HENWOOD TRUST

Effective Strategies for Young Offenders

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HENWOOD TRUST Effective Programmes for youth at risk of continued & serious offending IPS

EFFECTIVE PROGRAMMES
for youth at risk of continued and serious offending

Something to do,
someone to love,
something to hope for

A report to the Henwood Trust 2010 - Gabrielle Maxwell and Peter Marsh
Co-published with The Institute of Policy Studies

Effective Programmes

for youth at risk of continued and serious offending

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The Henwood Trust

The Henwood Trust was established in April 2004 with the generous assistance of the Tindall Foundation and is now also supported by the Todd Foundation.

The Trust's mission is to encourage and support effective strategies for young offenders.

Patron: Sir Stephen Tindall

Trustees: Judge Carolyn Henwood CNZM (Chair), former Youth Court Judge, current Parole Board Convenor and Chair of the Confidential Listening and Assistance Service

James Johnston, Chairman of Partners, Rainey Collins, Ngati Porou, former Youth Advocate, former Chair of the Law Foundation

Neil Gray, former senior partner Chapman Tripp, Consultant

The Trust's objectives are:

- to devise and promote strategies to reduce serious and persistent offending by young persons
- to promote an effective alternative to imprisonment for younger persons, where that alternative will assist the young persons to become positive and effective members of society
- to identify, assist, promote and support other persons or organisations who intend to work or are already working effectively with young persons at risk of imprisonment
- to promote and support any residential youth programme the Trustees see as appropriate, which may include but is not limited to facilitating employment, mentors, education, treatment or supervision of young persons as appropriate to encourage their long-term rehabilitation.

The Trust networks and convenes people working to provide services and policy to young offenders.

Examples of recent work include:

- hosting a national forum around a vision for foster care in New Zealand
- commissioning a review of foster care and offending (May 2009 publication)
- co-sponsoring the Institute of Policy Studies forum *Addressing the underlying causes of offending: what is the evidence?* in February 2009
- publishing work on effective programmes for young offenders, in 2011

We are currently preparing a publication celebrating 20 years of the Family Group Conference, with the support of the Law Foundation.

Because the Trust talks regularly with government and non-government agencies, academics from all around New Zealand as well as individuals at the 'coal face' its people have a wide understanding of the issues facing all involved in the sector, including the young people.

In 2009 the Henwood Trust commissioned this research paper from Dr Gabrielle Maxwell, who has produced it with Professor Peter Marsh.

The paper is an update and revision of an earlier research paper by Dr Maxwell for the Trust, in May 2005, called 'Identifying effective programmes for youth at risk of continued and serious offending'. The prime purpose of both papers is to develop criteria for the evaluation, and hence for the development, of programmes aimed at youth offenders and the providers who deliver such programmes.

Gabrielle Maxwell, MA PhD FNZPsS, is Senior Research Associate, Institute of Policy Studies, School of Government, Victoria University of Wellington. She has experience across a range of social and criminological research areas, with a focus on youth justice, crime prevention and restorative justice.

Peter Marsh is Professor of Child and Family Welfare at the University of Sheffield, England, and visiting researcher at the Institute of Policy Studies. He has been engaged in research on Family Group Conferences for over twenty years, and has developed and researched programmes on evidence-based social work, and on social entrepreneurship.

Our thanks to the many people who helped us with information and advice in compiling this report including: Dr John Angus, Children's Commissioner; Robert Ludbrook, Child and Youth Advocate; Steve Pasene, CYFS, Policy Advisor; Harry Walker, previously in the Māori Development Unit at the Department of Social Welfare; Superintendent Bill Harrison, Manager of Police Youth Services Group, New Zealand Police; Judge Carolyn Henwood, Chair of the Confidential Listening and Assistance Service; Julia Hennessey, Services Manager, Presbyterian Support Central; Kim Workman, Rethinking Crime and Punishment; and Dr Ian Hassall, Senior Lecturer, Institute of Public Policy, Auckland University of Technology.

Youth to Men allowed us to interview their graduates, who gave us permission to use their stories: some of these appear in the side bars. Our thanks also go to the Henwood Trust and particularly to Jennifer George for her support throughout the project and her valuable comments on the report. Vic Lipski was responsible for editing and indexing the report. The production of the report was ably handled by Anne Taylor. This report is co-published by the Henwood Trust and the Institute of Policy Studies. Of course the final responsibility for the views expressed here is our own.

Forewords

Judge Carolyn Henwood

I believe it is possible to lift a young offender out of the criminal justice system and keep him out. The very successful Te Hurihanga pilot at Hamilton has again proven this point. I salute the dozens of people who contributed to the success of Te Hurihanga and I am still lamenting the loss of this wonderful initiative.

This book seeks to encourage community-based effective programmes for young offenders whilst there is still a chance of avoiding incarceration. But for these programmes to be worthwhile, and merit resources, the providers must show they have a clear vision, a plan and the capacity to deliver that plan.

My work at the Henwood Trust and the Confidential Listening and Assistance Service has highlighted my awareness that poor foster care or institutional care can be a significant contributor to a negative outcome for young people. Physical abuse, neglect, molestation and bullying can blight the lives of this vulnerable group. Providers must monitor at all times and break this negative cycle.

The young people must be kept safe, and have their needs understood and met. They need to be given opportunities to develop in socially acceptable ways. That is the law.

Accountability coupled with rehabilitation. It is hard to do this work well, but not impossible. Providers must engage with the community and the families, and implement individual quality reintegration plans for each young person. When your programme can deliver on these imperatives we will all surely reap the rewards.

Carolyn Henwood

Professor Mason Durie

Tena koutou katoa

In many respects, Māori family wellbeing is not dissimilar from family wellbeing all over the world. It is about past journeys, the energies and initiatives of the present, and the hopes and plans for tomorrow. For all too many families, yesterday's misfortunes are carried over to today and continue to mar prospects for the future. The social, cultural and economic alienation experienced by many indigenous families, for example, contributes to contemporary disadvantage. But current difficulties are compounded by many other variables including the failure of societal institutions to meet the needs of indigenous families in ways that endorse – not limit – cultural identity.
The way forward, however, lies as much with Māori self management and the energies that come from within Māori communities, as it does with the agencies of state or the protocols of the private sector. Over the past two decades active Māori participation in the delivery of health care, quality education, and entrepreneurship has demonstrated how self management can successfully shift aspirations and engender a greater sense of confidence and success.

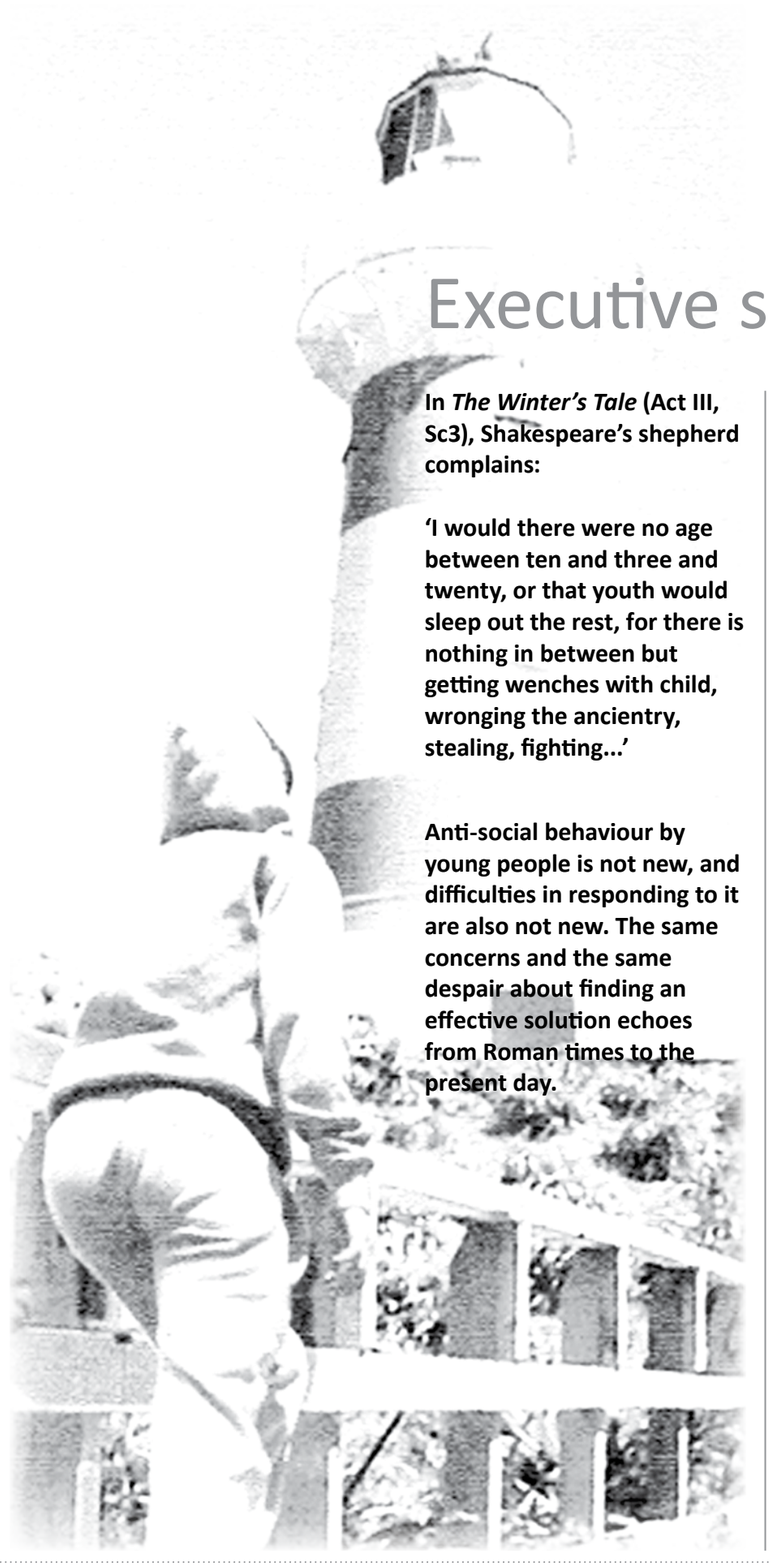
The foundations for a brighter future have been laid and the challenge now is to build on those foundations so that success and achievement can become a reality for all Māori and especially for all young Māori. This report recognizes the importance of place for young people and the significance of whānau and community to wellbeing. Success is seldom driven by individual ambitions alone. Instead it owes as much to the collective efforts of family and friends in an environment that makes cultural, social and economic sense.

Effective Programmes for youth at risk of continuing and serious offending has a particular applicability to New Zealand because it reinterprets international research to align with the cultures of this land and the shared experiences that have led to the society that we live in. It presents two contrasting visions for the development of young people. On the one hand it identifies those who lack constructive support and care within their communities and as a result run the risk of drifting into a culture of drugs, alcohol and anti-social behaviour. On the other hand, there are those who enjoy support in their communities and families, who understand their roles in both family and culture, and who are supported by family, whānau and community to find a place where they can belong and grow.

In brief, ***Effective Programmes*** locates young people within a wider context where family is important, and cultural responsiveness is a norm. The researchers have neatly captured themes that will have relevance for Māori, for indigenous peoples in other parts of the globe, and for New Zealand as a whole. And the report will add greatly to the ways we understand some of the complexities within which young Māori live.

