

POL 2013

Jamie R Gordon

Selwyn College

Supervisor: Dr Peter Neyroud CBE, QPM, CCMI

The Harmful Eighteen: Targeting High-Harm Victim-Offenders for Offender
Management in Order to Reduce Harm: A BCU-Level Analysis

17,622 Words

Submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the Master's Degree in Applied
Criminology and Police Management

2022

Declaration: *Except as indicated by specific references to or acknowledgements to other sources, this thesis is my own original work.*

Research Contract

Title

The Harmful Eighteen: Targeting High-Harm Victim-Offenders for Offender Management in Order to Reduce Violent Crime Harm: A BCU-Level Analysis

Research Question

Among individuals who have been either a victim or an offender for a violent offence within London's SOUTH AREA Basic Command Unit (BCU), which ones have also been reported as both victims and offenders anywhere in the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) Force Area within the study period. What is the rank order of all those people based on the total Cambridge Crime Harm Index (CCHI) value of offences? How does this compare to the total CCHI of individuals currently being managed on the BCU's Integrated Offender Management (IOM) programme?

Sub-Questions

1. What has previous research found about the extent of overlap between victims and offenders in relation to harm levels, and what issues remain unexplored, especially in the practical application of that research? (Wolfgang, Sandall, Hiltz, Cator and Neyroud).
2. What issues may be encountered in any attempt to generate targets for police intervention based on this framework and what is the potential value of this

approach for improving the cost-effectiveness of integrated offender management in South London and the wider MPS?

3. Using Crime Recording (CRIS) data over a 3.5 year period what is the complete list of individuals identified by name, date of birth, and Police National Computer (PNC) numbers who have been reported as either victims or offenders in Violence With Injury (VWI) offences. How many offences have these individuals committed, how much CCHI harm have they generated and what is the primary type of crimes they are involved in?
4. Using secure data held by the SOUTH AREA IOM team, supported by CRIS data over a 3.5 year period what is the complete list of individuals identified by name, date of birth and PNC numbers currently on the BCU IOM programme. How many offences have these individuals committed, how much CCHI harm have they generated and what is the primary type of crimes they are involved in?
5. Using the lists generated in (3) and (4) above, what is the rank order of the individuals in total CCHI value for each data set?
6. What is the concentration of CCHI within a 'Power Few' on both the lists, as indicated by the percentage of all persons at the top ranks who cumulatively account for 50% of the total CCHI sum of the entire list?
7. Given a fixed resource level within SOUTH AREA BCU for proactive intervention with the highest-harm victim-offenders, what is the most useful framework for selecting which persons to target for intervention?

Data

The data was split into two distinct cohorts, specifically the IOM Cohort and the Victim-Offender (VO) Cohort.

The IOM cohort consisted of records held on 135 offenders who are currently being managed by the IOM team based in the MPS's SOUTH AREA BCU. This list of offenders is held on a secure database, which is managed by a SOUTH AREA supervisor who provided access for the purposes of this study.

The VO cohort consisted of data held on 115 individuals classed as victim-offenders within the SOUTH AREA BCU. To qualify for this status the individuals had to meet the following criteria:

- They must have been cautioned or charged with a VWI offence within the last 3.5 years
- They must have been a victim of a VWI offence within the last 3.5 years
- At least one of these offences must have occurred within SOUTH AREA BCU

This data was drawn from the MPS CRIS System. VOs were also checked against the Violent and Sexual Offenders Register (ViSOR) in order to see if they were subject to any form of alternative offender management from the Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA).

Once both cohorts had been compiled, their members were processed through CRIS in order to identify and log every criminal offence they had been charged or cautioned with in the MPS Force Area during the previous 3.5 years.

Research Design

This study is an exploratory and descriptive analysis of two different cohorts of offenders within a South London Police BCU.

Methods

Within the two cohorts, the offenders were listed alongside their total criminal offending history for the previous 3.5 years. Each of these offences was then allocated to one of seven offence types based on the nature of the crime committed. Each offence was also allocated a numerical value based on its score from the CCHI.

Each cohort was then 'rank ordered' with the individuals generating the most CCHI crime harm at the top descending to the least harmful offenders at the bottom.

The two cohorts were then compared to identify trends in the types of offences; number of crimes committed and total CCHI harm scores. Each cohort was then broken down into different sub-groups based on the level of harm generated (top 50, top 25 and top 10 most harmful) to see how these comparisons translated amongst the most harmful offenders.

Findings

This research identified that whilst the current IOM cohort generate more crime harm in total this is heavily weighted towards repeat and persistent acquisitive offences. Conversely, the VO cohort primarily generate crime harm from serious violence offences, and even though across all sub-groups their crime harm total is lower, the amount generated from violent crime is significantly higher than the comparative IOM population.

Both the IOM and VO cohorts contain a 'Power Few' of individual offenders who generate the majority of the crime harm. Within both cohorts, this was shown to be the top ten most harmful individuals who accounted for 46% of crime harm in the IOM population and 55% within the VO cohort.

Policy Implications

The findings of this research show that the MPS's desire to move to an IOM system that is more heavily focussed on violent crime has not yet been fully successful, as there remains a heavy propensity towards acquisitive criminality amongst its current offender population. Given the increasing violence within the capital and the national changes being implemented from the Home Office's 'Beating Crime' plan there clearly needs to be further focus on realigning the selection criteria of offenders for IOM inclusion.

The data has shown that within SOUTH AREA BCU those individuals classed as victim-offenders are generating significant amounts of violent crime harm, far in excess of their counterparts currently on the IOM cohort. Given that only one individual amongst the most harmful victim-offenders also appears on the IOM list it is clear the police are missing an opportunity to engage with some of our most violent offenders.

Going forwards the police and our partners need to find a way to incorporate data we already hold around victim-offenders within the Force Area into the IOM selection process so that we can proactively reduce the violent crime harm that they generate. Alternatively, police leaders could consider the establishment of small, bespoke teams outside of the current IOM model who can focus their efforts and resources on

engaging with these victim-offenders to reduce the violent crime harm occurring within the capital.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to acknowledge the excellent support and guidance provided from my supervisor, Dr Peter Neyroud CBE QPM throughout the research process; he was a massive help in all areas and I am eternally grateful. I would also like to acknowledge my first year supervisor on the Police Executive Programme, Sir Denis O'Connor CBE QPM who ensured I was in a good start state to undertake this research.

From the Metropolitan Police I would like to thank T/Commander Peter Holdcroft for nominating me for this opportunity and his support for my studies during my time under his command in the Directorate of Professional Standards. I would also like to express my gratitude to Superintendent Dan Knowles who has been hugely supportive and 'held the fort' whilst I was out of office doing my research.

From the Royal Military Police I would like to thank Colonel Kris Rotchell for his support, advice and understanding when I needed to take the occasional step back from command duties in order to focus on my studies.

Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Research Contract | 2 |
| Acknowledgements | 8 |
| Contents..... | 9 |
| List of Tables and Figures | 12 |
| Introduction | 14 |
| Chapter 1: Literature Review | 18 |
| 1.1 Development of Integrated Offender Management | 18 |
| 1.2 The Victim Offender Overlap | 24 |
| 1.3 Literature Review Conclusions | 32 |
| Chapter 2: Method and Analysis | 33 |
| 2.1 Current Criteria for IOM Selection | 33 |
| 2.2 Datasets Used | 36 |
| 2.3 Sample Selection and Eligibility Criteria – Victim Offender Cohort | 36 |
| 2.4 Victim Offenders and MAPPA | 38 |
| 2.5 Sample Selection and Eligibility Criteria – IOM Cohort | 39 |
| 2.6 Three and a Half Year Offending History | 40 |
| 2.7 Categorising Offences for both Cohorts | 41 |
| 2.8 Applying the Cambridge Crime Harm Index (CCHI) to Both Cohorts | 42 |
| 2.9 Comparing the Two Cohorts | 43 |
| 2.10 Data Issues; Errors and Cleaning | 44 |

| | |
|--|----|
| Chapter 3: Results and Findings | 47 |
| 3.1 Integrated Offender Management Cohort | 49 |
| 3.1.1 Full IOM Cohort | 49 |
| 3.1.2 IOM Cohort – Top 50 Most Harmful Offenders | 53 |
| 3.1.3 IOM Cohort – Top 25 Most Harmful Offenders | 55 |
| 3.1.4 IOM Cohort – Top 10 Most Harmful Offenders | 57 |
| 3.2 Victim Offender Cohort | 60 |
| 3.2.1 Full VO Cohort | 60 |
| 3.2.2 VO Cohort – Top 50 Most Harmful Offenders | 63 |
| 3.2.3 VO Cohort – Top 25 Most Harmful Offenders | 65 |
| 3.2.4 VO Cohort – Top 10 Most Harmful Offenders | 67 |
| 3.3 Victim Offender Cohort – MAPPA Membership | 69 |
| 3.4 Comparing the Two Cohorts | 70 |
| 3.5 Number of Offences and Crime Harm Generated | 71 |
| Chapter 4: Discussion | 75 |
| 4.1 The ‘Crime Harm’ Power Few | 75 |
| 4.2 Violence vs Acquisitive Crime: What is the Priority? | 77 |
| 4.3 The Harmful Eighteen | 78 |
| 4.4 The IOM Gender Gap | 79 |
| 4.5 Tactical Solutions to Practical Problems | 80 |

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| 4.6 Wider Applications | 84 |
| 4.7 Limitations of This Study | 85 |
| 4.8 Recommendations – Summary | 86 |
| Chapter 5: Conclusion | 87 |
| References and Bibliography | 91 |
| Appendices | 95 |
| Appendix A: Glossary | 95 |

List of Tables and Figures

Tables

| Table Number | Description | Page |
|--------------|---|------|
| 1. | The Criticisms of the Current IOM Model highlighted by the 2020 Joint Thematic Inspection Conducted by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire Rescue Services. | 23 |
| 2. | Detailed breakdown of data relating to offences and crime harm generated by the full SOUTH AREA IOM cohort between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 2021 | 49 |
| 3. | Breakdown of Total SOUTH AREA IOM Cohort Offences by Crime Type between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 21 | 50 |
| 4. | Detailed breakdown of data relating to offences and crime harm generated by the Top 50 most harmful individuals within SOUTH AREA IOM cohort between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 2021 | 53 |
| 5. | Breakdown of Top 50 Most Harmful SOUTH AREA IOM Cohort Members Offences by Crime Type between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 21 | 54 |
| 6. | Detailed breakdown of data relating to offences and crime harm generated by the Top 25 most harmful individuals within SOUTH AREA IOM cohort between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 2021 | 55 |
| 7. | Breakdown of Top 25 Most Harmful SOUTH AREA IOM Cohort Members Offences by Crime Type between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 21 | 56 |
| 8. | Detailed breakdown of data relating to offences and crime harm generated by the Top 10 most harmful individuals within SOUTH AREA IOM cohort between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 2021 | 57 |
| 9. | Breakdown of Top 10 Most Harmful SOUTH AREA IOM Cohort Members Offences by Crime Type between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 21 | 59 |
| 10. | Detailed breakdown of data relating to offences and crime harm generated by the full SOUTH AREA VO cohort between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 2021 | 60 |
| 11. | Breakdown of Total SOUTH AREA VO Cohort Offences by Crime Type between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 21 | 60 |
| 12. | Detailed breakdown of data relating to offences and crime harm generated by the Top 50 most harmful individuals within SOUTH AREA VO cohort between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 2021 | 63 |
| 13. | Breakdown of Top 50 Most Harmful SOUTH AREA VO Cohort Members Offences by Crime Type between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 21 | 64 |
| 14. | Detailed breakdown of data relating to offences and crime harm generated by the Top 25 most harmful individuals within SOUTH AREA VO cohort between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 2021 | 65 |
| 15. | Breakdown of Top 25 Most Harmful SOUTH AREA VO Cohort Members Offences by Crime Type between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 21 | 66 |
| 16. | Detailed breakdown of data relating to offences and crime harm generated by the Top 10 most harmful individuals within SOUTH AREA VO cohort between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 2021 | 67 |
| 17. | Breakdown of Top 10 Most Harmful SOUTH AREA VO Cohort Members Offences by Crime Type between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 21 | 68 |
| 18. | Overall Comparison of Data between the SN IOM Cohort and SN VO Cohort | 70 |

Figures

| Figure Number | Description | Page |
|---------------|--|------|
| 1. | Breakdown of Offence Types by Total Number of Offences – Full IOM Cohort | 50 |
| 2. | Breakdown of Offence Types by CCHI Scores – Full IOM Cohort | 51 |
| 3. | A graph showing the 'Pareto Curve' in relation to the number of Offences and Total Crime Harm generated by members of the SOUTH AREA IOM Cohort | 58 |
| 4. | Breakdown of Offence Types by Total Number of Offences – Full VO Cohort | 61 |
| 5. | Breakdown of Offence Types by CCHI Scores – Full VO Cohort | 62 |
| 6. | A graph showing the 'Pareto Curve' in relation to the Total Crime Harm generated by members of the SOUTH AREA VO Cohort. | 68 |
| 7. | Chart showing the percentages of Total Offences and Total Crime Harm made up by acquisitive and violent crimes within the complete VO and IOM cohorts. | 71 |
| 8. | Chart showing the percentages of Total Offences and Total Crime Harm made up by acquisitive and violent crimes within the top 10 most harmful VO and IOM cohort members. | 73 |

Introduction

The Integrated Offender Management (IOM) programme has been in operation in England and Wales since 2009, taking over the mantle of offender management from the earlier Priority Prolific Offender (PPO) scheme. The concept underpinning this approach to offender management is that criminals admitted to the scheme are provided enhanced support in order allow them to disengage from criminality; however for those individuals who continue offending there is likely to be robust and swift consequences from law enforcement agencies and their assorted partners (Her Majesty's Prison Service, 2004).

The current model for IOM is designed to be a predominantly multi-agency approach, where assorted stakeholders come together in order to manage the nominated offenders and actively seek to reduce their recidivism. Within this framework, the police and probation services tend to be the major partners.

From the point of its initial conception, there was a notion that the IOM process should be loose enough that it could be adapted by different police forces and their partners in order to deal with localised issues effectively, and so its exact application was open to a degree of tailoring (Home Office, 2010; Home Office, 2015). This approach is understandable as smaller rural forces would likely face different problems (and have different resources available) compared to larger urban forces. The concept was viewed as the development of local responses to local problems (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, 2014).

Despite this strong ambition it appears that over the years IOM has not been as effective as hoped, and the lack of consistency around its application, both nationally and even within individual force areas has led to it becoming somewhat diluted. In fact,

the latest inspection of IOM suggests that as a model, it has stagnated and the inspectors raise the suggestion that 'in many areas IOM has lost its way.' (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire Rescue Services, 2020).

Within the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), there is a desire to recalibrate the current IOM approach by moving away from its traditional focus on persistent acquisitive offences and redirect this to tackle more serious violent crimes. This seems a highly sensible aspiration as serious violence within the capital is on the increase, with 2021 accounting for the highest level of street murders ever recorded.

The MPS has already made steps in the right direction by introducing the OASys Violence Predictor (OVP) algorithm into its methodology for selecting offenders for inclusion on the IOM programme.

This research will look to see if the MPS and other forces could achieve more success in tackling violent crime by using a selection system for IOM that focusses on prioritising victim-offenders (VOs) for inclusion.

The concept of victim-offenders first came to prominence in relation to homicide studies in the mid-twentieth century (Wolfgang, 1958) and has been a recurring phenomenon since that time (Bottoms and Costello, 2011; Jennings, Reingle & Piquero, 2012).

Research from that initial period until the present day consistently indicates that individuals who are involved in criminality both as offenders and as victims tend to generate far more crime harm than 'pure' offenders (Neyroud, 2015). Earlier research also demonstrates that there is a propensity for this victim-offender generated crime

harm to be predominantly violence related in nature (Gottfredson, 1984; Broidy et al., 2006).

This research will look at the total offences and crime harm generated by the MPS SOUTH AREA BCU's current IOM cohort over the last 3.5 years. This will then be compared with offences and crime harm generated by a specific set of SOUTH AREA victim offenders within the same timeframe. For the purposes of comparison the total offences, total crime harm and a breakdown of specific offence types will be utilised in order to generate a holistic view of the current situation.

The crime harm generated will be measured using the Cambridge Crime Harm Index (Sherman et al., 2016) which is a system that assigns each specified offence a numerical harm value based on the initial number of days in custody a previously unconvicted offender could be sentenced to using the 'starting point' sentencing guidance.

Part of my current role as the Headquarters Strand Chief Inspector within the MPS's SOUTH AREA BCU is to ensure that as a service we get the best possible return of service for every penny of taxpayer's money that we spend on policing. A key part of this is looking at both our existing policing and resourcing models and seeing where they need to be developed or amended in order to improve our service delivery. As such, the goal of this research is to ascertain whether focussing finite police assets on victim-offenders offers a viable alternative to the current IOM model that will enable limited resources to achieve the best effect in reducing the overall violent crime harm generated.

Given that the government's recent 'Beating Crime Plan' dedicates a whole chapter to the pressing need for police and partners to proactively tackle homicide and serious

violence, this research also seeks to offer an additional suite of tactics to support this effort on a national level (Home Office, 2021).

The research will also be looking to identify whether a small number of individuals in either or indeed both cohorts, known as 'The Power Few,' account for the majority of crime harm generated as has been the case in previous research (Sherman, 2007).

It is hoped that the findings from this study will provide senior police officers a range of potential options to improve and refine the way offender management is administered in order to correct some of the criticisms from the recent joint inspection and provide tools to help them deliver a safer London for the public.

