bought in. So, I think what I'm saying by that, though, is the concept of every prisoner or every offender getting the same guaranteed level of service across the country goes out the window a bit with that. There will be – there is an accepted minimal level of service, I think, in terms of what we would assure the contracts against and that sort of thing. Having said that, if you look at something like Through the Gate, it doesn't really – in the contract, it doesn't really specify what the minimum offer should be (NOMS contracting team, May 2016).

This quotation reveals much about the new, competitive context in which probation operates. However, while this competition is played out (contracts are

for between seven and 10 years), who are likely to be the losers? How good is the 'minimum offer'? In December 2016, the first quality and impact inspection report for the CRC in London summed up CRC effectiveness as:

Overall, performance was poor. The proportion of work carried out to a sufficient standard did not meet our expectations and was low when compared to our findings to date in other parts of the country (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation 2016e, p. 8).

The degree of trust stakeholders can have in relying on competition to drive up performance might be questioned when looking at what might be done if the existing providers in London fail to improve. The London CRC supervises 18% of the total CRC population (National Offender Management Service 2016). When probation in London was offered up for sale, only three bids were received. The alternative bids came from CRR Partnership³⁶ and Capita, the former unsuccessfully bidding for 10 CRCs, the latter seven; that neither of the alternative bidders for London were deemed appropriate to deliver much smaller CRCs demonstrates the difficulty that would be faced if the current suppliers' contract was terminated. Earlier research into potential providers bidding for private prison contracts by LeVay (2016) found a similar problem. As Dame Glenys Stacey, HM Chief Inspector of Probation, in her foreword to the inspection report, acknowledged:

Delivering probation services in the capital is particularly challenging. The city has a diverse, mobile and relatively young population, living in 32 boroughs that each differ in the way they work with offenders. The work is unrelenting, with some 17% of all those under probation supervision nationally living in London. Probation services in London have long struggled with high workloads, and workload pressures have been a regular feature in the most notorious of cases where a supervised

³⁶ CRR is a partnership between Carillion Plc, Reed in Partnership Ltd, and Rehabilitation for Addicted Prisoners Trust (RAPt).

individual has committed a Serious Further Offence (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation 2016e, p. 8).

While it might be expected that, during a period of such rapid and far-reaching changes, practitioners would experience a lack of confidence and trust in new, unfamiliar systems, processes and structures to effectively manage risk, the next section describes how this lack of trust was even evident between practitioners of this single CRC. While the chapter so far has revealed quite subtle differences between reactions by the different practitioner groups, the final section revisits the practitioner groups to explore trust between DTV CRC practitioners.

7.3.3 Trust between Practitioners of DTV CRC

By phase two, practitioners who had already accepted and, in some cases, celebrated the changes (mainly Reflective Pragmatists and Problem Solvers) were beginning to rebuild stability and routine, while many Risk Managers were still in a state of critical reflection, asking questions and raising concerns. As discussed in Chapter Six, Reflective Pragmatists had memories of experiences prior to the height of national standards and training that prepared them for using their discretion to draw on as they negotiated the new, more flexible ways of working, while Problem Solvers had recent experience of working out of community Hubs. Thus, for these two groups, there was some congruence between their 'secondary habitus' and the new ways of working. This contrasted with Risk Managers, who had neither. Their 'secondary habitus' had been developed in a context of national standards and prescriptive sentences, while their experience of working with offenders had been gained in the environment of probation offices with access control and security measures (Phillips 2014a). Manifestations of the lack of trust between practitioners within this CRC, within and between each practitioner group, are discussed below.

7.3.3(i) Reflective Pragmatists

By phase two, Reflective Pragmatists generally moved on and accepted the changes implemented by the CRC, if not the notion of privatisation itself. Thus, they were looking to the future in a positive way, seeing opportunities from greater flexibility. The chance to use professional discretion helped to offset the de-professionalising effects of TR through the loss of court work, management of high-risk offenders and final decisions in breach processes. However, reflection on the changes continued, particularly on the impact of TR within the broader environment outside of this CRC, as shown earlier in this chapter. It takes time to build confidence in new regimes (Young 1988), creating a new trust 'habitus'. At this stage, just a year after the new operating model had been announced, when some practitioners were beginning to emerge out of the liminal space between old systems and new, confidence and trust might reasonably be fragile. Evidence of this fragility came in a lack of trust between practitioners. Negative comments about colleagues took two main forms. First was the frustration at the apparent negativity expressed by some team members. Simone, below, reveals this type of frustration. Within this quotation there are two other key emotions. Simone is positive about her team, generally, feeling '*really blessed*', reiterating that some of the changes were '*very positive*'. However, her frustration is not only directed towards negative team members but also the failure of management to deal with it:

In our team, because we've been really blessed, we've been really lucky as in most people, although nobody really wanted the change, again as you touched on, I welcome some of the fine tuning, some of the things that were brought in; some of it was very positive, I genuinely believe that. But if I ran a team and if I had a small team of say 10 or less and I had two people sat there for eight hours moaning, complaining, eventually it brings the rest of the team down and you've got to deal with that and that's an analogy of anything. It doesn't have to be

probation, it could be sports or anything (Simone, March 2016).

Jane also comments on colleagues who have not embraced change. She introduces the other form of critique of her colleagues, namely, that '*they can't*' adapt; she soon reverts to the more overtly critical, '*they won't* change'. She is also surprised that she adapted so readily, almost anticipating that, because of the length of her service, she would have found it difficult to change:

I think another big drawback is the actions of some of the staff, they don't want to – they are very negative and they can't just, they can't – they don't want to run with an idea. They don't want to change, they don't want to adapt, and the thing is, we are entering a new world and we have to change and adapt. I thought I would struggle more than many because of the amount of years I've been about but I actually feel, compared to a lot, I don't have an issue (Jane, March 2016).

Finally, Mary reflects on an impact of the wider context in which TR was implemented. Mary recognises that, even before TR, some practitioners reached a point when they no longer wanted to continue in their current roles. She goes on to suggest that, in the past, these practitioners would move on, to another role within probation, but that this was no longer possible, going so far as to suggest this was a '*danger*', a threat to the service in the future:

No, I'm talking about some of my colleagues who are sick of offenders and I think it's – do you know when you work with negativity – you know when you work with like – you know when we worked in the probation service before, if you got to the point where you were so sick of your job, you could move – and there's nowhere to go now and I think that's the danger that you will have with a lot of staff (Mary, March 2016).

This section has painted a picture of a group of practitioners who want to be positive about the new ways of working while fearing that the negativity of some staff poses a threat to the new, still fragile habitus. The next section moves onto

the way Problem Solvers reacted to colleagues who had yet to embrace the changes.

7.3.3(ii) Problem Solvers

In Chapter Six, Problem Solvers were described as practical and less likely to over-theorise the changes. They tended to look for solutions to problems encountered along the way. Some also had more familiarity within the new model, having worked in Gallants prior to TR, which meant that they were familiar with some aspects of Hub working. They were also used to managing only low- to medium-risk offenders and thus had not experienced the same sense of de-professionalisation their more qualified colleagues had faced. Indeed, for some, the changes represented an increase in status, feeling that some POs had seen them as second class prior to TR:

And I think it's now a case that people are more likely to come on board with what we were doing than us having to feel like we're a proper officer. Yes, we've now got a caseload ourselves but others are now having to do what we were doing in the first place, which is seeing people out of the office, not set appointment times; you know, having the table where there's tea and coffee and biscuits (June, September 2015).

Well I think my grade, PSO, is probably the favourite; so, they may want to increase those because we are cheaper than Probation Officers even though we do the same work. And I think Probation Officers feel that they are in a higher status than we are. So, they are more obstructive to the changes, I think (Donna, September 2015).

By phase two (and even in phase one), as the Reflective Pragmatists described above, Problem Solvers were adapting to the changes, some even taking a lead role in the Hubs. For example, they were organising pre-meets to discuss any specific offenders they wished to see personally and passing on information about those who were in a stable position and thus less likely to be affected by seeing someone

different. Likewise, after the Hub sessions finished, they set up de-briefing sessions to discuss any emerging problems for staff or offenders. There were also practical duties needed for the smooth running of the Hub, setting out furniture and briefing volunteers and partner agencies. The way dissatisfaction emerged for this group tended to relate to some practitioners not getting involved in work outside of the formal opening times of the Hubs and, thus, in their view, not fully embracing the new model or trying to make it work. Part of their familiar 'habitus' was the semi-social aspect of the before-and-after Hub meetings where staff often ate their lunch. In some ways, this replicated the social aspect of local offices. Penny explains the importance of pre-and post-Hub briefings:

I don't think that some colleagues get the value of the pre-meeting and the fact that it's a risk meeting as well. It's about information sharing, the sharing of risks and such like; and kind of, it's chewing the fat. And the de-brief afterwards is to discuss any issues, anything that went on with anybody. And it's kind of, if you need to discuss a case with anybody just to get it off your chest or if there's any risks, anything highlighted. And colleagues aren't getting the concept of that and are leaving straight after – or leaving an hour early (Penny, April 2016).

It is possible that these tensions existed before TR. For example, Mawby and Worrall's (2013) research, conducted before TR, had already identified different attitudes to probation work between those recruited when discretion was allowed (Lifers) and those recruited more recently (Offender Managers). However, within offices with a receptionist, familiar routines and where practitioners generally only saw their own offenders, differences were less apparent. June demonstrated some insight into how staff who were yet to accept the changes were feeling. She recognised it as part of the process of change but also, in line with her realistic approach, recognised that some chose to resist. The final comment reveals how her own familiarity with new ways of working aided her transition:

Yeah, they've worked for years in an office, they liked the structure and it's not negative, it's more – 'Eee, well this is going to be really –', you know panicking a bit, sort of thing. And I think the next couple of months, you know, when the office has closed and we get – then, I think, for a lot of them once they get into the way of doing it they'll think, do you know, actually this is quite handy, this isn't bad, why was I panicking, why was I worried ... when I found out we were going to be mobile and all this, I was really enthusiastic because I had actually worked like that when I was on my secondment (June, March 2016).

Finally, Emma recognised that some negativity was borne out of anxiety. This Problem Solver was involved in one of the change pathway groups,³⁷ and she reflected that being involved in the changes eased her own anxiety. Being involved was used as a way of creating familiarity; working with a group of people from across the whole CRC rather than just her own team helped to allay her fears of the unknown:

And some people won't be reassured either because they've got – some people have that negative block in the brain, but other people have that level of anxiety that when you reassure them they can't take that on board because the questions and the levels of anxiety are too high about where things are going. So, when you say to them, 'Don't worry about it, it's all in hand', that's not enough for them. To be honest, it's not enough for me but because I've been on the in – like, on the inside, you know, I've had a bit more of an understanding (Emma, March 2016).

The final part of this discussion turns to the Risk Managers.

7.3.3(iii) Risk Managers

So far, in this discussion of distrust and understanding between practitioners, Reflective Pragmatists expressed irritation by those yet to embrace change, while

³⁷ Change pathway groups were set up during the implementation of the new model to involve staff from across the CRC in designing new systems and processes. For example, there was an IT pathway group that provided input into the new mobile systems implemented to support agile working.

Problem Solvers, less impacted by the change process themselves, were more likely to have some sympathy for colleagues who felt anxious about the changes. These practitioners seemed able to distinguish between those who wilfully rejected change and those whose negativity was borne out of anxiety. This section looks at the group most anxious about the changes, Risk Managers. Previously, comments from Problem Solvers, all PSOs, suggested that the position of the PSO had been elevated by TR. Here, this is explained from the perspective of Ruth, a PO. Ruth is aware that familiarity with the Hub format meant PSOs were now more likely to feel secure than POs, who, in her words, '*had been cast adrift*':

So, we are constantly, as a PO, I feel the POs have been left adrift. A lot of the PSOs in the Durham Tees Valley have been working with what we call the Hub format for some while before the split, because the Hub format was based on something we were already practising, which was the Gallant. So, a lot of the PSOs are familiar with that and the POs now are really only coming to the Hub format without knowing what is expected of them, what is expected of their clients within that format or what we are going to do with this citizenship work, this desistance work, all of which is presented as something you do on a one-to-one basis. So, for a CRC POs for sure, the future feels completely unknown (Ruth, June 2015).

Within this context of uncertainty, Ruth, like her colleagues from other practitioner groups, showed a lack of trust. In the quotation below, Ruth seemed to imply that quality in the new arrangements for offender supervision was now more dependent on the ability and motivation of individual officers, as the requirements of the sentence and the lack of national standards no longer provided structured quality assurance:

No, people are coming in and having supervision appointments and that will depend on the standard of the officer doing it. You know, and everybody, I suppose everybody is trying to do the best they can. There may be Hubs that are doing something other than that but the legalities of how to – let's

say, there was the idea that you could well, if you go to your housing appointment or if you go to see your lady at the drugs office, or whichever, that could count as a RA activity (Ruth, March 2016).

This view was also expressed from the NPS side:

Yeah, I don't know what they are doing in the CRC. Like, when we write reports, you are making a proposal for RA days but you can't say what they are going to do with the RA days because I don't know what the CRC are doing. It's like, Through the Gate, they are not up and running either (NPS, Risk Manager, May 2016).

When I asked Sharon, another Risk Manager, about people who appeared negative towards the changes, she gave the following account:

INT: So, do you think for some people the change has just been so major for them that they've switched off or have they always been like that?

Sharon: There's very – a minor, minor group where I think they shouldn't be working with people; that's only very minor, I think some people have burnt themselves out, I think they've been busy, I think they've wanted to be listened to and I think they are just like on auto-pilot, some people. I think if the Hubs were run just so and there was structure to each one and it was the same sort of structure in each Hub ... When they've been very good officers in the past and I find that really, really sad because you just think, they've got so much more to give. If they were just listened to, just a little bit (Sharon, April 2016).

A similar view is presented by Susan, who, like Emma, the Problem Solver quoted above, recognised that there was a difference between outright negativity and anxiety:

And again, you do get the negativity like that but then you also get other people who maybe, yes, they do – they do just want to know, they want to get clarification. They want to know where they stand. They want to know what's expected and they do ask a lot of questions (Susan, March 2016).

While Sharon and Susan appear to be distancing themselves from negative perspectives on the changes, their responses to the survey and comments about the reversal of standardisation suggested their insight emerged from a position of having felt the same kind of uncertainty expressed by Ruth. Their comments in response to questions about national standards and greater flexibility, recorded earlier, confirm this to be the case. Sharon commented in May 2016:

If there's no guidelines I think it will go – and then when things break down and there's a serious further offence and you haven't got that assessment on the system well then – God help us, that's what I say (Sharon, Risk Manager, May 2016).

7.4 Rebuilding Familiarity, Confidence and Trust

So far, this chapter has discussed the impact of TR on trust, between different parts of the service and between practitioners of this CRC. Chapter Six revealed that practitioner scores in the panel survey suggested that reactions to change could be better understood by dividing practitioners across three groups within a dynamic model of change. Statistical analysis revealed Risk Managers and Problem Solvers, recruited during the peak of managerialism, were generally less enthusiastic about the relaxation of national standards, while they differed regarding changes brought about by moving to the new operating model base on community Hubs; where Problem Solvers generally embraced this change, not so Risk Managers. Reflective Pragmatists, after initial reservations, tended to embrace both, seeing the changes as an opportunity to return to elements of earlier practice when professional discretion was encouraged. Following analysis of the interviews, it became apparent these hard data did not provide the whole picture.

By the end of phase two, despite continuing concerns about greater flexibility, two of the three Risk Managers interviewed (a fourth having dropped out after phase

one) showed signs of beginning to embrace change. Their responses during the interviews suggested potential conditions for positive change and conditions that might be barriers to change. Given their resistance to change, the main focus in this final section is on Risk Managers. First, Sharon explains how change came about for her. She speaks of a supportive team and a line manager who encouraged the team to take ownership of the Hubs they would run:

Yes, and that's where I've found that's worked for us. I was one of your main people that said, 'Oh I don't know how these Hubs are going to work, how are they going to monitor the risks and everything?'. But we sat down together collectively as a team and said, 'What can we do to make it work for us?'. And we worked with our manager closely and he gave us the time and that to sit down and work out exactly what we felt we needed doing to make it work and it does work because of that, because we were allowed to do that. We took ownership of it in a sense (Sharon, Risk Manager, April 2016).

In contrast, Ruth, another Risk Manager, also speaking in phase two, was angry and upset. She felt her ideas were not listened to and she lacked trust in those around her to support those ideas. Even though earlier comments revealed concerns about the relaxation of national standards, she recognised that this change might provide new opportunities. However, her lack of trust in those around her seems to have restricted her ability to try out new ways of working. She also seemed aware that her reluctance invoked criticism, when she said, *'It's not to say I'm refusing to work or ...'*. This quotation captures the complex emotions experienced by practitioners. That POs experience this kind of internal debate is unsurprising given their reflective role when supervising offenders with multiple needs:

For me, it was almost immoral what we've been put through, and that's not to say, I don't – it's not to say I'm refusing to work or, I do my job and I've worked within this. I've tried to come up with new ideas. I could see things that I could do that I would love to do that I could never have done under the

national standards and prior to this that I could do now, but I don't feel I would be well-supported in developing the ideas that I've got (Ruth, Risk Manager, March 2016).

