



Youth Restorative Intervention Evaluation Final report

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Contents

Acknowledgements	4
Executive Summary	5
Description of the YRI	5
Design of the YRI.....	5
Delivery of YRI.....	6
Victims	6
Offenders	6
Management	6
Impact of YRI	6
Victim satisfaction	6
First time entrants.....	6
Reoffending.....	7
Benefit of YRI	7
Conclusion and recommendations	8
Section 1: Introduction	9
Description of the Youth Restorative Intervention	9
Description of the young people on YRI	11
Outline of the evaluation	12
Adopting a theory of change	12
Method.....	13
Section 2: Design & Delivery of YRI.....	15
Design of the YRI: is it plausible?	15
Delivery of YRI: is it doable?.....	17
Quality of support for victims	18
Youth Restorative Intervention Victim Satisfaction Survey	19
Type and level of support for offenders	19
Quality of support for offenders	20
Youth Restorative Intervention Offender Satisfaction Survey.....	21
Section 3: Impact and Benefits of YRI	22
Impact of the YRI: is it working?.....	22
Victim satisfaction	22
Youth Restorative Intervention Victim Satisfaction Survey	23
Impact on the offender.....	24

<i>First Time Entrants</i>	25
<i>Reoffending</i>	25
<i>Effectiveness of YRI in reducing reoffending</i>	27
Benefits of YRI: is it worth it?.....	28
Cost savings and cost effectiveness	29
Section 4: Conclusion and recommendations.....	31
Proving the theory of change	31
Rationale and resources of the theory of change.....	31
Impact and benefit of the initiative	32
Recommendations.....	32
References	34
Appendix A: Impact study method	36
Propensity Score Matching (PSM)	40
Checking balance.....	41
Analysis of reoffending.....	42
Appendix B: Value for money assessment.....	55
Framework for analysis	55
Data sources and calculations.....	56
Direct costs for the initial YRI intervention	56
Direct costs for the counterfactual	57
Relative costs of YRI and counterfactual in respect of indirect costs to police, Youth Service, prisons and courts from re-offending	59
Reduction in effects suffered by victims as a result of a reduction in reoffending	60
Effect on future public spend on unemployment benefit and health in respect of the offender	61

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Executive Summary

The Youth Restorative Intervention (YRI) is run jointly by Surrey Police and Surrey County Council's Youth Support Service¹. It is a pre-court disposal and an alternative to the youth caution, the youth conditional caution² and prosecution. With a few exceptions it is the default disposal for young offenders who are under the age of 18 and admit the offence. The intention of the programme is to prevent reoffending, to repair harm to victims and improve their satisfaction with the Criminal Justice System (CJS), and to provide better value for money in the youth justice system. Overall, the initiative seeks to improve the experience of the criminal justice system for all: the victim, the offender, their families and the wider community.

Description of the YRI

There is no criminal conviction on completion of the YRI. When a case is suitable for the YRI, a police officer or YSS worker will then meet the parties to explain the process and establish what needs to be done to "put right" the consequences of the offence. The victim and offender's needs will be assessed, and the young offender will be encouraged to access the services provided by the integrated YSS. The parties will also agree to either direct or indirect mediation. At the conclusion of the mediation, the young offender will undertake a number of actions, such as a letter of apology, reparation, attendance at support sessions and agreeing to certain standards of behaviour.

Three quarters of the young people on the YRI were male and two thirds were over 16³. The vast majority of offences that they had committed were not deemed to be serious and the most common offences were theft and handling and violence.

Design of the YRI

The design of the YRI is well founded on the prior research evidence.

Described as an 'approach' rather than a process, the YRI largely followed the key principles of good restorative practice:

- The process was voluntary, but it was ideal to have the participation of both parties.
- Offenders acknowledged responsibility and were held accountable throughout the process.
- Face-to-face communication with the offender increased victim satisfaction.
- The restorative outcomes were fair, realistic, achievable and credible.

¹ As a Youth Support Service, the YSS incorporates the functions of a Youth Offending Team (YOT) into a service that works with a range of vulnerable young people and those with additional needs. (Byrne & Brooks, forthcoming).

² The youth caution and the youth conditional caution replaced reprimands and final warnings in April 2013.

³ As found by the evaluation.

Delivery of YRI

The evaluation found that the YRI was delivered to a high standard. This is a notable achievement in light of the prior research⁴ that found such schemes take time and commitment to implement effectively.

Victims

Victims generally commended the staff and praised particular aspects of the support: from being informed, conveying their feelings, being well prepared for the meetings and managing the case effectively.

Offenders

Offenders reported having good relationships with their YRI key workers and recognised that the YRI was there to help. While the frequency of contacts with the offenders was difficult to analyse⁵, the number of contacts appeared to increase with offence gravity score, suggesting a targeting of resources to the risks or needs of the young people.

Management

The senior management team displayed consistent leadership of the initiative. It is evident that they articulated a shared vision for the initiative and demonstrated their commitment to ensuring its success and continuation.

Impact of YRI

The evaluation found that the YRI was successful in improving victim satisfaction, reducing first time entrants to the criminal justice system and re-offending.

Victim satisfaction

In common with previous evaluations of restorative schemes, the victims generally reported that their engagement was positive and that the YRI contracts were fair and just. This corresponds with the results of Surrey Police's independent YRI Victim Satisfaction Surveys (Reed, 2013)⁶ that found 91% (N=150)⁷ of victims were satisfied with the process.

First time entrants

The use of the YRI consciously seeks to reduce criminalisation. As the default position for dealing with most youth crime, it has been successful in providing a robust approach to reducing FTEs in Surrey. The Youth Justice Board's FTE figures⁸ for Surrey between October 2010 and September 2011 was 394 FTEs per 100,000 young people. Between October 2012 and September 2013 the figure was

⁴ See review of research evidence and good practice in Section 2 below.

⁵ This is due to an inconsistency in recording the number of contacts made with offender that made it difficult to assess the efficiency of the resources deployed.

⁶ Since October 2011, Surrey Police has conducted six waves of a YRI victim satisfaction survey. The latest wave (wave 6) was conducted by Quality Fieldwork Research in November 2013.

⁷ This figure is derived from Waves 1-6 of the victim satisfaction survey.

⁸ YJB monitoring statistics for England and Wales, January 2007 to December 2013 (Shared by YSS).

189 – the lowest in England and Wales indicating that a young person is less likely to receive a criminal record in Surrey. The respective figures for England were 780 to 478.

Reoffending

The YRI was successful in reducing reoffending. This is a notable achievement in light of some ambiguous reoffending outcomes found by the prior research (Hoyle Young & Hill, 2002 c.f. Shapland et al, 2008).

The reoffending rate for those who attended the YRI was 27% compared to 33% for the control group⁹, a 6% difference. This 6% difference represents an 18% reduction in the reoffending rate.¹⁰ Of the YRI group, it was found that young people who reoffended tended to have had previous convictions. They were increasingly likely to reoffend if they had two or more previous convictions. Fifty per cent of those who attended the YRI - and who had two more previous convictions - reoffended, compared to 60% of a corresponding group in the control.

Benefit of YRI

The evaluation found that the direct costs of running the YRI were cheaper than the alternative of processing the offender through the police, which was a mixture of youth cautions, youth conditional cautions and prosecution. The evaluation also found that the YRI provided wider savings to the public purse.

The cost to the police and Youth Service of administering YRI per case is £360. By contrast, administering the alternative costs £600, and, by increasing the extent to which offenders gain criminal records and reduces employment prospects, it creates potential for a loss of tax and increase in benefit payments of the order of £360 per offender. A further disadvantage of the alternative is that it has a 6% higher level of reoffending, bringing almost £80 in costs to the courts, police, YSS, and the NHS. Together, some £1,040 in current and future public sector costs is avoided per offender when £360 is spent.

This implies that for each pound spent on the YRI compared to the alternative, there is a potential £2.86 return to the public sector.¹¹

In addition, there are reduced social costs relating to each victim, estimated to be some £200. This implies that in total for each pound spent on the YRI compared to the alternative, there are £3.41 of benefits. These results are summarised in the table below.

⁹ A control group constructed from pre-court and court convictions between April 2009 and March 2011.

¹⁰ In measuring the reoffending rate, effective resolutions and further YRIs were included in the measure because these had largely replaced youth cautions and conditional cautions in Surrey.

¹¹ The reported figures are rounded to the nearest £10 and therefore the ratios cannot be produced from the reported figures.

Table ES1: Cost of the YRI and the alternative

Intervention	Cost to administer (per offender)	Cost of 6% higher reoffending (per offender)			Total (per offender)
		Courts, police, YSS and the NHS	Benefits and tax	Victim social costs	
YRI	£360	-	-	-	£360
Mixture of youth cautions, youth conditional cautions and court sentences	£600	£80	£360	£200	£1,040
Difference	£240	£80	£360	£200	£680

Conclusion and recommendations

These positive outcomes and benefits are the result of designing an intervention that was based on good practice and delivered to a high standard. Importantly, the YRI has strong and consistent leadership that was committed to restorative principles. This leadership has sought to improve the experience of justice for all. In doing so the YRI reduced the unnecessary criminalisation of young people, reduced reoffending, provided better interventions for victims, improved victim satisfaction and reduced costs to the youth justice system. Overall the initiative views offenders as vulnerable young people who require the appropriate support from the integrated YSS. While the evaluation concludes on a positive note, there are three principal recommendations that will help inform the development and expansion of the YRI approach:

- Review the efficiency of the intervention and in particular investigate how the YRI was delivered by the police and the YSS workers – in particular the amount of time spent delivering the intervention, the frequency of meetings and the type of staff used - to ensure the highest levels of consistency, efficiency and effectiveness. .
- Undertaking a further reconviction study using PNC data to understand the reoffending outcomes better.
- Investigate the reoffending data to understand why young people with a public order offence are more likely to reoffend than young people as a whole.

Section 1: Introduction

The Youth Restorative Intervention (YRI) is a joint initiative by Surrey Police and Surrey County Council. It is a pre-court disposal and is an alternative to formal disposals such as the youth caution, the youth conditional caution¹² and prosecution. The YRI is not a formal adjudication and if successfully completed, the young person will not receive a criminal conviction. However, failure to abide by the contract will result in formal action being taken. Through the adoption of the principles of restorative justice, the intervention provides a ‘robust’ restorative approach between young offenders and their victims and seeks to reduce the unnecessary criminalisation of young people. Consistent with the overall aim of improving the experience of the justice system for all, the YRI aims to:

1. Improve victim satisfaction by dealing with the offence that affected them in a restorative way rather than punitively.
2. Reduce reoffending rates among the young offenders who engage in the initiative.
3. Reduce the numbers of first time entrants into the youth justice system.
4. Provide value for money.

In commissioning the evaluation of the YRI, Surrey Police and Surrey County Council require a report that will inform decisions on how best to invest in the YRI in the future. In fulfilling that commission, this report provides evidence of the outcomes on victim satisfaction, re-offending rates, first time entrants into the youth justice system and value-for-money. In addition, it also presents evidence of the soundness of the initiative’s rationale and the perceived quality of its processes.

The remainder of this introductory section provides a description of the YRI, including some descriptive data on the numbers of young people involved, and also an outline of how the processes and outcomes of the initiative were evaluated.

Description of the Youth Restorative Intervention

The YRI is a joint initiative of Surrey Police and the Surrey Youth Support Service. It has its origins in a deliberate decision by both the police and the youth justice service to shift the focus of youth justice from a reactive and punitive approach to an approach that has, in the words of one of the original senior management team, “a strong restorative flavour”. The adoption of this approach was also consistent with a local interest in responding to offending informally and diverting young people from the criminal justice system and attending to their needs and risks. These ideas were seen as permitting a more effective response than criminal sanctions, whereby Surrey Police and the integrated Youth Support Service could not only meet victims' needs, but also bring a multi-agency and multi-disciplinary

¹² The youth caution and the youth conditional caution replaced reprimands and final warnings in April 2013.

approach to the wider health, welfare and educational needs of a vulnerable young person who had offended (Byrne & Brooks, forthcoming).

This decision to implement the YRI was taken around the time when there was a removal of the “Offences Brought to Justice (OBTJ)” target which sought to close the ‘justice gap’ between offences committed and those brought to justice. In its place there was a greater political impetus to reduce the number of first time entrants (FTEs) into the youth justice system, together with a commitment to reduce the unnecessary criminalisation of young people. While restorative principles have been adopted in many different settings, it was clear that the conception and implementation of the YRI was a response to creating a local solution to local concerns. As such, the initiative is very consistent with the coalition government’s “localism” agenda.

It was clear from interviews with the senior management team that the YRI emerged not only as a pragmatic response to reducing FTEs but also a strong commitment to restorative justice and the welfare of vulnerable young people. However, it was not the intention of the YRI to be a formal restorative justice scheme that would (in the words of a member of the SMT) “squeeze” victims or offenders into a model of conferencing, direct or indirect mediation. Rather the YRI would be founded on broader restorative principles and values, and these values would be integrated into the wider work and practice of the staff involved in the YRI. The police and the youth service commenced the discussion and initial design of the YRI in 2010, and a pilot of the YRI ran between April and November 2011.

In practice the YRI is the default disposal for young offenders who are under the age of 18 and admit the offence. The exceptions to this general rule are minor cases that are dealt with by community resolution and more serious, “indictable only” cases (although an element of discretion is still applied in these latter cases). The case will then be discussed at a joint decision-making panel of police officers and YSS workers. This joint panel decides whether to accept a case, and if it does, allocates it to either a police officer or YSS worker to be managed. The decision as to whom the case is allocated is permissive and not subject to hard criteria. Observation of a meeting of the panel as part of the evaluation witnessed that the cases for that day were allocated on the bases of whether any agencies were currently working with the young person and/or had the capacity within the respective agencies to take on additional cases. Of course for more complex cases – such as where the young person is a “looked after child” and the local authority is the corporate parent – the matter will be managed by a YSS worker.

Once the case is allocated the worker will usually first contact the offender and then the victim. The first question the worker asks is what needs to be done to “put right” the consequences of the offence, and the worker will explain the YRI process. Consideration of the impact of the offence at this stage will often be the first time the offender is asked to be accountable for his or her actions. One worker, when interviewed, said that he will assess whether the offender is truly remorseful or just paying lip-service to YRI to avoid a criminal conviction. However, showing remorse is not a pre-requisite of the YRI and engaging the offender in restorative practice

can lead to such feelings at a later point in the process. The workers will also engage with the needs of both the victim and the offender. Consistent with the overall concern for the young person's welfare, the YSS and the police will encourage the young person to access a range of health, education and welfare provision that an integrated youth service, such as the YSS, can provide.

The worker will have a follow-up meeting with both the victim and the offender. This will be a matter for the professional judgement of the worker, and will usually occur a week after the initial meeting. Once the worker has determined that both parties consent to participating in the YRI process a decision will also be taken as to what type of mediation will be used by the YRI.

At the conclusion of the mediation, the young person is required to sign an agreement that stipulates the requirements of the intervention. The agreement might outline the actions required in response to the victim, such as a letter of apology, the nature of the reparation, the number of support sessions to attend or standards of general behaviour. The YRI requires the terms of the contract to be met before the intervention can be concluded. A local scrutiny panel consisting of representatives of the police, the Crown Prosecution Service, the courts and the local authority meet to examine a sample of youth cautions, conditional youth cautions, community resolutions and six YRI cases. Following their examination, the panel will provide general feedback to the police as to whether their use of out of court disposals is consistent and appropriate. This feedback will be used to inform any policy changes, further guidance or training and will not be used to endorse or rescind cases in any way.

