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SEVEN PATHWAYS +

An independent insight report into reducing repeat offending in Leicester

September 2024

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Contents

1. Introduction

1.1 Report Purpose

This independent report was commissioned by Leicestershire Police, via the East Midlands Police Academic Collaboration, to examine the progress so far of a new initiative called *Seven Pathways+.*

The UK Government identified seven pathways to reduce reoffending, informed by research conducted by the Social Inclusion Unit[1]. The research aimed to understand the underlying reasons why individuals often return to a life of offending after being released from prison and identified seven pathways:

- Accommodation
- Attitudes, thinking and behaviour
- Children and family
- Drugs and alcohol
- Education, training and employment
- Finance, benefit and debt
- Health

Seven Pathways + is an ongoing project in Leicester that seeks to build upon existing work by focusing on the continuance of wrap-around support and offender management following step-down from formal integrated offender management processes.

This initiative has been driven through the pioneering efforts of Chief Inspector James Heggs of Leicestershire Police, supported by his Chief Constable, Rob Nixon (the National Police Chief's Council national lead for Criminal Justice). Chief Inspector Heggs noticed how all the formal work done post-prison-release could be rapidly undone if continued support at a neighbourhood level was not in place.

Seven Pathways + is a multi-agency approach to embed more effective wrap-around support, at a neighbourhood level, in order to reduce reoffending, cost effectively. For this reason, it is being actively monitored by both the Home Office and Ministry of Justice with a view to identify promising practice that could be shared.

The purpose of this report is to offer research-informed insights to stimulate improvements within multi-agency intervention service delivery, report on the existing progress of *Seven Pathways* + and make recommendations on what needs to happen next in order to enable further development.

This report sets out the findings of our independent enquiry of *Seven Pathways +.* In summary, whilst there are remaining workplace barriers to releasing the full latent potential of this new approach, we can report that the emergent promising practice we have found offers an inspiration for others to make further change in this important area of public policy and practice.

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[1] [Doc02.indd (parliament.uk)](Doc02.indd)

1.2 Executive Summary

Drivers of offending, and barriers to desistance, have a social context, affected by things like relationships and peers, parenting, education, accommodation, employment and poverty.

An holistic outlook is needed to understand offending and desistance, in order to appreciate how mental health, substance reliance and trauma, such as adverse childhood experiences, affect offending behaviour.

Rehabilitation is possible, but it requires joined-up support to enable behavioral change, and is more likely where the participating client is willing to change.

Multiagency working is needed to help support desistance, with the consistent sharing of effort and data, tailored to the client's needs.

For change, there needs to be a positive focus on future solutions, not the past, to energise new routines on a sustainable pathway away from repeat offending.

Agencies can improve their productivity by working together better for *integrated* effort by investing in a better *understanding* of the context of the offender and pooling their skills through *interprofessional* problem solving.

Seven Pathways+ is demonstrating research-informed practice through its integrated and proactive approach.

Seven Pathways+ is demonstrating early promise as a way to sustainably reduce reoffending, saving public taxpayer costs and pressure upon the prison system in the longer term.

2. What is Seven Pathways +?

2.1 An overview of local piloting

Seven Pathways+ is a local initiative in Leicester, initiated by Chief Inspector Jim Heggs of Leicestershire Police. It focuses upon offenders who have dropped out of the traditional IOM process, in order to offer an alternative and additional wraparound care and support.

The current pilot aims to reduce reoffending, reduce the number of victims and reduce agency demand. It aims to do this by working with a volunteer offender cohort by providing support and mentoring for clients to change from offending behaviour patterns to instead find their place in society through training and employment.

Pilot clients are identified as active offenders (with a prolific offending history of serious acquisitive crime) who are under statutory supervision but who have dropped out of the standard IOM process due to non-engagement. Once a potential candidate, who fits the criteria, has been identified, they are approached with a 'pitch', highlighting the benefits to themselves. This can take place either in the community or whilst they are in custody.

If they agree to engage an in-depth questionnaire and discussion is completed to establish specific needs, wants and risks. The candidate is then discussed at a monthly Tactical Planning Meeting with all interested partner agencies, where roles and responsibilities are established in order to fulfil their requirements and try to mitigate any risks.
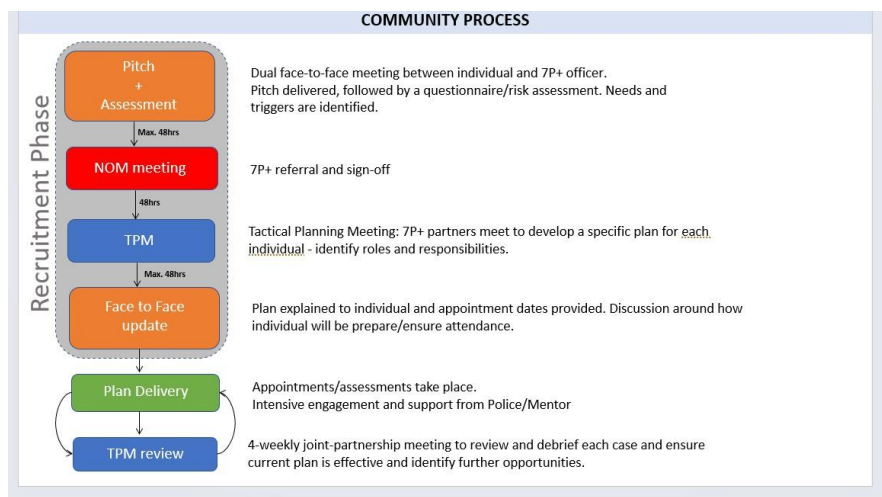
Seven Pathways+ is different because it focuses upon enhanced management by working more closely with partner agencies and offering more intensive supervision around:

Accommodation
The City Council, CAS3, local charities, all working collaboratively to supply stable, long-term housing

Attitudes, thinking and behaviour
Probation and Leicestershire Cares providing "lived experience" mentorship

Relationships
Counselling opportunities offered and a review of current accommodation if it's not compatible with their family unit

Drugs and Alcohol
Turning Point providing regular appointments for assistance with substance abuse and addiction
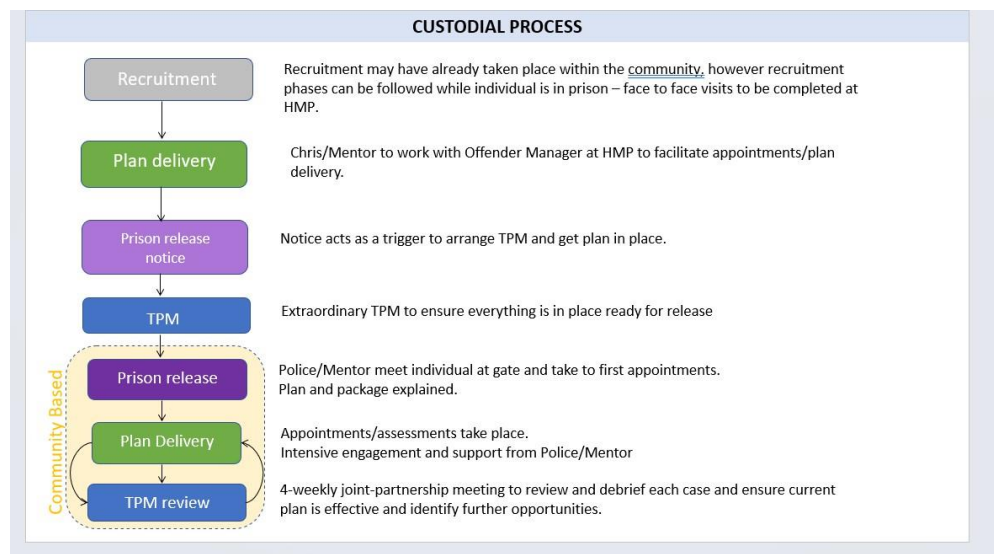
Education, training and employment
Leicestershire Cares and Community organisations offering training, employment and volunteering opportunities

