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LandWorks Annual Evaluation Report August 2019



Dr Samantha Walker Dr Julie Parsons

Contents

List	of Abbre	eviations 2							
1. lı	1. Introduction and Background 3								
1	.1 Brief C	Context							
	1.1.1 Cr	iminal Justice in England and Wales: An Overview							
1	.2 LandV	Vorks: An Overview							
1	.3 LandV	Vorks Aims and Objectives: 'Reducing Reoffending. Transforming Lives.'							
1	1.4 LandWorks Success: Headline Statistics								
1	1.5 How is LandWorks Funded?								
	1.5.1	Grant Funding6							
	1.5.2	Commercial Enterprises6							
	1.5.3	Community Funding							
2. T	he Evalu	ation Process							
2	.1 Aims o	of This Report							
2	2.2 Methodology								
3. Journey into LandWorks									
4. N	/Ionitorin	ng and Evaluation: Measuring 'Progress'8							
4	4.1 Defining Progress and Success								
4	Monitoring and Evaluation: Measuring 'Progress'								
	4.2.1 Li	fe Measures							
5. A	Window	v into LandWorks: Trainee Perspectives11							
5	.1 Emerg	ent Themes							
	5.1.1 La	Brief Context 3 L1.1 Criminal Justice in England and Wales: An Overview. 3 LandWorks: An Overview 3 LandWorks Aims and Objectives: 'Reducing Reoffending. Transforming Lives.' 4 LandWorks Success: Headline Statistics. 5 How is LandWorks Funded? 5 L5.1 Grant Funding. 6 L5.2 Commercial Enterprises 6 L5.3 Community Funding 6 L5.4 Community Funding 7 e Evaluation Process. 6 Aims of This Report 7 methodology 7 riney into LandWorks. 7 mitoring and Evaluation: Measuring 'Progress' 8 Defining Progress and Success 9 Vindow into LandWorks: Trainee Perspectives. 11 Emergent Themes 12 Si.1 LandWorks: 'A Little Island in a Sea of Crap' 12 Si.2 Reimagining Punishment: The 'LandWorX factor' 14 Si.3 LandWorks: A Journey of Personal Change 16 keholder Perspectives 18 Challenging Societal Preconceptions: The Humanising Effect 19 poact							
	5.1.2 Re	eimagining Punishment: The 'LandWorX factor'14							
	5.1.3 La	ndWorks: A Journey of Personal Change16							
6. S	takehold	er Perspectives							
6	.1 Challe	nging Societal Preconceptions: The Humanising Effect							
7. lı	mpact an	d Outreach20							
7	.1 Virtua	l Outreach							
7	.2 Outrea	ach Events							
7	7.3 Publications								
7	.4 Confe	rence Papers							
8. Conclusions and Recommendations22									
8	.1 Co	onclusions 22							
8	.2 Recom	nmendations							
9. R	eference	2525							

List of Abbreviations

CRC	Community Rehabilitation Company				
HMPPS	Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service				
ISRF	Independent Social Research Foundation				
LWC	LandWorks Co-ordinator				
LWRC	LandWorks Resettlement Co-ordinator				
LWS	LandWorks Supporter				
LWT	LandWorks Trainee				
LWV	LandWorks Volunteer				
МоЈ	Ministry of Justice				
NPS	National Probation Service				
PeN Project	Photographic Electronic Narrative project				
RAR	Rehabilitation Activity Requirement order				
ROTL	Released on Temporary License				
TR	Transforming Rehabilitation				

1. Introduction and Background

1.1 Brief Context

1.1.1 Criminal Justice in England and Wales: An Overview

While it has decreased slightly in the last two years, since the 1990s, the prison population in England and Wales has increased exponentially – a product of both rising numbers of prison sentences and increased sentence lengths (MoJ, 2013). Estimated to stand at 82,875 (Howard League, n.d.), the prison population has grown by around 69% over the last 30 years (Prison Reform Trust, 2019). Yet with overcrowding, deteriorating conditions, reduced funding, and staffing shortages, prisons in England and Wales are described as being 'in a state of crisis' (Shaw, 2018).

Further, under the government's Transforming Rehabilitation (TR) agenda, anyone leaving custody is now required to serve a minimum of 12 months under supervision in the community. As a result, there has been a significant increase in the number of people being recalled back to custody. Indeed, according to the Prison Reform Trust (2019: 3) "8,927 people serving a sentence of less than 12 months were recalled to prison in the year to December 2018".

With prison and reoffending rates both on the increase, and with the social and economic cost of reoffending estimated to cost £18.1 billion (Newton *et al.*, 2019), resettlement projects like LandWorks that help reduce recidivism and encourage social reintegration are receiving more attention.

The last 12 months have proved to be a particularly turbulent time for criminal justice in England and Wales with the failure of the TR programme, renationalisation of probation and proposed changes to the ROTL system. During this time LandWorks has managed to maintain good links with its usual trainee referral routes (prison and probation services). Many of the proposed changes are yet to be implemented and/or are just working through.

1.2 LandWorks: An Overview

Looking at offenders and prisoners as black and white, it just simply isn't ... well, if you do, then nothing's going to change. If you actually accept that they're individuals with a multitude of problems, then you are getting somewhere. I think a lot of what we do [at LandWorks] is listen. We find out about what their life was all about. Because [their] offending that's just the tip of the iceberg. (Chris Parsons, Founder of LandWorks)

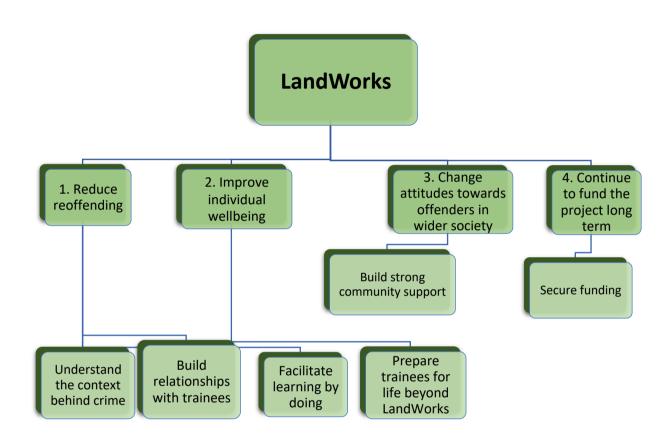
LandWorks, an independent charity¹ established in 2013, is a resettlement project delivered outside of the prison setting that aims to provide those in prison or at risk of going to prison (collectively referred to as 'trainees') with a supported route away from crime and offending behaviours. According to the LandWorks Handbook, the project "offers trainees the opportunity to develop a bespoke resettlement plan that covers specific training and skills, alongside a broad range of confidence building activities". Of significance, while many criminal and social justice organisations operate by dealing with single issues at a time (Revolving Doors, n.d.), LandWorks is a holistic service which provides a combined package of training and support. While training and skills development is focused on areas such as art, construction, gardening, woodwork and cooking, due to their multiple and often complex needs, trainees are simultaneously provided with essential practical and emotional support to help them with their resettlement. This may include, for example, counselling (see section 5.1.1), help with finding suitable and stable accommodation, employment training and

¹ LandWorks initially operated as a self-contained project within The Dartington Hall Trust but became an independent registered charity in March 2016.

opportunities, and financial advice and support such as money management skills and help applying for benefits. While most trainees are supported for around 12 months, LandWorks has identified the need for on-going support – a point which is discussed further in section 5.1.3.