Kia maia

Mason Durie KNZM



Executive summary

In *The Winter's Tale* (Act III, Sc3), Shakespeare's shepherd complains:

'I would there were no age between ten and three and twenty, or that youth would sleep out the rest, for there is nothing in between but getting wenches with child, wronging the ancientry, stealing, fighting...'

Anti-social behaviour by young people is not new, and difficulties in responding to it are also not new. The same concerns and the same despair about finding an effective solution echoes from Roman times to the present day.

Over the last 30 years an enormous amount of research on the problem of how best to respond to youth offenders has become available. This information provides the opportunity to replace folk wisdom with evidence on best practice. The report is based on that evidence, using information from New Zealand and around the world.

Yet evidence alone is not enough. Fundamental values and principles drive choices about how to respond to young people. There is not always agreement around these. In this paper we present a set of values and principles which are consistent with international human rights standards. These emphasise the rights of all children to have the opportunity to learn and grow and be treated humanely, recognising that mistakes that can damage both themselves and others are often part of growing up.

The first chapter of this report sets out values and principles that build around the need and right of all children and young people to have 'someone to love, something to do and something to hope for'. New Zealand needs to be 'a place to call home' in all senses of that word – a place where they can belong, a place where they are tangata whenua and have a sense of whanaungatanga, connectedness with community.

The second chapter of the report summarises core findings from research that compares the backgrounds of children who do and do not offend. It indicates that factors that increase the risk of offending can be clearly identified. Understanding risks is important if we are to provide children with support early in their lives. But the research also shows that if we are to successfully intervene in the lives of young people who are already offending, then the focus needs to shift to their individual needs.

We need to identify new and more appropriate ways of providing good education. We need to build life skills and help young people cope better with their emotions. We need to respond to drug and alcohol dependency. We need to respond to physical and mental health needs. We need to keep these young people safe.

Above all, we need to build a web of support, community and opportunity around them so they can take advantage of the skills that can set them on the pathway to adult life.

Society has a responsibility to invest in the future of all children and young people. Too often governments and the general public have taken the view that the past behaviour of these young people means that they no longer deserve opportunities that will require the investment of the State. But not investing in these young people now creates an even greater risk to community safety. It also ignores the fact that these young people have almost always been severely disadvantaged throughout their childhood and unable to benefit from opportunities available to their peers.

Chapter three focuses on how best to develop and assess programmes. It examines the relationship between outcomes and investment. It describes how best to evaluate the effectiveness of programmes and it identifies the key factors that need to be the concern of those developing and operating programmes. A checklist has been included to assist those concerned to assess and evaluate the effective programme.

In an appendix to the report a number of different types of programmes are described and some information is given on how their effectiveness was determined.

At the end of the day, in the interests of both community safety and fiscal responsibility, the most prudent course is to make the investment needed to assist these young people and fully engage them with the wider society.

The key to building a safe society for the future:

- Develop a framework that embodies community aspirations
- Focus on needs not risk
- Invest in support for whānau, family and community
- Use strategies that rely on evidence from research studies
- Reintegrate young people who have been damaged and deprived.

Preface

In this review we provide key information for those who offer or evaluate programmes that are designed to help and support young people at risk of serious offending. This second edition of a report to the Henwood Trust updates and expands the earlier one with new evidence and new emphases[1].
The report aims to be a guide to programme providers and funders as well as a summary of information for general readers.

"I've had new experiences, learnt discipline and respect – and how to listen. Now I am seeing a future for myself."

"The programme has taught me respect and to get on with my mum and dad more."

Chapter One deals with underlying principles. It identifies philosophy and values inherent in legislation, international conventions and Māori customary practice, which can underpin all the programmes providing protective, preventive, rehabilitative and/or reintegrative services for children, young people and families in New Zealand. Key features are respect and a restorative approach to young people and families. Participation, empowerment, repair of harm, and reintegration are central. And it recognises both the age and potential vulnerability of children and young people. There is also an emphasis on identity, individual differences, and the importance of community and cultural contexts in which children live.

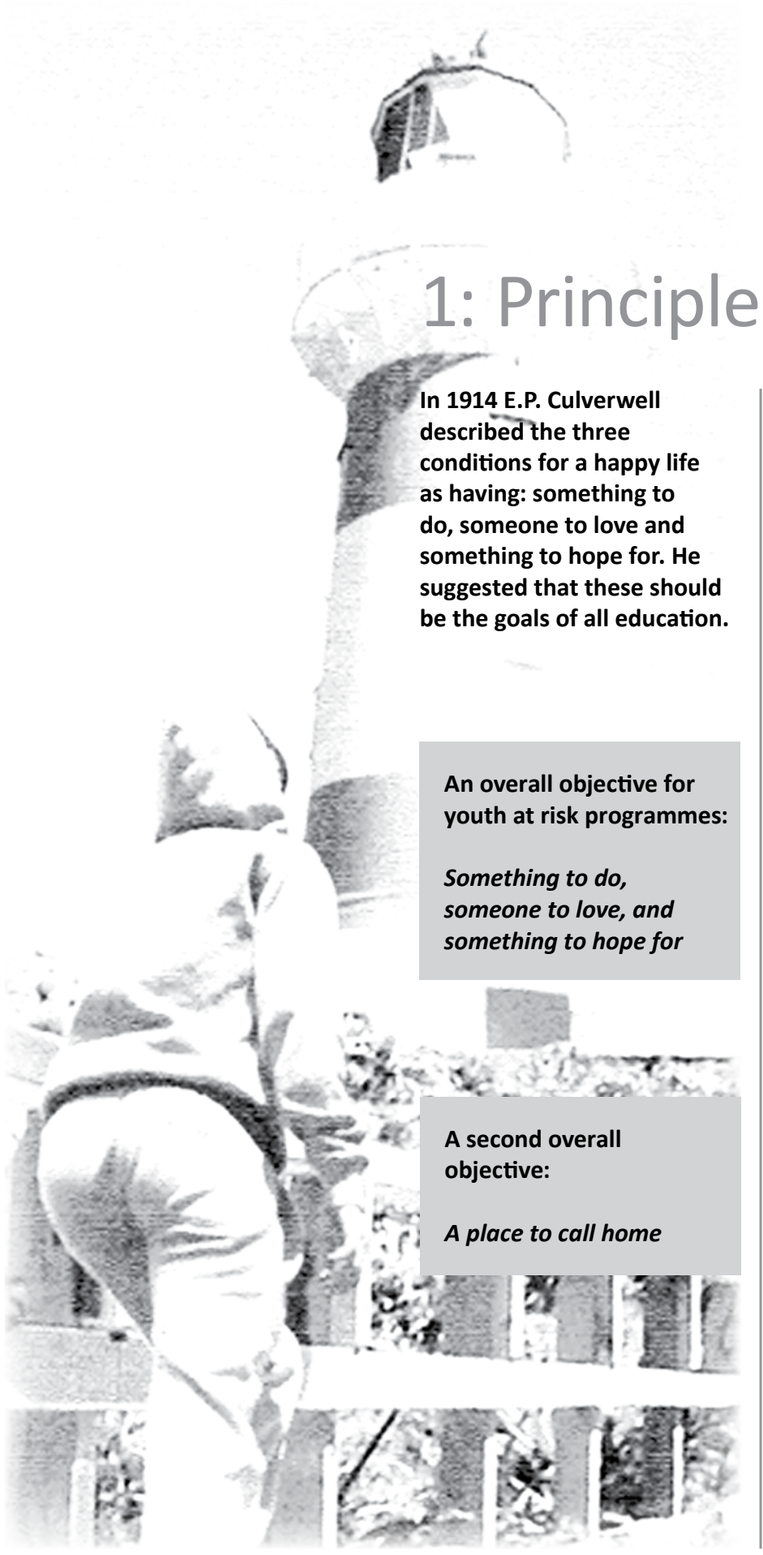
Chapter Two provides an up-to-date overview of selected international and New Zealand research. It teases out in greater detail some key concepts, particularly those around the importance of cultural responsiveness, of the engagement and involvement of young people, and of the need to link with and build family, whānau and community.

Chapter Three summarises the key features that are most important in developing and assessing programmes. These have been set out in the form of a list of characteristics that can be used by programme developers and evaluators as a basis for ensuring programmes are likely to meet the criteria for success.

A **bibliography** of references cited is provided. The **appendix** describes in more detail the relevant factors from United Kingdom partnership-based developments, and New Zealand studies as follows:

- Programmes for children and/or young people who were victims or witnesses of family violence (Shepherd and Maxwell, 1999a)
- Programmes for children identified as in need of support by reason of being at risk of offending, poor educational outcomes or poor social outcomes (Shepherd and Maxwell, 1999b)
- The 1997 Crime Prevention Package for children and young people at risk of offending (Maxwell et al, 2001)
- Children or young people who were involved in the Police Youth at Risk programmes 1997-2001 (New Zealand Police, 2002)
- Kia Whaikakotahi (2009), a school-based programme, focused on building whānau resilience and social cohesion, and increasing whānau, family and student participation in a local secondary school (Workman and Associates, 2009).

1. Caveat: This report does not aim to provide a sufficient analysis for all programmes. Residential programmes have special challenges in relation to maintaining relationships with community and family and building for return to the community. Intensive drug and alcohol abuse programmes for sexual offenders will need to consider other criteria in examining their design and assessing their impact. This guide focuses on core values and characteristics that are valid across all effective programmes for young people at risk.



1: Principles

In 1914 E.P. Culverwell described the three conditions for a happy life as having: something to do, someone to love and something to hope for. He suggested that these should be the goals of all education.

An overall objective for youth at risk programmes:

Something to do, someone to love, and something to hope for

A second overall objective:

A place to call home

Objectives of the youth justice system

The first goal – something to do – means something worth doing, something that can be done and something requiring enough effort to generate a feeling of achievement. Underpinning such a goal in today's society is the need to gain relevant education skills and qualifications.

The second goal – someone to love – is usually fulfilled for young children through their family; for young people the peer group becomes increasingly important; and in adulthood a partner or very close friend usually meets these needs, as can the membership of various kin, community, and work groups.

Having something to hope for is very important for maintaining the sense of wellbeing and motivation that is critical to living a good life and being part of a functioning society. Future aspirations can be short or long term. They may be easily achievable or very difficult. But it is important that they give a sense of purpose to a person's daily life – something to strive for.

Children and young people who persistently engage in anti-social behaviour and who are labelled as being at risk of further offending usually lack occupation, affection and hope. They lack adequate nurturing within a loving family and as they grow they do not find 'a place in a group where they belong: a place to call home'.

This sense of place is of central importance to the identity of all children. Hassall (1994) points out that such a concept is effectively identified in Article 8 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which states that:

'States Parties undertake to respect the right of the child to preserve his or her identity, including nationality, name and family relations.'

This fundamental right guarantees children that they will be nurtured in the country and culture of their birth and that they will be able to maintain connections with their families.

But the concept goes further and deeper. It concerns the factors that give a sense of personal identity. For Māori, it is related to the sense of mana whenua and the concept of ngaki. Mana whenua is the investment of Māori identity in the land which nurtures them.