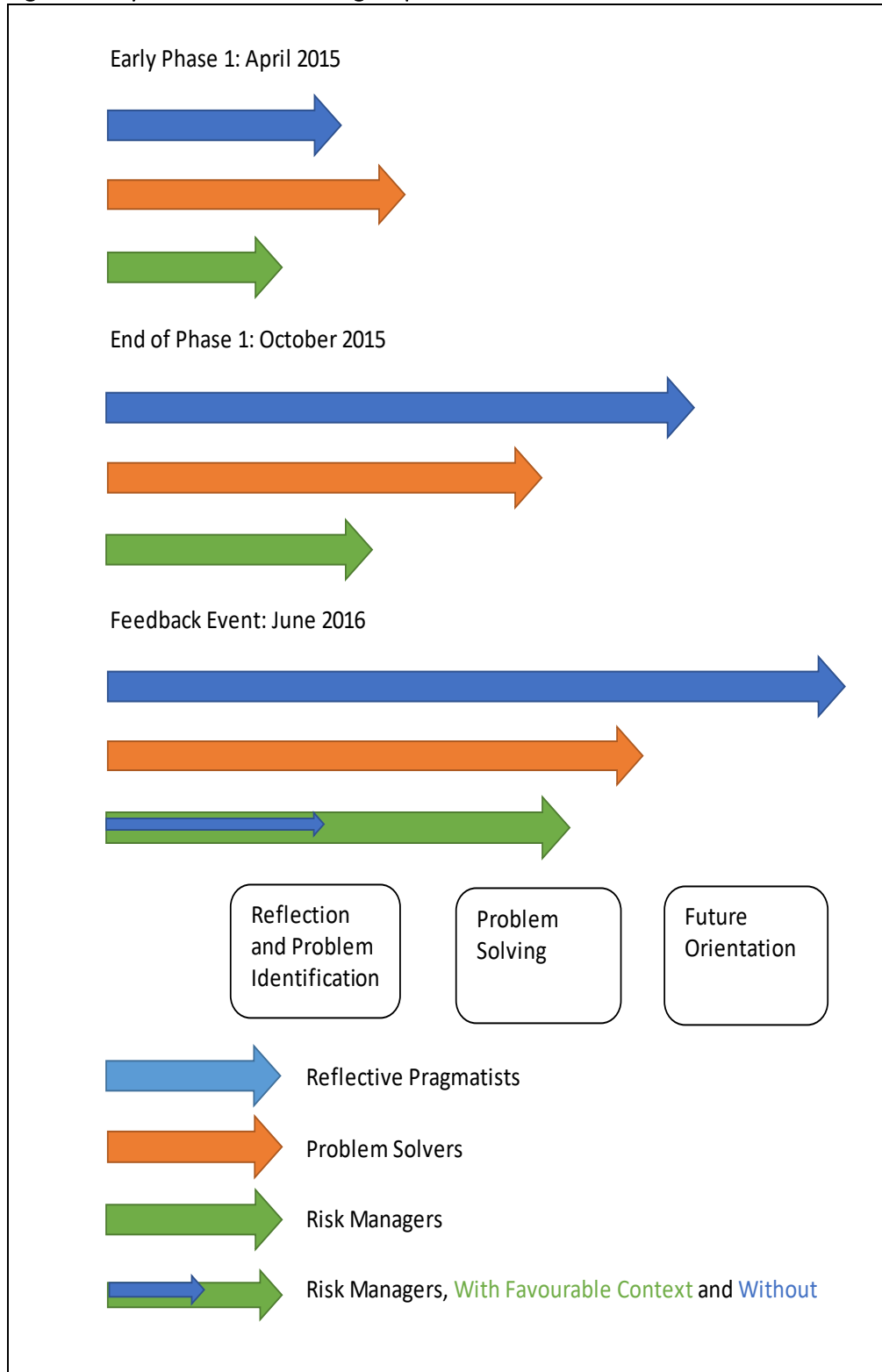
Furthermore, the quotation below from Donna, a Problem Solver, demonstrates how the conditions for change transcended practitioner groupings. Donna was working in the same part of the CRC as Ruth, and she, too, had little confidence that the minutes from team meetings would accurately reflect what was discussed; her comments about 'atmosphere and flavour' suggest a lack of trust:

And the team minutes do not reflect the flavour and the atmosphere and the throw-away comments and the – anything. It doesn't really reflect; and things that I might feel are important and interesting are not even on the minutes, you know, that kind of thing (Donna, Problem Solver, March 2016).

Thus, these findings support research elsewhere (Attwood et al. 2003; Doherty et al. 2014) about the importance of effective line management and a supportive team in times of change. Having a line manager able to involve practitioners in shaping the changes and allowing them to have their voices heard seemed key to supporting practitioners embarking on the process of change. Robinson et al.'s (2016) research with a CRC during an earlier phase of the transition from public to private found that having an opportunity to try out and experiment with new ways of working gave practitioners a more positive attitude towards change. Finally, these findings also reflect many of Bruhn's (2001) characteristics of a high-trust organisation, namely, encouraging active participation in the organisation and respecting the views of employees.

In Chapter Six, a model representing the dynamic nature of practitioner reaction to change was developed. In light of the findings presented in this chapter, the model has been extended to reflect the different journeys described here (see Figure 7.1 below).

Figure 7.1 Dynamic model of change: April 2015–June 2016



7.5 Conclusion

Change brings uncertainty. This chapter has revealed how the magnitude of the changes brought about by TR has eroded familiarity of place, practice and quality-assurance mechanisms and how this in turn has eroded trust. The first two sections explored distrust directed outside of this CRC. In part, this was not surprising as this CRC was unique in not being driven by the need to make a profit for shareholders. Previous chapters demonstrated that practitioners in this CRC were generally supportive of their senior managers and felt fortunate to be working here rather than for a profit-seeking organisation. However, developing practitioner groups and the dynamic model of change revealed a small but significant group of practitioners who remained critical, not just towards the external influences of TR but also towards the operational model within this CRC, namely, working out of community Hubs. Dissonance between practitioners at different stages of the adaptation to change led to an erosion of trust. Recognising that change is a dynamic process and that experience and current context impacts on the ability to adapt helped to shed light on the lack of trust. First was the lack of trust between groups, where those already embracing change saw questions and critique by colleagues who still struggled with the changes as a threat to their new, fragile habitus. Next, attention was given to the group of practitioners who found change most difficult, the Risk Managers. Even within this group, by the end of the data collection period, some did begin to move on and embrace change. Differences were revealed in the contexts in which these practitioners worked. Those beginning to move on appeared to be in teams led by supportive managers, where practitioner input into the shape of change was encouraged and practitioners felt their voices had been heard. While this finding concurs with those of Robinson et

al. (2016), the findings noted above regarding attitudes to senior managers differ. While Robinson et al. found loyalty and trust between 'colleagues, offenders and the profession', practitioners in another CRC, as it waited to hear who its new owners would be, felt let down by their senior managers who, practitioners felt, had not fought hard enough against the changes; rather, they had been keen to demonstrate their own ability to change. This resulted in a lack of trust between senior managers and practitioners. However, the findings in both studies concur with those of Knight (2014) and Phillips and Fowler (2016), regarding what it is that supports the development of emotional literacy, as trust and acceptance of change seemed to be encouraged by active participation in the changes and opportunities to 'have their voices heard'. Further, Bruhn's (2001) study suggested that high-trust organisations encourage active participation of employees in the way the organisation is run, have people centred managers and respect those who work in them. It would appear, here, that, within a single organisation, these characteristics are not always evenly distributed, despite having senior leaders who espouse and act on the virtues of a high-trust organisation such as adherence to explicit values and a transparent delivery style.

Chapter Eight draws this thesis to a close, returning to the questions posed in Chapter One before looking at recommendations for additional research and implications the findings here have for the future of probation.

Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This thesis set out to explore the process of change, most particularly, the way a group of professional probation practitioners negotiated the implementation of the TR agenda in DTV CRC. The thesis was interested in the resilience and consistency of values during this process and whether all practitioners experienced the changes in a similar way or whether it was possible to determine different pathways through change. The thesis also sought to use the findings from this research to cast light on likely futures for probation more broadly. Entering the field, a key expectation, informed by early predictions about the likely impact of TR, was that practitioners would reject the notion of privatisation. Practitioners did express concerns about making a profit from an offender and those employed by this CRC were relieved that they were working for the only not-for-profit CRC. They also rejected the need to divide services to offenders based on the risk they were deemed to pose. However, what was more important to practitioners was the quality of service offered to the offenders they supervised. Thus, the intention here is not to focus on arguments about moving out of the public sector *per se*, but rather to focus on the contexts in which post-TR probation values could survive or even thrive, and highlight those most likely to signal their demise. First, a brief overview of the main findings will be presented. Next, the research questions are revisited. The thesis will conclude by reflecting on the impact of action research in times of change and make recommendations for further research in this field.

8.2 Overview of the Research Findings

This research was conducted within a critical realist framework. Thus, context was key when exploring change and making sense of the findings. The context of this research was set out in Chapter Five which explored how DTV CRC was the product of the history of probation, of local innovation and its demographics. There were several characteristics of this CRC that may have contributed to the way staff reacted to the challenges posed by TR. First, its status as a not-for-profit CRC meant that staff did not have to face the ethical/moral dilemma of their employers making a profit from offenders and, by association, offending. Second, the workforce was remarkably stable prior to and since TR, with several practitioners having worked there for more than 20 years. Finally, while there had been a merger between Durham and Clevedon probation areas when probation trusts were created in 2010, the CRC kept the same boundary before and after TR. Further, as described in Chapter Five, the DTV area had a tradition of rising to the challenge of change, showing a willingness to develop or pilot new initiatives such as community service and citizenship. This created a sound platform from which to mount a successful bid to run the CRC, led by staff from the DTV Probation Trust. Once the contract was awarded, they were the first CRC to embark on an ambitious programme of estate rationalisation and implementation of a new operating model based on community justice Hubs. The foresight of the DTV Probation Trust, the predecessor of DTV CRC, in working towards a leaner organisation may also have helped to secure the contract and protect DTV CRC from making enforced practitioner reductions post-TR.

Chapter Six began to cast light on the different pathways the practitioners took through the change process within DTV CRC. When the possibility of practitioner

reactions being dependent on length of experience and level of qualification first emerged as the phase one data were analysed, it appeared that these practitioner groups would provide a useful framework for analysis. As statistical data from the second phase³⁸ of the survey were analysed, this view was reinforced. POs with less than 15 years' service (Risk Managers) appeared to resist change, evidenced by an increasing gap between Importance (a proxy for values) and Happening (perception of reality) scores between phase one and phase two. This contrasted with scores from POs and PSOs with longer experience (Reflective Pragmatists), where the gap narrowed. Although Reflective Pragmatists also started out as critical of the changes, by the end of phase one, they began to see the benefits of greater flexibility and, by phase two, were looking to the future to capitalise on opportunities to innovate and use their professional judgement. Problem Solvers were less reflective and less critical at the start of phase one and, by the end of the phase, were exhibiting a positive attitude to the changes and wanted to 'get on with it'. These practitioners had practical experience gained from working in the Gallants to draw on when working in the new Hubs. When the findings from phase two of the panel survey and the initial interpretation of the phase one results were explored in the phase two interviews, differences began to emerge within the Risk Manager group. Some Risk Managers were beginning to emulate the journeys made by Reflective Pragmatists, albeit more slowly and with some reservations. Furthermore, at the feedback event in June 2016, even those Risk Managers who had been critical of the changes during the phase two interviews were beginning to problem solve and find solutions.

³⁸ Phase one: April–October 2015; phase two: January–April 2016; feedback event: June 2016.

Chapter Seven explored a theme that provoked critical comments from all three groups: fragmentation. This theme emerged in phase one but became more significant as time went on. Fragmentation was linked to the mechanism of trust. Exploring the mechanism of trust cast light on the different ways in which the three practitioner groups negotiated change and led to the identification of further mechanisms likely to be associated with successful adaptation to change, particularly for those who found the process of implementing TR most challenging, the Risk Managers. The perception of having their voices heard by immediate managers and senior management and getting involved in the process of change were associated with some Risk Managers beginning to look for solutions to problems encountered, rather than constantly looking backwards (Stewart 1991) to a time when they felt confident and able to practice in a way that was consistent with their values. Risk Managers who had not begun to move on by the phase two interviews were likely to make comments reflecting the characteristics of low-trust organisations: not being listened to and feeling isolated among other practitioners (Pate et al. 2007). By the time the feedback event was held, members of all groups reported that being part of the research and knowing that their senior managers supported their anonymous involvement had helped them to make sense of the changes and work through their concerns. Indeed, as noted above, it was at the feedback event that I noticed a change in those who had hitherto been most resistant to change. In discussion groups at the event, Risk Managers who had previously been anxious about the impact of the changes on staff and offender safety were beginning to put forward suggestions, to problem solve. Perhaps working in a group where the common bond was involvement in the research recreated a sense of solidarity and trust between colleagues and with other stakeholders.

8.3 Responding to Research Questions

This research posed four main questions, each followed by supplementary questions. This section considers these questions in light of the findings of this research.

8.3.1 Question One: Practitioner Values

Question one asked, 'To what extent do probation practitioner descriptions of their relationships with offenders reflect traditional probation values?' and 'Are these values shared across practitioners and over time?'. Chapters Two and Three revealed that probation practitioner values had proved resilient during previous changes to purpose and structure (Deering 2008; McNeill and Weaver 2010; Canton 2013; Mawby and Worrall 2013; Robinson et al. 2014). Recent research and speculation since the announcement that probation would be divided and partially sold off to the private sector raised questions about whether these radical changes would begin to overcome the previous resilience of practitioner values. Some predicted the changes would bring about an end to probation as it has come to be known in over 100 years since its inception (Guilfoyle 2013; Worrall 2015; Burke and Collett 2016). The findings from this research, as presented in Chapter Six, suggest that practitioner values within DTV CRC remained intact during implementation of the new operating model, suggesting that the values of probation could be maintained outside of the public sector. Furthermore, practitioner values also appeared consistent across the whole practitioner base and over time, as demonstrated by the scores for the Importance of the quality statements included in the panel survey. As noted above and congruent with a critical realist form of enquiry, these findings need to be interpreted in context. DTV CRC had a relatively stable workforce, was unique in being a not-for-profit CRC and

had not been subject to a merger immediately prior to privatisation. It is also the case that, while I was fortunate to be able to follow this CRC for 15 months, this is a relatively short time period in which to observe a shift in the values and culture of a new organisation. The next section moves on to question two, looking at practitioner perceptions about whether their values would be reflected in perceptions of practice once new ways of working had been introduced.

8.3.2 Question Two: Practitioners Negotiating Change

Question two asked, 'How do practitioners negotiate change brought about by privatisation?' and 'Are reactions to change consistent across all practitioners and stable over time?'. As noted above, differences between the way practitioners perceived the changes and the extent to which practitioners were able to reconcile new ways of working with their underlying values appeared by the end of phase one. Further, these differences persisted in phase two for most but not all practitioners.

However, by the end of the of data collection period, it appeared that the difference was, at least in part, a difference in the speed of adaptation and reconciliation, which was, at least in part, related to the immediate environment in which the practitioners worked. Chapter Seven revealed that exploring how practitioners used reflection to negotiate change helps us to understand these differences. Problem Solvers seemed to almost skip the initial critical reflection stage, perhaps because, to them, the major change, of seeing offenders in community Hubs, was not entirely new. These practitioners already had concrete experiences from working in the Gallants on which to draw. Qualified POs and very experienced PSOs tended to approach the changes more critically, at first. The main difference came

in the speed at which those with more than 15 years' service adapted to and even welcomed greater flexibility compared to POs recruited more recently.

8.3.3 Question Three: Solidarity in a Fragmented Service

Question three asked, 'To what extent has fragmentation of structures and processes impacted on solidarity within probation as a service and as a profession?'.

It is argued here that solidarity across probation has been eroded as the service was fragmented by being splitting between the NPS and 21 CRCs (owned by eight different organisations). Chapter Seven argued that fragmentation, accompanied by competition, has eroded trust between different parts of the service, and trust is essential if solidarity at a group level is to be achieved (Thyne and Lawler 2002). However, at a local level, practitioners within DTV CRC were mostly united, in part, through their difference as the only not-for-profit CRC, but also through a local culture of staff participation in system design. This solidarity tended to be projected outwards. Durkheim's social solidarity theory (Giddens 1976; Lincoln and Guillot 2004) may explain this. With privatisation and profit viewed as a contravention of perceived social norms and values, this created a divide between this CRC and others; thus, there was potential for this CRC to distance itself from those making a profit, while increasing solidarity within it. Further, those within this CRC appearing to not embrace the changes could also find themselves excluded from this solidarity. If each CRC develops its own solidarity (Robinson et al. 2016), particularly as existing staff are replaced by those recruited by the new CRCs, this could erode the solidarity of the profession as a whole. Chapter Two argued that, during the early days of probation, when its main ties were with local magistrates and the local community, this localism may have contrived to reduce the ability of

probation to work as a professional whole; it may also have contrived to constrain its ability to develop its evidence base and mount effective resistance to changes that challenged its underlying values.

