Executive Summary

The following paper sets out the benefits of Challenge to Change (C2C) in improving prison safety and reducing the likelihood of reoffending amongst high-risk cohorts. It includes a compilation of the evidence gained through evaluations carried out regarding the effectiveness of the programme Challenge to Change delivered by the registered charity Kainos Community to medium to high risk offenders.

Evaluations of the programme conducted in 2012 and 2016 have concluded the following key findings:

• **The frequency of proven offending after 1 year for Kainos graduates (0.54) was significantly lower than for the comparison group (0.83).**

• The frequency of court convictions and cautions after 1 year for Kainos graduates (0.29) was significantly lower than for the comparison group (0.45).

• The 1-year re-offending rate for the Kainos group was 18.5% compared with the re-offending rate for the matched comparison non-Kainos group of 23.5% (The comparable national rate for released prisoners is approximately 26%). This shows that the Kainos group achieved a 5 percentage points lower proven re-offending rate than the comparison group. ¹

• Reconviction rates for C2C graduates are not yet available but other leading indicators are highly indicative of the likelihood of such falls:

  1. There were significant falls in the general offending score, and the four associated Crime Pics II psychometric sub-scores when comparing before and after C2C intervention for all 302 participants in the 2013-2015 period. Such changes have been shown to correlate with lower reconviction rates.

  2. Over the two years of analysis, 25% of the 138 released C2C prisoners were given a further prison sentence. There are no exact comparisons for all prisoners released.

• In the period prior to Challenge to Change participation, there were 308 adjudications against the 138 prisoners in all 3 prisons. During C2C participation, this dropped to 62 adjudications (i.e. a ratio of 1:5 to the pre period). Post C2C participation adjudications rose slightly to 88, but this is still lower than pre-C2C adjudications by a ratio of 1:3.5. ²


The Programme

The Kainos Challenge to Change programme is considered by participants and staff to be unique in prisons in England and Wales. Its 24/7 hybrid nature, offering Cognitive Behaviour Therapy (CBT) in a Therapeutic Community (TC) where community skills are practised is regarded as offering an excellent chance for offenders to pursue pro-social activities within prison and prepare for an offence-free life on release.

Prisoners in particular, also speak highly of the greater chances of success that arise from having six months’ intensive experience of the hybrid programme. Many prisoners say that it takes a long time to become familiar with new patterns of thinking and behaviour and that the six months offered by C2C is about right. The small number of prisoners who had also been on other programmes felt the greater dosage on C2C was advantageous.

They also acknowledge that, although sessions are delivered on a group basis with up to twelve in each group, the success of the programme is as much due to the regular one-to-one individual review sessions between the prisoners and the Kainos facilitator, where specific advice can be given and future needs discussed.

Objective measures

Objective measures applied in research also suggested the positive effect of C2C. In each of the prisons researched, the number of adjudications reduced significantly from the period before the programme started to the period after the programme finished. Also the psychometric measures in Crime Pics II were reduced, comparing the situation before the programme to the situation afterwards. This was true for all the four aspects of Crime Pics: a) Anticipation of re-offending; b) Victim Hurt Denial; c) Evaluation of crime as worthwhile; and d) Perception of current life problems. Reductions in Crime Pics measures have been shown in previous research to correlate with reductions in re-offending rates after release. However, it has to be acknowledged that, in the absence of a control group these changes in adjudications and psychometrics cannot be attributed fully to C2C.

Interviews with 32 prison and Kainos staff and prisoners yielded the following results:

a. The unique selling points of C2C leading to its overall effectiveness were thought by all to be:
   i. the way that the programme concentrated on medium to high risk offenders.
   ii. the hybrid nature of the course, where CBT sessions were integrated with community activities within a single wing which acted as a TC.
   iii. the one-to-one sessions with Kainos facilitators.
   iv. the high 24/7 dosage of the course lasting six months.

b. Based upon their experience of C2C and other courses, there was a high degree of agreement among respondents that C2C was better than other courses in the way in which community skills taught in the CBT sessions could be practised within the TC.

c. Community activities were perceived to be an essential part of the prisoners’ rehabilitative process. Community activities worked better when the prisoners helped to organise them, in particular where prisoners’ own skills were used in the activities.

d. The monitoring of prisoners’ progress was excellent and the one-to-one sessions to facilitate prisoners’ progress were particularly beneficial.