1.3 LandWorks Aims and Objectives: 'Reducing Reoffending. Transforming Lives.'

LandWorks identifies four aims and six broader objectives. These interrelated aims and objectives are indicated in the diagram below.



1.4 LandWorks Success: Headline Statistics

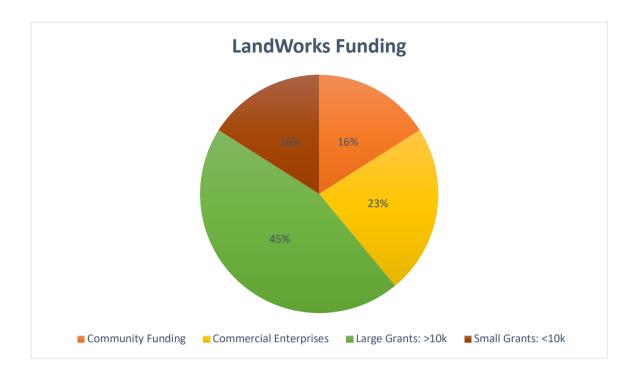


¹ Employment statistics are calculated in line with Office for National Statistics measurements and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) definitions. Through ILO guidelines.

² Re-offending rates are calculated following the Ministry of Justice guidelines. A proven reoffence is defined as any offence committed in a one-year follow-up period that resulted in a court conviction (i.e. 12 months after leaving LandWorks).

1.5 How is LandWorks Funded?

As demonstrated in the pie chart below, LandWorks has four main sources of funding.



1.5.1 Grant Funding

LandWorks' largest source of funding comes through the provision of small and large grants. While small grants (those not exceeding £10k) comprise 16% of LandWorks total revenue, large grants (those exceeding £10k) make up 45% of LandWorks funding. Most recently (June 2019), LandWorks has been successful in its application for an 'Improving Lives' grant totalling £150,000 over three years from The Henry Smith Charity. Impressed by LandWorks' *"high staff and volunteer to beneficiary ratio, the nature of support being tailored around the specific needs of each person and how to date this has achieved sustainable positive outcomes"* (The Henry Smith Foundation), this large grant will help contribute towards running costs at LandWorks.

1.5.2 Commercial Enterprises

As highlighted in the headline statistics, commercial enterprises at LandWorks are now generating 23% of its annual running costs. Commercial enterprises include sales of art and compost from within the onsite shop and the market garden. While the sale of vegetables is estimated to have generated over £11,000 for the financial year 2018-2019, at an estimated £34,000, the sale of woodwork (including bird stands, benches as well as other smaller items) is LandWorks' highest source of commercial revenue.

1.5.3 Community Funding

At 16% of the total income, community funding makes up the smallest proportion of LandWorks funding. Community funding includes both regular and one of donations from LandWorks Supporters (LWS) as well as funds obtained through gift aid and events such as the LandWorks Annual Supporters Events and supporters fundraising through sponsored walks and bike rides.

2. The Evaluation Process

In its 6th year of operation, LandWorks remains a young and reflexive project. As part of this reflexivity, LandWorks are keen to allow their ideas and facilities on offer to evolve in order to meet the needs of trainees and partner agencies, and to keep up with on-going changes to rehabilitative policy in England and Wales.

The process of evaluation is essential in order to show how the project is continuing to evolve, to critically examine the outcomes of these changes for trainees, their families, and the local community, and crucially, to identify how LandWorks can continue to improve.

2.1 Aims of This Report

The aim of this report is to enable LandWorks and its sponsors to learn *what works* in order to improve the efficacy of the project and qualify its work an example of good practice. These aims require an understanding of *process* (why and how the project works), *impact* (who it works for and how it affects their lives), as well as the measurement of *outcomes* (enumerating the changes, expected or otherwise, that have occurred).

2.2 Methodology

The evaluation draws upon a range of data collected using a mixed method approach. It is primarily based upon qualitative semi-structured interviews with trainees and key stakeholders (section 6 'Stakeholder perspectives'), but also utilises quantitative data collected through responses to the annual supporters' survey. The researchers also have access to the LandWorks database, the recently introduced LandWorks 'Life Measures' which replaces the 'Justice Outcomes Star' and LandWorks fortnightly blog which is sent to its 1200 registered supporters.

Focusing primarily on the period between 1st April 2018 and March 31st 2019, this report builds upon findings from two previous LandWorks reports (Halliday *et al.*, 2016; Wilkinson *et al.*, 2018).

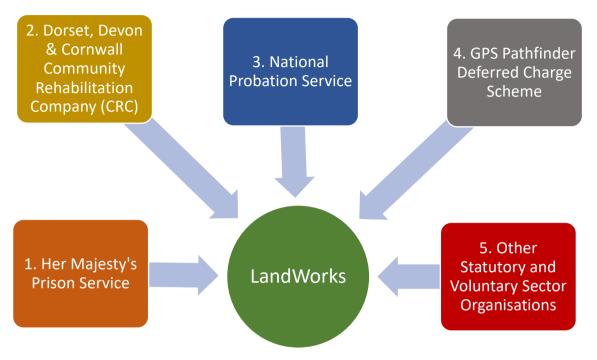
3. Journey Into LandWorks

LandWorks was initially designed to be a prison release project that worked alongside the resettlement wing of the local prison, HMP Channings Wood, to work with men released on temporary license (ROTLs) and people in the community referred through probation. However, broader changes in the criminal justice landscape in England and Wales – namely the introduction of the government's TR agenda in 2012 and the subsequent disbandment of the existing probation trusts which were replaced by a new National Probation Service (NPS) (managing high risk clients) and 21 new Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRCs) (managing low and medium risk clients) – affected the projects operational context. It follows that trainees have become more diverse both in terms of their routes into LandWorks, their characteristics and subsequent needs.

Today there are five referral routes into the LandWorks project (see image below):

- 1. Through the resettlement unit (LB6) at HMP Channings Wood through the government's day release or ROTL scheme.
- Low and medium risk trainees can also be referred through the local CRC. The CRC also
 incorporates local multi-agency Turnaround an integrated offender team comprising of
 police, probation, drug treatment agencies, and the community voluntary sector. Trainees
 referred through this route could be subject to a range of orders including unpaid work
 hours, Rehabilitation Activity Requirements (RARs) and court order restrictions.
- 3. LandWorks also considers on a case-by-case basis, referrals made from the NPS. Referrals made in this way are subject to LandWorks strict risk assessment policy.
- Through the GPS Pathfinder Deferred Charge Scheme an initiative introduced by Devon and Cornwall police in 2017 to redirect and challenge the behaviour of first-time (low-level) offenders.