'Mana whenua is about the links between tribal strength, integrity and survival.' (Durie, 1994: 36)

For Māori, identity is not simply about physical place. It is also about the psychological place provided by the people who nurture the child. Ngaki refers to the support and nurturing that the whole whānau gives to the child. It is in this that the child needs to grow and become part of the world and to understand their place in it. It's that ongoing support and looking after one another that we all need (Williams, 2004).

Williams has also suggested that for Māori there are three other key concepts for successfully responding to young people who offend.

Whakapapa, ancestral lineage, provides a framework for our relationships with people: the people who we have in our heads and hearts from the past, our ancestors; the people around us at present; and the people who we will nurture and bring forward into the future.

Whanaungatanga is the connectedness between people in society; it's about belonging, it's about a place in a community. This implies the existence of a real and intimately connected community within which the child lives.

Whakamā is the deep sense of shame which, when it descends like a cloud, can leave people bereft of the ability to act, the ability to love, the ability to be citizens – in other words, the ability to belong. The opposite of whakamā is mana, to be respected and to have one's own identity. The justice system has to choose between invoking that deep shame that destroys, or respecting people and their identity. In everything we do with young people who offend we are tipping the scales one way or another.

These concepts, identified by Māori, have come to have meaning for all New Zealanders and resonate with people throughout the world.

The focus of any programme for children and young people is to respect their needs: the need to grow, the need to learn and the need to belong.

Philosophy and values

As well as having an overall goal that responds to the needs of the young people in the programme, a philosophy and a set of values are needed that can guide the actions of providers, underpin programmes and assist in the definition of aims. The New Zealand Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act 1989 not only introduced a new set of practices but also included a specific set of principles and values that were seen as underpinning the delivery of all services to its clients.

These core values are set out in the principles and objects of the Act in sections 4, 5, 6 and 208. The objects emphasise the importance of providing services that:

- Promote the wellbeing of children, young persons, families and family groups
- Are culturally appropriate and accessible
- Protect and prevent children and young persons from harm of all types
- Assist families to discharge their responsibilities to prevent harm to children
- Ensure that when young people offend:
    - They are held accountable and dealt with in ways that acknowledge needs, and
    - Opportunities are provided for them to develop in responsible, beneficial and socially acceptable ways
- Encourage organisations to co-operate in providing these services.

These objects are backed by principles that make explicit the essentially restorative values and philosophy that is inherent in both the objects and principles.

These principles emphasise:

- Participation: the importance of the participation of both the young person and the family/whānau in the process of making decisions
- Empowerment: the importance of empowerment — enabling the young people and the family/whānau to make the decisions
- Family: maintaining and strengthening family/whānau relationships

Key considerations in responding to young people:

- Exclusion or participation
- Dependency or empowerment
- Detachment or attachment
- Abuse and neglect or a safe place
- Exclusion or support and reintegration

2: Evidence

"Up to (age) five I was with my mother. From five to eight I was with one parent and a step-parent. I was with my mother and father till I was nine and then in social welfare custody until I was 16. I had 20 changes of caregiver."

These objectives and principles emphasise the importance of respectful responses that recognise the wishes of those most affected and ensure that they participate fully in decisions and are empowered to take charge of their own lives.

They recognise the need for a sense of belonging and support for young people and families. They recognise the need to acknowledge and repair harm.

They recognise the need for services that protect and prevent harm – in other words, young people must be kept safe from physical and emotional abuse, neglect and harsh punishment. And the services must also effectively reintegrate the young person within the family, the community and society.

It is this overall philosophy that can provide a benchmark for quality programmes and can guide our assessment of those that are effective.

- Family group: consideration of the welfare of the young person and the stability of the family group
- Support: the need to provide support to both the caregivers and the young person
- Age: the importance of time frames appropriate to the young person's sense of time, and of outcomes that recognise their young age and that protect their vulnerability
- Minimal intervention: including the diversion of young people who offend from courts and custody, keeping them in the community and adopting the least restrictive approach wherever possible
- Repair of harm: ensuring that measures to deal with offending have due regard to the interests of victims.

Effective interventions

Theoretical models

It is important to place this analysis of factors associated with effective programmes in a theoretical context that is consistent with research. Various authors have discussed the goals of offender intervention programmes. For example, Andrews and Bonta (1998) emphasise the primacy of criminogenic needs: the term means needs that when met will reduce the likelihood of re-offending as opposed to other needs that, when met, have no discernible impact on offending.

Ward (2002, 2007) extends the concept of criminogenic needs to a focus on enabling 'Good Lives'; this is closely related to the concept advanced by Maxwell (Maxwell and Morris, 1999; Maxwell et al, 2004) of a general sense of wellbeing and 'feeling good' about one's life.

Andrews and Bonta (1998) use meta-analysis (a type of advanced statistical analysis of findings from a number of different studies) to identify a set of factors that have proved to be predictive of change in a variety of studies of re-offending reduction. They refer to this set of factors as 'dynamic needs'.

These include needs for positive relationships, education and training, health and life skills and pro-social attitudes. Andrews and Bonta distinguish 'dynamic needs' from other identifiable risk/need factors associated with re-offending which cannot readily be changed. Examples include being male, having experienced childhood victimisation and so on. Chapter three lists these needs.

Ward (2007, 2009) argues for a wider theoretical conception of human needs based on an analysis of what is necessary for a good life. He recognises that there are potentially many possible 'good lives', for such conceptions are inevitably underpinned by personal values, culture, social learning and the current social context. For this reason he argues for programmes based on an analysis of the needs of an individual in relation to key areas. These include not only the physical needs related to sex, food, warmth and sleep, but also needs in relation to autonomy, relatedness and competence identified by Ryan and Deci (2000).

Autonomy ***refers to the ability to self regulate, organise experiences and function as a unified, integrated human being.***

Relatedness ***refers to the ability to establish a sense of emotional connectedness with others and to seek goals of feeling loved and being cared for. It can also include notions of social support, family life, meaningful work opportunities and access to recreational activities.***

Competence ***refers to the drive to establish mastery of one's environment, to seek challenges and achieve.***

Maxwell and her colleagues (Maxwell and Morris, 1999; Maxwell et al, 2004) developed a method of understanding and predicting re-offending, which used standard risk factors, youth justice system experiences and post-system life events. Their analysis put re-offending in the context of a variety of life outcomes, which are associated with a sense of personal wellbeing, an approach that is consistent with Ward's model.

They were able to develop a measure of personal wellbeing based on ratings of statements such as: 'life has gone well', 'I have a positive view of the future', and 'I feel good about myself'. These were in turn defined by statements that 'things have happened that made me feel really good about myself', 'there are things in my life that are important to me at the moment' and 'there are things I hope to achieve in the future'.

"Dad left when I was young and I didn't really care. I had Mum and she's choice. I lived with her till I was four and then my father until I was six. Then I was with a foster family until I was sent to boarding school."

These factors were in turn related to a number of events that defined life outcomes and personal wellbeing as either positive/constructive or negative/destructive.

Positive factors included events such as obtaining further schooling or training, being engaged in constructive employment, belonging to groups, feeling that beliefs are important and having knowledge about and pride in one's culture. They also included cognitive elements such as believing they had taken responsibility for the wrong things they had done and not wanting to get involved in crime.

Relationship factors included having close relationships with friends and family, an intimate partner, becoming a parent and finding it easy to get on with others.

Negative factors included heavy drug and alcohol use, criminal associates, psychiatric problems and such life events as being unemployed, having changed where they lived frequently, having an intimate relationship break up, having major health problems or having someone close to them become seriously ill or dying.

The Maxwell and Morris analysis identifies some of the key goals of programmes that will be effective in preventing re-offending and is consistent with the two models discussed earlier. These include assessing psychosocial needs and identifying some critical aspects of behaviour, experiences, competencies, attitudes, relationships and other social factors.

However, the research results from Maxwell and Morris place a greater emphasis on values and context and the individual differences that define autonomy, competency and social life than does the model offered by Andrews and Bonta. Perhaps this is because these are concepts that have not necessarily been effectively measured in the studies on which Andrews and Bonta base their model. On the other hand, they are consistent with the Good Lives model proposed by Ward.

All these factors should be considered in the development of appropriate assessment tools, the construction of effective programmes and the evaluation of outcomes.

Researching outcomes

In 1997 the New Zealand Crime Prevention strategy included a project designed to evaluate the effectiveness of 'youth at risk' programmes (the outcomes of this research are discussed later in this report in the appendix, section C). As a first step, the project team examined a number of key documents that discussed the critical factors in identifying successful programmes. This analysis is presented here.

Research on programmes for serious violent and chronic juvenile offenders (Howell, 1995; Loeber and Farrington, 2001) indicates that successful programmes share a number of features. In particular, those programmes that include an intensive educational component (such as special learning programmes, parent training and youth employment) are more successful than those lacking such a component (such as uncritically supportive mentoring and social workers with street groups).

"I'm thinking of the future. Instead of stealing to get $20 I'm going to get a job. Anger has been a problem. Now I just walk away."

Effective systems need to be customer driven, family oriented, outcomes driven, community based, focused on both prevention and intervention, delivered by partnerships between professionals, parents and non-professionals, integrated across services, and have their outcomes evaluated.

In England three major reviews which examined programmes designed to prevent the onset or continuation of offending (Graham and Bowling, 1995; Utting, 1996; Ghate et al, 2008) similarly provide an analysis of the features of programmes that have proved effective. The features identified as leading to success for each type of programme included ensuring that programmes were appropriately located and targeted to neighbourhoods and individuals in need, built parental confidence, were based on the strengths of the young people, and created effective inter-agency co-operation.

Successful school programmes required active learning, small class sizes, quality teaching methods and good management. Successful sports and leisure activities provided for specific need, were built around qualified youth workers whom the young people could trust, sought multi-agency involvement, had a clear sense of purpose and involved the young people themselves in the planning.

Successful programmes also involved working with families and parents, not just with the young people alone. It was important that all interventions increased bonds between children and their parents, their schools, their friends and their communities; were owned by the community; had clear goals; and collaborated with participants and other relevant parties in their response to needs.

The OECD in 1996 published an analysis, *Successful Services for Our Children and Families at Risk* based on reports from 13 countries. This stressed the need for integrated services that are holistic, client oriented and supportive. The report described the main failings of current delivery as being difficult to access, not supplying the needed services, lacking in continuity, being crisis oriented and not being accountable in terms of outcomes that are evaluated.

In New Zealand two major multidisciplinary studies, based respectively in Dunedin and Christchurch, followed the lives of 1000 children from birth to adulthood. Both these studies (Fergusson et al 1994; Henry et al, 1993; Moffitt et al, 2003, 2008; Poulton, 2009) have identified factors that are associated with youth offending. Many risk factors, such as age, sex, ethnicity, parental characteristics, multiple changes of caregiver and early involvement with the police, cannot be changed after a child or young person has offended. Indeed, such an emphasis can lead to targeting certain children and families in ways that can increase risk.

At the same time, both studies supply important information about the 'dynamic risk factors' (i.e. aspects of behaviour that can be changed) or, as they are more commonly referred to, 'needs'. These factors include absenteeism, failure to attain educational skills, an inability to control emotions, a lack of secure attachment to adults in their lives and a lack of general life skills. It is these needs, rather than risks, that must be responded to if these children are to overcome the childhood disadvantages that have led to them being at risk.

