“Leam Craig, Louise Dixon and Theresa Gannon have produced an astonishing compendium of work related to offender assessment and treatment. Comprehensive in scope and written by the very best researchers and practitioners in the field, this book is set to become an essential guide for forensic professionals and a core text for those on teaching and training courses. In bringing this collection of excellent chapters together, the editors have done a great service to all of us who work with offenders to reduce crime.”

Professor Mary McMurran, PhD, Institute of Mental Health, University of Nottingham

“What Works in Offender Rehabilitation reviews current best practice for offender assessment and rehabilitation. Leading researchers and practitioners from around the globe summarize the theoretical and empirical bases for assessment and treatment of various offender subpopulations in a variety of settings, as well as identify areas most in need of more evaluative research. This is a landmark volume that should be essential reading for forensic clinicians, students, and researchers alike.”

Marnie E. Rice, Director of Research Emerita, Waypoint Centre for Medical Health Care, Canada

Edited by a highly respected team of forensic psychologists, this comprehensive volume brings together the very latest evidence base for offender assessment and rehabilitation. Leading researchers, clinicians and practitioners from Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand present and discuss empirical findings of treatment efficacy, evaluating assessment frameworks and intervention strategies in order to provide readers with a guide to best practice in rehabilitation across a wide variety of offenders.

Each chapter summarizes current theories for different forms of offending behaviour and explores how the evidence base supports the theoretical assumptions and informs assessment and treatment. The populations covered include offenders with personality disorders, psychopathic offenders, juvenile offenders and offenders with intellectual difficulties, and both secure institutions and community treatment settings are discussed. A broad range of offences are also examined including intimate partner violence, sexual offending, anger-related offending, substance-related offending and arson.

Leam A. Craig is a Consultant Forensic Clinical Psychologist in private practice, and Professor of Forensic Psychology at the University of Birmingham, UK. He is the co-author of Assessing Risk in Sex Offenders (Wiley-Blackwell), a co-editor of the Wiley-Blackwell titles Assessment and Treatment of Sex Offenders (2009), Assessment and Treatment of Sexual Offenders with Intellectual Disabilities (2010), International Perspectives on the Assessment and Treatment of Sexual Offenders (2011) and Assessments in Forensic Practice: A Handbook (2013).

Louise Dixon is Senior Lecturer in Forensic Psychology at the University of Birmingham, where she is Course Director of the Continued Professional Development route to the Doctorate in Forensic Psychology Practice. Louise’s research interests centre on intimate partner violence, child maltreatment and aggression in groups and she has published many articles and book chapters in these domains. Louise sits on the Editorial Board of several international journals including Child Maltreatment and the British Journal of Forensic Practice.

Theresa A. Gannon is Director of the Centre for Research and Education in Forensic Psychology (CORE-FP) and Professor of Forensic Psychology at the University of Kent, UK. She is lead editor of the Wiley-Blackwell books Aggressive Offenders’ Cognition (2007) and Female Sexual Offenders (2010), and is also the co-editor of Public Opinion and Criminal Justice (2008) and Firestarting and Mental Health (2013).
What Works in Offender Rehabilitation
Leam A. Craig: For the love of my family.

Louise Dixon: To my parents, Dot and Jim, and big brother, Ian, for their continual love and support.

Theresa A. Gannon: For my colleagues at CORE-FP.
What Works in Offender Rehabilitation

An Evidence-Based Approach to Assessment and Treatment

Edited by

Leam A. Craig
Forensic Psychology Practice Ltd, The Willows Clinic, UK
University of Birmingham, UK

Louise Dixon
University of Birmingham, UK

Theresa A. Gannon
University of Kent, UK
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About the Editors

Leam A. Craig, BA (Hons), MSc, PhD, MAE, CSci, CPsychol, AFBPsS, EuroPsy, is a Consultant Forensic and Clinical Psychologist and Partner at Forensic Psychology Practice Ltd. He is Professor of Forensic Psychology at the Centre for Forensic and Criminological Psychology, University of Birmingham, UK. He is a Chartered and Registered (Forensic and Clinical) Psychologist, a Chartered Scientist and holder of the European Certificate in Psychology, permitting practice throughout the European Union. His current practice includes direct services to forensic adult mental health and learning disability hospitals and consultancy to prison and probation services throughout England and Wales and Northern Ireland. He acts as an expert witness to civil and criminal courts in the assessment of sexual and violent offenders and in matters of child protection. He has published over 70 research articles and chapters in a range of research and professional journals. He has also published five books: an authored book entitled Assessing Risk in Sex Offenders: A Practitioners Guide (2008), and four edited books, Assessment and Treatment of Sex Offenders: A Handbook (2009), Assessment and Treatment of Sexual Offenders with Intellectual Disabilities: A Handbook (2010), International Perspectives on the Assessment and Treatment of Sexual Offenders (2011) and Assessments in Forensic Practice: A Handbook (2013), all published with Wiley-Blackwell. He is currently working on a Major Reference Work on Assessing and Treating Sexual Offenders with Drs Douglas Boer and Martin Rettenberger. He sits on the editorial boards of several journals, including International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, Journal of Sexual Aggression, Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research and The Open Criminology Journal.

Louise Dixon, BSc (Hons), MSc, PhD, CPsychol, is a Forensic Psychologist and Senior Lecturer in Forensic Psychology at the Centre for Forensic and Criminological Psychology, University of Birmingham, UK. She is the Course Director of the Continued Professional Development route to the Doctorate in Forensic Psychology Practice. Louise enjoys an active research and publication profile and is involved in the wider international research scene. She is on the editorial board of internationally peer-reviewed journals Child Maltreatment, Journal of Aggression Conflict and Peace Research and British Journal of Forensic Practice. She is the E-bulletin Editor for the International Family Aggression Society (IFAS) and is Vice Chair of the West Midlands branch of the British Association for the Study and Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (BASPCAN). Her research interests centre on family and intimate
partner violence and the role of group aggression in understanding and preventing street gang affiliation and offending. She has published numerous articles and book chapters in these domains. Louise also practises as a Forensic Psychologist, specializing in the assessment and intervention of violent adult offenders.