e. The mentoring system was reported to be an important part of the success of C2C.

f. Those prisoners who had been on other courses usually rated C2C as better in comparison, mainly because of its longer dosage and its community approach.

g. The attitude and availability of prison staff was perceived to be key. Good staff helped C2C run smoothly, both at senior management and at wing level.

h. Some respondents also felt that C2C could be modified to serve different groups of offenders, e.g. medium to high risk women or young offenders within prison. However, these were subjective opinions and would need to be tested in an experimental way. 3

Perceptions

3 An example of where C2C is being modified to serve a different clientele is Pathways to Change, recently introduced in the Winchester home run by Langley House Trust for those released into the community.
Kainos Community has been working in English prisons since early 1996. It came about following an inspectorate report which recommended that the D wing of HMP The Verne be shut down. The Principal Officer in charge at that time suggested introducing a programme, based on Christian principles, which was being delivered at the time in a Brazilian prison. This programme, based upon the transformative power of rehabilitation in community, was achieving dramatic changes in prisoner behaviour and outlook, with sufficient evidence to support its efficacy. The Governor agreed to the implementation of a similar programme on D wing and in April 1997 Kairos-APAC was established as a charitable trust to carry out this programme, and the community became operational.

The programme very quickly had a dramatic effect on the behaviour on the wing, and the number of adjudications for ill-discipline and infringement of prison rules dropped from 179 per annum to 27 per annum within two years. The results were so remarkable that three other prisons were soon interested in opening programmes. In 1999 a new board of trustees took over, setting up Kainos Community as a registered charity.

The programme continued to develop as specific needs of offenders became apparent with additional elements being developed addressing areas like anger management and moral reasoning. The programme went from strength to strength and continued to have a positive impact on offenders’ thinking and behaviour.

In 2003, the Prison Service implemented PSO 4350 ‘Effective Interventions’ to establish an internal Prison Service validation system for regime interventions which were not validated by an appropriate external body. Kainos Community was instructed to standardise and revise its programme and manuals to fit the PSO criteria. The necessary revisions were made and in 2004 the programme was validated with a recommendation from the area panel to apply for full CSAAP accreditation.

Kainos Community acted upon this recommendation and C2C became a fully CSAAP accredited CBT community based intervention in 2009. To achieve this, a number of manual revisions, programme adjustments and modifications incorporating valuable progress in defining the efficacy of programme specifics were made. The programme was reaccredited for a further five years in 2014.

Through various incarnations, the Community concept has proven powerful. The most recent expression of this has been C2C commissioned through NOMS (now HMPPS) and CSAAP accredited which in addition to creating a community within the wing of a prison, also incorporated an intensive six month CBT component for medium to high risk (OGRS scores of 50 and above) offenders.

Challenge to Change (C2C)

The model for change delivered by this programme is quite unique. Challenge to Change uses cognitive-behavioural methods delivered within a group setting to facilitate learning of pro-social thinking and behaviour, which are then put into practice and further developed, within the safe confines of a Community wing. The additional advantage of C2C is that, where possible, programme participants are matched to a mentor/Community Rehabilitation Company in their local community on release who will be a source of support and guidance helping to reduce the risk of re-offending.

Delivered on a dedicated wing or unit, C2C promotes underlying principles from both democratic and hierarchical TC models. This approach has been described as complementary rather than oppositional by Vandevelde (2004). The combination model has been adopted because the hierarchical nature of prisons present realistic limitations as to the extent to which true democratic approaches can be employed within a custodial setting.

Therefore C2C provides a balance of principles that promote:

- Participants to challenge and change their own value systems and to take greater responsibilities in the community as their behaviour becomes more pro-social.
- A clear structure and hierarchical framework within the community, whilst democratic processes are encouraged within spur and community meetings. Participants have the freedom to voice their views of the behaviour of others in a respectful and supportive manner.
- Positive change is experienced without punitive confrontation. Honest and respectful peer feedback regarding the personal consequences of anti-social behaviour within the community is encouraged and supported.
- Reality testing is in place within the boundaries of Community rules by which residents are expected to abide, with sanctions in place for repeated transgressions of those rules.

In summary C2C can be best defined as a structured programme of learning and activity set inside a residential community based unit aimed at providing social learning opportunities to practice and reflect upon skills taught.

