# THE IMPACT OF INTERVENTIONS INVOLVING ELECTRONIC MONITORING ON YOUNG PEOPLE AND ADULTS WHO OFFEND

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## Abstract

This thesis provides an overview of interventions using supervision and surveillance methods in managing young people who have been convicted of an offence in the community. A range of approaches including a systematic review, a single case report and an empirical quantitative study were used to explore this research area. Following a brief introduction to the thesis in chapter 1, chapter 2 critically reviews the use of electronic monitoring (EM) as a surveillance method during intensive supervision in the management of offenders in the community. Chapter 3 systematically reviews the impact of interventions including electronic monitoring for individuals who offend and assesses the quality of the existing research in this area. Of the 16 included studies, only nine (56.25%) could be considered to have shown lower recidivism rates for EM offenders that were statistically significant. Chapter 4 provides an outline of how EM is used in an intensive community programme, and describes the importance of reviewing the impact of interventions involving EM to manage young people who offend in the community. In chapter 5, a case report is used to display the range of intensive interventions used together with EM, whilst a young person is supervised on an ISS order. His history and psychometric testing informed the assessment, formulation and treatment provided by myself and the multi-agency team at the YOT. Chapter 6 presents an empirical research study which explores an Intensive Supervision and Surveillance (ISS) programme, using EM for surveillance. The findings indicate that intensive supervision programmes in the community cannot cease offending behaviour, but can contribute to reducing the severity of offences. The final chapter of the thesis provides a general discussion of the findings and implications in relation to the management of young people who offend in the community.

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# Chapter 1: Introduction to the Thesis

Interventions involving electronic monitoring (EM) are now widely used with young offenders. EM refers to a range of technologies used to achieve surveillance of the location of offenders under supervision in the community, and to impose a curfew requirement. Following the YJB's guidelines, EM is imposed when it is considered appropriate to the risks of the young person, for example when there is a clear identified time-based pattern of offending behaviour (YJB, 2010). There exists only a small body of evidence focusing on the use of EM with young offenders, despite its continued and expansive use in England and Wales with nearly nine thousand EM orders issued to young people in 2014/2015 (Ministry of Justice, 2015).

Youth crime is a significant problem throughout the country. In England and Wales, 94960 arrests of notifiable offences were made to those aged 10-17 years in 2014/2015 (Youth Justice Board, 2016). The Youth Justice Board (YJB) in England and Wales works to prevent offending and reoffending by young people under the age of 18. They are responsible for monitoring the effectiveness of the youth justice system at a national and local level, by their close liaison with Youth Offending Teams (YOTs). YOTS are multi-agency partnerships responsible for managing young people who receive community sentences. Those young people who receive a custodial sentence are held in young offender institutions (YOIs), with secure training centres (STCs) and secure children's homes (SCHs). The local, multi-agency and multi-disciplinary nature of YOTs deliver interventions aimed at reducing the frequency and severity of reoffending.

Adolescence is a transitional stage of psychological, social and physical development and change (Viner, 2012). As a result, it is crucial YOTs assess the risks and needs of each

individual young offender and set in place an appropriate package of intervention to reduce those risks. The management of young people entering the youth justice system is of continual debate. With current national targets to reduce the number of first time entrants into the youth justice system and the number of young people in custody, more is being done to provide suitable supervision and surveillance in the community.

In England and Wales EM can used as community sentence, alongside other community sentencing options, as a condition of bail, and as licence condition on release from custody (YJB, 2010). Young offenders can be tagged for between 2 and 12 hours per day, for a maximum period of six months.

One of the most popular and widely used community sentence utilising EM, is the Youth Rehabilitation Order (YRO). This sentence is used as an alternative to custody for young people, and is designed to provide punishment, protection to the public, reducing reoffending and reparation. The YRO provides courts and YOTs with a range of flexibility in to the requirements that can be attached to the order. These can include a curfew requirement, education requirement, substance treatment requirement, prohibited activity requirement, mental health treatment requirement and supervision requirement (YJB, 2010).

A further community sentence that focuses on the use of EM is Intensive Supervision and Surveillance. All young people on ISS are subject to an electronically monitored curfew, and are required to report for up to 25 hours of scheduled activities each week. As the name suggests, this is the most intensive, non-custodial intervention available for persistent and serious young offenders. In introducing these interventions, it is clear that there are extensive approaches utilising EM within the community to assist young people

who offend. The introduction of curfew-only YROs from June 2015 has only furthered the use of this intervention in the youth justice system (Nellis, 2014).

The use of interventions to monitor offenders is shaped by the theories that seek to explain the cause of crime and the factors that contribute to preventing it. Attention can be given to several psychological theories – deterrence theory, rational choice theory, and routine activities theory. It is crucial to explore and consult these theories when exploring the impact of interventions involving EM to ensure it is used for a purpose it was created to achieve.

Deterrence theory describes the change of offenders' perceptions with the role of punishment. It is thought that offending behaviour occurs after considering the gains and consequences of the act (Marshall, 1994). Offending behaviour occurs when such acts are in the individuals' self-interest. The interpretation of deterrence fits well with the use of EM – the strict monitoring, coupled with threats of detection and subsequent enforcement will influence the individual's consideration of further offending (Andersen & Andersen, 2014).

Rational choice theory takes the approach that an individual weighs means and ends, costs and benefits, and from this makes a rational choice (Clark & Cornish, 1985). Crime is seen to be a behaviour designed to meet the offender's needs for things such as money, sex, status and excitement. Rational choice theory is also concerned with situational crime prevention, specifically looking at how to reduce the opportunities people have to commit crime. EM can be used in the criminal justice process to highlight to offenders the benefits of conformity. Conformity to being monitored, and not breaching their community sentence can allow them to remain at liberty. Credible interventions used in community

sentences need to punish those that have done wrong, at the same as giving them the skills to see the costs in not reoffending.

Routine activities theory can also offer an answer to why the intervention deters offenders from offending, by suggesting that for a crime to occur three factors must be present: a motivated offender, lack of guardianship, and a vulnerable target (Cohen & Felson, 1979). It is hoped that by restricting the opportunities individuals have to offend will reduce the potential for encountering suitable targets. EM can also be seen as the capable guardian, providing the necessary boundaries to dissuade and prevent crime. This theory moves away from focusing on the individual characteristics and beliefs of offenders, and examines the environmental context.

The aim of this research thesis is to improve the quality of evidence existing in the field by providing an exploration into the use and impact of interventions involving electronic monitoring on young people and adults who offend. The first half of the thesis will look directly at the impact of EM, and the second half of the thesis will review a programme involving EM with young people who offend. At the time of compiling this thesis, EM was not used as a stand-alone intervention with young people who offend. This was introduced in June 2015 (Nellis, 2014).

### *Thesis structure*

The thesis achieves it aims through the use of a variety of research designs. It is hoped that these highlight the breadth needed to review the interventions involving EM that are used in the management of young people and adults in the community. The thesis comprises of six chapters following this introduction, including a final discussion of the findings and reflections on the thesis as a whole. The four main approaches include a

critique of a method, a systematic review, a single case report and an empirical quantitative study.

*Chapter 2*

The first research chapter reviews the use of electronic monitoring in the management of offenders in the community. EM is now extensively used in England and Wales and it crucial that we consider the use of this intervention in the management of young offenders, by reviewing the theoretical foundations for it use and considering for whom EM should be used.

*Chapter 3*

This chapter presents a systematic review of the primary literature on the effects of EM on adult offenders in the criminal justice system. To the author's knowledge, this is the first review that incorporated a broad scope strategy with the inclusion of young, as well as adult offenders. No primary research on young offenders was found. By reviewing the literature systematically, evaluating the quality of the studies, and synthesising the data it is clear that this review will add valuable knowledge to the understanding of electronic monitoring in the management of offenders.

*Chapter 4*

This chapter relates the previously introduced Intensive Supervision and Surveillance programme to how we can use research on this programme to assess how EM is used to manage young people who offend.

*Chapter 5*

This chapter outlines a case report of a young male offender referred to a community intervention involving EM during his time on bail – Intensive Supervision and Surveillance (ISS programme). As shown through the previous two chapters, there is limited use in stand-alone EM requirements with no integrated supervision and/or additional interventions. The aim of this case report was to evaluate the effect of a programme relying on intensive supervision (25 hour per week programme of interventions) and surveillance (12 hour EM curfew) in achieving its aims of reducing the frequency and severity of offending behaviour. This case report of a young person managed by ISS provides the reader with a good awareness of the range of interventions available to young people whilst supervised at a YOT, and the use of EM to ensure compliance.

*Chapter 6*

The final chapter presents an empirical research study providing detailed research evidence of the characteristics of young people referred to a community intervention involving EM – Intensive Supervision and Surveillance ISS programme, and providing evidence of the relative success of this programme in terms of reconviction rates and gravity of reoffending. Does using community interventions involving EM produce the intended effect of managing individuals' risks and reducing offending?

*Chapter 7*

The final chapter continues the overall discussion, bringing together the main findings and implications of the research thesis.

# Chapter 2: Electronic Monitoring in England and Wales

## *1. The Origins of Electronic Monitoring of Offenders*

Electonic monitoring (EM) typically refers to any technology that monitors and regulates an offender's or suspect's location (Nellis, 2015). Although EM began its exponential growth in the mid-1980s, the concept was conceived by Dr. Robert Schwitzgebel and his colleagues in the 1960s strongly influenced by the psychological perspective of B. F. Skinner (1969). Schwitzgebel and his colleagues foresaw the two-pound 'behaviour transmitter-reinforcer' being used as long-term alternative to incarceration. Three goals of the intervention were considered: to reduce criminal offences, to facilitate therapy, and to promote rehabilitation in the community (Schwitzgebel, Schwitzgebel, Pahnke & Hurd, 1964). It was not until April 1983 when the first probationers in the United States used EM, that the rapid acceptance for this intervention grew (Cassidy, 1983).

EM of curfews imposed upon offenders has since been widely adopted in over 30 countries worldwide in an attempt to reduce prison populations (Nellis, Beyens & Kaminski, 2013). Also referred to as 'tagging', it has traditionally been considered primarily as a means of recording geographic data relating to the offender, such as whether they were complying with their curfew to remain in their home for a specified time in the day, or to track, sometimes in real-time, the actual location of the offender in the community (National Audit Office, 2006; Geohegan, 2011). Curfew orders are generally used to ensure offenders remain at a curfew address for a fixed number of hours per day.

There are various types of technology that are used in the electronic monitoring of offenders (Nellis, 2015):

- Electronic tagging using radio frequency (RF) is commonly used to monitor curfews using personal identification devices, usually on an individual's ankle. The device sends signals

at regular intervals to a receiver unit installed in the curfew address (usually the offender's home). This will then monitor the offender's presence and absence at the address during the curfew hours. RF electronic tagging is unable to constantly record and 'track' the movements of offenders.

- Satellite tagging using global positioning system (GPS) calculates the individuals' location and relays this information to a monitoring centre. This can be used to ensure the individual does not breach inclusion (permitted geographic areas) and exclusion (prohibited geographic areas) zones. These areas will be agreed according to the individuals' offending patterns, for example restrictions can be set for local parks, schools, victim's house etc.
- Voice verification technology is used on a small scale to identify offenders by their biometric voice print at an agreed location (Canton & Hancock, 2007).

EM is now used at diverse phases in the criminal justice system (bail, sentence, post-release), and targeted at a wide range of offenders, of variable risk levels (National Audit Office, 2006). There is a range of EM technology available, at a variety of intensities, and for a variable duration. With the range of variants and flexibility that is possible with EM it should be tailored to support each individual's risk level and vulnerabilities (Hucklesby, 2008).

## 2. *Developments in England and Wales*

Having originated in the United States in the early 1980s, a trial project in three court divisions in England began in August 1989 as a response to rising prison populations; Nottingham City, North Tyneside and Tower Bridge, London (Mair, Nee, Barclay, Wickham, 1990). A total of fifty low-risk defendants were monitored as a condition of bail during the trials: twenty-nine of these violated their curfew or were charged with another offence. It

was apparent that firm conclusions could not be drawn from the trials, especially from the short time scale of six months and the small number monitored but this indicated interest in evaluating the effectiveness of such measures. Following these trials, in England and Wales, the Criminal Justice Act 1991 and Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 made national provision for the introduction of curfew orders with electronic monitoring as a court sentence for offenders aged 16 and over. Curfews were restricted to a six-month maximum and to between two and twelve hours per day. They could be made jointly along with a community sentence, on their own or where a pre-existing community penalty was already in force. Further to this, in 1997 the Crime (Sentences) Act made electronic monitoring curfews available for three new groups of offenders: fine defaulters, persistent petty offenders and young offenders aged 10-15. Throughout this time, uptake still remained low until January 1999 when Home Detention Curfews (HDC) were introduced across England and Wales (Dodgson et al., 2001). HDC was aimed at eligible prisoners, and allowed release up to sixty days before the end of their sentence being monitored by means of an electronic tag. Unlike previous trials across the UK, HDC was viewed as a positive move in reducing the rapid rising prison population. In the first year 14,800 prisoners were discharged receiving HDC (Mair & Nellis, 2013). With this success, further developments to the use of electronic monitoring occurred with the Criminal Justice and Courts Services Act 2000. The use of electronic monitoring can be used to help achieve compliance with any requirement of a community rehabilitation order (CRO) or a community punishment and rehabilitation order (CPRO)

By 2004, 15,142 curfew orders accounted for around eight per cent of community sentences (Home Office, 2005). This is progressively increasing each year, with data for 2011–12 showing 116,000 new electronic tag cases, all at a total cost in that year of £117m (Geoghegan, 2011; Mair & Nellis, 2013). The electronic monitoring programme in England and Wales is now the largest in Europe (Hucklesby, 2008; Nellis, 2014). The main

type of electronic monitoring in England and Wales involves using a RF tag around the ankle of the individual and installing a monitoring unit in their home (National Audit Office, 2006). Variations to electronic monitoring schemes are ongoing with the UK government planning a huge increase in the use of GPS tracking by 2015 (Nellis, 2014). The magnitude of the use of curfew orders and this steady increase in use and scope, suggests that electronic monitoring is likely to play a continued part in sentencing in the future.

## 3. *Youth Offending and Electronic Monitoring*

In England and Wales, EM is also used to supervise young people in the youth justice system. It is legislated for in the Powers of Criminal Courts Sentencing Act 2000, Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003, Bail Act 1976, Crime and Disorder Act 1998, Criminal Justice & Immigration Act 2008 and Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Act 2012. Electronic monitoring can be used for young people who are on bail awaiting sentence by the court; who are remanded to local authority accommodation, as a requirement of a Youth Rehabilitation Order (YRO); and for young people granted early release from a Detention and Training Order and other custodial sentences. A Freedom of Information Act request to the Ministry of Justice showed that 8,898 electronic monitoring orders were issued to young people (aged under 18) in 2014/2015 (Ministry of Justice, 2015). This is likely to have increased, with the introduction of curfew-only Youth Rehabilitation Orders from 1 June 2015 (Nellis, 2014).

The use of EM with young offenders is to be questioned, especially in recent times with it being used as the sole intervention for low-risk offenders. The intervention, initially intended as an alternative to custody, is now being used as a solitary rehabilitative tool to assist with reducing reoffending in 10-18 year olds. The YJB states that this should only

be considered when there is a clear identified pattern of offending behaviour, and cannot be imposed for less than two hours or more than 12 hours a day (YJB, 2010).

Introduced as an attempt to reduce prison populations and now being used to minimise the number of young offenders being remanded, it has very often increased these numbers due to breaches of orders being monitored and recorded (Whitfield, 1997). Young people can now be breached immediately following a serious violation of their curfew, e.g. strap cutting or not being present for a full curfew (YJB, 2010).

It is the role of the YOT staff to undertake an assessment of suitability for EM and to advise the court accordingly. This should consider the characteristics and risk of the young person, the probable curfew address to ensure it is suitable and all members of the household are aware of the impact of EM for the young person, and the effect on the young person's education/employment (Gray et al., 2005). EM can be linked to more than one address if suitable, for example if parent's live separately and the young person has regular contact with both.

### *4. Supervision and Surveillance*

The majority of interventions involving EM in management of young people who offend, are integrated with supervision. There is a growing research that highlights the importance of consistent contact with young offenders (Graham & McIvor, 2017). The supervision element of community orders can promote a therapeutic relationship with an allocated Case Manager whose role is explore changes in attitudes and behaviour. Assessments will be used to identify the needs of the young offender, and supervision will be provided to explore these. Surveillance through EM provides a 'spotlight' on the young person during

the time of their order, as the offender has an increased detection of offending behaviour and has the prospect of an increased community or custodial sentence should the surveillance element be breached. Supervision is hoped to affect longer term behaviour changes (Mair & Mortimer, 1996). This includes providing direction to positive and constructive activities which should produce longer term benefits. This relationship between supervision and surveillance is crucial to consider when reflecting on the long term desistance effect that community sanctions hope to achieve.

The Intensive Supervision and Surveillance (ISS) programme is one of the main interventions that can be attached to a Youth Rehabilitation order. It is used by the Youth Justice System to monitor and supervise young people who offend. As the name suggests, this is the most intensive programme offered by the Youth Justice System to manage the serious and persistent young offenders (Moore et al., 2004). Qualitative research has shown that when used together, supervision can be viewed as care, whilst surveillance perceived as control (Gray et al., 2005). These two approaches to managing serious young offenders may appear incompatible, but together seek to achieve the same goal – reduce reoffending. Imposing a high level of surveillance alongside supervision that will encourage and divert the young person into positive and constructive education or employment is hoped to produce long term benefits.