5. As LandWorks has become more recognised in the region, referrals have also been made through other statutory and voluntary sector organisations. To date, referrals of this kind have included drug and alcohol agencies *Together* and *The Jatis Project* as well as *Westwood Housing*.



4. Monitoring and Evaluation: Measuring 'Progress'

The monitoring and evaluation of trainees' progress is an essential, yet challenging aspect of LandWorks work. Having reviewed what is meant by the term 'progress' in the context of offender populations, the section then examines how LandWorks attempts to capture and measure trainees progress. The next annual report will also draw upon data collected within the LandWorks project database, this report focuses specifically on the on-going development of the 'Life Measures' form.

4.1 Defining Progress and Success

Progress and success are subjective concepts and may vary from person to person. In the context of the effectiveness of services, however, success is officially measured on the basis of desistance from crime – that is, whether an individual has re-offended within a set period of time (traditionally 12 months). With LandWorks official re-offending rate measuring at 4% as compared to a national average of 48% (Prison Reform Trust, 2018), statistics suggest LandWorks is very successful in helping trainees to desist from crime.

While this may be true, these statistics tell us little about how or why LandWorks is so successful and how the work achieved at LandWorks fits into wider efforts towards helping offenders to desist from crime. Further, while important, the time constraints of 12 months do not distinguish between what is referred to as *primary* and *secondary* desistance. While a gap in a person's offending behaviour may be recorded as desistance in the former context, secondary desistance refers to a deeper and more personal changes in the person, their identity and self-perception (Clinks, 2013: 4). Indeed, when examined in this broader sense:

"Some of those who appear as failures in reoffending measures may actually have made considerable progress in other respects, while some of the successes may have changed little and may revert to offending in the longer term" (Maguire *et al.*, 2019: 7).

Crucially, then, research suggests that desistance – particularly amongst those with complex social and personal problems – should not be viewed simply as a 'one-off event' but rather, should be seen as part of an on-going process of personal change "characterised by a zigzag pattern in which periods of abstention from offending are interrupted by relapses." (Maguire *et al.*, 2019: 7)

The ability to be able to evidence trainee's complex journey towards a more permanent or secondary state of desistance – something "which is not necessarily reflected in standard reoffending rates" (Maguire *et al.*, 2019: 1) – should be an on-going aim for LandWorks. Indeed, by identifying and recording what Maguire *et al.* (2019) refer to as *'intermediate outcomes'* – that is to say, positive individual changes that may be directly or indirectly linked to future offending behaviour changes even if the individual in question has yet to stop offending entirely – LandWorks will be able to identify what works and how best this can fit in with wider efforts towards desistance.

4.2. Measuring Progress and Success

While still in its early stages, the Life Measures form has been designed and implemented as a way of identifying and recording intermediate outcomes within trainees' journeys towards desistance.

4.2.1 Life Measures

At the time of the last report (August 2018) LandWorks had implemented the Justice Outcomes Star² as a tool to both support and measure change when working with trainees. Working on a scale of 1-10 (1 representing the need for support, 10 representing that the trainee is self-reliant in this area) the Justice Outcomes Star covered ten key areas in trainees' lives: accommodation, living skills and self-care, mental health and wellbeing, friends and community, relationships and family, parenting and caring, drugs and alcohol, positive use of time, managing strong feelings, and a crime free life. Completed in conjunction with the LandWorks Project Co-ordinator (LWC) at various points within the trainees' journey, the star was designed to measure tangible outcomes by mapping trainees' journey of change through their time with LandWorks.

Although the star was praised for its simplicity and for being a "very useful as a relationship-building tool" (LWC) it was felt that the questions and format of the Outcome Star were not fit for purpose. To avoid feeling like just another 'tick-box exercise' between staff and trainees, and in order to capture the complexities of trainees' lived experiences, the LWC reported having to probe beyond the 10 key areas and/or ask additional questions outside of the remit of the Outcome Star. Problematically this meant that the star would take "a disproportionately long time to complete" while failing to elicit crucial details of trainees' progress. Indeed, concerns were also raised over the validity and reliability of the Outcome Star as a quantitative impact measurement tool. For instance, despite scoring highly when completing their baseline star, subsequent scores were often lower suggesting a lack of progress. This problem, and its potentially detrimental impact on trainees' motivation to change is captured in the following quote:

We found that the pre-set scales did not reveal the full picture of a trainee's life or allow us to understand the complexities of their needs. By way of example, broad and complex issues are grouped together in one scale such as 'living skills and self-care' which covers everything from IT skills to cooking to managing debt to benefits. Due to the way each scale is measured, a trainee could have made progress in cooking skills whilst at LandWorks but because of on-going unresolved debt problems, the score must remain low. Not only is this

² <u>http://www.outcomesstar.org.uk/about-the-star/</u>

not an accurate reflection of change, it was proving to be a demotivator for people at the end of their placement. (LWC)

It is important to recognise that trust is not immediate and takes time to establish. Abnormal baseline scores may also be attributed to this lack of trust, with trainees' unwilling/unable to ask for the support they need. This issue was identified by the LWC in the previous report:

One of the most challenging things has been finding the most appropriate timing to use the star. I have found that trainees need to have settled into LandWorks for a couple of weeks before they 'trust' the process. I need to have developed enough of a relationship with them before a) they will trust me enough to be fully honest and b) I feel confident to challenge them on their self-assessments if I think they are untrue. (LWC cited in Wilkinson et al., 2018: 10)

Given the problems identified above, following a two-year pilot, the Justice Outcomes Star has now been abandoned and replaced by the Life Measures toolkit. While still in its early development, The Life Measures toolkit is founded on the government's seven 'Pathways to Resettlement' (Home Office 2004), the Life Measures form aims to capture all key areas – or 'pathways' – that can lead to reoffending:

- 1. Accommodation
- 2. Education, Training and Employment
- 3. Health and Wellbeing
- 4. Addictions
- 5. Finance, Benefit and Debt
- 6. Children and Families
- 7. Attitudes, Thinking and Behaviour

Addressed under each of the seven subheadings above, the form has various 'talking points' that are designed to create a conversation between trainee and the LandWorks Resettlement Co-ordinator (LWRC) As highlighted in the example extract below, the form contains four columns:

- 1. The 'talking point';
- A scale ranging from 1 5 (in which 1 represents the need for support, and 5 represents that the trainee is self-reliant in this area);
- 3. A section for more detailed comments that may arise through the conversation with the trainee; and
- 4. A section for the LWRC to identify any subsequent actions that may arise from their conversation.

1 – something I need/want to address 5 – not a problem for me at all						Comments	Action
Finance, Benefit and Debt							
Managing money	1	2	3	4	5		
Dealing with debts		2	3	4	5		
Sorting out benefits		2	3	4	5		

Like the Outcome Star, the scores in the Life Measures form identify areas of greater and/or more urgent need. In contrast, however, each key 'pathway' is broken down to various talking points to expand upon the broad and complex issues facing trainees. Furthermore, the comments section works as a space to provide greater details that can arise from conversations. As indicated in the feedback from the Outcome Star pilot, this context is vitally important in understanding the complexities of trainees' lives and their on-going needs. The action section works as a space for the LWRC to identify and record actions that arise through conversations. In this way the Life Measures toolkit is designed to be used both as an on-going *resettlement management* document that captures the key issues, concerns and needs of trainees' as they develop and change, and as a vital *evaluation* tool.

