**Probation policy and practice with vulnerable women:
a focus on the challenges of organisational and personal
change for women workers and women service users**

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The thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of
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Declaration

Whilst registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and conclusions embodied in this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other academic award.

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Abstract

Probation policy and practice with vulnerable women: a focus on the challenges of organisational and personal change for women workers and women service users

The central theme of this thesis is an analysis of probation worker practices when managing women service users. Research took place in two probation trusts during the period immediately preceding the formal implementation of the Transforming Rehabilitation initiative. Some implications of the changes were already becoming apparent. The PhD investigates the probation process, using converging methodological approaches to look at how practitioners (including probation officers, probation service officers and women's centre workers) make decisions about the women under their supervision, what resources are available to them, and what happens during the supervision interviews, which are at the core of probation work. Tensions between gender-responsive approaches and institutional constraints are highlighted.

Literature on the place of women involved with the criminal justice system is investigated, as well as the influence of feminist academics in raising awareness of discrimination within criminal justice agencies relating to vulnerable women and female workers.. Commentators whose writings have progressed relevant debates are explored, against the backdrop of the ideologically-based principles of Transforming Rehabilitation.

I analyse empirical data from research interviews with practitioners and women service users, participant observation and, uniquely, the videoing of supervision sessions. Alongside a combination of different methodological techniques of enquiry and analysis, involving thematic, case study and discourse analysis, an original contribution is made, identifying themes and patterns which offer an improved understanding of supervisory interactions. The main arguments of the thesis, deriving from a rich data collection and detailed analysis, are the difficulties in instituting supportive gender-responsive practices designed to bring about real change in the lives of women under probation supervision. A focus is also on the broader political measures for probation employees through privatisation and the social impact of austerity cuts. These changes render women workers in particular increasingly vulnerable to worsening work-place conditions and demonstrate how these pressures also affect facilitative one-to-one interventions.

Acknowledgements

Dissemination

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- Goldhill, R. (2017) Videoing supervision: messages for practice. *British Journal of Social Work Practice,* 31, (3), 279-292, DOI: 10.1080/02650533.2016.1253005
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- Goldhill, R. (2018) *Videoing supervision sessions: messages for practice.* Key note speaker CRC Conference, Isle of Wight, 10.01.2018
- Goldhill, R. (2017) *Stalled systems: vanishing provision for women in the criminal justice system,* York St. John conference, 14.07.2017
- Goldhill, R. (2017) *TRagedy – privatisation policies, practitioners and probationers.* Invited workshop speaker to Women in Napo conference, 16.06.2017
- Goldhill, R. (2017) *Advances or retreats? Community provision for women service users in England and Wales.* Invited workshop speaker to Probation Institute conference 13.06.2017
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Glossary

ABH	Assault and bodily harm
APPG	All Party Parliamentary Group (on Women in the Penal System)
ASC	Autistic Spectrum Condition
CA	Conversational Analysis
CS	Children's services
CJS	Criminal justice system
CRI	Crime reduction initiatives
CRC	Community rehabilitation company
CDP	Critical Discursive Psychology
DA	Discourse analysis
DA	Domestic abuse
DipPS	Diploma in probation studies
DRR	Drug rehabilitation requirement
DV	Domestic violence
FIW	Family intervention worker
GBH	Grievous bodily harm
GR	Gender responsiveness
HV	Home visit
HWC	Holistic women's centre
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
NOMS	National Offender Management Service
NPS	National Probation Service
NQO	Newly qualified officer
OEP	Offender Engagement Programme
ORA	Offender Rehabilitation Act
PbR	Payment by results
PD	Personality disorder
PQF	Probation Qualification Framework
PO	Probation officer
PSO	Probation service officer
PTSD	Post-traumatic stress disorder
RAR	Rehabilitation Activity Requirement

RP	Reflective practice
SEEDS	Skills for Effective Engagement and Development and Supervision
SFO	Serious further offending
SS	Social Services
SSSO	Suspended Sentence Supervision Order
TR	Transforming Rehabilitation
WCW	Women's centre worker
WSU	Woman service user
WW	What Works
XPT	X Probation Trust
YOT	Youth offending team
ZPT	Z Probation Trust

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Symbols used in transcription

italics = words that are emphasised or stressed

(brackets) = non-verbal response e.g. (laughs)

(brackets) = contextual information e.g. (looks away)

(2.0) = pause for 2 seconds

R. = Rachel / researcher's voice

…   = Unfinished sentence (voice trails off)

] [= Interrupted sentence

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Identification of the research problem

Since the 1990s the focus of criminal justice agencies has been predominantly on dangerousness, risk and punishment; this emphasis on punitiveness has been problematic for women in the criminal justice system as they mostly do not fit the profile established for male offenders. The fact that women offend less frequently, and their offences are less serious, mean that they have been frequently ignored in penal policy directives and often led to relative neglect of female offenders in mainstream criminology.

The thesis critically analyses key issues of criminal justice and specifically probation work with women who offend. Supervising women in probation is identified as problematic in the research literature, not simply because of the women's personal experiences of oppression in the home and society, but because the organisation itself is ill-equipped to deal with these matters (Blanchette and Brown, 2006; Gelsthorpe, Sharpe and Roberts, 2007; Covington, 2008; Caulfield, 2010; Gelsthorpe, 2011). Feminist calls for different ways of working with women, as well as a spate of suicide tragedies occurring in custody, stimulated the New Labour government to commission the Corston Report (2007). The report's ideas and proposals subsequently appear in guidance documents for probation practitioners (NOMS, 2008; MoJ, 2012; NOMS, 2017). As a former probation officer and currently as a probation educator, I am personally aware, through my own experiences as well as comments made by probation officer colleagues and probation students, that working with women is difficult at several levels. Within the supervisory process, women are often viewed as chaotic and demanding in terms of time and energy, because of their multiple practical and emotional problems. Recommendations which point out what is beneficial for women are seen as too difficult and too costly to implement, both within the criminal justice system and for financing gender-related enterprises in the community, for example, the NHS and Housing departments (Annison, Byng and Quinn, 2018).

Because of lack of community resources, sentencers (and sometimes the women themselves) believe that they would be better off in prison to receive more 'help' in the short-term. Such moves, however, increase the harm done, by separating the individuals from their families, geographically and emotionally, further marginalising them through unpleasant custodial experiences, and introducing to their lives the stigma following incarceration (Women in Prison, 2017). This often leads to long-term practical disruptions, such as loss of their homes and care of their children, alongside deterioration in their mental health, including increases in self-harming behaviours. The impact of separation and disruption is noted as being equally detrimental in their offspring's lives (Minson, 2017).

This thesis examines the period immediately preceding the Coalition Government's implementation of the Transforming Rehabilitation (TR) agenda (September 2012 to January 2015). It was a time of substantial change involving the commodification of offenders, and women service users (WSUs) in particular, which presented significant challenges for all levels of staff and service users. The TR reorganisation divided the probation service, establishing a publicly operated National Probation Service, dealing with the highest risk cases, and privatised the other half by creating community rehabilitation companies (CRCs). Although the study took place in an organisation which has now seemingly completed that metamorphosis, the research findings still hold implications for practitioners, probation students and the partnerships in privatised and public sector agencies. They are of relevance as they offer a unique approach for improved understanding of what constitutes current good practice in supervision of women service users (WSUs), and the means of bringing this about. At a time when there is likely to be further change (MoJ, 2018), the evidence-base also benefits from a broader and more in-depth examination of supervisory interaction by considering the best practice ways to proceed in the future.

1.1.1 A brief note about the chosen terminology

A more detailed critique of language is given in Chapter 3 (3.2.2). However, it is considered helpful to explain at this point the labels used throughout the thesis. 'Service user', to describe those who are the subject of statutory orders, has been in common usage in probation since 2010. This is partly the influence of the short-lived implementation of Skills for Effective Engagement and Development and Supervision (SEEDS) based on desistance studies (Rex and Hosking, 2013; Sorsby, Shapland, Farrall, McNeill, Priede and Robinson, 2013). Ironically an associated part of the desistance focused strategy was named the offender engagement programme (OEP), deriving from the correctional emphasis in the late 1990s to the 2000s and most POs still use a mix of terms – offender and service user. It is noticeable though that voluntary partnership agencies have had considerable influence on the culture, pushing for more collaborative work and less of a 'them' and 'us' scenario (Bland and Townend, 2017). Several probation officers therefore refer to their cases in this way. Although there are concerns that this may be a tokenistic gesture and a subtler way of retaining control, it can also be considered a way of enhancing individuals' positions and encouraging front-line workers to share their power (Ocloo and Matthews, 2016).

As these latter values underpin this thesis, the term women service users (WSUs) is employed throughout. In this project, which took place before CRCs were formally established, qualified officers are referred to as probation officers (POs) and those without a formal qualification are referred to as probation service officers (PSOs). Employees of the holistic women's centres (HWCs) are called women centre workers (WCWs). At times the terms probation workers and practitioners are also utilised.

1.1.2 Aims and objectives of the studies

- To investigate the process of supervision for women in the community looking in detail at the communications between the pairings of practitioner/woman service user (WSU). There is to be a particular emphasis on whether certain practices provide positive triggers or create barriers to personal change processes.

- To present different viewpoints through acknowledging the voices of those directly involved in the supervision process – the practitioners and the WSUs. Although the desistance and Good Lives Model research has built up a picture of good practice (Trotter, 1999; Whitehead, Ward and Collie, 2007; McNeill and Weaver, 2010), few empirical studies exist of stakeholder perspectives on the nature and standards within supervision. This study recognises the gap and one objective is to provide new and original material in this area.

- To explore how wider organisational, political and societal issues, particularly involving the deep-seated changes emanating from the TR implementation, impact on the practitioner/service user dynamic to enhance or inhibit personal change processes.

1.1.3 Primary research question:

How do practitioners manage WSUs in the community, and in what ways do WSUs understand their probation management?

Secondary research questions

To what extent are women-specific proposals and practices known and implemented within probation agencies?

What are the key elements of the practitioner/service user relationship?

How do supervision interviews function, and what are the interactional practices characterising positive and negative relationships?

1.2 A guide to the thesis

The theoretical framework for the thesis is traced within the literature review, examining attitudes to women who come within the remit of the Criminal Justice System (CJS), and explaining the way that different writings from second, third and fourth wave feminism influence work with vulnerable women. The origins of feminist notions of victimisation are explored, leading to Corston's (2007) review of women with

vulnerabilities in the CJS. How these ideas have been further developed by Covington is then examined to offer greater understanding of the effects of trauma (One Small Thing, 2015a). Literature focusing on the differing discourses within probation, and the way they impact on WSUs and probation workers is also investigated. A particular emphasis is on Huppatz's perspectives on gender capital, habitus and the field, adapted from Bourdieusian writings, which reveal the pressures on probation women workers, at all levels of the organisation, to conform to the dominant discourse.

Chapter 3 presents the probation service, its values, practices, and to whom it is accountable. It starts by explaining the supervision processes and tasks for practitioners, underlining some of the more significant policies and legislation. It maps out how qualifications and training have changed over the past 25 years, bringing with them new values and organisational goals. Issues around language are detailed, highlighting associations between discourses and professional values and ethics. Finally, the chapter looks at WSU sentences and the legislation which underpins them, considering the new directives brought in by TR.

Contained within the fourth chapter are the recruitment of participants and range of methods employed for this PhD. An innovative qualitative approach is taken by using a variety of research methods, producing large amounts of rich data which is then investigated through three different types of analysis. Direct participant observation is undertaken initially as part of an ethnographic approach to consider the work environment. In addition, the supervisory practice of practitioners with WSUs is interrogated through taking the original step of video recording supervision sessions, then investigating them through discourse analysis techniques, in conjunction with semi-structured interviews, to include interpretations from both sets of actors. The wider political/cultural context is addressed and the ways it impacts on everyday probation practice and the lives of the women is shown.

The first data chapter (chapter 5) is an ethnographic analysis, drawing out the issues around gender responsiveness in probation settings with regard to WSUs. It considers Corston's contribution and then unpacks the MoJ (2012) policy guidance issued by the organisation deriving largely from Corston's report. It looks especially at practitioner awareness of the document, the purpose of establishing positive relationships and the place of women-only environments in probation agencies. By linking these aspects to the data, it attempts to see how guidance is implemented in practice and understand the real issues beyond the guidelines.

In chapter 6, the focus is on examining gender responsiveness to the impact of trauma and victimisation, through four case studies. The way that the complex needs of women who come into the criminal justice system are acknowledged and met within the supervisory relationship is of central importance. The various factors which contribute to a positive or negative outcome are considered, in terms of the women's characteristics, their locality and available resources, the stage in their order, and significantly the actions taken by probation and partnership statutory agencies.

Chapter 7 analyses interaction during supervision sessions of four pairings of POs/WCWs and WSUs. Using discourse analysis techniques, this micro approach opens different practices to close examination. What contributes to a helpful and empowering meeting and equally which aspects prohibit this occurring are shown through the detail of transcribed extracts. Drawing also on comments from the research interviews, the analysis attempts to achieve an understanding of the broader picture for both the WSU and the practitioner, in respect of their positions within the organisation and the community.

The final chapter discusses and summarises the findings, setting out recommendations for practice, policy, funding and future research. The chapter looks at what steps are needed in order for WSUs to be dealt with helpfully in the community. It focuses also on issues for probation officers and the pressures which exist in the job, lack of work-place-support and personal issues outside work.

Chapter 2: Women in the Criminal Justice System: literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature about women in the criminal justice system. It begins with a historical perspective, outlining early (male) criminologists' views of women offenders based largely on female biological differences to men. The intention is to situate female offenders within the criminal justice process, demonstrating that historically and currently they remain marginalised and a low priority. Despite being heavily criticised by criminologists, especially 'feminist' (mostly women) academics, early writings continue to be influential in the treatment of women who offend and those who supervise them. Women's invisibility in the CJS is often explained by economies of scale; namely that female crimes are committed in insufficient numbers to warrant attention and, in the majority, women commit less serious offences (Carlen, 2002: 4). There are however other reasons, deeply entrenched in society, politically and in the discourses, which surround women. The significant rise in numbers of arrested women since the early 1990s, and the increase in harsher women's punishment through imprisonment, has wider implications for society.

Since feminism became prominent, debates have focused on whether women are the same or different to men and to each other, and the implications this has for women's equality. Second wave feminism in the 1970s raised the female profile, by promoting greater awareness of the wide-spread sexual violence perpetrated against women. The focus tended to be on the homogeneity of all women, ignoring differences of race, age and class. These gaps were addressed more thoroughly by third wave feminists in the 1990s. The literature suggests that these new perspectives and discourses have seeped into Government reports and plans for practice, but never sufficiently to majorly change women's marginalised position in the CJS or wider society.

Political discourses and behaviours changed in the 1990s and have affected policy, organisational guidance and practice. These discourses, managerialist/privatisation, punitive/correctional, risk, desistance and welfarist/compassionate in the probation setting, form the last part of this chapter, and the implications they have for women are examined.

2.2 Women as offenders

2.2.1 Early views of women and criminality

According to Jones (2006), early views of women and criminality are typified by Cesare Lombroso's 'the Female Offender' which drew on Darwin's theory of evolution, evoking women criminals and prostitutes as biologically underdeveloped and unable to follow social rules and roles. These ideas are reinforced through religion, establishing a natural order; a male God who 'names' the world, instilling maleness as the norm in society (Spender, 1998: 167). There are contradictions in this analysis with women being viewed as developmentally and physically inferior to men, yet they are far less criminal. Contradictory characteristics are attributed to women offenders as simultaneously masculine, infantile, forthright, rough, sexual and lacking in maternal instincts (Heidensohn, 1985: 114). Heidensohn states that women are supposed to subscribe exclusively to social constructs of femininity, such as passivity, obedience and subservience, thus women's activities are controlled. Scraton (1990: 20-1) argues that mainstream criminological discourses, Marxist, realist, critical and traditional, normalise patriarchal expressions and structures, and women are construed as homogeneous, one 'biological womanhood'.

Descriptions of women's deceitfulness, in manipulating men sexually and extending to other areas of life, are taken further through the misogynistic conclusions drawn by Pollak (1961, cited in Newburn, 2013: 310). He links the ability to fake orgasm and hide menstruation as evidence of women's deceitful natures, representing women as innately dishonest, devious and over-sexualised. Transposed onto other areas, such as legal texts, biological determinism's negative simplifications and distortions repeat binary opposition categorisations of 'good' and 'bad' women (Klein, 1973: 3); virgin/whore; wife/witch; Madonna/Magdalene (Heidensohn, 1985: 39). As Klein (1973) notes, double standards are applied; none of these judgements are applied to men because, until recently (for example #metoo), it has been considered normal and worthy of respect for men to possess uncontrollable sexual urges and generally behave badly (Khomami, 2015). The male privilege afforded by a patriarchal social structure places far fewer social constraints on how men are expected to behave. What constitutes reasonable and rational behaviour is therefore very clearly differentiated by gender in such a system. Kitzinger and Frith's (2001) research into date rape situations shows men being supported by societal discourses. Justifications for their abusive behaviours rest on protesting they misunderstood the women. Kitzinger and Frith (2001: 182), however view the women as giving socially recognised messages that they are refusing unwanted sex. Inherent is male aggression towards women and the sense of entitlement to sex, perpetuating stereotyped social roles. These same attitudes are evidenced recently in a research report on rape (End Violence Against Women, 2018).

Some popularised, supposedly feminist, studies in the 1960s and 70s continued to be influenced by traditional biologically determinist approaches to deviant women, and these too retain attitudinal influence in the twenty-first century. For example, Dalton (1961) established an influential theory which linked menstruation to crime, following research in a prison with women under 55 years, 'The hormonal changes of menstruation probably make the individual less amenable to discipline,' thus assuming causal connections between 'irritability'/loss of temper and violent assault (Dalton: 1961: 1753). In court, the supposedly 'healthy, natural process' of menstruation is shown in Newton's (2012: 398) research as still fixed as a taboo subject, publicly shrouded in secrecy, disgust, shame and blame. Adler's (1975) suggestion is that Women's Liberation led to the adoption by criminal women of male traits such as aggression and competitiveness 'forcing their way into the world of major crimes' (Adler, 1975: 12-13, cited by Heidensohn, 1985: 153). Commentators (Heidensohn, 1985; Pollock and Davis, 2005; Batchelor, 2005; Heidensohn, 2012) have disputed reductionist causal theories of growing female violence as an offshoot of female emancipation whereby, 'young women are aping and mimicking the traditional behaviour [of] young men' (Geoghegan, 2008, cited by Batchelor, 2009: 400); binge drinking 'ladettes' remain favourite newspaper stories (Hedderman, 2010: 486-7). Heidensohn (1985: 184) maintains that straying from supposedly innate feminine characteristics, upsets 'social propriety,' arousing condemnation and loss of a woman's 'good name'. Acting as a means of 'social control', 'it is largely men, with some support from the feminine community, who control female reputations'. Heidensohn (1985) draws on portrayals of women in the media and popular culture, arguing that these are further forms of control, cementing concepts of what is women's 'natural' behaviour and, where any deviations occur, they are treated harshly.

2.2.2 Feminist perspectives of women in the criminal justice system

Burgess-Proctor (2006) explains that second wave feminist criminological critiques sought to alter the culture of ignoring and minimising women in the criminal justice system (CJS), both as offenders and as victims. Radical/critical criminology's lack of interest in inequalities that did not relate to class or wealth, drew opposition from feminists who insisted on the inclusion of gender as a form of discrimination. Women became more centrally placed in the discipline of Sociology, beginning with a major study by Smart (1976), exposing that prejudices towards women were prolific in the CJS, which reflected broader societal mindsets (Naffine, 1997: 32). Heidensohn (1985: 150) identifies Smart's (1976) 'Women, Crime and Criminology' as the 'first full-length' analytical contribution, introducing the concept of feminism to the debate. Smart (1976: 185) highlights indifference towards women's offending *and* women's victimisation, arguing that academia must look further than 'the study of men and crime'.

Burgess-Proctor (2006) documents that as feminism became more firmly embedded, opposing outlooks separated feminist groups. Liberal feminists saw gender as the principal feature of women's oppression encompassing political, social, legal and economic inequality. The inequality arose from the worth placed on male characteristics such as aggression and competitiveness leading to social power. Women were viewed as having more limited reasons and opportunities to offend than men because of traditional confinement within family and other close relationship spaces. Radical feminists targeted patriarchy, men's authority in society and the family, as the source of women's disempowerment, making connections between women's offending and their victimisation experiences perpetrated by men. Marxist feminism focused on women as constituting the underprivileged classes, whereby crimes were committed to take them out of poverty and feed their children.

Before the 1970s, Gelsthorpe (2004: 79) highlights that in university criminology departments too, a male lens dominated academic research. It is only with second wave feminism emerging in the 1960s and 1970s that patriarchal structures, which privilege men and dictate women's behaviour, start to be challenged. Heidensohn (2010), an influential force in the development of feminist criminological analyses of women offenders, offers a critical assessment of her own 1965 research and subsequent article 'The deviance of women' (1968). She recounts how the lack of a feminist language at that time, for both the researcher and the women, led to scholars appropriating discourses of the period with 'stereotypical lines about "bad girls and fallen women"'. Heidensohn recalls how her concern for the women prisoners in her study went unrecognised, and was met with perplexity by her academic colleagues, policy makers and prison staff because, 'women formed such a small percentage of offenders and, for the most part, committed trivial crimes, they were not judged to present serious policy problems' (Heidensohn, 2010: 129). Statistics from the early 1980s show that women represented only 14% of indictable (more serious) offences, but that cautioning told a different story. 34% of females but only 17% of males were 'cautioned for indictable offences' (Heidensohn, 1985: 6). Numbers are much the same for the previous 10 years. Women are seen to be treated leniently through cautions, whilst men go to custody.

Central to these debates is whether women should be treated the same or differently to men. The 'sameness approach' argues for 'gender-neutral "equal treatment under the law"' (Burgess-Proctor, 2006: 32), but opponents argue that the law is far from neutral and is dominated by male norms. Worrall (1990: 16) cites Carlen (1976) who argues that courts are viewed as 'homogeneous, unproblematic, external, inevitable, essential and eternal', but this fails to take account of broader gender inequalities, constituting women's everyday experience. Arguments which advocate difference are also rejected as they seem to encourage the notion that women require protection and special treatment. For example, where parenthood is seen as mitigation in sentencing it appears to offer equality, but disproportionately favours

women with children. Burgess-Proctor (2006: 33) asserts that inadvertently this can lead to the infliction of harsher penalties on 'childless women'.

A comprehensive report on sentencing in England was carried out in the mid-90s by Hedderman and Gelsthorpe (1997). Their findings confirm that despite belief in the neutrality of the CJS process, there existed significant disadvantages for women offenders. Gelsthorpe and Loucks (1997: 31), examining the decision-making process, expose a number of myths and preconceptions about women. They observe that magistrates believe that female court appearances are rare (whereas the reality is that one in six of adult offenders in that survey are women). Subsequently the belief is that women tend to be 'less criminal, less experienced and less likely to return to court than men' (Gelsthorpe and Loucks, 1997: 31). A few magistrates differ from this viewpoint, stating that because a woman has progressed so far in the process her behaviour must be worse (than a man's) to warrant a court appearance. Body language of the woman offender is viewed as critical in judging the woman's attitude and to assess if she is taking the court process seriously. Emphasis is placed on 'common sense' by the magistrates to explain and defend their sentencing decisions, with an inability to offer substantive reasons. Magistrates' decisions were found to be constrained by their own world views and prejudices and therefore not 'neutral and fair' (Hedderman and Gelsthorpe, 1997: 57-8). A conundrum is noted in the conclusion that gender stereotypes are hard to challenge as differences between men and women do exist and feed into these stereotypes. The findings from the report reveal no 'deliberate discrimination', with women frequently receiving similar sentences to men, for example, for a first offence involving violence (Hedderman and Gelsthorpe, 1997: 56).

What is highlighted is that sentencing decisions rely on the way female offenders act in the courts, splitting them into binary categories, in this case either 'troubled' or 'troublesome'. For women who are viewed as more 'troubled' than men, probation is the preferred sentence because it is seen as providing help. It is argued that more appropriate 'help' should be forthcoming from agencies outside the CJS. The consequence of such well-meant actions is that women are up-tariffed, making custody a more likely option in the future (Hedderman and Gelsthorpe, 1997). The conclusions, that women are treated more leniently than men, are substantiated by this report. However, concerns are noted over the use of 'common sense' and 'gut feelings' to determine who is 'respectful or rebellious, remorseful or rancorous' (Hedderman and Gelsthorpe, 1997: 57). Carlen (2002: 8) agrees that '*overall*' there is greater leniency shown to women' but argues that certain types of women are discriminated against and judged more harshly. In earlier research, Carlen (1983) cited by Heidensohn (2007: 504) found, for example, that Scottish sheriffs sentenced women for 'double deviance', as bad mothers as well as for their crimes. Carlen (2002) argues that women brought up in care, women who have had their own children removed from their care, women who are not living in a nuclear family and those who belong to black, Asian and

minority ethnic (BAME) groups are more likely to receive prison sentences. Due to these 'structural inequities' it becomes difficult to filter out when sentencing decisions are solely based on gender (Carlen, 2002: 8-9), or more likely to be issues containing women's multiple identities.

Lloyd's (1995) book, Doubly Deviant, Doubly Damned similarly highlights many of the above issues. She specifies that 'women's violence comes from a place different from men's' and that 'a "violent" woman is not the female equivalent of a violent man' (1995: 190). It is argued that the traits bestowed on women by a 'male-powered society', such as passivity and being hormone-driven individuals in need of a psychiatric input are masculinist simplifications and do not encapsulate the complexities of women's lives (Lloyd, 1995: 191). Moreover Lloyd (1995: 193) describes the criminal justice system as collusive, 'deeply embedded in a very traditional and conservative part of the society on whose behalf it operates'.

2.2.3 Influences from the third and fourth waves, standpoint feminism, intersectionality, and technology

Increasingly attempts were being made by feminist researchers to create standpoint epistemologies where 'Standpoints are not given, they are chosen' (Carlen and Worrall, 2004: 177), recognising that selectivity is entailed. Carlen and Worrall (2004) argue that the researcher is not solely 'a professional criminologist' but has a personal identity embodied by their own age, class, gender and ethnicity, which needs to be made explicit and is relevant to the analysis. They identify Cain as one of the first feminist theorists to make connections between research, her own place in society and expressing the need to be party to political action, making alliances with the broader 'feminist struggle' (Cain, 1990: 133). Cain (1990: 134) argues that one of the merits of standpoint epistemologies is to 'evade dominant knowledges', being personally and theoretically reflexive', understanding one's own situation personally and professionally 'as well as with relationships of more general scope such as class, race, age and gender' (Cain,1990: 133). The standpoint criminological research focus is also concerned with giving women a voice to express their situations and tackling dilemmas around differentials of power amongst women (Cain, 1990). Cain (1990: 127) proposes a mapping of relationships which will produce several 'knowledges for women' that do not claim to be 'right' or 'even successful' (Cain, 1990: 132), because integral to this approach is the personal reflexivity and movement, making observations about the world which are constantly transforming. For example, Carlen, in the 1980s, takes a standpoint approach by asking women research participants to tell their personal stories, including details around their criminality (Naffine 1997: 45). She thereby endows them with an authority, previously granted only to criminologists. By employing their interpretations to explain the realities of women's lives, she grants agency to the women and places them centrally in the research. Although Carlen strives to collaborate with the women, they are not co-authors on equal terms. Carlen is an 'expert' criminologist, and it is she who finalises research decisions (Naffine, 1997: 48).

The recognition that arguments around gender oppression are not the preserve of white, middle class women, and that BAME and class issues create a multi-dimensional and complex focus, was promoted amongst third wave feminists. The contention of radical feminists of the second wave was that patriarchal domination encompassed every area of society, and it was this power exclusively which caused women's oppression (Mackinnon, 1991, cited by Burgess-Proctor, 2006: 33-4). Subordination of women, embedded within social institutions, implicitly condones oppressive and harmful behaviours towards women such as domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment and pornography (Walklate, 2004). However, BAME, lesbian and marginalised women reject an exclusive, binary focus of man/woman because it neglects their specific experiences of oppression (Bell, 1996; Edwards, 1996; Burgess-Proctor, 2006).

Intersectional feminism explains in what ways privileged women benefit, often unconsciously, from the marginalisation of other women (Burgess-Proctor, 2006: 38). Crenshaw a US civil rights activist and law academic who coined the term 'intersectionality' places individual experiences of violence not as one-off incidents but part of and subject to the social system. She is critical of 'identity based politics' whereby women are classified as BAME, working class, lesbian, gay, trans and having disabilities (Crenshaw, 1993: 1242), arguing that gender narratives are grounded in white middle class women's experiences and narratives around ethnicity derive from black male experiences. Crenshaw emphasises that it is important to avoid mapping out these 'exclusive domains' making each of the identities separate. BAME women and others should not be defined *either* by gender *or* by race and in the process become marginalised by both groups suppressing and making invisible differences of colour, 'Although racism and sexism readily intersect in the lives of real people they seldom do so in feminist and antiracist practices…they relegate the identity of women of color to a location that resists telling' (Crenshaw,1993: 1242). Crenshaw (1993: 1297) contends that power is socially constructed and privileges specific groups whilst others are detrimentally affected, producing 'social hierarchies' within feminist movements. She claims that the process of challenging exclusive identities and 'categories' in itself can be anxiety-provoking and lead to further marginalisation. Crenshaw stresses that an acceptance of intersectionality is essential in order for the enmeshment of different and combined aspects of identity to be recognised and expressed. Such a framework enables various types of oppression to be identified but the complexity leads to a dilemma,

> '…how simultaneously to hold on to a radical and contingent amount of knowledge
> claims and knowing subjects, thereby dissolving the false "we" of the feminist
> standpoint, while maintaining solidarity, across differences, among women in the
> name of a long-term or wide-ranging movement.'

(Dietz, 2003: 410)

Parmar (2017) asserts that in British criminology there has been a reluctance to engage with multi-dimensional identities, with few academic analyses adopting an intersectional lens and she relates this to

an insufficient focus on 'race and its consequences' (Parmar, 2017: 37). Her argument is that the notion of a post-racist society, although intellectually contested, is not given political credibility because of the sparsity of policies positively tackling inequities linked to race. Another factor is that intersectionality requires the abandonment of simplistic presumptions and categorisations, instead taking on board individuals' complexities whilst also being alert to concerns around power (Sigle-Rushton and Lindstrom, 2013).

The situation of BAME women in the CJS has certainly been neglected through under-research, with little information available on numbers and needs (Gelsthorpe, 2006). A recent review from the Prison Reform Trust (PRT) (2017b) confirms that only small amounts of information exist. Partly this is down to criminal justice data separating out gender and ethnicity, making it problematic to assess variations and inequalities for BAME women. The review's key facts present starkly the over-representation of BAME women in the CJS with black women as 3% of the total female population but making up 8.9% of the prison population. Their findings show they are '29% more likely to be remanded in custody at the Crown Court and following a conviction, 25% more likely than white women to receive a custodial sentence' (PRT, 2017b: 10). Chigwada-Bailey's (2003) focus is on black women's experiences of institutional discrimination in each of the criminal justice agencies. She gives numerous examples of how cultural needs, presentation and practices are stereotyped and misconstrued by the authorities. Gelsthorpe (2006) surmises that it is likely that BAME women face not only the social exclusion experienced by other vulnerable women, but also the racism encountered by male BME individuals. The PRT (2017b: 32) refer to this as 'multiple intersecting discrimination' and note that where gender inequality is ignored in discussions on race, and when racial inequity is overlooked in gender discussions, BAME women become invisible.

Fourth wave feminism, characterised by technological innovations in the form of the internet and social media, is said to be starting to be uniting some women who were previously silenced and ignored. Cochrane (2013) explains it as challenging the taken-for-granted misogyny which exists in society, giving examples such as online abuse, female genital mutilation (FGM), page 3 women in the Sun newspaper and harassment of women on public transport. The resistance that has been shown is through a combination of large-scale online campaigns, collecting support through signatures, as well as local and national demonstrations and the establishment of activist groups. Cochrane states that her research shows most participants aligning themselves with intersectional feminism and it has been queried whether the fourth wave represents anything different to the third wave. However, Munro (2013: 22) argues that 'the internet has facilitated the creation of a global community of feminists who use the internet both for discussion and activism'. Both Cochrane and Munro stress how the new approaches have re-vitalised

feminism for younger women and enabled broader public support.to be available to those individuals most discriminated against. Marcus-Mendoza (2011: 86) asserts that 'Fourth Wave feminism' offers direction for criminal justice practitioners to provide empowerment and healing as opposed to the more commonly used patriarchal punitive methods. She advises actively confronting institutional sexism in the workplace; for example, practitioners should refuse to engage with assessment and recovery tools that have not been designed for women with diverse characteristics and backgrounds. It is emphasised that the feminist practitioner should give a voice to those women who could be punished for speaking out and seek to prevent incidents which might further traumatise individuals. In addition, Marcus-Mendoza (2011: 90) promotes the development of an arts culture to enable women to express themselves and bring about 'positive transformation' with the intention of creating a rehabilitative rather than a correctional environment.

2.3 The socio-political context in England and Wales 1979-2014

2.3.1 The impact of the New Right

Socio-political factors have changed the representation of women in the CJS. At the same time as the growth of feminism, major changes were taking place in UK society. The rise of Thatcherism, with Thatcher as the first female Prime Minister, was notable for her adoption of male characteristics in government matters and surrounding herself with a male Cabinet (Pilcher, 2013). Thatcher was able to 'articulate popular discontent' which focused on denigrating trade unions and upholding 'values' of the traditional '"hard-working", "respectable" (and largely white) middle classes' (Garland, 2001: 97). Garland (2001) explains how Conservatism blamed others for the state of the nation; namely the poor for anti-social behaviours and the penal welfare policies of left wing liberals, which they believed pandered to and subsidised criminal behaviours. Instead of offering support to alleviate deprived social conditions, as in the post-war era, the New Right focused on responsibilisation, believing the blame for misfortune lay with the individual (Garland, 2001). They advocated that market forces should be allowed to prevail and instituted stringent cuts to welfare benefits and an increasing emphasis on promoting law and order to protect the 'decent' elements in society.

2.3.2 The Probation Framework: Punitiveness

Parallel to these moves, punishment, involving growing custodial sentences and harsher, more intensive community orders, took hold in the 1990s with the probation profession removed from its social work affiliations in training and practice (Chui and Nellis, 2003: 7). Penal-welfare strategies were viewed as having failed to provide adequate protection for the community (Garland, 2001: 140). From the mid-80s onwards, the Home Office began to query both the autonomy and the effectiveness of the probation

service. Structurally several policy changes had taken place since the early 1990s. The probation mantra of 'advise, assist, befriend,' was disbanded in favour of 'punishment in the community' (Chui and Nellis, 2003: 7). The notion of punishment in the community was introduced between 1988 and 1992, bringing with it a combination of more demanding interventions and restrictions such as electronic tagging (Chui and Nellis, 2003). Chui and Nellis (2003) outline that the emphasis on punishment was to boost probation's damaged reputation and started the move away from the welfarism implicit in probation's past social work connections. In the Criminal Justice Act (CJA), 1991, public protection and prevention of reoffending were prioritised over rehabilitation. The development of the punishment ethos, although separate from New Public Management (NPM), was reinforced by the increased bureaucracy in probation (Canton and Dominey, 2018).

New Labour's slogan of 'tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime' (Blair, 1993, cited by New Statesman, 2015) notably focused on the former, continuing the punitive turn of the Conservatives (Burke and Collett, 2010). What Works (WW) and Risk Need Responsivity (RNR) were contained in this thrust. The intention was to provide the most resources for those offenders deemed at risk of causing serious harm. In a 1990s political world hostile to probation, which upheld lengthy prison sentences as the valued response to offending behaviour, WW was seen as offering an acceptable structured, measurable, evidence-based approach (Raynor and Vanstone, 2007: 68). The accredited programmes, with their roots in Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT) meta-analytical studies, were integral to the mixing up of punishment and rehabilitation; any resistance from offenders being construed as a lack of ability to make rational choices and take responsibility for their actions (Kendall, 2004). Combined with the newly introduced National Standards, stricter measures were set for attendance which led to increases in breach and recalls to custody (Hedderman and Hough, 2004). Atkinson (2004: 249) describes a reductionist approach to punishment being taken by a Labour Government searching for "'quick fixes'". Through the changing attitudes to enforcement, ever more punitive orders/sentences (both civil and criminal) and the accountability/blame culture (for practitioners and offenders) the 'punishment ethic' became the norm (Farrant, 2006; Fitzgibbon, 2012a and b).

2.3.3 The Probation Framework: Managerialism and Privatisation

During the 1980s and 1990s, market forces meant that NPM was entering the probation service. Managerialist practices meant that, instead of being led by the practitioner, a new layer of management was introduced to handle the growing number of workers and service users (Deering, 2011). Whitehead (2010) talks of the enhancement of 'scientific, technological, computerised, bureaucratic' approaches which brought with them a favoured scientific and rational credibility. The essence of managerialism lay in target-setting, with performance standardisation and measures and accountability through audit processes

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(Raine and Wilson, 1993, cited by Canton and Dominey, 2018: 18). Cost-effectiveness was key to these principles, demonstrating probation's value for money. Aligned with this concept, and further promoted during the time of New Labour, was that interventions should be made 'subject to contestability' as set out in the Carter Report (Raynor and Vanstone, 2007: 78). Carter's vision was that 'contestability' should involve the commissioning of services through competitive processes, fundamentally changing the relationship between probation and voluntary agencies.

Another major goal of the Carter Report (2003) was to reduce the prison population to 80,000 from 93,000 by 2009. The proposal was to set up the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) to reduce separation between prisons and probation, providing seamless 'end-to-end management' (Dobson, 2004: 150; Tangen and Briah, 2018). At the time there were already concerns that probation would be merely subsumed into the larger masculinised prison service organisation (Harding, 2003, cited by Dobson, 2004: 152). The Carter Report was accepted in full by the Government, without consultation with the probation services (Burke and Collett, 2010). This was the second major restructure within 5 years, the first being the establishment of the National Probation Service in 2001. With hindsight, Burke and Collett (2010) view this as a temporary interim measure, relegating probation to direct Home Office jurisdiction.

The Offender Management Act, 2007 brought in competitive commissioning and contracting, but the transition to NOMS was not a smooth one. Regional Offender Managers (ROMS) were swiftly replaced by Directors of Offender Management (DOMs). A number of serious further offences took place in 2006; this offered justification for government's tightening of control over probation. Travis (2007) reports, 'It is understood that senior justice ministry sources have admitted that the NOMS "brand is so damaged, it cannot continue" claiming it to be "a disaster area" with costs spiralling out of control'. With the recession of 2008, reductions in funding led to corresponding cut backs in staffing, even before the austerity measures were introduced by George Osborne as Chancellor of the Exchequer (Tangen and Briah, 2018). Despite other numerous changes[1], the central thrust became the virtual removal of the National Probation Directorate. Probation came under the auspices of the Director General of NOMS, Philip Wheatley, who, immediately prior to this, had been Director of the Prison Service (Deering, 2011). It seemed that probation had lost its distinct identity and been subsumed under the penal system umbrella. Farrant (2006: 328) argues that these processes were contributing to the 'masculinization' and ''mechanization' within the service.

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[1] Such as moving from probation areas to trusts in 2010.

Raynor and Vanstone (2007: 81) warned that with 'wrong choices' around 'contestability, centralisation and enforcement we could move to a situation where there is little left of the Probation Service'. Between 2011 and 2014 this warning became a partial reality. The Probation Service in England and Wales underwent massive reorganisation as a result of the Transforming Rehabilitation (TR) privatisation agenda, being pushed through with great haste. Contestability as a 'market in offender-related services' prepared the ground well for the Coalition Government (Fitzgibbon, 2012a), and the further neoliberal deployment of 'welfare state activities' (Fitzgibbon and Lea, 2014: 26).

The TR initiative was driven initially by Chris Grayling, as Secretary of State for Justice. Following the TR re-organisation, only 30% of the agency survived in the public sector, becoming the National Probation Service (NPS), whilst 70% of probation staff were shifted into privatised Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRCs) (Deering and Feilzer, 2015). The underlying message to the probation service from the Coalition Government and the right-wing media was one of disparagement, 'Britain's probation services are to be overhauled in an attempt to end the "depressing merry-go-round" of hundreds of thousands of prisoners who are released from jail only to re-offend' (Swinford, 2013). Speaking of probation as a public service that had failed in its task of rehabilitating offenders, it was simultaneously attributed with stacking up enormous financial and social costs to the State and the public (MoJ, 2013; Swinford, 2013). Phillips (2014b) states that Grayling's rhetoric implied that only private agencies, operating in more creative ways and incentivised through payment by results (PbR), would be able to reverse this trend. Grayling (2012) announced:

> 'Top of the list is that revolution in rehabilitation, a process of rapid change to the way we deal with offenders that will be at the heart of the work …. That revolution will be built around the principle of payment by results. What payment by results does is open up the provision of post-prison services to a whole host of new participants in a way that forces anyone who wants to be involved to be excellent at what they do. I want the state to pay for results and not just for a service'.

(Grayling, 2012)

This commentary reflects a wider political ideology whereby public services generally were under attack including the NHS, education, children's services, prisons and the police (Fitzgibbon, 2012). Burke and Collett (2016: 121) refer to this as 'the phoney war' with propaganda emphasising public service agency failures, to justify the moves to privatisation. Data from Ministry of Justice research between 2008 and 2011 told a different story to that of the Coalition Government, with probation supervision linked to significant reductions in offending (Mews, Hillier, McHugh and Coxon, 2015: 2 and 24). Critics of TR, including professionals, academics and unions, opposed the moves towards privatisation, and have argued that they were ostensibly aimed at cutting expenditure but with no evidence base (Burke, 2013; Senior, 2013b). By taking this stand Grayling placed third sector, voluntary organisations, traditionally in close partnership with probation agencies, in competition with each other and with probation (Fitzgibbon and Lea, 2014).

2.4 Women in the CJS 1990-2014

In the final decade of the twentieth century, the impacts of managerialism and increased punitiveness fell disproportionately heavily on women offenders for several reasons. Many of the welfare supports that enabled a modicum of independence were lost; for example, when benefits were removed from under 25s it became impossible to move away from an abusive partner or parent. 'Anti-youth social policies' left young women homeless and in poverty, with few options apart from prostitution, which drew them repeatedly into the CJS (Phoenix, 2012). At the same time as the Courts adopted a more punitive ethos towards women so too did the probation service.

Prison populations were affected by these changing discourses. Cavadino, Dignan and Mair (2013) describe how the political climate in the 1990s started with reform, through the 'just deserts' CJA, 1991, lowering the prison population. Shortly afterwards, the 'law and order' counter-reformation followed, epitomised by the Home Secretary, Michael Howard's 'Prison Works' speech. This heralded a sharp rise in prison numbers and greater punitiveness in the community (Cavadino, Dignan and Mair, 2013: 104). Repeat offending, however minor, became more likely to be subject to incarceration as the Criminal Justice Act (CJA)1993 moved away from the CJA 1991's guiding principle of proportionality. This overly affected women, as most of their offending fell into the category 'theft, handling, fraud and forgery' which was not serious but was repetitive (Carlen, 2002: 31; Hudson, 2002: 28). The increase in the number of women sentenced was 173%, over 3 times that of men (Home Office, 2004), and the rise for women receiving imprisonment was 87%, with males merely 33% (Hudson, 2002: 30-1). Actual numbers of women sentenced to prison during this period, show a rise from 1500 in the early 1990s to over 3,000 at the start of the millennium (Worrall, 2002: 139).

Labour expanded the punitive discourse of corrections through the Carter Review and CJA, 2003, using populist methods to win elections (Raynor and Vanstone, 2007: 77). Soundbites such as 'tough on crime,' 'We are a law enforcement agency, it is what we are, it is what we do' (Boateng, 2000 cited by Gregory, 2011: 62) and Straw's attempts to place victims' 'interests at the heart of the system' were prominent in the media (cited by BBC News, 2008).

Simultaneously, initiatives by the Labour Government set out to investigate and respond to women's situation – the Women's Offending Reduction Programme (WORP) (2004), the Equality Act, 2006, the Corston Report (2007) (Gelsthorpe, Sharpe and Roberts, 2007). Governmental concerns were expressed

in the WORP directive which stated that more than half the women on remand did not progress to a prison sentence, 55% had at least one child, 40% had mental health problems, 47% used crack cocaine and 57% used heroin in the year preceding their arrival in prison (Home Office, 2004). The ideal upheld by the WORP was to remove women from prison, and work with them in the community, in conjunction with the Department of Health, Women's Mental Health Strategy and the National Drug Strategy. £9.15 million in funding was provided to set up the Together Women Programme as a pilot in two areas to provide 'one-stop shops' or holistic women's centres (HWCs) using the Asha centre in Worcester as a model (Gelsthorpe et al, 2007). The Asha Project had been running successfully since the mid-90s having established connections with community services for those on probation; it included women-centred facilities such as specialised counselling, a clothing stall, a crèche and a kitchen (Roberts, 2002: 123). HWCs fitted gender-sensitive specifications of a multi-agency response 'coordinated to meet the profiled needs of local women' (Corston, 2007:10), but did not conform to the rigid managerialist processes favoured by mainstream probation.

Vanstone (2010: 283) describes 'evidence of enlightenment and progression in some policy directives', a few of which impacted directly on women. A Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership was set up to show a commitment to establishing help for victims of domestic abuse. Women were also attended to in their National Service Framework for Women Offenders (MoJ, 2008, cited by Worrall and Gelsthorpe, 2009: 341), where partnerships with other agencies were encouraged.

Counteracting the positive initiatives was the allegiance to managerialism and punitiveness. Vanstone (2010: 283) attributes the 'pre-occupation with rules, regulations and directives' as leading to greatly inflated prison numbers, including a rise of '44% for women'. Further 'dismantling of the "nanny state"', which had protected the most vulnerable in society, was also active (Garland, 2001: 100). Anne Owers (2004), Inspector of Prisons (2001-2010), highlighted dwindling community resources due to disinvestment in areas such as mental health and youth services. Prison was thus rendered a viable, relatively cheap option for individuals who had previously accessed social provisions in the community. The Asha Centre was never wholly accepted within certain probation circles. Accreditation panels refused to recognise its validity in terms of groupwork, on the grounds of lack of attention to 'cognitive behavioural deficits' (Roberts, 2002: 121). Roberts (2002: 121), who instigated the project, describes the board's approach as 'pathological' and restricting women's change processes. As Asha took a contrasting 'multi-modal' approach, a reconciliation of views was considered 'unlikely,' and this groupwork programme was never accredited. Roberts (2010) is critical of the probation service for not facilitating more women-focused

programmes. Many women have either to attend 'mixed' groupwork, or some practitioners set up ad hoc groups for women that are not evaluated and not always available.[2]

Despite numerous research studies (for example Hedderman and Gelsthorpe, 1997; Devlin, 1998), showing the harmful nature of women's imprisonment, and despite the political rhetoric, little was being achieved in terms of remedying the situation. Gelsthorpe (2006a) expresses her frustration in the article 'Women and Criminal Justice: Saying it Again, Again and Again.' Prison numbers had not dropped and Gelsthorpe highlights the large percentage of female prisoners who self-harm and attempt, and/or succeed, with suicidal behaviour. Drawing attention also to the damaging social and personal effects on the 8,000 children each year separated from their mothers as a result of custodial sentences, she concludes 'that new sentencing provisions should be "gender proofed" to meet women's needs. What then follows gives glimmers of hope that the unproductive cycle, referred to by Gelsthorpe (2006a) would be broken.

The Equality Act (2006) imposed a duty for public agencies to promote equality for women who used their services. Highlighting the statutory duties inherent in the Equality Act and responding to the 6 deaths in HMP Styal, a women's prison, between 2002 and 2003, Jean Corston[3] in 2006 was then commissioned to conduct a review of women with particular vulnerabilities in the CJS. The key message from the Corston Review was that 'equal outcomes require different approaches' and 'a distinct approach [to women] is required' (Corston, 2007: 3). Corston's proposals were grounded in the contention that 'vulnerability' constituted 'not a quality intrinsic to the individual women but was the consequence of extrinsic factors…. forces which she was unable to control' (Evans and Walklate, 2011: 6). Corston's approach involved extensive conversations with women prisoners and their families, enabling them to have a voice (Corston, 2007: i). The fundamental argument is that women offenders have 'complex multiple problems,' which prisons cannot adapt to, having been 'designed by men for men'. The report recommends that radical, specific gender-sensitive approaches are undertaken, such as smaller local custodial units and a mental health plan with input from the Department of Health, in both the community and in prison. Extending the number of HWCs is upheld as central to offering support in the community to vulnerable women, on an ongoing, day-to-day basis. Corston (2007) also proposes there should be a director employed by the Civil Service, as an independent voice and women's champion to oversee that proposals are actioned.

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[2] See for example Asher and Annison's (2015) discussion of women's specified activity requirements in Wales.

[3] A Labour politician who was made a Life Peer in 2005

These proposals were once again countered by the wider political situation. Garland (2001) has referred to a pervading 'culture of control,' which changed the language and priorities of penality. It is therefore unsurprising that the Corston Report, with its body of arguments for community-based welfare approaches, received a luke-warm response from the Government. Far greater interest was shown in investment in Titan prisons with only minor discussions on attaching women's units to these large institutions (Goldhill, 2009). Titan prisons aligned with the managerialist agenda speaking the 'economic language of "cost-benefit", "best value"', aimed at restraint of large numbers of prisoners (Garland, 2001: 188). By way of contrast, Corston's proposals relied heavily on a critical, informed social approach for comparatively low numbers of women and therefore held minimal interest. Corston (2007: 87) argues that savings 'would be substantial, when compared for example, with the cost of a new prison build. Moreover, I am convinced that my woman-centred approach will result over time in considerable long-term savings'. Still only small improvements in women's situations were accomplished, and these came and went again. Numbers of women in custody peaked at 4,505 in 2008 (Hedderman, 2010), and although dropped to 3,800 by June 2016, in 2017 they were again standing at over 4,000 (Prison Reform Trust (PRT), 2017c). The PRT (2017c) blames this 'unexpected rise' on a corresponding decline in the use of community sentences for women from 29,392 in 2006 to 16,590 in 2016, and increases in use of breached suspended sentence orders, women remand prisoners, women sentenced to custody and recalls to prison.

Limited understanding or concern was demonstrated over Corston's (2007: 5) recommendations for small, local custodial centres, so that women could retain links with their families. Lord Ramsbotham, Inspector of Prisons 1995-2001, raised concerns over the subsequent appointment of Maria Eagle, MP, as 'Champion for Women' with the cross-departmental Criminal Justice Women's Unit, headed by a much more junior civil servant than Corston had recommended. Debating in the House of Lords, Ramsbotham reminded colleagues that ministers move post frequently and have multiple duties, rendering them unable to 'champion anything' (Goldhill, 2009: 16).

The Labour Party focus was more firmly set on developing a correctional service. The Carter Report (2003) proposed 'end-to-end management of offenders' through unifying prisons and probation and introducing 'contestability' or privatisation of services (Raynor and Vanstone, 2007: 76). In contrast to Corston, no amendments were made to the Carter proposals and they were accepted in total, revealing once again the growing commitment to managerialism and privatisation. Coyle (2008) suggests this move derives from the doctrine that 'big is beautiful', and smaller units are never viewed as economically viable. The Government subverted Corston's argument for distinctly gender sensitive provision by proposing women's wings as attachments to Titan prisons, thus keeping them within the male estate. Evidence-

based research, for example Scraton and Moore's (2008) Irish study, which outlines the harms caused when provision for female offenders is attached to male prisons, is ignored. Despite powerful voices resisting Carter's vision, the UK was in the midst of a severe economic crisis and it has been argued that prison-building plans represented a masculinised show of strength (Madoc-Jones, Williams, Hughes and Turley, 2016).

2.4.1 Corston's legacy

Evans and Walklate (2011) further decry that Corston's seminal review, although often quoted, has had such a limited impact and suggest why this might have happened. An in-depth exploration of the term 'harm' is given. For Corston this constitutes women born into deprived or abusive social circumstances who have minimal prospect of change due to their structural position in society. The impact of these harms, in specific situations, can drive women to act in ways detrimental to themselves and others. Involvement with CJS agencies through anti-social behaviour produces further 'harms', in the form of re-victimisation and re-traumatisation for the woman during the arrest, court and prison processes, 'once more stripping the woman of confidence, esteem, autonomy and control' (Evans and Walklate, 2011: 7). Corston's representation of 'harm' draws attention to the damage women do to themselves, principally through self-harming, whilst harm or violence inflicted on others is minimal compared to men. Evans and Walklate contrast this with the Government interpretation of 'harm'. Maria Eagle (MoJ, 2008), focuses purely on aspects of women's offending and the harm it causes to others. This leads Evans and Walklate (2011: 9) to conclude that there is an inability to break out of the prevailing masculinised discourse of punishment and risk, and shift to a more gender appropriate response.

2.4.2 Understanding the effects of abuse

Other researchers also examine harm in relation to abuse. The logical conclusion is that abuse, much like torture, has a devastating effect on individuals and ongoing neglect and abuse in childhood, adolescence and adulthood is likely to result in unresolved trauma issues for adults. Boswell's (2002) findings, from her studies in the male adult prison system during the 1990s, concluded that abuse and loss are key factors in violence committed by young offenders. Nash and Williams (2008) agree, following their analysis of similar childhood experiences for serious adult male offenders. The complexity of the mix of cumulative victimisation events is viewed, by Boswell, as of more significance than itemising criminogenic needs, such as substance misuse or attitudes. Boswell (2002: 163) is critical of criminal justice practitioners who ignore these factors, stating that they are rendering invisible key underpinning reasons for anti-social and violent behaviours.

Extensive evidence between childhood deprivation and trauma for women, including those who become involved in serious offending or have severe mental health issues is shown in the literature. Data from Matthews, Hunter and Vuz's (1997) study reveals the extent of ongoing childhood serious abuse experienced by female youths and adults who, as adolescents, progress to becoming perpetrators (see Table1):

Table 1 Comparison of abuse experienced by male and female adolescent perpetrators. Source: Adapted by Goldhill (2013: 417) from Matthews, Hunter and Vuz, (1997).

Females (11-18 years)	Males (11-17 years)
67 participants	70 participants
77.6% victims of sexual abuse	44.3% victims of sexual abuse
60% victims of physical abuse	44.9% victims of physical abuse
64% abused before 5 years of age	26% abused before 5 years
38% both male and female abusers	7% both men and women abusers
Mean of 4.4 abusers	Mean of 1.4 abusers

Girls are four times more likely than boys to have been subject to repeat sexual attacks and frequently this takes place within a family setting (either perpetrated by a member of the family or when parents fail to protect the child from a known perpetrator). It is to be noted that these are children who have experienced particularly dysfunctional and harmful lives and may not represent the overall population of female abusers. Research on women with violent, sexually abusive offences does not suggest that all those abused will become abusers. However, it is likely that abuse is a significant factor for those women coming into contact with the CJS (Felitti et al, 1998). Oliver's (2007: 20) study shows that adult women sex offenders have dysfunctional backgrounds and are 'more likely to have been victims of incest and …more likely to have attempted suicide'.

More recent research supports these findings. Willis and Levenson (2016) correlate childhood abuse with dependency on and coercion from male intimate partners alongside mental illness and substance misuse. They cite Williams and Bierie's (2015) large-scale study (800,000 participants between 1992 and 2011), which compares male and female perpetrator characteristics, finding that women more frequently offend against women (45% women and 12% men), and co-offend with a partner of the opposite sex. Stinson, Quinn and Levenson's (2016) quantitative findings for 381 psychiatric inpatients make connections between sexual abuse in childhood and depressive illnesses, drug and alcohol misuse, self-hatred and

suicidal ideation (Browne and Finkelhor, 1986, cited by Stinson et al, 2016). Links are also made between physical abuse and aggression in offending, heavy use of substances and domestic violence (Batchelor, 2005; Leverentz, 2006, McMurran and Gilchrist, 2008). Referring to the Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study, Stinson et al (2016: 14) state that it specifically targeted outcomes of 'childhood maltreatment' on individuals' adult mental health. ACE points to gaps in the studies around children removed from birth families to be fostered but qualify that this area is far from straightforward. Diversity issues, such as ethnicity, age (at start of placement) and gender as well as length and number of foster placements and the environment within a placement, influence outcomes. The study involves exploring these features amongst forensic psychiatric patients in the US and, although trauma findings are what would be expected (women's social functioning and well-being is affected in every area of their lives), they are intensified by *cumulative* experiences of neglect and abuse (Stinson et al., 2016). Feminist commentators (Spender, 1998; Kelly, 1990: Talbot, 1998) have highlighted the silencing of women which makes it problematic, if not impossible, for women to express what has happened to them and to be listened to. Kelly (1990: 109) argues that 'negative cultural meanings' rebound on women, resulting in women being expected to take responsibility for their own victimisation experiences, feeling guilty and humiliated. A recent NSPCC report (Allnock and Miller, 2013) on childhood disclosures of abuse[4] reinforces the message that 'no-one noticed, no-one heard'.

Traced attitudes to women offenders over the past century show that some women more than others are subject to deeply embedded social control, which affects every aspect of their lives and those of their children. Often black women, poor women, victimised women and drug-using women are targeted, and 'othered', viewed as different to 'ordinary' women (Chigwada-Bailey, 2003: Gelsthorpe, 2006b). Experiences of discrimination and abuse are frequently more extreme than those of other women. However, when they violate societal norms, they are subsequently treated more severely by the CJS, being considered unworthy of help by statutory agencies (Hudson, 2002). Efforts made to highlight and resolve inequities have been largely unsuccessful, because of the underlying structural barriers. Those who attempt to assist vulnerable women, whether it be at a political level, such as Ramsbotham and Corston, through pressure groups such as the PRT and Women in Prison, or in a professional capacity as probation workers, find themselves confronting these intransigent blocks.

It has been argued that the wider discriminatory forces in society, operating against women, impact on organisational structures and amongst staff working in probation and their partnership agencies. Corston (2007) makes it clear that she does not distinguish between criminalised women and other socially

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[4] 88% of the sample were women (Allnock and Miller, 2013: 13)

excluded women, arguing that their lives share many features – poverty, lack of work opportunities and vulnerability to various types of abuse.

A growing understanding of the nature of domestic abuse is gradually starting to increase knowledge about criminalised women and inform responses (Rumgay, 2010; Covington, 2014). Covington (2014) argues that the trauma derived from physical, emotional, sexual violence and coercive control may indirectly lead to substance misuse related offending and coercion from males. Controlling and coercive legislation and policies are found to re-victimise the individual (PRT, 2017a). Where professionals' understanding of these principles is absent, it can lead to a mishandling of situations. This is exemplified by Burgess-Proctor's (2012a and 2012b) research involving interviews with 22 women who had suffered ongoing domestic violence. Burgess-Proctor (2012a: 80) explains that the woman's initial anxiety is that her contact with the police will enrage the abusive partner, leading to an intensification of violence. Citing Hirschel and Hutchinson (2003), Burgess-Proctor (2012a: 70) suggests that women's fears of further physical assaults are justified.

There are many reasons why women minimise harm or withdraw evidence (Walklate, 2004: 130). Reliance on the man as breadwinner is often a key concern, because an emotionally and/or physically battered woman is in no position to find or maintain employment. Nor are they able to seek out alternative accommodation. They may also have internalised what the partner has said about them leading to low self-worth (Walklate, 2004). Shame about the abuse, a desire to keep the family together, fear of social services' involvement and removal of the children; fear of harm coming to the children and wanting reconciliation with the partner are other justifications offered for not contacting the police (Burgess-Proctor, 2012a). Burgess-Proctor argues that women who want to stop the violence, but keep the relationship, find themselves in ongoing conflict with criminal justice agencies who want to remove the perpetrator from the household.