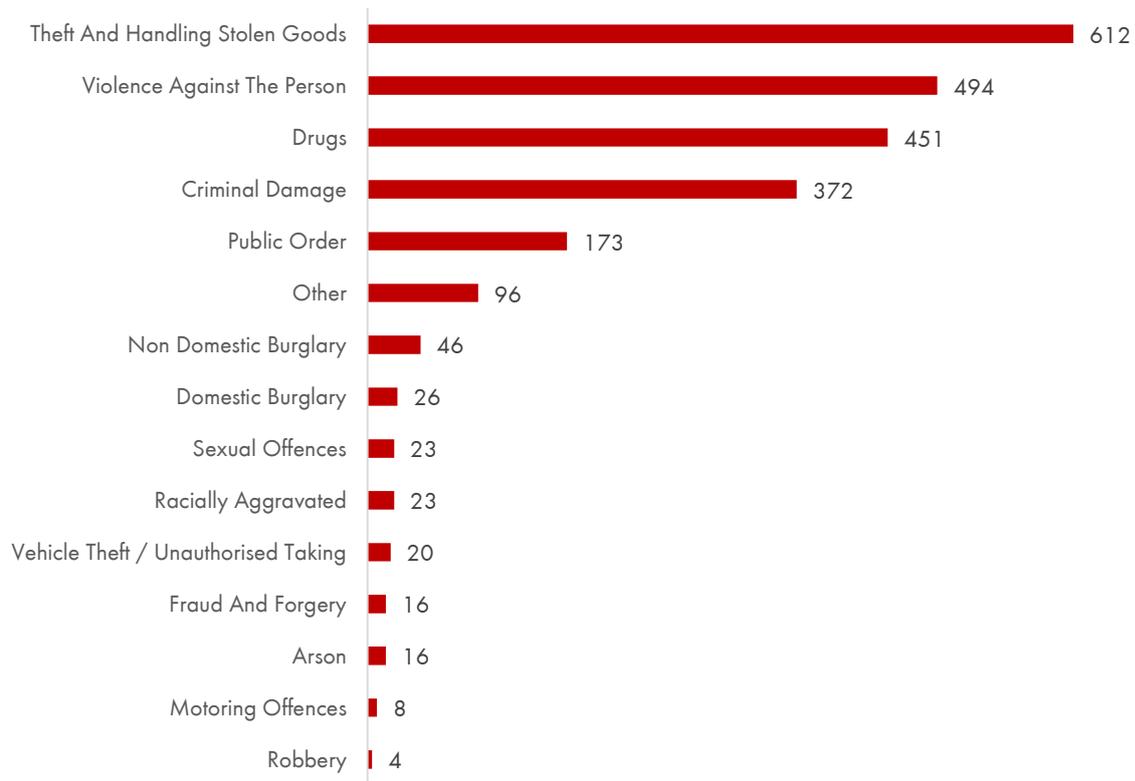
Description of the young people on YRI

At the end of December 2013, there had been 2,085 starts on the YRI representing 1,704 young people. The majority of these young people were male (75%) and aged over 16 (65%). However, compared to the males there was a slight tendency for females to receive YRI rather than other disposals, and this more than likely reflects the types of offences committed and their relative gravity. There is a considerable difference in the average age between those who received the YRI and other disposals. The YRI is targeted at younger offenders whereas during the same period as the YRI, 50% of those who received a court order were aged 17.

The most common index offences were theft and handling stolen goods and violence against the person (see Figure 1.1). The vast majority of the offences were of gravity score 3 or less.¹³

¹³ YJB offence gravity scores were used to define offence seriousness. According to this scoring mechanism, the most common offences are scored on a gravity scale between low gravity of 1 and a high gravity of 8 (high gravity, e.g., a sexual assault). Nationally, a low gravity offence is likely to result in a community resolution, while a high gravity offence will result in a charge; and those in between will result in a youth caution or youth conditional caution.

Figure 1.1 Index offence of YRI starts



Base: All starts on the Youth restorative Intervention November 2011 to Dec 2013

Source: Youth Support Service

Since the YRI started, it appears that more offences with a gravity score of greater than four have been included in the YRI cohort. Perhaps this describes a greater acceptance and confidence in the intervention to work with all types of young offenders. However, the young people who are still given a court order when the YRI was in operation tended to have higher offence gravities than those that started the YRI. No differences were seen between those still given a pre court outcome such as a youth caution.

Outline of the evaluation

This section provides an outline of the ‘theory of change’ approach to the evaluation and the methods that were adopted to evaluate whether the initiative was successful in meeting its objectives.

Adopting a theory of change

The evaluation assessed whether there was a convincing theory why the restorative approach would bring about the changes that it is seeking. This is often described as a ‘theory of change’ approach to project development and evaluation, which can simply be described as:

“A story about how the activities included in a project are going to lead to their intended outcomes – early on, and in the intermediate and longer term”.
(Connell and Kubisch 2002).

In testing the theory of change for the YRI, the report will address the following vital questions:

1. **Is it plausible?** In other words, do the evidence and common sense suggest that the YRI, if implemented, will lead to the desired outcomes?
2. **Is it doable?** Are the economic, technical, political, institutional, and human resources available to carry out the initiative?
3. **Is it working?** Is the YRI achieving its stated aims?
4. **Is it worth it?** Even if the YRI achieved its aims, do the benefits of the project outweigh its costs?

Method

The evaluation was based on a review of the theory of change and a mixed method approach was adopted to answer the vital theory of change questions. The principal methods were:

- **Document review:** to understand the rationale of the YRI, a number of documents that described the YRI and its aims were reviewed. The outcome of this review informed an assessment of the ‘plausibility’ of the YRI. This was complemented by a review of the relevant research literature.
- **Interviews with key staff:** semi-structured interviews were conducted with four key members of the senior management team from Surrey Police and Surrey County Council. These interviews not only contributed to an understanding of the rationale of the YRI, but also an assessment of whether the initiative was ‘doable’.
- **Qualitative research:** interviews with victims, offenders and their parents and carers were undertaken to supplement Surrey Police’s regular YRI victim satisfaction surveys.
- **Analysis of re-offending:** reoffending for the YRI was measured using a different method than is generally used for reoffending studies (the general measure is the MoJ’s 12 month proven reoffending measure).¹⁴ Instead, effective resolutions and further YRIs were included in the measure because these had largely replaced youth cautions in Surrey.
- **Cost benefit research:** the evaluation followed the approach set out by the Young Foundation’s “*Reducing crime: the case for preventative investment report*”. This approach determines the unit cost of a given criminal justice incident for various public sector bodies. It also calculates the extent to which the frequency of those costs would change; and multiplies this by a ‘cash-ability’ factor outlining the extent to which it is possible to achieve savings in practice given time lags and fixed costs.

¹⁴ Whether an offender was convicted for an offence within 18 months of the start of the order for an offence committed within 12 months of the start of the order.

The remaining sections of the report will set out the findings of the evaluation. Section 2 addresses the “plausibility” and “do-ability” of the initiative by reporting how the YRI was designed and delivered. Section 3 reports on the impact and benefits of the initiative by providing answers to the questions “is it working?” and “is it worth it?” The report concludes with recommendations that will inform any decisions that Surrey Police and Surrey County Council will take on the how best to invest in the YRI approach.

Section 2: Design & Delivery of YRI

This section provides an assessment of the design of the Youth Restorative Intervention in Surrey. The commentary on the design of the intervention will address its ‘plausibility’. Having established the rationale of the intervention, this section will consider the delivery of the intervention and will examine the resources that are deployed to deliver the outcomes.

Design of the YRI: is it plausible?

Addressing the ‘plausibility’ of whether the YRI can deliver its outcomes requires a brief review of some of the recent good practice and evidence from previous evaluations. This will conclude with an assessment of whether the evidence suggests that the processes adopted by the YRI can plausibly deliver its outcomes.

Before considering the best practice and research, it can be very difficult to draw hard boundaries around what would or would not be seen as restorative justice. (Shapland, 2004). There are different definitions of restorative justice, but recent guidance from the Restorative Justice Council in the United Kingdom describes restorative process as:

“Bringing those harmed by crime or conflict and those responsible for the harm into communication, enabling everyone who is affected by a particular incident to play a part in repairing the harm and finding a positive way forward.”

(Restorative Justice Council, 2011).

Consistent with the views of the senior management team, practitioners of restorative justice consider it to be not only a process to be followed but also an alternative way of thinking about offending behaviour and how to respond to it. As such, practitioners are advised to take care not to constrain practice within a rigid process, but to be flexible in using the restorative justice values of reconciliation and reciprocity (Ministry of Justice, 2004).

Guidance for practitioners on the implementation of restorative processes (for example from the United Kingdom and New Zealand¹⁵ respectively: Restorative Justice Council, 2011; Ministry of Justice, 2004) emphasise a number of principles of good practice¹⁶. These include the voluntary principal, where the participation of the victim and the offender cannot be coerced, but that it is essential for the offender to acknowledge responsibility for the offence and to be held accountable for it throughout the process. Victims must be allowed to determine their own participation in the process, but their full participation is considered ideal.

Leading commentators have deemed it essential for the victim and the offender to have some form of meeting (Marshall, 1999, Shapland, 2004). This includes direct

¹⁵ Restorative Justice has a strong association with Maori concepts of justice.

¹⁶ This list is not prescriptive and good practice suggests that the process is evolutionary and should be flexible (Ministry of Justice, 2004).

(or face-to-face mediation), conferencing, or indirect (or shuttle) mediation: see the text box below for further details. It should be noted that none of these practices are unique to restorative justice, nor does their use necessarily mean that a restorative approach has been adopted. What distinguishes the restorative approach is that it seeks to use the mediation to repair or restore the relationship between the offender and his or her victim.

Common types of restorative mediation¹⁷

Direct mediation: where victim and offender meet face-to-face, with a facilitator/mediator;

Conferencing: uses a facilitator to bring together the victim and offender at a meeting, together with their supporters/family etc. and possibly other people affected by the offence.

Indirect mediation: involves the passage of information between victim and offender, via the mediator. This is often referred to as 'shuttle mediation' and can include an exchange of letters or indirect telephone or video communication.

Research has shown that face-to-face communication between the offender and the victim leads to the highest rates of participant satisfaction, so other forms of communication should only be offered where face-to-face is not possible. It has also been noted that 'unplanned' restorative communication can be successful, for example where the victim and offender "meet over tea and biscuits" and outside a formal mediation process.

Following the voluntary nature of restorative justice, there needs to be a consensus around the outcomes of the process. However, any outcomes must be "fair, realistic, achievable and credible" (Ministry of Justice, 2004) and should be prospective as well as retrospective. By repairing the damage, the victim does not necessarily seek financial reparation or restitution; often victims are keener to get an apology, or use the dialogue with the offender to ask questions and speak the truth. Once agreed, the outcomes should be monitored and action taken should the plan break down.

Bringing the victim and the offender together in a restorative process requires time, preparation and the use of professional and trained staff that are sympathetic to the process. The guidance emphasises these requirements and this is supported by evidence from previous research that recommends that time is required to get the processes working efficiently (let alone being able to discern any positive outcomes or realise any benefits). Previous research has observed that getting these processes to work involves (at least) lengthy developmental work, training and appointing workers, and securing the commitment of senior stakeholders within the criminal justice system (Shapland, 2004).

¹⁷ Shapland et al, 2004.

Dedicating resources to the implementation appears to produce dividends in terms of victim satisfaction. An evaluation of the Thames Valley restorative caution found that “*well facilitated restorative sessions ... produce generally positive outcomes in terms of satisfaction with the process*”, (Hoyle, Young & Hill, 2002). These positive satisfaction outcomes were also found in a meta-analysis of the international literature which found notable support for the effectiveness of restorative justice to increase offender/victim satisfaction and restitution compliance (Latimer, Dowden and Muise, 2005).

In addition to finding high satisfaction with the process, the evaluation of the Thames Valley initiative (Hoyle, Young & Hill, 2002) also found that around one-quarter of offenders reported that they had either desisted from crime or reduced their offending at least in part because of the restorative caution. However, further research into these offender self-reports found that, while there were reductions in the re-sanctioning rate¹⁸, these could not be attributed to the use of the restorative caution. Equally, the authors noted that their study of *re-sanctioning* was, of course, unable to establish definitively that the restorative cautioning initiative made no impact on the more narrowly defined *reoffending rates*, and referred to the positive results from the self-report survey reported from their 2002 report. Clearer evidence of the effectiveness of restorative justice in reducing reoffending finds support in Latimer and others’ meta-analysis (2005). A more recent evaluation of four restorative justice programmes in England assessed the impact of three of those schemes on the reconviction rates of adult offenders (Shapland et al, 2008). The evaluation found that those offenders who participated in restorative justice committed statistically significantly fewer offences (in terms of reconvictions) in the subsequent two years than offenders in the control group. This study has been influential in developing policy in England and is cited favourably by the coalition government’s action plan which seeks to widen and improve the use of restorative justice within the criminal justice system.

While there are questions around the definition of restorative justice, the guidance and research evidence suggest that it is certainly a plausible approach to improving victim (and offender) confidence in the criminal justice system and in reducing reoffending by offenders. Likewise there is evidence to support the view that restorative justice is a plausible approach to improving victim satisfaction, although this is likely to be determined by the quality of the implementation of the scheme. The next section considers whether there was a commitment by the management and staff of the Surrey YRI to dedicate the level of resources to ensure that the outcomes can be achieved.

Delivery of YRI: is it doable?

Given the emphasis placed on the quality of the interventions, this section will focus on the quality of support for the victims, offenders and their families. The

¹⁸ Offenders are treated as re-sanctioned if, for a subsequent offence falling within the follow-up period, they receive either a conviction or police disposal. Re-sanctioning provides a more comprehensive measure of offending than reconviction alone.

assessment of those latter resources was derived from the qualitative interviews that were conducted with the management, offenders, victims, and their families. This will be complemented by reference to findings from Surrey Police's YRI victim satisfaction surveys, the offender satisfaction survey, and case management data on the level of support that was provided for the young person.

Before considering the quality of the intervention it should be noted that the initiative was well led by the senior management team. In interview, it was clear that they all shared a clear vision for the project and were highly committed to its success.

Quality of support for victims

The professionalism of the staff was commended by the victims who participated in the interviews. This reflects well on the quality of the members of staff and their training and commitment to the initiative. The victims generally praised particular aspects of support from the staff: from keeping them informed and managing the case effectively. Individual comments were made on the skills of the worker in chairing face-to-face meetings including allowing participants the time to voice their feelings and – in demonstrating an empathy for the parties - arranging the seating in a way that made participants feel at ease. The victims also recognised that the YRI workers gave helpful advice on making risk assessments for reparation activities. The victims also reported that the caseworkers relayed information between the two parties during the YRI process, explaining what was happening with regard to the young person and conveying the victims' thoughts and feelings about the offence.

Direct communication between the young people and the victims tended to be in the form of letters of apology and face-to-face meetings. This was corroborated by the number of meetings described for each young person in the case management system (please see next section). Where direct mediation had taken place, it was generally considered to be a beneficial experience, particularly for the victim. Reflecting positively on the quality of the resources, the victims generally reported being well prepared for their meetings. In some cases there had been some uncertainty as what would transpire in the meeting, and in other less formal settings, the victims were able to lead the face-to-face encounter. In both circumstances, victims felt that the conduct of the meeting had enabled them to explain how the incident had affected them and ultimately to see the 'good' in the offenders. This was recognised by the victims' willingness to engage in face-to-face meetings and the demonstration of their remorse.

