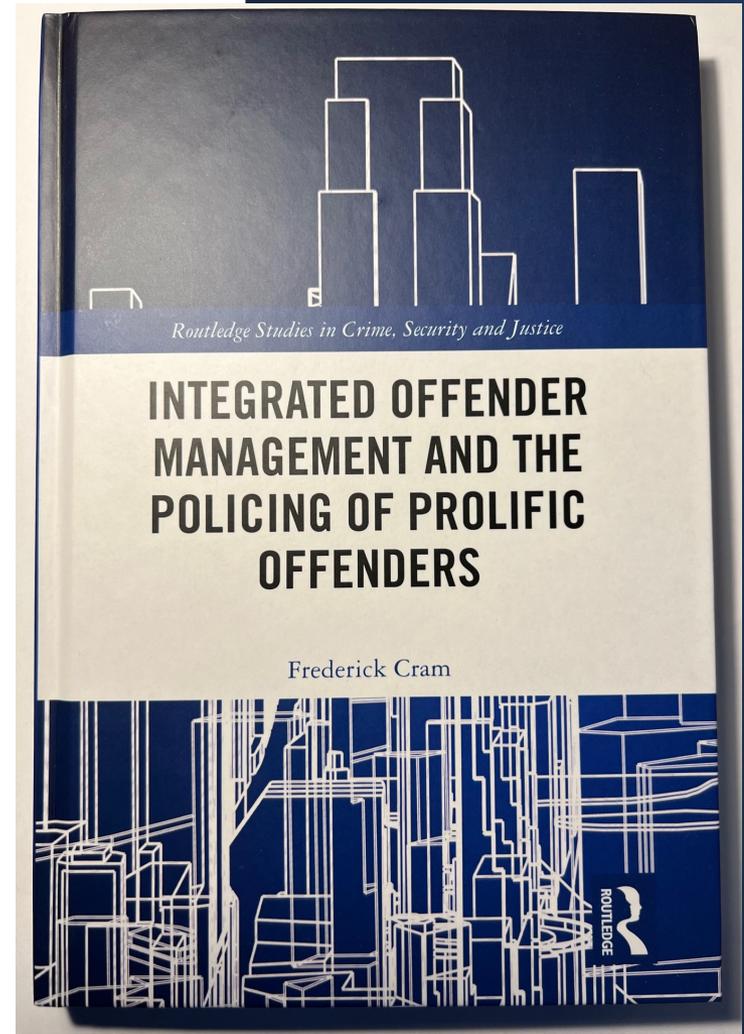


# Integrated Offender Management and the Policing of Prolific Offenders

*Cram F. 2023*

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Justice. London: Routledge.*