The intention is that the Life Measures form will be completed between trainee and the LWRC periodically throughout the trainees' journey through LandWorks. Subsequently, while operating on a scale of 1-5 as opposed to 1-10, it is possible that the data can be transferred into an outcome star format should it be required for future analysis or to demonstrate to trainees' how much they have progressed. Given that the toolkit is still being trialled, it is anticipated that data from the forms as well as feedback from trainees and LWRCs will inform the next annual report.

5. A Window into LandWorks: Trainee Perspectives

[The PeN] project] give[s] everyone on the outside an insight of what goes on [at LandWorks] and gives them [an insight into] people's backgrounds without naming anyone, which is good for people outside or even supporters or whatever, to have a look at it and see what's going on, understand people's stories in the past and see what's going on inside LandWorks really. (LWT18)

The themes and findings presented within this section are based upon a preliminary analysis of interviews conducted as part of the Photographic electronic Narrative (PeN) project. The PeN project, funded through an Independent Social Research Foundation (ISRF) mid-career fellowship, was launched in October 2016. The project aims to work both as a personal development tool for the trainees and as a tool through which to foster dialogues between the trainees and the wider community. Through the co-creation (between trainees and the research lead) of anonymous blog posts which are then shared via a variety of social media platforms³, the project aims both to give a public voice to LandWorks trainees and to enable LandWorks supporters and the wider community an insight into the lives of trainees on their journey to desistance. In this way the PeN project aims to:

Critically [give] trainees a voice, one that is otherwise unheard, the voice of an 'offender' talking to the community they have hurt. (Chris Parsons, Founder of LandWorks)

To date (August 2019) since the PeN project launched in October 2016, the PeN project has published 82 blog posts from 32 LandWorks trainees as well as having welcomed 3 additional blog posts from 2 trainee police officers and the LandWorks prison run driver. Over that time the blog has had 13.8 thousand views and 4,813 visitors (14/08/2019). Further analysis of these interviews is a key aspect of the evaluation. The PeN project blog continues to be an important resource for

³ Details about the PeN Project can be found via the website: <u>www.penprojectlandworks.org</u>; Facebook: @penprojectlandworks; Twitter: @PeN_Project; or Instagram: penproject_at_landworks.

funders as well, as evidenced in recent comments from the National Lottery that the "PeN portraits are really useful insights into the on-going work at Landworks" (Jenny Fish 31/07/2019).

5.1 Emergent Themes

Interview transcripts were thematically analysed by the evaluation team. The findings here are presented under three headings. The first, *'LandWorks: 'A Little Island in a Sea of Crap''* focuses on Life before LandWorks. Highlighting the chaotic lives and complex needs shared by many trainees', it demonstrates the value and importance of LandWorks' holistic approach to working with offenders. Drawing upon what has been termed in previous evaluations as the 'X factor' of LandWorks (the 'LandWorX factor'), the second subsection, *'Reimagining Punishment: The 'LandWorX factor','* contrasts trainees' initial expectations against the reality of working with LandWorks. Emphasising the importance of mutual respect and a sense of community/belonging, this section focuses in particular on what makes LandWorks unique from other criminal and social justice agencies. As the subheading suggests, the final subsection, *'LandWorks: A Journey of Personal Change'*, follows the changes made by trainees' lives beyond LandWorks; their hopes, aspirations, as well as anxieties about the future. This section examines the development of peer mentoring at LandWorks and the importance of on-going support.

5.1.1 LandWorks: 'A Little Island in a Sea of Crap'

As a population, offenders have complex and multiple needs that often feed into and exacerbate one another (Revolving Doors, n.d.). Drug and alcohol misuse, unemployment, physical and mental illness, learning difficulties and/or low educational achievement, poverty and dept, homelessness and relationship problems are all common issues that can lead to further offending. Given these multiple and complex needs, it is unsurprising that offenders often lead chaotic lives (MoJ, 2013) which can make engagement with criminal and social justice organisations more problematic.

Research shows that desistance and recovery are often heavily dependent upon things such as personal skills and skill development, support networks, self-belief and self-confidence (Terry and Cardwell, 2016). Yet despite the multiple and complex needs of offender populations, health, social and criminal justice providers have, at least historically, been "set up to deal with a single issue presenting at a time" (Revolving Doors, n.d.). In stark contrast, LandWorks endeavours to adopt a more *holistic* approach to working with offender populations – providing support and advice in each of the seven pathways to reoffending (see section 4.2.1). The need for such an all rounded approach is summarised in the extract below in which the female trainee discusses the stigmas attached to offending and homelessness as well as identifying some of her wider personal support needs:

Life can take a bad turn and it's not necessarily all drug addicts that are homeless on the streets. People can be ill, lose their jobs, lose whatever, there's all sorts of circumstances. It's very harsh. I think this type of place is the true meaning of rehabilitation. I think this is what it should be about. That's why I think it's such a good project. I'm learning something every day and learning new skills. [...] Plus, the support [...] things like dealing with benefits or dealing with housing, getting settled in a safe home, all the support I was struggling with before. (LWT05)

Crucially, as this trainee moves on to explain, the rounded support offered by LandWorks is crucial in offering trainees a space to focus, reflect, and begin moving forward: '*It* [*the support offered at LandWorks*] *just takes a bit of that pressure away while you can focus your mind on the future*' (LWT05). This was a common sentiment that emerged through interviews. Indeed, while being alone at home with nothing to do was said to be a particularly difficult time when 'all the demons start

creeping back into your life' (LWT04), the productive yet relaxed environment encouraged at LandWorks was seen as essential in offering trainees some vital stability in their otherwise chaotic lives:

LandWorks, is my little haven. It's my little island in a sea of crap (LWT01)

Nothing but good things to say about this place, I think it's amazing, I've got all the respect in the world for you guys and what you do because you know there's not a lot of, as far as I'm aware of places like this for people to come and get their head's straight, and get a starting point back in place in their minds, to start their life again. [...] It's [LandWorks] been a real like anchor I suppose, which is the best way to describe it, you know in such a stormy part of my life (LWT02)

I come out here and I get my head down, out here this is where I come to feel I could do something with my life really, where I don't feel so much like I'm bumming around, you know I do productive things (LWT03)

Although asking for help was identified as something many trainees struggled with – with many seeing it as embarrassing or showing some kind of weakness, it appears that despite any initial reservations about engaging with LandWorks, stability and the ability to reflect on their situation was an important stage in identifying and accepting support.

