

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

Tracey Gyateng, Tim McSweeney and Mike Hough from The Institute for Criminal Policy Research, King's College London

Acknowledgements

We would like to express our gratitude to the London Criminal Justice Partnership (CJP) for funding this independent research study examining the key predictors of breach and compliance with community penalties in the capital. Particular thanks are due to Linda Johnson and her colleagues at the London CJP.

We are also greatly indebted to Pauline Durrance from London Probation Trust and her colleagues, Andrew Farthing, Chris Stone and Brian Robinson, for their invaluable assistance, support and advice throughout the project.

Finally, we are grateful to members of the OASys Data, Evaluation and Analysis Team (O-DEAT) at the Ministry of Justice – Robin Moore, Philip Howard and Wendy Smith-Yau – for the provision of OASys data and their advice on its analysis and interpretation.

Tracey Gyateng

Tim McSweeney

Mike Hough

May 2010

Version: Final

Published: September 2010

Information about the London Criminal Justice Partnership (CJP) can be found here: <http://cjb.cjsonline.gov.uk/London/3124.html>

Contents

Key findings	3
1. Introduction	7
2. Aims and objectives	11
3. Methodology	12
4. Results	17
4.1. A profile of the sample	17
4.2 To what extent do sentences match the needs of the courts and offenders?	22
4.3 Where are the main gaps in provision? How could these gaps be filled?	24
4.4 What are the key predictors of breach and compliance?	27
4.5 Were there instances where fines might have been proposed as an alternative to a CO (in line with the 2003 CJA)?	31
5. Conclusions and recommendations	32
References	38
Appendix A	41
Appendix B: Regression Models	45

Key findings

Background

Non-compliance with court orders and subsequent breach proceedings are important factors fuelling a rising prison population: one in seven (14%) receptions into English and Welsh prison establishments during 2008 were for breach of a court order. The London Criminal Justice Partnership (LCJP) has established a Compliance and Enforcement Strategy for 2008/2011 which seeks to reduce re-offending and prison overcrowding, and lower the considerable costs of enforcement activities in the capital. This independent research study by the Institute for Criminal Policy Research (ICPR), King's College London, sought to support and inform the delivery of that strategy in achieving these aims.

Aims and objectives

This study aimed to meet the LCJP's need for strategic information that would:

- help probation staff target their proposals to sentencers more precisely;
- identify gaps in provision which could be addressed by using packages of requirements attached to orders more creatively;
- identify the key predictors of breach and compliance; and
- identify the sub-groups of offenders for whom other disposals, such as fines, are the most sensible PSR proposal.

Our approach

The research used existing administrative data collated by London Probation (LP) to assess and identify those static and dynamic risk factors – including area-level variables - associated with breach and compliance of a Community Order (CO) and/or Suspended Sentence Order (SSO) (and elements of these disposals) during 2007/8. The datasets used included:

- the Offender Assessment System (OASys)
- Delius (case management system)
- Interim Accredited Programmes Software (IAPS); and
- Enforcement Tracker.

Sentence Plan Outcomes shadow measure data produced by the OASys Data, Evaluation and Analysis Team (O-DEAT) were also used. These data considered the effectiveness of sentence planning and delivery in addressing offenders' criminogenic needs.

After adhering to a number of data validation processes our final sample comprised of 25,709 episodes (18,645 COs and 7,064 SSOs) relating to 23,054 individuals. Of these, 8,288 episodes could be matched with a valid OASys assessment completed during April 2007 and March 2008. Excluding offenders who were not eligible for an OASys assessment (those supervised at Tier 1 and Tier 2 and offenders serving only one requirement for unpaid work) 45 per cent of records could be matched with a valid assessment. Data from IAPS related to 5,541 accredited programmes, of which 2,426 (44%) could be linked to a valid OASys assessment, having also been linked to Delius.

Results

To what extent do sentences match the needs of the courts and offenders?

Termination of Community Supervision Assessment data for 2007/08 were used to examine the degree to which changes were recorded in OASys scores relating to specific areas of identified need – thus providing a proxy measure of the extent to which each of the 10 criminogenic needs assessed by OASys showed improvement, decline or no change during the period of supervision. While caution needs to be exercised when using these data for this purpose, between 62 and 73 per cent of cases showed no change in criminogenic scores following a period of statutory supervision.

Where are the main gaps in provision?

Start of Community Order assessments for the capital during 2007/08 indicate that substance misuse – i.e. both drugs (36%) and alcohol (37%), education, training and employment (ETE) (59%) and thinking and behaviour (57%) were the most prevalent of the 10 offending related needs assessed using OASys. These data indicate that LP was particularly effective at addressing the needs of substance misusers in sentence planning: three-quarters (74%) of those with a drug need identified at assessment had a related intervention stipulated in their sentence plan. Conversely,

two-thirds of all alcohol misusers (68%) identified during the start of sentence assessment process in London had their needs incorporated into sentence planning. However, the rate of intervention in sentence planning was considerably lower for the remaining areas of need assessed by OASys.

What are the key predictors of breach and compliance?

Two-fifths (39%) of LP cases had breach proceedings initiated during 2007/08; however, a lower proportion of SSOs (34%) in the capital were found to have breached compared with COs (41%). When compared with national use of requirements during 2007, LP appeared to make greater use of three or more requirements as part of a CO or SSO. It is noteworthy then that the likelihood of breach increased significantly in line with the number of requirements imposed on an offender.

Currently serving a community sentence for a breach offence and being sentenced to a drug-related requirement were the two single most important factors predicting an **increased** likelihood of *breaching* a CO or SSO in London during 2007/08. Being young (i.e. aged 24 or less); having an OASys identified drug need; a previous history of breach; the borough in which an offender was supervised; the type and longer length of a disposal: all significantly increased the probability of breaching the four main disposals supervised by LP.

LP had a higher rate of COs completing for positive reasons during 2007/08 (59%) than the national average (57%), but a lower rate for SSOs (45% compared to 52%). The nature of the current offence, type of requirement and the borough in which the offender was supervised were the three single most significant factors predicting an **increased** likelihood of *completing* a CO or SSO in London during 2007/08. However - as anticipated - age, criminogenic needs and risks, a previous history of breach, and the length and intensity of current supervision all significantly **reduced** the probability of *completing* the four main disposals supervised by LP during this period.

Were there instances where fines might have been proposed as an alternative to a CO (in line with the 2003 CJA)?

Two factors prevented us from making an informed assessment about whether and to what extent fines might have been more appropriately proposed by LP as an alternative to a CO: HM Court Service information relating to the use of fines could

not be extracted and utilised for the current study; and OASys, given its focus on assessing risks and needs, does not routinely or consistently record the monetary value of offences.

Conclusions and recommendations

Our analysis points to the need for a London-wide strategy for improving compliance that has the following elements:

- A range of effective and evidence-based compliance strategies tailored specifically for those groups that have a high risk of breach and non-compliance (i.e. those identified as drug misusers and with a history of previous breach).
- Creativity in the use of finite – and diminishing - resources to fill gaps in provision, particularly for those assessed with needs around lifestyles and associates, accommodation and relationships, who appear to be poorly served through statutory supervision at present. Furthermore, would 20 six-month drug rehabilitation requirements deliver on the rehabilitative aims of sentencing as effectively as 10 twelve-month ones?
- A fuller understanding of the key predictors of compliance by identifying best practice lessons from high performing areas and individual offender managers around effective strategies for promoting engagement and compliance.
- A greater emphasis on diverting inappropriate offenders from probation supervision. The finding that Tier 1 offenders (most of whom had an unpaid work requirement for a theft, violence or motoring offence) were at a significantly increased risk of breach and non-compliance suggests that such a strategy will need to effectively address the causes of this: whether through the greater use of fines for suitable offenders; tackling resistance to a supervision process that many offenders might consider inappropriate or disproportionate for them; or perhaps addressing the unmet needs of Tier 1 offenders to a greater extent in order to secure their compliance.

1. Introduction

Non-compliance with court orders and subsequent breach proceedings are important factors fuelling a rising prison population: one in seven (14%) receptions into English and Welsh prison establishments during 2008 were for breach of a court order (Ministry of Justice, 2009: 67). However, while 30 per cent of Community Orders (COs) in England and Wales were terminated for negative reasons during 2008, this was lower than the corresponding figures for 2006 (38%) and 2007 (34%). During 2008 just under one in five (19%) COs were terminated for failure to comply with requirements and 12 per cent for conviction for a further offence. The pattern for Suspended Sentence Orders (SSOs) followed a similar trend: just under one third (32%) were terminated for negative reasons during 2008, having fallen considerably since 2006 (53%) and 2007 (40%) (ibid: 44).

During 2006/07 London Probation (LP) had more cases reaching the six months stage without requiring breach action (78%) and more orders and licences terminating successfully (80%) than the national average (72% and 74% respectively). This considerable achievement was perhaps overshadowed by the fact that LP did have fewer cases where breach action had been taken within 10 working days (88%); below both the national target (90%) and average (92%) (National Probation Service, 2007: 10). However, as acknowledged by HM Inspectorate of Probation following a recent inquiry in the capital:

“many factors...have made it difficult for London staff to carry out effective practice. These included high numbers of particularly difficult offenders, some high individual caseloads - sometimes exacerbated by staff sickness - and an information technology system that often froze or failed altogether” (2009: 2).

In order to sustain this level of performance and to ensure remedial action is taken where necessary, the London Criminal Justice Partnership (LCJP) has established a Compliance and Enforcement Strategy for 2008/2011. This seeks to reduce re-offending and prison overcrowding, and lower the considerable costs of enforcement activities in the capital. This independent research study by the Institute for Criminal Policy Research (ICPR), King's College London, sought to support and inform the delivery of that strategy in achieving these aims by identifying those factors

associated with breach and compliance (measured in terms of completion) of statutory supervision under LP during 2007/08. It is perhaps worth noting that during the intervening period, the '*Going for Green*' agenda in an effort to secure Trust status across LP will have invariably provided the impetus for a much sharper focus on improving aspects of organisation and delivery (e.g. through more accurate tiering of offenders).

Predictors of compliance and re-offending

As noted above, offenders breach the conditions of their order and licences in two main ways: by reoffending; and by failing to comply with the specific instructions of the supervising officer – for example missing appointments or failing to attend accredited programmes. In developing his conceptual framework to inform our understanding of compliance and effective responses to it, Bottoms (2002) distinguishes between instrumental, habitual, constraint-based and normative forms of compliance. This work has been further developed by Robinson and McNeill (2008), who, drawing on a range of contemporary socio-legal theories, argue for the development of strategies that avoid what they perceive to be a short-sighted and narrowly focused preoccupation with 'formal' compliance, and instead promotes more meaningful or 'substantive' adherence to the law.

There is also now a large body of research about the predictors of reconviction, some of it done by ourselves¹. The 'static'² predictors of re-conviction are well-established. These risk factors include:

- Being male
- Being young
- Being a property offender
- Having a large number of previous convictions
- Starting a criminal career early.

¹ Mike Hough directed and co-authored the first large-scale reconviction study mounted by the Home Office (Lloyd, Mair and Hough, 1994). This led to the development of OGRS, which he also oversaw.

² Howard (2006: 2) describes static factors as those which are not amenable to change (e.g. previous convictions). Dynamic factors, by contrast, are subject to variation and change over time (e.g. substance misuse).

In addition to a range of complex and inter-related 'dynamic' risk factors such as attitudes, thinking skills, associates, housing and education and training, for example, drug misuse and dependency have also emerged as strong correlates of re-offending in more recent years (Howard, 2006; May et al., 2008; Ministry of Justice, 2008).

These are also good predictors of who will breach – especially for the majority whose breach is associated with re-offending. But while, historically, different probation areas have displayed considerable variability in their responses to breach and their approach to enforcement (Ellis, Hedderman and Mortimer, 1996; Hedderman and Hearnden, 2000), one of the few British studies to examine the effect of enforcement styles on outcomes concluded that:

“Offenders in areas with high rates of breach at court had reconviction rates which were not statistically significantly different from those in areas with low rates of breach at court. ‘Strictness’ of an area, therefore, appeared to have little impact on the overall reconviction rate“ (Hearnden and Millie, 2003: 3).

On the other hand, completion of probation programmes and interventions has consistently been associated with reduced rates of reconviction (Hollis, 2007; Hough et al., 2003; McIvor, 2004)³.

Identifying predictors of breach and compliance

This information, however, is not especially useful for informing a strategy aimed at improving compliance, for its only implication is the mundane one that working with low-risk offenders will result in fewer breaches. As well as developing an understanding of the characteristics of those likely to breach in different contexts, which remains a gap in our knowledge (Joint Thematic Inspection Report, 2007), what such a strategy needs is additional information that will point to ways of minimising non-compliance amongst high-risk as well as low-risk offenders.

As Kemshall and Canton have observed *“attrition is seen as located in the interactions between offender, service and programme, and consequently solutions must reflect this”* (2002: 4). This study therefore seeks to identify sub-groups at particular risk of breach and contribute towards improving the match, for each

³ Though it remains unclear to what extent these reductions in re-offending are related to interventions or to differences between completers and non-completers.

offender, between the factors that trigger non-compliance, and the conditions of their CO or SSO. Using existing administrative datasets, we set out to meet the LCJP's need for strategic information that would:

- help probation staff target their proposals to sentencers more precisely;
- identify gaps in provision which could be addressed by using packages of requirements attached to orders more creatively;
- identify the key predictors of breach and compliance; and
- identify sub-groups of offenders for whom other disposals, such as fines, are the most sensible PSR proposal.