## Integrated Offender Management (IOM)

# Operationalising IOM Policing



**VS.**



## **'Carrots'**

Plain clothed police  
offender managers

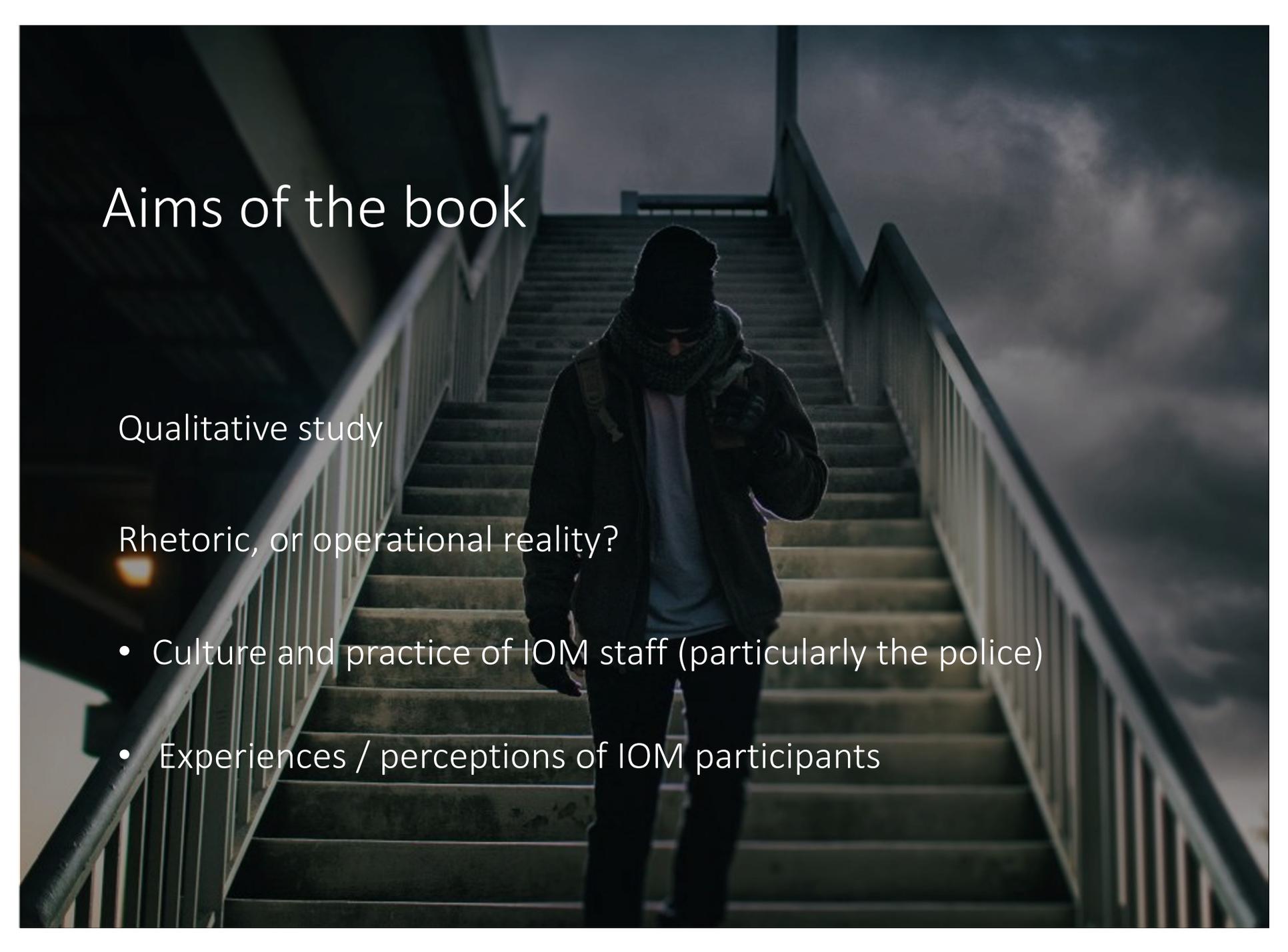
- Intelligence gathering /  
pathway support

## **'Sticks'**

Uniformed response  
officers

- Traditional  
enforcement

# Aims of the book

A person wearing a dark jacket, scarf, and balaclava is walking down a long, dimly lit staircase at night. The person is looking down at their phone. The staircase has metal railings and is illuminated by a single light source on the left, creating a dramatic, high-contrast scene. The background shows a dark, cloudy sky.

Qualitative study

Rhetoric, or operational reality?

- Culture and practice of IOM staff (particularly the police)
- Experiences / perceptions of IOM participants

# Theoretical Framework

(culture and practice of IOM policing and participant perceptions of it)

- Surround, Field and Frame (Hawkins, 2002)
  - Police decision-making
- Bottoms-Tankebe (2017, 2021) approach to criminal justice legitimacy
  - Experiences of IOM offenders and their perceptions of IOM police action

# Surround, Field and Frame (Hawkins, 2002)

- **What structures police discretion?**
  - Cop culture (action/excitement, isolation, prejudice, suspicion, cynicism, pessimism), working rules / assumptions.
- **Hawkins (2002)**
  - Surround (economic/political/social)
  - Field (law/policy/organisational)
  - Frame
- Connection between decision-making environment and police interpretative processes
- Working rules / assumptions / frames (McConville, 1991 / Hoyle, 1998)

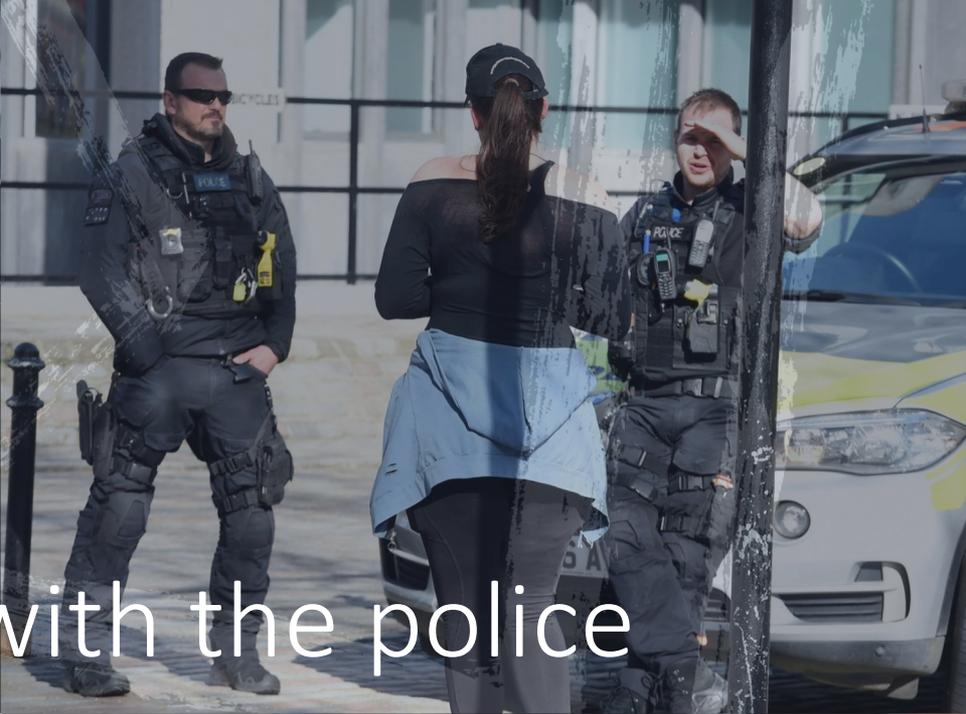
# Bottoms-Tankebe approach to criminal justice legitimacy