Reviewing research

Many reviews of research on the key features of programmes that work with young offenders are available (Fergusson, 2009; Loeber and Farrington, 2001; Church, 2003; McClaren, 1991). In general they identify such factors as the development of personal and social problem-solving skills, the development of relevant cognitive and social skills, having an authority structure with clear rules, incorporation of anti-criminal modelling, and reinforcement.

They also stress the use of community resources, participation in the programme's planning, neutralising the peer group, aiming to strengthen pro-social and anti-criminal behaviour and the adoption of a holistic approach.

Fergusson and Lynskey (1996) identified effective crime prevention strategies for young people at risk of offending based on their earlier research (Fergusson et al, 1994). As well as many of the above features, they saw support for the young people and their families over a period of time as critical to resilience in the face of adversity.

This paper therefore adopts the language of need, rather than that of risk. It aims to identify the key factors that are related to success in changing the lives of young people who become involved in offending. These are:

- Having positive relations with peers who are not involved in anti-social behaviour, or in substance abuse, having positive and supportive relations with family, success in school attainment
- The greater the number of needs, the greater the impact of programmes. The greatest change is also seen with those with a prior offence history, reflecting the fact that targeting programmes at needs is the most effective strategy

It is only by responding to needs rather than risks that we can effectively change behaviour in ways that are constructive and reduce the probability of offending.

"Before I just kicked off on to the streets and did 'missions' (went out offending). Now I have learnt to talk to my mum more and have more respect. I understand about grounding myself now. I don't get angry as I did – I can calm myself down."

These young lives can be changed through effective education, skills training, and therapeutic programmes, and through mentoring and support.

- More intensive interventions (more weeks, more components, more frequent contact with staff) and a longer total duration of contact
- Programmes that work across multiple environments or systems such as family, school, peer group and neighbourhood/community and operate within their own cultural values
- Using behavioural approaches to train people in new skills, and respond in ways that indicate acceptable and unacceptable behaviour
- Including cognitive approaches to teach new attitudes/values and thinking skills, such as problem solving
- Approaches that offer multiple services and strategies
- Providing assistance in coping with stressors
- Involving family/whānau and building parental monitoring and supervision skills, especially in relation to boundary setting, encouraging acceptable friends and positive interactions and clear communication between parents and children
- Increasing educational skills and achievement, work skill and experience, general life skills and offering young people a long term stake in the community
- Helping young people build new relationships with pro-social peers, family members and other adults
- Substantial and meaningful contact between adult programme personnel and participants, including mentors
- Matching programmes and needs, learning style and other personal factors
- Involving young people in assessment of needs and planning and monitoring of service provision
- Structured and focused interventions.

In addition, staff need to be trained and experienced and provide role models to whom the young people can relate. Programmes tend to be more successful when they operate outside the formal juvenile justice system, minimise the extent of involvement in formal justice processes such as court hearings and are provided in the community rather than in prisons or other custodial institutions. Group programmes need to create a positive and pro-social peer environment. If residential programmes are used, then it is essential to provide reintegrative services and intensive supervision in the community after release.

A 2001 report for the Crime Prevention Unit (Maxwell et al, 2001) identified several critical features of effective programmes that relate to the process of service delivery. To be effective the programmes must be able to demonstrate that they deliver the specific services promised to most or all of the clients referred to them. They need to provide initial assessments and post-programme evaluations that provide information on the needs of clients and the extent to which these needs are met.

Records must be kept of numbers of clients referred, numbers receiving services, hours and type of services delivered, assessed needs before and after delivery and satisfaction ratings of those receiving services. Wherever possible, some type of follow-up of clients is desirable including evaluation of critical criteria such as achieving in education and employment, acquiring skills, improved relationships and non-involvement in offending.

Recently a volume of papers from key researchers in New Zealand (Maxwell, 2009) presented a detailed overview of findings of research on a variety of programmes for intervening with young people who have offended or are at risk of offending.

Of particular relevance are papers by Worrall (2009), who described healing the trauma that arises for those placed in foster and kin care, and Robertson (2009), who described the effective management and support of foster care placements.

Papers on reducing re-offending for Māori (Nathan, 2009), developing iwi crime prevention plans (Haumaha, 2009), and the prevention, treatment and management of conduct problems in childhood and adolescence (Fergusson, 2009) were also included in the same volume.

At a subsequent foster care conference Murdoch (2009) delivered a paper reviewing literature, which stressed the need for a continuum of care and a therapeutic approach for children in the care of the State. These papers reinforce the general principles that have been described in this report. They also add to knowledge on how best to provide effectively for specific groups of young people in New Zealand and deserve to be consulted by those working in these areas.

Crime prevention programmes are most effective when they are based in the community and actively involve family and the wider social group.

"Our parents did not care about us growing up. They didn't give crap. They were just drinking all the time. My life turned to shit when my father went to gaol for molesting my sister. I did jobs (committed offences) as a result of immense daily stress."

Keeping children and young people safe

Historically in New Zealand children in the care of the State were often subject to abuse, neglect and severe and inappropriate punishments. Dalley (1998) describes in considerable detail the cruelty and hardship that has been visited on children in the child welfare system from the early days of settlement up until relatively recent times.

Recognising these failures the Government established the Confidential Listening and Assistance Service in 2008 to help those who experienced abuse or neglect as children in child welfare care, special education homes or psychiatric care prior to 1992. The early experience of the Service has shown that there are some serious issues in, for example, the areas of providing safe alternative care for children fostered or those held in Social Welfare residences (Henwood, 2010).

This acknowledgement of the past and the attempt to repair it is important, but it is at least equally important to prevent the recurrence of such abuse in the future. For the most part the abuse of children remains hidden until, in later life, they are old enough to recognise it for what it was and to talk about it to someone they trust and who is likely to believe them.

There are many reasons why abuse and neglect of children go undetected. Sometimes children do not recognise abuse as being wrong, sometimes they have no words to describe what has happened to them, and often when they speak about the abuse, they are not believed. Adults who wish to deny that the abuse occurred are often more likely to be believed than the children. Under pressure the children may change their stories. Professionals working in the area often find it difficult to substantiate allegations of abuse even when they themselves believe the child (Fancourt, 2002).

Given these problems it is no easy matter to ensure that children are kept safe in programmes that are designed to help them. This is especially so given that their behaviour is often difficult to manage even for trained programme providers. Being in the care of State managed programmes has all too often failed to protect children in the past.

Despite the long history of the institutional abuse of children, the development of satisfactory grievance procedures for those in the care of the State is a problem that has never been satisfactorily resolved (Ludbrook, 2010). Programmes for young offenders have also been abusive of children and have had to be closed; despite this there have been no satisfactory mechanisms developed for monitoring the safety of children in these programmes. This is sorely needed.

Two ways of responding stand out as having been effective. First, people with a long experience of the problems of preventing the abuse of children or young people in programmes consider the most satisfactory method is to develop a professional culture which places the safety of children as a goal that is ranked ahead of responsibilities to others, including concerns for the adult caregivers or their fellow professionals (Angus, 2010; Marsh, 2010).

Second, there can be substantial protection by ensuring that children in care or in programmes are allocated a visitor who will act as a friend. This has proved especially powerful where the visitor is based in an organisation that has a strong voice for young people at its heart, such as the British experience of independent visitors (Who Cares, 2010). The visitors are available to meet with the children on a regular basis and listen to their stories about their experiences. The way this is done will need to be different when the young people are in community programmes or in residential placements.

It is, of course, vital to bear in mind that detecting and dealing with abuse must run alongside preventing it; and a continuing emphasis on the best selection, training, supervision and inspection of staff is a part of a system that aims to keep children safe within it.

Ineffective approaches

It is also important to recognise ineffective strategies. The research outlined above provides good examples of programmes that are not effective in reducing offending, and in some cases may even increase the likelihood of re-offending. While some programmes are just 'the other side of the coin' of effective programmes, some, such as the shock and fear programmes, have been studied in their own right and been shown to be ineffective and/or harmful. The literature (for example Ghate et al, 2008; Maxwell, 2009; Maxwell et al, 2004), together with the studies described in the Appendix makes it clear that the following strategies should not be used:

- Punitive and deterrent responses involving shock tactics, punishments, and fear, for instance, arrest only, boot camps, scared straight programmes, military style responses, intensive police monitoring in the community and corrective training
- Individual and family counselling strategies that do not address key criminogenic needs (see page 9) or are non-directive in their approach
- Approaches with few contact hours for high-needs offenders or intensive programmes for low-needs offenders
- Disrespectful, unfair and shaming approaches
- Services that pay insufficient attention to 'getting' and 'keeping' users
- Services that do not pay attention to users' background needs and circumstances, or do not provide help to respond to these
- Services that are insensitive to important variables such as the sex of the user, or his/her cultural background.

Cultural responsiveness

With respect to cultural responsiveness, a number of evaluative studies by the Ministry of Justice, Te Puni Kōkiri, Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Social Development emphasise the need for identifying criteria of effectiveness in delivering programme to Māori. In particular:

- The importance of ensuring equity in participation, access and the distribution of resources for Māori
- The need to provide services for Māori within a Māori cultural framework and the need to liaise and negotiate with Māori clients to determine an appropriate mode, style and form of delivery that meet all stakeholder expectations
- The importance of an equitable partnership between Māori and the State in the delivery of services and of consulting Māori organisations in decision processes.

He Taura Tīeke is a model of health service delivery for Māori developed on the basis of work by Durie (1994), which presents a checklist designed to assess programmes. These models identify three themes: competence of the programme, structural and systemic responses to Māori issues, and consumer satisfaction. They emphasise the importance of accessibility and participation. A checklist is provided which involves the assessment of: consumer satisfaction, accessibility of services, availability of information, involvement of clients in decisions, and the ability to provide for all needs through a key service provider. In addition, key issues on which the programme can be monitored and assessed as competent are: consultation of Māori in the development process, the availability of Māori to work with Māori, and the provision of the Māori language where required.

Pacific peoples, like Māori, come from cultures that are based on strong family units. But the circumstances of Pacific peoples are very different. They are relatively recent immigrants, who still, for the most part, have strong ties with their homelands and relatives there. In New Zealand they have improved their economic position and opportunities but sometimes at the price of their ability to retain the integrity of family and the maintenance of traditional values. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that generally the rates of offending by Pacific young people are not very different from the general rate for

"I was smoking dope too much to change – I couldn't see it wasn't any good. Being on the course helped me break the habit. My missus (girl friend) kept me in line after the FGC. My family and the course did it."

"The (course) was just great; it showed me I don't have to steal to get a thrill. I can be happy without getting paranoid. Stealing a car I used to get a buzz but also felt rotten and scared. I have found that there are other ways to get a good hit."

New Zealand, the exception being the use of physical violence against others. This may be related to their history of relying on physical punishment as a method of child management. But the increasing emphasis on finding alternatives to physical methods of discipline may explain the recent drop in the numbers of young people coming before the Youth and District Courts for offences of serious violence (Pasene, 2010).

Effective service provision emphasises the critical need to respect cultural diversity and the need for partnership in planning. This needs to go beyond simply keeping relevant local organisations informed and involved as mere recipients of services.

The relationship between the community and the State needs to be one of partnership and mutual respect conducted in accordance with Pacific peoples' values, customs, protocols and world views, using the languages of the people who are receiving the services (Mulitalo-Lauta, 2000; Talaimanu, 2006; Maxwell et al, 2001).