Theresa A. Gannon, DPhil, CPsychol (Forensic), is Director of the Centre for Research and Education in Forensic Psychology (CORE-FP) and Professor of Forensic Psychology at the University of Kent, UK. Theresa also works as a Chartered Consultant Forensic Psychologist specializing in sexual offenders and firesetters for Kent Forensic Psychiatry Services, UK. Theresa has published numerous chapters, articles, books and other scholarly works in the areas of male- and female-perpetrated sexual offending and firesetting. She is particularly interested in research relating to both the treatment needs and overall rehabilitation of sexual offenders. Theresa is Lead Editor of several books, including Aggressive Offenders’ Cognition: Theory, Research, and Treatment (John Wiley & Sons) along with Professor Tony Ward, Professor Anthony Beech and Dr Dawn Fisher, and Female Sexual Offenders: Theory, Assessment and Treatment (Wiley-Blackwell) along with Franca Cortoni. Theresa serves on the editorial boards of Aggression and Violent Behavior, British Journal of Forensic Practice, International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment and is Associate Editor of Journal of Sexual Aggression.
About the Contributors

Julia Babcock, PhD, is an Associate Professor and Co-director of the Center for Couples Therapy at the University of Houston. She conducts observational and psychophysiological research on intimate partner violent couples. She has published over 30 articles on the topic of intimate partner violence and batterers’ interventions. She has received federal funding for her projects and is the recipient of Texas Psychological Association 2011 Outstanding Contribution to Science Award. She also maintains a private practice specializing in couples therapy and domestic abuse.

Josilyn Banks is a Clinical Psychology PhD candidate specializing in the study of intimate relationships at the University of Houston. Her current research interests include intimate partner violence, minority relationships and the effects of intimate partner violence on children. Currently she is investigating possible ethnic biases in observational coding systems. Josilyn received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology from Northwestern University where her research included intimate relationships and the aetiology and treatment of anxiety disorders in children and families.

Anthony R. Beech, DPhil, CSci, FBPsS, CPsychol, is a Professor and the Head of the Centre for Forensic and Criminological Psychology at the University of Birmingham, UK. He has authored over 140 peer-reviewed articles, 40 book chapters and 6 books in the area of forensic science/criminal justice. His particular research interests are centred on the assessment, theoretical understanding and treatment of sex offenders. In 2009, he received the Significant Achievement Award from the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers in Dallas, Texas, and the Senior Award from the Division of Forensic Psychology, British Psychological Society, for recognition of his work in this area.

James Bonta, PhD, received his PhD in Clinical Psychology in 1979 and began his career as a Psychologist at a maximum security remand centre, and later as Chief Psychologist. In 1990, he joined Public Safety Canada, and he is presently Director of Corrections Research. Dr Bonta is a Fellow of the Canadian Psychological Association and recipient of the Criminal Justice Section’s Career Contribution Award for 2009. His interests are in the areas of risk assessment and offender rehabilitation. He has co-authored, with the late D. A. Andrews, The Psychology
Charles M. Borduin, PhD, is a Professor of Psychology at the University of Missouri and Director of the Missouri Delinquency Project. He is the Co-developer of multisystemic therapy, which has extensive empirical support in the treatment of violence and other serious antisocial behaviours in adolescents. His research has been funded by the National Institute of Mental Health and the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. Dr Borduin has published more than 100 journal articles, chapters and books on the development and validation of effective mental health services for youth, and he has served as a National and International Consultant to government and private agencies on the reform of children’s mental health services.

Fiona Clark is a Consultant Clinical Psychologist and Lead Psychologist working within the Mental Illness Directorate, Broadmoor Hospital, West London Mental Health Trust, UK. Fiona has worked as a Clinical Psychologist in high-secure forensic services for 24 years providing a range of clinical interventions to mentally disordered offenders. As part of that role, she has also run an assessment and group treatment service for firesetters with complex mental health problems.

Rachael M. Collie, MA, PGDipClinPsyc, is a Member of the Center for Learning Innovation Teaching Faculty at the University of Minnesota, Rochester, USA. She has a background in clinical psychology in New Zealand, previously working for Victoria University of Wellington, Department of Corrections, and in private practice. Areas of clinical and research interest include narcissistic personality disorder, violent offender rehabilitation and the Good Lives Model. Teaching interests include development of active-based and integrated learning curricula.

Franca Cortoni, PhD, received her PhD in clinical and forensic psychology from Queen’s University at Kingston, Ontario. Since 1989, she has worked with and conducted research on male and female sexual offenders in a variety of Canadian and Australian penitentiaries and community settings. In addition, she has provided consultancy and training services in the assessment, treatment and management of sexual offenders in Canada, Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom. After many years with the Correctional Service of Canada, Dr Cortoni joined the School of Criminology at the Université de Montréal in 2007 where she is Associate Professor of Clinical Criminology. She has published and made numerous presentations at national and international conferences on issues related to the development of sexual offending behaviour, risk assessment and treatment of both male and female sexual offenders.

Leam A. Craig, BA (Hons), MSc, PhD, MAE, CSci, CPsychol, AFBPsS, EuroPsy, is a Consultant Forensic Clinical Psychologist and Partner at Forensic Psychology Practice Ltd. He is Professor (Hon) of Forensic Psychology at the Centre for Forensic and Criminological Psychology, University of Birmingham, UK. His practice includes services to forensic adult mental health units and consultancy to courts, prisons and probation services. He has extensive academic publications including five books: an authored book entitled Assessing Risk in Sex Offenders: A Practitioners Guide (2008), and four edited books, Assessment and Treatment of Sex Offenders: A Handbook (2009), Assessment and Treatment of Sexual Offenders with
Francis T. Cullen is a Distinguished Research Professor of Criminal Justice and Sociology at the University of Cincinnati, USA. His recent works include Unsafe in the Ivory Tower: The Sexual Victimization of Women, the Encyclopedia of Criminological Theory, The Origins of American Criminology and Correctional Theory: Context and Consequences. His current research focuses on the organization of criminological knowledge and on rehabilitation as a correctional policy. He is a Past President of both the American Society of Criminology and the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences.