2. Aims and objectives

In order to further develop and inform their understanding of ‘What Works?’ around the issue of compliance, the LCJP sought to commission an independent research study which would:

- Help ensure that probation staff target their proposals in ways that address the purpose of sentencing as specified by sentencers, whilst mapping closely onto the needs of the individual offender.
- Identify gaps in provision which could be addressed by new, creative packages of requirements attached to Community Orders and Suspended Sentence Orders.
- Identify the key predictors of breach and, conversely, those predicting compliance. The aim here was to develop an understanding of how probation staff might better promote compliance with statutory supervision.
- Identify whether and/or where fines might be proposed as an alternative to Community Orders in line with the 2003 Criminal Justice Act.

Such a study would prove timely in helping to inform the ongoing provision of LP supervision across the capital and contribute towards achieving a sharper focus on delivering effective forms of sentencing across the region, and beyond.

3. Methodology

Data sources

The research involved secondary analysis of existing administrative data collated by LP to assess and identify those static and dynamic risk factors – including area-level variables - associated with breach and compliance (completion) of a CO and/or SSO (and elements of these disposals). The datasets used included:

- the Offender Assessment System (OASys)
- Delius (case management system)
- Interim Accredited Programmes Software (IAPS); and
- Enforcement Tracker⁴.

We also utilised existing Sentence Plan Outcomes shadow measure data produced by the OASys Data, Evaluation and Analysis Team (O-DEAT)⁵. Using data from OASys these analyses considered the effectiveness of sentence planning and delivery in addressing offenders' criminogenic needs. Using both national and local activity data these measures describe the extent to which sentence plans fitted identified criminogenic needs, planned interventions were completed and changes were recorded in OASys scores relating to specific areas of identified need.

Data validation

The datasets were linked using attributor codes (first three letters of the forename, first two letters of the surname and date of birth) for those commencing a CO or SSO between 01.04.2007 and 31.03.2008. In line with advice from O-DEAT we sought to ensure that the dates of probation commencement and OASys completion were within 16 weeks of each other and that the offender was aged at least 18 years. Both pre- and post-sentence assessments were included in the merge. Duplicate assessments for the same cases were matched (using Microsoft Access) to corresponding datasets by prioritising valid OASys assessments and selecting those

⁴ Although Enforcement Tracker data were provided by LP we were unable to use these data in order to link breach activity to specific elements of an order. Instead data on breaches for different requirements were derived from the Delius case management system.

⁵ We are grateful to Dr. Robin Moore from O-DEAT for providing us with these data and for allowing us to use them to inform this report to the LCJP.

cases in which the OASys completion date and the probation commencement date were most closely matched. Again, in line with O-DEAT guidance, for an assessment to be held valid the following standards of data completion had to be satisfied:

- Each of the scored sections (1 to 12) within the core OASys assessment must have had at least four-fifths of their scored items completed – ensuring that each criminogenic need was assessed properly.
- In the risk of serious harm component of OASys, the screening will have been completed, the decision whether to complete a full risk analysis should have been consistent with the information provided, and the four ratings of risk of serious harm in the community must also have been completed. Finally, for sentence plans a criminogenic need must have been recorded within the objectives and plans sections of OASys.

Data cleaning

In addition to OASys data, LP also provided ICPR with information on offenders receiving a court disposal from April 2007 to March 2008 extracted from Delius - the LP case management system - and from IAPS. The data from Delius related to 39,002 individuals who had been sentenced 47,756 times by the courts. Eighty three per cent of them were sentenced only once during this period.

This sample included 1,076 young people aged under 18 and four people of unknown age which were excluded from our analysis. At the request of LCJP the study focussed only on people who were sentenced to a CO or SSO during 2007/08. Excluding those who received a different disposal resulted in a final sample of 25,709 episodes⁶ (18,645 COs and 7,064 SSOs) relating to 23,054 individuals. Furthermore, OASys is only mandatory for Tiers 2⁷, 3 and 4 community sentence offenders, who accounted for 67 per cent (17,238) of the 25,709 episodes supervised by LP as part of a CO or SSO during 2007/08. Of all episodes, 8,288 (32% of all sentences, 45% of eligible sentences) could be matched with an OASys assessment completed during April 2007 and March 2008, and which conformed to the data validation process

⁶ Each order is treated as an episode. There are more episodes than offenders because one person can be given more than one order over a twelve month period.

⁷ It is not mandatory for Tier 2 offenders who only receive a stand alone requirement of unpaid work

described above. This match rate was lower than presented by Moore (2009) who was able to match 49 per cent of all sentences and 61 per cent of eligible sentences with a valid OASys. A likely reason for the lower match rate for this study could be that OASys assessments were collected for the financial year 07/08, which would miss out on any assessments completed in 16 weeks either side of the financial year.

Similar to Moore (2009), OASys assessments also took place for offenders where it was not mandatory (Tier 1 and Tier 2 stand alone unpaid work offenders). These were included in the model, but as expected, there were significant differences between the two, as these non-eligible cases were less likely to be assessed as presenting a serious risk of either harm or reconviction.

Overall, there were significant differences between offenders who had a valid OASys assessment and those who did not. A range of characteristics recorded on Delius were tested for differences and it was found that the OASys sample had a higher proportion of Tier 3 and 4 offenders; sentences above 12 months; 2 or more requirements; above medium risk of serious harm, more white and mixed race offenders; and offenders aged between 25-44. Gender was the only variable which was not significantly different between the two samples. This indicates that the findings from the OASys sample reported here is not fully representative of all 25,709 cases supervised by LP during this period, with a bias towards cases which were assessed as posing a higher risk in the former (a finding also reported by Moore, 2009:6)

Data from IAPS related to 5,541 accredited programmes, of which 2,426 (44%) could be linked to a valid OASys assessment (used in order to incorporate demographic and criminogenic factors), having also been linked to Delius (which enabled consideration of area-level influences on breach and compliance).

Dependent and independent variables

Our dependent variables were measures of breach and compliance. Breach was assessed by examining whether an offender had (i) breached either the CO or SSO during the period of supervision, or (ii) had breached any individual requirement imposed by the court. Our justification for using this approach is that it is possible, in theory at least, to fail to comply with an individual requirement (e.g. a drug rehabilitation requirement) without it necessarily being detrimental to the status of the

overall order. We also thought that it was important to test whether different factors predict breach for different requirements (assuming these will differ for substance misuse requirements versus unpaid work, for example).

Compliance was defined as (i) having terminated a CO or SSO for positive reasons (e.g. having run their full course or terminating early for good progress), (ii) having completed a requirement of the order and (iii) having started and completed an accredited programme.

A key component of the research involved identifying and understanding how a range of independent static and dynamic factors may have had an influence on whether probationers engaged and complied with statutory CO and SSO supervision in London. There were a number of variables from the assembled administrative datasets, on which we had good quality data, which were hypothesised as potential factors. These included:

- demographics (age, gender, ethnicity);
- nature and extent of 'criminogenic' needs;
- criminal history (including Offender Group Reconviction Scale (OGRS) score);
- current offence (including level of risk);
- disposal (details of number and type of additional requirements); and
- supervision (borough in which the offender was supervised)⁸.

Analysis

All quantitative data were subject to analysis using SPSS and STATA. Descriptive statistics were used to profile the characteristics of the sample. Analysis of categorical variables involved the use of chi-square tests. Levels of association between binary dependent and continuous variables were tested using Pearson correlations (assuming normally distributed data)⁹. In an attempt to disentangle any

⁸ Twenty two of the 23 operational London boroughs were included within our regression models. The reference area for each model (with the exception of the drug interventions model, where the Dedicated Drug Court boroughs were used as a reference) was the area which had the lowest breach rate and the lowest compliance (completion) rate.

⁹ In addition, correlations were also run between independent variables and highly correlated variables were removed from the analysis to reduce the risk of multicollinearity occurring. Results of regression models (z scores and confidence intervals) were also explored for indications of multicollinearity and variables removed from the model if small z scores or large intervals were observed.

inter-relationships between offender characteristics and probation area cluster, for instance, and thus identify those factors most predictive of securing compliance, logistic regression models were developed and tested using variables found to be correlated (both positively and negatively) with outcomes.

We also mounted logistic regression analysis with random effects to reduce any bias that can occur when observations within a sample are not independent of each other (e.g. where a person can be included in a dataset more than once)¹⁰.

Two levels of modelling were therefore conducted to examine the likelihood of breach and compliance with an order. The first level sought to identify those factors which determine whether *the CO or SSO in its entirety* was complied with or subject to breach proceedings (utilising data from Delius and OASys). The second level then identified those factors predictive of whether four of the main *individual requirements* of the CO/SSO were complied with or breached (utilising data from Delius, IAPs and OASys).

¹⁰ Logistic regression is useful in assessing good predictors of the variables of interest as it can isolate particular characteristics having taken account of others which may also predict the variable. However a major disadvantage is that if important predictors of the variable of interest are missed, this can lead to the model being incorrectly specified.

4. Results

4.1 A profile of the sample

This section briefly outlines the demographic and criminogenic profile of the LP sample¹¹ using the core datasets and key variables used to measure breach and compliance. A full list of variables used to identify predictors of both breach and compliance are listed in Table A1 Appendix A.

Demographics

Most of the LP caseload during 2007/08 was made up of males (n=22,110; 86%); white British offenders, though underrepresented relative to the London population, comprised the largest single ethnic group (n=9,985; 39%). Over a third (n=8,950; 35%) were aged under 25 years. While this age and gender profile was broadly similar to that of those commencing CO and SSO supervision in England and Wales during 2007, there were considerably fewer white offenders in the LP caseload than the national average (83%) (Ministry of Justice, 2008: 16, 19 and 20).

The profiles of those serving COs and SSOs across the LP during 2007/08 were very similar. The average (mean) age for those sentenced to a CO was 32 years old, slightly older than those on an SSO (31 years old). Females comprised a slightly higher proportion of COs (14%) in comparison to SSOs (13%). Similar proportions of ethnic minorities were found in both CO (41%) and SSO groups (43%) across the LP region¹².

Offending and levels of risk

Violence against the person (22%), theft and handling (19%), and summary motoring offences (18%) were the most common offences dealt with by LP during 2007/08 for both CO and SSO cases. Offences of this nature accounted for three-fifths of the entire LP caseload during this time. By contrast, these offences accounted for under half (47%) of the national CO and SSO caseload during this period (ibid: 18).

¹¹ This refers only to those sentenced to a CO or SSO and supervised by LP during 2007/08.

¹² Data on ethnicity were either missing (1%) or refused (5%) in six per cent of LP cases.

According to OASys data, 46 per cent of LP cases with a valid OASys had no history of sexual/violent offending. As anticipated, offenders on COs had slightly lower proportions of those posing a high risk of sexual/violent offending compared to those serving SSOs (11% and 13% respectively). Similarly, a slightly higher proportion of SSOs were assessed as having a high risk of re-offending (18%) compared to CO cases (16%). However, the majority of offenders were assessed as posing a medium risk of re-offending (53% for both COs and SSOs).

Nationally during 2007 the largest proportion of both CO and SSO cases were supervised at Tier 3¹³ (35% and 47% respectively) (ibid: 21). This pattern was replicated within the LP caseload, as indicated in Table 4.1.1 below. Both COs and SSOs had a higher proportion of cases supervised on the highest offender management tiers, with the majority of SSOs involving offenders supervised at Tier 3.

Table 4.1.1: LP supervision Tier by type of order (%)

Current Supervision Tier	Community Order (CO)	Suspended Sentence Order (SSO)	LP total
1	26	16	23
2	27	26	27
3	43	53	46
4	4	6	5
Total	100	100	100
N	18,427	6,942	25,369

Note: 340 cases had no data on current supervision Tier.

There were large differences in the level of supervision provided by London boroughs. As illustrated in Table 4.1.2, Haringey had the lowest proportion of Tier three supervisions at 25 per cent, where as in Tower Hamlets the proportion was almost three times as large (73%). (See Table A2 in appendix A to see differences in areas and supervision tiers across the OASys sample.)

¹³ As part of the National Offender Management Model a four-tiered framework was developed for allocating resources, with Tier four representing the highest risk. This principle espouses the notion that resources should follow risk so that “[t]iering provides a logical and consistent framework for the allocation of Offender Management time, priority and competence to individual cases. It also has utility in resource modelling at a national level, resource management at a local level, in workforce planning and the setting of delivery standards”. (Grapes, 2006: 51).