Best practice in working effectively with Pacific young people involves first and foremost engaging with the head of the family, working closely with the family as a whole and including Pacific people as mentors and supporters (CYF, 2010). It will often involve finding alternatives to physical punishment in the family if violent behaviour by the children is to be reduced (Mulitalo-Lauta, 2000, Pasene, 2010) .

Engaging communities in planning and working in a relationship of mutual respect can be seen as relevant to all ethnic groups in New Zealand, including the newer Asian and refugee communities.

Service providers need relevant training to ensure that this community engagement happens. Recent developments offer a variety of ways of encouraging this, in particular, the benefits of 'co-producing' services jointly between professionals, communities and users (see next section).

Engagement

Initial engagement

Staff providing programmes for young people find that over and above the particular programme characteristics, some special problems arise in delivering services. The first is that of engaging the young person. Even though the person has volunteered to attend, the first few sessions can either motivate or alienate him or her as a full and willing participant. Many programmes use high incentive and exciting beginnings such as outdoor adventures or other activities to help the individual engage and a positive group climate to develop. Youth activities and sports are valuable in raising self esteem and can be effective in engaging young people but it is important to recognise that these activities alone will not reduce the probability of re-offending (Mason and Prior, 2008).

Removing young offenders briefly from their normal community setting can also be a helpful way to engage them in the early period of non-residential programmes. One-on-one sessions in this early period can build relationships and enable a deeper assessment of the individual needs that will need to be met. Engagement may take many forms; it will vary for different individuals and at different times throughout the programme.

Maintaining engagement

Maintaining involvement is crucial once the excitement wears off and routines are established that do not always appeal to a whole group. Constant vigilance and the adaptation of activities to meet the different needs and rate of progress of young people are required: it is unrealistic to expect one programme to suit everyone.

This is not an easy task when limited funding can mean that there are too few staff to work with all those who may need individual attention. The temptation to offer activities with high universal appeal, rather than individualised programmes that provide more effectively for needs, can appear irresistible.

To produce effective outcomes, considerable time needs to be spent in helping young people develop the skills of managing themselves and relating to others. This in turn means staff must be skilled, well trained in working with difficult young people and able to work relatively independently.

The engagement of both the users themselves and their communities are at the heart of programmes that are effective, across cultures, and throughout different parts of the world.

"I thought I could do stuff without being snapped. Now I can look at the real world. I can't go back to living day to day – smoking drugs. I don't want to end up dead or in prison. I want to get an education or a job – chef or restaurant. Somewhere in the hospitality industry."

Transitioning out

Transitioning from the programme back to the ordinary world is perhaps the most challenging task of all (Becroft, 2009).

Many programmes succeed in engaging and involving young people effectively on a regular basis. But on leaving a programme real world pressures can easily replace good intentions and result in a return to old habits. Drinking and drug-taking are often part of the life of their associates, while the absence of affection from those they wish to please replaces the support given while they were in the programme. In such an environment an unexpected challenge can be the trigger that leads to re-offending.

Relevance

Effective youth justice programmes need to be directly relevant to the young people they address, and respond to them and their communities in ways that respect diversity and need. Strong evidence supports this view.

A recent major review of the youth justice research on effective programmes concluded that: 'programmes of intervention need to be perceived as having relevance to young people's lives, and use methods of work that will interest them' (Mason and Prior, 2008: 12).

This implies, as we have already suggested, careful and in-depth assessment of the needs of each young person and of the contexts in which these needs can be met. Learning styles and the activities that engage and challenge young people will vary, as will young people's capacity to work alone or with others. These will vary not only between individuals but also at different times and in connection with different risks.

Much of the challenge in effective programmes is in making sure that individual goals for each day and each person, together with the methods of achieving these goals, is set out clearly. Success must be achievable: this means activities must lead to early success but must also increase in level of difficulty as success is achieved. Such programming maintains motivation, strengthens morale and self-esteem and allows real achievement to be realised.

Programmes are characteristically accessed when there is a crisis.

Programmes end when the crisis is solved.

Problems occur when there is a need.

Yet problems are only resolved when the family is empowered to meet their own needs.

Responding to individual need

A clear focus on individual needs and a genuine connection with young people's cultures and communities are central principles of New Zealand policy. Developments should be based on 'connecting with young people, whānau and community' (Otimi et al, 2009: 7) and services should be 'young person-centred' (Connolly, 2009: 13).

In order to do this there must be sound knowledge of the life and context of the young people, knowledge of their own world, and of what matters most within it:

Mena e tuumanako an koe kit e moohio
I te haa o te tangata,
Whaia te maaramatanga o toona ao.
If you wish to understand the person,
Know the world in which they live. (Nathan, 2009: 67)

In order to understand, to engage, and to help young people, staff working in youth justice need to develop a 'strong relationship' with them (Connolly, 2009: 13). The review of research unequivocally supports this: 'What was important in ensuring young people engaged in the programmes were long-term, ongoing (that is continuous and sustained) relationships, offering support that was flexible and responsive to young people's needs' (Mason and Prior, 2008: 36).

Community and connectedness

While young people need to be at the centre of the work, the work with their family, whānau and community is vital.

Lessons from over twenty years of Family Group Conference work provide practical examples of ways to obtain engagement, for example, through careful thought about advance preparation, about the wide diversity of family/whānau, about meeting place and style, about information, contribution and recording (Marsh, 2008).

Furthermore, Māori in New Zealand have expanded understandings of how this might be achieved through building mana whenua (a sense of connection with land), respecting whakapapa (ancestral heritage), developing ngaki (the nurture of children by the whole whānau) and whanaungatanga (community connectedness through whānau) while at the same time avoiding processes that result in whakamā (shame).

Emphasising and supporting the role of schools as productive, respectful communities will make an important contribution to helping young people achieve something to do, someone to love and something to hope for.

Building community and building connections in community need to be central aspects of youth justice. For younger people the school community should also be involved. Evidence shows substantial increases in involvement and engagement as a result of restorative approaches (Drewery, 2007; Buckley and Maxwell, 2007) including the use of school-based Family Group Conferences (Holton and Marsh, 2007).

The programmes themselves need to model engagement and involvement in their construction. Durie has proposed a model for programmes to be initiated in communities, based on broad evidence-based guidelines (2009: 246), while Liu has argued for the importance of communication and diversity skills training for staff (2009: 256).

The most effective programmes will be based on evidence and on sound staff development. They also need to be based on a genuine commitment to build on and increase the strengths of service users and of communities, an approach which has recently been characterised as 'co-production', as mentioned in the previous section (Aked and Stephens, 2009; Boyle and Harris, 2009).

Co-production involves services being built on principles that are likely to strengthen the social economy of neighbourhoods and of the family. It involves recognising that people themselves are assets, and that work done in the local social economy, such as raising families, looking after people, and engaging in social justice activities, helps build that social economy and strengthen neighbourhoods, communities, whānau and families.

Co-production may be one of the key means in the future to strengthen engagement and involvement, and to make transition from programme to community relatively seamless, thus actively aiding the effectiveness of programmes.

Co-production is not just consultation, but rather it promotes reciprocity between people, between professional and user, and builds trust and fosters mutual respect.

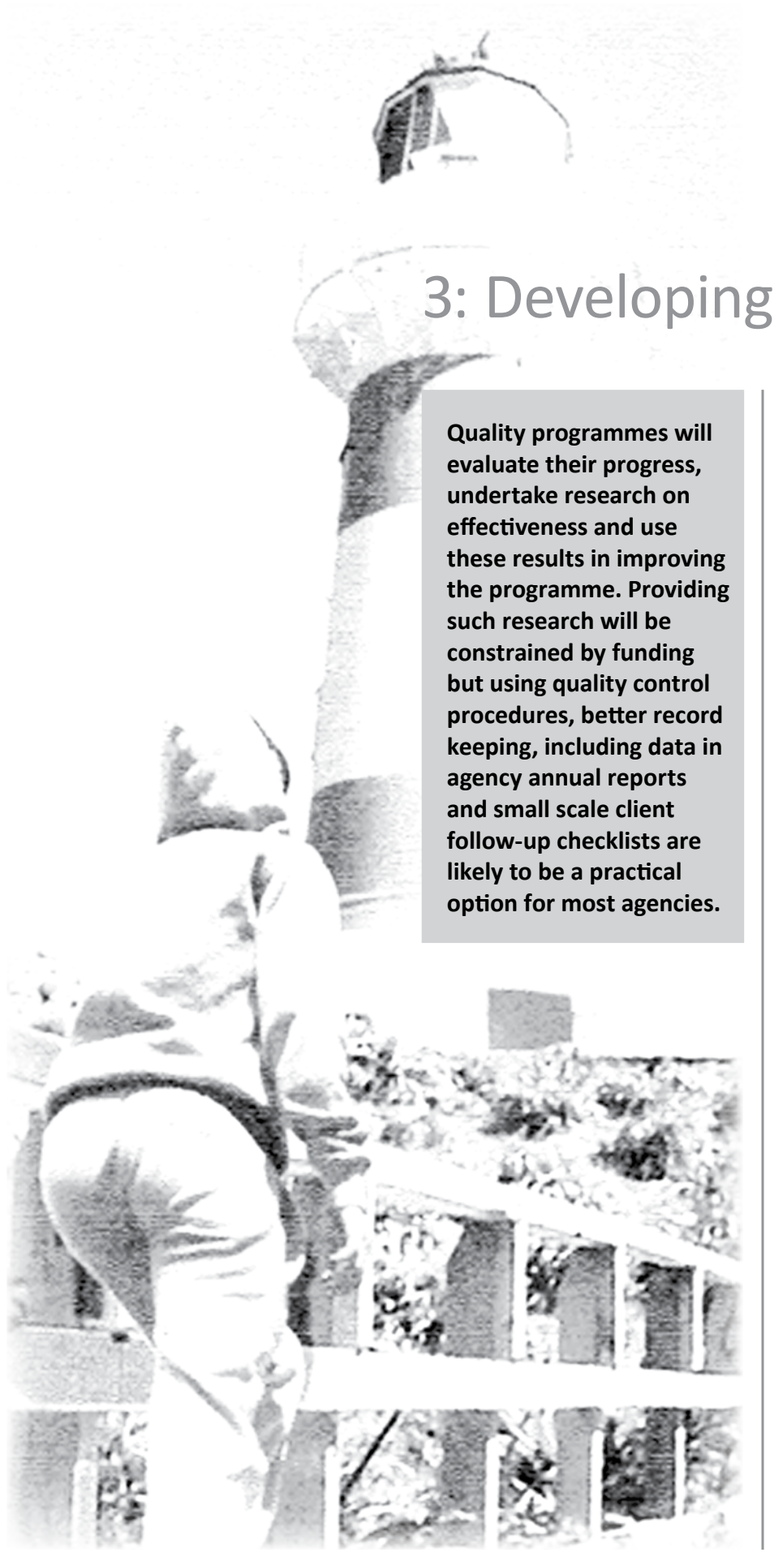
Co-production involves genuine joint development between professionals and different individuals and communities. It builds community strengths. It has been at the heart of some of the most successful initiatives in New Zealand. Te Kōhanga Reo, for example, grew out of the Te Kōhanga community-based programme in the Waikato. Te Kōhanga aimed to provide a pre-school experience that was suitable for Māori children and families and also to be effective in preparing the children for school. The development of Te Kōhanga in partnership with the community was accompanied by research and ongoing monitoring of performance that led to changes designed to maximise benefits (Ritchie, 1978).