Andrew Day is Professor in Forensic Psychology and Director of the Forensic Psychology Centre at Deakin University, Australia. He has a clinical background, previously working as a Clinical and Forensic Psychologist in both the United Kingdom and Australia and is particularly interested in the application of psychological thought and practice to the correctional setting. Andrew is a Fellow of the Australian Psychological Society and a Member of the Colleges of Clinical and Forensic Psychology. His current research interests centre around the development of therapeutic regimes within prison settings, effective practice in Australia with offenders from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural backgrounds and the role that anger plays in aggressive and violent behaviour.

Louise Dixon, BSc (Hons), MSc, PhD, CPsychol (Forensic), is a Senior Lecturer in Forensic Psychology at the Centre for Forensic and Criminological Psychology, University of Birmingham, UK. She is the Course Director of the Continued Professional Development route to the Doctorate in Forensic Psychology Practice. Louise enjoys an active research and publication profile and is involved in the wider international research scene. She is on the editorial board of internationally peer-reviewed journals Child Maltreatment, Journal of Aggression Conflict and Peace Research and British Journal of Forensic Practice. She is the E-bulletin Editor for the International Family Aggression Society (IFAS) and is Vice Chair of the West Midlands branch of the British Association for the Study and Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (BASPCAN). Her research interests centre on family and intimate partner violence and the role of group aggression in understanding and preventing street gang affiliation and offending. She has published numerous articles and book chapters in these domains. Louise also practises as a Forensic Psychologist, specializing in the assessment and intervention of violent adult offenders.

Rebekah Doley, BA (Hons), Grad Dip Psych Prac MSc (Inv Psy), MPsyCh (Clin), PhD, MAPS, MCC, AMFC, is a Clinical and Forensic Psychologist specializing in the psychology of serial firesetting. In addition to lecturing domestically and internationally on this issue, Rebekah has developed a screening instrument for firefighters which has been introduced nationally in New Zealand. Rebekah is an Assistant Professor in Psychology at Bond University, Gold Coast, Queensland, where she is the Director of the Clinical and Forensic Psychology Programs. She teaches postgraduate courses in forensic and clinical psychology, undertakes research and supervises probationary psychologists. In addition, Rebekah is Co-director of the Australian Centre for Arson Research and Treatment and also runs a successful private community-based psychology practice.
Alex R. Dopp, BA, is a doctoral student in the clinical child psychology programme at the University of Missouri. He received his Bachelor’s degree in Psychology from the University of Michigan. His interests include the implementation, dissemination and economic analysis of evidence-based interventions, particularly services for the treatment and prevention of juvenile delinquency.

Deirdre D’Orazio is a Clinical Psychologist in private practice as the CEO of Central Coast Clinical and Forensic Psychology Services located in California. She has extensive experience in the Sexually Violent Predator (SVP) arena, providing treatment, assessment, training and programme consultation and development. She formerly held the position of the Director of Evaluation and Development Services, overseeing the treatment programme and forensic services for the California SVP program at Coalinga State Hospital. She is a Member of the California state SVP forensic evaluator panel. She is a Member of the Board of Directors for the California Coalition on Sexual Offending (CCOSO) as the Chairperson of the Civil Commitment Committee and the Lead Author of the CCOSO paper on the California SVP system. Dr D’Orazio’s SVP-related research presently includes studies within the areas of diagnosis, risk assessment, criminogenic need and physiological indicators of psychopathy.

Vincent Egan obtained a Bachelor’s degree (Hons) in Psychology from the University of London in 1984, a PhD in Psychology from the University of Edinburgh in 1991 and a Doctorate in Clinical Psychology from the University of Leicester in 1996. He is a Clinical and Forensic Psychologist. He has over 80 academic publications, is a Fellow of the British Psychological Society and a Director of the International Society for the Study of Individual Differences. The Central Nottinghamshire Health Service NHS Trust at the East Midlands Centre for Forensic Mental Health previously employed him as a Clinical Psychologist, where he worked for three years as Lead Psychologist on a personality disorder unit. He has written over 340 court reports. Previously a Director of the MSc in Forensic Psychology at Glasgow Caledonian University, he is now Course Director of the MSc in Forensic Psychology at the University of Leicester.

Katarina Fritzon, MA (Hons), MSc (Inv Psy), PhD, MAPS, AMCC, MFC, is an Associate Professor at Bond University on the Gold Coast, Australia. Katarina’s research interests include the psychology of firesetting, the links between personality characteristics and offending behaviour, and female offenders. Katarina is a Co-director of the Australian Centre for Arson Research and Treatment, which has recently received funding from the Commonwealth Attorney-General’s Department to develop a pilot treatment programme for firesetters, which will be the first such programme in Australia. Katarina teaches postgraduate and undergraduate programmes and supervises probationary psychologists.

Theresa A. Gannon, DPhil, CPsychol (Forensic), is Director of the Centre for Research and Education in Forensic Psychology (CORE-FP) and Professor in Forensic Psychology at the University of Kent, UK. Theresa also works as a Chartered Consultant Forensic Psychologist specializing in sexual offenders and firesetters for Kent Forensic Psychiatry Services, UK. She has published numerous chapters, articles, books and other scholarly works in the areas of male- and female-perpetrated sexual offending and firesetting. She is particularly interested in research relating to both the treatment needs and overall
rehabilitation of sexual offenders. Theresa is Lead Editor of several books, including *Aggressive Offenders' Cognition: Theory, Research, and Treatment* (John Wiley & Sons) along with Professor Tony Ward, Professor Anthony Beech and Dr Dawn Fisher, and *Female Sexual Offenders: Theory, Assessment and Treatment* (Wiley-Blackwell) along with Franca Cortoni. She serves on the editorial boards of *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, *British Journal of Forensic Practice*, *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, is Associate Editor of *Journal of Sexual Aggression* and Editor of *Psychology, Crime & Law*.