## *5. The Role of Theory in Electronic Monitoring Practices*

EM is not devoid of theoretical foundations for its use. From the initial concept, Schwitzgebel and his colleagues incorporated Skinner's view that social behaviour is maintained, changed and shaped by the specific nature and timing of consequences (Skinner, 1969). Social learning theory can form the framework for understanding the impact of EM. This theory provides an explanation for the acquisition, maintenance, and

change in offending behaviour by describing how people learn from observing others and the imitation of their behaviour (Bandura, 1977; Sutherland, 1949). Interventions that involve EM may alter the young person's social network by reducing exposure with deviant peers and increase interaction with pro-social peers (including family). It is hoped that a young person will be more involved in the family whilst also receiving supervision from Case Managers, providing them with positive experiences and role models to expose them to pro-social norms and values (Akers & Lee, 1996). The benefits of EM reducing exposure to the prison environment is supported by this theory, as it reduces contact to criminogenic peers and influences (Parson & Mikawa, 1991). EM allows individuals to remain in education or employment, providing normality, structure, responsibility and income.

## *6. Benefits of Noncustodial Alternatives to Imprisonment*

Noncustodial alternatives to imprisonment, such as interventions involving EM, could help alleviate some of the negative consequences of imprisonment (e.g., DiTella & Schargrodsky, 2013; Schwartz & Skolnick, 1962). As stated, EM can be used pre-trial to reduce the use of remand into custody, used post-conviction as a community sentence as an alternative to a custodial sentence, or used to assist early realise from prison with a EM licence condition. There are a number of benefits of EM over imprisonment recorded.

- Electronic tagging using radio frequency (RF) is a lower cost than GPS systems, with both being less than imprisonment. The National Audit Office (2006) highlighted that for a 90-day period EM is approximately £5,200 cheaper than a custodial sentence of the same length. Nonetheless, EM is a considerable additional cost when compared to community orders that do not include surveillance in this way. This includes equipment and staffing (case management and police costs when responding to breaches). It is reported that for 2017-18, EM contracts in the UK are estimated to cost £470 million (National Audit Office, 2017). This is a sharp increase to the figure reported for 2004-05 of £102.3 million (National Audit Office, 2006).

- Easing the challenges of prison overcrowding and minimising the number of young offenders in custody (Paterson, 2007; Renzema & Mayo-Wilson, 2005).
- Offenders are able to continue with pro-social behaviours such as keeping their employment and remaining in the family (Graham & McIvor, 2015; Hucklesby, 2008). Adolescents who are incarcerated have a higher likelihood to acquire criminal peers and weakens ties to family (Parson & Mikawa, 1991).

Thus consideration is needed when considering the benefits of EM in assisting with rehabilitating young offenders in the community, with supervision focusing on their individualised needs and working with them directly in the community to achieve these.

## *7. Issues Surrounding Electronic Monitoring*

Understanding where and how EM should be used requires extensive research. There has been very little qualitative research examining the experiences of those who have been electronically monitored. Just like any other intervention used in criminal justice it can be used effectively for the appropriate purposes and likewise, and can be used unsuccessfully where it should have not been applied in the first place. The issues raised in the EM debate concern the effects on the offender and their family, and how the net of who is placed on EM is being widened.

### *7.1 Effects on the Offender and Family*

From the initial conception of the idea by Schwitzgebel in the 1960s, EM was envisioned to support offenders in the community for the purpose of rehabilitation and social support. However, EM does raise some humanitarian and privacy issues (Ingraham & Smith, 1972). One of these issues is the strain and tension EM creates within a household (Gibbs & King, 2003; Whitfield, 1997). For young offenders whose problems stem from home and family circumstances, it can be difficult to comply when asked to spend up to twelve hours a day

in this environment (Nellis, 2003). Poor attachment to parents is considered to be one the main causes of offending (Bowlby, 1944). In addition, young offenders have commented that their home becomes a prison as they see family and peers participate in activities without them (Payne, 2014). The perception of the home being a negative space is intensified. Research to support this has worryingly shown that EM is associated with an increased chance of violence within the home (Muncie, 1990). On the other hand, for some young offenders being confined at home between certain hours can provide them with routine and structure in their life. Gibbs & King (2003) found that those at home for prolonged periods of time engaged in more pro-social activities and took on family responsibilities. For every recommendation to the courts, Youth Offending Teams should ensure they are confident that the restriction meets the specific aims of the community sentence.

Stigma is also well documented by monitored offenders. EM technology does provide a visible, intrusive mark to the public that an individual is an offender. For young people, wearing an ankle bracelet tag on their body in public can produce shame, especially around peers and family members who have very little exposure to the criminal justice process (Payne and Gainey, 1998). Howard (2018) researched offender's experiences of EM, and acknowledged that shame and stigma resulted in many attempting to hide the tag from others.

### *7.2 Net-widening*

Originally aimed at those at risk of incarceration, there is growing evidence that EM is being used for lower-risk individuals who would have been given another community-based sanction instead (Ardley, 2005). EM is now used for offenders at many stages of the criminal justice process, and is used for adults and young people of all risk levels. This in turn raises concerns around the principle of proportionality. We must question whether

it is fair to impose the same six-month electronically monitored curfew to a high risk adult offender with a long history as to a first time, low risk young offender? With the scope of EM being continually increased in England and Wales, it is crucial these issues are reviewed. Would low risk young offenders' complete community sentences as well without the additional controls imposed by EM? Intensive surveillance of offenders may contribute to a young person's risk of offending behaviour. Requiring a young person to be home between certain times of the day can be challenging, especially their risk factors stem from the home they are requested to spend their time in. The majority of community orders with an EM element impose an overnight curfew. Whilst this is beneficial to young people, Hucklesbury (2008) encourages Case Managers to explore more creative ways of using curfews. For example during shop opening hours for shoplifters, or after school when peer pressure from criminal peers may intensify.

In addition to proportionality, the costs and benefit savings argument used to show that EM is a credible alternative to prison needs to be considered further than the figures. EM is now used for those who would not have received a custodial sentence, with a reported half of bail curfews not having the option of custody for their suspected offending behaviour (Airs et al., 2000).

### *7.3 Compliance*

The primary aim EM is to monitor compliance of a curfew and limit opportunities to commit further crimes. Nellis (2004) emphasises how unlike a custodial sentence the onus to comply with the conditions of the order are with the individual. It is hoped that monitoring and awareness of the implications of a breach can influence motivation to comply with the constraints (Hucklesby, 2008). Violations of orders include being absent from the curfew address when staff come to fit the tag and equipment, refusing to have the equipment at the curfew address, refusing to wear the tag, being absent from the curfew address,

attempting to remove, damage or tamper with the equipment, and entering any exclusion zone or leaving any inclusion zone. If a breach of the order is detected, the courts determine what action should be taken (National Audit Office, 2006). Again, it is essential that the EM restriction meets the specific aims of the community sentence, and ask the question 'what is the aim of the curfew and/or exclusion zone?'. Does the exclusion zone link directly to the individuals' risk factors for offending behaviour, and will they be supported through supervision to discuss their thoughts around this to confirm they are not committing other types of offences and ensure the behaviour continues after the length of the EM order? Will imposing a six month overnight curfew on a young person give too many opportunities to breach? In a 24-month study of ISS, 31% of individuals breached the requirements of their community order and were subsequently recalled or sentenced to custody (Moore et al., 2004). The higher levels of surveillance and 'control' could therefore function to reduce compliance, and increase the levels of reconviction.

## *8. Discussion*

EM has now been used in the criminal justice system in England and Wales for more than 25 years. EM refers to a range of technologies used to achieve surveillance of the locations and schedules of offenders under supervision in the community. The concept of electronic monitoring offenders was initially aimed at reducing the use of custody, however there is clear evidence that today in England and Wales it is used mainly to toughen community orders for lower risk offenders and also to rehabilitate high risk offenders.

There is limited research on the effects of EM on young offenders in England and Wales, with the majority of research completed in the United States on adult offenders. This is a crucial gap especially with recent figures showing 8,898 electronic monitoring orders were issued to young people (aged under 18) in 2014/2015 (Ministry of Justice, 2015). The

recent introduction of YROs with just an electronically monitored curfew as a requirement is a questionable move away from the supervision so necessary for young people entering the criminal justice system. The importance of this dates back to Schwitzgebel (1969) who noted a therapeutic relationship as a crucial element to ensure compliance. This was further reiterated by the personal experiences of adult offenders in the initial 1989 trials emphasised the reliance they had with monitoring staff who provided support and counselling throughout (Mair, Nee, Barclay, & Wickham, 1990).

Future research on EM should also be theory driven. Understanding how an intervention should work in theory will better enable researchers to review specific approaches. Referring back to the three goals of EM derived by Schwitzgebel and colleagues, theory can assist with explaining the positive and negative impacts of EM. Renzema (1992) noted that there is scope for theory to inform our practice, as EM could be used as part of a therapeutic plan in which the offender is weaned off the surveillance to assess for continued compliance. This would provide an assessment of whether the intervention can achieve longer-term offender change, whilst still under surveillance within the community. It is crucial to assess how and why EM deters criminal behaviour in the short-term, and whether EM can achieve longer-term offender change within specific offender groups (e.g., desistance from crime). The use of community based sentences can have positive results for individuals and the society as a whole, but we must invest more in research to explore the effectiveness of all the interventions used for young people who offend. With the very recent introduction of YROs with just an electronically monitored curfew as a requirement, we must look at how this intervention impacts on young people who offend.

# Chapter 3: A Systematic Review of the Impact of Interventions Involving Electronic Monitoring on Adults who Offend


***Abstract***

The use of electronic monitoring (EM) of offenders has increased during the past 30 years, and is now used in over 30 countries worldwide to manage offenders in the community. Although primarily aimed at supervising low-risk offenders, EM is now being used at diverse phases in the criminal justice system, and targeted at a wide range of offenders, of variable risk levels. The future shows that EM will continue to be used as a tool for rehabilitating offenders, and it is hoped this results in lower levels of absconding, probation violations and recidivism. The aim is to systematically review the effectiveness of electronic monitoring for offenders, and to assess the quality of the existing research in this area. Nine electronic databases were searched and hand searching was completed. An inclusion criteria was applied to the identified studies. Data was extracted from the included studies, and studies were quality assessed. The number of hits was 5847, of which 745 duplicates, 4748 irrelevant references, and 338 that did not meet the inclusion criteria and quality assessment were removed. In total, one randomised controlled trial and 15 quasi-experimental studies were included in the full review, providing 357,130 participants. Of the 16 included studies on adult offenders, only nine (56.25%) could be considered to have shown lower recidivism rates for EM offenders that were statistically significant. The limited amount of research that exists in the field of EM for offenders' reveals mixed results. Limitations of the reviewed studies are discussed, and draws attention to the need for high quality research to inform the population, technology and stage of the criminal justice process EM can be used for.



***Keywords:*** Electronic monitoring; house arrest; radio frequency; global positioning system; tagging; curfew; probation; recidivism; systematic review

# *1. Introduction*

## *1.1. Existing meta-analyses*

Despite electronic monitoring being used around the world and being used on the first offender in 1983, there is limited evidence available to determine the effectiveness of this intervention, specifically in reducing re-offending and promoting rehabilitation (House of Commons, 2006; Renzema, 2013). The effectiveness of electronic monitoring on youth and adult offenders in the criminal justice system has been predominantly evaluated by looking at whether individuals complete their orders and the impact of the curfew on reducing criminal behaviour. Renzema & Mayo-Wilson (2005) completed a systematic review of the evidence, including just three studies due to the limited research available (from Canada, America and the UK). There was some evidence that the intervention reduced criminal behaviour, but overall the intervention showed no statistically significant effect on crime. With such a low number of included studies, this review is inadequate for reliable conclusions to be drawn, and yet with such little research governments still continue to spend millions of pounds (or equivalent internationally) each year on electronic monitoring. Over a decade later, it is therefore crucial to examine whether reliable research has emerged, together with exploring the developments in the electronic monitoring technology.

## *1.2 Aims & Objectives*

This review has one objective; to determine the effect of electronic monitoring on youth and adult offenders in the criminal justice system. The effectiveness of electronic monitoring will be measured by whether individuals have completed their community order successfully (i.e. without reoffending) and the impact of the electronic monitoring on offending behaviour.

For the purpose of this review, electronic monitoring will be defined as any technology that "*allows the imposition of movement restrictions on offenders and the remote monitoring of curfew compliance*" (Whitehead, 2014). However, it is noted that electronic monitoring is mostly used alongside other treatments and order requirements, including intensive supervision (Renzema & Majo-Wilson, 2005).

## *2. Method*

PRISMA (Moher et al., 2009) guidelines were followed in conducting this systematic review. The review followed the methodology detailed in the *Cochrane Handbook for Systematic Reviews of Interventions* (Higgins and Green, 2006).

### *2.1. Search strategy: sources of literature*

The lead author attempted to obtain all research, published and unpublished, concerning the effect of electronic monitoring on offending behaviour. Search strategies were as follows:

The following electronic databases and gateways were comprehensively searched on 18 August 2016 for relevant research studies

- OVID PsycINFO
- OVID Medline
- OVID Embase
- PROQUEST National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS) Abstracts
- Applied Social Services Index and Abstracts (ASSIA)
- International Bibliography of the Social Services

- ISI Web of Knowledge
- Cochrane Library
- Campbell Collaboration Library

Grey literature was also searched, including

- Home Office Research and Statistics website
- Google Scholar
- Google Books

Field experts, including representatives from the Youth Justice Board and the Ministry of Justice were contacted with regard to their knowledge of any further studies meeting the inclusion criteria. Four field experts were contacted, of which two replied.

The reference lists of any reviews or meta-analyses were hand searched to find relevant studies, and these were subsequently included if they met the inclusion criteria.

No limitations were made on the language of publication.

### *2.2. Search strategy: search terms*

The following search terms were used and modified where appropriate to meet the searching requirements of each database. Specific search syntax for each database may be obtained on request.

Electronic* monitor* OR monitor* electronic* OR EM OR electronic tag* OR tag* OR satellite monitor* OR GPS OR Global Positioning System OR radio OR voice

recognition OR intensive surveillance OR house arrest OR electronic supervision OR curfew OR home detention OR tether*

AND

Crim* OR offend* OR juvenile* OR delinquent OR youth OR adolescen* OR arrest OR rearrest OR recidivism OR reoffen* OR criminality OR criminal behaviour OR reconvict* OR breach* OR recall*

### *2.3. Study selection*

Studies that meet the inclusion criteria (Box 1) were selected for further quality assessment. The authors of the studies were contacted wherever clarifications were needed.

**Box 1:** Definitions of inclusion and exclusion criteria

**Population**: Juvenile and adult offenders (over the age of 10 years), both male and female. From any country, and from offenders who have committed any type or number of criminal offences

**Intervention:** Electronic monitoring as a criminal justice intervention

**Comparator:** No electronic monitoring intervention (control group)

**Outcome:** Measured by whether individuals have completed their order and/or some measure of recidivism

**Study type:** Case control, cohort, or randomised controlled trial

**Language**: No restriction

**Date of publication:** 1980 onwards

**Exclusion:** Opinion papers, editorials, reviews etc

This review investigates the effectiveness of electronic monitoring for youth and adult offenders. Both male and female offenders were included as this intervention is available irrespective of gender. In England and Wales the age of criminal responsibility is 10 years of age, one of the lowest ages of criminal responsibility in the world (Wolff & McCall Smith, 2001). Therefore, research was accepted from participant groups aged 10 and over. Research was acknowledged with participants from/within any country, and offenders who have committed any type or number of criminal offences was included.

The effectiveness of electronic monitoring was measured by whether individuals have complied with their order (i.e. completed the period of supervision without reoffending). Studies were included if they contained some measure of success (or failure) of the period of electronic monitoring. This could be measured by successful completion without breaching, without reoffending or other measure of success (or failure). It was recognised that some studies would measure these outcomes during the curfew order or for a period following the curfew order. This was acknowledged separately in the review.

Studies must have had provided a clear description of the electronic monitoring tool used, and a clear definition of the outcome measured. To be considered, a study must have included one or more appropriate comparison group that did not include electronic monitoring as part of the intervention.

### *2.4. Quality assessment*

The first author assessed the quality of all included studies, and a second reviewer independently assessed the quality of 20% of the studies in order to check inter-

rater reliability. Intra-class Correlation coefficient (ICC, single measure) will be calculated in SPSS to determine inter-rater reliability. Any discrepancies in decisions between the 2 reviewers will be discussed. If necessary a third reviewer will be enlisted to provide their thoughts on the paper in question, and the majority decision will be adopted.

Quality assessment of the studies was undertaken with pre-defined criteria (Appendix 2-5), which was based on checklists from the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP, 2013). Studies were scored in relation to each question on the quality assessment checklist. Scores were then calculated to find an overall quality rating, with greater scores indicating higher quality studies.

### *2.5. Data extraction*

Data extraction was conducted on included studies using a pre-defined pro-forma, prior to data synthesis. Please see Appendix 6.