Kia Whakaikotahi, a programme reconnecting Maori children and families with their local secondary school, is another example of co-production. Here the community not only participated in the development of the programme but it also provided ongoing feedback which led to its modification.

Family Group Conferences also developed along co-production lines. They were based on strengthening family and community and were modified as a result of consultation with communities. The first examples were developed by a multi-cultural group of social workers in Lower Hutt using the practice and principles of Māori whānau meetings in combination with aspects of developing models of family therapy (Māori Development Unit, 1989).

Currently a number of other such partnerships are evolving throughout New Zealand in many different communities. Good examples include Victory School in Nelson (Victory, 2010), and the Inspiring Communities programmes in a number of different centres (Inspiring Communities, 2010).

3: Developing & assessing programmes



Quality programmes will evaluate their progress, undertake research on effectiveness and use these results in improving the programme. Providing such research will be constrained by funding but using quality control procedures, better record keeping, including data in agency annual reports and small scale client follow-up checklists are likely to be a practical option for most agencies.

Outcomes and investment

Since the 1990s, Government has focused on outputs rather than outcomes in assessing the delivery of services. Evaluation has in general been about ascertaining the quantity and quality of the service delivered, rather than ascertaining its effect.

This report has a strong focus on assessing the outcomes of the services that are provided. The touchstone for people must be the success of these services in meeting the needs that have already been discussed.

To achieve these outcomes, youth justice programmes, as we have seen, must enable young people to find a place in society where they can gain employment, find friends, feel supported, and build a future. Therefore the assessment of outcomes must involve looking at social outcomes, such as strengthening whānau, improving educational achievement and providing supportive communities.

Measuring this social return is important, partly because it enables programme purchasers to see tangible change, and partly because it provides a yardstick by which to judge financial decisions about programme support. As a recent guide to measuring outcomes has put it: ‘financial measures that fail to take account of wider benefits are only able to tell us a limited amount about effectiveness.’ (Lawlor et al., 2009: 4).

Those who invest in programmes should expect a social return and they need to know how that can be assessed. The United Kingdom Cabinet Office has developed a substantial and robust methodology to assess social return on investments. It is based on seven principles: ‘involve stakeholders, understand what changes, value the things that matter, only include what is material, do not over-claim, be transparent, verify the result’ (Cabinet Office, 2009: 9). A measure based on these principles will ensure that investment in preventive programmes can return substantial long term social benefits.

A recent detailed report on United Kingdom children’s programmes notes: ‘The cost to the United Kingdom economy of continuing to address current levels of social problems will amount to almost £4 trillion over a 20 year period. This includes addressing problems such as crime, mental ill health, family breakdown, drug abuse and obesity’ (Aked et al., 2009: 7). Investing in preventive programmes

The funding of social programmes is an investment in our society and in our future.

over a twenty year period could, the authors estimate, reduce the cost of these problems by around £1.5 trillion, with a net return for the investment of £486 billion. Investment in this work has a direct and substantial social and financial return.

Assessment and evaluation

While the literature reviewed here provides good guidelines as to what is likely to be effective, it is still crucial that programmes develop *quality assurance* procedures that assess performance on readily measured indicators. It is also important to conduct both internal and external *programme evaluation* and to commission *independent research* to identify key best practice indicators. Rarely in New Zealand have programmes incorporated even one of these strategies, let alone all three. Nevertheless, it is timely to require programmes to develop strategies that can go some way to achieve at least the first two of these targets.

Programmes should have quality assurance procedures; conduct internal and external evaluation; and commission independent research that focuses on best practice.

Key quality assurance indicators can be assessed by an analysis of programme records using the checklists below. Material from annual reports together with periodic, ideally annual, visits of an independent inspectorial group is the ideal combination to ensure that each programme has appropriate internal and external monitoring procedures. Independent inspection of this kind is not currently available in New Zealand (except from time to time in Child, Youth and Family Residences[2]) but any large funder of services would be wise to develop such a service.

Regular evaluation of client outcomes can be carried out to some extent by the programmes themselves. One method is regularly to use fairly simple exit questionnaires as developed by the Family Works Programme (Presbyterian Support, 2010).

Independent evaluation can be expensive, but if the programme keeps full and detailed records, periodic evaluation research can be carried out for a relatively low cost. Such research can report on achievement of key goals and carry out interviews with small samples of young people and families regarding the extent that needs were met and overall satisfaction with the service. This evaluation is probably most appropriately conducted about one year after exit.

2. CYF is currently using a tool devised by Kaye McLaren (2005-2009), that has not yet been validated, to monitor youth at risk programmes that take court ordered referrals and hopes that in time the data will allow it to develop a reliable tool for assessing effectiveness and for research into effective practice.

More extensive research to identify key issues for best practice in a variety of programmes working with a given client population is more expensive, involves larger samples and almost certainly needs to be undertaken nationally with the support of public funds. Such research has the advantage, however, that it can link outcomes to specific practice features in order to indicate the essential practice features across different types of programmes.

Extensive research of this kind probably needs to be conducted about every ten years to cope with the evolution of practice and theory. New Zealand has rarely had studies of this kind but such research is sorely needed if we are to improve the quality of outcomes and to assess the value gained from various programme options. These arguments are being made increasingly strongly internationally (Marsh and Fisher, 2005).

> "Before I was doing drugs and drinking – sometimes smoking all day. When I didn't have money for dope I robbed houses. I broke into cars. Now I've got a life on this programme. I want success – to attend a mechanics course and get a job that pays good. I don't want to go back to doing drugs."

Documentation and evaluation of programmes

All programmes need:

A. Philosophy and Goals

B. Processes based on best practice evidence

C. To meet young people's needs in 4 key areas

D. Independent assessment

Programme development

A. Philosophy and goals

A succinct statement of the philosophy that underpins the programme should provide an evidence-based yardstick against which it can be assessed.

B. Processes

The programme plan needs to have sufficient capability to meet its goals. This will include resources such as funding, staff, facilities, technology, educational and vocational resources.

The programme plan needs to set out core processes necessary to achieve the above goals. It will cover the following aspects:

1. Intake process – how it operates
2. Programme design – day-to-day activities
3. Plans for individual client – these should specify the relevant people who will be involved
4. Quality indicators that indicate how the programme will ensure
    - Responsiveness
    - Acquisition of new skills and understanding
    - Engaging clients, being fun to take part in
    - Delivered by people who can be trusted
    - Being culturally relevant
    - Keeping children safe
5. Desired outcomes for clients based on evidence – and how they will be assessed
6. Staff characteristics are identified, supported by training and monitored
7. Agency characteristics – how they will be evaluated
8. Other environmental factors likely to affect successful outcomes.

"I started about 13. I needed to have people following me – being tough – being the leader. I did some really tough stuff. Tackling people – going to court. I thought it was cool at first. Then they offered me this course or the residence. I used to think I was the biggest one. But now I use my leadership skill positively."

C. Meet young people's needs

Effective programmes respond to individual needs: 'one size does not fit all'. For each young person there should be an individual profile and an individual programme. Programmes that are effective in assisting the reintegration of young people respond to key needs in areas of skill acquisition, relationship development, health and attitudes as follows:

Skills – The key skills that need to be developed by young people are:

- Literacy
- Numeracy
- Vocational abilities
- Social skills in developing and maintaining relationships
- Life skills in managing one's day-to-day affairs
- Emotional skills such as those relating to the management of anger

Relationships – Secondly, each young person needs supportive and pro-social relationships with:

- Family members
- At least one and preferably two or three close friends
- Others who can provide mentoring and support as a back-up to family and friends

Health – The third area of need is in relation to health:

- Psychological health, especially in relation to psychosis, depression and anxiety, substance abuse, when relevant
- Physical health in relation to any ongoing problems or disabilities such as sight, hearing, mobility and intellectual impairment

Attitudes – Finally, attitudes need to develop that enable the young person to recognise that others should be treated with respect and empathy.

Too often these children have been treated as if they are stupid and incapable of learning. Services need to be delivered that enable the young person to feel proud of achievements and valued as a person.

"Violence has no place in a programme for young people at risk."

D. Programme assessment

To assess any programme it is important to obtain information from a variety of sources. The programme itself is an important source of information on its own operation. Other information can be collected only through interviews with children and young people, family/whānau and/or key community stakeholders.

We have set out the types of information according to the source that can provide it. Inevitably there is overlap. However, the advantage of this arrangement is that it clarifies the approach that is necessary if one is to obtain appropriate information on programme characteristics.

In carrying out programme assessments it is also important to distinguish between relatively simple descriptions of programme characteristics associated with best practice and hard evidence on programme effectiveness. Obtaining the data listed here is indicative only. In-depth research on outcomes for the clients should be undertaken by professional researchers who are independent of those involved in programme delivery, funding or support.

The following pages set out checklists that itemise the information that evaluators should seek, under headings that indicate the most appropriate source.

The information can come from one or more different sources. For this reason we have organised this section under headings that depend on the main sources from which information should be collected. These are:

1. Programme documentation
2. Client's views and direct observation
3. Information directly from family/whānau/parents
4. Information from key stakeholders, including community groups.

The duplication that exists across these four areas will provide some reliability checks.

Checklist for assessing/evaluating the effective programme

1. Programme documentation

A. Goals **The programme has:**	
i.	A vision based on principles and values
ii.	Clear and appropriate goals

B. Service delivery **The programme:**	
i.	Employs staff who are trained, personally suitable for the task and have a track record that indicates their ability to perform
ii.	Employs staff who have understanding of what works and how to translate that into practice
iii.	Demonstrates capacity to deliver on agreed services
iv.	Provides intensive and ongoing services, preferably with at least 50 hours of client contact over a period of at least six months
v.	Keeps ongoing records of the nature and amount of service delivery in terms of contact hours to each client
vi.	Is ongoing – it follows through after the formal aspects of the programme have concluded
vii.	Is able to provide or arrange for individual and group services as appropriate to meet the needs of each young person
viii.	Has quality assurance procedures that identify key delivery characteristics and develop strategies for checking on these. Has regular progamme reviews and external monitoring to ensure that high standards are maintained
ix.	Uses a key worker approach to avoid problems around multi-agency involvement of clients

Effective programmes put the needs of the young people first.

Checklist for assessing/evaluating the effective programme

1. Programme documentation, cont.

C. Addressing needs of the young person The programme:	
i.	Has content matched to individual needs and recognises the vulnerability of most of the clients
ii.	Considers needs in relation to rehabilitation, reintegration and recreation/leisure activities
iii.	Is targeted to neighbourhoods or individuals with needs
iv.	Targets key criminogenic needs such as life and relationship skills, educational/vocational qualifications, pro-social friends and associates, pro-social attitudes and values, responses to psychological problems (anger, substance abuse and mental ill-health)
v.	Assesses relevant needs and vulnerabilities of clients at entry and collects key information on demographic, family history and service provision background
vi.	Is easy to access – for example, provides transport for clients, has suitable disability access

Most of these young people will have been neglected, abused, had multiple homes, will have experienced failure at school and have been the victims of bullies.