**R. Karl Hanson, PhD, CPsych**, is a Senior Research Scientist, Public Safety Canada and Adjunct Professor, Psychology Department, Carleton University. Dr Hanson is one of the leading researchers in the field of sexual offender risk assessment and treatment. He has published more than 130 articles, including several highly influential reviews, and is the lead author of the Static-99 and STABLE-2007 sexual offender risk assessment tools. He is a Fellow of the Canadian Psychological Association and the 2002 recipient of Significant Achievement Award from the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Offenders.

**Leigh Harkins, PhD**, is a Registered Psychologist with the UK’s Health Professions Council and a Forensic Psychologist with the British Psychological Society. Dr Harkins is a Lecturer at the Centre for Forensic and Family Psychology at the University of Birmingham. She has published a number of reports, papers and book chapters, primarily in the area of sexual offender treatment effectiveness. Leigh also has experience working in forensic practice settings in the United Kingdom and Canada. Her research interests include sexual offending and group aggression.

**Andrew J.R. Harris, PhD, CPsych**, is Director of the Forensic Assessment Group, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. Dr Harris did his doctoral research on the intersection of Hare’s conception of criminal psychopathy and high levels of sexual deviance as assessed in a probation and parole sample. Previously employed in both research and clinical capacities at the Oak Ridge (Maximum Security) Penetanguishene Mental Health Centre, and by the Correctional Service of Canada as a Clinician at Workworth penitentiary, Dr Harris speaks and teaches extensively on the history of prison architecture, static and dynamic risk assessment, psychopathy and risk to re-offend among developmentally delayed and high-risk violent offenders.

**Ruth M. Hatcher, PhD**, is a Lecturer of Forensic Psychology in the School of Psychology at the University of Leicester, UK. Her main research interest concerns interventions for offenders delivered to offenders within community and custodial settings and their impact. In particular, she is interested in attrition from offending behaviour programmes, the reasons for it and how it impacts on offender outcomes, for example, reconviction. She is an author of the textbook *Criminal Psychology: A Beginner’s Guide* (2009, 2nd edition, Oneworld) and has also written numerous book chapters and other academic publications in this and related fields.

**Sarah Hilder** is a Senior Lecturer at De Montfort University, extensively involved in the trainee Probation Officer programmes and Criminological Teaching at undergraduate and postgraduate levels. A former Senior Probation Officer, her practice specialism is centred on the management of high-risk offenders, court work and race equality issues. Moving across to
academia in 2004, her research interests and publications have included an examination of multi-agency work with black and minority ethnic offenders, sex offender registration and public disclosure and best practice in working with victims of domestic abuse.

**Sheilagh Hodgins, BA, MA, MSc, PhD (CLPsych), FRSC**, has been studying antisocial and violent behaviour among people with schizophrenia for many years. Initially, she conducted investigations of large birth cohorts, showing that persons with schizophrenia were at increased risk, as compared to the general population, to engage in both non-violent and violent crimes. Subsequently, she undertook studies to identify both proximal and distal factors associated with criminality among people with schizophrenia and evaluations of treatment programmes that aimed to reduce and prevent crime. She has published numerous articles in scientific journals, books and book chapters. She currently holds faculty positions at the Institute of Psychiatry, King’s College London, the Département de Psychiatrie at the Université de Montréal, and directs a research centre in Stockholm, Sweden.

**Clive R. Hollin** is a Professor of Criminological Psychology in the School of Psychology at The University of Leicester, UK. He wrote the best-selling textbook *Psychology and Crime: An Introduction to Criminological Psychology* (1989, Routledge), the 2nd edition of which is due to appear in 2012. In all, he has published 21 books alongside over 300 other academic publications, and he is a former editor of the journal *Psychology, Crime & Law*. Alongside his various university appointments, he has worked as a Psychologist in prisons, the Youth Treatment Service, special hospitals and regional secure units. In 1998, he received The Senior Award for Distinguished Contribution to the Field of Legal, Criminological and Forensic Psychology from The British Psychological Society.

**Cheryl Lero Jonson** is an Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice at Xavier University. She recently received her PhD from the University of Cincinnati, USA. She has co-authored *Correctional Theory: Context and Consequences* and co-edited *The Origins of American Criminology*. Her recent work has appeared in *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research, Criminology and Public Policy* and *Victims and Offenders*. Her research interests include public opinion, the criminogenic effects of incarceration, early intervention and correctional rehabilitation.

**Hazel Kemshall** is a Professor of Community and Criminal Justice at De Montfort University. She has research interests in risk assessment and management of offenders, effective work in multi-agency public protection and implementing effective practice with high-risk offenders. Hazel teaches and consults extensively on public protection and high-risk offenders. She has also completed research for the Economic and Social Research Council, the Home Office, Ministry of Justice, the Scottish Government and the Risk Management Authority. She has numerous publications on risk, including *Understanding Risk in Criminal Justice* (2003, Open University Press). She is the lead author of the CD *Risk of Harm Guidance and Training Resource* for the English and Welsh National Offender Management Service, and for the *Assessment and Management of Risk* CD in Scotland for the Risk Management Authority. She was recently appointed to the Parole Board Review Committee. Her most recent book, *Understanding the Community Management of High Risk Offenders*, was published by the Open University in 2008.
Sheetal Kini is a Clinical Psychology PhD candidate specializing in the study of emotions in marriage and intimate relationships at the University of Houston. Her current research interests include intimate partner violence and the impact of domestic violence on children. Empirical projects include typologies of the functions of men’s violence. Sheetal received a Bachelor of Science degree in Psychology from College of William and Mary where her research included aggression in intimate relationships and marriage and family therapy.