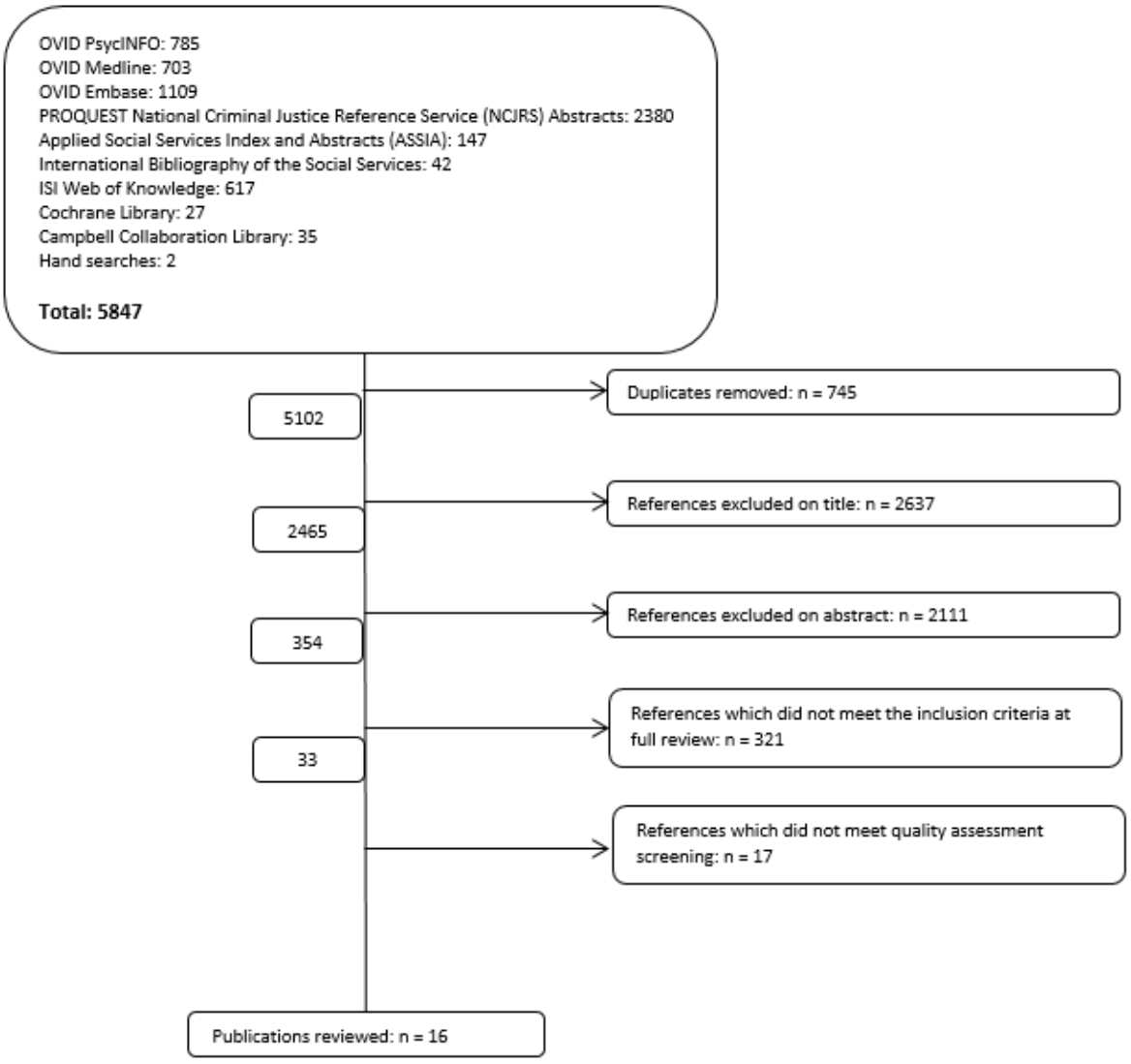
## 3. Results

### *3.1. Description of studies*

The full search yielded 5847 publications. 745 duplicated were removed and an additional 4748 irrelevant hits were excluded. 354 potential studies remained to be considered for inclusion, of which 321 were excluded for not meeting the inclusion criteria. Studies were excluded due to being an unsuitable study type, such as qualitative interview or case study; and those that did not include an appropriate comparison group. The search therefore results in 33 references included for quality

assessment screening. 16 references were excluded for not meeting the quality assessment screening (including no clear comparison group and no clear outcome measure). One publication was excluded because it was a re-analysis of a full sample that had already been included in an earlier study. Therefore, 16 progressed to full quality assessment and data extraction (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Search strategy and study selection



### *3.2. Characteristics of included studies*

The three studies included in Renzema & Mayo-Wilson (2005) systematic review were also included in this review (Bonta, Wallace-Capretta, & Rooney, 2000; Finn & Muirhead-Steves, 2002; Sugg, Moore, & Howard, 2001). As they excluded low-risk offenders and juveniles, two included studies may not have been included in the Renzema & Mayo-Wilson (2005) review (Courtright, Berg & Mutchnick, 2000; Glaser & Watts, 1992). The remaining 11 studies were published after this previous review.

Participants: The number of participants considered within this review of sixteen studies is 357,130 with all the studies treated as separate studies. Of these, 4.18% (n = 14937) received the intervention under investigation and 95.82% (n = 342197) did not. The countries where the offenders were sampled from were USA (10), Argentina (1), Canada (1), Israel (1), Sweden (1), Switzerland (1) and UK (1).

Although the inclusion criteria and search strategy they focused on both young and adult offenders (over the age of 10), all the studies focused on adult offenders with a combined mean of 33 years. Bales, Mann, Blomberg, Gaes, Barrick, Dhungana & McManus (2010) did, however report that their age range was 13-88, with a mean of 32.437 years. Three studies had male only samples, and for the remaining 13 studies there were predominately male samples (78.8-99% males).

Methods: The studies considered in this review were quasi-experimental, aside from one study which used a randomised control trial (RCT) approach (Killias, Gillieron, Kissling & Villettaz, 2010). Due to an expansive population inclusion criterion, the

studies involve a great diversity of offenders, from non-violent drug offenders and convicted drunk drivers to high-risk sex and gang offenders.

Intervention: Several types of technologies are all considered under the term of 'electronic monitoring', and the included studies incorporate these types. Across the studies, 10 focused solely on the use of RF monitoring (Bonta et al., 2000; Courtright et al., 2000; DiTella & Schargrodky, 2013; Finn & Muirhead-Steves, 2002; Glaser & Watts, 1992; Killias et al., 2010; Marklund & Holmberg, 2009; Roy & Barton, 2006; Shoham, Yehosha-Stern & Efodi, 2015; and Sugg et al., 2001). Three studies focused exclusively on GPS monitoring (Gies, Gainey, Cohen, Healy, Duplantier, Yeide, Bekelman, Bobnis & Hopps, 2012; Gies, Gainey, Cohen, Healy, Duplantier, Yeide, Bekelman & Bobnis, 2013; Turner, Chamberlain, Jannetta & Hess, 2015). The remaining three studies considered the effects of both RF and GPS monitoring (Bales et al., 2010; Erez, Ibarra, Bales & Gur, 2012; Padgett, Bales & Blomberg, 2006).

Table 1: Studies included in systematic review

| Authors, study design and location | Sample size | Intervention group | Control group | Follow-up period | Outcome measurement | Comments | Findings | Quality score |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Bales, Mann, Blomberg, Gaes, Barrick, Dhungana & McManus (2010)**<br><br>Quasi-experimental (USA) | Total = 272025; EM = 1.9% (5034), non-EM = 98.1% (266991). | Medium- and high-risk offenders on EM (GPS or RF) | Medium- and high-risk offenders supervised without EM | N/A – length of supervision only | Absconding, revocation for technical violation, revocation for misdemeanour or felony arrests. | • Study used 122 control variables to achieve equivalency between control and treatment group. Propensity score matching (PSM) method used.<br>• Intervention group had on average 322 minutes of supervision, whilst control group had 166 hours. | • EM had a 31% lower failure rate than comparable offenders not on EM.<br>• Those monitored with GPS had a 6% lower failure rate than those on RF monitoring. | 37 |
| **Bonta, Wallace-Capretta, & Rooney (2000)**<br><br>Quasi-experimental (Canada) | Total = 171; EM = 31.6% (54), Probation supervision = 9.9% (17); no supervision = 58.5% (100) | Moderate-risk (non-violent or non-sexual) offenders under intensive EM receiving treatment;<br><br>and those under routine probation receiving treatment | Those released from prison receiving no treatment | 1 year of completion of treatment or release from prison | Recidivism (reconviction) | • Four or more control variables.<br>• Does not specify how high the level of the reoffending risk was in either the group with a "moderately high risk" or the low-risk group. | • Recidivism rates were 31.5% for the EM offenders and 31% for the control group.<br>• Low- and high-risk groups were compared for both the treated offenders and the control inmates. Low-risk offenders who received treatment demonstrated higher recidivism rates (32.3% vs. 14.5%), whereas high-risk treated offenders showed decreases in recidivism (31.6% vs. 51.1%).<br>• Did not have direct effects on recidivism, but effects were found on treatment | 34 |

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| | | | | | | | completion and those that completed treatment had improved outcomes. | |
| **Courtright, Berg & Mutchnick (2000)**<br><br>Quasi-experimental (USA) | Total = 107; EM = 46.7% (50); non-EM = 53.3% (57). | Driving under influence (DUI) offenders under house arrest with EM | DUI offenders receiving jail sentences | N/A – length of supervision only (10 months to 2 years) | Recidivism (rearrest & program revocations) | • Limited control variables used - age, gender, and previous convictions, years of education, and mandated treatment component. Differences existed between the groups for criminal history.<br>• Average 1000 jail days, but used a cut-off procedure to give similar days exposed – mean days were 445. Majority of offenders spent 28 days on EM, with other days on general supervision.<br>• Also as part of EM, they undergo drug/alcohol treatment and/or counselling. EM group receives high level of supervision. | • Found no difference between the use of jail and EM for drunk drivers. They were as likely to get rearrested or have their probation revoked. EM can be an effective alternative to jail, and should be used as an alternative to jail for DUI offenders.<br>• Employment (employed offenders had higher percentages of success than unemployed offenders), marital status (married offenders were more successful than unmarried offenders), and prior offense records (offenders with no prior offense records had higher percentages of success than those with prior records) were significantly related to successful exit. | 24 |
| **DiTella & Schargrodky (2013)**<br><br>Quasi-experimental (Argentina) | Total = 1526; EM = 25.3% (386); non-EM = 74.7% (1140) | Pre-trial offenders on EM | Pre-trial offenders detained in prison | Average of 2.85 years. | Recidivism (rearrest) & absconding | • Study used control variables – age, imprisonment date, imprisonment length, same type of crime, similar judicial status, and previous episodes of imprisonment.<br>• Note that such a striking effect may well be specific to Argentina: in this country, prison conditions are particularly inhumane, with large | • They conclude that the use of EM as a substitute for incarceration significantly lowers rates of recidivism. 22% of the control participants recidivated, while 13% of EM did.<br>• Increasing the fraction of time spent under EM (as opposed to ordinary imprisonment) reduces recidivism. | 33 |

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| | | | | | | overcrowding and little hope for rehabilitation. | | |
| **Erez, Ibarra, Bales & Gur (2012)**<br><br>Quasi-experimental (USA) | Total = 3785; GPS EM = 35.6% (1347); RF = 16.7% (632); non-EM = 47.7% (1806) | GPS based monitoring for domestic violence/intimate partner violence offenders | Non-GPS monitored defendants (monitored through RF EM, in jail, or supervised in community without EM | 1 year | Recidivism (rearrest) | • Study used control factors that were 'known to influence the outcomes' including the number of prior arrests, defendant's race and age, and severity of the current offense.<br>• The outcome measure may be problematic – likely to miss incidents in which offenders perpetrate abuse but the offending behaviour is not reported or detected. A common problem in DV cases. | • GPS to be superior to RF house arrest for pre-trial or convicted individuals accused of domestic violence.<br>• Those that were enrolled in GPS monitoring had fewer violations compared to those placed in traditional RF EM.<br><br>• Defendants on GPS had similar conviction rates to those who remained in jail during the pre-trial period. | 34 |
| **Finn & Muirhead-Steves (2002)**<br><br>Quasi-experimental (USA) | Total = 286; EM = 44.8% (128), non-EM = 55.2% (158). | Violent male offenders, including sexual offenders placed on EM on their release from prison | High-risk, violent male offenders released from prison to parole supervision without EM | Three time periods – 150 days, one year, three years. | Recidivism (return to prison) | • Study used control variables to achieve equivalency between control and treatment group - Substance abuse, EM, education, total success score (prior record, drug use, current offense, employment, education), EM # crime type interactions.<br>• The difference seen with sex offenders may also be attributed to the fact that the control group had not been subject to the same level of intense treatment during the implementation of their sentence. In other words, the experimental group had had the opportunity to take part in more wide- | • EM has a modest impact for its duration, but its effect is transient; after EM ends, monitored offenders 'catch up' to those who did not experience it. Within three years of release, EM did not statistically significantly reduce the likelihood of return to prison - 23.4% of the EM group (n = 128) and 23.4% of an historical comparison group (n = 158) were returned to prison. When examining subgroups of violent offenders in their study, EM did seem to reduce the recidivism rate of sex offenders – 29.6% of the 44 control participants and 5.7% of the 35 EM participants returned to prison. | 34 |

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| | | | | | | ranging treatment than the control group had.<br>• It was not made clear what the programme included in addition to the EM component. | | |
| **Gies, Gainey, Cohen, Healy, Duplantier, Yeide, Bekelman, Bobnis & Hopps (2012)**<br><br>Quasi-experimental (USA) | Total = 516; GPS EM = 50% (258); non-EM = 50% (258). | High-risk sex offenders released on parole on GPS EM | High-risk sex offenders released on parole without GPS EM | 1 year | Compliance (parole violations) and recidivism (rearrest, reconviction, and return to prison) | • Matched comparison groups using propensity matching methods. | • In terms of compliance, the multivariate model shows that the hazard ratio of a sex related violation is nearly three times as great for the subjects who received traditional parole supervision as for the subjects who received the GPS supervision.<br>• In terms of recidivism, compared with the subjects who received the GPS monitoring supervision, the hazard ratio for any arrest was more than twice as high among the subjects who received traditional parole supervision.<br>• GPS was found to be significantly better in reducing recidivism for 1 year than traditional parole supervision.<br>• 5.04% of EM group, and 11.63% of control group convicted for new offence | 39 |
| **Gies, Gainey, Cohen, Healy, Duplantier, Yeide, Bekelman & Bobnis (2013)** | Total = 784; GPS EM = 50% (392); non-EM = 50% (392) | High-risk gang offenders released on parole on GPS EM | High-risk gang offenders released on parole without GPS EM. | 2 years | Compliance (parole violations) and recidivism (rearrests) | • Matched comparison groups using propensity matching methods | • GPS EM group were significantly less likely to be rearrested than the control group - 46.7% compared with 56.1%.<br>• 79.3% of the GPS group were reincarcerated during the 2 years, compared with 69.4%. | 39 |

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| Quasi-experimental (USA) | | | | | | | • In terms of nontechnical parole violations, more than half of both conditions experienced such an event in their 2 years' post-release to parole, with 53.9% for the GPS group and 54.9% for the control group. | |
| **Glaser & Watts (1992)**<br><br>Quasi-experimental<br><br>(USA) | Total = 326; EM = 38.7% (126); non-EM = 61.3% (200) | Non-violent drug offenders on probation with house arrest (EM) | Non-violent drug offenders on probation without EM | N/A – length of supervision only (first six months) | Compliance (parole violations) and recidivism (rearrests) | • 'Similar attributes' of age, gender, ethnicity, age at sentencing, number of prior arrests and convictions. | • Those with EM exhibited significantly less probation revocations and rearrests than those on traditional probation. 43% of the control group and 34% of the treatment group had their probation revoked for serious rule violation.<br>• 5% of EM group arrested for a new offence, whilst 13% of control group were. | 33 |
| **Killias, Gillieron, Kissling & Villettaz (2010)**<br><br>Randomised control trial (Switzerland) | Total = 232; EM = 49.6% (115); non-EM = 50.4% (117) | Minor property or drug offenders randomly assigned to home curfew with RF monitoring | Minor property or drug offenders randomly assigned to community service | 3 years | Reconviction for a new offense, mean number of new offenses | • Random assignment; matched for age, gender, nationality, and marital status | • Offenders in home-confinement re-offended less and did better, in economic and social respects, than those who experienced community service. 23% had reconvictions in the EM group, whilst 31% in the control group. | 35 |
| **Marklund & Holmberg (2009**) | Total = 520; early released on EM = 50% (260), normal term | The offenders were sentenced to a minimum of two years in prison, and were conditionally released to serve the final parts of their | Offenders released at the end of their regular terms | 3 years | Reoffending – new conviction, new prison sentence, number of new convictions, number of offences in new | • Decline in rates of recidivism among those who participated in EM.<br>• The question of whether the results truly stem from the fact of EM, or from | • 26% of the EM offenders were convicted of another crime in the three years after their sentence was completed. The corresponding proportion within the | 39 |

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| Quasi-experimental<br><br>(Sweden) | prison = 50% (260) | sentences in house arrest. They were electronically monitored, with the obligation to work or study | | | convictions, and length of time to new conviction. | other factors that the offenders were exposed to during supervision.<br>• Generalizability is somewhat limited given the umbrella of Sweden's employment, housing, social and medical services available to both the EM and control groups. | control group was 38%. The rate of serious criminal offences in the EM group was 14%, and 26% in the control group. These results may suggest a significant impact of EM on the prevention of recidivism, both during the monitoring period, and after the end of supervision.<br>• EM appeared to have its greatest impact on mid-range offenders. Older offenders responded better than younger offenders. | |
| **Padgett, Bales & Blomberg (2006)**<br><br>Quasi-experimental (USA) | Total = 75661; EM = 7.3% (5523; 3253 RF, 2270 GPS); non-EM = 92.7 % (70138) | Offenders placed on home confinement at same time they received EM (RF or GPS) | Offenders placed on home confinement between 1998 and 2002 but not put on EM | 2 years | Revocation for a technical violation; revocation for a new offence; absconding. | • Study used 62 control variables to achieve equivalency between control and treatment group.<br>• EM effects only measured while offenders were on EM and not long-term post-EM outcomes. | • Offenders monitored with either RF or GPS had significantly lower rates of revocations for technical violations or new crimes as well as lower absconding rates.<br>• EM had a lesser impact on sex offenders than on other offender groups. | 31 |
| **Roy & Barton (2006)**<br><br>Quasi-experimental<br><br>(USA) | Total = 169; EM = 69.8% (118); non-EM = 30.1% (51). | Convicted drunk drivers who were sentenced to EM alongside community supervision | Convicted drunk drivers who sentenced day reporting centres (DRC) program | N/A – length of supervision only | 'Exit status' (re-conviction and re-incarceration) | • Both community based interventions<br>• Control variables used include age, race, sex, marital status, offence class, sentence type, sentence length, and prior offences.<br>• No mean length of sentence for either group – the range in DRC was 14 to 475 days, while in EM the range was 40 to 365 days. | • 51% of the DRC and 76% of the EM participants successfully exit the program<br>• Older offenders (those over 35) and those convicted of a felony were more likely to successfully complete the program than younger offenders and those convicted of a misdemeanour.<br>• The majority of offenders in both DRC | 27 |