The impact of long-term abuse on women's mental health, tends to leave individuals withdrawn and lacking in self-confidence (Covington, 2007; Burgess-Proctor, 2012b: 332). If domestic abuse is seen as the norm in their mothers' as well as their own households, 'learned silence' is likely. Pollack's (2007) study, based on 52 interviews with women previously incarcerated, shows the psychological damage caused by coercive and controlling behaviour in the home. It reflects on how one-to-one psychotherapeutic processes can mimic control issues, by integrating regulatory messages inherent in the neo-liberal state and in the home. Pollack (2007: 165) argues that women offenders are viewed not only as 'victims of abuse' but also as 'emotionally disordered', and tactics should be employed 'to negotiate and

challenge the correctional system'. Pollack questions the power of the correctional system when it views women in intimate relationships as automatically at risk of harm, and when individuals are routinely over-policed by statutory services, being constantly quizzed about their personal lives. A study by Simmons, Lehmann and Collier-Tennison (2008), comparing women arrested for domestic violence with women in a refuge, reported that the former group stated all types of abuse had been used against them by their male partners. However, their findings show that occurrences of physical, emotional and economic violence are rarer for this group, and conjecture this may be because they are not so cowed and fight back. The refuge women experience more extreme and frequent violence.

Women suffering abuse, who are also committing minor offences, often find there are few local community resources available to provide support. In cases where serious crimes have been committed by a woman, considerations of past abuse may also be ignored but for different reasons. Kilty and Frigon's (2006) Canadian research study describes Karla Homolka who, having assisted her husband in the rape and murder of children, including her younger sister, presented herself as a victim of ongoing extreme abuse. The dichotomous labels given to this woman of either 'endangered' or 'dangerous' are deconstructed (Kilty and Frigon, 2006: 43). It is argued that the severe sexual and physical violence she received from her husband resulted in trauma, which restricted her agency and ability to make choices around her [criminal] behaviour.

The message from this article to practitioners is that when working with women accused of violent offences a detailed contextualisation of each case is required, including listening to the woman's explanation about her behaviour, both as perpetrator and victim. Links to abuse are necessarily complex, assumptions should not be made, and all case assessments need to be based on in-depth knowledge of the individual. Knowledge of the impact of victimisation and recognition of trauma is necessary. Although not achieving the notoriety of the Homolka case, extreme cases of domestic violence and sexual offences are appearing routinely in the UK; and there is a new focus on child neglect offences (Action for Children, 2013). Covington (2008), a leader in trauma-informed practice, outlines the complexities when working with post-traumatic stress disorder emanating from abuse. She emphasises the importance of sustaining a respectful and safe environment where care is taken to avoid re-triggering past traumatic events. Judging when to provide external safety valves, such as telephone numbers to link women to refuges and helplines, as well as teaching internal 'self-soothing' techniques are necessary practitioner skills (Covington, 2008: 381). These act to move individuals away from their previous destructive attempts at coping through self-medication, misusing alcohol or other substances.

Vickers and Wilcox (2011: 26) demonstrate how 'normalisation of abuse over time' enters the practice equation, complicating the situation for the practitioner when the woman seems not to recognise their situation as an abusive one. Simmons, Lehmann and Collier-Tennison (2008: 392) note that acceptance of violent behaviour leads some women to be protective of their male partners. Failing to recognise the harms committed against them, means instead they blame themselves and try to placate their abuser. Qualitative research with 26 domestically abused women in the Midlands UK produced findings, which warn practitioners against blaming mothers who cannot leave violent partners. If a woman is told she is a bad mother for not leaving, this replicates the abuse from the partner and merely worsens the woman's perceptions of her self-efficacy and ability to protect her children (Lapierre, 2010). Instead, Lapierre (2010) argues practitioners should be recognising the women's strengths and encouraging them to talk about themselves, not simply in their parenting role, but as people in their own right.

There may be shame for women attached to admitting to others, and themselves, that they have been or are currently subject to abusive lifestyles. Jones' (2008) research on women as 'partners in crime' sets out to see whether convicted women felt they had instigated the offending or were coerced into procriminal behaviours. Most of the sample of 50 women with male intimate partners, who were also their co-defendants, claimed that they were '"equal" partners in crime' (2008: 159). Jones doubts their stories, believing they were uncomfortable acknowledging emotional attachment to an irresponsible partner. This stance denies the women their autonomy and assumes women's lack of agency and rationality in co-offending intimate partnerships. Alternative possible interpretations are of pride, shame and embarrassment which may disguise their responses. It is also possible that the women did not have time to become trusting of the researcher or may not have felt comfortable telling their stories to a man.

Barlow's (2015: 483) studies of media and legal representations of women who offend, demonstrate how women are regularly subject to a 'silencing' process, contributing to stigmatisation and being 'othered'. She is critical of Jones for reducing concepts of coercion to a dichotomy of 'love and fear', claiming that they should be viewed 'as part of a continuum of coercive pathways into criminality' and that although no physical duress may be present, they constitute forms of 'emotional coercion' (Barlow, 2014: 23). One example Barlow (2015: 482) gives is of a woman placed in a 'catch 22' situation who, when she speaks of her abuse, becomes further demonised by the media and the courts for using the 'victim card'. She goes on to state that notions of rationality are 'phallocentric' and 'male-defined', thus suppressing 'women's voices' (Barlow, 2015: 483).

Discriminatory preconceptions can affect probation staff working with victimised female offenders. If practitioners minimise or avoid women's accounts of complex dysfunctional histories and current situations, they deny them their agency. Covington and Bloom (2006, cited by Hannah-Moffat, 2010: 197), through 'relational theory', explain that relationships underpin most women's identity and dignity. This links to earlier discussions in this chapter whereby women's status in the private sphere is subject to social controls; the person is defined solely as partner/wife, mother, or daughter. Oakley (1976) stresses that the role of 'housewife' is encapsulated by its exclusive association with women and economic dependence on the man. On a continuum, complete loss of self is represented by domestic abuse in its many forms, whereby women are seen as male possessions. Seymour's (2009) study of male violence confirms that dehumanising techniques are used by men to increase their power, 'It's about disrespecting them, putting them down, putting them in a position where it's okay [to] go ahead and be violent (Ron)' (Seymour, 2009: 32). Despite the considerable literature on domestic abuse (DA), its recognition as a crime and guidelines set up for professionals as a response to past mismanagement have only recently become established (Department of Health, 2013; NICE, 2014).

Keeling and Fisher's (2015) study of women, recounting the reactions of health visitors to domestic violence (DV) disclosures reveals how easy it is for professionals to dismiss women's accounts; instead of listening or asking questions, only practical interventions, such as medication, are offered. Lack of care indicates impatience towards the woman for failing to leave her partner and implies poor decision-making. This assumption was also found in Hudson's (2002: 40) study of pre-sentence reports, comparing BAME and white women. Tapley (2010: 139) argues that 'patriarchal beliefs' perpetuate the view that victims are ultimately responsible for their own victimisation. The woman's isolation, helplessness and the expectation (often repeated by the perpetrator) that she will not be believed (Keeling and Fisher, 2015: 2370) are reinforced, preventing her from speaking out. For example, one woman's fear and frustration reached such a pitch, because nobody was responding to her, that she threatened to jump out of the window; at which point the police were called 'so then eventually they got the police on me! (40-year-old mother of 1)' (Keeling and Fisher, 2015: 2371).

2.5 Responding to women's risks and needs

What Works (WW) involves participation in structured accredited groupwork and one-to-one cognitive behavioural treatment (CBT) programmes, as part of case management and legislative directives (McNeill, 2006: 56). Embraced optimistically by probation in the 1990s, accreditation boards, financed by the Labour Government, were set up to apply quality control, (Raynor, 2012). CBT groupwork was raised to a level of

'unquestioned superiority'. With its positivist assertions that social interactions could be made measurable, WW appealed to 'politicians, bureaucrats and (some) practitioners' (Smith, 2004: 37, 48).

Blanchette and Brown (2006: 131) point out that CBT was devised and popularised by 'white, middle-class' men adhering to neo-liberal beliefs on women's conduct, where the belief that treating women the same as men amounts to equality. In attempts to blend needs with risks, the situation becomes confused for women (Worrall, 2002). Worrall (2002) contends that women's numerous overlapping areas of marginalisation such as mental health, substance misuse, housing and relationship problems have become reframed as offending risks. Meanwhile, features of women's vulnerabilities such as victimisation and the links to mental health problems and substance misuse are overlooked in the Offender Assessment System (OASys) (Caulfield, 2010). This deflects from recovery and (re)integration, pathologising women, and blaming them for their instability. Then, the imposition of punitive, psychological custodial programmes can be rationalised as a reasonable course of action. Blanchette and Brown (2006: 129) argue that the emphasis is in the wrong place for women. Psychological programmes were designed for *men's* deficits in consequential thinking (Worrall, 2004: 341), not for women's complex issues linked to victimisation and restricted life choices (Worrall, 2002). Blanchette and Brown (2006) suggest that in line with 'feminist philosophies', it is relationality and empowerment which should be central to the responsivity principle when dealing with women.

In addition, the socio-political structures which distinguish women's oppression reveal gender inequalities, such as 'racism, sexism, poverty and victimization'. These too are not acknowledged as pathways to offending within the WW/Risk Needs Responsivity (RNR)[5] framework (Blanchette and Brown, 2006: 127). Supposed gender neutrality, within the system, masks the ongoing inequity in key aspects of women's lives, creating disrespectful and unsafe environments for female service users (Blanchette and Brown, 2006).

Alternative approaches, stemming from the social work tradition, are those of empowerment, strengths- and relationship-based, individualised methods, and partnership working which aims to integrate service users into the community as valued citizens (Collins, 2016). Although social work education was removed from probation training, the tradition of working in that way is still evident. Many of the teachers on the new programmes were trained in the social work tradition and recognise the importance of forging positive relationships with individuals (Skinner and Goldhill, 2013).

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[5] The RNR model contains the key principles for effective practice and WW.

In the case of WSUs one of the main approaches adopted by probation is to work closely with holistic women's centres, where available, so that the bulk of relational work is carried out by partnership agencies who focus on women (Gelsthorpe, Sharpe and Roberts, 2007). One of Corston's (2007:10) proposals for meeting needs more effectively was the establishment of HWCs, 'as a real alternative to prison….to treat each woman as an individual with her own set of needs and problems and to increase their capacity to take responsibility for their lives'. At various times in the past decade there has been a push to use these partnership agencies to bridge gaps with the community and distance women from male offenders physically and emotionally, enabling women to be supervised in greater safety. By avoiding probation establishments, there is no likelihood of having to confront a predatory male presence either in groupwork or the waiting areas (MoJ, 2012). Another advantage of the HWCs is greater flexibility so that contact with women can be more intensive and over longer periods of time. In probation there are rigid time factors for reporting, whereas workers in HWCs have lighter caseloads, more time designated for each service user, fewer concerns around risk and, consequently, practitioners are better able to respond to the woman's needs. Research at the Turnaround Project in Cardiff demonstrates that tackling attachment issues, integral to a positive supervisory relationship, is improved by working alongside an HWC (Plechowicz, 2009). Projects such as these provide availability of contact for the individual beyond office hours and the end of statutory probation supervision (Plechowicz, 2009).

2.5.1 Features of good practice in one-to-one supervision

Relationality is seen as at the core of favourable interactions with women (Plechowicz, 2009; Goldhill, 2016). One of the key ways of setting up such a relationship is outlined by Trotter (1999), who was influential in introducing pro-social modelling (PSM) to the probation community of practice. His writings are based on research carried out in the 1980s and 1990s in Melbourne, Australia. Findings from his own study and that of ten others led to the conclusion that prosocial PO behaviours have a significant impact on reducing reoffending by between 20% and 70%, but that POs do not always use them (even when they claim they are doing so). Cherry (2005: 2) reiterates Trotter's tenets of prosocial modelling:

> '…the process by which the worker acts as a good motivating role model in order to bring out the best in people. The worker engages the client in an empathetic relationship within which they actively reinforce personal behaviour and attitudes and discourage anti-social behaviour (including non-criminal behaviour); it also includes many of the other behaviours that make it possible for us to live together in society, such as being polite, being respectful, being punctual and apologising for mistakes….'

Trotter (1999) delineates the skills required to carry out PSM, such as the importance of clarifying roles, so there are boundaries and transparency for the service user over organisational expectations. Another necessary component of PSM that Trotter (1999: 21) raises is collaborative problem solving, which is also

incorporated into the desistance literature (McNeill 2006; McNeill and Weaver, 2010); this involves the notion of negotiating with the individual and hearing their opinions.

In terms of face-to-face interaction, Trotter draws on basic social work principles to suggest how trust can be built up, such as by active listening and empathy. Kadushin and Kadushin's (2013: 90) findings derive from a series of interviews that took place in US social work settings. Empathy is defined as 'entering imaginatively into the inner life of someone else,' optimism should be present to counteract stigma and social exclusion. Although supposedly a straightforward approach, it may be a difficult tight-rope to walk. There should be no collusion with anti-social behaviour, but praise, encouragement and positivity should be forthcoming, despite people's often very negative lives and attitudes (Trotter, 1999:118). Humour is used to relax people, dissipate tensions and enable individuals to express and receive feedback on their anger and distrust in a non-threatening way (Trotter, 1999: 121). Finally, appropriate self-disclosure allows the service user to see the PO as human and lessens power differentials between them (Kadushin and Kadushin, 2013: 94). Relational theory, to which this intervention style refers, is seen as especially applicable and important to WSUs, assisting with empowerment (Blanchette and Brown, 2006: 34). Ironically, these ways of working are also recognised as beneficial by those proposing a more correctional approach. Findings from Dowden and Andrews' (2004) meta-analytical study arrive at very similar conclusions to those of Trotter and the Kadushins. Although couched in the law and order terms of 'core correctional practices,' the same social work type skills are espoused. These are to promote constructive professional alliances, 'positive reinforcement', 'modelling and reinforcing anticriminal attitudes' and should be 'warm, genuine, humourous, enthusiastic, self-confident, empathic, respectful, flexible, committed to helping the client, engaging, mature, or intelligent' (Dowden and Andrews, 2004: 208).

Initiatives, such as skills for effective engagement, development and supervision (SEEDS), and quality development officers for a few years, between 2009 and 2011, briefly revived reflective practices (Butler Trust, 2013, Rex and Hosking, 2013). This constituted a sea change in organisational culture, veering towards desistance methods, rather than prescribed and rigid WW processes. As seen above, doubts have been consistently expressed over the ability of accredited programmes to bring about significant change with emphasis on standardised skills rather than fostering motivation and engagement (Mair, 2004; McNeill, 2006; Morran, 2011) The offender engagement programme (OEP) (Ministry of Justice, 2011) and SEEDS English and Welsh probation pilots offered an alternative (Sorsby, Shapland, Farrall, McNeill, Priede and Robinson, 2013). There was re-acknowledgement and re-emphasis on desistance processes. The inclusion of 're' is intentional and important to note because, as has been seen, humanistic aims had previously underpinned 'good practice' within probation (Annison, Eadie and Knight, 2008; Canton, 2011). In parallel, there evolved recognition of attachment (Ansbro, 2008) and trauma

issues (Covington, 2008), which contributed to increased knowledge and, subsequently, more compassion towards 'problematic' service users in terms of understanding mental illness, especially personality disorder (PD), depression and anxiety. Attachment, the need for a secure base in childhood, points towards a commitment to continuity in the practitioner/service user relationship – 'the more disturbed the…person, the more important it is for them to avoid having attachments ruptured' (Ansbro, 2008: 240). Inconsistency and fragmentation within childhood experiences, through abusive or neglectful parenting, contribute to dysfunctional and chaotic lifestyles as adults (Willis and Levenson, 2016) and these patterns may be played out or replayed during any and every contact with authority figures, including those taking place in probation supervision.

Almost as soon as this revival started, stronger forces emerged in the UK political world which saw moves associated with humanitarianism and relationship building once more marginalised. Following the election of the Coalition Government in 2010, fundamental changes took place to public services including within the probation context. Initially it was heralded by Ken Clarke, Justice Secretary, as the 'Rehabilitation Revolution' (Travis and Mulholland, 2010) but later developed into the more radical Transforming Rehabilitation (TR) when Grayling succeeded Clarke in the post in 2012 (Centre for Social Justice, 2014).

Best practice within probation, for both male and female officers, entails a focus on establishing a positive relationship with the service user (Trotter, 1999; Burnett and McNeill, 2005; Canton, 2012), but there are virtually no checks that this actually takes place. In the 1980s/90s reflective supervision was the norm in probation and allowed monitoring of PO interaction with their cases, but in the What Works era supervision degenerated into technical monitoring of targets (Fitzgibbon, 2007). Positive measures (such as SEEDS) have been piecemeal at best over the past 10 years and almost completely eroded with the arrival of TR policies. Failures in several basic areas of practice have recently been highlighted by the Chief Inspector of Probation, Glenys Stacey (HMIP, 2017: 5), who states, 'More deep-rooted problems now prevail'. Additionally, several practitioners' and researchers' accounts bemoan the loss of supportive structures (Dominey, 2016; Phillips, Westaby and Fowler, 2016; and Lewis, 2016). The negative impacts on workers and service users alike have been revealed, especially where highly emotional sessions involve discussions about self-harming and trauma. These are frequently the substance of work with WSUs (Mackenzie, Cartwright, Beck and Borrill, 2015; and Lee, 2017a and b).

2.5.2 Gender-responsiveness as good practice

To date there has been limited research specifically focusing on women's desistance. However, the very different pathways to offending are evident in Leverentz's (2006) comparison of male and female social

bonds, whereby female partners for men are considered a pro-social and positive influence but male partners for women are viewed as the complete opposite. Rumgay (2004: 415) stresses the importance of acknowledging women's victimisation experiences in their desistance and providing 'support networks for women's resilience to personal and social hardship'. As noted above, Covington has been influential recently in taking the understanding of women's victimisation one step further, by embracing trauma-informed practices. Covington has produced numerous articles and lectured widely to UK practitioners in prisons and the community, her ideas becoming increasingly popularised over the past five years (Centre for Crime and Justice, nd). Connections are made between the role of substances and co-dependency in women's lives and trauma. Covington (2007) describes 'supports' as providing women with feelings of being loved and able to connect with others, aspects which are poignantly absent elsewhere in their lives. Depression, disempowerment and disconnectedness are the perfect combination for resorting or returning to drugs (Covington, 2007:2). Covington differentiates between 'simple and complex' post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD) – the former being a one-off event and the latter involving multiple occurrences of violence and abuse. As seen from the ACE studies this is applicable to many WSUs. She proposes a gender-responsive approach to limit the likelihood of triggering or reproducing victimisation and/or trauma situations, which in turn may prompt criminal behaviour (Covington, 2008). Parallels can be made with Corston's (2007: 7) emphasis on targeting distinct pathways for women, highlighting ongoing abuse, sexual assault and domestic violence, and that vulnerable women often have multiple overlapping difficulties. Gelsthorpe, Sharpe and Roberts (2007) state that, alongside positive intervention styles, practical supports external to the CJS, such as safe accommodation and mental health services, need to be in place.

With gender responsiveness, practitioners promote equality through appreciating women's difference, and not making comparisons to men. Biological differences are relevant insofar as they lead to 'different social and personal consequences' (Corston, 2007: 17). Those resources which target improvements in physical and mental health, substance misuse, women as carers, support from family, accommodation and parenting are viewed by Corston (2007) as central to prevent further social exclusion of vulnerable women. Hannah-Moffat (2010: 200) agrees that the 'male norm is no longer defensible' for penal practices. However, she goes on to warn of certain pitfalls where gender responsiveness operates in criminal justice agencies. A woman's social and offending history remains subject to individual criminal justice workers' powers and *how* discretion is used can vary markedly. Moreover, assessment tools and ways of working, such as OASys and CBT, are still used widely in UK probation and prisons and, as noted above, lack sensitivity to female offenders' realities.

Although ostensibly progressive, Hannah-Moffat (2010: 201) argues that in practice, gender responsive interventions may become just another means of minimising women's poor structural situation in society, resulting in further controls and restrictions. For example, she contends that, as noted above by Barlow (2014; 2015), when women put their side of the story, blaming either themselves or others for their position, it rebounds on them. Records show women who hold negative attitudes can be subject to further punitive measures and attitudes. Hannah-Moffat (2010: 205) claims that it is unhelpful to label women as '"at risk", victimised or vulnerable (even if they are) because this characterisation denies the transformative power of agency'. A further criticism of gender responsive practices is the lack of awareness concerning 'intersectionality'. Stereotyping and discrimination towards individuals, based on ethnicity, sexual orientation, age and class, is embedded in the penal landscape. Statistics show that there is an over-representation of BME individuals within the CJS (MoJ, 2018b), but low numbers mean that studies of black and minority ethnic (BME) women are rare; they are either left out of discussions on gender, or gender is rendered invisible in 'general' studies focused on race (Gelsthorpe, 2006b: 101). Hannah-Moffat (2010: 206-7) argues that it is nevertheless vital to confront inequalities and the nature of intersections if discrimination is to be challenged. Citing Pollack (2004) she suggests, instead of unquestioning acceptance of gender responsiveness, an 'anti-oppressive' approach should be adopted, creating a dialogue about why social exclusion occurs for certain women. Definitions of good gender-responsive practice are often vague and involve watered-down versions of the male model. Instead, Hannah-Moffat (2010: 209) proposes radical systemic change with 'representational politics and constitution of community'. However, she admits that it is difficult to challenge embedded societal, political and organisational hegemony, which present such intransigent barriers for probation practitioners.

2.5.3 The TR Effect

Due to the success of the HWCs, Gelsthorpe (2011: 136) was initially relatively optimistic about the prospect of innovative 'voluntary sector provision,' through commissioning out of services in the TR plans. She argues that diversion from custody could be cost effective through the usage of HWCs. News of £3.5 million in early 2012 from the then Minister for Prisons and Probation, Crispin Blunt, to be allocated to funding HWCs, signalled an acknowledgement of the worth of these projects (2012: 382).

However, Gelsthorpe and Hedderman (2012: 376) become increasingly sceptical, when the full force of TR marketization becomes a reality and offer a number of warnings and provisos. With 'one-off' financial handouts the HWCs would have no economic security, having to apply for funding on an annual basis, to continue their existence. They argue that reliance on external funding would tie in third sector agencies to statutory-type regulations, losing independence to choose their underpinning values, such as adherence to gender responsiveness. Evaluating success would be virtually impossible, because each centre has

different ways of recording which precludes follow-ups on women and straightforward comparisons. Serious problems were present in relation to payment by results (PbR), as the service provider was to be rewarded by the Government for service user achievements (outputs) rather than staff interventions (inputs) (Gelsthorpe and Hedderman, 2012: 384-5). Positive outcomes for women such as preventing children going into care or limiting children's anxieties on separation from their incarcerated mothers appear as social and ethical savings but are unmeasurable. They represent no benefits for the CJS in PbR terms, as no accountable financial gains can be made, and again the small numbers of women make statistical impacts harder to calculate.

It is therefore unsurprising when Stacey (2016: 4) reports that CRC resourcing for WSUs is 'operational and basic, rather than strategic,' whilst no information at all is available in the document about the NPS. Since TR, ring-fenced funds for women no longer exist, resulting in resources being distributed haphazardly and on short-term bases. Hogarth (2017: 6) warns that HWCs may not survive if they remain within the 'justice loop'. Stacey (2016) concludes that since the Corston Review in 2007 there have been few lasting improvements in strategy or operations, and the situation has deteriorated noticeably since 2011, when 'a wealth of activity, regionally and locally' was approved in the Inspectorate Report. Lack of security for third sector agencies, as outlined in the previous section, has meant that they are unable to plan for the future. POs have diminishing options in their work with WSUs, which has led to the downgrading of WSUs on their caseloads in terms of importance. Stacey (2016) notes added difficulties in engagement with HWC services, directing POs back to one-to-one work with WSUs, with only inadequate in-house tools available.

As major organisational change became imminent, significant resistance was shown, specifically by the National Association for Probation Officers (NAPO) which represents largely main-grade POs. Academics, the Probation Chiefs Association and the Inspectorate of Probation (2013) also registered concern (Senior, 2013a; Hedderman and Murphy, 2015). Deering and Feilzer's (2015) study of practitioner viewpoints on privatisation suggests that 'the probation ideal' of humanistic values was considerably weakened by TR. Instead of, as before, developing 'sophisticated understandings' of offenders' complex, deprived and marginalised issues and goals of improvement and empowerment, the TR world is made up of staff, employed by large private companies, working mechanistically, ticking closely regulated boxes (Fitzgibbon, 2013: 88).

Recent analyses confirm initial fears, whereby Corston's vision has still not been achieved (Annison, Brayford and Deering, 2015; Howard League, 2016; Women in Prison, 2017). Supervision of WSUs has

been affected detrimentally, with fewer opportunities to concentrate on lower risk offenders (women's offences are rarely above medium risk and even women in the NPS are thought of as 'less risky' than men). Budgetary cuts in real terms have accompanied probation upheavals, meaning that less community funding and resources are available for vulnerable women, including those women suffering from abuse (Walby, Towers and Francis, 2015). Several third sector groups have outlined the devastating effects that these austerity measures have made to their funding. Seabrook (2015) reports that Women's Breakout, a probation partnership organisation which ran HWCs, describe the switch to privatised Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRCs) as 'the worst year ever'. Budgets reduced from £1500-2000 to £200-300 per woman, and the MoJ is criticised for lacking transparency and plans for women under TR. The message is the same throughout England and Wales, 'In the same way that individual women are bearing the brunt of the cuts… third sector women's organisations have been disproportionately affected by cuts to local government budgets' (Women's Resource and Development Agency, 2016).

Whilst practitioners' abilities to help women are therefore compromised, their own employment situation has worsened. Kirton and Guillaume's (2015) study reviews NAPO's weakened position in negotiations with employers when trying to maintain traditional values for staff and services users. 'Gender effects' are especially noted as evasiveness around salaries, leading to a wider pay gap between male and female employees and fewer opportunities for promotion. Workloads increased and some POs, with caring responsibilities, were made to work in offices further from their homes, against their will (Kirton and Guillaume, 2015: 13). It is concluded that female staff are affected disproportionately. Reports from the Probation Inspectorate monitoring the organisational restructuring have identified problems with implementation and the lowering of practice standards both for probation in general and specifically for women, 'After the improvements we saw when we last inspected, in 2011, it is disappointing to see that progress has stalled' (HMIP, 2016).

2.6 Organisational change

One way of exploring the upheavals in probation is through Huppatz's (2010; 2012) interpretation of Bourdieu's ideas on habitus, field, capital and symbolic violence. This provides a powerful analytical tool for investigating change within an organisation. During his lifetime (1930-2002) Bourdieu's works were closely aligned with research on different aspects of the social world but not especially on the CJS or on gender. The core concepts, under a feminist lens in related professions of social work and nursing, have been re-examined by Huppatz.

Habitus is described by Bourdieu (1990: 12-13) as a '...system of acquired dispositions functioning on the practical level as categories of perception and assessment or as classificatory principles as well as being the organizing principles of action'. Bourdieu describes the interplays of social practices as resembling games with implicit rules into which players are drawn unaware, or not at a conscious level, through striving to accumulate power. 'A field is simultaneously a space of conflict and competition….in which participants vie to establish monopoly over the species of capital effective in it…' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 17). Although field and habitus are always mutually constitutive, neither are fixed. The rules of the field can change and when this occurs it means that the habitus, which enables people to occupy a position of dominance in the field, no longer works well.

A number of commentators in probation have used Bourdieu's concepts as a framework for their analyses. Deering (2011: 27) explains field as 'the formal rules that govern public services, whilst habitus is the area inhabited by individuals…in terms of their working culture and practices.' The interplay between habitus and field is rife with resistance – when rules are imposed by government which alter current work practices and cultures there is a time lag between the imposition and the filtering through of the edicts to those working in the front-line, which Bourdieu terms 'hysteresis' (Deering, 2011: 28). Deering uses this model to explain the resistance shown by probation workers whenever there is a 'government-driven agenda'. Workers view such an agenda as imposing restriction on work patterns, economic losses, worsening workplace conditions and impacting negatively on individuals' professional, political or personal moral and ethical principles. However, the struggle can be dismissed by the field as a Luddite-type reluctance to change. Hysteresis involves an incongruence between the new possibilities presented by field change and actors whose habitus prevents them, at least in the short term, from recognizing the value of new positions and practices. Deering (2011: 28) indicates that 'hysteresis' is likely to occur when TR is imposed on probation by government, destabilising the probation worker habitus.

Resistance, through an ongoing belief in penal welfarism practices, still exists in probation. Risk and public protection are acknowledged as important, but there is continuous struggle to maintain aspects of former more individualised and humanitarian ways of working. McNeill, Burns, Halliday, Hutton and Tata (2009: 435) assert that it would take a 'violent rupture' to wipe out welfarism completely. Annison, Eadie and Knight (2008) suggest it is embedded in individuals' reasons for choosing probation as a profession, and the desire to help people change offers a sense of purpose and satisfaction. Forbes (2010) also employs a Bourdieusian theoretical framework in his study of the influencing factors on the cultures of newly qualified POs (NQOs), likening habitus to socialising influences on individuals. Through case studies, the identification of POs within the larger 'probation field' is analysed, determining to what extent an individual ascribes their identity to the profession or feels that they belong, and to which discourse within the

profession they identify. Forbes (2010: 87) also highlights the importance of varying cultures; if there is disillusionment in an office, it is hard for individuals to withstand that influence.

Despite Bourdieu's omissions of gender and employment, Huppatz (2012: 8) argues that Bourdieu's 'toolkit' can be adapted to extend analysis to incorporate 'a feminist Bourdieusian concept'. Probation is not included in Huppatz's research but two of the professions, social work and nursing, share significant commonalities, such as ongoing interaction with vulnerable service users; being caring professions; and traditionally public service, not-for-profit organisations (although this has obviously now changed). Training for these professions involves a higher education qualification and professionally reflective practices and relational skills. Until the mid-1990s social work and probation shared the social work qualification as the route into both professions and these skills are considered integral. Nursing and social work have conventionally been feminised critical occupations[6] (Huppatz, 2012). Since the 1990s, despite Michael Howard's efforts to reverse the trend by introducing male veterans from the armed forces to the staff group, probation has joined these ranks. Mawby and Worrall (2011: 14) refer to the changes in the organisation from being a 'male-dominated' service in the 1970s and 1980s to a female-dominated one from the early 1990s. At all levels, more women than men work in probation agencies. The inference from this 'feminised' label is of a softer, caring, relational way of operating instead of the harsher public protection pathways epitomised by other criminal justice agencies. This is not the image portrayed by Mawby and Worrall (2011: 14) in their study of identity amongst probation professionals:

> '…a new breed …highly organised, computer-literate and focused on public protection. These women have a keen sense of the rights of victims and the need to hold male offenders to account. Few expressed any particular interest in working with women offenders'.

Yet this is not the picture across the board; writings contemporary to Mawby and Worrall indicate that an ongoing and primary interest for practitioners is establishing positive relations with service users, both in a general sense, and specifically with women service users (Palmer and Smith, 2010; Barry and McIvor, 2010; Rowe and Soppitt, 2014; McDermott, 2014).

What this suggests is that gender issues are complex and worthy of further investigation. In a later analysis of their research, Mawby and Worrall (2013: 132-3) draw on Huppatz's (Ross-Smith and Huppatz, 2010) exploration of female, as opposed to feminine, capital to demonstrate the influences on women who are chief officers. They conclude that women, as practitioners and middle managers, retain a voice at the surface or lower echelons of the organisation, but the real power base overseeing probation is centred in

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[6] I.e. staffed mainly by women, dealing with vulnerable individuals

the National Offender Management Service (NOMS), the governing body[7], led by prison service officials. It is argued that this is where 'deep conceptualization' occurs. Although invisible, the governance of the institution is male-dominated, using male discourses which preserve male norms and which successfully silence female voices (Mawby and Worrall, 2013: 139).

2.7 Concluding Discussion

The thread which runs throughout this literature review is that women in the CJS have been, and still are, seen as of lesser consequence. The ebb and flow of political manoeuvring and the accompanying ideological strategies have had a profound impact on the organisation. Despite the growing numbers of women at leadership level in probation, the over-riding governance of NOMS has caused the organisation to become much more closely aligned with the predominantly male-focused prison policy. Protests against organisational changes, by probation officers (the large majority of whom are female), went unheard. Voluntary agencies set up for women, such as the HWCs, have become beholden for their existence to the Government and are themselves increasingly marginalised. WSUs, where they speak out forcefully in a CJ setting, to defend or protect themselves, risk harsher punishments for unfeminine behaviour. Finally, ironically, professional women, seeking promotion within the sphere, need to adopt the tougher more masculinised stance to be considered credible candidates. The next chapter outlines further details about the probation service, where women fit into the structures, and places the thesis within an organisational context.

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[7] Now Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (HMPPS)

Chapter 3: Understanding the probation setting

3.1 Introduction

Despite the probation service having been nationalised in 2001, there is still great variability between probation areas and each of the offices in England and Wales. Change has been integral to the fabric of probation and the profession has been undergoing mutations ever since its beginnings in 1907. However, over the past thirty years, rather than internal adjustments, as happened until the latter end of the twentieth century, it is forces from outside the service which have become increasingly influential in bringing about major reorganisations. This chapter considers who the staff are in these public agencies, what they do, workers' qualifications, and what the organisation looks like in terms of worker interactions and values, language, and to which legislation and policies staff are answerable.

3.2 Probation workers and the supervision process

Probation officers (POs) are expected to work in different settings during their career. Some officers work in prisons, in the courts, others in approved premises (formerly bail hostels), and some officers may opt to do accredited programme groupwork exclusively, whilst others, the largest group, are assigned a caseload of community and licence (post-release from prison) orders. Previously officers could select not to work with sex offenders. However, probation reorganisations over the past decade have meant that if employed in a public protection team, and post-TR in the National Probation Service (NPS), the expectation is that practitioners will work with all high-risk cases. Many POs, not wishing to follow this path, choose employment with the Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRCs), where teams are designated low to medium risk cases, in the normal way automatically excluding sex offenders. Unqualified staff may also work in the NPS, but not hold sole responsibility for the more serious offenders. Alternative employment for those without a probation qualification is as supervisors for unpaid work (formerly community service) and statutory roles with victims.

There is also well established joint agency working, where probation officers take up a post with the police or in the youth offending service (YOS). Similarly, within probation offices, police officers may have a desk, drug/alcohol agencies workers may be placed in the probation building, along with specialists in employment, education and training and housing. Another multi-agency structure, integrated offender management (IOM) teams, was put in place in 2009 to target multiple repeat offenders (Senior, Wong, Culshaw, Ellingworth, O'Keeffe and Meadows, 2011). Police and probation are the main agencies, but working closely with youth offending, housing, mental health, psychological agencies and third sector partnerships including providers for women (Clinks, 2014). The most serious violent/sexual offenders are

subject to multi-agency public protection arrangements (MAPPA) brought in by the Criminal Justice and Court Services Act, 2000 (Nash, 2006).

Women represent 10% of the population supervised in the community by probation (MoJ, 2015, cited by Stacey, 2016: 6) so there would be only 3 or 4 women in an average caseload. Some staff are given an all-woman caseload either by request or are directed to take it on. Practitioners are allocated a caseload of between 20 and 60 cases, although it can be more where offices are understaffed. Crisis management has resulted in some tragic serious further offences (SFOs). A classic example is Dano Sonnex, who murdered two French students whilst under statutory supervision to a newly qualified probation officer with a caseload of 127 (Fitzgibbon, 2012). Where she worked in Lewisham, there were 'no proper risk assessments on 650 of the 2,500 offenders they were responsible for…an office under pressure' (Travis, 2009). All probationers should be risk-assessed using the Offender Assessment system (OASys) tool, which combines actuarial and clinical assessments.

When an offender is convicted, the magistrates or judge may request a presentence report. The offender will be interviewed by a probation officer in the prison or probation office and, if appropriate, there may be a home visit. The PO asks about the offence, and analyses the explanation and any offending patterns, to assess the person's risk of causing harm to others, themselves or of re-offending. The offender's current situation is explored, checks made with other agencies and recommendations made to the sentencers, taking into account sentencing considerations already announced by the court (Canton and Dominey, 2018). A few options may be suggested as add-ons to the order or licence and these are frequently constructive proposals with elements of restriction. For example, accredited programmes are assigned to tackle specific areas leading to pro-criminal behaviours, sex offending, domestic violence, lack of consequential thinking and substance misuse treatments.

POs also work closely in partnership with other agencies both in formal (dictated by the courts or licence conditions) and informal capacities. Children's Services, community mental health teams, housing, employment and drug rehabilitation organisations are the main associates. Since Corston's (2007) review, work to be carried out by holistic women's centres may be suggested as part of a multi-agency package. There may also be restrictive and/or punitive measures including unpaid work, curfew and notification (where individuals considered to be violent or sexual offenders must register their addresses with the police). POs also examine the person's preconvictions, obtained from the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), as well as any witness statements, which can then be compared to the offender's narrative around the offence. Whilst previously POs were given three weeks to write reports, for cost effective purposes fast

track reports, delivered orally to the court on the same day as the interview, are nowadays commonplace. Canton and Dominey (2018: 93) argue that these speeded up versions can result in standardised questions and 'mechanistic responses' which detract from a just process.

Once released from court or prison the individual is given instructions to report to a PO at a specific date/time. The PO inducts the service user, explaining both of their roles and what is expected during an order, including frequency of reporting. They then make an assessment using the tools available, considering the individual's criminogenic needs. These are dynamic risk factors that are hoped to be changed, ranging from practical issues, such as gaining accommodation and employment, to more complex and deep-seated matters such as relationships, attitudes and lifestyle. Some probationers will be directed to attend groupwork, and it is the field PO who is expected to motivate and prepare the service user for the process. It is good practice to have a three-way meeting with the groupwork facilitator where the individual can ask questions, be reassured and have a known face when they arrive at the group. Alternatively, if the individual is not considered suitable for a group, structured one-to-one work can be undertaken by the PO. Initially National Standards stipulated that all offenders must be seen weekly for the first 3 months, but since the offender engagement programme (OEP) was introduced, the requirements have supposedly become more flexible, valuing professional judgement for decisions around compliance (Rex and Hosking, 2013). However, Mawby and Worrall (2013: 43) cite a recruit who estimated that '70% of her time was spent at her computer'. This contrasts markedly with the mid- twentieth century when POs were more visible in the community, as evidenced by this oral history description of a main grade officer from that period (1969-1989):

> 'I never used to call them into the office unless it was absolutely vital. I'd go to their houses and they appreciated it. What worries me now is that that's no longer happening, so how do we get to the heart of these people. In my days we walked the streets, visiting people.'

> (Peggy Turner, cited in Napo, 2007: 37)

The community aspect, even if demonstrably 'othering' the service user, as can be seen in Peggy Turner's account, where she speaks of 'the heart of these people', is no longer a priority. Reasons for this are given as lack of time, and there is also far more emphasis on risk aspects today, but visiting with a colleague, for health and safety reasons, may prove logistically difficult (Mawby and Worrall, 2013). Remoteness from service users troubles some workers in Mawby and Worrall's (2013) study, leaving them feeling de-skilled. Home visits are still made occasionally, especially to women who have young children and find it difficult to get to the office, and where serious concerns exist about the children, but this is not the norm.

Probationers can be taken back to court to have part of their order removed, either if it is not working or for good progress. Towards the end of an Order, and when the bulk of the stipulated tasks have been

successfully completed, the reporting requirements generally become less stringent. To prepare for the end of an order, practitioners should ensure that their supervisee has links within the community, so that they know where to access support if they are struggling.

3.2.1 Practitioner qualifications and training

Service users are supervised by individuals with a range of experience and qualifications. From the 1970s onwards, there had been growing concerns about the use of psycho-therapeutic techniques involving lengthy, invasive interventions and there were moves to make the training more employment led (Knight, 2001 cited by Treadwell, 2006: 3). A probation service officer (PSO) who has no probation-related qualification may have years of experience in the service, whilst some newly qualified officers (NQOs) have had very little time 'on the job'. Prior to 1995, the prerequisite to work as a PO was the Certificate of Qualification in Social Work (CQSW) and for many officers, including myself, this was achieved at master's level, sponsored by the Home Office. The Diploma in Social Work (DipSW) replaced the CQSW in 1991, but links to the social work profession abruptly came to a halt in 1995 when the social work requirement was removed (Bailey, Knight and Williams, 2007). Prompted by the Home Secretary at the time, Michael Howard, the break in training provision became known as the 'Howard Gap'; this hiatus led to a shortfall in qualified officers. Subsequent alternative arrangements commenced in 1997 with the Diploma in Probation Studies (DipPS), which included an undergraduate degree in addition to National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs). Supervision in the work-place was undertaken by practice development assessors (PDAs), who were active in enhancing reflective skills; these had become less of a feature in the academic programme than in the previous social work era. More emphasis was placed on criminal justice, criminology, legislation and accountability than face-to-face interaction with service users. Treadwell (2006) aligns the moves with the overall drive towards the more bureaucratic approach, inherent in new public management (NPM), that had taken hold in the 1990s and was expanded on by New Labour. He warns of the isolated and unsupported nature of distance learning and marginalisation of the university input, leading to 'anti-intellectualism' and a 'mentality of enforcement' (Treadwell, 2006: 7).

The DipPS lasted until 2010 when it was replaced by the Probation Qualification Framework (PQF) (Skinner and Goldhill, 2013). The reasoning behind the change was to facilitate a qualification for current PSOs, which allowed them to maintain their salary and conditions of service. This had not been possible under the DipPS, where workers had had to resign, become students for 2 years, with an allowance rather than a full salary, and then re-apply for a PO post. Under this regime certain staff were excluded, generally older individuals who had financial and caring responsibilities, and therefore were unable to take a salary cut. The PQF gave workers, with several years' experience of working with offenders, the opportunity to become qualified officers and gain a degree. It also brought with it a fast-tracking option, through the

Graduate Diploma, for those staff with relevant degrees, defined as criminology and police studies. However, those who arrived as graduates with little or no experience of working with offenders found the curtailed training period, of 9 months, to be a proverbial 'steep learning curve'. It also caused a change to the demographics within the Service. The group that met the criteria at the assessment centres, and went on to become POs, were young white women, fresh from university; a stark contrast to Michael Howard's 1994 vision of attracting ex-forces male personnel to the profession (Pitts, 2011).

By 2015, when TR was formally instituted, POs possessed a diverse range of qualifications. To make the organisational landscape more complicated, when the National Probation Service started in 2001, large numbers of unqualified officers (PSOs) were employed to fill the shortfall left by the Howard Gap (1995-7). PSO training is generally very limited, involving attendance at in-service instruction days, usually on a practical 'need-to-know' basis. Blurring of boundaries between qualified and unqualified staff and inconsistency across the country is welcomed by some PSOs seeking out more interesting work and greater responsibility. This is an ongoing source of concern to the union, National Association of Probation Officers (Napo), as PSOs have at certain times and places taken over groupwork, court work and report writing with both lower and, to some extent, relatively high-risk cases. Some PSOs have felt ill-equipped for the extra duties for which they receive minimal training and resent being paid less than their qualified colleagues (Bailey, Knight and Williams, 2007). Current CRC service conditions are not as favourable as those in the NPS, but workers can still move between roles in CRCs and partnership agencies, gaining a variety of practical and training experiences.

Women support workers at the holistic women's centres hold a range of qualifications such as drama and art therapy, counselling, coaching and mentoring. There is no established qualification or requirement set out in job descriptions. Compared to probation officers and probation service officers, the salary is considerably less with many posts advertised as part-time.

3.2.2 Probation values

> 'There seems to be a hiatus - to put it optimistically – in the understanding of what probation values are, or might be.'

> (Nellis and Gelsthorpe, 2003)

Values combine ethical beliefs and expectations about how a person should conduct themselves. When talking to probation officers, they have strong ideas about moral behaviour but may disagree about what exactly it is. Belief in the old social work values is retained whereby it is advocated that probationers should be treated with respect, and custody is viewed as an unhelpful route to pursue for the majority of

offenders. It is common to hear the repeated notion of condemning a person's behaviour but still appreciating that individual's qualities above and beyond their offence. Values about being transparent with people are also considered fundamental to the probation task. These aspirations are embedded in the good practice guidance of prosocial modelling, motivational interviewing, desistance techniques, good lives model (GLM) and even expressed in less familiar governmental language such as core correctional practices.

Part of this belief system includes keeping a check on oneself, so the necessity for reflective practice (RP) is also regarded highly in probation circles. RP necessitates a process of critically examining one's practice and possessing self-awareness. There are various components to RP. Linking theory to practice involves ensuring that professional knowledge is kept up-to-date. Gaps in understanding are filled by talking to more experienced or specialist colleagues or reading up about academic research and policy directives and knowing where to find the information. Literature searches are more likely to be completed by POs who have undertaken academic work as part of their probation training. Being able to ask for help, and feeling that it is a worthy path to follow, is indicative of the worker's strength in trying to comprehend and accept their own limitations and vulnerabilities (Ruch, 2002; 2012). It is also seen as modelling a way of being for service users, who may not have experienced thinking in a reflective way.

The Personality Disorder (PD) Pathway exemplifies such an approach where contracting arrangements with the psychological services enable probation practitioners to draw on support in their work with personality disordered cases (Harvey and Ramsden, 2017). Harvey and Ramsden (2017: 25 and 26) argue that, amongst other aspects of RP, it 'emphasizes explicit communication' and 'facilitates ethical practice.'[8] All practitioners receive supervision from their managers, but it depends on the particular senior probation officer (SPO) as to whether the meeting takes a reflective or technical, managerial direction.

Integral to the centrality of reflective practice values is the concept of anti-discriminatory practice (ADP) and consideration of diversity issues. In the NOMS acronym for probation objectives - SMARTA (specific, measurable, achievable, realistic and time-bound). The 'A', standing for anti-discriminatory practice, has been added at the end, as a stipulation for fairer outcomes and outputs for all (Canton and Dominey, 2018). Diversity is currently the more popular name for valuing others (Mawby and Worrall, 2013). It

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[8] At the time of this study the PD Pathways scheme was just being negotiated within XPT and ZPT, and a great deal of interest was shown towards what was a new approach for this area with POs acknowledging the advantages both for themselves and service users (Field notes, XPT women's supporter's meeting, 27.09.2012; meeting with ZPT psychologist and quality development officer, 29.11.2012). See chapter 8 for further details.

involves POs considering those characteristics which mark out service users as different in society, aspects such as disabilities, recognising the discriminatory attitudes they may face, or the stigma and exclusion following on from the offence. Officers should routinely (but sensitively) ask BAME service users how racism has affected their lives. PO attention to their own traits is equally necessary, and awareness of similarities or differences to the individual service user in terms of class, age, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, current living situation and background. Certain aspects may affect the interaction between officer and service user and direct the focus within assessments towards the uniqueness of each individual, rather than purely risk and punishment. Practitioners display their knowledge and attitudes towards their cases in their verbal and written descriptions of them. It is not expected that probation workers will never exhibit prejudice or strong negative feelings in relation to service users, but rather they will reflect on these emotions, on their own and with colleagues, to gain a more compassionate, humanistic perspective (Lewis, 2016; Phillips, Westaby and Fowler, 2016; Lee, 2017a and b).

Napo, the union and professional body is one upholder of probation values. POs and PSOs, if they belong to Napo, attend monthly branch meetings, some taking on roles as officials (chair, secretary and treasurer); they are given a specified amount of time to carry out their duties. Napo (2017) claims to be 'potentially the most democratic trade union in Britain' and all members, not just officials, are invited to attend and vote at their 'supreme policy-making body,' the annual general meeting (AGM). This three-day event every autumn provides a forum for social bonding as well as bolstering resistance and is an important date in the calendar for more politicised workers. Separate spaces are made available during the AGM for specific social groups such as the Association of Black Probation Staff (ABPO), Lesbians, Gay Men, Bisexuals and Transgendered people working in the National Probation Service and Family Courts and Women in Napo (WIN). At all these events there is a significant focus on learning and research, with speakers drawn from the academic community, as well as politicians from both the Commons and the Lords who hold a special interest in probation. Napo also publish a peer-reviewed academic journal, with scholarly articles from practitioners and interested academics.

The Probation Institute was set up in Spring, 2014 as an independent professional body, supported by the unions and the Probation Chief's Association (Webster, 2013). Its aim was to establish 'a community of professionals who share common values, ethos and are motivated by a commitment to the rehabilitation of offenders' (On Probation Blog, 2016). It too holds a one-day annual conference for interested parties and an additional trainee PSO conference. Workshops and training events are also part of its remit.

3.2.3 Language

The language that is used by officers frequently reflects their values and preferred position regarding the different stages in probation history. Up until the 1990s, and the implementation of the penal approach, those on a community order or licence were called clients. There was outrage expressed at the 2000 Napo conference, when the then Minister for Probation, Paul Boateng told probation officers that they should be doing law enforcement, not social work as this would prove to the government that they were 'upping their game' (Robinson, 2002: 247). Despite the initial uproar, the new jargon stuck to the probation service through attaching offender as a prefix to various roles and tasks. Probation officers became offender managers (OMs), the risk assessment tools being used were called the offender group reconviction scale (OGRS) and offender assessment system (OASys), the way of working was called the offender management model (OMM) and the organisation was renamed the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) (Canton and Dominey, 2018). In this way, the terminology rapidly became embedded in probation culture.

The term OM served a number of political purposes. By not distinguishing between qualified probation officers (POs) and unqualified probation service officers (PSOs)[9], the line between the two grades grew more blurred (Bailey, Knight and Williams, 2007). On a positive side, this enabled PSOs to gain experience by undertaking more interesting and complex tasks. The down side was that they had little defence against being directed to carry out work requiring training, which they had not received. Nowadays, amongst the CRCs, in an effort to separate themselves from traditional probation agencies, staff may be called responsible officers (ROs) (Canton and Dominey, 2018). In part the same applies to this group of workers; ROs and PSOs can be employed as a cheaper option to POs whilst the title hides differences in qualification. At a recent chief officers' conference, the following views were expressed about the term, RO:

> 'a technical meaning about the role of the officer but does not necessarily mean anything to others outside the field… One CRC chief executive remarked that it "doesn't matter what we call each other, people who use the service will always come into an office looking for their 'probation' officer".'

> (Kent Surrey Sussex CRC conference blog, 2018)

In Phillips' (2013) thesis, he opts to use the term 'offender' and considers it a 'de-politicised' reference (although he notes the label of offender manager is resisted by workers and some employees object to the terminology). McNeill, Raynor and Trotter (2010) similarly entitle their book 'Offender Supervision',

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[9] Probation officers are those individuals who have successfully undertaken a recognised probation training qualification at undergraduate degree level, whereas PSOs do not possess this qualification.

acknowledging that terminology is problematic but using 'offender' to emphasise that current rehabilitation is rooted in the penal system. Trotter (1999), in his seminal work on prosocial modelling, refers to probationers as 'involuntary clients'.

Knight (2014: 166) comments that 'probation workers are generally careful about their use of language', and she argues that use of 'offender' has 'a strong depersonalising' effect, 'othering' and distancing the people being supervised. She notes how probation workers in her study 'made a conscious decision to use "client" in defiance' of organisational pressures (Knight, 2014: 166), the term which characterised probation's pre1990s 'advise, assist, befriend,' era. Willis (2018: 1) argues that it is morally wrong to label individuals in a derogatory way 'Why call someone by what we don't want them to be?' as it reinforces 'stigma, disempowerment and distress'. It is also contended that doing so indicates homogeneity of the group, ignoring individuals' diversities.[10] Farrall (2013), in his blog on behalf of an individual, Charlie, also problematises 'offender' because it:

> ".... creates a tragic cycle where the individual isn't allowed to move on. The term "ex-offender" doesn't aid the rehabilitation process. None of us would like to be judged by the lowest point in our lives."

Individuals are supposed to (re)integrate into society, but it is difficult to do so with the ongoing label of 'offender' attached to them. Hence, in this thesis, alternative terms such as service user are used, as explained in Chapter 1 (1.1.1).

3.2.4 Therapeutic alliances and probation officer/service user relationships

The rapport established between practitioner and service user is expressed in different ways in criminal justice literature. Whatever label is given to it, a successful, positive dynamic is generally considered the cornerstone of probation practice. It was Dowden and Andrews' (2004: 204) influential article on core correctional practices (CCP) which, whilst upholding the premises of the What Works and Risk Need Responsivity (RNR) models, insisted on the importance of 'open, warm and enthusiastic communications' alongside 'mutual respect'. They drew comparisons with work carried out by the psychotherapeutic community and adopted the terminology of 'therapeutic alliance' when advising practitioners on encouraging service users to engage with the rehabilitative process. Other researcher/practitioners have embraced this term. Knight (2014) considers that the renewal of interest is significant for her study of emotional literacy in work with sex offenders. Within this context, the worker's responsivity, understanding and empathy regarding the service user's motivation and diversity issues are key factors. It is argued also that human rights and humanitarian discourses play a central underpinning role for therapeutic

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[10] See also Ryder's (2013) blog, 'Why are the labels "offender" and "ex-offender" so offensive?' about the 'life sentence' of being referred to as an 'ex-offender'

relationships within correctional settings (Lewis, 2016). Recognition that offenders can also be victims is fundamental to offender rehabilitation, and that individuals who have experienced violence, abuse and discrimination during childhood are more likely to be drawn into the criminal justice system (Boswell, 2002; Falshaw, 2005; Vaswani, 2018). The need to address victimisation experiences may initially seem counter-intuitive but initially it may need to take precedence over the risk priorities of offending behaviour and victim empathy work (Burrows, 2013).

The desistance and prosocial modelling literature steers away from the use of therapeutic language, preferring to define it as a positive working relationship. However, the emphasis on required skills and approaches is very similar. Fitzgibbon (2012b: 145) states that there are 'at least 3' bases within probation writing where the importance of the officer/service user relationship is promoted. First are the Liverpool Desistance Studies by Maruna (Maruna, Porter and Carvalho, 2004) which introduced the notion of highlighting service users' strengths as opposed to their risks. Pro-social modelling, as set out by Trotter (1999: 25), is the next example. Trotter discusses the 'worker-client relationship' as containing six parts, placing emphasis on empathy as 'understanding the client's feelings and point of view' and, in interactions, separating the individual out from their offence. Finally, Skills for Effective Engagement and Development and Supervision (SEEDS) stressed the necessity for the process to be collaborative, involving reflective supervision from a manager or senior colleague/quality development officer. Burke (2010: 364) stresses the necessity for a supportive relationship underpinning even practical interventions. It is not sufficient in itself but should be used in conjunction with 'wider structural opportunities,' thus separating interventions from traditional psychotherapeutic sessions.

Clearly the work of the practitioner within a probation setting is not therapy as such, there is not the same time allowance and clients are generally 'involuntary' (Trotter, 1999). Nevertheless, interventions, attitudes, and language within probation settings draw heavily on therapeutic disciplines, approaches and goals. As noted above, only with this skill set and the establishment of a positive alliance are statutory orders likely to be effective. Lewis (2014; 2016) argues that without this base a 'negative', 'toxic' atmosphere can be created where dysfunctional 'ruptures' between the parties are likely to occur. This is particularly important in respect to women offenders, 'Remember that relationships are key for women so building a rapport is extremely important if she is to succeed' (NOMS, 2017: 27).

3.3 The WSU under probation jurisdiction

'The Magistrates' Association sees the post-court role of probation staff as to: coordinate a sentence; monitor progress; ensure compliance; and monitor and report breach

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On release from prison for a sentence over 12 months the WSU would be on licence and eligible for many of the same options as those women on community orders. As noted above, WSUs make up approximately 10% of the overall probation caseload (HMIP, 2016: 6) and come into the probation sphere through differing routes. Younger women may start their orders under the auspices of the Youth Offending Team (YOT) and when they reach the age of 18, they are transferred over to adult services. The Sentencing Guidelines (2011) brought in a new measure which states that 'consideration should be given to "lack of maturity" as a potential mitigating factor in sentencing decisions for adults'. The maturity of a service user should be taken into account but the University of Birmingham's (2013: 4) guidance to maturity explains that not enough is known about maturity in terms of gender and race 'to make definitive statements'. Both this guidance paper and the inspection report (Youth Justice Board, 2012) emphasise the importance of seeing the person as an individual and making the sentence plan relevant through maturity considerations. Good practice is marked out by purposeful liaison, principally between the YOT officer and the PO but also with other providers; it is noted in the inspection that often this does not take place.

If not entering probation through this route, women come to the probation office having received instructions at court or having been released from prison. The court process can arouse strong emotions of fear, anxiety, shame and confusion for offenders and often they arrive at the office unsure of what is going to happen next. Women who arrive from court will have been given a community order or a suspended sentence supervision order. The suspended sentence supervision order, handed out for serious offences, is a custodial sentence of a prescribed number of days to be served in the community; custody has been held over on condition that there is no further offending. If there is continuing unacceptable behaviour, the WSU will receive the length of imprisonment prescribed in the sentence. This sentence has been used widely instead of community orders and criticised for causing an increase in women's imprisonment due to breach (PRT, 2017).

Where available, previous research has shown that it is better for WSUs to attend women only 'groups', where sharing takes place about issues that women have in common (Worrall, 2002; Roberts, 2002). Resources for such groups tend to exist solely in the larger towns and cities (Gelsthorpe, Sharpe and Roberts, 2007), partly because of the small numbers of women on community sentences elsewhere. Such groups were refused accreditation by the programme's panel, because facilitators prioritise topics the women bring to the session, as opposed to structured accredited What Works cognitive behavioural treatment (CBT) approaches. Roberts (2002) attempted to establish an accredited programme for

women's groupwork nationally through the Asha Centre, the flagship for holistic women's centres, but her proposals were refused on the grounds of insufficient offending behaviour work being carried out.

Nugent and Loucks (2011: 18) describe groupwork programmes as 'a great way of helping women build confidence and self-esteem'. Asher and Annison (2015: 89) also argue that all-women groups enable women to tell their stories in an environment where both peers and staff validate their efforts to re-examine their identities and improve their skills, leading to greater self-efficacy. The only probation accredited programme for women was at the Women's Centre in Camden, providing four groupwork programmes each year (Gelsthorpe, Sharpe and Roberts, 2007). In a more recent report of women's centres in London (Goldup and Goom, 2013), there is no mention of accredited programmes. There are instead attempts to harness already existing local resources, providing funds to set up services to integrate female clientele into the community, through projects such as gardening groups.

The main proposal from Corston and Gelsthorpe et al (2007) was to create a network of holistic women's centres (HWCs) which would provide a women only community 'one stop shop' resource. Probation clients could be seen at the HWC instead of the probation office thus enabling the required 'calm' environment away from the presence of predatory men. 'Rolls Royce demonstration projects,' called Together Women, were set up, funded by a government injection of £9.15 million (Gelsthorpe et al, 2007: 5). From the start, doubt was cast on whether such schemes could be sustained once the initial financing push was reduced. The centres and their facilities mentioned above (Goldup and Gloom, 2013) are only available to 8 of the 25 London boroughs which is viewed by the authors as disadvantaging many women, despite outreach services operating and availability for women living outside the boroughs to attend. However, their ability to attract custom seems limited, with numbers of referrals from London Probation considered disappointing. Despite expanding initially nationwide, since the arrival of TR services are contracting. A Howard League paper warns that they have become a 'watered-down version of what went before' and that they could disappear altogether (APPG, 2016).