The Course

C2C consists of five modules each providing a number of structured sessions essential to the desired learning outcome specific to that module:

**Orientation Assessment & Preparation** – When suitable referrals to C2C come onto the unit they are assigned a mentor who is responsible for orientating the new participant to the environment; explaining what the participant can expect when living as part of the C2C community and the rules and regulations which they are required to live by.

During these early days on the unit the participant will also be assigned a key worker who will initially carry out a Comprehensive Holistic Assessment (CHA), identifying problems or deficits that can be addressed by engaging in the programme – a collaborative process with the offender to set initial goals. Assessment continues throughout this module in order to establish if this is the right intervention for the offender at this time and that they have the capacity and motivation to engage effectively.

The preparation element of this module involves offenders attending the structured sessions; the purpose of these are to ensure that the offender has a good understanding of the programme content and what is expected of them, an exploration of their expectations, getting them to look back so they can move forward positively and, if they want to change, providing the basic tools to help achieve their goal.

**Community living** – This module aims to explore, define and promote the concept of positive community living. The early sessions encourage offenders to describe what they consider to be good healthy supportive communities and what their past experiences have been, exploring: why they have not possibly fitted in and what is their understanding of and attitude towards authority?

Participants during this module are encouraged to realise that a key component of change is the community itself, which is a therapeutic ‘tool’. By attending the structured group sessions participants have the opportunity to learn new ways of thinking and behaving and be introduced to the necessary social skills that will enable them to take an active role within the community.

**Focus** – Having explored community living, during this module, participants are encouraged and supported in becoming become more self-aware; they need to examine their values and beliefs and how these affect their behaviour and, to understand how behaviour is regulated according to their beliefs. This gives a starting point for each participant to look at where they came from and to decide where they are going.

This is also the opportunity to develop an understanding of how thinking and ‘self-talk’ keeps either negative or positive behaviour going. It encourages and supports participants to learn how to develop confidence to think forward effectively, rather than think back negatively, increasing the motivation to change.

**Inter-personal relationships** – Having become more self-aware, participants will explore relationships – how they engage and interact with others on a range of levels. They will look at past relationships, good and bad, how they have influenced these and what they need to do to improve relationships in the future.

Participants are encouraged to identify elements that directly relate to relationships with others both inside and outside of prison. There is an emphasis on developing further communication skills, requiring participants to consider and understand the importance of negotiation and how to successfully resolve conflict through empathy and mediation.
Victim awareness is also addressed within this module where participants consider the victim’s perspective, looking at the effects of crime generally and the specific crime committed by the offender.

**Citizenship** – This module prepares participants for the transition from the safe environment of the C2C community to either a normal location within the prison or release to the outside community. The aim is for participants to take the learning so far acquired from the programme, identify the next steps required to build on that learning, take responsibility for setting goals to improve their future life and plan how these can be achieved.

This module mainly focuses on the seven pathways that will reduce the risk of re-offending. Participants attend structured sessions that help them to explore what their needs are upon release and start to plan how these will be met. Whilst staff and mentors are available for advice and guidance participants take responsibility for their own pre-release plans and are encouraged to liaise with the appropriate departments in the prison and services or agencies out in the community.

**Key work** – key working is an integral part of C2C with each participant being assigned a facilitator as their key worker. The main purpose of key work is to monitor and manage an individual participant’s progress in addressing attitude, thinking and behaviour associated with offending whilst engaged in the programme. It is a collaborative approach consisting of the following two core elements that aim to:

- Review progress in achieving change – evaluating goals within PDP (Personal Development Plans).
- Identify and provide effective support and guidance to ensure retention and engagement in C2C.

These are structured time-bound sessions that should be carried out using a motivational, collaborative approach with an accurate account being recorded on the history sheet within the participants’ personal file and signed by the key worker. As the participant progresses through the programme, key work records provide a comprehensive account of change that has, or has not, taken place. The information and evidence collected in the key work sessions are reflected in each participant’s End of Programme Report.
As evidenced throughout its history, one of the strengths of Kainos Community is its willingness to adapt and innovate in line with the changing demands of the prison service. Whilst the accredited version of C2C specifies that the programme is delivered to a specific target group at a given dosage over a set period of time to achieve optimum outcome in reducing re-offending, the design of the programme does allow a certain amount of flexibility.