In June 2017, as I was writing this chapter, I attended the second practitioner conference put on by the Probation Institute, arguably, the institution most likely to represent a sense of solidarity between probation practitioners across the whole of the probation estate. This conference was a useful source of evidence for this part of the discussion. The first item of interest was the attendance list. Sixty-five people attended the conference. Given that the conference was for practitioners, it was surprising to see so few practitioners in the audience. Only six practitioners, from four CRCs (two of which were from DTV CRC), attended the conference. There were two people from the NPS, only one a practitioner. The largest contingent in the audience was 22 representatives from the voluntary sector. The second feature of interest was audience reaction. Presenters who criticised TR seemed confident that the audience would support them. However, practitioner and manager reactions were interesting. Much of what appears in the media, in blogs set up to give practitioners a voice (Brown 2017; Webster 2017) and by those purporting to support probation practice, is negative in tone. But here, among those attending a conference aimed at practitioners, critics of TR were themselves criticised, and discussion during coffee breaks and over lunch suggested that practitioners and managers from CRCs felt angered at some of the negative comments about the reforms. There was a palpable sense of wanting to 'get on with it' and to move on. These two observations could suggest, first, that probation as it once was is no longer, and practitioners do not feel part of a national whole. Or perhaps it is simply the case that, in straitened financial times, funding is no longer available for

practitioners to attend events such as this. Perhaps only forward-looking CRCs were prepared to send practitioners to the conference, which might account for their reaction to negative views of the reforms. Perhaps, as McNeill predicted (2013), new owners are reluctant to share good (or bad) practice. In contrast, the practitioners who did attend wanted to celebrate what they *had* achieved; they acknowledged that times were hard and did not support all the changes, but they recognised that everything was not perfect before the changes and that they continued to practice according to their core values. These views seemed to support my own findings. Of course, with such a small number attending the event, it is possible that these practitioners were not representative of all practitioners, and their enthusiasm to attend may set them apart. While this is a potentially biased snapshot of practitioner perceptions of the changes, it is presented here to illustrate some of the tensions around achieving solidarity in the fragmented, cash-strapped environment in which probation now exists.

Thus, it would be reasonable to suggest that TR has eroded the solidarity of probation to some extent. Further, taking too critical a stance against the changes could further erode solidarity and the sense of a single profession, setting probation practitioners against each other in relentless competition.

8.3.4 Question Four: Adapting to Change in the Context of Privatisation

Question four asked, 'What are the pre-conditions for successful adaptation to change?' and 'To what extent are these likely to be met within the context of privatisation?'.

Commentators on the future of probation derive from different standpoints within the community justice arena. Proponents of privatisation tend to come from government agencies, directly from politicians or through research commissioned

by government agencies. Those who take a more critical stance include practitioners, including those who have made the transition into academia and those who purport to represent the views of practitioners, such as NAPO, along with a growing popular media voice in the form of practitioner blogs. Drawing on predictions from these groups, Chapter Three concluded with two contrasting propositions about potential futures for probation as a service and as a profession. The first painted a pessimistic picture: practitioners would burn out and lose their professional status within a fragmented service. This picture draws on speculation during the transition period, mainly gathered prior to the new owners taking over. There were anxieties and fears about job security and the ability to deliver a quality service to offenders under their supervision, reductions in face-to-face contact and a lack of career opportunities and access to training and development. Dominey and Burke (2016) painted a graphic picture of life as a probation practitioner five years after the new owners took over, while Deering and Feilzer (2016) expressed concerns about the impact on the profession of dividing the service with only the NPS committed to providing training going forward. The alternate view was more in line with Clare's (2015) cautious optimism, a service that maintains its commitment to traditional probation values while offering caution as emotional demands on practitioners increase.

This research has provided evidence that could support either proposition. Within DTV CRC, a strong leader, committed to the values of probation and a staff group that largely supports the new ways of working, suggests an optimistic future. Opening the organisation up to in-depth research during a time of rapid change reflects an openness to ideas and critique. Practitioners involved in this research reflected what I observed at the Probation Institute conference reported above, conscious that some aspects of the changes were unpalatable but critically aware

that some aspects of the changes were positive and supportive of their values. The danger is that DTV CRC, like the small group of practitioners attending the conference from only around 20% of CRCs, are in the minority, not representative of most practitioners working across the other 17 CRCs. Thus, if leaders do not rebuild trust, the momentum of this small, positively orientated minority could be lost. Further, as demonstrated in Chapter Five, probation in the DTV area prior to TR was unusual in its willingness to adapt to change and its commitment to the principles of a high-trust organisation; thus, it is unlikely that all areas would be able to replicate the approaches adopted here.

So, what of the alternate view? The quality and inspection reports by HMIP raise major areas of concern. Many staff are demoralised by large caseloads and limited supervision (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation 2016e, a, 2017a, d, b). A succession of staff-reduction programmes has depleted the number of qualified practitioners and senior practitioners. Attempts to recruit less-qualified staff to replace them (presumably more cheaply) have proved difficult, particularly in the South East where living costs are high. Further, it is no longer the norm for each CRC to have its own CEO, and CEOs do not necessarily have a background in probation (see below for more details). Nearly three years since the new owners were announced, agreements about the future of probation training and career progression have not been reached. This will leave a gap in the supply of qualified practitioners. As discussed in Chapter Three, when this happened previously, as probation training was separated from the training of social workers, the gap was filled by less-qualified practitioners. Taken together, the reduction in direct contact with line managers allowing practitioners time for reflection and a reduction in the number of qualified practitioners to act as role models or mentors, it is difficult to

see how unqualified practitioners in the future will develop the skills and values associated with probation practice for over a century.

Chapter Seven also identified mechanisms likely to support practitioners to make a successful transformation from public- to private-sector delivery. Success is, in part, defined as being able to adapt to new working models in a way that allows practitioners to continue to practice according to traditional probation values. In this research, successful transformation was associated with supportive line managers who gave practitioners a voice and time to reflect. This was not simply an opportunity to speak. Managers needed to demonstrate that practitioner voices had been heard. For some, this was linked to opportunities to shape new systems and processes. Chapter Three identified the importance of leaders embedding values at the heart of the organisation if it was to operate in a professional capacity. Further, as Bruhn (2001) suggests, it is organisations with a high-trust culture that are more likely to have leaders who support this approach. These leaders are also likely to support practitioners in reflecting and innovating with sufficient confidence to take balanced risks and are prepared to open their organisations to scrutiny and evaluation (*'trusting leaders have few keys'*, (p. 74)). These findings, and the way Bronwen Elphick and her staff (even those who had been critical of the new model) responded to my findings at the feedback event, suggest that DTV CRC demonstrates some of the characteristics of a high-trust organisation. It has probation values at its core and it is willing to open itself up to critique to improve. However, DTV CRC does not exist in a vacuum. For the CRC to truly succeed, probation more widely needs to succeed. The next section considers the future of probation in light of this discussion and evidence emerging about the way CRCs are developing as TR is implemented.

8.4 The Future of Probation

If, within the competitive context of the open market, the most effective and efficient survive, and if some providers fail to deliver, future rounds of competition when contracts are renewed or rescinded will see failing providers replaced by those that are more successful. However, as noted in Chapter Two, LeVay (2016) suggested that a previous study had shown the number of companies within the criminal justice market to be limited, a finding borne out by the small number of bids that were initially deemed acceptable for some of the largest CRCs. Thus, it cannot be assumed that there are other providers out there who could take over the existing contracts. Thus, this section applies the findings from this research to consider likely futures for practitioners, managers and leaders within existing structures and providers.

8.4.1 Future of Qualified Reflective Practitioners

Some of the most illuminating findings here were achieved by dividing practitioners into three groups based mainly on length and nature of service and experience. As, to date, the qualified practitioner role within DTV CRC has continued to be valued and numbers largely maintained since the initial transfer of POs to the NPS, it was possible to not only undertake an analysis of qualified POs but also look at the difference in the way more recently qualified POs differed from their more experienced colleagues. The more recently qualified practitioners (Risk Managers) are important to the future of the profession as they will pass on traditional probation values and an understanding of theories of change to the next generation of practitioners. Further, most PSOs within DTV CRC are qualified to NVQ3 level, perhaps accounting for the finding that PSOs joining the service more than 15 years prior to TR demonstrated a similar approach to the changes to their fully qualified

counterparts (Reflective Pragmatists). PSOs recruited more recently (Problem Solvers) exhibited characteristics of each of the other two groups. Problem Solvers were generally supportive of the new ways of working introduced by the CRC in the form of agile working and delivery of supervision in community Hubs, although they were anxious about the relaxation of national standards. While POs recruited more recently (Risk Managers) found the changes more challenging, the foregoing discussion has shown that, in the context of a high-trust organisation, with a leader committed to embedding probation values at the heart of the organisation, even Risk Managers were beginning to adapt to the new ways of working.

To make comparisons with other CRCs, two FOI requests were made to obtain staff turnover details from the MoJ for the other 20 CRCs, but the application was rejected twice because it would be too costly to obtain the data. Mawby and Worrall's (2013) findings suggested that some experienced practitioners would have taken opportunities to 'exit' the profession if changes were incongruent with their core values. HMIP findings to date revealed low morale in six of the ten CRCs already inspected (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation 2016e, a, 2017a, d, b), with a further three reported as variable (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation 2016c, d, 2017c). This would suggest that, in CRCs that do not embed the traditional values of probation, experienced practitioners nearing the end of their career are likely to seek voluntary redundancy. Within my research, it was this group, the Reflective Pragmatists, that were most likely to look to the future of the profession. CRCs are finding it difficult to recruit staff; in particular, those CRCs inspected in the South East (Kent, London and Suffolk) were having major difficulties recruiting practitioners, resulting in agency staff being employed to partially fill the gaps, while existing staff faced increased workloads. Furthermore, as reported in Chapter Five, during the process of this research, 14 CRCs announced staff redundancies of

up to 40%. Having seen its practitioner workforce fall by a third following the redundancy programme, Suffolk is now seriously understaffed, leading HM Inspector Dame Glenys Stacey to end her introduction to the inspection report for Suffolk by stating:

There is a simple truth here: to deliver well, all probation providers must be able to employ enough skilled staff, and then make sure they can give of their best. To do that, they need sufficient funding and the right priorities, systems and ways of working. Above all, staff need to be engaged and valued, in order to deliver well (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation 2017d, p. 4).

Further evidence to support these assertions comes from an inspection of CRC websites early in 2017, where there were no advertisements for qualified POs and none offering opportunities for practitioners to train to become qualified POs. The comment below from a member of the NOMS contract team during an interview in phase two suggests that DTV CRC is unusual in its intention to retain qualified practitioners:

And that's quite a key point. So, you know, they [DTV CRC] are wanting this to succeed as much as a large corporate would be I think. I think the difference is that – again, my view, I think they are clear that retaining sufficient staff numbers and quality of staff is key to that and will enable them to hit their targets and that is one of the things that makes them quite different (NOMS Contracting Team, May 2016).

Next, the discussion turns to the future of the line managers who support existing and new staff to reflect and develop.

8.4.2 Future of Line Management and Supervision

Middle managers are perhaps the group of staff hardest hit by staff reductions within CRCs; some transferred to the NPS, while others were made redundant. These experienced practitioners line manage teams of POs and PSOs, providing

support, particularly for new members of the practitioner team, as well as a quality-assurance role, reviewing casefiles, observing supervision sessions and through one-to-one supervision of practitioners. While it could be argued that the volume and complexity of the caseload of CRCs reduced after TR, the geographical areas to be covered did not. Initially, following the split between the NPS and CRCs when several line managers were allocated to the NPS, this resulted in middle managers taking on two or more teams spread across two different office bases, resulting in the loss of a manager 'behind the door' of each local office. However, following a reduction in the anticipated volume of work allocated to CRCs and a subsequent reduction in income for CRCs (House of Commons Justice Committee 2017), more reductions followed, through redundancy and restructuring. With reductions across the whole of management, senior practitioner-managers were also required to take on additional general management roles. In DTV CRC, the restructure brought about by the reduced volume of work left just 10 middle managers overseeing the work of 142 practitioners across more than 50 community Hub sessions per week, as well as those delivering structured interventions and community payback. The impact of cuts to middle management was recognised by HMIP. The quotation below, typical of comments made during recent quality and impact inspections, demonstrates that DTV CRC was not alone in making these cuts:

The CRC senior probation officers (SPOs) have an important oversight role, and now carry additional management responsibilities, including building security, personnel and health and safety management. They had inconsistent workloads: some were overseeing over 900 cases, a proportion of which were assigned to responsible officers on long-term sick leave, and some were managing staff and caseloads in different geographical locations. These responsibilities and arrangements inevitably affected their availability to manage effectively. Formal supervision had reduced and some staff had not received supervision for months. In allocating cases to

responsible officers, little account was taken of the level of experience, ability or training (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation 2016e, p. 19).

As reported in Chapter Five, DTV CRC practitioners did not generally blame their direct managers for reduced levels of supervision. Some reported excellent supervision, whereas others simply recognised that their managers were under extreme pressure. However, given the reliance on agency staff in a number of other CRCs and new recruitment programmes of largely unqualified practitioners, reductions in line management represent a significant concern for the development of the profession in the future.

Good-quality supervision is also an opportunity for practitioners to reflect (Sorsby et al. 2013). Reflection was identified in this research as key to the process of successful adaptation to change. Even in a report by HMIP, where the overall review was positive, inspectors reported:

While we saw some good individual examples of effective oversight, the majority of staff did not have the opportunity to reflect on their practice, which regular, quality supervision would have provided. There was a strong sense among the staff team that they had been left to do the work with little support (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation 2016d, p. 18).

During discussion at the feedback event at the end of this research, some practitioners reiterated comments from the interviews that, without court work and high-risk cases to manage, not all their skills were being used. Considering this alongside the reduction in the level of support from line managers and in line with the pragmatic approach by this CRC, suggestions were put forward to address both problems. The suggestion put forward and taken on board by management was for these practitioners to take on some form of 'mentoring' of less-experienced staff. However, in view of the changes to the practitioner base in many CRCs discussed

above, this potential opportunity to maintain a reflective practitioner base might be difficult to achieve. Finally, it was suggested above that senior leaders who embed probation values in the organisation were key to maintaining the probation profession. The section below explores changes to the leadership of CRCs in the first two-and-a-half years after the shadow CRCs were created.

8.4.3 Future of 'Professional' Leaders in CRCs

In December 2016, I conducted a desktop analysis of the characteristics of CRC leaders. When shadow CRCs were created in June 2014, 12 were led by CEOs who had held similar positions in at least one of the probation trusts included in the CRC area.³⁹ The remaining nine were headed up by CEOs who had held senior management positions within a probation trust that may or may not now be part of the CRC they led. Thus, there were 21 CRCs, headed up by 21 CEOs, all of whom had experience in senior management positions in probation trusts. Fifteen months later, the picture was similar; a few changes had occurred, but 10 of the 12 CEOs mentioned above were still in place and, where changes had occurred, generally, the new incumbents were similarly qualified. There were still 21 CRCs headed up by 21 CEOs, all of whom had been senior managers within probation immediately prior to privatisation. Another 15 months on, the picture had changed dramatically. By December 2016, only six CRCs were headed up by CEOs who had previously led a probation trust; two of these CEOs each headed up two CRCs, meaning that only four pre-TR probation trust CEOs remained (out of 34⁴⁰). Further, by this time, earlier predictions about potential mergers between CRCs owned by the same company were coming closer to reality as, just two years after preferred bidders

³⁹ Nine of the 21 CRCs were made up of two or more previous probation trusts.

⁴⁰ Prior to TR, two trusts, Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire, were already headed up by a single CEO.

were announced, there were just 10 CEOs and four probation directors responsible for 21 CRCs. Economies of scale were more noticeable among CRCs where a single owner was responsible for more than one CRC. Perhaps the biggest change was within the Sodexo-owned CRCs. Only two regional CEOs led six CRCs (representing a total of 10 previous probation trusts), with the regional CEO for BeNCH, Essex and Norfolk and Suffolk having previously been a prison governor in Sodexo prisons. It is of further note that those CRCs where the greatest economies of scale and downgrading of the probation-led manager occurred were also the CRCs making the largest proportions of staff redundant amid torrid discussions about the redundancy packages offered to staff leaving the organisation.