Chapter One: Literature Review

This piece of research will be looking at how individuals are currently selected for inclusion on the Integrated Offender Management (IOM) programme, specifically within the Metropolitan Police Service's SOUTH AREA Basic Command Unit (BCU), and the fact that this tends to focus predominantly on offenders engaged in high-volume, low-harm criminality.

This model will then be compared to individuals within the same BCU who can be classed as Victim-Offenders (VOs) for violent offences, and who are involved in the commission of much more serious, harmful criminality. Consideration will then be given as to whether going forward an individual's status as a VO should be part of the criteria when offenders are selected for participation within the IOM scheme in order to reduce the occurrence of serious violence within this policing area.

The following literature review will consider the history and development of the Integrated Offender Management Programme over the last two decades along with its current state and operating processes. The review will also look at the development of the concept of VOs within criminology since the 1950s and what the potential operational applications of this theory could have in terms of IOM.

1.1 Development of Integrated Offender Management

The current system of offender management operating within England and Wales is referred to as 'Integrated Offender Management' (abbreviated to IOM) and came into existence in 2009 as a development of the earlier 'Priority Prolific Offender' (abbreviated to PPO) scheme that had been operating since its introduction in 2004.

The original PPO scheme had been created by the executive of the time to offer an approach that combined the usage of incentives and consequences in the delivery of offender management. The PPO scheme was itself a successor to the earlier Local Persistent Offender Scheme (LPOS). The PPO scheme was a more nationalised model led by the Home Office as part of a wider street crime initiative. In the PPO model offenders who engaged with the scheme would be offered support and help to keep them on track whilst those who failed to engage and persisted in criminality would face a robust and focussed effort by the authorities to interdict and punish them (Her Majesty's Prison Service, 2004).

Much like its successor, IOM, the PPO scheme did not have members ordered onto it via the courts; instead, local agencies were able to use their discretion and judgment to select offenders who were eligible to take part. This was through a multi-disciplinary approach where partners including the local constabulary, probation and prison services came together to make joint decisions and plans. These multi-agency units were referred to as Priority Offender Teams (POTS). This growing multi-agency approach was associated with some generally positive results in reducing recidivism and academic research into these new models found associated favourable outcomes (Disley, 2008)

These generally positive findings were used as the building blocks for the later IOM scheme when it was introduced in 2009. The concept behind this new development of the model was to introduce a consistent framework for partner agencies to manage adult offenders on the scheme. This new model would tie together the earlier PPO scheme, the Drugs Offender Programme and other elements that were associated with noticeable reductions in overall criminality (Ministry of Justice and Home Office, 2009). Arguably IOM sought to create a unified adult version of the Youth Offending

Team Service (YOTS) that had been introduced to unify the approach around dealing with repeat young offenders in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (Wong, 2013).

The primary goal of the new IOM scheme in comparison to its predecessor would be to bring together as many stakeholders as possible to act in partnership to address those factors that encouraged recidivism amongst the repeat offender cohort. The newer model would also be more developed as a formal structure for members to better work together to tackle the issues faced (Home Office, 2010). The new scheme if successful sought to reduce victimisation, the impact of criminality and build the public's trust in the police and criminal justice system.

Most importantly for this current piece of research, a key component of this new scheme was that stakeholders at a localised level would be able to select and prioritise those offenders that they felt were causing the most harm in their areas of responsibility (Principle 2: Home Office, 2010). The focus here would be to target the offenders themselves (rather than their offending history) in order to provide support and provide viable pathways out of criminality and the associated lifestyles. Another component of this document was Principle 5 (Home Office, 2010) that specifically highlighted that the new model should consider that 'All offenders who are at high risk of causing serious harm/and or reoffending are in scope' for the scheme. However unfortunately the document does not go on to conclusively describe what it considers to be 'serious harm' or how indeed this can be quantified when addressing the problem. Other principles from the original 2010 document were a focus on criminals acknowledging their responsibilities or facing the consequences of their actions.

The 2010 document was expanded in 2015 with a supplementary publication that built on the existing framework whilst making a number of significant alterations that

adjusted the focus of the operating model. The majority of the key principles remained functionally similar, though Principle 5 was further expanded to incorporate 'all offenders' as being in scope and that the IOM would '*provide additional support to management of prioritised offenders who are subject to statutory supervision by the National Probation Service or Community Rehabilitation Company*'. Further to this, an additional principle was introduced that placed an onus on the IOM facilitators to support offenders' desistance from crime after they had left the statutory monitoring pathways (Home Office, 2015)

Due to the increasingly localised focus of the developing IOM model the Ministry of Justice and Home Office worked to develop a formalised set of guidance to provide a degree of consistency at the national level. The key three areas of focus that emerged from this at local levels were (1) The need to pool and target resources at a strategic level; (2) a formalised structure to the local implementation of the model; (3) operational delivery. (Hadfield et al., 2020).

Since the inception of the IOM scheme, the political and financial climate has changed and many of the partners involved have seen their budgets and available funding reduce over the intervening decade. As such, these agencies and organisations have become more focussed on championing their own agendas within the sphere of partnership models, which can limit the overall efficiency of IOM (Senior et al., 2011).

There also seems to be a variance nationally as to exactly how the model operates and it has been confusing when looking at its application to identify what exactly IOM is. Wong (2013) posits that sometimes IOM is seen as a strategic tool for enabling partnership working, whilst others view it as an extension of other more formalised offender management systems.

However it is generally accepted that there does need to be some form of local or regional variance as a 'one size fits all' model around implementation would not work as more rural areas with proportionally smaller forces and local authorities would not possess the same resources as those based in larger urban settings. In fact one government review goes so far as to describe the IOM model as 'delivering a local response to a local problem.' (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, 2014).

In relation to selection of participants generally, most operating models would still include those individuals who would have been found on the former pre-2009 PPO scheme (Home Office, 2013) but others have expanded their membership into other areas. These areas of expansion around increased participant eligibility have arguably led to examples of improved effectiveness in terms of outcomes and desistance amongst certain cohorts (Frost, 2011; Mythen et al., 2013; Wong, 2013).

There has been limited academic research into whether or not the modern format of the IOM model is actually that effective in significantly reducing the levels of reoffending amongst participants (Hadfield et al., 2020). Whilst two studies have shown a degree of effectiveness in reduction of recidivism amongst IOM nominals, it should be noted that both of these were limited to only one force area and finite periods of time (Williams & Ariel, 2012; Sleath & Brown, 2019). A currently unpublished study from the Cambridge Institute of Criminology does highlight a number of problems with the current IOM system, specifically around the selection process for offender participants, and this research suggests the adoption of a new predictive algorithm based on an individual's complete Police National Computer record would go some way to rectifying these issues (Valdebenito & Sherman, 2022).

The general view amongst professionals around IOM has become somewhat less favourable over time (Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Probation and Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire Rescue Services, 2020). The lack of consistency and drive for a local approach means that many areas have chosen to focus much of their IOM assets on low-harm, high-volume offenders, as these appear to be the primary recidivists (Ministry of Justice, 2015) which arguably goes against the earlier principles of ensuring high-risk and high-harm offenders are added to the cohort. Conversely, a small number of IOMs have sought to bring focus on those offenders who generate the most harm (Metropolitan Police Service, 2021; London IOM Partnership 2020).

The most recent inspection of the way current IOM models are implemented was a joint undertaking by Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Fire and Rescue Services (HMICFRS) and Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Probation (HMIP) and took place between 2019 and 2020. The findings of this review were highly critical of the current state of IOM and the authors stated, ‘Overall our findings in this 2019 inspection are disappointing. There has been scant development of IOM since 2015. In many areas IOM has lost its way.’

The following table covers some of the key criticisms of this latest report:

Table 1: The Criticisms of the Current IOM Model highlighted by the 2020 Joint Thematic Inspection Conducted by Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Probation and Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire Rescue Services.

| | Criticism |
|----|---|
| 1. | There is currently no national oversight or universal model governing the implementation of IOM. There is also no consistency as to which agencies should support the administering of the IOM process. |
| 2. | The continuous broadening of the scope of IOM has led to the model becoming significantly diluted and unfocused. This has led to IOM now having a much lower profile than at its inception. |

| | |
|----|---|
| 3. | The reasons and supporting rationale for some participants being allocated to the IOM scheme whilst others were not assigned to the programme was often unclear to inspectors. |
| 4. | There is almost no data to measure whether IOM is having any actual effect in achieving its outcomes. This is now further compounded by the fact that some local IOM models have so many components that it has become almost impossible to track 'cause and effect'. |
| 5. | There has been minimal academic research into the methodology or effectiveness of IOM despite the fact it has been in place for many years and costs significant amounts of taxpayers money to both manage and implement. |

One aim of this current piece of research is to help IOM rediscover its way in some areas, especially around the selection of participants by refining the cohort to which the model is applied. In particular the scope will be around identifying and working with those offenders who generate the most violent crime harm and are typically referred to as 'Victim-Offenders'.

1.2 The Victim-Offender Overlap

The overlap between victims of crime and perpetrators of criminality appears to be a consistently recurring theme throughout modern criminological research (Bottoms and Costello, 2011). In this context, this refers to what has been termed as the 'Victim-Offender Overlap', where an individual is known to have been both the perpetrator of an offence and the victim of a separate crime; hence, they appear on both sides of the criminality spectrum.

Despite this acknowledgement of the Victim-Offender phenomenon as an entity there appears to have been little done to utilise this concept in any practical terms or indeed expand upon its general implications in any meaningful way (Lauritsen & Laub, 2007). One theory behind this is that there may be a political reluctance around acknowledging the existence of the overlap as society generally accepts that when a

criminal makes a gain then the victim must also suffer a loss. Thus, when a party or individual wants to be seen to robustly challenge crime then they must by default support the rights of the victim and be tough on those who commit criminality. Therefore, a situation where an individual is both the criminal and victim does not sit well with this general perspective (Neyroud, 2015).

In reality this can be a very dangerous stance as there are situations where people who are highly vulnerable and at extreme risk can find themselves the victims of very serious offences whilst also engaging in relatively minor acts of criminality in order to survive. By ignoring the phenomena of Victim-Offenders there is a risk that we will fail to give those who generate and/or suffer the most harm the focus they deserve. Key examples of these are individuals who find themselves victims of Child Criminal Exploitation (CCE such as county lines) or Child Sexual Exploitation (CSE) (HM Government, 2018); where sometimes the children involved are viewed as wilful participants and criminalised by authority figures when in reality they are victims who need assistance (Oxfordshire Safeguarding Children's Board, 2015; Ansbro, 2014; Jay, 2013). There is also evidence to suggest that the majority of Victim-Offenders who suffer more severe levels of harm are young women, however despite these high levels of harm endured they tend to be the ones more heavily penalised by the Criminal Justice System (Home Office, 2006).

One of the earliest pieces of research to acknowledge the existence of the Victim-Offender Overlap was conducted in the United States, specifically looking at homicide offences recorded in the major US City of Philadelphia in the middle of the twentieth century (Wolfgang, 1958). In this study, researchers were able to identify that many of the victims and offenders linked to these murders already had pre-existing criminal records prior to the main offence taking place.

Following this initial piece of research there was a focus on the existence of Victim-Offenders in relation to homicide offences. However, over time, this focus was significantly widened to include a number of other crime types. This expansion was able to demonstrate that the Victim-Offender overlap existed in the majority of crime types rather than just murder (Singer, 1981; Sampson & Laurtisen, 1990; Laub & Sampson, 1991; Jennings, Reingle & Piquero, 2012).

Since these early studies, the phenomenon has now become widely acknowledged within most criminological circles and researchers have found it can apply to almost all types of criminality, geographical settings and population demographics (Jennings, Reingle & Piquero, 2012). The existence and prevalence of the overlap has been shown to be almost ubiquitous following the findings of a recent systematic review into the phenomenon. Here it was shown that out of 37 studies 84% positively indicated a significant presence of the Victim-Offender relationship, whilst the remaining 16% showed some limited evidence of its existence (Jennings, Reingle & Piquero, 2012).

Although research has moved away from the homicide-centric focus of Wolfgang's early studies subsequent researchers have found that the overlap does tend to be more prevalent in those offences focussed on acts of significant violence or aggression towards other individuals (Gottfredson, 1984). In fact recent research has found that up to 50% of murder victims had a criminal record and as such are generally more likely to have a criminal background than most members of the public (Broidy et al., 2006; Dobrin, 2001).

Further to this whilst most criminologists acknowledge the existence of the phenomenon being present in the majority of crime types there is almost no universal agreement on its cause or the manner in which it operates. It is almost a 'chicken and

egg' style paradox as nobody is able to conclusively agree whether the criminality is caused by having been a victim, or the victimisation is caused by exposure to earlier criminal enterprise or indeed is there some other extraneous factor that affects both (Lauritsen & Laub, 2007).

The actual phrase 'Victim-Offender' can have fairly wide interpretations, and when taken in the broadest sense it can be liberally applied to any individual who has previously been a victim of crime and also engaged in an act of criminality at any point during their life (Reingle, 2014). However, this wide perspective can be too general for application in criminological studies and as such, researchers frequently opt to apply additional criteria to limit its application and ensure efforts are focussed on a specific group.

One area of narrower focus that remains topical due to the current political climate is where juveniles are victimised early in their lives and then progress into acts of criminality as they mature (Falshaw, Browne and Hollin, 1996).

More frequently in research criminologists apply a chronological restriction on when the incidents of offending behaviour and victimisation took place, so for example the two occurrences must have happened within a period of six to twelve months from each other (Bottoms and Costello, 2011).

The causal mechanisms underpinning this phenomenon are yet to be agreed upon with some theorists positing that those who appear in the Victim-Offender population possess some form of distinct characteristics that predispose them to either victimisation or offending. These may either be internal factors specific to this group (such as psychological or physical variances) or some form of environmental

conditions commonly affecting members (Bottoms and Costello, 2011; Van Gelder et al., 2007; Neyroud; 2015; Sullivan, Ousey & Wilcox, 2015).

Another theory around the causal mechanism is that an individual's likelihood of becoming a victim-offender is actually governed by unique social experiences that predispose them to following a certain path. Therefore when a person first becomes linked to criminality (either as a victim or offender) then this event can increase their risk of further criminal contact; with each further contact compounding the developing narrative (Sullivan, Ousey and Wilcox, 2015; Nagin and Paternoster, 2000). This can be seen in terms of those individuals who become engaged on the fringes of some prominent types of criminality (such as gangs), in these incidences an individual may find themselves falling victim to a low level crime such as an assault or battery. The victim then feels the need to retaliate in order to gain a degree of vindication and so targets the original perpetrator with a similar or indeed more serious offence such as Actual Bodily Harm. We now have both parties appearing as Victim-Offenders in a relatively short space of time; this model can continue ad infinitum as the original perpetrator (but subsequent victim) then feels the need to re-target the initial victim at an increased level of intensity and ends up committing a Grievous Bodily Harm offence (Jacobs and Wright, 2006).

There is also the issue in this type of situation that the victims involved are far less likely to contact police due to their own criminal activities and as such, other offenders recognise them as promising targets due to the reduced risks of detection and arrest. Therefore, they are more likely to be targeted (Lauritsen and Laub, 2007).

Some suggest that this approach indicates that someone's likelihood of becoming a Victim-Offender is governed in part by Routine Activity Theory (Cohen and Felson,

1979) as their lifestyle choices end up predisposing them to this outcome (Lauritsen, Laub & Sampson, 1992; Klevens, Dugue and Ramirez, 2002). The suggestion here is that an individual who readily engages in a criminal lifestyle subsequently will have no choice but to engage with and move within the proximity of other criminals. This additional closeness to those who are engaged in offending behaviours then significantly increases their own risk of becoming a victim of their fellow offenders (Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990). Other lifestyle activities undertaken by individuals can also greatly increase their chances of becoming a victim including excessive alcohol consumption, recreational narcotics use and visiting licensed premises (Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990).

An alternative perspective to that of Routine Activity Theory underpinning the causes of the overlap is that an individual's ability (or inability) to exercise self-control may predispose them to becoming a Victim-Offender (Neyroud, 2015; Schreck, 1999; Jennings, Reingle & Piquero, 2012). The principle theory around self-control is that individuals who are lacking in this trait generally tend to ignore the long-term implication of their actions and as such are far more likely to wilfully engage in acts of overt criminality (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990). When this is further expanded to Victim-Offenders this same trait implies these individuals will also be far less likely to seek to adequately protect themselves from the criminal attentions of others (Schreck, 1999). This theory is also supported by a number of studies that do support the notion that those individuals who are lacking in self-control are more likely to engage in offending behaviours and/or be at increased likelihood of victimisation (Piquero et al., 2005; Turanovic and Pratt, 2013; Holfreter et al., 2010).

It has also been suggested that the key cultural or sub-cultural traits prevalent in an individual's background and upbringing may also affect their propensity to become a

Victim-Offender. For example if a person comes from a culture where it is normal or indeed encouraged for victims to retaliate against offenders in order to seek some form of redress then it follows that should this individual be victimised then they will shortly embark on a course of action that sees them perpetrating a follow up offence. This second offence, although carried out in the name of vindication; will see the victim transitioning into a Victim-Offender (Berg et al., 2012; Jacobs and Wright, 2006).

It has also been posited that the application of Situational Action Theory (SAT) could go some way to explaining the Victim-Offender phenomenon as this model gives due consideration to both environmental and personal factors whilst also acknowledging developments in a person's criminality and victimisation patterns as they develop (Neyroud, 2015). The basis of Situational Action Theory is that an individual's offending is caused by an offender's general propensity to engage in acts of criminality coupled with an exposure to criminogenic situations and opportunities (Wikstrom et al, 2012). Similarly, the Situational Action Theory model can also be applied to victims of crime as an individual's personal vulnerabilities when combined with exposure to criminal situations can increase or decrease the likelihood of victimisation accordingly. Therefore, Neyroud suggests that in relation to Victim-Offenders, this overlap exists due to a combination of an individual's propensity to commit crime and their vulnerability to victimisation coupled with exposure to criminal settings (Neyroud, 2015).