When a face to face meeting was not completed there were examples of the YRI not achieving meaningful two way communication between the young person and the victim. In such circumstances a victim could feel that the process had not met their needs. In line with the good practice outlined above, ensuring that meaningful communication is achieved when a face to face contact is not possible can improve quality.

Encouragement should be taken from the positive reports of the support provided by the staff and the conduct of the YRI. In light of that, a number of victims appeared to question whether the apparently high level of resources was disproportionate to the offence and the harm caused. One victim speculated (not necessarily critically) that the resources expended by the YRI would have been greater than those that would have been used to charge and sentence an offender,

“I couldn't believe the amount of time and effort that was put into it ... I would imagine it's a lot more than if they'd just been charged and whatever the punishment was”. (Victim)

Another victim appeared to consider that the resources used by YRI would be a cost-effective response to the offending if it was effective in helping the offender to not re-offend,

“If it's successful and these young people don't reoffend, I think it doesn't really matter how much time you put into it, if it works”. (Victim)

Youth Restorative Intervention Victim Satisfaction Survey

Since October 2011, Surrey Police has conducted six waves of a YRI victim satisfaction survey. The latest wave (wave 6) was conducted by Quality Fieldwork Research in November 2013 (Reed, 2013). In addition to presenting the victims' satisfaction with the outcomes of the YRI process (which will be referred to in the following section), the survey also canvasses information on the victims' involvement in the process, whether there had been a face-to-face meeting, and the victims' satisfaction with the staff. References to this information are useful to quantify the victim's views, and this in turn supports and corroborates the general findings of GtD's interviews. However, it should be noted that GtD has not scrutinised or validated the methodology or the findings of this survey.

The survey data corroborates the analysis of GtD's interviews in finding very high levels of satisfaction with the YRI process. Of the 165 victims who were interviewed in waves 1-6, the survey found that 91% were satisfied with their level of involvement in the YRI process: 50% (N=82) and 41% (N=68) were respectively 'completely satisfied' and 'satisfied', while only 5% (N=8) and 4% (N=7) were respectively 'dissatisfied' and 'completely dissatisfied'¹⁹. Just under half (44%) of the respondents in waves 1-6 reported having face-to-face contact with the offender, but of the 77 offenders who did, 92% (N=71) reported that they were able to say what they wanted to say in the meeting and 93% (N=69) said that they had been provided with an environment where effective communication could take place.

Type and level of support for offenders

In August 2012, Surrey Police commissioned Quality Fieldwork Research to conduct an offender satisfaction survey (Cooper, 2012). A total of 48 telephone interviews were held with offenders who had been referred to the YRI. Of those

¹⁹ Figures exclude those who expressed no opinion.

interviewed, 54% reported mainly working with a YSS worker, while 31% mainly worked with a police officer. Six individuals did not know and one person said that they worked with a probation officer.

For GtD's evaluation, contact data for the young offenders undertaking the YRI were obtained from the police and the YSS records. The purpose of collecting these data was to count the number of times an offender was seen. While the police recorded every contact with an offender, individual contacts were not recorded separately so the frequency of the contacts cannot be measured. However, where a contact was recorded by the YSS, the median number of contacts for those offenders managed by the YSS was five. There was no difference between males and females in the number of contacts, but the number of contacts did increase with offence gravity score: offenders with offences of gravities 1 and 2 tended to have fewer meetings than those with offence gravities between 3 and 7. This suggests a targeting of resources on those young people who appeared to have greater risks or needs.²⁰

Quality of support for offenders

In addition to adopting a restorative approach, the ethos of the initiative was to reduce the unnecessary criminalisation of young offenders and to use the integrated YSS to meet the needs of what were considered to be vulnerable young people. To be successful, the initiative must first be able to engage and support offenders (and their parents and carers). The quality of the relationship was explored via interview and the offenders' relationships with key workers were reported to be very good. Young people interviewed recognised that the YRI was there to help them, and this promoted compliance. In the words of one offender,

“Yeah, well you've got to (comply) really, they're stopping you from going to court so they're actually helping you, the police can just say “we're going to court” but the Youth Support Service, they say “we'll do this and then if they do that again ..”, “it's your own choice because you've had the opportunity to sort it out and you haven't, so it's your choice really, if you want to take it, take it, if you don't ...”. (Young person)

Two young people found the process of working with a key worker to be more useful than they had expected. They had initially thought it would be “a waste of time” but the process had been less “uncomfortable” than they were expecting and had gradually changed their thinking. In one case, the case worker had been providing additional support around education which had been useful.

The offences were often related to impulsiveness and the YRI process had helped to provide the young people with strategies to control their behaviour in future. In one straightforward case this was simply an understanding that thoughtless, ‘drunken’ behaviour can lead to a criminal record. For young people with more complex needs, the YRI's programme of support sessions encouraged the young person to reflect on their capacity for errant behaviour and the triggers that contributed to it.

²⁰ YJB offence gravity scores (2014) were used to define offence seriousness.

Interviews with parents and carers indicated that they were relatively unaware of the detail of the YRI process and felt that it was deliberately kept as a matter between the young person and the YRI team. For parents and carers who were involved in more complex cases, it was suggested that more liaison between the staff and parents would help to inform the process and make the initiative more robust. In light of the small sample of parents and carers who were interviewed no formal recommendation for action will be given here. However, care should be taken to ensure that parents and carers are fully involved in all cases.

Youth Restorative Intervention Offender Satisfaction Survey

The positive findings from the offender interviews were corroborated by the findings of the offender satisfaction survey of August 2012 (Cooper, 2012). Nearly the entire sample of offenders interviewed, 98%, reported that they had been treated with respect during the process. The same proportion also reported that they were listened to by the worker when they talked about putting things right. Importantly for a scheme that is rooted in the ethos of helping young people, an overwhelming majority, 94%, also reported that they felt able to ask for support or help with personal problems.

Section 3: Impact and Benefits of YRI

This section reports on the impact and benefits of the initiative by providing answers to the questions “is it working?” and “is it worth it?”

Impact of the YRI: is it working?

The impact of the initiative will be measured against the victims’ satisfaction with the process and its impact on the offender, particular the efficacy in reducing re-offending.

Victim satisfaction

Before reporting on the victims’ satisfaction, it is important to note that there was a clear appetite among the victims to give the young offenders a “second chance”, and recognition that receiving a criminal conviction would be a significant disadvantage to life progression. One representative of a victimised premises stated that the experience had been very instructive and that she had learned much about what it is like to be a teenager in the area and how she could help in further cases.

However, two victims considered that avoiding criminalisation was only delaying the inevitable until the young person became an adult. In many cases, the victims recognised that the ‘incidents’ were either minor or ‘pranks’ that had no mal-intent. In the words of one adult victim,

‘It (the offence) was, in the words of my misspent youth, a lark’. (Adult victim)

They were also asked whether the YRI experience had changed their attitude towards crime in the area. Their experiences of victimisation had made some victims more wary about crime in their neighbourhood, but had made no difference to others. In more than one case, the victims had got to know the young offenders via the YRI and had discovered that they were not ‘monsters’. This was considered to be helpful and offered some reassurance which might not have been forthcoming in formal court proceedings where no relationship between the offender and victim would have been established.

While the victims were reluctant to see the offender punished, many reported being angry about the offence and indicated robust attitudes to crime supporting a zero tolerance approach. Other victims were reluctant to press charges in case they further inflamed a running dispute with the offender, or they did not believe that the offender came from a “criminal family” and only required a modest reprimand.

Victims were mostly concerned that the young people should take responsibility for their actions and recognise the impact on the victims and in some cases, the wider community. There were some preconceived ideas on the part of the victims (in some cases based on previous experiences and in others on hearsay) that similar cases that were dealt outside of the YRI process were routinely not prosecuted due to a lack of evidence or a lack of will on the part of the police, and the victims believed it was unsatisfactory for there to be no tangible consequences for the young offender.

In engaging with the initiative, some victims took an active role in deciding what conditions should be attached to the YRI including the type of reparation provided. Others trusted the YRI case workers' professional judgment to decide what conditions might be appropriate, beyond the victim's basic request for a letter of apology or face-to-face meeting. In those cases, the victims either felt that they did not understand the offenders' needs or the offence had been relatively minor and restitution had already been achieved. However, a minority reported that they were not consulted by the case workers about restitution. In one case, this had resulted in a response that was considered to be inappropriate. This is a small number of cases and contrasts with the positive findings from the Surrey Police's larger victim survey. As such no formal recommendation will be made here, but generally care should be taken to ensure the victims' views are taken into account.

One victim, although satisfied with process, suggested that adhering to the terms of the contract was clearly in the interests of the young person, and that self-interest rather than genuine remorse or contrition might be the motivation to complete the contract. In the victim's words,

"This only really affects those with a conscience"

However, a number of the victims felt that the scheme could and should be more widely available for a wide range of offences, provided robust conditions were attached. Indeed, two young victims who had been subject to an assault were in favour of the intervention being used in their case, even although for one the abuse had resurfaced once the YRI had been concluded. Other victims considered that the YRI would be inappropriate for violent offences and for those involving intimidation. In the words of an adult victim,

"There will be cases where it wouldn't be appropriate, where the crime so called is wicked, but most of the kind of "crime" of young people is of this order and therefore I believe, without the statistics, it would be much more widely supported, that would be fine. But for those who are wicked, by that I mean physical beating up, rape, that kind of thing, no way". (Adult victim)

Some concerns were raised about the difficulties of imposing sanctions and enforcing the contract for those offenders who showed no signs of accepting responsibility for their behaviour or amending it. It was felt that the initiative could be abused by regular or prolific offenders who see it as 'getting away with it'. In these cases, the victims considered that the face-to-face meetings would be beneficial and that perhaps the young person should not have the discretion to refuse this.

Restorative approaches generally generate high rates of victim satisfaction (Hoyle, Young & Hill, 2002; Latimer, Dowden and Muise, 2005), so it is not surprising that victims who engaged in the YRI generally found the experience to be positive.

Youth Restorative Intervention Victim Satisfaction Survey

Generally, the victims felt that the terms of the YRI contract were fair and just and that the process preserved the dignity of all parties, including the young offenders

themselves. This finding from the interviews corresponds with further findings from the YRI Victim Satisfaction Survey (Reed, 2013). Of the 162 victims who expressed an opinion, the great majority – 87% - agreed that the YRI was the right approach to use in their case²¹.

Even more encouraging, when asked the majority of victims in waves 1-6 reported that they had felt that ‘justice had been done’. Of the 168 victims who expressed an opinion, respectively 59% (N=99) and 27% (N=45) considered that justice had been done ‘fully’ and ‘in part’. Only 14% (N=24) thought that justice had not been done. This positive finding is supported by the high level of confidence in the YRI approach with the great majority of 90% (N=147) victims reporting that they would recommend the YRI as a way of dealing with young offenders.

Impact on the offender

The impact on the offender will be measured principally by a reduction in reoffending. However, before presenting those empirical data consideration will be given to understanding how the intervention affected the offender. This qualitative evidence was gathered from the interviews with the young offenders.

Of the three young offenders who were interviewed face-to-face, one expressed remorse for what he had done particularly after the face-to-face meeting when he saw the impact of his offending on the victim. The other two had committed public order offences: the first had been abusive towards a police officer, while the second had offended against his parent. In both cases the offenders retained an element of hostility towards the victim and continued to justify their behaviour, although there was some understanding of their victims’ perspective and why their victims would have wanted some form of reparation.

The young people interviewed were determined not to get into further trouble and saw the incident and the resulting YRI as a ‘wake-up call’ to get their lives moving forward positively. For the young offenders “moving forward” included signing up for training or college courses²². All the young people reported that they had not been in further trouble, although one had been on the periphery of trouble caused by her associates. Young people mostly reported that the YRI had made them think about the victims more than a court process would have done.

Again, the findings from these interviews were corroborated and quantified by the findings from the YRI Offender Satisfaction Survey. Of the 47 offenders who answered the questions, 92% reported that the experience had made them think how the crime had affected their victim and 98% considered that that the experience had stopped them committing another crime.

²¹ The YRI Victim Satisfaction Survey is different in design to the standard Surrey Police Victim Satisfaction Survey and therefore comparison cannot reasonably be made between the two. Unlike the standard Victim Survey, which invites comment from victims about their experience of the initial investigation of the case. the YRI Victim Satisfaction survey explores victim experience at the conclusion of the intervention.

²² In one case related to an activity that formed part of the YRI reparation

First Time Entrants

The YRI was developed at a time when national policy and practice had shifted from the emphasis on ‘closing the justice gap’ and measuring ‘Offenders Brought to Justice’ to ensuring that a reduction in ‘First Time Entrants’ to the criminal justice system. This shift in policy and practice in Surrey has found expression in the YRI which, as the default position for dealing with most youth crime, not only consciously seeks to reduce the unnecessary criminalisation of young people, but also seeks to provide a robust and meaningful alternative. As described in the earlier section, this is achieved by implementing a restorative approach that provides the victim with an active role in the resolution and provides the offender with the help and support they require; outcomes that are not typically found in conventional approaches of cautions or prosecution.

As the default approach to dealing with young offenders and diverting them from the youth justice system, the YRI has contributed to Surrey’s reduction of FTEs. The Youth Justice Board’s FTE figures for Surrey between October 2010 and September 2011 was 394 FTEs per 100,000 inhabitants. Between October 2012 and September 2013 the figure was 189, the lowest FTE figures in England and Wales. This represents the rewards of a bold approach of the YRI. The respective figures for England were 780 to 478.

As noted earlier in the report, while the YRI has over time dealt with offenders who have committed increasingly more serious offences, young offenders who were given a court order when the YRI was in operation tended to have higher offence gravities than those that started the YRI. These figures suggest both an increasing confidence in the use of YRI but also a greater scope to widen its application to more serious offenders.

Reoffending

Success in diverting young people from the youth justice system and reducing FTEs must, however, be balanced with the political and social imperatives of reducing reoffending. On this measure the YRI was, again, successful when compared to a control group and this is even more of an achievement in light of ambiguous outcomes on reoffending that were found in prior evaluations of restorative approaches.