Finances
Working closely with the DWP we can look to make sure benefits are in place and payments are tailored to candidate's lifestyles. Assistance with budgeting and shopping, if needs be. Local charities to assist with clothing, household goods and food parcels. Assistance with outstanding debts in some circumstances

Health
Physical and mental health screening available through Vita Health, with access to additional services if needed. Ensuring prescriptions are available on release and consideration given to how health and medication might impact future opportunities

CUSTODIAL PROCESS

Recruitment	Recruitment may have already taken place within the community. however recruitment phases can be followed while individual is in prison – face to face visits to be completed at HMP.
Plan delivery	Chris/Mentor to work with Offender Manager at HMP to facilitate appointments/plan delivery.
Prison release notice	Notice acts as a trigger to arrange TPM and get plan in place.
TPM	Extraordinary TPM to ensure everything is in place ready for release
Prison release	Police/Mentor meet individual at gate and take to first appointments. Plan and package explained.
Plan Delivery	Appointments/assessments take place. Intensive engagement and support from Police/Mentor
TPM review	4-weekly joint-partnership meeting to review and debrief each case and ensure current plan is effective and identify further opportunities.

Community Based

3. Reviewing the Research

The Home Office and Ministry of Justice are keen to reduce offending and reoffending: indeed the very large prison population of the UK is itself a symptom of a wider societal failure that needs to be corrected.

Part of the key to future policy and practice in criminal justice development is in better understanding offending motivations and patterns, to inform alternative interventions, and ultimately, holistic prevention.

The focus of this report's commission is upon those individuals who are defined as having been repeat offenders (recidivists) engaging in serious acquisitive crime, who are released from prison terms to forms of supervision and support in the community who remain at risk of reoffending.

The approach of this independent report is to offer research-informed insights to both inform critical analysis of how we currently understand recidivism and desistance, with recommendations to improve future interprofessional practice, particularly at the neighbourhood level.

Existing research about repeat offending and the relative failure of desistance efforts, point to the need to rethink how increased collaborative integration can enable better outcomes, by working around the client's context, rather than agency systems.

This report writing team[2] have purposefully operated in a collaborative fashion, drawing on global research to bring insights into the UK, and the East Midlands in particular. Our aim has been to inform how we can better understand how, and why, those who pursue a lifetime of crime may continue to offend and what the criminal justice system, and wider partners, can do to help enable change.

Method used

In order to answer the challenge of better understanding offending and how to reduce it, the first step was to sense-check what is known via existing research, and identify gaps for further enquiry. The review of relevant research was to identify key themes that could help inform future policy and practice to improve outcomes by essentially asking what trends indicated effectiveness in reducing or preventing lifetime offending. The purpose was to target where current policy and practice could be improved and suggest how that might work.

As part of this report we asked:

1. What can extant research tell us about the main drivers of offending?
2. What are the main barriers for repeat offenders to reform?
3. What relevant research is there relating to breaking lifetime offending cycles and what approaches have proven successful in reducing reoffending?
4. What research, existing practices and approaches can practitioners (police, prisons, probation and other partners) use to inform their practice in reducing reoffending?

What we found

The emergent core themes were identified relevant to assessing current gaps in policy and practice:

- Improvement in desistance outcomes are more likely through *integrated* effort

  Where approaches are dominated by linear and silo agency structure they are dysfunctional, whereas when teams across agencies are devolved to work dynamically together around the context of the offending, better outcomes are possible.

- Effectiveness is more likely through better *understanding* of the context of the offender

  One size fit all / crime type symptom approaches work less well than understanding the contextual ethnographical and societal causal factors.

- Better productivity is possible through *interprofessional* problem solving

  Assessing how crime and criminal motivations operate means better mutual effort could be applied to making situational change focused on causes rather than symptoms.

3.1 Drivers of Offending

Regardless of the effort to reform offenders, a core fact underlies the success or failure of such efforts – If the reform effort is to succeed, it must address causal factors of criminality. Over the last several decades, criminology has unpacked a number of factors that contribute and drive criminal behavior (Kubrin et al., 2009). These factors range a number of different areas and foci (e.g., bio-social, psychological, and sociological).

Countless books and research articles have broken down and accumulated a host of criminological facts (e.g., the book series and many volumes of *Advances in Criminology*, Cullen et al., 2011). While it is not the purpose or scope of this report to hash out the host of facts unearthed in this research, it is our aim to highlight key takeaway points.

Social factors

First and foremost, criminal behavior is largely driven by social factors that impact an individual's psychology. Thus, criminal behavior is social-psychological by nature. This means that the attitude/perspective that a person brings to a given situation, the way an individual thinks about a given situation, and then ultimately acts in that situation is, by and large, the product of socialisation (Akers, 2009; Akers & Jensen, 2006; Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Hirschi, 1969).

Related aspects within socialisation include who we interact most with (F. Cullen et al., 2011; Dishion et al., 1995; Sutherland & Cressey, 1966), parenting (Asscher et al., 2014; Bank et al., 2004; Brownfield & Thompson, 2005), family connections (Markson et al., 2015; Spjeldnes et al., 2012), as well as education and employment (Blomquist & Westerlund, 2014; Boufard et al., 2000; Chappell, 2004; Linden & Perry, 1983; C. J. Smith et al., 2006).

Choices

However, socialisation is only one piece to the puzzle of understanding criminality. Aspects that make socialisation a driving factor involve a compilation of other factors such as the moral context, pre-disposition or propensity (e.g., impulsivity), exposure to antisocial friends and associates, and a degree of rational choice or situational 'action alternatives' (Wikström, 2017).

These factors have been highlighted as key areas directly related to, and at times superseding, a socialisation process (Wikström, 2010, 2014; Wikström & Kroneberg, 2022). There are strong links between deprivation, poverty, social issues, involvement in offending, and long-term difficulty in breaking the cycle of offending (Manchester Community Safety Partnership, 2022).

Trauma

Further complicating these factors are those aspects that impede on and hinder our mental processing abilities, such as mental health disorders, drug use, and alcohol. Often when public and political leaders argue that offenders need to be deterred from crime, it is under the assumption that all offenders not only exercise rational choice decision-making but exercise the *same* rational choice processes as the majority of the public.