Table 4.1.2: LP supervision Tier by area (%)

Area	Current supervision Tier				Total	N
	1	2	3	4		
Haringey	50	22	25	3	100	1,915
Bexley and Bromley	34	38	26	3	100	2,304
Merton and Sutton	32	37	27	4	100	1,530
Barking, Dagenham and Havering	52	15	30	2	100	1,986
Newham	37	29	32	2	100	1,938
Harrow and Hillingdon	32	26	39	3	100	1,638
Ealing	24	33	40	3	100	1,542
Lambeth	19	35	41	5	100	1,656
Other	19	28	48	5	100	572
Hounslow	6	29	54	11	100	504
Greenwich	14	25	59	2	100	778
Brent	5	28	60	7	100	550
Barnet and Enfield	11	21	61	6	100	1,033
Kingston and Richmond	5	20	62	13	100	351
Hammersmith, Fulham and Wandsworth	2	24	65	9	100	863
Croydon	5	25	66	4	100	668
Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster	3	26	67	4	100	556
Southwark	2	22	67	9	100	801
Redbridge and Waltham Forest	2	25	67	6	100	872
Hackney	4	19	69	8	100	645
Lewisham	3	21	71	4	100	667
Camden and Islington	5	15	71	9	100	975
Tower Hamlets	2	17	73	7	100	588
Total	23	26	46	5	100	24,932

Note: 777 cases no data on the area

Three-fifths of the LP sample was classed as being of medium risk of serious harm, with SSOs having a larger proportion of cases rated as such than COs, as illustrated in Table 4.1.3 below.

Table 4.1.3: Levels of assessed risk of serious harm for LP offenders, by type of order (%)

Risk of serious harm	Community Order (CO)	Suspended Sentence Order (SSO)	LP total
Low	41	32	38
Medium	55	62	57
High	5	6	5
Very High	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100
N	14,140	5,684	19,824

Note: 5,885 cases had no data on risk of serious harm.

Sentencing

There are 12 types of requirement which a court can impose as a condition of a CO or SSO. The most common types of requirement supervised by LP during 2007/08 included:

- supervision (14,344);
- unpaid work (13,460);
- accredited programmes (5,947);
- drug treatment (2,828);
- curfew (2,402);
- specified activity (1,594); and
- alcohol treatment (1,457).

There were fewer requirements imposed relating to a residence (301) or exclusion requirement (307), a prohibited activity (286), mental health treatment (274) or an attendance centre (79). This pattern was broadly in keeping with national CO and SSO activity relating to the use of additional requirements during 2007 (ibid: 24).

The average (mean) number of requirements supervised by LP was two¹⁴. However, less than one in five offenders (18%) had three or more requirements as a condition of their CO or SSO. Whilst half of all LP CO cases during 2007/08 involved a single requirement, 61 per cent of SSOs had two or more. When compared with national use of requirements during 2007 then LP appeared to make no greater use of three or more requirements as part of a CO or SSO, as illustrated in Table 4.1.4. However, we are unable to determine whether this reflected the proposals being made by LP report authors during this period or instead the courts using their discretion to impose more requirements than were actually being proposed to them.

¹⁴ This average for LP is likely to be a slight underestimate as Delius data provided to ICPR only allowed for a maximum of four requirements to be recorded.

Table 4.1.4: National and LP sentence requirements, by order type (%)

Number of requirements	LP Community Orders (COs) (2007/08)	LP Suspended Sentence Orders (SSOs) (2007/08)	LP total (2007/08)	National Community Orders (COs)(2007) ¹⁵	National Suspended Sentence Orders (SSOs)(2007)	National total (2007)
1	50	39	47	49	37	46
2	34	39	35	35	42	37
3	15	19	16	14	18	15
4 +	2	2	2	2	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	18,172	6,896	25,068	117,860	44,421	162,281

Note:

1. 473 COs and 168 SSOs were classified as having no requirement.
2. Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding

¹⁵ Ministry of Justice, 2008:23

4.2 To what extent do sentences match the needs of the courts and offenders?

To assess the extent to which sentences in the capital during 2007/08 matched the needs of offenders (and by implication the courts in addressing criminogenic need amongst the offender population) we have used existing O-DEAT Sentence Plan Outcomes shadow measure data. We have focussed on valid Termination of Community Supervision Assessment data¹⁶ to examine the degree to which changes were recorded in OASys scores relating to specific areas of identified need – thus providing a proxy measure of the extent to which each of the 10 criminogenic needs assessed by OASys showed improvement, decline or no change during the period of supervision.

When using OASys data in this way any results need to be interpreted with caution. As Moore has observed:

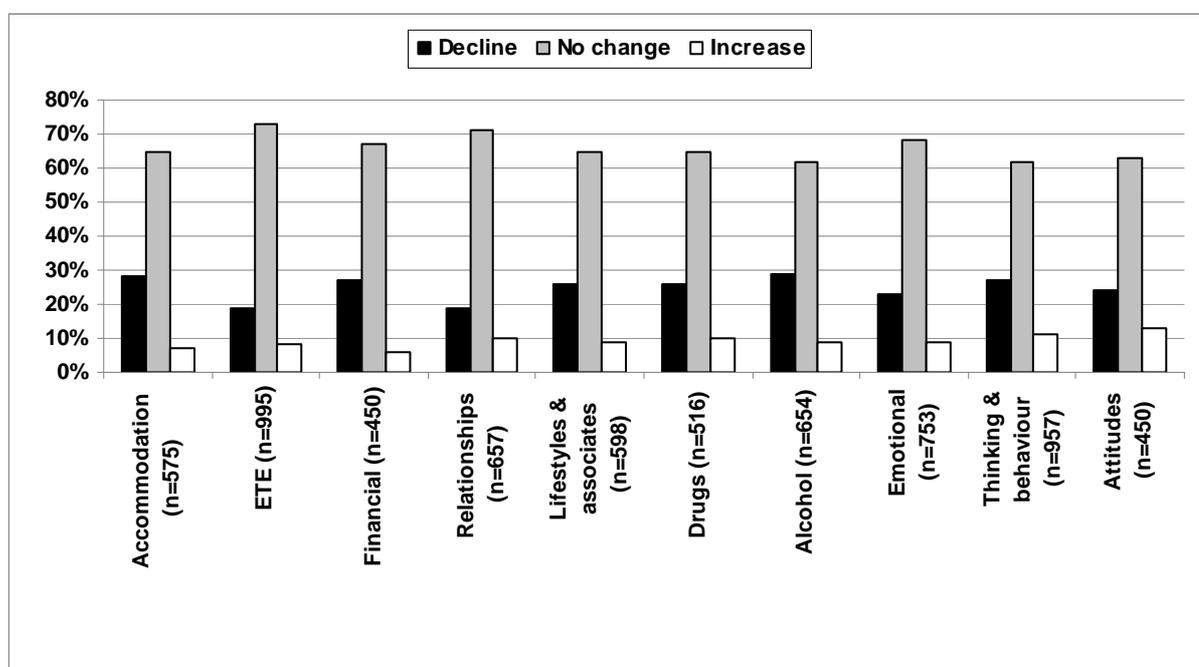
“Some OASys score changes may reflect more information having become available, known as the ‘disclosure effect’, rather than any real differences in the offenders’ circumstances...In addition, we would advise against attributing the cause of any score changes to the ‘effects’ of any interventions as this conclusion has not yet been rigorously tested” (2008: 5).

Exploratory analysis by Howard and Moore (2009) using OASys as a measure of change found that around one-third of assessments demonstrating no change were not properly considered reviews. Furthermore, where identified needs are not being addressed within the sentence plan, it is likely that, in some instances, practitioners are restrained by the availability of suitable programmes, and, in other instances, they are prioritising other sentence requirements, criminogenic needs or risk of harm issues. It is also likely that, in certain cases, practitioners are taking into account further factors regarding the suitability of individual programmes, or are overriding scored criminogenic needs with professional judgements regarding links to offending behaviour.

¹⁶ This sample is restricted to valid 2003 CJA Termination of Community Supervision assessments. The total numbers only reflect those assessed; some groups of offenders are unlikely to be assessed. Differences in profiles may reflect variations of practice rather than differences in the ‘true’ profile.

In addition, the quality of the data is also dependent upon the assessor completing the record in order to update it, and review fully and consistently the risks/needs of the offender.¹⁷ With these caveats in mind, it is perhaps noteworthy that, as illustrated in Figure 4.2.1 below, across each of the 10 domains assessed by OASys throughout the LP region during this period, it appears that between 62 and 73 per cent of cases showed no change in criminogenic scores following a period of statutory supervision.

Figure 4.2.1: Changes in OASys criminogenic scores following a period of supervision by LP during 2007/08 (N=1,837)



The implications of these results are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

¹⁷ However the LCJP has suggested that data quality across LP has greatly improved since 2008.

4.3 Where are the main gaps in provision? How could these gaps be filled?

In order to consider the effectiveness of LP sentence planning and delivery in addressing offenders' criminogenic needs we again used existing O-DEAT Sentence Plan Outcomes shadow measure data. Focussing just on Start of Community Order assessments for the capital during 2007/08¹⁸, these data indicate that substance misuse – i.e. both drugs (36%) and alcohol (37%), education, training and employment (ETE) (59%) and thinking and behaviour (57%) were the most prevalent of the 10 offending related domains assessed using OASys. By contrast, fewer than half the offenders assessed at the start of supervision in London had needs identified around:

- lifestyle and associates (40%);
- emotional wellbeing (43%);
- relationships (38%);
- accommodation (37%);
- attitudes (30%); and
- financial management (29%).

As illustrated in Figure 4.3.1, these data indicate that LP was particularly effective at addressing the needs of substance misusers in sentence planning: three-quarters (74%) of those with a drug need identified at assessment had a related intervention stipulated in their sentence plan. Conversely, two-thirds of all alcohol misusers (68%) identified during the start of sentence assessment process in London had their needs incorporated into sentence planning.

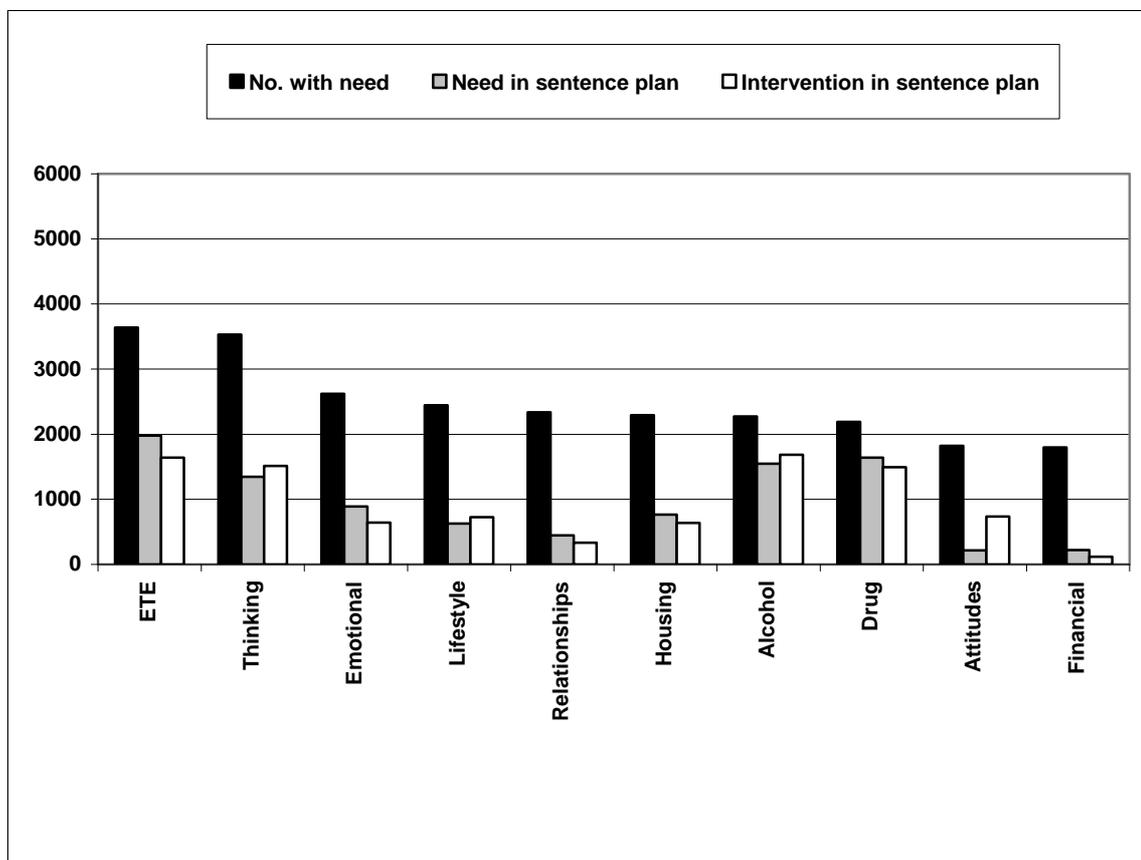
However, the rate of intervention in sentence planning was considerably lower for the remaining areas of need assessed by OASys, including:

¹⁸ This sample is restricted to valid 2003 CJA Start of Community Order assessments. The total numbers only reflect those assessed; some groups of offenders are unlikely to be assessed. Differences in profiles may reflect variations of practice rather than differences in the 'true' profile.

- ETE (45%);
- thinking and behaviour (43%);
- attitudes (40%);
- lifestyle and associates (30%);
- accommodation (28%);
- emotional wellbeing (24%);
- relationships (14%); and
- financial management (7%).

Given that these issues are identified criminogenic needs, we have assumed that OASys assessors have prioritised them for intervention having assessed them as factors linked to offending.

Figure 4.3.1: Nature and extent of offender need at start of sentence assessment and planned intervention by LP during 2007/08 (N=6,147)



Our conclusions and recommendations on how existing gaps in provision might be filled are set out in Chapter 5.