Punitive and restrictive approaches can be incorporated into sentences, such as unpaid work or curfews, as well as treatments imposed by the courts, most frequently for alcohol and drug misuse. What Works accredited programmes are another option and these can be accessed through a groupwork route. However, if there are concerns about the vulnerability of the individual it is more likely that the programme is carried out as one-to-one work with their PSO/PO. Women are excluded from groups targeting domestic violence (DV). Even if a woman is on a statutory order for DV she is perceived as having different

pathways to men in regard to the offending behaviour (MoJ, 2012). She might also be thought to be at risk of retraumatisation, coercion or harm, whilst mixing with a group of male perpetrators (Worrall, 2004).

When supervising an Order, the probation worker is subject to National Standards, requirements laid out by the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) and issued by the Home Secretary under section 7(1) of the Offender Management Act 2007. The purpose of National Standards (NS) is to provide consistency in the management of offenders throughout England and Wales. Certain tasks such as report writing and record keeping have to be completed within a set amount of time and for breach/recall procedures it is obligatory to follow the mandatory requirements (MoJ, 2015). Initially this represented a reduction in PO autonomy over their work practices (Deering, 2011; Robinson, 2011) with POs being held accountable for failures to keep to the time limits and implement enforcement. NS have been revised over the years and, following piloted research in 2010, there was greater leeway for practitioners, highlighting the importance of professional judgement in applying the Standards:

> 'The appropriate use of discretion depends not only on common sense, but also on training, experience and guidance from colleagues'

> (Sonia Crozier, cited by HCJC, 2011: 33)

This guidance constituted a move away from the 'one size fits all' dogma of the What Works era, where the emphasis was on meeting targets and accountability. In 2011 the value of taking time over establishing a meaningful officer/service user relationship was made more prominent, particularly when supervising individuals with complex issues. However, before this idea had time to take hold within probation teams, the new directives introducing Transforming Rehabilitation (TR) were being published.

Since the Offender Rehabilitation Act (ORA), 2014 came into force, rehabilitation activity requirements (RARs) have been introduced which require offenders to undertake certain prescribed pieces of work. Probation Instructions explain that:

> 'The Act amends the Criminal Justice Act 2003 and repeals the Supervision and Activity Requirements replacing them with a single new Requirement that gives greater flexibility for providers of probation services to determine the rehabilitative interventions delivered to offenders.'

> (HMPPS, 2017)

In essence, the intervention options already existed before the Act came into being. The ORA also brought in Through the Gate (TTG) and post-sentence supervision (PSS), so that since February 1st, 2015, all those imprisoned for less than 12 months are released at the half way point, serving the rest of their sentence on licence in the community. Women in Prison (2017) argue that PSS was supposed to stand for post sentence support and the original intention was 'to operate in a similar way to a community order

although it has a purely rehabilitative focus'. Unsuccessful PSSs now often lead to recall, resulting in a 14-day prison sentence (Women in Prison, 2017; Webster, 2017). Women are also often released on a Friday afternoon and support facilities tend not to be open at weekends (Nacro, 2018). Prior to the ORA, WSUs could be ascribed a number of sessions with a key worker or counselling through the HWCs, whereas now there are fewer options and less flexibility. Some of the resources, available previously, were cut back post-TR, due to lack of funding and the increased workloads of POs (partly due to the PSS). Women are known to be particularly vulnerable to short prison sentences for their large number of generally minor offences, their chaotic lifestyles and inability to pay fines. There is also an underlying belief amongst magistrates that women benefit from periods in prison and custodial sentencing acts as a protection for them (Hogenboom, 2018).

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has endeavoured to showcase main points around probation culture, and what is involved in probation practitioners' work with WSUs. It is impossible to be clear-cut about many of the processes, as at the time of the fieldwork undertaken for this study the only constancy was that of change. The probation service has been overtaken by new legislation, which has brought with it fresh challenges in caseload size, changing roles and expectations and critical inspections. Newcomers to probation work arrive in their posts with ideals of helping people (Annison, Eadie and Knight, 2008; Matthews, 2009). Many become disillusioned along the way, but others grow in self-awareness and the ability to bring about real change (Mawby and Worrall, 2013). The 'turbulent conditions' described by Mawby and Worrall (2013: 18) are still evident pre and post this study and need to be factored in when considering PO/WSU interaction. Methods used to investigate these phenomena are reviewed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Methodological position

This study was designed, using new and different techniques, involving a combination of methods – participant observation in various probation settings, semi-structured interviews with all participants and most unusually the videoing of supervision sessions. For data analysis, again a number of techniques were employed – ethnographic, case study and discourse analysis. The aim was to examine in detail how POs manage the supervision process and the responses they get to their efforts. Probation supervision is accomplished through discourse, permeated with emotional and intimate concerns, as well as having its own history and being subject to shifting political influences. Social interactions in small interview rooms are not stand-alone occurrences, but part of broader socio-political situations; a macro approach is taken, one which recognises that individuals' spoken attitudes are not purely in the moment, but part of an 'ideological history' substantiated through 'ordinary talk' (Billig, 2001: 218). 'Ordinary talk' refers to the discussions which take place in the supervision setting and which are not adjusted for research purposes, as with a scientific experiment. Language is perceived as having a significant role in shaping the world in which individuals' views, feelings and values are expressed and is representing both acquiescence with and resistance to power structures. So, although not the only way to investigate this phenomenon, a constructivist, discursive approach seemed a logical way to proceed.

The world view, on which the research questions for this project are based, is explored within a social constructionist framework, connecting to postmodern theory and involving the interweaving of knowledge and power (Stainton-Rogers, 2006). Constructivism can be defined as an ontological position which asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being created by social actors. 'Constructionist ontology' employs signs and symbols which signify individuals' ways of communicating. This viewpoint was thought to be appropriate here, as the aim is to explore the social world of probation, to see how knowledge is constructed and how individuals (both probation workers and WSUs) put into action their power or can withstand others' power. Signs and symbols become apparent in the way participants communicate, through words, bodily gestures and the images they present to each other. By noticing these aspects, as well as inconsistencies, irregularities and exclusions, greater understanding can be gained concerning what may be taboo to talk or even think about, following the abductive logic of enquiry (Stainton-Rogers, 2006: 86).

Large-scale quantitative approaches were not considered suitable as the purpose of the project was to explore in-depth interactions between POs and WSUs. Research styles, popularised in probation in

the1990s, using sizable quantitative meta-analyses to justify the introduction of cognitive behavioural groupwork have largely fallen out of favour. Shaw and Hannah-Moffat (2004) register concern that basic diversity issues, such as age, gender, race and nationality, are overlooked in meta-analyses. As such it would be inappropriate for this research, where one of the aims is to look in depth at difference; a small-scale qualitative study was better suited for this purpose. Rather than making generalised statements the focus of this study is to understand individuals' meanings and communications and analyse belief systems which underpin interventions.

With a positivist approach, language is seen as a straightforward representation of the world, portraying individuals' thinking and attitudes, so acting as 'the neutral servant of the people' (Wetherell, 2001: 15). Positivism presupposes objectivity and transparency on the part of the speaker, that what they say is exactly what they mean. Game playing (Kadushin, 1968), hidden emotions and historical context are not considered relevant, so the myriad of controversial contexts within which human interactions take place is discounted. Integral to assertions of neutrality is the researcher as an objective bystander, who can be easily removed from the analytic equation to reveal facts based on scientific findings, containing a single truth. Conversely, qualitative research offers an interpretivist approach. Dunne, Pryor and Yates (2005: 139) argue that, 'Epistemology is always situated in cultural and historical realities that determine its form and meaning', yet once these factors are contained within the analysis there can be a transcendence of subjectivity. Notwithstanding this, Dunne et al (2005) suggest that the researcher possesses immense power when writing about narratives of others' social worlds. With a social constructionist position the emphasis is on the ability of the researcher to include and interpret personal and emotional responses of all participants, including their own.

4.1.1 Researcher positionality

The position of social constructivism is that knowledge is constructed through interaction, which includes the researcher. The researcher's identity is significant and 'reflexivity becomes a necessity' (Dunne et al, 2005: 108). A feminist approach, as outlined in the literature review (see 2.2.3, p. 11-14), has been taken which relies on recognition of researcher subjectivity and the need for reflexivity; it is an acknowledgement of the researcher's self, bringing her own background, characteristics and awareness of diversity issues to the research itself and the interpretation of data (Fook, 1996).

As a probation worker for 24 years, I gained a diversity of experience at every level of the organisation – probation auxiliary (now known as PSO), Home Office sponsored Master's in social work student, main-grade PO, working in the court and resettlement teams, practice teacher for trainees and a senior

probation officer at an approved premises/bail hostel. Much of my work with WSUs had a backdrop of ignorance, as issues around victimisation were not given prominence in those days. Early in my career I remember interviewing one lively young woman. She showed me her swollen leg, where she had a thrombosis from over-injecting and explained that 'getting a fix' was the most exciting experience in the world. No attempts were made by me to look behind this statement, and naively I was just conscious of somebody living a very different life to my own. A few weeks later I learnt she had died from a blood clot. There were few WSUs on probation in the 1980s and 1990s, but those that were there tended to stand out.

In 2004 I took on a new role as a university teacher of probation. Although formally outside probation, I have still been immersed in the profession, socialising with ex-colleagues and participating in events organised by the National Association of Probation Officers (Napo), a professional body as well as a trade union; these events are political and professional but also social. My reading material is focused on probation, and marking reflective essays provides updates of probation day-to-day. Some of my students spoke with passion about working with women but for others, women sparked deep frustrations and irritations. Being a mother of two daughters (growing from adolescents to adult women during the period of the research), a daughter of elderly parents (who both died during this study) and identifying as a feminist have been influential in my undertaking of this project. Through these major life-span events, insights have been gained into their effects on the person. It is unsurprising though, with such long-standing and ongoing ties to the profession, that this study reflects strongly my affiliations with and respect for probation workers and the profession.

Within research observations, the aim was not to be a PO, 'deliberately understating the [associated] aura of authority' (Dunne et al, 2005: 61), where WSU participants might be inhibited by my presence. Most WSUs were not informed of my background in probation, although practitioners were aware of it. It felt important that the researcher role with practitioners needed to be distinguished from that of colleague, teacher or friend, by explaining clearly the purpose of the study. There were undoubtedly overlaps, for example offering to provide a reflective practice environment after supervision sessions and being known to some participants previously as a teacher. However, it is not unusual for probation colleagues to change roles (for instance changing from student to colleague and then manager) and adapting to new arrangements. The reality is also that the researcher lacks certain powers by dint of no longer being part of the organisation and, in my case, having been separated from this role for several years.

4.1.2 Insider/Outsider

In ethnographic studies the dichotomy between being an 'insider' or 'outsider' of an organisation is frequently examined, with 'myths' surrounding these concepts being the subject of debate (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 86). Rather than a binary separation, it has been argued that the two positions are constantly shifting, with ethnographers neither wholly in nor out (Naples, 2003: 49). Naples argues that the division can obscure differences in power between the researcher and those being studied. Power differentials vary at separate stages during the research. When gaining access, considerable power is held by the organisation, but at the 'writing up' stage, the researcher judges what to include and where to place the emphasis. The organisation and participants then can accept or reject the findings and ideally they will form a basis for discussion.

Feldman et al (2003) cited by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 41) comment that 'a rude surprise' is awaiting the over-confident and naïve researcher. Given my professional background, I assumed the proposal would be regarded as useful, and the input welcomed as a 'critical friend' of the organisation. This was not the case. In Reeves' (2010) ethnographic study of sex offenders in a probation hostel, through a friend she gained a relatively easy entrée to the Approved Premises, with representations being taken to a higher level of management on her behalf. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) discuss gatekeepers viewing the researcher as a critic, hence treated with suspicion and their objectives and progress closely monitored. It may be that my identity was so closely tied to being a member of this 'community of practice' (Wenger, 1999), that attempts to metamorphose into a genuine researcher were not seen as wholly credible. The videoing of vulnerable participants and professionals was a new concept, which presented ethical risks to the agencies and the participants. It was hard to offer guarantees that the study would be written up in a balanced and disciplined way, drawing out the positives, as well as offering constructive criticisms and insights (Dunne et al, 2005). With minimal experience in research, my arguments may have sounded unconvincing and hollow. The result was that the process was a long one, taking three years to gain access to the organisations. (See diagram of gatekeeping process, Appendix A).

4.2 Research sites

4.2.1 Probation offices

This project took place in two probation areas in the South of England over a period of four years (2011-2015). Participants came from XPT (X probation trust), consisting of B town (a city), C town (a large town) and W and E towns (both small towns). The other area, ZPT (Z probation trust) consisted of M town (a large town), where groupwork was observed, but most participants came from T town (a small town).

Several aspects influence how the probation officer does their job and how it is received by the WSU. The first port of call and how service users are greeted as they arrive for their supervision is important. When women enter probation premises they encounter the waiting-room as virtually an all-male preserve (Storer, 2003). In B and E town there were reporting times set aside for women, whereas in C town this approach had been abandoned. Cherry (2005: 141) outlines the importance of the PO being a positive role model, demonstrating respect to the service user through punctuality, warmth of greeting and flexibility, and these features should be present from the start when individuals arrive in the waiting areas[11]. Reactions to the waiting room can epitomise strengths and failings in the officer/servicer user relationship and represent some of the wider ethical issues for the organisation and society in terms of service user dignity and perpetuating social exclusion.

Despite the nationalisation of probation services in 2001, offices are not housed in any standard type of building. Mawby and Worrall (2013) talk of the offices in their research as being situated on industrial estates, but some of the ones visited for this study were centrally placed in the towns and cities, another was in a leisure park setting. The constant common denominator for probation offices today is that reception staff are behind reinforced glass. This is for safety reasons and is known to relate to previous attacks on staff members. However, as Phillips (2014a) comments, the layout of an office does affect interactions, creating an environment where all service users are assumed to be capable of causing harm. At the very least it establishes social distance between staff and service users:

> 'The dispositions acquired in the position occupied imply an adjustment to this position, what Goffman calls the "sense of one's place." It is this sense of one's place which, in interactions, leads people…to keep to their common place, and the others to "keep their distance," to "maintain their rank", and to "not get familiar." '

(Bourdieu, 1989: 17)

Service users are confined to one part of the building and CCTV cameras are in all communal areas and interview rooms. This reinforces the notion of stigma and the divide between 'them' and 'us'. Nevertheless, each office is different and has its own culture.[12] Phillips' (2014a) study evaluates the various messages

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[11] For vulnerable and anxious service users, fresh from a court sentence, this may influence their decision of whether to engage.

[12] T town's (ZPT) entrance is brightly coloured and clean with comfy seats and pictures on the wall, whereas B town's (XPT) waiting area has a worn grey carpet, M town has grey linoleum, and both have tired, dog-eared posters which overall give the impression of being dirty. I recall feeling uncomfortable in B, E, C (XPT) and M's (ZPT) waiting rooms and was keen to be ushered through to 'the other side' as quickly as possible. However, in T's waiting area I felt happy chatting with the individuals sitting there (Reflective diary, 29.01.2014). T town is a relatively prosperous district and a much smaller, friendlier office with fewer staff members; service users are seen in proper rooms with walls. By way of contrast, in B town service users are seen by probation officers in cubicles which barely soundproof the discussions.

that are transmitted, through the physical condition of these communal spaces, about the locality, the office and the people who work there. Surveillance cameras are high up on the wall, pointing towards the seating and are monitored by reception staff. Should there be a disturbance (voices raised or aggressive bodily gestures), staff outside that supervision session respond quickly, and make their presence known. In some offices there are panic buttons under the table and, in others, staff are given an alarm as they enter the interview room. Phillips (2014a: 122) has commented on 'economies of scale' and how the large buildings reflect that budgets, rather than people, are the priority. Post-TR, buildings and their contents were split to reflect the new divide into NPS and CRC[13]. Anecdotes were recorded in national newspapers, "'I sat in an office yesterday with four managers … and discussion was around whose coffee and tea was put into whose cupboards" (Rutter, 2015).

The B town probation office is in the centre of town, near a homeless hostel, and street drinkers are to be seen congregating on the 'green' opposite. Probation officers sit at their computers upstairs in the building, interrupting this part of their work only intermittently to see service users. POs have been criticised for only spending 24% of their time in face-to-face work with offenders (Ramsbotham, 2010). Rooms are large and open plan, accommodating a line of desks with partitions at the back and sides to offer a modicum of privacy. Through photos of family and friends, postcards and ornaments/objects, each of these desks are made the distinctive space for that individual worker. Only managers have their own office, which separates them from those in the front line, doing face-to-face work with service users. Although some managers stay in their rooms and have supervisees come to them, it is equally common to find managers engaged in conversations with staff in the communal and administrative areas.

A striking aspect of probation offices is the constant buzz around the rooms. Individuals are talking about themselves, joking, and asking for advice or reassurance about cases from others. If officers need peace and quiet to write a report, they can book an interview or group room or the SPO's office if available.

4.2.2 Empower holistic women's centre (HWC) in XPT

The HWC that was visited is based in a residential house (only about 50 metres away from the B town office). There are few security arrangements once through the front door, where there is an entry intercom system (like that in many people's homes). From the hallway, there is a playroom on the right where children's toys are visible. This is in stark contrast to the probation offices, where no 'children' under the

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[13] Locally, tensions were created, not simply at workload level but also in terms of who could use the photo-copier (Joe, semi-structured interview, 09.07.2014).

age of 18 years are permitted. Upstairs there is a kitchen and meeting room, and apart from institutional office chairs and a packed notice board, with leaflets on domestic violence underneath, in the entrance hall, it could be somebody's home. Where there are outreach facilities for women's centre workers, these are situated away from the probation office in partnership offices, such as Crime Reduction Initiatives (CRI), Citizen's Advice Bureau (CAB) or Mind (mental health charity) premises. Décor is generally brighter, rooms are spacious, waiting areas are shared with the other agency, so there is no demarcation between offenders and non-offenders and no surveillance equipment.

4.3 Gaining access[14]

It is no surprise that Heidensohn (2012: 127) comments on problems in accessing WSUs in the community, in comparison to prisoners, with few research studies focusing exclusively on community arrangements. Gaining access to the organisation was a particularly difficult and lengthy process and involved going through a variety of gatekeepers. The process is described in some detail as it adds background to the sensitivities within probation's organisational culture at that time. The aim was to obtain a formal contract from two probation areas to carry out the videoing (Elliott and Gibbs, 2010: 52), but resistance was experienced at a number of levels. Senior managers needed persuading that the research would serve a purpose for future training, not overly disrupt officers in their workplace and avoid intrusion and oppression towards an already vulnerable group of women. However, job insecurities and difficulties presented by wider political circumstances may have influenced how my proposal was received. I had expected to be treated as an 'insider' and to enjoy a position of trust with participants. Naïvely, I did not expect the methodological approach to be questioned by gatekeepers or for them to insist on a pilot study. Once the research had been endorsed by the probation trusts, I anticipated that it would not be difficult finding volunteer participants. I presumed that, having gained ethical acceptance by the University, this would be ratified by the organisations. Three different probation trusts were approached. Meetings with senior management was the first stage in the entry process, and negotiations continued throughout the introductory ethnographic fieldwork stage.

4.3.1 X Probation Trust (XPT)

During the first half of 2011, two lengthy interviews (17.03.2011 and 16.05.2011) took place with a former colleague, Susan, who had become an Executive Director within XPT. She was keen to demonstrate her in-depth understanding of gender issues and how fully this practice area was covered under her management. One stipulation was for her to see every piece of writing so that she could be given the

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[14] See Appendix A for a diagram of the gatekeeping/entry process

opportunity of a veto. Susan may have felt threatened by government hostility towards probation, perhaps assessing the precariousness of her position, as a senior manager, with impending changes brought by Transforming Rehabilitation. Hence her insistence on showcasing the holistic women's centres (HWCs) and insisting that only certain POs could take part in the study - women's 'supporters', those actively committed to gender-responsive interventions. Initially Susan only permitted me limited entry to observe a series of 'supporters' meetings, which were made up exclusively of women POs. Further proposals, with the aims and purpose of the research, were requested for these meetings but then never distributed, which seemed an indication of my 'outsider' status, reflecting minimal interest in the research. A request to audio record the meetings, as more efficient than note-taking was refused. The reason given was that the research application had still to be formalised, emphasising again the researcher's 'outsider' status.

As qualitative research is a common methodology type used in studies of probation, I made another assumption, that the organisation would be open to this approach to gathering data. The recently introduced Offender Engagement Programme (OEP) (2010) had been underpinned by qualitative desistance research, derived from individuals' narratives (Maruna, 2004; McNeill, Farrall, Lightowler & Maruna, 2012). McNeill and Weaver (2010: 10) had called for further 'Ethnographies of supervision …. to deepen our understanding of the practices pertaining to compliance and change processes'.

However, an epistemological and ontological divide existed, whereby projects involving statistical procedures were favoured. Despite supporting the OEP, Susan indicated that the organisational culture in XPT preferred a positivist approach, emphasising scientific objectivity determined by quantitative analysis, derived from questionnaires. Research findings were requested – 'What outcomes will [our] Trust achieve from this other than a subjective interpretation of what is or is not the best way to engage with women?' (Email correspondence 08.11.2011). Explanations were given that the interaction in videos would be analysed through coding and scrutinising patterns, listening to participant views from the semi-structured interviews and field notes. It was proposed that the project could draw on existing quantitative research to complement current knowledge. For example, women had been asked about self-harming in a recent agency questionnaire. However, the thoughts and feelings that lay behind the self-injury had not been explored, and it was unknown if and how these narratives were raised in supervision. Thus, I tried to clarify and demonstrate the benefits of qualitative research for the organisation.

In XPT initially there were no guarantees that the project would progress. Susan insisted that, before permission was granted at XPT, a pilot study should be carried out, involving up to three pairings of officers and probationers. The pilot was carried out (as discussed below) and a report written. By April

2013, Susan was no longer the Director responsible for women's services and I liaised with Fran, who had taken over this role, so the pilot report had to be forwarded to her. In July, Fran was still trying to contact Susan about the study and it was not until October 2013 that the project was re-examined by Fran. Although sympathetic, a formal contract needed to be drawn up by the agency solicitor. In December 2013, he formulated an extensive document to cover the research, regardless of who took over probation reins.

4.3.2 Y Probation Trust (YPT)

Reservations about qualitative studies were an issue for all three trusts but most notably with YPT. It insisted that an application be made to the National Offender Management Service (NOMS). The qualitative proposal was dismissed in the NOMS application – 'it was not clear how the in-depth descriptive information obtained would assist with the development of new/improved guidance or training materials' (personal email communication, 23.05.2013). The email went on to state that comparisons between male and female offenders would be required, to see which findings were specific to women. By implication, this retained men as the norm against which women were to be judged. Commentators have been critical of the way government departments sift research applications on political grounds. Mair (2007: 420), speaking of Home Office (predecessor of NOMS) dominance in research, stated that its approach was one of a vicious circle, producing self-fulfilling prophecies. Squires (2013: 4-5), discussing his application to NOMS, contends there is a 'research prevention culture' which only recommends 'existing policies, agencies, interests and priorities, rather than for service users'. I made the decision not to proceed in this probation area. Despite this, I gained valuable learning from the feedback – knowing how to ensure data security and thinking about transporting the camcorder so no confidentiality breaches occurred.

4.3.3 Z Probation Trust (ZPT)

In, ZPT, qualitative research was similarly seen as problematic. ZPT had just appointed a new graduate researcher, Liz, who was keen to pursue research around women offenders; agreement for the study was referred to her. One of the area directors, Clare, conveyed Liz's strong objections to the use of ethnographic and discourse analysis as the main methodological tools, considering them insufficiently robust in terms of evidence-based practice:

> 'We feel that observing and subjectively interpreting communication/language would not be an appropriate measure of the effectiveness of our programmes. In addition, being a qualitative method, it would be hard and potentially unreliable to transform such data to quantitative measure in order to conduct a parametric test, gaining hard outcomes.'

(Email correspondence, Clare, 08.02.2013)

This was an uncertain and uncomfortable period in the research, being reliant on others to endorse the research proposal and allow entry to the organisations. Whilst recognising that my planned study did not fit with their favoured stance, delicate negotiations were needed to persuade them of the worth of a different type of enquiry which would hopefully complement their ideas.

Attempts were made to find common ground with Liz and improve 'understanding and collaboration' (Costley, Elliott, and Gibbs, 2010: 53). Emails are often not the best way of communicating, so a three-way face-to-face meeting was arranged with a colleague from ZPT, Sara. Sara had been supportive of the research application but was subsequently over-ruled once Liz was appointed. Liz's preference for quantitative techniques meant she could not see the relevance of a qualitative approach. At one point jokes were made about not knowing what to say to convince her, and these 'broke the ice'. I realised Liz was only trying to carve out a niche for herself in the organisation, and it was important to stress there would be no intrusion on her territory, accepting that she would be directing the research. As a woman in my mid-fifties, it was challenging to cede authority to a woman in her twenties, of similar age to my daughters. The set-up was far from ideal, as it involved Liz interviewing the WSU with a structured schedule, immediately prior to my semi-structured interview. Almost immediately though Liz resigned from her post, and liaison resumed with Clare. Clare wrote asking for assurances about ethical concerns and, once these were provided, it was agreed that videoing could proceed.

4.4 Introducing the participants

Pseudonyms have been given throughout to anonymise the identities of people and places. Pen pictures of the 30 participants (practitioners and WSUs) interviewed for this study are given in Appendix B. Participants' social positions offer a context to understand how diversity characteristics, including gender, ethnicity, age and offending history, promote or restrict agency. For example, a woman is more likely to be recognised as a 'good mother' if they are white, married and middle class (Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012: 351). Hudson (2002: 39) lays out how for women, and particularly white women, the lines between being an offender and a victim become blurred by their physiology, misuse of substances and victimisation/coercion experiences. These are common characteristics amongst WSU participants. Skeggs' (1997) research into working class women and respectability illustrates how discussion of class differences can become an embarrassment and may be unconsciously and discreetly ignored. From the outlines in Appendix B, clear differentiation in privilege can be observed in terms of qualifications, material wealth and living situation between workers and WSUs. All the practitioners identified as heterosexual white women, varying in age from their late 20s to their mid-50s. Life was not necessarily easy for this group, and some participants hinted at physical and mental health issues described as stress or

depression alongside chronic back problems and frequent minor illnesses. Commonalities for POs were of having engaged in higher education and having taken pride in this aspect of their lives. Another common denominator was that many were parenting or had assumed caring roles for elderly parents.

Mothering was a theme with some WSUs, but the difference lay in having an abusive ex-partner in the background and generally, if they had caring responsibilities, they were not in paid employment. Consequently, financial problems were common and, along with mental health factors, interconnected with dependency on or misuse of legal and illegal substances. These were not areas practitioners were asked about, and therefore did not form part of their narratives. By dint of their participation in the CJS, all WSUs had committed offences and were in this way additionally separated out from practitioners. The spread of WSU ages was similar to that of practitioners but starting slightly younger (18 to mid-50s) than practitioners which is likely to reflect the life experience thought necessary to undertake probation work); characteristics of sexual orientation and ethnicity were more apparent.

4.5 Research design and methods

4.5.1 Overview

The research design was based on three main methods used to create the dataset. First, ethnographic methods were employed throughout the fieldwork to obtain rich data. It has been stressed that 'social life is not fixed' and therefore to understand the constant changes it is important to participate and analyse the transformations (May, 2001). Although not pure ethnography, this firstly project involved direct observations, interactions and the recording of contexts, such as attending meetings and having chats in the car en route to a home visit. Secondly, indirect observations were carried out through the videoing and transcription of supervision between probation officers and WSUs. Thirdly, interviews were conducted with the POs and WSUs, both to discuss their thinking and responses to each other, as well as more generally about the impact of probation work. In addition, there were three stand-alone interviews. Using a variety of methods is recommended by Bauwens (2010: 41), who proposes a triangulation approach to increase validity. Bauwens' (2010) review of probation qualitative research discusses interviewing as the favoured technique. In this research study, by combining videoing of supervision sessions with interviews, it establishes more convincingly what POs actually *do* with SUs behind the closed doors of the interview room, what they *say* is being done, and what features of their own personal and professional lives are pertinent.

Altogether thirty three supervision sessions were videoed, seven as part of the pilot study. These were followed up in almost all cases with interviews with thirteen probation workers (including two women centre workers) and thirteen women service users, as outlined in Appendix C. All the observed practitioners were female and, although this was not planned, it might be expected in an organisation where most main-grade staff are female. Two further probation officers, one male and one female, were interviewed, but their practice was not observed.

4.5.2 Direct participant observation

Direct participant observation was carried out mostly in the early stages, enabling access to the organisational environment. Time was spent in a 'natural setting', the probation office, on home visits, at meetings and in women's groups, observing the interactions and discussions, obtaining a sense of the work setting. Some situations were planned, but others occurred spontaneously, when women did not attend or were late for supervision sessions, staff were chatting before meetings or a chance conversation in reception occurred. Field notes of the observations were taken, either at the time or, if too intrusive, as soon as possible afterwards.

Field notes produced several narratives that at the later analysis stage were sufficiently open to allow 'further reinterpretation' of the 'different stories' (Dunne et al, 2005: 68-9). The making of fieldnotes started as soon as the first contact with the trusts occurred in 2011 and record my meetings with Susan in March and May of that year, 18 months before the research interviews, which start in September 2012. They continue in the form of informal discussions before and after supervision sessions, either at the office or during car journeys to and from the service user's home. In addition, all practitioners received a personalised follow-up email from me in November 2015. In the field, efforts were made to write down immediately, or as soon as possible afterwards, exact comments made by participants and differentiate these from my own thoughts and feelings. Reflections note my impressions and contemplate the attitudes and personal characteristics that I bring to the study. Reflexivity as a notion recognises that the beliefs and concerns of the researcher inevitably shape the study in which they are involved (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). In all, 65 pages of field notes were electronically recorded which track the progress of the study, significant events, interactions and my thoughts and feelings about them. In addition, more detailed one-off accounts were kept, of meetings with central figures in the research, such as Rita, the holistic women's centre manager.

4.5.3 Video observations

This was the central form of observation, which distinguishes this study from other probation research and therefore contributes to its originality. Raynor, Ugwudike, Vanstone (2013) claim their study of social work trained POs in Jersey was one of the first in the UK to use videoing techniques. However, their approach and the use made of the data was very different to this study. They did not transcribe the data but used the video for structured observation with an *a priori* checklist based on 'core correctional practices' (Dowden and Andrews, 2004), to evaluate practitioner competences. Rather than investigating the discourse in detail, they were concerned with how it conformed to their checklist of 'structuring skills' (arrangement of the session, boundary setting, use of MI/PSM and interview construction) as well as rapport building skills (Raynor and Vanstone, 2016). They then evaluated this by seeing how service user reconviction rates correlated with these skills. Raynor, Ugwudijke and Vanstone (2013) state that they chose videoing recording, so that they could analyse the data from their base in Swansea. Raynor (personal email communication 01.05.2016) later expanded on this, saying that he had had ongoing contact with Jersey Probation and After-Care Service since 1996 and that the Service paid for several video cameras. Recordings were sent to him on mini-DV cassettes which were then transferred to DVD by his university. Fortunately, by the time of this study I was able to use updated, user-friendly digital camera equipment, so recordings could be transferred effortlessly to a laptop.

Mair (2007) has commented on a noticeable absence of probation research examining face-to-face supervision, and attributes this to these meetings being 'private' encounters, which, if observed, could be regarded as – 'obtrusive, perhaps threatening, and certainly as changing the dynamics of the relationship' (Mair, 2007: 408). Recent research developments have enabled visual data recordings to be less invasive. Digitisation has simplified the process, making videoing accessible with relatively low costs (Carr et al, 2015). Carr et al (2015: 181) argue that 'visual images may reveal more about practice than words alone, or at least open up a window into practice'. Visual recordings produce rich data, where unexpected perspectives extending beyond verbal language can be noted.

The rationale for use of video was to observe 'naturally occurring' communication, as inconspicuously as possible. 'Naturally occurring' means that whether the camera was there or not, supervision sessions would have gone ahead, and the situation was not engineered as an experiment. The intention was to improve understanding of personal, organisational and professional influences on management of women service users (WSUs), to identify discourses which enhance relationships, promote diversity and give practitioners and WSUs a voice, in the spirit of collaborative research (Costley et al, 2010: 107). Body language, facial expressions and dress code can also be considered. Adopting a 'fixed camera' style enabled me to leave the scene during the formal supervision and individuals became accustomed to the

camcorder; similar results were found by Heath, Hindmarsh and Luff (2010: 40) in their research. They argue that, rather than inhibiting individuals, recording equipment becomes part of the interaction, with individuals revealing different sides to their identity, in a relaxed and even playful way. As such, video data are a rich source to gain insights to people's experiences and perceptions, with even small amounts of material producing numerous themes and enquiries (Heath et al, 2010: 59).

Several visits were decided on, to help individuals become used to me setting up the equipment and comfortable with the camera's presence. Heath, et al (2010: 16) emphasise the importance of this when videoing; settings can be sabotaged intentionally or unintentionally if, for example, participants move away from the camera's gaze. For example, when watching the first video of Siobhan (WSU), she had moved her head in such a way that it was rarely on camera. Care was taken after this to ensure that both participants could be seen clearly. Reticence by participants can also indicate there are issues occurring of note for the research; for Siobhan it may have indicated an ambivalence to participating in the study (which she did express later).

At planning stage, the need to be extremely flexible was underestimated, but once in the field it became apparent. It had been hoped that probation offices' filming equipment could be used, as group work is regularly video recorded on the premises, but several unforeseen problems occurred. A PO would book the room with a camera, the WSU would miss the appointment, for example because she was in crisis and so, when the meeting did take place, the room was no longer available.

> 'I'm afraid I have had no luck at all finding a video camera to use to film my sessions; have tried my office and A Town's but no-one has been able to provide one. I'm really sorry to have to say that at this point I can't see that I will be able to help you with the research after all'

> (Jemma, email, July 2012).

The decision was then made to purchase my own camcorder, which allowed greater flexibility to accommodate PO and women's exigencies. Videoing of one-to-one supervision sessions, in the main part of the research, took place between March 2014 and January 2015 in probation or partnership interview/groupwork rooms (see Appendix C).

A fixed camcorder was set up in the interview room and then the researcher usually left the room.[15] Videos were of supervision sessions of probation worker/WSU pairings on three separate occasions, a few weeks

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[15] This was not always possible during home visits (Anne and Sonia) when I would sit away from the pairing and avoid eye contact.

or months apart.[16] At the initial meeting an introduction to the research was given, signed consent obtained[17] and whilst setting up the camera there were brief conversations with participants where appropriate. Although not present for most of the sessions, at times discussions informally started whilst I was still in the room. Some women would start to talk about themselves, including me in the conversation; at other times they would be upset, and it felt more appropriate to exit quickly. In this way it was possible to get a feel for the individuals' stories and moods, and how they were progressing. Videoing enabled body and spoken language to be preserved as it could be replayed, checking out certain issues, which would be impossible with a single observation. Seeing real people interacting through the videos, heightened the intricacies of their lives and personalities, acting as a constant reminder of the importance of the research participants as people rather than just 'subjects'.

4.5.4 Semi-structured research interviews[18]

Once videoed supervision sessions with each practitioner/WSU pairing had been concluded, semi-structured research interviews took place where practitioners and WSUs were interviewed separately, enabling each participant to reflect on their own experience of supervision and wider aspects of their situations. These interviews were scheduled immediately after the final supervision session or the following week, to maintain momentum for both parties. For example, Vicki's (PO) and Anne's (WSU) final supervision session was videoed, I drove Anne home, interviewed her there, then went back to the office and interviewed Vicki. With Judy (WCW) and Carmen (WSU) I interviewed Carmen after one session but returned the following week to interview Judy.

The semi-structured interview is a well-accepted tool which involves the researcher setting up a series of open-ended questions for the participants:

> 'Freedom to allow the respondent to talk about what is of central significance to him or her rather than to the interviewer is clearly important, but some loose structure to ensure all topics which are considered crucial to the study does eliminate some of the problems of entirely unstructured interviews'

> (Bell, 1993: 94)

Several probation studies have used this technique. For example, Rex's (1999) seminal study on desistance, describes how she set up a research schedule for use with probationers and POs to

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[16] There were some variations - Karen saw two WSUs, only one of Jemma's interviews was observed and Bridget and Laura had 2 probation workers.

[17] See Appendices D, E and F for Participant Information Sheet, Consent Form and Ethical Approval Letter

[18] See Appendices G and H for practitioner and WSU interview schedules

investigate their opinions on rehabilitative processes. Giving probationers a voice was especially valuable during the period in the late 1990s and early 2000s, when service user views were generally discounted politically and organisationally, seen to be of lesser importance than victims' perspectives (Mawby, 2007). As discussed earlier, this places a divide between offenders and victims, not borne out by reality as offenders are frequently victims and vice versa. This is particularly pertinent for WSUs, who are known to have experienced extensive victimisation (Falshaw, 2005; Rumgay, 2010; Burrows, 2013).

Obtaining participants' responses from interviews is ostensibly straightforward, possibly accounting for the popularity of this approach, but gaining quality answers can prove more difficult. Rex (2002: 75) notes that, when asked about implementing Trotter's prosocial modelling techniques, UK POs stated they were 'doing it anyway'. However, Trotter's Australian study (1996) found officers' statements to be inconsistent with their practice (McCulloch, 2010: 5-6). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) similarly express doubts about the reliability of what is said by social workers and counsellors in interview, concerning their own professional behaviour. Discrepancies occur with what the guidelines, best practice and policy dictate, either due to embarrassment/shame, or simply lack of awareness around personal limitations, behaviour and impact.

 Another aspect that emerges in the data is the ability to listen. I felt critical of some P(S)Os and women centre workers (WCWs) for not giving sufficient space to the WSU narrative, but found that, on occasions, I did just the same and had to try and hold back my questions and comments:

> 'As fieldwork progresses events will arise that will puzzle, confuse or intrigue the researcher…. At opportune moments it is useful to get participants to describe their reasoning about events. In all cases *it is important to talk less and listen more* [my italics] … '

> (Heath et al, 2010: 52)

Feminist research has seen interviewing as a 'masculine paradigm' which discredits the establishment of 'rapport' or 'overrapport' as unprofessional (Oakley, 1981: 33-4). Oakley (1981: 38) argues that 'the entire paradigmatic representation of "proper" interviews in the methodology textbooks, owe a great deal more to a masculine social and sociological vantage point than to a feminine one.' Fear of subjectivity or bias is again central to this debate, but without 'personal involvement' from the interviewer, individuals are unable to trust and allow 'the other' to hear their life stories (Oakley, 1981: 58). This way of interviewing necessitates taking a different stance, one which focuses on clear explanations and listening, attempting to show 'sensitivity and empathy' (Dunne et al, 2005: 33), using prosocial modelling (PSM) type techniques (Cherry, 2005: 25). Through showing interest in this way, I hoped that participants would feel that their voices had been heard, and their messages understood and respected.

4.6 Ethical issues

4.6.1 The pilot study

The pilot was initially experienced as an irritating imposition; instead of the hoped-for contract, added hurdles had been erected. Sampson (2004: 385) views pilots as more often associated with positivist research in social sciences, and the pilot may have been requested to give the impression of a scientific and fact-based venture. Nevertheless, commentators (Sampson, 2004: 383; Kim, 2011: 203) have argued that pilot studies can be equally useful for qualitative and ethnographic studies - to examine methodological problems, improve interview schedules, bring ethical dilemmas to the fore, draw out initial thoughts on relevant themes and devise ways of confronting practical issues. The pilot offered a 'practice run' to test out research tools and address unforeseen problems and ambiguities before their application to the whole research population. It created the opportunity for the researcher, as a novice, to test out how to create a relaxed ambience and how to interview as a researcher rather than a PO.

Initial invitations to participate in the research revealed how difficult it would be to find volunteers who would stay the course. POs volunteered but then found they had few women on their caseloads, that they were moving office/role, some seemed simply to get 'cold feet', some were overwhelmed by work and felt this extra task might exacerbate pressures. Sampling in the traditional sense was impractical, but Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 35) refer to 'sampling within the case' in terms of 'time, people, and context'. It was intended to use purposive sampling whereby information-rich cases were chosen to produce detailed, comprehensive data (Wengraf, 2001). Susan stipulated that POs must come from the women's 'supporter' group, whose meetings I had attended. This did not align with my plans for a mix of POs, including those with no special interest or even a dislike of working with WSUs. It could be argued that observation of only 'elite' workers is not representative of POs' work with WSUs across the board. I raised the issue with Kelly, Lead Senior PO for women, who felt that some of the 'supporters' representatives were not, in fact, especially skilled or experienced with women and some had been directed reluctantly into the meetings, rather than volunteering for them (field notes, 21. 11. 2011).

The POs who volunteered presented a fairly typical profile of probation workers in the Service at this time. They were three women, all in their late twenties, who had been qualified between 3 and 6 years, fitting with the age and gender profile commented on by Mawby and Worrall (2011: 14), '…our entrants are young women in their early/middle 20s…' Shared aspects amongst the women were that all three had known me as a tutor from their training - two had been with other tutors, so were not known personally, although may have had essays marked by me, but one officer had been taught directly. Former contact was assumed to be a positive factor, influencing their decision to participate, leading to greater trust, and

possibly seen as a chance for them to access one-to-one discussions with me. Alternatively, they could have retained negative aspects from the previous contact which they were attempting to redress through the research situation. It may be that they were trying to impress an ex-teacher, which could bias the findings or that there was a belief that gratitude for their contribution would rule out any criticisms within the analysis. Time had passed since their training and they came across as experienced, confident professionals, all expressing a belief in the value of further research around WSUs. The pilot enabled me to spend 'ethnographic' time with the PO volunteers, going out on home visits, and 'chatting' at length with them and their colleagues. Practitioners communicated the desire to talk about their work. Therefore, I offered an informal 'reflective space' (a time to talk to the researcher about the interviews and their feelings during the interaction), following each interview, thus broadening out the 'context' of the study. The purpose of this was to provide a space for the individuals to talk about their feelings surrounding the case, which they perceived as an incentive and bonus to participating on the study – 'She [Lesley] e-mailed me back almost immediately and said she would book the room out for 2 hours so that we could have a talk afterwards' (field notes, 16.01.2013). Research-wise this offered an insight into the broader issues for the PO, looking at cases in the context of wider work and personal pressures. These sessions enabled trust to be built up between researcher and PO so that more in-depth issues could be disclosed. For example, Karen's (PSO) interview was about the struggles of parenting a young child, her grandfather's death, the agency response to her situation, and significant tensions experienced between home and work (research interview, 26.06.2014).

Practical and emotional advantages came from the pilot. One piece of learning was never to come to the probation office without checking that all participants were expecting the session to go ahead. On one occasion I arrived to find the PO was on holiday and when I asked her about it afterwards all she said was 'Yes that sounds like me!' (field notes, 06.09.12) I recorded my feelings over another abortive trip –

> 'I felt like crying - it was boiling hot and there were queues on the motorway. But I said to myself that it was my fault as I should have rung that morning before setting off. Sent emails explaining what had happened and trying not to be bitter!'

(Field notes, 22.07.13).

 Arrangements were made to meet 18-year-old Siobhan (WSU), for the final semi-structured interview in a café. Following guidance set out for working with women offenders (Ministry of Justice, 2012: 23), arranging meetings away from the probation office and around the woman's responsibilities was felt to be appropriate; so, the chosen venue was near to where Siobhan was going for a job interview. This proved a bad choice – as she felt awkward for being with a much older woman in this environment and it was impossible for me to broach sensitive issues in a public arena. An important lesson was learned – in future, interviews would only take place either in the office or in women's homes, and that choice would lie with the women.

A further advantage of the pilot was that I could provide ready answers based on evidence when questioned by the various senior managers. For example, when challenged by Clare – '…. her concern is about it taking up PO time. I said that this was not borne out by the POs in the pilot; in fact, they welcomed the interest in their work' (reflective diary, 03.11. 2013). Another occasion, at a team meeting in XPT, Lesley, a participant in the pilot, was able to pass on to prospective participants what a positive experience the research process had been for her (reflective diary, 25.02 2014).

Costley, Elliott and Gibbs (2010: 94) recommend piloting questionnaires and again this proved helpful, with the semi-structured interview schedule being subsequently reduced from a series of 10 questions. It was not the number as such that was important, as Dunne et al (2005:31) suggest it might be in a positivist enquiry. It was rather that it reinforced that, due to initial nervousness, power dynamics were inadvertently overlooked, creating 'distance' instead of 'rapport' (Dunne et al, 2005: 33). Siobhan articulated her belief that the research was part of her Community Order, and therefore there was a statutory obligation to come and answer a list of questions. Even though she had given 'informed consent' and seemingly volunteered for the project, she appeared to associate anything that Di (her PO) asked her to do as part of her probation requirements. It seems likely that she wanted to please Di, an authority figure whom she trusted. From a young person's viewpoint, it may be that Siobhan believed that all older people held power, particularly those with links to probation, and therefore confusion arose. Her perceptions may also have originated from the CJS process, where individuals are on a conveyor belt of interviews with no opportunities to decline or exit. The juveniles under statutory probation supervision, in van Nijnatten and Stevens' (2012) study, said 'they had learned not to argue'. This experience with Siobhan necessitated a much clearer emphasis on the voluntary nature of participation in future introductions to the research.

The pilot was a learning experience which raised other ethical concerns that could then be rectified in the main part of the study. As part of the qualitative process, it provided an opportunity to practice interviewing techniques and to sharpen the questions being asked. The pilot was written up as a report for XPT, and then progressed to a published journal article.[19] The first set of data from the pilot, and themes from the article, have been used and developed in the main part of the thesis.

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[19] Goldhill, R. (2016) Reflections on Working with Vulnerable Women: Connecting, Cans of Worms, Closures and Coping. *British Journal of Social Work*, 46, (5), 1336–1353

4.6.2 Participants' recruitment and consent

 After the first hurdles in gaining access had been completed, the next stage was to attract the attention of hard-pressed POs throughout the organisations. Then I had to persuade them that the purpose was not wholly (or at all) to judge and denounce them, but rather to explore areas not routinely investigated and highlight good practice.

At this point the 'insider' part of my probation researcher identity paid dividends; people to whom I was known either as a colleague or a tutor, offered their services or recommended others. There was concern that this could limit the number of people prepared to volunteer, that they could be seen as owing a favour which might affect data and findings. Bias might creep in, preventing a critical approach to their work, or reluctance to take in others' perspectives. However, the course that I had tutored had been distance learning, so not intense in terms of establishing close relationships with personal tutees. Benefits of knowing people seemed to outweigh disadvantages; a former colleague in XPT facilitated contact with the local HWC, Empower, resulting in two centre workers volunteering. Within ZPT I followed a circuitous path, still aided by my contacts. Attendance at an away day on groupwork with women led to an invitation to observe women's groups functioning around the county. The main facilitator, Bea, encouraged the filming of a group session at another office, and from this, three volunteer pairings materialised in T town.

Personal and university ethics codes necessitated clear explanations to the POs and WSUs, both in writing and face-to-face, outlining what would happen during the study. Consent had to be obtained, individuals assured of their right to withdraw and, if they proceeded, their rights to confidentiality, and respectful use of data (Stainton-Rogers, 2006, 213)[20]. Women service users are known to be victimised and disempowered individuals, both within the family and in society (Corston, 2007; Pollack, 2011). So, it was important to 'get on', not only with the powerful leaders of the organisations, but also acknowledge the needs of more vulnerable participants (Darlington and Scott, 2002: 32). Hollway and Jefferson (2000) draw out the major hazards in studying marginalised individuals, as illustrated above by Siobhan's mistaken impressions of her role in the study. The emphasis is placed on having sensitive discussions and the integrity of the researcher to 'pursue the values of honesty, sympathy and respect' (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000: 102).

There were risks to probation workers agreeing to participate, as they were submitting their practice to video scrutiny. Many officers had been observed as part of their training and felt comfortable with the

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[20] See Appendices D, E and F for Participant Information Sheet, Consent Form and Ethical Approval Letter.

process whilst others disliked even the idea of further observation. One PO openly said that she did not want to take part because she had had enough of being observed (and presumably judged and criticised) as a student.

Further difficulties though were coming to the fore in obtaining volunteers, due to Transforming Rehabilitation organisational change, as outlined in the literature review (for example Fitzgibbon and Lea, 2014; Deering and Feilzer, 2015; and Fitzgibbon, 2016). One of the key difficulties encountered in recruitment of volunteers was 'fragmentation', regularly experienced by both POs and WSUs. Robinson (2005) explains that in the 1990s there was greater continuity in the supervisory relationship, with most probationers seeing the same officer throughout their sentence. Despite research evidence that end-to-end management is preferable, this was not happening in practice. 'Fragmentation' was entrenched, leading to a "pass the parcel" style of supervision (Robinson, 2005: 312). Specialisms in tasks, staff shortages and the introduction of accredited programme groupwork are given as explanations for 'fragmentation', all prominent in the lead up to Transforming Rehabilitation (Dominey, 2012). Trusts, at this point, were attempting successive contortionist rearrangements in order to be viewed as business-like and cost-effective, but in fact this was only leading to confusion and frustration amongst staff and omissions in service arrangements (Garside, 2014).

One early objective of the study was to explore differences between male and female POs in approaches to WSUs, but this proved unsuccessful. Proportionally numbers of male POs are low,'70 per cent of probation staff and 80 per cent of trainees are now female' (Mawby and Worrall, 2013: 134). Some women may benefit from contact with a positive male role model, but many women, affected by violence, experience difficulties in being supervised by a man (Cherry, 2005; MoJ, 2012). Okamoto (2002) explains how re-victimisation can occur through transference processes on to the male practitioner, and then strong feelings of anger and distress can emerge. Only two male officers agreed to participate in the research, but ultimately both found the WSUs they had originally identified too vulnerable to be videoed. Some women POs also precluded their cases on these grounds, so this reasoning was not exclusive to men. It may have been to do with the culture of the team to which both men belonged, but equally it could have been genuine empathy towards the women and use of appropriate professional judgement.

For example, Joe (PO) relayed to me why his case would not agree – 'she gets chronically stressed and anxious, very anxious person which is why I always thought it was going to be very difficult to do anything like this [videoing] and she was absolutely, doesn't matter how I described it "Couldn't do that, couldn't do that"'. Sometimes the women voted with their feet. Three sessions were spent with one trainee PO, who

was keen to participate in the study. However, the WSU never attended, either because of anxiety surrounding the videoing, or her chaotic lifestyle. This was never discovered as the trainee moved to a different area of work and the WSU was breached by another PO. An ethical issue raised here is whether a WSU's fears around research and subsequent non-attendance could then expose her to breach proceedings. Generally, though, if the PO was enthusiastic and reassuring about participating, the women seemed relaxed about opening up in front of the camera.

4.6.3 Ethical issues involving use of video

The camera presence in video research has been criticised for being an inhibiting factor, said to distort reality (Gottdiener, 1976; Heider, 1976, cited by Lomax and Casey, 1998). Arguably, this was a late 1970s debate and individuals today are generally more accustomed to being videoed. However, anxieties persisted about power held by the researcher to assess work critically and retain images (Taylor, 2001: 17). ZPT required a full description of actions taken to ensure the ethical considerations. An excerpt from the email (07.11.2013) sent to Clare (Area Director, ZPT), outlines the stringent safeguards put in place:

> 'All volunteers will be given different names and no details of the office where the research takes place will be identifiable. …. I have discussed the security of data storage with RK, the University Information Disclosure and Complaints Manager and GL, Security Architect in Information Services. They provided me with the University of P Data Protection Notification Number which is xxxxxxx. The laptop, where data will be stored, is password protected and encrypted and the personal data will be stored on this University of P laptop.'

One concern was that practitioner volunteers could pressurise WSUs if they themselves were keen to take part. POs were advised only to follow through with WSUs who gave genuine consent. Another was that controversial comments might have been limited because of being videoed, 'After the microphone was turned off Jemma (PO) said to me about the local women's initiative, "it isn't happening" (field notes, 15.11.2012). Fears that the video could be shown to managers, or just feeling more relaxed with the video turned off, meant further issues came to mind. Field notes were taken instead, and when this occurred I made sure that the participants were aware that the conversation was still considered part of my data and not 'off-the-record'. This example demonstrates that some participants may not have been convinced that identities and accompanying remarks would be fully anonymised and could be traced back. This could again be reflecting the climate of insecurity prevalent in probation during this period (Deering and Feilzer, 2015; Kirton and Guillaume, 2015).

Lomax and Casey (1998) suggest incorporating 'respondent validation techniques' post research, asking participants their views on the process and how it was carried out. This was carried out as the final question in the semi-structured interviews. A mixed response was received, suggesting that certain relevant questions might usefully have been asked earlier in the process, and reminders of the responses

repeated at regular intervals throughout the contact. For example, despite having reiterated from the outset that the videos would only be seen by me, at our final meeting Bridget (WSU) expressed her worry that the video would be shown on TV. This could be put down to Bridget's general anxiety and heightened negativity when depressed but is nonetheless concerning. Time was spent reassuring her and recalling the initial explanations. As worryingly, the interchange with Sonia (SU) went as follows –

R. Is it OK being videoed? How's that been?

S. Oh yeah, I haven't really been (waves her hand dismissively)

R. You haven't really noticed?

S. No. You learn to shut off from these sorts of things.

R. Have you done it before?

S. No…it's…my ex-partner. He used to film everything. He'd be up in the bedroom and he'd have the camera on downstairs, so he knew every move I was making, who I was speaking to, (smiles), yeah. You learn to… [

R.] But that didn't bother you, it didn't remind you….

S. No, no, no

(Research interview, Sonia, 05.12.2014)

It was unclear to me whether this had been an unpleasant reminder and possibly re-traumatizing for Sonia, relating back to the domestic, physical and sexual abuse that she had suffered at the hands of her husband or, as she claimed that she was used to being videoed. She is describing her ex-husband's controlling behaviour which showed her that, through videoing, he was closely monitoring her every move, even when not physically with her. In addition, Sonia's PO, Moira, had informed me of Sonia's eagerness to please, and so I felt that she might be worried about upsetting me by saying she was uncomfortable with the process. It might also have been that she wanted to talk about her victimisation experiences. This exchange presented me with a troubling ethical dilemma, as to whether this could have been checked out before the filming. For example, an open question such as 'What experiences, if any, have you had of being videoed?' might have brought the situation to the fore prior to filming. Although impossible to predict every scenario, to make sure that situation is not repeated it is important to note these factors. It might bring to light that recording had been used in professional settings as in a therapeutic environment (see Carmen's account below) but also *how* it had been used in the home environment.

As with studies cited by Lomax and Casey (1998), several respondents stated they had forgotten that the camera was there:

'Judy (woman's centre worker) said to me I've got this thing, and would you like to do it and I said, yeah, yup. And she said really? And I said yeah it doesn't bother me and I'd already been

filmed cos I went to family counselling … so the camera didn't really bother me. Cos I'd already been filmed as a kid…'

Esther (PO), was initially reluctant to take part, 'I have given it some thought and though I would not have volunteered to do this, I don't want to disrupt your research.... So, I will consent to this' (email correspondence, 13.06.2014). Later she gave feedback about being videoed, finding benefits in reflection:

'It was less painful than I was expecting it to be (laughs)…. I actually forgot that the camera was there…. I think it's much less intrusive than having a third person sitting in…. Yeah. I think for me that while I do get quite nervous I also think it's about being open to feedback and being transparent about what you do so I was just trying to think of it like that.'

This reinforces Lomax and Casey's (2010) contention that reflexivity is intrinsic to the analysis and should always be part of the investigation.

Heath et al (2010) highlight the selectiveness involved in positioning the camera. As noted above the camera was fixed in one position and this allowed me, 'to remain relatively unobtrusive and avoid, as far as possible, participating in the scene or drawing attention to the camera by continually looking through the viewfinder' (Heath et al, 2010: 40). This is illustrated by Carmen's comments:

(3.0, screws up her mouth thinking)' I think it would be a lot different if you had someone in the room with you. Then you'd have to think about opening up but having the camera was quite nice because you know you're being filmed, you know consciously you're being filmed, but it hasn't bothered me at all, but I think having someone who I didn't know come and sit in the room might be a bit more (pulls a reluctant face) …. Yeah. But I think it's quite nice that you're able to do this and have the one-to-one, the same with Judy. It doesn't feel like it's interfering too much even though you know it's there. So…I think it's quite nice in that way.'

The fixed position of the camera is compatible with the sedentary nature of supervision and being within a relatively confined space. If the researcher were present, as Carmen notes, it could be perceived as quite intrusive to one-to-one discussions and in terms of limited space.

The importance of watching the 'video sequence,' and revealing it within the transcription, is stressed by Knoblauch and Tuma (2012: 423). It helps for locating action and then the researcher can go back to the video to consider a person's behaviour, taking into account 'multiple sign systems', such as looks and gesticulations, which indicate what is happening at any given moment.

4.7 Data Analysis

4.7.1 Transcription and Data Selection

Taylor (2001) describes the task of transcription as the transformation of conversations into written evidence and highlighting different aspects. In this study, the focus is on roles (practitioner/WSU) and the sequence and patterns in the talk. With videoing there are certain considerations in terms of transcription; one option is not to transcribe at all. This is the choice made by Raynor (personal communication, 01.05.2016) who found it too costly and instead had a checklist. For my research there was no checklist, although I was similarly looking for areas of good practice, such as prosocial modelling techniques of reflective listening, showing empathy, establishing boundaries and explaining. Other themes and repertoires were explored which might arise, such as labelling WSUs as doubly deviant, victimisation issues, lack of social capital/poverty and substance misuse. It was also of interest how much supervision and support POs received, their workload pressures and availability of local resources and partnerships, considering this in light of previous research studies (Annison, Eadie and Knight, 2008; Matthews, 2009; Collins, Coffey and Cowe, 2009). Because of the large amounts of rich data, a process of selection was essential, 'Transcription is a time-consuming business' and particularly so with video-recordings (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 149). A decision was made not to transcribe the initial women's groupwork meetings although field notes were taken and used for the investigation.

Analysis was carried out primarily through frequent immersion in the data (watching the videos and reading through the transcriptions and field work notes numerous times). Hollway and Jefferson (2000: 26) model the benefits of co-working when analysing excerpts from transcriptions where it is problematic to share with the subjects. In this study analysis was enriched by sharing the data, acquiring alternative viewpoints and perspectives. Initially this was done with the Steph/ Bridget exchange, through a discussion with two psychologists experienced in discourse analysis. This brought forward taboo subjects, such as WSU/PO sexual attraction. I also took the same transcript to practitioners, not the research participants themselves but from the same probation areas. Parts of the data set have been presented to newly qualified officers, women centre workers, Community Rehabilitation Company (CRC) workers and student PSOs. They were asked to discuss and feedback on the extract, generating further interpretations.

NVivo was useful for 'managing and organising a vast amount of data' (Maher, Hadfield, Hutchings and de Eyto, 2018: 5). I was able to create a preliminary classification of the main topics with 126 codes[21], then 10 categories and finally three main themes. However, I found limitations to using a computer-based system.

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[21] See Appendix J

James (2012: 564) describes one major drawback as possibly 'removing the craft element' (James, 2012: 564), explaining (2012:568) how this may arise:

> 'Dealing with the blocks of often de-contextualized and disembodied data segments that computers can churn out may, if we are not mindful, lead us to forget the huge complexities of our subjects' lives which, as analysts, we set out to understand. The more interesting question may be not how many people said X with Y, but why they said it at all'.