Unfortunately, this is far from reality as offending populations have been shown to have high degrees of trauma (Brown et al., 2021; Gibson et al., 1999; Green et al., 2005), mental health disorders (Adams & Ferrandino, 2008; Ball, 2007; De Bellis et al., 2005), and substance use disorders (Fazel et al., 2006; Hiller et al., 1999; Nash et al., 2015).

There is much evidence to indicate that there is a robust and cumulative relationship between adverse childhood experiences and negative outcomes (Levenson & Grady, 2016). It is not uncommon that these

factors play into one another in co-occurring or co-morbid disorders, such as when someone who suffers from a severe mental illness self-medicates by using substances (Rojas & Peters, 2016; Koons-Witt & Crittenden, 2018; Kurti et al., 2016).

Complex etiology

Growing research has highlighted how all factors related to rational choice and socialisation are superseded by problems in mental processing (Proctor & Niemeyer, 2019). There are a number of adversities identified in the international literature as linking childhood experiences with later offending behaviour (Baron and Forde, 2018): Complex trauma, including post-traumatic stress disorder, poly-victimisation, betrayal trauma (abuse), racism, and adolescent maltreatment (Willmot, 2022).

To have a system which splits different aspects of services into either health, or criminal justice disposals, rather than a holistic approach, compounds barriers to a joined-up approach to these complex problems with varied etiology (Orpwood and Ryan, 2022). Indeed, prisons, and the Criminal Justice System are themselves traumagenic environments which compound those difficulties (Levenson & Grady, 2016).

Hence there is an imperative for services to be sensitive to, and incorporate an understanding of the role of trauma in the persistence of problematic thinking and behaviour (Levenson & Grady, 2016). In that, forensic services can learn from education, social care, and mental health services, who are already adopting trauma-informed practice (Jones & Willmot, 2016). Hence a system designed to reintegrate people into the community and give them the best hope of a prosocial future, needs to adopt an holistic, trauma-informed approach.

3.2 Barriers to Rehabilitation

Working in tandem with the drivers of criminality, there are many barriers to rehabilitation and reform for individuals who are in need. Criminologists have noted these are "destabilising factors" that often have more to do with a person's environment or sociological situation (Taxman & Caudy, 2015). Destabilising factors are understood as those that are indirectly related to criminality, and can create great problems when a person is trying to reform. These factors can include housing/accommodation, issues related to caring for one's children and family stabilisation, financial struggles and debt, as well as deteriorated physical health or disability.

Housing/accommodation is a bedrock of emotional stability and growth according to Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Dong, et al, 2018) and these needs are important factors for stability for someone to successfully reintegrate back into society following a conviction (McCulloch & McNeill, 2013). When housing/accommodation is unstable, an individual's stress and worry over this fundamental need takes precedent over virtually all other aspects of life, especially behavioral reform.

Stabilising accommodation

Thus, stabilising accommodation provides a pathway to help usher in a person's reform (Almquist & Walker, 2022; Blankertz & Cnaan, 1994; Bryan, 2023; Hamilton et al., 2015; Lutze et al., 2014; Nuttbrock et al., 1998). According to Manchester Community Safety Partnership (2022), accommodation remains the most significant barrier to successful rehabilitation and recovery of offenders. Unsupervised temporary accommodation is a particular concern, with offenders sometimes being the target of illegal money lenders and encountering violence associated with use of/dealing in substances (Manchester's Community Safety Partnership, 2022).

Another form of stability that is quite critical is that of social support (Chouhy et al., 2020; Cullen, 1994). As humans are social creatures, it comes as no surprise that social support is a strong stabilizing factor in the lives of all people. What is often overlooked is the impact of not having pro-social support on people who

are at risk for criminal involvement and especially for those looking to successfully reintegrate.

Research has shown that prosocial family involvement and stability in the home can improve reoffending patterns, and alternatively destabilize individuals who do not have such support (Mowen & Visher, 2015; Spjeldnes et al., 2012). Moreover, these issues can be compounded when factoring in concerns over having to care for children or fighting for lawful custody (Gabel & Johnston, 1995; Moore, 2011).

Socioeconomic strain

Often not a primary focus in the literature, financial instability and debt can significantly impact individuals' involvement in criminal behavior and their rehabilitation processes. This is in spite of the fact that socioeconomic strains have long been understood as a criminological factor for many (Agnew, 2006; Agnew & White, 1992; Merton, 1968). Considering that people who are reentering society are disproportionately low-income and in debt, it is rather clear how financial struggles can destabilize one's successful reintegration.

Specifically, one scoping review found 31 studies that report reintegrating people struggle with debt from criminal justice involvement (e.g., fines and fees), preexisting debt that compounded while in custody and without work, and debt developed upon reentry to help with day-to-day living (Harper et al., 2021). Additionally, debt has been shown to destabilize the ability to get gainful employment as well (Link & Roman, 2017) thereby forcing more strain into the person's life.

Even less examined in research is the role of physical health or disability in successful reintegration. While often overlooked, the importance of the physical health of reintegrating people cannot be understated as a stabilizing factor. Studies have shown that physical health problems are somewhat common among those imprisoned (Pękala-Wojciechowska et al., 2021), can impact one's ability to secure gainful employment (Visher et al., 2011), increase general criminogenic and fiscal strain (Schroeder et al., 2011), and likely have a reciprocal relationship with violent crime (Stogner et al., 2014).

3.3 Breaking Lifetime Offending Cycles

Considering that criminality is a complex problem related to several factors, etiological assessment must be inclusive, to inform solutions for problematic and destructive behavior that are multifaceted and targeted. This aspect of criminality is recognised consistently in research around the world. For example, the age-crime curve is well known to be an issue that ought to help structure most approaches that aim to be successful in reducing reoffending, regardless of the country (Le Blanc, 2020).

This essentially suggests that offenders who are younger (often between the ages of 16 and 25) are more likely to engage in crime than those who are older. Much of this has to do with how the brain develops, among other social changes that impact a person during these important years of youth. What this means for efforts to reduce reoffending, is that the approach must recognize that people who are in their late teens and early 20s may respond differently to a given intervention (Higley et al., 2019).

However, this does not necessarily mean that there needs to be an entirely different approach for people of varying ages. Rather, this suggests that criminogenic needs may shift and must be targeted differently as it relates to where the individual is in their life course.

3.4 Reducing Reoffending

To target many of the drivers of offending, barriers of rehabilitation, and considering the characteristics of desistance, there are a core set of factors that have previously been identified to target in rehabilitation efforts. However, only some of the factors identified in criminological theories have actually translated to practice on a large scale. For example, one of the most well-known and long-standing factors associated with criminality is 'antisocial cognition' which broadly refers to thoughts, attitudes, and beliefs that support or justify criminal behavior (Yochelson & Samenow, 1976).