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| | | | | | | | and EM who had previous contact with the system were more likely to fail (DRC=67 percent; EM=53 percent) than those offenders who had no prior contact (DRC=46 percent; EM=19 percent). | |
| **Shoham, Yehosha-Stern & Efodi (2015**)<br><br>Quasi-experimental (Israel) | Total = 315; EM = 49.2% (155); non-EM = 50.8% (160) | Offenders released on licence after two thirds of their sentence to serve the rest of it in the EM programme, which includes the expectation of 'constant employment' and home detention curfews.<br><br>Restrictions determine who can participate in this EM programme, excluding those convicted of sexual crimes, drug dealing, and domestic violence. | Offenders who served the full-term of their incarceration | 4 years | Recidivism (re-arrest and re-incarceration) | • No control variables used. Control group were prisoners who were unsuitable for early release due to 'high level of risk for recidivism'. However, the EM group have a more severe criminal record (more incarcerations, duration of last incarceration was longer) than that of the control group.<br>• The extent to which this can be associated with or attributed to EM is less clear, because the programme also involves supervision and positive supports and factors (e.g., employment) associated with desistance from crime.<br>• EM group experienced this supervision for at least six months. | • During their participation, the recidivism rates of the EM group were low – at around 10%. However, the research also found that re-arrest and re-incarceration rates remained low over time for the EM group, offering a clear point of difference with that of the control group. By the end of a four-year follow-up period, 42% of released prisoners among the control group were re-incarcerated, compared to 15% who had experienced EM.<br>• The results were different for the two groups in terms of rates of re-arrest over time, with 62% of the EM group avoiding re-arrest by the end of the fourth year (after the completion of the EM programme), compared to 49% of the control group avoiding re-arrest in the same period of time. | 24 |

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| **Sugg, Moore, & Howard (2001)**<br><br>Quasi-experimental<br><br>(UK) | Total = 522; EM = 50% (261); non-EM = 50% (261) | Low-, medium- and high- risk offenders on EM | Low-, medium- and high- risk offenders sentenced to measures in the community, without surveillance | 2 years | Reconvictions | • Matched comparison group of offenders sentenced to combination and community service orders in the three pilot areas prior to EM being introduced. | • The rate of crime did not differ between the two groups. Within two years of being curfewed and subjected to EM, 72.8% of the offenders in the study had been reconvicted, and 74% for the control group. | 29 |
| **Turner, Chamberlain, Jannetta & Hess (2015)**<br><br>Quasi-experimental (USA) | Total = 185; GPS EM = 50.8% (94); non-EM = 49.2% (91) | High-risk sex offenders on GPS EM | High-risk sex offenders on small specialised probation caseloads, without EM | 1 year | Compliance (technical violations) and recidivism (reconvictions and returns to custody) | • Matched background characteristics of sex, ethnicity, marital status, education, drug use, age at imprisonment, living arrangements, current employment, and Static-99 risk category. | • No significant differences were found in terms of overall recidivism rates, returns to custody, and violations in general, however GPS monitored offenders were less likely to fail to register and slightly less likely to abscond.<br>• 35.2% of control group were guilty of a criminal violation, and 19.1% for EM group. | 35 |

The included studies emphasise the application of EM at diverse stages in the criminal justice process. DiTella & Schargrodky (2013) show the use of EM for pre-trial as a condition of bail, whilst Roy & Barton (2006) highlight its use as a probation sanction alongside day-reporting programmes. It also is used as an alternative to incarceration, for example as seen in Courtright et al. (2000) study. Bonta et al. (2000) study focuses on using EM after incarceration in an attempt to reintegrate parolees.

In addition to the range of technology and range of applications for EM in the criminal justice process, EM programmes can also incorporate a package of other interventions and range of supervision time and the included studies demonstrate this. Courtright et al. (2000) show this, as their EM group were also expected to undergo drug/alcohol treatment and/or counselling, whilst Marklund & Holmberg's (2009) EM participants had an obligation to work or study. This was in addition to increased supervision.

Outcomes: The studies provide an insight to both the short-term and long-term compliance of the intervention. The most prevalent definitions of long-term outcome considered in the included studies was recidivism rates. Recidivism encompasses a variety of dimensions, and was measured by three indexes specifically in the studies: re-arrest, re-conviction and re-incarceration. Short-term compliance was also measured in this way during the offender's period of monitoring. The extent of non-compliance during the period of monitoring was also measured by some of the studies by recording technical violations, and absconding, or escape from supervision, in which the whereabouts of the offender are unknown and unmonitored. Three studies analysed this as an outcome measure.

Of the included studies, 12 gave follow-up information from a year or more of completion of the EM programme. This allows an insight into how EM affects recidivism after the EM period has concluded.

All of the included studies had unique methodologies. While comparisons are informative, detailed notes on the individual studies can be seen in Table 1.

### *3.3. Quality of included studies*

The studies considered in this review were quasi-experimental, aside from one study which used a RCT approach. Quasi-experimental designs identify a comparison group that is as similar as possible to the treatment group in terms of baseline (pre-intervention) characteristics. A RCT design method is rarely possible due to legal issues regarding the denial of services that are available and may be necessary for offenders.

All 16 studies utilised a large number of participants (n > 100), with half of the studies having over 500 participants. The majority of the studies described the type of EM technology used and the outcome measure clearly. The quality scores of the studies are listed in Table 1, with a higher score showing better quality. All studies can achieve a maximum score of 46.

### *3.4. Descriptive data synthesis*

A meta-analysis was considered for this review. However, both clinical heterogeneity (due to the variability in the participants, interventions and outcomes

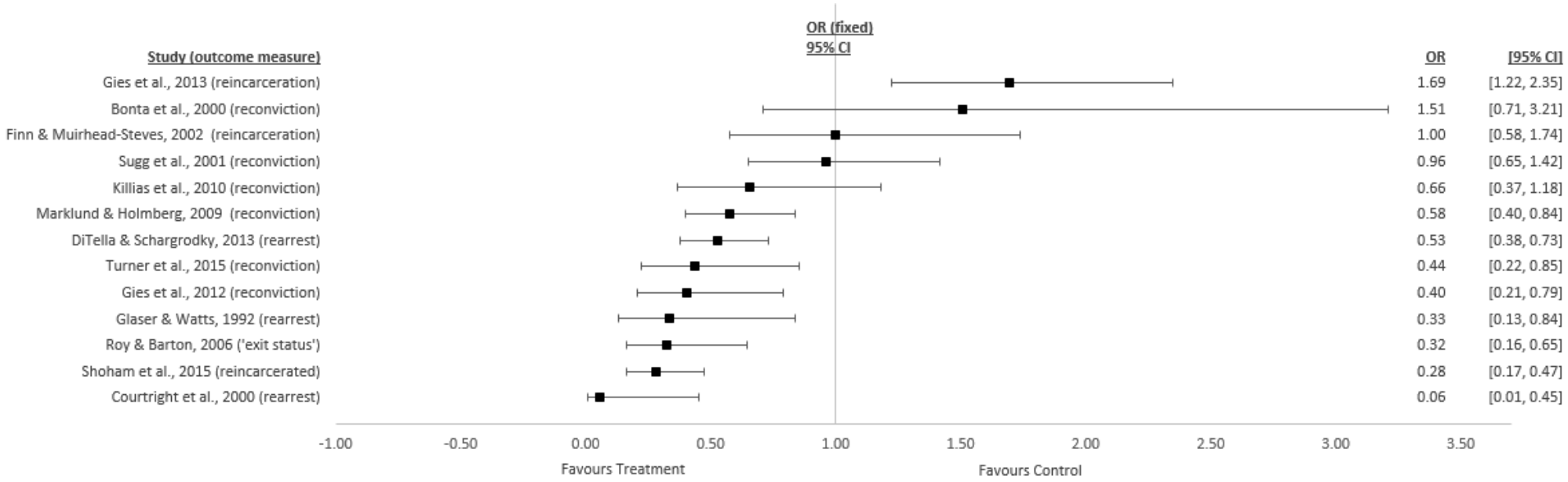
studied) and methodological heterogeneity (due to variability in study design) appears to be high, and this would not be appropriate. An effect estimate would not be able to be interpreted in any specific context.

For each individual study where raw data was presented, the odds ratio (OR) was calculated to provide a relative measure of effect that allows the comparison of the intervention group relative to the control group. Please see Table 2 for a visual representation of the study outcomes for 13 studies. The remaining three authors were contacted to provide the necessary information, to which they responded stating they no longer has access to the required data. The black squares on the forest plot represent the odd ratios of the individual studies, and the horizontal lines their 95% confidence intervals (CI). An odds ratio of less than 1 shows there is a decreased likelihood of the stated outcome (recidivism) being achieved in the intervention group (the intervention group had a lower recidivism than the control group), where an odds ratio greater than 1 indicates an increased likelihood (the control group had lower recidivism than the intervention group). A ratio of 1 indicated no difference – the outcome is just as likely to occur in the intervention group as it is in the control group.

For EM to be effective as a way of supervising offenders in the community, it would be expected that the studies would have an odds ratio of less than 1. The odds ratios (of the 13 studies in Table 2) were found to range from 0.06-1.65 overall, however those in the range of 0.66-1.69 did not reach significance. For the significant relationships, the odds of people placed on EM reoffending are 42-94% less than comparable people not placed on EM. For the remaining three studies, Bales et al. (2010) did not report a statistically significant hazard ratio for revocation

for misdemeanour or felony arrests (0.687); Erez et al. (2012) reported a not statistically significant odds ratio of 1.236 for rearrest; and Padgett et al. 2006 reported a significant hazard ratio of 0.053 for revocation for new offence.

Table 2: OR and CI for thirteen included studies



## *4. Discussion*

The main aim of this systematic review were to examine the effectiveness of EM technology in relation to both juvenile and adult offenders, and to assess the quality of the research conducted.

The limited amount of research revealed mixed results. Of the 16 included studies, only nine (56.25%) could be considered to have shown lower recidivism rates for EM offenders that were statistically significant. A further two studies showed some positive outcomes from EM (Bales et al., 2010; Killias et al., 2010). Such results are expected to be controversial, specifically with how widely adopted the use of this technology is in the criminal justice systems of the UK, United States and across a number of European countries.

Evaluating the impact of EM on recidivism rates involves extensive challenges. This systematic review had a broad search strategy, and as such showcased these challenges. The diverse nature of the populations used, the stages in the criminal justice system process and the technology provided shows how EM is no longer being used solely as a means of monitoring non-violent offenders in the community. Interestingly, of the five studies that showed EM to have little to negative impact (Bonta et al., 2000; Erez et al., 2012; Finn & Muirhead-Steves, 2002; Gies et al., 2013; Sugg et al., 2001) four included 'high-risk' offenders of which EM was never initially intended for.

### *4.1 Limitations of the reviewed studies*

As shown in Table 1, the individual studies each had unique methodologies. Several of the studies were impeded by various methodological shortfalls. A central concern in a quasi-experiment is selection bias. Selection bias exists can occur in any study where participants are not randomly assigned to treatment groups and pre-existing differences may exist that cause systematic differences between the intervention and control group prior to assignment (Stuart & Rubin, 2007). Propensity score matching (PSM) was used by only three of the studies as one way to manage this (Bales et al. 2010; Gies et al. 2012; and Gies et al. 2013). This method predicts the likelihood an individual will participate in an intervention given their observable characteristics, and these are then matched to similar comparison control participants. Bales et al., (2010) used 122 control variables to match the treatment group with a similar group of control participants using the PSM method. The majority of the studies that did not use PSM, used a retrospective comparison group matching archived data on offenders who had not experienced EM to those who had. Bonta et al., (2000) is an example of this, where data was sought for offenders who "fit the profile of the selection criteria for EM" but the intervention was not available in the region at the time (p. 318). It is uncertain when using archived data whether outcome differences between the intervention and control groups are due to changes in sentencing or prosecution measures, or due to the criminal justice system in the dissimilar region and time where the data was sought.

Performance bias may also affect the conclusions we can draw about EM. EM is rarely used as a stand-alone intervention as it is frequently used as component in intensive supervision and treatment programmes (Nellis et al., 2013). Dissimilarities exist between the included studies in terms of the exposure to additional treatment or supervision for those on EM, and this may result in outcome differences seen between the participant groups. It is important to keep this in mind when considering the outcome differences as this may not be the result solely of the EM intervention. For example, in addition to EM, participants in the intervention groups were expected to undergo drug/alcohol treatment and had a higher level of supervision contact (Courtright et al., 2000), whilst some had the added requirement to maintain employment or study (Marklund & Holmberg, 2009; Shoham et al., 2015). This can make it difficult when determining causality.

Having originated in the USA, 62.5% of the studies were conducted here despite the fact it is a penal measure in over 30 countries worldwide. The extent to which the outcomes of the individual studies would be replicable in different jurisdictions is unclear. This external validity is further impeded by the diverse sub-types of offenders explored in the included studies. Although a diverse sub-type of offenders, both in risk level and offence type, one main concern is the lack of research on the impact of EM on young offenders. Nearly nine thousand EM orders were issues to young people in 2014/2015 (Ministry of Justice, 2015), and this is only set to increase with the recent introduction of curfew-only Youth Rehabilitation Orders. It is crucial to understand the effect EM has on young offender criminal

behaviour during and after the monitored period, and to also review the impact EM has aside from criminal behaviour (for example on family relationships, school attendance, peer pressure).

Finally, as all of the studies included in the review were published, it is worth noting the potential impact of the level of publication bias in the review. Although this review did not place restrictions on the publication status of studies, it has been recognised that publications are more likely if the intervention effects are positive and statistically significant (Hopewell, Loudon, Clarke, Oxman, & Dickersin, 2009).

### *4.2 Conclusions and recommendations*

The limited amount of research that exists in the field of electronic monitoring for offenders reveals conflicting results. Of the 16 included studies, only 9 showed significantly lower recidivism rates for EM offenders.

This review has also highlighted the need for high quality research in this area. With only 16 studies that were able to be included in what could be considered a comprehensive review of the EM research, it is clear we still have very few clues as to its impact. Further studies of better quality are needed. EM is now being used for high-risk offenders, outside of the original aims of the intervention. It is clear from this review that very little is known about the effects of this especially when such high consequences on public safety exist. Can we safely rehabilitate these offenders in the community? Furthermore, this review displays the need for research on how various

groups experience electronic monitoring, specifically woman and young people.

The rehabilitative capabilities of EM are acknowledged by the included studies. Bonta et al. (2000) notes that when coupled with a treatment programme including supervision, EM can improve compliance outcomes. The extent to which EM benefits the criminal justice system, appears largely dependent to how it is used by the courts. This systematic review highlights the contribution of both surveillance (using EM) and supervision, and the range of ways EM can be incorporated into a package of other interventions. EM can support the supervision and rehabilitation of offenders in the community (Bales et al., 2010; Bonta et al., 2000; Courtright et al, 2000; Erez et al, 2012; Gies et al., 2012; Shoham et al, 2015).

Although this is one of the most critical systematic reviews focusing on the effect of EM for offenders, it is subject to limitations. Compared to the Renzema & Mayo-Wilson (2005) review, the scope of search strategy was broad with the aim of providing a comprehensive summary of the evidence. However, this does bring some disadvantages in that a wide range of participants, interventions and outcomes are explored and adds caution in interpreting the combined results. What is however clear from having this scope, is that it is clear to the reader that after 30 years of EM, very few good quality studies exist and very few published studies show lower recidivism rates for those on EM.

EM, as an intervention for managing offenders in the community and reducing offending, is challenged by the limited data available. Having an electronic monitoring tag attached to an individual's ankle does ensure compliance, nor does it prohibit them from further offending. Nonetheless, the studies where a difference between the control and intervention group is when EM is used alongside support through supervision and other programme elements. It is crucial that practitioners working with the young person complete risk assessments prior to suggesting EM within a package of other interventions, to ensure that it will be effective in ensuring compliance and reducing reoffending for the individual.

## Chapter 4: Assessing the impact of an intervention involving EM on young people who offend – Intensive Supervision and Surveillance

Having considered the role of electronic monitoring in the justice system, it is crucial to explore how it is used within a package of other interventions to reduce reoffending and ensure compliance when being managed in the community. The previous two chapters have explored the literature and practical applications of EM. Community orders incorporating EM have shown to reduce reoffending, however it is apparent that EM is rarely used as a standalone intervention. The obligations that can be attached to community sanctions are quite broad in scope and number, and include rehabilitative obligations (e.g. to attend education or work), measures of control and surveillance (e.g. curfews, electronic monitoring) and reparative requirements (e.g. victim-offender reparation, compensation).

The following two chapters will describe how EM is used to manage young people who offend. The Intensive Supervision and Surveillance (ISS) programme was selected for exploration as it is the most intensive, non-custodial intervention available for persistent and serious young offenders. Chapter 5 will outline a case study of a young male offender who had to adhere to a 12 hour RF EM curfew alongside a package of intense supervision. Chapter 6 will present a research study describing the characteristics of those referred to ISS and detail the findings of the impact on reconviction and reoffending.