Dialogic conception of legitimacy:

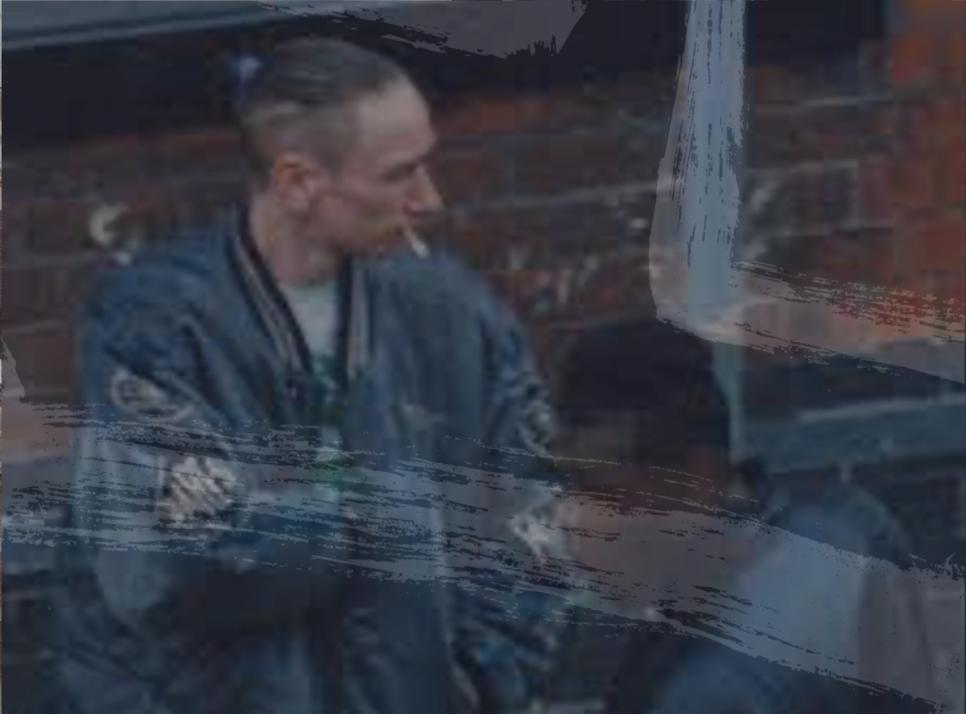
*“Legitimacy is an ongoing dialogue, which begins with power-holders making a claim to exercise legitimate authority. Those without power (whom we called ‘audiences’) might respond to this claim, power-holders might adjust their claims in the light of audience responses, and so on.”*

# Bottoms-Tankebe approach to criminal justice legitimacy [2]

- Possible substance of the claims and audience responses
- *Audiences have 'basic legitimation expectations (BLE)' that contribute to the structure of legitimacy*
- 4 suggested BLEs: *procedural justice; lawfulness, distributive justice, and effectiveness*
- In some contexts, citizens might place a greater emphasis on one BLE more than others.
- Definition of legitimacy: as 'power that is acknowledged as rightful (Beetham, 2013: 19)



# Ethnography with the police



# Significant findings: cultural integration / partnership working

- Police recruiting (sometimes reluctant) partners as intelligence gatherers
- Closer working – particularly co-location – led to new operational understandings between partners
- Elements of cultural divides remained (e.g., around participant change and prison-recalls).
- Attitudes and dispositions of police remained immersed in the dominant culture and broadly isolated from culture of other partners



## Significant findings: IOM policing / police culture

- Police offender managers retained many of the worst aspects of 'police culture', rather than embracing the 'welfare' aims emphasised in the official rhetoric.
- Meaningful rehabilitative activity, with participants
  - (i) failed to soften orthodox police cultural attitudes;
  - (ii) acted as a cover for the pursuit of core policing goals.
- The work had changed, but the traditional control culture continues to dominate, inhibiting the mixing of control and support cultures) within IOM approaches.