In the 1990s, Canadian researchers Andrews, Bonta, and Hoge (1990) developed the principle of risk-need-responsivity. This principle has since become part of what is known as the principles of effective intervention in corrections (Bonta & Andrews, 2016; Latessa et al., 2002; Viglione, 2019), and has become the driving approach to corrections, rehabilitation, and reintegration/reentry for Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom.

Risk-need-responsivity

The risk-need-responsivity principle, more commonly referred to as RNR, posited that an offender's level of *risk* should be identified using a validated, actuarial risk assessment which gauges a group's likelihood to reoffend (Andrews, Bonta, and Hoge, 1990). Such risk tools tend to emphasize the importance of static factors (i.e., factors that do not change with intervention) such as sex, age, and one's criminal history as it is often shown to be the strongest predictor of future behaviour. According to the principle, those of the highest risk should receive the highest degree and intensity of treatment or programming.

To increase the chances of programming success, the program applied must match or target a person's criminogenic needs. While Andrews, Bonta, and Hoge (1990) identified the initial seven criminogenic needs domain, they have since been expanded by other works (e.g., Hamilton et al., 2016). A list of how the RNR criminogenic needs commonly collected and used in Canada and the United States is shown below, cross referenced to the seven pathways of the UK Integrated Offender Management. Studies have shown that when appropriate services are matched with the treatment domains or pathways, it can significantly reduce the likelihood of failure/reoffending (Baglivio et al., 2018; Brooks Holliday et al., 2012; Long et al., 2019; Vitopoulos et al., 2012).

UK Integrated Offender Management	Canada & US RNR – common needs domains
Attitudes, Thinking, and Behaviour: Changing the underlying attitudes and behaviors that contribute to criminal activity	**Antisocial Cognition**: Changing criminal thinking patterns and beliefs.
	Antisocial Personality Pattern: Focusing on traits like impulsivity and aggression.
Education, Training, and Employment: Equipping offenders with the necessary skills and qualifications to gain employment.	**School and/or Work**: Enhancing educational and employment prospects.
Drugs and Alcohol: Providing support for substance misuse, a common issue among offenders.	**Substance Abuse**: Providing treatment for drug and alcohol problems.
Children and Families: Encouraging family connections, which can be a crucial support system.	**Family and/or Marital**: Improving family relationships and domestic stability.
Finance, Benefit, and Debt: Offering financial advice and support to manage debts and benefits effectively.	**Financial**: Addressing the offender's financial situation, including stability, sources of income, and any financial stressors that might contribute to criminal behaviour. (only found in some tools, e.g., Hamilton et al., 2016)
Health: Addressing physical and mental health needs, which are often neglected in offenders.	**Mental Health**: Assessing the offender's mental health status, history of mental illness, and access to mental health services.

Accommodation: Securing stable housing to provide a foundation for offenders to rebuild their lives.	**Accommodation**: Addressing the offender's housing situation, including stability, safety, and living conditions. (only found in some tools, e.g., Hamilton et al., 2016)
Not used in UK	**Antisocial Associates**: Reducing associations with criminal peers.
Not used in UK	**Leisure and/or Recreation**: Encouraging pro-social recreational activities.

Wrap around services

One approach that can be understood as the most holistic of efforts, is using what is known as "wrap-around services". The phrase "wrap-around services" essentially suggests that nearly all of the participant's needs are being addressed by ensuring that multiple services are being utilised - "wrapping" the services around the individual to cover all of the person's needs. Most often, such efforts are reserved for youth, showing promising effects of reducing recidivism (Olson et al., 2021). Some jurisdictions have been willing to implement a wrap-around approach for adults, with favorable findings in the US (Pringle et al., 2002) and the Netherlands (Hermanns et al., 2013).

The most important aspect of wrap-around services is the collaboration and communication among service providers and justice agents (police and probation) to support a more integrated approach to resettlement and reducing reoffending. This is often referred to in the literature as the extending the continuity of care (Duwe, 2012; Hicks et al., 2022; Valdovinos Olson, 2023; Woods et al., 2013). By ensuring that different service providers work together cohesively, the chances of successful reintegration and reduced recidivism can be improved.

Collaborative working

This collaboration and communication among partnering agencies have been described as a critical component of Integrated Offender Management (IOM). In a systematic review of the literature on IOM, Hadfield and colleagues (Hadfield et al., 2021) found that across 15 studies, efforts to target specific cohorts of offenders within local areas to reduce reoffending rely heavily on interagency collaboration. If implemented with the right focus (i.e., on targeting criminogenic needs and destabilizing factors), this targeted approach can produce effective outcomes.

Some of the connectivity between those under supervision, probation officers, and other services can be further developed by integrating more specific training elements to the probation officers such as using the Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision (STICS) as it is known in Canada and Europe (Bonta et al., 2019, 2021; Bourgon et al., 2013), Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Rearrest (STARR) as it is known in the US federal system (Clodfelter et al., 2016; Robinson et al., 2012; Viglione et al., 2020), or Effective Practices in Community Supervision (EPICS) as it is known in many local US jurisdictions (Gleicher, 2020; Gleicher et al., 2013; P. Smith et al., 2012).

Another way that jurisdictions in the US have attempted to improve both collaboration between agencies and improve the matching of services to needs is through reentry courts. Reentry courts are specialised courts designed to assist, often high-risk, individuals transitioning from incarceration back into the community. These courts aim to provide comprehensive support and supervision to help reintegrate offenders successfully and reduce the likelihood of recidivism. While empirical support for reentry courts are mixed (Fetsco, 2013; Hamilton, 2011), there are many instances in which reentry court shows reductions in recidivism and helps to address criminogenic needs using multi-agency collaboration (Hassoun Ayoub, 2020; La Fond & Winick, 2003; McGrath, 2012; Vance, 2011).

Participant responsiveness

Once criminogenic needs are identified, and appropriate interventions are used to target those needs, the next element is ensuring that the interventions are provided in a way that maximizes participant responsiveness (Andrews, Bonta, et al., 1990; Andrews, Zinger, et al., 1990; Bonta & Andrews, 2016). This involves considering their particular characteristics as they interact with a style or mode of service.

Unfortunately, when the RNR principle is in practice, the effort becomes too focused on managing risk, sometimes emphasizing need, and almost always ignoring responsivity (Bourgon & Gutierrez, 2012; Crites & Taxman, 2013; Dyck et al., 2018; Routh et al., 2019). This could include logistical connectivity to a program component (e.g., requiring the person to be physically at a place three times a week for a 45-minute group, which requires them to commute for over an hour by bus). More granularly, this could include how people learn. For example, requiring participation in a cognitive behavioral treatment that relies on a workbook, but the participant is functionally illiterate.

Arguably, responsivity is one of the most important aspects required for a program to resonate with a participant. As a result, in more recent years, there has been an increased emphasis on identifying barriers to engagement, and improving responsivity and engagement, by taking a more strengths-based approach.