Nathan Kolla, BA, BSc (Med), MA, MSc, MD, FRCP(C), is a Staff Forensic Psychiatrist at the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health in Toronto and a Lecturer in Psychiatry at the University of Toronto. He recently completed subspecialty training in forensic psychiatry at New York University following general psychiatry residency training at the University of Toronto. Dr Kolla received his undergraduate and medical degrees both with great distinction from the University of Saskatchewan. When he received his Bachelor’s degree, he was awarded the President’s Medal as the University’s most distinguished graduate. Dr Kolla has a Master’s degree in Sociology from the University of Toronto and a Master’s degree in Forensic Mental Health Science from the Institute of Psychiatry, King’s College London. He holds a Canadian Institute of Health Research Phase I Clinician Scientist Award and a research fellowship from the American Psychiatric Association.

William R. Lindsay, PhD, CPsychol, FBPsS, is a Consultant Forensic Clinical Psychologist and Lead Clinician in Scotland for Castlebeck Care. He was previously Head of Psychology (LD) in NHS Tayside and a Consultant with the State Hospital, Carstairs. He is Professor of Learning Disabilities and Forensic Psychology at the University of Abertay, Dundee, and Visiting Professor at the University of Northumbria, Newcastle. He has published over 200 research articles and book chapters and given many presentations and workshops on cognitive therapy and the assessment and treatment of offenders with intellectual disabilities. His recent publications include Assessment and Treatment of Sexual Offenders with Intellectual Disabilities: A Handbook (Craig, Lindsay and Browne, 2011), The Treatment of Sex Offenders with Developmental Disabilities: A Practice Workbook (2009) and Offenders with Developmental Disabilities (Lindsay, Taylor and Sturmey, 2004), all by Wiley-Blackwell.

Jennifer L. Lux is a PhD candidate in Criminal Justice at the University of Cincinnati, where she also holds the position of Research Associate in the Corrections Institute. She has recently published on the empirical status of multisystemic therapy and on public support for rehabilitation. Her research interests include evidence-based corrections and effective offender intervention in community settings.

Liam E. Marshall, PhD, has been treating and conducting research on offenders for more than 15 years. He has been a therapist for and helped design a variety of programmes for adult and juvenile sexual offenders, as well as anger management, domestic violence, gambling, pro-social attitudes and lifestyle programmes. Liam is an award-winning author and has many publications including three books. He has made numerous international conference presentations on sexual offending, violence, aging and pathological gambling issues. Liam is an Associate Editor for the Journal of Sexual Offender Treatment, is on the editorial boards of the Journal of Sexual Aggression and Sexual Addiction and Compulsivity and is an Invited
Reviewer for the journals *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, the *Journal of Sexual Medicine* and *Journal of Gambling Studies*. He is currently a Therapist and Training and Research Director for Rockwood Psychological Services, a Consultant to the Royal Ottawa Health Care Group and Evaluation and Intervention Consultant for the St. Lawrence Youth Association, Canada. Liam has delivered more than 70 trainings for therapists who work with sexual and violent offenders in 15 countries worldwide.

**William L. Marshall, OC, FRSC, PhD**, has been involved in research and treatment of sexual offenders for 42 years. He is on, or has been on, the editorial boards of 19 international scientific journals and has over 370 publications including 18 books. Bill has been Consultant to and/or provided training for prison services and sexual offender programmes in over 20 countries, and to seven Sexual Violent Predator or Civil Commitment Programmes in the United States. Bill was President of the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers (ATSA) from 1999 to 2001 and is currently President of the International Association for the Treatment of Sexual Offenders. In 1993, Bill was given a Significant Achievement Award of ATSA; in 1999, he was recipient of the Santiago Grisolia Prize awarded by the Queen Sophia Centre in Spain for his significant worldwide contributions to the reduction of violence; in 2000, Bill was appointed a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada for his contributions to science; in 2003, he was given the Pope John Paul medal for his assistance to the Vatican’s Academia Pro Vita’s design of a protocol for dealing with sexual abuse committed by clergy and religious members of the Catholic Church; and in 2006, Bill was appointed an Officer of the Order of Canada for his national and international contributions to making society safer.

**Flora I. Matheson, PhD**, is a Research Sociologist with a Doctorate from the University of Toronto. Dr Matheson specializes in crime, deviance and socio-legal studies. She has extensive experience in research focusing on marginalized populations, specifically offenders and illicit drug users. Dr Matheson uses a gender lens when examining social determinants of health and problem behaviours. She is a Research Scientist at the Centre for Research on Inner City Health at The Keenan Research Centre in the Li Ka Shing Knowledge Institute of St. Michael’s Hospital. She is also an Adjunct Scientist in the Primary Care and Population Health and the Mental Health and Addictions Programs at the Institute for Clinical and Evaluative Sciences. Dr Matheson is also an Assistant Professor with the Dalla Lana School of Public Health, University of Toronto.

**James McGuire, PhD, CPsychol, AFBPsS**, is a Professor of Forensic Clinical Psychology and Director of the Doctorate in Clinical Psychology at the University of Liverpool. He also holds an Honorary Consultant post with Mersey Care NHS Trust. He previously worked in a high-security hospital and has carried out psycho-legal work involving assessment of individuals for criminal courts, for the Mental Health Review Tribunal, Parole Board and Criminal Cases Review Commission. He has conducted research in probation services, prisons and other settings on aspects of psychosocial rehabilitation with offenders, has published widely on this and related issues and has acted as a Consultant to criminal justice agencies in a number of countries.