[T]hat's been a big thing actually like admitting that I actually need help, letting people in, because trust isn't easy, has never really been easy for me to accept new people into my life, it's always taken a while, but yeah this is the first time I've sort of admitted that I need a bit of back up here, I need a bit of support but admitting that has been like a big weight off my shoulders. (LWT02)

I was someone who you know, I don't need help... I could do it myself, you know I was really quite stubborn... and then you learn to accept the help and then you realise it's not as embarrassing as you thought it would be, it's really not. (LWT03)

People here are almost desperate to help each other. To ask for help is often seen as a weakness and learning to allow people to help is interesting. [There are] people here that care, that genuinely care and don't judge. Nobody actually wants to know what you did or where you came from, that's gone, and you're moving forward from that point. I feel that if more people had that in their lives, they might be better off. (LWT11)

For many, the provision of counselling at LandWorks was a crucial factor not only in being able to identify issues and problematic behaviours and to recognise their need for support, but also in being able to accept this support:

The counselling's been good for me because I've never done counselling before. Sarah had a word with me and then Chris had a word with me, pushed me into it. I was thinking 'what do I need to see a counsellor for?' Some things that she's highlighting and getting me thinking about things was quite good... (LWT19)

Becky is brilliant. I've never ever been to a counsellor before, but what a woman to talk to... Like I said just now when I said, 'listen to me, I'm gabbling on about a load of bloody rubbish really', Becky's like that. I said to her 'what do you want me to say?', she said, 'just talk to me' and Christ, it's no wonder what you blurt out in the end. She's got a technique with it. (LWT12) As the next section demonstrates, while LandWorks relies on the on-going support of other criminal and social justice agencies, it appears that for many – particularly those who have had previously negative experiences with the police, prison and/or probation – LandWorks offers a new and innovative approach to justice; in other words, what LandWorks *is not* seems equally as important as what it is and does. This predicament in the way in which LandWorks identifies or 'markets' itself is summarised in the following quote from Chris Parsons, founder of LandWorks:

It's really difficult because they [trainees] believe when they first come here, we're [LandWorks] part of the police or the probation and the prison service, and we're not. We are absolutely independent; but we do work in close partnership with them. [...] We're not part of the authority, but we have to work closely with them. [...] There are rules to obey here.

5.1.2 Reimagining Punishment: The 'LandWorX factor'

They [the trainee's] hear all sorts of rumours about [LandWorks]. You're going to be asked to work for nothing. It's slave labour and all this sort of stuff. [...] To come here and actually be immersed in what's quite a nice environment and a lot of resettlement support, is very different to what they might have expected to have got. A lot of them go 'wow, this is just great!' (Chris Parsons, Founder of LandWorks)

Supporting the quote above, interviews demonstrated the low expectations many trainees had before attending LandWorks for the first time. For many this appears to have been connected to negative experiences of previous sentences. While ROTL trainees referred to the 'stifled' and 'regimented' (LWT09) nature of prison routine, community-based trainees made frequent reference to the degrading nature of community payback schemes:

I had visions of having Hi-Vis on, 'community service' written on, picking up rubbish in a field or something, thought it would be something degrading to be honest. (LWT06)

I didn't want to do community service, I just didn't like it, I felt it was degrading. [...] I had one go at community service erm, you had to wear these big jackets that say community payback [...] everybody knows you are on community service. (LWT07)

Yet in stark contrast to their early scepticism, trainees expressed their relief at how different LandWorks felt. The warm, friendly and respectful environment fostered by LandWorks was identified in the previous evaluation report as a key to its success. Described as the '*X factor*' of LandWorks, the mutual and genuine respect given to trainees was identified as "a powerful contribution in the resettlement journey" (Wilkinson *et al.*, 2018: 17). This point was reiterated when analysing the most recent interview transcripts in which trainees' spoke of their genuine surprise at the enthusiasm of LandWorks staff and their desire to offer help and support:

They're [the staff at LandWorks] understanding, caring, not judgemental and to be honest, *I'm* not used to being around people of that nature. (LWT04)

I was quite surprised [when I came to LandWorks] because I'm not used to people wanting to help. I was a bit sceptical about it to begin with. It's strange. I'm not used to people genuinely wanting the best. There's always hidden agendas and motives. I was sceptical about that, but they've been as good as gold. I was thinking it can't really be genuine, but no, it was, it was nice. (LWT06)

I think the first couple of days I came to LandWorks, it was the enthusiasm that hit me. When you're in prison there is no enthusiasm. There's nothing people get enthusiastic about. Why

would they? The intention is to make every day the same as the one before, so enthusiasm and almost joy, disappear out through the window. (LWT09)

From the use of the term 'trainee' as opposed to 'offender', the generic LandWorks uniform worn by both staff and trainees alike, to the way in which everyone sits down and shares a meal together, the non-judgemental nature of LandWorks was also identified as being of vital importance in its success. As one female trainee explained:

No-one judges you [at LandWorks] and that's what I like [...] nobody is bigger than anybody else, no-one is lower than anybody else, we're all the same. I think that's the highlight really, is that we're all equal. (LWT08)

While individually these are seemingly small gestures, these details appear vitally important not only in challenging the stigma attached to being labelled an 'offender' and the traditional hierarchical relationships experienced in prison and probation settings, but also on motivating trainees to change.

I'm a prisoner [but] I don't want to be seen as or portrayed as... this is going to sound horrible... beneath someone else and that's how, as a prisoner, you're made to feel at times. You're made to feel less than and who the hell are you, to judge me? You know nothing about my life. That pisses me off. [...] No-one wants to be judged and that's the fear, that you're judged, all of a sudden, you're a deviant prisoner. You've got this stigma attached. (LWT01)

[I]f you feel you're being treated differently because of the things that you've done or because of who you are then you're never going to rehabilitate because you're just going to think everyone's judging you.... Half the process is changing yourself yeah, but changing the perception of other people around you [...] you have to have that confidence in yourself that people believe you can do something [...] the second you sit there and think nobody's listening or nobody believes you [...] you think then well why should I. (LWT03)

Factors such as the generic uniform worn by staff and trainees as well as the importance placed upon sharing mealtimes as a whole group also appear to help foster a sense of community and belonging amongst trainees. Many trainees spoke about having strained and/or broken relationships with family members. While for some these relationships were strained prior to their offending behaviour, for others – particularly those in prison and those with drug and alcohol dependencies – relationships were disrupted as a result of their problematic behaviour.

I came from a family that was quite violent and alcoholic. Scared the living daylights out of me. I've got no memories until I was 11. Ended up being violent. Ended up going to jail when I was 14 years old. Ended up being a criminal with my father. Just in and out of jail. In and out of relationships and had a few kids along the way. [...] I love my wife very dearly and we had a good relationship, but I ruined it every time. I ended up doing three sentences. (LWT13).