8.4.4 Lessons from DTV CRC

This research has demonstrated that DTV CRC has managed to overcome – at least during the first 15 months of implementation of the new operating model – many of the anticipated problems of moving out of the public sector. It has a leader who has strong probation credentials and an understanding of how to survive in a commercial setting. Unlike many other CRCs, DTV CRC has maintained a robust cohort of professionally qualified practitioners. Through good communication systems and an openness to critique (for example, a willingness to take part in research such as this), this CRC has retained the loyalty of most of its workforce and, indeed, many are contributing solutions to problems experienced along the way. This is not to say that all its problems have been resolved. Its early inspection identified some weaknesses in its sentence planning and risk management processes. While it is laudable that most practitioners welcome the flexibility of the new model, without critical challenge, weaknesses can be overlooked. The solidarity within the CRC and rejection of some of the changes going on in the wider

probation community could result in complacency or even a kind of 'group think' where critical debate is suspended (Moorhead et al. 1998). Much has been written here about the benefits of high-trust organisations. However, Langfred (2004) would support some of the concerns raised by practitioners as national standards are reduced, just as discretion is increased and line management becomes more remote. Langfred found that high-trust organisations can pose risks if individual autonomy is high and monitoring is weak or absent. The presence among the staff group of different ways of adapting to change could be a strength. All teams require members who bring different skills and attitudes; for example, Belbin (1993) includes monitor-evaluators alongside team workers and shapers as components of successful teams. Thus, while it is important that Risk Managers are helped through the process of change, it is also important that their specific contributions are not overlooked. Just as when individual case management was challenged as posing risks of disproportionality if too much discretion was allowed (Cullen 2013), Risk Managers could have a role in preventing 'group think' and suspension of critique within CRCs.

In summary, this section has highlighted the factors identified by this research as likely to result in CRCs and the practitioners working within them making a successful transition out of the public sector. Success, here, is characterised as probation values continuing to inform service delivery by a workforce comprising reflective professional practitioners, supported by middle and senior managers who embed the same value system into the organisation. Drawing on research into high- and low-trust organisations and applying this to DTV CRC added a further dimension to this analysis. It was recognised that CRCs need a diverse and reflective workforce that are encouraged to get involved in shaping the future of the organisation. While solidarity and trust are important, an inclusive form of

solidarity should be adopted, aiming to include all practitioners, recognising and valuing the role of those who ask questions of new ideas.

It is tempting to try to explain changes as if they represent a simple dichotomy. This research, carried out at a juncture, over a relatively short time span, has demonstrated that good practice, informed by traditional probation values, can exist outside the public sector. However, to establish whether these values can be maintained over time and whether the approaches adopted improve outcomes for offenders, further research is needed. The next section outlines some suggestions for further research.

8.5 Further Research

This research was a small-scale study carried out during a period of rapid change. As discussed in Chapter Four, the design was, at least in part, constrained by the unwillingness of for-profit CRCs to open themselves up to independent inquiry during the early days of new ownership. It is hoped that, in the future, this reluctance will recede, and further independent research will be made possible. As demonstrated above, practitioners and managers involved in this research found the process helpful, both personally and organisationally.

Additional future research that could build usefully on this study is grouped here under three headings:

- Further research to explore the future of probation as a profession
- Comparative research between different providers
- Outcome research that includes the impact of privatisation on offenders

8.5.1 Research into the Future of Probation as a Profession

The reaction of practitioners to the negative assessment of CRCs at the Probation Institute Practitioner Conference suggests an element of practitioners 'fighting

back' against criticism and wanting to move on from negativity. Perhaps they were 'making the best of a bad job'. As an ex-nurse, who is aware of some of the failures of the NHS, 20 years after leaving practice, I still find myself defending my previous profession. Perhaps this suggests that solidarity is not dead, that probation practitioners still feel a professional bond to each other and a pride in their profession. This research has suggested that fragmentation of the structure of probation does have an impact on solidarity, if trust between members of a profession can be used as a measure of solidarity. Further research across a wider cohort of staff, carried out later in the process of change, is needed to fully understand this impact of privatisation.

It was not possible within the time and resource constraints of this research to obtain accurate data about the nature and turnover of staff within CRCs. An analysis of the qualification levels of staff within the CRCs and length of experience working with offenders would enable better application of the dynamic model developed here to test its relevance within for-profit as well as this not-for-profit CRC. Staff turnover within this CRC was negligible. Analysis of staff turnover data, to include reasons for leaving and destination (for example, are staff moving between CRCs or between CRCs and the NPS?), would provide a basis from which to explore likely futures of the profession going forward, particularly considering the important role qualified and experienced practitioners had within the process of change in this CRC.

8.5.2 Comparative Studies to Compare Providers

This research was a single-site case study. Initially, the intention was to work with three CRCs, providing an opportunity to compare practitioner experience within for-profit CRCs with the findings from DTV CRC. Other comparisons that would

provide greater insight into the similarities and differences within the new fragmented estate include:

- Comparison between different CRCs under the same ownership to identify the influence of owner versus local leadership and existing culture
- Comparison between similar sized, similarly configured CRCs (for example, those that had or had not undergone mergers immediately prior to privatisation) under different ownership, to identify the impact of owner culture, a factor found to be as important as public versus private ownership in prison studies (Liebling 2006)

8.5.3 Outcome Research with Offenders

Finally, but perhaps most importantly, this study did not plan to evaluate the impact of privatisation on offenders supervised by CRCs, but rather to explore the process from the perspective of practitioners and to identify mechanisms likely to support or constrain successful transformation. At the time of writing this conclusion in the Summer of 2017, the new owners have been in place for just over two years. As CRCs reach the point where new operating models are fully implemented and the first set of reoffending data is released, it would be appropriate and useful to undertake research that includes the perspectives of offenders to gain insight into the reoffending statistics. Adding depth through qualitative enquiry might aid understanding of the mechanisms that support desistance that seemed elusive prior to privatisation.

8.6 Final Thoughts and Implications for Future Policy Developments

Evidence emerging from recent inspections and scrutiny of changes to the leadership and workforce of CRCs suggests that some CRCs may not meet any of the criteria for successful adaptation identified by this research, although others do appear to, despite their owners ultimately seeking profit. Can probation as a profession survive if practitioners and leaders whose training and experience

reflect the traditional values of probation leave? At the time of writing, additional funding was being made available to CRCs to partially compensate for reductions in anticipated income, brought about by reductions in the volume of work allocated to them by the courts. Two government-initiated reviews of probation post-TR⁴¹ were underway, and the results were still to be published. These reviews were in response to critical comments in the HMIP quality and impact inspections referred to earlier and an increase in the number of serious further offences committed by offenders supervised in the community. At the Justice Committee review of Transforming Rehabilitation (House of Commons Justice Committee 2017), Dame Glenys Stacey, Chief Inspector HMIP, expressed her concern about the quality of delivery by CRCs and the variation in quality across different providers and even between different CRCs run by the same provider. This variation within the same provider reflects the findings of Leibling (2006) when studying public and private prisons. Dame Stacey proposed the introduction of a set of practice standards to ensure quality. This is reminiscent of when national standards were first introduced in 1992. To do this would appear to run contrary to the way privatisation was promoted as offering freedom from this type of standardisation to encourage innovation. While this may be welcomed by those who feel standards have been eroded by privatisation, this could also suggest a return to prescription and monitoring that may further erode trust. Is this an admission that the experiment has failed? Perhaps if CRCs do not retain a cohort of fully qualified practitioners and do not provide line management or mentoring that encourages critical reflection, the only way of ensuring quality assurance going forward will be a return to something akin to national standards.

⁴¹ Probation review and joint committee review.

The way most practitioners responded to the model implemented in this CRC by the end of the research period suggests that probation values can survive if they are embedded into new operating models by teams that include experienced practitioners. The values that appear to underpin the working model in this CRC seem to be more congruent with the traditional values of probation than were apparent in models in the years prior to TR that were driven by national standards and prescription. This suggests that, perhaps, the pessimism about the future of the value base of probation that was presented in Chapter Three (James 1995; Nellis 1995b, c; Spencer 1995) could be reversed if practitioners have the chance to direct the future of probation. However, the evidence presented here also suggests that, to embed these values, CRCs need to be led by an experienced probation manager, who listens to practitioners and believes in the traditional values of probation.

The success of probation as a profession may not be dependent on being part of the public sector. However, dividing the service across multiple providers and separating delivery for different categories of risk has resulted in problems. Disruptions to supervision at crucial points in the offender desistance pathway could increase the risk of reoffending; different providers offering different levels and styles of service could create unfairness and inequality in provision and competition and uncertainty could erode trust. In turn, a lack of trust could obstruct information sharing about offenders and reduce the sharing of what works and what does not as competitors seek to gain commercial advantage over each other. This research does make a positive contribution to the academic study of probation, post-privatisation. Its contribution takes three main forms. First, it provides an in-

depth account of and insight into practitioner journeys as they negotiated the process of implementing TR within a unique setting, the only not-for-profit CRC.

Second, what has been learnt here about how practitioners adapted to and challenged aspects of the changes will be useful to policy makers and other CRCs as they negotiate the next phase of TR, the renegotiation of contracts. Equally, the findings may be helpful if other parts of the public sector are privatised. Finally, the way the research was conducted contributes to the tools researchers can use for investigating change. The collaborative style of this research, including the longitudinal aspect of following groups of practitioners through the process, combined with the deliberative enquiry event at the end of the data collection period, produced rich data that revealed the complexity and dynamic nature of reactions to change. Further, analysing these data within a critical realist framework revealed the importance of context at individual, team, organisational and supra-organisational levels. However, as with most research, it raises as many questions as it answers. It is important, therefore, that further research as described above is carried out so that probation, if it does survive, is in a strong position to determine its own future.

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Appendix 1: Research Agreement between DTV CRC and the researcher



Research Agreement

Relationships between offenders and their supervisors in a privatized probation service: desistance or discontinuity?

This document sets out the terms of the relationship between the researcher Elaine Ellis and the research site Durham Tees Valley Community Rehabilitation Company (CRC) Limited.

This research is being carried out in part fulfilment of the qualification of Doctor of Philosophy at Cardiff University. As such the researcher will be supervised by a team of two academics from that university whose contact details are provided below. The research is fully funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, there is no direct financial cost to research sites. However, in return for receiving the benefit of the evidence provided by the research some co-operation as to provision of facilities in which interviews are carried out and access to participants is sought. These are outlined below.

The research adopts the principles of action research, regular feedback will be provided to research sites based on emerging findings at their site. Synthesised feedback and results from all three sites will not be provided until the final thesis has been submitted in December 2016. If all three sites agree to be made known to each other, opportunity to discuss emerging combined findings will be provided in a shared deliberative event in early 2016, if one or more sites choose not to be made known separate deliberative events will be held.

A further feature of action research is that the research design can change as the research progresses, this might result in additional participants being recruited, or additional data collection events being proposed. An example, for this research might be to run a focus group with new recruits into the CRC following the second online panel survey, should entirely new themes emerge that require further exploration. If this occurs the researcher will liaise with a nominated representative of the CRC prior to proceeding.

The next sections outline what is expected of Durham Tees Valley CRC for the research to proceed and what Durham Tees Valley CRC can expect in return based on the proposal as agreed by NOMS National Research Committee in December 2014 (ref: 2014:335).

Expectations of the CRC:

- In February 2015 a draft version of Phase 1 of the online questionnaire will be made available to 3-5 staff of the CRC who have had a previous but not current supervisory role with service users for piloting. The results of this piloting process will be to test out the usability of the questionnaire and the accuracy of terminology used within it.
- In order to build up a portrait of the CRC in context, relevant documentation about the aims, values and priorities of the CRC, along with details of the population of service users and services provided will be sought and updated during the research process (aggregated data only).
- Just prior to the online questionnaire being emailed to all staff within the CRC who spend some or all of their time supervising service users on a one to one basis, an email will be sent from the senior management of the CRC encouraging participation. The email will offer reassurance that the results will be confidential with only the researcher being able to link responses to individuals.
- At the end of March 2015 a list of email addresses of all staff meeting the criteria for the survey will be provided to the researcher. This list will be updated in October 2015, to include those recruited since 1st April with a note appended to those who have left the CRC or moved to a non-supervisory role since they first completed the survey.
- The survey will be emailed to all staff on the list provided in early April 2015. It is anticipated that the survey will take between 45-60 minutes to complete. It does not need to be completed at one visit.
- In May-June 2015, themes emerging from the initial survey will be shared with a group of 3-6 ex-service users. The purpose of this is to provide an opportunity for people with experience of being service users to consider the themes emerging and contribute to the prompts to be used in the practitioner/manager interviews and add to the second phase of the online survey. It would be helpful if the CRC could facilitate contact with the ex-service users.
- In the period from June to August 2015, ten one to one interviews with staff who completed the first survey will be carried out. These will be carried out on CRC premises at locations convenient to participants. The interviews will last approximately one hour including time to explain the process and seek consent.
- The second phase of the survey will be emailed to staff on the amended list in October 2015, it is anticipated that the second completion will take approximately 30-45 minutes. A second email from senior staff will be sought to reinforce their support and to reach new entrants to the process.

- In November or December 2015 three interviews with senior staff from Durham Tees Valley CRC will be carried out. These interviews will be two-way with the researcher providing information about themes emerging from the research so far and senior staff having opportunity to comment on and provide their own perspectives. It is anticipated that these interviews will also last approximately one hour and will take place on CRC premises at locations convenient to participants.
- After the senior staff interviews are completed draft emergent themes will be shared with 3-5 ex-service users, this meeting will provide opportunity for input into the agenda of the deliberative event and to provide this group with an opportunity to take part in the event on an equal footing with stakeholders who are used to engaging in public, reflective debate.
- The deliberative event/s will take place in February, participants will be invited to volunteer to take part although places will be limited. If individual events take place, the CRC will be asked to provide a venue for the event although all other costs (refreshments etc.) will be provided from the researcher's budget.

What the CRC can expect from the researcher:

- Adherence to NOMS and Cardiff University ethical requirements (see attached for acceptance letters from NOMS and Cardiff University).
- Any material changes to data collection procedures or participants sought will be notified to and where necessary negotiated with the named senior contact from the CRC prior to implementation.
- Within the project, CRCs will retain the right to remain anonymous in any publications or to be named and credited for their contribution.
- Where direct quotes are used, permission will be sought prior to use. The source will not be named in publications.
- When one to one interviews are carried out the interviewee will receive a full, encrypted copy of their audio recording. They will have opportunity to partially or fully withdraw their contribution or update or amend it following reflection.
- Disruption will be kept to the minimum by carrying out interviews and holding meetings at locations convenient to CRC staff.
- Prior to publication, draft versions of the reports will be shared with the CRC.

If during the process of this research, Durham Tees Valley CRC need to discuss the performance or behaviour of myself, Elaine Ellis, in the first instance matters should be raised with the myself, if they remain unresolved please contact my

supervisors: Dr Kirsty Hudson (HudsonKJ@cardiff.ac.uk) or Professor Trevor Jones (JonesTD2@cardiff.ac.uk).

On behalf of Durham Tees Valley Community Rehabilitation Company Limited, I agree to the terms outlined above

Name:

Signature:

Role/Position:

Date:

As the researcher, I agree to the terms outlined above

Name:

Signature:

Academic Institution:

Date:

Appendix 2: Panel Survey: Phase one and two

Appendices 2-6 are the research instruments used for this research. Appendix two is the panel survey, only the phase two survey instrument is included as the questions for each phase were the same, phase two had an extra column to add new data.

Interview schedules did vary between phases. Phase one schedule was informed by results of phase one survey data and the literature review. Phase two. In line with the tenets of action research and the importance of context within critical realism, started out by the researcher summarising some of the findings from phase one (interview and survey) and the phase two survey to set the scene.

Manager and senior manager interview schedules varied slightly depending on the actual timing of the interview and the role played by the interviewee.

Information about this research project

Introduction

Thank you for taking time to re-visit the responses you made to my survey in May 2015.

Attached is a brief note about the research to remind you what it aims to achieve and the steps in the process. So far practitioners have completed phase one of the questionnaire and taken part in interviews about the findings from the questionnaire and the changes that had already taken place and those planned for later in the year. Many of the plans that were anticipated at that time are now well underway and it is hoped that this stage of the research will explore how those changes are affecting the work of practitioners and the way they work with service users. After this phase of the survey is complete, further interviews will be carried out, senior managers and representatives of NOMS will be interviewed and in April an event will be held so that practitioners, managers and NOMS representatives can hear the draft findings and discuss them before the final report is produced towards the end of the year.

Procedure for this questionnaire

This questionnaire includes the same questions as last time. However, so that you do not have to repeat responses that have not changed, your previous answers have already been filled in. You will find a box next to each response, if you would like to change your previous answer please fill in the empty boxes, if there is no change you do not need to do anything and the same response as last time will be recorded. At the end of each section there is an empty box for you to fill in any reflexions you might have about each area explored in the questionnaire, it would be really helpful if you could take a few moments to use these boxes to explain any changes you have made. As

last time a major part of the questionnaire contains a number of statements about what constitutes quality within the supervisory relationship with the offenders you work with. Again each item is scored out of 10, twice, the first score will reflect the importance you attach to the statement and secondly the degree to which it is put into practice in your team. Differences may come about, for example, as a result of different values, available resources or changes in policy and practice. Where there are significant differences between the scores between 'Important' and 'Happening' or where your scores have changed markedly since the last time you completed the survey it would be really helpful if you wrote a few words of explanation in the boxes provided. When the survey is complete, please return it in the envelope provided. Your name will not be included.