It is probable that no theory on its own can explain the causes of the Victim-Offender phenomenon and it is likely that the factors underpinning the causal mechanism are a blend of the societal, historical and individual circumstances/traits discussed above.

When looking at Victim-Offenders as a general cohort it is apparent there is no fixed 'standardised' view of an individual within this population, instead it is more akin to a fluid or graduated scale of membership. On this scale, we can see that some of the population are more prone to being victims whilst others show a prevalence to being primarily offenders (Van Gelder et al, 2014; Briody et al, 2006). Research indicates that individuals on this scale show a preponderance to be victims or offenders of certain crime types as opposed to being generalists (Cuevas et al., 2007).

A recent study has also shown that the key indicator for whether a Victim-Offender would subsequently become a victim of more serious offences is actually, whether they themselves continue to offend. Therefore, if these individuals are placed on an effective offender treatment programme (such as IOM) then the risk to themselves also decreases significantly (McKillop et al., 2017).

Additionally an individual's status as a Victim-Offender would be a valid criteria for inclusion on the IOM scheme as recent research from students on the University of Cambridge's Police Executive Programme have identified that when compared to the general criminal populace these individuals are responsible for generating significantly more harm (Sandall et al, 2018; Hiltz et al, 2020). Though interestingly these studies also show that on average Victim-Offenders are actually likely to suffer proportionately more harm than they inflict. In these two pieces of research the harm caused is measured on the Cambridge Crime Harm Index (CCHI) which will be looked at in further detail later (Sherman et al., 2016; Sherman, 2020).

1.3 Literature Review – Conclusions

Both the academic research and government documents suggest that a structured, multi-agency approach to Integrated Offender Management is likely to give offenders the best chance of success in being supported to desist from a life of criminality. However due to the considerable differences around local implementations of this model across the UK it is hard to accurately measure how effective this is.

The key area of concern as highlighted in the latest HMICFRS Report is how individual offenders are selected for participation on the IOM scheme, with some localities choosing to prioritise repeat offenders of low-level volume crime over more serious offences whilst others are attempting to focus on the level of harm offenders generate.

Research has shown that not only is the Victim-Offender overlap a real phenomenon but that it is prevalent in most crime types, especially those such as personal violence and murder where there are high levels of harm generated. Further studies also indicate that individuals who fall into the Victim-Offender classification tend to generate more harm than pure victims or offenders do.

This piece of research will seek to combine these two fields of study and identify whether using a version of the Victim-Offender model would create a more effective set of criteria for selecting those offenders who are enrolled into the current Integrated Offender Management Framework.

Chapter Two: Method and Analysis

This chapter will look at the current system by which offenders are selected for inclusion on the IOM programme with a specific focus on those offenders who are being managed by the SOUTH AREA BCU IOM team, as these are one of the two cohorts being reviewed. At the time of writing, the Metropolitan Police Service is transitioning between two different models for selection so both of these will be considered.

The chapter will also look at how Victim-Offenders have been defined and selected for the purposes of this study and how these selection criteria could affect the results. Reference will also be made to the Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA), which is another form of offender management to ascertain whether any of the Victim-Offender Cohort are part of that scheme.

Finally, the chapter will consider the data cleansing process and any potential issues with the datasets.

The data used throughout this study has been drawn from a number of Metropolitan Police Databases including the following:

- The CRIS Crime Recording System
- SOUTH AREA IOM offender recording list
- Violent and Sex Offender Register (VISOR) Database

2.1 Current Criteria for IOM Selection

Having reviewed the current literature and documents around the method in which offenders are selected for inclusion on the current Integrated Offender Management

programme it is apparent there is not a consistent approach within the force let alone at a National Level.

At the time of this research being undertaken the SOUTH AREA BCU IOM team (and wider MPS) were in a transitional period in terms of selection criteria moving from a model that had been in place since 2012 to a newer system.

The original system was primarily based around an offender's score on the Offender Group Reconviction Scale (OGRS) which is an actuarial tool designed by the Ministry of Justice. The tool uses a series of predominantly static factors such as age, gender and number of convictions to predict the likeliness of an offender re-offending within the next twelve to twenty-four months. Therefore the model tends to highlight individuals who generate the most offences in a given area, but not the most serious or harmful crimes.

The replacement model that was in the process of being introduced acknowledged that its predecessor was too heavily weighted towards minor, repeat offences and thus was aimed at trying to include offenders with a greater preponderance towards the commission of violent crimes. As such, this new model would utilise a merged approach for selecting eligible IOM candidates that would still feature an individual's OGRS score, but supplemented with an additional score from the OASys Violence Predictor (OVP).

The OVP is another actuarial tool that calculates the likeliness of an offender committing any additional violence offences within twelve to twenty-four months. In this context, the word 'violence' has a wide application and includes relatively low-level offences such as criminal damage through to the most serious offence of murder.

In both models the list generated using these scores is brought before a multi-agency panel who then decide between them which offenders will be assigned to the IOM scheme and which will not. Whilst there is guidance in place, it should be noted that in both models these panels have extensive discretion to include or exclude individual candidates from inclusion on the IOM. This system has been designed to allow local panels to assign resources based on localised issues/trends; however, this approach does also lead to inconsistency across the 32 London Boroughs that the MPS serves.

Whilst the make-up of these panels is not mandated they must include representatives from the police, probation service and local authority community staff, and may include a number of others such as prison resettlement staff, mental health service providers, substance misuse service managers and housing agencies.

Whilst the newer model readily acknowledges that more harmful offences (especially those that contain an element of violence) need to be tackled and where possible prevented by the IOM system it still does not use any form of specific Crime Harm measurement (such as the CCHI) in order to select eligible offenders.

Having also reviewed the existing literature in relation to Victim-Offenders and how much harm they generate compared to general offenders (specifically in relation to offences containing elements of personal violence) it appears that there is an opportunity here to utilise this information to better target finite IOM resources. There has been limited effort to use this data around Victim-Offenders in an operational format previously so this research would be one of the first times where these relevant and important findings could be shown to have direct application in a law enforcement context.

2.2 Datasets Used

This study primarily utilised three datasets collected from the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) and was accessed and utilised with the authorisation of the Force lead for tackling violent crime within the capital. The primary data set used was drawn from the MPS's Crime Recording System, known as CRIS.

The second dataset was the combined SOUTH AREA Integrated Offender Management documents covering the London boroughs of Croydon, Bromley and Sutton; these documents were held and managed by the IOM portfolio lead for that area.

The final dataset was the VISOR system that is utilised to track serious sexual and violent offenders, including those subject to MAPPA arrangements.

2.3 Sample Selection and Eligibility Criteria – Victim Offender Cohort

The Victim Offender sample consist of 115 individuals who met the following criteria:

- 1) Had either been charged with or cautioned for a Violence With Injury (VWI) offence between 01 January 2018 and 01 September 2021.
- 2) Had also been a victim of a VWI offence between 01 January 2018 and 01 September 2021.
- 3) At least one of the above offences must have occurred within the SOUTH AREA BCU footprint.

The decision was made to limit Victim-Offenders to VWI offences as the reduction of violence within the MPS area is a key priority for the force and the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC). This was especially relevant given that in 2021 the

capital suffered from 30 teenage street murders, the highest amount ever recorded within the City.

Further to this, the latest Metropolitan Police internal IOM governance document (Metropolitan Police Service, 2021) specifically states that organisationally there will be a move to recalibrate the focus of IOM onto those individuals who are engaged in violent offences. Therefore, the selection of Victim-Offenders engaged in these types of criminality better facilitates any subsequent practical application of the data.

For the purposes of this study, VWI included the following offences:

- Murder
- Attempted Murder
- Grievous Bodily Harm (GBH) /Wounding with Intent
- GBH/Wounding
- Actual Bodily Harm (ABH)

The need for one of the offences, whether as a victim or perpetrator, to occur within the SOUTH AREA BCU footprint was put in place in order to ensure the generation of a locally relevant list of VOs to focus on.

In terms of the timeframe, the decision was taken to focus on individuals' Victim-Offender status over the preceding three and a half years. It was felt that this period would provide sufficient time to establish their offending/victimisation history but would not be so long that it would overly expand the size of the cohort by including offences that no longer reflected the lives of eligible population members.

Whilst the earlier literature review highlights that many recent studies look to focus on a twelve-month victimisation/offending pattern of their population members it was felt

that this criteria would overly restrict cohort eligibility and thereby reduce the dataset to a quantity where it was less usable in terms of practical application.

2.4 Victim Offenders and MAPPA

Once the full list of eligible Victim-Offenders had been generated using the above criteria, the list of names and their PNC Identification numbers were then passed to SOUTH AREA JIGSAW Team who manage any individuals within the SOUTH AREA BCU who are subject to Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA).

MAPPA is essentially another form of offender management programme that was initially established to manage serious sexual offenders but has since been extended to a number of other dangerous offenders including some cases of violence as outlined in Schedule 15, Criminal Justice Act 2003.

Individuals potentially subject to MAPPA will be added to the VISOR computer systems and risk-assessed to see if they will receive any additional engagement.

These offenders are broken into three categories:

- Category One – Sexual Offenders (Sexual Offences Act 2003)
- Category Two – Violent Offenders (Sch 15, Criminal Justice Act 2003)
- Category Three – Other offences

By its nature, MAPPA is designed to focus its efforts on the most dangerous offenders within an area and uses a four-pillar system to manage those subject to its coverage.

These are:

- Supervision
- Monitoring and Control

- Interventions and Treatment
- Victim Safety Planning

However like IOM there has been much criticism levelled against MAPPA predominantly around the lack of consistency around its application and effectiveness nationally (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation, 2011).

Being included on the SOUTH AREA MAPPA framework would not remove a Victim-Offender from this research's dataset, but would be useful in identifying whether these individuals were receiving any form of management or intervention outside of the IOM scheme that is the focus of this study. Interestingly only four people on a list of over 100 were currently under MAPPA.

Due to the nature and sensitivity of ViSOR data, the SOUTH AREA JIGSAW Inspector personally reviewed the list of names and provided the responses around whether or not individuals were being tracked by MAPPA. These results were tabulated into an Excel spreadsheet.

2.5 Sample Selection and Eligibility Criteria – Integrated Offender Management Cohort

The current SOUTH AREA BCU IOM Cohort consists of 134 individuals. As this is, a standing dataset the only requirement for inclusion was that the individuals were currently a member of one of the IOM programmes currently being run within the London Boroughs of Croydon, Bromley or Sutton and were being managed by the Metropolitan Police's SOUTH AREA Integrated Offender Management Team at the time of the study. This data was drawn from SOUTH AREA BCU IOM supervisor's

offender management sheets, which are kept on a restricted database for security reasons.

2.6 Three and a Half Year Offending History

Once the two cohorts had been finalised and established their members were then processed through the MPS Crime Recording system (CRIS) to see how many offences each individual had been cautioned or charged with between 1st January 2018 and 1st September 2021. To minimise the chance of data being missed (due to poor data recording standards amongst frontline officers and investigators) each cohort member was processed using a combination of the following four details:

- Forename
- Surname
- Date of birth
- Police National Computer (PNC) identification number.

Using these multiple criteria when searching the crime records significantly reduced the chance of missing any crimes associated to an individual due to any instances of incorrect initial data entry (such as misspelling of names).

The three and a half year period was selected as it provided a sufficient length of time to reflect recent offending history without including crimes that may no longer be indicative or relevant to the individual's criminal propensity.

In relation to the Victim-Offender cohort, this amounted to a total of 587 individual offences whilst the IOM cohort generated a total of 947 offences committed within the specified timeframe.

This data was then manually cleansed and entered into a bespoke database created on Excel that enabled researchers to align each individual offender with the total list of offences that they had been cautioned or charged with over the preceding three and a half years.

2.7 Categorising Offences for both Cohorts

Individuals offences were then categorised into seven main strands of criminality based on a modified version of Home Office Crime Recording standards to enable researchers to ascertain what types of offending each subject was principally engaged in the commission of. The seven strands were as follows:

- **Violent Crime:** This strand included all offences that come under the wider violence bracket such as VWI (GBH, ABH, etc.) and violence without injury (Common Assault, Stalking, etc.)
- **Acquisitive Crime:** This included all crimes with an element of dishonesty such as Theft, Burglary and Robbery.
- **Drug Related Crime:** Any offences linked to possession or distribution of prohibited substances.
- **Sexual Offences:** All offences with a sexual element.
- **Public Order:** All variations of offences derived from public order legislation, in particular the Public Order Act 1986.
- **Property Offences:** Any offences involving damage or attempted damage to property, most commonly Criminal Damage and Arson.

- **Miscellaneous Offences:** Any remaining offences that did not fit into any of the above category, the majority of these were serious traffic offences (i.e. Dangerous Driving).

With this data broken down for both cohorts it was then possible to easily identify what the propensity was for each individual to engage in certain types of criminality and provide a wider thematic view of the crime patterns within the two distinct groups.

Some recidivist offenders were notable in that their offending history in some instances crossed into multiple crime types. Where this was the case then their associated data was arranged so that an individual's primary, secondary, tertiary (and so on) offending types were listed in hierarchal order based on the total number of offences for each category.

2.8 Applying the Cambridge Crime Harm Index (CCHI) to Both Cohorts

Once each cohort had been fully tabulated to display offenders with their linked offences each crime was then manually overlaid with its corresponding Crime Harm value as codified in the latest version of the CCHI.

The CCHI is a tool that has been developed by the Cambridge Institute of Criminology and acknowledges that in the words of Professor Larry Sherman 'not all crimes are created equal'. The rationale behind this concept is that different crimes generate varying levels of harm; therefore, simply arbitrarily counting total numbers of offences is unlikely to give any sort of accurate depiction of their overall effects on victims and indeed wider society (Sherman et al., 2016).

The CCHI assigns each individual offence a numerical score based upon the initial number of days in custody a previously un-convicted offender could be sentenced to

using the 'starting point' sentencing guidance. This means that more serious and harmful offences will have a significantly higher crime harm score compared to lesser 'volume' crimes.

Use of the CCHI provided researchers with a value for the combined harm each individual offender had generated in the preceding 3.5 years; how much crime harm each cohort had generated in total and how this could be apportioned to specific crime types within that cohort.

With this Crime Harm data in place, it was possible to rank members of each cohort in terms of the amount of harm they generated in comparison to the total amount of harm. This allowed researchers to identify are Power Few of Highest Harm Offenders who generated the greatest level of harm. In this case the top 10% of offenders in each cohort were shown to be the highest harm group as in both cases they generated around 50% overall Crime Harm recorded.

2.9 Comparing the Two Cohorts

Once the data was finalised around the total number of offences, the prevalent crime types and total crime harm generated by both the IOM and VO offender cohorts, and these had been tabulated into consistent and identically formatted spreadsheets then researchers compared the two sets of data to look for any themes and opportunities.

2.10 Data Issues; Errors and Cleansing

The primary source of data utilised throughout this piece of research was the Metropolitan Police's Crime Recording System, which is abbreviated to CRIS. The system itself is over twenty years old and whilst still serviceable for its core purpose of recording crimes within the capital it does have a number of issues that adversely affect the quality of data it holds.

Firstly, in regards to the data that is inputted there is no quality assurance in place to prevent officers or staff inadvertently entering erroneous details onto the system. A key example here would be instances where officers inadvertently misspelt a suspect or victim's name at the point of initially recording a crime onto the system. Even if this case progressed from the point of initial recording, through a complete investigation under multiple Officers-in-Case (OICs) and subsequently resulted in a charge from the Crown Prosecution Service at no point would the initial recording error be identified and rectified, and as such, this mistake would remain on the system indefinitely. Whilst there is a system in place for sergeants and inspectors to review and supervise cases there is no need for them to ever refer to the subject's details screen and they will predominantly focus on what is called the DETS screen where the wider narrative of both the offence and subsequent investigation is recorded in prose form.

Another flaw in the CRIS platform is that there are only a few mandatory boxes that must be filled out before an officer can progress with completing their crime report. Therefore it is possible for an officer who is in a rush (or less-than-diligent) to simply skip entering key information in order to finalise the document as swiftly as possible. This issue is further compounded by the fact there is no onus on the officer or subsequent secondary investigators to return to the crime report and enter the missing data that was omitted at the point of initial recording. The net effect of this is that there

are many crime reports in existence on the MPS CRIS system that are missing key pieces of information.

When taken in tandem these two issues mean that where data searches are run on a suspect or victim using just one criteria (such as surname or date of birth) there is a distinct possibility that some crime records will be omitted due to data inaccuracies or gaps on the system.

Some forces mitigate this problem by having a dedicated crime recording or quality assurance team in place to ensure that every record logged onto the system is as accurate as possible and contains all the pertinent details correctly recorded. However currently the MPS does not have such a function and instead relies on the diligence and professionalism of primary investigators to ensure data recording compliance.

Similar issues also affect the quality of information held by the SOUTH AREA BCU IOM Team within their secure databases to list current IOM cohort members and any data inaccuracies here would create issues when trying to cross-reference the previous offending data of individuals held on CRIS. This is however somewhat mitigated by the fact that this data is overseen by a dedicated team under an experienced sergeant and contains only 135 offenders, which is a manageable amount of records for the team to quality assure.

As previously outlined in this research the analysts were able to mitigate the above data issues as far as possible by using multiple search variables when compiling each cohort's previous criminal history lists. However, it would be unrealistic to think that some data was not missed during this process.