When it started, supervision in the community was most often intended to replace or shorten the prison experience. Today, supervision is configured as a measure

or sanction before imprisonment, instead of imprisonment, and as an interlude during imprisonment and after imprisonment (Moore et al., 2004). In April 2001, the Youth Justice Board for England and Wales (YJB) launched the Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme (ISSP) with an investment of £45m across a three-year period. The principle aim was to reduce the rate and seriousness of reoffending among those on the programme. The objective by the YJB in 2001 was to reduce the rate by 5% by tackling the underlying problems of young people (YJB, 2013). The success of these pilot studies, resulted in the Criminal Justice and Immigration Act 2008 putting ISSP on a statutory footing as one of a range of interventions that could be attached to a Youth Rehabilitation Order. To reflect this change, ISSP was renamed ISS. ISS programmes remain the most rigorous, non-custodial intervention available for persistent and serious young offenders in England and Wales. There are four main routes onto ISS - as a condition of bail supervision and support, as part of a community penalty (attached to a Youth Rehabilitation Order or Supervision Order), as a condition of community supervision in the second half of a Detention and Training Order (DTO).

The YJB have specified that young people are to report for up to 25 hours of activities each week during the length of the programme, and that this should include education and training, restorative justice, changing offending behaviour sessions, interpersonal skills work, and family support. Further sessions should be offered according to the specific needs of each individual, but frequently include substance misuse work and counselling (YJB, 2013). As the name suggests, at least one of the four forms of surveillance also track young people – electronic

tagging, voice verification, tracking by staff, or intelligence-led policing. The YJB have acknowledged the worth of effective joint working of a wide range of agencies to ensure the effectiveness of the programme. These agencies include the police, mental health services, accommodation providers, education and training providers, drug treatment and information services, and voluntary sector providers. The availability and access to these resources and services will vary substantially depending on location and region.

ISS programmes were not initially launched as an alternative to custody, but do provide the courts with an alternative option to those persistently offending and/or have committed a serious offence. Theoretically, it is assumed that offenders on the programme should become deterred from offending because they are under surveillance, and they are provided with a package of constructive activities that should minimise and eliminate the opportunity to offend.

Some concerns have been raised with the effectiveness of the programme as a community order. In 2004, early experience in Swansea and Newcastle found that 60 per cent of participants failed to complete the sentence and in 10/16 cases offenders had been subject to breach proceedings (National Audit Office, 2006). Positive outcomes were seen in an evaluation by Gray et al., (2005) which showed a decrease of offending by 40% over one year and by 39% in two years. A reduction of 13% was also seen with the seriousness of reoffending. Although this figure is impressive, it is questioned when these figures are compared to those on

a Detention Training Order without ISS as these individuals committed significantly fewer offences than this.

There are several apprehensions acknowledged with ISS programmes, specifically surrounding whether the high demands of ISS can be counter-productive. Cavadino & Dignan (2002) described how these programmes might actually heighten the risk of young person going into custody, as the 'enormous demands' may prove too difficult for a young person with multiple issues to manage. Petersilia & Turner (1993) also reiterated this, with their concerns about the increasing levels of surveillance and control leading to higher rates of failure, especially when technical violations and revocations are acted upon. As previously discussed in chapter 2, the prospect of a young person to be home between certain times of the day and attend up to 25 hours of activities per week can be challenging especially for those with multiple risk factors. The curfew requirement is a necessary element of the programme, but this can be especially difficult for young people whose issues stem from the home they are requested to spend their time in. These are concerns that should be evaluated with each individual's recommendations to the Courts.

# Chapter 5: Psychological Interventions with a Young Male on an Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Order: A Single Case Report


## Abstract

This case report details the assessment, formulation, and therapeutic intervention for an adolescent male managed in the community by a YOT. Client A was placed on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance as part of bail supervision and support whilst awaiting trial for murder following a knife-crime incident in which a young male received fatal stab wounds. The case report highlights the use of intensive levels of EM coupled with intensive supervision, to manage young people who offend that have complex criminal and personal histories. Client A was expected to comply with a 12 hour curfew, alongside a minimum package of supervision interventions for 25 hours a week. A CBT case formulation was developed, with links made to psychological theories of crime. As a result of this formulation, the client was administered the Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965) and Peer Pressure Inventory (PPI; Clasen & Brown, 1985). He was referred to the knife-crime programme and peer-pressure programme, both available at the YOT in an attempt to understand the impact of knife carrying and the role of peer pressure. The nature of the ISS programme is tailored to meet the individual needs of the young person, with the aim of managing and significantly reducing the risk of harm, vulnerability and further offending. Client A responded well to the programme, and engaged in the support offered by the YOT. His case manager noted that EM was an essential element of the programme for this young person. He gained the necessary skills to provide further structure and goal-directed determination for his future.

**Keywords:** case study; young offender; intensive supervision and surveillance; electronic monitoring; knife crime; peer pressure.

## 1. Introduction

The case report presented is based upon a factual account of the assessment, formulation, treatment planning and intervention of a young male under the management of a Youth Offending Team. The client was being managed in the community on Intensive Supervision and Support (ISS) as condition of bail supervision and support whilst awaiting trial for murder following a knife-crime incident in which a young male received fatal stab wounds. The aim of the case report was to examine the community support client A was able to receive during his time on the ISS programme. It serves to highlight and describe the complexity of the individuals' that are being managed in the community using intensive levels of EM surveillance alongside supervision, and provide an example of the range of ways EM can be incorporated into a package of other interventions.

Client A reports that he was asked to bring a knife to the party by a family member, and he wanted to show this to his peers. The focus of this introduction will be on the relationship between knife-crime and peer pressure, as well as theories relevant to peer pressure to help inform assessment, formulation and treatment.

Youth crime is a significant problem throughout the country. There has been a series of high profile fatal stabbings in recent years that have highlighted the

number of people routinely carrying knives, sparking significant public anxiety and media attention (Silvestri, Oldfield, Squires & Grimshaw, 2009). In 2015, 15 teenager's lives were claimed by knife crime in London alone (Proto, 2016). The Youth Justice Board has estimated that a third of young people aged between 11 and 16 now occasionally carry a knife (Sharp, Aldridge & Medina, 2006). In recent years, members of the media, politicians and policy makers have applied the term 'knife-crime' broadly and it is now used to cover a wide-range of offences. These included offences in which an individual is stabbed, those in which a knife is produced and used in a threatening manner, and offences in which someone carries a knife (Eades, Grimshaw, Silverstri & Soloman, 2007). It is an offence to carry an object with a blade or point, and can result in a sentence of up to two years' imprisonment.

It is likely that when young people choose to offend or carry offensive weapons, they will be influenced by a complex range of factors. The most common reason given for carrying a knife is protection and self-defence (Communities that Care, 2005). The perceived need for protection is also linked to experiences of victimisation, as the YJB found that those who have been a victim of crime are more likely to carry a knife (YJB, 2004). The majority of young people who claim to carry knives state that they are aware others also carry knives (YJB, 2009). Peer influence described the process by which people are shaped by the attitudes and behaviours of those around them, and is a major factor in the decisions made by young people to join groups or to offend. Peer association is central to developing a sense of identity during adolescence (Duffy & Gillig, 2004; Smith & Bradshaw, 2005). Hence, young people who reported to carrying a knife have said they do so to gain 'respect' within their peer group. With the increase of knife-

related crimes, the YJB has worked to increase interventions in this field, specifically to address the underlying causes of serious violence by young people.

The introduction of this report will discuss the theories that link peer pressure to offending behaviour in young people, specifically social learning theory and social control theory.

### *1.1 Social Learning Theory*

Social learning theory provides an explanation for the acquisition, maintenance, and change in offending behaviour by describing how people learn from observing others and the imitation of their behaviour (Akers & Lee, 1996; Bandura, 1977; Sutherland, 1949). If an individual observes others receiving rewards for certain behaviours, they will be tempted to model these behaviours. Thus if peers appear to gain from carrying and using weapons, they will be tempted to emulate this behaviour. The extent to which individuals are influenced by the learnt behaviour is dependent on the characteristics of those they are modelling, the attributes of those observing them, and the perceived consequences of adopting this behaviour. Bandura (1977) also focused on the importance of the feedback they receive from modelling this behaviour, and whether this is reinforced by others. Conversely, Elliot (1994) reported that spending time with peers who disapprove of delinquent behaviour may curb later violence. The influence of peers and their acceptance of delinquent behaviour is significant, and this relationship is magnified when young people have little or poor interaction with their parents (Steinberg, 1987). Although this theory does reiterate the importance of peers in the modelling of behaviour, it can be accused of being deterministic as it fails to

recognise the cognitive processes that occur during the observation of behaviour. If we have observed violence, it does not mean this behaviour is reproduced and further consideration to the individual's thoughts and feelings is needed.

### *1.2 Social Control Theory*

The social control theory argues that socialisation and the forming of personal relationships with friends, family members, institutions, activities and beliefs is crucial to our understanding of society and gaining an awareness of social norms (Hirschi, 1969; Osgood & Anderson, 2004). The theory states that four interdependent elements are necessary for social bonding. The first crucial element is attachment, which refers to our interpersonal relationships but also to social and cultural standards. For most adolescents, the most influential attachment they could have is with their parent or primary caregiver(s) who have taught them the social expectations that come with being part of a society. This leads to a concern for how our attachments with others would think or feel about expected behaviour, should we act against these social expectations. The second element of the theory is commitment; the investment of time and energy we give to our relationships with others. Thirdly, involvement concerns the extent to which we have the time and space to engage with or feel a connection to peer groups. According to this element, a person who is experiencing a high level of involvement with others will form stronger attachments and commitments to their social norms. It also describes the extent to which we have the time to spend with peers and act on these social norms (Braithwaite, 1989). The final element is belief, which relates to our understanding about what is right and wrong and the extent to which we are certain of this.

Using social learning theory, we are able to explain why offending behaviour is prominent in adolescents. In the absence of positive bonds, adolescents seek out approval and a sense of belonging from non-conforming peer groups, and may begin to follow the behaviour and actions of this peer group. As they get older, adolescents begin to form new commitments and attachments (for example employment, or an intimate relationship), which allow them to view offending behaviour differently. It is for these reasons, that social control theory can explain why for some offending behaviour is limited to an individual's adolescence period, where they are seen to 'grow out' of crime and the belief that criminal behaviour is part of life.

### *1.3 Interventions to Address Peer-Pressure and Offending Behaviour*

The challenge for practitioners working with young offenders is that interventions tend to work best when they respond to the specific needs of the young person (Hoge, 2001; Lipsey & Wilson, 1998). One psychological intervention used to reduce peer influence in adolescents is cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT). The key assumption of CBT is that thoughts govern human behaviour, thus therapy works to identify the negative thoughts that influence behaviours. But for some, despite an awareness of the negative consequences, the desire to fit in to a social group is overwhelming and so resisting peer pressure is difficult.

## *2. Client Introduction*

In order to retain anonymity, throughout this case report the client will be referred to as 'Client A'. Information pertaining to client A's case was obtained from a number of sources, including an electronic case management file, risk assessments, and interviews with the client. I have also liaised with his Case Manager. Client A consented verbally and on a signed consent form to this intervention being written up as a report and public document.

The organisation in which this intervention took place is a Youth Offending Team (YOT). The YOT provides supervision and support for young people who have committed an offence and have been sentenced by the Magistrate's Court. In most cases the young people will be given a community order, however on some occasions a custodial sentence may be given. In either circumstance, the young person will be allocated a case manager who will oversee the case for the duration. The YOT operates a case management system, Careworks, to provide a dedicated database for the Youth Offending Service. Within this database, each young offender who comes into contact with the criminal justice system has an Asset completed for them. This is a structured assessment tool used by YOTs in England and Wales, with the aim of exploring offences and identifying a multitude of risk factors or circumstances – ranging from lack of educational attainment to mental health problems – which may have contributed to such behaviour. The information gathered from the Asset can be used to inform court reports so that appropriate intervention programmes can be drawn up.

The YOT has a range of specialist workers to provide specific advice, guidance and interventions for substance misuse, as well as mental and physical health needs. Client A came to my attention on his referral to YOT, whilst providing specialist support to the ISS team of case managers. My role was to assist in the assessment of need, to complete a formulation, and to deliver interventions likely to reduce the frequency and severity of future offending.

Client A is a seventeen-year-old male. When I met Client A, he had just experienced eight weeks on remand at a Young Offenders Institution (YOI), and the Court had decided to place him with the Intensive Supervision and Surveillance (ISS) team whilst on bail for murder. The ISS requirement is tailored to meet the individual needs of the young person, with the aim of managing and significantly reducing the risk of harm, vulnerability and further offending within the rigid structure of an ISS Programme.

Using the Asset risk assessment, the court listed several bail conditions to which client A was expected to adhere to whilst on ISS bail supervision and support:

- To observe a curfew between the hours of 19:00 and 07:00 using RF EM technology.
- Not to contact directly or indirectly: any prosecution witness
- To comply with the bail support package supervised by the YOT – minimum of 25 hours per week
- Not to enter the specified exclusion zones

## *3. Assessment and Formulation*

The initial assessment with Client A consisted of interviews, to obtain self-reported information on his background. Information pertaining to Client A's case was also obtained from the electronic case management file, risk assessments, and interviews with his family members and his case manager. The file review provided information from his Asset which had been completed prior to a pre-sentence report to inform the court on the appropriate community sanctions available. The Asset contained details of the offence and identified a number of risk factors and circumstances that would be necessary for further exploration ranging from lack of educational attainment, to change in family environment and mental health problems.

### *3.1 Family History*

Client A has a supportive family, and they worked cooperatively with the YOT to ensure he complied with all the conditions of his bail. Prior to his arrest for the offence, Client A lived with his mother and siblings.

### *3.2 Medical and Psychiatric History*

Client A has no history of physical health problems. He has a keen interest in fitness and attends the gym regularly. Client A has had no contact with mental health services. He was very distressed when he was temporarily remanded into custody. These concerns were shared amongst custody staff. Since his time with the YOT, Client A has disclosed that he has experienced sleep disturbance. He appears to have struggled with moving to his grandparents' house, and the reduced contact with his mother and siblings as a result.

### *3.3 Substance Use*

Client A has shown a willingness to be tested for alcohol whilst being supervised in the community. Client A does spend time with family and friends who do drink alcohol in his company, but he states that he does not like being intoxicated. He has experimented with illicit substances, and disclosed he occasionally smokes cannabis in social situations. He does not view this as problematic, but has accepted sessions with a drug and alcohol worker to address harm minimisation. He reports that he has not tried any other illegal substance.

### *3.4 Forensic History*

Client A was under the supervision of the YOT whilst on bail for murder. Intensive Supervision and Surveillance (ISS) was made a condition of bail, and provided a minimum of 25 hours programmed contact time each week, including support during evenings and weekends, an electronic tag with a curfew and exclusion from the area of the offence. When arrested for the offence, Client A was remanded to a YOI and spent eight weeks there until he was bailed.

The offence took place in August 2012, when the Client A and his friends attended an outdoor party. Whilst at the party, Client A stated that two young people were play fighting and other people became involved including the victim. A nineteen-year-old male was stabbed, and later passed away from this injury.

Before the party, Client A had been in contact with his cousin, who had a knife. Client A was asked by his cousin to put the knife in his bag and bring it with him on the day of the party. Client A stated he just wanted to show off to his friends

and have it there for protection as "they all carried knives". His cousin brought the knife and Client A put it in his bag. They arrived at the party and a friend asked Client A to hand him the knife, which he did. Client A states that this was the last time he saw the knife.

Client A explains how he was unaware that being in possession of a knife on the night of the offence would have led to fatal consequences. He stated there was no planning of the offence, but has never denied being in possession of the knife earlier in the night. He stated that he had been asked to bring it, and that this would be something he could 'show off' to friends, as all his friends carried knives. Client A stated that he had one alcoholic drink prior to the offence, and that there were no drugs involved. He always stated that he had nothing to do with the murder of the victim and regrets having the knife in the first place.

Prior to this charge, Client A is a lightly convicted young person. His behaviour thus far represents misdemeanours rather than a serious criminal history. He received a final warning in 2010 and was then made subject to a three-month Referral Order in September 2011 for theft of a pedal cycle. His compliance on these orders was good with no breaches. There have been no further offences until this current charge, indicating a gap of offending of eleven months.

### *3.5 Responsivity and Treatment Issues*

Client A had sufficiently high motivation and was pragmatic enough regarding the intensive nature of ISS for compliance and risk management within the community. He readily admits his part in the offence, and did not show

minimisation of the impact of his actions on the victim. He presented as motivated to engage in treatment, and would often remark on how he was fortunate to have been granted bail prior to his trial.

### *3.6 Psychometrics*

Alongside a file review and interviews with the client and his family members, an initial set of psychometric measures were also utilised. These are: (1) Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965) and (2) Peer Pressure Inventory (PPI; Clasen & Brown, 1985).

The RSES is a widely used tool to measure positive and negative self-regard (Schmitt & Allik, 2005). The scale measures state self-esteem by asking the respondents to reflect on their current feelings. It has demonstrated good reliability and construct validity in past studies (Blascovich and Tomaka, 1991; Crandall, 1973). Client A's score of 24 on this measure was within the 'normal' range, showing no explicit problems with self-esteem.

The PPI is a 53 item seven-point scale used to measure client A's direction and intensity of the peer pressure he experiences in his life. The tool uses five subscales; peer conformity, family involvement, peer involvement, school involvement and misconduct. It asks respondents to rate each item with a positive or negative score from 3 to -3 indicating that there was 'a lot', 'some' or 'a little' pressure to perform certain activities or not. The PPI has reported good concurrent validity and adequate test-retest reliability on all subscales (Baggio, Studer, Daeppen, & Gmel, 2013). Client A scored 'average' on all five subscales of the

PPI; his perception of the pressure to conform to peer norms and expectations, the pressure to spend time with family, school and peers, as well as the pressure to engage in misconduct were all within the normal range.