With a concern to draw out the essence of what was being said, the system seemed too rigid and fragmented, preventing me from evolving categories in more sophisticated ways. Once this had been decided, I used NVivo only as a live archive of major topics and a map for finding material. Analysis was then created with a variety of qualitative methods. There are three data analysis chapters (5-7) in this thesis, each of which emerges out of different analytic approaches, highlighting differing aspects of the data. First there is an overview, using predominantly ethnographic data focusing on gender-responsiveness as the main category. This is followed by a chapter using case study analysis to highlight the extent and variety of victimisation experiences amongst the WSUs. The final data chapter explores in-depth what takes place in supervision sessions through more fine-grained analysis of excerpts from transcriptions.

4.7.2 Ethnographic analysis

Direct participant observation formed a large part of this analysis with 64 pages of field notes recorded over a four-year period (2011-2015) and indirect observation through the 33 supervision sessions which were videoed. Perspectives of those involved in the social activity of working with women are also explored, using the 13 research interviews with the WSUs and 14 research interviews with the POs. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 121) contend that there are other sorts of data which ethnographic researchers need to consider. Significant documents and writings in relation to work with women offenders and gender responsivity are adopted as a backdrop to the action that is actually taking place in probation offices. In the early years of the Millennium, proposals within such sources, focusing on good practice in relation to women, were entering the probation service domain and some workers' psyches. As seen in the literature review, efforts were being made to improve standards, promoting greater understanding of the situations of women who enter the CJS. This ethnographic analysis considers the manner in which this information was collected, how it was shared around the organisation, and the extent to which it was absorbed into practice.

4.7.3 Case study analysis

Although it was not initially intended to use case study analysis, having produced such rich data, it seemed appropriate to compare in a more in-depth way differing practitioner styles and responses from the WSUs. Case studies incorporate 'a variety of lenses' enabling 'multiple facets of the phenomenon to

be revealed and understood' (Baxter and Jack, 2008: 544). Baxter and Jack (2008: 546) suggest that cases should be bound 'by time and place', activity and context, establishing boundaries through including and excluding criteria. The case unit of analysis for this study was designed with the primary research question in mind, 'How do practitioners manage WSUs in the community and in what ways do WSUs understand and comply with the management?' So, the supervision session, administering statutory orders, is the place and the activity happens during work hours. The topic is further boundaried by comparing the types of victimisation, effects on the individual and probation reactions to cases which involve victimisation as a primary feature. This constitutes what Baxter and Jack (2008: 549) describe as an 'instrumental' case study. Stake (1995, cited by Baxter and Jack, 2008: 549) explains this sort of case study as one where examples are of interest, looked at in-depth but which are not necessarily typical of other cases. It is rather to increase understanding of the interplay. Through commentaries from POs and WSUs, discussion occurs of highly sensitive and complex experiences, considering also the broader 'external context', 'political, social…and especially personal contexts' (2008: 552).

4.7.4 Discourse Analysis/Conversation Analysis

Language and communication is central to the work processes within probation[22]. Language may be used to empower and improve a person's self-worth, but can as easily contribute to de-motivating, de-valuing and disempowering individuals. Different discourses are shown through the interviews and, at times, workers and WSUs are faced with contradictions and incompatibility. To establish a structure for the analysis three main strands are followed to examine the narratives within the data. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) recommend a blend of Discourse Analysis (DA) with non-DA approaches or 'multiperspectival work' in order to obtain increased understanding of the data. Discourse and conversation analysis, alongside ethnographic and case study analysis, are used to establish what is happening within the organisation, and the effects this has on individual practitioners and the women.

DA is a blanket term which includes numerous social science traditions. What they share is a theory of communications highlighting social activities negotiated through language. The process of DA involves selecting sections of transcripts that seem to hold special significance, to which could be applied more fine-grained comments. Incorporated are good practice examples, where positivity, praise and encouragement, clear explanations and awareness of attachment factors are used routinely. However,

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[22] See discussions on language in Chapter 2

there are also noteworthy instances when the dialogue reveals the opposite, as with Steph/ Bridget[23] and Gilli/Cassie (see Chapter 7).

DA has not been widely used for empirical research evidence of probation practice, perhaps because the process of transcription is so time-consuming, in addition to practitioners finding direct observations inhibiting. However, it has been widely used, to good effect, in closely related public service disciplines, such as social work (Weinberg, 2014), a variety of medical occupations (Ragan, 2000; Li, Desroches, Yum, Koehn and Deagle, 2007; Menz and Al-Roubaie, 2008), senior management (Ross-Smith and Huppatz, 2010) and police and voluntary organisations (Ostermann, 2003; Ostermann and Comunello da Costa, 2012).

Two different types of DA are drawn on. Critical discursive psychology (CDP) was selected because of its emphasis on everyday talk, in other words that the discussions would have happened whether the observer was there or not (Taylor, 2001: 27). Within CDP, participants are both 'products of discourse' and 'producers of discourse' (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002: 7). Its relevance lies in its use of psychological language drawing on historical and cultural perspectives that focus on current lived situations (Davies & Harré, 2001). Psychological attributes such as attitudes, expressed through utterances, are not viewed merely as short-cuts to an individual's workings of the mind, but as elements of wider social processes (Billig, 2001). The focus is on construction of identity through talk - positioning others and being positioned by others. In the supervision scenario the identity of the WSU is already associated with offending and vulnerability but, depending on the circumstances and attitudes of both players, the purpose of the meeting can extend beyond this objective. A CDP approach concentrates on POs' and WSUs' narratives; the delivery of narratives varies according to the audience, so the WSU will construct an appropriate 'version' of her story for the PO audience. The narrative adapts as the WSU gains or loses trust in the PO. This raises questions as to what personal, organisational and social consequences there are for practitioners, who align with and support socially excluded individuals.

Billig (2001) emphasises that the expression of opinions is not a spontaneous recounting of a person's inner psychological state, but rather a rhetorical act to influence the other person. Drawing on Bakhtin's notion of a 'dialogic quality' in discourse he goes on to state that beliefs are not termed 'attitudes' unless there exists a challenge or counter-position to them (Billig, 2001: 214). Clearly within probation supervision there will always be challenges to offending behaviour. The ways that these challenges are communicated

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[23] See Appendix K for a full transcript of one Steph and Bridget supervision session

may convey a punitive and directive identity, as in the What Works paradigm. Alternatively, a more collaborative, supportive approach can be taken, offering help to recognise and overcome barriers to desistance (McNeill, 2006: 56). Analysing discourse enables the researcher to identify more nuanced communication devices.

Conversation analysis (CA) is also used as a more detailed examination of text. It is similarly appropriate for 'analysis of naturally occurring interaction' where it is assumed that through language people are doing 'things to each other' (Wooffitt, 2001: 49). It is particularly suited to 'institutional interaction' and what happens through talk in a work environment. This detail has only recently been made possible since technology enabled clear recordings of conversations.

4.8 Concluding discussion

This chapter has traced the trajectory of the planning, methodological processes and collection of data for this project. It shows how the chosen techniques were appropriate for the research aims and objectives. Not only are a variety of methods used for drawing together the data over a period of four years (2011-2015), but three types of analysis mean that issues are approached from a number of different angles. Previously, videoing was rarely undertaken for research in probation, and initially was treated with reticence by the probation agencies. However, it proved an effective and original method of data collection. Rich data was produced, enabling real-life interaction to be observed and viewpoints and impressions to be explored in-depth. Using video transcriptions also became an engaging way of disseminating ideas, to different sections of the probation community, at academic and professional conferences. Establishing the research project was affected by my personal inexperience as a researcher, with few resources; selection of the participants was affected by the wariness of the agencies and some probation workers, and also by my limited time and availability as a part-time PhD student in full-time employment.

Evidence provided by this chapter demonstrates a comprehensive approach where attention to detail is shown at the different stages of qualitative data collection and interpretation. It is contended that the findings which are emerging from this data set are meaningful for policy and practice not only in probation but also in related disciplines. Themes and issues arising from the data are explored in the following chapters.

Chapter 5: Perceptions of gender responsivity in the probation service: an ethnographic account

5.1 Introduction

As seen in earlier chapters, at the start of the 21st Century awareness of issues specific to women in the justice system formed a part of governmental and pressure group publications on work with women service users. These directions were not entirely new, but more thoroughly emphasised and publicised. The focus of the analysis is taken from Corston's recommendations and the subsequent guidance for practitioners working with women offenders. This chapter considers how the challenges from these documents were taken up by the probation and voluntary agencies, examining responses at all levels of the organisation. It explores practitioners' familiarity with the issues; whether practitioners gained knowledge about women service users through alternative routes; and to what extent they felt able to put this knowledge into practice in terms of their own personal confidence, as well as taking into account structural factors. This chapter further de-constructs two of the main areas identified in the report and guidance, those of relationships and women-only environments. It is understood that women service users' issues of victimisation and trauma underpin these areas and are a central feature of these documents. They are not examined in detail here but dealt with in depth in chapters 6 and 7. Within this chapter, the whole data corpus is used to give a sense of how the proposals and guidance are perceived and enacted.

5.2 Methods

An ethnographic approach will be taken to explore the three main topics outlined above. Features of ethnographic studies involve paying attention to participants' behaviour and narratives in day-to-day, natural situations 'in the field' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 3). In the main, there is reliance on participant observation and straightforward, unofficial exchanges. The intention is primarily exploratory, taking into account only a small number of cases, to enable depth of understanding of the circumstances in a particular social world (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Documentary sources which 'are crucially involved in social activities' are part of ethnographic analyses (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 121). The main documents and writings which provide the background to changes in practice are, as noted above, the Corston Report and the guidance reports which followed it. Other data sources, specific to this study, are taken from the 33 indirect video observations of supervision sessions and the 27 semi-structured research interviews with practitioners and women service users (WSUs). In addition, there are the direct fieldwork participant observations which took place over a period of four years (2011-2015) and covered

65 pages of fieldnotes. Records from formal meetings such as those of the 'supporters' in XPT, the workshops in ZPT and groupwork review sessions with facilitators are included, as well as informal interviews with Rita, the manager of Empower. As described in the Methodology chapter (section 4.5.2), fieldnotes started to be taken as soon as the first contact with the Trusts occurred in 2011, about 18 months prior to the videoing taking place. Fieldnotes and reflections, from participant observations, were noted about any casual remarks or discussions in reception areas, the open plan offices or during car journeys to and from the service user's home. Responses to my post-fieldwork email to all practitioners in November 2015 are also included. Some of the excerpts in this chapter come from early research interviews and filming of supervision sessions as part of the pilot study (September 2012 to April 2013) (see section 4.6.1). Material from the pilot was written up as a journal article[24], from which excerpts have been taken and re-examined for the purposes of this chapter, placed alongside later supervision sessions and research interviews. The intention of this chapter is to see whether the proposals for work with women could be implemented in practice.

5.3 Key proposals for gender-responsiveness in probation practice

This section considers how Corston's recommendations were received in the probation setting. The main points that Corston makes are re-iterated briefly. The account is not intended as a complete review, but rather as a background to the three central issues, outlined in the introduction and pertinent to probation practice. It is these issues which are investigated in detail through the data.

Although several of the ideas had been expressed previously[25], the Corston Report (2007) highlighted and re-iterated the issues around how women's needs differed to those of men. The review gained standing and publicity which had been previously lacking. Its conclusions and recommendations were taken forward, introducing the ideas to probation officers through guidance documents. These were NOMS (2008) The Offender Management Guide to Working with Women Offenders, followed by the Ministry of Justice (2012) A Distinct Approach: a guide to working with women offenders and, most recently, the NOMS (2017) Working with Women Offenders. During the period of this research (2011-2015) the 2012 document, which had been recently published was applicable. Since then, the 2017 guidance document has been developed, to incorporate changes brought to the fore by Transforming Rehabilitation.

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[24] See Goldhill, R. (2016) Reflections on Working with Vulnerable Women: Connecting, Cans of Worms, Closures and Coping. *British Journal of Social Work*, 46, (5), 1336–1353

[25] The Women's Offending Reduction Programme (2004) and the Equality Act, 2006 were its precursors, but many of the issues raised by the review had also been put forward by academics such as Carlen, Heidensohn, Gelsthorpe and Worrall since the 1980s and 1990s. See the Literature Review, Chapter 2, for a more detailed account.

Corston (2007: 2) proposes 'a woman-centred approach' claiming that, 'Women have been marginalised within a system largely designed by men for men for far too long'. As the ineffectiveness of trying to adjust women's issues to fit into a male system became apparent, increased attempts were made to create policies and ways of working more appropriate for women (Malloch and McIvor, 2011). Corston (2007, cited by Annison and Brayford, 2015) describes the disadvantages facing these women – poverty, isolation and unemployment. It also stresses that most women entering the CJS are vulnerable, with it being common-place to have childhoods involving abusive and violent experiences (Corston, 2007). Corston shows how these factors are embedded in women's pathways to offending and that mental illness, substance misuse and dysfunctional relationships are underpinned by victimisation (Corston, 2007: 7). She also points to the way certain prison practices, such as strip-searching, could re-activate the humiliation and degradation of sexual abuse, 'an appalling introduction to prison life' (2007: 5). A central message from Corston is that too many vulnerable women are being sent to custody, even though they pose no risk to others. Far from improving women's situations, custodial settings make them worse. Where prison separates women from their families, loss of accommodation and children (the two often go together) follows and mental health issues are exacerbated. The logical conclusion of her argument is to prevent women being drawn into the CJS, wherever possible, through diversionary and community schemes, but this necessitates appropriate social provision being made available. Corston argues that in the Courts, community sentences or diversion should be the objective.

In daily face-to-face work, as Corston suggests, there needs to be a recognition amongst probation practitioners of WSUs' complex situations and needs. Vulnerable women in the justice system possess a multitude of interconnected problems which need to be teased out. Links to dysfunctional childhoods, such as exposure to sexual abuse and assaults, point to attachment issues, and loss becomes a feature when separation from children, intermittent or long-term, occurs. 'Secondary prisonisation' and stigma (Minson, 2017), which impact on their children, increase the woman's own guilt, stigma and shame as a mother, who may also be coping with public disdain and disgrace. If not there already, these pressures can develop into mental health problems, and self-destructive behavioural patterns, such as drug-dependency, self-harming and the formation of abusive relationships. Such overlapping problems and the complexity of WSUs' needs have been explored in a number of other studies (Heidensohn, 1985; Worrall, 1990; Carlen, 2002; Evans and Walklate, 2011).

Deriving directly from Corston's (2007: 16 and 79) notion of 'the need for a distinct approach' and 'a *distinct, radically different, visibly-led, strategic, proportionate, holistic, woman-centred, integrated*

approach' is the MoJ (2012) guidance entitled 'A Distinct Approach'. The guidance delineates where practitioners and their managers should take action to improve the lot of women under their supervision. The areas considered key to gender issues are the impact of gendered violence, dealing with victimisation/trauma and their associations with substance misuse and mental health. In order for women to start to overcome sensitive and often crippling memories, positive relationships with professionals are essential at every stage of the process - establishment, maintenance and closure. Lastly, responsivity and the place of women only environments go beyond the immediate probation involvement. Partnership working, groupwork and awareness of national and local resources outside the CJS is equally central for women, to make the transition to increased personal equilibrium.

Prior to the appearance of these documents, there had been little to inform or guide probation officers in their work with women. Although the directions seem to be clear and straightforward, their place in probation agencies, and how they are operationalised within a broader organisational system, is less clear.

The first investigation examined whether practitioners did actually possess familiarity and adherence to the guidance documents for working with women offenders. As part of the semi-structured interviews, practitioners were asked routinely about their knowledge of the publication, 'A Distinct Approach' (MoJ, 2012) and resources for women in their area. The question raised responses tinged with embarrassment at not knowing about the document and facilities for women, as well as reflections and justifications as to why this might be the case. For example, when asked about the document, Joe gives a categorical negative, but goes on to show that he does in fact have awareness and strong views on some of the issues pertinent to women service users and the available resources:

> R. Do you know about A Distinct Approach?
>
> J. No, never heard of it. Obviously, there was the Thinking Ahead for Women[26], I think it's still going. There are issues around that. They wouldn't run them at probation offices with good intent, but then they would run them at family centres and I had slight issues with that as the family centres are almost becoming like pseudo probation outlets and I think it discourages women from using the facilities in other respects. I go along to the family centres and they're all probation officers' and social workers' kids there.… I've had people who've got kids then there's meetings and involvement with social services – they wouldn't be seen dead in those places cos they just see them as social services' outposts. In a way I think if you're going to be wanting to move women's groups away from probation…you need a place where they don't have any association at all.
>
> (Research interview, Joe, 09.07.2014)

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[26] A non-accredited groupwork programme.

Despite Joe's assertion that he has never heard of the guidance document he is still able to offer a critique of what is viewed as good practice in the document. He knows that it is seen as beneficial for women to have their supervision sessions away from the probation office. However, Joe argues that the alternative arrangements, embodied by the family centres, still hold stigma and feelings of coercion and control for the individuals concerned, similar to those experienced at the statutory probation or social services offices.

Joe continues by talking about his lack of familiarity with resources for women service users:

> R. What resources for women are available round here?
>
> J. To my shame I don't really know – women specific…. I think there are employment service specifically for women. I think I've seen that at Nacro[27]. There's the family centres which are geared up for women … I don't know if drug and alcohol workers have anything particular for women. I mean they might do; I just don't know. A couple of years ago there was a team meeting where somebody agreed to do a booklet on services for women and there was one produced, but I don't know what happened to it. I must have it somewhere. Terrible isn't it. It's like one of those things you get, and you think this is good and then you get a phone call and it's gone out of your head. So, I feel ashamed. It's like all these things, they just fall off the agenda and you just get on with the grind…. we should certainly be more aware of what's available because I've clearly been exposed as not knowing.
>
> … there was a man who was a woman's 'supporter'. I thought that was a bit odd. …There seemed to be a phase where there was a 'supporter' for everything. It felt a bit tokenistic to me….'

In this extract Joe explains away his gaps in knowledge as there being too much to do in the working day, 'the grind', but acknowledges that this is not a satisfactory justification and half-jokingly apologises – 'I feel ashamed…I've clearly been exposed'. Again, his comments show that certain messages from the guidance have permeated through to workers within the organisation. He is aware that a resources booklet has been compiled and his observation on the male 'supporter' as 'odd' may imply awareness of movements towards having all-women environments. However, he does not question that *he* has women on his caseload, that women may not be able to talk to him as easily as they would to a woman officer, or whether the WSUs he is supervising have been asked about their preferences for a female officer. He is critical of the 'supporters' initiative, seeing these arrangements as 'tokenistic', in other words a current management strategy to demonstrate inclusivity for minority groups, ostensibly striving for sexual equality, but in reality, not backed by meaningful action and funding.

Amongst other practitioner participants, there was a range of knowledge about the document with most officers not having read it, and one woman 'supporter,' Jemma, who had not heard of it (research interview, 07.11.2012). Despite not having read the guidance, as with Joe, some of the principles of gender responsiveness appear to have been internalised.

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[27] National Association for the Care and Rehabilitation of Offenders, a social justice charity

By way of contrast to Joe, Di was well acquainted with the guidance document and the Corston literature and was endeavouring to put recommendations into practice. She used family centres for seeing women away from the probation office, as advocated in the guidance (research interview, 27.03.2013), and her colleagues had told me that she was considered a trailblazer for doing so (fieldnotes, 07.09.2012). She was also enthusiastic about the supporters' input and spoke animatedly about her development of a training resource which evolved as a result of the guidance (research interview, Di, 27.03.2013). At one women's supporters' meeting, priority was given to discussion of the guidance document (27.09.2012). It was arranged that Di and a colleague should disseminate the information contained there to probation teams in XPT. Topics highlighted were victimisation, women only environments and gathering material on local services. This was considered particularly important for offices which had no access to holistic women's centre facilities, to take proactive measures to seek out suitable resources for women. Commenting on the level of her colleagues' awareness of the issues, Di fed back to me that she found it 'quite alarming some of the things people weren't sure of' (research interview, 27.03.2013). Another idea mooted at the meeting was to offer training to reception workers in the probation office so that, 'everybody is involved with women coming through our doors' (fieldnotes at supporters' meeting 29.03.2012).

Similarly, in ZPT it was found that there was a mix of knowledge about the guidance. Kate, who facilitated the women's group, Futures, stated that the earlier guidance document (NOMS, 2008) was influential in the setting up of their groupwork initiative but, when the group folded, learning and information was not passed on to her successors in terms of promoting gender-responsiveness. One new facilitator later told Kate 'I didn't even know they [the documents] existed' (research interview, Kate, 30.06.2014). Other officers working with women spoke with understanding about women's specific issues but were unaware of the guidance itself (research interview, Fi, 15.05.2014). The filtering down of information seemed to occur principally from discussions within the office, individual interest and experience and through co-working. For example, Karen (PSO) spoke of the learning she had gained from working with Bea (research interview, 26.06.2014).

Initiatives emanating from the guidance documents were also implemented and maintained by senior management input, information about which was filtered down to main grade officers through the women's 'supporters' meetings[28]. I attended five of these meetings between July 2011 and September 2012, one of

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[28] The women's 'supporters' consisted of women POs or PSOs who volunteered or were directed to attend quarterly meetings (on all topics relating to women service users), then feed back information to their teams and answer any queries. Some 'supporters' also contributed to tasks such as compiling a list of locally available resources for women

which was led by Susan, chief executive officer in XPT (fieldnotes, 27.09.2012). She had previously emphasised the importance she placed on WSUs and this part of her role (fieldwork notes, 16.05.2011). Susan and Kris, another CEO, enhanced the usage of the two holistic women's centres as practical resources for supervision. For example, Susan described them as her 'gold star' projects (fieldwork notes, 17.03.11).

During one supporters' meeting the focus was on the serious concerns about the rate of self-harming amongst women service users, which was defined as 'transformation of psychological torment into a manageable physical sensation' (fieldnotes, 29.03.2012). As a result, negotiations were started with the local psychological services to provide a specific groupwork resource for women with personality disorders (PD) (field notes from women's 'supporter' meeting, 27.09.2012). The discussions centred on how these women had been traditionally disregarded by mainstream mental health services.

5.4 Elements of the probation relationship

The principle of relationality holds, regardless of gender, but does appear to be especially significant for some women. Plechowicz (2009) citing Ward, Day, Howell and Birgden (2004), argues that it is practitioners' personal characteristics and attachment styles which are important, not formal training which, they claim, has virtually no impact on establishing positive relationships. Other commentators though, as discussed in the literature review, have continuously drawn attention to the importance of the practitioner/service user relationship through the use of prosocial modelling (PSM) and motivational interviewing (MI) techniques, which are learnt skills (Rex, 1999; Burnett and McNeill, 2005; Lewis, 2014, Knight, 2014).

It has also been generally felt that relationality is pivotal to women as they are more inclined to talk about their problems. Sheehan (2011) argues that women tend to place greater weight on relationships with the probation staff who are supervising them. Although common to both genders, McDermott (2012) notes in her study that, 'women appreciated being treated as individuals who are deserving of recognition and respect', whilst Sheehan (2011: 90) similarly emphasises that interventions need to be 'strengths-based and promote skill-building.' In research of accredited programme groupwork by Martin, Kautt and Gelsthorpe (2009), cited by Gelsthorpe and Wright (2015), it was found that men leant towards instrumental compliance, where they appreciated the negative consequences of non-compliance;

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and specific training sessions. Susan was initially responsible for women's initiatives 2011-2013 but the role passed to Fran and then Kris during the later TR transition period.

contrastingly, women tended to accomplish normative compliance which involves social bonds, good attachment and acceptance of the probation worker's legitimacy. In other words, they participated because they found it personally worthwhile.

5.4.1 Building the relationship

Most POs in the study succeeded in establishing solid connections where the women felt respected and heard. This is implicit in Siobhan's comments about her supervising officer, Di:

> 'Di listens to me and anything I say to her she'll try to sort it out for me .... She [Di] knows a lot about me...I don't feel uncomfortable telling her things...she knows pretty much my life story. Well, when I first come in at the beginning she obviously had to ask me a lot of questions and I answered them. I felt comfortable with her right from the start....'

Siobhan implies that the respect demonstrated towards her by Di is commensurate with her own progress and maturation. In attachment theory terms, Di's positive regard and motivational statements reinforce Siobhan's self-worth (Plechowicz, 2009: 35). Siobhan makes comparisons between the relationship with her present PO and previous supervisors:

> 'Di's better than they were, like she understands. They [the Youth Offending Team (YOT)] were just doing their job, cos they had to sort of thing. I was telling them, this isn't helping me, I'm going to break things again and I did. They didn't really help a lot I think that since it's happened I've grown up mentally erm and I've had to deal with the consequences and I've, it could have been a lot worse. I could have been in prison for a long time, so I just think this is my second chance and I can't, I can't let that go.'

> (Research interview, Siobhan, 15.03.2013)

From a service user perspective, Siobhan's perception of the YOT is of routine treatment, where she does not feel heard; contrastingly she goes on to describe her sense of a personalised, empathic relationship with Di. The comments made by Siobhan show motivation and understanding of her own maturation, 'I've grown up mentally and I've had to deal with the consequences.' The final sentence displays a determination to change her behaviour. Cherry (2005) emphasises the importance of motivational interviewing working hand in hand with prosocial modelling. In supervision sessions, where Di is encouraging Siobhan, she does so with a constant stream of motivational utterances. So, in conjunction with reinforcement of *self*-motivation, Di maximises opportunities to praise and boost Siobhan's self-esteem -

> Di: I'm impressed that you've got the motivation after work to go swimming **and** go to probation

> Siobhan: It's got to be done

> Di: You do a lot more than a lot of people your age do

> Siobhan: I don't think so

> Di: Oh, I think so (Siobhan smiles)

In Jemma's interview she similarly tries to empower Shirley to resist her husband's bullying and avoid resorting to alcohol. Jemma uses reflective listening, offers Shirley more frequent contact with her (which is readily agreed to) and continues to elicit self-motivating statements:

> Shirley: Completed it, all done, finished. Absolutely wonderful and I have not had a drink (mutters). And he says I'm alcohol dependent. You know this could be a lapse for me, but I'm determined it won't be.
>
> Jemma: That's so good to hear
>
> Shirley: I'm so determined this will not make me lapse. I'm not going there Jemma.
>
> Jemma: You're determined since the end of the relationship and this could be the most difficult time. Clearly it is a difficult time. But you're determined not...
>
> Shirley: Not. Definitely not (*goes very quiet*). No, I don't want to drink, not going to, no

<div align="center">(Supervision session, 20.07.2012)</div>

On the cycle of change, which guides the practitioner as to which motivational interventions to use, Cherry (2005: 92-3) explains that even if a person is at the action or maintenance stage this is not the end of the cycle. Individuals, such as Siobhan and Shirley should still be considered 'fragile' whilst acknowledging and reinforcing their significant progress. Motivational work should be viewed in context, as a continuous process which may involve taking a few steps forward and then stalling or going backwards before hopefully progressing again. This is because personal change commonly necessitates hard decisions and painful changes in people's lives.

The importance of moving at the WSU's pace is also important for engagement, recognising that there are times when an individual is just not ready to go forward, and appreciates not being rushed:

> 'Well with Phillipa specifically well actually she's told me I'm going to get a new one and I'm really upset about it actually because I really get along with Phillipa, I think she's really understanding BUT if I could say perhaps about my ones before some of them, I've had 3, since I've been on at probation I've had 3 different ones. Phillipa's my last one and at the moment and the other 2 erm my first one which was Steph, she was erm really really nice as well, ...I think it's the way she gave me space like...She'd ask and if I didn't want to answer she'd leave it a month or something like that and ask again – You've been to your counselling or something like that cos if someone's always at your neck always, it's like why is she doing that? So, I think definitely, the just letting me breathe'

<div align="center">(Research interview, Leila, 26.11.2014)</div>

Leila demonstrates disappointment and distress at the thought of a change of officer. Dominey's (2016) research, on fragmentation within probation, considers consistency and regularity in supervision sessions, as integral to a productive relationship. Dominey (2016: 137) discusses the problems that occur when people 'have to keep explaining themselves to new people' and have to learn about and agree to their

particular modus operandi. During this period of change in the probation service many officers, including middle and senior managers, resigned or were reassigned roles. Remaining senior managers implemented minor reorganisations every few months. Leila's distress at Phillipa's departure is partly due to having had three officers in a relatively short space of time (nine months), partly because she is apprehensive that the next relationship may be difficult, as has happened in the past, and she is also upset at losing the particular trusting relationship built up with Phillipa. Judging and comparing each officer, Leila explains why she disliked one of the officers:

> '…my second one, it's not that I'm not saying her name I've actually forgotten (laughs) her name…. Like you know when you want to be honest with someone I felt a bit on edge with her, this lady. I really and I felt quite on edge with her to be honest and I…. Maybe because she was a bit stricter I don't know erm that level, but I don't know that barrier, she had a barrier. Basically, there was a barrier, so I couldn't tell her how I felt'

> (Research interview, Leila, 26.11.2014)

One unnamed officer is compared unfavourably to Steph and Phillipa by Leila, because of this 'stricter' approach which Leila identifies as preventing her from participating fully in the sessions. This is confirmed by Dominey's (2016) contention that without both a stable and facilitative foundation to the officer/service user relationship, supervision will not be perceived as either meaningful or helpful.

5.4.2 Closures in the probation relationship

Disruption, through changes of officer or the ending of the Order, can prove to be another significant aspect of the relationship. The vital support from probation stops abruptly on the day the Order finishes which can leave individuals, especially those with attachment issues, feeling abandoned (Plechowicz, 2009). Planned endings are vital for successful completions, if the secure base and related skills are to be transferred to alternative relationships in the community. Preparation for endings is encouraged in the guidance literature (MoJ, 2012: 34). Psychotherapeutic literature supports this focus on preparation for the final stage of the therapeutic alliance, where endings are a time for review and transformation (Etherington and Bridges, 2011). This is a subtle process requiring considerable skill in encouraging the person to move away from the CJS and towards local community provision. Probation guidance advocates introducing women to 'mainstream services' by acting as a 'bridge' to the community 'and the next stage of her life' (MoJ, 2012: 34). It states that POs should be preparing women for closure and separation from the first interview and giving reminders throughout the supervision time-span. Warnings are given about overdependence on the practitioner (MoJ, 2012: 34). Findings from the pilot data set show that, whilst often being strong at establishing and maintaining supervisory relationships, probation officers are less adept at bringing them to a close (Goldhill, 2016). Having difficulties with this stage of supervision was equally evident in the main part of the research, even with very experienced officers (Moira and Phillipa).

With the imminent arrival of Transforming Rehabilitation, change of officer was frequent, creating constant disruptions, and the average length of a supervisory relationship lasted only a few weeks or months. Phillipa gives her views on the reorganisation and the ensuing disruption to the supervisory process:

> 'I know from my point of view; the cases I've currently got there are a lot of comments from the cases that this is like their third case manager in a year. So, some of them I've just kept, I'm going to keep them because *I* can't face the stress and I can't face the stress *for them* of turning round, you know what, I know we've only met 3 times but now you're going to have somebody else. I thought let's start properly, read the files, get to know, do your notes and I think within a couple of months I was given a different caseload cos they were rearranging things constantly so it's never really been, it's been, they've been crisis managing as well and it's just been "Yes we know it's crap but that's the way it is".'

<div align="right">(Research interview, Phillipa, 04.12.2014)</div>

As an experienced and qualified officer Philippa shows how she is initially keen to take a professional, best practice stance, but that this proves impossible because of all the caseload changes. She then feels unable to embark on establishing therapeutic alliances, as she realises she will be unable to complete them satisfactorily. It is widely recognised within the organisation that standards are not being maintained. However, on the receiving end Leila perceives it slightly differently, looking to Empower for the therapeutic relationship. She has experienced both one-to-one probation and counselling at Empower's women only facilities:

> 'I didn't feel comfortable speaking about it then, like speaking about my past and then that's when they (probation) said to go to counselling you know …When you get people like Steph and Phillipa they do care, and they do genuinely want you to change…. That's my experience with them. I feel grateful that I did get to have them two because it has helped me as well (pulls a face) …. Counselling was a choice…alcohol wasn't. …. yeah, I chose to do it. It was good for me. Cos I always used to say no because I've had a really bad background … but once I did give in and actually grew up a bit I thought it is time that I talk to someone.'

<div align="right">(Research interview, Leila, 04.12.2014)</div>

Here, Leila is explaining that having to examine her alcohol usage was non-negotiable and further into the discussion she shows awareness of what it means to drink responsibly. Like Siobhan, she is also recognising maturational factors, that she is growing up and moving away from behaving irresponsibly and destructively. However, what underpins the drinking, namely sexual abuse, is harder to confront:

> 'that was the point was where they did refer me to counselling because I didn't feel comfortable speaking about it then, like speaking about my past and then that's when they said to go to counselling you know they definitely give you a lot of wide ranges of how to tackle your past, yeah'

<div align="right">(Research interview, Leila, 04.12.2014)</div>

Whilst Empower was functioning in this way, Leila was provided with a choice of talking either to her PO or to a counsellor about her victimisation issues, and she chose the latter.

Devoting a whole section to 'Endings,' the MoJ (2012: 34) recommend that practitioners start planning for endings 'from the outset' of contact with WSUs. Despite good intentions, endings sometimes do not go to plan, and when endings are not flagged up it can reveal poor professional practice. For example, Jemma miscalculates the length of time that Shirley's Order has left to run and is unwell for the final appointment, so no 'ending' takes place. From what she says about Shirley's complex needs this can only be seen as yet another 'let down' in Shirley's life. Cherry (2005: 127) refers to this type of event as offering a 'micro-message', unrealised and unintended by the PO, but which carries meaning that damages self-esteem, recreating distrust and disappointment.

When Lesley and I make a home visit at the end of Evie's community order, she hands Evie a personalised letter confirming that the Order is over (fieldnotes, 10.04.2013). Lesley explains that she has devised a built-in structure to prevent events occurring, as with Jemma and Shirley, where there are no goodbyes. These letters summarise the woman's achievements, point out areas for future development and provide contact information for support in the community. She also offers an additional invitation to the woman to attend a final meeting, even if the Order has legally ended. Di's approach resembles that recommended in the guidance, to talk about endings as part of the supervisory process, constantly reminding the individual of the date, what needs to be achieved before then, and intertwining praise and encouragement within the discussion.

> Siobhan: When I was younger I thought it was funny the first time...but now I'm older I don't want it.
>
> Di: So, let's focus on getting to July, keeping you out of trouble and a fun summer ahead
>
> (Supervision session, 09.01.2013)

Organisational demands, however, prevent the continuance of Di and Siobhan's relationship. With re-structuring, Di chooses to move to another team; suggesting that the move is motivated by improved career prospects through work with higher risk males. This means giving up supervision of her large WSU caseload with little time for preparation. Aware of the importance of endings she still hopes to arrange 3-way handover review sessions with each of the new officers and the women (research interview, 27.03.2018).

Even within strong relationships, the data shows that endings can go awry. Lesley observes that women hold back important personal information until the last few weeks and frequently place themselves in breach during the last days of the Order. At Evie's final appointment, Evie admits that she has been arrested again for shoplifting, joking, 'I think I'm addicted to probation'. This paradox is seen elsewhere in

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the data. Despite significant progress and an outwardly confident demeanour, Leila is still apprehensive about totally severing ties with probation supervision, 'I'm going to like it obviously the freedom, but we'll see how that goes because sometimes when you've been so used to going back to something it might change'. Phillipa also comments on the phenomenon:

> 'I think you do get a higher percentage of females reoffending towards the end. It's because they get attached, for whatever reason. I think they just get attached to the process sometimes, rather than the person. Yeah, so (2.0) they've been in the system for years. But that's the shame of it in a way. They don't really need to be with us'.

<div align="right">(Research interview, 26.11.2014)</div>

Plechowicz (2009) argues that attachment is especially significant for female offenders because past deprivation, neglect and abuse frequently lead to chaotic and destructive relationships in adulthood. Unsatisfactory endings are then replayed or played out within probation supervision and constitute yet another relationship failure in the woman's life. So, as the good practice guidance suggests, it is important to provide a secure base beyond the end of the Order by transferring the therapeutic alliance to a community resource such as a women's centre or mental health provision. However, with austerity measures and cuts to services since 2010, it is these facilities which are becoming less and less available (Walby, Towers and Francis, 2016).

5.4.3 External structures and probation relationships

On occasions other extraneous factors impact on establishing and maintaining positive alliances. Consistency is viewed as a central tenet of service user engagement, but this is not always under practitioner control, and can detract from the positivity and respect required for connecting in a practitioner/service user relationship. Guidance points to investing time and energy at the start of the Order to clarify the requirements, making sure they are realistic ones (NOMS, 2017). This includes 'role clarification', helping service users to understand their part in the supervision process, what they can expect from the worker, and the boundaries set by the organisation (Trotter, 1999: 17-18). This section examines two situations where probation officers have little or no authority over other parts of the system which directly affect the woman service user. It shows how the words and actions of colleagues and sentencers in the courts can disrupt one-to-one probation relationships.

As seen above with Leila and Siobhan's cases, when under probation supervision, there are no guarantees that consistency can be maintained, due to annual/sick leave, staff changing roles and departing the agency. In these situations, cases have to be seen by another officer who may have a different perspective and message for the service user. With high risk cases, senior managers will be called in periodically to issue warnings and clarify licence conditions. Weaver (2014) argues that the

mechanisms which promote building inner controls are equally applicable to more serious offenders. Often it is necessary with very stigmatised and damaged individuals to be, 'supporting people's social participation, capitalizing on people's strengths, building capacities, recognizing and responding to the barriers people face'. This is illustrated by interactions with Jessica (WSU), a lifer[29], her supervising officer and a senior manager. Jessica speaks highly of her supervising officer, Tash, and her ability to diffuse and calm situations. Below she highlights her respect for Tash for allowing her to express her feelings, but still keep the boundaries:

> Tash knows when I'm having a tantrum. She'll sit there like "finished now? Let's get on now". I mean that's me, she sticks with the boundaries, but she knows how to deal with it, but she knows I have to let off steam and to some people it can come across as aggressive, but she knows that it's not. It's just me getting things out of my system

<div align="right">(Research interview, 02.07.2013)</div>

Despite a positive alliance having been formed, Jessica finds the senior manager's approach towards her at their first meeting to be rushed, unfair and incomprehensible:

> 'She decided that no, the licence isn't getting changed, no your curfew isn't getting knocked off, and yes you are getting a final warning. I thought hang on you don't know me....'

This senior manager has seemingly by-passed significant prosocial principles, and thus for Jessica the legitimacy of the probation service is brought into doubt. Cherry (2005: 141) views 'the manager as a role model', who should be performing the same prosocial modelling techniques expected of the practitioner, using their authority in a way that provides legitimacy, through clear explanation of rules/roles and what is negotiable. Jessica is a transgender woman who relates that her experiences, as a male youth, featured heavy drinking and being both victim and perpetrator of abusive behaviours. Throughout her early life, as a man, she was blamed and despised. Jessica clarifies that her anger is rekindled because the manager's approach 'drags her back to that place.' Gadd and Dixon (2011: 43 and 67) describe 'persecutory anxiety' and 'projections' arising from early forms of rejection and stigmatisation.

Other areas outside a probation practitioner's immediate control are covert discriminations, epitomised in the CJS by the concept of double deviance. This occurs when women are judged, not purely on their offending but on the perceived absence of stereotypical female characteristics to the extent that legitimacy and a sense of justice are lost (Heidensohn and Silvestri, 2012: 351). Although this concept is generally cited in research on sentencers, other partnership workers - police, social workers, housing officers and POs themselves - are not immune from reacting to stereotypes. Frequently, it is substance misusing women with children or those seen as unladylike teenagers who fall into this category (Hudson, 2002). Evie, for example, was up-tariffed to a medium level Drug Rehabilitation Requirement (DRR) for

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[29] A person who is serving a life sentence, either in prison or on life licence in the community.

shoplifting, despite being able to prove that she had been drug free for several months (fieldnotes 29.11.2012). In Siobhan's case, she received an additional 70 hours of community payback and an extension to her suspended sentence supervision order (SSSO) for an offence committed prior to her current one, despite consistently favourable reports having been received from Di (PO). The police also informed Siobhan's employers of the offences, thus placing obstacles in the way of her obtaining a job reference, so job hunting became problematic and dispiriting. Reporting back on this, Di explained Siobhan's frustrations and how she continued to encourage her:

> 'I said you were really harshly dealt with, even the male PO in Court on that day spent time with you because he had never seen anything quite like it either and he wouldn't normally have spent time with anyone after Court so that speaks volumes really…. She said, 'Why did it happen to me?' I said I know but you're learning from it and it's only going to make you stronger

<div align="right">(Research interview, Di, 16.04.2013)</div>

The empathy shown by Di acknowledges the unfairness of the sentence, leaving Siobhan clear that she is heard and that Di is taking her side, but also helps her, in the final sentence, to reframe the situation with a positive slant (Egan, 2008: 218). As an individual who has rarely been listened to or praised, except by her father in drunken stupors, recognition from a respected and reliable person is particularly important to Siobhan. Di also draws on the importance of her court colleague's opinion, explaining that other CJS agencies may hold opposing views to probation over which probation has minimal powers.

5.5 Women-only environments in probation practice

There are additional barriers to gender responsiveness in community sentences. Bloom, Owen and Covington (2003) cited by Covington (2008: 378), explain 'gender responsive principles' as firstly, recognition that gender is significant and secondly, the establishment of spaces where women can feel safe and be treated with dignity. Although Covington (2008) does not specifically recommend an all-woman environment, the implications of her argument point to this conclusion. A 'calm', accepting environment is considered essential and this does not blend well with some of the controlling, punitive and confrontative approaches in criminal justice agencies. Comments and 'looks' directed towards women by male offenders in mixed environments, such as the courts, accredited programmes and in waiting rooms, can also provoke discomfort (Worrall, 2002).

Sharpe's (2011) research with young women indicates a strong preference amongst them to be supervised by a woman, and women-only settings are strongly advocated in Gelsthorpe, Sharpe and Roberts' (2007: 28) report on community provision for women. They comment though that 'women-only provision' is contentious, politically and logistically, because it is not considered financially viable. Cherry (2005: 133) observes that a feminist perspective would suggest avoidance of male supervisors for women

service users, on the grounds that they represent reminders of past oppressive relationships. It is suggested that the woman will find it easier to be open about abuse with another woman[30], plus there is an assumption that two women will have 'a shared perspective on the experience of being a woman in a male dominated society.' Within Gelsthorpe et al's (2007: 8) models of provision lies the goal of having women-only spaces, offering 'a sense of community and to enable staff to develop expertise in work with women'. However, Cherry (2005) points out that there is an argument for male supervisors to model alternative respectful ways of treating women. There is also the question of women being heterogeneous, whereby other diversity considerations, of class, ethnicity and values may be as influential in forging positive relationships or preventing them from becoming established.

 As noted above, Government guidance and research suggests that many women prefer all female environments to generate trusting relationships (Gelsthorpe, Sharpe and Roberts, 2007; MoJ, 2012: 23; NOMS, 2017); the logistical structural challenge for probation workers is that criminal justice agencies are not set up in this way. The argument has always been around economies of scale, that there are not enough women to justify women only services. The data shows that, where sufficient interest is present, individual officers do pursue gender responsive measures. However, allocation of WSUs appears fairly random. Practitioners can 'inherit' women as part of a large caseload when another officer departs, or the case may be distributed by the Senior Probation Officer or an administrative member of staff. Alternatively, if cases are allocated during a team meeting, a preference for women cases can be made known. Some practitioners are necessarily more experienced and better informed than others. A few of the practitioners in the study had long-standing interests in women service users. Some had researched women as part of their training (Di, 27.03.13; Jennifer, 03.09.2014) or had worked previously exclusively with women in a prison setting or a refuge (Bea, field notes, 23.01.2014; Moira, semi-structured interview, 12.12.2014). Unsurprisingly these individuals were more familiar with the concept of gender-responsiveness and the benefits of exclusive women-only spaces.

5.5.1 Women only spaces in probation

In XPT's B and C towns there were reporting times set aside when the probation office was only open to women. However, as in the literature (Storer, 2003), it was found that men could not be dissuaded from reporting at these times and would be allowed to wait in the reception area, until seen by their POs, if they came in during periods allotted for women (research interviews, Lesley, 20.02.2013; Steph, 28.05.14). Additionally, women leading turbulent lifestyles could not always be persuaded to attend during the set times. For some women, harassment from men has become normalised, as they are used to dealing with

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[30] See the accounts by Moira and Laura in Chapter 6.

unwanted attention on a day-to-day basis. Evie and Siobhan demonstrate a sense of resignation to the harassment they receive from male service users, viewing it as part and parcel of their punishment and no doubt their general experience in society; they both add that their POs never keep them waiting. For individuals such as Sonia, who has experienced ongoing severe abuse, it provokes a much stronger reaction:

> R. Sitting in the waiting room with people there – how did that feel?
>
> S. Horrible. They used to find me just outside, it was too busy, I wouldn't sit. I don't like being trapped.
>
> R. Was there anything about the people in there that worried you?
>
> S. Men, the men in there…. Just felt like they were going to get me…. But Moira never used to be long.
>
> R. Get you in what way?
>
> S. It's just because of my childhood experiences er I don't feel good around men. Plus, my ex (shuts her eyes and nods) ….

<div align="right">(Research interview, Sonia, 05.12.2014)</div>

Sonia is speaking here of the probation waiting room as sparking fear and memories of violence and sexual assault. Carmen, another woman with a history of extensive domestic violence and sexual assault also had strong words about probation office waiting rooms. Normally she tried to attend on Wednesday mornings for women's reporting but had been given another time to see the male employment adviser. She talks of her discomfort when an intoxicated man comes into the waiting room:

> '… he was so drunk, and you could smell it off him. He sat next to me and he was chatting away woo woo and I just thought oh my God… I'm sort of stuck with it and I don't want really, I'm not interested in what they've done to be honest but then again you don't know if they're violent, but you don't want by accident to offend them, you don't know what's going to happen.'

<div align="right">(Research interview, Carmen, 10.12.2014)</div>

Carmen's background incorporating experiences of male violence, her feelings of being trapped in the situation and fear of potential violence, indicate that this type of situation holds potential for reliving her multiple traumas. With so many male perpetrators attending probation, for highly vulnerable, repeatedly victimised women, the probation office can represent a place which triggers re-traumatisation and fear of known and unknown men (Covington, 2014: 14).

Gender-specific responses, such as always offering women the opportunity to have a woman PO, are recognised as the ideal (NOMS, 2017), but are not always accepted or followed. In XPT a number of male officers were keen to work with women, taking offence when not allowed to have female cases; one male officer was discussed as 'inheriting' a caseload, which included three women, when a colleague left (field

notes, women's supporters' meeting, 29.03.2012). Further barriers to women-only settings existed in the courts when there were no female probation workers on duty there. With community payback/unpaid work, women were still being directed to work in mixed groups, often with male supervisors. Although good practice was seen as asking women if they would prefer a woman officer (MoJ, 2012), this was not as straightforward as it might first seem. Concerns existed as to whether questions on WSU preferences for female officers have actually been posed (field notes, 27.09.2012). The way the question is asked is equally significant. As explained in the literature review, Kitzinger and Frith's (2001) research demonstrates how women will frequently not say 'no' outright, in case they cause offence. Instead they use well known and socially acknowledged 'refusal skills' which men can and do intentionally 'misinterpret' if it is not the answer they want. Sonia, albeit once removed, recounts tales of disturbing and abusive practice amongst some male probation officers towards women she met in prison:

> 'Yeah and there's a lot of women that struggle and a lot of women get put with men POs and they're, I've been quite lucky I've always had women, but I've always said I won't work with a male. Um and there have been girls at the hostel and in prison who have male POs and they're just like 'Don't say nothing. They're petrified of them…And he was bullying her. Yeah. "There are no other POs that will take you on." Things like that – a control thing. And she was never asked, but she asked if she could have a female and he said 'No.'

(Research interview, Sonia, 05.12.2014)

Regardless of PO intent, due to previous victimisation issues and the power imbalance, it is not surprising that some WSUs find male officers threatening and intimidating.

Groupwork is another area where women still often have requirements as part of their community sentences. Apart from mixing with predatory men, the groupwork sessions are designed for male offenders (Worrall, 2004). Yet it is known that vulnerable women differ markedly from the men who frequent probation – their learning style is 'collaborative rather than competitive' (Gelsthorpe, Sharpe and Roberts, 2007:28). Reasons for offending are not the same, seriousness of offending is generally far less, their role within the family context is usually more significant (Sharpe, 2016) and they have interconnecting problems of victimisation, substance misuse and mental/physical health (Corston, 2007). Roberts (2002) outlines the importance of 'a safe woman only environment' but favours all-women groupwork over one-to-one work 'because women work well in groups' and childcare facilities, such as a crèche, can be made easily accessible (Roberts, 2002: 116). Roberts goes on to propose that ideally the programme should be closely connected to an outside agency where life skills can be incorporated, such as a holistic women's centre.

In both XPT and ZPT women attended and brought their complex issues with them in a way unprecedented in other probation groupwork:

> 'Well in the first week one of them brought up previous childhood sexual abuse and how she was struggling with that and how she was self-harming daily. We had another lady turn up with her bags packed, homeless, her children had been taken off her into care. Another lady who's alcoholic, really struggling with withdrawal symptoms and they all just arrived, ready to do this group. And I think we had this overwhelming sense of how are we going to do this and you know emotions are so high that all are in tears at different points'.

> (Research interview, Di, 27.03.2013)

However, the groupwork arrangements for women seem ad hoc, dependent on practitioners' altruism rather than planned organisational strategies. This applied even to those court orders which had structured activity requirements (SARs) attached. At the start of the research period, specialist groups for women with personality disorders were mooted in XPT, in conjunction with psychological services, but they did not materialise. Di gives her insight into why this happened - there were not enough staff; it was not seen as a priority in terms of risk; it was not seen as a priority for TR; and it required goodwill on behalf of staff to take on what amounted to an add-on to their working day. When asked what the advantages were for her in running such a group Di stated:

> '…none really. It means I'm working till 9 every night. I do the work, nobody else to do it because of staff shortages. If I have only 2 people in the group, it isn't worth it to me. If I had 8 people it would be different, but I have to write up everybody else too and on top of my other work, I don't get any work load relief….

> (Research interview, Di, 20.02.2013)

Lesley also complained that she had had the training for this group, but there was such a lengthy time lapse that she had forgotten what she had learnt (research interview, 20.03.2013).

Even when women's groups are popular and respected within an area, they still run the risk within a male culture of being discredited and then disbanded. Successful award-winning all-women groupwork, Futures had become well established in ZPT. The underlying woman-centred philosophy for the groups are explained by Kate, the group facilitator:

> '…even if Jean and I decided that what we're going to focus on this week is a bit of victim work, we would still be led by what the women brought to the table. So, we would always do like 'a check-in'. And if something really heavy was coming up for one of the women then we'd often stick with that, so the group could be involved with that discussion and the group could offer supports or alternatives or even challenge. Jean and I saw our role very much as keeping everybody safe, emotionally safe and perhaps steering the conversation where perhaps you could include some of the stuff that *we* wanted to talk about as well'

> (Research interview, Kate, 30.08.2014)

This way of working favours a woman-centred approach, designed to give the group members a voice. However, Kate and the other Futures workers were removed in the run-up to TR reorganisation, and this type of group shut down. Groupwork in ZPT then reverted to promoting What Works style exercise-driven interventions, conforming to the dominant, risk-based male discourse. Notably, Futures groupwork was held at premises in the community, separate from the probation offices. Once the new groupwork regime

came into being, I observed that it was once again sited at the M town and T town probation offices (fieldnotes, 16.12.2013; 19.12.2013).

In a training workshop held to herald these changes, many of the attendees had no experience of working with women and did not query the change of direction (fieldnotes, 03.12.2013). The following exchanges took place, between Bea and Julie, immediately following a women's structured activity requirement (SAR) group. As the new women's group facilitators, they outline in their post-group discussions the difficulties with the new approach, and refer in the first sentence to how few staff really understand women's groupwork:

> B. I'm really sad they don't ask about women's groups. Why did they come if not going to be involved with women's groups? ...Women are like an onion. You pull off the first layer, for example benefit fraud. Then relationships, abusive behaviour. Unpick one bit and a whole load of other bits...With women it's never straightforward. Sessions go so chaotic because it's hard to say we only want to talk about relationships…. If the treatment manager queries it there is a pointer there.
>
> J. We have a catch up, but it can so easily go off on a tangent it could take up the whole session.
>
> B. I feel we could justify it. There is some merit in being flexible.
>
> J. If it doesn't fit into a structure I think that's the best thing.
>
> (Field notes, Bea and Julie, post-group session, 18.12.2013)

The task at the training workshop was to find cognitive behavioural treatment (CBT) exercises for the women's groups. Bea and Julie indicate that they have decided to try and continue as before with a Futures-type model, but to write down the exercises that they intend to use, in case the treatment manager examines what they have been doing, 'If the treatment manager queries it….' The implication throughout the discussion is that there is minimal supervision, 'you don't have anybody', largely leaving them to their own devices in planning and executing sessions. The advantage of this is freedom to carry out gender-sensitive, creative interventions, but the disadvantage is lack of organisational support. As with Kate and Jean, these facilitators turn to each other for support:

> B. I've learnt a lot working with women - I reflect on my own life. But you need to take care you don't get burnt out.
>
> J. You do it (run women's groups) most days.
>
> B. I love it though. I interviewed women every day in prison. It was the first person they'd seen in the first time since the PSR. The floodgates would open as I was the first compassionate person who was listening.
>
> (Field notes, Bea and Julie, post group session, 18.12.2013)

One area of concern is that, despite undoubted commitment, 'I love it though', Bea, is carrying the full weight of responsibility for the women's groups in ZPT. Unlike Kate, a senior practitioner and qualified probation officer, although experienced, Bea is a PSO, an unqualified officer. This therefore marks a

demotion in ranking for women's work within ZPT, as the principal roles are being held by two unqualified personnel. Bea takes pride in her position and her knowledge, but should it become too much for her, resulting in her departure through resignation or illness, gender-responsive facilities for women in the area could disappear altogether.

Holistic women's centres offer a model which tends to be better staffed than internal probation initiatives for women with more in-built worker supports. Female senior probation managers orchestrated the HWC initiatives in XPT (there were no HWCs in ZPT, although a mentoring/counselling scheme for women had been tried and then disbanded). Kris, an XPT senior manager, introduced a wider role for Empower, whereby women on community orders were seen at the HWC, away from the probation office. In order to bring this about she ring-fenced money specifically for this purpose, stating, 'We won't disinvest in something that's working' (cited by Rita, field notes, 11.03.2014).

 HWCs were better prepared to deal with women's complex victimisation issues. One of the findings from the pilot study in 2012/13 was that some POs showed reluctance to talk about probationers' childhood sexual abuse. POs had concerns that they would be opening 'a can of worms', feeling they did not have the time or skills to respond appropriately (Goldhill, 2016). Lesley explains that she is worried about Evie's childhood experiences but does not have the confidence to investigate further:

> 'I'm sitting there wondering how much do I undig this without making her feel unsafe. Because I wanted to ask more questions, but I didn't because I was scared about where it was going to go. But I wanted it to be like 'So when you were sat in that room you know 'what did you hear' but I didn't kind of go there because I was thinking like that's really quite deep.'

(Reflective interview, Lesley, 30.01.2013)

It seems from this account that Lesley is also apprehensive about her own emotional response to any disclosures of a sexual abuse nature. The importance of not shying away from delicate subjects is impressed in Allnock and Miller's (2013) research, where it was found that negative effects from abuse can be compounded through professionals' avoidance strategies. Empower had a clear strategy of encouraging women to talk about painful victimisation experiences in their lives. As seen earlier, Leila's (WSU) preference was to complete counselling sessions where she could address childhood sexual abuse. After this she felt it was unnecessary to do it again with her POs, despite having a good relationship with them, 'Yeah, it didn't need to be talked about after that really' (research interview, 26.11.2014). Her PO, Phillipa, also relied on Empower to confront the more sensitive issues:

> '…Um there's the Empower service who supervise a lot, yeah 70-80% of my caseload and if it wasn't for them I think we would all drown because they do a lot of amazing work. They do the work we used to do because they've got the time to do it. So, they do the work around yeah, kind of childhood trauma, maybe historic domestic violence or just vulnerability factors such as self-

harm, and they've got a lot of really good links, so they can signpost them to just say stuff around financial planning. Yeah, they do the job that ideally we would be doing if we did, I think, have the time.'

(Research interview, Phillipa, 26.11.2014)

In other informal discussions, POs expressed similar gratitude and relief, believing their women cases attending Empower to be in capable hands. Empower was not without flaws[31], but for hard-pressed POs the partnership represented a valuable gender-sensitive resource.

As the TR changes approached, the situation deteriorated. Many of the senior managers who championed initiatives for women retired or were given other jobs, often being replaced by younger men; and funding had to be re-negotiated. Rita became reluctant to talk about negotiations with T Company, the incoming CRC, as a 'gagging' clause had been imposed on her. This clause was common practice when privatised companies took over the contracting of probation trusts and HWCs; CRC lawyers effectively halted the promotion of service users' individualised rights in favour of a standardised, cut-price resource (APPG, 2016). It is ironic and of concern that an organisation (Empower) aiming to give some of the least powerful women a voice, themselves had the experience of being silenced. Women's voices, even those of influential women, are traditionally not given prominence. Examples of this are evident at other strata of the CJS and society in general. Corston's (2007) recommendations were side-lined, and magistrates/judges still fail to recognise women's victimisation issues in sentencing decisions (Halliday and Hurst, 2017); These prohibitive moves can be viewed as mirroring the experiences of vulnerable women who are actively silenced or made invisible through domestic physical or psychological violence (Barlow, 2015).

Strong, articulate, well-educated and feminist HWC managers' voices were suppressed, they faced an irresolvable ethical dilemma. Rita's options were either to walk away from a diminished service or continue under the restraints about to be imposed. Rita spoke of her funding predicament as never having been so bad (field notes, 26.11.2015). With the uncertainty of funding decisions being left to the last moment at the end of the financial year, and the cumulative impact of cuts, Rita, like others in her position, lost confidence that Empower would be able to survive (Women's Resource and Development Agency, 2016). With serious doubts about the ethicality of the contract, Rita nevertheless had to balance counteracting factors - a staff team who required employment security (a 3-year contract was being offered) and WSUs still in need of some sort of gendered response. Reluctantly Empower relented and went ahead with the new model. This meant making half the workforce redundant and relinquishing the satellite teams, removing gender specific resources from C town, E town and H town. The rigidity of the TR format

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[31] See Gilli's supervision of Cassie, Chapter 7

bolstered the dominant discourse of risk and punishment. Henceforward, Empower was to take only women found suitable for CBT in groupwork settings, and the system reverted to women being supervised one-to-one at the probation office with all the disadvantages of this system for women. Changes to funding arrangements meant that Empower services were cut back and several months into the new model there was still uncertainty:

> 'The bid specification was to replace the Empower case work model with Empower engagement support officers delivering women-specific support and complementing the work of responsible officers (newly named offender managers who would be delivering core casework). The detail of how this will look is still being worked out'.

<div align="right">(Gilli, 'one year after' email, 15.12.2015)</div>

Very little happened in relation to the NPS, because there were few high-risk women in XPT (field notes, 27.02.2017). This meant that Empower lost funding from the public sector, 'Some is being done for free because the conversation hasn't been had yet' (Rita, field notes, 26.11.2015). It was largely due to individual workers' senses of vocation and generosity, that a pared down, woman-focused resource could continue to be available at no cost to the organisation.