**Amanda M. Michie, PhD**, is Head of Clinical Psychology Services in Lothian NHS Learning Disability Service. She has completed research in the assessment and treatment of social and
community living skills and in the last 10 years has worked with offenders with learning disabilities. Her clinical and research interests include sex offenders, anger management and cognitive-behavioural therapy.

**Andrea E. Moser, PhD**, is qualified in Clinical/Counselling Psychology from York University and is currently the Director of the Addictions Research Centre, Correctional Service of Canada (CSC). Dr Moser started her career with CSC in 1993 as a Psychologist working with offenders with mental disorders at the Regional Treatment Centre in Ontario. She has been at CSC National Headquarters since 1997 and has held a variety of positions, including National Manager of Substance Abuse Programs, National Drug Strategy Coordinator, National Manager of Violence Prevention Programs and National Coordinator of Institutional and Community Mental Health Initiatives. Dr Moser has published several articles and presented in the areas of mental health, substance abuse treatment and effective correctional programming.

**Raymond W. Novaco, PhD**, is Professor of Psychology and Social Behavior at the University of California, Irvine, USA. He pioneered the cognitive-behavioral treatment of anger, for which he received the Best Contribution Award from the International Society for Research on Aggression in 1978. Funded by the MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Mental Health and the Law in 1991–1993, he developed anger assessment procedures for use with mentally disordered persons, which have been extended to those with intellectual disabilities. He received the Distinguished Contributions to Psychology Award from the California Psychological Association in 2000 and the Distinguished Academic Contributions Award from the Division of Forensic Psychology of the British Psychological Society in 2009. His ongoing research includes assessment and treatment studies in England and Scotland forensic hospitals, with US military combat veterans, and with women and children in domestic violence facilities.

**Matt D. O’Brien, MSc, CPsychAssoc**, has worked with sexual offenders for the past 17 years. He is currently a Therapist for Rockwood Psychological Services’ Preparatory, Regular, Deniers and Maintenance programmes for sexual offenders in two Canadian Federal prisons. He also provides clinical supervision for community mental health staff working with juvenile offenders at St. Lawrence Youth Association, Canada. Matt previously worked in the delivery and design of offending behaviour programmes, primarily with sexual offenders, in Her Majesty’s Prison Service (of England and Wales) for 10 years. Matt has many publications including being Co-author of a recent book on sexual offender treatment. He has presented at numerous international conferences and trained and consulted with staff in a number of different jurisdictions. Matt’s specific topics of interest include healthy sexuality and Internet offending.

**Emma J. Palmer, PhD**, is a Reader in Forensic Psychology in the School of Psychology at the University of Leicester, UK. Her research interests include the design and effectiveness of interventions with offenders, offender risk and needs assessments and the development of offending. She has published extensively in these areas in academic journals and book chapters. She is the author of the text *Offending Behaviour: Moral Reasoning, Criminal Conduct and the Rehabilitation of Offenders* (2003; Willan Publishing) and Co-editor (with

**Geris A. Serran, PhD**, has worked in treatment and research with sexual offenders for 12 years and is currently employed at Rockwood Psychological Services as the Clinical Director of the sexual offender treatment programmes at Bath Institution (a medium-security federal penitentiary), Canada. She has 43 publications, has co-edited and co-authored two books, has presented at numerous international conferences and has consulted internationally. She is on the editorial board for the *Journal of Sexual Aggression*. Geris’ research interests include therapeutic processes, coping strategies, maladaptive schemas and treatment of sexual offenders. Geris is also a part-time Faculty Member at St. Lawrence College, Canada, where she provides supervision for student projects and teaches behavioural counselling.

**Richard Shuker** is a Forensic Psychologist and Head of Psychology and Research at HMP Grendon, a therapeutic community prison for personality-disordered offenders. He has managed cognitive-behavioural treatment programmes within adult and young offender prisons and is Lead Clinician on the assessment unit at Grendon. His research interests needs assessment and treatment of high-risk offenders. He is Series Editor for the book series *Issues in Forensic Psychology* and has publications in the areas of risk assessment, treatment outcome and therapeutic communities. He has recently co-edited a book on Grendon’s work, research and outcomes.

**Erin K. Taylor, MA**, is a doctoral student in the clinical child psychology programme at the University of Missouri. She received her Master’s degree in Clinical Psychology from the University of Missouri and her Bachelor’s degree with a Research Concentration in Psychology from Vanderbilt University. Her research interests include gender differences in psycho-pathology and juvenile offending as well as family therapy process and outcome.

**Jenny Tew** is a Registered Psychologist with the UK’s Health Professions Council and a Chartered Forensic Psychologist with the British Psychological Society. Jenny works for the National Offender Management Service in the United Kingdom and is the Lead for psychopathy and the PCL-R. She has worked in both custody and community forensic settings in the United Kingdom, including HMP Grendon therapeutic community prison. Jenny is currently undertaking a PhD in the assessment and treatment of psychopathy with the Centre for Forensic and Criminological Psychology at the University of Birmingham.

**Jo Thakker, PhD**, is a Senior Lecturer in psychology at the University of Waikato in Hamilton, New Zealand. She received her PhD in psychology from Canterbury University in New Zealand in 1997 and has since worked in both clinical and university settings. Most of her clinical work has been with offenders in prisons in Australia and New Zealand. Her key research areas include cultural psychology, substance use and abuse and sexual offenders. She also has a background in theoretical research.

**David Thornton, PhD**, is currently Treatment Director for the Wisconsin SVP programme, a position he has held for about a decade. Prior to that, he worked in the United Kingdom facilitating the development of assessment and treatment programmes for offenders. As part of this, he was involved in the creation of evidence-based accreditation standards for correctional
programmes. He carries out research into sexual and violent offenders. He is also an Advisor to the DSM-5 workgroup developing the next generation of diagnostic criteria for paraphilias.