It must also be acknowledged that when constructing the Victim-Offender Cohort, this was not a perfect model and there will be some discrepancies, which are outlined as follows.

Firstly, there are a number of geographical issues that need to be understood, as these will contribute to the absence of certain data within the wider datasets. As previously discussed for an individual to be included within the study's Victim-Offender Cohort they must have been charged or cautioned with a VWI offence and have been a victim of a VWI offence within the last 3.5 years. Both these offences must have occurred within the MPS and at least one must have occurred within the SOUTH AREA BCU.

The SOUTH AREA BCU consists of the London Boroughs of Croydon, Bromley and Sutton and as such, it borders the force areas of both Surrey Police and Kent Police. In fact, it shares almost fifty percent of its total border length with these two external forces. Unlike the police service, criminals tend not to adhere to the concept of force areas and territorial jurisdiction when it comes to engaging in acts of criminality and the commission of criminal offences. Thus, it is highly probable that many offenders who live or operate within the SOUTH AREA BCU footprint are engaged in some form of cross-border offending within these two neighbouring counties.

Unfortunately, the CRIS system is unique to the Metropolitan Police and is only capable of recording and storing crime reports generated within the Force's 12 Basic Command Units. Additionally CRIS is a standalone system that does not share information with other databases. Likewise, both Kent Police and Surrey Police have their own unique Crime Recording systems for logging and storing offences that take place within their geographical footprint.

This causes a key issue in that some Victim-Offenders will have been missed from the study if either a VWI offence they committed or were a victim of occurred in the geographical footprint of one of these neighbouring forces.

This issue will also affect both cohorts if any of their members have committed cross-border offences within the last three and a half years (which seems likely). This would mean that any offences committed outside the MPS would be missed from their listing in the data, thereby artificially reducing their related crime harm and total offence figures.

It should also be noted that the SOUTH AREA BCU has an extensive number of mainline transport hubs within its borders, many of which run directly into rail stations within the City of London. This compounds the issue as any offences which have occurred on railway property would be dealt with by British Transport Police and any offences committed by SOUTH AREA BCU offenders in the City of London would be investigated by the City of London Police.

Once again, both of these forces have their own bespoke Crime Recording systems which do not communicate with CRIS, therefore data around any offences stored here would not have been included within this study.

Future researchers who may wish to replicate this study on a grander scale may want to consider utilising a system where the Crime Records of neighbouring or partner forces can also be included in order to ensure that both the selection of Victim-Offenders and criminal history of all cohort members is as accurate and complete as possible.

Chapter Three: Results and Findings

This chapter will present the results and findings that the refined data has provided in terms of total offences and crime harm generated by each cohort.

This will then be used to identify the prevalent crime types that are being committed by cohort members and conversely which offence types are generating the different levels of crime harm amongst the various groups. Consideration will also be given to what percentage of the wider cohorts create the 'power few' that are responsible for generating the majority of the overall crime harm.

Each cohort's offending patterns will be considered in the following groups:

- **Group 1:** The whole cohort (IOM: n135 v VO: n115)
- **Group 2:** The top 50 most harmful group members (based on CCHI score)
- **Group 3:** The top 25 most harmful group members (based on CCHI score)
- **Group 4:** the top 10 most harmful group members (based on CCHI score)

The four groups within each of the two cohorts will then be compared in order to identify any potential themes, patterns or opportunities for development that the data highlights. These will then be used to form the basis of the discussion points in the next chapter.

3.1 Integrated Offender Management Cohort

3.1.1 Full IOM Cohort

The IOM Cohort for SOUTH AREA BCU consisted of 135 individuals who were currently being managed by the Bromley, Sutton and Croydon Integrated Offender Management Team.

Over the 3.5 years of time this study focussed on these individuals were charged with or received a caution for a total of 947 separate offences and generated a combined crime harm score of 102089.50 using the CCHI.

The detailed data breakdown of this cohort is as follows:

Table 2: Detailed breakdown of data relating to offences and crime harm generated by the full SOUTH AREA IOM cohort between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 2021

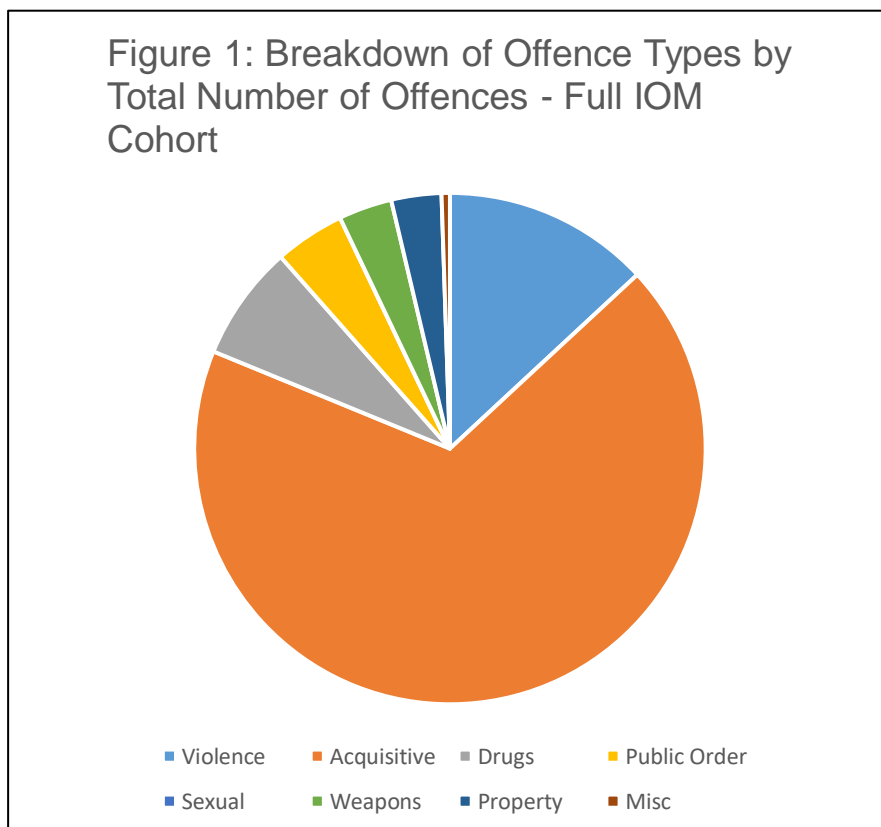
| Total Offences | Total Crime Harm | Total Peak Offence Harm | Average Offences per Individual | Average Crime Harm per Individual | Average Peak Offence Crime Harm per Individual | Percentage of Total Cohort Offences | Percentage of Total Cohort Crime Harm |
|----------------|------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 947 | 102089.5 | 60919 | 7.01 | 756.21 | 451.25 | 100% | 100% |

When looking at the prevalence of the various crime types engaged in by this cohort then the breakdown is as follows:

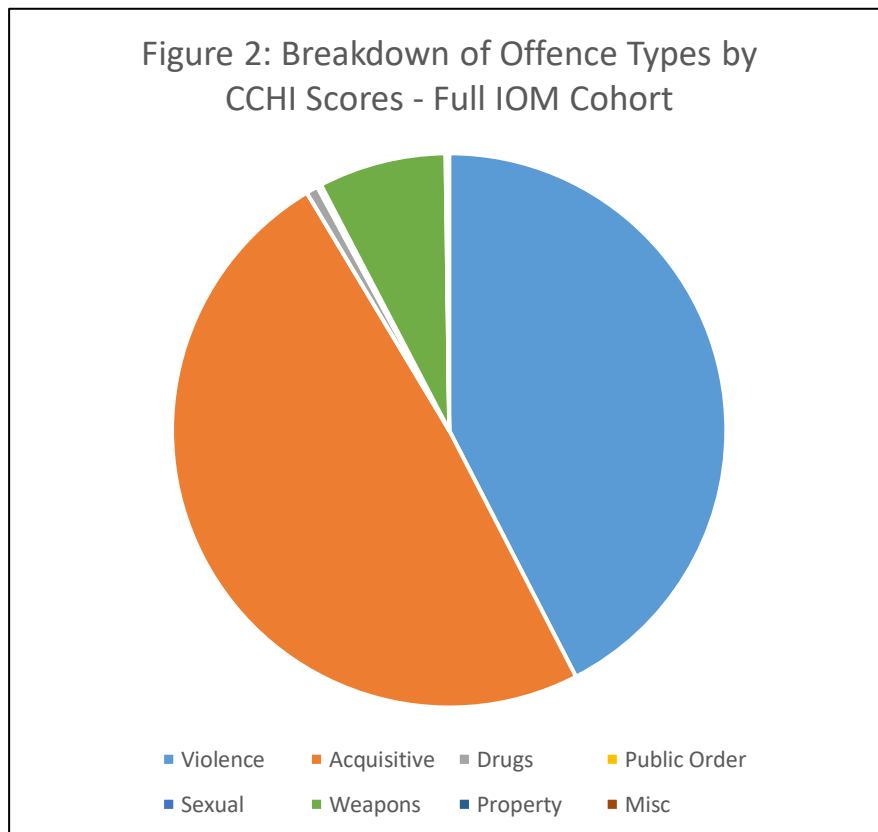
Table 3: Breakdown of Total SOUTH AREA IOM Cohort Offences by Crime Type between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 21

| | Violence | Acquisitive | Drugs | Public Order | Sexual | Weapons | Property | Misc |
|-------------------------|----------|-------------|-------|--------------|--------|---------|----------|-------|
| No of Offences | 124 | 645 | 69 | 42 | 0 | 32 | 30 | 5 |
| % of Offences | 13.09% | 68.11% | 7.29% | 4.43% | 0% | 3.37% | 3.18% | 0.53% |
| Crime Harm Score | 43321.5 | 49996.0 | 706.5 | 248.0 | 0.0 | 7599.5 | 42.0 | 176.0 |
| % of Crime Harm | 42.43% | 48.97% | 0.69% | 0.24% | 0% | 7.44% | 0.04% | 0.17% |

This data demonstrates that those offenders who are currently members of the SOUTH AREA IOM programme predominantly appear to be engaged in acquisitive crime types which makes up for over two-thirds of the total offences committed by this cohort.



Further to this, the majority of the crime harm that is generated by this cohort is linked to acquisitive offences, with over 48% of the total figure coming from theft related crimes. This is a significant figure given that the majority of acquisitive offences tend to draw considerably smaller sentences (and thus CCHI scores) compared to violence or sexual offences.



The data indicates that individuals within this cohort are predominantly engaging in prolific, persistent and repeated acts of acquisitive crime over the 3.5 years this study covers.

In fact the individual offenders who generated the third, fourth and sixth highest levels of crime harm within the cohort had actually committed no other offence type

than acquisitive crime. These individuals had been charged with committing 44; 11 and 13 separate acquisitive crimes respectively over the previous 3.5 years.

It is of note that the IOM cohort did still contain a significant number of individuals who were engaged in the commission of varying degrees of violent crime and this was the second most encountered crime type accounting for 13.09% of offences and 42.43% of crime harm generated.

The disproportionate ratio of the smaller total amount of violent crimes committed compared to the high levels of crime harm they generated is explained by the fact that in general violence offences are more harmful and as such draw higher sentences which in turn will increase their CCHI score.

This is demonstrated by the fact that the most harmful individual within this cohort had only been charged or cautioned with three offences over the last 3.5 years, but as one of these was murder (which draws the highest crime harm score possible); it therefore drove their CCHI score up exponentially. Indeed the second most harmful individual within the cohort had only been charged with one offence, but again as this was murder it pushed him to the top of the table in terms of overall crime harm score.

Out of 135 cohort members only 6 (4%) of the offenders were female, with the other 129 (96%) being listed as male. Within this cohort, 72 members were white with 63 recorded as non-white, meaning that there was 53% to 47% ratio.

When the current IOM Cohort is taken as a whole, it is apparent that the limited resources and personnel of the SOUTH AREA IOM Team are being predominantly focussed on tackling offenders whose majority of offences and crime harm is linked to repeat acquisitive offences, which does not tie into the corporate model or priority to refocus on violence offences.

3.1.2 SOUTH AREA IOM Cohort – Top 50 Most Harmful Offenders (based on CCHI score)

The top 50 most harmful IOM cohort members within SOUTH AREA BCU were charged or cautioned with a total of 451 offences over the preceding 3.5 years and generated a combined crime harm score of 93870.50.

The detailed breakdown of these individuals' data is as follows:

Table 4: Detailed breakdown of data relating to offences and crime harm generated by the Top 50 most harmful individuals within SOUTH AREA IOM cohort between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 2021

| Total Offences | Total Crime Harm | Total Peak Offence Harm | Average Offences per Individual | Average Crime Harm per Individual | Average Peak Offence Crime Harm per Individual | Percentage of Total Cohort Offences | Percentage of Total Cohort Crime Harm |
|----------------|------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 451 | 93870.50 | 55134 | 9.02 | 1877.41 | 1102.68 | 47.62% | 91.94% |

This table shows that if we consider only the top 50 most harmful individuals within the IOM cohort they account for nearly half all offences committed but more interestingly, they are responsible for 92% of all crime harm generated by those subject to IOM.

Individuals within this top 50 committed on average two more crimes over this period than the general population of the IOM cohort (7.01 increases to 9.02 crimes per person). However their average crime harm generated increases exponentially from 451.25 in the wider population to 1102.68 for the top 50 most harmful. Thus on average their overall harmfulness has increased by 144% from the general IOM population.

When looking at the data for the top 50 most harmful members of the IOM cohort it remains apparent that a significant amount of valuable resources even within this

narrow group remains focussed on tackling a large number of individuals engaged in high-quantity, low-harm acquisitive crimes. This is followed by a secondary focus on a significantly smaller number of violence offences that are generating only marginally less overall crime harm.

Table 5: Breakdown of Top 50 Most Harmful SOUTH AREA IOM Cohort Members Offences by Crime Type between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 21

| | Violence | Acquisitive | Drugs | Public Order | Sexual | Weapons | Property | Misc |
|-------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|--------------|--------|---------|----------|--------|
| No of Offences | 64.00 | 310.00 | 28.00 | 14.00 | 0.00 | 19.00 | 14.00 | 2.00 |
| % of Offences | 14.19% | 68.74% | 6.21% | 3.10% | 0% | 4.21% | 3.10% | 0.44% |
| Crime Harm Score | 41713.50 | 43760.00 | 608.50 | 88.00 | 0.00 | 7534.50 | 20.00 | 146.00 |
| % of Crime Harm | 44.5% | 46.62% | 0.65% | 0.09% | 0% | 8.03% | 0.02% | 0.16% |

When looking at the top 50 most harmful members of the IOM Cohort's offences by crime type it is apparent that acquisitive crimes remain the most dominant both in terms of number of individual offences committed and the total crime harm generated. Once again, violence offences are the second most dominant crime type accounting for nearly 45% of all Crime Harm but only 14% of total offences. Weapons, Property, Public Order and Drug Offences sit between 3-6% each of the total offences, though Weapon offences cause significantly more crime harm than the other outliers at 8% of the total CCHI score.

Within the top 50 there were five female offenders meaning that they counted for 10% of the cohort numbers. In this group 23 (46%) of the offenders were white with 27 (54%) non-white.

3.1.3 SOUTH AREA IOM Cohort – Top 25 Most Harmful Offenders (based on CCHI score)

The top 25 most harmful individuals within the SOUTH AREA BCU IOM Cohort were charged or cautioned with 197 individual offences and generated a total crime harm score of 72644.50 over the preceding 3.5 years. The detailed breakdown of this is as follows:

Table 6: Detailed breakdown of data relating to offences and crime harm generated by the Top 25 most harmful individuals within SOUTH AREA IOM cohort between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 2021

| Total Offences | Total Crime Harm | Total Peak Offence Harm | Average Offences per Individual | Average Crime Harm per Individual | Average Peak Offence Crime Harm per Individual | Percentage of Total Cohort Offences | Percentage of Total Cohort Crime Harm |
|----------------|------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 197 | 72644.50 | 42340.0 | 7.88 | 2905.78 | 1693.6 | 20.80% | 71.58% |

Once again, the increasingly narrow focus on a smaller number of more harmful offenders within the IOM cohort shows us that by further streamlining our resources to focus on the top 25 most harmful individuals we would still be able to address 71.58% of the total crime harm generated. It would be far easier for a small IOM team to provide a bespoke and holistic focus on a small group of 25 individuals than it would be for them to do the same for a group of 135 or even 50 offenders.

Individuals within the top 25 most harmful committed an average of 7.88 offences within the timeframe of the study's data, which is on par with the general population and slightly lower than the top 50.

However, in terms of overall crime harm this group generated an average score of 1693.6 on the CCCHI. This is a 53.59% increase from the top 50 most harmful group and a 275.31% increase from the overall IOM Cohort.

Table 7: Breakdown of Top 25 Most Harmful SOUTH AREA IOM Cohort Members Offences by Crime Type between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 21

| | Violence | Acquisitive | Drugs | Public Order | Sexual | Weapons | Property | Misc |
|-------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|--------------|--------|---------|----------|--------|
| No of Offences | 34.00 | 125.00 | 15.00 | 6.00 | 0.00 | 11.00 | 5.00 | 1.00 |
| % of Offences | 17.26% | 63.45% | 7.61% | 3.04% | 0.0% | 5.58% | 2.54% | 0.51% |
| Crime Harm Score | 36945.00 | 27603.00 | 577.50 | 47.00 | 0.00 | 7327.00 | 9.00 | 136.00 |
| % of Crime Harm | 50.85% | 38.00% | 0.79% | 0.06% | 0.0% | 10.09% | 0.01% | 0.19% |

Amongst the top 25 most harmful members of the IOM Cohort, acquisitive offences remain the most prevalent form of criminality in terms of total crime numbers accounting for around 64% of all crimes charged or cautioned during the specified timeframe. However, in terms of total crime harm generated violent offences are now the most harmful crime type accounting for over 50% using the CCHI scoring matrix. Acquisitive crime drops into second place in terms of crime harm and now only accounts for 38%, a significant drop from the 48% it was generating in the top 50.