4.4 What are the key predictors of breach and compliance?

Breach of an LP supervised disposal

The 2007 National Standards for the Management of Offenders stipulate that Offender Managers should instigate breach proceedings following a second unacceptable absence or failure to comply with any requirement of the sentence within a 12-month period (or immediately if the failure to comply is perceived to be indicative of heightened risk). Using data derived from the Delius case management system indicates that two-fifths (39%) of LP cases had breach proceedings initiated during 2007/08. As indicated in Table 4.4.1, a higher proportion of SSOs in the capital were found *not* to have breached.

Table 4.4.1: LP breach rates, by type of order (%)

Has offender breached order up to the current time?	LP Community Orders (COs)	LP Suspended Sentence Orders (SSOs)	LP total
No	59	66	61
Yes	41	34	39
Total	100	100	100
N	18,645	7,064	25,709

Furthermore, as set out in Table 4.4.2, the likelihood of breach increased significantly¹⁹ in line with the number of requirements imposed on an offender.

¹⁹ This refers to findings that are statistically significant at or below the 5% level (p<0.05). In other words the finding has a 95% or more chance of being true i.e. if you were to collect 100 samples and conduct a similar analysis, 95 of the samples would produce a similar result.

Table 4.4.2: LP breach rates, by number of requirements

Number of requirements	Proportion (%) of cases breached	Total
1	34	9,664
2	37	8,725
3	45	5,265
4+	54	1,997
Overall	39	25,709²⁰

Currently serving a community sentence for a breach offence and being sentenced to a drug-related requirement were the two single most important factors predicting an **increased** likelihood of *breaching* a CO or SSO in London during 2007/08. As illustrated in Table 4.4.3, age; having a drug need; a previous history of breach; the borough in which an offender was supervised; together with the type and length of their disposal, all significantly increased the probability of breaching the four main disposals supervised by LP (see Appendix B1-B10 for full model statistics).

²⁰ This overall figure includes 58 cases (19% of which breached) where the number of requirements is reported as zero.

Table 4.4.3: Factors associated with an increased or reduced likelihood of breach, by disposal (2007/08)

Static and dynamic risk factors	 Increases likelihood of breach	Principal LP disposals				
	 Reduces likelihood of breach	Overall CO/SSO	Supervision	Unpaid Work	Accredited Programme ²²	Drug interventions
Offender demographics ²³	 Aged 24 or less ^{***}	Aged 24 or less ^{***}	Aged 24 or less ^{***}	Aged 24 or less ^{**}		
	 Aged 50+ ^{**} Is male [*]	Aged 50+ ^{**} Is male [*]	Aged 40+ ^{**}	Aged 40+ [*]		
Criminogenic need and risk ²⁴	 Has a medium or high risk of reconviction [*]	Has a drugs need ^{***} Has a medium or high risk of reconviction [*]	Has a drugs need ^{***} Has a medium ^{**} or high ^{**} risk of reconviction	Has a drugs ^{***} or accommodation [*] need Has a medium - high risk of reconviction ^{**}		Has a drugs need ^{**}

*** .1% level of significance, **1% level of significance, * 5% level of significance²¹

²¹ Star signs indicate how likely the variable of interest is true. For example, a finding significant at the 5% level means it has a 95% or more chance of being true i.e if you were to collect 100 samples and conduct a similar analysis, 95 of the samples would produce a similar result. The smaller the significance level, the more confidence can be placed in the result.

²² Using IAPS data, the factors presented here are those that increased or reduced the likelihood of **starting** an accredited programme across LP during 2007/08 rather than those associated with breaching such a requirement.

²³ Ages are in comparison to 30-34 year old.

²⁴ Supervision tiers are in comparison to tier 1.

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

		Is a Tier 2** or 3 and 4*** offender Has an emotional/wellbeing*	Is a Tier 2**,3** or 4* offender Has an emotional/wellbeing need**		Has a drugs* or accommodation* need Medium/very high risk of harm*	Has an emotional/wellbeing need*
Criminal history		Has a previous history of breach***	Has a previous history of breach***	Has a previous history of breach**		
					Have served a custodial sentence by age of 18***	
Current offence ²⁵		Is for a previous breach***	Is for a previous breach***	Is for a previous breach***	Is for a drugs***, fraud and forgery*, violence and other indictable* offence	Is for a previous breach***
		Is a drugs offence***	Is for a sexual** or drug* offence			Is a drugs offence*
Current sentence/disposal		Serving a drug***, residence*** unpaid work***, supervision***, specified*** activity or curfew*** requirement Serving an accredited programme *	Sentence is 12+ months***	Requirement length is 100+ hours***	Sentenced to attend DIDs** and domestic violence** programmes ²⁶	Requirement length 6+ months**
		Is serving an SSO***	Is serving an SSO***	Is serving an SSO**	Sentenced to attend an anger management*** or substance misuse* programme ²⁷	Is serving an SSO*

²⁵ Compared to theft and handling

²⁶ Compared to general offending programme

²⁷ As above

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

Probation area ²⁸		Being supervised by one of 16 areas (9 ^{***} , 5 ^{**} , 2 [*])	Being supervised by one of 8 areas (2 ^{***} , 3 ^{**} , 3 [*])	Being supervised by one of 2 areas, (1 ^{**} , 1 [*])	Being supervised by one of 18 areas (7 ^{***} , 7 ^{**} , 4 [*])	Being supervised by 1 [*] area
						Being supervised by 1 [*] area

²⁸ This is compared to the borough(s) with lowest breach rate except for the drugs model where areas are in comparison to the dedicated drug court boroughs of Kensington and Chelsea, Westminster, and Hammersmith and Fulham. see Appendix B

Complying with an LP supervised disposal

During 2007 over half (52%) of all SSOs terminating in England and Wales did so for positive reasons: having either run their full course or finishing early for good progress. The corresponding figure for COs nationally was 57 per cent. As Table 4.4.4 below illustrates, LP had a higher rate of COs completing for positive reasons during 2007/08 (59%), but a lower rate for SSOs (45%). Overall, around three-fifths of cases supervised by LP during this period terminated for positive reasons.

Table 4.4.4: LP termination rates, by type of order (%)

Termination reason	LP Community Orders (COs)	LP Suspended Sentence Orders (SSOs)	LP total
Terminated early for good progress	4	6	5
Ran their full course	55	49	53
Conviction of an offence	10	16	12
Failure to comply	17	12	16
Other	14	17	15
Total	100	100	100
N	15,813	5,714	21,527

Note: 4,182 cases were excluded due to cases being ongoing. One third (32%) of these were SSOs.

Our analysis of data derived from the Delius case management system, and successfully linked with valid OASys assessment information, enabled us to focus on a sub-sample comprising 18,460 requirements supervised by LP during 2007/08. Overall breach rates for this sample of requirements in the capital stood at 46 per cent; ranging from 91 per cent (n=10) for attendance centre requirements to 25 per cent (n=40) for mental health requirements. As illustrated in Table 4.4.5, three-fifths (60%) of these accredited programmes in London were successfully completed. Again completion rates varied considerably between different requirements: from 74 per cent for curfews to 29 per cent for attendance centre requirements.

**Table 4.4.5: LP breach and compliance rates, by type of requirement (2007/08)
(N=18,460)**

Requirement	Total requirements	Breach rate (%)	Total known outcomes*	Successful completion/compliance rate (%)
Supervision	7,770	43	6,863	61
Accredited programmes	3,433	44	2,451	58
Unpaid work	2,824	51	2,574	60
Drug treatment	1,480	59	1,428	53
Specified activity	848	55	686	60
Alcohol treatment	812	34	695	66
Curfew	744	51	297	74
Residence requirement	172	70	90	59
Mental health	161	25	92	68
Prohibited activity	115	38	57	61
Exclusion	90	38	49	63
Attendance centre	11	91	7	29
Total	18,460	46	15,289	60

* Excludes ongoing requirements and cases where rates of compliance/completion were unknown.

The nature of the current offence, type of requirement and the borough in which the offender was supervised were the three single most significant factors predicting an **increased** likelihood of *completing* a CO or SSO in London during 2007/08. However - as anticipated - age, criminogenic needs and risks, a previous history of breach, and the length and intensity of current supervision all significantly reduced the probability of completing the four main disposals supervised by LP during this period (see Table 4.4.6; Appendix B1-B10 contain details of full model statistics).

Table 4.4.6: Factors associated with an increased or reduced likelihood of compliance (completion), by disposal (2007/08)

Static and dynamic risk factors		Principal LP disposals				
	Increases likelihood of compliance	*** .1% level of significance, **1% level of significance, * 5% level of significance ²⁹				
		Overall CO/SSO	Supervision	Unpaid Work	Accredited Programme	Drug interventions
Offender demographics ³⁰				Over 45+*	Aged 50+*	
			Aged under 21*	Aged under 21*	Aged under 21**	
Criminogenic need and risk ³¹			Being a Tier 2*** or 3 – 4** offender			
		Is medium* or high/very high*** risk of harm Is a Tier 4 offender*** Medium** or high*** risk of reconviction	Is high/very high risk of harm*** Is a prolific offender*** Medium*** or high*** risk of reconviction	Is medium**, high/very high risk*** of harm Medium or high risk of reconviction*** Has a financial* or	Is high/very high risk of harm* High risk of reconviction*	Has a drug* or lifestyle* need

²⁹ Star signs indicate how likely the variable of interest is true. For example, a finding significant at the 5% level means it has a 95% or more chance of being true i.e. if you were to collect 100 samples and conduct a similar analysis, 95 of the samples would produce a similar result. The smaller the significance level, the more confidence can be placed in the result.

³⁰ Ages are in comparison to 30-34 year old

³¹ Supervision tiers are in comparison to tier 1

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

		Has lifestyle ^{***} , attitudinal need ^{**} , drug [*] , accommodation [*] or financial need [*]	Has a drug ^{***} , lifestyle ^{**} , accommodation [*] or thinking and behaviour [*] need	relationship ^{**} need		
Criminal history						
		Has a previous history of breach ^{***}	Has a previous history of breach ^{***}	Has a previous history of breach ^{***}		Has a previous history of breach ^{***}
Current offence ³²		Is an indictable motoring ^{***} , drugs ^{***} , fraud and forgery ^{**} , or other summary [*] offence	Is an indictable motoring offence ^{***} , drugs ^{***} , violence against the person ^{***} , 'other' indictable ^{**} , breach ^{**} , criminal damage ^{**} , fraud and forgery ^{**} , other summary ^{**} or robbery [*] offence	Is an indictable motoring offence ^{***} , or violence against the person ^{**} offence		Is a drugs ^{***} , breach ^{***} or violence against the person [*] offence
						
Current sentence/disposal		Serving a supervision ^{***} , residence ^{***} , curfew ^{***} , alcohol treatment ^{***} , specified activity ^{**} or mental health [*] requirement Is serving an SSO [*]		Is serving an SSO ^{***}		

³² Compared to theft and handling

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

		Has 2+ requirements*** Sentence is 12+ months***	Sentence is 12+ months***	Requirement length is 100+ hours***	Ordered to attend a sex offender***, women's*** or domestic violence*** programmes ³³	Requirement is 6+ months***
Probation area ³⁴		Being supervised by all other areas except the reference (16***, 3**, 2*)	Being supervised by one of 13 areas (3****, 5**, 5*)	Being supervised by one of 11 areas (2**, 9*)	Being supervised by one of 9 areas (1**, 8*)	Being supervised by one of 3* areas
						

³³ Compared to general offending programme

³⁴ Compared to the borough(s) with the lowest completion rate except for the drugs model where areas are in comparison to the dedicated drug court boroughs of Kensington and Chelsea, Westminster, and Hammersmith and Fulham. see Appendix B

4.5 Were there instances where fines might have been proposed as an alternative to a CO (in line with the 2003 CJA)?

We have been unable to make an informed assessment of whether and to what extent fines might have been more appropriately proposed by LP as an alternative to a CO for two reasons. Firstly, while LCJP had originally intended for ICPR to make use of fine data held by HM Court Service, it became apparent after initial discussions that constraints associated with the software used to process these data meant that key information relating to the use of fines could not be extracted and utilised for the current study. Furthermore, given its focus on assessing risks and needs, OASys does not routinely or consistently record the monetary value of those offences (e.g. theft or criminal damage) that might attract a fine in order to facilitate a meaningful comparative assessment.

5. Conclusions and recommendations

This chapter draws together the conclusions from our analysis, and points to ways forward for improving compliance and reducing levels of breach. In an ideal world a much fuller analysis of a much more wide-ranging dataset would allow us to identify and weight the different sorts of factor that result in failure:

- Failure to engage offenders in the overall process of supervision
- Poor ‘craft skills’ in building trust and rapport with offenders
- Poor matching of supervisors and offenders
- The imposition of unrealistic or excessive conditions and requirements
- Inability to engage offenders in specific programmes
- Limited availability of suitable programmes.

Our analysis has not been able to diagnose the reasons for breakdown in the supervision process at this level of detail – although we think it important to continue to make progress with this research agenda. However, our analysis does point to a strategy for improving compliance that has the following elements:

- Identifying and making provision available for those at high risk of failure
- Being creative in the use of available resources to fill gaps in provision
- Identifying more fully the key predictors of compliance
- Diverting inappropriate offenders from probation supervision

Identifying and making provision available for those at high risk of failure

Our analysis shows – unsurprisingly – that risk of non-compliance and of breach is predicted well by those factors that also predict the likelihood of reconviction. People who start their criminal career early, and who offend at a high rate tend also to breach their conditions. Our analysis also identifies two further factors predicting non-compliance – drug misuse and a history of previous breach.