Risks/Discomforts

Risks are considered minimal for involvement in this study but if you do have any concerns please contact me at the address provided below.

Benefits

There are no material benefits for participants. However, it is hoped that through your participation, researchers will learn more about how practitioners perceive their relationships with people they supervise under the new arrangements for supervision in the community.

Confidentiality

All data obtained from participants will be kept confidential and will only be reported in an aggregate format (by reporting only combined results and never reporting individual ones). No one other than the primary researcher will be able to identify participants

Participation

Participation in this research study is completely voluntary.

Questions about the Research

If you have questions regarding this study, you may contact:

Elaine Ellis, PhD researcher at Cardiff University, email EllisE3@cardiff.ac.uk

THANK YOU FOR TAKING PART

SECTION ONE: Information about you		
Gender, are you?		
In May 2015 you responded <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female		Current response, if different from previous <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
Age Group		
In May 2015 you responded <input type="checkbox"/> 20-30 <input type="checkbox"/> 31-40 <input type="checkbox"/> 41-50 <input type="checkbox"/> 51-60 <input type="checkbox"/> >60		Current response, if different from previous <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
Before privatization, were you employed by:		
In May 2015 you responded <input type="checkbox"/> Durham Tees Valley Probation Trust <input type="checkbox"/> Another Probation Trust <input type="checkbox"/> Another organisation/company, please specify below		Current response, if different from previous <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
Which of the categories below best describes your ethnicity?		

In May 2015 you responded		Current response, if different from previous
<input type="checkbox"/>	White: English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	White: Irish	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	White: Gypsy or Irish Traveller	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	Any other white background, please describe:	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	Mixed: White and Black Caribbean	
<input type="checkbox"/>	Mixed: White and African	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	Any other mixed/multiple ethnic background, please describe:	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	Asian/Asian British: Indian	
<input type="checkbox"/>	Asian/Asian British: Pakistani	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	Asian/Asian British: Bangladeshi	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	Asian/Asian British: Chinese	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	Any other Asian Background, please describe:	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	Black/Africa/Caribbean/Black British: African	
<input type="checkbox"/>	Black/Africa/Caribbean/Black British:	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	Caribbean	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	Any other Black/Africa/Caribbean/Black British background, please describe:	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>		

<input type="checkbox"/> Any other Ethnic Group: Arab <input type="checkbox"/> Any other Ethnic Group, please describe:		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
Which of the following categories best describes your main role within the CRC?		
In May 2015 you responded	<input type="checkbox"/> Mainly one to one supervision <input type="checkbox"/> Mainly interventions work with some one to one supervision <input type="checkbox"/> Provider of wraparound services <input type="checkbox"/> Community Payback Supervisor <input type="checkbox"/> Other, please describe:	Current response, if different from previous <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
How many years have you worked with offenders in the community?		
In May 2015 you responded	<input type="checkbox"/> < 12 mths <input type="checkbox"/> 1-3 years <input type="checkbox"/> 3-6 years <input type="checkbox"/> 6-10 years <input type="checkbox"/> 10-15 years <input type="checkbox"/> 15-20 years <input type="checkbox"/> >20 years	Current response, if different from previous <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

How many years have you worked with offenders in a one to one supervisory role (this is likely to be an estimate if you have had several roles within probation but if you have had long periods in non-supervisory roles it would be helpful to know approximately how long you have actually been involved in 121 supervision)?		
In May 2015 you responded	<input type="checkbox"/> < 12 mths <input type="checkbox"/> 1-4 years <input type="checkbox"/> 3-6 years <input type="checkbox"/> 6-10 years <input type="checkbox"/> 10-15 years <input type="checkbox"/> 15-20 years <input type="checkbox"/> >20 years	Current response, if different from previous <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
What is your highest educational qualification?		
In May 2015 you responded	<input type="checkbox"/> PhD or Professional Doctorate <input type="checkbox"/> Masters Degree <input type="checkbox"/> Undergraduate Degree <input type="checkbox"/> Other Higher Education Qualification <input type="checkbox"/> Further education or vocational qualification (e.g. HND, NVQ level 3 or 4) A Level or equivalent <input type="checkbox"/> GCSE or equivalent <input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/>	Current response, if different from previous <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

	Other, please describe:	<input type="checkbox"/>
How much formal training, (where you were away from work on a work related course or program of study) have you done in the last 6 months?		
In May 2015 you responded <input type="checkbox"/> No formal training <input type="checkbox"/> Up to 3 days <input type="checkbox"/> 4-6 days <input type="checkbox"/> 7-10 days <input type="checkbox"/> More than 10 days		Current response, if different from previous <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
In May 2015 you responded	Briefly describe how the training helped you in your current role	Current response, if different from previous
How often have you received or taken part in informal training in the last 6 months (generally where you have received 'on the job' training such as shadowing or coaching)?		
In May 2015 you responded <input type="checkbox"/> No informal training <input type="checkbox"/> Less than once a month <input type="checkbox"/> About once a month <input type="checkbox"/> More than once a month <input type="checkbox"/> It is a regular part of my work		Current response, if different from previous <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

		<input type="checkbox"/>
In May 2015 you responded	Briefly describe how the training helped you in your current role	Current response, if different from previous
SECTION 2: Resources, workload and support		
How would you describe your current workload?		
In May 2015 you responded		Current response, if different from previous
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Too much to do		<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> About right		<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Not enough to do		<input type="checkbox"/>
Is your workload....?		
In May 2015 you responded		Current response, if different from previous
<input type="checkbox"/> Increasing		<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Stable		<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Decreasing		<input type="checkbox"/>
Please tick the item that best describes how you perceive the service users you work with		
In May 2015 you responded		Current response, if different from previous
<input type="checkbox"/> Mixed: Medium and low risk		<input type="checkbox"/>

	<input type="checkbox"/> Mixed: High, medium and low risk <input type="checkbox"/> Mainly medium risk <input type="checkbox"/> Mainly low risk <input type="checkbox"/> Other, please describe:	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
How well is your caseload matched to your skills and experience?		
In May 2015 you responded	<input type="checkbox"/> I feel my caseload is matched to my skills and experience <input type="checkbox"/> I don't feel I have the skills and experience I need for the cases I manage <input type="checkbox"/> I don't think that my skills and experience are fully used	Current response, if different from previous <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
How supported do you feel by your line manager?		
In May 2015 you responded	<input type="checkbox"/> I get regular supervision and the sessions allow me to reflect on my work with service users <input type="checkbox"/> I get regular supervision but there is no time for reflection <input type="checkbox"/> Supervision is irregular but when it does happen I am given time to reflect on my work with service users <input type="checkbox"/>	Current response, if different from previous <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

	Supervision is irregular and there is no time for reflection	<input type="checkbox"/>
In May 2015 you responded	Please add any comments you wish to make about your own supervision that are not captured above	Current response, if different from previous
SECTION 3: Job Satisfaction		
How satisfied does your job make you feel? (please tick which response best fits your reaction to each statement)		
In May 2015 you responded		Current response, if different from previous
Choose an item.	I like my job better than the average worker does	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	I am seldom bored with my job	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	I feel valued by my line manager	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	I feel valued by the senior management of the CRC	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Most days I am enthusiastic about my job	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	I am fairly well satisfied with my job	Choose an item.
	I find real enjoyment with my job	Choose an item.
SECTION 4: Commitment to your organisation		

In May 2015 you responded Choose an item. Choose an item.		I am proud to tell others that I am part of this organisation This job really inspires the best in me in the way of job performance	Current response, if different from previous Choose an item. Choose an item.	
SECTION 5: Quality in supervision, from Shapland et al. (forthcoming)				
Explanation of Scoring for 'Important': on a scale of 1-10, where 1 means 'Not important at all' and 10 means 'Essential' how important do you think the items below are to good quality practice in 1:1 supervision. Explanation of Scoring for 'Happening': on a scale of 1-10, where 1 means 'Not happening at all in my team' and 10 means 'Routine practice in my team' A: Thinking about what the practitioner brings to supervision				
In May 2015 you responded			Current scores, if different from previous	
Important Choose an item. Choose an item. Choose an item. Choose an item. Choose an item.	Happening Choose an item. Choose an item. Choose an item. Choose an item. Choose an item.	An understanding of the service user as a whole person An enduring belief that people can change The capacity to use relevant aspects of your own prior life experiences Empathy for the service user's situation Real commitment to each service user -going the extra mile when necessary	Important Choose an item. Choose an item. Choose an item. Choose an item. Choose an item.	Happening Choose an item. Choose an item. Choose an item. Choose an item. Choose an item.

Choose an item.	Choose an item.	<p>Enthusiasm for working with people who have offended</p> <p>A straightforward, direct and honest approach to working with people</p> <p>Commitment to constantly developing your knowledge and skills as a reflective practitioner</p> <p>Having a sufficient set of skills and different techniques from which to choose for different service users</p> <p>An ability to adapt to work differently with many different kinds of service users</p>	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.		Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.		Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.		Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.		Choose an item.	Choose an item.
In May 2015 you responded		Please feel free to write a brief explanation for any of the scores you have given	Please provide a brief explanation of changes to your scores	
<p>Explanation of Scoring for 'Important': on a scale of 1-10, where 1 means 'Not important at all' and 10 means 'Essential' how important do you think the items below are to good quality practice in 1:1 supervision.</p> <p>Explanation of Scoring for 'Happening': on a scale of 1-10, where 1 means 'Not happening at all in my team' and 10 means 'Routine practice in my team'</p>				

B Thinking about how practitioners work with service users in the supervision

In May 2015 you responded			Current scores, if different from previous	
Important	Happening		Important	Happening
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Confident use of your own professional judgement/discretion	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Reacting swiftly to service user's changing circumstances	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Being consistent about what you say to the service user	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Doing what you say you will do in a timely fashion	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Clear referral or signposting to other agencies	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Working hard to ensure the service user plays an active part in the supervision plan and takes the lead in any change process	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Always responding to the service user's priorities	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Always responding to the service user's concerns	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Always modelling positive and challenging negative attitudes and behaviours in what you do and say	Choose an item.	Choose an item.

Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Actually listening to the service user's experiences and needs	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Having a clear plan and purpose for every individual supervision session	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Building and maintaining a relationship with the service user based on mutual trust and respect	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Routinely feeding back to the service user how they are doing	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Maintaining professional boundaries with service users	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
		The service user being really motivated		
In May 2015 you responded		Please feel free to write a brief explanation for any of the scores you have given	Please provide a brief explanation of changes to your scores	

Explanation of Scoring for 'Important': on a scale of 1-10, where 1 means 'Not important at all' and 10 means 'Essential' how important do you think the items below are to good quality practice in 1:1 supervision.

Explanation of Scoring for 'Happening': on a scale of 1-10, where 1 means 'Not happening at all in my team' and 10 means 'Routine practice in my team'

C: Thinking about what supports best quality 1:1 supervision work

In May 2015 you responded			Current scores, if different from previous	
Important	Happening		Important	Happening
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Good modern offices	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	A welcoming reception area and enough suitable interview rooms	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Flexible local/national policies which allow practitioners to take longer on some supervisions where necessary	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Having managers with relevant practice experience	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Reliable IT systems that deliver good quality information about needs and risks	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Having enough time for face to face work with service users	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Being resourced to see service users outside probation premises (e.g. home/prison visits)	Choose an item.	Choose an item.

Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Team working amongst probation staff being encouraged	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Excellent arrangements to share information between agencies	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Counselling for staff	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Accessible and available managers with whom you feel comfortable discussing your cases	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Supportive managers who back practitioners up when they use their discretion appropriately	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Specialist caseloads	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Senior managers who are in touch with the realities of front line practice	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Expertise on specialist areas available in the office	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Colleagues you can turn to when in difficulties	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	A team ethos where practitioners' work is covered well when they can't be there	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Efficient administrative support	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Availability of services from other agencies to meet service user needs (e.g. re accommodation, housing, substance abuse)	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	A manageable workload	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Ready access to appropriate training for 1:1 supervisors	Choose an item.	Choose an item.

		Knowledge about the local area and local services		
In May 2015 you responded		Please feel free to write a brief explanation for any of the scores you have given	Please provide a brief explanation of changes to your scores	
<p>Explanation of Scoring for 'Important': on a scale of 1-10, where 1 means 'Not important at all' and 10 means 'Essential' how important do you think the items below are to good quality practice in 1:1 supervision.</p> <p>Explanation of Scoring for 'Happening': on a scale of 1-10, where 1 means 'Not happening at all in my team' and 10 means 'Routine practice in my team'</p> <p>D: Thinking about the outcomes of 1:1 work</p>				
In May 2015 you responded			Current scores, if different from previous	
Happening	Happening		Happening	Happening
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Reducing the likelihood of reoffending	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Helping the service user make reparation/pay back for their offence	Choose an item.	Choose an item.

Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Ensuring the service user is properly punished for their offence	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Managing the risk of future harm caused by the service user	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Working towards a better quality of life for the service user	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Meeting performance targets	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Challenging the service user's attitudes towards offending	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Increasing the service user's empathy towards victims	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Reducing the use of custody	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Recognition by the service user and the practitioner of incremental gains towards achievement of goals	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Service user satisfaction with their supervision	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Enforcing the order or licence robustly in the event of non-compliance	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
Choose an item.	Choose an item.	Goals which are realistic/achievable for the service user	Choose an item.	Choose an item.
In May 2015 you responded		Please feel free to write a brief explanation for any of the scores you have given	Please provide a brief explanation of changes to your scores	

Which of the sections A-D do you think is the most important to concentrate upon in relation to improving quality? (please rank from 1-4, where 1 is most important)		
In May 2015 you responded Choose an item. Choose an item. Choose an item. Choose an item.	What the practitioner brings to the supervision How practitioners work with service users in the supervision What supports best quality 1:1 supervision work The outcomes of 1:1 work	Current rankings, if different from previous Choose an item. Choose an item. Choose an item. Choose an item.

In May 2015 you responded	Please do let us have any other comments about quality in 1:1 supervision practice with service users	Please provide a brief explanation of changes to your rankings
<p>You have reached the end of the survey. Thank you for taking time to review your responses</p>		

Appendix 3: Phase 1 Practitioner Interview Schedule and Consent form

Consent and Explanation of the Semi-Structured interview process

Project Title: Relationships between offenders and their supervisors in a privatized probation service: desistance or discontinuity?

Project Aims: To explore how practitioners perceive the relationship between offenders and their supervisors in the newly privatised CRCs and key influences on these perceptions. Further, to explore whether their perceptions change during the first 6-12 months of working within the newly privatised service, with the aim of providing information to inform future developments within probation.

- Interviews will last about 45mins to 1 hour. The interviews will take place with practitioners from Durham Tees Valley CRC. Later interviews will involve Managers, Senior Managers and NOMS Commissioners.
- The interview and any data derived from it will solely be used for the purposes described above.
- If, when writing up the research I decide to use a quote from your interview, it will be anonymised in the report. I will also contact you and let you know the context in which the quote will be used in order that you can consent to or decline its use.
- You have the right to withdraw from the interview at any point and/or refuse to answer any specific questions.
- At the end of the interview you will be handed a copy of your interview on an SD memory card (like the ones you use in a camera). The recording can be listened to on a windows computer.
- If after listening to the recording you wish to withdraw the whole of the interview or amend or add to any responses, please let me know at EllisE3@cardiff.ac.uk within 3 weeks of the date of the interview.
- My copy of the interview will be stored on an encrypted card until it can be transferred to a password protected file on a university computer. It will be destroyed according to university ethical guidelines. Please keep your recording safe and destroy it once you are satisfied with the contents.
- When the interview data is transcribed any material that could lead to identification of the respondent and/or others will be removed.

Respondent No.

Questions for informed consent:

Do you have any queries, questions or concerns about taking part in this interview and the discussion being recorded?

Do you consent to taking part in this interview and for the information generated to form part of this research project?

.....

Responses to these question will be recorded on tape.