Tony Ward, PhD, DipClinPsyc, is a Professor of Clinical Psychology at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. He has authored over 310 academic publications. Professor Ward is the developer of the Good Lives Model (GLM) and has published numerous books, book chapters and academic articles on this model since 2002. He is currently working on a research project with Dr Gwenda Willis and Dr Jill Levenson investigating the degree to which North American treatment programmes for sex offenders adhere to the basic conceptual underpinnings of the GLM. His most recent book, Desistance from Sex Offending: Alternatives to Throwing Away the Keys (2011, Guilford Press: co-authored with Richard Laws), presents an integration of the GLM with desistance theory and research.

John R. Weekes, PhD, has worked in corrections, criminal justice and forensic psychology for over 25 years. Dr Weekes is trained as both a Clinical and Research Psychologist and holds a Doctorate in Quantitative Experimental Psychology from Ohio University. Since 1994, he has been Adjunct Professor of Forensic Psychology and Addictions at Carleton University in Ottawa, Ontario. He teaches courses in forensic psychology and addictions and supervises students. Dr Weekes has consulted widely in Canada and elsewhere, including England, Ireland, the United States and Scandinavia. Between 2003 and 2006, he was Senior Researcher for the Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse. Dr Weekes has published and presented extensively on a range of issues, including substance abuse, forensic psychology, psychopathology, motivation, evidence-informed treatment and treatment-outcome research.

Michael Wheatley is a registered, qualified Social Worker and experienced Commissioner employed by the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) to lead NOMS Offender Services Co-Commissioning Group on prison substance misuse commissioning. In this role, he works with government ministers, other government departments, other NOMS directorates, prison governors, local health commissioners and service providers to support the design, development and implementation of bespoke substance misuse services. Previously, Michael was a Senior Manager responsible for delivering, co-ordinating and supporting the commissioning of interventions designed to reduce reoffending in high-security prisons. He has also worked as a Community Probation Officer. Michael has a BA in Applied Social Studies, a Certificate in Qualified Social Work (Sheffield Hallam University) and an MSt in Applied Criminology, Penology and Prison Management from Cambridge University.

Gwenda M. Willis is a Research Fellow at Deakin University, Australia, and a registered Clinical Psychologist. Her research focuses on the tertiary prevention of sexual offending and canvasses sex offender treatment, community re-entry and community/policy responses to sex offenders. Gwenda has received numerous awards and accolades for her research, including the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers (ATSA) Graduate Research Award (2007), a MacDiarmid Young Scientists of the Year Award (2008) and a Fulbright Senior Scholar Award (2010).

J. Stephen Wormith is a Professor in the Psychology Department at the University of Saskatchewan (United States) and Director of the Centre of Forensic Behavioural Science and
Justice Studies in the United States. He has consulted recently on correctional matters with governments of British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Ontario and Canada. He also serves in court as an expert witness on matters of offender assessment and treatment. He is a co-author of the Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI; 2004), along with Donald Andrews and James Bonta, and participates internationally in research and training on the LS/CMI. He is on the editorial board of Criminal Justice and Behavior, Psychological Services and the Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice. Dr Wormith is a Fellow of the Canadian Psychological Association.
Politicians, professionals and laypeople all have opinions on the issue of offender rehabilitation and its place within the criminal justice system. For example, the relationship between rehabilitation and punishment, whether offenders are individuals like us or moral strangers, or whether they deserve the chance at better lives are topics enthusiastically discussed in universities, criminal justice agencies, bars and homes. It seems that there is no end to the expertise of the community concerning the technical and ethical aspects of correctional rehabilitation.

A puzzling feature of the public interest in criminal justice matters is the confidence with which judgements are pronounced and the expectation that crime and its prevention is legitimately a community matter not to be left to professionals. This degree of intrusion is rarely observed in other disciplines such as physics or biology. People have opinions to be sure, but they do not claim the right to adjudicate on the content and nature of scientific projects the way they do when it comes to crime initiatives. How do we account for individuals' interest in, and confidence in, the validity of their attitudes concerning crime management?

In a recent paper, McNeill (2012) argues that there are ethical, social, legal and psychological forms of rehabilitation discernable in the professional literature and lay discourse, and that they all have legitimate claims to our attention. This position is echoed by theorists such as Laws and Ward (2010) who point to the inherent normativeness of offender rehabilitation alongside its capability-building aspects. That is, at the heart of any rehabilitation initiative is the attempt to persuade individuals to reorientate (and at times replace) their core values and the way these values are instantiated in their lifestyles. It is simply not enough to target criminogenic needs and levels of risk when designing intervention programmes. The provision of psychological and social resources in the absence of clear goals and the underlying values they embody is likely to result in poorly motivated offenders and a hit-or-miss approach to treatment. There is no question that we know a lot about psychological treatment and its delivery for offenders (Andrews and Bonta, 2010; Polaschek, 2012), but when it comes to the other three forms of rehabilitation (i.e., ethical, social and legal) we are not so sure footed. Because crime involves the infliction of unjustified, significant harm on individuals and the community, it is necessarily an ethical, social and legal issue. And as such, all members of the
moral community are entitled to participate in decisions concerning the treatment of offenders – decisions that arguably affect them both directly and indirectly. The attempt to assist offenders to design and live socially acceptable and personally fulfilling lives is clearly a value-laden enterprise. Successful intervention requires the availability of social supports, resources and an opportunity for redemption (Ward and Maruna, 2007). These factors all involve legal, social and moral norms and institutions that exemplify them and create pathways from incarceration to community reintegration.

What follows from these observations? Well, for one thing it is simply not sufficient to ask what types of programmes work or what interventions reliably reduce reoffending rates. Alongside these questions, it is also necessary to inquire about the values at stake and whether or not the entitlements and interests of all key stakeholders have been considered – offenders and members of the community alike. Crime is a public matter and while researchers and clinicians are experts in what specific techniques best reduce recidivism, they are not the experts in ethical, social and legal issues. We need to cast a much wider net. Ours is a practical activity that draws from cultural, ethical, legal and social understandings as well as scientific knowledge.