A diversionary model was set up in the police cells as a preventive strategy to keep women out of court, but only 19% of the women attended. Rita then designated a woman worker to go to the police cells (over and above her full-time contracted post, so once again at no cost to the CJS). The numbers then rose to a 67% take-up, at which point Empower received funding for the scheme. Rita's feeling was that for the women it was crucial to be greeted by a person external to statutory bodies such as the CJS or mental health organisation– they were meeting 'just a woman'. She emphasised the importance of simply being 'nice' to someone (field notes, 26.11.2015). Gilli was assigned to this role and worked in the police custody offices for a year. However, funding for this scheme was then withdrawn and Gilli, too, lost her job (email, 06.12.2017).

5.6 Conclusion

Gender issues were picked out as being of central significance and the data gives an impression of where, when and by whom gender-responsive approaches were taken in probation supervision. In both XPT and ZPT, it was evident that officers who felt particularly strongly about women's issues, personally and politically as feminists, tended to be the carriers of the prevailing knowledge. At the start of this research study in 2011, concerted efforts were being made to institute gender-responsive initiatives, responding to the Corston Report and the good practice guidance. In XPT a number of strategies were orchestrated by female senior managers and, through this backing, improvements were in evidence. More options were available for probation officers to draw on, and for the women themselves.

However, from this broad net ethnographic study it is clear that, even at this point in time, Corston's proposals and the guidance documents were only partially known, initiatives were not always fully operationalised and personal and structural obstacles to implementation existed at every level. This chapter gives the context for understanding what underpins supervision with women service users. It provides an opening and grounding for more detailed descriptions of the interaction in the next two chapters. In chapters 6 and 7, the focus is turned towards individual cases and situations, and how practitioners manage the interface between victimisation/trauma and offending.

Chapter 6: Gendered violence, victimisation and trauma: case studies of practitioner/service user perspectives.

> 'I guess it depends on the presenting need but normally when you have a woman offender you can tick the box on domestic violence, some form of abuse, maybe sexual or emotional/psychological abuse and some form of substance misuse to varying degrees. They're the three presenting things that come almost as a package'

> (Moira, probation officer, research interview, 08.12.2014)

6.1 Introduction

The focus in this chapter is on victimisation and trauma, drawing on four case studies selected from the larger pool of interviews and recorded observations. It considers the way probation workers manage women with victimisation and drug-misuse issues, individually and in partnership with other agencies. Narrating on these cases in detail makes the women's experiences on both sides more vivid, highlighting what practitioners are listening and responding to on a day-to-day basis, what service users are living with, and how their situation impacts their family life and well-being in general.

6.2 Data and participants

This chapter draws specifically on the data deriving from semi-structured research interviews and probation supervision sessions with practitioners and women service users. The semi-structured interviews involved 11 probation officers, 2 probation service officers, 2 women centre workers and 13 women service users (see 4.5.1 and Appendix C). Four case studies have been selected for this chapter. Although only one formal semi-structured interview took place with participants, other occasions occurred naturally when we talked before and after supervision sessions. For example, I spoke with Di, Moira, Vicki and Lesley (POs) whilst travelling by car to and from the service users' homes and these conversations were recorded through field notes after the event.

 Sonia served a lengthy prison sentence and period on licence for child sexual offences. Laura stabbed her husband in their family home and received a suspended sentence supervision order (SSSO). Two cases, Anne and Evie, bear certain situational similarities,[32] so they are used in conjunction and compared. The assaults by these two women service users on their respective daughters are explored to see how they are dealt with by probation and children's services.

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[32] For further information, see Introducing the Participants – Appendix B

These examples cannot be viewed as necessarily representative of all women with probation involvement. The women have diverse characteristics (offending type, age, class, background and living situations) but all share, albeit very different, victimisation experiences which affect their current lives in a number of interrelated ways – emotionally, physically, socially, politically and economically – and which have contributed to the women coming within the remit of the criminal justice system. It is also noteworthy that these four women were the primary carers for their children, and the extent to which the violence in their own lives impacted on their dependants' lives is also an area for investigation. As there was only one interview with the women service users, information about their victimisation inevitably came in large part from research interviews with the POs. The focus with the women tends to be on how the practitioner understood and reacted to their victimisation stories and current difficulties.

6.3 Gendered violence and its impact

Since the millennium there has been a growing body of feminist literature within criminal justice concerned with gendered violence. Worrall (2002b: 148) argues for social justice to be actively targeted towards women as a counterbalance to the 'disproportionate...violence and abuse, disproportionate responsibility for parenting and disproportionately limited access to employment'. Such social and psychological problems often occur where 'community' is fragmented and unsafe for women (Malloch, McIvor and Burgess, 2014). Statistics from the Prison Reform Trust (PRT) (2016) show that women in the CJS are particularly vulnerable to structural inequalities, in terms of their backgrounds of having been looked after children, and attachment issues due to separation from the significant adults in their lives. The reasons for the separation and being removed from the family home are frequently linked to extreme circumstances of abuse, neglect and/or observing violence in the home (Levenson, Willis and Prescott, 2015; Vaswani, 2018). Walklate (2004: 118) contends that criminal behaviours are gendered, which remains a challenging concept within our society. It places in doubt commonly accepted, traditional assumptions within 'policing, housing, the law' (Walklate, (2004: 118) as well as political discourses, which frequently portray the home as being a place of stability and security for all family members. By way of contrast, Walklate (2004) argues that specific violent acts such as rape, domestic abuse and child sexual/physical abuse make home a very unsafe place for many individuals. She goes on to suggest that, to make matters worse, instead of focusing on the male perpetrator, it is women and children whose actions have traditionally been scrutinised, blamed and punished, through removal from the home. For example, female domestic abuse victims are routinely criticised for not leaving their accommodation, not protecting their children, and it is questioned whether the situation is really 'so bad' as they make out, because they stay (Walklate, 2004: 130). Moreover, in victim surveys of the general population about violent offending, it is men who are perceived to be at greater risk than women. As a consequence of the hidden nature of domestic

sexual and physical attacks, the violence often goes unrecorded (Green, 2007). These types of violence are socially stigmatised, so victims do not disclose them in public surveys. Skewed findings result because victimisation experiences go unmentioned, and therefore are left out of official records (Walby, Towers and Francis, 2016).

Covington's (2008) work expands on the concept of victimisation to consider its effects, defining them as trauma. The implications of this approach are that substance misuse and mental health problems can then be explained as by-products of abuse - self-medication or ways of coping with past or present traumatic events (Bloom and Covington, 2008). Covington (2008: 379) suggests that trauma can be thought of as:

> '...not limited to suffering violence; it includes witnessing violence as well as stigmatization because of gender, race, poverty, incarceration or sexual orientation…. a response to violence or some other overwhelmingly negative experience (e.g. abuse). Trauma is both an event and a particular response to an event. The response is one of overwhelming fear, helplessness or horror.'

She also distinguishes between two kinds of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), simple and complex. The latter involves numerous instances of violence (for example ongoing sexual abuse or violence in the home as a child or adult) whilst simple PTSD arises from a single event. Covington's research confirms that complex PTSD is frequently the experience of women in the CJS and that multiple incidents result in a significantly worse life prognosis, especially if combined with substance misuse. This is backed up by the Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) study guidelines (Felitti et al, 1998), which are increasingly being used to investigate negative repercussions of early life experiences, visible in recent studies of sexually offending women and women committing other violent offences (Levenson et al., 2015; Pflugradt, Allen and Zintsmaster, 2018). Poor mental and physical health, subsequent hospitalisation, inability to engage with community services, children removed by the authorities and homelessness are shown, in these studies, to be the expected outcomes.

Nugent and Loucks (2011: 19) stress the need to prioritise the forward-looking, positivity of desistance approaches over the backward looking and negative emphasis within risk discourses. They argue that as women's offences are generally less serious and lower risk it does not make sense to have the focus on their risk but rather on the establishment of strengths, encouraging greater resilience through empowerment. However, Willis and Levenson's (2016: 364) study of high risk, female sex offenders also advocates strength-based practices for improved 'interpersonal competence', treatment effects 'and are more consistent with trauma-informed and relational models than confrontational, deficit-focused approaches'. Gomm's (2016: 232 and 233) research on desistance for women similarly argues for 'a non-judgemental and nonauthoritarian stance' to focus on resilience when working with women who have experienced extreme victimisation, taking into account 'different cultures and contexts'.

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6.4 Managing trauma - Sonia (WSU)/Moira (PO)

The first case study involves Sonia and illustrates the complexity inherent in the officer/service user relationship around trauma and victimisation. It shows how trauma is ever present in Sonia's life and how Moira is going about bringing it to the surface to help Sonia cope with it and reduce her risk. Moira is not only managing Sonia's issues but also important ones of her own. With Sonia the discussion starts with endings, which is a locus where the nature of the relationship with the probation officer comes to the fore.

6.4.1 Closure

As discussed in the previous chapter, planned endings are vital for successful completions in secure professional relationships. Psychotherapeutic literature supports this focus on preparation for the final stage of the therapeutic alliance (Etherington and Bridges, 2011), where endings are a time for review and transformation. This is a subtle process requiring considerable skill in encouraging moves towards community provision and dependent on what is available locally. Probation guidance advocates that POs should be preparing women for closure and separation from the first interview and giving reminders throughout the supervision time-span. Yet even within well-developed relationships, this data shows that endings are not straightforward.

In June 2014 Sonia is still visited by Moira, the supervisor of her licence, which is over a year after the expiry of her licence (May 2013). Sonia's case demonstrates extreme victimisation as a child, being 'sold' for sex by her parents, only to be 'rescued' in her teens by an older man, who became her husband, and continued the sexual abuse and exploitation himself. Apart from the sexual and physical violence perpetrated against Sonia and latterly their children, which Moira describes as 'horrific', Sonia also participated, with her husband, in facilitating sexual abuse against other children. Moira has concerns that Sonia is still vulnerable to further coercion leading to offences against others, and here explains her reasoning:

> 'And I got to the position where I committed to this outreach that I thought was very important for her because she just wasn't ready, having built that professional trust up with her, she just wasn't ready then to be let go at the end of her licence. Because that's where our professional responsibilities end; we invest in these people and you become so much a part of their lives, particularly in the circumstances like Sonia. You know so much about them that to just walk away I find that challenging …I had to balance how it would be received from a manager's point of view…Within the role that I'm in, there's a professional, moral obligation and an ethical consideration as well so all those things came into play and the fact that at the point of the end of licence we'd just got to a critical part of her being able to share some of the awful things that she has had…Is it just a process of 'Cheerio, your licence has ended ' and it isn't like that and because you've built a relationship with this person so…yeah, it's a bit tough.'

> (Research interview, Moira, 12.12.2014).

Due to Sonia's needs and Moira's concerns about her risks to herself and others, Moira has arranged post-licence contact, on a voluntary basis, whenever it can be fitted into Moira's work schedule. Moira talks about how Sonia only started to talk about her experiences of physical, emotional and sexual abuse at the end of the licence. She argues not only a bond was created but a 'moral obligation,' which for her outweighed management objections.

6.4.2 Post-custodial issues

The positive connections that develop between PO and service user usually take time to become established and may be influenced by previous good or bad experiences with prison and probation officers. As Corston (2007) has pointed out, the effects of prison are generally long-lasting in terms of ongoing mental health problems, damage to familial relationships, stigma and isolation. In the interview, Sonia talked about the impact of the custodial setting:

> 'People who haven't been in prison, they won't understand. It's a different world; the air is different in there. You ask anybody who's been in prison, they come out, first thing you notice, the air *is different.* You walk out the prison gates and the air is not so thick anymore.'

> (Research interview, 05.12.2014)

Despite having been at risk when her offending came to light in the prison, Sonia still has fond memories of prison as a safe place with structure, constructive work and company:

> 'You do the laundry, you serve the meals, the kitchen, you do all the cleaning, ironing, making sure everything's tidy…., they will keep you safe…and I was a suicide risk where you get escorted around by an officer, so you don't go to no places on your own…. I knew where I was. My ex couldn't get to me. That was the biggest thing… I've been in prison in my head all my life and then to be given this freedom. I don't know, I've never had it and I don't know what to do. I used to be told what to do, what, where and when. But now I have to make decisions'.

> (Research interview, Sonia, 05.12.2014)

By contrasting the security inside to her life in the community, Sonia illustrates why Moira, who helps with setting boundaries and objectives, is so significant for her ability to function in the community. On her own admission, all that she knows is about being controlled through her past abusive experiences. Even several years after leaving prison, this is hard to turn around:

> 'I want to get my head sorted (2.0) but I need help in doing it and that's why I've spoken to Moira today. You know, she knows how I've been feeling. I've been telling her. Erm but there's no resources out there from my mental health team to help me, so that's why I ask Moira for help. See what she can do. I don't know how to deal with it. Cos I've got my childhood abuse and my adult abuse and they're now coming into one (2.0). And I've never had that before. I don't know what's happening. It's horrible…. Because I had them all tucked away in boxes and it's like they've all exploded'

> (Research interview, Sonia, 05.12.2014)

It is impossible to gauge precisely how trust is created in these intense situations. However, Sonia gives some clear pointers as to what has helped her. When asked about why she has been able to trust in Moira to such an extent, a number of reasons emerge, both practical and emotional:

> 'Moira's the only one who seems to be doing anything… Er she'll speak to Kay, my CPN (4.0); she does talk to me. So…she is a good PO. And I think it's helped she's been there herself, so she knows what she's talking about. Cos, I asked her….Er. (7.0) It was not long after I met her at the police station. I said to her (said quite aggressively) 'How do you know this? How do you know how I feel?' and she said, 'I've been there.' So…. I think that's why I was able to open up to her…So, no more details. But she's been there, so yeah'.

The importance of having an officer who is reliable and contactable stands out. Moira follows up on the issues and liaises with other agencies, which it might be assumed is the core of probation work. However, a key point which Sonia picks out is that of self-disclosure from Moira, which Trotter (1999: 120) describes as 'a manifestation of worker genuineness'. Sonia is keen to stress that no inappropriate details have been given out by Moira, but she has said enough to convince Sonia that she has personal experience, and therefore a real understanding of her depressive feelings.

6.4.3 Personal issues impacting on the professional world

The case is complicated further due to Moira's own circumstances which perhaps partially explain why Moira has taken this unusual step of extending contact. Six months prior to this study, Moira is bereaved through the suspected suicide of her sister. Although Moira speaks relatively little about her loss, she does express that this unexpected death has 'knocked her for six' (field notes, 08.05.2014). Additional information is given over the next few months, often during the 20-minute car journeys to see Sonia in EA town:

> 'Today Moira has a recall, the case review at HMP B, for a woman murderer, Sonia, plus her own stuff (her sister's death which may have been suicide). I asked about her own bereavement and Moira said her sister used to self-harm and when somebody like that came to the office Moira said she had to go out of meetings as it was too painful.'

> (Field notes, 28.08.2014)

Not only is Moira suffering from recent trauma herself, she continues supervising a large caseload of high-risk, difficult individuals. On an everyday basis, like other POs, she is listening to and dealing with harrowing accounts and behaviour. Mixed feelings are emerging at this point, from Moira, about her choice to continue visiting Sonia after the licence officially ended, and about whether she could, and perhaps should, have walked away:

> 'I've been so overwhelmed that I'm caught up in this situation now that I don't know how to get myself out ….And for me with her I think I got lost a bit with the boundaries at one stage because I took on a responsibility because I (shuts her eyes) just over a year ago she was making very very real attempts on her life and there was an element of me I think that we've come this far you know I can't let go of that yet because had I heard that she was successful and often what would have happened was that she'd been texting my mobile number and say 'I'm so desperate'. She'd

know the numbers to call but she would text *my* mobile…I don't think I could have, I don't know how I would have felt had, if she had been successful'.

These dilemmas are possibly related to the parallels which can be drawn between Moira's sister's ongoing distress/depression, her own depressions, past or present, and those experienced by Sonia. They may also represent a conscious or unconscious tactic, on Sonia's part, to stay in contact with Moira. Moira shows considerable gender awareness in acknowledging the life-long abuse that Sonia has suffered, but also recognises the impact it has on her. Contemplating Sonia's suicidal threats indicates Moira is already anticipating feelings of fear, guilt and responsibility should Sonia carry out her objective. This highlights the day-to-day stress that probation officers are under, which may be exacerbated by what is happening in their personal lives.

6.4.4 Support structures

It was of interest to learn what support Moira was receiving for dealing with the competing pressures, and particularly the 'emotional rollercoaster' of Sonia's case. Despite talking to colleagues, what Moira was wishing for was 'the opportunity to say I need a bit of guidance or help':

'I would have liked to have had, I guess through a supervision capacity with somebody, whether it was my line manager, or not, I don't know but I would like there to be an acknowledgement I guess that sometimes that it isn't possible just to cut off at the end of everything. It isn't about… these are individuals, people we're talking about, human beings and um I know that there's this whole ethos, particularly everybody's got really high caseloads and we're all really just firefighting; that's such a good way of analysing what we do. We do deal with real people with real issues and real emotions and they're going to have a real impact on us. I would have liked the opportunity to be wholly open with the amount of involvement I've had with Sonia and talk it through with somebody that can actually help me balance out that role…. I have to do it in my own time and make the time back'.

What Moira seems to have found lacking was a sounding post to discuss ways for her to separate, not just from Sonia, but other service users with whom she has formed a strong bond. The pointlessness of merely 'firefighting', glossing over the 'real issues and real emotions' - her own and those of service users - become apparent. There is also a sense of hurt and grievance that not only has she been blocked from speaking openly about her interactions with Sonia post-licence, but that the case is not even recognised as part of her workload.

6.4.5 Balancing a focus on trauma with organisational priorities of risk

How the offending fits within this construct of relationship building is a delicate area, which again needs to be handled with sensitivity and care once trust has been established. This aspect raises powerful feelings

for both individuals in the pairing. Probation officers run the risk of focusing on the victimisation, leaving aside the woman's offending. It can become difficult to resurrect discussions about their offending behaviour for fear of destroying a positive officer/service user relationship. Moira explains how she dealt with the tensions both for Sonia and herself:

> 'I struggle to understand that someone who is presenting, had been through the abuse she'd been through and clearly had such strong feelings for her children could then support what was going on with the victims… I had to end the sessions and the first time that happened I said 'I don't think we're going to make any progress today Sonia…. And I wasn't honest with her about that. And I went away and thought I'm just not going to be able to go back there because I can't give her what she needs whilst I've got such strong feelings when she adopts this stance. So, when I went back I explained why I'd closed the session down and why it was difficult for me …. I said 'you have to help me understand that Sonia because I'm struggling with that and when you place yourself in the victim mode when we're talking about the victims I find that very difficult. You are without doubt a victim, that's a conversation that we've had. I get that. You don't have to seek my approval for that; it's evident in everything you do…. but you played a role in a horrific crime and when we had that conversation it was quite, she obviously got very upset and…and …I felt better for having shared that but it happened again and I said I'm going to close the session down Sonia and she said 'I know why you're doing that.'

> (Research interview, Moira, 12.12.2014)

The vivid, reflexive account above describes how Moira wrestles with her own mixed feelings – empathy for the terrible abuse that Sonia has experienced, alongside anger with Sonia for her part in the abuse and lack of empathy with her victims. What Moira does first is to close the session down without an explanation. She later explains her reasons and engages Sonia in a collaborative attempt, for them both to gain increased understanding of what has happened. The next time that Sonia identifies herself as the main victim, and Moira again closes the session down, Sonia shows more awareness of what she has done and her pattern of behaviour, 'I know why you're doing that'. Moira is therefore managing Sonia's past offending, and current unacceptable attitude towards it, through closing the session as an effective therapeutic intervention.

Within the professional supervisory relationship, developing victim empathy and dealing with offending behaviour have traditionally been viewed as the probation officer's primary tasks. However, these principles are those which have evolved for supervision of male offenders. As seen above, research on women prioritises women service users' own victimisation experiences (Rumgay, 2010; Corston, 2007; Covington, 2015). It is felt that until these issues are confronted, the women will be unable to face the harm that they have done to others (Williams and Goodman, 2007: 530). Moreover, other general studies have shown that victim work is not possible until an individual is ready. Burrows (2013: 382) argues against accepting victim empathy as a 'probation fundamental', stating that 'it may be necessary to further assess and address the root problem…teaching perspective-taking skills' (Burrows, 2013: 391). She concludes that without these skills any victim awareness work 'could be demotivating and potentially

somewhat futile.' Mann and Barnett (2013) similarly warn that, from their research with sex offenders, that interventions focusing on victim empathy may risk 'more danger than benefit'.

Clearly Moira invested her own time and emotional energy in working through trauma issues with Sonia. However, Sonia's case is high risk and there needs to be an emphasis on risk and reminders, as seen above, that there are victims harmed by the offending. Boundaries are clarified by Moira reminding Sonia, where appropriate, of her co-offending role. During one meeting, following Sonia's decision to visit Dave when he is dying in prison, Moira asks Sonia to re-live the domestic abuse she experienced whilst living with Dave. Although Moira realises this will cause distress, it is an attempt to dissuade Sonia from going ahead with the visit requested by Dave:

> '…. there is a reason why I'm getting you to return to it…. Keep that image in your mind because you've worked really hard to escape that and it's been a constant struggle for you…… Erm one of the concerns that we had was this this potential for post-traumatic stress as a consequence of the abuse that you had and some of the behaviours that were presenting for you were awful flashbacks.'

<div align="right">(Supervision session, Moira and Sonia, 13.06.2014)</div>

Moira is asking Sonia to remember the trauma inflicted by her husband, how it impacted on her at the time and still affects her. She is also recalling with Sonia her 'constant struggle' and although details of this struggle are not named, from previous discussions 'post-traumatic stress' manifestations would be referring to Sonia's suicidal ideation, self-neglect, as well as the justifications she makes in terms of coercion by Dave for participating in the offending. Moira's approach can be tied in with Covington's (2008: 382) second stage of 'remembrance and mourning.' The stages in practice overlap because, at the same time, Moira is preparing Sonia with constructive suggestions as to how she can keep herself safe during the prison visit and afterwards, emotionally and physically, if she decides to go ahead. So, issues are explored, such as preventing Dave from touching her during their meeting, and what support Sonia can put in place on the days after the visit including phone numbers of relevant helplines.

There is no 'quick fix' for Sonia, so damaged is she by past multiple abuse that she is likely to need ongoing support at various times throughout her life. Moira explains that Sonia suffers a set-back after Dave dies:

> 'It was a very difficult time for her which raised all sorts of emotions and given that she had defined herself and her mental issues with the ever present fear that he would one day arrive at her doorstep, these fears have now changed to one of guilt and shame that she alone is left to carry the burden of the conviction…. she remains someone who would benefit from outreach from people she trusts, but that service is not possible to extend at the moment….

<div align="right">(One year on email, 08.12.2015)</div>

Due to the increased post-TR caseload, outreach work becomes untenable, but Moira is left feeling there would still be benefits for Sonia. Moira explains the broader context of her practice and the work environment following the TR reorganisation.

> '…the scale and the pace of the changes, which from a practitioner's point of view were ill thought through and ill-conceived, have had a significantly detrimental impact on the morale of the officers at the front line….The challenge is that most people who come into this role do so through a sense of vocation, and that's true of me, so the penalty is that you continue to try to give the service, to go the extra mile to seek out that piece of research that might support that risk assessment or decision or, of course, explore services which might lend some support to the offenders we are dealing with. That extra work is often competing with the day to day demands of the job, so you end up working longer and longer hours and that has - or will have - negative consequences'.

(One year on email, 08.12.2015)

. As can be seen from this case study, strong emotions for probation officers may be present when dealing with cases of extreme victimisation, and this is especially complex in cases where sexual offending is present. They are made even more intense where children are the victims, and where the perpetrator has been a victim as a child, as in Sonia's case. In Knight's (2014: 86) study of working with sex offenders, she talks of the basic negative emotions being 'distress', 'anger', 'fear' and 'disgust'. She advises that these types of feelings can be described linguistically in a myriad of ways but stresses the importance of teasing out what meaning is being given to the words by the service user. This is to gain understanding of the offending behaviour, and the officers' and service users' reaction to it. The interaction between Moira and Sonia shows that this is not easy, with both parties experiencing uncomfortable emotions, difficult to express either to themselves or to the other. An additional emotion which Knight identifies for probation officers comes from 'frustration', and this too is evident in this case example. It relates not only to the probation officer's feelings towards service user intransigence and defensiveness but also towards organisational 'managerialism and target-driven culture' (Knight, 2014: 87). This is reflected in Moira's email above, where she warns that the TR reorganisation has worsened the situation and there will be further repercussions.

6.5 Supervising female domestic violence - Laura (WSU)/Fi (PSO) and Jennifer (PO)

Female perpetrators of domestic abuse present some similar problems to those of female sex offenders in terms of victimisation. However, contrasting with sexual abuse offenders, the emotional tensions are perhaps less contentious, as more empathy can be extended towards them, particularly if the victim is a previously abusive male partner. There is a body of research which argues that violence perpetrated by women is viewed as less serious than that of men (Henning, Jones and Holdford, 2005; Simmons, Lehmann & Collier-Tenison, 2008; Linklaters, 2016). Underpinning these attitudes is the belief that many, if not most, acts of domestic violence by women constitute self-defence or reactions to multiple instances

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of abuse, a build-up of long-term violence and aggression directed at the woman by the male victim (Lloyd, 1995). Lloyd (1995: 195) states that for women in an extreme domestic abuse situation, a violent 'response is entirely reasonable, given what the woman has gone through' but it does not fit with 'legal categories for self-defence'. Simmons, Lehmann and Collier-Tenison (2008) also reach this conclusion, comparing the victimisation experiences of those women in a refuge and those on a domestic violence perpetrator programme and finding significant similarities.

Laura's case has been chosen because it involves a very serious alcohol-fuelled stabbing perpetrated against her husband which takes place in front of their children. It demonstrates overriding empathy towards Laura as the perpetrator, taking into consideration her victimisation experiences. It also raises issues such as the importance of possessing social capital outside the criminal justice system, and recognition of the individual's own strengths in changing destructive lifestyle patterns.

6.5.1 Facilitating the sentence

The first step for a practitioner is to develop service user engagement, because without it little in-depth work can be achieved. Features of pro-social modelling (PSM), defined by Cherry (2005: 3) as 'a genuine concern for the person and, persistence and optimism about their capacity to change, clear explanations about values, roles and expectations and negotiating ways forward', contribute to engagement. With women's narratives frequently bringing to the fore grave circumstances in their lives, probation workers must confront deeply distressing stories over lengthy periods of time, as the therapeutic alliance evolves. In Laura's case she is shown empathy, reassuring her from the start that probation is there predominantly to offer help.

Covington (2008) stresses how important it is for women to be held emotionally whilst the treatment process is progressing. This is achieved through trust being created within the practitioner/service user alliance. For attachment reasons, consistency with one practitioner is seen as desirable for engagement (Plechowicz, 2009). However, for several reasons, this is not always possible. For example, when the new Transforming Rehabilitation set-up is put into practice, Laura is considered too high risk to be allocated to the Community Rehabilitation Company (CRC) order and is categorised as a National Probation Service (NPS) case. Her pre-sentence report is written by Jennifer, a PO, then she is supervised by Fi, a PSO, and finally returns to Jennifer, and the NPS, when the organisation divides. Despite experiencing these transfers towards the end of the Order, when asked to describe her time on probation, Laura is full of praise for both her supervisors:

> 'Positive, reassuring, erm helpful. I've found that both Fi and Jennifer have been completely understanding, unbiased. Erm you know when I've cried they've said take time…. Erm and yeah so that's what I found. … I did have a really good relationship with Fi. I loved Fi, she was fantastic. Jennifer, I'm glad. Apparently, Jennifer and Fi had spoken. You know she would prefer Jennifer to take me on apparently. So, the transition from one to another wasn't, I trusted Jennifer…'

(Research interview, Laura, 03.09.2014)

Laura's experience is one of continuity because she is given a consistent message and the positive chain starts with the judge's comments and attitude towards her. So, she gives an account of being unfazed by the changes and relating well to both officers. Plechowicz's study (2009) found that continuity is valuable, but if changes do have to be made, then handovers need to be handled properly, being sensitive to the person's needs to reinforce that an agency 'secure base' is present. From Laura's account, time is taken to explain everybody's roles clearly and she feels that Fi and Jennifer are speaking to each other, with both having an understanding of her position. Fi describes how the transfer is carried out –

> '…it was a 3-way between Laura and Jennifer and myself…. So, um I'd explained to Laura last session and the session before the reasons why she wouldn't be with me. So, she understood that, and she said it's, it's just another branch to her tree, another move forward seeing somebody different. So, she wasn't particularly you know upset, and today Jennifer and I met her and did a normal supervision. Jennifer asked her some questions so that she sort of knew what was going on.'

(Research, interview, Fi, 15.05.2014)

Laura speaks warmly of both officers, demonstrating how, with their help, she has understood her Order and is able to move on emotionally:

> (Talking about completing her PSR with Jennifer, PO) '…she sat and listened intently, took down everything that I said without any discrimination, no judgement or anything. So I felt secure…'

> … I think their role was to keep me on the straight and narrow, to make sure I completed what the Judge given me but also to listen to me, to listen to how I was feeling and obviously they're trained to see whether I'm going to re-offend or whatever. I just thought I could be myself with them…. To me it's been very very positive in my road to recovery I think, totally.

(Research interview, Laura, 03.09.2014)

The emphasis here by Laura is on not feeling criticised, and despite being aware of the seriousness of her offence and changes in officer, Laura feels she has been understood, and helped to understand herself better, by all concerned.

6.5.2 The significance of social capital and social bonds

Mills and Codd (2008) emphasise the importance of non-criminal social capital in promoting desistance. Laura has the advantage of coming from a stable background, 'I was so lucky because I had my parents, who I couldn't have done any of this without'. Apart from providing stability during her childhood, when this offence occurs she lives with them initially, and then they downsize on their own property to enable Laura

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to buy her own flat, as well as offering emotional support and practical help with the grandchildren. From the probation worker's point of view this removes some of the basic stresses. It may also mean that issues around change of officer do not evoke anxiety in the same way as for Sonia.

Another feature of this family were the strains of having two teenage sons with disabilities (Autistic Spectrum Disorders). Following attendance at an away day for women service users, Laura identified a commonality between herself and others, 'But it was interesting, also for Rachel (looks towards the video), there were four women in there who had special needs children. I don't know their crimes'. Myers, Mackintosh and Goin-Kochel (2009) report that raising children on the autistic spectrum represents additional stress for families. Contact a Family's (2011) report highlights the isolation due to stigma and lack of time and money, especially when one parent has to be a full-time carer, as was the case with Laura. Mental health concerns and difficulties in both marital and family relationships, where children have disabilities, are highlighted in a recent Relate/Mencap report (2017). Once removed physically from the immediate domestic situation, the children become a powerful motivating force for Laura's desistance. She is shocked when her younger son tells her, sometime after the event, that he had witnessed the offence:

> 'Last week, he, and this week he said when was I coming home, and I said no I'm not and he said but you're better and then out of the blue he said, me remember and I said what d'you remember? When he said no no. When I said no, talk to me, and I said, 'that I hurt Daddy' and he said 'yeah' and I said, 'were you?' because obviously I don't know if he was actually in the room. I said, 'did you see me' and he went (mimes thrusting with a knife). And I said, 'you do understand that mummy wasn't well and had had too much wine, mummy wasn't well at all', and he said 'no, Daddy not nice and Grandma shouting at you'…And I said, 'but you can see that mummy is better now can't you'? And he said 'are you happy? 'Heartbroken. heartbroken that erm he was there that he could've been in the room'.

(Supervision session, Fi and Laura, 03.04.2014)

Separation from her children is understandably difficult for Laura. As well as being apart, there is the unspoken reason why she is no longer living in the family home, and whether she should raise the subject with her son. Laura relates here that he pre-empts the discussion, by disclosing that he witnessed his mother stabbing his father. It is clearly important for Laura that she shares this information with Fi. She is letting her know, and perhaps wanting Fi to confirm, that she has dealt with the situation in a responsible way. She has accepted the blame, 'I hurt Daddy', but also excuses herself to him by saying 'mummy wasn't well and had had too much wine'. There seems to be some relief and/or satisfaction in hearing her son free her from total blame, 'Daddy not nice and Grandma shouting at you' which she also wants Fi to hear.

6.5.3 The offender as victim

As noted above there are pressures on POs to address victim issues and offending behaviour with the perpetrator of an offence. Laura stopped drinking as soon as the offence occurred. Although she talks openly about the temptations of returning to alcohol, the realisation of what she has done to her husband, the impact on her parents (her father had a stroke in court) and her children are powerful social bonds inhibiting further offending. Fi is aware that she does not need to stress these factors with Laura as she has already taken them on board herself and is taking all the right steps to seek help and participate fully in supervision. Laura's position, as a mother of children with ASCs, as well as being considered a DV victim, may also have influenced probation workers' attitudes towards her in a positive way, making them more sympathetic. Jennifer explained Laura's circumstances as a carer for her sons in the family home (fieldnotes, 12.06.2014), and later, talking about the way that Laura was treated by her husband during this period, Jennifer expresses exasperation:

> I think how is it this woman has put up with all this stuff for all these years? How has she
> tolerated it without saying you know 'I've had it with you. I'm finished…. you can quite often see in
> a woman that you work with, that they've got all these really good qualities and they've got all
> these things that they could be fulfilling in their lives and they're just not doing it or they're just not
> seeing it in themselves…. I said to Laura today, she was saying something about her children
> and she was like worrying about Dan (older son), who was in hospital, that's what it was on her
> self-assessment questionnaire she'd written something about her children, and she said I've put
> my children but they're not children are they, they're adults really. I said you're their Mum, they're
> always going to be your children'.

> (Research interview, Jennifer, 03.09.2014)

In this extract Jennifer is talking about the isolation that Laura faced in her marriage and the difficulty she has in understanding how, with all her qualities, Laura became so trapped. It is also clear that discussions about her sons are part of the supervision process, and Laura is encouraged to 'mother' the boys, even when not living with them. Baldwin (2015) found in her research that POs do not routinely ask about loss and separation from children and argues how necessary it is to prioritise these discussions, as Jennifer does here.

Predominantly, it is Laura's victimisation which features strongly in supervision sessions. She becomes able to discuss in depth with Fi the difficulties in her marriage and see her offence and her remorse in a different light:

> 'I am still very ashamed…and it really does upset me what I did because that's not me clearly
> and erm they turned it around and said it isn't all your fault. And I said he (her husband) didn't
> mean to and he probably, he didn't mean to make me feel like that. But did he? And there was a
> sort of balance and they managed to turn my whole way of thinking – not, yes, he deserved it but
> actually it was a build-up over years and years that affected me, and I took to the bottle because
> there was no-one to help me'.

> (Research interview, Laura, 15.05.2014)

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This period of time, when there was no help, contrasts with the assistance Laura receives from the start of her suspended sentence supervision order:

'I think paramountly they have to make sure that I'm behaving myself which I'm now over-behaving myself I don't do anything wrong…. I thought, like I said that POs were just there to rap you on the knuckles for being a bad person, sign the book and off you go till the next time. I didn't know that they spoke to you, I didn't know that they become almost, I know you shouldn't use that word emotionally attached because I could talk about my sons and they'd say oh yeah, Laura...so you build up a friendship. So, I think their role was to keep me on the straight and narrow, to make sure I completed what the Judge given me but also to listen to me, to listen to how I was feeling and obviously they're trained to see whether I'm going to re-offend or whatever. They have to report back. I just thought I could be myself with them.'

Laura is spontaneously adamant that it was only possible to go through this emotional and revealing process with women officers:

'…if I'd had a male PO. … I don't think I would have been as open or as reassured … maybe I would have backed off because of the experiences I went through I probably would have looked at a male PO…I would have been quite intimidated.'

When comparing Fi's narrative about her supervision goals with Laura's narrative, it can be seen that they are closely aligned. Inherent in the account are Fi's views as a feminist adhering to the discourse of power and control. Day, O'Leary, Chung and Justo (2009: 96) explain that one of the issues with domestic abuse is where 'ownership and responsibility' lie. Here Fi justifies the way she is working with Laura, explaining that she is mindful of public protection issues, although viewing them as secondary in this instance:

'…it's been mainly focused around her issues as a victim. Um obviously she's here for the fact that she's committed an offence so although we've spoken about that we haven't, normally you'd have done victim empathy work, but I haven't really done that. I've focussed on, more on Laura as a victim…. – it was a very particular set of circumstances and the reasons as to why that offence was committed… the work you do is focusing on her experience as a victim of domestic abuse over a long period of time. So, in a way it is about giving skills, getting her to look at things, look at what she's been through, look at behaviours… if she was to start a new relationship she might be able to recognise better any signs of domestic abuse… So, it's still victim protection if you like but through a different route…. I struggle a little bit because my own point of view when I see these women who have been in these positions it's like he *did* deserve it didn't he! Of course, I can't actually say that!'

(Research interview, Laura, 03.09.2014)

Even though the view has not been stated outright to Laura, 'Of course I can't actually say that', when looking back at Laura's learning from Fi, the argument that Laura is as much a victim as her husband is undoubtedly one of the messages received. As Fi notes, Laura differs markedly in her behaviour to most male perpetrators. This violent act seems to be a one-off occurrence as there is no pattern of previous attacks. Laura talks respectfully of her husband, there is no minimisation and she expresses complete remorse. In terms of blaming her husband's behaviour, accounts of the violence against her have to be teased out:

'I just said "You know Laura…we've talked a lot about the abuse that you've suffered and that you kind of mentioned that he wasn't very nice in bed, so what is it that you mean by that, what,

what you know what took place for you to sort of say that?" And then she disclosed that obviously when he was drunk he would just take what he wanted. It was very brutal.'

Although not immediately apparent, Fi picks up on Laura's allusions to what amounts to rape within the marriage and is able to draw out and listen to the distressing details of the sexual violence. These are in addition to financial and emotional abusive behaviours within their relationship. Fi also discloses that she has experienced similar situations personally, 'I've been through some of the things that they've been through so certainly I feel a certain empathy.' This could be seen negatively as her imposing her values and prejudices on to her work with female service users, but her awareness is substantiated by 13 years of professional experience and the background reading she has done on domestic abuse. When asked about what touches her most she states:

> 'Erm (8.0) I suppose erm (2.0) it is domestic abuse, and the whole cycle that they go through from one to another and how to break the cycle. And just the stories of how they've been beaten down emotionally if not physically, certainly emotionally and sort of wasted potential and how perhaps women use alcohol as an escape and that women often, I think, *self*-destruct rather than a man.'

Fi shows here her knowledge of coercive control within domestic abuse, that it is not simply the physical violence but the ongoing mental abuse which she considers applicable to Laura. Since this time, there has been increased statutory recognition of coercive, controlling behaviour within domestic situations, and it has been brought within the legislative framework through the Serious Crimes Act, 2015 (Home Office, 2015). 'Coercive control' has been defined by Evan Stark, who coined the phrase as, 'a pattern of behaviour which seeks to take away the victim's liberty or freedom, to strip away their sense of self. It is not just women's bodily integrity which is violated but also their human rights' (cited by CEDAR, nd). Fi does not rely solely on her own decisions but discusses her practice with others:

> '…colleagues are the best help, um because you talk about what happened and what the issues are and yeah God, why won't she listen, you know um in the same manner, she's doing really well isn't she? My colleague who wrote the PSR, I talk about her (Laura) with Jennifer'

Fi uses informal reflective techniques to gain advice and go over the feelings and interventions surrounding these cases.

Corston (2007) emphasises that the criminal justice process can add to and re-trigger victimisation experiences. Despite the help she is receiving and finds useful, Laura perceives the court attendance and her week in custody as re-traumatising. Throughout the period under supervision she experiences nightmares, 'last night, I dreamt that they were trying to get in the flat to take me back to Bronzefield (prison) (smiles as she looks up with her hands tight round her neck)' (supervision session, Laura and Jennifer, 03.09.2014). Feelings of being trapped, as she was in prison and in her marital home, are clearly

still prevalent. This extends to probation and Laura is disappointed that the suspended sentence supervision order cannot be revoked for good progress as early as she had hoped. When Jennifer leaves the room briefly Laura is heard on video camera, repeating to herself 'only two more' (supervision session, 03.09.2014).

6.6 Different outcomes

Anne (WSU)/ Vicki (PO) and Evie (WSU)/Lesley (PO)

These case studies highlight the complex relationships between probation and the children's services, and demonstrate the various factors involved in decision-making in multi-agency working. Very different outcomes to the community orders are presented, despite similar types of offending (for financial gain, to support their drug habits and their children), and the women's profiles also bear resemblances. Anne and Evie have serious long-term drug habits, are single parents, unemployed and are experiencing continuing domestic abuse from the fathers of their children, even though both relationships have ended. This is able to occur largely through the fathers' ongoing contact with the children. Both women have had earlier referrals to children's services from probation, because of concerns about their parenting styles. These particular case examples have been chosen to illustrate the two quite different responses, by the probation officers and social workers, to incidents involving physical assault from mother to daughter. Possible reasons for the contrasting approaches and outcomes are deconstructed, using a whole systems approach for each service user. This means examining the women's broader social circumstances, their human and social capital, the cultures of the statutory authorities, probation and children's services and individual professionals' values, experience and workload pressures.

6.6.1 The incidents and immediate responses

Probation referrals to children's services in E town are made after probation visits to Evie's home, revealing the chaos there, lack of food and no set routine. This process enables Evie to be assigned to a family intervention worker (FIW). She finds the support offered in the home helpful but, when withdrawn, her parenting standards deteriorate:

> 'Tania has been quite hard work, yeah really hard work, really mouthy but I know it's because I haven't been doing what's in the parenting stuff. Because when I do what's in the parenting book, I learnt, and I use them tools, it's fine and I can deal with it but when I don't. Erm like last week…. You see I thought I'd lost control again and I'm like fucking hell she's not listening, we'd be…. I'd find myself shouting and I ended up slapping her and like I did because she was just getting on my nerves and she was pushing me too much and I even told the teacher… in my face, in my face, in my face, in my face all the time. I wasn't in a good mood anyway….'
>
> (Supervision session, Lesley and Evie, 16.01.2013)

Evie is excusing herself here for her assault on her five-year-old daughter, Tania. Through the repetition 'in my face' she is intimating that they are on an equal footing when Tania stands up to her. An ongoing need for support with parenting is indicated, instead of what is currently on offer, a brief injection of help which fades over time. Evie is once again presenting as out of control. Lesley opens a discussion about Evie's own experiences of abuse as a child and adult. In a later session Evie describes the physical and mental abuse she experienced, as a child, from her mother and step-father:

> 'when I was shoplifting I was quite young, more for attention from my Dad because he had gone, he had an affair and he went so then she (blows out her cheeks), my step-Dad was really violent to my Mum and violent to me because I would stand up for myself, he beat me with a belt, locked me in my room, take my lightbulbs out…. I was always grounded my whole childhood and I just hated my life…. if I wet the bed (crying) I'd get beaten by my Mum. I'd sleep in the bath, no pillow and just sleep in the bath. I don't want Tania to feel like that…. He (ex-partner) used to do it with her holding her in his arms and beat me up

<div align="right">(Supervision session, Lesley and Evie, 30.01.2013)</div>

Evie gives an explanation as to why she started shop-lifting and the distress she experienced when her father left the home. There is an account of her strength of character and defiance 'I would stand up for myself', for which she would be punished. Lesley is then able to draw parallels between Evie's own childhood abuse, and the way she reacts to Tania, who is similarly seen as standing up for herself:

> 'What I wasn't really prepared for today was that it was more about the impact that it had on her as a Mum. Because I was sort of saying to her you know that you can't change your childhood, and none of that's your fault but sometimes that can shape how we deal with things. Like she was saying with Tania, she wet the bed last night and if *she'd* wet the bed she would have got beaten and it brought back the memories that she was obviously worried, and she thought what was it that Tania was worried about…. But what's really good is that she's gone and spoken to the school. Tania has like play therapy, so she's spoken to the school so you kind of think, you are being responsible, and you've got Tania's interests at heart.'

<div align="right">(Research interview, Lesley, 30.01.2013)</div>

Lesley finds reassurance on two counts, firstly because the school is involved, and Tania is receiving play therapy, but also that this implies to her that Evie is being a responsible parent. Ansbro (2017) has commented on the vagueness in the safeguarding policy guidelines and how inspections have shown that, despite some good practice, 'common deficiencies' have also been identified, 'too few home visits, failure to attend child protection conferences, and ineffective referring of concerns about children.' Lesley's response is to alert the family intervention worker (FIW), who starts to call round again to see Evie and Tania at home. The 'incident' takes place whilst there is still two months left to run of the Order.

In Anne's case the initial referral to children's services is made by the police following her arrest for having class A drugs in her house. A social worker, Baruch, is assigned to the children but no parenting advice or support is offered within the home. Despite having an agoraphobic condition, Anne is instructed to go out to appointments, so often does not attend, although Vicki, her PO, visits her at home during school

holidays. At the final meeting of the Order, Anne tells Vicki, that child protection and social services meetings are 'all wrapped up now,' but then unexpectedly discloses another incident:

> A. …. she's umm forever nicking my stuff and umm she was in my wardrobe, I went to go and get her out of the wardrobe and she fell out onto the wardrobe door and she exaggerates it and says I pushed her into the wardrobe.
>
> V. Right okay. I know they were quite concerned about that social services. You know obviously after what you've told me today but that's you know I'm going to have to share that information aren't I?
>
> A. You've got to go back to… (looks away and down)
>
> V. Well yeah. I can't just have you tell me that information and not do anything with it. You know [takes deep breath]. Now I have to contact Baruch to say you know where we are at with that and see what happens. He might just want to come round and have a chat with you. And I'm sorry that's probably going to come as quite a blow, but I can't just sit on that sort of information.
>
> A. It isn't like I've beaten her… I just slapped around the top of her leg (slaps the top of her leg to show Vicki, puts hand up over her face where tears are streaming down).

<div align="right">(Supervision session, Vicki and Anne, 31.03.2014)</div>

Following on from this disclosure, much to Anne's and also Vicki's dismay the worst possible scenario seems to take place:

> 'He (social worker) come round and he said that he had 10 days to do the assessment. He asked loads of questions and that and he said that he was going to visit Melanie (daughter) at school. I've heard nothing since. Wally (ex-partner) had a phone call from him and he said he was going to recommend that he get a residential order this and that, and if he gets one more phone call like that he is just going to put her in foster care'

<div align="right">(Research interview, Anne, 02.05.2014).</div>

Confusion and dread is revealed in this excerpt, but nothing has been checked out. Information has been relayed via Melanie's father who, according to Vicki, is emotionally abusive to Anne, and has a vested interest in undermining her. Hackett (2015) argues that mental health issues, whilst problematic for service users, also arouse feelings of 'helplessness' for the worker, which may quickly escalate into irritation and resentment. The social worker may have made these statements with the intention of provoking a reaction from Anne or they could have been distorted by her ex-partner, but it is easy to see how her lack of responsiveness could cause the situation to escalate.

6.6.2 A comparison

With Evie, through raising upsetting memories of her own experiences of childhood assaults, the process serves to evoke empathy with her daughter, and constructive plans of action are made. Despite seemingly in despair over the possible removal of her children. Anne is instead paralysed by the circumstances, no doubt exacerbated by the agoraphobia, depression and cannabis smoking. By not getting in touch with

Children's Services or the school herself, she transmits the opposite message to that required, namely, that she is a concerned and responsible parent.

Anne's cannabis habit is another factor. Baldwin, O'Malley and Galway (2015: 253), drawing on Adams' (1999) findings of social worker attitudes, show that 82% felt that drug addicted parents in the child protection system were treated less favourably than non-drug-users. Baldwin et al (2015: 241) also remind the reader that addiction is often seen as a long-term coping strategy for "complex needs…compounded by past or current trauma". Anne may be viewed as more of a risk to her children from neglect, because her cannabis habit, depression and agoraphobia are deep-seated, ongoing and isolating. By way of contrast, Evie's use of heroin is more intermittent, so her return to drug use can be classified as a lapse and previous supports put into action again. Evie is also more of an outgoing personality who is in regular contact with family and friends, even when struggling.

Anne's only help with childcare consists of her ex-partner who does not live locally and only offers spasmodic assistance. Anne's father is severely disabled with Parkinson's disease, so family resources are already stretched, and her mother and sister, although living nearby have little contact. Another concern for Anne's family is that her son, Jordan, aged 8, is currently being assessed for autistic spectrum condition (ASC). As has been seen from Laura's case study, the impact of having a child with disabilities in a family places a burden on all other family members, and the additional support required for Anne and Melanie seems to have been overlooked. Boyd (2002: 208) contends that stress and depression are common amongst mothers of children with autism and exacerbated by 'low levels of social support' from formal agencies. Contrastingly, Evie can draw on strong social bonds, in the form of local family - her father, aunt and sisters offer financial, practical and emotional support. Plus, she has previously welcomed the FIW into her home, has good communications with the school/play therapist and she and Tania are benefitting from the interventions.

Both Evie's and Anne's children are mixed race with a black father and white mother. Enosh and Bayer-Topilsky (2015) argue that children from 'low socio-economic groups' and those from BME backgrounds are more frequently statutorily removed from their birth families, and research shows an over-representation of mixed race 'looked after' children (Clarke, 2014). Tania's father does not feature in her day-to-day care and it is the mother's middle class white family who are in evidence, living in a predominantly white, middle class, relatively wealthy small town. Contrastingly, Anne's family live in a multi-cultural, inner-city area, where social services have limited resources compared to more affluent localities.

Taking an intersectional perspective (see literature review) of race, class, and disability, there are pointers to the greater risk of Melanie and Jordan becoming 'looked after' children, instead of Anne receiving assistance in the home. As Enosh and Bayer-Topilsky (2015: 1784) suggest, 'an intervention directed at helping poor families out of poverty may decrease their suffering from undue intrusive interventions.' The post-code lottery means that in some areas women are listened to and supported, as with Evie, but elsewhere individuals have fewer options (Goldhill, 2010: 90). The complex nature of Anne's issues and her multiple vulnerabilities seem beyond the scope of probation and children's services.

The probation officer's position cannot be ignored as a factor in the decision-making. On the one hand is Lesley, enthusiastic about Evie's progress and moved by her abusive background, and when the 'incident' takes place probation is still fully involved in the supervision process. At this point it is also further away from TR implementation and the accompanying turmoil. On the other hand, Vicki is expecting the supervision to be drawing to a close, and Anne has been generally difficult to help engage with other agencies. Although attending probation, she is often monosyllabic with an air of hopelessness. Vicki has her own personal/professional issues, suffering from severe back pain, awaiting treatment, has a second job and is uncertain whether she will be transferred to another office outside C town. This means that she has the prospect of imminently cutting ties with all her cases, a potential commute to work lengthening her working day by at least an hour, and she feels angry with the organisation for placing her in this position:

> '… there's a lot of goodwill stuff in probation, probation expects you to be doing extras on the top and that's just not possible, not everybody wants to do that. I know I don't and that might sound quite selfish, but I just haven't got the time, I haven't got the capacity. I could just about do the job, let alone extras.'

(Research interview, Vicki, 02.05.2014)

Instead of being offered support with Anne's case, senior management's concern is with moving staff around to meet organisational priorities, prior to the TR restructuring nine months in the future. These factors may have been influential in Vicki's determination to disentangle herself completely from Anne's case, intent on handing over responsibility to Children's Services.

This case study shows how Anne, an individual with significant needs, increasingly withdrawn and exhibiting signs of clinical depression, is the one who receives the least positive and creative attention from the statutory agencies. Munro and Hubbard (2011: 739) advocate a systems approach examining 'the patterns of communication, assessment, planning and decision making and the relationships between social work professional, family and other partnership agencies'. However, they recognise that this necessitates a system not yet in existence, where the 'blame culture' does not play a part, and senior

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managers accept that cases are complicated, and try to understand and facilitate positive frontline decisions. Complexity is visible in both these cases, indicating that brief injections of support are insufficient; it is long-term, carefully thought through interventions that are required with agencies working in tandem.

6.7 Discussion

Although very different in nature, the first two case studies bring to the fore a number of themes of multiple victimisation. Victimisation and trauma feature prominently, where the perpetrators are viewed as victims, but effects on their victims are recognised too. By prioritising and addressing the victimisation issues of the perpetrator, probation officers are swimming against the tide. Williams and Goodman (2007) assert that politically and professionally it is not a popular approach to be siding with or assisting perpetrators, as this can appear as collusion. The rehabilitation versus punishment debate that Mann and Barnett (2013: 293) describe, places the public on one side, demanding that 'guilt, shame, and remorse' are visible, verging on promoting 'demeaning' interventions. On the other side are probation workers who are seen generally to be strongly supportive of prioritising strength-based, forward-looking rehabilitative processes. Examination of victimisation is not restricted to the acts of violence alone, committed by and done to the women. 'Coercive control', the ongoing destructive behaviours usually perpetrated by men, and the impact of the criminal justice process are significant, as they can perpetuate and mirror previous trauma experiences (Covington, 2015).

The final two cases demonstrate that trust in the officer/service user relationship can be disrupted at various points during the Order. Although relationality is important generally to women, this is not automatically the case for every woman, and it is not a given that once established it will remain forever. At trigger times, such as during multi-agency work with children's services, when the focus shifts to the child, special attention needs to be paid to the mother (Baldwin, 2015). The situation is usually highly emotive, and for mothers who have drug habits it is particularly fraught. Stigma and double deviance can occur, whereby women find themselves judged and sanctioned repeatedly for their criminalisation and drug habits, not solely by the courts but also by family, society and statutory agencies (Hudson, 2002; Heidensohn, 2006). These attitudes may be grounded in very real concerns, where children are lacking in 'shelter, care, and economic stability' and 'the impaired judgment and emotional instability associated with substance abuse contribute to the risk of child abuse' (Covington, 2007: 4). Covington (2007) argues that issues underpinning the drug misuse are not examined sufficiently and that women frequently start using drugs to please and placate abusive male partners. She also believes in a connection between earlier childhood victimisation and substance misuse, viewing the latter as a means of self-medication to deal

with resultant trauma. Both Evie and Anne exemplify these conditions and concerns. These cases also show how discrimination and complex problems may be exacerbated not only by a woman's own ethnicity and abilities but also by her children belonging to a minority group through race or disability.

Evident throughout the analysis is the strength of feeling and dedication from the officers involved, seemingly stemming, at least in part, from personal experience. This enables the 'them' and 'us' or power divide to be broken down and reconfigured. Allied to this way of working is a strong ethical and feminist stance around the place of women within the criminal justice system, and recognition of differing pathways to offending for women. In Gomm's (2016: 189) study of women's desistance she notes that 'desistance was not a concern for the offenders' rather that their 'main concern was with regard to interpersonal violence and other forms of adversity'. These are seen by Gomm's research participants as relating to mental health and substance misuse and the principle narrative is one of recovery. Similar narratives are observable in the case studies above.

As demonstrated in these case studies, relationships can take many turns. Attention to how the relationship is navigated, from the first meeting until contact ends, is necessary. In the same way that it is necessary to have a holistic understanding of the individual for desistance (McNeill and Weaver, 2010) or recovery (Gomm, 2016) processes when analysing supervisory interaction, I would argue that it is also imperative to have insights into the personal and professional issues affecting the practitioner and the broader socio-political situation. The next chapter is looking in greater depth at interactions that occur during supervision, by interpreting extracts from the videoed sessions.

Chapter 7: Behind closed doors. What happens in supervision?

7.1 Introduction

The data in this chapter comes from supervision sessions between practitioners and women service users, offering detailed analysis of what happens in the interaction between practitioner and service user. Transcripts are examined with a focus on exploring the relationship between practitioner/WSU and, where areas of analytic interest are noted, to see if they occur on a number of occasions in the body of the transcription. As an investigation into everyday conversational interplay, discourse analysis enables an 'understanding of social interaction…and communication' through 'turn-taking practices' (Wooffitt, 2005: 40). This approach has been viewed as particularly relevant to 'institutional interaction' exploring what takes place in the workplace environment (Wooffitt, 2001: 49).

7.2 Data and participants

Four practitioner/service user pairings have been chosen from the videoed supervision sessions, because they represent suitable examples, from the data set, of contrasting types of interaction with women service users. It is important to remember that complex factors are involved, and simple binary categorisations of good/bad are not considered helpful within this analysis. All individuals, practitioners and women service users and the situations they find themselves in, can be investigated at many levels and from varying perspectives. External pressures, particularly for practitioners, may be unknown.

The sessions took place in office settings, lasting between twenty minutes and an hour. The women were required to attend supervision as part of various statutory court orders and were seen in probation office interview rooms or voluntary sector venues. It is necessary to reiterate that all practitioners were female, although not by design.[33] Gender issues are consistently thought to be relevant within this project, by the participants and organisations concerned as well as by the researcher. The majority of data in this chapter comes from videoed and transcribed supervision sessions but reference is also made to data from research interviews with the individuals involved. The first extract, from a supervision session with Steph and Bridget, has been presented to a number of different professional groups, in workshop settings, who were asked to discuss the issues raised. As part of the PhD process, the first extract was also written up

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[33]See Chapter 4 Methodology

initially as a published journal article[34]. Subsequently it has been developed, and further cases have been analysed for the purposes of this chapter.[35]

7.3 Background to probation supervision discourses

As shown in earlier chapters, probation workers are constantly pulled in different directions towards opposing approaches and discourses. On the one hand is the correctionalist, risk and target-driven 'one size fits all' agenda, deriving initially from the raft of legislation and policies in England and Wales under the New Labour Government, specifically the Criminal Justice Act, 2003 and, more recently, from the Coalition Government, Transforming Rehabilitation (TR) and the Offender Rehabilitation Act (ORA), 2014 (Canton and Dominey, 2018). The second major driver in current probation interventions is that of managerialism, introduced to probation and other public service agencies through Conservative and Labour's New Public Management agenda, as a response to new economic arrangements following the financial crises in the mid-1970s and taking hold in the 1980s and 1990s (Deering, 2011: 20).

Gelsthorpe (2007: 508) argues that one significant effect on the PO's working life in the mid-90s to the early years of the millennium is the almost total removal of professional discretion. Whilst moves towards accountability keep practitioners' prejudices and erratic decision-making in check, they simultaneously eliminate professional judgement and oversight of workers' reflective practices (Gelsthorpe, 2007). A partial revival of humanist approaches occurs in the early years of the millennium with desistance theories - consisting of constructive, strengths- and relationship-based, individualised methods incorporating prosocial modelling. Trotter (1999: 76) finds in his study that 'probation officers, many of whom were trained in social work and welfare, used the pro-social approach very erratically'. Opportunities can be missed, in complex situations, when practitioners experience strong negative feelings of anxiety and defensiveness themselves. This can occur around areas such as sexual abuse and violence, where the service user is both a perpetrator and a victim, and where trauma and mental health issues are present (Knight, 2014). Knight (2014: 43-4) describes the importance of emotional literacy where she considers gender to be a significant diversity factor. On the one hand, in a society which values technicality above ethical and empathic expressions, women's emotionality is considered a weakness, lacking rationality and maturity. On the other hand, it is argued that women's 'emotional qualities' should be viewed as a strength in the ability to forge connections with others and a critical element in the way a person conducts their

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[34] See - Goldhill, R. (2017) Videoing supervision: messages for practice. *British Journal of Social Work Practice*, 31, (3), 279-292. Some characteristics of the WSU are different in the article.

power within relationships (Knight, 2014: 45). Munro (2011: 134) too focuses on the need to be able to manage feelings such as anxiety and distress around painful and complex issues in a way that is not defensive and enables practitioners to listen to the service user. The principles that Munro espouses, in her review of child protection, are equally applicable to probation, in that they advocate putting help for, and protection of, the service user high on the supervisory agenda.