Date: **Location:** **Time:**

Resppndent details: **Age:** **Role:** **No. years 121:**

Probation qualification: **No. years**

Prob:

Theme	Main Question	Prompts/Sub Questions/Content
Professional Values	In the section of the questionnaire where you were asked to score various statements as to how important they were and then to what extent they were put into practice, most people completing the survey seemed to agree that most of the statements were important but the degree to which they were put into practice varied	How do you account for this? Do you think Snr Managers share the same values as practitioners? Resources; Culture; Training; Professional background of managers
Staff Support /Resources	The area where there was the greatest discrepancy between what was important and what was actually happening seemed to be in relation to support for staff, how might you explain this?	Have you noticed a change in the level of support for staff since you became a CRC? Workload; Valuing skills and expertise; Counselling and support for staff; Training and development

Changing staff profile	In your experience has the profile of staff recruited into the profession changed since TR was announced?	To what extent do you think this is a result of privatisation, the split between NPS and CRCs or is there some other reason? Fewer qualified staff; Different attitudes and values; austerity generally
Goals and priorities	The highest scores for 'important' were for managing the risk of harm and increasing empathy, whilst for happening the highest scores went to 'meeting performance targets' and 'challenging SU's attitude to offending' Why do you think these differences might occur?	Do you think that privatisation has resulted in different priorities and outcomes? Linked to PbR objectives Desistance focussed Long term/Short term
Continuity and Change	To what extent do you feel that the current changes represent a complete change to the way you work with offenders or are they part of a continuum?	Given your length of experience in probation, what for you has been the most significant change since you joined the service? OMA 2007; break with SW; Best times was pre/post NOMS Rose coloured spectacles
Higher scores for 'Important' than 'Happening'	Generally, respondents scored statements higher for 'Important' than 'Happening' Can you explain why this is?	Do you think responses reflect what respondents thought about fellow practitioner's perceptions or the priorities of the organisation overall [i.e. this might affect how resources are allocated]
Positive effects of privatisation	What are the three most positive effects of working for a CRC compared to working in the Probation Trust?	
Downsides	What are the three biggest drawbacks of working in a CRC?	
Different types of CRC owners	Your CRC is the only one in E & W that does not include a private company. Do you think staff and service users will have a different experience here compared to elsewhere?	Could you tell me how things might differ?
Anything else	Is there anything else that you would like to tell me?	

Would you like to take away a copy of this interview?

Yes /No

The card will only contain this interview, I need to tell you that you will be responsible for keeping the recording safe and deleting it once you are satisfied with the contents.

After the next phase of the survey in November /December this year, would it be OK to contact you again and arrange a further chat on the telephone to find out whether your views on any of the points covered here have changed?

Yes /No

Would you be interested in being invited to an event in Feb/Mar next year when I will present my findings to a mixed audience from the CRC. This will be an opportunity to discuss the findings with managers and hopefully ex-service users?

Yes /No

Thank you for taking part in my research. Here is my card, please do get in touch if you have any questions, concerns or observations about the research.

Elaine Ellis

June 2015

Appendix 4: Manager Interview Schedule: Phase One

SPO Questions:

There are some issues that practitioners raised during their interviews that specifically related to middle management:

1. Generally practitioners reported good line management, however:
2. Some felt that there had been a lot of changes of line managers as the split with NPS had removed some SPOs and those remaining had been moved around or been disillusioned about not being allocated to NPS
3. The most positive responses came from practitioners who had taken up the offer of being involved in designing the new model, in particular when this was done at a whole team level
4. There was a perception that much of the detail of how the changes would be implemented was as yet unclear, further they felt that their line managers were being honest when they said they didn't know either, is the detail becoming clearer?
5. Some expressed a view that the role of PO was under threat, whilst others thought POs may take on a role similar to that of SPO a few years ago when they still held a caseload but also acted as team leader.
6. What values do you think you bring to the job in the new arrangements? Has this changed? Do you think that SMT share your values? Do you think that 5 years down the line their values will be the same? How will you reconcile any differences?

7. Finally, what do you think that probation will look like in 5 and 10 years time?
8. Anything you would like to add?

Appendix 5: Phase two practitioner interview schedule and telephone interview consent form

Consent and Explanation of the Semi-Structured interview process

Project Title: Relationships between offenders and their supervisors in a privatized probation service: desistance or discontinuity?

Project Aims: To explore how practitioners perceive the relationship between offenders and their supervisors in the newly privatised CRCs and key influences on these perceptions. Further, to explore whether their perceptions change during the first 6-12 months of working within the newly privatised service, with the aim of providing information to inform future developments within probation.

- Telephone interviews will last about 30mins. The interviews will take place with practitioners from Durham Tees Valley CRC. Later interviews will involve Managers, Senior Managers and NOMS Commissioners.
- The interview and any data derived from it will solely be used for the purposes described above.
- If, when writing up the research I decide to use a quote from your interview, it will be anonymised in the report. I will also contact you and let you know the context in which the quote will be used in order that you can consent to or decline its use.
- You have the right to withdraw from the interview at any point and/or refuse to answer any specific questions.
- If you wish I can send a transcript of the interview to you once it has been typed up (will be available about 2 weeks after the interview)
- If you wish to withdraw the whole of the interview or amend or add to any responses, please let me know at EllisE3@cardiff.ac.uk within 3 weeks of the date of receipt of the transcript.
- My copy of the interview will be stored on an encrypted card until it can be transferred to a password protected file on a university computer. It will be destroyed according to university ethical guidelines.
- When the interview data is transcribed any material that could lead to identification of the respondent and/or others will be removed.

Questions for informed consent:

Do you have any queries, questions or concerns about taking part in this interview and the discussion being recorded?

Do you consent to taking part in this interview and for the information generated
to form part of this research project?

.....

Responses to these questions will be recorded on tape.

Date:

Time:

Phase 2 Practitioner Interview Schedule

Feb-March 2016

Topic	Questions
1. HBs / New Operating Model	<p>Last time some people expressed enthusiasm about having more discretion and opportunities to work creatively with participants BUT Others expressed concerns about continuity and developing trust in relationships with participants in the Hubs</p> <p>Could you tell me how, greater experience of working in the Hubs has shed light on either or both of these perceptions?</p>
2. Information sharing and Team Working	<p>Last time, some people expressed real concern about the impact of the changes on formal (mainly NPS) and informal (within teams etc.) data sharing as the changes were rolled out BUT Others expressed enthusiasm for being allowed to determine how their Hubs would be run and that this had been good for team working, and, felt that any drawbacks could be overcome</p> <p>Again, having had more experience of working in the Hubs and more recently as offices have closed what are your thoughts now about team working and relationships with NPS?</p>
3. Staff support and well-being	<p>Last time concerns were raised about how supported staff would feel as offices closed and line management became more remote. What has been</p>

	<p>your experience since we last spoke in (June or Sept)?</p> <p>Prompts: Peer support LM support Amount of direction/clarity about what is expected Staff safety</p>
4. Goals, Outcomes and Performance Management	<p>Last time there were conflicting views about how changes in the way targets were prioritised and managed. Some felt that as NS were relaxed there was more room for working in a more individual way with participants, whilst others expressed concerns that losing them had meant there was less structure to their work and still others felt their decision-making was being constrained or even over-turned due to potential costs or financial penalties.</p> <p>What has been your experience since we last spoke?</p> <p>What difference has working with <12m made?</p> <p>Do you think this has implications for the professional identity of practitioners working within the CRCs?</p>
5. 'Cup Half Full/Half Empty'	<p>Last time I heard the terms 'Cup half full or Cup half empty' used to describe themselves and others, relating this to the degree of perceived enthusiasm for change. Others, perhaps those who might have been perceived as 'Cup half Empty' people expressed frustration that their questions about changes, that they saw as being aimed at wanting to make the new model work for participants, were perceived as reluctance to change and negativity.</p> <p>What is your reaction to this observation now the changes are more developed?</p>
6. Values	<p>Finally, what came across last time was that whether people appeared +ve or -ve about the changes, everyone I spoke with wanted to do a good job and had an enduring (although realistic) belief in offender change. To what extent do you think this remains true? For you and for those you work with?</p> <p>Also, most people were convinced that the SMT shared their values and beliefs and that the changes had been thrust upon them, is this still the prevailing view?</p>
7. Anything else?	

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Appendix 6: Senior Manager and CEO interview schedule phase 2

Semi-Structured Interview prompts for interviews with Senior Managers: Phase 2

Theme	Questions/Prompts
General attitudes to changes	<p>Practitioners generally have been very supportive about SMT, attributing negative aspects of changes to sources outside of the CRC: NOMS/MoJ/NPS/and the government.</p> <p>To what extent do you think it has been easier to implement the changes to operating practices as a result of this CRC being 'not for profit'?</p>
Bureaucracy	<p>Some of the changes brought about by TR were sold, by the government, as a reduction in the amount of bureaucracy and micro management from the centre. Staff generally welcomed the relaxation of National Standards, giving them more flexibility about how to manage participants.</p> <p>Despite this apparent reduction in micro-management, at a recent seminar organised by No Offence CIC, some CRC CEOs reported that the level of scrutiny and detailed information expected by NOMS had actually increased.</p> <p>What are your thoughts about the level of bureaucracy and its consequences for practitioners within the CRC and between the CRC and NOPMs?</p>
Information exchange	<p>How do you think the changes brought about by TR have impacted on the information flows related to individual participants?</p> <p>W12`12</p>
Into the future	<p>Looking forward (5-10 years), practitioners and middle managers had a range of views about the future prospects for DTV CRC. Some felt that the DTV model reflected good practice and as such would expand its boundaries, either geographically into other CRCs or to other groups of service users (High Risk Offenders, youths, people with drug and alcohol or mental health problems etc.). Others were less optimistic and worried that if successful DTV would become a prime takeover target for one of the large corporates and that ironically failure could result in a similar fate.</p> <p>How do you see the future of the CRC in 5-10 year's time?</p>

Practitioner identities	<p>Several issues arose about the professional identities of probation practitioners. Earlier phases saw POs fearing that their role would die out due to losing report writing, higher risk cases and court work. However, the most recent phase of interviews saw some of these change their views, they are enjoying the opportunity to use their professional discretion within the Hub environment in determining how each would operate to meet local needs and also within individual relationships with participants. PSOs were generally more enthusiastic in the earlier phase seeing their role more valued. A few PSOs did express concerns in recent interviews about managing more complex cases, particularly where there was no qualified PO or middle manager readily on hand to check out their decisions.</p> <p>What is your view of these differing perceptions? How should they be managed going forward.</p> <p>The issue of line managers becoming more remote and the reduced frequency of one to one supervision of practitioners was a recurring theme throughout each phase of the research even though it was rare for anyone to disapprove of their line manager's capability or diligence. With recent restructuring this could escalate, how is the CRC planning to ensure all staff feel supported and competent to carry out what is expected of them going forward?</p>
Practitioner typologies	<p>Overall, there appear to be three 'types' of reaction to the changes within the CRC:</p> <p>The reflective pragmatic; these practitioners, often very experienced, have critically evaluated the changes and are aware of both positive and negative aspects. However, they are generally positive, coping with negative aspects by 'finding ways around them' that mean they can resolve conflicts between changes and their underlying values</p> <p>The reflective perfectionist; these practitioners have strong ideological objections to the fundamental principles of privatisation, they may not be as experienced or long in service as the 'pragmatists'. Hence, the world they know consists of risk management, National Standards and being told what to do and what was expected of them. They do recognise that some of the changes within this CRC are congruent with their underlying values. They constantly seek resolution of their anxieties, uncertainties and value based objections by asking questions of the new model and changes generally. This results in them sometimes being labelled as 'negative', a label they are aware of. They do care passionately about their work with participants and try to do a good job based on their under-lying values, even if this means trying to run with old</p>

	<p>and new systems at the same time.</p> <p>The 'Cup Half Full' practitioner; these practitioners embrace the changes, often less critical or reflective, wanting to 'Get on with it'. There is often a degree of impatience with the 'reflective perfectionists' seeing them as 'Cup half empty' people. The only negativity is directed outside the CRC or when changes are not happening quickly enough. For a few of these practitioners by the later phases of the research a few anxieties had begun to creep in as the reality of implementation was fully realised.</p> <p>Do you recognise these typologies?</p> <p>Following on from the comments above, How is the CRC managing the strengths, problems and expectations of these different groups of practitioners?</p>
Benefits of TR	What do you see as the three most positive effects of the changes brought about by TR?
Downsides	What are the three biggest drawbacks?
Anything else	Is there anything else that you would like to tell me?

Thank you for taking part in my research. Please do get in touch if you have any questions, concerns or observations about the research.

Elaine Ellis

March 2016

Appendix 7: Socio-economic characteristics of Durham Tees Valley

The Durham Tees Valley area lies in the North East of England, it comprises Durham County Council and the five unitary authorities that make up Teesside. The estimated total population of the area as at 30th June 2014 was 1.18m, up 5% since 2001. The Local Authorities (LAs) that make up the Teesside area include some of the most deprived in England and Wales. Middlesbrough has the highest proportion (49%) of its Lower Super Output Areas (LSOEs) in the most deprived 10% across the 326 LAs in England and Wales, Hartlepool, with 33% is 10th. (English Indices of Deprivation, 2015). These two areas also experience some of the highest rates of unemployment, Middlesbrough is ranked 2nd for the greatest proportion of LSOAs in the top 10% for unemployment, Hartlepool just behind at 6th. Unemployment is relatively high across the whole area, as shown in Table 5.1 below.

Employment in Durham Tees Valley

Local Authority District name (2013)	Employment - Proportion of LSOAs in most deprived 10% nationally	Employment - Rank of proportion of LSOAs in most deprived 10% nationally n=326
Hartlepool	41%	6
Middlesbrough	48%	2
Redcar and Cleveland	30%	17
Stockton-on-Tees	23%	34
Darlington	20%	44
County Durham	27%	22

(Department of Communities and Local Government 2015)

According to Byrne (1995), commenting on the development of the Tees Valley area from the mid 1970s to the early 1990s, the area is typified by de-industrialisation. The study found that the area around Middlesbrough contained several extensive areas where the benefit dependent and low paid poor lived together, iterating between the two states. Inequality was fuelled by poor educational achievement

within the deprived parts of the city. This appears to continue to today as the data in Table 5.2 shows, with Middlesbrough, even after taking account of the uplifting impact of schools in more affluent areas of the city, falling well behind the national average for England, only Stockton-on-Tees returned figures above the national average and then only for the proportion of pupils achieving 5 or more A* -C at GCSE.

Educational Achievement in Durham Tees Valley

	KS2-KS4			5+ A*-C incl. English and Maths GCSE
	No of Pupils	English	Maths	
England - all schools	611024	NA	NA	53.80%
England - state-funded schools only	553446	71.10%	66.90%	57.10%
Middlesbrough	1380	59.30%	54.10%	46.10%
Hartlepool	1095	70.50%	58.50%	53.40%
County Durham	5101	70.70%	61.60%	55.10%
Darlington	1189	69.60%	55.00%	52.50%
Redcar and Cleveland	1699	64.90%	60.90%	54.30%
Stockton-on-Tees	2129	67.30%	64.00%	59.30%

Appendix 8: An extract from the DTV Probation Trust Annual Report that gives additional information about the Community Supervision Service and Gallant

From: Durham Tees Valley Probation Trust | 2012–13 (p7-8)

Community Supervision Service

2012 saw the Community Supervision Service (CSS) team embedded within our offender management arrangements with the further introduction of the Gallant project. Once they have completed the intensive one-to-one Citizenship programme, probationers transition to the CSS – although overall responsibility for the case remains with the designated officer. CSS Officers build on the cognitive behavioural work that has been commenced in early supervision while beginning to focus on the probationer's future. The majority of probationers will then begin to attend Gallant.

Gallant

Built on the principles of Desistance Theory, Gallant is designed to operate as a one-stop-shop in the probationer's community, where they can both report to their supervising officer and quickly access community resources. The Trust operates 12 Gallants, all taking place away from probation premises to begin removing the stigma of being an 'offender'. Gallant is supported by volunteers from local community and attended by partner agencies according to the identified needs of the local probationers. Gallant resembles a vibrant community centre and encourages probationers to focus on their future, access the services that can support them as they reintegrate into their local community, and rebuild a personal identity as a law-abiding citizen.

Appendix 9: Responsibility structure of probation services after 1st

February 2015

Ministry of Justice (MoJ) The government office with responsibility for probation, prisons, courts and reducing reoffending
National Offender Management Service (NOMS) NOMS is an executive agency of the Ministry of Justice. It includes the prison service, National Probation Service and the 21 probation Community Rehabilitation Companies across England and Wales. NOMS is responsible for the rehabilitation of offenders and reducing reoffending and therefore responsible for overseeing the activities of both the NPS and CRCs.
National Probation Service (NPS) The NPS is a public sector organisation within the Civil Service with responsibility for probation work in courts, victim liaison, risk assessment of offenders, and the management of high-risk offenders. Probation practitioners located in the NPS are civil servants.
Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRCs) The 21 CRCs cover England and Wales and supervise low to medium risk offenders in the community. The CRCs were sold to companies/organisations in the private and third sectors as of 1 st February 2015 as part of the government's <i>Transforming Rehabilitation</i> programme. The CRC ownership contracts are for seven years, renewable. CRCs are responsible for supervising low to medium risk offenders and for running some offender programmes. Probation practitioners located in CRCs are employed by the CRC rather than by the share owner.

(Kirton and Guillaume 2015)

Appendix 10: Durham Tees Valley Probation TOPs National Survey

<http://www.DTVCRC.co.uk/newsitem/DTV-CRC-tops-national-survey>

The Durham Tees Valley Community Rehabilitation Company (DTV CRC) has topped a national survey for the work it delivers to offenders.