## *4. Formulation*

A cognitive behavioural approach was adopted when developing client A's formulation (Persons, 2012). This focusses on client A's predisposing, precipitating, and perpetuating factors that lead to his presenting issues. Protective factors are also discussed. This formulation was developed in collaboration with Client A, and incorporated new information as it emerged through the sessions.

### *4.1 Predisposing Factors*

Client A is from a large supportive family, from an underprivileged area in the Midlands. He lived with his mother and siblings, following the relationship breakdown between his parents' when he was 11 years of age. The family environment is the key social institution for the socialisation of young children. This disruption in client A's attachment to his primary caregivers is likely to have negatively impacted his developmental trajectory (Malekpour, 2007). It has been found that child who is secure in his attachments will be more confident and resilient when confronted with peer pressure, and is better able to resolve conflict (Elicker et al., 1992; Thompson, 2000). Client A has very little contact with his father following this, and reports he assumed paternal responsibilities to ensure his sisters and mother were cared for. Feeling this rejection and then taking on these responsibilities at such a young age may have caused a number of difficulties

for client A. Research is well established for the short term problems for the children of separating parents, and longer term difficulties have also been explored (Wadsworth, Maclean, Kuh & Rodgers, 1990). These can include the development of poor self-esteem, along with an unstable sense of self (Amato, 1986).

### *4.2 Precipitating Factors*

A number of internal and external thoughts and behaviours are likely to have maintained and contributed to client A's offending behaviour. Client A was asked by his male cousin to bring the knife with him to the party. With the lack of a positive male role model in his life to instil pro-social values, it is likely that client A felt compelled to listen to cousin. In interview, it was clear that this was behaviour was normalised already by client A with his comment of "everyone carries them". Regrettably, the carrying of knives is becoming increasingly normalised in society (House of Commons, 2009) and it is likely that client A had imitated the behaviour of this peer group previously, so the handling of a knife would follow suit. These factors are likely to have strengthened client A's normalisation of crime and anti-social behaviour (Utting, Montiero & Ghate, 2006). It is hypothesised that the function of Client A's offence was to conform to his peers; he also saw carrying the knife as a status symbol.

Furthermore, client A was out of education at the time of the offence. He may have sought the excitement and opportunity of attending the party as a result of boredom, due to the lack of positive, diverting activities.

### *4.3 Perpetuating Factors*

Situational factors that could maintain client A's offending behaviour include the perceived need for acceptance by his peers and opportunities arising that warrant him to conform.

Further, research tells us that those who have been a victim of crime are more likely to carry a knife (YJB, 2004). Although client A was not a direct victim of this crime, he witnessed his family member cause the death of a stranger. Witnessing this violence would have triggered stress and fear responses in client A, as he acknowledges he experiences sleep disturbance as a likely symptom of trauma following the incident. Through exposure to serious violence and criminal behaviour, client A's predisposition to carry out this offending behaviour himself could increase.

### *4.4 Protective Factors*

There are a number of protective factors identified for client A. Client A has regular contact with his mother and siblings during this time. As part of the ISS programme, client A will be expected to attend at least 25 hours of activities. He will be encouraged to participate in constructive leisure activities and it is hoped these will be continued outside of the programme in order to occupy his idle time.

The victim of the crime was a member of the travelling community in the area and it was felt that the client would be vulnerable to reprisal attacks should he remain in the area. He was granted bail with the ISS team with a condition that he would be electronically monitored and reside in the adjacent town with his grandparents.

His grandparents are very supportive, and are keen to ensure their grandson responds actively and positively to the ISS programme. They welcomed the RF EM technology in their home, hoping that it would help impose the curfew that they would have set for their grandson whilst in their home. Client A has demonstrated that he doesn't want to disappoint his grandparents, as he is very thankful for their support as bail would not have been possible without their support. This sustained contact with his grandparents may increase the attachment that Client A has with them and strengthen his positive role model influences.

### *4.5 Treatment Needs*

Client A's offence related risk factors and psychological disturbances, as identified through assessment and formulation, resulted in the court proposing that he completed the knife awareness programme, the peer pressure programme, victim awareness and consequential thinking sessions.

## 5. Intervention

The treatment needs proposed for client A to address his criminogenic needs were managed by his case manager who provided daily supervision to the client.

To support the bail conditions, there are several conditions a young person is expected to follow to as part of the ISS programme. Following the Asset assessment, these expectations are discussed in collaboration with the client to ensure they respond to the specific needs of the young person.

- As part of an ISS bail package, Client A was monitored closely using electronic tagging, home visits and telephone monitoring. Client A had a curfew requirement of 19:00 to 07:00, and was expected to report to the local police station each Saturday and Sunday for the duration of ISS bail. These requirements provided a further restriction of liberty and contributed to maintaining a structured, regimented regime.
- Client A was expected to undertake education, training or employment. This is a statutory requirement on his weekly timetable and therefore was enforceable through Court.
- Client A was encouraged to participate in constructive leisure activities such as music and art. At the same time local resources would aim to provide positive role models for him and reduce peer pressure. Client A was required to attend sessions at the indoor climbing centre, gym sessions and boxing sessions. This incorporated work around healthy living and the ability to continue to access these resources in the community. Having these sessions on his timetable, were designed to improve physical fitness and self-esteem. Client A also accessed the Life Skills sessions weekly, which promoted independent living focusing on cooking, budgeting and citizenship.
- Client A was expected to attend one to one sessions with his case manager to continually review services and programmes that the young person would benefit from, or was interested to partake in. Services include education and training, restorative treatment, changing offending behaviour, interpersonal skills, family support, counselling and mentor provision.
- The court requested that client A complete the knife crime programme and the peer pressure programme.

### *5.1 Electronic Monitoring*

It was proposed that an electronically monitoring curfew using RF technology would be utilised for client A following the Asset risk assessment and speaking with his grandparents whose home the technology would be installed in. This was acknowledged by the court. It was felt that the client would be vulnerable to reprisal attacks should he remain in his home area, and by imposing a curfew whilst living in his grandparent's town was believed assist with providing structure and routine, whilst spending more time with pro-social role models. It was hoped that Client A would comply with the conditions of the curfew, and this would aid his compliance and engagement with the ISS programme as a whole.

### *5.2 Knife-crime Programme*

The knife crime programme tackles knife carrying among young people who offend and is designed to specifically address the issues around the use of knives. It is hoped the young person will understand the impact of knife carrying and change their behaviour, thereby reducing the likelihood of offending. The programme consists of eight modules delivered across nine weeks: attitudes to knife carrying, health, laws surrounding knives and weapons, managing conflict and anger, peer education, public space awareness, social implications of knife possession, and victim interaction. Although I did not assist with the delivery of this programme, it was helpful to review client A's engagement. He noted five reasons for carrying a knife to be protection, to show off, when he is forced to, to copy other people, and as it is seen as a fashion/trend.

### *5.3 Peer-pressure Programme*

Following his engagement with the knife crime programme, I was approached by client A's case manager to deliver the peer pressure programme; highlighted as a necessary element of his time on Bail.

The Peer Pressure Programme is an unpublished intervention developed by Trainee Forensic Psychologists working with colleagues at the YOT. It follows a cognitive-behavioural model, encouraging group members to make links between triggers, thoughts, emotions and actions. Through this, the aim is that group members will develop an understanding that the management of each of these areas can assist in changing offending behaviours, in order to live a more pro-social lifestyle. The programme is made up of three different sections which can be broadly defined as: understanding and recognising peer pressure, understanding relationships and their links to peer pressure, and problem solving in situations of peer pressure.

The group was run as a five-week programme, consisting of five group sessions and one individual session. The group commenced in January 2014 and finished March 2014.

### *5.4 Engagement*

Client A demonstrated positive engagement and drive throughout the course of the peer pressure programme. Client A responded well to the cognitive behavioural approach of the programme and was able to consider good alternatives to some of his problem behaviours, in particular, how to challenge the need to develop relationships with delinquent peers and conform to their beliefs.

He identified that he has been pressured to do things he knows are wrong but has continued to behave anti-socially in an attempt to gain acceptance from peers. Client A was able to acknowledge the benefits of being required to reside with his grandparents, as he was able to distance himself from the peer associations. As a result, he was able to recognise peer groups as a negative influence on his behaviour and actions.

The programme involved role-plays, individual work, group discussions and visual exercises. Client A responded well, and developed a good rapport with the author and other group members.

## *6. Results*

It was clear that Client A's offence bowed to impulsivity and peer pressure, which led him to commit crime regarded highly serious by the courts. However, he responded well to the interventions that he was obligated to complete during his time on ISS bail.

The two psychometric assessments administered pre-intervention could not be administered after the peer pressure programme intervention. Client A was reluctant to engage in individual sessions with me, and is likely that within the five weeks of the programme there would have been minimal to no measurable difference. Therapeutic change and engagement was measured by the use of discussions with his case manager, regular contact with his family and through the continual monitoring and supervision as part of the ISS programme.

In terms of his engagement on the ISS programme, there were no breaches and client A attended every appointment on time. He engaged extremely well throughout this period. The RF EM technology was installed successfully in his grandparent's home within 24 hours of his release from a Young Offenders Institution (YOI), and no violation of his curfew were noted, e.g. strap cutting or not being present for a full curfew.

Over time it became clear that such a level of support was not required and his bail conditions were reduced to a bail support package, with far less requirements than the ISS. He was seen to continue with some of the activities proposed to him as part of his ISS timetable.

One main achievement for Client A, was that he gained part-time employment whilst on ISS, at a local tyre specialist unit. He was described by his manager as a "very valued member of staff" who "gained vast knowledge and skills through sheer dedication, commitment and drive". This will stand the client in good stead, as it is hoped this will provide him with new determination and commitment, which will allow him to view offending behaviour differently. This would not have been possible had Client A remained in a YOI and courts not considered ISS. Client A and his family have recognised the benefits brought by being on ISS bail, and his family have remained a crucial support to him throughout this time.

As stated, client A was reluctant to engage in individual sessions with me, specifically those aimed to explore his emotional wellbeing. Despite this, our

therapeutic relationship grew during his time participating on the peer pressure programme. He attended all the sessions, engaged in group discussions well, and showed a good understanding of the topics covered. He was able to proceed with individual tasks without being prompted, and although he has not been charged with the offence he was able to apply aspects of his offending behaviour to the problem solving skills discussed. Client A appeared motivated to make changes and learn skills, and although quiet, the contributions he made were positive and relevant additions to the discussions.

As well as reviewing compliance and reoffending rates, the case manager's perspective was also noted. It is apparent how EM was welcomed by the family to help the young person move away from offender peers – *'he responded well to his 12 hour curfew. His family voiced their concerns about him moving to a new town and living with elderly grandparents, but when I first met him after being released from the YOI I knew he would use his time in the community for reflection and learning. He had seen the consequences of offending...he didn't want to return to the YOI. Due to the complexities of the murder trial it was uncertain when a decision would be made, and he knew that should he be recalled it could be a length wait for the case to come to trial. His time in a YOI gave him the opportunity to see what prison life would be like should he breach the order or offend, and I often used this with him when he needed to appreciate why he needed such intensive community support…Tagging provided him with the ability to continue with his life in the community whilst we supported him with the prospect of being charged with murder. He accessed opportunities for employment, and his support network improved as he developed a close bond with his grandparents. They often attended supervision meetings with him. I believe the move away from his*

*offending networks, with supervision guiding him to a prosocial life, and his tag imposing a curfew from 7pm allowed him to have the time to reflect on his behaviour. '*

## *7. Discussion*

The case report was based on the assessment of a young offender managed in the community on Intensive Supervision and Support (ISS) as condition of bail supervision and support whilst awaiting trial for murder following a knife-crime incident. The aim of the case report was to examine the community support client A was able to receive utilising both supervision and surveillance using EM.

During his time on the ISS programme, I was able to assess his engagement with the knife crime programme, as well as the peer pressure programme that I was involved in delivering. Peer pressure can be difficult for an adolescent. Those that have difficult family situations often turn to their peers for a sense of belonging, and may consequently begin to follow the behaviour and acts of this peer group (Hollist, Hughes & Schaible, 2009). It was identified in the cognitive-behavioural formulation that Client A had no stable positive male role model within his family, and that the offence was during a time when the client had few opportunities to engage in positive, fulfilling activities. When he was asked by a family member to carry a knife to a party they were both attending, client A conformed to these wishes which later that evening led to fatal consequences for a nineteen-year-old victim.

The findings of the case formulation are consistent with the theories of peer pressure and offending behaviour in adolescents. Social learning theory assumes all social behaviour is learnt through observation and imitation. Client A noted that his peers carried knives and he saw it as necessary for protection. Regrettably the carrying of knives is becoming increasingly normalised in society and it is clear client A imitated the behaviour of his peers in this act, with little consideration of the possible fatal consequences (House of Commons, 2009). This theory supports the finding that client A was in possession of the offensive weapon due to observations of his peer group.

Social control theory also provides a specific explanation as to why client A sought the approval and sense of belonging from his peers, despite the clear risks in following their behaviour and actions. This is because social control theory argues that socialisation and the forming of personal relationships with friends, family members, institutions, activities and beliefs are all crucial to our understanding of society and gaining an awareness of social norms (Hirschi, 1969; Osgood & Anderson, 2004). According to the theory, a person who experiences a high level of involvement with others will form stronger attachments and commitments to their social norms. At the time of the offence, client A did not have any commitments or pro-social activities to occupy his time. It appears that when presented with the responsibility of carrying a knife to a party for his cousin, client A was keen to fulfil this request for the approval of this peer group. These theories of peer-pressure and offending behaviour support the assessment, formulation and outcome of client A's behaviour.

Community-based treatments have been seen to be effective in reducing recidivism among young offenders (Lipsey & Wilson, 1998). The nature of the ISS programme is tailored to meet the individual needs of the young person, with the aim of managing and significantly reducing the risk of harm, vulnerability and further offending. This is achieved with combination of supervision and surveillance. The rigid structure of a programme of at least 25 hours of activity a week can provide young people with the support to explore new pro-social activities and accordingly turn their attention to new challenges and commitments.

The EM surveillance element provides structure and a controlled home curfew. Client A's case manager saw EM as an essential element of ISS. Client A engaged well with the activities proposed to him, and would regularly attend the gym outside of the sessions listed. He also secured a part-time employment in the local area, which gave him the opportunity to train as a mechanic, providing further structure and goal-directed determination for his future.

Due to the extended period of time I was working with colleagues at the YOT, I was able to follow Client A case through discussions with his case manager. He was found not guilty after trial for murder, and the case was adjourned for a pre-sentence report for the charge of possession of an offensive weapon in December 2013. Client A's cousin was found guilty of murder, sentenced to 20 years; which client A remarked should have been longer. In court it was noted that Client A personally showed remorse for the family of the victim. It is hoped that the opportunities that were available to him during his time on Bail, will stand him in good stead when moving further with his life.

# Chapter 6: Evaluation of an Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme provided by a Youth Offending Team


## Abstract

The Intensive Supervision and Surveillance (ISS) programme was piloted in 2001 by the Youth Justice Board in an aim to target the 3% of young offenders responsible for 25% of all youth crime. ISS combines both punishment and positive opportunities, to rehabilitate offenders in the community. ISS can be used as a condition of bail supervision and support, as part of a community penalty (attached to a Youth Rehabilitation Order or Supervision Order), or as the community proportion of a custodial sentence (Detention and Training Order, DTO). The aim of this research was to evaluate the characteristics of offenders referred to the programme, and assess the 'at risk behaviour' (warnings and breaches) and re-conviction data 24 months after completing the ISS program. The data of comprised of males (n=372) and females (n=28) who had received ISS as part of their community order from September 2002 to August 2014. Results indicated that ISS lead to a reduction in the seriousness of reoffending, and does show some evidence of reducing the frequency of reoffending. The conclusions drawn from the research are reviewed in reference to theories of offending behaviour and practice implications are discussed.



**Keywords:** youth justice; intensive supervision and surveillance; ISS; young offenders; community sentences.

# *1. Introduction*

## *1.1 Background*

Currently, published evaluations of UK youth offending programmes are few. Intensive programmes vary greatly, in particular in the age of the group they are targeted for, what stage the offender is at (pre or post custody) and what risk the offenders are judged at. The number of ISS orders being issued at Court is also reducing. A Freedom of Information Act request to the YJB showed that ISS orders issued to young people (aged under 18) have been decreasing with only 1799 individuals on the programme in 2013/2014 compared to 5282 in the period 2005/2006 (YJB, 2015). Please see Table 3 for further data from the period April 2002 to March 2014.

Table 3: The number of ISS orders issued to young people from 2002-2014 (YJB, 2015)

| Year | Young People |
|---|---|
| 2002/03 | 2,806 |
| 2003/04 | 4,031 |
| 2004/05 | 4,818 |
| 2005/06 | 5,282 |
| 2006/07 | 5,198 |
| 2007/08 | 5,062 |
| 2008/09 | 4,911 |
| 2009/10 | 3,582 |
| 2010/11 | 3,281 |
| 2011/12 | 2,665 |
| 2012/13 | 2,194 |
| 2013/14 | 1,799 |

### *1.2 Aims and objectives*

The aim of this research is to evaluate the 'at risk behaviour' (warnings and breaches), and re-conviction data twelve and twenty-four months after completing the ISS program. It is necessary to keep in mind that the YJB's objective was never to cease offending, but to reduce the frequency and seriousness of offending (Drake et al., 2009).

A good quality evaluation of the ISS program can play an important role in setting and delivering on government priorities and objectives, and can provide valuable knowledge to the policy evidence base, feeding future development and ideas.

This study aims to:

1. Provide detailed research evidence of the characteristics of young people on ISS.
2. Study the impact of the ISS programme in terms of reconviction rates and gravity of reoffending.
3. Provide detailed research evidence of the characteristics of young people on ISS who breach the programme.