Desistance

One of the most significant shifts resulting from the limitations of the RNR approach has been the acknowledgement of the importance of protective factors, and a shift in emphasis away from risk factors and management of risk-related behaviour. The language of risk, and risk management has been found to be demotivating for people subject to structured interventions, and risk management. It misses the opportunity to take into account a lot of important information about the potentially protective influence of risk-reducing factors (Robbe and de Vogel, 2013). In this context, more recent research has focused more on what makes people desist from crime.

For example, Shapland, Farrall, and Bottoms (2016) point to a significant number of large-scale quantitative longitudinal studies, and qualitative studies, conducted in several different countries, which have conclusively demonstrated the extent of desistance, even among persistent offenders. (Shapland, Farrall and Bottoms, 2016; P4). In the desistance literature, the individual is at the heart of the change process. The body of evidence on desistance is not about evaluating practices, systems or techniques per se, but explaining the personal transformational processes they exist to support (McNeill, 2016; p284).

From a desistance-based perspective, rehabilitative and risk management services designed to support reintegration of people from forensic services into society, must place the person changing and their change process centre-stage (McNeill, 2016; p274). The role of staff (who require appropriate skills and training) is to engage, motivate and support them through the process (Maguire and Raynor, 2017; p11)

Person-centered, rather than system-centered

Rehabilitation and resettlement practice within a desistance framework is based on the building of trusting relationships with the people who are there to support, rather than to implement system-centered, and managerial processes (Maguire and Raynor, 2017; p9). Desistance theory puts personal transformation of the individual at the heart of the success of all practices, systems, and techniques aiming to reduce reoffending.

The processes of desistance is said to operate simultaneously at individual, situational, and community level, and across different contexts within a person's life (Laub and Sampson; 2001). Shapland, Farrall, and Bottoms (2016) argue that many offenders attempt to develop their own paths towards desistance, and the primary task of the criminal justice system might therefore sometimes simply be to assist these self-generated plans.

Pro-social identity

The central principle is that in order to desist from crime, incarcerated people coming out into the community need to shed their prison persona, where to lose individuality can be a functional survival tactic in a forensic setting and re-emerge on release ready to redefine their identity as an individual (Bennett and Maruna, 2006). In order to desist from crime, desistance people need to develop a coherent pro-social identity (Maruna, 2001; McNeill, Farrall, Lightowler and Maruna, 2012). Reformed characters need high levels of self-efficacy, and to see themselves in control of their futures, with a clear sense of purpose and meaning in their lives (Maruna, 2001).

For prison to be the important turning point needed to desist from criminal behaviour, on release, people need their criminality to become an ex-role; something they've left behind as part of a previous life (Ebaugh, 1988). This means they either need to rediscover their self-identity prior to imprisonment, or if they have recognised problematic aspects of their previous identity, to forge and strengthen new prosocial characteristics (Maruna; 2001). It is just such a reconstruction of identity that is most associated with sustained desistance from crime (Bernett and Maruna, 2006; p12). Successful and sustained desistance often requires not only motivation and changes in self-identity, but help in building both personal and social capital (Maguire and Raynor, 2017; p14)

Solution-oriented

In these circumstances, acceptance and approval from others helps to reinforce commitment to an alternative course of life and to vindicate the belief that they have permanently moved on from previous illegal activity (Bernett and Maruna, 2006; p13). Hence the desistance literature sits comfortably with the move away from the previous emphasis of forensic services on potential risk, and risk management, to a more holistic approach which aims to build on people's strengths and hopes, looking forward with them, to help them create a more positive and prosocial identity and future. This is an essential link in the chain of events leading to desistance.

As Orpwood and Ryan (2022) point out, once someone has a criminal record, within the system, they are often not even referred to in human terms, but labelled as the sum of their offending behaviour (offender/criminal/perpetrator), which is likely to have a major impact on their sense of self, and perception of hope for the future (Orpwood and Ryan, 2022). This is not conducive with rehabilitation.

Strengths-based

The strengths-based philosophy recognises that even the most resilient individuals emerging from a shameful past need high levels of support in nurturing their pro-social inclinations, to restore their sense of belonging, mastery, independence and generosity (Bernett and Maruna, 2006; p19). This empowers people to 'make sense' of their past lives, even find redeeming value in lives that spent in and out of prison (Maruna, 2001).

The practical implications of taking a more desistance-oriented approach are that rehabilitation plans need to be collaboratively devised with the person themselves, emphasising strengths, and working with the social context of offenders and those supporting them (Moffatt, 2015). People often want to use their own experience to help others to avoid the same mistakes. This is also a well-known phenomenon in other areas of desistance such as substance misuse (Van Hout and McElrath; 2012).

Routines of prosocial activity

Once someone is released into the community, the initial phase of initiating and developing a routine of productive activity with them is key to the success of a release plan. Halsey (2016) carried out a longitudinal study over a decade. He identified that if things get off to a bad start for those already at the limits of economic stress and social marginalisation, then the chance of these same people getting on track,

and not resorting to crime is poor at best. (Halsey, 2016; p207). Accommodation has been reported as central to desistance, as well as employment, education, getting off drugs and learning to adjust to life in the 'free world' (Halsey, 2016; p230).

Restrictions for public protection need to be designed to enable individuals to participate in rehabilitation, reparation and reintegration activities in the community, where they are likely to be most effective (McNeill et al, 2011; p33). A sense of inclusion and citizenship is essential in a desistance pathway, forming part of an emotional transition to desistance, from hopes and aspirations, to pride and achievement and being trusted and belonging (Farrall, 2016; p195). McNeill emphasises the importance of the language of practice, arguing that it should reflect this recognition of potential, striving to more clearly recognise positive potential and development, and should seek to avoid identifying people with the behaviours we want them to leave behind (McNeill, 2016; p276).

Farrall (2016) also talks about "spatial dynamics" and space-time rhythms of people's daily routine. Activities either revolve around criminal behaviours (such as routines around drug-taking) or non-criminal activities like work, sport, or other leisure activities. Having a daily routine revolving around something prosocial has an impact on the way people inhabit their environment, and the way they see themselves in it.

Peers

One way that reintegration programs have worked to improve responsivity is by including peer-mentors. Peer-mentors are typically people who have lived experience with the justice system, often having experience with being incarcerated or being on community supervision via probation. They are often trained to help people currently experiencing reentry/reintegration to navigate the system, basic needs, address destabilizing factors, and work as a liaison with the probation officers.

Over the last few years, there has been an increased recognition of the importance of peer-mentors, with more studies emerging showing that they have a qualitative impact on the lives of people returning to society and quantitative impact at helping to reduce recidivism (Campbell, 2023; Lopez-Humphreys & Teater, 2020; O'Connell et al., 2018; Reingle Gonzalez et al., 2019; Sells et al., 2020).

Avoiding disjointed structures

Systems seeking to support desistance require a high level of interagency collaboration, coordination, and joined up thinking, but this can be difficult to achieve if strategic priorities are not well-aligned. Disjointed structures (Santorso & Rizzuti, 2022) represent siloed structural approaches amongst some agencies that impede data and activity pooling which undermine effective multiagency approaches.