The bi-annual Offender Management Survey assesses the satisfaction of service that probation staff deliver to offenders serving a community sentence or licence. The results are inputted into a national database and compared in a table of all 21 CRC's across the UK against a national average.

The latest survey, which was conducted in May 2016 and included 10,661 completed returns, showed 78.8% of offenders surveyed nationally were satisfied with their experience of probation while DTV CRC's overall satisfaction topped the table at 92.2% - up 0.9% from November 2015.

The survey focusses on skills areas that relate to reducing re-arrest and reconviction. All offenders were asked the same 15 questions, which they answer on a scale of 1-5 with 1 being strongly disagree and 5 being strongly agree. Questions include, 'my probation officer and I get on well', 'my probation officer has made me realise that change is possible' and 'my probation officer and I agree goals together'.

Bronwen Elphick, Chief Executive of DTV CRC, said: "This is a great result for DTV CRC and demonstrates that our performance is strong and service delivery remains high.

"We have received consistently high praise by our local prisons and Ministry of Justice, which is credit to the quality of the work that our staff deliver to offenders and the effective partnerships we have established.

"Our aim is to reduce reoffending through a variety of evidence-led interventions as we work with key partners to protect communities. We believe in the ability of individuals to change their lives. Our job is to support people in doing so and these results demonstrate our ability to do this."

Some of the key performance statistics delivered by DTV CRC were one of the highest in the country. In DTV CRC, 93.7% of offenders agreed that their probation officer makes them realise that change is possible and 90.5% said that their probation officer makes them realise that the way they behave is not the best way.

87.3% of offenders said they will think before they act and 80.7% said they now know what makes them likely to reoffend. 80.4% of offenders agreed that working with their probation officer has given them more skills to solve problems while 91.8% said they agreed goals together with their probation officer.

Updated on Tuesday July 12, 2016.
Permalink *Tags:* National, Survey, News

PCA Briefing describes 'ethical wall'

<http://probationchiefs.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/PCA-briefings-on-Transforming-Rehabilitation.pdf>

Appendix 11: Results of t tests across domains and practitioner groups, phase one

T-Test: Phase 1 Reflective Pragmatists AND Risk managers

Group Statistics

	Typology	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Ave_support_quality_Importance	> 15 years	10	9.1227	1.11712	.35326
	< 15 years PO	8	9.5909	.38185	.13500
Ave_support_quality_Happening	> 15 years	10	6.8227	1.22801	.38833
	< 15 years PO	8	6.1250	1.61398	.57063
Ave_pract_work_Importance	> 15 years	10	9.2467	.55427	.17527
	< 15 years PO	10	9.5400	.56345	.17818
Ave_pract_work_Happening	> 15 years	10	8.2267	1.11917	.35391
	< 15 years PO	10	7.7133	1.47575	.46667
Ave_outcomes_Importance	> 15 years	10	9.4000	.60112	.19009
	< 15 years PO	10	9.4154	.72632	.22968
Ave_outcomes_Happening	> 15 years	10	8.0846	1.31118	.41463
	< 15 years PO	9	7.3077	1.21504	.40501
Ave_pract_brings_Importance	> 15 years	11	9.2364	.68887	.20770
	< 15 years PO	10	9.3400	.52111	.16479
Ave_pract_brings_Happening	> 15 years	11	7.8545	1.22259	.36862
	< 15 years PO	10	6.7800	1.87130	.59176

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Ave_support_quality_Importance	Equal variances assumed	4.877	.042	-1.128	16	.276	-.46818	.41509	-1.34813	.41176
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.238	11.505	.240	-.46818	.37818	-1.29612	.35975
Ave_support_quality_Happening	Equal variances assumed	1.150	.300	1.043	16	.312	.69773	.66879	-.72004	2.11550
	Equal variances not assumed			1.011	12.843	.331	.69773	.69023	-.79528	2.19074
Ave_pract_work_Importance	Equal variances assumed	.050	.825	-1.174	18	.256	-.29333	.24994	-.81843	.23177
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.174	17.995	.256	-.29333	.24994	-.81844	.23178
Ave_pract_work_Happening	Equal variances assumed	.084	.776	.876	18	.392	.51333	.58569	-.71716	1.74383
	Equal variances not assumed			.876	16.779	.393	.51333	.58569	-.72361	1.75028
Ave_outcomes_Importance	Equal variances assumed	.163	.691	-.052	18	.959	-.01538	.29814	-.64176	.61099
	Equal variances not assumed			-.052	17.392	.959	-.01538	.29814	-.64333	.61256
Ave_outcomes_Happening	Equal variances assumed	.022	.885	1.335	17	.200	.77692	.58208	-.45115	2.00500
	Equal variances not assumed			1.340	16.979	.198	.77692	.57962	-.44608	1.99993
Ave_pract_brings_Importance	Equal variances assumed	.461	.505	-.386	19	.704	-.10364	.26877	-.66618	.45891
	Equal variances not assumed			-.391	18.435	.700	-.10364	.26513	-.65972	.45245
Ave_pract_brings_Happening	Equal variances assumed	1.116	.304	1.573	19	.132	1.07455	.68327	-.35555	2.50464
	Equal variances not assumed			1.541	15.271	.144	1.07455	.69718	-.40917	2.55826

T-Test: Phase 1 Reflective Pragmatists and Problem Solvers

Group Statistics

	Typology	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Ave_support_quality_Importance	> 15 years	10	9.1227	1.11712	.35326
	< 15 years PSO	13	9.1364	.58974	.16357
Ave_support_quality_Happening	> 15 years	10	6.8227	1.22801	.38833
	< 15 years PSO	12	7.0227	1.26273	.36452
Ave_pract_work_Importance	> 15 years	10	9.2467	.55427	.17527
	< 15 years PSO	14	9.4048	.55252	.14767
Ave_pract_work_Happening	> 15 years	10	8.2267	1.11917	.35391
	< 15 years PSO	14	8.5000	1.21634	.32508
Ave_outcomes_Importance	> 15 years	10	9.4000	.60112	.19009
	< 15 years PSO	14	9.1593	.61720	.16495
Ave_outcomes_Happening	> 15 years	10	8.0846	1.31118	.41463
	< 15 years PSO	14	8.0110	.99697	.26645
Ave_pract_brings_Importance	> 15 years	11	9.2364	.68887	.20770
	< 15 years PSO	15	9.3333	.73160	.18890
Ave_pract_brings_Happening	> 15 years	11	7.8545	1.22259	.36862
	< 15 years PSO	15	7.8133	1.76347	.45532

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Ave_support_quality_Importance	Equal variances assumed	2.350	.140	-.038	21	.970	-.01364	.36026	-.76284	.73556
	Equal variances not assumed			-.035	12.830	.973	-.01364	.38929	-.85579	.82851
Ave_support_quality_Happening	Equal variances assumed	.003	.957	-.375	20	.712	-.20000	.53403	-1.31397	.91397
	Equal variances not assumed			-.376	19.476	.711	-.20000	.53261	-1.31293	.91293
Ave_pract_work_Importance	Equal variances assumed	.000	.993	-.690	22	.497	-.15810	.22906	-.63314	.31695
	Equal variances not assumed			-.690	19.507	.498	-.15810	.22919	-.63695	.32076
Ave_pract_work_Happening	Equal variances assumed	.846	.368	-.561	22	.581	-.27333	.48756	-1.28446	.73780
	Equal variances not assumed			-.569	20.494	.576	-.27333	.48055	-1.27421	.72754
Ave_outcomes_Importance	Equal variances assumed	.130	.722	.952	22	.352	.24066	.25284	-.28371	.76502
	Equal variances not assumed			.956	19.861	.350	.24066	.25168	-.28458	.76590
Ave_outcomes_Happening	Equal variances assumed	.398	.534	.157	22	.877	.07363	.47038	-.90187	1.04913
	Equal variances not assumed			.149	16.071	.883	.07363	.49287	-.97083	1.11808
Ave_pract_brings_Importance	Equal variances assumed	.974	.334	-.342	24	.735	-.09697	.28347	-.68202	.48809
	Equal variances not assumed			-.345	22.425	.733	-.09697	.28075	-.67858	.48464
Ave_pract_brings_Happening	Equal variances assumed	2.565	.122	.067	24	.948	.04121	.61967	-1.23772	1.32015
	Equal variances not assumed			.070	23.958	.945	.04121	.58584	-1.16801	1.25043

T-Test: Phase 1: Risk Managers and Problem Solvers

Group Statistics

	Typology	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Ave_support_quality_Importance	< 15 years PO	8	9.5909	.38185	.13500
	< 15 years PSO	13	9.1364	.58974	.16357
Ave_support_quality_Happening	< 15 years PO	8	6.1250	1.61398	.57063
	< 15 years PSO	12	7.0227	1.26273	.36452
Ave_pract_work_Importance	< 15 years PO	10	9.5400	.56345	.17818
	< 15 years PSO	14	9.4048	.55252	.14767
Ave_pract_work_Happening	< 15 years PO	10	7.7133	1.47575	.46667
	< 15 years PSO	14	8.5000	1.21634	.32508
Ave_outcomes_Importance	< 15 years PO	10	9.4154	.72632	.22968
	< 15 years PSO	14	9.1593	.61720	.16495
Ave_outcomes_Happening	< 15 years PO	9	7.3077	1.21504	.40501
	< 15 years PSO	14	8.0110	.99697	.26645
Ave_pract_brings_Importance	< 15 years PO	10	9.3400	.52111	.16479
	< 15 years PSO	15	9.3333	.73160	.18890
Ave_pract_brings_Happening	< 15 years PO	10	6.7800	1.87130	.59176
	< 15 years PSO	15	7.8133	1.76347	.45532

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Ave_support_quality_Importance	Equal variances assumed	6.794	.017	1.935	19	.068	.45455	.23495	-.03721	.94630
	Equal variances not assumed			2.143	18.890	.045	.45455	.21208	.01047	.89862
Ave_support_quality_Happening	Equal variances assumed	1.145	.299	-1.395	18	.180	-.89773	.64347	-2.24960	.45414
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.326	12.549	.209	-.89773	.67712	-2.36592	.57046
Ave_pract_work_Importance	Equal variances assumed	.063	.804	.586	22	.564	.13524	.23063	-.34305	.61353
	Equal variances not assumed			.584	19.304	.566	.13524	.23142	-.34861	.61908
Ave_pract_work_Happening	Equal variances assumed	.104	.750	-1.430	22	.167	-.78667	.55009	-1.92749	.35415
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.383	17.071	.184	-.78667	.56874	-1.98622	.41288
Ave_outcomes_Importance	Equal variances assumed	.024	.878	.931	22	.362	.25604	.27493	-.31412	.82621
	Equal variances not assumed			.905	17.462	.378	.25604	.28278	-.33937	.85146
Ave_outcomes_Happening	Equal variances assumed	.220	.644	-1.517	21	.144	-.70330	.46366	-1.66753	.26094
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.451	14.726	.168	-.70330	.48480	-1.73831	.33171
Ave_pract_brings_Importance	Equal variances assumed	4.442	.046	.025	23	.980	.00667	.26835	-.54845	.56178
	Equal variances not assumed			.027	22.840	.979	.00667	.25068	-.51210	.52543
Ave_pract_brings_Happening	Equal variances assumed	.044	.837	-1.401	23	.175	-1.03333	.73747	-2.55891	.49224
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.384	18.617	.183	-1.03333	.74666	-2.59829	.53162

Appendix 12: Results of One Way ANOVA: Changes in Importance:Happening mean scores by Practitioner group

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
P2_P1_I_H_ave_Pract	> 15 years	10	.2918	1.56416	.49463	-.8271	1.4107	-1.19	4.18
	< 15 years PO	9	1.3283	.87724	.29241	.6540	2.0026	-.15	2.13
	< 15 years PSO	12	.6553	1.17354	.33877	-.0903	1.4009	-1.59	2.82
	Total	31	.7334	1.27191	.22844	.2669	1.2000	-1.59	4.18
P2_P1_I_H_ave_Work	> 15 years	10	-.1467	.56986	.18021	-.5543	.2610	-1.40	.87
	< 15 years PO	10	.7000	1.04574	.33069	-.0481	1.4481	-.13	3.40
	< 15 years PSO	14	.2143	.65277	.17446	-.1626	.5912	-.73	1.60
	Total	34	.2510	.81502	.13977	-.0334	.5354	-1.40	3.40
P2_P1_I_H_ave_support	> 15 years	10	-.7182	1.46552	.46344	-1.7666	.3302	-3.64	.77
	< 15 years PO	8	.6250	.88665	.31348	-.1163	1.3663	-.14	2.50
	< 15 years PSO	12	-.0568	.44626	.12882	-.3404	.2267	-.73	.77
	Total	30	-.0955	1.09971	.20078	-.5061	.3152	-3.64	2.50
P2_P1_I_H_ave_outcomes	> 15 years	10	-.2615	.69297	.21914	-.7573	.2342	-1.85	.69
	< 15 years PO	9	.6410	.77688	.25896	.0439	1.2382	-.15	2.31
	< 15 years PSO	14	.1648	.54465	.14556	-.1496	.4793	-.54	1.77
	Total	33	.1655	.72598	.12638	-.0919	.4229	-1.85	2.31

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
P2_P1_I_H_ave_Pract	Between Groups	5.208	2	2.604	1.683	.204
	Within Groups	43.325	28	1.547		
	Total	48.533	30			
P2_P1_I_H_ave_Work	Between Groups	3.616	2	1.808	3.062	.061
	Within Groups	18.304	31	.590		
	Total	21.921	33			
P2_P1_I_H_ave_support	Between Groups	8.048	2	4.024	4.021	.030
	Within Groups	27.023	27	1.001		
	Total	35.072	29			
P2_P1_I_H_ave_outcomes	Between Groups	3.859	2	1.929	4.450	.020
	Within Groups	13.007	30	.434		
	Total	16.865	32			

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
P2_P1_I_H_ave_Pract	.354	2	28	.705
P2_P1_I_H_ave_Work	.927	2	31	.406
P2_P1_I_H_ave_support	5.078	2	27	.013
P2_P1_I_H_ave_outcomes	.716	2	30	.497

Robust Tests of Equality of Means

		Statistic ^a	df1	df2	Sig.
P2_P1_I_H_ave_Pract	Brown-Forsythe	1.709	2	22.806	.203
P2_P1_I_H_ave_Work	Brown-Forsythe	2.889	2	20.383	.079
P2_P1_I_H_ave_support	Brown-Forsythe	3.782	2	16.371	.045
P2_P1_I_H_ave_outcomes	Brown-Forsythe	4.086	2	23.003	.030

^a. Asymptotically F distributed.

