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‘A descriptive study of harm levels among registered sex offenders over four years following conviction’

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Student Name: Natalia Ross

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Thesis Title: 'A descriptive study of harm levels among registered sex offenders over four years following conviction'

Research Question

What is the level of harm in a cohort of registered sex offenders who were first convicted between 31st July 2015 to 31st July 2017 and then tracked over an individual 4-year duration?

Sub Research Questions:

Who are the Power Few Offenders in the cohort for sexual offending, non-sexual offending, and combined offending?

What are the demographics of the cohort and how does that compare to the harm levels?

Research Design: This is a temporal tracking of a cohort of sex-offenders over four-years from Index offence post-conviction or release from prison to identify levels of harm and recidivism patterns in sexual, non-sexual and combined offences. Levels of harm were analysed specifically looking at changes. Demographic factors including age and ethnicity of sex-offenders were examined to identify whether that has any effect on harm levels against different offence types. Homogenic behaviour was analysed and examined with sexual, non-sexual and combined offending. Harm levels were compared to the Index offence and the cohort was examined to identify the Power Few sex-offenders using the Cambridge Crime Harm Index.

Data and Methodology: The units of analysis included: male offenders over 18 years old who were convicted of a sexual offence and were subject to sex-offender registration and the Notification Requirements under the Sexual Offences Act 2003.

Specific units of analysis were removed from the data set including females, under 18's (at point of conviction), deported offenders, received 12 months+ imprisonment, externally managed sexual offenders (such as armed forces), foreign convictions, hospital orders, sentences quashed, no longer resident in the UK, lives out of the area, and archived nominals leaving N=235 viable cohort to track from Index offence of which N=209 were recorded on the Police Athena Crime Recording system.

Each cohort member was tracked individually for a four-year duration from their date of conviction or release from prison. The final cohort for ongoing offending analysis was N=144.

The final data set size was N=144-235 cases. They were tracked from entry onto the sex-offender register between July 2015 – July 2017 then tracked individually over 4-years from their respective starting point.

Analytic methods: A quantitative descriptive study with as much qualitative description of processes and terms as possible to identify the high harm and the Power Few sex-offenders and categorise their harm according to sexual, non-sexual and combined harm using Cambridge Crime Harm Index (CHI). Independent variables: Index offence, CHI scores, sexual offending, non-sexual offending, and combined offending from police positive justice outcomes in a set four-year period, demographics including age and ethnicity.

Descriptive variables: Levels of harm and recidivism rates over four years for sexual, non-sexual and combined offending. Dependent variables: Changes in harm and offending patterns showing an increase or decrease in recidivism, harm, and the Power Few.

Findings: 96% of the cohort committed ongoing low harm offences. A rise in harm was detected over a 4-year duration specifically in low harm offences and the key years from analysis appeared to be years 3 and 4. High usage (59%) of police justice outcome 10 (Not in the public interest to proceed) was identified in sexual offending showing apparent tolerance of offending. The Power Few analysis found one sex-offender responsible for most combined harm. The 18–34 years old category was the highest harm age group causing 47% harm in sexual offences and 86% of harm in non-sexual offences. 95% of the sample were self-declared white ethnicity.

Policy implications of the findings: Sex-offenders are considered the highest harm offenders. Robust management of sex-offenders is believed to reduce harm levels and risk. Risk assessment measures used for sex-offenders: Active Risk Management System (ARMS) only measures sexual risk against sexual factors but does not measure the sex-offender's overall harm levels for combined offending. Identifying the highest harm offending and offenders in the cohort using the Cambridge Crime Harm Index (CHI) assists in understanding whether management of sex-offenders is working, necessary and needs to be expanded wider than just sex-offending. Should Policing be measuring sex-offenders by their total harm rather than just sexual harm to be able to proactively target the Power Few and reduce that harm? An algorithm can be developed to identify the Power Few sex-offenders to proactively target them to reduce overall harm and increase efficiency in the management of sex-offenders who cross offend. It gives an overall analysis of harm both sexually and non-sexually and can be applied by senior leaders in the proactive management of sex-offenders.

Acknowledgements

Embarking on a Masters' Degree in Criminology and Police Management during Covid could be considered an unwise choice. Despite being challenging at times, particularly alongside a promotion, an opportunity like this is not presented often.

I'd like to thank the Chief Constable of Essex Police Ben-Julian Harrington for this opportunity. I hope this research brings much benefit in Essex and wider to prevent harm caused by sex-offenders.

I'd like to thank my husband Paul and son George for tolerating my absence and talking things through with me when I needed it most. My Supervisor Jackie Sebire for supporting me though this research and building my confidence to explore and learn. My mentor Andy Mariner for providing much needed advice and my SCD friends who knew how to bring me back to reality.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge all victims of sexual violence. I hope this research contributes in some way to supporting victims and preventing harm.