Where there is a high risk of non-compliance, this should be foremost in the minds of both PSR writers when recommending court orders, and of sentencers when imposing them. We think it important for LP to develop effective and evidence-based

compliance strategies tailored specifically for those groups that have a high risk of non-compliance. Some of these approaches are discussed in more detail below.

The finding that the likelihood of breach increased significantly in line with the number of requirements imposed on an offender should also be an important consideration when targeting proposals to sentencers more precisely, and in a way that minimises the risk of breach and non-compliance.

Being creative in the use of available resources to fill gaps in provision

Our analysis has not been able to identify to what extent gaps in provision are a source of non-compliance with orders. This is because our database does not allow us to differentiate between unmet needs reflecting gaps in provision and unmet needs reflecting offender resistance. However we think it likely that some offenders at high risk of non-compliance simply cannot get access to the programmes they need. When examining the use of the CO in England and Wales, the House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts noted that *“sentencing options for courts are sometimes limited, as not all requirements are available in all local areas. The use of requirements relating to alcohol or drug misuse is low”* (2008: 3).

Our analysis presents a more optimistic picture in London: the finding that three-quarters (74%) of those with a drug need and 68 per cent of alcohol misusers identified by LP during 2007/08 had a related intervention incorporated into their sentence plan is an encouraging one. By contrast, those assessed as having other important areas of need (e.g. lifestyles and associates, accommodation and relationships) seem to have been poorly served.

This points towards the scope that exists for the better targeting of some interventions and the closing of gaps in provision for others. We recognise that this is a contentious area: the reasons for these gaps can be complex and multifaceted – and very often beyond the scope of probation staff to influence (e.g. access to appropriate alcohol treatment provision is a persistent problem for many probation areas outside London) (McSweeney et al., 2009).

Others have expressed serious doubts about the capacity of criminal justice supervision to address family and relational problems and broker access to meaningful employment opportunities. Farrell's work, for example, suggests that

“probation officers...are wary of intervening in these areas of probationers’ personal lives” and that *“desistance, when it was observed, appeared to be largely unrelated to differences in probation practice”* (Farrell and Maruna, 2004: 361).

Perhaps the key issue here is how to deal with finite – and diminishing – resources for interventions. The key choice is whether to spread resources more thinly over as many offenders as possible, or to ensure that at least some offenders get the best possible level of supervision. At least in the field of substance misuse, we think that the former approach may be better than the latter – provided that levels of provision cross a minimum threshold. Courts are understandably tempted to ensure that drug rehabilitation requirements (DRRs) are sufficiently intensive and lengthy to achieve some purchase on offenders’ problems. It is possible, however that 20 six-month DRRs may achieve rather more than 10 twelve month ones. This is discussed further below.

Identifying the key predictors of breach and compliance more effectively

Contrary to Farrell and Maruna’s views, our finding that the area in which an offender is supervised significantly increases the likelihood of breach and non-compliance would indicate that aspects of practice at a local level does exert some influence on outcomes. On the face of it, it would seem that staff in some areas perform more effectively than those in others. However, a key question that our study is unable to answer is whether these differences are attributable to variations in probation practice (e.g. offender management styles) or other confounding factors. Clearly more research is needed to unpack these questions.

Take drug interventions as an example. The West London Dedicated Drug Court (DDC) was first established as a pilot in 2005 and aims to ensure exclusivity by dealing with drug-misusing defendants living in Hammersmith and Fulham, in Kensington and Chelsea, and in Westminster. The intention is to ensure judicial continuity from the point of sentence, during review and (where necessary and possible) breach processes, and through to completion of a court order. Ensuring sustained continuity of both magistrates’ bench and District Judge throughout these stages is a defining feature of an approach which seeks to improve sentence compliance and related outcomes. Yet our results indicate that drug-misusing offenders supervised in three boroughs other than the DDC ones were more likely to

comply with the order. In fact, drug-misusing offenders supervised in Wandsworth were nearly eight times more likely to complete a DRR than those seen by the DDC. This finding could have a number of different explanations – none of which we have reliable data on. These differences could be a consequence of enforcement styles, with DDC offender managers perhaps applying guidance on breaches more rigorously than their colleagues in these boroughs, or arise because of differences in the range, quality and availability of drug treatment services across these areas to which offenders can be referred.

Furthermore, during 2008/09 the DRR completion rate in the West London DDC boroughs of Hammersmith and Fulham (42%) and Kensington and Chelsea (42%) was below the London average (50%). Given the variability of DRR performance there would appear to be considerable scope for identifying best practice lessons from high performing areas and individual offender managers around effective strategies for promoting engagement and compliance in work with drug-misusing offenders. This also extends to learning from the experiences of DRR completers and failures in the capital.

Given the greater propensity for breach and non-compliance amongst this group, it seems essential then that LP develops appropriate compliance strategies. There are a range of practical measures, or 'tricks of the trade', which offender managers might deploy (some are almost certainly already doing so in their day-to-day work). These include the use of diaries and/or text messaging to remind offenders of their pending appointments; taking account of other key appointments (benefits or medical) when arranging supervision meetings; or tailoring appointment times likely to suit offenders (1.00pm - 4.00 pm) rather than to the convenience of the worker (10am – 1.00 pm). A number of areas have also introduced 'compliance checklists' completed by both offender managers and offenders at the start of supervision. These consider a range of issues that might hamper effective engagement: forgetfulness; family or work commitments, medical conditions, childcare responsibilities. Appropriate strategies can then be developed and deployed in order to overcome these barriers.

There are more structured and systematic approaches that could be incorporated into current practice. The six-session Compliance Group Programme piloted by Camden and Islington using specified activity requirements to assist offenders at risk

of or having had their order breached or recalled may provide important pointers for policy and practice in this regard.

We are also aware that there may be a degree of conflict and tension apparent arising from the courts' preference for imposing lengthy DRRs (12 months or longer) and guidance from LP to impose shorter ones. Our finding that imposing drug requirements of six months and over increased the likelihood of breach and non-compliance appears to support the case for shortening the length of DRRs in order to extend their coverage. However, it is also self-evident that those sentenced to longer DRRs are exposed to a greater risk of non-compliance by virtue of their extended contact with probation.

Diverting inappropriate offenders from probation supervision

Although data restrictions prevented us from making an informed assessment about whether and to what extent fines might have been more appropriately proposed by LP, the finding that Tier 1 offenders were at a significantly increased risk of breach and non-compliance is an interesting (but somewhat counter-initiative) one.

This could be a direct consequence of the 'silting up' of probation caseloads, with the result that Tier 1 offenders actually receive fairly nominal supervision and thus are more at risk of breach, whether through unmet needs, or (more likely) resistance to a process that may be perceived by them as inappropriate or disproportionate. Alternatively it could be that Tier 1 offenders judge correctly that unlike Tiers 2 to 4, the perceived risks they run as a result of breach proceedings are quite low. Whatever the case, some of these individuals might have been better dealt with via the use of fines. Clearly more research is needed to unpack these issues.

Further research

Reports of this sort invariably end with self-serving calls for yet further investment in research. In this case, we genuinely think it important to develop a fuller research agenda. This needs to proceed at two levels. First there needs to be more fine-grained quantitative research that uses multivariate analysis, as we have done, to identify more precisely those factors that predict failure. In particular it is worth (a) trying to unravel questions about unmet need and (b) trying to identify variations between areas – and possibly even individuals and teams – which will point to key practice differences.

Secondly, qualitative work is needed to identify what 'craft skills' are deployed by effective supervisors to engage and retain offenders on supervision. There are obvious merits (a) in asking effective supervisors (however these are identified) about their craft skills and (b) in asking offenders what factors engage and retain them in supervision, and of equal importance, what factors make them disengage.

References

Bottoms, A. (2002) 'Compliance and community penalties', in A. Bottoms, L. Gelsthorpe and S. Rex, eds., *Community Penalties: Changes and Challenges*. Cullompton: Willan.

Ellis, T., Hedderman, C. and Mortimer, C. (1996) *Enforcing community sentences: supervisors' perspectives on ensuring compliance and dealing with breach*. Home Office Research Study 158. London: Home Office.

Farrell, S. and Maruna, S. (2004) 'Desistance focussed criminal justice policy research: introduction to special edition', *The Howard Journal*, 43 (4): 358–367.

Grapes, T. (2006) *The NOMS Offender Management Model*. London: Home Office.

Hearnden, I. and Millie, A. (2003) *Investigating links between probation enforcement and reconviction*. Home Office Online Report 41/03. London: Home Office.

Hedderman, C. and Hearnden, I. (2000) *Improving Enforcement - The Second ACOP Audit*. London: Criminal Policy Research Unit.

HM Inspectorate of Probation (HMIP) (2009) *A Stalled Journey: An inquiry into the management of offenders' Risk of Harm to others by London Probation*. London: HMIP.

Hollis, V. (2007) *Reconviction Analysis of Programme Data using Interim Accredited Programmes Software (IAPS)*. London: RDS/NOMS.

Hough, M., Clancy, A., McSweeney, T. and Turnbull, P.J. (2003) *The Impact of Drug Treatment and Testing Orders on Offending: Two Year Reconviction Results*. Home Office Research Findings 184. London: Home Office.

House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts (2008) *The supervision of community orders in England and Wales*. London: The Stationery Office.

Howard, P. and Moore, R. (2009) *Measuring changes in risk and need over time using OASys Receptions*. Ministry of Justice Research Summary 10/09. London: Ministry of Justice.

Howard, P. (2006) *The Offender Assessment System: an evaluation of the second pilot*. Home Office Research Findings 278. London: Home Office.

Joint Thematic Inspection Report (2007) *The Enforcement of Community Penalties*. London: Home Office.

Kemshall, H. and Canton, R. (2002) *The Effective Management of Programme Attrition. A report for the National Probation Service (Welsh Region)*. Leicester: De Montfort University.

Lloyd, C., Mair, G. and Hough, M. (1994) *Explaining Reconviction Rates*. Home Office Research Study 136. London: HMSO.

May, C., Sharma, N. and Stewart, D. (2008) *Factors linked to reoffending: a one-year follow-up of prisoners who took part in the Resettlement Surveys 2001, 2003 and 2004*. Research Summary 5. London: Ministry of Justice.

Mclvor, G. (2004) *Reconviction Following Drug Treatment and Testing Orders*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

McSweeney, T., Webster, R., Turnbull, P.J. and Duffy, M. (2009) Evidence-based practice? The National Probation Service's work with alcohol misusing offenders. Ministry of Justice Research Series 13/09. London: Ministry of Justice.

Ministry of Justice (2008) *Offender Management Caseload Statistics 2007. Ministry of Justice Statistics bulletin*. London: Ministry of Justice.

Ministry of Justice (2008) *Re-offending of adults: new measures of re-offending 2000-2005, England and Wales*. Statistics bulletin. London: Ministry of Justice.

Ministry of Justice (2009) *Offender Management Caseload Statistics 2008*. Ministry of Justice Statistics bulletin. London: Ministry of Justice.

Moore, R. (2008) *Offenders Identified as 'Dependent Drinkers' and Levels of Provision (Valid 2007/08 OASys assessments): Explanatory notes on the O-DEAT workbook*. Internal Ministry of Justice paper (unpublished).

Moore, R. (2009) *The Coverage and Representativeness of Oasys Risk and Need Offender Profiles: 2007 Probation Commencements and Sentenced Prisoner Receptions*. Ministry of Justice Research Summary 3/09. London: Ministry of Justice.

National Probation Service (2007) *Performance Report 24 and Weighted Scorecard Q4 2006/07*. London: Home Office.

Robinson, G. and McNeill, F. (2008) 'Exploring the dynamics of compliance with community penalties', *Theoretical Criminology*, 12 (4): 431 - 449.

Appendix A

Four datasets were used to assess the likelihood of complying and breaching a statutory order/requirement. This section lists the variables used to predict the likelihood of breach/compliance with corresponding figures relating to the overall Delius sample.