7.4 Introduction to the supervision cases[36]

The first of the four case examples which are presented consists of a probation officer (PO) and a woman service user (Steph and Bridget). As Steph is leaving the office, Bridget's case is passed to another probation officer, Esther so Esther, a PO, and Bridget are also examined as a pairing. The third example involves a women's centre worker, Gilli, from the holistic women's centre, Empower, offering an outreach service in C town, and a woman service user, Cassie. Gilli is doing a course in mentoring and says that she is keen to bring this way of working into her work with women service users. Cassie has received a specified activity requirement (SAR) within her community order which involves completing 20 one-to-one sessions with an Empower worker. The final pairing is Judy, a holistic women's centre worker, also operating a satellite service for Empower in E town. She is seeing Carmen, where contact is voluntary. Both Cassie and Carmen also attend meetings with their probation officers as part of their statutory obligations. These transcriptions have been chosen particularly because differences in approach were observed between the practitioners, and it is of interest how this affects the interaction. Dynamics during the sessions are also compared to the commentaries, given in the research interviews, between practitioners/women service users and the researcher, where participants reflect on their relationships with each other and the supervision process.

7.5 Steph and Bridget – Unpacking or blocking?[37]

The two participants in the following excerpt are Steph and Bridget (supervision session, 28.03.2014). Steph is an experienced and highly regarded PO of 15 years standing. She is white, 40 years old and married with two young children. Bridget is a lesbian woman of black Caribbean origins, in her mid-50s who lives with her older sister and adult daughter in a mortgaged property. Bridget was given a Suspended Sentence with a requirement of supervision (SSSO) for an offence of sexual assault on another woman, which took place on a bus when Bridget had consumed half a bottle of spirits. As a result of her conviction she lost her job, her income, and as a consequence possibly her house, which she owns

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[36]   Further details of each individual are in Appendix B, Introduction to Participants.

[37] Appendix K - Full transcript of Steph and Bridget's supervision session

jointly with her sister. This meeting takes place after Steph has been supervising Bridget for 6 months and both parties are aware that Steph is leaving in two months' time.

7.5.1 Opening enquiries

Extract 1

```
1    S. How are you
2    B. Soo soo. (whispers) Not a good day today
3    S. Sorry?
4    B. (louder) Not a good day today
5    S. Not a good day today. OK. How's your week been?
6    B. (Shrugs) Boring
7    S. OK
8    B. I think I've got an eye infection and I keep I think I'll have to go to
9       the doctors' – that's bringing me down a bit as well
10   S. Oh. Are they sore?
11   B. They're itchy
12   S. Oh dear.
13   B. I'll have to make an appointment
14   S. You can get drops from a pharmacy
15   B. Yeah I'm going to go and try that
16   S. Until you get a GP appointment. OK. Erm so erm. Last week, do you
17      remember last week?
```

Here, Steph greets Bridget warmly and asks an open, 'check-up' question as they enter the interview room together. Despite the smile and sympathetic noises (line 10), it quickly becomes apparent that Steph is proceeding with probation business rather than talking about Bridget's physical and mental health (lines 16-17). Bridget indicates that she is unhappy and depressed (lines 2, 4, 6) and then reports a specific physical problem (line 8). When Steph uses 'sorry' (line 3) there is a 'repair' sequence. Recognition is shown, through appearing not to hear what Bridget has said, and 'sensitive matters are at hand' (Wooffitt, 2005: 117) which should not be ignored. After asking Bridget to repeat that she is not feeling well in a louder voice, Steph does nothing with her response, and simply repeats the same question about her week (line 5). This implies that the first negative answers are not worth discussing as they are not being picked up on. A further monosyllabic response, 'Okay' to Bridget's 'boring' (lines 6 and 7), avoids further exploration of 'not a good day today' and 'boring'. Although there is a softening where Steph expresses 'Oh dear' (line 12), she finally focuses solely on practical rather than emotional aspects, in other words Bridget's eye condition (lines 14 and 16). Bridget's repeated agreements that she should act on her eye condition (lines 8, 13 and 15) are in part a response to Steph's practical solutions (line 14) and in part self-repair to demonstrate that she has thought of ways to make things better. That Bridget has not yet galvanised herself to do this is an indicator of her low energy and that the eye problem could be seen as a physical manifestation of her distress. Steph changes the subject abruptly (mid-line 16), away from Bridget's physical ailments, to events of the previous week. This 'interruption' has been viewed as a means for practitioners to take control of the discussion, preventing service users from conveying the full

range of their emotions (Li, Desroches, Yum, Koehn and Deagle, 2007: 421). Bridget is childlike, speaking in a slightly whiney tone. Li et al (2007) argue that not confronting the issues raised by the service user constitutes a personal infringement. Additionally, it prevents the passing on of important information that could lead to improved understanding of the individual's position.

7.5.2 The reproach

The next phase of the exchange (Extract 2) begins with a 'telling off' as Bridget is challenged on her behaviour the previous week, coming into the office in an intoxicated state. The focus here is on Bridget's bad behaviour from drinking, warning that it could be equated with a missed appointment. There is no questioning, throughout this exchange with Bridget, as to what may have lain behind or prompted the drinking. What it does do is magnify Steph's authority in this situation at Bridget's expense. By taking this approach, Steph erases what could be an adult relationship, replacing it with formal structures of direct challenging. The discussion is phrased in such a way that different aspects of Bridget's failure on her supervision order are highlighted.

Extract 2

```
19    S. .... I just wanted to remind you that you can't, you shouldn't report
20        under the influence of alcohol and if you do again that could
21        count as a missed appointment.
22    B. Yes okay, certainly (looking down).
23    S. And you were going to phone me with your sister's number.
24    B. I don't want my sister involved in it. She's going through a lot  at
25        the moment. So all those things I've told you are just between me
26        and you. And I'll just have to put up with it because she's had to
27        put up with a lot...with me...that's the way I'm looking at it.
28    S. Erm okay. I guess that makes it difficult for you to achieve your
29        sentence plan, doesn't it?
30    B. I'm starting to cry already, I'm a bit down today
31    S. Oooh. (Reaches for tissues). There's some tissues here, would you
32        like a tissue?
33    B. (nods)
```

The first reproach is in line 19-20, where Steph repeats admonishing words 'you can't, you shouldn't' followed by warnings of punishment (line 21) 'that could count as a missed appointment' The unspoken communication is that if this happens again Bridget will be a step nearer breach of the order and imprisonment. Steph then continues with an 'and' 'and another thing' phrase (line 23) which also gives the impression that this has been routinely asked in previous sessions, and therefore part of the 'telling off' agenda. Heritage and Sorjonen (1994) give an example where 'and' is used to suggest inconsistencies in the other person's responses, working towards an argument that discredits them. This tactic is used by

Steph, as she links through 'And' (line 23) Bridget's failure to attend probation sober, with her failure to provide her sister's phone number. Bridget accepts the degradation/humiliation sequence which includes the inference that she is unreliable for not keeping her promises. The way that Steph designs the term is not ostensibly scolding but addresses the commitment that had been made. This meets with a strong reaction, as Steph manages to offend Bridget, and Bridget then gives a definite response (lines 24-27), revealing that certain issues have been glossed over and not exactly as they seem from Steph's account. Bridget refers to previous discussions, between Steph and herself and between herself and her sister, which place the discussion in a different light. Jefferson (1985: 462) defines 'unpackaging a gloss' as 'a sequential/interactional phenomenon' where 'a formulation that occurs at one point is thereafter made available as a gloss by virtue of a subsequent unpackaging in response to a co-participant's activities'. Bridget explains why she does not want her sister involved. She knows that her sister is distressed at the moment and feels that her actions (the offending) make her directly responsible for this distress.

Another aspect is revealed, namely that Bridget has disclosed personal issues previously to Steph 'So all those things I've told you are just between me and you' (lines 25-6), which she does not want raised with her sister. Contact between Steph and her sister could lead to a betrayal of past disclosures, and Bridget is reminding Steph of her expectations of discretion and trust in their relationship. It also acts as a reminder, by Bridget, of a time when she *was* allowed to speak about her feelings and position, and that this sharing was of importance to her. Bridget is thus re-formulating her identity within the session, she *is* a moral person, contrary to what Steph is saying about her going back on her word. Jefferson (1985: 438) talks of 'the gloss' as a pointer that there is 'more to it,' where an individual is reaching out 'to find an environment in which the more-to-it can be properly, comfortably told'. Steph still does not respond directly to these utterances, drawing the discussion back to the supervision issue, with the implication that Bridget is failing to meet probation requirements 'that makes it difficult to achieve your sentence plan' (lines 28-9).

By this point, Bridget has stated or given indications on six occasions that she is feeling down and/or is upset. In ignoring these signs, Steph is conveying micro-messages (Cherry, 2005: 127) which inform Bridget that emotions are not suitable subjects for discussion here. However, Bridget finally (line 26), through the use of tears, succeeds in turning the conversation back to her unhappiness, with Steph making sympathetic noises 'Oooh' (line 31) and offering her a tissue (line 31-2). Despite this response to Bridget stating that she is crying, (line 30), still no enquiry is made around Bridget's emotions. Steph is also looking down at her notes, averting her eyes, so physically avoiding Bridget's manifestation of her unhappiness.

Extract 3

```
50    S. You find it easier to get texts, yeah, sure. So that's the employment
51        side. I spoke to um the alcohol agency, I spoke to Ginny who was
52        the lady who assessed you and you've been referred for relapse
53        prevention counselling
54    B. (nods)
55    S. So how, how, what's happening with the alcohol? How much have
56        you had to drink?
57    B. I don't drink because I don't have the money
58    S. Okay so last time I saw you, was that the last time you drank?
59    B. Yeah, yeah
60    S. (writing this down) Okay...Okay. So do you see that as a positive or
61        not?
62    B. Positive because I don't have any money so I can't get it from
63        anywhere else. I'm not a thief or anything.
64    S. Okay, so [
65    B. ]I do have money...but I don't have control over it.
66    S.  No. You asked your sister to take it, to take control...
67    B. And she won't give it to me.
```

Steph tells Bridget that she now considers the employment issues, that they discussed earlier (not in this excerpt), have been adequately covered, and she is turning the conversation to alcohol (line 51). It is as if Steph has a number of different agenda items which she is proceeding to tick off. They follow a protocol of addressing each of Bridget's criminogenic needs[38]. This strategy enables Steph to convey to Bridget that the probation side of the work, connected to her risk, is being monitored efficiently (lines 58 and 60-1). As the offence was a serious assault and took place under the influence of alcohol, work on this trigger behaviour would be emphasised as a necessary supervisory task within the What Works/Risk Needs Responsivity protocol. There is the presumption in the questions (line 55-6) that Bridget must have been consuming alcohol. Probation terminology, 'relapse prevention' (lines 52-3), is used, and there is no sign as to whether Bridget understands its meaning; she nods but says nothing. At this point little collaboration seems to exist between the participants. Two questions are asked in quick succession (lines 55-56) by Steph, when Bridget does not have the chance to respond to the first open question as it is so quickly followed by the second closed question. Bridget maintains that the only reason she is not drinking is because she is physically prevented from doing so. She becomes more assertive around being thought of as a criminal, making it clear that, although she is on probation she is not dishonest (line 63), which Steph treats as irrelevant; 'okay so…' (line 64) sounds very much like, 'okay, so what'. A number of points could have been raised here which might have been useful for Bridget – issues with her sister which go unexamined, and the stigma that Bridget feels about offending and coming to probation. At this juncture,

---

[38] These are the dynamic risk factors which trigger the offending behaviour (Gelsthorpe and McIvor, 2007)

Bridget is sounding stronger and frustrated, possibly by Steph's closed questions (line 56 and 60-1), and shows this through interrupting Steph (line 65).

However, in lines 58 and 60, Steph may be pursuing a line of questioning to lay out aspects not mentioned by Bridget or her way of glossing over certain factors. Jefferson (1985: 437) describes this way of uncovering a 'gloss' as 'unpackaging via inquisition', where questions are designed to delve deeper into what is really taking place. It seems, at first sight, that Bridget does not have enough money to drink. As the dialogue proceeds, it emerges that her sister holds her money, and this is an arrangement that she and her sister have arrived at together. This has been spoken of previously with Steph and is a situation of which both have approved. There is a complaining tone in Bridget's account, but Steph is reminding her that this situation was instigated, with not only her approval, but at her request.

7.5.4 Exploring alcohol usage

Extract 4

```
68    S. Okay. Okay. So I guess what I was wondering about was how much
69        you wanted to stop drinking because I think last week...
70    B. I just want to keep it getting under control, that's all. Can that be
71        possible with an alcoholic or not?
72    S. What do you think? Are you able to control your alcohol use?
73    B. Erm..to a certain extent probably. I mean I don't think I'd get to
74        the point where I don't know what I'm doing again. Cos that's
75        what got me into trouble.
76    S. But how can you make sure that you don't get...
77    B. I don't know. That's why I need some kind of. If it can be done. If it
78        can't I'll just have to try my hardest, just to stop.
79    S. Not to drink again.
80    B. (nods and purses lips)
81    S. But at the moment it's probably safer not to until you've...
82    B. I just want
83    S. ...had some counselling and worked through whether it is possible
84        to manage it. Yeah
85    B. Yeah (nods)
86    S. Okay. So we're going for abstinence at the moment
```

At lines 68-69, there are a number of closed questions and again Steph refers to Bridget's behaviour the previous week. In line 69, Steph recycles her question from lines 55-6. Line 72 is an open question followed immediately by a closed question. The first question shows a different approach where Steph is turning the question back to Bridget, asking for her opinion. However, because it is followed by a closed question, this necessitates a yes or no answer where Bridget is unlikely to say 'no', as she would be aware that this might involve closer monitoring with more frequent visits to the probation office. There seems to be a more constructive exchange (lines 73-75), where Steph turns Bridget's question back to her and

Bridget seems to give the matter some thought, shown by the 'erm…'. Here they seem to be on convergent paths, both showing concern about and looking for a solution to Bridget's drinking issues. Immediately afterwards, Steph (lines 81, 83-4 and 86) offers motivational interviewing intervention to Bridget, as if she has been assessed in the final stages, of action or maintenance on the cycle of change. At these stages of the cycle it is expected that an individual would be striving to strengthen their achievements to avoid relapse (DiClemente and Velasquez, 2002). Bridget's readiness to change is nowhere near these stages, plainly not 'ready, willing [or] able', the markers thought necessary by Miller and Rollnick (2002: 10), to stop drinking. Miller and Rollnick (2002) say willingness (recognising the importance of change, having confidence to bring about behaviour changes, and seeing them as a priority) comes with the readiness.

Bridget's language (lines 73-5 and 77-8) shows her at a stage where she is only just 'beginning to wonder' (Cherry, 2005: 92), making tentative enquiries about how possible it might be for her to continue to drink. This reveals ambiguity about why she would want to stop drinking (only to prevent offending), showing her to be contemplative, a much earlier stage in the cycle. Even though Bridget has taken action, by giving her sister the money, this action has not succeeded in stopping her alcohol intake. Here, the practitioner might be investigating her reasons for wanting to drink – 'empathy and reflective listening seem to work best' (DiClemente and Velasquez, 2002: 207). There is a mismatch between Steph's approaches, and Bridget's stage on the cycle of change, corresponding to her current circumstances and attitude. In spite of some attempts to enquire about Bridget's point of view, there is still a challenge, inferred by the 'Buts' at the start of lines 76 and 81, which again closes Bridget down. Steph pursues her drive for teetotalism, and Bridget is given few further opportunities to reflect on her ambivalence. An attempt to do this (line 82), where Bridget interrupts Steph, is not heard as Steph then interrupts her (line 83), so what Bridget wants is never heard. Cherry (2005: 91) acknowledges how disheartening this stage can be for practitioners, but also how crucial it is 'not to rush people'. In this instance it is evident that Bridget cuts off from Steph, taking the path of least resistance by agreeing with her. It could be interpreted that this tactic indicates a desire to shut down the conversation and exit the interview as quickly as possible.

7.5.5 Discussion

In the excerpts above, Steph is carrying out a thorough, structured interview, which Fitzgibbon (2007a: 92) describes as 'non-transformative risk management'. If questioned about her practice, Steph can point to the steps she has taken to contain Bridget's risk, even though in reality nothing will have changed. By showing disapproval of Bridget's behaviour the previous week, and that she is checking the current state of her alcohol intake, Steph is carrying out a tick box exercise; she neither listens to Bridget's concerns

and ambiguities, nor engages with her feelings. Fitzgibbon (2012a: 10) refers to a 'culture of tickboxes' as characteristic of the development of public management techniques within the probation service. Despite Steph's categorical concluding remark (line 86) it seems unlikely that the supervision session will have had any effect in helping Bridget refrain from drinking. After the first exchange (lines 1-14) Steph initiates all conversation, disallowing any displays of emotion, regardless of Bridget's attempt to return to her unhappiness (line 30). Underpinning the increased isolation of the worker are the masculinised managerialist discourses, where the main concern is the ability to demonstrate that the Order/Licence has been enforced effectively through meeting standardised targets. This comes at a cost, as service user compliance remains 'instrumental/prudential', at a superficial level, unlike normative compliance where reflective processes and attachment are used to confront deep-seated problems (Bottoms, 2002: 90). Ignoring humanistic aspects, Ruch (2002: 204-5) argues, is not helpful. Despite the monitoring of targets, subtler nuances of interaction, including the emotional aspects, have gone unchecked.

Ostermann and Comunello da Costa's (2012) research indicates the relevance of 'assessment turns.' Their study of policewomen responding to female survivors of domestic violence, identifies that their communications use 'an economy of emotion' whereby victims' narratives are cut off, by interruption and changing the subject (McElhinny, 1993 cited by Ostermann and Comunello da Costa, 2012). Social distance can also be established through politeness and tone of voice, which can superficially hide dislike and impatience (Ostermann and Comunello da Costa, 2012: 207). Observations of doctor/patient interactions show that, compared to male patients, women are 'treated with less respect…not taken as seriously' and 'interrupted more frequently' (Li, Desroches, Yum, Koehn and Deagle, 2007: 422). It appears that as a result of Steph's attitude towards her, Bridget stops trying to say anything about herself, responds with monosyllabic words and gestures and sinks deeper into her hopelessness. Gilbert (2010), cited by Knight and Modi, (2014: 134) comments that 'A worker who is unable for whatever reasons, to "hear" such stories to offer…emotional containment and safety is likely to shut down the offender's tentative steps towards self-disclosure and understanding.' Interestingly, Bridget discloses to me (research interview, Bridget, 28.05.2014), abuse by her father towards her sister and a previous 'abusive relationship', stating that these have not been topics raised fully in supervision. The 'significant adversity' female sex offenders often face, connecting to 'multiple dysfunction as adults' is stressed by Willis and Levenson (2016: 10) who argue for 'a nurturing and supportive environment' to lead to 'more adaptive core beliefs'.

Within extract 5, it appears there are issues underpinning Bridget's drinking which have not been confronted in supervision. Whilst these subjects are avoided, it is difficult for either party to gain an understanding of what underpins Bridget's mental health and her offending behaviour:

Extract 5 (research interview, Bridget and Rachel, 28.05.2014)

```
367   B. It's not me who has actually been sexually abused. I've been in an
368      abusive relationship, a  violent relationship...
369   R. Right
370   B. It was my sister who was sexually abused. She and it was, I'll tell
371      you about it next time
372   R. Okay okay
373   B. Because it's only a few years ago that I found out that my sister
374      had been abused
375   R. Has that been talked about in probation?
376   B. Probably briefly, not in any depth but I haven't been. When she
377      told me...
378   R. Would it have been useful to talk about it? How useful would it
379      have been to....?
380   B. It might have been useful, I don't know because it wasn't talked
381      about
```

Steph's reluctance to engage with Bridget's feelings, revealed above, indicates that she is tired of working with her and sees her as resistant to change. Despite Bridget having clearly experienced bereavement and abuse in her life, with her mother, father and brother's deaths and a violent relationship and sexual abuse in the family, these topics and associated emotions do not seem to be considered legitimate probation work. Since the offence, Bridget has experienced significant losses - of a job that she loved, financial security, status in society and respect from her daughter. Leach, Burgess and Holmwood (2008: 105) argue that 'non-death losses' are also significant and, as with death-related loss, if not addressed properly, can continue to impact on individuals' lives, 'To work through loss, an individual must grieve'. Nor does Steph do any probing about trauma from the childhood and adult abusive relationships, which seem unresolved, and are likely to be connected to Bridget's drinking (Covington, 2008; 2014).

A range of confusing and conflicting feelings, such as guilt, bitterness, fear and anxiety are brought with each loss (Axelrod, nd). This goes only half-recognised by Steph when reflecting on Bridget's situation, commenting on the surface problems:

> '... with Bridget it's kind of lack of self-esteem... it's her weight and her alcohol abuse so either she drinks to make herself feel better or she eats and then her drink leads to other problems as well and so yeah I think it's sad.'

(Research interview, Steph, 28.05.2014)

To investigate these areas is necessary work, especially where alcohol acts as a trigger to serious offending. As Miller and Rollnick (2002: 9) argue:

> Counsel in a directive, confrontational manner, and client resistance goes up. Counsel in a reflective, supportive manner and resistance goes down while change talk increases.

MacMillan (1997: 143) also highlights, in her study of hypnotherapy sessions, the way practitioners can pathologise, and place the blame on the service user when their techniques are not working, 'the therapist uses the notion of "resistance" as a means of converting a potential failure of therapeutic techniques into a problem located within the client'. When Steph talks about her sessions with Bridget there is no mention of the role that she has played in the interaction, but responsibility for the variability of success is placed squarely on Bridget's shoulders:

> 'It felt like we'd made some progress but Bridget, her moods are quite variable, and it really depends on her drinking so um…. And we have done quite a lot of work around alcohol where I kept trying to remind her of the reasons she has stated that she doesn't want to drink erm and ways that she can get the positives, the positives she wants from drinking in other ways so I hope that she's taking a bit of that away with her although there is still a part of her that does like to drink....'

<div align="right">(Research interview, 28.05.2014)</div>

That is not to absolve Bridget of any liability and make it Steph's fault for her predicament, but what might be expected is that Steph examine her interventions in a more critically reflective way. It could be that within the research setting Steph wanted to reveal herself in what she felt would be a positive light. Elsewhere, she does mention talking through the case with colleagues and gives a glimpse into how she feels when Bridget comes into the office inebriated:

> 'I have gone upstairs and said Bridget was drunk again and then I've been offered some support, you know, because that can be quite draining (laughs)'

<div align="right">(Research interview, Steph, 28.05.2014)</div>

In discussion of these excerpts, two of the groups - the newly qualified officers (NQOs) and the psychologists - raised the point that they saw Steph as feeling uncomfortable with Bridget's sexuality. Bridget's sexual offence was perpetrated against a younger woman in a confined area (on a bus) when she was inebriated. This scenario is partially replicated in the small probation interview room, where space dictates the two have to sit close to each other and, as seen above, periodically Bridget reports to probation having been drinking. Therefore, it was thought that Steph may have felt she needed to keep a tight rein on proceedings. It may have felt taboo for Steph to name her discomfort and similarly, any attraction on Bridget's side towards Steph, could not be spoken out loud. In order to preserve her work/life balance, Steph rationalises her emotional distancing, not just from Bridget but from all her cases, 'you know I see myself as a professional who will do the best job I can with the people I'm working with, but I don't let it affect me personally' (research interview, 28.05.2014). Ruch (2012: 1315) talks about the centrality of confronting and acknowledging personal areas 'to more effectively respond to issues of risk, uncertainty and anxiety'. Knight also illustrates (2014: 80) what happens if uncomfortable discriminatory attitudes, whether towards the sex offending itself or around racial or age related prejudices, produce

feelings such as disgust or disdain. If these attitudes are not acknowledged they cannot be worked with in a constructive way.

Conjecture is useful only insofar as it could offer Steph insights into how her feelings affect her behaviour. Most important is what Steph feels is happening for her in the sessions, and how she could use reflection to understand and respond to Bridget's emotional statements. Ruch (2007: 118) argues that relationship-based holistic reflective practice enables practitioners to deal with unpredictable and disturbing contact. This is especially difficult where practitioners are experiencing a non-supportive work environment, such as the one existing immediately pre- and post-Transforming Rehabilitation (Fitzgibbon, 2013; Deering and Feilzer, 2015; Burke, 2016). Ultimately, only Steph can tell how she experienced this unique encounter, and work through any blocks to produce constructive interventions, but she may need help to do so. As a respected, experienced officer and former SPO, this need may not be recognised by her current manager. Steph is part-time, so her time is even more limited and, drawing on the 'professional' card, can legitimately avoid this type of input as unnecessary. Mawby and Worrall (2013:145) speculate that 'turbulent conditions' and 'the probation service's outward facing presentation' may be responsible for workers taking a defensive stance. When talking about her own supervision, the focus is generalised around the offence and thinking about others in the team rather than herself:

> 'I think the team have found it quite an interesting case because she's a female sex offender, which is quite rare. So, you know, people have been quite interested to talk about her'

(Research interview, Steph, 28.05.2014)

Or there is talk about barriers that Bridget has created:

> '…the fact that Bridget is so tied to her sister. And so, a home visit was advised. Unfortunately, the only day that Bridget's sister is home is a Friday and I don't work on a Friday. I tried to arrange a 3-way here but then it didn't happen and then Bridget changed her mind'.

(Research interview, Steph, 28.05.2014)

Asked initially about her experience of probation supervision with Steph, Bridget speaks highly of her – 'She's just a very nice person, personality wise she seems very caring and she listens, which is important and erm I feel like she's helped me….' However, there are clues later that Steph's impact may not be so favourable as first described:

> 'Sometimes she gives me these little things to go away and think about and as soon as I have left here I'll be honest I (sweeps her hand to one side) don't bother but she has made me think, think about certain things and I know that I don't want ever ever, want to ever do what I did again because it wasn't me…. You see the thing is I think that, God bless Steph and everything, but she hasn't actually been in that situation herself'.

(Research interview, Bridget, 28.05.2014).

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Despite loathing her own offending behaviour, Bridget is still keen to criticise Steph, adopting a patronising tone, 'God bless Steph and everything'. Feelings around Steph not understanding her emerge. She talks about Steph's lack of relevant 'lived' experience, and she implies not much of Steph's advice has stayed with her.

7.6 Esther and Bridget (supervision session, 23.09.2014)

When Steph leaves the office at the end of May 2014, moving to another position, Esther takes over Bridget's supervision. Despite knowing about Steph's departure well in advance, the organisation shifts its criteria at the last moment over whether Bridget should stay within the NPS team or go to the CRC. This means that Bridget is initially introduced by Steph to a new PO, Mary, from the NPS but then this is changed to Esther in the CRC without a handover taking place. Bridget tells of her feelings around this:

> I thought she (the new NPS PO) was all right, but then Steph's told me it's all changing now (moves her hand around as if she's stirring) and the woman I met last week is not going to be the one…Which I was a little bit disappointed about because I would've liked to see if I got on with her.

> (Research interview, Bridget, 28.05.2014)

7.6.1 Open questions and allowing feelings

This meeting is the first time Esther and Bridget have been together since Bridget took a serious overdose and was subsequently hospitalised. Bridget is speaking about her feelings in regard to having to report to the probation office. Esther takes a different stance to Steph, asking more open questions and keeps closely to Bridget's agenda, which is to talk about her dislike of probation, her offending and her recent suicide attempt. Esther acknowledges that these areas are difficult for Bridget with an open question and referring directly to Bridget's statement about her strong feelings (Extract 6, line 60). In lines 66-7 Esther probes further with open questions, querying whether it is probation per se which makes her feel like this or *their* interactions (lines 63-4). Esther names the actual end date of her Order, alerting Bridget to the not too distant future, and asks a Socratic question - whether the ending of the supervision order will really erase the stigma and represent closure on her offending (lines 66-7).

Having reminded Bridget of the end date, Esther checks out whether she is understanding her correctly (lines 70-74). Instead of asking Bridget how she envisages the final part of the Order, Esther gives her own viewpoint and then invites Bridget to agree with her. By employing the phrase 'do you think' (line 76) it places Bridget in an awkward position to say 'no' without appearing rude. This is resolved through offering non-committal responses 'maybe' (line 77) and 'I don't know' (line 79).

Extract 6

```
58    B. I just want to stop seeing you. I just don't want to do this anymore.
59    E. Okay. How is it making you feel B? Because it seems that it's
60       bringing up some strong stuff for you.
61    B. Because it reminds me of what I've done. It makes me feel like,
62       well I suppose I am a criminal aren't I?
63    E. What coming into the office or coming into this room makes you
64       feel like a criminal?
65    B. The office altogether.
66    E. Okay. On the 16th October it sounds like you're not going to feel
67       like that anymore?
68    B. I will but there won't be that there to remind me. I feel like that
69       anyway.
70    E. It sounds like you're saying that it's a physical reminder being here,
71       reminding you of why you're here and you're feeling bad about
72       that. Okay I can understand that, yeah definitely. I guess once
73       you're not coming in anymore. I guess we've got a couple of
74       weeks left so that's not long to go. So it would be really good from
75       my point of view if we used these last couple of sessions as
76       positively as possible. Is that possible for you B do you think.
77    B. (smiles and rocks her head from side to side) maybe
78    E. No?
79    B. I don't know.
80    E. Okay what would it be helpful for you to look at next time you're
81       in?
82    B. (4.0, smiles and gives a short laugh) Nothing, I just want to get it
83       over and done with.
```

Only once Esther asks an open question, about what they should do in the next meeting (line 80), is Bridget able to express her feelings of pointlessness in regard to probation and take more control in the session. At this stage it seems as if the approach is not working. However, Bridget's sense of helplessness needs to be verbalised, before it can transform to anything more positive. Miller and Rollnick (2002: 98-9) argue that resistance is not simply a client's defensiveness but 'arises from interpersonal interaction between counsellor and client' and 'lies at the heart of human change' (2002: 109-10)
It is often triggered by 'a change in counselling style' which can push 'it upward or downward'.

7.6.2 Space to talk

In the next excerpt Esther seems to loosen further her own control and authority over the proceedings by asking Bridget open questions. The importance of the open question (lines 86-7) and the request for honesty is immediately apparent to the observer/reader, by the length of Bridget's next statements. It also indicates Esther's readiness to listen attentively, gives Bridget space to express her feelings and implies that there is more to tell. Instead of monosyllabic answers, this first open question prompts Bridget to speak her mind about probation and her suicide attempt.

Extract 7

```
86     E. What do you feel you got out of this whole Order (B pulls a face)…if
87         you're being absolutely honest?
88     B. Erm (5.0) I don't know (shakes her head, 5.0) It's just a reminder of
89         everything coming in here. Even times when we've not been
90         talking about the offence
91     E. (2.0) Sorry?
92     B. Even times when we've not been not talking about the offence it
93         acts as a reminder
94     E. Um hmm
95     B. It will always be there and okay I will talk about what I did. I will,
96         what, my sister and I went for a coffee that morning and after I
97         was laughing and joking with her blah, blah, blah, this and that
98         and as soon as she left I was sitting outside the coffee shop and I
99         sort of went right down, I just went right to the bottom.
100    E. Can you identify anything that triggered that?
101    B. I don't know (shaking her head). After I left her I was just, well
102        what's the point? I'm not helping towards the mortgage, my
103        sister's having to pay for practically everything for me. She can't
104        afford the mortgage on her own. My daughter, she's been
105        treating me (2.0) every time she talks to me it's like I'm a
106        hindrance or something. So I just sat down, I've got a big bag of
107        medication (shows the size of the bag with her hands)
108    E. Where did you get that bag?
109    B. My sister keeps it; it's all my medication. I have to take it, about 13
110        tablets a day. So I sat down on my bedroom floor….
```

By the length of the pauses (line 88), it is clear that Bridget is giving the question considerable thought. Esther also demonstrates that she is listening attentively by using a continuer (Kadushin and Kadushin, 2013: 156), 'Um hmm' (line 94), waiting for Bridget to go further. This Bridget does, summarising her negative feelings very precisely 'it will always be there', but probation attendance acts as 'a reminder of everything' (lines 88-90). It can be assumed that she is referring to the arrest, the court process and dismissal from her work, the disgrace of the offence itself plus the financial repercussions and the impact on her relationship with her daughter (lines 104-6). Bridget always talks about her offence in strongly negative terms, articulating societal views of female sex offenders:

> 'The majority of people you hear about sexually abusing people are men…I just think women
> shouldn't be doing that sort of things (lifts shoulders, crumples her face) it's disgusting.'

> (Research interview, Bridget, 28.05.2014)

A second open question (line 100) from Esther signifies another unpackaging of a gloss (Jefferson, 1985), enabling Bridget to recount her depressive and suicidal thoughts in some detail (lines 101-2, 105-7 and 109-110), conveying a vivid picture of her loneliness and confusion over her rapid mood swings and unpredictable behaviour.

Lewis (2014: 169) maintains that if respect is missing, which she defines as a lack of empathy, listening and support, 'a "toxic" environment' will be created. In this atmosphere, self-destructive behaviours are more likely and probationers lose faith, not only in the officer seeing them but with the organisation as a whole. Even though Esther takes a different approach to that taken by Steph, Bridget's previous experience with Steph may be impacting on her relationship with Esther, whereby Bridget is still holding resentment towards the probation service in general. The short time frame left on the Order complicates the situation. Plechowicz (2009: 46-7) advises against transfers, viewing them as particularly harmful for very vulnerable women. In her summary of the interaction, Esther indicates that, from her perspective, inheriting complex cases is not ideal:

> 'I think I personally find it quite difficult to take over cases from another officer because we
> all have different ways of working…. I suppose I felt a little bit like I was doing somebody
> else's plan of work and I suppose it goes back to me feeling more in control if I'm there from
> the beginning…. I felt a little bit with Bridget and I don't know if this is to do with her physical
> health problems, her memory things, her mental health or her alcohol use but there was a
> lot of that kind of repetition and vagueness and um she'd come in with the same things,
> perhaps not remember what had happened before; perhaps that was a way for her trying to
> avoid, if I'm being really cynical, trying to avoid talking about the more uncomfortable things,
> I don't know.'

<div align="right">(Research interview, Esther, 23.09.2014)</div>

To overcome these difficulties, more explanations are needed and questions posed and answered. Meta-communications are messages that explain the message, where individuals are telling the other person how their own words and/or actions should be interpreted. Kadushin and Kadushin (2013: 22) recommend paying careful attention to pauses and inflections. Subject matters around suicide are difficult to speak about openly and there needs to be a readiness on both sides to 'bear witness' to painful issues (Anderson, 2016). Extract 8 below illustrates the sensitivity with which such a discussion needs to be handled. Here, meta-communications are used to clear the air. In the sequence, both players in the pairing refer to previous communications.

There is considerable tension in the dialogue. Bridget implies a sense of betrayal, critical of Esther for talking about her behind her back. Esther is open that she has indeed done so, explaining why, seeking reassurance from Bridget that she has done the right thing, by speaking to the crisis team about Bridget's suicidal thoughts. Esther is also querying what was going on for Bridget, whether it was something that she had done, and asking her what else she, Esther, could have done (line 198). This formulation encourages openness, with discussions at two levels, and at the end of the sequence Bridget is able to reveal important information, enlarging and reflecting on what took place. Having aired her questions and expressed her anger about Esther's disclosures to the crisis team (lines 180 and 183), Bridget is then able

to articulate that she was not totally set on suicide, because of what it would do to her sister (lines 199-200 and 202-4) 'I wouldn't want her to find me dead in the house'. Esther affirms Bridget's statement with her 'No's (lines 201 and 205).

Extract 8

```
180    B. [ They told me when they contacted you that you said I'd been
181        talking about doing it.
182    E. Um hm
183    B. Is that what you said?
184    E. Yeah
185    B. (smiles but looks angry) okay.
186    E. Was that….
187    B. No no I just wanted to clear…. that's what…..
188    E. Because at our last meeting that's what you said to me and that
189        you'd been on the internet (B looks down and pulls a face as if E
190        has betrayed her trust as she expected. Looks at E with disgust).
191        Do you remember saying that?
192    B. Yeah, I remember saying that.
193    E. So that's obviously what the nurse wanted to know. So I just said
194        that's what had happened (they nod at each other). (7.0) Was that
195        OK that I told her that?
196    B. Yeas, yeah, yeah, it's fine (it obviously isn't fine). I don't think
197        anybody took me seriously really and…
198    E. What would you have liked me to have done?
199    B. (5.0) What with regard to…? I think deep down if I had wanted to
200        do it I wouldn't have contacted my sister.
201    E. No
202    B. (screws up her nose and purses her lips) No, I wouldn't have
203        contacted her (3.0). I didn't want her to find me dead in the
204        house.
205    E. No
```

7.6.4 Moving towards a strengths-based focus

Through Esther clarifying her role and showing concern for Bridget (which may have been in doubt when she failed to make phone enquiries following the suicide attempt), Bridget is able to reflect on her thoughts around her overdose. Shortly afterwards the dialogue shifts focus, starting to take a more positive, forward-looking turn, as recommended in the strength-based literature (Miller and Rollnick, 2002: 102; McNeill, 2006; Ward and Langlands, 2009). Not only has the topic of discussion moved away from the offence and the suicide attempt, but it is replaced by a focus on the service user's abilities rather than

failures (Extract 9 line 218), prompting specific positive comments. Bridget is invited to comment on her skills and speaks out loud a clear goal (line 219).

Extract 9

```
212    B. Yeah I just think I've lost confidence now in ever finding a job. It's
213       just, I've just lost my confidence
214    E. Hmmm but confidence is something that can come back though
215    B. Mm hmm (tries to smile and nods her head) …. Maybe.
216    E. When do you feel at your most confident?
217    B. (4.0 looks astonished at the question) At the moment…
218    E. What sort of things do you do to give you confidence?
219    B. (5.0) I'll start up my art.
```

Esther, is open about her personal feelings towards Bridget, shining a light on why Steph may have wanted to keep her at a distance:

> 'I think for me I have a lot of personal, family experience of depression. I sometimes find it quite frustrating and that whole kind of, that inertia I suppose that comes from people who are quite depressed' That they want to make these changes and they know what will help them but it's getting them in that position where they have enough energy and motivation to get on. I just find that really frustrating (said vehemently).'

> (Research interview, Esther, 23.09.2014).

Campos, Mesquita, Besser and Blatt (2014) correlate depression with neediness and Bettles, Rich and Bourne (2015) comment on the irritation practitioners can feel when service users demonstrate dependency, viewing it as making excessive demands on them. Despite her personal feelings and bias, Esther does not shy away from Bridget's distress and works through the painful process of turning it around. Unlike Steph, Esther adopts an approach which works within a much more humanitarian and therapeutic framework.

7.7 Gilli and Cassie

Interaction ruptures and 'toxic environments to change' (Lewis, 2014: 161) do not only happen with probation officers. The following case study of Gilli, woman centre worker (WCW), and Cassie (WSU) (09.12.2014) shows how difficulties can also occur for practitioners within a woman-only, feminist-based agency. Here, the practitioner is a senior worker from an all-woman environment (Empower, holistic women's centre). Cassie is a mixed-race woman in her late 30s. She has a daughter, Anna,13 years' old, whom Cassie misses enormously because she lives with her father about 25 miles away. Cassie is a recovering alcoholic, who recently attended a residential rehabilitation centre for 12 weeks, but she has recently relapsed. Like Bridget, Cassie experiences bouts of severe depression and has suicidal thoughts. Her offence was for assault of police officers whilst intoxicated. She has been seeing Gilli, a women's

centre worker, for 12 weeks (out of 20 ordered by the Courts) when this supervision session takes place (09.12.2014).

7.7.1 Covering everything and nothing

This excerpt, Extract 10, starts with Gilli asking about Cassie's Open University course, where Cassie informs Gilli that the materials for the course have arrived earlier that day. Prior to this extract, a variety of topics are already discussed in the first 15 minutes, and then another three subjects are covered here in rapid succession - unpaid household bills, kittens and stopping taking her medication. By ignoring the look on Cassie's face and carrying on as if she is delighted (lines 126 and 128-9), what is said by Gilli does not correspond with Cassie's mood as seen through her tone, bodily responses and utterances (lines 125, 127 and 130). Egan (2008: 117) comments on the importance of the practitioner's 'emotional tone' matching that of the individual as an indicator of 'being with the client'. Cassie says little, but her subdued state (strikingly different to how she has presented on previous occasions) seems not to be noticed and an anomalous assessment is made (line 146) 'so things are moving again?'

Cassie finally has an opportunity to explain what is on her mind (line 147), about stopping taking her pills which seems to refute further Gilli's conclusions that everything is going well. Cassie has talked about these tablets previously in an observed video session (07.10.2014), and Gilli has been seeing her on a fortnightly basis so, by forgetting these details, the impression Gilli conveys is one of lack of interest. Kadushin and Kadushin (2013: 174-5) explain that recalling service users' 'comments or even better their exact words… suggests that they have some shared responsibility' in what is being said and how the interview progresses. Gilli does however, remember about the kittens and highlights that, despite feeling low and lethargic, Cassie is able to rally herself sufficiently to find other homes for the kittens (lines142 and 144-5).

When Cassie suddenly discloses that she is no longer taking the tablets, it may be suspected that there might be 'more-to-it' as with 'unpackaging a gloss' but only factual closed questions are asked (lines 148 and 152). Gilli seems to show concerns about stopping the pills when she repeats Cassie's words (line 152), but she shuts down Cassie's opportunities to expand, by posing only closed questions. Cassie's responses become increasingly monosyllabic, as she gives purely factual answers. The feelings connected to the pills themselves, what they represent, Cassie's attitude to her condition and any difficulties around taking medication remain unexplored.

Extract 10

124	C. I forgot all about it to be honest and then it come this morning and
125	I'm like what is that? (Pulls a face of surprise may be dislike).
126	G. A nice surprise then!
127	C. Well yeah (doesn't sound convinced)
128	G. You were looking forward to doing it. Cool, so the bills are still to
129	be sorted?
130	C. (A small voice) Yeah
131	G. So we don't know what's in there yet? You got rid of the cats
132	because you sent me a text about that....Kittens
133	C. Yeah I got rid of the kittens [
134	P. So somebody took them for you
135	C. I gave one to a friend and I gave the other one to the RSPCA (pause
136	three seconds). They cost a fortune to feed and I've already got
137	three.
138	G. Good Lord!
139	C. So, erm, I just got rid of them
140	G. Fair enough, well, that's good, somebody got a kitten for
141	Christmas. Sweet. It doesn't have to be you (they both laugh). So
142	that's good, that was good that you did that. You were really very
143	low in energy and saying I really don't feel like doing anything I
144	just want to go home and go back to bed but you managed to sort
145	something out for the kittens. That was done that day pretty
146	much wasn't it or by the next day. So things are moving again.
147	C. I've not been taking my tablets erm
148	G. What are they for?
149	C. My depression and my bipolar
150	G. Right
151	C. Mood stabilisers
152	G. You haven't been taking them. When did you last take them?
153	C. (fiddling with the top of her jumper and pause 2 seconds whilst she
154	thinks) a couple of weeks ago

7.7.2 Trying to explain

In extract 11, line 171 Cassie makes a very strong negative statement about her doctor. Gilli acknowledges and generalises the issue but does not ask for further information, returning immediately to the subject of the pills. She assumes (line 172) knowledge of why Cassie thinks the doctor is useless. Having shared important information which is not pursued, Cassie returns to non-committal monosyllabic answers. Although the discussion is about Cassie, she has minimal control over the agenda and is placed in a relatively powerless position, where she is asked to explain or re-explain about the tablets. Cassie's body language is hunched over, suggesting unhappiness and depression, but again this seems not to be noticed by Gilli.

Extract 11

```
168    G. Right, and the seizures have started during that time have they?
169    C. Yeah
170    G. Well it might be then. What does the doctor think?
171    C. Oh, the doctor is useless
172    G. Yeah they can be quite black and white about these things can't
173       they? But I suppose if you feel that there is a connection but there
174       have been no bad effects from just stopping the pills. You've not
175       noticed... A dramatic?
176    C. No
177    G. What do you think they were doing in terms of your mood? You
178       said they were mood enhancing
179    C. What were they doing?
180    G. Hmm
181    C. Um apparently the tablets that they're keeping are the same
182       tablets that they give to epileptics.
183    G. Right
184    C. Erm but I'm not epileptic
```

Gilli still asks whether the pills were successful in acting as a mood enhancer, when indications are that this is clearly not the case; Cassie has discontinued them and continues to feel depressed. Cassie ignores Gilli's query about the drug being mood enhancing, producing information about epilepsy which Gilli seems to take literally (line 183), prompting Cassie's indignant response (line 184) 'Erm, but I'm not epileptic'.

Six weeks later, Cassie explains to me why she has still not visited the 'doctor' (who, it emerges, is in fact a male mental health nurse), and gives reasons for her dislike of him:

> 'I went to see him about a year ago and he said you know – Cassie why do you think you drink. I said because I'm bored and I'm lonely and it stopped my brain from thinking and he said I think that what you need is a husband…Okay, well do you do them on prescription? What kind of response is that? A husband is not what I need. It just makes me think the whole system is an absolute joke (4.0). I can feel myself getting pissed off now'

> (Research interview, 22.01.2015)

It is unsurprising that sexist attitudes, and approaches from male professionals, anger Cassie. They may reverberate particularly strongly, as reminiscent of other men's power and control over the important aspects of her life. Her ex-husband gained parental rights over their daughter, a claim to half the house and has taken her car as she has been banned from driving. Anger is the flip side of Cassie's depression with its effects of paralysis, 'I'm so tired you know. The house is in just such a mess. I'm tempted to start filing things but if I start it I don't complete it' (supervision session, 22.01.2015). Studies have shown that where the external locus of control or outside influences are strong, this can lead to an increase in both anger and depression through feelings of powerlessness (Abdolmanafi, Besharat, Farahani, Khodaii, 2011).

7.7.3 Barriers to effective communication 1

The one consistently positive and regular contact in Cassie's life is her daughter, Anna as seen in the following extract (supervision session, 09.12.2014): Although Cassie wants to see her daughter, a number of concerns are raised. She is worried (lines 214-5) that she might have a seizure, and neither she nor Anna will know what to do. This could be linked to Cassie being blamed by *her* mother for negligence when she was a similar age to Anna, and the guilt Cassie has carried throughout her life. The constant cloud hanging over Cassie is of her mother's lack of forgiveness towards her for the death of her 8-year-old brother who was killed in a traffic accident when Cassie, aged 12, was looking after him.

Extract 12

```
198    G. ... so um what's
199         happening with Anna, have you seen Anna?
200    C. I see Anna on, what day is it today
201    G. Tuesday
202    C. My memory has just completely gone
203    G. Are you in any sort of routine about what you do during the week,
204         or is Monday to Sunday pretty much of a muchness?
205    C. I only come and see Polly, that's it really. Erm and do I see anybody
206         else, you see I can't remember.
207    G. I saw you last Wednesday I think it was. You're meant to be seeing
208         me on Thursday but then that wasn't going to happen. Erm I think
209         you may have seen her the weekend before that
210    C. Yeah, I've seen her within the last couple of weeks
211    G. All right
212    C. I talk to her every day
213    G. That's good
214    C. (Pause four seconds) she's a little bit anxious that I have my turns,
215         she doesn't know what to do if they happen
216    G. Right
217    C. I don't know what to do if they happen either
218    G. No, no but once you've been monitored in hospital but I don't
219         know, do they happen every night. If it doesn't happen on the
220         night that you're in there
221    C. I've no idea, I don't think they happen every night.
222    G. No, so it's a bit random as to what will happen when you're staying
223         over there isn't it?
224    C. Yeah
225    G. In a way (yawns and lays down her head on her arm stretched out
226         on the table) excuse me, lack of oxygen. Oh okay. So, we'll wait
227         and see then. Any plans for Christmas and New Year, are you
228         going to be seeing her?
```

Ermer and Proulx (2016: 1021) correlate depression and poor mental health with unforgiveness by others. Cassie may want to protect Anna from carrying a similar burden should something happen to her; this is apart from concerns about her own personal safety.

Kadushin and Kadushin (2013: 24) discuss barriers to communication as 'What we hear, we convert in such a way that it relates with minimum conflict to our experience, values, ideas and preconception'. Gilli might legitimately have explored aspects of safeguarding concerns for Anna and Cassie, and retraumatisation possibilities for Cassie. However, she seems unaware of the underlying messages being transmitted. Gilli does offer words of praise and encouragement (line 213), in response to Cassie's talk about her daily phone calls with Anna (line 212). Comments around Christmas, a difficult time for most recovering alcoholics, and especially a parent experiencing separation from her daughter, are presented in a casual way (line 226), 'Any plans for Christmas and New Year?' with no mention of the powerful feelings of loss and loneliness that can surface at such times.

Other worries are being articulated by Cassie, such as her memory loss (line 202), which may be resulting from her chaotic lifestyle but may also be systemic damage from heavy drinking. Cassie has mentioned previously (supervision session, 07.10.2014) her fears that she is developing vascular dementia, and so this is a weighty utterance. Gilli does not appear to register the significance of what Cassie has said and implies that lack of routine is behind Cassie's confusion; another subject then gets lost. The more serious possibilities are glossed over by Gilli (lines 203-4) with mixed and unsubstantiated reassurances about the hospital tests. Instead of asking Cassie open questions about what the tests involve, and what Cassie is expecting, she offers her own generalised opinion of what will happen (lines 222-3), presenting a worrying scenario concerning the seizure (lines 219-20). Cassie then seems to disengage by resorting to monosyllabic agreement (line 224). Despite the important topics under discussion, by yawning and laying down her head (lines 225-6) Gilli demonstrates standard signs of boredom.

Cassie makes some self-motivational statements early in the supervision interview, indicating she either is at or approaching the preparation/action stage, putting some change into practice (Pycroft, 2010; Cherry, 2005), 'Funnily enough I have been sorting crap out at home' and 'I'm trying to sort out my bedroom at the moment. I feel if I could put it on the market. I've got to sort the house out and make it a bit presentable' (lines 42 and 72). Cherry (2005: 92) talks of a plan being put into place, which Gilli attempts to do. However, Cherry (2005, 92-3) also advises that this is 'a time when the client may feel very vulnerable and scared…the action stage can be almost overwhelming.' Cassie is still very ambivalent about what she wants and what she feels capable of doing, needing constant reassurance and encouragement.

7.7.4 Barriers to effective communication 2

Gilli becomes more animated later in the interview when she draws the conversation round to an area of her particular expertise, employment advice. Gilli is in the process of doing a mentoring course and in the

research interview (26.01.2015) explains that she is keen to put into practice her interpretation of their principles. In the next extract, Gilli seems unaware that her ideas about what would be best for Cassie are *not* being received enthusiastically by Cassie. Kadushin and Kadushin (2013: 24) refer to this as repression or reaction formation, where the practitioner either cannot hear the message being transmitted or hears it as the opposite of what is being said. In line 473, Cassie states 'I don't know I quite like the sound of temping' which could be interpreted two ways as 'I don't know, I quite like the sound of temping' where she sounds positive about the idea, or the opposite, 'I don't know I quite like the sound of temping.' From watching her closed body language and listening to her intonation on the video, it seems to be the latter.

Extract 13

```
455    C. I don't really want to go back into secretarial work. But I mean if
456       I'm desperate for money then I will. But [
457    G. ]What about temping? It's kind of secretarial but you get all the
458       other stuff with it don't you? (Carrie looks quizzical). And a bit
459       more involved because you have to learn something new each
460       time.
461    C. I have never done temping before
462    G. Well it's just an idea. Because you are quite a senior secretary
463       before weren't you and may be get to work at a reasonably senior
464       level still but you don't have all the responsibility of being there
465       full time if you're temping. This is just an idea, I don't even know
466       what the market is like for temps at the moment (25.05) whether
467       there is anything or not but it might be a way back in. You could
468       work a couple of weeks and if it was all too much then you could
469       have a few weeks off; it's all about easing you back in, isn't it?
470    C. Hmm
471    G. Or maybe you think you'd be better just , boom, getting straight
472       stuck in to a proper job again, I don't know.
473    C. I don't know I quite like the sound of temping.
474    G. Well it's something to think about
475    C. I'll have a look online later
476    G. I mean all the job ads that you would normally go for for a full-
477       time job often have temporary jobs. Obviously there are still a few
478       agencies in the market. Um but if you wanted to do it may be it
479       would be best to approach a few big companies directly, say you
480       know I'm available for freelance. If you've got somebody sick or
481       whatever this is my CV, see how wonderful I am...
```

Cassie makes a categorical statement (line 455) although tempers it slightly in her next sentence. She is then interrupted by Gilli (line 457), ignoring what has just been said by suggesting that she does do secretarial work, albeit temping. Each time, Cassie acknowledges Gilli's idea, briefly and politely. Although she does not say no outright, she phrases her words so that it is quite clear that this work is not work she wishes to do (line 473). As noted previously, Kitzinger and Frith (2001: 182) make it clear that there are 'normatively understood ways of doing refusals'. Instead of investigating why Cassie is against secretarial work and what alternatives there might be, Gilli continues with detailed lengthy monologues. The eagerness for the suggestion to be taken up is indicated through the repetitive, lengthy content. The effect on Cassie is that her contributions become shorter; she is not being heard and has no voice in the

interaction. Even her agreement to 'look online later' (line 475) does not bring closure with further long monologues from Gilli (not presented here).

7.7.5 Discussion

Egan (2008: 74) discusses 'nonverbal behaviour as a channel of communication,' and this supervision session demonstrates, in a number of ways, how Cassie is side-lined. Body language, including eye contact, or lack of it, is an indicator of the 'quality of [the helper's] presence' (Egan, 2008: 74), and the message that Cassie could have received is that she is unworthy of Gilli's attention, feeding into her depression and feelings of worthlessness. This is compounded by the practitioner reinforcing her own importance by monopolising the conversation. The WSUs are on several occasions given few opportunities to express their own thoughts and feelings and there are many missed opportunities. Egan (2008: 116) advises using interjections that are 'lean and trim', instead of the monologues which are Gilli's modus operandi. When talking about the sessions with Cassie, Gilli refers to gaps in her knowledge:

> 'You know I don't know enough about bipolar, that's the other thing; she's bipolar, she's now been diagnosed as epileptic so I'm not sure how they impact and how much I can push at that…. But in terms of the session going it was heavy going I did feel I wanted to push her a little bit because she was so down…. I'm not sure how well I did that to be perfectly honest cos she played the game very well. I felt that she was dancing with me but in terms of how deep did we get with her to start moving her we made a start possibly. That's how I feel…. Hopefully reminding herself that she can trust me to say things to me and I am listening to her, that I'm sensitive to what she's going through. I don't fully, you know it's not really my experience to be that withdrawn and low etc.'

(Research interview, Gilli, 26.01.2015)

Gilli's frustration is indicated in her desire 'to push' Cassie away from her depression. The disjuncture between what Gilli does and her perception, that she listens and is responsive to Cassie, is borne out from the transcript and from Cassie's feedback on Gilli:

> 'She's very friendly, erm, she's just a normal woman, how I used to be (2.0) she reminds me a lot of myself actually. I used to have that confidence and that friendliness…. To be honest it's been nice having Gilli to talk to, but you know, I think I'm just a number aren't I, just a number in her book and she's probably got a million and one other clients to deal with. She's just doing her job. They don't care about you, do they?'

(Research interview, Cassie, 22.01.2015)

When considering why barriers between the two participants occur, there are a number of possibilities. Gilli may be fearful of, or irritated by depressive states, as seen in Esther's account of working with depressive service users. Ironically considering that she does not see herself as a 'low' person, Gilli's actions of yawning and putting her head down, mirror Cassie's lethargy and apathy. Yet she seems to perceive Cassie, as a person with considerable energy, actively playing 'the game' and 'dancing' with her. Preferences against counselling style supervision are expressed strongly by Gilli, which may explain her

need to step in too quickly with pre-conceptions that negate Cassie's 'core messages' to her (Egan, 2008: 116):

> 'Well the counselling kind of touchy feely, it's all too passive. I think that doesn't suit my style or my attitude I suppose…. a supporting role for all women isn't always about softly, softly, kindly, kindly; it's actually about - no, get angry, get angry, sort yourself out and sometimes it is about that and I just think that's a healthier, stronger place to be than actually always being nurturing, caring.'

(Research interview, Gilli, 26.01.2015)

Despite belonging to an organisation that advocates a therapeutic approach, Gilli rejects this discourse with language ('sort yourself out') reminiscent of a 'pull yourself together/snap out of it' approach to depression (Dietrich, Mergl, Freudenberg, Althaus and Hegerl, 2010). Under the guise of the feminist discourses underpinning holistic women's centres, Gilli uses expressions of gaining strength and empowerment through getting angry. In her research into women suffering from depression, Schreiber (2001: 88) finds an expectation on 'being cheerful, being productive and, above all being strong.' Schreiber (2001) contends that this type of expectation reinforces punitiveness and oppression, particularly towards those who have extensive experiences of violence; there is always the belief that they will fall short in their own and in the practitioner's eyes. Whilst Gilli acknowledges that Cassie has deep-seated problems, originating in abuse from her mother and the trauma of losing her brother, she does not see *her* role as trying to understand the connections between those and Cassie's offending, alcohol misuse and depression. She also fails to understand that an underpinning practitioner/service user relationship is imperative before effective mentoring and motivating can take place. To achieve such a relationship, Cassie needs space to voice her difficulties, to know that she is being heard and that empathy is being shown towards her situation. Although kindnesses and compassion are demonstrated at some points, consistency is required. Kadushin and Kadushin (2013: 85) list attitudes that prevent relationship building, some of which are observable in Gilli's approach – 'impatient', 'uninterested', 'controlling', 'dogmatic', giving the impression of being at times 'condescending', 'patronizing and unresponsive'.

Cassie needs time to put her thoughts into words, but Gilli disallows 'silence' during their conversations (Cherry, 2005: 28). Gilli's interventions indicate that she is a novice who would benefit from basic counselling skills and reflective supervision even though she holds a senior supervisory role in Empower. Working at a distance from the holistic women's centre in an outreach capacity, Gilli is fairly isolated. Despite an ethos of relational supervision in Empower, Gilli admits that she has not called on Rita, her manager even with serious concerns over Cassie's suicidal ideation, in addition to other upsetting and complex cases – 'Probably could have done with supervision last week but there wasn't time in my diary or Rita's to do that… I didn't want to say you know this is really urgent could you make some time for me' (research interview, 26.01.2015). Again, it can be speculated on why Gilli did not make more effort to have

supervision. It may be unconscious avoidance, because her job is not secure. As a first-time senior practitioner, it may feel uncomfortable for Gilli to say she is feeling out of her depth, wanting to give the impression that she can successfully manage cases on her own. Of note, in later sessions she meets with Cassie at C town probation office. This is contrary to the holistic women's centre good practice principle, of seeing women away from statutory venues. It may indicate pressures from the dominant agency (probation) to fall in line with their structures, or a desire by Gilli to limit her isolation and feel more a part of the probation organisation.

7.8 Judy and Carmen

A different approach is taken by Judy, another woman's centre worker and also a member of the Empower staff team. She is seeing Carmen, who has recently been released having served a 15-month prison sentence. Judy has worked in male and female prisons for 20 years and holds a counselling qualification. Carmen is a 27-year-old woman convicted for neglect of her son, Tom. Tom was badly shaken by her partner at the time and removed from Carmen's care. He was adopted by Carmen's aunt, who then emigrated to Canada. Attending sessions with Empower was optional for Carmen, and up till then her dealings with statutory services, NHS, children's services and probation, by her account, had been unremittingly lacking in support:

> 'I was just told there's a woman's thing. We think it'll be good and that's it. No information,
> nothing. So, until you open the door and find out a bit more about it from the people, you've no
> idea.'