D. Transition to community The programme:	
i.	Involves key community support persons and builds community contacts that will provide ongoing support
ii.	Makes robust provisions for transition from programme to community

The success of any programme depends on helping the young person find a place in the community.

Checklist for assessing/evaluating the effective programme

1. Programme documentation, cont.

E. Evaluation The programme:	
i.	Evaluates outcomes at exit
ii.	Provides follow-up data on each young person at least one year after exit, using key indicators and satisfaction ratings from young person, family and other key contacts (e.g. schools)
iii.	Has a capacity to ensure quality and independent evaluation is carried out

F. Training and professional development The programme:	
i.	Has appropriately qualified professional staff
ii.	Provides ongoing professional development

G. Safety The programme:	
i.	Has independent checks on participants from sources other than those involved in service provision
ii.	Has protocols around abuse and neglect
iii.	Has strategies for responding effectively to difficult situations without resorting to the use of violence

H. Funding The programme:	
i.	Has available funding that is secure and sufficient to achieve goals
ii.	Provides appropriate remuneration, continuity of employment, ongoing training and support for staff

Checklist for assessing/evaluating the effective programme

2. Client's views and direct observation

A. Overall The programme:	
i.	Is consistent with its core values
ii.	Respects and values clients
iii.	Keeps children and young people safe from abuse and neglect

B. Consistent with research on effective outcomes The programme:	
i.	Activities focused on specific needs of clients that relate to successful outcomes (see p.11-12)
ii.	Includes an intensive educational/training component which emphasises skill acquisition related to needs
iii.	Adopts both cognitive and behavioural approaches to change
iv.	Demonstrates its capacity to change both behaviours and cognitions – especially those most relevant to re-offending
v.	Provides support and assistance in managing stressors
vi.	Provides positive role models
vii.	Increases positive relationships with others – peers, parents, schools, etc
viii.	Is built around rewards for progress towards identified pro-social goals
ix.	Does not use punitive, deterrent, shaming approaches
x.	Does not focus primarily on generic goals such as self-esteem, occupying time and general non-directive counselling
xi.	Involves key community support persons and builds community contacts that will provide ongoing support

Checklist for assessing/evaluating the effective programme

2. Client's views and direct observation, cont.

C. Client centred The programme:	
i.	Is tailored to specific needs, culture and learning style of the young person
ii.	Is planned and reviewed in conjunction with the young people and their families
iii.	Involves active participation of the young people
iv.	Uses activities that are enjoyable and fun for the young people
v.	Employs key workers who are perceived as trustworthy by the young people and their families

D. Provide ongoing support The programme:	
i.	Provides for follow-up, ongoing support and unmet needs on exit

3. Information directly from family/whānau/parents

The programme:	
i.	Involves parents in planning
ii.	Provides ongoing feedback and consultation on progress by regularly meeting with family
iii.	Builds parental confidence
iv.	Aims to strengthen the family and work in partnership with it
v.	Provides services/ referrals for needs related to parenting

Giving children a voice means making sure that someone is there to listen.

Checklist for assessing/evaluating the effective programme

4. Information from key stakeholders, including community groups

The programme:
i. Involves key community members in consultation over objectives and approaches them in a spirit of partnership and mutual respect
ii. Builds partnerships across cultural groups in the community in planning and service delivery, particularly with Māori
iii. Responds to cultural diversity by working with the appropriate kawa and tikanga (or cultural traditions and practices in the case of cultures other than Māori) and communicates in the variety of languages used by the client population
iv. Provides feedback on progress and outcomes to: • clients • other key agencies also involved with the same clients
v. Selects well trained staff with a variety of ethnic backgrounds and appropriate skills to: • engage clients • enable learning/skill acquisition of clients • manage problem young people

Community is the richest resource for any programme that aims to maintain the gains that are made in the programme.

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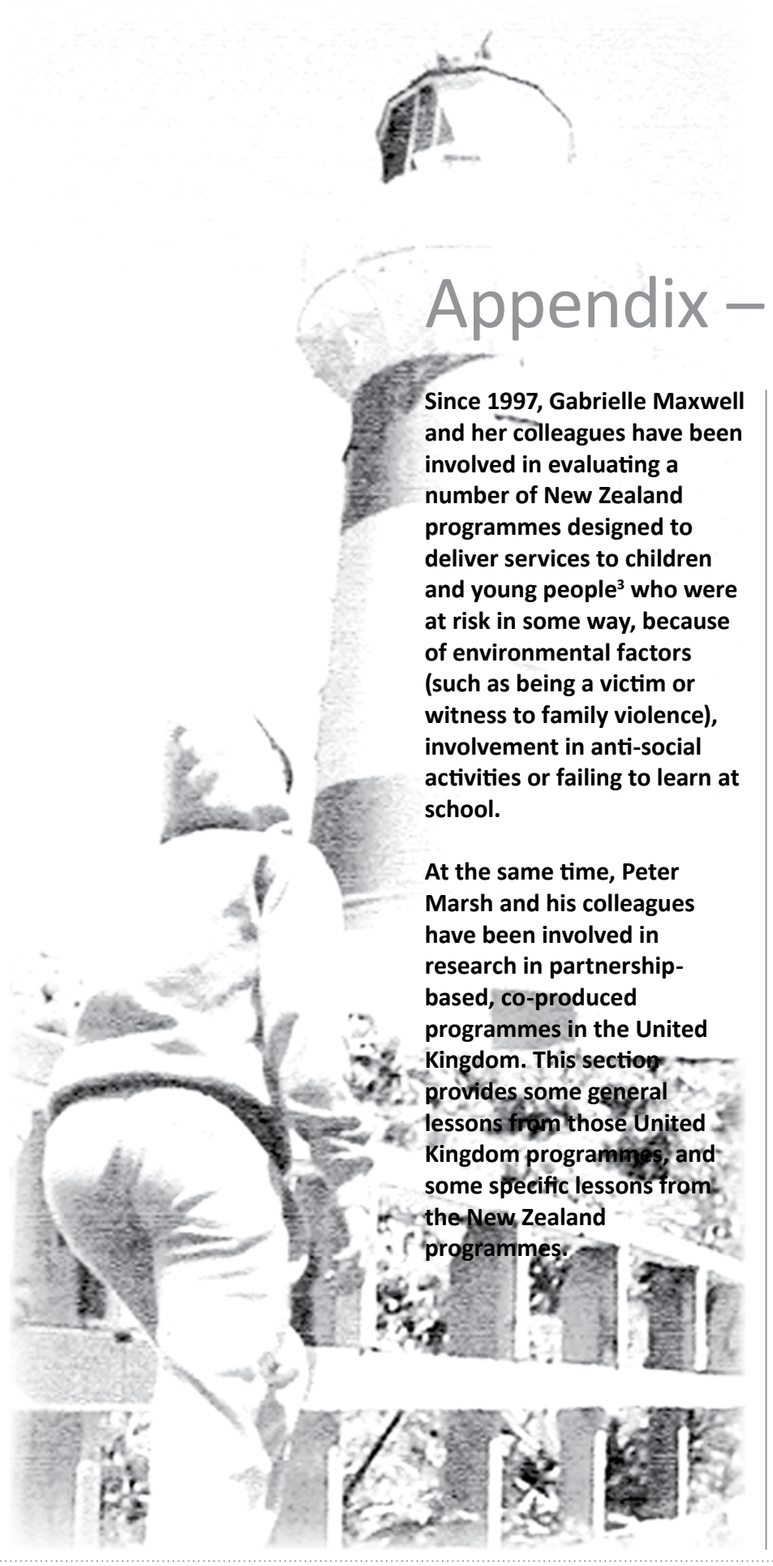
Appendix – Lessons from Research



Since 1997, Gabrielle Maxwell and her colleagues have been involved in evaluating a number of New Zealand programmes designed to deliver services to children and young people[3] who were at risk in some way, because of environmental factors (such as being a victim or witness to family violence), involvement in anti-social activities or failing to learn at school.

At the same time, Peter Marsh and his colleagues have been involved in research in partnership-based, co-produced programmes in the United Kingdom. This section provides some general lessons from those United Kingdom programmes, and some specific lessons from the New Zealand programmes.

Developing partnership-based programmes

In the early 1980s in the United Kingdom a number of studies showed that better child welfare outcomes were achieved when there were consistent and regular attempts by social workers to work in partnership with children, young people and their families.

The elements of partnership were: maximum clarity as to the purpose of the work (agreeing what was to be done), a consistent review of the strengths that all parties brought to the partnership (recognising service user strengths, not just weaknesses), as much professional openness as possible ('putting cards on the table'), and recognising the importance of many partners for the best child welfare (involving not just parents, but also wider family and community).

Four studies developed this approach over the period from mid-1980 to late-1990, covering entry into the care system, leaving the care system, and the development of the approach itself (Fisher et al, 1986; Marsh, 1986; Marsh and Fisher, 1992; Marsh and Peel, 1999).

The work underpinned, and was developed within the United Kingdom 1989 Children Act, and provided some of the United Kingdom groundwork for the development of a Family Group Conference Programme (Marsh and Crow, 1998).

Lessons from five New Zealand studies

A brief summary of the findings from five specific New Zealand studies involving 15 different programmes is presented here in order to provide more detailed examples that are likely to be relevant for various providers who are working in a variety of different programmes in New Zealand.

The first group of programmes focus on children who were victims or witnesses of child abuse. While at first sight this may not seem relevant to young offenders, young offenders are very often the victims of abuse and violence themselves and will therefore have the same needs as this group. Key features related to the success of the programmes are identified.

The second group of three programmes was developed to provide support to children and young people at risk of offending. The key features identified with programme success are listed.

3. In order to reduce repetition, the term 'young people' has been used throughout the remainder of this document to cover both children and young people.

The third example describes an evaluation framework that was designed for research on a number of different programmes set up in five communities in New Zealand. All the programmes aimed to improve the health and education outcomes for youth at risk of offending. The key characteristics that need to be evaluated for comparison across programmes are outlined.

The fourth group provides information from a meta-analysis of programmes operated by the Police that aimed at reducing re-offending by providing services to young people and their families. The programme factors that were related to successful reduction of re-offending are identified, and an analysis of costs and benefits is provided.

The fifth example is of a school-based programme designed to increase the inclusion of family/whānau and young people in education. It offers a model of increasing the involvement of parents in the education of their children. It also provides a description of mentoring approaches designed to increase school participation and educational achievement. This is an important part of reducing and preventing youth offending within a community framework.

1. Programmes for child victims or witnesses of family violence

Six programmes catering for child victims or witnesses of family violence were evaluated over 1997-1999 (Shepherd and Maxwell, 1999a). Three of the programmes provided individual counselling and three provided a group programme involving activities, discussions and games (with the option of individual counselling in addition available through one of these).