## *2. Method*

### *2.1 Sample*

The ISS group comprised of males (n=372) and females (n=28) who had received ISS as part of their community order from September 2002 to August 2014. The data was obtained from a UK City Council YOT, a single ISS team. The sample was aged 12-18 years old with a mean age of 16.67 years (SD=1.06). Ethnicity was recorded in three categories – White (n=233; 58.3%), Black/African/Caribbean/Asian (n=97; 24.3%) and Mixed/Multiple ethnic groups (n=70; 17.5%).

A prior power analysis conducted via G* software indicated that 166 participants would be required to detect medium effects ($f^2$=0.15).

### *2.2 Procedure*

#### *2.2.1 Ethics*

Ethical approval was received by the Division of Psychiatry and Applied Psychology, School of Medicine at the University of Nottingham in July 2015. The research was completed in accordance with the BPS Code of Ethics and Conduct (British Psychological Society, 2009).

#### *2.2.2 Recruitment*

A UK City Council YOT was approached and their management provided full permission for the research to be completed upon ethical approval. This involved

accessing the YOT case management software (CareWorks). Recruitment can therefore be considered opportunistic.

### *2.2.3 City profile*

The population of the City is 318,900, of which 4.9% are aged 11-15 years (Office for National Statistics, 2015). Data from 2011 showed that the majority of the City's population was white (65.4%), and 34.6% from Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) groups. The unemployment rate consistently remains higher than the regional or national average (3.2% in August 2016, compared to 1.8 in the UK as a whole). Unemployment is more severe for young people aged 16-24 and for people from ethnic minorities (Office for National Statistics, 2016). In some inner City and outer estate areas, unemployment is over 5%. 42,000 children live in families where no adult work or where the household income is low; equivalent to 64.8% of all children (HM Revenue & Customs, 2014).

The areas of highest unemployment are frequently those, which also experience the worst crime problems (Kelly, 2000; Pridemore, 2011). These factors contribute to the City's position as the eighth most deprived local authority area in Britain according to the Government's index of local conditions (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2015).

### *2.2.4 Data collection*

Data collected for each offender included: demographic characteristics, index offence, breach history, programme details, number and gravity of reconvictions

3, 6, 9, 12 and 24 months from the start of the ISS programme. For those who would have been 18 years old at these time points, their reconviction data was extracted from the Police National Computer (PNC). A Police Constable within the YOT extracted this data from the PNC. Offenders who had received an ISS programme requirement as part of an order on more than one occasion, the earliest ISS programme was examined.

To understand the patterns of reoffending, the Youth Justice Board's seriousness scores was recorded both for the index offence, and any reconvictions post intervention. This score is a 1-8 scale, with offences listed as a score of 1 including breach of the peace, and a score of 8 including manslaughter and murder. Please see Appendix 7 for a sample of these scores.

## *3. Results*

### *3.1 Characteristics of the young people referred on to ISS (n=400)*

The vast majority (93%) of the ISS cases related to young males, and the average age of the young people at the start of their ISS was 16.7 years (SD=1.06). Approximately three in five of the young people were white. The most common current offences for the ISS sample were robbery (n=109; 27.3%), murder/assault (n=99; 24.8%), burglary (n=91; 22.8%), other non-violent offences (n=66; 16.5%) and drug offences (n=35; 8.8%). When assessed further the offences can be categorised as violent and non-violent (51% and 49% respectively). As shown in Graph 1, the offence gravity score was varied with 41% being offences with a score of 6.

All the young offenders received ISS as a condition of bail supervision and support (n=135; 33.8%), as part of a community penalty (as part of a Youth Rehabilitation Order n=69; 17.3%, and as part of a Supervision Order n=104; 26%), or as a condition of community supervision in the second half of a DTO (n=92; 23%).

### *3.1.1 Males on ISS (n=372)*

Due to the high numbers of males and a small number of females within the sample (n=28), data analysis centred on the male data.

Data frequencies were obtained to examine prevalence within this male sample. Bivariate analyses were then conducted to examine the relationships between the ten variables, with significant results being followed up with post-hoc analyses to identify where the significant differences lay.

The significant variables identified through the bivariate analysis were entered into a logistic regression model to examine the relationship between the characteristics of the young people and the outcome measures.

*Univariate analysis*

The sample comprised of 372 males aged 12-18 years old with a mean age of 16.6 years (SD=1.05). Table 4 shows the characteristics of those that were referred on to ISS. The most common offence for a referral was robbery (27%). The breakdown by type of ISS shows that 1 in 3 are used for the most persistent offenders on bail requiring very high levels of supervision and surveillance. Over

50% of orders were between 0-6 months in length, and 21% breached their orders at least once.

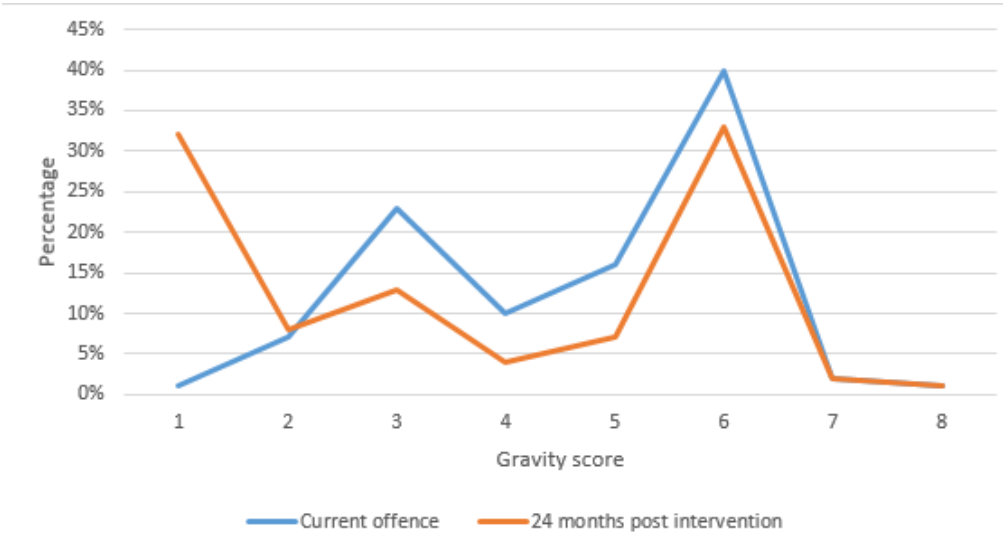
Table 4: characteristics of males referred to ISS (n=372)

| **Variable** | | **Frequency** | **Percentage** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Ethnicity (nominal variable)** | White | 217 | 58.3 |
| | Black/African/Caribbean/Asian | 94 | 25.3 |
| | Mixed/Multiple | 61 | 16.4 |
| **Offence type (nominal variable)** | Robbery | 101 | 27.2 |
| | Murder/assault | 91 | 24.5 |
| | Burglary | 83 | 22.3 |
| | Other non-violent | 62 | 16.7 |
| | Drug | 35 | 9.4 |
| **Offence category (nominal variable)** | Violent | 188 | 50.5 |
| | Non-violent | 184 | 49.5 |
| **Programme type (nominal variable)** | Bail supervision and support | 131 | 35.2 |
| | YRO - ISS | 66 | 17.7 |
| | Supervision order – ISS | 87 | 23.4 |
| | DTO | 88 | 23.7 |
| **Length of programme (ratio variable)** | 0-6 months | 202 | 54.3 |
| | 7-12 months | 81 | 21.8 |
| | 13+ months | 89 | 23.9 |
| **Breached (nominal variable)** | Yes | 79 | 21.2 |
| | No | 293 | 78.8 |
| **Reconvicted within 24 months (nominal variable)** | Yes | 356 | 95.7 |
| | No | 16 | 4.3 |

*3.2 The impact of the ISS programme in terms of reconviction rates and gravity of reoffending.*

Graph 1 provides an illustration of the offending patterns, showing the gravity score (ordinal variable) of the current offence leading to an ISS referral with the maximum gravity score of reconvictions two years post intervention. The current offence gravity score was varied with 40% being offences with a score of 6. The largest difference can be seen with one in three reconvictions being of a maximum gravity score of 1, showing a noticeable reduction in the seriousness in reoffending following the ISS intervention. It would appear from Table 4 and Graph 1 that although 96% of offenders reoffended this was, for some at a lower seriousness.

Graph 1: offending patterns of males on ISS, showing gravity scores of index offence and the gravity scores of reconvictions two-years post intervention



*Bivariate analysis*

In order to examine the relationships between the characteristics of offenders referred to the programme, with programme specific characteristics, and with outcome measures multiple bivariate analyses were completed.

A mixture of parametric and non-parametic tests were used. For grouped data (e.g. ethnicity, offence type, offence category) with continuous outcome variables (e.g. length of order) parametric analyses (ANOVA and T-test) were used. For grouped independent variables with ranked outcome variables (e.g. gravity of current offence), non-parametric alternatives were used, including Friedman's test (as an alternative to one-way ANOVA) and Mann-Whitney U test (as an alternative to T-tests). In order to test the associations between ranked (e.g. gravity of offence) and continuous (e.g. length of order) variables, Spearman's Rho was used due to the level of measurement (e.g. ranked in some cases).

For each analysis the approximate normality of the dependent variable at each category of the independent variable was assessed via normality histograms. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was tested via Levene's test for ANOVA analyses and was not violated in any case.

Significant differences can be seen by the analyses that are emboldened.

Characteristics

- Age and ethnicity– There was not a statistically significant difference between groups as determined by one-way ANOVA ($F(2,369) = .740$, $p = .478$
- **Age and offence type** - There was a statistically significant difference between groups as determined by one-way ANOVA ($F(4, 367) = 3.127$, $p = .015$).
- Age and offence category - $t(370) = -2.671$, $p > .05$
- Age and gravity of current offence – $r = .058$, $p = .267$
- **Ethnicity and offence type** – There was a significant association between ethnicity and the offence committed $x^2$ (8) = 32.6, $p < .001$. Black/African/Caribbean/Asian are significantly more likely to have committed robbery and less likely to committed burglary. White are more likely to have committed burglary. Mixed/multiple ethnicity are as likely to do any.
- **Ethnicity and offence category** – $x^2$ (2) = 14.645, $p < .001$. Black/African/Caribbean/Asian are more likely to have committed a violent offence, and less likely to commit a non-violent offence.
- **Ethnicity and gravity of current offence** - Friedman Test as non-parametric data - $x^2$ (1) = 230.205, $p < .001$. Mann Whitney test showed significant difference in gravity between Black/African/Caribbean/Asian to mixed/multiple, and Black/African/Caribbean/Asian to White. No significant difference in White to mixed/multiple.
- **Offence type and gravity of current offence –** Friedman Test as non-parametric data - $x^2$ (1) = 64.103, $p < .001$. Mann-Whitney test showed significance in gravity scores between drug and murder/assault, robbery

and murder/assault, robbery and other non-violent, burglary and murder/assault, burglary and other non-violent, murder/assault and other non-violent, drug and other non-violent.

- **Offence category and gravity of current offence** – Mann-Whitney Test as non-parametric data – U = 15328.5, z = -1.979, p < .05

Process

- Age and programme type - There was not a statistically significant difference between groups as determined by one-way ANOVA (F(7, 364) = .786, p = .599).
- Age and length of order – r = -.028, p > .05
- Ethnicity and programme type – $x^2$ (14) = 10.301, p = .740
- Ethnicity and length of order – Friedman Test as non-parametric data - $x^2$ (1) = 42.770, p = < .001. Mann-Whitney test showed no significance between the three ethnic groups.
- **Offence type and programme type** –$x^2$ (28) = 47.731, p = .011. Drug offences less likely to get Bail ISS.
- **Offence type and length of order** – Friedman Test as non-parametric data - $x^2$ (1) = 22.567, p < .001. Mann-Whitney test showed significance with drug and other non-violent.
- Offence category and programme type – $x^2$ (7) = 9.081, p = .247.
- Offence category and length of order – Mann-Whitney Test as non-parametric data - U = 15931.5, z = -1.323, p > .05
- **Programme type and gravity of current offence** - Friedman Test as non-parametric data - $x^2$ (1) = 23.325, p < .001

- **Programme type and length of order** - Friedman Test as non-parametric data - $x^2$ (1) = 34.381, p < .001.
- Gravity of current offence and length of order – Spearman rho as non-parametric rs (372) = .047, p = .369

Outcome

- Age and breached – t(370) = .517, p > .05
- Age and reoffended within 24 months – t(370) = 1.687, p > .05
- **Age and max gravity 24 months** – r = -.137, p = .008
- Ethnicity and breached – $x^2$ (2) = 5.883, p = .053
- Ethnicity and reoffended with 24 months – $x^2$ (2) = 2.03, p = .362
- Ethnicity and max gravity 24 months – Friedman Test as non-parametric data - $x^2$ (1) = 6.516, p = .011. Mann-Whitney test showed no significance between the three ethnic groups.
- Offence type and breached – $x^2$ (4) = 2.801, p = .592.
- Offence type and reoffended within 24 months – $x^2$ (4) = 1.288, p = .863.
- Offence type and max gravity 24 months - Friedman Test as non-parametric data - $x^2$ (1) = .144, p = .705.
- Offence category and breached – $x^2$ (1) = .055, p = .815.
- Offence category and reoffended within 24 months – $x^2$ (1) = .218, p = .640
- Offence category and max gravity 24 months - Mann-Whitney Test as non-parametric data - U = 16054.5, z = -1.250, p > .05

- **Programme type and breached** - $x^2$ (7) = 50.545, p < .001. Those on Bail ISS and YRO ISS less likely to breach. Those on DTO and Supervision Order are more likely to breach.
- Programme type and reoffended within 24 months – $x^2$ (7) = 10.878, p = .144.
- **Programme type and max gravity 24 months** - Friedman Test as non-parametric data - $x^2$ (1) = 17.490, p< .001.
- **Gravity of current offence and breached** – Mann-Whitney Test as non-parametric data - U = 9818, z = -2.159, p < .05
- Gravity of current offence and reoffended within 24 months – Mann-Whitney Test as non-parametric data - U = 2777.5, z = -.175, p > .05
- Gravity of current offence and max gravity at 24 months - Spearman rho as non-parametric data - rs (372) = -.004, p = .934
- **Length of order and breached** – Mann-Whitney Test as non-parametric data - U = 7696.0, z = -4.569, p < .05
- Length of order and reoffended within 24 months – Mann-Whitney Test as non-parametric data - U = 2653.0, z = -.466, p = .641
- Length of order and max gravity at 24 months - Spearman rho as non-parametric rs (372) = .015, p = .771.
- Max gravity at 24 months and reoffended within 24 months - Mann-Whitney Test as non-parametric data - U = 2471.5, z = -.934, p = .350
- Max gravity at 24 months and breached - Mann-Whitney Test as non-parametric data - U = 11499.0, z = -.092, p = .927
- **Breached and reoffended within 24 months** - $x^2$ (1) = 4.508, p = .034. No significance within crosstabs.

### *3.3 Characteristics of young people on ISS who breach the programme.*

In order to examine the predictive ability of each of the significantly related variables to breaching the programme, a binary logistic regression was completed. Binary logistic regression was used for multivariate analysis due to the dichotomous nature of the final outcome variable, which was whether or not a person had breached their order.

The variables selected to be included in the regression model were identified from the bivariate analyses, specifically including the information that would be available to the YOT at the start of the programme – age at the start of the programme, ethnicity, offence type, programme type, gravity of current offence and length of order.

This model correctly identified 8.9% of those who had breached and 98.6% that did not breach. However, 91.1% of those who had breached were incorrectly classified, resulting in 72 false negatives. The model also incorrectly classified 1% of those that had not breached in any way, resulting in 4 false positives (see Table 5).

Table 5: Accuracy classification of the coded binary predictors in predicting individuals breaching the programme (n = 372)

| **Actual Group** | **Predicted Group** | | **No. of cases** | **% Correct** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Did not breach | Breached | | |
| Did not breach | 289 | 4 | 293 | 98.6 |
| Breached | 72 | 7 | 79 | 8.9 |
| Total | 361 | 11 | 372 | 53.75 |

## *4. Discussion*

This research aimed to explore an established intensive supervision and surveillance programme. Particularly; (1) to explore the characteristics of young people referred to the programme, (2) to provide evidence of the relative success of an ISS programme, in terms of reconviction rates and gravity of reoffending, and; (3) to provide detailed research evidence of the characteristics of young people on ISS who breach the programme.

The majority of the young people in the sample were reconvicted of at least one offence within 24 months of the intervention starting (95.7%), however this was seen to be a marked reduction in the seriousness of this compared to the offence they were referred to the programme for. It appears that when on the programme, compliance and engagement is high with only 21.2% of individuals breaching their

order. However, once the programme has ended, including both EM and supervision concluding offending behaviour continues at a reduced severity.

The results from this research also suggest that it not possible to predict those that are likely to breach the programme, as the characteristics available to the YOT at the time of recommending the programme to Court do not provide a good positive predictive value. This means that there are no specific characteristics of both the individual, offence or programme that make it more or less likely the individual will breach. The results are explored in more depth in terms of the characteristics of offenders referred to the programme, programme specific characteristics, and outcome measures.

### *4.1 The characteristics of offenders referred to the programme*

This study has achieved the aim of providing details of the characteristics of the young people on an ISS programme in England and Wales. Within the twelve years of the ISS programme being utilised at the YOT, 372 males and 28 females were referred as part of their community order. 58.3% of these young people started the programme aged over 16 years, and approximately three in five were white. The most common current offence was robbery (27.2%).

When reviewing the bivariate analyses, it is clear that ethnicity led to significant relationships with other characteristics that lead a person to be referred to ISS.

Black/African/Caribbean/Asian were more likely to have committed a violent offence of higher gravity to be referred to the programme.