Table A1: Descriptive statistics on variables used to predict breach/compliance (%)

Number of cases (Valid OASYs)		8,288
Breach	No	58
	Yes	42
Compliance	Failed to complete/other	36
	Completed	47
	Unknown	18
Gender	Female	14
	Male	86
Age	18-20	16
	21-24	16
	25-29	18
	30-34	14
	35-39	13
	40-44	11
	45-49	6
	50+	5
Ethnicity	White	54
	Black	24
	Asian	9
	Mixed	6
	Other	1
	Missing	6
Accommodation	No or low need	62
	High need	38
Education, training and employment	No or low need	40
	High need	60
Financial management and income	No or low need	70
	High need	30
Relationships	No or low need	60
	High need	40
Lifestyle and associates	No or low need	58
	High need	42
Drug misuse	No or low need	65
	High need	35
Alcohol misuse	No or low need	63
	High need	37
Emotional well-being	No or low need	58

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

	High need	42
Thinking and Behaviour	No or low need	40
	High need	60
Attitudes	No or low need	69
	High need	31
Risk of reconviction	Low	31
	Medium	53
	High	16
Prolific Offender	No	82
	Yes	4
	Missing	14
Current/Previous convictions for burglary	No	74
	Yes	26
Number of court appearances at which convicted aged under 18	0	59
	1-2	21
	3+	20
Number of court appearances at which convicted aged over 18	0	24
	1-2	27
	3+	49
Age at first conviction	18+	59
	14-17	34
	under 14	7
Any breaches of probation/parole/license/bail or community based sentences	No	57
	Yes	43
No. different categories of conviction	0-2	44
	3-4	27
	5+	29
OGRS Sexual/Violent Offending	No history	41
	Some risk	16
	Raised risk	9
	Moderate risk	12
	High risk	11
	Missing	12
Current Offence	Burglary	6
	Criminal Damage	3
	Drug Offences	7
	Fraud & Forgery	3
	Indictable Motoring Offences	1
	Other Indictable	4
	Other Summary Offences	6
	Robbery	1
	Sexual Offences	2
	Summary Motoring Offences	13
	Theft and Handling	18
	Violence Against the Person	26
	Breach	8
	Missing	1

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

Requirements	Compulsory (unpaid) work	32
	Participation in any specified activities	9
	Programmes aimed at changing offending behaviour	40
	Prohibition from certain activities	1
	Curfew	8
	Exclusion from certain areas	1
	Residence requirement	1
	Mental health treatment (with consent of the offender)	2
	Drug treatment and testing (with consent of the offender)	17
	Alcohol treatment (with consent of the offender)	10
	Supervision	90
	Attendance	<1
Number of requirements	0	1
	1	19
	2	51
	3	26
	4	3
Type of disposal	Community Order	67
	Suspended Sentence Order	33
Sentence Length	Less than 13 months	62
	13 months and over	38
Risk of harm	Low	26
	Medium	61
	High	6
	Very High	<1
	Missing	7
Supervision tier	1	5
	2	21
	3	66
	4	8
Area	London North	52
	London South	47
	Other	1
	Missing	1

Table A2: OASYS sample- LP supervision tier by area (%)

Area	Current supervision tier				Total	N
	1	2	3	4		
Merton and Sutton	7	35	49	9	100	277
Hounslow	6	26	55	13	100	223
Haringey	10	26	56	8	100	322
Other	4	25	57	14	100	56
Bexley and Bromley	9	26	58	7	100	532
Newham	6	30	59	4	100	377
Barking, Dagenham and Havering	12	19	63	5	100	414
Harrow and Hillingdon	10	22	63	5	100	598
Lambeth	3	25	64	8	100	540
Brent	3	26	64	7	100	344
Hammersmith, Fulham and Wandsworth	2	22	65	10	100	525
Kingston and Richmond	2	17	66	15	100	163
Southwark	2	20	68	10	100	462
Camden and Islington	5	15	69	11	100	438
Redbridge and Waltham Forest	1	20	69	9	100	358
Croydon	6	19	70	5	100	299
Ealing	7	16	71	6	100	388
Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster	0	24	71	5	100	305
Barnet and Enfield	3	16	71	10	100	469
Greenwich	5	18	73	4	100	310
Lewisham	3	14	76	7	100	231
Hackney	1	13	76	10	100	304
Tower Hamlets	2	6	86	6	100	258
Total	5	21	66	8	100	8193

Missing =95

Appendix B: Regression Models

B1: Model of breach – CO and SSO

Likelihood of breach	Odds ratio	Standard Error	z
Male	0.81*	0.08	- 2.19
Age [ref:30-34]			
18-20	1.69***	0.20	4.51
21-24	1.67***	0.19	4.59
25-29	1.17	0.13	1.48
35-39	0.97	0.11	- 0.24
40-44	0.88	0.11	- 1.09
45-49	0.81	0.12	- 1.41
50+	0.57**	0.10	- 3.25
Ethnicity [ref: White]			
Asian	1.07	0.12	0.62
Black	0.98	0.08	- 0.25
Mixed	0.97	0.12	- 0.20
Other	1.02	0.20	0.08
Accommodation need	1.12	0.08	1.65
Education need	1.13	0.09	1.56
Financial need	1.08	0.08	1.01
Relationship need	1.09	0.08	1.17
Lifestyle need	1.05	0.08	0.60
Drug need	1.39***	0.11	4.00
Alcohol need	0.99	0.07	- 0.12
Emotional well being need	0.85*	0.06	- 2.38
Thinking & Behaviour need	0.98	0.07	- 0.29
Attitude need	1.11	0.08	1.43
Risk of reconviction [ref: Low]			
Risk of reconviction- medium/high	1.29*	0.13	2.53
Current/ Previous burglary conviction	1.05	0.04	1.05
Previous breaches	1.20***	0.04	4.94
No. different categories of conviction [ref: 0-2]			
No. different categories of conviction (3-4)	1.16	0.09	1.82
No. different categories of conviction (5+)	1.03	0.10	0.32
Offences [ref: Theft and Handling]			
Burglary	0.96	0.14	- 0.31
Criminal Damage	0.86	0.16	- 0.80
Drugs	0.62***	0.08	- 3.68
Fraud & Forgery	0.69	0.13	- 1.95
Indictable Motoring Offences	0.47*	0.16	- 2.27
Other Indictable	0.74	0.13	- 1.69
Other Summary Offences	1.00	0.14	- 0.01
Robbery	1.01	0.25	0.04

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

Sexual Offences	0.66	0.18	- 1.50
Summary Motoring Offences	0.92	0.11	- 0.71
Violence Against the Person	0.92	0.09	- 0.77
Breach	4.53***	0.61	11.27
Compulsory (unpaid) work	3.65***	0.69	6.85
Participation in any specified activities	1.88**	0.36	3.25
Programmes aimed at changing offending behaviour	1.47*	0.28	2.05
Prohibition from certain activities	1.34	0.41	0.96
Curfew	1.67**	0.32	2.68
Exclusion from certain areas	0.87	0.29	- 0.40
Residence requirement	3.47***	1.08	4.00
Mental health treatment	0.80	0.25	- 0.73
Drug treatment and testing	3.68***	0.75	6.36
Alcohol treatment	1.29	0.27	1.22
Supervision	1.74**	0.39	2.45
Number of requirements [ref: 0/1]			
Number of requirements (2)	1.01	0.21	0.04
Number of requirements (3-4)	1.03	0.40	0.08
Number of requirements (unknown)	0.65	0.28	- 0.99
SSO	0.67***	0.04	- 6.02
Sentence length over 12 months	1.24**	0.08	3.15
Risk of Harm [ref:Low]			
Risk of Harm (medium)	1.14	0.09	1.64
Risk of Harm (High/Very high)	1.20	0.18	1.28
Risk of Harm (unknown)	0.95	0.14	- 0.37
Current supervision tier [ref: 1]			
Current supervision tier (2)	0.62**	0.10	- 3.07
Current supervision tier (3 or 4)	0.59***	0.09	- 3.59
Area [ref: Croydon]			
Barking, Dagenham and Havering	1.45	0.29	1.83
Barnet and Enfield	2.59***	0.51	4.88
Bexley and Bromley	2.00***	0.38	3.62
Brent	1.62*	0.34	2.26
Camden and Islington	2.02***	0.40	3.54
Ealing	2.71***	0.55	4.89
Greenwich	1.73**	0.37	2.57
Hackney	1.82**	0.40	2.71
Hammersmith, Fulham and Wandsworth	2.23***	0.43	4.21
Haringey	1.59*	0.34	2.14
Harrow and Hillingdon	3.08***	0.58	5.96
Hounslow	3.06***	0.72	4.73
Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster	2.28***	0.50	3.79
Kingston and Richmond	2.00**	0.52	2.65
Lambeth	2.48***	0.48	4.72
Lewisham	2.03**	0.48	3.03
Merton and Sutton	2.16**	0.48	3.46
Newham	1.40	0.29	1.59

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

Redbridge and Waltham Forest	1.47	0.31	1.81
Southwark	1.35	0.27	1.53
Tower Hamlets	1.12	0.26	0.49
Unknown/Out of London	0.88	0.28	- 0.41
Rho	0.22		
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0:			<.001

*** .1% level of significance **1% level of significance * 5% level of significance

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

B2: Model of compliance (completion) – CO and SSO

Likelihood of compliance	Odds ratio	Standard Error	z
Ethnicity [ref: White]			
Asian	0.91	0.13	- 0.69
Black	1.14	0.11	1.36
Mixed	0.93	0.15	- 0.44
Other	1.23	0.31	0.80
Accommodation need	0.81*	0.07	- 2.52
Financial need	0.79*	0.08	- 2.46
Lifestyle need	0.66***	0.06	- 4.44
Drug need	0.78*	0.08	- 2.44
Alcohol need	1.09	0.10	0.97
Attitude need	0.77**	0.07	- 2.93
Risk of reconviction [ref: Low]			
Risk of reconviction- medium	0.54***	0.07	- 5.06
Risk of reconviction- high	0.56**	0.12	- 2.78
Current/ Previous burglary conviction	1.04	0.05	0.68
Previous breaches	0.71***	0.03	- 7.42
No. different categories of conviction [ref: 0-2]			
No. different categories of conviction (3-4)	0.86	0.09	- 1.45
No. different categories of conviction (5+)	0.80	0.10	- 1.84
Offences [ref: Theft and Handling]			
Burglary	0.94	0.17	- 0.33
Criminal Damage	1.49	0.35	1.70
Drugs	1.92***	0.31	4.05
Fraud & Forgery	2.27**	0.56	3.33
Indictable Motoring Offences	13.65***	7.51	4.75
Other Indictable	1.58	0.37	1.95
Other Summary Offences	1.56*	0.27	2.54
Robbery	1.65	0.56	1.48
Sexual Offences	0.96	0.40	- 0.11
Summary Motoring Offences	1.20	0.17	1.30
Violence Against the Person	1.27	0.16	1.88
Breach	1.14	0.17	0.90
Compulsory (unpaid) work	1.20	0.17	1.30
Participation in any specified activities	1.65**	0.28	2.94
Programmes aimed at changing offending behaviour			
Prohibition from certain activities	2.05	0.82	1.81
Curfew	2.00***	0.36	3.84
Exclusion from certain areas	1.48	0.57	1.01
Residence requirement	3.96***	1.35	4.03
Mental health treatment	2.32*	0.79	2.46
Alcohol treatment	1.93***	0.34	3.76
Supervision	4.24***	0.88	6.92
Number of requirements [ref: 0/1]			
Number of requirements (2)	0.51***	0.08	- 4.41
Number of requirements (3)	0.25***	0.06	- 5.44
Number of requirements (4)	0.13***	0.06	- 4.75

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

Number of requirements (unknown)	1.64	0.68	1.18
SSO	1.24*	0.11	2.54
Sentence length over 12 months	0.35***	0.03	- 11.82
Risk of Harm [ref: Low]			
Risk of Harm (medium)	0.81*	0.08	- 2.16
Risk of Harm (High/Very high)	0.41***	0.08	- 4.38
Risk of Harm (unknown)	0.91	0.16	- 0.57
Current supervision tier [ref: 1]			
Current supervision tier (2)	1.49	0.28	2.17
Current supervision tier (3)	1.32	0.23	1.55
Current supervision tier (4)	0.50**	0.12	- 2.85
Area [ref: Kingston and Richmond]			
Barking, Dagenham and Havering	4.09***	1.19	4.83
Barnet and Enfield	3.00***	0.84	3.91
Bexley and Bromley	2.63***	0.73	3.48
Brent	3.43***	1.02	4.15
Camden and Islington	3.59***	1.03	4.45
Croydon	4.25***	1.34	4.58
Ealing	3.17***	0.92	3.95
Greenwich	2.25**	0.68	2.68
Hackney	6.03***	1.89	5.72
Hammersmith, Fulham and Wandsworth	5.21***	1.47	5.86
Haringey	3.95***	1.19	4.55
Harrow and Hillingdon	4.11***	1.12	5.21
Hounslow	2.25*	0.72	2.52
Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster	3.45***	1.05	4.06
Lambeth	3.68***	1.02	4.69
Lewisham	3.04**	1.02	3.30
Merton and Sutton	2.12*	0.66	2.40
Newham	3.76***	1.12	4.42
Redbridge and Waltham Forest	2.63**	0.80	3.19
Southwark	5.52***	1.57	6.00
Tower Hamlets	6.91***	2.23	5.99
Unknown/Out of London	1.52	0.58	1.09
Rho	0.36		
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0:			<.001

***.1% level of significance **1% level of significance * 5% level of significance

B3: Model of breach – Supervision requirement

Likelihood of breach	Odds ratio	Standard Error	z
Male	0.88	0.09	-1.18
Age [ref:30-34]			
18-20	1.69***	0.23	3.9
21-24	1.50**	0.19	3.24
25-29	1.18	0.14	1.42
35-39	0.86	0.11	-1.16
40-44	0.73*	0.10	-2.33
45-49	0.56**	0.10	-3.33
50+	0.42***	0.08	-4.55
Ethnicity [ref: White]			
Asian	1.11	0.15	0.81
Black	1.04	0.09	0.46
Mixed	0.92	0.13	-0.56
Other	0.93	0.21	-0.31
Accommodation need	1.15	0.09	1.8
Education need	1.07	0.09	0.76
Financial need	1.15	0.10	1.6
Relationship need	1.02	0.08	0.23
Lifestyle need	1.05	0.09	0.52
Drug need	1.51***	0.13	4.73
Alcohol need	0.93	0.07	-0.9
Emotional well being need	0.67***	0.05	-5.07
Thinking & Behaviour need	0.95	0.08	-0.61
Attitude need	1.11	0.09	1.3
Risk of reconviction [ref: Low]			
Risk of reconviction- medium	1.45**	0.18	3.04
Risk of reconviction- high	1.87**	0.40	2.92
Prolific Offender	0.79	0.16	-1.18
Current/ Previous burglary conviction	1.02	0.05	0.49
Age first conviction [ref: under 14]			
Age first conviction 18+	1.05	0.16	0.34
Age first conviction 14-17	1.01	0.14	0.06
Previous breaches	1.25***	0.05	5.29
No. different categories of conviction [ref: 0-2]			
No. different categories of conviction (3-4)	1.11	0.10	1.19
No. different categories of conviction (5+)	0.92	0.10	-0.7
Offences [ref: Theft and Handling]			
Burglary	1.16	0.18	1
Criminal Damage	0.74	0.16	-1.41
Drugs	0.70*	0.10	-2.49
Fraud & Forgery	0.83	0.18	-0.85
Indictable Motoring Offences	0.65	0.24	-1.15
Other Indictable	0.82	0.17	-0.97
Other Summary Offences	0.90	0.14	-0.68
Robbery	1.27	0.35	0.86
Sexual Offences	0.41**	0.13	-2.86