Weapon offences continue to gradually increase in the amount of overall crime harm that they generate, moving up to a little over 10% of the total CCHI score for the group.

The top 25 most harmful IOM group contains only two female offenders, whilst the ratio of white to non-white members is 9 (36%) to 16 (64%). Meaning that as the scope is narrowed to focus on the most harmful individuals within the cohort we are seeing a greater percentage of non-white members.

3.1.4 SOUTH AREA IOM Cohort – Top 10 Most Harmful Offenders (based on CCHI score)

The top 10 most harmful individuals within the SOUTH AREA BCU IOM Cohort were charged or cautioned with 95 individual offences and generated a total of 47297 crime harm score over the preceding 3.5 years. The detailed breakdown of this is as follows:

Table 8: Detailed breakdown of data relating to offences and crime harm generated by the Top 10 most harmful individuals within SOUTH AREA IOM cohort between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 2021

| Total Offences | Total Crime Harm | Total Peak Offence Harm | Average Offences per Individual | Average Crime Harm per Individual | Average Peak Offence Crime Harm per Individual | Percentage of Total Cohort Offences | Percentage of Total Cohort Crime Harm |
|----------------|------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 95 | 47297.00 | 17923.00 | 9.5 | 4729.70 | 1792.30 | 10.03% | 46.33% |

The table above and following graph both show that within the IOM Cohort the top 10% most harmful individuals are the ‘Power Few’ as whilst they only account for 10% of the total crimes committed they generate nearly half of all the crime harm. Again, in practical terms, focusing the limited available resources available to an IOM team on these individuals would enable a more bespoke, targeted service whilst still tackling 46% of the cohort’s overall crime harm.

In terms of offences, members of this group on average committed 9.5 offences in the preceding 3 years, which is higher than all other groups. There was also once again a significant jump in the amount of crime harm each group member generated with the average being 4726.70 per person. This is an increase of 62.77% on the top 25 most harmful group and 947.47% on the general IOM cohort population.

Figure 3: A graph showing the 'Pareto Curve' in relation to the number of Offences and Total Crime Harm generated by members of the SOUTH AREA IOM Cohort.

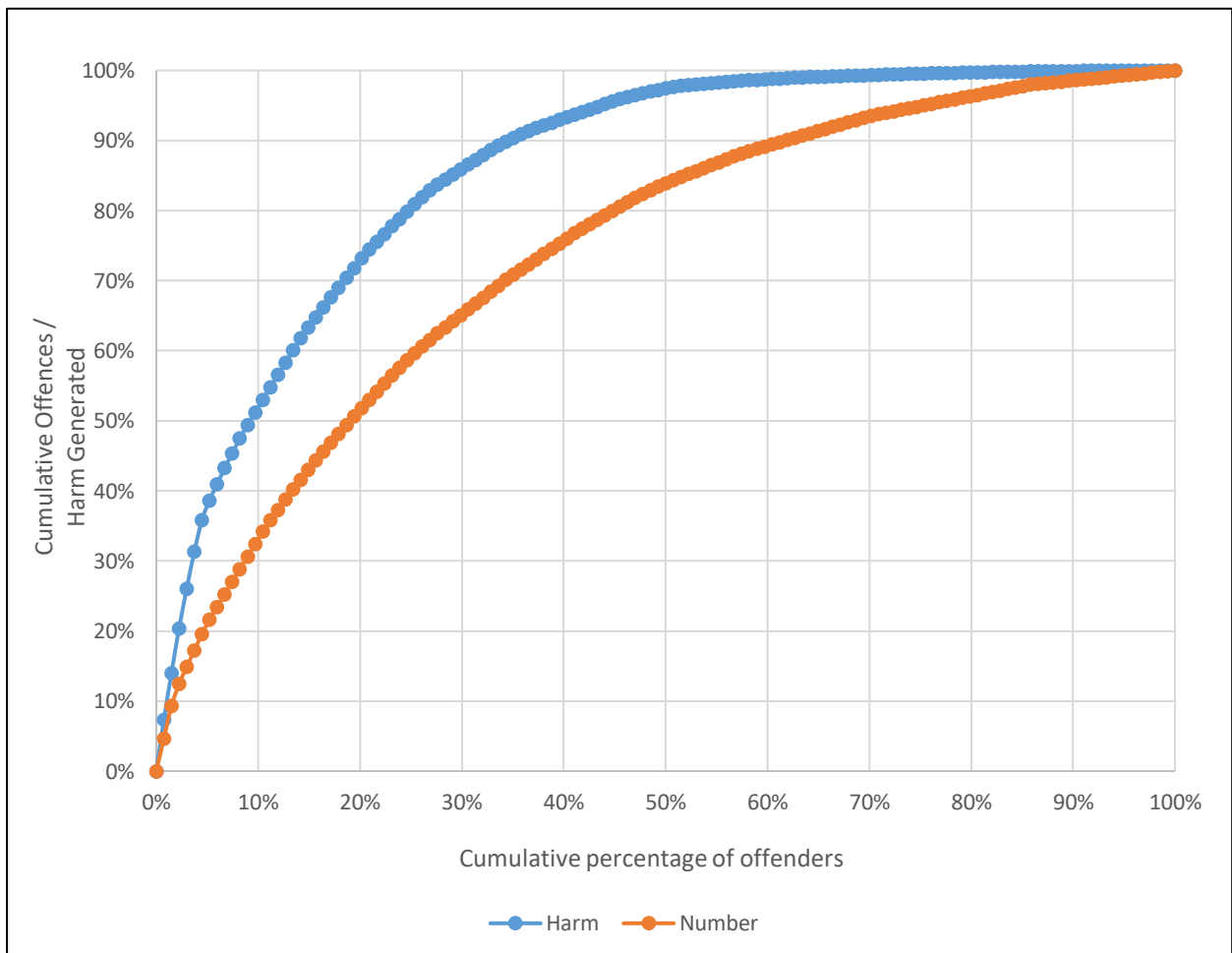


Table 9: Breakdown of Top 10 Most Harmful SOUTH AREA IOM Cohort Members Offences by Crime Type between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 21

| | Violence | Acquisitive | Drugs | Public Order | Sexual | Weapons | Property | Misc |
|-------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|--------------|--------|---------|----------|------|
| No of Offences | 16.00 | 72.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 0.00 | 4.00 | 1.00 | 0.00 |
| % of Offences | 16.84% | 75.79% | 1.05% | 1.05% | 0.0% | 4.21% | 1.05% | 0.0% |
| Crime Harm Score | 24704.50 | 18373.00 | 547.50 | 10.00 | 0.00 | 3657.00 | 5.00 | 0.00 |
| % of Crime Harm | 52.23% | 38.85% | 1.16% | 0.02% | 0.0% | 7.73% | 0.01% | 0.0% |

When looking at the ‘Power Few’ in the top 10 most harmful IOM cohort members we see that whilst in terms of total offence numbers acquisitive crime is even more prevalent at 76% it now causes significantly less crime harm having dropped to only 39% of the total figure. Meanwhile violence offences only account for 17% of the total offence numbers but they now generate 52% of the total crime harm within the group.

This limited group has only one female member that accounts for 10% of its size. The group is 20% white and 80% non-whites.

3.2 Victim Offender Cohort

3.2.1 Full VO Cohort

The VO Cohort for SOUTH AREA BCU consisted of 115 individuals who fulfilled the criteria for selection outlined previously.

Over the three and a half years of time this study focussed on these individuals were charged with or received a caution for a total of 587 separate offences and a combined crime harm score of 65451 using the CCHI. The detailed data breakdown of this cohort is as follows:

Table 10: Detailed breakdown of data relating to offences and crime harm generated by the full SOUTH AREA VO cohort between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 2021

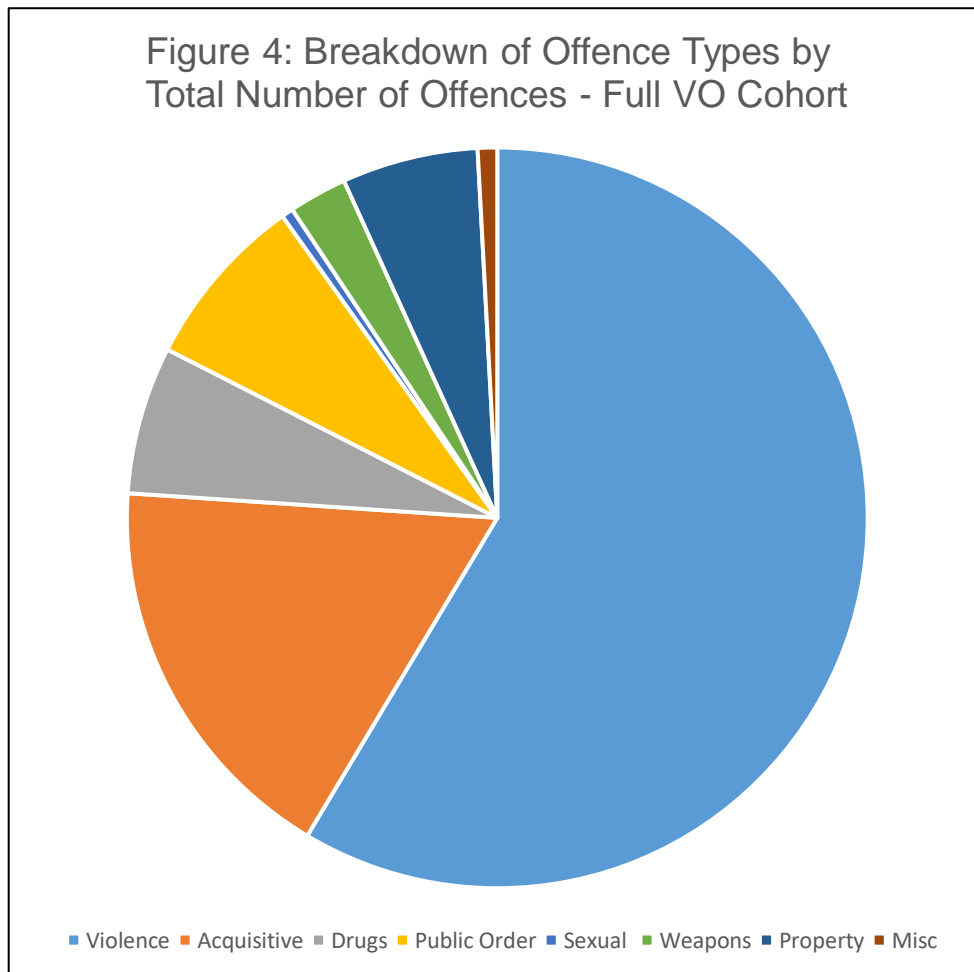
| Total Offences | Total Crime Harm | Total Peak Offence Harm | Average Offences per Individual | Average Crime Harm per Individual | Average Peak Offence Crime Harm per Individual | Percentage of Total Cohort Offences | Percentage of Total Cohort Crime Harm |
|----------------|------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 587 | 65451 | 49414 | 5.10 | 569.14 | 429.69 | 100% | 100% |

When looking at the prevalence of the various crime types engaged in by this cohort then the breakdown is as follows when we consider all of the offences that they have been charged or cautioned with in the specified period:

Table 11: Breakdown of Total SOUTH AREA VO Cohort Offences by Crime Type between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 21

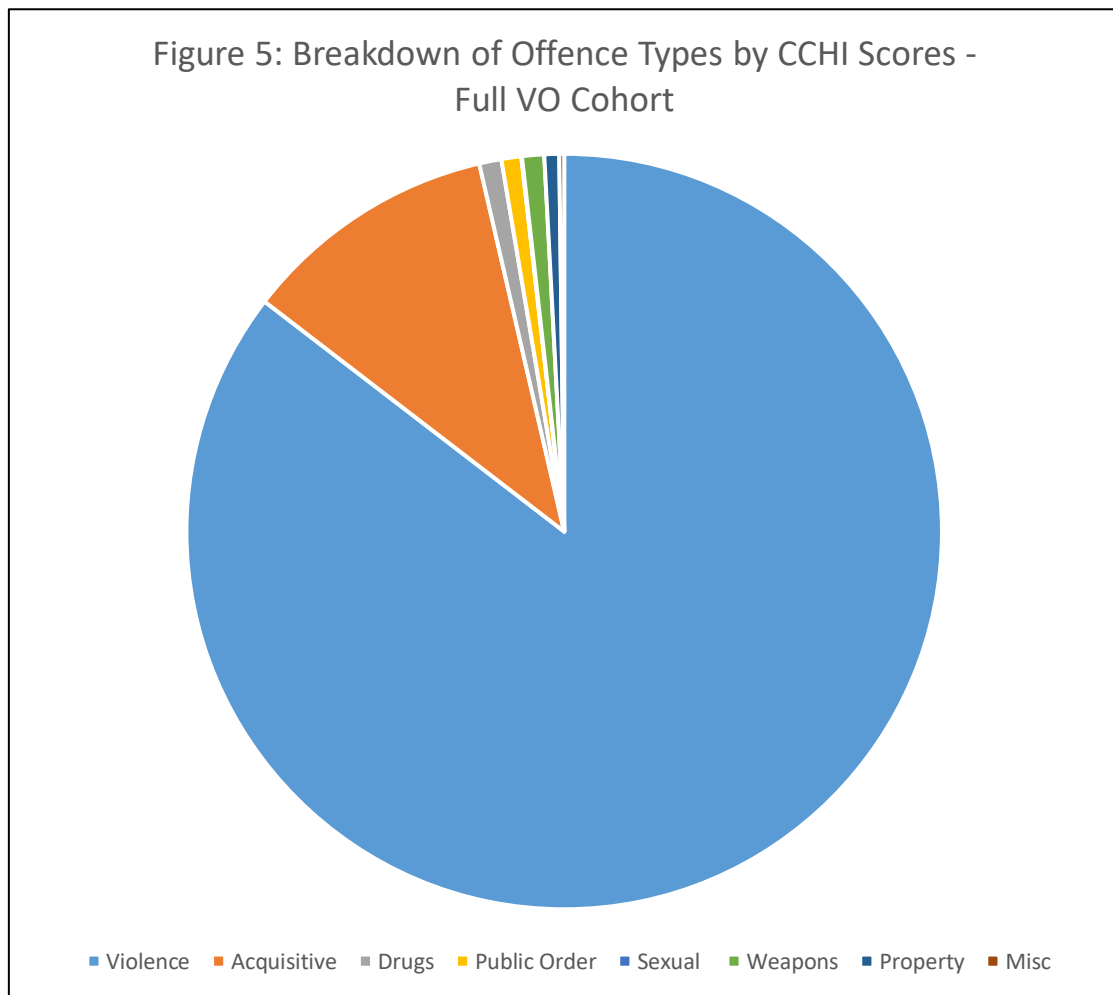
| | Violence | Acquisitive | Drugs | Public Order | Sexual | Weapons | Property | Misc |
|------------------|----------|-------------|--------|--------------|--------|---------|----------|--------|
| No of Offences | 345.00 | 103.00 | 38.00 | 45.00 | 1.00 | 15.00 | 35.00 | 5.00 |
| % of Offences | 58.77% | 17.54% | 6.47% | 7.66% | 0.51% | 2.56% | 5.96% | 0.85% |
| Crime Harm Score | 55909.00 | 7177.00 | 622.50 | 554.00 | 19.00 | 617.50 | 416.00 | 136.00 |
| % of Crime Harm | 85.42% | 10.97% | 0.95% | 0.85% | 0.03% | 0.94% | 0.64% | 0.21% |

We can see from the data above that those offenders making up the SOUTH AREA VO Cohort predominantly appear to be engaged in violent crime types which makes up for nearly 60% of the total offences committed by this cohort. Whilst acquisitive crime is the second most common type of offence, it is far less prevalent and accounts for only 17% of the total offence count.



In terms of the overall crime harm generated, it is clear that the commission of violent offences amongst the VO cohort causes the majority of this. In fact, 86% of the total crime harm recorded is from violent offences, with only 11% being caused by acquisitive offences. Sexual, drugs, public order, property and weapon offences account for less than 1% of the overall crime harm score each.

This shows that the VO cohort is a far more violent population compared to the IOM cohort considered earlier, and we will draw this out in more detail further on.



Out of 115 cohort members 32 (28%) of the offenders were female, with the other 83 (72%) being listed as male.

Within this cohort, 64 members were white with 51 recorded as non-white, meaning that there was 56% to 46% ratio.

3.2.2 SOUTH AREA VO Cohort – Top 50 Most Harmful Offenders (based on CCHI score)

Table 12: Detailed breakdown of data relating to offences and crime harm generated by the Top 50 most harmful individuals within SOUTH AREA VO cohort between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 2021

| Total Offences | Total Crime Harm | Total Peak Offence Harm | Average Offences per Individual | Average Crime Harm per Individual | Average Peak Offence Crime Harm per Individual | Percentage of Total Cohort Offences | Percentage of Total Cohort Crime Harm |
|----------------|------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 392 | 62981.50 | 47701.50 | 7.84 | 1259.63 | 954.03 | 87.36% | 96.23% |

The above table demonstrates that the top 50 most harmful individuals within this cohort account for 87% of all offences committed, also more interestingly, they are responsible for 96% of all crime harm generated. Therefore were any sort of dedicated offender management or support to be offered to the members of this cohort it would make sense to potentially narrow this down to the top 50 most harmful members initially. This would still capture both the majority of crime harm being generated and indeed most of the individual offences.