Multiple Comparisons

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable	(I) Typology	(J) Typology	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
P2_P1_I_H_ave_Pract	> 15 years	< 15 years PO	-1.03646	.57154	.184	-2.4506	.3777
		< 15 years PSO	-.36348	.53261	.776	-1.6814	.9544
	< 15 years PO	> 15 years	1.03646	.57154	.184	-.3777	2.4506
		< 15 years PSO	.67298	.54851	.448	-.6842	2.0302
	< 15 years PSO	> 15 years	.36348	.53261	.776	-.9544	1.6814
P2_P1_I_H_ave_Work	> 15 years	< 15 years PO	-.84667 *	.34365	.050	-1.6924	-.0009
		< 15 years PSO	-.36095	.31815	.501	-1.1440	.4221
	< 15 years PO	> 15 years	.84667 *	.34365	.050	.0009	1.6924
		< 15 years PSO	.48571	.31815	.293	-.2973	1.2688
	< 15 years PSO	> 15 years	.36095	.31815	.501	-.4221	1.1440
P2_P1_I_H_ave_support	> 15 years	< 15 years PO	-1.34318 *	.47455	.023	-2.5198	-.1666
		< 15 years PSO	-.66136	.42836	.287	-1.7234	.4007
	< 15 years PO	> 15 years	1.34318 *	.47455	.023	.1666	2.5198
		< 15 years PSO	.68182	.45663	.310	-.4504	1.8140
	< 15 years PSO	> 15 years	.66136	.42836	.287	-.4007	1.7234
P2_P1_I_H_ave_outcomes	> 15 years	< 15 years PO	-.90256 *	.30254	.015	-1.6484	-.1567
		< 15 years PSO	-.42637	.27262	.277	-1.0985	.2457
	< 15 years PO	> 15 years	.90256 *	.30254	.015	.1567	1.6484
		< 15 years PSO	.47619	.28132	.225	-.2173	1.1697
	< 15 years PSO	> 15 years	.42637	.27262	.277	-.2457	1.0985
		< 15 years PO	-.47619	.28132	.225	-1.1697	.2173

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

P2_P1_I_H_ave_Pract

Tukey HSD

Typology	N	Subset for alpha = 0.05
		1
> 15 years	10	.2918
< 15 years PSO	12	.6553
< 15 years PO	9	1.3283
Sig.		.163

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

- a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 10.189.
- b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

P2_P1_I_H_ave_Work

Tukey HSD

Typology	N	Subset for alpha = 0.05	
		1	2
> 15 years	10	-.1467	
< 15 years PSO	14	.2143	.2143
< 15 years PO	10		.7000
Sig.		.519	.311

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

- a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 11.053.
- b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

P2_P1_I_H_ave_support

Tukey HSD

Typology	N	Subset for alpha = 0.05	
		1	2
> 15 years	10	-.7182	
< 15 years PSO	12	-.0568	-.0568
< 15 years PO	8		.6250
Sig.		.326	.305

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

- a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 9.730.
- b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

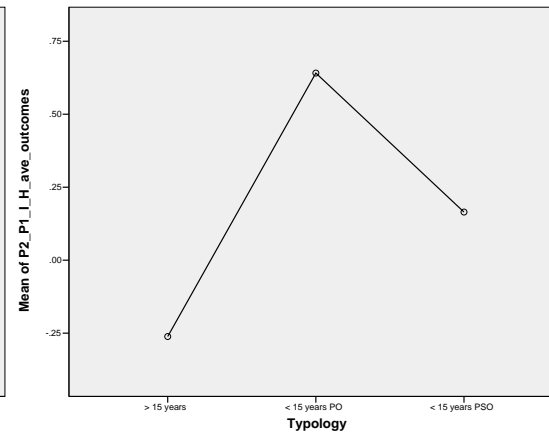
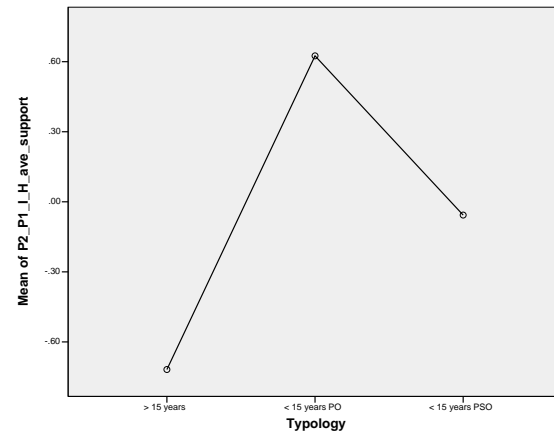
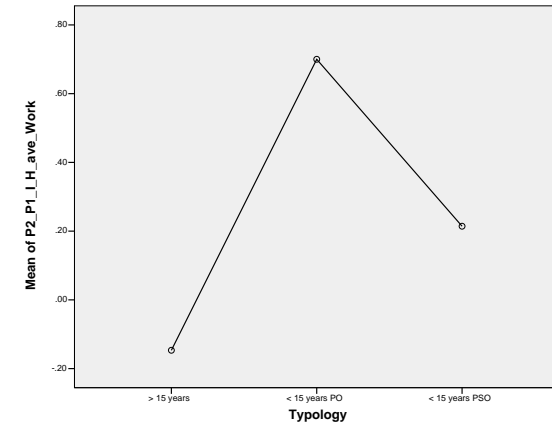
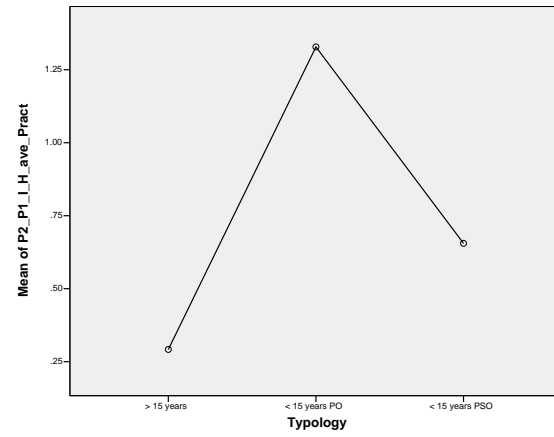
P2_P1_I_H_ave_outcomes

Tukey HSD

Typology	N	Subset for alpha = 0.05	
		1	2
> 15 years	10	-.2615	
< 15 years PSO	14	.1648	.1648
< 15 years PO	9		.6410
Sig.		.309	.235

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

- a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 10.618.
- b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.



Appendix 13: Results of t tests across domains and practitioner groups, phase two

T-Test Phase Two: Reflective Pragmatists and Risk Managers

Group Statistics

	Typology	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
P2_Ave_support_quality_Importance	> 15 years	11	9.1116	1.05868	.31921
	< 15 years PO	9	9.6364	.36787	.12262
P2_Ave_support_quality_Happening	> 15 years	11	7.5083	1.26374	.38103
	< 15 years PO	9	5.5303	1.98418	.66139
P2_Ave_pract_work_Importance	> 15 years	12	9.2500	.56003	.16167
	< 15 years PO	10	9.5733	.50303	.15907
P2_Ave_pract_work_Happening	> 15 years	12	8.5056	1.06038	.30611
	< 15 years PO	10	7.0467	1.83197	.57932
P2_Ave_outcomes_Importance	> 15 years	12	9.3782	.53239	.15369
	< 15 years PO	10	9.4462	.60330	.19078
P2_Ave_outcomes_Happening	> 15 years	12	8.4231	1.25522	.36235
	< 15 years PO	10	6.8615	1.56339	.49439
P2_Ave_pract_brings_Importance	> 15 years	12	9.3833	.70689	.20406
	< 15 years PO	10	9.2500	.51478	.16279
P2_Ave_pract_brings_Happening	> 15 years	12	8.1333	1.22870	.35469
	< 15 years PO	10	6.2400	2.18439	.69076

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
P2_Ave_support_quality_Importance	Equal variances assumed	4.499	.048	-1.413	18	.175	-.52479	.37141	-1.30509	.25550
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.535	12.820	.149	-.52479	.34195	-1.26458	.21500
P2_Ave_support_quality_Happening	Equal variances assumed	5.141	.036	2.710	18	.014	1.97796	.72988	.44453	3.51139
	Equal variances not assumed			2.591	13.042	.022	1.97796	.76330	.32949	3.62643
P2_Ave_pract_work_Importance	Equal variances assumed	.298	.591	-1.411	20	.174	-.32333	.22913	-.80129	.15462
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.426	19.859	.170	-.32333	.22680	-.79665	.14999
P2_Ave_pract_work_Happening	Equal variances assumed	4.055	.058	2.335	20	.030	1.45889	.62470	.15578	2.76200
	Equal variances not assumed			2.227	13.844	.043	1.45889	.65522	.05210	2.86568
P2_Ave_outcomes_Importance	Equal variances assumed	.158	.695	-.281	20	.782	-.06795	.24209	-.57294	.43704
	Equal variances not assumed			-.277	18.200	.785	-.06795	.24498	-.58224	.44634
P2_Ave_outcomes_Happening	Equal variances assumed	2.144	.159	2.601	20	.017	1.56154	.60043	.30906	2.81401
	Equal variances not assumed			2.548	17.204	.021	1.56154	.61296	.26948	2.85359
P2_Ave_pract_brings_Importance	Equal variances assumed	.657	.427	.496	20	.625	.13333	.26879	-.42735	.69402
	Equal variances not assumed			.511	19.703	.615	.13333	.26104	-.41171	.67838
P2_Ave_pract_brings_Happening	Equal variances assumed	4.293	.051	2.563	20	.019	1.89333	.73884	.35214	3.43452
	Equal variances not assumed			2.438	13.598	.029	1.89333	.77651	.22326	3.56341

T-Test Phase Two: Reflective Pragmatists and Problem Solvers

Group Statistics

	Typology	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
P2_Ave_support_quality_Importance	> 15 years	11	9.1116	1.05868	.31921
	< 15 years PSO	13	9.1469	.55365	.15355
P2_Ave_support_quality_Happening	> 15 years	11	7.5083	1.26374	.38103
	< 15 years PSO	12	7.0909	1.33538	.38549
P2_Ave_pract_work_Importance	> 15 years	12	9.2500	.56003	.16167
	< 15 years PSO	15	9.4311	.54561	.14088
P2_Ave_pract_work_Happening	> 15 years	12	8.5056	1.06038	.30611
	< 15 years PSO	15	8.2444	1.42754	.36859
P2_Ave_outcomes_Importance	> 15 years	12	9.3782	.53239	.15369
	< 15 years PSO	14	9.2857	.54345	.14524
P2_Ave_outcomes_Happening	> 15 years	12	8.4231	1.25522	.36235
	< 15 years PSO	14	7.9725	1.12997	.30200
P2_Ave_pract_brings_Importance	> 15 years	12	9.3833	.70689	.20406
	< 15 years PSO	15	9.0933	1.20444	.31098
P2_Ave_pract_brings_Happening	> 15 years	12	8.1333	1.22870	.35469
	< 15 years PSO	15	7.6733	2.01759	.52094

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
P2_Ave_support_quality_Importance	Equal variances assumed	2.046	.167	-.105	22	.918	-.03528	.33699	-.73416	.66360
	Equal variances not assumed			-.100	14.516	.922	-.03528	.35422	-.79248	.72192
P2_Ave_support_quality_Happening	Equal variances assumed	.030	.863	.768	21	.451	.41736	.54338	-.71267	1.54738
	Equal variances not assumed			.770	20.973	.450	.41736	.54202	-.70993	1.54464
P2_Ave_pract_work_Importance	Equal variances assumed	.010	.923	-.847	25	.405	-.18111	.21379	-.62142	.25920
	Equal variances not assumed			-.845	23.432	.407	-.18111	.21444	-.62425	.26203
P2_Ave_pract_work_Happening	Equal variances assumed	3.272	.083	.527	25	.603	.26111	.49537	-.75913	1.28135
	Equal variances not assumed			.545	24.898	.591	.26111	.47912	-.72587	1.24809
P2_Ave_outcomes_Importance	Equal variances assumed	.145	.707	.437	24	.666	.09249	.21181	-.34466	.52964
	Equal variances not assumed			.437	23.537	.666	.09249	.21146	-.34440	.52938
P2_Ave_outcomes_Happening	Equal variances assumed	.106	.748	.963	24	.345	.45055	.46776	-.51485	1.41595
	Equal variances not assumed			.955	22.431	.350	.45055	.47170	-.52661	1.42771
P2_Ave_pract_brings_Importance	Equal variances assumed	2.234	.148	.737	25	.468	.29000	.39349	-.52041	1.10041
	Equal variances not assumed			.780	23.182	.443	.29000	.37196	-.47912	1.05912
P2_Ave_pract_brings_Happening	Equal variances assumed	6.947	.014	.692	25	.495	.46000	.66451	-.90859	1.82859
	Equal variances not assumed			.730	23.548	.473	.46000	.63023	-.84205	1.76205

T-Test Phase Two: Risk Managers and Problem Solvers

Group Statistics

	Typology	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
P2_Ave_support_quality_Importance	< 15 years PO	9	9.6364	.36787	.12262
	< 15 years PSO	13	9.1469	.55365	.15355
P2_Ave_support_quality_Happening	< 15 years PO	9	5.5303	1.98418	.66139
	< 15 years PSO	12	7.0909	1.33538	.38549
P2_Ave_pract_work_Importance	< 15 years PO	10	9.5733	.50303	.15907
	< 15 years PSO	15	9.4311	.54561	.14088
P2_Ave_pract_work_Happening	< 15 years PO	10	7.0467	1.83197	.57932
	< 15 years PSO	15	8.2444	1.42754	.36859
P2_Ave_outcomes_Importance	< 15 years PO	10	9.4462	.60330	.19078
	< 15 years PSO	14	9.2857	.54345	.14524
P2_Ave_outcomes_Happening	< 15 years PO	10	6.8615	1.56339	.49439
	< 15 years PSO	14	7.9725	1.12997	.30200
P2_Ave_pract_brings_Importance	< 15 years PO	10	9.2500	.51478	.16279
	< 15 years PSO	15	9.0933	1.20444	.31098
P2_Ave_pract_brings_Happening	< 15 years PO	10	6.2400	2.18439	.69076
	< 15 years PSO	15	7.6733	2.01759	.52094

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
P2_Ave_support_quality_Importance	Equal variances assumed	4.155	.055	2.314	20	.031	.48951	.21157	.04819	.93083
	Equal variances not assumed			2.491	19.991	.022	.48951	.19651	.07959	.89943
P2_Ave_support_quality_Happening	Equal variances assumed	4.257	.053	-2.158	19	.044	-1.56061	.72324	-3.07436	-.04685
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.039	13.247	.062	-1.56061	.76554	-3.21132	.09011
P2_Ave_pract_work_Importance	Equal variances assumed	.232	.634	.658	23	.517	.14222	.21611	-.30483	.58928
	Equal variances not assumed			.669	20.534	.511	.14222	.21249	-.30028	.58472
P2_Ave_pract_work_Happening	Equal variances assumed	.660	.425	-1.836	23	.079	-1.19778	.65239	-2.54736	.15180
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.744	16.069	.100	-1.19778	.68664	-2.65288	.25732
P2_Ave_outcomes_Importance	Equal variances assumed	.009	.926	.681	22	.503	.16044	.23546	-.32788	.64876
	Equal variances not assumed			.669	18.219	.512	.16044	.23978	-.34288	.66376
P2_Ave_outcomes_Happening	Equal variances assumed	4.006	.058	-2.026	22	.055	-1.11099	.54841	-2.24832	.02634
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.918	15.478	.074	-1.11099	.57933	-2.34249	.12051
P2_Ave_pract_brings_Importance	Equal variances assumed	4.020	.057	.386	23	.703	.15667	.40553	-.68223	.99556
	Equal variances not assumed			.446	20.347	.660	.15667	.35101	-.57474	.88807
P2_Ave_pract_brings_Happening	Equal variances assumed	.001	.973	-1.684	23	.106	-1.43333	.85097	-3.19370	.32704
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.657	18.336	.115	-1.43333	.86518	-3.24862	.38196

Appendix 14: Rehabilitation Activity Requirements

Section 15: Rehabilitation activity requirement

111. Section 15 amends the 2003 Act to create, for community orders and suspended sentence orders, a new “rehabilitation activity requirement”. The rehabilitation activity requirement replaces the existing “activity” and “supervision” requirements, which are repealed (see section 15(4)).

112. Subsection (3) of section 15 inserts a new section 200A into the 2003 Act, which sets out the details of the new rehabilitation activity requirement.

113. Subsection (1) of new section 200A provides that an offender subject to this requirement must comply with instructions given by the responsible officer to attend appointments or participate in activities, or both. Subsection (2) requires the court imposing the requirement to specify in the order the maximum number of days for which the offender may be instructed to participate in activities. Subsection (3) makes clear that the instructions given under this requirement must be given with a view to promoting the rehabilitation of the offender, although they may also serve other purposes.

114. Subsection (4) of new section 200A allows the responsible officer to instruct the offender to attend appointments with the responsible officer or someone else. Subsection (5) makes clear that instructions may require the offender to participate in specified activities or go to a specified place and comply with instructions given by the person in charge of the activities or that place. Subsection (6) provides that the instructions given under subsection (5) can include instructions given by anyone acting under the person in charge’s authority.

115. Subsection (7) of new section 200A clarifies that activities under the requirement may include accredited programmes as set out in section 202(2) of the 2003 Act or include activities whose purpose is reparative, such as restorative justice activities. Subsection (8) defines restorative justice activities in this context, based on the definition set out in section 1ZA(2) of the Powers of Criminal Courts (Sentencing) Act 2000. Subsection (9) defines victim in this context.

116. Subsection (10) of new section 200A requires the responsible officer to obtain the agreement of any person, other than the offender, whose co-operation is necessary to comply with the requirement.

117. Subsection (11) of new section 200A defines the “relevant period” for both community orders and suspended sentence orders so that the requirement must last for the whole of the order. This means that appointments and activities can take place at any time during the order.

118. Subsection (5) of section 15 introduces Schedule 5 to the Act, which contains consequential amendments.

Appendix 15: Extract from Hanson and White review

Recommendations from review of management and organisational issues

Our Key Recommendation here is that from start to end of an offender's sentence, managers should apply the principles of continuity and clarity of lead responsibility throughout, especially with those offenders assessed as high Risk of Harm

We provide a number of Practice Recommendations to support this. We put them forward in order to illustrate in specific aspects of practice the principle of staff being assigned clear responsibilities for decision making and taking action to achieve the purposes of the sentence.

- 12.1.1 The organisational structure within LPA should promote clear lines of responsibility and accountability for the management of Risk of Harm.
- 12.2 OASys should be fully implemented within LPA and used consistently.
- 12.3 There should be planned continuity of contact and engagement between the offender manager and the offender.
- 12.4 Clear contemporaneous record keeping and the need to take prompt action are both vital to enforce the conditions of the order or licence.
- 12.5 Managers should plan to have regular supervision sessions with each of their staff.
- 12.6 Plans should be made to increase the level of purposeful contact with prisoners during sentence and immediately prior to release.
- 12.7 Administrative arrangements should be improved in order to ensure the effective and efficient implementation of court orders and licences.
- 12.8 Clear agreements should be drawn up to between LPA and the providers of interventions and services detailin the level and content of information exchange.