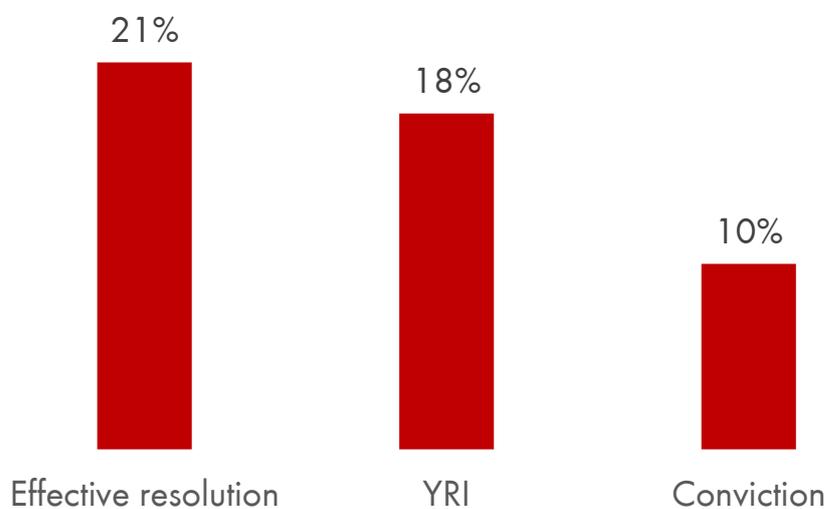
It should be noted that, for the purposes of the YRI evaluation “reoffending” was measured using a different method than is generally used for reoffending studies (the general measure is the MoJ’s 12 month proven reoffending measure).²³ Instead, effective resolutions and further YRIs were included in the measure because these had largely replaced youth cautions and orders in Surrey. This

²³ Whether an offender was convicted for an offence within 18 months of the start of the order for an offence committed within 12 months of the start of the order.

measure, reported below is therefore more inclusive than conventional approaches to measuring reconviction.²⁴

Before looking at the comparison of reoffending between the YRI and the control group, it is necessary to understand the nature of the reoffending rate. The evaluation found that the YRI reoffending rate was 27%, in other words, a re-offence was recorded for 157 of 580 young people who attended the YRI. Of the 580 young people who attended the YRI, 21% received an effective resolution, 18% started a second YRI with just 10% receiving a formal conviction (summarised in Figure 3.1 below).²⁵

Figure 3.1: Proportion of YRI attendees that received each type of resolution within 18 months for an offence committed within 12 months



Base: YRI starts aged under 17 between April 2011 and October 2012 (580)

Source: YSS convictions data and Surrey Police NICHE database

Of the 121 who received an effective resolution from the police, 97 also started a second YRI (80%) suggesting these resolutions are used in tandem or another offence was committed.²⁶ In contrast, 24% of young people who received an effective

²⁴ The YRI cohort was matched to the Surrey Police database using name and date of birth. The match rate was 90%. Following the MoJ method, re-offences were followed up for 18 months: an effective resolution, YRI commencement or pre or court conviction within 18 months of the start of the YRI for an offence that was committed within 12 months of the start of the YRI. The conviction data was supplied by the YSS meaning that 17 year olds had to be excluded because this group could not be followed up for sufficient period of time using these data. In total, re-offences could be measured 580 young people who had a YRI between April 2011 and October 2012.

²⁵ These do not sum to 27% because an individual can receive more than one resolution.

²⁶ Data recording practices could also explain this where police records describe an effective resolution for a YRI outcome. It was not possible to determine from the data sources if the effective resolution and YRI were for the same offence or a difference offence.

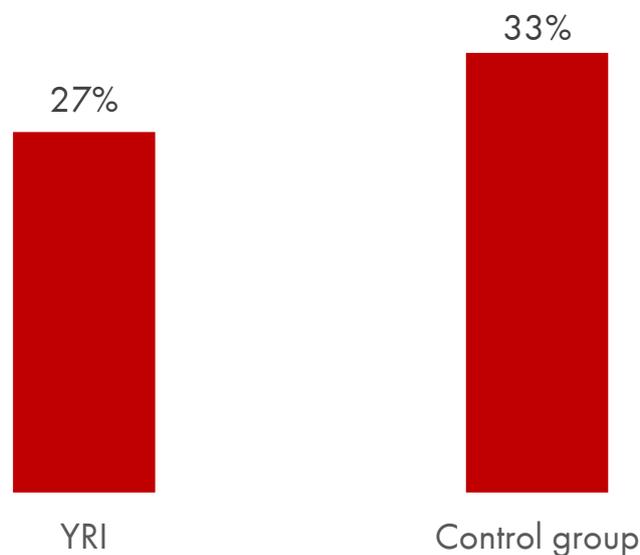
resolution also received a conviction and 27% of young people who received a second YRI also received a conviction.

The study considered what was different about the young people who reoffended compared to those who did not. Young people with a public order index offence were more likely to reoffend: 43% of this group reoffended compared to 27% of all young people. This finding could reflect the likelihood of reoffending among those who committed public order offences and there is no evidence to suggest that the YRI is unsuitable for offenders who commit such offences. However, further investigation into reoffending by offence type can highlight potential modifications and improvements to the YRI. It has been shown that young people who have offended previously are more likely to reoffend and it is no different with the YRI cohort. Twenty two per cent of young people with no previous pre-court convictions reoffended compared to 40% of those with one previous pre-court conviction and 53% with two or more. Also, 53% of young people with a least one previous court conviction reoffended compared to 24% who had no previous court convictions.

Effectiveness of YRI in reducing reoffending

To assess the effectiveness of the YRI, a control group was constructed from pre-court and court convictions between April 2009 and March 2011. Figure 3.2 describes the reoffending rate in the YRI group and the control group.

Figure 3.2: Proportion who reoffended in the YRI group and the control group



Base: YRI group - YRI starts aged under 17 between April 2011 and October 2012 who were matched to a control (527). Control group: pre-court and court convictions between April 2009 and March 2011 who were matched to the YRI group (862)
Source: YSS convictions data and Surrey Police NICHE database

The results of the analysis are very encouraging and show that the YRI reduced reoffending compared to an historical control group. The YRI group's reoffending rate was 6% lower in absolute terms than that calculated for the control group and

this result was statistically significant.²⁷ Using the absolute difference in rates between a control and intervention group is the conventional method to determine the overall difference in performance, and in this case it shows that the YRI intervention group was more successful than the control. However, to understand the performance of the intervention group in more detail, the evaluation also looked at the relative difference between the two groups, The relative difference – which shows the comparative ratio between the control and the YRI groups - was 18%.²⁸ In other words, for every person who reoffended in the control group there were 18% fewer in the YRI group.

The analysis found that those with two or more convictions were more likely to reoffend. 50% of this group reoffended compared to 60% of the control group with an equivalent number of previous offences and this difference was significant.²⁹

The study team explored whether there were differences between the types of young people who reoffended in the two groups but no significant differences could be found in gender, age, previous offending or index offence.

Benefits of YRI: is it worth it?

Despite the positive achievements in terms of victim satisfaction, and reductions in FTEs and reoffending, the YRI must also demonstrate that it is an economic approach and one that is cost beneficial. This section examines these questions and whether the YRI is a worthwhile intervention to undertake when all its costs and benefits are taken into account, compared to what would have occurred without the policy of promoting YRI within Surrey. The analysis is based on a comparison of the costs and benefits of the YRI, versus the costs and benefits of the alternative, which consists of a mixture of alternative interventions such as cautions, conditional cautions (but not prosecutions).

The approach takes into account the current costs incurred by public services (police, courts and local authority youth services), the future costs incurred if reoffending occurs (for public services and the victims of crime) and possible further need for public expenditure on the offender in respect of extra NHS costs and welfare payments. Figure 3.5 below sets out the different categories.

²⁷ McNemar test: $p < 0.00$

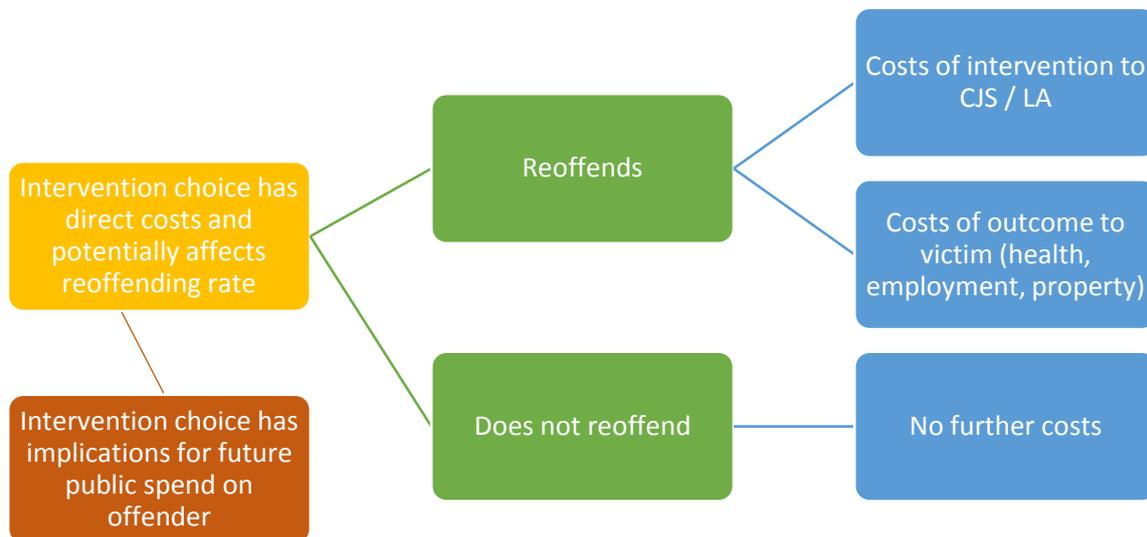
Independent t-test: $t = 2.367$; $p = 0.018$

²⁸ In other words $((33-27)/33) \times 100 = 18\%$

²⁹ McNemar test: $p = 0.01$

However this is not significant using an independent samples t-test - $t = -1.307$, $p = 0.193$

Figure 3.5: Cost model



As discussed in the section above, reoffending rates have been lowered by the introduction of YRI, and this leads to the avoidance of costs. These are estimated by multiplying the extent to which reoffending is reduced by an assessment of the public and social costs incurred by reoffending activity, which in turn depends upon the required interventions and the types of crime.

The analysis excludes the certain positive effects that YRI has achieved, such as offenders improving their levels of empathy, and the victims' feeling that 'justice has been done'. These have been excluded as these effects are hard to assess over time and to put into monetary terms.

Cost savings and cost effectiveness

The evaluation found that the direct costs of running the YRI were cheaper than the alternative, a mixture of youth cautions and youth conditional cautions. The evaluation also found that it provided wider savings to the public purse.

The cost to the police and Youth Service of administering YRI per case is £360, compared to £600 for administering the alternative: a saving of £240.

Taking into account the 6% reduction in reoffending, for every YRI there are reduced costs to the public purse, namely a £130 reduction in the costs to the courts, police, YSS, and the NHS. These costs are broken down as follows:

- The 6% reduction in reoffending rates reduces expected future costs to courts, police and the Youth Service by a further amount of the order of £50.
- The 6% reduction in reoffending rates also entails reduced costs to the NHS of some £30.

By reducing the extent to which offenders gain criminal records and reduce employment prospects, this avoids any loss of tax and increases in benefit payments in the order of £360 per offender. Together, spending £360 on a YRI avoids some £1,040 in current and future public sector costs.

This implies that for each pound spent on the YRI compared to the alternative, there is a potential £2.86 return to the public sector.

In addition, there are reduced social costs relating to each victim, estimated to be some £200. This implies that in total for each pound spent on the YRI compared to the alternative, there are £3.41 of benefits.

These benefits are in addition to unquantified effects in relation to greater satisfaction with outcomes from victims of crime, and potential for reduced NHS costs in respect of the offender.

It should be noted that these estimates of costs avoided are higher than the potential for reducing costs. This is because estimates of costs avoided assume that costs can be readily reduced on a flexible basis, which in practice is not the case (particularly for prison costs). Nonetheless, the results suggest that the YRI intervention has very strong advantages over the alternatives.

Section 4: Conclusion and recommendations

The evaluation has found that the YRI is a well-founded initiative with a sound theory of change and has achieved its outcomes. There are however a number of recommended actions that the senior management team should take to improve their understanding of the economic and efficient use of the resources deployed by the initiative and improving the evidence of its effectiveness. The success of the YRI to date also provides a basis for the management to consider enhancing and developing the approach.

Proving the theory of change

The evaluation has found that the YRI has a convincing theory of change that articulates why the restorative approach will bring about the intended outcomes. Indeed, as the discussion below shows, the four vital questions that were posed by the evaluation – namely, “is it plausible?”, “is it doable?”, “is it working?” and “is it worth it?” – have all been answered in the affirmative.

Rationale and resources of the theory of change

The rationale (or “plausibility”) of the initiative is well founded on the research evidence. This includes the sound evidence base that restorative approaches improve victim satisfaction and some evidence that they have an impact on reconviction and re-sanctioning outcomes. The processes adopted by the YRI incorporate much of the good practice that is articulated by the published guidance and prior research. Included in the rationale of the intervention is the recognition that traditional punitive approaches are more harmful to the well-being of a young offender and that by deliberately diverting young people from the justice system allows vulnerable young people to be directed into the supervision of the YSS. This allows that integrated service to address the social, educational, health and welfare needs of young offenders in a positive and effective manner.

In addition to having a sound rationale, the evaluation found evidence that the initiative is well resourced to bring about its outcomes. The evidence from the interviews with the victims and the offenders, supplemented by the regular YRI victim satisfaction surveys, demonstrate that the police and YSS workers on the initiative have sufficient time and commitment to engage with both the victims and the offenders, and work with them to achieve beneficial outcomes. However, little can be discerned from the management records about the efficiency with which these interventions are delivered and whether the same or improved outcomes can be achieved with more efficient deployment of the available resources. The provision of such data would allow the senior management team to consider how to invest and deploy their investment in the initiative more efficiently.

While the quality of the human resources were commended by the victims and recognised by the offenders, it is important to note the role of the senior management team in the success of the initiative.

Impact and benefit of the initiative

This positive assessment of the resources and the sound rationale of the initiative meant that much could be expected of the impact and benefits of YRI. It is pleasing to note therefore that the initiative has done well to achieve its outcomes.

Analysis of the interviews with the victims found that the victims were generally satisfied with their YRI experience and the level of involvement in the YRI process. This view is supported by the findings from waves 1-6 of the YRI victim satisfaction study. In particular, the victims who were interviewed tended to feel engaged with the process and generally considered the terms of the YRI contract to be fair, just, and robust, and preserved the dignity of all the parties.

By consciously using the YRI to reduce criminalisation, and as the default position for dealing with most youth crime, Surrey has achieved the best FTE figures in England and Wales. At the same time as achieving this reduction the YRI has delivered an effective approach to reducing reoffending and improving victim confidence.

The most positive finding from the evaluation is the reduction in re-offending. This successful outcome should be read within the context of some of the challenges that previous evaluations of restorative interventions have had in discerning a reduction in reoffending and attributing that to a particular intervention. In this evaluation, the evidence is clear: while the overall reoffending rate of those on YRI was 27%, when compared with a control group, the absolute re-offending rate for the YRI group was 6% lower, and this result was statistically significant. As reported earlier in the report the relative reoffending rate was 18%, in other words, for every person who reoffended in the control group there were 18% fewer in the YRI group.

Having established a lower rate of offending in the YRI group, the cost benefit analysis has shown that the cost of administering the YRI is significantly lower than the alternative. In addition, the lower reoffending rates associated with the YRI are expected to lead to reductions in future costs to the courts, police, Youth Service, and the NHS.

Recommendations

The conclusion of the evaluation is positive: that by having a sound theory of change, the evaluation has demonstrated that it is meeting its outcomes. This provides a sound basis for Surrey Police and Surrey County Council to continue to invest in the YRI and to enhance and develop the approach. To that end, there are a number of recommended actions that will help inform decisions on how to ensure high standards are maintained, to improve the operation of the initiative, and to develop it into new directions:

- *Review the efficiency of the intervention and in particular investigate the delivery of YRI by the police and the YSS workers to ensure highest levels of consistency, efficiency and effectiveness.* The evaluation found the victims

and offenders had high levels of satisfaction in the process and their contacts with police officers and project workers. However, the evaluation was not able to investigate the number of contacts that the police had with offenders. On the face of it, the level of contact is a key consideration to understand how much resource is needed to bring about a beneficial outcome. It is recommended that there should be more consistency in the collection of these contact data as this will enable the management to monitor the level of contacts and make an assessment of the efficiency of the intervention and what resources are needed to make it effective.