Individuals within this 'top 50 most harmful group' committed on average 2.74 more crimes over this period than the general population (5.12 increases to 7.84 crimes per person). However, the average crime harm generated per person increases exponentially from 569.14 in the wider population to 1259.63 for the top 50 most harmful. These means on average their overall harmfulness has increased by 121% from the general VO population.

Table 13: Breakdown of Top 50 Most Harmful SOUTH AREA VO Cohort Members Offences by Crime Type between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 21

| | Violence | Acquisitive | Drugs | Public Order | Sexual | Weapons | Property | Misc |
|-------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|--------------|--------|---------|----------|-------|
| No of Offences | 216.00 | 84.00 | 27.00 | 30.00 | 0.00 | 12.00 | 21.00 | 2.00 |
| % of Offences | 55.10% | 21.42% | 6.89% | 7.65% | 0.0% | 3.06% | 5.33% | 0.51% |
| Crime Harm Score | 53725.50 | 7124.00 | 600.50 | 482.00 | 0.00 | 602.50 | 395.00 | 52.00 |
| % of Crime Harm | 85.35% | 11.31% | 0.95% | 0.77% | 0.0% | 0.95% | 0.63% | 0.08% |

In relation to the overall crime harm generated, the top 50 most harmful individuals within the VO cohort still demonstrate a significant preponderance for the commission of violent crimes, which accounts for 85% of the total crime harm score. Acquisitive crime remains steady in second place at 11%, whilst sexual, drugs, public order, property and weapon offences continue to account for less than 1% of the overall crime harm score each.

Again, the top 50 most harmful individuals within the VO cohort continue to show that as a group they tend to be far more violent than their peers within the IOM cohort.

The group consisted of 12 (24%) females and 38 (76%) males, and was made up of 26 (52%) white and 24 (48%) non-white members.

3.2.3 SOUTH AREA VO Cohort – Top 25 Most Harmful Offenders (based on CCHI score)

The top 25 most harmful individuals within the SOUTH AREA BCU VO Cohort were charged or cautioned with 217 individual offences and generated a total of 53384.50 crime harm score over the preceding 3.5 years. The detailed breakdown of this is as follows:

Table 14: Detailed breakdown of data relating to offences and crime harm generated by the Top 25 most harmful individuals within SOUTH AREA VO cohort between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 2021

| Total Offences | Total Crime Harm | Total Peak Offence Harm | Average Offences per Individual | Average Crime Harm per Individual | Average Peak Offence Crime Harm per Individual | Percentage of Total Cohort Offences | Percentage of Total Cohort Crime Harm |
|----------------|------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 217 | 53384.50 | 41792.50 | 8.68 | 2135.38 | 1671.70 | 36.97% | 81.56% |

Engaging with the top 25 most harmful VOs on this list would still be tackling over a third of the offences committed and 81.56% of the total crime harm generated.

Individuals within the ‘top 25 most harmful group’ committed an average of 8.68 offences within the timeframe of the study’s data, which is higher than both the general population and top 50 group.

In terms of overall crime harm, this group generated an average score of 2135.38 per person on the CCHI. This is a 69.52% increase from the ‘top 50 most harmful group’ and a 275.19% increase from the overall VO Cohort.

Table 15: Breakdown of Top 25 Most Harmful SOUTH AREA VO Cohort Members Offences by Crime Type between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 21

| | Violence | Acquisitive | Drugs | Public Order | Sexual | Weapons | Property | Misc |
|-------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|--------------|--------|---------|----------|-------|
| No of Offences | 123.00 | 42.00 | 14.00 | 17.00 | 0.00 | 5.00 | 14.00 | 2.00 |
| % of Offences | 56.68% | 19.35% | 6.45% | 7.83% | 0.0% | 2.30% | 6.45% | 0.92% |
| Crime Harm Score | 48178.50 | 4090.00 | 574.50 | 259.00 | 0.00 | 212.50 | 18.00 | 52.00 |
| % of Crime Harm | 90.25% | 7.66% | 1.08% | 0.49% | 0.0% | 0.45% | 0.03% | 0.10% |

Within the top 25 most harmful members of the VO Cohort, violent offences remain the most common crime type in terms of total crime numbers accounting for around 57% of all crimes charged or cautioned during the specified timeframe. However, in terms of total crime harm generated, violent offences are now even more prevalent and account for over 90% of the CCHI score. Acquisitive crime remains in second place however it has dropped to only generating 7.66% of the total crime harm.

The top 25 most harmful VO group contains only three female offenders, whilst the ratio of white to non-white members is 12 (48%%) to 13 (52%).

3.2.4 SOUTH AREA VO Cohort – Top 10 Most Harmful Offenders (based on CCHI score)

The top 10 most harmful individuals within the SOUTH AREA BCU VO Cohort were charged or cautioned with 94 individual offences and generated a total of 35613.5 crime harm score over the preceding 3.5 years. The detailed breakdown of this is as follows:

Table 16: Detailed breakdown of data relating to offences and crime harm generated by the Top 10 most harmful individuals within SOUTH AREA VO cohort between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 2021

| Total Offences | Total Crime Harm | Total Peak Offence Harm | Average Offences per Individual | Average Crime Harm per Individual | Average Peak Offence Crime Harm per Individual | Percentage of Total Cohort Offences | Percentage of Total Cohort Crime Harm |
|----------------|------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 94 | 35613.50 | 27557.50 | 9.4 | 3561.35 | 2755.75 | 16.01% | 54.50% |

The table above and following graph both show that within the VO Cohort the top 10% most harmful individuals are the ‘Power Few’ as whilst they only account for 16% of the total crimes committed they generate well over half of all the crime harm. This continues the theme established within the top 50 and top 25 most harmful VO groups that focusing limited resources on progressively smaller groups would enable a more bespoke, targeted service whilst still tackling 55% of this wider cohort’s overall crime harm.

In terms of offences, members of this group on average committed 9.4 offences in the preceding 3.5 years, which is higher than all of the previous VO groups. Once again, there was a significant jump in the amount of crime harm each group member generated with the average being 3561.35 per person. This is an increase of 66.78% on the top 25 most harmful group and 525.74% on the general VO cohort population.

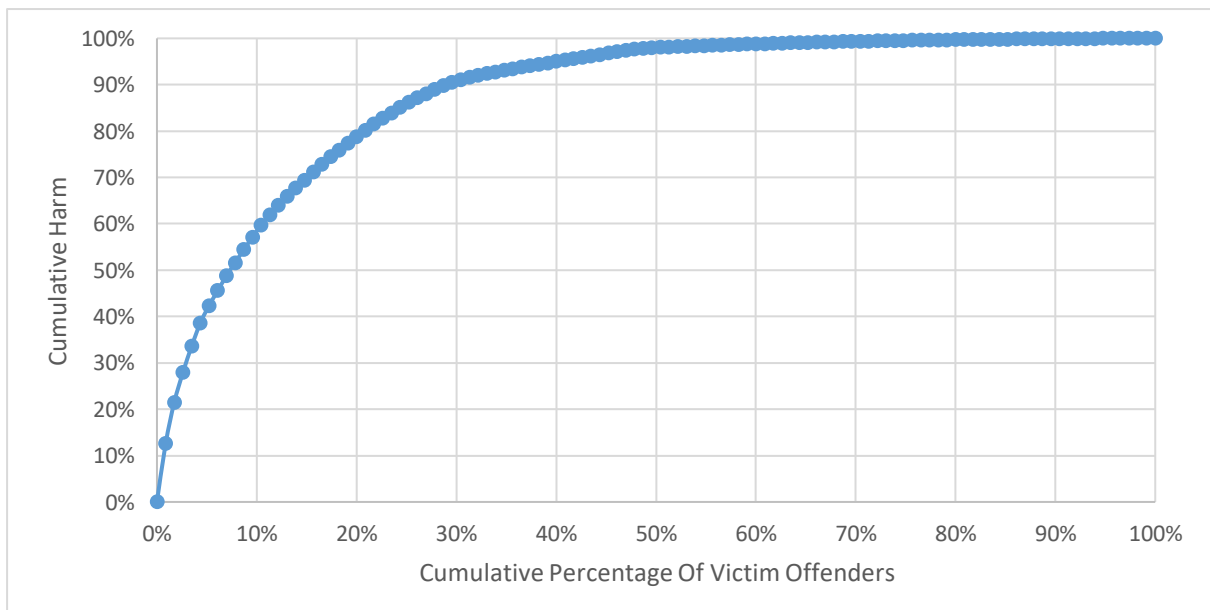
Table 17: Breakdown of Top 10 Most Harmful SOUTH AREA VO Cohort Members Offences by Crime Type between 01 JAN 2018 and 01 SEP 21

| | Violence | Acquisitive | Drugs | Public Order | Sexual | Weapons | Property | Misc |
|-------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|--------------|--------|---------|----------|-------|
| No of Offences | 50.00 | 19.00 | 8.00 | 7.00 | 0.00 | 3.00 | 6.00 | 1.00 |
| % of Offences | 53.19% | 20.21% | 8.51% | 7.44% | 0.0% | 3.19% | 6.38% | 1.06% |
| Crime Harm Score | 32402.00 | 2583.00 | 563.50 | 32.00 | 0.00 | 15.00 | 8.00 | 10.00 |
| % of Crime Harm | 90.98% | 7.25% | 1.58% | 0.09% | 0.0% | 0.04% | 0.02% | 0.03% |

When looking at the ‘Power Few’ in the top 10 most harmful VO cohort members we see that violent crime accounts for 53% of this group’s total number of offences and also generates 91% of the group’s crime harm. Acquisitive crime remains the second most common offence type, accounting for 20% of total crimes committed and 7.25% of the crime harm generated.

This limited group has only one female member who accounts for 10% of its overall size. It is made up of 50% white and 50% non-white group members.

Figure 6: A graph showing the ‘Pareto Curve’ in relation to the Total Crime Harm generated by members of the SOUTH AREA VO Cohort.



3.3 Victim Offender Cohort – MAPPA Membership

When the 115 members of the VO cohort were checked against the MAPPA database to identify if they were receiving some form of offender management outside of the IOM programme only four individuals were shown to be currently subject to MAPPA. Only one of these individuals was in the top 10. Therefore, out of the top 10 most harmful VOs only one appeared to be receiving any form of management.

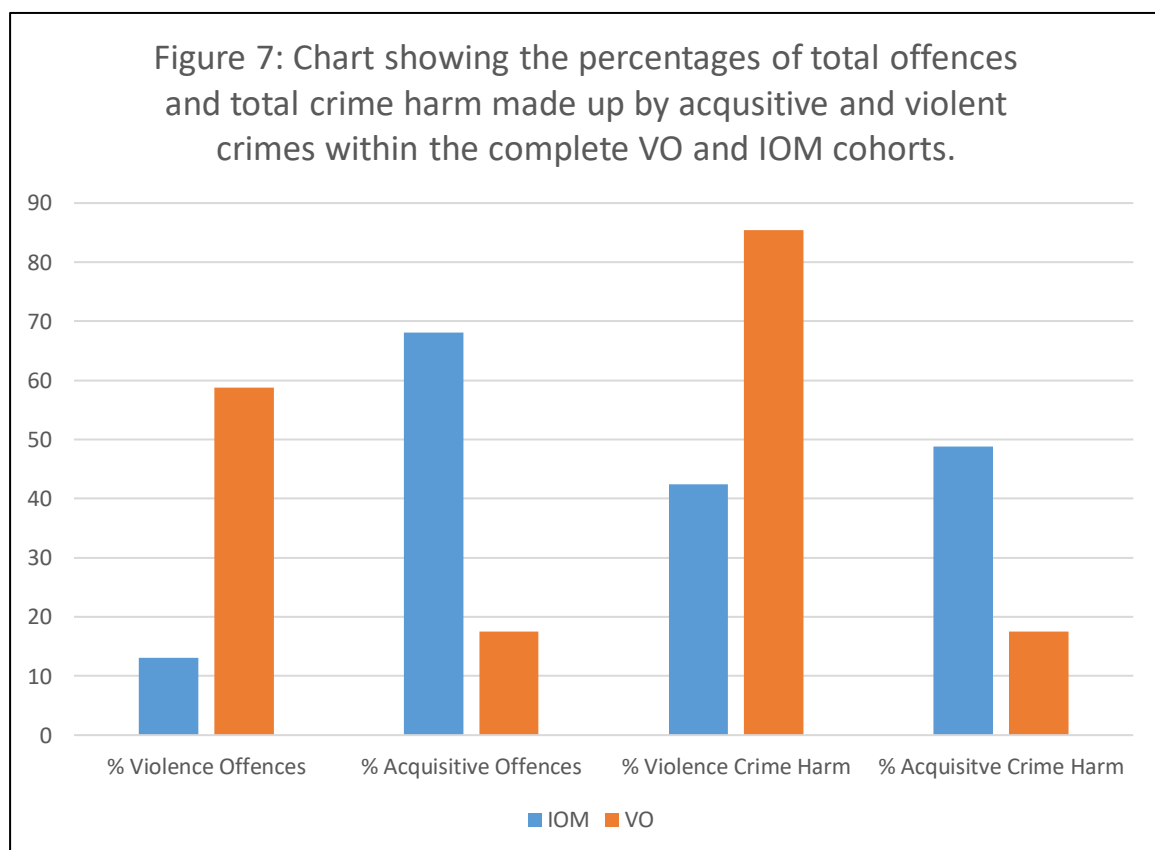
3.4 Comparing the Two Cohorts

Table 18: Overall Comparison of Data between the SN IOM Cohort and SN VO Cohort

| | SN Total IOM Cohort (n135) | SN Total VO Cohort (N115) | SN IOM Top 50 Most Harmful | SN VO Top 50 Most Harmful | SN IOM Top 25 Most Harmful | SN VO Top 25 Most Harmful | SN IOM Top 10 Most Harmful | SN VO Top 10 Most Harmful |
|---|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Total Offences Committed | 947* | 587* | 451 | 392 | 197 | 217 | 95 | 94 |
| Total Crime Harm Generated | 102089.50* | 65451.00* | 93870.50 | 62981.50 | 72644.50 | 53384.50 | 47297.00 | 35613.50 |
| Average Offences per person | 7.01 | 5.10 | 9.02 | 7.84 | 7.88 | 8.68 | 9.5 | 9.4 |
| Average Crime Harm per person | 756.21 | 569.14 | 1877.41 | 1259.63 | 2905.78 | 2135.38 | 4729.70 | 3516.35 |
| % of Violence Offences within Group | 13.09% | 58.77% | 14.19% | 55.10% | 17.26% | 56.68% | 16.84% | 53.19% |
| % of Acquisitive Offences within Group | 68.11% | 17.54% | 68.74% | 21.42% | 63.45% | 19.35% | 75.79% | 20.21% |
| % of Violence Crime Harm within Group | 42.43% | 85.42% | 44.50% | 85.35% | 50.85% | 90.25% | 52.23% | 90.98% |
| % of Acquisitive Crime Harm within Group | 48.87% | 17.54% | 46.62% | 11.31% | 38.00% | 7.66% | 38.85% | 7.25% |
| Overall % of Cohort's Offences generated | 100% | 100% | 47.62% | 87.36% | 20.80% | 36.97% | 10.03% | 16.01% |
| Overall % of Cohort's Crime Harm generated | 100% | 100% | 91.94% | 96.23% | 71.58% | 81.56% | 46.33% | 54.50% |
| Figures marked with a (*) cannot be compared directly due to different numbers of members within these cohorts (135 v 115). | | | | | | | | |

3.5 Number of Offences and Crime Harm Generated

Generally, the IOM cohort tends to commit more offences on average than their peers within the VO cohort. However as the data is gradually narrowed to the groups containing progressively more harmful cohort members this gap closes rapidly and by the time we look at the top 10 most harmful offenders the figures are nearly identical in terms of total offences committed (IOM: 9.5 vs VO: 9.4 offences per person).



Within the IOM cohort, the primary type of crime engaged in is acquisitive offences and this remains the case within all the progressively more harmful sub groups. In all IOM groups, acquisitive crime tends to account for 60-70% of offences committed. Interestingly amongst the top 10 most harmful IOM offenders this becomes even more pronounced with acquisitive offences making up over 75% of the total offences

committed. Violence is the second most common offence type within all IOM sub-groups and this remains relatively steady at between 13-18% of overall crimes committed.

The VO cohort is almost a direct reversal of this pattern in terms of total offences committed and we see that amongst these individuals violent crimes maintain a steady position as the most common offence type at between 53-58% of total offences in all the VO sub-groups. Acquisitive offences are the second most common crime type in all sub groups and this figure remains relatively steady between 17-21% of total crimes.