Dealing with the aftermath of divorce, mum's death ... I call it the 3D's – divorce, death and domestic abuse. [...] So, I found myself quite isolated away from family and friends with no actual family left in this area. I just got into trouble. (LWT05)

Given the potential lack of support awaiting trainees, the communal feeling generated by LandWorks should not be underestimated. Indeed, as demonstrated in the quotes below, many of the trainees referred to LandWorks as functioning like a powerful and empathetic family unit even if, in the case of ROTL trainees quoted below, they did not interact together in the prison setting itself: You're just like a big family unit here. It's the LandWorks family. (LWT12)

We don't spend a great deal of time with each other in prison. I'm up the stairs, they're down the stairs. Everyone does their own thing. But, out here, we're like a unit. (LWT01)

I think when you're in a bad place in life sometimes the relationships you build with the people that help support you when you're there are like the strongest you ever have. I've certainly felt that with everyone. I've certainly struck up chords with people here that I've never had with anyone in my life... To come here and be welcomed with open arms and have that support around me, it's brilliant. (LWT02)

As identified in the previous LandWorks reports, skills development is vital in building trainees' confidence and self-belief. Importantly, however, the fact that items made by trainees are then sold to help fund the LandWorks project appears important in helping trainees to feel a part of something bigger. As demonstrated in the extracts below, not only does this help inspire a sense of pride, it also offers trainees a way of giving back to LandWorks:

And I get a buzz when people buy, when you see people come in the shop and they'll pick this up say, and they'll buy something you've made, man that's like, you feel like the bollocks, do you know what I mean? (LWT01)

I feel like as time has gone on I've managed to be able to give a lot back as well, it's nice that you know that I can do that really, show my appreciation. (LWT02)

This sense of being able to 'give something back' has been key in the development of peer mentoring at LandWorks – an area which will be examined further in the next report.

5.1.3 LandWorks: A Journey of Personal Change

The 'journey' metaphor is commonly used in the literature [on desistance] and by people with direct experiences. [...] [While] each person's journey towards change will be unique [...] journeys involve deciding to change (whether gradually or suddenly), and then consistently maintaining that decision in the face of stigma, anxiety and fear, barriers to opportunities and social exclusion. (Terry and Cardwell, 2016: 5-6)

Irrespective of how and why their 'journey' began, LandWorks was an important feature amongst most trainees. As noted, for many, engaging with LandWorks provided a vital opportunity to pause and reflect on their lives and current situation. It follows that many trainees saw LandWorks with its unique approach as a place where they were able to discover and/or re-discover themselves:

For me, if I was to say what LandWorks is for me and the whole ethos thing, it's about discovering [...] it's about discovering what's in you. It's discovering yourself. For me, that's what it is, but that might not be for the next person. It's hard to explain. (LWT01)

I feel like I'm back to myself, what I used to be years and years ago. I forgot who I was because I was on that opiate for so long and you're not yourself when you're on that. I lost everything when I was on that, my characteristics, my morals, everything. You lose everything on it and since I've come to this place, it's all come back to me. You've given me hope. (LWT04)

The stigmas attached to being labelled a 'prisoner', 'offender/ex-offender' or 'ex-con' are widely recognised. Yet what was interesting to note was the self-stigma many of the trainees imposed upon themselves. As one trainee explained:

Anyone could end up in this position and that's the pissy thing for me. That never goes away though and it never stops hurting, the stigma. Even if there isn't one, I'm aware of it and I don't like it. (LWT01)

Intertwined within the notion of re-discovery, the non-judgemental nature of LandWorks and its staff also appears to have helped challenge this self-stigma. As one trainee reasoned, engaging with LandWorks was helpful in him being able to *'re-humanise'* himself (LWT10).

Despite taking ownership for their actions, having engaged with LandWorks, many trainees appeared keen to distance themselves from what they saw as their 'past self'. Indeed, while potentially an extreme example, the following trainee felt his transformation was so significant he needed to change his name to reflect his new positive character:

I am a lot different, I am so much different to what I used to be, everyone's told me [...] I'm a lot calmer [...] I've got a different outlook to life, as soon as I left [prison] I changed my name, I changed my... I just changed everything about me. (LWT17)

As part of their new or 'future selves', trainees often spoke with enthusiasm about their aspirations for the future – something many of them had previously considered unobtainable. The skills they had developed within LandWorks were integral to many of these plans:

When I get a house and that I'd like to get like a turner, so I could start doing my own pottery and that, I dunno just different things I've never done stuff like that before especially like the bowls and like doing the woodwork I think that's pretty mad, it's just like fascinating, like you just have a bit of wood and then you like turn it into something. (LWT16)

The dream, and this is the [LandWorks] effect, through the medium of pottery and the combination of me, if I get the diploma, if I could combine the two, talk and therapy sort of thing. It's all pie in the sky, but I think that's what I'd like to be doing. If someone said, "What do you want to do?", that's what I'd like to do. (LWT01)

I've been doing my peer-mentoring course and I'm hoping to do some volunteering work with them. I think it'll be great to be able to help people [...] [who are] in the same situation that I've been in. I think with drug addiction. (LWT02)

Yet despite these aspirations a common theme to arise, particularly amongst those trainees on ROTL, were their anxieties around returning to 'normality' and a life beyond prison:

Going home's going to be the hard one and people are like "bloody hell, I'd be glad to be going home". I say "yeah, but I had to leave my family to come to prison and that's sort of given me a hard time, now I've got another family that I work with every day, now I'm going to have to leave that family to go home to my own family". Then I've got to go out and I've got to find my own life, which is fair enough. No-one gives anyone anything away, but it's the thought of having to start everything again. You're thinking "@*#*ing hell, I'm 53 years old". (LWT15)

Again, LandWorks was seen as playing a vitally important role in easing this transition:

I'm coming towards the end of my sentence and felt that coming out to LandWorks would give me a very good introduction into future employment and future understanding of how life is going to be for me post-release. [...] [I]t is, without a shadow of doubt, one of the better decisions I've made since I've been in prison. It is, without a doubt. It's given me an understanding and an appreciation of getting back or going back into the 'normal' world. (LWT14)

It's a nice environment to meet people and it's just nice to be here. It's helping in the transition, actually, it's helped quite a lot because it's a bit of a shock when you get out. [...] [I]t can be pretty scary getting out and then just 'bang' into normality. That, I suppose, is the time when people are most likely to re-offend, in those first few weeks. (LWT10)

What shone through during the preliminary analysis of interviews with trainees is the gratitude felt by many towards LandWorks, its staff and community of trainees:

[W]hat a gang of people you've got out there. They've not just helped me, they've helped me in a way where I didn't think I could possibly be helped. Being a heroin addict for 30 years and coming out of myself within five months, I didn't think could be possible. (LWT04)

The more people that know what a special place this is, the better, because it changed my life for the better in every single way, on all different levels. (LWT02)

Given the strong feelings held by trainees towards LandWorks, some expressed a genuine sadness about ending their LandWorks journey. This was often coupled with wider anxieties about what they would do in the absence of the stability and support LandWorks offered them in the (potentially) ongoing chaotic nature of their lives:

I love it [here]. I love it, I don't want to leave. I have had so much stability, you know, I've got so used to having stability. (LWT12)

Due to the sense of belonging fostered by LandWorks, and given the evidence that trainees often experience anxieties as they face a return to 'normality' without the support of criminal/social justice organisations, LandWorks has identified the need for on-going support. As LandWorks founder, Chris Parsons explains:

There often does become a kind of a family feel to the place. For many reasons, I think, but that's a nice way to be. [...] [But] you can't just turn it off. It would be wrong to do so. People do stay in contact. When we were first planning this, probation strongly suggested we would never hear from anyone again. It's been the complete opposite and I think it's because of that, the sense of ownership, the sense of belonging, they're welcome. So, people come back. [...] People from five years ago are still in touch. Some may just text. They might phone in with good things or bad things. If it's something slightly bigger, if we can help with training or accommodation or just general advice, we get people to come and spend the morning with us again. [...] Managing people's expectations, but without letting them down is pretty key to it, I think.