- *Undertaking a further reconviction study using PNC data.* While the reoffending findings are encouraging, it is recommended that a further reoffending study using PNC data is conducted in the spring of 2015. This will allow analyses to be conducted on a larger sample over a longer period. In turn this would produce a more convincing analysis for an external audience and overcome some limitations within this work.
- *Investigate the reoffending among public order offenders.* The evaluation found that young people with public order index offence were more likely to reoffend: 43% of this group reoffended compared to 27% of all young people. Further investigation of this finding would reveal why this is so and inform what modification or reform of the YRI should be undertaken in respect of this group of offenders.

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Appendix A: Impact study method

The impact study measured reoffending within the YRI group and compared this rate to an historical control group. This appendix describes the measure of offending and how the control group was created, as well as discussing the limitations of the research design.

Measure of reoffending

Current reconviction studies of community based orders generally use the Ministry of Justice's proven offending within 12 months measure. This measure describes if an offender received a court or pre court conviction (excluding breaches) within 18 months of starting an order for an offence committed within 12 months. This measure does not include outcomes such as the YRI and, in Surrey, such a measure would exaggerate a positive effect of the YRI as youth cautions and youth conditional cautions have largely be replaced by the YRI.

Instead, because of the circumstances in Surrey, the evaluation added to the general measure whether a young person received another YRI and whether he or she received an effective resolution whereby offenders and victims can agree to take no further action (introduced in 2008). If a young person received any one of a court conviction, pre-court conviction, a YRI or an effective resolution within 18 months of the start of the YRI for an offence within 12 months.

The table below describes what data source was used for each part of the measure. The YSS collate data on outcomes for offences committed before the age of 18. In order to measure reoffending within one year, both the YRI and control group samples were restricted to young people who were under 17 on the date the YRI began. A request was made for PNC data to overcome this problem however a full dataset was not available within the timescales of this evaluation. As such 211 young people were excluded from the sample (24%). This is an important omission because such a group may be more entrenched offenders and the recommended follow up reconviction study will be able to address this omission.

Table A1: Data sources used for the impact study

Outcome	Source	Notes
Pre or post court conviction – reprimand, final warning, court order or custody, youth caution or conditional caution	YSS Careworks database	Recorded for offences committed before the age of 18.
YRI	YSS Careworks database	
Effective resolution	Surrey Police NICHE database	Matched to YRI cohort (and potential control cohort)

These data sources also do not include offending that took place in other police force areas. A follow up study using PNC data can that fill that gap.

The data were such that it was not possible to count the number of re-offences because the evaluation team could not determine if the data sources double counted outcomes for one offence. The frequency of reoffending was not measured therefore.

Matching NICHE data to the YRI and control datasets

The YSS provided the evaluation team with the YRI sample and a cohort that represented a potential historical control group – all young people who had a reprimand, final warning or court outcome between April 2009 and March 2011 excluding those who committed the most serious offence (offence gravity 8) or a summary motoring offence (no young person in the YRI sample had committed either offence type).

The police team matched the data to their NICHE database using name and date of birth. A 90% match rate was achieved. The table describes the composition of each group.

Table A2: Matched and unmatched YRI recipients' age, gender, ethnicity, offence category, offence gravity, number of previous court outcomes and number of previous pre court outcomes

	Matched %	Not matched %	Total %
Age			
9	-	1	0
10	-	1	1
11	3	4	4
12	10	7	8
13	15	14	15
14	24	17	17
15	24	27	26
16	25	30	29
<i>Base</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>580</i>	<i>648</i>
Gender			
Female**	40	27	28
Male	60	73	72
<i>Base</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>580</i>	<i>648</i>
Ethnicity			
African	-	0	0
Any other Asian background	-	2	1
Any other Black background	1	1	1
Any other ethnic group	-	0	0
Any other mixed background	-	1	0
Any other White background	4	1	2
Asian or Asian British	1	1	1
Black or Black British	1	0	0
Indian	-	0	0
Mixed	1	1	1
Not Known	4	1	2
Pakistani	-	1	1
White	3	2	2
White and Asian	-	1	1
White and Black African	-	0	0
White and Black Caribbean	-	1	1
White British	82	87	86
White Irish	-	0	0
<i>Base</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>580</i>	<i>648</i>
Offence category			
Arson	-	1	0
Criminal Damage	21	13	14
Domestic Burglary	-	1	1
Drugs	15	13	13

	Matched	Not matched	Total
Fraud And Forgery	3	0	1
Non Domestic Burglary	1	2	2
Other	3	4	4
Public Order	4	6	6
Racially Aggravated	1	1	1
Robbery	-	0	0
Sexual Offences	1	2	2
Theft And Handling Stolen Goods	31	30	30
Vehicle Theft / Unauthorised Taking	-	1	1
Violence Against The Person	19	24	24
<i>Base</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>580</i>	<i>648</i>
Offence gravity			
1	3	3	3
2	35	29	30
3	54	50	51
4	7	13	12
5	-	3	2
6	-	1	1
7	-	0	0
<i>Base</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>580</i>	<i>648</i>
No of previous court outcomes			
0	90	91	90
1	6	5	5
2	4	1	1
3	-	1	1
4	-	1	1
5	-	1	1
7	-	0	0
8	-	0	0
9	-	0	0
10	-	0	0
No of previous pre-court outcomes			
Missing	1	-	0
0	79	78	79
1	12	13	13
2	7	8	8
3	-	1	1
<i>Base</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>580</i>	<i>648</i>

**Statistically different between the matched group and the unmatched group at 95% confidence.

Base: Only young people who started YRI between October 2011 and October 2012.
Source: YSS Careworks data

The only statistically significant difference was the proportion that were female (greater in the unmatched group). An improvement to the research, which can be completed in the follow up study, would be to analyse the impact of the YRI on males and females separately as each has different offending motivations and patterns.

Propensity Score Matching (PSM)

Before April 2011 the alternative to a YRI was either a reprimand, final warning or court order and even a custodial sentence. Rather than compare the YRI cohort to all young people who received a pre or post court outcome between April 2009 and March 2001, the study team chose a propensity score matching technique to find a cohort of young people who resembled the YRI group on key factors. This is important because offence type, age and previous offence history are known to influence the risk of reoffending (Baker et al, 2004). The historical control group is used to understand what might have happened without the YRI intervention. As the members of this group are from a different time period, there might be an unknown influence that explains a change in reoffending.

The evaluation team could choose between the PSM approach and a variable by variable matching approach to form the control group. Apel & Sweeten, (2010) reminded researchers that the purpose of the PSM approach is to match on selection criteria, not factors known to influence the outcome measure. In the case of the YRI, the selection criteria were measured in the available datasets so that approach was chosen. The criteria for selection, based on feedback from Surrey, were the seriousness of the offence, the age of young person, and their previous offending history. It should be noted that most young people received a YRI so the selection criteria were used to understand why they should not receive that intervention.

The basic method for PSM is that from a range of variables a regression analysis predicts, both for the YRI and control group samples, a young person's propensity to be in the YRI group. The propensities of the young people in the control group are then matched to the young people in the YRI group.

The evaluation team's approach also supplemented the selection criteria with variables that are associated with the outcome measure. The evaluation of ASSET (Baker et al 2004) showed that age at first offence, gender number of previous offences, and type of offence were important predictors of reoffending. These are also the factors used to select young people. The following variables were therefore included in the final matching procedure:

- Age at commencement of outcome
- Ethnicity
- Gender
- Offence category
- Offence gravity
- Number of previous court outcomes
- Number of previous pre court outcomes

Age at first offence was not available in the data shared so was not included.

Not every variable that might have influenced the use of the YRI and/or reoffending was included. This might mean that as more data becomes available (e.g. PNC) the results might alter.

Different methods of selection are available, and the choice is dependent upon finding the best balance between the matched YRI and control groups. The method that produced the best balance in this case was the nearest neighbour matching without replacement with a 2 to 1 ratio. A logit model was used to estimate propensity and a calliper of 0.15 standard deviations of the logit of the estimated propensity scores was set (Thoemmes, 2012). This caliper prevents ‘bad’ matches by setting the maximum distance two young people can be apart from each other. Matches exceeding this relatively small calliper are discarded and this results in the two groups (YRI and control) being more alike. The results of the matching process are described in the table below.

Table A3: Results of the matching process

	Control group	YRI group
All records	1,057	580
Matched records	864	528
Unmatched records	182	35
Discarded records ³⁰	11	17

Base: All young people identified for the control group and the YRI group

Source: YSS Careworks data

This left 528 young people in the treatment group and 864 in the matched group. Two matches could not be found for all young people and therefore all subsequent analysis was weighted to adjust for this (Imai et al, 2008). There was no overlap between the two groups – i.e. no young people were in the YRI group and the control group.

Checking balance

The key factor in propensity score matching is to ensure that your treatment and control groups are balanced, in other words, checking that matches of propensity score have the same distribution of covariates. A traditional way to check is to use t-tests of the mean difference between the treatment unit and the control unit. However, Imbui et al. (2008) make a convincing theoretically and practical argument that this is not only inaccurate, it is a misleading approach. This is because:

1. In statistics theory, t-tests are used to test a hypothesis about a population mean. In propensity score matching balance is a property of the sample, not the population, and therefore hypothesis tests are irrelevant (Ho et al, 2007).

³⁰ Discarded records or those that did not meet the calliper threshold set at 0.15 deviations from the logit score.

2. Randomly excluding matches from the sample eventually results in a well-balanced sample according to the t-test which ‘makes no sense at all’ and does not change mean differences between matches – a key determinant of balance.
3. Mathematically you cannot set a threshold for balance – only minimize it as far as possible.

Instead they propose that balance is checked by considering the distribution of propensity scores, through jitter plots and histograms, checking the quantile-quantile plots and to review the mean differences for covariates. The researcher should then use the matching method that produces the best balance overall.

This is the approach that was adopted by the evaluation and the results of the different checks are presented later in this chapter.

Analysis of reoffending

Assuming that the data were in paired samples, a McNemar test was used to determine if the difference in reoffending was significant between the YRI and control groups. This found the difference in reoffending between the two groups (27% in the YRI group compared to 33% in the control) to be significant. The results are described below.

Table A4: McNemar test results

Group	Reoffended		Total
	No	Yes	
Control	576	286	862
YRI	385	144	529
Total	961	430	1391

McNemar test: $p < 0.000$ (binomial distribution used) ³¹

Base: All matched young people

Source: YSS Careworks data

^a Results are weighted so totals will be different to those quoted in Table A3.

As it is debated whether the McNemar test is the most appropriate to use for PSM (MoJ, 2013), an independent samples t-test was also used to determine if the difference in reoffending between the two groups was significant. The results of the test are below. Equality of variance was not assumed because the Levene’s test result was $F = 23.35$ ($P < 0.001$).

³¹ SPSS does not return a test statistic for the McNemar test

Table A4: Independent t-test results

	T	Degrees of freedom	p (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
						Lower	Upper
Equal variances not assumed	2.367	1164.903	.018	-.060	.025	-.109	-.010