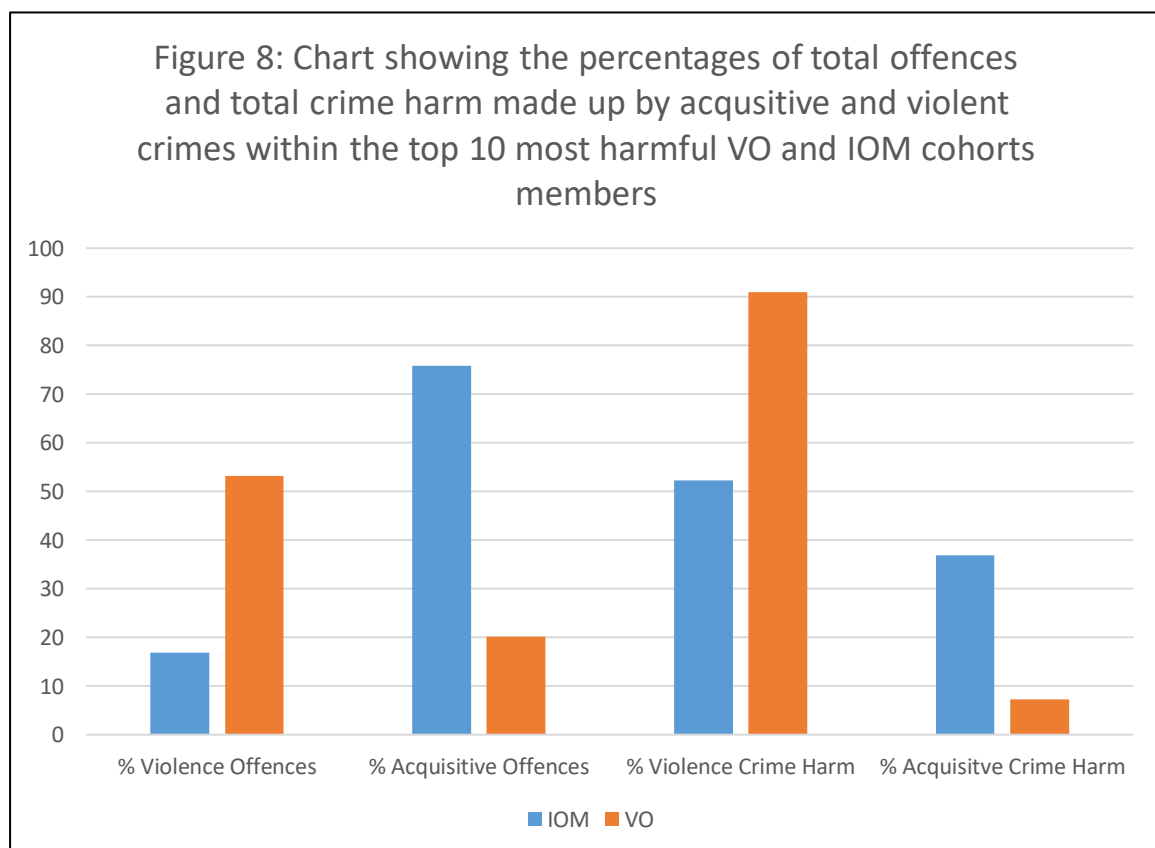
In terms of crime harm, this is generated predominantly by acquisitive crime for the IOM group as a whole, where this offence type accounts for 49% of total harm. This remains true for the 'top 50 most harmful IOM group' where acquisitive crime accounts for 47% of total harm. In both these groups violent offences generate the second highest amount of crime harm at 17% and 11% respectively.

When the scope narrows to the top 25 and subsequently top 10 most harmful IOM offenders, violent offences move to first place and account for 51-52% of overall crime harm. At the same time, acquisitive offences drop to second place accounting for 7% of total crime harm in both these groups respectively.

Again, the VO group shows a much greater tendency towards violent offending, with these crimes remaining the primary generator of crime harm in all sub-groups. This gradually increases from 85% in the total cohort to 90% of all crime harm in the top 10 most harmful VOs. As such, it is clear that the VOs are a far more violent group of offenders than those currently managed by the SOUTH AREA IOM team.

In fact although the IOM top 10 most harmful are generally generating more crime harm than the VO top 10 most harmful (IOM: 47297.00 vs VO 35613.50), in terms of violent crime harm it is the VO group who are generating more (VO: 32402.00 vs IOM: 24704.50). Therefore, the VO top 10 most harmful offending group generates 7,697.50 more violence crime harm than their comparative group in the IOM cohort.

Acquisitive crime harm is the second most prevalent type within the VO cohort throughout, accounting for 17% in the cohort as a whole, which progressively shrinks through the respective groups until it only accounts for 7% in the top 10 most harmful offenders.



The data shows that within both the VO and IOM cohort there is a small minority of individuals who are generating the majority of crime harm, and to a lesser extent the overall number of offences.

The top 25 most harmful in the IOM cohort are generating 72% of the total crime harm, whilst this is even more pronounced in the VO cohort where the same number of offenders accounts for 82% of the CCHI score.

Similarly, the IOM cohort's top 10 most harmful individuals are creating 46% of the total crime harm, whereas in the VO cohort they account for 55%. This information could prove especially useful when considering how best to target the activities of a limited policing resource.

Chapter Four: Discussion

This research builds on previous work in highlighting the importance of considering the criminality of those individuals who are both victims of crimes and offenders (Sandell et al., 2018; Hiltz et al., 2020) as they are responsible for generating significant amounts of crime harm, especially in relation to offences of a violent nature. It also seeks to use a solid evidence base to provide viable solutions to tackling the many criticisms levelled at the current IOM scheme by the recent joint inspection (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, Fire and Rescue Services, 2020).

4.1 The 'Crime Harm' Power Few

Within both the SOUTH AREA IOM and VO Cohorts there appears to be evidence that in terms of crime harm there is a 'Power Few' of offenders who generate the majority of each cohorts' harm; this is in line with previous research (Sherman, 2007). The implications for this are both wide and eminently practical in nature as they provide senior police officers and their counterparts in other agencies tools and operational options to consider when focussing finite and expensive resources.

Within both cohorts, application of the CCHI demonstrates that the top 10 most harmful offenders generate most of the crime harm (46-55%) and therefore these individuals should be the prime candidates for some form of proactive offender management. In an age of austerity and dwindling police resources commanders need to be realistic about how far their resources can be used to address problems and how much capacity small teams of officers and staff really have. By focusing on the 'Power Few'

and according lower priority to the less harmful cohort members this would ensure the police were getting the maximum return for their resourcing outlay.

However, if police commanders are reticent to restrict the focus of their IOM operations to such narrow groups of individuals then there is still scope to apply this data to slightly larger populations. Even by focussing offender management activities on the top 25 most harmful offenders within each cohort this would still capture 72% of the IOM and 82% of the VO Cohort's total crime harm.

In fact, even if this were this extended to focussing on the top 50 most harmful individuals (which would still reduce both cohorts total size by around 60%) this would capture 92% of the IOM and 96% of the VO Cohorts' overall crime harm.

This also shows us that at this current time the SOUTH AREA IOM team appear to be focussing significant resources on 85 individuals who between them are only generating 8% of the total crime harm and are mainly committing relatively low-level acquisitive crime. There is a strong argument that these resources could be better expended in focussing on offenders who are engaged in violent or more harmful crimes.

Currently the SOUTH AREA offender management team consists of one uniformed sergeant and a handful of officers who are responsible for providing the police components of the IOM programme. These officers only have a limited capacity in terms of time, resources and assets to tackle a cohort of offenders that is currently 135 strong and whose members are spread geographically across London's largest territorial policing command.

Consideration should be given to realistically how much intervention such a small team can really generate when dealing with such a large cohort and is this input having any

tangible effect. An alternative model would be to refine the terms of reference for these officers so that they focussed their activities on a more limited but exponentially more harmful sub-set of offenders in order to provide a more intensive, coordinated and effective offender management package. This is more likely to succeed in reducing overall crime harm across the BCU.

4.2 Violence vs Acquisitive Crime: What is the Priority?

The data also shows that the individuals who are currently on the SOUTH AREA IOM programme predominantly generate their crime harm from acquisitive offences. This supports the findings of the recent Inspection of IOM (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, Fire and Rescue Services, 2020). However, this is not in line with the Metropolitan Police's wider aspiration to start moving the focus of the IOM onto more serious violent offenders. Whilst SOUTH AREA is only one of twelve Basic Command Units within London, there is no reason to suspect this pattern is not reflected across the other BCUs.

If there is a real desire for senior police officers to refocus their assets on those offenders who are committing serious acts of violence within the capital then they need to find a way to target resources on those criminals who are generating the majority of their crime harm from violent offending.

As discussed earlier the Met is trying to tackle this issue by moving to an IOM participant selection system that uses the OASys Violence Predictor to supplement the OGRS algorithm in selecting offenders who are likely to commit a violent crime in the next year. This system however still does not directly consider crime harm

generation and this research indicates that it is currently missing a large number of individuals who are engaged in violent offending.

This study demonstrates that the Met should consider designing and implementing a participant selection system that utilises data they already hold about those individuals within London who are classed as victim-offenders. Even the earliest studies into victim-offenders has shown that most of the crime they are linked to involves acts of interpersonal violence (Wolfgang, 1958; Gottfredson, 1984) and this pattern has continued to be displayed in more recent research (Broidy et al., 2006; Neyroud, 2015; Sandall et al., 2018).

This current piece of research is no different and we can see that the SOUTH AREA VO Cohort (and all its various sub-groups) consistently generates the majority (85-91%) of its crime harm from violence offences. In fact, as shown earlier, although as a whole the VO Cohort generates less 'total crime harm' than the IOM Cohort it still managed to create significantly more 'violent crime harm'.

If the resources of the current IOM team were re-targeted to at least partially focus on the VO offender group then this would provide a significant opportunity to reduce the violent crime harm that is occurring within the SOUTH AREA BCU.

4.3 The Harmful Eighteen

Given that only one offender appears within the top ten of both cohorts' most harmful offenders (and only one other appears to have any sort of contact with MAPPA) this means that 8 out of 20 of the most harmful offenders within the BCU are receiving no form of tangible offender management whatsoever. Thus, it is far less likely they will

be successful in desisting from a criminal lifestyle compared to those who are receiving such investment.

With this in mind, a credible case can be made to reduce the expenditure of resources on those individuals currently placed within the least harmful offenders on the IOM Cohort and redirect this asset on the most harmful VO individuals who are currently receiving no offender management. This new approach can then be monitored and evaluated in order to ascertain if it is a more effective use of resources.

Interestingly some of the lowest harm offenders currently being managed by the IOM team had only committed one offence in 3.5 years and generated a crime harm score of 1.

4.4 The IOM Gender Gap

The data indicates that the current selection criteria for inclusion on the IOM programme creates a cohort of offenders that is predominantly male. In fact, only 4% (6/135) of the offenders currently managed by IOM are female, with the remainder being male. On reviewing the data used during this research it was not possible to ascertain what factors were contributing to this disproportionate structure of the IOM cohort. However, it seems that by remaining focussed on the current list of individuals the IOM system is missing the chance to effectively manage female offenders. This is something of a missed opportunity given that many of the IOM offences tend to be acquisitive crime and research with female burglars indicates they would be more receptive to desistance strategies than their male counterparts (Mullins & Wright, 2003).

Refocusing resources on victim-offenders would go some way to addressing this disproportionality in that 28% (32/115) of this cohort were female. This is especially pertinent, as research has showed that female victim-offenders are also especially vulnerable to suffering high levels of harm (Neyroud, 2015) and so they would arguably benefit the most from proactive police offender management.

However, despite the initially considerable differences in each cohort's gender makeup, by the time we narrow the scope to the top 10 most harmful individuals then both the IOM and VO sub-groups only contain one female, meaning that in both populations it is male offenders that are generating the majority of crime harm.

4.5 Tactical Solutions to Practical Problems

When considering how to use the data from this research to generate a suite of tactical options for the police there is a need to temper this with some reasonable expectation management around how things currently operate along with an understanding around how law enforcement fits into a wider partnership framework.

One key idea that stands out is for the implementation of an overhaul of the current selection criteria for an offender's inclusion the IOM programme. At the most revolutionary end of the spectrum this could involve abandoning the current combined OASys/OGRS system completely, however this is unlikely to be supported. The current system could be replaced by a new model that is based entirely on selecting candidates drawn from the victim-offender model used in this study. This would lead to intelligent selection based upon an individual's recent offending and victimisation history in order to select offenders who are proven to generate significant amounts of violent crime harm. This approach would almost entirely refocus the resources

currently tasked to deal with offenders engaged in the commission of large amounts of acquisitive crime to target primarily violent offenders.

Whilst this refocussing from acquisitive offenders to violent criminals would be in line with the Met's priorities to reduce violence and recalibrate the IOM to tackle this crime type (Metropolitan Police Service, 2020) this would likely not be universally popular. It should be acknowledged that within SOUTH AREA burglary and robbery are prolific crime types and these acquisitive offences are shown to be of concern to the local populace, therefore partners and stakeholders may well be resistant to a total refocussing of the IOM capability from acquisitive offences.

Potentially if sufficient resources could be identified and secured then there is scope to run the current IOM system and the proposed VO focussed system simultaneously in tandem. These parallel systems could then be thoroughly evaluated in order to identify the costs and benefits of both.

Another solution would be to introduce a new blended model that combines the existing system and the victim-offender data to target the most harmful individuals within both cohorts. This would have the benefit of tackling those individuals who are generating the majority of both acquisitive and violent crime harm.

The adoption of this blended approach need not be taken in isolation and there are other recent developments that could be incorporated to ensure the establishment of a successful model. For example, a currently unpublished study (Valdebenito & Sherman, 2022) also highlights concerns about the effectiveness of the current IOM selection model. Their research suggests a far more effective system than the OAsys/OGRS combination would be to utilise an offender's full Police National Computer criminal history and a bespoke computer algorithm (utilising predictive and

descriptive statistics) to predict the likelihood of them committing a serious crime. When tested this algorithm proved to be accurate on a test sample of offenders 74% of the time. As such, it would make sense to consider the adoption of a similar algorithm as part of any blended methodology developed going forwards.

In the words of Sara Valdebenito, *“If such forecasts can be made with reasonable reliability, then it may become possible to impose less restraint on most supervised offenders, while providing far more support (and monitoring) for the few probationers at highest risk for high harm.”* (Valdebenito & Sherman, 2022). This dovetails in well with the findings of this research which also demonstrate that focussing more tailored and intense activity on a ‘power few’ of offenders who generate the most crime harm is likely to achieve the best results.

It must be acknowledged that the IOM process as it currently stands is a multi-agency structure of which the police are a major partner, but not the sole partner. This means that it is harder for just one agency to change something as significant as the selection criteria for candidates without a period of consultation taking place, which in all likelihood, will lead to both a compromise and a dilution of the original aims. In fact, one of the key criticisms of the current IOM process is the confusing and inconsistent ways in which it is applied and how it has failed to make any significant changes, developments or progress in the last five years, summed up by the damning statement that ‘IOM has lost its way.’ (Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Probation and Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary, Fire and Rescue Services, 2020).

With this in mind then there would be justification for setting up a new function that sits external to the current IOM team in order to action the data that this research has

identified. There are a number of ways that this issue could be tackled in order to best respond to the themes and patterns that this research has raised. Given the vast amounts of violence related crime harm generated by the top 50, 25 and 10 most harmful members of the Victim-Offender cohort in the last 3.5 years, coupled with heightened public concern around violence in London there is justification for allocating additional resources to proactively deal with these offenders. It should be noted that six out of thirty of London's 2021 teenage street murders occurred within SOUTH AREA, so this is a real and deadly problem, especially as almost all individuals within the top 25 most harmful victim-offenders have been cautioned or charged with at least one murder, attempted murder or GBH offence within the last 3.5 years.

The establishment of a small, experienced team of officers with the sole remit of focussing their attentions on these individuals in order to reduce their offending and overall crime harm generation would be an ideal solution. It has been previously posited that Situational Action Theory is one of the most likely explanations for how victim-offenders get trapped in the criminality cycle, whether as victims, offenders or usually both (Neyroud, 2015). With this in mind, any new team's processes should address elements of this theory when developing their tactics in order to achieve the most effective outcomes possible. Given that this theory has two key elements that contribute towards an individual's offending it makes sense any police methodology should focus on addressing these. These two elements are an individual's propensity to commit criminal acts coupled with exposure to criminogenic situations that provide the opportunity to engage in offending (Wikstrom et al., 2012).

A dedicated policing team could tackle these constituent elements by focussing some of their activity on reducing an individual's propensity to commit crime, such as offering suspects access to drug/alcohol rehabilitation programmes, assisting with access to

accommodation and suitable employment opportunities. Simultaneously they could look at reducing an offender's access/exposure to criminogenic situations through implementation of a monitored time management system (such as curfews or remote electronic tagging) coupled with implementing a degree of increased and visible surveillance of the individual.

The average annual salary for a sergeant is £43,965 and for a substantive constable it is £27,030. Therefore, a dedicated team of one supervisor and five constables would cost a total of £179,115 per annum in basic wages. When this is compared against the total SOUTH AREA BCU 2021/22 budget of £97,432,828.00 this seems like an excellent investment. In fact, a fiscal commitment of 0.18% of the total annual budget if utilised appropriately could reduce the associated violent crime harm amount by over 50%.

4.6 Wider Applications

As previously mentioned SOUTH AREA BCU is one of the twelve territorial command units within the Metropolitan Police Area, and whilst each of these policing areas have their own unique demographics and localised issues it seems likely that the findings and implications from this research would be reflected across the capital. There is certainly scope to use the research model established in this study (albeit with some refinements) to capture the data for the entirety of the MPS. This could then be used to develop and implement a pan-London response, rather simply a localised one in SOUTH AREA.

At a national level, it is likely that this issue is replicated to a greater or lesser extent within other constabularies, and as such, this model could be adapted for use in other

force areas, particularly those with a similar large urban-based structure to the Met (i.e. Greater Manchester Police, etc.).

4.7 Limitations of This Study

The study itself uses a relatively small sample size for both cohorts, as they are limited in scope to offenders drawn from the SOUTH AREA BCU, which represents around 8% of the Met's Force Area. Future research in advance of implementing any practical plans would benefit from using a similar methodology and then applying this to a much larger population, such as a combined data set using all of the BCUs within the Metropolitan Police Force Area. This would provide both a much fuller picture whilst also negating any localised BCU level idiosyncrasies.