> (Research interview, Carmen, 10.12.2014)

Judy does point out the difference made by the voluntary nature of their meetings as, unlike most of her caseload, Carmen is happy to attend:

> 'She's so, yes so …motivated.... And yes, she's just fantastic, a fantastic client'.

> (Research interview, Judy, 18.12.2014)

7.8.1 An invitation to speak about traumatic experiences

The following excerpt occurs after Judy has met with Carmen on a few occasions, and they have reached an agreement that Carmen will not talk about what happened with Tom until she is ready:

> 'We had one session which wasn't filmed just prior to us starting the filming which is where she
> said, told me all about the actual Tom, the actual event and I just let her talk. There was lots in it

that I would quite like to have asked as regards to her involvement, what was actually going on
for her, but it seemed like it was really important for her just to talk'

At the start of the supervision session (15.10.2014) Judy checks out what Carmen wants to talk about. In
this excerpt, she investigates exactly how much Carmen wants to divulge: Carmen begins by explaining
the difficulties she experienced with Tom as a young baby. Judy again checks out her understanding
through three closed questions (Extract 14, lines 76, 80 and 82), but also interprets the feelings behind it
(lines 78 and 88-9). By doing this she is acknowledging Carmen's difficulties and modelling that feelings
can be expressed. Carmen responds, in the extract below, with short answers 'yeah' initially, but then
expands on the mixed messages she receives from the doctor. Wooffitt (2005: 106) comments on the use
of 'just' to indicate 'mundane and routine features', before going on to describe situations which are far
from normal, and this is seen in line 87, 'I just got on with it really'. In line 86, Judy uses a continuer 'Right,
okay' which acknowledges Carmen's explanation and recalls other difficulties in Carmen's life at that time.

Extract 14

```
71    J. Gosh
72    C. Bad tummy, he was a nightmare (nervous laugh). Erm then he had
73        bronchitis and we were at the hospital for two days on the drips
74        and the tubes and then after he was born he was put up in
75        intensive care for a night as well
76    J. Just after he was born?
77    C. Yeah
78    J. Oh gosh so it was quite a shock
79    C. Yeah, yeah (very quietly)
80    J. Were you actually diagnosed with postnatal depression?
81    C. No, no, no no no-one helped me with any of it
82    J. Right but then I thought you were on meds?[
83    C. ] Yeah I went to the doctor and then you know it was discussed
84        and he said you don't need them, you do need them and it was
85        like this all over
86    J. Right okay
87    C. So I just kind of I just got on with it really (sad laugh)
88    J. Gosh so really bad time and there was the other stuff going on with
89        the relationship
90    C. Ummhmm
91    J. Are you in a place where you want to talk about that or
92    C. I'm okay to talk about it
93    J. Okay... Sure?
94    C. Yeah
95    J. Tell me about that time then C? So you've got Tom, I know we're
96        not going to talk about Tom um but you have mentioned linked to
97        him sort of all the stuff that was going on for you so... fill me in
```

Judy asks twice (lines 91 and 93) whether Carmen wants to continue. Again, this is reminding Carmen
that it is she, Carmen, who has control of when or whether they speak about Tom (lines 95-6), but

suggests this might be the time, as events with Tom are integral to what is happening for Carmen. Judy ends this sequence of turns with an open generalised invitation to Carmen, 'fill me in'

7.8.2 Reinforcing positives

By this time in the interview Carmen is happy to speak about her time in prison at some length and her optimistic worldview. Carmen is also alerting Judy here to how she has been seen as 'odd' and 'different' by both her peers and her family (lines 343-344 and 354). Judy reframes this as resilience, using positive words, 'amazing', 'fantastic' to reinforce that she views these characteristics as a strength and not in any way peculiar. Carmen is also wanting to distance herself from the rest of her family who she has previously described as 'always getting' really upset and really angry and fight with each other' (lines 264-266).

Extract 15

```
332    J. And is that you C, or is that your personality would you say?
333    C. It's something I've always done cos while I was in prison I had quite
334       a lot of rubbish day during the course. We were doing this thing
335       from A-Z going through feelings and emotions in the group and
336       they were moaning about the stupidest little things and I piped up
337       and said 'it's not that bad cos we still have food, we still have
338       water even though we're in prison. You know I know we don't
339       have our freedom but we still have people who we can talk to like
340       on the Wing and some of us have still got our families or friends
341       you know and obviously people made friends in the prison
342    J. Yup
343    C. But luckily we've still got all our limbs and they kind of looked at
344       me as if I was really odd (laughs). That's kind of the way I've
345       always looked at things. It's kind of yeah that might be rubbish but
346       I've still got this, I've still got that and that's kind of...
347    J. Which is pretty amazing considering the stuff that I've learnt so far
348       about your background to have that optimistic and positive view
349       of things is fantastic and you've maintained that despite....
350    C. (......)
351    J. Sorry?
352    C. Since I was little I've been like that really
353    J. You can identify that
354    C. As a kid I always knew that I was a bit, bit more different than the
355       rest of my family were (laughs) so...
```

Judy says very little apart from 'minimal encouragements' (lines 342, 351 and 353) (Kadushin and Kadushin, 2013: 156). Short utterances keep up the momentum and indicate to Carmen that Judy is present and interested. Kadushin and Kadushin (2013) explain that the effects of these brief expressions are powerful in bolstering the service user, informing them that what they are saying is relevant and matters. As the interventions have little meaning in themselves, they do not place any blocks to the speaker's flow or cause them to change the direction of the content.

7.8.3 Remembering past discussions

Judy goes back to an earlier conversation in the session where Carmen has described visiting a friend with a young baby. A number of issues are raised by returning to this subject.