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

Summary Motoring Offences	0.94	0.12	-0.46
Violence Against the Person	0.83	0.09	-1.62
Breach	4.24***	0.64	9.58
SSO	0.64***	0.05	-6.2
Requirement length [ref: 12 months or less]			
Requirement 13 months to 18 months	1.43***	0.12	4.14
Requirement greater than 18 months	1.70***	0.17	5.38
Risk of Harm [ref: Low]			
Risk of Harm (medium)	1.33	0.22	1.76
Risk of Harm (High/Very high)	0.80	0.15	-1.18
Risk of Harm (unknown)	1.05	0.19	0.3
Current supervision tier [ref: 1]			
Current supervision tier (2)	0.54**	0.11	-3.02
Current supervision tier (3)	0.54**	0.10	-3.19
Current supervision tier (4)	0.59*	0.15	-2.14
Area [ref: Barking, Dagenham and Havering]			
Barnet and Enfield	1.91**	0.41	3.04
Bexley and Bromley	1.61*	0.34	2.29
Brent	1.38	0.32	1.4
Camden and Islington	1.72*	0.37	2.51
Croydon	0.84	0.20	-0.75
Ealing	1.96**	0.44	2.99
Greenwich	1.01	0.24	0.05
Hackney	1.23	0.29	0.9
Hammersmith, Fulham and Wandsworth	1.62*	0.33	2.36
Haringey	1.38	0.37	1.19
Harrow and Hillingdon	2.66***	0.55	4.73
Hounslow	2.87***	0.76	3.98
Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster	1.78*	0.41	2.49
Kingston and Richmond	1.90*	0.53	2.29
Lambeth	2.02**	0.42	3.38
Lewisham	1.55	0.38	1.8
Merton and Sutton	1.40	0.34	1.37
Newham	0.96	0.22	-0.17
Redbridge and Waltham Forest	1.35	0.30	1.36
Southwark	1.09	0.23	0.4
Tower Hamlets	0.83	0.20	-0.75
Unknown/Out of London	1.24	0.71	0.38

Rho 0.26

Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: <.001

***.1% level of significance **1% level of significance * 5% level of significance

B4: Model of compliance (completion) – Supervision requirement

Likelihood of compliance	Odds ratio	Standard Error	z
Age [ref:30-34]			
18-20	0.64**	0.09	- 3.08
21-24	0.93	0.13	- 0.55
25-29	0.93	0.12	- 0.56
35-39	1.27	0.19	1.64
40-44	1.34	0.21	1.93
45-49	1.38	0.27	1.67
50+	1.37	0.29	1.47
Ethnicity [ref: White]			
Asian	0.90	0.13	- 0.71
Black	1.18	0.12	1.68
Mixed	1.06	0.17	0.38
Other	1.32	0.36	1.04
Accommodation need	0.84*	0.07	- 2.11
Financial need	0.86	0.08	- 1.54
Lifestyle need	0.73**	0.07	- 3.26
Drug need	0.68***	0.06	- 4.05
Alcohol need	1.08	0.09	0.87
Emotional well being need	1.17	0.10	1.89
Thinking & Behaviour need	0.83*	0.08	- 2.08
Risk of reconviction [ref: Low]			
Risk of reconviction- medium	0.57***	0.07	- 4.60
Risk of reconviction- high	0.45***	0.09	- 3.95
Prolific Offender	0.47***	0.10	- 3.64
Current/ Previous burglary conviction	0.98	0.05	- 0.43
Previous breaches	0.70***	0.03	- 7.71
Offences [ref: Theft and Handling]			
Burglary	1.16	0.20	0.85
Criminal Damage	1.95**	0.47	2.76
Drugs	1.89***	0.31	3.93
Fraud & Forgery	1.99**	0.51	2.71
Indictable Motoring Offences	5.77***	2.90	3.49
Other Indictable	2.20**	0.53	3.27
Other Summary Offences	1.63**	0.29	2.75
Robbery	2.21*	0.73	2.38
Sexual Offences	1.65	0.64	1.28
Summary Motoring Offences	1.15	0.17	0.97
Violence Against the Person	1.73***	0.22	4.40
Breach	1.56**	0.23	3.01
SSO	1.10	0.09	1.11
Requirement length [ref: 12 months or less]			
Requirement 13 months to 18 months	0.70***	0.07	- 3.77
Requirement greater than 18 months	0.24***	0.03	- 10.99
Risk of Harm [ref: Low]			
Risk of Harm (medium)	0.84	0.08	- 1.75

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

Risk of Harm (High/Very high)	0.39***	0.07	-	5.29
Risk of Harm (unknown)	0.78	0.15	-	1.28
Current supervision tier [ref: 1]				
Current supervision tier (2)	2.53***	0.56		4.20
Current supervision tier (3-4)	1.98**	0.41		3.28
Area [ref: Kingston and Richmond]				
Barking, Dagenham and Havering	2.62***	0.82		3.06
Barnet and Enfield	1.989*	0.61		2.25
Bexley and Bromley	1.90*	0.57		2.14
Brent	1.62	0.51		1.53
Camden and Islington	2.91**	0.90		3.46
Croydon	2.86**	0.93		3.24
Ealing	1.65	0.53		1.56
Greenwich	1.55	0.50		1.37
Hackney	3.25***	1.06		3.62
Hammersmith, Fulham and Wandsworth	2.68**	0.80		3.30
Haringey	1.73	0.62		1.53
Harrow and Hillingdon	1.73	0.52		1.84
Hounslow	1.41	0.50		0.98
Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster	1.90*	0.61		2.00
Lambeth	1.85*	0.55		2.07
Lewisham	2.08*	0.71		2.16
Merton and Sutton	1.81	0.61		1.78
Newham	2.50**	0.80		2.87
Redbridge and Waltham Forest	1.77	0.56		1.83
Southwark	2.79**	0.84		3.39
Tower Hamlets	3.78***	1.25		4.02
Unknown/Out of London	0.17	0.24	-	1.27
Rho	0.3			
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0:				<.001

*** .1% level of significance **1% level of significance * 5% level of significance

B5: Model of engagement - Accredited programmes

Likelihood of starting an accredited programme	Odds ratio	Standard Error	z
Male	1.24	0.23	1.17
Accommodation need	0.79*	0.08	- 2.22
Financial need	0.87	0.11	- 1.10
Relationship need	0.89	0.09	- 1.13
Drug need	0.74*	0.09	- 2.57
Alcohol need	0.94	0.10	- 0.61
Thinking & Behaviour need	1.09	0.11	0.85
Attitude need	0.84	0.09	- 1.61
Number of court appearances at which convicted aged over 18 [ref:0]			
Number of court appearances at which convicted aged over 18 (1-2)	1.05	0.13	0.40
Number of court appearances at which convicted aged over 18 (3+)	1.14	0.14	1.05
Having a previous custodial sentences aged under 18 Offences [ref: Theft and Handling]	0.66***	0.08	- 3.57
Burglary	1.11	0.26	0.44
Criminal Damage	1.05	0.33	0.16
Drugs	3.08***	0.69	5.03
Fraud & Forgery	1.84*	0.54	2.09
Indictable Motoring Offences	2.28	0.97	1.94
Other Indictable	2.03*	0.61	2.37
Other Summary Offences	0.99	0.24	- 0.03
Robbery	1.11	0.39	0.30
Sexual Offences	1.76	0.95	1.04
Summary Motoring Offences	1.37	0.25	1.73
Violence Against the Person	1.47*	0.26	2.16
Breach	0.66	0.18	- 1.50
Programmes [ref: General Offending Behaviour programmes]			
Anger Management	0.51***	0.09	- 3.74
Substance Misuse	0.71*	0.11	- 2.32
Sex Offender	0.77	0.33	- 0.61
Domestic Violence	1.59**	0.27	2.72
The Women's Programme	1.27	0.39	0.77
DID	1.79**	0.34	3.08
Risk of Harm [ref:Low]			
Risk of Harm (Medium-Very high)	0.75*	0.09	- 2.46
Risk of Harm (unknown)	0.71	0.16	- 1.48
Area [ref: Redbridge/Waltham Forest]			
Barking, Dagenham and Havering	2.03*	0.59	2.43
Barnet and Enfield	2.44**	0.68	3.20
Bexley and Bromley	2.36**	0.62	3.30
Brent	1.50	0.43	1.40
Camden and Islington	3.15***	0.92	3.93
Croydon	2.06*	0.58	2.59

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

Ealing	2.55**	0.79	3.01
Greenwich	2.16*	0.69	2.39
Hackney	3.17**	1.08	3.39
Hammersmith, Fulham and Wandsworth	4.17***	1.13	5.26
Haringey	2.52**	0.86	2.69
Harrow and Hillingdon	1.24	0.32	0.84
Hounslow	2.02*	0.71	1.98
Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster	2.51**	0.80	2.91
Kingston and Richmond	4.18**	1.73	3.46
Lambeth	3.57***	0.95	4.75
Lewisham	3.80***	1.16	4.39
Merton and Sutton	3.66***	1.18	4.03
Newham	1.47	0.44	1.28
Southwark	2.74***	0.74	3.76
Tower Hamlets	4.86***	1.97	3.90
Unknown/Out of London	1.17	0.61	0.30

*** .1% level of significance **1% level of significance * 5% level of significance

B6: Model of compliance (completion) - Accredited programmes

Likelihood of completing an accredited programme	Odds ratio	Standard Error	z
Age [ref:30-34]			
18-20	0.47**	0.12	- 2.96
21-24	0.61	0.15	- 1.94
25-29	0.99	0.24	- 0.03
35-39	0.93	0.25	- 0.28
40-44	1.27	0.36	0.85
45-49	0.82	0.27	- 0.60
50+	2.28*	0.92	2.04
Relationship need	0.85	0.13	- 1.04
Attitude need	0.76	0.12	- 1.74
Risk of reconviction [ref: Low]			
Risk of reconviction- medium	0.70	0.12	- 2.07
Risk of reconviction- high	0.31**	0.11	- 3.24
No. different categories of conviction [ref: 0-2]			
No. different categories of conviction (3+)	0.73	0.12	- 1.95
Offences [ref: Theft and Handling]			
Burglary	0.94	0.34	- 0.17
Criminal Damage	1.63	0.87	0.91
Drugs	1.47	0.46	1.24
Fraud & Forgery	1.52	0.68	0.93
Indictable Motoring Offences	4.53	3.60	1.90
Other Indictable	0.72	0.27	- 0.88
Other Summary Offences	0.59	0.22	- 1.42
Robbery	1.93	1.16	1.09
Summary Motoring Offences	1.05	0.30	0.17
Violence Against the Person	1.09	0.29	0.33
Breach	1.23	0.56	0.46
Programmes [ref: General Offending Behaviour programmes]			
Anger Management	0.76	0.22	- 0.94
Substance Misuse	0.67	0.16	- 1.73
Sex Offender	0.01***	0.01	- 6.85
Domestic Violence	0.29***	0.07	- 5.08
The Women's Programme	0.20***	0.07	- 4.47
DID	0.85	0.25	- 0.55
Risk of Harm [ref: Low]			
Risk of Harm (Medium)	0.86	0.15	- 0.85
Risk of Harm (High-Very high)	0.42*	0.19	- 1.97
Risk of Harm (unknown)	1.43	0.57	0.90
Current supervision tier [ref: 1-2]			
Current supervision tier (3)	0.74	0.15	- 1.49
Current supervision tier (4)	0.82	0.38	- 0.43
Area [ref: Lewisham]			
Barking, Dagenham and Havering	0.93	0.37	- 0.18
Barnet and Enfield	1.53	0.57	1.15
Bexley and Bromley	2.39*	0.85	2.46

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

Brent	1.19	0.47	0.44
Camden and Islington	1.76	0.66	1.52
Croydon	2.72*	1.10	2.48
Ealing	2.95*	1.33	2.40
Greenwich	2.75*	1.30	2.13
Hackney	3.78**	1.83	2.75
Hammersmith, Fulham and Wandsworth	2.26*	0.77	2.40
Haringey	1.93	0.95	1.34
Harrow and Hillingdon	1.36	0.50	0.85
Hounslow	2.58	1.42	1.72
Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster	2.08	0.90	1.70
Kingston and Richmond	2.01	1.04	1.36
Lambeth	1.99*	0.70	1.98
Merton and Sutton	2.53*	1.05	2.23
Newham	1.82	0.80	1.36
Redbridge and Waltham Forest	1.63	0.74	1.07
Southwark	2.33*	0.84	2.35
Tower Hamlets	3.28*	1.83	2.13