As previously mentioned due to the jurisdictional and fractious manner in which police crime recording systems operate within the United Kingdom there is a possibility that some VOs were missed from inclusion in that population. Further to this, some offences our cohort members committed outside of the Met's territorial footprint would have been omitted from their overall crime harm score as it would not have been logged on the CRIS database.

If this research were to be replicated on a larger scale (or used as a tool for establishing a new suite of tactical options for police commanders) then it would be advisable to create a more holistic dataset that is able to successfully incorporate and account for instances of cross-border offending.

4.8 Recommendations – Summary

- Extending and replicating this piece of research to cover all twelve of the Metropolitan Police BCUs would provide an enhanced perspective of a much wider population and allow the development of a pan-London approach.
- Incorporation of offending data from neighbouring forces (or PNC at a national level) would provide a much more accurate dataset around current victim-offenders and total crime harm generation per individual.
- Recruitment, establishment and deployment of a specialist team of police officers to focus on a list of the most harmful offenders within the Met's frontline BCUs. This team should generate a list of individuals by utilising a blended cohort based on integration of IOM data, a victim-offender list (using the criteria established in this research) and potentially incorporating the algorithm developed by Valdebenito and Sherman,
- Development of a strategic performance system to monitor and track both the success and effectiveness of the new team to ensure value for money and maximum impact.
- Potentially instigate further research on the 'Power Few' in both IOM and VO cohorts to identify if there are any traits, characteristics or background issues that make them more disposed to persistent acts of criminality.
- Work with other forces nationally and the HMICFRS to use these new methodologies to demonstrate that the police service is moving to tackle the extensive list of criticisms levelled by the recent inspection into IOM.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

The current Integrated Offender Management model operating within London and the wider United Kingdom has in the words of the latest inspection team, 'lost its way' (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, Fire and Rescue Services, 2020). This damning observation seems to be confirmed through the varied and inconsistent way that IOM is applied at both the local and national level.

Within London, the Metropolitan Police Service has openly stated that it wants to move the IOM system towards being a tool that seeks to help reduce the problem of violent crime within the capital. This goal is both sensible and entirely understandable given the worrying backdrop of increasingly deadly violence that is occurring daily across London's streets, with 2021 seeing 30 young people murdered in street violence, the highest annual figure ever recorded.

There have been some moves by the organisation towards making this aspiration a reality in recent years. This includes the recent modifications to the Met's IOM selection system by supplementing the existing OGRS tool with the OASys Violence Predictor in order to try to capture more violent offenders within the programme, rather than predominantly focussing on those criminals who are engaged in persistent acts of acquisitive crime.

However, this study has shown that despite these changes the current IOM Cohort within SOUTH AREA (London's largest territorial Basic Command Unit) remains predominantly made up of offenders who are engaged in the commission of persistent acquisitive offences. When the Cambridge Crime Harm Index is applied to the offenders within this cohort, it becomes clear that whilst they generate a significant

amount of violent crime harm, they are predominantly associated with repeat acquisitive crime harm.

This would indicate that the Met's desire to focus more heavily on violent offenders within the IOM structure has not been as successful as the organisation would have liked, and as such, there is a real need to implement further refinement in order to make this aspiration a reality.

However, this research has shown that there is scope for improvement by looking for ways to refocus some of these IOM resources on those individuals who are classed as victim-offenders within the BCU. The concept of victim-offenders has a long provenance in criminology and they have been repeatedly shown to generate more crime harm as a group than 'pure' offenders do, and this is usually heavily weighted towards violent offences.

The findings from this piece of research have supported this trend and shown that victim-offenders based within SOUTH AREA BCU generate significantly more violent crime harm than their peers within that BCU's current IOM cohort. In fact, 91% of the crime harm generated by the top 10 most harmful victim-offenders was violence based compared to only 52% in the top ten most harmful IOM members.

These findings indicate that the MPS (and potentially other forces nationally) should consider incorporating the data they already hold about local victim-offenders into their processes for selecting individuals for engagement with offender management. At the operational level, there are a number of implementation options available and these could be facilitated either through adaption and integration within the current IOM framework, or potentially through the establishment of a new dedicated team who would deal solely with the victim-offenders.

Consideration should also be given to incorporating the recent work of Valdebenito and Sherman around utilising an offender's entire criminal history from the Police National Computer database in order to improve the selection process for including violent offenders onto the IOM programme. Their research has shown a high degree of predictive accuracy around re-offending in violent offenders, and a potential joint-adoption strategy would harmonise well with the recommendations in relation to victim-offenders from this study.

This research has also shown that within both cohorts there is a 'Power Few' of offenders who appear to be generating the majority of the crime harm within SOUTH AREA BCU. In fact, the top ten most harmful offenders within both groups generated between 46% and 55% of their cohort's total crime harm. This data provides senior police officers both an option and justification for redirecting their finite and expensive police resources away from those individuals who are generating relatively little crime harm and refocussing these on tackling the 'power few' offenders in a more intensive manner.

In a time of increasing levels of serious violence, limited law enforcement resources and more police accountability, it is paramount that all tools and tactics be refined and optimised to provide the best service delivery on behalf of the public. This need to proactively improve the policing of homicide and serious violence is expressly acknowledged in the Home Office's recent 'Beating Crime Plan' where the entirety of the document's second chapter is dedicated to detailing how the police and other agencies should be pulling together to address these issues.

With both recognition of the issue of violent crime at the highest levels of government coupled with what appears to be a national desire for improvement it appears that

there is no better time for senior police leaders to utilise the evidence from this study and similar research to shape the way offender management operates going forward. This is even more pertinent when set against the backdrop of the critical 2020 joint inspection into the current state of IOM.

Refinement of the offender management system and incorporation of the data around victim-offenders into that process is one way to proactively address the public's concerns around violent crime harm whilst also building a safer London.

References and Bibliography

- Ansbro, M. 2014. The independent inquiry into child sexual exploitation in Rotherham, 1997– 2013. *Probation Journal*, 61(4) pp.429-432
- Berg, M.T., Stewart, E.A., Schreck, C.J. and Simons, R.L., 2012. The victim–offender overlap in context: Examining the role of neighborhood street culture. *Criminology*, 50(2), pp.359-390.
- Bottoms, A. and Costello, A., 2010. The phenomenon of victim-offender overlap: a study of offences against households. *Hearing the victim: Adversarial justice, crime victims and the state*, pp.128-164.
- Broidy, L.M., Daday, J.K., Crandall, C.S., Sklar, D.P. and Jost, P.F., 2006. Exploring demographic, structural, and behavioral overlap among homicide offenders and victims. *Homicide Studies*, 10(3), pp.155-180.
- Cohen, L.E. and Felson, M., 1979. Social change and crime rate trends: A routine activity approach. *American sociological review*, pp.588-608.
- Cuevas, C.A., Finkelhor, D., Turner, H.A. and Ormrod, R.K., 2007. Juvenile delinquency and victimization: A theoretical typology. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 22(12), pp.1581-1602.
- Disley, E.R., 2008. *Challenging the boundaries of criminal justice and social policy: responses to priority offenders* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford).
- Dobrin, A., 2001. The risk of offending on homicide victimization: A case control study. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 38(2), pp.154-173.
- Falshaw, L., Browne, K.D. and Hollin, C.R., 1996. Victim to offender: A review. *Aggression and violent behavior*, 1(4), pp.389-404.
- Frost, T., 2011. Hampshire's Integrated Offender Management Programme. *The Journal of Criminal Law*, 75(1), pp.29-36.
- Gottfredson, M.R. and Grande-Bretagne. Home office, 1984. *Victims of crime: The dimensions of risk* (Vol. 81). London, UK: HM Stationery Office.
- Gottfredson, M.R. and Hirschi, T., 1990. *A general theory of crime*. Stanford University Press.
- Hadfield, E., Sleath, E., Brown, S. and Holdsworth, E., 2021. A systematic review into the effectiveness of Integrated Offender Management. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 21(5), pp.650-668.
- Her Majesty's Government (2018) Working Together to Safeguard Children: A guide to inter-agency working to safeguard and promote the welfare of children. Retrieved on 29 November from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/942454/Working_together_to_safeguard_children_inter_agency_guidance.pdf
- Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabularies and Fire & Rescue Services (2020) A Joint Thematic Inspection of Integrated Offender Management; An Inspection by HM Inspectorate of Probation and HM Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services. Retrieved on 29 November from: <https://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmicfrs/publications/a-joint-thematic-inspection-of-integrated-offender-management/>

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (2011) Thematic Inspection Report: Putting the pieces together; An inspection of Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements. Retrieved on 05 January from: <https://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmicfrs/media/Multi-agency-public-protection-arrangements.pdf>

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (2014) A Joint Inspection of the Integrated Offender Management Approach. Retrieved on 05 November from: <https://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/crown-prosecution-service/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2014/04/Integrated-Offender-Management-report.pdf>

Her Majesty's Prison Service (2004) Prolific and Other Priority Offender Strategy (Available at https://www.justice.gov.uk/downloads/offenders/psipso/pso/PSO_4615_prolific_and_other_priority_offenders_strategy.doc Last accessed 29th November 2021).

Hiltz, N., Bland, M. and Barnes, G.C., 2020. Victim-offender overlap in violent crime: Targeting crime harm in a Canadian suburb. *Cambridge Journal of Evidence-Based Policing*, 4(3), pp.114-124.

Holtfreter, K., Reisig, M.D., Leeper Piquero, N. and Piquero, A.R., 2010. Low self-control and fraud: Offending, victimization, and their overlap. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 37(2), pp.188-203.

Home Office (2006) The Corston Report: A Report by Baroness Jean Corston of a Review of Women with Particular Vulnerabilities in the Criminal Justice System. London: Home Office

Home Office (2010) Integrated Offender Management: Key Principles. London: Home Office

Home Office (2013) Integrated Offender Management: Findings from the 2013 Survey. London: Home Office

Home Office (2015) Integrated Offender Management: Key Principles. London: Home Office

Home Office (2021) Beating Crime Plan: Policy Paper. London: Home Office

Jacobs, B.A. and Wright, R., 2006. *Street justice: Retaliation in the criminal underworld*. Cambridge University Press.

Jay, A (2013) Independent inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation in Rotherham. Retrieved on 30 November from: <https://www.rotherham.gov.uk/downloads/file/279/independent-inquiry-into-child-sexual-exploitation-in-rotherham>

Jennings, W.G., Piquero, A.R. and Reingle, J.M., 2012. On the overlap between victimization and offending: A review of the literature. *Aggression and violent behavior*, 17(1), pp.16-26.

Klevens, J., Duque, L.F. and Ramírez, C., 2002. The victim-perpetrator overlap and routine activities: Results from a cross-sectional study in Bogotá, Colombia. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 17(2), pp.206-216.

Lauritsen, J.L., Sampson, R.J. and Laub, J.H., 1991. The link between offending and victimization among adolescents. *Criminology*, 29(2), pp.265-292.

Lauritsen, J.L., Laub, J.H. and Sampson, R.J., 1992. Conventional and delinquent activities: Implications for the prevention of violent victimization among adolescents. *Violence and victims*, 7(2), pp.91-108.

Lauritsen, J.L. and Laub, J.H., 2007. Understanding the Link Between Victimization and Offending: New Reflections on an Old Idea (From Surveying Crime in the 21st Century, P 55-75, 2007, Mike Hough and Mike Maxfield, eds.,--See NCJ-220695).

London Integrated Offender Management Partnership (2020). London IOM – Managing Persistent, Violent Offenders; Updated Operating Framework. Retrieved on 26 November from: https://www.proceduresonline.com/barnet/fs/user_controlled_lcms_area/uploaded_files/London%20IOM%20Framework_Short%20summary%20for%20stakeholders.pdf

McKillop, N., Brown, S., Johnson, I., Smallbone, S. and Ogilvie, J.M., 2017. Can systemic interventions designed to reduce reoffending by youth also reduce their victimization?. *Journal of Child & Adolescent Trauma*, 10(1), pp.41-50.

Metropolitan Police Service (2021) IOM Operational Guidance Document – Internally circulated.

Ministry of Justice and Home Office (2009) Integrated Offender Management Government Policy Statement. London: Ministry of Justice and Home Office.

Ministry of Justice (2015). Integrated Offender Management, Key Principles – Supplementary Guidance. Retrieved on 29 November from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/406868/IOM_Key_Principles_refresh_supplement_final.pdf

Mullins, C.W. and Wright, R., 2003. Gender, social networks, and residential burglary. *Criminology*, 41(3), pp.813-840.

Mythen, G., Walklate, S. and Kemshall, H., 2013. Decentralizing risk: The role of the voluntary and community sector in the management of offenders. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 13(4), pp.363-379.

Nagin, D. and Paternoster, R., 2000. Population heterogeneity and state dependence: State of the evidence and directions for future research. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 16(2), pp.117-144.

Neyroud, E, 2015. The Prevalence, Incidence, Type and Harm of Police Reported Victimization of Offenders in the Turning Point Project (Unpublished MPhil Dissertation, University of Cambridge).

Oxfordshire Safeguarding Children Board (2015) Serious case review into child sexual exploitation: From the experiences of children A, B, C, D, E and F. Retrieved on 27 November from: <http://www.oscb.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/Serious-Case-Review-into-Child-Sexual-Exploitation-in-Oxfordshire-FINAL-Updated-14.3.15.pdf>

Piquero, A.R., MacDonald, J., Dobrin, A., Daigle, L.E. and Cullen, F.T., 2005. Self-control, violent offending, and homicide victimization: Assessing the general theory of crime. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 21(1), pp.55-71.

Reingle, J.M., 2014. Victim–offender overlap. *The encyclopaedia of theoretical criminology*, pp.910-913.

Sampson, R.J. and Lauritsen, J.L., 1990. Deviant lifestyles, proximity to crime, and the offender-victim link in personal violence. *Journal of research in crime and delinquency*, 27(2), pp.110-139.

Sandall, D., Angel, C.M. and White, J., 2018. ‘Victim-offenders’: A third category in police targeting of harm reduction. *Cambridge Journal of Evidence-Based Policing*, 2(3), pp.95-110.

- Schreck, C.J., 1999. Criminal victimization and low self-control: An extension and test of a general theory of crime. *Justice Quarterly*, 16(3), pp.633-654.
- Senior, P., Wong, K., Culshaw, A., O'Keeffe, C., Ellingworth, D. and Meadows, L., 2011. Process evaluation of five integrated offender management pioneer areas. London: Ministry of Justice
- Sherman, L.W., 2007. The power few: experimental criminology and the reduction of harm. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 3(4), pp.299-321.
- Sherman, L., Neyroud, P.W. and Neyroud, E., 2016. The Cambridge crime harm index: Measuring total harm from crime based on sentencing guidelines. *Policing: a journal of policy and practice*, 10(3), pp.171-183.
- Sherman, L.W., 2020. How to Count Crime: the Cambridge Harm Index Consensus. *Cambridge Journal of Evidence-Based Policing*, 4(1), pp.1-14.
- Singer, S.I., 1981. Homogeneous victim-offender populations: A review and some research implications. *J. Crim. L. & Criminology*, 72, p.779.
- Sleath, E. and Brown, S., 2017. Staff and offender perspectives of Integrated Offender Management and the impact of its introduction on arrests and risk of reoffending in one police force region. *Policing and society*.
- Sullivan, C.J., Ousey, G.C. and Wilcox, P., 2016. Similar mechanisms? A comparative longitudinal study of adolescent violence and victimization. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 31(8), pp.1367-1392.
- Turanovic, J.J. and Pratt, T.C., 2013. The consequences of maladaptive coping: Integrating general strain and self-control theories to specify a causal pathway between victimization and offending. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 29(3), pp.321-345.
- Van Gelder, J.L., Averdijk, M., Eisner, M. and Ribaud, D., 2015. Unpacking the victim-offender overlap: On role differentiation and socio-psychological characteristics. *Journal of quantitative criminology*, 31(4), pp.653-675.
- Valdebenito, S. and Sherman, L. (2022). Forecasting arrests for serious violence among 9,791 London probationers. University of Cambridge. Unpublished.
- Wikström, P.O.H., Oberwittler, D., Treiber, K. and Hardie, B., 2012. *Breaking rules: The social and situational dynamics of young people's urban crime*. OUP Oxford.
- Williams, A.E. and Ariel, B., 2013. The Bristol Integrated Offender Management Scheme: A pseudo-experimental test of desistance theory. *Policing: a journal of policy and practice*, 7(2), pp.123-134.
- Wolfgang, M.E., (1958) *Patterns in Criminal Homicide*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press
- Wong, K.K.S., 2013. Integrated Offender Management: Assessing the impact and benefits-holy grail or fools errand?. *British journal of community justice*, 11(2-3), pp.59-81.

Appendices

Appendix A – Glossary

ABH – Actual Bodily Harm

BCU – Basic Command Unit

BTP – British Transport Police

CCE – Child Criminal Exploitation

CCHI – Cambridge Crime Harm Index

CoLP – City of London Police

CSE – Child Sexual Exploitation

CRIS – Metropolitan Police Crime Recording System

GBH – Grievous Bodily Harm

HMICFRS – Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire Rescue Services

HMIP – Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Probation

IOM – Integrated Offender Management

LPOS – Local Prolific Offender Scheme

MAPPA – Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangement

MOPAC – Mayor’s Office for Policing And Crime

MPS or Met – Metropolitan Police Service

OGRS – Offender Group Reconviction Scale

OIC – Officer in Case

OVP – OASys Violence Predictor

PNC – Police National Computer

POT – Priority Offender Team

PPO – Prolific Priority Offender

RAT – Routine Activity Theory

SAT – Situational Action Theory

SOUTH AREA – South Area Command Unit – Bromley, Croydon and Sutton

ViSOR – Violent and Sexual Offenders Register

VO – Victim Offender

VWI – Violence With Injury