As well as reviewing the characteristics that lead an individual to be referred to the ISS programme, it is crucial to review the programme itself. As the research was reviewing 12 years of the programme, it was beyond the scope of this study to review the activities scheduled within each of the individual's timetables and the effectiveness of each of these. The activities and resources available to the ISS individuals' and families altered frequently, and would aim to be specific to the individual's needs.

When reviewing how the offence type can affect the programme they are referred to, there were several significant relationships seen. Those convicted for drug offences were very unlikely to receive Bail ISS, and instead were likely to receive ISS as part of a DTO programme and Supervision Order programme. Nearly 40% of those convicted of robbery, burglary and murder/assault received ISS as part of Bail Supervision and Support.

### *4.2 Outcomes*

As one of the aspects of ISS is to provide higher levels of police surveillance, this could lead to an increase level of reconviction. These issues were kept in mind when conducting this research. However, when reviewing reconvictions 24 months after the start of ISS, there was a reduction in both offending frequency and seriousness. 16 of the 400 sample did not reoffend within 24 months of beginning

the ISS programme. This is a worrying figure considering the YJB aim of the programme was to reduce the frequency of offending. However, when the gravity scores of the current offence that led them to be referred to the programme were compared to the highest gravity score of offences 24 months' post intervention, there was a marked reduction with a third being a maximum score of 1. This shows that although 95.7% of young people do continue offending, this is at a lower seriousness. As the programme is aimed at persistent and/or serious offenders, it is unlikely that an intervention could cease offending entirely, hence the YJB's aim to reduce the frequency and seriousness by a slight 5%.

Due to the high demands of ISS in terms of hours scheduled in the week for activities and supervision, and a curfew requirement requesting them to be at home between certain hours of each day, the failure rates can be high. 21% of the young people breached their order on at least one occasion. Those on Bail Supervision and Support and YRO ISS were significantly less likely to breach, whilst those on DTO ISS and Supervision Order ISS were more likely to breach. It should be considered whether this is the individuals on the programme that are cautious not to breach the programme as custody would be the next step if asked to appear in Court, or whether it is the staff involved with the young people that are concerned to act on technical violations and revocations as they are aware of the consequences of this for the individual. Bivariate analyses also presented that the longer the order, the greater the likelihood of the individual to breach.

One clear conclusion and implication emerges from the multivariate analysis in light of these findings. With the information available to the YOT at the start of a

referral to the ISS programme, it is not possible to identify the characteristics of those who are likely to breach and not breach. As such, it may be suggested that there is no specific work necessary for these characteristics and it is likely to be the programme and its interventions that influences the best results with these persistent and serious young offenders in England and Wales. Further research investigating the specific aspects of the programme is necessary in the forthcoming development and use of the programme.

Overall, the results revealed what cannot be expected from an ISS programme as much as what can be. Most notably, the programme can reduce the severity of future offending but is unable to eliminate offending behaviour with 96% reconvicted of at least one offence within 24 months of the intervention starting.

The conclusions drawn from this research are in accordance with the literature on the escalation and desistance in offending during adolescence (Becker, 1968; Gibbs, 1975; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Tittle 1980; Zimring & Hawkin, 1973). There are traditional criminological theories, which argues that people will eventually simply 'grow out' of crime (Becker, 1968; Moffitt, 1993). As society is unable to wait for people to mature out of offending behaviour, it is crucial that community programmes such as ISS strengthen the individual's social bonds and reasons to gain personal autonomy and control, whilst providing the expectation that community orders can be robust and an appropriate criminal justice option. Desistance from crime can then become a rational choice, and the potential harm to victims and wider society is reduced. Programmes such as ISS can provide an

alternative to custody, and EM technology can assist in being a major facilitator in helping the individual remain in the community.

### *4.3 Limitations*

There are several limitations that have been identified for the current study, which deserve consideration. Firstly, there are aspects of the programme at the YOT where the data was sought which may limit the generalisability of the results found. The resources and activities available to the young people on each programme throughout England and Wales varies greatly, and even year on year within one YOT these may alter. Devising constructive, individualised timetables can be one of the main concerns for YOT staff especially when the research suggests that those referred to the programme have a range of underlying needs (Gray et al., 2005). Secondly, although this study informs readers what the outcome is in terms of reconviction and seriousness rates at two years, it does not provide information about what works, why and in what circumstances. Qualitative techniques would provide some awareness of this and are needed to understand how staff, young people, and their families perceive the effectiveness of ISS (Vanhaelemeesch, Vander Beken & Vandevelde, 2013). This would assist with further understanding what is believed to be the underlying experiences and views of those who are directly involved with ISS programmes, and are able to suggest the elements of the process that are thought to enact some change in young people's offending behaviour.

## 5. *Conclusions and recommendations*

The present study is one of very few to explore an intensive supervision and surveillance programme in England and Wales. Previous research by Gray et al., 2015 used data from 41 programmes, however due to the differences in programmes it was crucial to explore a well-established programme ran by a Youth Offending Team. The findings indicate that intensive community programmes cannot cease offending, but can contribute to reducing the severity of offending from the serious and persistent offenders it aims to assist.

The study has also informed appropriate research direction. Future research of a longitudinal nature, which explores the specific aspects of an ISS programme and the influences of these in promoting the desistance in offending during adolescence would be beneficial. The obligations that can be attached to community sanctions are broad in scope and number, and further research is needed to review the individual outcomes of these. Interventions to reduce offending should be based on both theories about the cause of crime and desistance from crime, and also be informed from programmes that have should to be effective in reducing the frequency and severity of offending (Andrews & Bonta, 1998). This research should play an important role in setting and delivering on government priorities and objectives, and can provide valuable knowledge to the policy evidence base, feeding future development and ideas.

# Chapter 7: General Discussion

## *1. Overview of the Thesis*

The thesis aimed to expand on an under-researched area of the use EM surveillance with young offenders and adults in England and Wales. Firstly, an introduction of the use of EM was presented. This highlighted the role of theory in EM practices, the benefits of noncustodial alternatives to imprisonment, and listed the issues surrounding EM with a specific focus on young people. This led to a systematic review of the literature on the effects of EM on adult offenders, specifically reviewing the rates of reoffending and identifying the gaps in the research. From these two chapter, it was clear that EM is now used at diverse phases in the criminal justice system (bail, sentence, post-release), and targeted at a wide range of offenders, of variable risk levels and entwined with other community order elements including supervision. The lack of research on the impact of interventions involving EM on young people who offend is apparent. This led to an introduction to ISS, a community programme featuring high levels of surveillance and intensive supervision for persistent and serious young offenders. A case study of a young person on ISS, and a research study exploring a sample of offenders referred to an ISS programme followed. The findings from these studies have implications in relation to the management of young offenders in the community, precisely the appropriate interventions that can be employed and identifying areas requiring further research.

## *2. Summary of Findings*

Chapter 2 provided readers with an overview of the development of EM in England and Wales, linking this development and use to several psychological theories: deterrence theory, rational choice theory, and routine activities theory. There are a number of well-documented benefits of community sentences are known, but it was crucial to document the concerns surrounding EM for young offenders. Research in this area is lacking, and does not support the recent introduction of YROs with just an RF electronically monitored curfew. It is crucial to assess how EM can be used to deter young people from criminal behaviour in the short-term, and whether EM can achieve longer-term offender change within specific offender groups.

The systematic review revealed further gaps in the research that exists in the field of EM for offenders'. Nine electronic databases were searched, resulting in 5847 hits. Sixteen studies were included of which only nine could be considered to have shown lower recidivism rates for EM offenders. Evidence relating to the potential impact on reoffending, both whilst on EM and afterwards, is limited and inconclusive. After more than 25 years of EM being used in England Wales, it is expected that more than one study would have met the inclusion criteria for the systematic review. This was not the case, and further emphasised the need for research on this area.

The systematic review showed how EM is used at diverse phases in the criminal justice system (bail, sentence, post-release), and targeted at a wide range of

offenders, of variable risk levels. There is a range of EM technology available, at a variety of intensities, and for a variable duration. EM as a stand-alone intervention is rare, and the review showcased how it is now used within a package of interventions to manage offenders in the community. With few studies researching the use of EM with young people who offend, the author chose to explore how intensive surveillance using EM technology is used in youth justice to manage serious and persistent offenders by exploring its impact in the Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme. At the time of researching this topic, EM was not used as a standalone intervention in the community management of young offenders. This was introduced in 2015, with curfew-only YROs.

The case study portrays client A's experiences on the ISS programme. This psychological assessment and intervention with a young person who was monitored using electronic tagging, provides a unique insight into how this intervention can be used to deter young people from criminal behaviour in the short-term, and be planned around the specific needs of the individual. It documents the interventions and conditions that client A was expected to adhere to throughout his time on bail. He was monitored closely using electronic tagging, home visits and telephone monitoring, following a curfew requirement of 19:00 to 07:00. These requirements provided a restriction of liberty and contributed to maintaining a structured, regimented lifestyle. He successfully complied with the programme, and managed to benefit in a number of ways from the support he received from the YOT. This highlighted a positive experience of a young male who engaged and complied well with the programme, who had this programme not been an option would have been remanded into custody whilst awaiting trial.

Following the conclusions drawn from the case study of how electronic monitoring was used to deter a young person from criminal behaviour, this was used to influence the empirical research study (chapter six) to explore a programme used to manage persistent and serious young offenders in the community. This research found that there are no specific characteristics of the individuals or the programme that can predict the success of young people on ISS. The findings indicate that intensive community programmes cannot cease offending, but can contribute to reducing the severity of offending from the serious and persistent offenders it aims to assist. When the gravity scores of the current offence that led them to be referred to the programme were compared to the highest gravity score of offences 24 months' post intervention, there was a marked reduction with a third being a maximum score of 1.

### *3. Implications and Conclusions*

The collaborative findings of this thesis have indicated the need for further research on the appropriate interventions that can be employed for different offender groups whilst serving a community sentence. There is a need for large-scale longitudinal designs assessing the interventions used daily in youth justice.

The research presented in this thesis identifies potential practical implications for future YOT's practice. EM is a necessary element in the management of offenders, and can provide the necessary structure and skills to assist young people in reducing the severity of their offending behaviour. Throughout the thesis, the underlying themes are the need to ensure all interventions are based around the

specific needs of the individual, and time is taken to assess this. The systematic review displayed the effects of when an intervention is used to manage a range of offenders, of varying risks and complexities and it is crucial this is managed and the effect of this continues to be assessed. The use of community based sentences do provide positive results for individuals and the society as a whole, but we must invest more in research to explore the effectiveness of interventions for our young offenders.

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# Appendices

**Appendix 1: inclusion criteria assessment form**

Full reference:

| **Inclusion criteria** | **Met?** | **Comments** |
|---|---|---|
| Population:<br>- Offender population group | Yes/No | |
| Exposure:<br>- Electronic monitoring as a criminal justice intervention | Yes/No | Which type(s)? |
| Outcome:<br>- completed their community order and/or<br>- some measure of success or failure of the intervention | Yes/No | How measured? |
| Study type:<br>- Case control<br>- cohort | Yes/No | Which type? |
| Exclusion:<br>- not an opinion paper, editorials or review | Yes/No | |
| Conclusion | Included/Excluded | |

**Appendix 2: Quality Assessment Form – General/Cross-Sectional Studies**

**Source database:**

**Full reference:**

| Question | Score | | | | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Y(2) | P(1) | N (0) | U | |
| **Study question and population** | | | | | |
| Were the study objectives clear? | | | | | |
| Is the study population(s) adequately described? | | | | | |
| Is the sample size justified? | | | | | |
| **Selection bias** | | | | | |
| Was the cohort recruited in an acceptable way? | | | | | |
| **Measurement bias** | | | | | |
| Was the type of electronic monitoring described clearly? | | | | | |
| Was the exposure measured in the same way across groups? | | | | | |
| Was the outcome measure clearly stated? (definitions clearly stated) | | | | | |
| Was outcome accurately measured (was exposure uniform to all)? | | | | | |
| Were outcomes measured in the same way across groups? | | | | | |
| **Attrition bias** | | | | | |
| Was drop-out/non-completion rate recorded? | | | | | |
| Was there any attempt to statistically account for missing data? (if relevant) | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Statistical analyses**<br><br>Were statistical analyses appropriate?<br><br>Were confounding variables assessed/taken into consideration?<br><br>Is there any missing data? Is it explained and accounted for?<br><br>Were the conclusions of the study supported by the result, with any limitations/biases taken into consideration? | | | | | |
| **Quality score =**<br><br>**No. unclear =** | | | | | |

**Appendix 3: Quality Assessment Form – additional points for case control studies**

**Source database:**

**Full reference:**

| Question | Score | | | | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Y(2) | P(1) | N (0) | U | |
| Are cases defined explicitly and precisely, with a clearly focused issue being examined? | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| Do cases and controls come from the same population? | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| Were cases recruited in an appropriate and acceptable way? | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| Are the controls similar to the cases, expect without the outcome of interest? | | | | | |
| Do groups have equal opportunity for exposure? | | | | | |
| Was exposure accurately measured to minimise bias? | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Does the exposure precede the outcome of interest?<br><br>Are confounding variables recognised and steps taken to adjust for them? | | | | | |
| **Quality score =**<br><br>**No. unclear =** | | | | | |

**Appendix 4: Quality Assessment Form – additional points for cohort studies**

**Source database:**

**Full reference:**

| Question | Score | | | | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Y(2) | P(1) | N (0) | U | |
| Was the cohort recruited in an appropriate and acceptable way? | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| Was exposure accurately measured to minimise bias? | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| Was outcome accurately measured to minimise bias? | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| Was the follow up period clearly defined? | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| Was the follow up period an appropriate length of time? | | | | | |
| Were those followed up the same as those who were not? | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Was an acceptable proportion of the cohort followed up?<br><br>Was the follow up of subjects 'complete' enough? | | | | | |
| **Quality score =**<br><br>**No. unclear =** | | | | | |

**Appendix 5: Quality Assessment Form – additional points for randomised control trial**

**Source database:**

**Full reference:**

| **Question** | **Score** | | | | **Comments** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Y(2)** | **P(1)** | **N (0)** | **U** | |
| Was the assignment of people to treatments randomised? | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| Were the groups similar at the start of the trial? | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| Aside from the experimental intervention were the groups treated equally? | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| Were all of the patients who entered the trial properly accounted for at its conclusion? | | | | | |
| Can the results be applied in your context? | | | | | |
| Were all important outcomes considered? | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Are the benefits worth the harms and costs?<br><br>Was the follow up of subjects 'complete' enough? | | | | | |
| **Quality score =**<br><br>**No. unclear =** | | | | | |

## Appendix 6: Data extraction form

**Date of date extraction:**

**Author:**

**Article title:**

**Reference manager ID:**

**Identification of reviewer:**

**Notes:**

**Re-verification of study eligibility**

Population:

- offender population Y N ? Notes?

Exposure:

- electronic monitoring as a CJ intervention Y N ? Notes?

Outcome

- completed community order
- success or failure of the intervention

**Specific information:**

Aim/objectives of the study:

Study design:

Study inclusion criteria:

Study exclusion criteria:

Recruitment procedures used:

**Participant characteristics:**

Number of participants enrolled:

Age:

Gender:

Ethnicity:

Country:

Any other information:

**Population characteristics:**

1. Target population
2. Types of offences committed by population
3. Were exposure and other group(s) comparable?

**Exposure**

1. What type of electronic monitoring used?

**Outcome**

1. What type of outcome was measured?

**Results:**

1. Statistical techniques used?
2. Are stats adjusted for confounding variables?
3. Is missing data dealt with?
4. Any additional outcomes recorded?
5. Key conclusions of the study authors
6. References to other relevant studies

**Overall study quality?**

Good Satisfactory Poor

**Notes**

## Appendix 7: A Sample of Offences listed by Youth Justice Board seriousness score

Abduction/Kidnapping – score of 7

- Abduction of female by force
- Child abduction
- False imprisonment
- Hijacking
- Kidnapping

Assault police officer – score of 3

- Assault with intent to resist arrest or assaulting a person assisting a police constable

Common assault - score of 3

- Assault and battery
- Assault by beating

Grievous Bodily Harm – a score of 6

Manslaughter – a score of 8

Murder – a score of 8

Indictable firearms offences- – a score of 5

- Possessing a real or imitation firearm at the time of committing or being arrested for an offence specified in Schedule 1 of the Firearms Act 1968
- Possession of real or imitation firearms/explosives with intent to commit an indictable offence including resisting arrest

- Possession of real or imitation firearms/explosives with intent to cause violence

Other wounding – a score of 4

- Administering poison with intent to injure or annoy
- Assault occasioning actual bodily harm (ABH)

Possession of an offensive weapon – a score of 3

- Having an article with a blade or point in a public place

Threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour - – a score of 3

Threat or conspiracy to murder – a score of 5

Wounding or other act endangering life – a score of 7

Wounding with intent to cause grievous bodily harm (section 18) – a score of 7

Other/unspecified violence against the person – a score of 4

Gross indecency with a child – a score of 5

Incest – a score of 7

Indecent assault – a score of 5

Indecent behaviour/exposure – a score of 4

Rape – a score of 8

Other/unspecified sexual offences – a score of 5

Death by dangerous driving – a score of 8

Injury by dangerous driving – a score of 5

Dangerous driving – a score of 5

Driving under the influence of drinks/drugs – a score of 3

Driving whilst disqualified – a score of 5

Interfering with a motor vehicle – a score of 3

Refusing to give breath test – a score of 4

Robbery – a score of 6

Aggravated burglary of a dwelling – a score of 7

Burglary in a dwelling – a score of 6

Other/unspecified domestic burglary – a score of 6

Aggravated burglary of a non-dwelling – a score of 7

Burglary in a non-dwelling – a score of 4

Found on enclosed premises – a score of 3

Other/unspecified non-domestic burglary – a score of 4

Aggravated vehicle taking – a score of 5