***.1% level of significance **1% level of significance * 5% level of significance

B7: Model of breach – Unpaid work requirement

Likelihood of breach	Odds ratio	Standard Error	z
Male	1.25	0.24	1.17
Age [ref:30-34]			
18-20	1.73**	0.34	2.84
21-24	1.84**	0.36	3.14
25-29	1.25	0.24	1.14
35-39	0.75	0.17	- 1.28
40-44	0.58*	0.14	- 2.32
45-49	0.52*	0.16	- 2.18
50+	0.41**	0.14	- 2.69
Accommodation need	1.34*	0.17	2.40
Financial need	0.84	0.12	- 1.28
Relationship need	1.20	0.15	1.47
Lifestyle need	0.86	0.11	- 1.16
Drug need	1.66***	0.24	3.55
Alcohol need	0.93	0.11	- 0.60
Attitude need	0.90	0.12	- 0.80
Risk of reconviction [ref: Low]			
Risk of reconviction- medium-high	1.58**	0.23	3.08
Current/ Previous burglary conviction	1.15	0.09	1.70
Age first conviction [ref: under 14]			
Age first conviction 18+	1.04	0.26	0.17
Age first conviction 14-17	1.18	0.29	0.69
Previous breaches	1.23**	0.08	3.18
Offences [ref: Theft and Handling]			
Burglary	1.32	0.35	1.05
Criminal Damage	0.58	0.20	- 1.61
Drugs	0.68	0.16	- 1.69
Fraud & Forgery	0.82	0.23	- 0.71
Indictable Motoring Offences	0.61	0.25	- 1.18
Other Indictable	0.68	0.20	- 1.32
Other Summary Offences	1.04	0.26	0.15
Robbery	1.42	0.51	0.98
Sexual Offences	0.67	0.47	- 0.57
Summary Motoring Offences	1.08	0.20	0.39
Violence Against the Person	0.96	0.17	- 0.20
Breach	8.39***	2.61	6.83
SSO	0.71**	0.08	- 3.11
Requirement length (>100 hours)	1.78***	0.19	5.41
Risk of Harm [ref: Low]			
Risk of Harm (medium)	1.22	0.16	1.51
Risk of Harm (High/Very high)	0.85	0.24	- 0.59
Risk of Harm (unknown)	0.60*	0.15	- 2.10
Current supervision tier [ref: 1-2]			
Current supervision tier (3-4)	0.91	0.11	- 0.82
Area [ref: Tower Hamlets]			
Barking, Dagenham and Havering	1.07	0.43	0.17
Barnet and Enfield	2.58*	1.09	2.26
Bexley and Bromley	1.25	0.50	0.55

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

Brent	1.05	0.47	0.11
Camden and Islington	1.83	0.79	1.40
Croydon	0.62	0.27	- 1.10
Ealing	1.21	0.50	0.46
Greenwich	1.08	0.51	0.16
Hackney	1.02	0.53	0.04
Hammersmith, Fulham and Wandsworth	1.59	0.64	1.15
Haringey	0.71	0.30	- 0.81
Harrow and Hillingdon	1.70	0.67	1.35
Hounslow	3.71**	1.79	2.72
Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster	1.66	0.82	1.02
Kingston and Richmond	2.20	1.14	1.52
Lambeth	1.37	0.54	0.78
Lewisham	2.20	1.06	1.62
Merton and Sutton	1.11	0.49	0.23
Newham	0.94	0.39	- 0.15
Redbridge and Waltham Forest	1.20	0.52	0.43
Southwark	1.31	0.53	0.67
Unknown/Out of London	0.18*	0.14	- 2.13
Rho	0.26		
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0:			<.001

*** .1% level of significance **1% level of significance * 5% level of significance

B8: Model of compliance (completion) - Unpaid work requirement

Likelihood of compliance	Odds ratio	Standard Error	z
Age [ref:30-34]			
18-20	0.50**	0.10	- 3.34
21-24	0.65*	0.14	- 2.08
25-29	0.91	0.19	- 0.46
35-39	1.17	0.29	0.64
40-44	1.42	0.36	1.38
45-49	2.37*	0.84	2.43
50+	1.06	0.37	0.17
Ethnicity [ref: White]			
Asian	1.22	0.25	0.95
Black	1.17	0.17	1.11
Mixed	0.81	0.18	- 0.93
Other	1.39	0.60	0.77
Accommodation need	0.85	0.11	- 1.28
Financial need	0.70*	0.10	- 2.42
Relationship need	0.69**	0.09	- 2.72
Drug need	0.77	0.11	- 1.82
Alcohol need	0.90	0.12	- 0.74
Emotional well being need	1.03	0.15	0.23
Attitude need	0.83	0.11	- 1.36
Risk of reconviction [ref: Low]			
Risk of reconviction- medium-high	0.49***	0.08	- 4.49
Age first conviction [ref: under 14]			
Age first conviction 18+	0.97	0.24	- 0.11
Age first conviction 14-17	0.76	0.19	- 1.10
Previous breaches	0.69***	0.05	- 5.46
Offences [ref: Theft and Handling]			
Burglary	0.83	0.22	- 0.71
Criminal Damage	1.32	0.48	0.77
Drugs	1.43	0.36	1.44
Fraud & Forgery	1.76	0.57	1.75
Indictable Motoring Offences	9.75***	5.81	3.82
Other Indictable	1.68	0.51	1.70
Other Summary Offences	1.07	0.29	0.24
Robbery	1.61	0.64	1.20
Sexual Offences	2.08	1.73	0.88
Summary Motoring Offences	0.99	0.20	- 0.03
Violence Against the Person	1.81**	0.34	3.16
Breach	0.61	0.16	- 1.90
SSO	1.83***	0.22	5.00
Requirement length (>100 hours)	0.61***	0.07	- 4.33
Risk of Harm [ref: Low]			
Risk of Harm (medium)	0.67**	0.09	- 2.81
Risk of Harm (High/Very high)	0.18***	0.06	- 5.52
Risk of Harm (unknown)	1.19	0.33	0.65
Area [ref: Kingston and Richmond]			
Barking, Dagenham and Havering	2.48*	1.08	2.07

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

Barnet and Enfield	1.24	0.55	0.49
Bexley and Bromley	1.87	0.80	1.46
Brent	2.56	1.25	1.93
Camden and Islington	1.46	0.68	0.81
Croydon	3.03*	1.49	2.25
Ealing	2.67*	1.20	2.19
Greenwich	1.90	0.98	1.23
Hackney	4.95**	2.90	2.73
Hammersmith, Fulham and Wandsworth	3.00*	1.32	2.50
Haringey	1.97	0.89	1.50
Harrow and Hillingdon	2.54*	1.07	2.21
Hounslow	1.02	0.51	0.05
Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster	4.10*	2.25	2.57
Lambeth	2.46*	1.07	2.07
Lewisham	2.42	1.31	1.63
Merton and Sutton	1.88	0.88	1.35
Newham	3.20*	1.49	2.50
Redbridge and Waltham Forest	2.51	1.20	1.93
Southwark	3.21**	1.40	2.66
Tower Hamlets	3.54*	2.02	2.22
Unknown/Out of London	0.33	0.46	- 0.80
Rho	0.22		
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0:			<.001

***.1% level of significance **1% level of significance * 5% level of significance

B9: Model of breach – Drug treatment requirement

Likelihood of breach	OR	Std. Err.	z
Accommodation need	1.10	0.18	0.60
Education need	1.48	0.32	1.80
Relationship need	1.33	0.23	1.69
Lifestyle need	1.46	0.29	1.94
Drug need	2.82**	0.84	3.48
Alcohol need	0.90	0.16	- 0.59
Emotional well being need	0.70*	0.12	- 2.12
Thinking & behaviour need	1.45	0.29	1.90
Attitude need	0.74	0.14	- 1.61
Risk of reconviction [ref: Low]			
Risk of reconviction- medium-high	0.63	0.29	- 1.01
Number of court appearances at which convicted aged under 18 [ref:0]			
Number of court appearances at which convicted aged under 18 (1+)	0.91	0.16	- 0.55
Previous breaches	1.08	0.10	0.83
No. different categories of conviction [ref: 0-2]			
No. different categories of conviction (3+)	1.40	0.29	1.60
Offences [ref: Theft and Handling]			
Burglary	0.95	0.23	- 0.23
Criminal Damage	0.66	0.47	- 0.58
Drugs	0.60*	0.14	- 2.20
Fraud & Forgery	1.22	0.70	0.34
Indictable Motoring Offences	0.68	0.67	- 0.39
Other Indictable	0.80	0.51	- 0.35
Other Summary Offences	2.19	1.13	1.51
Robbery	1.80	1.23	0.87
Sexual Offences	0.10	0.15	- 1.47
Summary Motoring Offences	0.68	0.31	- 0.86
Violence Against the Person	0.88	0.27	- 0.41
Breach	3.90***	1.14	4.68
SSO	0.65*	0.12	- 2.42
Requirement length over 7 months	1.71**	0.30	3.06
Area [ref: Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster; Hammersmith and Fulham]			
Barking, Dagenham and Havering	0.45	0.22	- 1.66
Barnet and Enfield	2.78*	1.18	2.41
Bexley and Bromley	0.37	0.20	- 1.85
Brent	1.64	0.79	1.02
Camden and Islington	1.18	0.48	0.40
Croydon	1.30	0.66	0.51
Ealing	2.42	1.19	1.79
Greenwich	1.19	0.53	0.40
Hackney	0.79	0.34	- 0.56
Haringey	0.89	0.41	- 0.26
Harrow and Hillingdon	2.12	1.08	1.47
Hounslow	2.33	1.19	1.65

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

Kingston and Richmond	1.09	0.64	0.14
Lambeth	1.13	0.46	0.31
Lewisham	1.84	1.00	1.12
Merton and Sutton	0.60	0.39	- 0.78
Newham	1.49	0.73	0.81
Redbridge and Waltham Forest	1.45	0.56	0.96
Southwark	0.22***	0.09	- 3.92
Tower Hamlets	1.42	0.59	0.84
Wandsworth	0.64	0.38	- 0.76
Unknown/Out of London	0.54	0.56	- 0.59
Rho	0.34		

Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: <.001

*** .1% level of significance **1% level of significance * 5% level of significance

B10: Model of compliance (completion) – Drug treatment requirement

Likelihood of compliance	Odds ratio	Standard Error	z
Age [ref:30-34]			
18-20	0.66	0.32	- 0.86
21-24	0.75	0.24	- 0.88
25-29	0.94	0.25	- 0.24
35-39	1.19	0.33	0.63
40-44	1.71	0.53	1.73
45-49	1.22	0.52	0.47
50+	2.66	1.45	1.79
Accommodation need	0.77	0.14	- 1.45
Lifestyle need	0.65*	0.14	- 2.00
Drug need	0.42*	0.15	- 2.50
Alcohol need	1.18	0.23	0.84
Thinking & Behaviour need	0.78	0.16	- 1.21
Prolific offender	0.54	0.18	- 1.89
Previous breaches	0.64***	0.07	- 4.15
Offences [ref: Theft and Handling]			
Burglary	1.46	0.40	1.39
Criminal Damage	4.59	3.66	1.91
Drugs	2.93***	0.82	3.83
Fraud & Forgery	1.93	1.32	0.96
Other Indictable	1.98	1.35	1.01
Other Summary Offences	2.67	1.54	1.71
Robbery	2.07	1.51	1.00
Sexual Offences	3.43	6.40	0.66
Summary Motoring Offences	0.99	0.53	- 0.02
Violence Against the Person	2.32*	0.80	2.43
Breach	2.78***	0.79	3.60
SSO	0.85	0.17	- 0.83
Requirement length over 7 months	0.42***	0.08	- 4.39
Area [ref: Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster; Hammersmith and Fulham]			
Barking, Dagenham and Havering	3.45*	2.05	2.08
Barnet and Enfield	0.84	0.38	- 0.40
Bexley and Bromley	2.77	1.78	1.59
Brent	1.05	0.56	0.10
Camden and Islington	0.93	0.45	- 0.14
Croydon	1.21	0.68	0.33
Ealing	0.73	0.39	- 0.60
Greenwich	0.50	0.26	- 1.35
Hackney	2.87*	1.42	2.13
Haringey	1.41	0.74	0.65
Harrow and Hillingdon	0.65	0.37	- 0.76
Hounslow	0.33	0.21	- 1.78
Kingston and Richmond	0.77	0.55	- 0.37
Lambeth	0.89	0.40	- 0.26
Lewisham	0.87	0.51	- 0.24
Merton and Sutton	0.63	0.50	- 0.58
Newham	1.69	0.91	0.97
Redbridge and Waltham Forest	1.41	0.61	0.79

Key predictors of compliance with community supervision in London

Southwark	1.09	0.47	0.21
Tower Hamlets	1.60	0.74	1.01
Wandsworth	7.56*	6.20	2.47
Unknown/Out of London	0.35	0.57	- 0.65
Rho	0.4		
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0:			<.001

*** .1% level of significance **1% level of significance * 5% level of significance