# Significant findings: Old habits die hard

Cultural and structural determinants

Endurance of police cultural themes and practices

- Working assumptions/rules/frames
- Social discipline
- Communicative surveillance
- Disproportionate infringements of personal privacy
- Broadly, procedurally [unfair] treatment

**“Business as usual” for most IOM police**

Cultural transference between agencies (mainly police and probation)

# Implications

Legitimacy

A light gray downward-pointing arrow is positioned to the right of the 'Legitimacy' box, pointing towards the 'Compliance' box.

Compliance

A light gray downward-pointing arrow is positioned to the right of the 'Compliance' box, pointing towards the 'Desistance' box.

Desistance

# Significant findings: participant perceptions of IOM police action

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- Diverse IOM police–participant interactions characterised procedurally unfair practices (e.g., repeated street stops / physical and verbal abuse).
- Potential negative consequences for cooperation/compliance, because of the potential impact of procedural [in]justice on legitimacy evaluations.
- Participants subscribed a degree of legitimacy to IOM policing despite procedurally [un]fair treatment
- Encounters with officers experienced as intrusive, disrespectful, violent but accepted as part of a criminal lifestyle.



## How might this be explained?

- Perhaps [procedural] fairness mattered little to IOM participants?
- Perhaps participant BLEs were lower (or different to) than those of ordinary citizens, because of the particular context?
- Perhaps other BLEs were emphasised within the dialogue?

## Participant perceptions of IOM police action [2]

Significantly, some procedurally unfair interventions were accepted, others were not.

The difference can be explained by PJT / BT approach to criminal justice legitimacy.



Procedural fairness  
mattered to IOM  
participants

PJ a constituent of  
participant BLEs

# Procedural Justice Theory

Normative, process-based model of regulation – generally attributed to Tom Tyler (1990)

Police legitimacy and compliance with the law are obtained through the presence of procedural fairness during police-citizen encounters.



## Procedural fairness: 2 core dimensions

1. *Quality of decision-making* – captures impartiality, objectivity, transparency, trustworthy motives, and participation decision-making processes
2. *Quality of treatment* – concerns whether the police, officers are honest and treat people with dignity, respect, and humanity



## Disjuncture between police and participant perceptions of the reasons for the contact

- Participants distrusted police motivations when subject to what they characterised as unwanted, baseless [no evidence] street stops – saw them as arbitrary.

However

- Police pointed to intelligence-based risk-management mechanisms used by the scheme as justification for targeting IOM participants (evidence-based policing as claim to legitimate authority re interventions).

## Disjuncture between Police and IOM Participant perceptions of the reasons for the contact [2]

- Risk-based targeting perceived as less acceptable than interventions based on firm evidence of past offending.
- *Quality of decision-making dimension* requires objectivity and openness, opportunities for representation, correction of police decision-making mistakes
- However, IOM police decision-making process underpinning the intervention is effectively concealed and not prone to challenge or accountability mechanisms.
- Police activity is thus experienced as a form of harassment rooted in subjective (police) discretion.

# Police motives mattered

- But where police give reasons etc..., interventions are accepted, with offender comments implying a measure of cooperation
- Addresses several 'relational' dimensions of procedural fairness:
  - *Openness*
  - *Objectivity*
  - *Respect*
  - *Motive-based trust*
- At the core of the distinction seems to be the trustworthiness of police motives.
- Reinforced in various contexts

# Evidence of other participant concerns / reactions / routes to compliance

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Instrumental, cost/benefit concerns

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Police effectiveness

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Distributive justice

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Dull compulsion

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Some overlap

## Conclusions

1. Cultural integration / partnership working, dominated by control culture (reconcilable with core police cultural goals)
2. Business as usual for the police – endurance of police cultural themes and practices
3. *IOM policing efforts emphasise hostile and disciplinary practices.*
4. *These types of approaches can threaten police legitimacy if perceived by citizens as unfair.*
5. *Yet whilst participants viewed aspects of IOM policing as unfair, they broadly accepted the legitimacy of IOM policing.*
6. *Runs counter to many of the core claims of PJT.*

## Conclusions [2]

7. *Plausible explanation for this reaction lies in the dynamic nature of police legitimacy and its antecedents in IOM.*
8. *In IOM, perceptions of police legitimacy are more firmly grounded in the relational (treatment) dimensions of procedural fairness than in other more decision-orientated aspects of the concept.*
9. *Amplified in the legitimacy 'dialogue' (BLE of IOM participants)*
10. *Reflects the multidimensional nature of PJ within which the balance shifts, depending on the criminal justice setting.*