Base: All matched young people

Source: YSS Careworks data

Balance check

Figure A1: Distribution of propensity scores

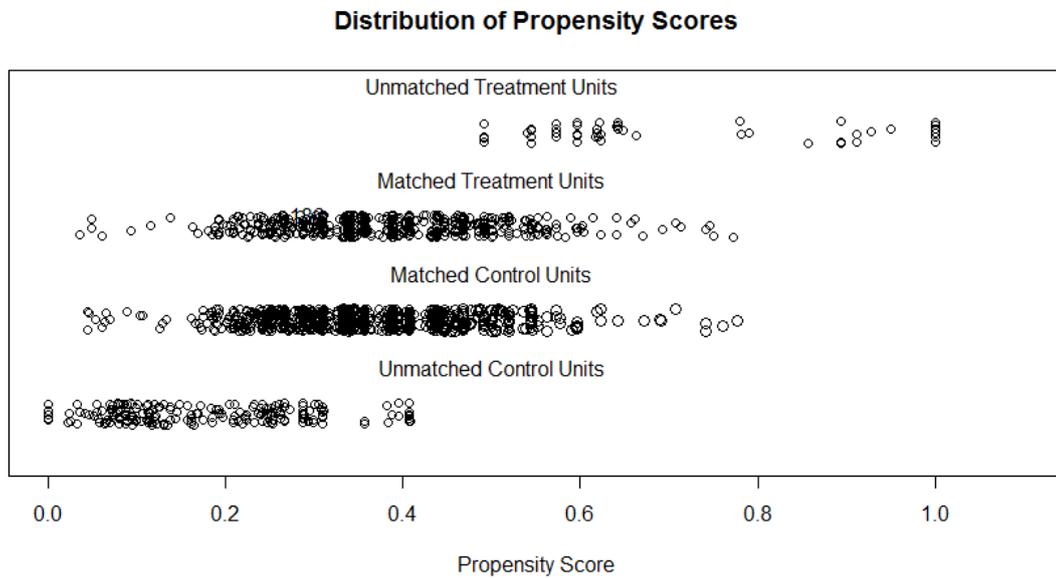


Figure A2: Histogram of propensity scores before and after matching

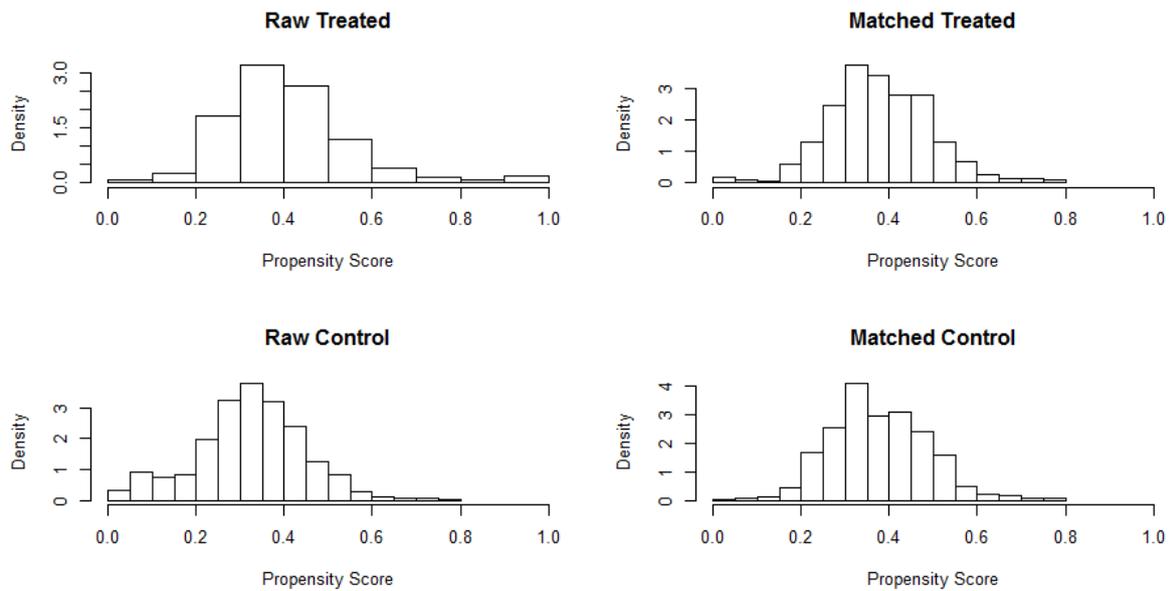
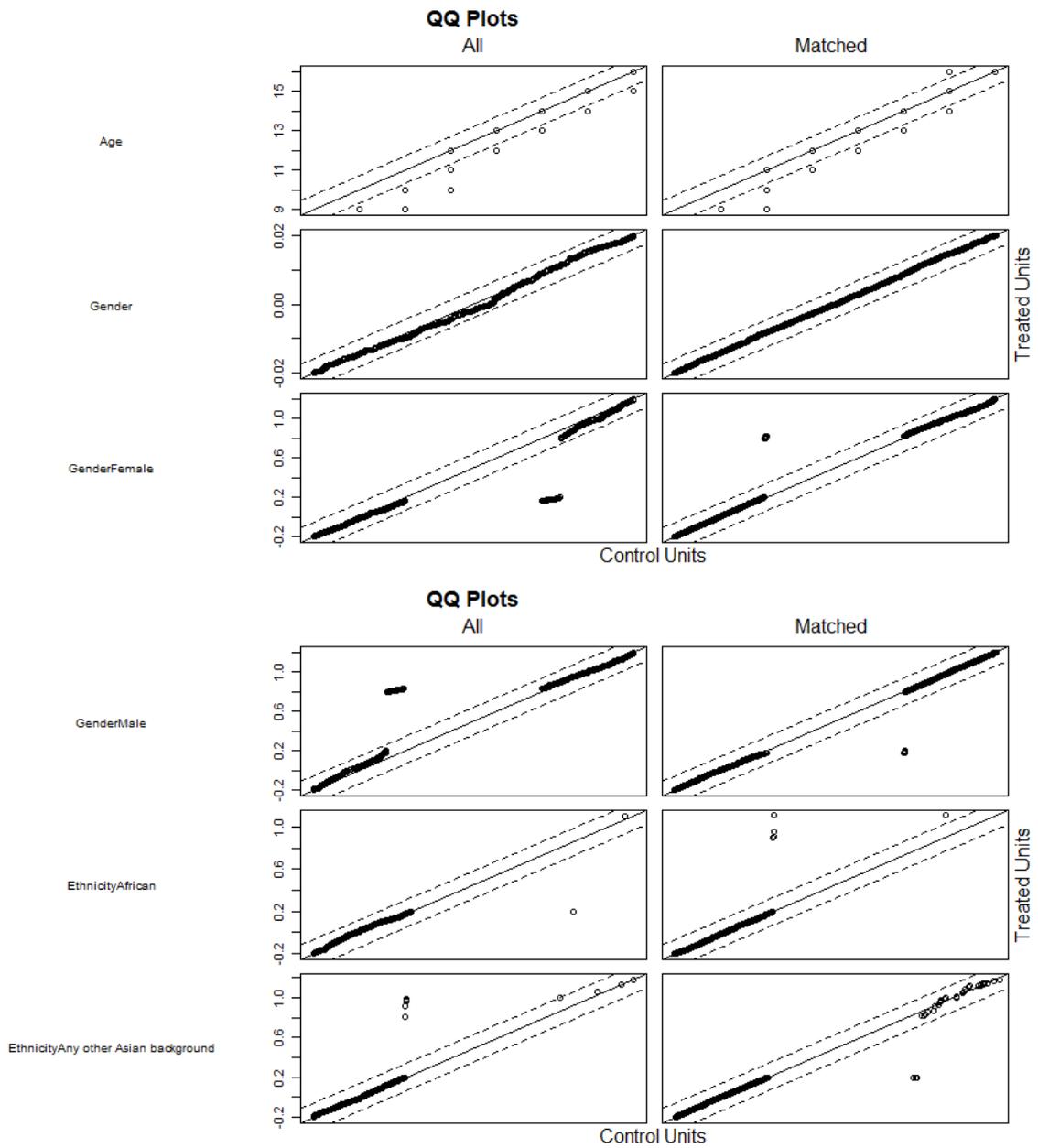
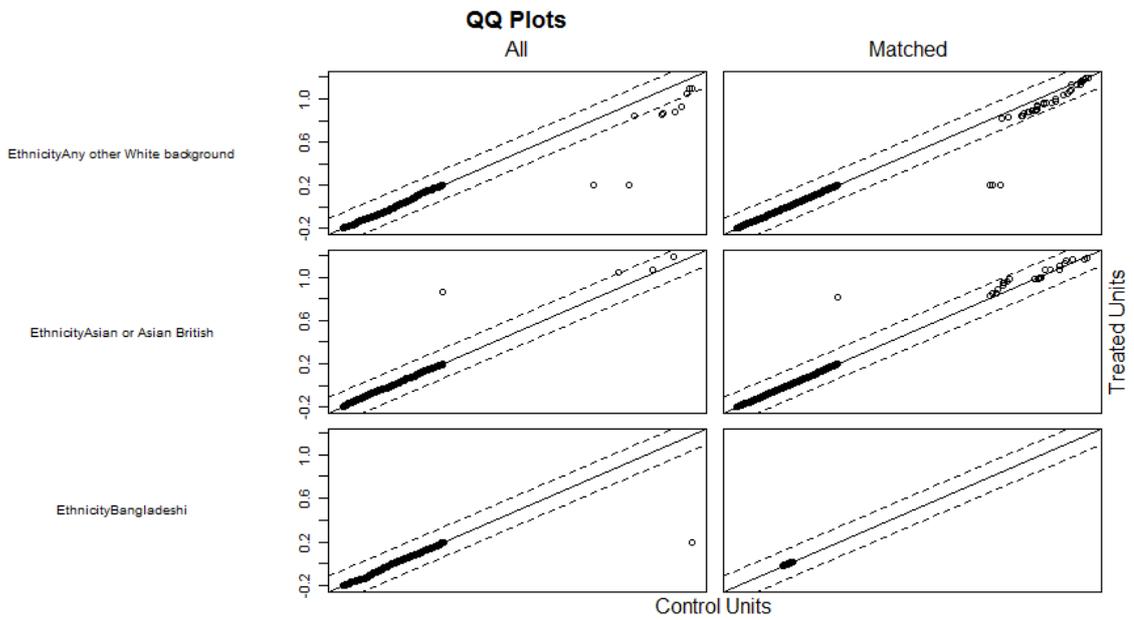
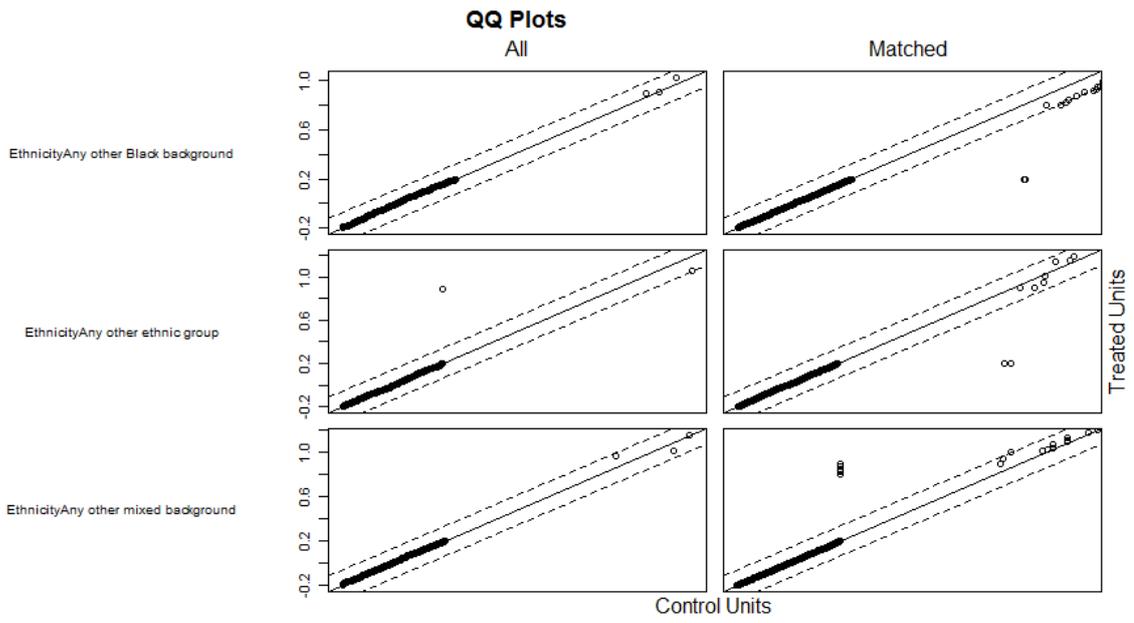
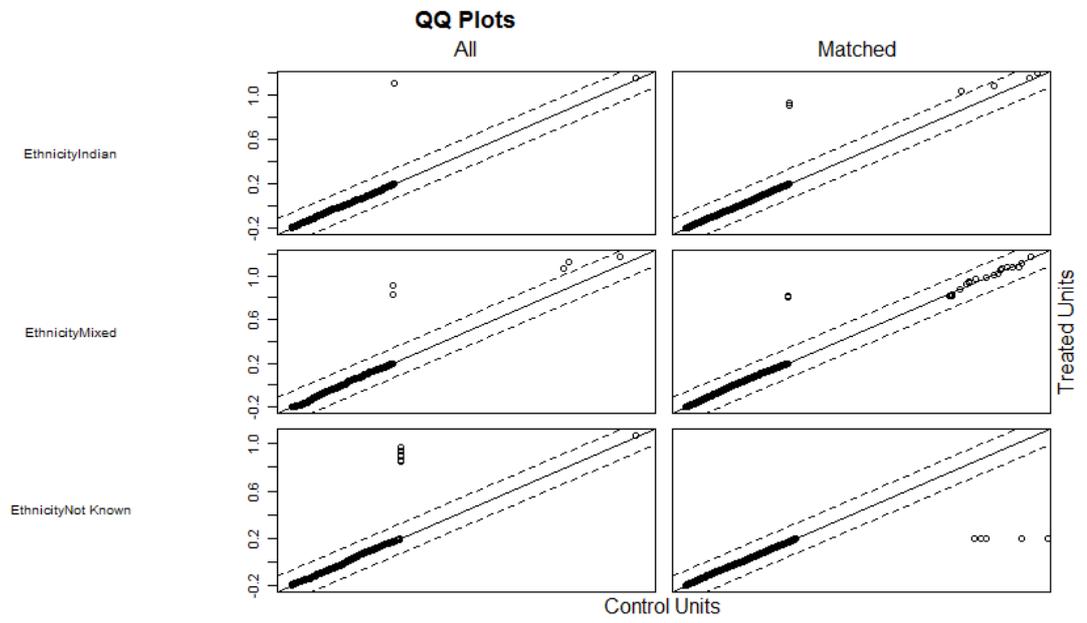
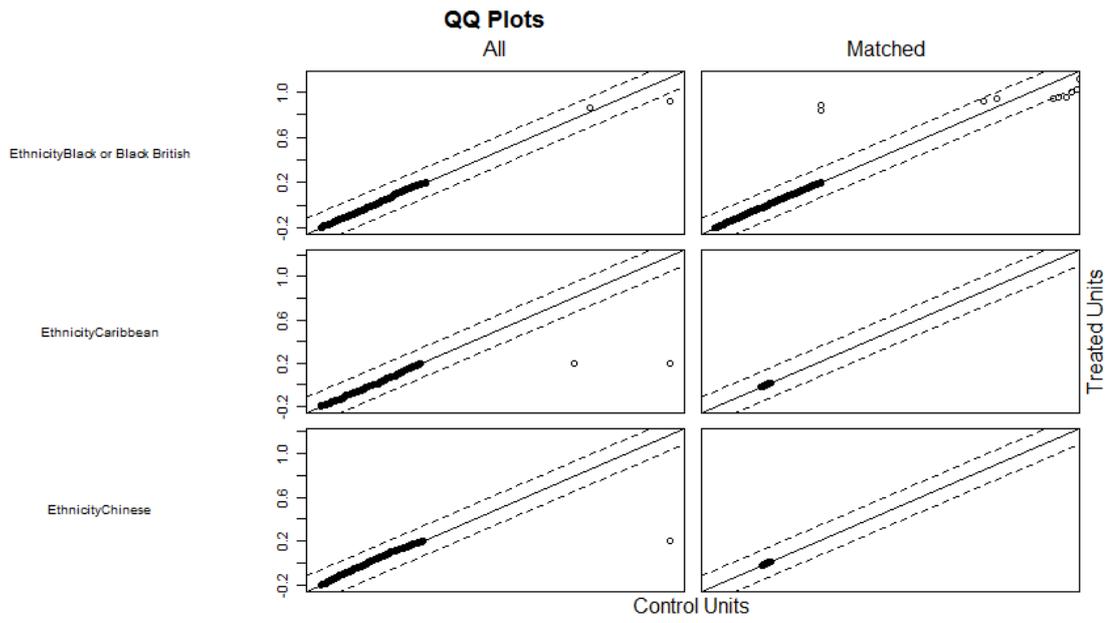
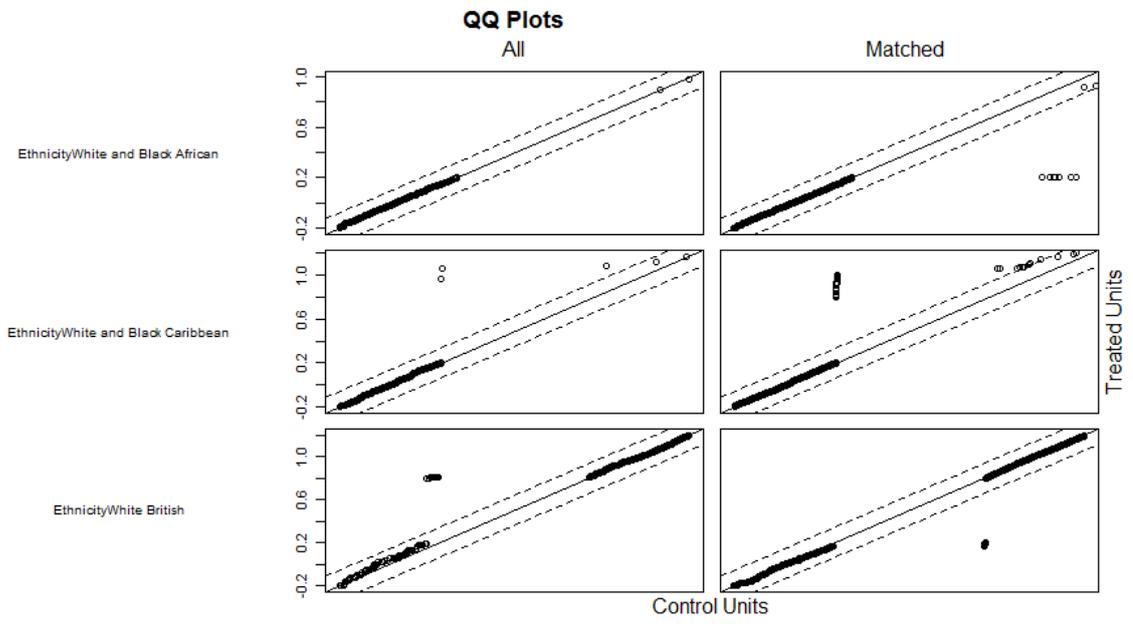
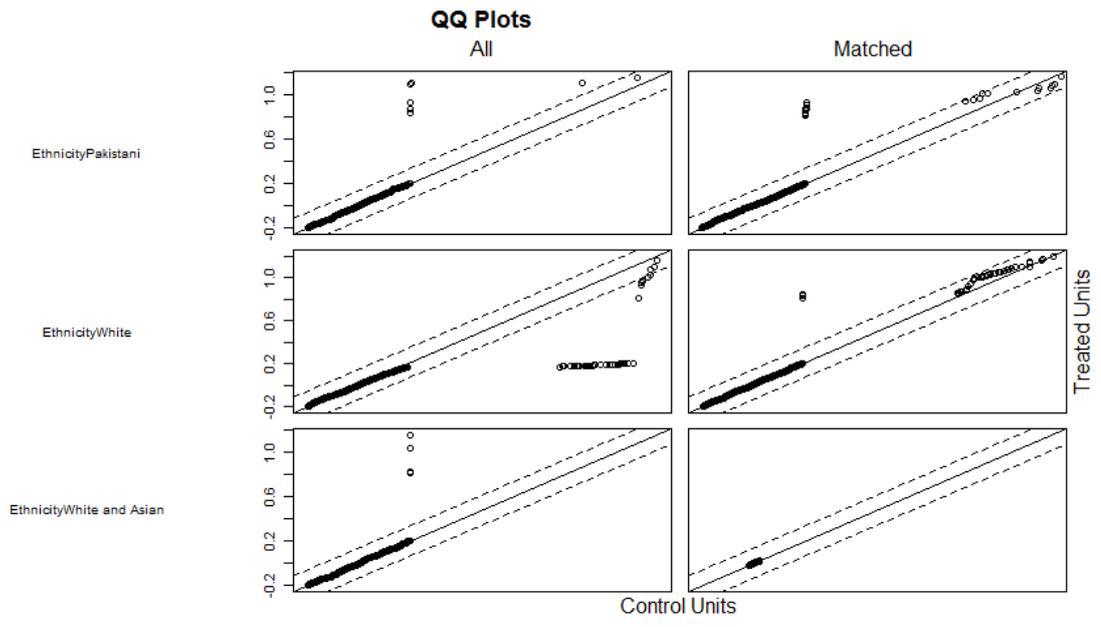