The Community wing is the main method within the programme design that brings about change, which lends itself to being more adaptable to a range of needs and environments capable of achieving intermediate outcomes as well as contributing to reducing re-offending. Any adaptations made would not distort the underpinning evidence-based model of change for the programme but would alter other aspects that impact upon accredited status. If however, CSAAP accreditation was not required for a specific prison or purpose then there would be scope for greater flexibility.

In the past, prior to accreditation, an earlier version of the programme had been delivered successfully to women and to young male offenders. Also, over the last 14 years it has been successfully delivered in a category B prison with encouraging evidence to support its effectiveness.

The table below shows the re-offending factors as described in the NOMS (now HMPPS) Commissioning Intentions and gives an indication of the intermediate outcome that C2C can achieve and how these can be achieved. These are very similar to those desired by the HMPPS.

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<th>Reoffending Factors</th>
<th>Intermediate Outcomes</th>
<th>How these are achieved</th>
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| Anti-social thinking and behaviour | Improvement in understanding and ability of an offender to:  
• Take responsibility and ownership of change in their anti-social behaviour.  
• Problem solve, set goals and monitor progress and review.  
• Manage conflict and challenge appropriately.  
• Manage emotions appropriately.  
• Engage and interact as a pro-social citizen in a community and understand the benefits. | Anti-social attitudes and behaviour are challenged on the community by staff, mentors and peers. In structured group sessions offenders learn social skills, which are put into practice in day-to-day living and working in the Community. Staff, mentors & volunteers are role models. |
| Family/marital relationships | Improvement in:  
• Understanding and ability to develop healthy, caring relationships with close and extended family.  
• Contact with family that is positive.  
• Understanding how behaviour influences children and being a parent. | In structured sessions offenders explore relationships past, present and future, looking at both positive and negative elements. They are encouraged and supported in making and maintaining contact with family through letters, phone calls and visits. Families are encouraged to attend a family day at the prison. |
| Anti-social lifestyle, lack of positive recreation/leisure activities | Improvement in ability to:  
• Structure free time for hobbies, sport or social activities.  
• Be part of a team – working together to achieve a common goal. | The Community wing encourages offenders to engage in a range of activities that exposes them to ways in which they can fill their free time. It also encourages creativity, putting on entertainment for the community. It uses gym facilities for improving physical and mental health and team games. |
The added value to individual establishments is that C2C can be adapted in ways that can be effective in supporting the prison to achieve the outputs within the core rehabilitation services specification. It can also assist prison staff in displaying and promoting behaviour that will have a positive impact upon offenders such as:

- Pro-social modelling
- Respectful interactions with offenders
- Use of positive reinforcement fairly and consistently to aid behaviour change
- Resolve conflict, wherever possible, through negotiation and discussion
- Model good problem-solving skills and perspective taking
- Communicate with offenders in an open, warm and enthusiastic manner
- Advocate for offenders, referring them to the services that they need

Having a unit/wing or even prison-wide Community approach has the potential to provide a safe ‘therapeutic’ environment that will help to engage, stabilise and motivate an offender in preparation for an intervention targeted at reducing their risk and reoffending. The Verne (1997-2013) in particular and Haverigg (2013-to date) are good examples of where this has been achieved in the past. Prison and programme staff have noticed and commented on the change in difficult-to-manage offenders, the way they behave on the wing and the way they engage in programmes.

A vital ingredient to the Kainos programmes in custody and community is the commitment of volunteers, many of whom support the work on a weekly basis. Coming from a wide range of backgrounds and ages, they bring maturity, consistency and genuine care to offenders who often find it hard to accept such selfless generosity.

Success in achieving a significant reduction in re-offending is largely due to the quality of staff employed who come from a variety of backgrounds including ex-police/prison officers, teachers and private and public sector management. They are key to why Kainos Community is well suited to deliver the programme as their combined experience provides the organisation with the leadership and expertise to meet the specific needs of offenders and manage the complex and challenging dynamics working within the Criminal Justice System.

Due to the diversifying needs of the prison estate, and in line with the needs expressed by the experimental community outside of the custodial setting, additional modules are being developed that may better suit differing environments and yet keep the core values of the transformation that Challenge to Change brings.