The need for long term support, how to capture and record this support as well as the practical and financial logistics of providing an on-going service are areas that will be explored further within the next annual report.

6. Stakeholder Perspectives

For the purposes of this report, 'stakeholder' is defined in its broader sense to incorporate "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization objectives" (Freeman, 1984: 46). Under this definition, the term not only includes *primary* stakeholders such as

the trainees, their families and the those involved in the provision of support and/or supervision of trainees, but also *secondary* stakeholders such as members of the public (Freeman *et al.*, 2007).

LandWorks has identified the need to gather stakeholder perspectives as an on-going aim and it is intended that these wider perspectives will inform the next report.

6.1 Challenging Societal Preconceptions: The Humanising Effect

Crime, justice and punishment are highly emotive areas. Existing research on desistance from crime has found that a key aspect of desistance for offender populations is achieving change in self narrative. This change, however, can be severely hampered by negative perceptions of offenders when re-entering society (Maruna, 2001). This section focuses exclusively on societal preconceptions of offender populations and the extent to which LandWorks is meeting its aim of *changing attitudes towards offenders in wider society*. The findings here are based upon semi-structured interviews conducted with LandWorks volunteers (LWV) as well data taken from the most recent LandWorks supporters survey. While originally designed to measure the impact of the PeN project supporters' views and attitudes, the supporters survey has since morphed into an annual survey disseminated through LandWorks founder, Chris Parson's fortnightly blogs. To date 3 surveys have been completed with a combined total 357 responses. The most recent report (2018-2019) has had the highest response rate to date with a total of 148 respondents.⁴

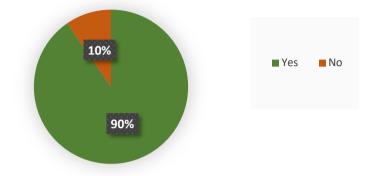
Respondents of the LandWorks supporters survey come from a wide variety of backgrounds. While some supporters – for instance, those working in the criminal/social justice sectors – have prior experience of working with offender populations, others had little to no experience of such groups. As one respondent explains:

Most people are completely unaware of the issues involved with offenders and their rehabilitation. We're lucky enough to have personal circumstances where we don't really come in contact with these issues. (LWS1)

Irrespective of their experience and background, supporters were asked whether their involvement with LandWorks had improved their attitude towards offenders and their resettlement. Of the 125 individuals who responded, an overwhelming majority (90%) said that yes, LandWorks *had* improved their perceptions of offender populations.

⁴ Out of these, of the 132 people who responded to questions regarding their age and gender, 77% identified as female, 23% as male, and 89% as being aged 45 or over

Has your involvement with LandWorks improved your attitude towards offenders and their resettlement?



When invited to expand upon their answer, a common theme to emerge was the way in which LandWorks helps to humanise those it worked with:

[LandWorks] Puts a human face on 'crime' (LWS2)

[LandWorks has] Enabled me to see the person, not just the offender. (LWS3)

As the quotes below demonstrate, LandWorks ability to portray the 'human' side of its trainees helps to destigmatise and normalise offender populations:

[Volunteering with LandWorks] has given me new and different perspectives on life. I have gained a real insight into the offenders' lives and their experiences. [...] I realised how normal the offenders are. (LWV1)

[H]earing their stories makes one realise how many of them are just normal guys caught up in something almost by chance, that they now really regret (LWS4).

[LandWorks has helped me to realise] *the complex reality of people's lives and that becoming a 'criminal' is often an accidental piling up of people's life problems and lack of resources and inequality.* (LWS5)

While the collection of stakeholder perspectives is on-going, what early data appears to show is that by humanising its trainees and helping to demonstrate offending behaviour not simply as a product of individual deviance but a problem linked to wider socio-economic factors, LandWorks is helping to create a deeper sense of empathy amongst members of the public for offender populations.

When a group of 'offenders' become individual humans with problems, it is easier to empathise and wish to see a better future for them. (LWS6)

7. Impact and Outreach

LandWorks is keen to expand its reach and to capture evidence of impact. This section is a demonstration of LandWorks' impact and outreach for the annual period April 1st 2018 - March 31st 2019.

7.1 Virtual Outreach

LandWorks Fortnightly Blog Posts (n26)

- PeN Project blog posts (n17)
- LandWorks Supporters Survey, September 2018 March 219 (n148 replies)

7.2 Outreach Events

Parsons, J.M., Voaden, C. and Aldridge, D. (2018) LandWorks CIO: Measuring impact 2013-2020, *ESRC Social Science Festival, Celebrating Social Sciences Research & Impact*, University of Plymouth, 6th November.

LandWorks Supporters Event, Friday 17th August 2018, attended (n178), speeches from Chair of the Trustees; Ted Tuppen, LandWorks Project Director; Chris Parsons and former trainee; Darryl Aldridge.

7.3 Publications

Parsons J.M. (2018) Commensality as a theatre for witnessing change for criminalised individuals working at a resettlement scheme, *European Journal of Probation*, Volume 10, Issue 3, pp 182-198 https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/2066220318819239

Parsons, J.M. (2018) Virtual social media spaces, a relational arena for 'bearing witness' to desistance, *Papers from the British Criminological Conference 2018*, Vol 18, <u>http://www.britsoccrim.org/papers-from-the-british-criminology-conference-2018/</u>

Parsons, J.M. and Hocking, S (2018) The Lived Experience of Carrots and Risks, voices from within the criminal justice system, *ISRF Bulletin XV1*, pp32-38, <u>https://issuu.com/isrf/docs/isrf_bulletin_issue_xvi</u>

7.4 Conference Papers

Parsons, J.M. (2018), Reconciling past and past present lives, whilst imagining 'non-criminalised' future selves. Narratives of reflection from prisoners working at a resettlement scheme, *BSA Auto/Biography Winter Conference*, Friends Meeting House, London, Friday 7th December.

Parsons, J.M. (2018) "At least it's not bread and water": Beyond resistance and disruption, ambivalence and generativity in prisoners' narrative reflections on the lived experience of everyday foodways in a UK prison. *FOOD IN PRISON, International and multidisciplinary, perspectives,* 21-22 September, Brussels (Belgium),

Parsons, J.M. (2018) Family narratives, inside-out, the lived experience of family life from prison, BSA *Auto/Biography Summer Conference 2018*, Wolfson College, Oxford, 19-21st July

Parsons, J.M. (2018) Visualising desistance dialogues through social media platforms and the benefits of imagined social capital for 'offenders' working at a resettlement scheme (RS), *British Society of Criminology Conference 2018*, Birmingham City University, 3-6th July.