Key features identified as being associated with the success of programmes for children and young people were:

- Intake Process. The intake process collected key information on each of the children including:
    - Ages
    - Referral source and background data
    - Nature of experience of family violence
    - Current vulnerability to continued violence
    - Children's needs on entry through interviews with both parents and children
- Programme design. Programmes were able to:
    - Create a safe environment for the children
    - Be responsive to their individual needs
    - Cater for a variety of learning styles in the way content is delivered
    - Be delivered in a variety of different contexts
    - Include 'fun' activities
    - Provide options including group activities and individual counselling – alone or with parents present
- Involvement of both parents and children:
    - Parents reported that they were involved in planning the programme for their child
    - Parents were actively involved in the programme activities
    - Children reported that they were involved in planning what would happen for them
    - Children were actively involved in the learning process

- Programme delivery. The programme was:
    - Appropriate to the developmental level of the child
    - Involved them in learning new skills and
    - Fun to take part in
- Clients' views on key processes (acquiring skills and understandings, trust, enjoyment and cultural relevance):
    - Both parents and children reported that they trusted the staff
    - Both parents and children reported that they had enjoyed the programme
    - Children reported they had learnt from the programme and could remember what they had learnt. In particular they had learnt key concepts including:
        - What family violence is and that other children have had similar experiences
        - Safety plans and how to keep themselves safe
        - Not to blame themselves or feel responsible for family violence
    - Parents reported that they learnt something for themselves
    - Parents of Māori children reported that the programme was 'good for Māori children'
- Staff characteristics:
    - Skills in building rapport
    - Experience in working with children
    - Relevant background training
    - Included facilitators of different ethnicities
    - Received supervision and support
- Agency characteristics:
    - Secure and sufficient funding
    - Quality record keeping including data on initial assessment, client participation, session content, exit assessment and follow-up
    - Good inter-agency communication
    - Provided feedback to those making referrals
    - Carried out evaluation of their programme outcomes
- Community factors – Programmes needed to be part of other interventions (e.g. for other family members) to ensure that the goals of intervention were able to be met through a supportive environment
- Outcomes – Key outcomes were identified and assessed.

2. Child and Young Person's Support Worker Demonstration Projects

Three programmes providing support to children or young people at risk of offending, poor educational attainment and negative social outcomes were evaluated over the period 1997-1999 (Shepherd and Maxwell, 1999b). The programmes took what has been described as a case management or wraparound approach. Almost all those accepted into the programmes had multiple risk factors such as a history of involvement in anti-social behaviour (bullying, fighting, stealing and destructiveness), low self-esteem, a lack of social ties and poor school attitudes. There were also a number of family risk factors such as parental separation, criminal offending and family violence.

Key features identified as being associated with programme success were:

- Intake process:
    - Ensured that parents/caregivers were willing to have the child enrolled, provided relevant information and collaborated in development and implementation of a plan
    - Ensured schools were willing and able to provide relevant information and to collaborate in developing and implementing a plan
    - Consulted key agencies about relevant aspects of the plans for specific clients and informed them about the project
    - Assessed children's needs on entry through interviews with both parents and children
- Programme design: Individual plans were designed for each child that were:
    - Based on an assessment of their individual needs
    - Involved multiple intervention to meet the variety of assessed need
    - Provided for long term intervention as appropriate to needs
    - Able to be met using resources currently existing in that community
- Client involvement in planning:
    - Parents reporting that they were involved in planning the programme for their child
    - Children reporting that they had been involved in planning the programme

- Programme delivery. The programme:
  - Provided therapy as needed
  - Involved them in learning new skills
  - Provided recreation and leisure activities as needed
  - Was rewarding and enjoyable for both parents and children
  - Involved them in planning at all stages of the process and kept them fully informed about all aspects of the plan (including any involvement of other services)
- Involvement:
  - Parents were actively involved in the programme
  - Children were actively involved in the learning process
- Caseworkers' role:
  - Visited regularly
  - Spent time with the children
  - Formed a trusting relationship with the children and parents
  - Liaised with the school
  - Reviewed plans regularly
  - Encouraged parent and child responsibility for decisions
  - Checked progress regularly with any other agency to which a referral was made
  - Provided feedback regularly to parents and referring agencies
  - Minimised the impact of staff changes on clients by appropriate back-up procedures
- Client's views on key processes (acquiring skills and understandings, trust, enjoyment and cultural relevance):
  - Children reported learning from the experiences
  - Parents reported that they received information about what the child was doing and learning
  - Parents and children reported that they trusted the staff
  - Parents and children reported that they had enjoyed the programme
  - Parents of Māori children reported that the programme was 'good for Māori children'

- Inter-agency relationships
  - Quality relationships with local services and programmes from or to whom referrals were likely to be received or made
  - Regular meetings with relevant agencies
  - Keeping relevant agencies informed of changes
  - Consulting with other agencies about proposed changes in policy and plans for specific clients
  - Making publicity material available to relevant agencies
- Community factors
  - A range of appropriate services available for children and families
  - A history of effective inter-agency co-operation
  - A history of effective information sharing
  - Other professionals were able to provide support, supervision and back-up to key workers
- Outcomes
  - Key outcomes were identified and assessed.

In this study, the key outcomes for clients were improved behaviour at school and at home, regular school attendance, decreased involvement in anti-social and criminal activity, and more effective and efficient use of services.

3. Programmes that were part of the 1997 Crime Prevention Package

Maxwell and others (2001) describe the outcomes of an attempt to undertake a meta-evaluation of the impact as a whole of a number of programmes set up in five specific communities in New Zealand. The programmes aimed to improve the health and education outcomes for youth at risk of offending, to improve the ability of the communities in which these young people live to respond constructively to them and to reduce recidivist offending by them.

A literature review provided an analysis of the likely factors that would be associated with success and on this basis a checklist was developed that could suit the needs of a variety of different programmes. The full details of the evaluation framework are contained in Appendix 1 of the report (Maxwell et al, 2001). Key features of successful programmes that were to be included in the follow-up assessment of all participants and their families on exiting the programmes were the extent to which the programmes:

- Provided support to the young person
- Assisted the development of their relationships with others
- Were rewarding for participants
- Involved young people and families in the selection of the goals and methods
- Enabled young people to develop a sense of trust in the providers
- Resulted in specific skills being gained by the young people
- Enabled young people to develop an intention to change constructively
- Used a method of delivery that was culturally appropriate – especially for Māori and Pacific peoples
- Took a holistic response to the range of needs of the young person

Not all programmes reliably collected this data, for reasons set out in the report; thus the usefulness of the framework cannot be completely evaluated from all the participating programmes. However, as described below, data from evaluations using this framework was collected and analysed for a number of Police programmes.

4. Police 'Youth at Risk of Offending' Programmes – 1997-2000

In the 1997 Crime Prevention Package, $2 million was allocated to the New Zealand Police to develop 'youth at risk of offending' programmes for young people throughout New Zealand. Five of these programmes were part of an inter-departmental initiative; and another nine were set up by the Police.

The development and nature of these programmes together with an assessment of the extent to which they met police objectives are described in a report issued by the Commissioner of Police (New Zealand Police, 2002).

Eleven programmes were categorised as adopting a community-based case management approach to each young person and their family. Two programmes were built around a mentoring approach. Another used a school-based model where the local school developed a programme for support of each client and monitored it weekly as well as providing group recreational activities within the school framework. The final programme was a wraparound type 'wellness' programme that was already operating in the area with the support of multiple agencies; the funds were intended to provide mentoring services to those identified as needing them.

Effectiveness in reducing needs was related to the amount of need identified initially: those with few needs to start with showed little change. Those with the greatest need showed impressive changes. The results from the most effective programmes indicate that even young people in a lot of difficulty were capable of benefiting substantially from involvement in the Police Youth at Risk programmes. Additional findings in relation to collecting information on needs and using this are to be found on pages 214-227 of the Police Commissioner's report (New Zealand Police, 2002).

Community-based programmes were, overall, most successful in addressing the needs of clients, followed closely by the programme using a mentoring approach. In contrast, the school-based programme was not as effective in reducing needs. At least in part this was because this programme accepted many young people who were initially low in need.

The amount of contact that a young person had with the programme was the next most important factor in predicting change. Those who

had most contact and were involved in the programme were more likely to improve. In particular, young people who had at least 50 hours contact with the programme and who were involved with it for at least a year showed the greatest reduction in needs.

Unfortunately, despite the number of programmes and referrals made, numbers on whom relevant data on needs and services was provided were small. This limited the power of analyses to determine what other critical factors may have been related to effectiveness. Similarly, there were a number of problems that meant that reliable estimates could not be made of the impact of the programmes on offending.

At that time there were no estimates of the costs of offending by young people with characteristics similar to those of the clients of these programmes. However, there is little doubt that the costs to the community and to the justice system of continued offending would have been much greater than the expenditure on the programmes.

The benefits in crime prevention through reducing victimisation, the costs to Courts (approximately 36 hours per case) and the costs of any court orders represent huge savings to the justice system as a whole (Harrison, 2010).

Expenditure by the Police on programme provision averaged across all the programmes was $2,647 per annum and this amount was approximately matched by donated materials and time from the community. The data showed that there were many cases where there had been relatively little contact with the young person and that re-offending was more likely when this occurred. Overall 39% of those on the programme re-offended and those who re-offended had, on the whole, experienced fewer hours of contact than those who did not.

Although it was not possible to put a dollar figure on the savings from these programmes at that time, it was undoubtedly the case that there were benefits to the community at large and that those benefits were greatest when there was a larger investment in providing needed services to the young people and their families (NZ Police, 2002). Since then, the programmes have been expanded from 13 to 30 in number and another 10 are operated jointly with the Ministry of Justice, making a total of 40. The costs of the programmes are estimated at being roughly equivalent to the amount of time that the police are likely to expend if the young person reoffends – one study shows that re-offending equalled 51% of all cases appearing before the Youth Court in 2003 (Maxwell and Paulin, 2004).

5. Kia Whakakotahi 2009 – a school-based programme

In 2007, Kia Whakakotahi was set up at a secondary school where there were concerns about the difficulties being experienced by some of the Māori students and their families in engaging with the college.

Serious problems with discipline and absenteeism were leading to academic failure and high levels of exclusions. Consultation with staff, parents and the Board led to the establishment of the project, that aimed to develop whānau resilience and social cohesion through promoting the increased involvement of 'hard to reach' families in school and community life and promote active participation of whānau, families and students in the education system.

Key to the programme was the appointment of a community liaison person who was based at the school marae and had connections with local whānau. She was given responsibility for setting up and managing a mentoring programme, arranging a kapa haka programme for the school and building whānau relationships. Whānau became engaged in setting up school activities, field trips, sports day barbecues and fund raising for the school.

Whānau development programmes were offered for parents and monthly whānau meetings were held at the school marae. Restorative conferences were used to assist with the resolution of disciplinary problems and places were found in Māori boarding schools for some of the more difficult students in order to remove them from high risk environments.

This two-pronged process proved successful in increasing the engagement of both family/whānau and students in the school community. Drug trafficking has declined, gangs are no longer a visible presence in the school and the school has been tag free for over a year. Whānau are now more relaxed and frequent participants in school life. Issues with children and whānau are being responded to and resolved earlier and more informally. As well as a decline in disciplinary problems, especially those of the more severe kind, student achievement has increased markedly as indicated in NCEA passes. In addition, there has been a considerable increase in retention of students in year 12.

This study points to the potential effectiveness that results from the engagement of community in supporting students, resolving problems and improving connectedness.

The resources put into the programme have undoubtedly proved a wise investment. Even at a fiscal level, the size of whānau contributions to school funds goes a long way to offsetting the costs of the community liaison and additional expenses for programmes based on the marae. It must be noted, too, that much of the input comes from community volunteers rather than in the form of direct grants, which mitigates the direct costs to the school.

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