These include:

1. Tenancy awareness
2. Tenancy sustainment
3. Budgeting
4. Gambling and debt
5. Life skills (catering, money management) for lifers
6. Sex worker recovery
7. Family dynamics
8. Self-esteem
9. Substance misuse, alcohol and use of new psychoactive substances
10. Domestic violence
11. Exploring faith
12. Motivation and hope for lifers and IIP
13. Controlling behaviour
Evidence of Change

Reconviction analyses
Since its inception Kainos has carried out a number of studies looking at the efficacy of the programme and uses these to carry out routine internal monitoring of prison conditions and return to prison rates, as well as carrying out independent external research, under the guidance of an expert advisor (Professor Sir Tony Bottoms, Cambridge, 2000-2004: Prof Chris Lewis CBE, Portsmouth 2004-2011). Teams from Bristol, Cambridge, Leicester and Portsmouth Universities have carried out the research. Reconviction analysis has been carried out as well as more qualitative analyses.

External research by the Criminal Justice Unit of the University of Portsmouth has shown that the programme is most effective with men of OGRS scores of 30+ i.e. those with a medium to high risk of reoffending within two years of release. A reduction in reoffending rates (within two years) of greater than 13% compared with expectations has been demonstrated.

The latest research carried out in November 2016 (Tom Ellis, Colm Ellis-Nee and Chris Lewis, CGL Bosham Ltd.) indicates a similar trend in the positive outcomes demonstrated in earlier reconviction studies in that the research found the respondents considered C2C to have worked well when conditions were appropriate to the programme design and methodology (finalised JDL figures will only be available in 2018 for the latest research).

The reconviction study for 2012 indicated positive results in the following areas:
a. The frequency of proven offending after 1 year for Kainos graduates (0.54) was significantly lower than for the comparison group (0.83).
b. The frequency of court convictions and cautions after 1 year for Kainos graduates (0.29) was significantly lower than for the comparison group (0.45).
c. The 1-year re-offending rate for the Kainos group was 18.5% compared with the re-offending rate for the matched comparison non-Kainos group of 23.5% (The attrition rate through the then MOJ matched sampling process meant that although the difference was close to statistical significance, the numbers were too small to claim full significance.)

Kainos reconviction analyses suffers from the same problems of interpretation of all offender programmes, namely: a) one can never be sure that reconviction rates are only influenced by the programme being evaluated and b) programmes themselves gradually evolve over the years and are delivered by different people. However, the value of this analysis has been recognised by the MOJ and it has been stated, when speaking of Kainos, that "there are no other accredited programmes that have stronger evaluation designs at the moment apart from Enhanced Thinking Skills". The Randomised Control Trial model used to evaluate Enhanced Thinking Skills is too expensive for a charity to use.

6 2016; Ellis. T, Ellis-Nee. C, Lewis, C.
Testimonials

“The best programme in the prison service bar none and it should be in every prison.”

Prison Officer

“Since working for the Prison Service I have not seen another accredited programme which targets the most prolific and challenging individuals and attempts to give them a future that is free from the cycle of offending. Having witnessed the sometimes inspiring journey that some prisoners undertake then it makes me proud to have been a part of this process.”

E. Sutton, Custodial Manager

“I put my heart and soul into that speech, I’ve never had to make a speech before. I got my dad to come – I wanted him to see he had a son to be proud of and [who had] achieved something.”

Kainos Graduate on Graduation Day

Challenge to Change in Haverigg

“I have overseen the implementation and development of the Kainos Challenge to Change programme over the past couple of years. As with all new accredited programmes, it has taken time for Kainos to bed in to the prison regime and to be embraced by staff not directly involved in the delivery of the programme.

“The Kainos Challenge to Change programme has provided prisoners at HMP Haverigg with the knowledge, experience, attitude and skills needed to make a lasting positive change to their lives and to be released from prison to a life free from offending.

“In my capacity as Governor I have been fortunate enough to witness hugely positive change in prisoners’ behaviour and their cognitive reasoning. This has culminated in progression to Category D establishments and in some cases release on Home Detention Curfew. It is my belief that without having completed Kainos some of these prisoners would not have undertaken this journey of progression and could still be in custody today.

“I have often been asked by colleagues from other establishments, ‘what makes Kainos work?’ or ‘what’s the secret to their success?’ For me the answer lies with the selection of the staff and prisoners. I am personally grateful to the staff, both operational and non-operational, for their commitment and belief in the project. For me the most obvious demonstration can be found on the graduation days – there the staff, prisoners and the prisoners’ families share in the achievements.”

AM Corcoran
Governor, HMP Haverigg
For further information on how this programme could be implemented in your context, please contact:

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