Santorso and Rizzuti (Ibid.) identified how disjointed and non standardised data platforms impede analysis to improve decision making and create extra work pressures. Disjointedness can undermine any common mission amongst partners, and any resultant gaps in joined up working can result in more recidivism.

Culturally, there can be a lack of trust amongst agencies to pool data, meaning that even where agencies co-operate, they too often do not collaborate. Where joint working can be facilitated, results can be impressive: HMICFRS (2022) reported specific effective offender management approaches that indicated a reduction of 42% in offending.

Collaborative working

The College of Policing (2023) reported on Bedfordshire best practice and noted the benefit of the *You Turn Futures* charity's contribution to ensuring holistic integration. The key ingredient for success here was a cultural approach that focused on investing in all partners to work as a diverse team, to overcome linear process and agency silo barriers.

Key themes associated with this best practice were leadership enabled joined-up partnership working that minimised bureaucracy & process, allowing personnel to make devolved decisions based on the context and variables of the case. Common approaches to data and language was key too, to understand risk via a common platform, rather than via a single agency lens.

Venn intervention plans were noted as beneficial as they dynamically flexed to the needs of the individual, (rather than the process needs of the organisation) creating a person-centered focus upon the offender (team around the person) rather than just the crime type: in this sense they were contextually intelligent rather than one size fits all.

The Bedfordshire application focused upon casual factors such as accommodation, health, poverty, education, addiction, abuse and trauma to offer alternative pathways to reduce vulnerabilities affecting repeat offending (including continuity of medical support post release and safeguarding against grooming and cuckooing).

3.5 Summary

Drivers of offending, and barriers to desistance, have a psycho-social context, amongst which some key factors include relationships and peers, parenting, education, accommodation, employment and poverty. Understanding offending and desistance requires a holistic etiology, to appreciate how mental health and trauma, such as adverse childhood experiences, affect individual choices.

Rehabilitation is possible but it requires tailored support to optimise positive outcomes, in the shape of collaborative wrap-around services to enable a lifestyle stability in a prosocial setting. Changing behaviours from an antisocial cognition takes some time and tends to be more successful when participant self-generated investment is present.

For agencies to help support desistance there should be a person - not agency - focus as dynamic and tailored client flexibility is more effective than a one size fits all system. Agencies need to be able to work as a team, across any silos, to pool data and eclectic skills for the benefit of the client. For change, there needs to be a shift away from negative labelling to more future oriented solutions and positivity, building on the strengths possible in the individual circumstances.

Creating new prosocial routines, and the modelling of appropriate behaviour through agency and peer support, helps emotional transition pathways, but these need to be contextually intelligent.

4. Project Data

Focus Group Data

Focus groups are group discussions routinely conducted with the participation of 7 to 12 people to elicit lived experiences and emic insights on a specific matter, framed through research questions. Focus group qualitative data collection method is useful to gain multiple perspectives for a richer detail than quantitative analysis alone can provide (Then, et al, 2014) and contributes to an ongoing ethos as a community of practice.

An adapted focus group was conducted involving all the practitioners involved in Seven Pathways +. Separate participant qualitative data (of what is a small cohort) are also reported upon, following this section. Given the size of the cohorts, and the sensitivities involved, ethical considerations are reflected in the methodological framework used, to ensure anonymity.

4.1 Strengths

Practitioners were asked what they thought were the strengths of Seven Pathways +.

[The key theme replied was **working together**.]

In explaining this theme, structured yet federated integration was identified as the core approach, within which the importance of leadership, as in Pathways + structures were not managerial, but more situational, and all tailored to cases where there was a motivation to try and change.

There was no command and control or hierarchical working, more a transprofessional collegiate collaboration. Multiagency approach and intensive support. This created more of a team (with eclectic skills) rather than a series of discipline-specific professionals co-operating over case management. This represented a form of positive working culture, perhaps more enabled due to the lack of a regularised 'business as usual' formalised structure.

Everyone knew they were, within this work, doing 'more' than the existing system catered for, yet all realised the system itself was inadequate and that the type of work in Pathways+ (for a longer term wrap around support and monitoring in the community) was vital to avoid reoffending and a return to imprisonment.

There was, as such, a form of cadre morale, driven by the mission and purpose of the project and facilitated by those leading the work. The proactive ethos involves working with likely cases prior to prison release and wrap around contact that includes meeting people as they leave the prison gate.

The team work was multi-disciplinary in nature, and to achieve that that was a mutual respect for differing skill sets and professional disciplines, including the lived experiences of mentors, all of which coalesce collaboratively.

The cultural difference also involved the client, as this was a negotiated project which the offender had to volunteer for, in comparison with many IOM approaches, which attempt to force offenders to comply with set parameters set for them. Conversely, relationship building was of paramount importance in Pathways + with the team investing time to understand client neurodiversity and trauma, and support them practically by taking them shopping and to work experience appointments.

Pathways + can therefore can be seen not be a 'one size fits all' but a more targeted, and intrusive, approach for cases where there is a readiness for desistance but a need for help in achieving this.

> "The 7-Pathways Project is about more of a 'carrot' approach whereby the offender has to 'buy-in' to the project and it comes from a very supportive place rather than a coercive approach."

4.2 Differences

Practitioners were asked how this approach was different from what had been tried before?

[The key theme replied was **tailored support**].

In explaining this theme, there was more of a personal, tailored approach evident, where there was more attention paid individually and progress is both holistic and monitored.

Integrated Offender Management has high volume case loads, where, although there was a system and process, interpersonal contact, and operationallised multi-agency collaboration could be lacking in practice.

The high volumes in IOM mean that there can be signposting but without follow through or follow up. With Pathways +, more of a consensual working relationship is established, where cases get more personal contact to demonstrate caring but within a clear programme for change.

In short, culturally, those involved in Pathways + had a strong sense of mission and buy in perhaps missing from some previously established, large-scale, programmes that at worst might simply go through the motions and where cases become numbers and lose their humanistic individuality.

This is similar to what O'Connell (2019) advocates in effective restorative practice; the notion of paying explicit relational attention to 'what matters' contextually and not being distracted about trying to comply with normative 'process' by fitting the person into a system. Similarly, there is a hint here of more Deming (1991) than Taylor (2004) in the pursuit of quality outcomes, via a form of mentoring and coaching, rather than internalised efficiencies, via a type of factory production line.

Practitioners pointed out that a difference here was in volume and numbers, as IOM, by contrast, tended to be so volume-intensive quality focus could be lost. I this sense, Pathways +_ not being part of IOM, formally, was perhaps a strength as it stood outside of the 'normality of process' of IOM, which many practitioners commented was, at times, too busy to be effective.

A practitioner explained that Pathways + was person centered, rather than process or system focused, so that the client's energy and agency was enabled as the central driving force for change, rather than via some form of externally imposed compliance plan:-

> "(it is)…about approaching the person to see the benefit of change and supporting them through this change rather than pushing them into change".

4.3 Challenges

Practitioners were asked what challenges they faced, or perceived other workers might face, in delivering Seven Pathways +.

[The key theme replied was **system rigidity**].