Extract 16

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450    J. Can I just, there's just something I want to check out with you that
451        you said a little while ago in regards to your friend.
452    C. Umm
453    J. Erm you said that she's a bit, what word did you use, sort of quiet
454        when her husband is there. Is there any sort of concerns and I'm
455        guessing because of your training, your own experience? I'm
456        talking about domestic abuse. Is there anything that we should be
457        concerned about there, can I just check that one?
458    C. Not domestic wise, I don't think he'd hit her, not that sort of but he
459        gets. He's got like anxiety and she's having to deal with that and
460        everything just like when they were getting married they'd
461        arrange it and then 'actually I don't want to marry you now.' He
462        makes her, she's got depression and anxiety and he's made her
463        sort of, I don't know she's not herself around him; she doesn't
464        want to upset him all the time.
465    J. Cos that could indicate couldn't it
466    C. Yes
467    J. That is one of the evidence of domestic abuse
468    C. Umm
469    J. I'm sure you're very hot on that
470    C. Umm I've spoken to her a few times about it. It's just kind of, she's
471        happy but at the same time she's not herself and it's quite I don't
472        know I just see a lot of me in her
```

Judy's comments demonstrate her attention to what Carmen has been saying and that she has been reflecting on it. Judy is checking out safeguarding concerns for this baby in a household where she clearly suspects domestic abuse is taking place (lines 453-457). Carmen is able to clarify her concerns for her friend and describes a situation (lines 461-464) which Judy classifies as emotional abuse (line 467) see 6.5.3 for a definition and discussion of coercive control). At the same time Judy reinforces Carmen's knowledge and experience in this sphere (line 469), bringing the topic round to Carmen to allow her to talk further about her experiences. Carmen then draws parallels between her own domestic abuse and that of her friend's (line 472). At a later meeting (research interview 18.12.2014) Judy observes that she always tries to be aware of safeguarding issues but that the videoing increases her awareness and makes her even more vigilant:

> '…. it's like when the safeguarding little bits came up I'd like to think that I genuinely do deal with things in the same way, but it was extra ooh, it's being filmed. Yes, I've really got to make sure that I get this quite right. That's not a bad thing either in terms of the camera supervises as well (holds her hand out to the camera which hides her face and laughs).'

> (Research interview, 18.12.2014)

Judy sees her remit with Carmen as helping her to manage the abuse and loss in her life, but also bears in mind, as part of a broader organisational structure, her responsibilities in relation to safeguarding children. Through taking an empathic stance throughout, asking open questions and reflective listening, it is apparent that she is using her counselling skills. However, there are self-imposed regulations for Judy, recognising that this is not a counselling relationship;

> I feel quite like her Mum and I feel although I haven't actually asked her this because it wouldn't be appropriate to – I'm not counselling her. If I *was* counselling her, I would be asking her questions, whether there's anything that she feels anything like that – transference or feels like I'm her Mum. So, I almost feel like I'm a bit of a role model for her and I feel like I respond to her.

(Research interview, 18.12.2014)

Awareness of transference issues, whereby the service user reacts to the practitioner as if they were another significant person in their lives is yet another way that Judy demonstrates her knowledge and experience. She is constantly weighing up the broader organisational needs, but this does not detract from her taking a humanistic, therapeutic approach to her practice with probation clients. With the focus on allowing Carmen to talk about her abusive and traumatic experiences in her own time, she exemplifies Empower's philosophy of supporting and enabling women. Within this model, disclosure is viewed as a positive choice, influenced by the respect shown to the service user and the hope that there will be ensuing trust held in the practitioner. Judy also takes reflective supervision seriously. In addition to monthly one-to-one relational supervision and business meeting with the senior practitioner, Judy also sets aside every Friday for group supervision with the social work team in her building:

> 'My office manager here, Lucie, she always starts off with 'How are you?' and if there are any issues that have come up – and it's a personal 'How are you?' - and then will incorporate work, any issues, do safeguarding obviously. So, everything's out there. I feel very supported'.

(Research interview, Judy, 18.12.2014)

7.9 Concluding discussion

This chapter demonstrates real-life exchanges between practitioners and WSUs where verbal and body language are able to be observed. The focus here has been to examine the data through a discourse analysis (DA) lens, interpreting particular issues that have arisen and been noticed. Much of the rich and important data presented above would not have been captured by audio technology, or solely through asking for the impressions of individual actors. Without the video technology, significant gestures - such as Steph looking away when Bridget is tearful, Gilli laying down her head on her arm, the looks/pulling faces by all - would have been lost with audio recording. They are also unlikely to have been reported by participants, because they may not have been aware of them, or might not want to expose that side of their practice to a researcher. Picking up on the subtleties of the body language, in combination with certain tones used, the emotional states of practitioners and WSUs are captured.

For a number of reasons, individuals are seen as not always completely open and truthful about their feelings in their narratives. As Gergen (2001:253) states, 'a story's endpoint is weighted with value' leading to justifications and positive takes on the person's role in the supervisory relationship. It is also observed in the extracts how individuals can gloss over areas that are painful or uncomfortable for them (Jefferson, 1985). The data shows that participants use various strategies when describing the interactions. This takes various forms - being polite or politically correct when talking to the researcher about 'the other'; striving to protect people who have shown kindness to them; being hostile because of poor past experiences with authority figures; or harbouring a mixture of emotions towards the supervising officer as a projection of attachment issues from their own childhood and current psychological state (Kitzinger and Frith, 2001; Ansbro, 2008; King and O'Brien, 2011). For example, Steph and Gilli speak in respectful terms about Bridget and Cassie in the research interviews, but this is not always mirrored in the supervisory interaction. There is an underlying acceptance that knowledge about such areas as genuineness can only be 'partial, situated…. relative' (Taylor, 2001: 12), but evaluating interaction using DA brings different perspectives and is rife with complexities.

Power differentials play a part in how the narratives are conveyed. This is evident in the above interchanges between practitioner and WSU, as well as in the researcher's power to select and analyse the interaction in particular ways. Taking a post-structuralist perspective, all social contact involves power; each actor will possess elements of power and use of power is not necessarily abusive but can be facilitative (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000). This part of the research explores, through direct observation and analysing transcripts of actual conversations, in conjunction with semi-structured interviews, the pitfalls that can infiltrate the therapeutic alliance. These 'therapeutic blunders' or 'ruptures' (Day and Ward, 2010: 296; Lewis, 2016: 115) are basically failures in communication, some of which are intentional and others not so. These interactions do not involve open confrontation or outward aggression, but instead more passive resistance is signalled through disengagement, not meeting each other's eyes, turning away or monosyllabic answers. Voices can be shut down in a number of subtle but highly effective ways. It may be that, as Day and Ward (2010: 293) suggest, attitudes are influenced by underlying social and/or organisational values that 'clients are there because they are in some way morally culpable for their behaviour' and deserve more punitive approaches.

'Micro-messages' or 'micro-inequities' arise from such judgements. These are forms of communication, 'often unintentional and often unnoticed' (Cherry, 2005: 127-8) yet, nevertheless, accentuating practitioners' authority, demeaning to service users, promoting disengagement and provoking resentment.

Such messages are hard to identify and confront because they are often masked by a smile or a friendly facade. Just as service users put on masks to disguise negative feelings towards the other person or to feel powerful, practitioners, on occasions, do exactly the same. In the same way that service users' insincerity and deception are apparent to probation workers, so too can service users sense underlying hostility or lack of interest from practitioners.

Observations can be made as to the effect these 'blunders' have on WSUs. Aware that supervision is not going well, the reactions from WSUs may be to blame the practitioner but also frequently to blame themselves, rather than those who they recognise as showing them some kindnesses. Wrestling with their situation, unsuccessful interactions with probation can be perceived as yet another example of relationship failures, ongoing self-destructiveness and feeling excluded, even by those paid to assist them. The WSU's *self*-blame (and unspoken blame from the practitioners) limits reflection on any problematic dynamics which might be laid at the feet of the practitioners. Influenced by their own prejudices and insecurities, practitioners either have no access to reflective supervision, do not take advantage of what is available, or seek out support from colleagues where entrenched, unproductive ways of working can go unchallenged and merely bolster their perspectives. Kadushin and Kadushin (2013: 24) describe different defence mechanisms where 'mental processes protect practitioners from hearing what would be inconvenient, hurtful or frightening'.

Gadd and Dixon (2011) adopt a Kleinian perspective in which projection causes 'the other' to actually experience the projected thoughts and feelings. Practitioner anxieties around receiving certain uncomfortable emotions may result in fears of making the situation worse, or feelings of defensiveness, to prevent absorbing the other's pain. Gadd and Dixon (2011: 46) describe that in order to avoid this happening, the situation may transform into pre-emptive blaming of service users for 'being ungrateful for our attempts to "tolerate" them'. It is recognised how threatening this can appear to practitioners, when it may feel as if they are colluding or identifying with attitudes and behaviours that they find abhorrent. Steph and Gilli employ, consciously or unconsciously, a number of devices such as interrupting, asking several questions at the same time, the sudden switching of topics, asking closed questions and dominating the conversation, conveying a negative judgement. These interventions effectively shut down service users' stories, resulting in short answers that must contain sufficient politeness to appease the practitioner. However, it is evident that service users in the above extracts do persist in trying to re-introduce their own narratives, beliefs and feelings whenever possible. Van Nijnatten and Stevens (2012) note, in their study of juveniles talking to probation officers, that the youths want more opportunities to tell their stories. This indicates that practitioners should be more aware that individuals' narratives need to be encouraged, explored and deconstructed repeatedly for at least part of the supervision session.

Differences in power are exacerbated when it is the practitioners who dictate what is being spoken about and what is not. Such approaches deprive the women of opportunities to express their thoughts and views, rendering them silent. As a result, Bridget and Cassie's feelings and opinions are effectively ignored, serving only to reinforce their social frailties. By comparison, Esther and Judy draw out the issues with compassion and sensitivity, showing what happens when a more transparent and therapeutic type of approach is taken. Exchanges may not be comfortable, but they confront the issues for the WSU, and practitioners are humanised as individuals who care and can be trusted.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This thesis links the macro levels of the political and cultural context with the micro and considers its impact on the everyday practices of probation workers and on women service users' lives. This is something that has not been done previously. At the same time, close investigation of the interaction enables the research to offer insights into ways in which both women service users and probation workers can change situations from the bottom upwards. The study contributes to the literature about the difficulties in implementing gender-responsive proposals, identifying and adding to some key stages in the process where things can go wrong. It also suggests where support could be selectively implemented, ensuring better service provision for women. This chapter briefly reviews the findings from each of the chapters 5, 6 and 7, followed by a discussion relating this to previous research, then making recommendations and suggesting ways forward.

8.2 Findings from data chapters

8.2.1 The impact of Corston and gender responsivity

Different sets of guidance were published by the MoJ, emerging from Corston's (2007) review of women's situations in the CJS. One aim of the study was to examine the extent to which staff were aware of the guidance and how to put the principles into practice. The research shows that efforts were made in XPT to disseminate the information and messages about gender responsivity were filtering down from policy and guidance documents to main-grade workers. Initiatives, though, were piece-meal, with several officers completely unaware of the guidance. This means it would not be on their radar when working with women service users.

Structural and ideological barriers existed to the proposals. Feminist enterprise in XPT was overseen by powerful female senior managers, but also centred on the 'supporters' (front-line staff) meetings and actions. The feeling was that women should at the very least be offered a female supervising officer, but this idea remained controversial. It was reported that male practitioners actively resisted this happening because they wanted to continue as supervising officers for women service users. Male officers were still inheriting WSUs on their caseloads automatically, without thought being given to gender issues. It was noted that the way WSUs were asked about having a male or female officer could affect the response. With the only male officer interviewed, Joe, there was no intimation from him that *he* should not hold

women cases, although he was critical of another male officer for being a woman's 'supporter'[39]. It may be that male officers feel that they treat WSUs no differently from the rest of their cases, that they have the experience to deal with any diversity issues and hold genuine empathy for the women. As Huppatz (2012: 180) suggests, within feminised occupations men can 'do gender' in a greater variety of ways and find it more conducive to their particular form of masculinity to participate in gentler, more compassionate, feminine dispositions. This can lead to integration and respect from female colleagues, without being cut off from their masculinised dispositions, valued for promotion purposes and management roles.

This study agrees with previous literature (Plechowicz, 2009; 2013) claiming that, closely linked to disruptive and/or dysfunctional childhoods, attachment issues prevalent amongst WSUs are difficult to manage within a traditional probation structure. Although there are many examples of good practice in engaging women throughout the cases (for example Moira, Phillipa, Judy, Fi, Jennifer, Di and Esther), listening to narratives and not rushing individuals, there are also times when this does not happen (for example Steph, Gilli and Jemma). Constraints of time and heavy caseloads are often offered as explanations. These factors may be exacerbated by practitioners' personal issues outside work, such as family commitments, bereavement and poor physical health, which have been evident in fieldwork observations[40]. On occasions these factors seemed to impact on the practitioner's ability to show empathy towards certain women's histories of abuse.

The probation environment does not represent a welcoming one for WSUs. Schemes to have women-only spaces are limited in terms of success and are easily abandoned. A few dedicated POs found a more suitable arrangement was to meet with women outside probation offices in family centres. However, it was noted that these institutions also carry stigma through close associations with children's services. Some practitioners would also make home visits to avoid women coming into the office, particularly aimed at those women who had children. However, this necessitated probation workers carving out extra time in the working day, and so was not always feasible.

The study argues that standard CBT probation groupwork is not suitable for women, because of coming into contact with men who are often controlling and may be perpetrators. As Worrall (2002: 144) contends:

> 'The small number of women who commit offences are driven to do so not by "cognitive-behavioural deficits", but by the complexity of the demands placed upon them. They not only

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[39] I was never made aware of any male 'supporters' and none came to the meetings.

[40] For details see 'Introducing the Participants' Appendix B

> believe that they have few positive legitimate options, but, in reality, they have few positive legitimate options.'

As seen from this study very few groupwork opportunities exist solely for women. The ones that do exist are frequently transitory, not incorporated into the main structure, and sometimes run by the least qualified staff, or officers, who are doing the work out of goodwill over and above a normal workload. These arrangements mirror WSUs' experiences of being of lesser importance and financially impoverished. Some practitioners still show enthusiasm about running such programmes, because of the positive results achieved. Within groups, the study showed some WSUs to be more open about their victimisation experiences, and supportive of one another. This contrasts with one-to-one work where POs are often apprehensive about opening a discussion about childhood sexual abuse, feeling that they are ill-equipped to ask sensitive questions, and receiving little emotional support themselves if they do so. Within the group situation there are always two workers who, as it has been seen, de-brief thoroughly and talk through the issues of victimisation and abuse openly with the WSUs. It is draining work but also stimulating and rewarding as change is witnessed, and close peer relationships mean that group facilitators are able to offer each other substantial support.

Both POs and the women themselves speak highly of holistic women's centres (HWCs). They represent a safe space for women, not dominated by probation or social work professionals, thus removing some of the stigma felt when connected solely to probation. Ideally, women's groups take place at these venues, as initially implemented at the flagship, Asha Centre (Roberts, 2002). At Empower, pre-Transforming Rehabilitation, the focus was on one-to-one counselling and referrals to or liaison with debt advice or housing. It is evident in the findings (for example Leila, Sonia and Carmen) that women will only talk about victimisation experiences once trust and legitimacy are established with the practitioner. In order to promote this way of working, women centre workers have generous time allocations for supervision. Time is also set aside for their own regular reflective, clinical supervision although even here, opportunities are not always taken up. As with probation, this may be, ironically, when the person is most stressed and in need of an external input (see for example Gilli's comments on contacting her manager when she had had a bad week - 7.7.5).

Funding for HWCs, as charities, has always been problematic and somewhat reliant on senior managers within probation championing their cause. When the community rehabilitation companies (CRCs) were established in 2015, Empower, along with other centres (APPG, 2016), had their funding reduced significantly. Moreover, staff were refused the right to talk about the cuts to their services through a 'gagging clause'. These moves reflect the lowly status of vulnerable women in society, whereby the lack of

secure funding leads to much needed gender-responsive agency provision being snatched away. It also shows how the less powerful can be silenced and deteriorating situations hidden.

8.2.2 Dealing with gendered violence and victimisation

> 'Most men have no idea how truly traumatic sexual assault is… being raped is four times more psychologically disturbing than going off to a war and being shot at and blown up. And because there are currently no enduring cultural narratives that allow women to look upon their survival as somehow heroic or honorable, the potential for enduring damage is even greater.' (Solnit, 2018)

The opening quote for this section describes the aftermath of rape and sexual abuse committed against women, comparing it to the post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) men suffer as a result of war atrocities. In contrast to being respected as heroic or honourable survivors, women are shamed not only by the act(s) of sexual abuse itself/themselves perpetrated against them but also by society's reaction, blaming and degrading the women, at least in part, for their situation. Chapters 5 and 6 illustrate how women are marginalised in terms of probation priorities, because of their low risk in terms of offending and because they are few in numbers. It also highlights that their neglect can also be attributed to victimisation and trauma experiences, not being valued within the male dominated constructs and attitudes prevalent in society. Facilities for vulnerable women are constantly being eroded, leaving harmful gaps in provision for both the women and their children (Walby et al, 2016; APPG, 2016; House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 2018). It is helpful to be reminded of Corston's (2007: 9) assertion that, despite these gaps existing, prison is not the answer, 'Women must never be sent to prison…for their own safety or to access services such as detoxification'. At both the micro and macro-level, the consequences of ignoring victimisation issues are short-sighted, harmful for the individual woman's well-being, and also overlook the vital roles women play in society as a whole.

The analysis in Chapter 6 places the spotlight on four of the WSU participants, where there are severe victimisation and trauma issues. As Bea suggests in her analogy of peeling off the layers of an onion (see 5.5.1), women have many levels which need to be uncovered to really understand the person and their offending. The analysis focuses mainly on the POs' abilities to unravel sensitive subject matter, how the women respond to their management, and their own beliefs and feelings around violence and abuse. The women too contribute their views on the interventions they receive, and how they are transmitted, as well as gives their impressions of other parts of the CJS process.

Prison as an intervention is double-sided; it can appear positive to women, providing a place of safety following violence encountered in society, but may also be a place of further fear and abuse. Women who have committed (child) sexual abuse seem to be received more punitively by CJS services, by their peers

in custody and in society generally. Because of societal expectations around women being carers and caring, a particular anathema is where mothers abuse their own children. Turton's (2008: 65) study of female sex offenders argues that, when it is accepted that sexual abuse has taken place, it causes the worker extreme discomfort, because 'it violently attacks our social stereotypes'. Contrastingly, for women who commit acts of domestic violence against a male partner, a sympathetic response is possible, because of an assumption that the victim has at some point played the part of a perpetrator.

Other aspects are seen to affect practitioners' attitudes and their management of cases:

Closure - Of interest is the complexity of issues revealed by this research that arise when an Order is nearing completion. At the end of an Order, the practitioner may themselves disengage, feel that they have little left to offer the woman and want to pass the responsibility onto another agency (for example, Vicki, 6.6.2). However, as seen with Anne, women often start to open up further just at this point and can feel abandoned if disclosures receive a negative response. On the other hand, continuing the relationship, and negotiating the right time to break the contact can also be problematic, as seen with Moira and Sonia (6.4). Another influence is the state of play in the organisation at the time. A worsening situation for women and their supervisors is apparent when probation trusts lost their status in 2014, and Transforming Rehabilitation was imminent. Constantly changing job roles for POs and assigning service users to the local CRC or NPS agency lead to frequent 'endings' having to be made in the PO/WSU relationships. Where attachment issues are significant for the WSU, and there is no time for a thorough handover, this presents difficulties.

Social capital – Support from the WSU's family and friends makes a practitioner's life easier in terms of providing financial and emotional support, along with providing contacts for obtaining accommodation and employment. As seen in the example of Laura, drawing on these resources can make it more straightforward for both parties to 'let go' of the other person, when the Order comes to an end. By way of contrast is Cassie, who has few supports and feels frustrated that the probation relationship is not providing either practical help or empathy.

Depression – Victimisation is closely linked to poor mental health because of the emotional pain from persistent violence and/or coercion. Although substances are used as self-medication, their effects are temporary and harmful (Covington, 2007; 2008). The likelihood of women accessing services is diminished if they misuse alcohol or drugs. By often inducing lethargy in the individual and a sense of hopelessness, alcohol/drugs can limit their ability and motivation to draw on what social capital is available. Women in this study possessing these characteristics (Anne, Cassie, and Bridget), exhibit

guarded responses towards their supervision, low motivation to change and ultimately worsening depressive symptoms. Reactions from practitioners show that they find this discouraging and frustrating, as progress is painfully slow or intermittent. At the moment these complex cases often fall between various community agencies' remits. Neither community mental health nor substance misuse agencies are keen to take responsibility for treating the individual in a holistic way, by acknowledging both the depression and substance misuse (Rees, 2010). To attend different agencies also involves time and energy which, for severely depressed individuals like Anne, Cassie and Bridget, can feel overwhelming. Substance misuse needs to be recognised by practitioners as signalling underpinning problems, such as victimisation and trauma, which need to be investigated and responded to.

8.2.3 How do practitioners manage the complexities of WSU supervision?

Interactions

The videoing and transcription of supervision sessions has enabled a unique insight into what takes place in one-to-one interventions. It is immediately apparent from the layout of the transcriptions, and length of the speech 'turns,' who is doing the majority of the talking, who holds authority over the agenda, and how this affects the interaction. 'Tick box' structures (Fitzgibbon, 2007) are especially evident in some supervision sessions. In these instances, the focus is on showing accountability and is seen to be punitive through the ongoing reminders of the offence, sentence plan and substance misuse, disregarding the emotional content and underpinning reasons for addictive behaviours. Rather than looking at their own strategies and approaches, practitioners are seen as shifting blame on to the WSUs for lack of progress in supervision (see for example Steph and Gilli). Where service users' feelings *are* continuously checked out, examined and followed up by practitioners (for example Moira and Sonia), this helps to develop learning and empowerment whilst acknowledging the tensions between risk and support. The process is not a static one and, as with all relationships, at times they are highly productive whilst other times there are set-backs (for example Esther and Vicki).

Issues underpinning criminogenic needs

It is well documented that officers have to be aware that 'predictors of male criminality' are not necessarily applicable to the management of WSUs (Caulfield, 2010: 316). Gender-responsiveness, in the context of criminogenic need, involves expanding the list of dynamic risk factors for women to include their backgrounds in abuse and self-harming behaviour. Attention is also drawn to women's use of substances as a way of coping with multiple victimisation experiences, which can lead to ongoing problems in women's lives. Although difficult, consideration of victimisation aspects and the associated emotions is necessary for women's empowerment and moving forward. When this is *not* done by the practitioners, and

the women's issues only discussed superficially, the findings show dissatisfaction and blame on both sides. When it *is* done, there are still no easy answers and recovery and reintegration are lengthy processes, necessitating ongoing one-to-one interventions and lengthy negotiations over multi-agency working.

Fragmentation

'Fragmentation' has been present for many years in probation but is heightened in the Transforming Rehabilitation period (Dominey, 2016). Where attachment issues are present, there may be particular distress for service users when a change of officer occurs. Practitioners too can struggle when inheriting a complex case which may involve trying to establish a positive relationship in a limited time-frame. If there is a different style of working this can be confusing and upsetting for the WSUs. For practitioners it can be difficult to impose their way of working. Logistically, in the study, it often appears problematic to set up three-way handover meetings where dates/times are convenient for all parties (for example Steph and Esther with Bridget) although, where it is possible, it seems to be effective (as seen with Jennifer and Fi with Laura).

Depressive illnesses

Three of the WSUs in this study, who present as severely depressed, seem to receive the least positive responses from their officers in terms of the interaction and in obtaining help from external provision. This is significant, as the most recent statistics on women show that 69% of women have a mental health condition of which the majority are 'depressive illnesses' (MoJ, 2018a: 4). Two of the women, Bridget and Cassie, are mixed race, highly isolated, suffer from suicidal and depressive symptoms and have an addiction to alcohol. A third case, Anne, is white, has an addiction to cannabis and is parenting her two mixed race children, one of whom has a disability. Allbaugh, Mack, Culmone, Hosey, Dunn and Kaslow (2018) highlight, in their study of African American women, the links between childhood emotional abuse and suicidal ideation and connections to attachment issues. They suggest that it is essential to identify women who are at high risk of suicide. Bridget and Cassie both indicate difficult childhoods, and suicidal ideation is current. In management of service users, 'risk of harm' extends to harm to self as well as to others. Again, this indicates that factors underpinning the addictions and depression, such as past or current abuse and discrimination, rather than the addictions per se, should be seen as central to an understanding of the offending and the person.

8.3 General discussion of findings

Women entering the CJS are almost always suffering from extensive trauma experiences from bereavement and various forms of victimisation. It is these experiences which need to be acknowledged and addressed in the management of WSUs, but this research shows this is not routinely being carried out. Justifications for this appear as heavy caseloads, lack of time, knowledge and training, and concerns around opening up feelings, which might make problems worse for the woman and/or the practitioner. These factors can mean that practitioners resort to tackling issues at surface level and punitively which, particularly in the short-term, may appear considerably easier than intervening in deep-seated victimisation issues. For those officers who show awareness of the consequences of abuse, and encourage women to be honest about their experiences, secondary or vicarious trauma may occur. What this suggests is that although it is beneficial for the women service users, it may be problematic for practitioners. This is becoming more openly talked about as a feature of professional work, and is frequently associated with WSUs (Lee, 2017b; Cluely and Marston, 2018).

8.3.1 Dealing with dual diagnosis

This research would support Allbaugh et al's (2018) argument that the first step must be to build a positive relationship, where service users are invited to talk about their childhood maltreatment. Recommended in the long-term is referral to counselling or psychotherapy, one-to-one or groupwork, that can be accessed in the community. In the UK, this is achieved through close contact with partnership agencies such as the GP, community mental health team and pressure group/mental health charities such as Mind. Rees (2010: 211) proposes motivational interviewing as an important probation intervention for dual diagnosis cases[41], but states that more is needs to be done at the structural level with long-term, well-trained staff administering outreach services. Where holistic women's centres exist, they can be influential in assisting women to take up these options. For women such as Anne and Cassie, who have agoraphobic conditions, outreach facilities and home visits should be made available. Reports and guidance (Corston, 2007; Gelsthorpe, Sharpe and Roberts, 2007; MoJ, 2008; 2012; 2017) tend to give the impression that this process is a direct and uncomplicated one. However, as noted in this study, transfers to outside agencies are often not straightforward for the woman, due to attachment issues. There may be tensions at the organisational level, concerning differing agency values and approaches, leading to communication breakdowns. Funding cuts have also detrimentally affected mental health and other community support provision.

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[41] The terms, dual diagnosis, co-morbidity and complex needs 'are used interchangeably' where individuals have 'two or more disorders' or 'existing problems' (Rees, 2010: 202)

Working with women in depressed states, where there is little or no support, is emotionally draining. Hochschild's (1983) seminal work on emotional labour, 'The Managed Heart', explores how feelings are expressed and controlled in work-places, with emotion management strategies in personal life becoming work-place commodities (Bulutlar and Baskaya, 2015). One characteristic of emotional labour is that it is gendered and, Hochschild (1983, cited by Huppatz, 2012: 58) suggests that certain 'femininities', (characteristics such as compliance through being pleasant, caring and deferential) are expected as the norm for women workers. In conjunction with relatively low social position within the organisation, it is often women workers who become more accessible, and therefore vulnerable, to the distressing scenarios presented to them. The all-women groupwork that takes place in both XPT and ZPT provides evidence for this, where highly charged emotional work is designated to PSOs, the least qualified group, or to POs as an 'extra', outside normal duties, and exploiting their feelings of vocation. Probation work also contains challenging and boundary-setting tasks that, in her thesis, Hochschild (1983: 163) attributes to men, but which are integral to the female practitioner's role. Knight (2014) claims that the emotional, constructive aspects of probation work are seen as of lesser importance to the organisation than the restrictive side. Huppatz (2012: 90) argues that downgrading occurs, because relational skills are not viewed as skills that are acquired 'but as an innate female capacity'.

Professionals who deal increasingly with the impact of trauma may experience compassion fatigue, burn-out or vicarious trauma (Kapoulitsas and Corcoran, 2015; Bulutlar and Baskaya, 2015). These expressions are often used synonymously, to describe the experiences of people who help others to understand and overcome victimisation effects but, in the empathic process, their own stress and well-being becomes compromised (Kapoulitsas and Corcoran, 2015). Signs of these conditions appear in the data for those workers who tackle the abuse head on, such as Moira. During the period of the research she has two lengthy periods of sickness absence with serious ailments. Although no causal links can be made between her work with Sonia and the illnesses, the emotional involvement that she describes (see 6.4.3) is likely to be a contributing factor. This must be seen alongside a heavy, high-risk caseload and personal issues including bereavement. It is evident though that some workers, such as Judy, listening to equally horrific material (chapter 7), appear to find the work stimulating and rewarding. Thus, it could appear that Judy possesses greater resilience, but clearly this would be a simplification. Clarke (2011) argues that the focus on an individual's resilience can be misleading, as there are organisational demands, out of the worker's control, which impact on the ability to manage emotional tasks.

At the time of the research, Judy is able to access a lot of employer and colleague support, whereas Moira is experiencing practically none. The work ethos in the two agencies is markedly different, with an

emphasis in the women's centre grounded in social work values such as awareness of structural oppression and an ethic of care (Banks, 2001). Judy may be working with complex individuals, but they are not generally at imminent high risk of causing harm to others. If they do fall into this category, as with Carmen's conviction for child neglect, Judy does not hold the case and is not responsible in a statutory sense. With the arrival of TR, the tension for workers in the NPS (previously Public Protection) is not only between 'managerialism and professional autonomy' with unrealistic targets (Mawby and Worrall, 2013: 104), but also the overriding emphasis on risk and restrictive measures. These latter values are fundamentally 'at odds' with those surrounding relationality, trauma work, and rehabilitative approaches. The wider the gap between personal and organisational values the more likely it is for burnout to occur (Knight, 2014: 153). This study shows that where there is no outlet for frustrations, the situation can deteriorate rapidly for the workers.

8.3.3 Balancing organisational, professional and personal needs

Adapting Munro's systems theory to probation (Munro and Hubbard, 2011: 731), different components of the system such as historical factors, organisational practices and professional issues are involved. There are systems within the system, such as the WSUs' 'system', incorporating external social influences such as poverty, victimisation and discrimination, their children and other family members, friendships and local resources/partnership agencies. Although offering a well-rounded view of the organisation and WSUs, the unnamed and missing factor in Munro's model is the personal lives of those professionals who are managing the WSUs' and the organisational change processes. At first sight, women's voices seem to be prominent in probation offices, but they do not constitute the dominant discourse.

Underpinning the overall organisation is the 'deep conceptualization' consisting of the NOMS agenda, dominated by white, middle-aged, middle class men within 'a prison-dominated hierarchy' (Mawby and Worrall, 2013: 139). Huppatz (2012: 110-111) suggests that middle class women in public service organisations have to work 'harder', doing 'trivial work' and with 'limited power'. She argues that for some women this may subdue ambition, becoming an obstacle to promotion. Therefore, even in a supposedly feminised occupation, such as probation, it is hard-line male capital which is advantageous for women if they want to succeed in having power and influence in the organisation (Huppatz, 2012). Consequently, feminised aspects such as 'emotional competence and caring dispositions,' and specialisms in complex and critical areas, where male workers are viewed as threatening (as with women service users) (Huppatz, 2012: 111, 107), are considered of low value within probation.

The organisation impacts on workers' personal lives in a way that is rarely explored. Kirton and Guillaume's (2015: 14) report (see 2.5.3) indicates 'deterioration of work conditions' – longer hours, higher caseloads and changes in culture are often felt more keenly by women staff members. This study shows this clearly too. For example, two of the participants, Karen and Vicki were in dispute with their employers, because of employment conditions which affected their home lives, and both were suffering chronic back pain which impacted on their work. Karen had been contesting her manager's decision that required her to partake in late night reporting duties (research interview, 26.06.2014). This created difficulties because of her toddler, lack of evening childcare, a partner who worked away from home and no family nearby. At the time of the research she was considering leaving the agency. In Vicki's case, pressure was exerted by Kris, a senior manager, for Vicki to transfer to R town, 12 miles away. Vicki had little say in the final decision, leaving her no option but to seek alternative employment.

> 'My move to R Town was still on the cards last year but was put on hold for a few months due to my back. Thankfully, in the meantime the Youth Offender Service (YOS) [in C Town] job came up, I applied for it and got it and haven't looked back since'

(One year on email, 02.12.2015).

Ross-Smith and Huppatz (2010: 547) discuss the nature of gender capital in senior management, stressing first that 'Management is not a feminized occupation'. It is argued that once women attain senior executive status and have effectively 'broken the glass ceiling' (Morrison et al, 1994, cited by Ross-Smith and Huppatz, 2010: 553), the difficulties encountered in gaining their position are forgotten or minimised. An argument made by Corsun and Costen (2001) cited by Ross-Smith and Huppatz (2010: 551) is also that women still 'do not have sufficient capital (economic, political, social and symbolic) to force a redefinition of the implicit — that is white male — requirements of the field'. Until female senior managers can feel more confident in challenging the dominant discourses in HMPPS, they will not be seen as representing women's positions or as helpful role models for other women workers.

8.3.4 Internal and external supports for practitioners

Reflective supervision for practitioners has largely disappeared in probation agencies, because of the focus on targets and monitoring of cases. Attempts have been made to revive it through Skills for Effective Engagement and Development and Supervision (SEEDS), but feedback from this study's participants demonstrates that, since Transforming Rehabilitation, it has not been functioning. Officers who knew about SEEDS were generally unhappy about the situation, and most felt that they would benefit from a formalised arrangement, to talk about their work and themselves, on a regular basis. This model does currently present some problems in probation agencies. Mawby and Worrall (2013: 25) categorise groups of probation workers as 'lifers' or 'second careerists', for whom the work is a vocation, and who came into the job 'to confront inequality'. Traditionally, supervision for these groups would have been focused on

personal growth and interventions. However, post-TR, many experienced officers and managers from the previous era have exited probation (Fearn, 2015). Those that remain come under the category of Mawby and Worrall's (2013: 33) more recently appointed 'offender managers'. As a cohort, their training has been truncated and this has not attuned them so well to empathic, humanistic styles in staff supervision. Masculinised discourses and behaviours are adopted, in order to align with the culture, for survival in a high-pressure atmosphere and, if ambitious, to enter management structures.

Reflective supervision is not high on the agenda, and pressures emanating from generally large numbers of high risk cases (NPS) and/or large caseloads (NPS and CRCs) preclude talking about practitioners' feelings and wellbeing, just when it is most necessary. Even if the WSUs are not the highest risk by probation standards, uncertainty over self-harm and suicide and various types of harm caused to children can be considerable and at times paralysing for the worker (for example Moira). Ruch (2002: 211), a social work educator, describes the importance of acknowledging anxiety and making it 'acceptable':

> 'The current climate of absolutes, certainty and risk avoidance, however, dismisses the significance of anxiety and the appropriateness of the 'not knowing' stance in situations of professional complexity. Whilst it is clear that anxiety cannot be allowed to paralyse or detract from professional activities, the risk of it doing so is greater if it is denied or avoided.'

However, it has become increasingly difficult to talk about feelings within a performance management climate (Ruch, 2012), where expectations are that responses to requests should be 'rational, technical and prescriptive' (Ruch, 2002: 205).

Peer supervision is undertaken at a formal and informal level. Observations in the open plan offices make it apparent that case discussion is commonplace. It is equally evident from the research interviews that a camaraderie develops, which enables caring and supportive office environments. Planning and de-briefing for groupwork also establishes strong bonds between facilitators, necessary to manage the often traumatic content of sessions. However, the split between the public and privatised agencies has caused fragmentation amongst one-to-one and group workers (Dominey, 2016). Long-term alliances have been disrupted through workers being moved geographically to other offices, individuals have left the organisation, and these factors, combining with large and difficult caseloads, has resulted in increased isolation for practitioners[42]. Additionally, divisions brought about through the changing nature of contact

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[42] Moira quotes one of her colleagues returning from extended sick leave, 'What's happened to the team, we seem to come in, heads down and go home without any discussion or chance to interact with each other, it's like we have become individuals working together but separately who are all trying to get through each day as best they can' (one-year-on email, 8.12.2015)

with partnership agencies, such as the HWCs, have led to external sources of support being diminished or discontinued.

8.4 Summary of key knowledge claims

Practitioners need to aim for understanding of women service users, through careful listening and asking open questions. Each service user is different and so a non-formulaic approach should be taken. A key element of a positive practitioner/service user relationship is that they are not static but in a constant state of flux. Responses from practitioners therefore require a flexible, individualised approach, which should not lose sight of the offence, but be constantly trying to grasp why and how it occurred. An awareness of the importance of preparation for endings and the implications of attachment issues are a necessity for well-handled closures in supervisory relationships.

Supervision interviews function well when practitioners are listening attentively, prompting and encouraging the service user. The ability to show that they are remembering what has been divulged, and sharing appropriately about themselves, is valued by the woman service user. Negative relationships are characterised by the practitioner taking a tick-box approach. This involves not listening to the WSU, making constant interruptions, sticking rigidly to the practitioner's agenda and overriding attempts by the WSU to talk about their feelings.

Knowledge surrounding women-specific proposals and practices varies between individuals and offices. Due to heavy work demands, there is usually little time available to read up relevant reports and guidance documents, let alone academic literature. Some practitioners have a special interest in working productively with women service users, having researched this area as part of their studies. Others have personal victimisation experience of domestic violence and feel a subsequent affinity with women service users. Where holistic women's centres are located, there is often a better level of understanding of gender-sensitive working through professional interchange.

The way that male and female practitioners perceive their value to the organisation; the impact of their personal lives on their work and concepts of professionalism; the way individuals' lives outside are affected by work issues, and whether they feel supported through work are important and neglected areas. These would be important avenues to pursue for future research.

8.5 Recommendations

8.5.1 Regular reflective supervision for all probation workers

Both the literature (Knight, 2014; Lee, 2017a and b; Cluely and Marston, 2018) and the findings of this project show that workers see reflective supervision, led by experienced practitioners, as a support structure. However, this does not have to be part of a management role as it was in the past. In fact, Munro (2011: 115) contends that the two roles are incompatible:

> 'A common experience amongst social workers is that the few supervision opportunities are dominated by a managerial need to focus on performance…This leaves little time for thoughtful consideration of what is happening.'

She recommends an increase in the number of senior practitioners, and that other factors gain prominence; she recommends recognition of 'the importance of team cohesion, and of emotional expressiveness – of being able to debrief from distressing experiences' in order to prevent burn-out and develop resilience. Moreover, when there is continuity of contact between a practitioner and senior practitioner, as with service users, the supervisor has a more rounded picture of the staff member personally and professionally. This would incorporate an understanding of the individual's major life events, births and bereavements, illnesses and the different stages of life. Such issues are often not judged to be a professional concern, but which Hardy, Thorne, Griffiths and Hunter (2018: 7) argue are 'commonly reported,' and have a profound effect on practitioners' skills and abilities in managing their workload. The importance of the organisation showing compassion at significant times can affect a person's attitude to their employers and the work itself, in the short and long-term (Lilius, Worline, Maitlis, Kanov, Dutton and Frost, 2008).

Before Transforming Rehabilitation in both XPT and ZPT, there were senior practitioners ascribed as quality development officers (QDOs); who had a reflective supervisory role, and occasionally (once a year) observed practice. For WSUs a team of specialist POs could be created to offer supervision and one-off advice. As a team they could better provide support and continuity to probation teams and each other in this enterprise. Action learning sets are an option which have been tried and tested in social work and nursing contexts where practitioners are affected by vicarious trauma (Patterson, 2017; Maddison and Strang, 2018). Munro (2011: 109) similarly proposes multi-disciplinary units with a 'consultant' worker where all members of the unit are familiar with all cases. Within probation, the personality disorder pathway has successfully instituted a system whereby psychologists hold a consultative position (Ramsden, Joyes, Gordon and Lowton, 2016). Harvey and Ramsden (2017) explain that this paradigm is intended to provide a secure base and safe space for probation workers, modelling 'psychologically informed' discussions with (commonly personality disordered) service users. Reflective practice is legitimised and emphasises collaborative working, so that individual practitioners can explore their feelings

and any ethical concerns over cases they are finding problematic. Ruch (2002: 205) advocates 'process reflection', drawing on psychodynamic techniques which embrace understandings of 'mirroring and transference', modelling work styles which can then be passed on helpfully to service users. All of these techniques would benefit from the use of video, where both practitioners and their supervisors could observe and learn from the minutiae of the bodily and verbal exchanges.

8.5.2 Multi-agency working

Essential to work with women service users is multi-agency cooperation/communication, which extends to other relevant community resources. Similarly, within this data set, several of the WSU participants such as Anne, Bridget and Cassie, would have benefitted from mental and physical outreach health services being available, so they could access assistance in the community because of the emotional paralysis integral to their depression. A family intervention worker going into the home could have gained additional insights into the problems and offered ongoing support for Anne with her children. Similarly, Cassie was literally crying out for somebody to break the isolation and help her to do basic chores, which had become impossible on her own. Although the costs of such a service may initially seem prohibitive, institutionalisation through hospital or prison would incur far greater costs and only serve to perpetuate the damage. Recent work by Annison, Byng and Quinn (2018) supports the claim that health and criminal justice provision, particularly for women, needs to be interwoven in order for interventions to be effective.

National diversion schemes at arrest stage would be advantageous (Prison Reform Trust, 2018). In B town a mental health initiative existed for a short time (Pakes and Winstone, 2008), and latterly another drive coordinated by the HWC, Empower, was also halted after initial financing was cut. Guiney and Earle's (2017: 32) discussion paper advocates that HWCs 'should be funded to support early intervention and whole system approaches' so that the CJS does not continue to be the main route to obtaining help for vulnerable women. If this is to be done properly, there should be increased and regular funding for the HWCs to support women who are diverted on an ongoing basis. Other forms of social capital extend to the individual's geographical position. Whether living in a deprived, inner-city area, a well-resourced city or an affluent town providing plentiful services, there is a critical role for practitioners to be aware of what services are available locally and nationally, to enable service users to access appropriate provision, to help them establish and maintain prosocial bonds and social capital.

8.5.3 Stability of funding sources

Whatever achievements individuals, at various levels of the organisation, manage through personal beliefs and efforts (the 'habitus'), WSUs and their probation 'supporters' remain largely invisible, powerless and not a priority. It is the masculinised 'field', the broader NOMS/HMPPS world, which filters down governmental viewpoints and, importantly, decides on allocation of funding. This is the story of women's initiatives; they survive with difficulty on a shoestring, short-term basis, championed by a person(s) in senior management; there is a reorganisation, this manager then moves on, funding is withdrawn, and the project disappears. As a result, knowledge and experience is being consistently lost and the proverbial wheel continuously re-invented. Despite NOMS's assurances during the TR bidding process that CRCs would be required to show 'identification and recognition of women's needs[43],' in practice this has not been adhered to (Women's Breakout (2016). The principles were so vague that it was unclear precisely what the CRCs had to achieve. Although Probation Trusts were given a budget of £3.78 million in 2013, with advice from NOMS that this should be used to target Women's Community Services (Annison, Brayford and Deering, 2015: 29), many projects were actually decommissioned entirely when previous funding ended and others, as has been seen with Empower, subject to severe cuts (Women's Breakout, 2015). Overall CRCs have reduced spending on women's schemes, arguing that they inherited more staff than expected, so have had to reduce external expenditure (Prison Reform Trust (PRT), 2018: 8). In some places, only last minute interim funding for 3-6-month periods was given, offering no security to staff or service users.

Time-limited injections of cash once again feature heavily in the recent 'Female Offending Strategy' (MoJ, 2018). The promise is of £5 million over two years plus an added £1.5 million for accommodation (MoJ, 2018: 8), considerably less than the £9.15 million given to set up HWCs in 2007. There are a few notable positive exceptions (Guiney and Earle, 2017). For example, in Greater Manchester, the Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC) was praised for financing a number of creative schemes specifically for women (HMIP, 2017). If one area can be financed in this way, then the PCC may present another route for regularised funding. Stability in funding is necessary for planning and development to be undertaken on local initiatives where there is need. This would avoid agency staff expending large amounts of energy each year completing funding applications. The HWCs could network, not only with probation but with other vital services for women, such as housing, health and employment and coordinate work between these agencies, saving time and money spent on duplication of tasks.

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[43] And was also inscribed in Section 10 of the Offender Rehabilitation Act 2014

8.5.4 Improved probation management of women service users

The heart of this project is learning how to improve contacts with women service users, ultimately to give them more options and agency in their lives. This may involve in-depth work so that they can gain distance, understanding and fresh perspectives on victimisation, coercion and trauma experiences, offering opportunities to disentangle themselves from oppression and criminality.

Victimisation and trauma must be addressed in supervision and links made to offending and other anti-social behaviours. Coming under this umbrella, there should also be exploration of women's experiences of prison to see if this has triggered additional victimisation and trauma, and what this entails for the individual. Valuable insights can then be gained into avoiding re-traumatisation in community settings. Any mental health conditions should be researched (through the literature and obtaining experienced colleagues' viewpoints), in order for the practitioner to better understand the individual and tailor their response.

Other aspects of the person's life must also be considered. Separation from children is an area which needs to be managed carefully and with compassion. Practitioners need to be aware of the fears surrounding removal of children and the debilitating effects of loss when children are removed. If children are being looked after elsewhere, this does not mean they should be forgotten or treated as a prohibited or unsuitable subject for probation discussion. On the contrary, women should be encouraged, where appropriate, to talk about their children, and parent them from a distance with varying degrees of interaction. Not only should there be greater awareness of the impact of the women's personal experiences of racism/sexism and other combinations aimed directly at themselves, but also discrimination because of their children who may be experiencing additional disadvantages because of race or disabilities. The impact is frequently greater and more overwhelming for the principle carer, usually the mother. Areas of pressures to note are isolation and resulting reductions in social capital, contributing to stress in the family and affecting mental and physical health.

Gender-sensitive approaches clearly do not happen automatically and require substantial management and policy input to keep schemes running effectively. Groupwork is an area that should be exclusively female. It holds clear benefits as, unlike a mixed group, there is less risk of re-traumatisation. Some WSUs in this project, notably those who had experienced extreme forms of male-perpetrated abuse as children and adults, vocalised strong objections to having a male officer. If trauma-informed work is to be taken seriously, then women's objections to male workers have to be respected; firm policy measures reinforced by practical checks by management should be instigated to ensure this happens. Extensive male-

perpetrated victimisation experiences of WSUs point to the need for all-women environments as a measure to prevent re-traumatisation. Ideally, there should be an expansion of women's centres, geographically near to the probation office, so that workers can meet service users there. Alternatively, the Empower model, where women are seen mainly by women centre workers, instead of their probation officers, seems, by all accounts, a helpful and successful one to follow.

Practitioner presentation is vital to good management of WSUs - 'It ain't what you do it's the way that you do it…that's what gets results.'[44] A practitioner's body language and tone of voice are powerful features in an interview; this is seen clearly within the video transcripts and elsewhere in the data. The ways that messages are conveyed are central to the interaction. Multiple interruptions and not listening to the service user's narrative immediately conveys disrespect. Lack of eye contact, yawning and taking notes without looking up produces the same effect. Leaning forward, active listening, asking open questions and making encouraging and prompting sounds such as 'hmm' or 'uh huh' tell the service user 'that the worker is interested and acknowledge what the interviewee is saying' (Kadushin and Kadushin, 2013: 156). Practitioners may claim they are performing in the latter way, but in reality, are often doing the former and, unless measures are put in place, practitioner disinterest, dislike or discrimination can filter through to service users. Some officers defend their actions by aligning them with organisational principles of public protection and punishment, ignoring their own issues. Clearly there will always be offenders who bring out 'prejudices, dislikes and antipathies' in practitioners (Kadushin and Kadushin, 2013: 112), but sufficient self-regulation needs to exist in order to promote facilitative interaction (Knight, 2014). Observations or clinical group supervision should be integral to ensure that these practice principles are met. However, they should function in the context of building up a trusting and collaborative relationship that mirrors and models proposed relationships with service users, guarding against defensiveness and prompting openness. This type of approach is advocated by both Ruch (2002) and Munro and Hubbard (2011) as moving away from 'a culture of blame' and fear towards one which creates team bonds and encourages 'less individualised and secret' practice (Ruch, 2002: 208).

8.6 Summary of recommendations

All probation workers should be provided with reflective supervision, independent of management, in order to manage the referred trauma and stimulate new and creative ways of working. It should model a supportive approach to practitioners, addressing personal issues both as a duty of care and to prevent

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[44] At the end of workshops disseminating these findings, I would play for the students/workers the Banarama (1982) song to stress the importance of how practitioners present themselves.

barriers arising between the practitioner and service user. Videoing one-to-one supervision could act as a practical tool, giving immediate feedback to practitioner and supervisor and prompting evidence-based discussions. Probation work with WSUs would benefit from a specialist women's team to pioneer good practice.

Multi-agency work requires an individualised and ongoing (post-probation support and oversight) approach. It necessitates practitioner knowledge of local resources and establishment of positive links with appropriate agencies, such as the courts and children's services. Holistic women's centres should be used as a knowledge base for women service users, co-ordinating relevant statutory and non-statutory agencies.

Funding for women service users and in particular for holistic women's centres needs to be ring-fenced and long-term. Alternative routes of funding should be considered such as the PCCs.

All practitioners should be aware of the likelihood of victimisation and trauma issues for women service users and be able to show that these issues are being addressed in supervision. The significance of loss, separation from children and the impact of prison should be integral to supervision and viewed as factors which may perpetuate and/or re-trigger trauma.

Masculinised discourses dominate probation provision. However, certain lessons from work with WSUs could usefully inform supervision practices for men with complex needs, reversing current practice and taking a broader perspective of their issues.

8.7 Changes in direction

It is clear both from this study and other external assessments (HMIP, 2017; NAO, 2019) that the introduction of TR and the organisational changes involved through privatisation of probation services have represented an enormous challenge for all staff and service users. This study demonstrates that the negative impacts of change have been felt disproportionately by female staff in terms of lack of emotional and practical supports when dealing with complex cases, deteriorating pay and conditions, unmanageably high workloads and not feeling valued within the organisations. In turn this has impacted on WSUs, through decreasing inputs from the practitioner, sometimes punitive rather than compassionate communication, leaving them in a similar or worse position than previously, with personal change seeming

unachievable. This thesis suggests ways that policy and practice could be managed to improve the situation, but current responses indicate an unwillingness to change direction (NAO, 2019).

More money needs to be directed towards both probation and WSUs for these ways of working to succeed. The PRT (2017) suggests that instead of investing in more women's prisons as the strategy proposes, the Government should:

> '…spend more of the available money on the effective technology of women's centres and less on the ineffective technology of custody. Given the availability of capital funding for infrastructure, and the much lower running cost of women's centres compared to short term custody, the opportunity exists to make women's centres as intrinsic a part of the landscape as prisons are currently'.

To adopt the PRT proposals and the other recommendations above would necessitate a complete change of direction and discourse, embedded in a framework with well-defined policies, target-setting and monitoring. A stable, coordinated social infrastructure would need to be constructed. Currently the women's prison population is rising once again (MoJ, 2018a). To move away from short prison sentences for women, all sentencers would need to be educated about the benefits of the community alternatives, as well as the damage caused by custody to the women, their children and to society. Sentencing guidelines would need to be strengthened in regard to women, and structures put in place so that they are adhered to. Women centre workers/managers and informed probation staff would be well placed to deliver training to magistrates and judges. All practitioners need to be well informed about WSU victimisation and complex problems, ready to respond properly to their needs, and they would need ongoing support to do so.

A programme such as this requires long-term adequate funding, not simply within the CJS but also to build up alternative provision in the community. At the time of completing this thesis the Government is still ideologically committed to punishment, managerialism and privatisation in the CJS and other public service enterprises. Reducing welfare supports and resources is integral to their philosophy, which makes bringing about change in vulnerable women's lives extremely challenging. Despite individuals and pressure groups trying hard to change the status quo to one of cooperation and compassion, deeply entrenched barriers show no signs of falling. Improvements to vulnerable women's situations and their empowerment become blocked and the consequences are felt at every level of society, the CJS and within probation. It would require determination and fearlessness, by men and women in power, to break free of these constraints, to appreciate fully the complexities involved, so that positive probation management of women is finally recognised as an important task in our society. Until then, we are left with small-scale acts of kindness as human beings, helping the other person, as the only mitigation of misguided and harmful practice.

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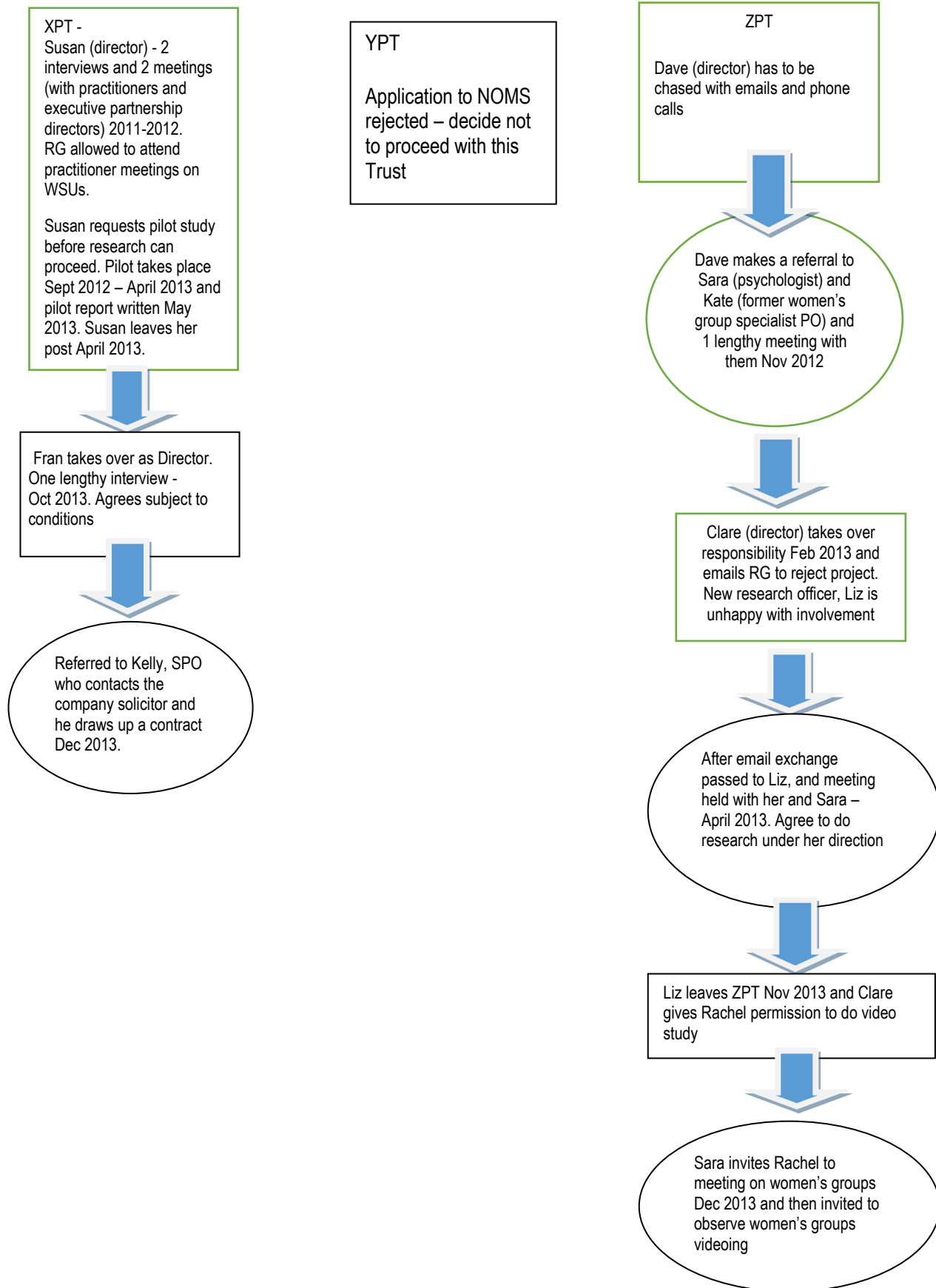
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XPT -
Susan (director) - 2 interviews and 2 meetings (with practitioners and executive partnership directors) 2011-2012. RG allowed to attend practitioner meetings on WSUs.

Susan requests pilot study before research can proceed. Pilot takes place Sept 2012 – April 2013 and pilot report written May 2013. Susan leaves her post April 2013.

Fran takes over as Director. One lengthy interview - Oct 2013. Agrees subject to conditions

Referred to Kelly, SPO who contacts the company solicitor and he draws up a contract Dec 2013.

YPT

Application to NOMS rejected – decide not to proceed with this Trust

ZPT

Dave (director) has to be chased with emails and phone calls

Dave makes a referral to Sara (psychologist) and Kate (former women's group specialist PO) and 1 lengthy meeting with them Nov 2012

Clare (director) takes over responsibility Feb 2013 and emails RG to reject project. New research officer, Liz is unhappy with involvement

After email exchange passed to Liz, and meeting held with her and Sara – April 2013. Agree to do research under her direction

Liz leaves ZPT Nov 2013 and Clare gives Rachel permission to do video study

Sara invites Rachel to meeting on women's groups Dec 2013 and then invited to observe women's groups videoing

Appendix B - Introducing the participants

PO=probation officer; PSO=probation service officer; WCW=women's centre worker (at the holistic women's centre, Empower); WSU=woman service user

PILOT in XPT

Pairing 1 – C town

WSU

Siobhan was an 18-year-old white woman, living independently in a small privately rented flat in H town. She had emotional and financial support from her mother and was doing a retail apprenticeship. She was sentenced to a 12 month Suspended Sentence Supervision Order and 100 hours' unpaid work for an unprovoked assault with a bottle on another young woman, having been drinking heavily at the time. Subsequently Siobhan received another 12 month SSSO and 70 hours' unpaid work for a lesser offence that occurred prior to the current Order. She has a background of fighting and heavy drinking during her teen years which led to prior involvement with a London Youth Offending Team (YOT). Her father is an alcoholic and epileptic and although he stayed at home, ostensibly to care for Siobhan when her mother went out to work, in fact he frequently needed to be cared for by his daughter. Having been at that time estranged from her mother and step-father, she then became on friendly terms with them, and her step-father had been assisting in finding her permanent work.

PO

Di was 30 years old, describing herself as a single white British woman. She had a degree in Criminology and Criminal Justice from Portsmouth University and, on graduating, she worked in an administrative role for Hampshire Police. Following this, she started with probation at 22 years, studying on the Diploma in Probation Studies (DipPS). During her 6 years as a qualified PO she had worked with drug users, during which time she set up a separate woman's group. With a colleague she also established and kept updated a directory of local resources for women and rolled it out for each office, encouraging others to do change certain resources for their own area. Di lives in a flat on her own in a nearby town to C town. Two years after the research field work ended Di received a national award for her probation work and became an SPO. She has always worked in C town.

Pairing 2 – E town

WSU

Evie was a 28-year-old white woman and a prolific shoplifter for which she is on a 12-month Community Order with a supervision requirement. She lives with her 5-year-old mixed race daughter, Tania, in a privately rented flat 3 miles out of town. Her ex-partner, Nik, Tania's father, was emotionally and physically abusive when they lived together and is now unreliable in his financial and practical support of Tania. The shoplifting was originally to fund a crack cocaine habit, subsequently to provide Tania with clothes, but Evie hinted that she had had lapses into drug use during the time of the supervision. Evie has support from her 2 sisters, neither of them have children, and from her aunt who calls her in the morning to wake her up. She also has practical, emotional and financial support from her father. Children's Services have offered informal assistance to Evie through a family intervention worker.

PO

Lesley was a 28-year-old white woman living with her fiancé, a police officer, in a nearby town equidistant from E town and B town. She had qualified on the DipPS 4 years previously, having come straight from taking a university degree. She became a woman's supporter but often found she could not get to the meetings as it was a 2-hour round trip. Lesley worked in E town during the research period but later moved to B town, became a senior practitioner, supervising other workers and then went into the NPS, working with high risk individuals. She married in 2013 and had a baby in 2015.

Pairing 3 – E town

WSU

Shirley was a white woman in her early fifties with 2 adult children. She was living with her son in her ex-husband's house and he had been living elsewhere with a new partner. Sheila had been subject to domestic violence from her ex-husband over a number of years and had drunk heavily during the marriage. On one occasion she assaulted him and he called the police which resulted in the current supervision order. At that time, he was trying to reclaim his house so there were still tensions between the couple.

PO

Jemma was a 28-year-old white woman, living with her boyfriend in W town but working in E town, 35 miles away, and she was finding the hour and a quarter commute each day difficult. Although a woman's 'supporter' she was reluctant to go to the women

'supporter' meetings. She had been qualified for 3 years, previously having done research for a Masters in Africa. In November 2013 she left XPT to be closer to her family as her father had been diagnosed with cancer.

MAIN RESEARCH – XPT

Pairing 1 – C town

WSU

Anne was a 46-year-old white woman, single parent to 2 mixed race children aged 11 (Melanie) and 8 (Jordan), living in a 3-bedroom council house on an estate. She was sentenced to a 12-month community order for possession with intent to supply cocaine and had a long-term cannabis habit. She was also agoraphobic and suffering from depression. Children's Services were brought in as Anne was seen to have a volatile relationship with Melanie, and Jordan was being assessed by his school for an autism spectrum condition (ASC). The family were assigned a social worker, Baruch who, after several months discharged the case, but a later incident led to his re-involvement. The children's father lived in another town and saw the children regularly but had been emotionally abusive and continued to undermine Anne.

PO

Vicki was a 45-year-old white woman who qualified in 2010 on the DipPS. For the past 2 years she had taken another part-time youth work evening job to provide for her family, as a single parent with 2 adolescent step-sons. She was party to setting up a pilot women's group but said that many of those workers involved moved away from the area, so it never became established. Out of a caseload of 45, Vicki had 3 women in the community and one in custody. Vicki had been under pressure from senior management to re-locate to R town, 20 minutes' drive away. Vicki resisted this as she had a chronic back condition and the evening job in C town. One year later she had left the probation service to work for the Youth Offending Team (YOT) in C town.

Pairing 2 – Sonia and Moira C town

WSU

Sonia was a 39-year-old white British woman. She had been sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for child sexual abuse, 6 years' previously, on her own 3 children, Jess and Ed (now adult) and Davey (16 years). In addition, numerous other children were abused. Sonia was a co-defendant of her ex-husband, Dave. Dave was sentenced to a lengthy term of imprisonment and was never released. At the time of the research he was dying from cancer in prison but was still influential in the family, particularly with Davey who was in foster care initially and then came to live with Ed and Sonia. Children's Services imposed safeguarding conditions on Sonia visiting Jess and her 2 young children which presented difficulties in spending time with the grandchildren. Sonia had experienced substantial sexual and emotional abuse as a child, leaving at the age of 16 only to be further abused by Dave in adulthood. Sonia suffered from depression and suicidal ideation and had a mental health worker.

PO

Moira was a 55-year-old white British woman who had worked in probation for 10 years, two of which were as a PSO before gaining the DipPS qualification. She had spent 5 years in the public protection team (PPT), 3 years in B town and then another 2 years in C town. She had 2 adult children, one of whom worked locally in the police force. When the children were young she had had her own business, then tried working with life limited children and prior to that she set up a refuge. During the time of the study Moira was off sick for several months with an illness and then had an operation. In January 2014 her sister had died and suicide was suspected. Moira had serious concerns over Sonia's risk to others (viewing her as vulnerable to coercion) and to herself (of suicide), so continued to keep in contact by visits and texts after the licence had expired.

Pairing 3/4 - B town

WSU

Bridget's supervision was by 2 POs – Steph and Esther

Bridget was a 54-year-old Jamaican woman who was sentenced to a suspended sentence supervision order for sexually assaulting another woman on a bus after she had drunk half a bottle of vodka. She lost her administrative job within the fire service and was having difficulty finding another one as a result of the offence. This resulted in her inability to pay her share of the mortgage for a house she shared with her sister and adult daughter. Bridget's mother and brother died in the 1990s and she was still grieving their loss. She had also experienced a violent same-sex relationship which had lasted several years. Her father had sexually abused her sister and Bridget had only recently found this out. Bridget was drinking heavily during the period of the study and was hospitalised following a suicide attempt.

Steph was a 40-year-old white British PO who had been working in probation for 14 years, having qualified on the DipPS. Prior to this qualification she was a psychology teacher in Further Education. Out of 10 people on her caseload, 3 were women in the community and one custody case. She was married with two children under 2 years old and was working 3 days a week during the period of the study. In order for her to have flexibility because of her domestic situation she held only a small caseload of 10 but was expected to do several presentence reports. Prior to working in B town she had lived and worked as a senior probation officer in London but had chosen to come out of management once she had children.

PO (2)

Esther was a 31-year-old white British woman. She had done a social anthropology undergraduate degree and afterwards worked in a men's prison dealing with prisoners' complaints and litigation issues. She then worked for the Drug and Alcohol Action Team for a year before coming into the probation service as a PSO in 2008. In 2010 she started the 2-year Probation Qualification Framework (PQF) training, qualifying in 2012. She had 2 women out of a caseload of 49 service users. She inherited Bridget from Steph in June 2014 when there was only 4 months' left of Bridget's supervision order. There was a mix-up over allocation of the case, so no handover took place. Esther was in a long-term relationship and in the early stages of pregnancy during the study.

Pairing 5 - B town

WSU

Leila was a 19-year-old mixed race (white and black African) British woman who had a lengthy history of minor theft and violent offences. Since the age of 15 she had regularly been picked up by the police for heavy drinking and had attended YOT as well as the women's centre as part of numerous overlapping supervision orders. Latterly she had taken advantage of counselling to explore childhood sexual abuse. She also participated in drink awareness sessions and was doing well on a leisure and tourism course at the local college.

PO

Phillipa was a 43-year-old single white British woman, 9 years qualified with the DipPS, with previous experience as a theatre manager. The proportion of women on her caseload was 100% but there were a few co-worked male cases because she was a PO and there were only 3 POs in that team. Phillipa had reduced her hours to three days a week working so that she could do Master's level research at a local university.

Pairing 6 - C town

WSU

Cassie was a 36-year-old mixed race woman (her mother's heritage is Caribbean, both parents were born in England). Cassie had been physically abused by her mother following an incident where, at age 12, she had been in charge of her brothers and the 8-year-old was run over and killed. Her offence was drink/driving and assault of a police officer for which she received a supervision order, but the first part of the order was spent at a residential alcohol rehabilitation centre. During the period of this study she was living in her own and her ex-husband's house but was having difficulties paying the mortgage. Cassie had lost her job as a personal assistant as she felt unable to cope, although the employers were prepared to keep her on. Her 14-year-old daughter, Anna, had gone to live in L town with her father as Cassie was unable to care for her but they spoke on the phone daily. Cassie was suffering from depression, had suicidal ideation, was still drinking intermittently and was developing dementia.

WCW

Gilli was a 50-year-old white British woman who lived with her husband and two sons (11 and 13). She had been working as a WCW for 10 months in a senior outreach worker role but previously had been in probation for 4 years covering different employment projects. She was training to be a qualified mentor on a programme at Masters level. Being part of Empower meant that all her cases were women. Gilli went on to work for Empower on a diversionary scheme for women in the local police cells but funding ran out, and she is currently working for a mental health housing association.

Pairing 7 – E town

WSU

Carmen was aged 26 years and a white British woman. Her offence was failure to protect her son, Robbie, aged 2, for which she had served a custodial sentence of 15 months and was then on licence. Robbie was assaulted by her partner who received an 11-year custodial sentence. Her son had been adopted by her Aunt and they were in the process of emigrating to Canada. Carmen had been bullied at school, date raped at 16, experienced domestic violence within her birth family and had a succession of domestically abusive relationships as an adult. She was currently living back at her parent's home in B town but staying over

frequently with a new partner. She was finding it difficult to obtain secure work. Carmen was seeing Judy in a voluntary capacity as a through the gate (TTG) client.

WCW

Judy was a white British woman of 51 years who had adult children. She had gained a counselling qualification, 17 years previously, and had held a succession of jobs in male and female prisons. She had been working in the community for a year with Community Rehabilitation Initiatives (CRI) and then in her current role with Empower for around 9 months with a caseload of 25 women, including 2 voluntary clients. Funding for the project (a pilot), that she and Gilli were working for, was discontinued after the Transforming Rehabilitation initiative was implemented.

One-off research interviews

PO

Joe was a 51-year-old white British male who had gained a DipSW qualification 19 years previously, after a year as a PSO. Prior to working in probation Joe worked in a variety of clerical jobs to fund his musical interests and did voluntary or low paid work with substance misusers in a day centre for a few years to gain experience for probation. Joe has children in their late teens and young children with his second marriage. He had played a big part in the accredited groupwork programmes, as a practice teacher and senior practitioner. A year after the interview Joe was seconded to NOMS (a promotion) as a national trainer.

MAIN RESEARCH - ZPT

PSOs doing peripatetic groupwork (worked with Laura, Gillian and Carly in T town)

Bea was 58 years old, married with no children 'by choice'. Bea had 'A' levels but decided against university. Bea had a PETALS (Preparing to Teach in the Lifelong Learning Sector) qualification and would have liked to retrain as a primary school teacher. Outside she was involved with her Church and did Beaver (young guides) work. She had been in her current role as the principal women's group worker for under a year but had worked within probation for 20 years. She started as a secretary in probation and progressed in 2003 to becoming a PSO. When talking about PO training, she said that she did not want the stress but was intending to do a level 3 award the following year. She stated 'I have no evidence to show what I do. I don't have that certificate on the wall because there isn't one [for working with women]'.

Lisa was 39 years old and mother to a daughter of 11 years and a son 9 years – both have learning disabilities and she commented on the stress this caused. She had been in probation for 15 years and in PSO group work interventions, working mainly with male probationers since May 2013. Prior to this, Lisa was a careers adviser within probation and gained level 4 VQs.

Pairing 1/2 *WSU – T town*

Laura was in her late 40s and mother to two autistic young men in their late teens. Until the offence she had been their full-time carer and married for just under 25 years. During a family dinner Laura stabbed her husband in front of his mother and her son, in such a way that a fatality could have resulted. Her husband and mother-in-law had blamed Laura throughout the years for the sons' disabilities as she had had an abortion when the couple initially got together and there was evidence of their emotional abuse towards her. She reported feeling isolated and had started drinking heavily every night once her sons were in bed. Following the stabbing she spent a few days in prison, was sentenced to a suspended sentence supervision order, stopped drinking and left the family home. Her husband recovered from his injuries but allowed only limited contact initially with her sons which was orchestrated by her husband. Laura's parents supported her emotionally as well as providing accommodation and financial help. Laura had difficulty finding even menial work once prospective employers found out about her offence.

Laura was supervised by 2 officers

PO

Jennifer was 49 years old and white British, married with 4 children. She had been in T town since 2005 as a PSO and did the DipPS in 2007, qualifying in 2009. She had worked at home for 10 years prior to coming into the probation service, raising her children and as a carer for her mother-in-law who had dementia and was living with her. She also taught yoga in the evenings. Jennifer wrote Laura's presentence report and whenever Fi was absent Jennifer would step in to do the supervision session. After the TR split Laura was assigned to the NPS so, after a 3-way handover meeting with Fi, Jennifer, as an NPS officer, took over supervision.

PSO

Fi was a 52-year-old white British woman. She started in probation in 2004 so had 10 years' experience as a PSO, working in another county first for 7 years. Fi had also volunteered for three consecutive years at the local winter shelter for homeless people. The past 3 years had been in T town doing case management. The proportion of women on her caseload was 10%. Once Laura was sentenced, Fi supervised her for several months until the TR split occurred. Fi was assigned a CRC position but Laura was placed in the NPS, due to the seriousness of her offence and sentence.

Pairing 3/4 - T town

WSUs

Gillian was a 45-year-old white British woman convicted of a drink driving offence which in hindsight she saw as a 'cry for help'. She was sentenced to a community order. With concerns about finances and loneliness Gillian had started drinking heavily. She had left her husband a couple of years previously and there were suggestions of emotional abuse. She went with her son to stay with her parents. Afterwards she was allocated a council house, but this went to her ex-husband when they split again and the husband gained residency of their 13-year-old son. Gillian still saw her son regularly, but as she was a lodger they would stay over together at her parents. Her long-term employers in retail were supportive about the offence and subsequently promoted her.

Carly was a 45-year-old white British woman sentenced to a community order for child neglect. Prior to the offence she had been living in a 2-bedroom council house in a rural area with her 7-year-old son, Peter, who was removed by Children Services. Carly had been drinking heavily and not caring adequately for this son emotionally or materially. Her 21-year-old son was living independently in T town and Carly visited him when she reported to probation. Following the sentence, Carly's access to Peter was limited to 4 times a year and cards/presents for birthdays and Xmas. Carly had stopped drinking, decorated her house and reached out to her mother and sisters who offered emotional support.

PSO, supervising Gillian and Carly

Karen was a 40-year-old white British woman who had been working for ZPT since 2001 (13 years). Prior to this she had done a sociology degree (the criminology degree was introduced the following year). She then did voluntary work for probation in a different county. She had a 3-year-old son and worked at probation 3 days a week with a caseload of around 35 – out of this she had 3 women service users. Karen was married and her husband had well paid employment, enabling her to reduce her hours to 3 days a week. Following her maternity leave, Karen had had lengthy periods off sick for a chronic back condition and stress. She had taken out a grievance against her manager and was also under capability proceedings following lengthy periods of sickness absence.

One-off research interviews

PO (senior practitioner)

Kate was a 52-year-old white British woman, married with 2 adult children. She joined the probation service in 2005 and qualified in 2008 on the DipPS, having written her work-based project on working with WSUs. Subsequently she set up and coordinated the Futures groupwork programme for women in various towns/cities in ZPT. Futures won awards over the year that it functioned but was disbanded during the reorganisation in the run-up to TR. Kate went part-time in order to study for a Master's in professional practice in 2013 which she gained in 2016, but left the probation service in June 2017 to become a massage therapist. She suffered from progressive arthritis.

WSU

Jessica was a 50-year-old white British trans woman who had received a life sentence for murder that she committed as a man. She transitioned whilst in prison and had spent time in a women's prison. When interviewed she had been out of prison for 6 months and was having difficulty finding accommodation and work. Jessica stated that her determination to change was not just physical but leaving behind memories of abuse and heavy drinking. However, she continued to drink heavily and was recalled within the year.

Appendix C Record of videoed supervision sessions and interviews (T = Transcribed; x= transcription completed. **NB** Groupwork was not transcribed)

Practitioner name	WSU name	Video supervision 1 date	T	Video supervision 2 date	T	Video supervision 3 date	T	Research interview - RG and PO date	T	Research interview - RG and WSU date	T
Di PO Pilot	Siobhan	07/09/12	x	09/01/13	x	20/02/13	x	27/03/13	x	15/03/13	x
Lesley PO Pilot	Evie	16/01/13	x	30/01/13	x	20/02/13	x	20/03/13	x	20/03/13	x
Jemma PO Pilot	Shirley	21/08/2012	x					07/11.2012	x		
Bea and Lisa (women's group) PSOs	Laura Carly	19/12/13		23/01/14		06/02/14					
Karen PSO	Gillian			02/04/14	x	15/05/14	x			15/05/14	x
	Carly	02/04/14		15/05/14	x	26.06.2014	x	26.06.2014	x	26.06.2014	x
Fi PSO	Laura			03/04/14	x	15/05/14	x	15/05/14	x		
Jennifer PO Transfer from Fi	Laura					03/09/14	x	03/09/14	x	03/09/14	x
Vicki PO	Anne	31/03/14	x	08/04/14	x	02/05/14	x	02/05/14	x	02/05/14	x
Moira PO	Sonia	13/06/14	x	28/8/14	x	05/12/2014	x	12/12.2014	x	05/12/2014	x
Steph PO	Bridget	26/03/14	x	14/05/14		28/05/14	x	28/05/14	x	28/05/14	x
Esther) Transfer from Steph	Bridget			27/08/14	x	23/09/14	x	23/09/14	x	23/09/14	x
Phillipa PO	Leila	09/07/2014	x	22/10 2014	x	26/11/2014	x	26/11/2014	x	04/12/2014	x
Gilli WCW	Cassie	07/10/14	x	09/12/2014	x	22/01/2015	x	26/01/2015	x	22/01/2015	x
Judy WCW	Carmen	15/10/14	x	05/11/2014	x	10/12/2014	x	18/12/2014	x	10/12/2014	x
Joe PO								09/07/2014	x		
Kate PO								30/06/2014	x		
	Jessica									02/07/2013	

Appendix D

Professor Stephen Savage BA (Hons) PhD FRSA
Director
Dr Phil Clements BA CertEd Med EdD FHEA
Head of Department

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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET –
Study title - Probation Work with Women Service Users
REC reference number: 11/12:27

I would like to invite you to take part in this research study. Before you decide, I would like you to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please do ask me if there is anything that is unclear.

The purpose of the study is to highlight good practice in probation work and share positive ways of working more widely amongst probation officers. The focus will be on the interaction between the service user and the probation officer. This study is also educational, in order to assist me in gaining a PhD with the University of Portsmouth.

You have been invited because you are either a probation (service) officer or a woman service user. I have asked probation (service) officers to select women, who they are supervising, possibly willing to take part in the research. Eventually, I hope, there will be about 15 women participating and roughly the same number of probation officers.

It is up to you to decide to join the study. I will describe the study and go through this information sheet with you. If you agree to take part, I will ask you to sign a consent form.

The study itself will take around 4 years in order to collect all the information and then examine what has been said; but your part in the research will take approximately 6 months. The plan is to video your meetings 3-4 times during this 6-month period. I would also like to talk with both of you separately (for no longer than an hour) about these sessions. I realise this may feel inconvenient, but I hope that the outcomes of the study will be a better understanding of women service user needs, and consequently an improved service.

All information that you give me will be safeguarded during and after the study. Everything I collect will be kept securely in a locked cabinet, or on my (password protected / encrypted) laptop, and all information about you will be anonymised. Once the project is finished it will be disposed of securely. If you do not wish to carry on with the study, you can withdraw any time

during the interview process. If you have any concerns you should speak to me (rachel.goldhill@port.ac.uk Tel. 01273 626598) or my supervisor, Jacki Tapley jacki.tapley@port.ac.uk Tel. 02392 84 3983) and we will do our best to answer your questions. If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally you can speak to Phil Clements, Head of the Institute of Criminal Justice Studies (contact details above).

The results of the study will be written up to form the basis of my PhD. Parts of the study will be put forward for publication in relevant journals. However, you will not be identified in any report/publication unless you have given your consent.

Research in the University of Portsmouth is looked at by an independent group of people, called a Research Ethics Committee, to protect your interests. This study has been reviewed and given a favourable opinion by the University of Portsmouth, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. If you decide to participate you will be given a copy of it to keep and asked to sign a consent form. If there are any issues that are not clear or that you would like to discuss, please do e-mail or give me a call.

Rachel Goldhill 19/12/2013

Appendix E – Consent form (4.5.3, p. 77)

Professor Stephen Savage BA (Hons) PhD FRSA
Director

Dr Phil Clements BA CertEd Med EdD FHEA
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Study Title: Probation Work with Women Service Users
REC Ref No: 11/12:27.
Name of Researcher: Rachel Goldhill

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated 08/10/2014 for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason (up to the point when the data are analysed)

3. I understand that data collected during the study, may be looked at by individuals from University of Portsmouth. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my data on the understanding that all data will be anonymised

4. I agree to my interview being audio/video recorded

5. I agree to being quoted verbatim

I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant: Date: Signature:

Name of Person taking consent: Rachel Goldhill   Date: Signature:

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Appendix F - Ethical Review - approval letter

Ms. Rachel Goldhill
Institute of Criminal Justice Studies
Ravelin House, Ravelin Park
Museum Road, Portsmouth.

Cc: Jacki Tapley ICJS

REC reference number: 11/12:27
Please quote this number on all correspondence.

November 9[th] 2012

Dear Rachel,

Full Title of Study: **Probation Work with Women Service Users**

Further to our recent correspondence, this proposal was reviewed by The Research Ethics Committee of The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences.

I am pleased to tell you that the proposal was awarded a favourable ethical opinion by the committee.

I wish you every success with the study.

Kind regards,

FHSS FREC Chair
David Carpenter

Members participating in the review:

- Mr David Carpenter
- Mr Richard Hitchcock
- Dr Jane Winstone

Appendix G - Semi-structured interview schedule for practitioners

These questions are for guidance and the hope is that we'll be able to talk quite informally.

1. How do you feel about the work that you've done with …….?

2. Which aspects of women's stories affect you most? How do you deal with this?

3. What happens at the end of an Order/Requirement? How do you prepare a woman for this?

4. How does the organisation do to support your work with women? What support have you been given when working with women? (e.g. training, supervision – formal/informal)

5. What do you know about the MoJ (2012) A Distinct Approach guidance document and what resources for females are available in the community where you work?

Personal information

- Age

- Gender

- Ethnicity

- Length of time in the job

- Previous experience

- Proportion of women on your caseload

Appendix H - Semi-structured interview schedule for women service users

These questions are for guidance only and the hope is that we'll be able to talk quite informally, and it won't feel like a supervision session!

1. What has your experience of probation been like?

2. What do you think your PO is/was trying to achieve? Has s/he been successful?

3. Do you have the same PO now as when you started on probation? [If appropriate] What's it been like having different POs?

4. What has it been like waiting for your appointment at the probation office? Have you talked to your PO about this? What was her response?

5. Many women coming to probation have been sexually abused and/or self-harm or take drugs/drink/gamble in order to cope or distract themselves. If this had happened to you how would you feel if your PO raised it with you in supervision? Would it be appropriate? Would it be wanted?

6. How have you found participating in this research process (e.g. was it a nuisance, interesting, you felt that you had to do it or it would go against you, anything else)? What has it been like being videoed? What has it been like arranging a meeting with me? Would you have preferred to do it in another way?

7. How do you feel now that it's all over?

Personal Information

- Age

- Ethnicity

- Living situation

- Current and previous offence(s)

- Length of time known to PO

Appendix J - Initial NVivo coding

Developing Themes

Name	Files	References
1. Political and Social Constructions	79	
Corston	10	
Women specific provision	20	
Covington	4	
Discrimination	9	
Fragmentation	8	
Gender capital - feminised ways	9	
Gender capital - masculinised	7	
Impact of Court and sentencing	7	
Local resources	39	
MoJ (2012) A Distinct Approach	17	
Multi-agency working	36	
Sentencing and sentencers	2	
TR effects	20	
Women as too low risk to bother about	3	
WSU views on professional authority figures	30	
Women's dissatisfaction with practitioners - probation and other agencies	30	
Women's satisfaction with practitioners - probatiion and other agencies	16	
2. Organisation	83	
Courts and sentencing	8	
Discrimination	9	
Fragmentation	8	
Gender capital - feminised ways	9	
Gender capital - masculinised	7	
Gender focused	23	
Local resources	39	
MoJ (2012) A Distinct Approach	17	
Multi-agency working	36	
Sentencing and sentencers	2	
Women as too low risk to bother about	3	
Women specific provision	20	
WSU views on professional authority figures	30	
Women's dissatisfaction with practitioners - probation and other agencies	30	
Women's satisfaction with practitioners - probatiion and other agencies	16	
3. Actors	105	
3. 1 PO	104	
Attachment	80	
Attachment and PD issues	16	
Attachment issues	2	
Consistency	1	
Emotional work including loss	44	
Endings	54	
Explaining endings	4	
Mothering and Fathering	51	
Parenting children with disabilities	3	
AttitudesValues towards women	58	
Emotional work including loss	44	
Fragmentation	8	
Local resources	39	
Multi-agency working	36	
Practice approaches	79	
Active listening	31	
Awareness of feminist literature	5	
Enabling narratives	22	
Ethical dilemmas	3	
Groupwork	6	
Having an alternative agenda to the WSU	7	
Low numbers	4	
Prosocial modelling	12	
Challenging	11	
Clear explanations	10	
Consistency	1	

Node	Count
Positivity, praise, encouragement	28
Reframing	16
Setting boundaries	25
Sharing appropriately	1
Reflective Practice	10
Awareness of diversity issues	4
Diversity issues 2	5
Linking theory to practice	0
Open questions	32
Closed questions	10
Prosocial modelling	12
Recapping better lifestyles	9
Self critical	1
Restorative justice	3
Showing compassion	10
Active listening	31
Explaining	7
Collaborative and negotiation	19
Empathy	25
Feelings	6
Flexibility	31
Giving time	18
Going at SU's pace	30
Reward	3
Showing an interest and remembering	17
Humour	25
Offering practical support	11
Trust	18
Verbal encouragement	33
Sharing approriately	9
Time for good practice	9
Women as too low risk to bother about	3
Women given women offficers	10
Women specific provision	20
WSU motivational statements	18
Resilience	3
Ill phys at work	4
Ill phys sickness absence	3
Mental health issues including stress	7
Workload pressures	19
Sentencing and sentencers	2
Support structures for POs	38
Difficulties with colleagues	3
Difficulties with management	3
Gender capital - feminised ways	9
Gender capital - masculinised	7
Reflective Practice	10
Supervision	24
Issues with managers	5
Support from managers and other colleagues	23
Ways of coping	10
Victimisation and Trauma	78
Coercion by men	5
Corston	10
Women specific provision	20
Courts and sentencing	8
Covington	4
Domestic violence	49

Women specific provision	20
Courts and sentencing	8
Covington	4
Domestic violence	49
Gender focused	23
MoJ (2012) A Distinct Approach	17
Victimisation, trauma and vicarious trauma	49
WSU views on professional authority figures	30
Women's dissatisfaction with practitioners - probation and other agencies	30
3.2 WSU	101
Attachment	80
Attachment and PD issues	16
Attachment issues	2
Consistency	1
Emotional work including loss	44
Endings	54
WSU motivational statements	18
Explaining endings	4
Mothering and Fathering	51
Parenting children with disabilities	3
Having an alternative agenda to the WSU	7
Local resources	39
Low numbers	4
Mental Health	60
Depression	6
Poor health	11
Addictions	28
Mental health, suicidal and self harming tendencies	51
Social capital and social exclusion	30
Stigma and shame associated with offending and mothering	34
Substance misuse issues	40
Poverty	42
Debt	7
Employment	2
Importance of employment and accommodation	2
Poor health	11
Addictions	28
Mental health, suicidal and self harming tendencies	51
Sexual offenders	2
Social capital and social exclusion	30
Sentencing and sentencers	2
Victimisation and Trauma	78
Coercion by men	5
Corston	10
Women specific provision	20
Courts and sentencing	8
Covington	4
Domestic violence	49
Gender focused	23
Impact of Court and sentencing	7
Waiting rooms	9
MoJ (2012) A Distinct Approach	17
Victimisation, trauma and vicarious trauma	49
Women as too low risk to bother about	3
Women given women offficers	10
Women specific provision	20
WSU motivational statements	18
WSU views on professional authority figures	30
Women's dissatisfaction with practitioners - probation and other agencies	30
Women's satisfaction with practitioners - probatiion and other agencie	16

**Appendix K – Full transcript of Steph and Bridget 28.03.2014
(4.7.4, p. 92; 7.5, p. 153)**

1 S. How are you
2 B. Soo soo. (whispers) Not a good day today
3 S. Sorry?
4 B. (louder) Not a good day today
5 S. Not a good day today. Okay. How's your week been?
6 B. (Shrugs) Boring
7 S. Okay
8 B. I think I've got an eye infection and I keep I think I'll have to go to
9 the doctors' – that's bringing me down a bit as well
10 S. Oh. Are they sore?
11 B. They're itchy
12 S. Oh dear.
13 B. I'll have to make an appointment
14 S. You can get drops from a pharmacy
15 B. Yeah I'm going to go and try that
16 S. Until you get a GP appointment. Okay. Erm so erm. Last week, do you
17 remember last week?
18 B. (nods)
19 S. So you do okay. Erm. I just wanted to remind you that you can't,
20 you shouldn't report under the influence of alcohol and if you do
21 again that could count as a missed appointment.
22 B. Yes, okay, certainly (looking down).
23 S. And you were going to phone me with your sister's number.
24 B. I don't want my sister involved in it. She's going through a lot at
25 the moment. So all those things I've told you are just between me
26 and you. And I'll just have to put up with it because she's had to
27 put up with a lot…with me…that's the way I'm looking at it.
28 S. Erm okay. I guess that makes it difficult for you to achieve your
29 sentence plan, doesn't it?
30 B. I'm starting to cry already, I'm a bit down today
31 S. Oooh. (Reaches for tissues). There's some tissues here, would you
32 like a tissue?
33 B. (nods)
34 S. I mean it was just to get your sister's support really so that she'd
35 know what's going on. Does she not want to be involved?
36 B. She's got a lot going on. She's depressed herself at work. The goals
37 they set at work apparently she's not meeting them and she could
38 end up losing her job if she doesn't. I don't want her to anyway
39 (mumbles).
40 S. Okay. Erm…so you don't want to get your sister involved but are
41 you still happy to work towards your sentence plan objectives
42 which is starting to build your life up again.
43 B. Uh hmm (dabbing her eyes)
44 S. Okay, well that's okay. Erm so in terms of that I've made you
45 another appointment with Penny next week
46 B. Okay
47 S. Okay so that's on the 1st April. I'll write that down for you before
48 you go
49 B. Could you send it to my phone because I find it easier?
S. You find it easier to get texts, yeah, sure. So that's 50 the employment
51 side. I spoke to um the alcohol agency, I spoke to Ginny who was
52 the lady who assessed you and you've been referred for relapse
53 prevention counselling
54 B. (nods)
55 S. So how, how, what's happening with the alcohol? How much have
56 you had to drink?
57 B. I don't drink because I don't have the money
58 S. Okay so last time I saw you, was that the last time you drank?
59 B. Yeah, yeah
60 S. (writing this down) Okay…Okay. So do you see that as a positive or
61 not?
62 B. Positive because I don't have any money so I can't get it from
63 anywhere else. I'm not a thief or anything.

64 S. Okay, so [

65 B.]I do have money…but I don't have control over it.

66 S. No. You asked your sister to take it, to take control…

67 B. And she won't give it to me.

68 S. Okay. Okay. So I guess what I was wondering about was how much

69 you wanted to stop drinking because I think last week…

70 B. I just want to keep it getting under control, that's all. Can that be

71 possible with an alcoholic or not?

72 S. What do you think? Are you able to control your alcohol use?

73 B. Erm...to a certain extent probably. I mean I don't think I'd get to

74 the point where I don't know what I'm doing again. Cos that's

75 what got me into trouble.

76 S. But how can you make sure that you don't get…

77 B. I don't know. That's why I need some kind of. If it can be done. If it

78 can't I'll just have to try my hardest, just to stop.

79 S. Not to drink again.

80 B. (nods and purses lips)

81 S. But at the moment it's probably safer not to until you've…

82 B. I just want

83 S. …had some counselling and worked through whether it is possible

84 to manage it. Yeah

85 B. Yeah (nods)

86 S. Okay. So we're going for abstinence at the moment

87 B. Uh hmm

88 S. Okay. What you said to me last week was that you wanted, you

89 liked the positives that you got from alcohol, that you'd like to

90 think of other ways you could get then. So what I've thought we

91 could do is if we do a little list…of the positives and negatives.

92 B. Didn't we do that last week?

93 S. No, we didn't do that last week. So, what are the positives that you

94 get from drinking? What do you like about drinking?

95 B. It makes me (smiles) ...feel I like myself more

96 S. Okay

97 B. I like myself more

98 S. So you like yourself more

99 B. Yeah. And I'm a friendly person anyway but it makes me

100 more…confident?

S. Okay. Confident. Lots of people 101 find that, don't they

102 B. Yeah. And at the moment not liking myself physically it makes me

103 like myself a bit more physically as well.

104 S. Okay and so you like yourself physically and mentally, yeah, both

105 those ways, okay.

106 B. Uh hmm

107 S. What else do you like about what alcohol does for you?

108 B. It makes me feel sexy (whispers and wrinkles her nose and smiles –

109 looks naughty) which I don't often feel. The negatives are

110 probably the opposite of all of that. (points her finger towards S's

111 notepad).

112 S. Okay. So well, what you're saying is if you don't drink you don't

113 like yourself and you don't feel confident and you don't feel sexy.

114 B. (shakes her head)

115 S. Umm but I want to think about alcohol and drinking. Let's stick

116 with the positives for the moment so what, are there any other

117 positives, are there any other reasons why you drink or umm

118 B. Reasons?

119 S. Yeah

120 B. Well, the reason I drink is because I don't like myself…Much. All

121 that I've said.

122 S. Okay okay. Does it do? How does it make you feel…physically?

123 B. Like I don't care

124 S. Okay .. So less. Is that to do with worry or stress or…

125 B. Uhhh

126 S. Is that a good thing, not caring?

127 B. Nuh. To a certain extent.

128 S. So do you think it would go down as a positive

129 B. What not caring?

130 S. Yeah

131 B. No
132 S. A negative. Okay. So
133 B. I think I'm more selfish when I've had a drink
134 S. Okay (pause3) More selfish. Makes me not care. Okay.
135 B. And I get a sort of feeling of euphoria, a bit, I don't know why, a
136 high
137 S. Okay well that's a positive, isn't it?
138 B. Umm
139 S. Yeah…Euphoria. Okay. And then what happens eventually. So, you
140 get a high for a little while
141 B. Yeah, probably and then the next day. I don't get a hangover
142 anymore for some reason, anything else for you
143 S. Lucky you.
144 B. I don't get a hangover but then my mind starts the rubbish
145 S. Okay
146 B. And then I realise if I've done something that it causes a tension
147 between my sister and myself, the drink
148 S. Tension with your sister
149 B. Ummhumm. And there's an awkwardness between us after I've
150 had a drink which I don't like
151 S. Okay
B. Because I feel like I've failed her 152 and myself and her
153 S. Okay so feelings of failure
154 B. Uhm hmm
155 S. Okay
156 B. But there's still, this is something completely different, my
157 daughter and myself we're just like strangers, We're living in the
158 same house but all it is is like how you are, you alright, Okay and
159 that's it, there's no communication between us. She's very moody
160 S. Uh huh. Alright. Okay. …That's something that we've talked about.
161 Certainly that is something we can talk about is building your
162 relationship up with your daughter.
163 B. (dabs her eyes)
164 S. How do you think alcohol and drinking affects your relationship?
165 with your daughter?
166 B. Well we don't really have a relationship.
167 S. Uh huh
168 B. It's just like she's a lodger in the house. Sometimes I'll cook for her
169 or she'll say she's cooking for us. There's not really. I don't know
170 what's going through her head.
171 S. Uh huh
172 B. I'm frightened to know what's going through her head actually
173 because it may be that she doesn't like me, that's what I feel.
174 S. Okay. Umm (4 sec). That's certainly something we'll come back to
175 and we've talked about previously about ways that you could
176 work on building that relationship. And we've talked about
177 previously sort of you've said that you'd like to set an example for
178 him in terms of not drinking.
179 B. I think at the moment she's doing a lot of exercise and I don't
180 know if there's some kind of a boy involved. We don't hear the
181 bottles so much anymore. I don't know if she's abstaining.
182 S. Okay so that's good, exercise is good isn't it?
183 B. It is, yeah
184 S. Good
185 B. I wish I could do that because that's another thing. Drink is making
186 me put weight on.
187 S. Okay, well what we're going to do in a minute is come on to other
188 ways you can get these positives so let's make sure that we've got
189 this list as complete as you want it for now. In terms of what you
190 get from alcohol, what you like about it, it makes you feel better
191 about yourself mentally and physically, more confident, more
192 sexy, you get a short feeling of euphoria. Physically does it make
193 you feel, does it make you feel, I don't know. (2.0) Some people
194 say it makes you feel relaxed.
195 B. I'm relaxed, yeah
196 S. More relaxed.
197 B. Yeah.

225

198 S. Okay. I don't want to put words into your mouth. And then
199 negatives er makes you not care about things, makes you more
200 selfish, it increases awkwardness and tension with your sister and
201 feelings of failure…and it's something about you've said, you
202 know, it's not a good example for your son either, is it
203 B. No.
204 S. Err (writing 4 secs pause) Okay. So when you look at that list
205 (showing her the list) does it make you want to carry on drinking
206 or or…
207 B. (Takes pad and puts on glasses, looks at it – 4.0) Well
208 (smiles), well because of the negative sides, no. I like the positives
209 I get out of it as well.
210 S. Right and what you said last week was you'd like to think of other
211 ways to get those positives. So let's have a think about that. So
212 what other way, and you just mentioned one umm could
213 you…Could you think of any other ways that you could get these
214 positives? What would, could you do that would help?
215 B. (points to something on the pad)
216 S. And how could you go about losing weight?
217 B. Drink less. It is a negative but it increases my appetite.
218 S. Right, yeah, do you have like little binges when you're drunk and
219 then also when you're hungover actually
220 B. I don't get hungover.
221 S. It may not feel like hungover but quite often after alcohol when
222 you're in that depression phase you want to eat.
223 B. Umm
224 S. So it increases appetite
225 B. Put on weight.
226 S. Therefore, put on weight, OK. So how could you go about losing
227 weight?
228 B. Oh stop drinking I suppose and go on a diet but at the moment
229 because there's so much going on I just erm I'm eating because of
230 the situation as well. Uh huh. I mean like yesterday I didn't get out
231 of bed.
232 S. Didn't you. Oh (empathic voice)
233 B. Mouths no and shakes her head. I can't stop eating and once I've
234 done all this I'll just go back hole
235 S. Ok. So when you're feeling stronger, diet have you ever tried any
236 of the dieting clubs
237 B. They cost money which I really don't have, the money to pay them
238 and everything.
239 S. Have you got a computer at home?
240 B. Yeah
241 S. Cos don't they have sort of online ones now?
242 B. Yeah but they cost money. I don't have that money
243 S. Do they? There aren't any free?
244 B. Yeah. I don't know. I haven't any idea
245 S. It might be worth googling there might be some free apps. That's
246 something to think about. What's another way of losing weight?
247 Apart from managing what you take in.
248 B. Well exercise but I'm physically at the moment in a little bit of
249 pain.
250 S. Are you?
251 B. Uh hmm
252 S. What, how come?
B. My hips are hurting me because of the weight probably. I have
254 pains my shoulders and I think it's like old age (smiles)
255 S. You say it might be the weight, exercise is often the way that
256 helping kind of you know muscular and skeletal problems
257 B. Uh hmm (nods)
258 S. What type of exercise do you enjoy?
259 B. Erm I haven't done any for years so I really don't know (4.0) I don't
260 like running I'm not built for running (laughs), may be dancing
261 S. Aha dancing yeah I get the impression because you like partying
262 don't you
263 B. Uh hmm
264 S. Have you ever tried Zumba?

226

265 B. Noooo.
266 S. It's great fun. It's dancing exercise dancing. So that's yeah I mean
267 okay you feel like you might enjoy dancing
268 B. Nods
269 S. Okay. Any other ways… Any other ways that you could exercise?
270 Can you of any ways that you could exercise for free at the
271 moment?
272 B. No. I could say jogging but you don't see really fat people going
273 round jogging do you?
274 S. What's easier than jogging.
275 B. Walking
276 S. Yeah. How do you feel about walking?
277 B. Well when I do go out I do end up walking round…
278 S. Uh huh
279 B. It depends on the weather at the moment the weather is a bit…
280 S. Yes, it's off and on isn't it. But walking is great exercise and it's free
281 and you know as a start to build up your fitness
282 B. Uh hmm
283 S. Erm, OK, so (4 sec pause) do you think that if with exercise which
284 of these would it cover (shows J the notepad --- two sec pause). It
285 might give you that burst of euphoria because it releases
286 endorphins when you exercise
287 B. Umm hmm (J looks down)
288 S. You do that's because, yeah
289 B. And if I lost the weight I probably feel a bit more sexy about myself
290 S. Yeah
291 B. More confident
292 S. Yeah, confident, makes you feel relaxed because you don't stress
293 out. Walk through the anger, (mimes walking assertively) helps
294 you think doesn't it?
295 B. I'm thinking too much at the moment that's another thing
296 S Uh huh
297 B. When am I going to get a job because at the moment I'm not
298 feeling very worthwhile at the moment?
299 S. Yeah
300 B. Just lazing about
301 S. I know you're used to being busy aren't you? Well you've got your
302 next appointment with Penny next week so hopefully she'll be
303 able to help you. Erm (3.0) and you've got your
appointment at the job centre that's…So I 304 guess from all that,
305 that would help you to like yourself more
306 B. Yeah
307 S. Physically wouldn't it
308 B. (Nods)
309 S. So do think it would, getting there is a little goal you could set
310 yourself for this week
311 B. In terms of being able to push myself because at the moment I've
312 got no get up and go (mumbles something)
313 S. So how about just setting yourself a small goal whatever you think
314 is achievable in terms of between now and when I see you next
315 week. I mean do you think you could walk once a day or do you
316 think once every other day. Erm what do you think is realistic?... In
317 terms of setting a goal.
318 B. I could certainly walk every day; I've got nothing to do at the
319 moment.
320 S. Okay. So one walk…
321 B. What I'm going to do now, now that you've mentioned it, I'm
322 going to go home and I've got scales which under the wardrobe
323 which I'm too frightened to get on them. I'll weigh myself when I
324 get home and then I'll work towards next time I see you even if it's
325 losing a few ounces. I want to see I'll text you see how much I can
326 lose between now and then. Seeing you again I mean
327 S. Okay and what… So you need to do something in order to lose the
328 weight don't you so what were you going to do.
329 B. Well erm… (3 sec pause)
330 S. I think I've got some
331 B. I've got salad at home and I can start eating my salad. You see I've

332 got all the what do you call it, everything's there in place, salad
333 meat whatever. It's just there's other things at home that I
334 shouldn't be eating. I'm going to try to cut down on certain,
335 change my diet
336 S. Okay. So you're aiming to change your diet this week and then you
337 said one walk a day you said? Is that achievable?
338 B. Umm (nodding and smiling)
339 S. How long are you going to aim to walk for each day?
340 B. About an hour if I have the energy
341 S. Yeah. I think that would be a really brilliant start a one---hour walk
342 every day because walking for an hour you'll get this euphoria,
343 you'll come back and your feel that you have the right to relax,
344 you know that you've earnt it, you know and you'll be working
345 towards losing weight, it will help you structure your thoughts as
346 well you know it helps as well I think sometimes when you're sat
347 still you know sat at home your thoughts can get all muddled up
348 and that gets really confusing and feels quite depressing. But if
349 you're sometimes walking and getting out in the fresh air that will
350 help with those feelings so erm yeah I think that would be
351 brilliant. And then you would be taking steps towards all these
352 positives without any of these negatives
353 B. Uh hum
354 S. Which is what you want isn't it?
355 B. Yes
356 S. Yes. Okay cool there are some good goals there (looks at watch).
357 How are we doing for time because I know you've got to… We've
358 still got a bit of time. I just wanted to introduce you to erm a little
359 model. This is all part of the work that we doing. This is called the
360 cycle of change. (Shows J a piece of paper. J puts on her glasses to
361 look at the paper). I'll talk you through it. When, this is a model
362 that was developed by some psychologists in order to explain the
363 process of any sort of change we want to make. They developed it
364 about giving up smoking but you can actually apply it to anything.
365 So this, it starts with somebody who is in so---called pre---
366 contemplation so that's when someone doesn't think they've got
367 a problem in their behaviour and they don't want to change.
368 Okay.
369 B. But I do know that I've got a problem and…
370 S. Yeah and then what happens is that people move into a place
371 which is called contemplation which is where you think perhaps
372 actually I do want to change and you look at the positives and
373 negatives of your behaviour (looks and points towards her
374 notepad with the pros and cons of alcohol written down). Then
375 you start thinking will actually the negatives are outweighing the
376 positives I think I want to change I think I want to stop this now.
377 And then people tend to make a decision, okay I've been doing it
378 too long I'm going to stop now. Then they decide what they're
379 going to do to make an active change so to put into place the
380 mechanisms to change. Erm the stage after that is called
381 maintenance so that that's when you have to maintain that
382 change and keep it going and then quite often people have a lapse
383 or a relapse.
384 B. Uh hmm
385 S. So if we think about it in terms of your…
386 B. What does that mean…
387 S. A lapse might be if you had one drink and…
388 B. Oh
389 S. And then so I'm not going to
390 B. But if you have a relapse it means that you're doing it all over again,
391 is that what... [
392 S.] Well it can do but actually you can go back, a lapse doesn't have to
393 lead to a relapse you might have one drink and say ooff actually I
394 don't want to relapse, I don't want to drink a whole bottle of
395 vodka. I'm going to stop now. And you might go straight back to
396 action and carry on with the changes that you are making so that
397 you don't drink any more
398 B. uh hmmm

228

399 S. You might go back to the beginning, you might have a relapse, say
400 sod it I've had enough I'm going to have the vodka and I don't
401 want to give up drinking erm and you might be here for a while
402 (points with a pen to precontemplation and contemplation).
403 B. Erm
404 S. And I think I've seen you at different stages of this cycle
405 B. (Smiles and nods)
S. Throughout the time I've known you. Where 406 would you say you are
407 today?
408 B. Erm well, this one here I think
409 S. Contemplation
410 B. Yeah
411 S. So you're, you're weighing up which is actually why we did that
412 exercise today and you know had that conversation last week
413 because you need to be, you're thinking at the moment aren't you
414 about what the positives are and what the negatives are. Whether
415 you can get those positives anywhere else. But you've been
416 moving towards, I mean today you did state that you thought at
417 the moment abstinence would be the best thing, not drinking,
418 would be the best thing. And you've put into place some little
419 goals to help you work towards that so yeah in some ways you
420 have sort of made a decision and you are putting into place some
421 active change
422 B. Yeah uh hm.
423 S. But I'm thinking that you're not 100% sure about that decision
424 B. No, no I'm not.
425 S. So maybe you need to kind of give it a go see how this alternative
426 plan goes
427 B. Hmm.
428 S. See if you get these sort of things a bit
429 B. Do I get that piece of paper?
430 S. Yeah I will I will…
431 B. This one
432 S. I will photocopy this for you before you go. So okey---dokey.
433 B. Will I get that, do I
434 S. Yes, I can make you a copy of that. Erm and yeah what okay maybe
435 we can do the rest of this next week but
436 B. (Looks at watch) (26.17)
437 S. This is all, about setting goals for one month, six months and 12
438 months. So we'll maybe think about that next week
439 B. Can I ask you a question? Did you find out about the visa if I want
440 to go on holiday?
441 S. Erm no so that is hang on (shuffles papers in her notepad)
442 B. If I'll be able to go to America with what I've done
443 S. I don't know. Again if you got a computer you can you could
444 Google that. I don't have that information at my fingertips it's not
445 something erm I know about erm but I would've thought that it's
446 something that you could look up about on the Internet. Erm is
447 that something you'd be able to could you do that this week. If
448 you are having difficulties finding out erm I'm just trying to think I
449 don't know --- would a travel agent know?
450 B. I don't want to tell them that I've got…
451 S. (Laughs)
452 B. I'll see if they've got it on the computer. If I can't go then….
453 S. If you kind of Google restrictions on travelling to America or umm
454 yeah I'm sure there must be some guidance erm on the Internet
455 erm. Writing down in her notepad]. Okay one other thing I
456 just did want to check in with you this week was about how you
were feeling because you were quite suicidal last week you were
458 feeling….
459 B. There's still there's still rubbish going through my head
460 S. Aha
461 B. A lot of rubbish
462 S. Last week you said you were eight on a score of 8 to 10. Where
463 where'd you think you are this week?
464 B. (3.0) Well [dragged out] probably four
465 S. Four. That's good you seem, you do seem happier

229

466 B. Yeah

467 S. And what do you think has made you feel better?

468 B. Erm. Probably not drinking (laughs)

469 S. (Laughs) I'm glad you said that… because we know that alcohol is a
470 depressant don't we so that actually in terms of that although you
471 feel in the short term it helps you but actually you know last week
472 you weren't okay were you….

473 B. No (rubs her eyes)

474 S…. After you'd been drinking and I was really worried about you so
475 you know in a way actually I think that alcohol is quite dangerous
476 for you

477 B. Another negative you know is I think it's ageing me

478 S. Yes, okay it does age you

479 B. Losing my youthful looks

480 S. Erm I'm going to put things with depression there as well (is writing
481 in her notebook). But you look great, you do look great (laughs)
482 but yeah I'd stop now if you don't want it to because you know it's
483 not only outside the inside it won't be doing any good either will
484 it? Okay so okay not drinking has really help with your mood

485 B. Umhmm (nodding)

486 S. That's good. Good I send you a text with the number of the
487 Samaritans did you get it?

488 B. Yeah (nodding)

489 S. So you've got that if you need it. I'm glad to hear that you're
490 feeling better. Right okay so what we've done today is look at the
491 positives and negatives of alcohol and you've set yourself some
492 little goals for this week. So the overall aim is to lose weight

493 B. Yesss

494 S. And you're going to try to do that 2 ways by trying to change your
495 diet and by starting to do some exercise and initially we are
496 aiming for an hours walking every day

497 B. Uhhmm (nodding)

498 S. And then slight changes in the diet and hopefully some weight loss
499 for next week. Yeah?

500 B. Yeah. (Smiles at Sarah)

501 S. You'll be feeling even better (end of video). Hopefully the four, do
502 you think that will help to move the four (indicates further to one
503 side with the hand)?

504 B. Yes (nodding and smiling)

505 S. Brilliant. I'll make a copy of that for you (indicating the exercise on
506 positives and negatives)

507 B. And that one (pointing)

S. Yes and that one on the cycle. Okay and can give you both of
509 those. Erm Right okay was anything else that you wanted to…

510 B. Just about America but you're probably right I can look it up for
511 myself

512 S. Yeah have a go and if you have problems…

513 B. I just want to know that I can get to the job because staying at
514 home that is driving me crazy

515 S. Aha

516 B. The negatives was losing my job we should have put that on the
517 list

518 S. Well yeah let's add it. (Reaches over). Let's add it.

519 B. Losing my job

520 S. Losing your job, quite a lot of negatives aren't there

521 B. Yeah (both laugh)

522 S. Okay right let's make an appointment for next week

523 B. Can you send it to my phone?

524 S. Yeah I will. If we stick with because you know that Wednesday
525 mornings are women only

526 B. Yeah. We'll stick with that; I can do the same time again if you
527 want

528 S. 10?

529 B. 10 yeah

530 S. Is its always 10.35 your job centre …

531 B. Yeah round about that time yeah

532 S. Okay. Well we'll make it 10 next week because we know you can

533 do that. I'll think about future weeks. And you want me to… Oh
534 yeah actually, unfortunately you're coming into what ah… Yeah
535 you're coming into see Penny on Tuesday. I'll just warn you that
536 probation officers are on strike that day
537 B. Oh
538 S. So there might be a picket line outside
539 B. (Laughs)
540 S. And I don't know quite how it's going to…
541 B. Will you be amongst that?
542 S. I won't be here that day, I won't be around but it sounds as if
543 Penny will still be working that day. I will double check with her
544 before I send the text to you. You don't want an appointment card
545 you just want me to text you
546 B. Please
547 S. Okay that's fine I will text appointment (writing in her diary). Okay
548 B. I just want the (pointing)
549 S. Let's head out and I'll photocopy these on the way out.
550 *Both get up*
551 S. Glad to see you're feeling better

FORM UPR16

Research Ethics Review Checklist

<u>Please include this completed form as an appendix to your thesis (see the
Research Degrees Operational Handbook for more information</u>

Postgraduate Research Student (PGRS) Information		Student ID:	UP632361
PGRS Name:	Rachel Goldhill		
Department:	ICJS	**First Supervisor:**	Jacki Tapley
Start Date: (or progression date for Prof Doc students)	09.2011		

Study Mode and Route:	Part-time	☒	MPhil	☐	MD	☐
	Full-time	☐	PhD	☒	Professional Doctorate	☐

Title of Thesis:	Probation policy and practice with vulnerable women: a focus on the challenges of organisational and personal change for women workers and women service users
Thesis Word Count: (excluding ancillary data)	80,443

If you are unsure about any of the following, please contact the local representative on your Faculty Ethics Committee for advice. Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the University's Ethics Policy and any relevant University, academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study

Although the Ethics Committee may have given your study a favourable opinion, the final responsibility for the ethical conduct of this work lies with the researcher(s).

UKRIO Finished Research Checklist:

(If you would like to know more about the checklist, please see your Faculty or Departmental Ethics Committee rep or see the online version of the full checklist at: http://www.ukrio.org/what-we-do/code-of-practice-for-research/)

a)	Have all of your research and findings been reported accurately, honestly and within a reasonable time frame?	YES NO	☒ ☐
b)	Have all contributions to knowledge been acknowledged?	YES NO	☒ ☐
c)	Have you complied with all agreements relating to intellectual property, publication and authorship?	YES NO	☒ ☐
d)	Has your research data been retained in a secure and accessible form and will it remain so for the required duration?	YES NO	☒ ☐
e)	Does your research comply with all legal, ethical, and contractual requirements?	YES NO	☒ ☐

Candidate Statement:

I have considered the ethical dimensions of the above named research project, and have successfully obtained the necessary ethical approval(s)

Ethical review number(s) from Faculty Ethics Committee (or from NRES/SCREC):	11/12:27

If you have *not* submitted your work for ethical review, and/or you have answered 'No' to one or more of questions a) to e), please explain below why this is so:

Signed (PGRS):	*Rachel Goldhill* Rachel Goldhill	**Date:** 20.12.2018

UPR16 – April 2018