Parsons, J.M. and Hocking, S. (2018) The lived experience of 'carrots' and 'risks': Voices from Within the Criminal Justice System, *ISRF Workshop, Law, Social Organisation and Social Control,* All Souls College, Oxford, 15th June 2018.

Parsons, J.M. (2018) Examining the benefits of social capital for 'offender' health and wellbeing at a resettlement scheme (RS), *Institute of Health & Community (IHC) Seminar*, June 13th, University of Plymouth.

Parsons, J.M. (2018) (Poster) The Photographic electronic Narrative (PeN) project, creating a social space for the disembodied articulation of 'imagined social capital' for 'offenders' working at a

resettlement scheme (RS), *British Sociological Association Annual Conference*, Northumbria University, 10/12th April.

8. Conclusions and Recommendations

8.1 Conclusions

- 8.1.1. Trainees remain at the centre of LandWorks. Throughout the evaluation it was evident that LandWork's non-hierarchal and humanising approach to working with offender groups has an overwhelmingly positive impact on trainees. Despite some of the initial concerns and reservations expressed by trainees, evidence clearly shows that this approach helps to generate mutual respect between staff and trainees. Indeed, despite it's close ties to prison and probation, part of LandWorks' success appears to be the way in which it is perceived by trainees as a safe environment, where mistakes are allowed to happen and accepted, without punishment or reproach. Of most significance, this approach appears to help change negative attitudes towards offending behaviours while simultaneously improving self-esteem and individual wellbeing.
- 8.1.2. As documented in previous reports (Wilkinson *et al.*, 2018), the evolution of LandWorks is a product of its recognition of the multiple and often complex needs of its trainees. Despite the relatively small core team, and the varying needs of its trainees, LandWorks continues to be able to offer trainees a stable environment. This stability is essential in affording trainees with the space and time to reflect on their personal circumstances, their offending behaviours, their needs, and their aspirations for the future.
- 8.1.3. It is evident that LandWorks prides itself on taking a holistic approach with its trainees. Indeed, in recognition of the complex needs of offender groups, unlike many other criminal and social justice organisations, LandWorks aims to provide advice, support and advocacy at the same time as helping to develop skills and employability. This is essential not only in helping to improve individual wellbeing and reduce reoffending, but also in creating a sense of belonging amongst the trainees.
- 8.1.4. It was apparent from interview transcripts with trainees as well as through conversations with Chris Parsons, founder of LandWorks, that there is a community feeling at LandWorks. Despite the potentially fractious, negative or absent social relationships within trainees' personal lives, LandWorks appears to function as a surrogate family/friendship group for many of the trainees. While it is essential to monitor and carefully negotiate this between staff and trainees, it does appear to help motivate trainees to change. Indeed, rather than seeing LandWorks as a form of punishment, trainees appear to take 'ownership' and pride in the project and the work that is undertaken.
- 8.1.5. The sense of belonging that is fostered at LandWorks translates into trainees wanting to stay in touch after they 'graduate'. While this is certainly a positive outcome in the sense that trainees are keen to 'give something back' to the project and the newer trainees who perhaps depict their former selves, the identified on going needs of these graduates poses potential issues for the allocation of funding and resources.
- 8.1.6. The virtual outreach and outreach events have continued to be crucial in creating support for the project which continues to rise.

8.1.7. Preliminary analysis of wider stakeholder perspectives suggest that LandWorks is helping to create a deeper sense of empathy amongst members of the public for offender populations thus suggesting that LandWorks is helping to meet its aim of changing wider societal attitudes towards offender populations.

8.2 Recommendations

- 8.2.1. While clearly the effects of wider changes in the criminal justice system and its impact on the recruitment of and work with trainees is far beyond the control of LandWorks, it is recommended that LandWorks continue to develop and maintain strong relationships with other criminal and social justice agencies (particularly those within the prison, NPS and CRC) in order to keep dialogues open.
- 8.2.2. A relatively new initiative, outside of the scope of this report has been the development of resettlement 'surgeries' at LandWorks organised by the LWRC. For example, the Job Centre, Citizen's Advice Bureau and a Law clinic have all been run on site. These are now being more formally and regularly organised and need to be commented upon in the next report.
- 8.2.3. While early analysis suggests that LandWorks is meeting its aim of helping to change attitudes towards offender groups within the wider society, the data presented here is primarily based upon that collected from those already registered as LandWorks supporters. It is suggested that as well as continuing in its efforts to generate further community support, LandWorks looks to gather information about wider stakeholder perspectives.
- 8.2.4. The newly developed Life Measures toolkit is still being trialled. It is suggested that LandWorks continue to trial and monitor the effectiveness and usefulness of this resettlement document.
- 8.2.5. LandWorks has identified the importance of on-going support for graduates. This is an important area of expansion for LandWorks going forward and needs to be invested in long-term. In order to account for this both in terms of future evaluations and for the allocation of funding and resources, it is essential that LandWorks develop a method of capturing and recording this data, both qualitatively (see 8.2.10) and quantitatively.
- 8.2.6. Given that desistance from crime is not necessarily a linear process, LandWorks should think about how else it can measure the 'progress' and 'successes' of trainees. As well as including official desistance statistics which are helpful for comparing the LandWorks against other organisations nationally, LandWorks should consider other *intermediate* outcomes. This information could prove vital not only in identifying what works and how LandWorks can fit in with wider efforts towards desistance, it could also help to alter perceptions of success and reframe 'failure'.
- 8.2.7. As suggested in the recommendations of the previous report (Wilkinson *et al.*, 2018), LandWorks should continue to extend the reach of the project. As well as hosting localised outreach events, LandWorks staff and the evaluation team could expand this reach by attending national and even international conferences around the resettlement of offenders.

- 8.2.8. Given the success and influence of Chris' blogs and the PeN project in terms of helping (a) to change societal attitudes, (b) encourage self-esteem and confidence within trainees, and (c) to generate successful funding bids, it is suggested that LandWorks continue its virtual outreach. Strategies to expand and develop the wider reach of the blogs should be considered.
- 8.2.9. It is recommended that LandWorks continue to gather *evidence* of this reach as well as its impact potential. Not only is this information essential for the purposes of evaluation and to continue improving the efficacy of the project, it could be used as evidence of LandWorks success to help secure successful future funding bids. Again, this can be done qualitatively through Pen project interviews, but it is also important to recognise the importance of long-term quantitative data collection. The LandWorks database has recently been updated and it is important that this data continues to be collected and recorded.
- 8.2.10. Data gathered from the 'Finishing Time' project, externally funded through an ISRF discretionary grant, which is running until 2020, will be used in the next annual report. This will be qualitative data gathered from interviews with people who have graduated from LandWorks and are now living in the community.

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