In explaining this theme, accustomed ways of working were in many ways problematic, with much progress in spite of, rather than because of, the status quo. Challenges included cynicism, bureaucracy, an undermining of professional judgement, and tribalistic rules.

Concerning clients, previous experiences and historical distrust of agencies is a challenge as a poor experience can inhibit trust to re-engage. Systemic cynicism has to be overcome to motivate clients that challenge is genuinely possible and that it is not too late, nor that anyone has been 'written off'. At worst, that trait of criminal justice occupational working culture process indicates an element of self-fulfilling prophecy, deviancy reinforcement and amplification (Rosenthal, 1966; Eden, 2003).

Process is drilled that heavily into practitioners that flexibility is sometimes very difficult to negotiate, even when clearly common sense. For example, cases were cited where people who were living in tents could not be counted as homeless until they registered with a homeless shelter, even where there were also significant health and mobility issues.

Practitioners were frustrated that they were inhibited from exercising more professional judgement to get things done in a smooth and timely way, pointing to several cases of challenges arising from the dysfunctional structural silos of specific agency-centric policies. Although individual practitioners were capable, and enjoyed, working together holistically, some agency systems were almost defensively hostile to collaborative working.

System inflexibility was evident in various important support pillars, such as housing, where existing backlogs and allocation criteria combined to make finding a home at the right place at the right time a challenge.

As might be expected, a central sub theme here was time. Yet the point here again not just about volume ("only so many people and so many hours in a day") but about policy dominated purpose rigidity. For example, organisationally, certain tasks were valued (form filling) over relationship building for trust (spending time with people). Efficient form filling may be important administratively, but it did little to help build a relationship of trust with clients in order to enable quality outcomes.

Inflexible allocation of time was a challenge, where practitioners asked for professional judgement headspace, potentially aligned with some automation of administrative burdens (to free them up from sitting at desks to sitting with people). Given more professional judgement, more time could be invested directly in clients and more proactive network growth with relevant charities and other support services.

A reluctance to share information was also highlighted as a challenge, again requiring better enablement of professional judgement, as practitioners were often hearing "it's not me who doesn't want to share information, I'm not allowed to."

4.4 Opportunities

Practitioners were asked what changes might help Seven Pathways + to achieve more in the future.

[The key theme replied was **holistic scaffolding**.]

In explaining this theme, having practical resources readily available pertinent to re offending trigger factors - a place to live, a supportive network or relationship, life skills, employment etc - were wise investments to increase the chances of desistance.

Taking a trauma informed approach was recommended for future growth, with more access to accessible counselling, aligned to rehabilitation, and practical resources for communication (for example allocated mobile 'phones) to help supportive networks outweigh any negative peer influences.

There was keen reference to increasing learning and skills-building opportunities, with appropriate local access, to invest in better life chances, and ideally some form of employment. Such investment was about a reintegration that valued the client and provided practical stepping-stones to choose, down an alternative pathway to offending.

Family support investment was flagged as important as broken or strained relationships were common in re offending contexts, and more wrap around support a household ability to change. Similarly, greater support from integrated budgets could enhance accommodation solutions, as, again, without some security of having a home, reoffending was more likely to occur. In some instances, having the flexibility to enable relocation would be useful, to break away from toxic influences, for a fresh start.

The opportunity was to upscale and build upon the early signs of success by encouraging other pilot sites to trial teaming approaches at this place-based level. A growing community of practice, with more people getting involved, could help mutually inform how to better sustainably integrate joint effort at a local level to provide rich support networks that works flexibly for diverse needs.

"When we started this concept it was very revealing that many involved said that they had been waiting for something like this pilot to come along. With our unique combination of experience and skills there is now a better chance than before to build more trusting relationships, that can help turn around a life of offending into something much more positive. Everyone benefits."

4.5 Case Studies (A-D)

These case studies offer ethnographic insights, offering rich and contextualised emic perspectives (Helfgott, 2018).

Case Study A

Person A has been offending for over 30 years and was declassified (failed) from IOM some time ago.

Person A has disclosed to workers that they genuinely think that they would be back involved in crime already if it wasn't for the assistance from the police and partner agencies. Person self-discloses much of their offending in the past stems from learning difficulties. This issue too relates to previous attempts to rehabilitate because they struggle to understand dynamically what's being discussed in face-to-face meetings with some agencies and, in some cases, reports their patience for engaging with people with learning difficulties isn't what it should be.

Person A has explained the difference in Pathways + is having people there to talk through things slowly, which, in turn, has enabled getting a number of small things in place that has made life easier and made offending less of a choice.

Person A has found volunteer work purposeful and rewarding and has suggested they make a video detailing their past experiences and the criminal trial to be used by the police, as another form of giving something back to the community.

LCC Parks (community based support) organise diversionary activities and have stated that their group leaders and other volunteers (who are regular members of the community) have been really impressed with Person A's commitment, work ethic and honest. Person A has commented to workers that the voluntary work allows time with "normal people" rather than the types of people that they would usually socialise with, recognising the effect of peership.

Case Study B

Person B felt confident enough in the relationship built up with working through Pathways + to contact agency workers out of hours, during a moment of crisis. They would have previously had nothing to do with the police or any related agency professional, but they had had time to build working relationships to see the person behind the uniform / desk and had started to see agency workers as there to support rather than judge and simply monitor for breaches.

Person B was able to communicate their needs to the officer and their intentions to commit crime due to a domestic abuse situation they were experiencing. This proactive intervention enabled the Police lead to respond appropriately with other officers to try and intervene and assist Person B to prevent him them from carrying out a criminal act.

This was effectively a cry for help, but without the basis of a working relationship established through Pathways +, Person B is clear that they would have repeated previous impulsive behaviour, which would have probably resulted in a return to jail.

Case Study C

Person C was visited in HMP and the Pathways+ pilot approach, and it voluntary nature, explained pitched to him for consideration to join. The pilot at the time was in its infancy and not quite ready to commence which was communicated to Person C. Person C still had some outstanding offences, but volunteered to admit his guilt in order that upon release they could join the pilot.

'Word of mouth' amongst inmates has prompted nominals to approach those working on Pathways+ to ask for inclusion in the pilot. It is understood that prisoners get no special deals by seeking to volunteer, simply that when they trying to rehabilitate they have the extra support to break old habits and make a fresh start.

Person C has explained that there is peer communication about the value of the pilot, and unusually, has offender nominals selling the benefits to each other, despite a common cynicism and distrust of the police and partner agencies from the past.

Person C's case emphasises the importance of building up a trusted relationship, which the overcrowded processes and case management of other approaches have not invested in. The case also has reinforced the benefit of having a single point of contact, not only to go to, but to oversee the needs of an individual, reducing bureaucracy, duplication and silos, all of which tend to be 'systems' based, and all of which can be overcome with properly invested workers in situ. Such an approach saves agency time but also improves client trust, because bureaucratic delays (which may be simply system based) can be misinterpreted by those on the receiving end as being purposefully punitive.

Case Study D

Person D had been managed by Integrated Offender Management (IOM) for sixteen years. The exercise had been costly and unproductive, with Person D being declassified for grounds of non-engagement.