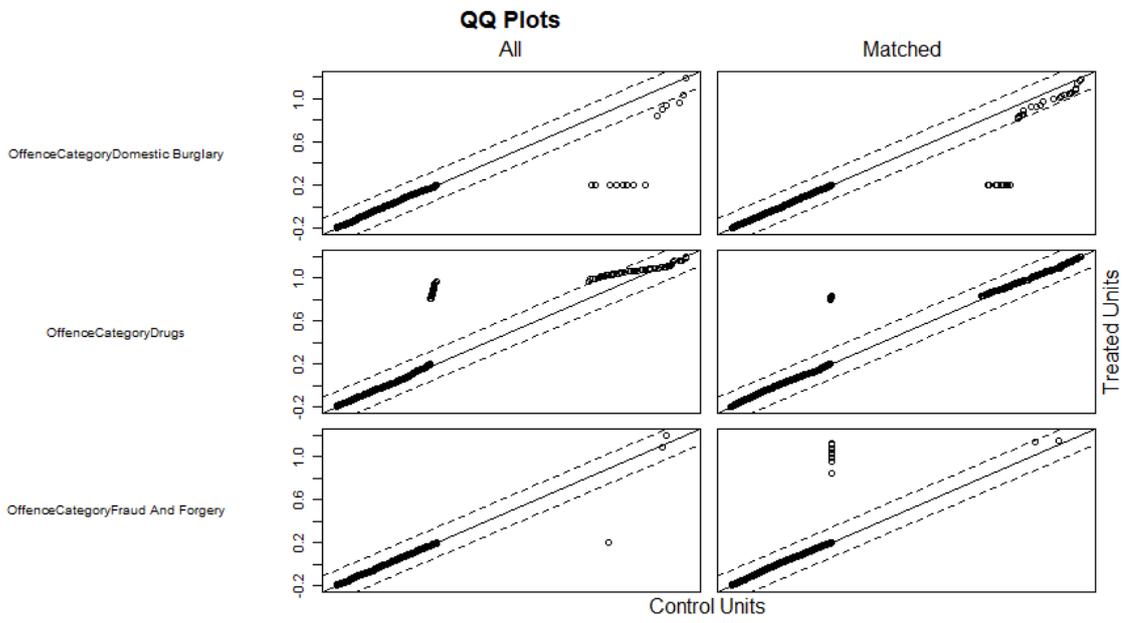
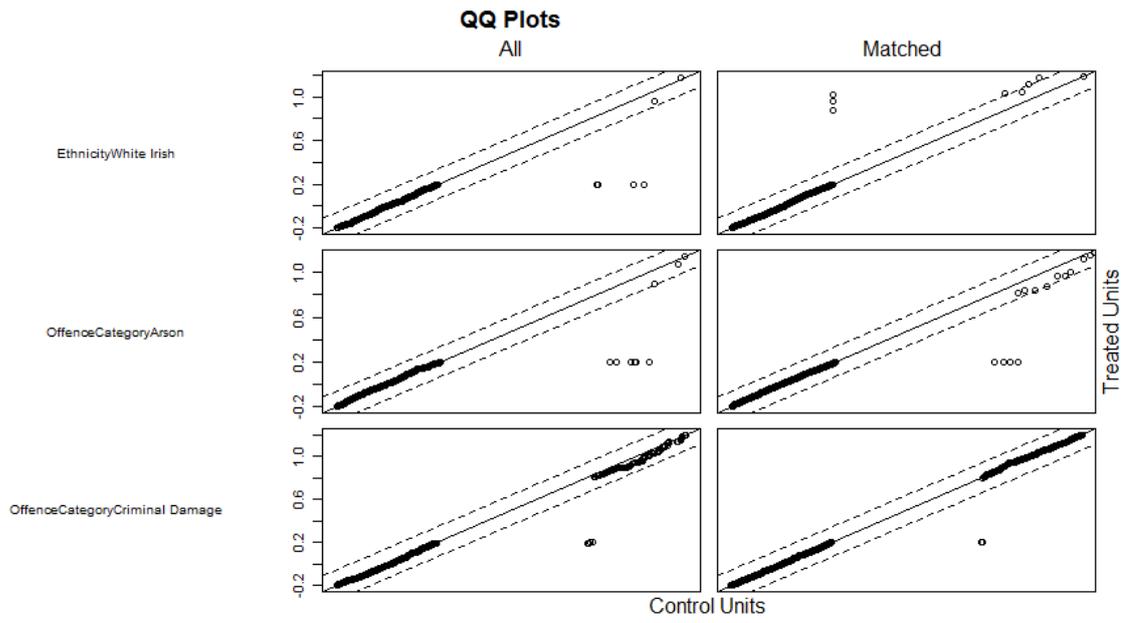
Figure A3: Quantile-quantile plots before and after matching











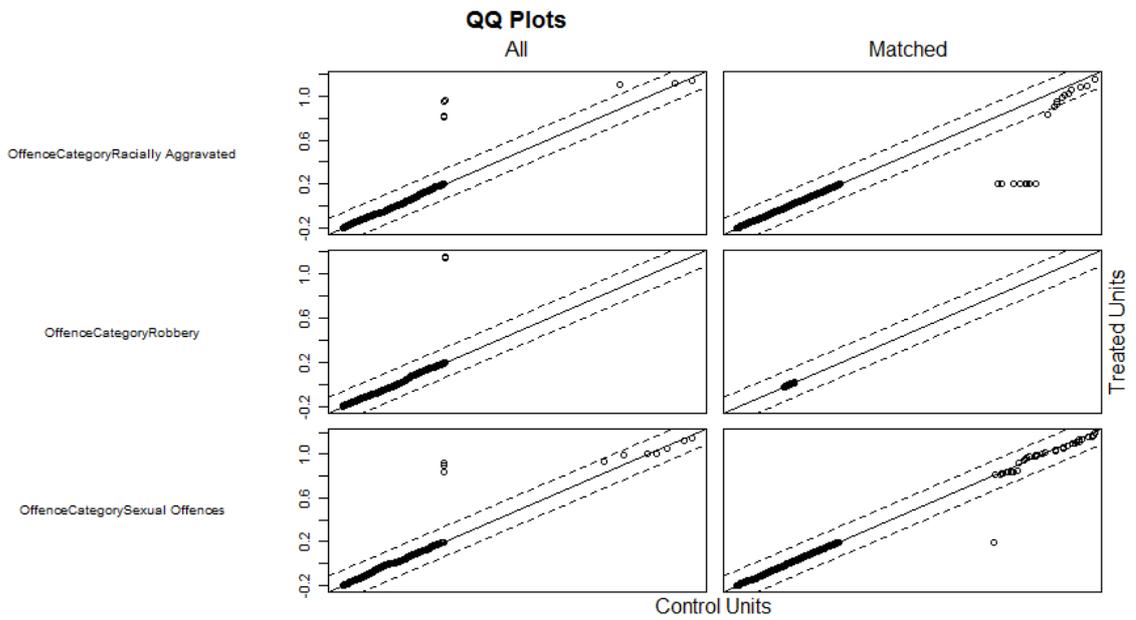
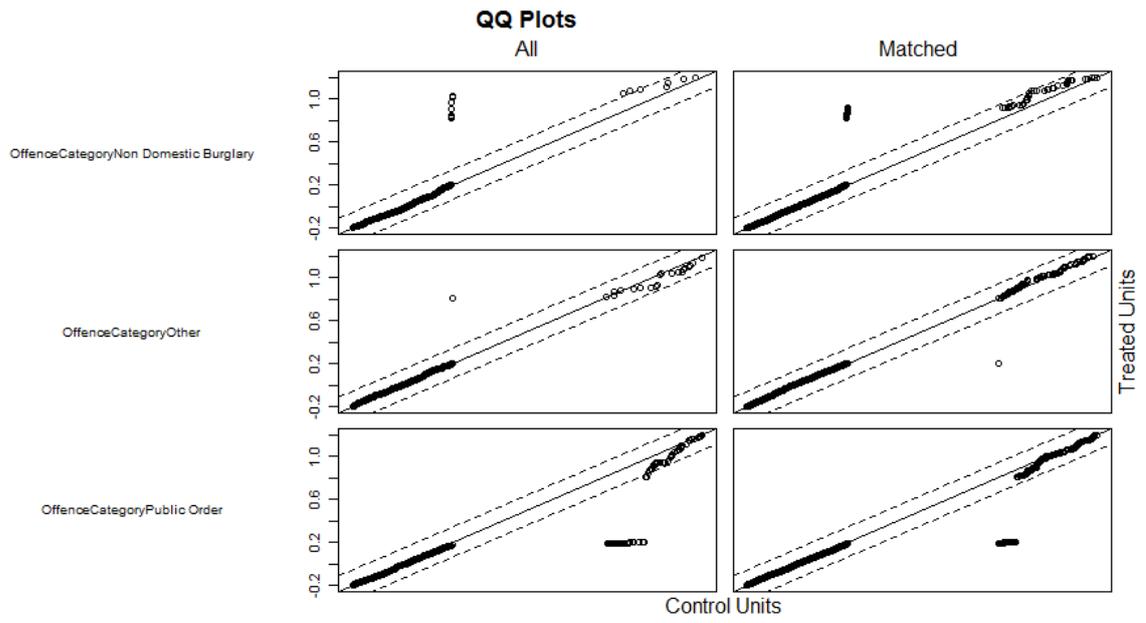


Table A5: Summary of balance for matched data:

Variable	Means Treated	Means Control	SD Control
Distance	0.3819	0.3778	0.1118
Age	14.546	14.603	1.3218
Gender			
Female	0.286	0.2708	0.4446
Male	0.714	0.7292	0.4446
Ethnicity			
African	0.0019	0.0009	0.0308
Any other Asian background	0.0133	0.0123	0.1103
Any other Black background	0.0057	0.0057	0.0752
Any other ethnic group	0.0038	0.0019	0.0435
Any other mixed background	0.0057	0.0038	0.0615
Any other White background	0.0152	0.017	0.1295
Asian or Asian British	0.0076	0.0076	0.0868
Bangladeshi	0	0	0
Black or Black British	0.0038	0.0047	0.0687
Caribbean	0	0	0
Chinese	0	0	0
Indian	0.0019	0.0019	0.0435
Mixed	0.0095	0.0076	0.0868
Not Known	0	0.0019	0.0435
Pakistani	0.0076	0.0057	0.0752
White	0.017	0.0133	0.1144
White and Asian	0	0	0
White and Black African	0.0019	0.0038	0.0615
White and Black Caribbean	0.0076	0.0066	0.0812
White British	0.8939	0.9034	0.2956
White Irish	0.0038	0.0019	0.0435
Offence category			
Arson	0.0057	0.0047	0.0687
Criminal Damage	0.1458	0.1373	0.3444
Domestic Burglary	0.0114	0.0133	0.1144
Drugs	0.1288	0.1259	0.332
Fraud And Forgery	0.0038	0.0019	0.0435
Non Domestic Burglary	0.0246	0.0218	0.1461
Other	0.0379	0.0369	0.1887
Public Order	0.0663	0.0814	0.2737
Racially Aggravated	0.0057	0.0066	0.0812
Robbery	0	0	0
Sexual Offences	0.0152	0.017	0.1295
Theft And Handling Stolen Goods	0.3201	0.3021	0.4594
Vehicle Theft / Unauthorised Taking	0.0095	0.0095	0.0969
Violence Against The Person	0.2254	0.2415	0.4282
Offence Gravity	2.858	2.857	0.8384

Variable	Means Treated	Means Control	SD Control
No Of Previous Court Outcomes	0.2746	0.2746	1.1323
No Of Previous pre court outcomes	0.3409	0.375	0.66

Table A5: Summary of q

Variables		Mean Diff	eQQ Med	eQQ Mean	eQQ Max
Distance		0.0041	0.0252	0.0267	0.0695
Age		-0.058	0	0.1686	2
Gender	Female	0.0152	0	0.0265	1
	Male	-0.015	0	0.0265	1
Ethnicity	African	0.0009	0	0	0
	Any other Asian background	0.0009	0	0.0057	1
	Any other Black background	0	0	0	0
	Any other ethnic group	0.0019	0	0.0019	1
	Any other mixed background	0.0019	0	0.0019	1
	Any other White background	-0.002	0	0.0038	1
	Asian or Asian British	0	0	0.0019	1
	Bangladeshi	0	0	0	0
	Black or Black British	-9E-04	0	0	0
	Caribbean	0	0	0	0
	Chinese	0	0	0	0
	Indian	0	0	0	0
	Mixed	0.0019	0	0.0038	1
	Not Known	-0.002	0	0.0019	1
	Pakistani	0.0019	0	0.0038	1
	White	0.0038	0	0.0019	1
	White and Asian	0	0	0	0
	White and Black African	-0.002	0	0.0019	1
	White and Black Caribbean	0.0009	0	0.0019	1
	White British	-0.01	0	0.0133	1
White Irish	0.0019	0	0.0019	1	
Offence category	Arson	0.0009	0	0	0
	Criminal Damage	0.0085	0	0.0019	1
	Domestic Burglary	-0.002	0	0.0038	1
	Drugs	0.0028	0	0.0303	1
	Fraud And Forgery	0.0019	0	0.0019	1
	Non Domestic Burglary	0.0028	0	0.0114	1
	Other	0.0009	0	0.0019	1
	Public Order	-0.015	0	0.0284	1
	Racially Aggravated	-9E-04	0	0	0
	Robbery	0	0	0	0