In my view, What Works in Offender Rehabilitation: An Evidence-Based Approach to Assessment and Treatment, edited by Leam Craig, Louise Dixon and Theresa Gannon, does exactly that. It is a comprehensive and deep book whose 25 chapters cover numerous offender types and, encouragingly, deal with the ethical, legal, social and psychological components of offender rehabilitation. There are chapters on the technical aspects of risk assessment and treatment, and others that touch upon public attitudes towards punishment and rehabilitation. Many of the chapters seamlessly integrate social, legal and ethical issues in their discussion of assessment and treatment approaches towards offenders. Another impressive feature of the book is the sheer diversity of theoretical perspectives evident. There is a common acceptance of the necessity to evaluate treatment programmes and perspectives empirically, but there is also a recognition that empirical adequacy on its own provides an overly thin measure of a programme’s value. Finally, the editors are to be congratulated for bringing together both established and young researchers and clinicians – an exciting combination of theoretical freshness and intellectual experience. What this book offers is a picture of current best practice while pointing the way to future developments. I think it will prove to be a landmark volume likely to be adopted by universities training clinicians, and it should prove extremely valuable as a resource for practitioners already working in the field. In short, it is an excellent book.

Tony Ward
Victoria University of Wellington

References

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Part I

Introduction
1

Overview and Structure of the Book

Leam A. Craig\textsuperscript{1,2}, Louise Dixon\textsuperscript{2} and Theresa A. Gannon\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1}Forensic Psychology Practice Ltd, UK
\textsuperscript{2}University of Birmingham, UK
\textsuperscript{3}University of Kent, UK

Introduction

The concept and public perception of offender rehabilitation has had a chequered history, influenced by the social and political climate of the day. From the early introduction of penitentiary, public and government opinion has had to strike a balance between punishment and rehabilitation (see Reynolds, Craig and Boer, 2009). Early research suggests there is a ‘duality’ to the public’s sanctioning ideology – ‘although citizens clearly want offenders punished, they continue to believe that offenders should be rehabilitated’ (Cullen, Cullen and Wozniak, 1988, p. 305). The public juxtaposition is one of getting tough on crime and that punishment should be accompanied by rehabilitation, that treatment can work and that prison inmates should be given the opportunity to reform themselves. This two-pronged finding, support for the ‘just deserts’ theory of punishment along with the ‘need for rehabilitation’, suggests that public attitudes towards crime are not one-dimensional. Instead, underlying the need for retribution is an element of optimism for offenders to reform and become participating members of society.

However, the concept of change and rehabilitation took a blow during the 1970s following the publication of Martinson’s (1974) much-cited review in which he believed education or therapeutic intervention programmes cannot overcome the tendency for offenders to continue to engage in criminal behaviour. This was followed by the work of Lipton, Martinson and Wilks (1975) and Brody (1976) who suggested, due to poor methodologies and research designs, that the evidence for offender rehabilitation cannot be relied upon.

In response to the assumption that ‘nothing works’ in rehabilitation and reducing tendencies in offenders to continue criminal behaviour, the 1980s and 1990s witnessed a resurgence of research activity into offender assessment and treatment, and a number of theoretical advances have been made progressing our understanding of offender rehabilitation. New techniques such as meta-analyses marked a turning point in the understanding of reducing reoffending
Craig, Dixon and Gannon

(Andrews et al., 1990). This methodology allowed for the analysis of data from multiple studies identifying significant factors associated with offending from which treatment targets could be identified.


**Evaluating Offender Rehabilitation**

‘Rehabilitation’ means literally ‘re-enabling’ or ‘making fit again’ (from the Latin *rehabilitare*). Some argue that it is, in part, the definitional ambiguities of the concept of ‘rehabilitation’ which have contributed to the difficulties faced in criminal justice settings. As McNeill (2012) highlights, rehabilitation in the work of eighteenth-century Classicists (e.g., Beccaria, 1764[1963]) who argued for the use of punishment as a way of ‘requalifying individuals’ (p. 22) suggests a utilitarian concept of rehabilitation.

The term ‘rehabilitation’, we suggest, in the prison context means readying prisoners to rejoin society, as useful and law-abiding members of the wider community. With an ever-expanding prison population, the successful rehabilitation of offenders is often considered the ‘holy grail’ of criminal justice systems around the world. The number of offenders in prison in England and Wales reached a record high of 88,179 prisoners on 2 December 2011, approximately 1100 places below the useable operational capacity of the prison estate (Berman, 2012). The number of people in Scottish prisons passed 8000 for the first time in August 2008 and reached its record level of 8301 on 7 November 2011 (Berman, 2012).

As part of the push towards reducing reoffending and offender rehabilitation, a number of countries have begun to introduce structured intervention programmes in prison and probation services. The introduction of programmes has been accompanied by an ‘accreditation’ process to select the programmes thought most likely to achieve good results, and an elaborate system of monitoring standards of delivery and evaluating outcomes has been developed.

With the American Psychological Association (APA), Chambless and colleagues (Chambless and Hollon, 1998; Chambless and Ollendick, 2001; Chambless et al., 1998) developed a methodology of examining the quality of evidence from outcome studies on the effectiveness of psychological therapy. One outcome of the APA criteria was that treatment should be supported by a manual to ensure consistency and standardization across sites.

In a report to the US Congress, Sharman *et al.* (1997) developed a ‘levels’ system for reviewing the quality of evidence supporting any given intervention in the field of criminal behaviour. They developed and employed the Maryland Scale of Scientific Methods ranking each study from Level I (weakest) to Level V (strongest) on overall internal validity. Level I represents correlation between a crime prevention programme and a measure of crime, or crime risk factors, at a single point in time. Level II represents a temporal sequence between the programme and the crime or risk outcome clearly observed, or the presence of a comparison