After being on the 7 pathways+ pilot for only a short amount of time, Person D was released from prison and secured a CAS3 property with the support of the pilot. Although this was a major step forward in terms of accommodation, during this same time, person D started to regress, use drugs and commit crime.

However, for the first time, Person D handed themselves into custody recognising that they needed help and openly admitted to a number of offences. Their intention was to re-enter the pilot, recognising that without breaking their cycle their long-term future was likely to remain jail.

5.   Conclusion

5.1 Cost benefit analysis

Prison is expensive and increasingly dangerous. The UK's prisons have become chronically overcrowded, making them dangerous for prisoners and prison staff. The reliance on incarceration is also putting unsustainable pressure on the criminal justice system. The total prison population in the UK is around 98,000 people, which represents the highest imprisonment rate in Western Europe with an average of 141 prisoners per 100,000 of population.

The prison population growth is unsustainable, so alternative ways to punitive incarceration must be explored.

	Certified Normal Accommodation	Average Population	Direct Resource Expenditure	Cost per Place	Cost per Prisoner	Overall Resource Expenditure	Cost per Place	Cost per Prisoner
2021-22 Totals	80,362	79,113	£2,490,214,500	£30,987	£31,476	£3,752,632,094	£46,696	£47,434
Comparison with 2020-21[1]								
2020-21 Totals (Published January 2022)	79,364	78,959	£2,583,235,766	£32,549	£32,716	£3,822,319,463	£48,162	£48,409
Change (in nominal terms)	998	154	-£93,021,266	-£1,562	-£1,240	-£69,687,369	-£1,466	-£975
				-4.8%	-3.8%		-3.0%	-2.0%
Restated 2020-21 expenditure[2] (adjusted by GDP deflator[2] to give real terms change)			£2,564,644,657	£32,315	£32,481	£3,794,810,879	£47,815	£48,061
Change (in real terms)[2]	998	154	-£74,430,157	-£1,328	-£1,005	-£42,178,785	-£1,119	-£627
Real terms percentage increase in 2021-22	1.3%	0.2%	-2.9%	-4.1%	-3.1%	-1.1%	-2.3%	-1.3%

Source: Ministry of Justice

Every prison place is a sign of failure to cut offending, meaning a crisis not only for the prison estate but for victims' suffering. *Seven Pathways+* is showing promise and has already realised savings of £550,000 during the pilot using Home Office criteria (Heeks, et al, 2018). The projected savings have been arrived at by costing previous 3 months offending capital compared to the non-offending during the pilot. This effectively has then saved the public purse the costs of indicative repeat offending.

Cohort members have been analysed based upon previously known offending rates (prior to starting on the pilot) and projected costs (using Home Office formulae) to calculate the quantifiable savings from non-incarceration.

Cohort Member	Offence	Cost		Cohort Member	Offence	Cost
A	Commercial Burglary	£15,460		D	Theft from store	£970
A	Commercial Burglary	£15,460		D	Theft from store	£970
A	Commercial Burglary	£15,460		D	Theft from Store	£970
A	Theft from person	£1,380		D	Theft from person	£1,380
A	Commercial Burglary	£15,460		D	Theft from MV	£870
A	Possession of Off Weap	£5,930		D	Theft from MV	£870
A	Possession of Off Weap	£5,930				
A	Commercial Burglary	£15,460			Incarceration Costs	£3,276
A	Commercial Burglary	£15,460			Total	£12,786
A	Commercial Burglary	£15,460				
A	Commercial Burglary	£15,460		E	Theft from MV	£870
A	Commercial Burglary	£15,460		E	Theft from MV	£870
A	Commercial Burglary	£15,460		E	Theft from MV	£870
A	Criminal Damage	£1,350		E	Theft from MV	£870
	Incarceration Costs	£44,811			Incarceration Costs	£0
	Total	£198,541			Total	£3,480
B	Robbery	£11,320		F	Assault GBH	£14,050
B	Robbery	£11,320		F	Assault ABH	£14,050
B	Robbery	£11,320		F	Assault ABH	£14,050
B	Public Order	£5,930		F	Theft from store	£970
B	Criminal Damage	£1,350		F	Theft from store	£970
B	Robbery	£11,320		F	Commercial Burglary	15,460
B	Assault ABH	£14,050		F	Assault ABH	£14,050
B	Assault GBH	£14,050				
B	Assault ABH	£14,050			Incarceration Costs	£58,383
B	Possession Off Weapon	£5,930			Total	£131,983
	Incarceration Costs	£0		G	Assault ABH	£14,050
	Total	£100,640		G	Theft from store	£970
				G	Robbery	£11,320
C	Fraud	£1,290		G	Theft from store	£970
				G	Theft from store	£970
	Incarceration Costs	£14,157		G	Public Order	£5,930
	Total	£15,447		G	Commercial Burglary	£15,460
				G	Commercial Burglary	£15,460
D	Theft from MV	£870		G	Theft from store	£970
D	Theft from MV	£870		G	Theft from store	£970
D	Theft from MV	£870				
D	Theft from MV	£870			Incarceration Costs	£13,104
D	Theft from store	£970			Total	£80,174
D	Theft from store	£970				
D	Theft from Store	£970		H	Domestic Burglary	£5,930
D	Theft from person	£1,380		H	Domestic Burglary	£5,930
D	Theft from MV	£870		H	Domestic Burglary	£5,930
D	Theft from MV	£870				
					Incarceration Costs	£71,838
					Total	£89,628

5.2 Policy and Practice Recommendations

Less crime, less victims, less cost

Seven Pathways+ builds on a solid international evidence base. It is showing a better track record than Integrated Offender Management (IOM) and the current pilot is at a time when prison are at a breaking point. New thinking is required and *Seven Pathways+* offers a pragmatic real-world solution.

Seven Pathways+ piloting is showing success. Expanded housing offers are being explored via *Unity* and additional lived experience navigator mentors are also growing in number. *Seven Pathways+* sequentially follows the staged process of Integrated Offender Management where it offers potential remedial support for failed IOM efforts. Further, it offers the potential to transform IOM itself into a more intensive approach, mirroring Seven Pathways+.

Adopting *Seven Pathways+* approaches further upstream, closer to earlier offending, could reduce worsening or continued offending cycles, reducing the relative failing of IOM and offer an alternative to incarceration costs, which are potentially unaffordable.

Whilst *Seven Pathways+* can realise savings, to expand and further supplement IOM will cost money. However, the political policy choices are stark. Either offending rates continue on their existing trajectory, putting unstable pressure on an already overstretched prison estate, or investment is pushed proactively upstream to reduce reoffending, with less crime, less victims and less cost.

This report recommends continued, and upscaled, piloting and formal evaluation of *Seven Pathways+* in tracked zones in England and Wales, and the strategic exploration of the adoption of the approach at an earlier stage in offending cycles, as a cost effective alternative to traditional IOM.

Government is about choices. The choice for the UK Government is to spend more money on more prison places or reduce offending.

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