Variables	Mean Diff	eQQ Med	eQQ Mean	eQQ Max
Sexual Offences	-0.002	0	0.0019	1
Theft And Handling Stolen Goods	0.018	0	0.0019	1
Vehicle Theft / Unauthorised Taking	0	0	0.0019	1
Violence Against The Person	-0.016	0	0.0095	1
Offence Gravity	0.0009	0	0.0701	1
No Of Previous Court Outcomes	0	0	0.0511	5
No Of Previous pre court outcomes	-0.034	0	0.0833	1

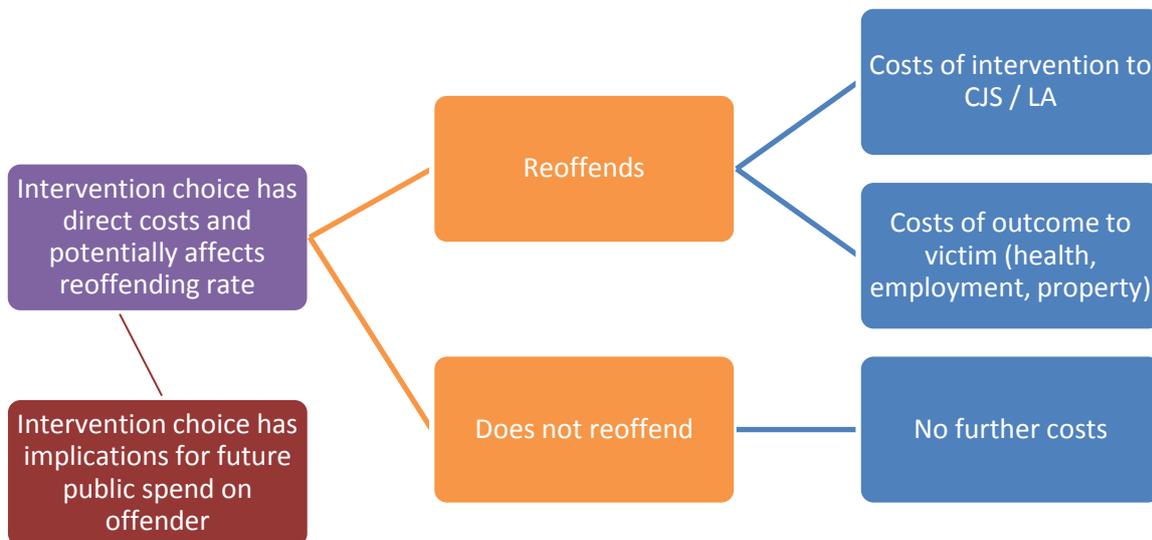
Appendix B: Value for money assessment

This section examines whether YRI is a worthwhile intervention to undertake when all its costs and benefits are taken into account, compared to what would have occurred without the policy of promoting YRI within Surrey. It starts by considering a framework for structuring the analysis of costs and benefits, before moving on to data sources, calculations, and conclusions.

Framework for analysis

The analysis is based on a comparison of the costs and benefits of the status quo, as represented by YRI, versus the costs and benefits of the counterfactual, which consists of a mixture of alternative interventions such as cautions and conditional cautions.

The approach takes into account the current costs incurred by public services (police, courts and local authority youth services), the future costs incurred if reoffending occurs (for public services and the victims of crime) and possible further need for public expenditure on the offender in respect of extra NHS costs and welfare payments. The figure below sets out the different categories.



Reoffending rates have been shown by the evaluation to have been lowered by the introduction of YRI, and this leads to the avoidance of costs. These are estimated by multiplying the extent to which reoffending is reduced by an assessment of the public and social costs incurred by reoffending activity, which in turn depends upon the required interventions and the types of crime.

The analysis excludes the positive effects that can occur through YRI, such as offenders improving their levels of empathy, and the victims' feeling that 'justice has been done', as these effects are hard to assess over time and to put into

monetary terms. An indication of the scale and importance of such effects is, however, given in earlier sections of this evaluation.

Data sources and calculations

Four different issues were taken into account in our cost benefit calculation:

- The direct, short-term cost to the police, Youth Service and courts of undertaking YRI compared to an appropriate mixture of interventions to form a counterfactual;
- The costs to the same organizations in respect of potential later reoffending by the offender;
- The effect on potential future public spend on health and employment benefit in respect of the offender from being given a YRI intervention as opposed to counterfactual interventions;
- The effects of being a victim of crime in terms of potential NHS spend, personal loss of wellbeing, and potential loss of earnings in a recovery period.

Direct costs for the initial YRI intervention

According to Surrey Youth Service data, 38% of Surrey YRI cases are managed by the police, with the remaining 62% being supported by the Youth Service. Surrey police and Surrey Youth Service supplied the evaluation with estimates of the time taken to administer a case based on a sample of 50 cases undertaken by YSS. These have been used to determine an indication of the 'average unit cost' of a YRI intervention, by multiplying staff time by salary, and scaling up by the level of overhead costs.

In estimating staff costs, the mid-point of the pay bands of salaries was taken and assumed that the total number of working hours per year equates to 35 hours per week, for 45 weeks per year, less one hour per day spent on staff meetings, training and other aspects of 'non-productive time'. Overheads data (national insurance and pensions, and non-staffing costs such as buildings) has been taken from the 2014 Subjective Analysis Return (Department for Communities and Local Government). Our estimate is that the direct unit cost of administering YRI is £297, drawing on the calculations shown in table B1 below.

Table B1: Cost of administering YRI (excluding cost of overseeing reparation activity)

Police (38% of cases)	Time per case (hours)	Salary per hour (£)	Scaling factor (overheads)	Cost per case (£)
Police officer	7.66	21.3	1.60	
Police sergeant	0.67	29.2	1.60	
Police inspector	0.05	36.1	1.60	
Administration	0.63	13.4	1.60	
Total	9.00			308

Youth Service (62% of cases)	Time per case (hours)	Salary per hour (£)	Scaling factor (overheads)	Cost per case (£)
Assistant Youth Service Officer	0.70	18.4	1.53	
Youth Service Officer	5.60	21.3	1.53	
Senior Youth Service Officer	1.17	26.2	1.53	
Sessional staff	2.00	10.0	1.53	
Administration	0.50	13.6	1.53	
Total for case managed by YSS	9.97			290

Surrey Youth Service estimates are that reparation activity takes on average 4 hours to oversee, and also incurs 30 minutes in staff administration time. Assuming that 38% of this activity is supervised by the police and 62% by the Youth Service, this costs £132. If half of those receiving YRI undertake supervised reparation activity, the cost of overseeing reparation activity per person is £66.

Adding together the £297 cost of staff time administering the YRI, and the £66 cost of staff time supervising reparation, it is estimated that the overall cost of administering YRI per case is of the order of £360.

Direct costs for the counterfactual

If the policy of promoting YRI was not in force, a range of different interventions would be deployed instead. To calculate the unit cost of the counterfactual, the first estimate is the share of cases that different forms of intervention would receive, and then to calculate the average cost of those interventions taking into account the estimated share of cases.

The Youth Service estimates that cautions and conditional cautions would account for five-sixths of alternatives to YRI, with four times more cautions than conditional cautions. The remaining 17% of cases are court cases. The evaluation assumed that the proportion of 'fine / conditional discharge' cases equals the national proportion of 'other court sentences' amongst young people who were sentenced by courts but did not receive a custodial sentence, using Youth Justice Board 2012/13 data. The evaluation then allocated the remaining court cases between Referral Orders and YROs in line with the 71%: 29% distribution observed in Surrey. See table B.2 for consequent estimates below.

Table B2: Distribution of cases for the counterfactual compared to YRI

	% share of cases	% share of cases
Caution	66.7%	66.7%
Conditional Caution	16.3%	16.3%
Court cases, of which:	17.0%	
Fine / Conditional discharge		4.8%
Referral Order		8.7%
Youth Rehabilitation Order (YRO)		3.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

The next stage is to obtain estimates of the cost of each of these different forms of intervention:

- For cautions, the time involved is estimated to be 3 hours police officer time, and 30 minutes administration time, implying a cost of the order of £115;
- For conditional cautions, the time involved for the assumed 38% of cases undertaken by the police is estimated at 6.5 hours police officer time, plus 0.7 hours of time from a Youth Service officer, plus 0.5 days administration time at a cost of £253. The time involved for the remaining 62% of cases led by the Youth Service is estimated at 16 hours youth service officer time (including 3.5 hours sessional time) and 0.5 hours administration time, costing £490. Taking the average of these leads to an estimate of the order of £400;
- For fines, the cost is comprised of £770 magistrate court costs, based on an estimate of £550 per case reported in Harries et al. (1998) updated for inflation; plus 3 hours of police officer time to prepare a charge file and attend court; plus 1.5 hours of youth service officer time to attend court; plus 0.5 hours administration time, which amounts to a cost of £933;
- For Youth Referral Orders, the cost is as for fines plus the cost of supervision of the order. The Youth Service estimate this taking 40 hours of Youth Service Officer time, 6 hours of a Community Volunteer Panel member's time, 12 hours of sessional staff time and 1.5 hours administration, costing a further £1,552, and so making a total cost of £2,485;
- For Youth Rehabilitation Orders, the cost is as for fines plus the cost of supervision of the order. We assume that these supervision costs are similar to those of adult offenders receiving a Community Sentence, some £4,700 in Surrey (Probation Trust Unit Costs 2012/13, Ministry of Justice), so implying a total cost for a YRO disposal of £5,633.

The evaluation estimate of the direct costs of the counterfactual per offender is £600, calculated by multiplying the costs per intervention set out above by the proportions of interventions given in Table B.3.

Relative costs of YRI and counterfactual in respect of indirect costs to police, Youth Service, prisons and courts from re-offending

As set out earlier in this evaluation, our assessment is that the YRI has led, on average, to a 6% reduction in re-offending compared to the counterfactual scenario. This section sets out our estimate of reduced costs to the police, the Youth Service, prisons and courts that follow from reduced levels of re-offending. We first assess the interventions that the 6% of offenders would have received, and then we calculate a weighted average cost of those interventions.

In assessing the interventions that would have accrued to the 6% of offenders if they had reoffended, we have tweaked the allocation of court cases to include custodial sentences, as this option is relevant to a reoffender but is not a likely component of a counterfactual to YRI. Our estimate of the proportions of disposals that relate to custody is to use the national proportion of custodial sentences as a percentage of court disposals. Consequently, the proportions allocated to other court disposals are slightly reduced. The corresponding estimates are shown in table B3.

Table B3: Reduction in disposals due to improvement in reoffending rates

	% share of cases	% share of cases	Scaled to 6% change
Caution	66.7%	66.7%	4.0%
Conditional Caution	16.3%	16.3%	1.0%
Court cases, of which:	17.0%		
Fine / conditional discharge		4.5%	0.3%
Referral Order		8.1%	0.5%
YRO		3.3%	0.2%
Custodial sentences		1.1%	0.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	6.0%

The next step is to multiply the proportions of disposals by the cost of the disposals. In doing so, as well as including the costs of custody (including the cost of supervision after the reoffender leaves prison), the evaluation has also included remand costs incurred by the public sector.

In assessing costs from custodial sentences, the evaluation calculated a cost of £13,973 from cost per prison p.a. of £60,000 (source: Hansard, 20 June 2012, c1008W), and average length of custody of 85 days (source: Youth Justice Statistics, 2014, Ministry of Justice & Youth Justice Board). The evaluation added to this a cost of post-prison supervision by Youth Service officer of £3,225, in respect of 4.5 hours oversight per week, applied for a period of 3 months for 75% of cases and one year for the other 25%.

The evaluation estimated the cost of remand per young person indicted for court at £380, by dividing the £22m cost of remand at national level (source: Consultation paper on the new remand framework, 2012, Ministry of Justice and Youth Justice Board) by 58,000, the number indicted in 2012/13 for court appearance (source:

Youth Justice Statistics 2012/13, Ministry of Justice and Youth Justice Board). Table B.4 summarises the relevant calculations for assessing the effect of reduced reoffending.

Table B4: Costs and proportions of interventions following 6% improvement in reoffending

	Cost saving when disposal no longer occurs (£)	Proportion of cases
Reoffending behaviour is same for YRI as for counterfactual	n/a	94.0%
Reduction in reoffending behaviour		
Caution	115	4.0%
Conditional Caution	400	1.0%
Court cases, of which:		
Fine / conditional discharge	1,315	0.3%
Referral Order	2,865	0.5%
YRO	6,015	0.2%
Custodial sentences	18,510	0.1%
Total		6.0%

The above data implies that, taking the types and likelihood of disposal into account, costs of the order of £50 are avoided due to the 6% reduction in reoffending.

Reduction in effects suffered by victims as a result of a reduction in reoffending

Home Office analysis (2011 Integrated Offender Management value for money toolkit) provides insights into the damage that victims incur due to crime. The analysis puts monetary values on loss of property; lost employment output; physical and emotional impact; and health costs due to a variety of offences. Table B.5 shows estimates of these wider costs, updated to 2013/14 levels using the RPI index, alongside the proportions of offences committed by the Surrey YRI cohort calculated from data set out earlier in this report.

Table B5: Wider costs by type of crime per offence committed

	Offence proportion	'Social' savings (£)	Health (£)
Theft and handling	29%	750	-
Violence against the person	22%	9,808	1,853
Drug offences	20%	2,712	171
Criminal damage	17%	1,020	-
Public order	8%	1,020	-
Burglary	3%	2,712	-
Motoring offences	less than 1%	n/a	-
Robbery	less than 1%	5,801	671
<i>Weighted average</i>		<i>3,317</i>	<i>451</i>

The benefits of a 6% reduction in reoffending are calculated as: 6% x relevant cost per reoffender. This amounts to some £27 on health costs, and £200 on 'wider social costs' relating to the victim.

Effect on future public spend on unemployment benefit and health in respect of the offender

There are well known links between gaining a criminal record and unemployment. According to Social Exclusion Unit (2005), nearly two-thirds of young offenders were unemployed at the time of arrest compared to 46 per cent of those aged over 25; unemployment further rises for those leaving prison, with 90 per cent or so of those leaving prison entering unemployment (Fletcher *et al*, 1998).

An indication of the maximum effect of an offender record can be gleaned from the 24% difference in proportions in unemployment implied by the above statistics (calculated from 90% of prison leavers versus 66% unemployed at time of arrest). Scaling this down by two-thirds for an indicative figure of an effect on employment of 8% implies a cost to the taxpayer of the order of £360; this is based on 8% multiplied by a £4,530 figure for the exchequer cost of a young person not in employment, education or training (an assessment used in the New Economy SIBs database for calculating business cases for Social Impact Bonds). The use of YRI as opposed to cautions or conditional cautions means that future employment prospects are maintained for young people, with the consequence that future unemployment benefit usage is not increased.

A further issue to take into account is the potential for future NHS costs for substance misuse to be held down by avoiding deeper entry into the criminal justice system. In particular, entering into custody increases the chances of drug addiction; the 2012 Prison Reform Trust Report 'Out for Good' reports that some 19% of those interviewed for the Surveying Prisoner Crime Reduction study who had ever used heroin reported first using heroin in prison. Although we have not included an estimate of the effects of substance addiction as the numbers sent to custody are relatively low, the consequences can be very severe for the individuals concerned and their families.