Contents

Introduction

Context

As of 31st March 2021, 64,325 sex-offenders were being proactively managed in the community by police departments post-conviction. They are considered some of the highest harm offenders in society (Sample and Bray 2003), which is a fair assessment when the harm they cause is compared to other non-sexual crime types. However, at present their harm is only measured uniformly by the Crime Count (Home Office 2021a) or Crime Severity Score (Office of National Statistics 2021) which is based on the offence type rather than a more nuanced measure of harm or an equalised measure of severity. Using the Cambridge Crime Harm Index (CCHI), which measures harm by assigning a weight to the harm caused by each crime rather than treating all crimes as equal (Sherman et al 2016;2020), sex-offending is higher harm than other types of offending. The rape of a child has a harm count of 2920 whilst Assault (ABH) attracts a score of 10. Even a higher-level Assault (GBH) only attracts a CCHI level of 1460. Sex-offenders and the risk of harm they present should be measured in the most effective ways to manage the threat of harm they pose to victims and communities.

This research has sought to identify the highest harm sex-offenders living in Essex communities who are being managed by police through the Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA) to identify more efficient ways of disruption and reduce recidivism in sexual, non-sexual and combined offending (Home Office 2021b). Are agencies missing higher harm sex-offenders and disruption opportunities due to the limitations of the current measuring methods?

History of the sex-offender

America is widely credited with the introduction of management of the sex-offender (Thomas 2011) after several high-profile cases were scrutinised in the American media, such as the abduction and murder of Megan Kanka which saw the introduction of community notifications for sex-offenders commonly known as ‘’Megan’s Law’’ (Thomas 2003). This contributed to the public belief that sex-offenders are one of the most feared criminals (Kernsmith et al 2009). England adopted a sex-offender management system in 1997 which was later revised as part of the introduction of the Sexual Offences Act 2003 (Beard 2021). There are however marked differences in the registration requirements, legislation, and criminal justice outcomes for sex-offenders between Countries.

Essex Police is one of the largest forces in the UK outside of the Metropolitan areas (Home Office 2021c). It employs 3415 police officers and 2132 police staff [1]. Of this, 14% of police officers (N=469) and 8% of staff (N=163) work in the Public Protection Department, responsible for protecting the most vulnerable. 8% of police officers within this department (N=38) are solely dedicated to managing sex-offender harm under the MAPPA process. The teams receive specialist training and are located across three policing areas. Sex-offenders are allocated to an offender manager who monitors and investigates them for adherence to and/or breaches of their notification requirements and any sexual orders. The teams do not just manage sex-offenders but for this research, only those listed as a category 1 sex-offender under the MAPPA guidance will be observed[2].

[1] Gov.UK Police Workforce England and Wales 31 March 2021

[2] Category 1: Registered Sexual Offender. This includes sex-offenders required to comply with notification requirements under Part 2 of the Sexual Offence Act 2003.

Why is this important?

Awareness of the prevalence of sex-offending has risen in recent years partly due to high profile cases such as the rape and murder of Holly Wells and Jessica Chapman by Ian Huntley in 2002 (BBC News 2003). More recently, the rape and murder of Sarah Everard by police officer Wayne Couzens in 2021 added to the public expectation that Police and the Government should treat sex-offenders with the utmost seriousness to protect victims and build public trust and confidence (BBC News 2021). The contribution of #MeToo (www.metoomvmt.org) helped to build a network of people across the globe to tackle sexual violence. More recently the UK Government has pledged to tackle Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) (Office for National Statistics 2020), after a key national crime survey revealed sexual violence was more prevalent than previously thought and is vastly under-reported (Office of National Statistics 2020).

Recorded sexual offences in Essex have tripled in recent years. Between 2019 and 2020 there was an increase of 18.6% (Office of National Statistics 2020). The increase could be due to better data recording combined with the continuing impact of #He4She and VAWG agendas which are very public and heavily covered in the media.

As of October 2021, Essex Police currently manage 1839 category 1 sex-offenders which equates to 103 offenders to every 100,000 residents in Essex (Home Office 2021e). Sex-offender registration has almost doubled since 2010/2011[3]. Based on current data and the

[3] GOV.UK MAPPA Annual Report Essex Police 2010/2011 – Cat 1 population 37,225. 2020/2021 – Cat 1 population 64,329.

increase in sex-offender convictions, the number of sex-offenders managed in the community of Essex and Nationally is likely to continue to increase over the coming decade.

How does this research help?

This thesis aims to provide a descriptive analysis of crime harm levels in a cohort of registered sex-offenders (N=235) who reside in Essex over an individual 4-year duration using available quantitative data from the Athena Crime Recording System[4]. It is hoped that by doing so, more efficient measures to proactively tackle sex-offenders can be identified and utilised within Essex Police to reduce harm and improve efficiencies.

This research uses Home Office positive justice outcomes as an indicator of measuring high harm (See Appendix B) (Home Office 2021f). There is little research on harm levels caused by sex-offender cohorts and previous studies are based around harm measured through risk assessment tools that use crime counts and subjectiveness rather than measuring overall harm. In Ralph Jackman's (2015) study on measuring harm in a cohort of sex offenders in Norfolk, its focus was only on sexual harm and did not look at combined harm in all offences which this thesis seeks to address.

Could detecting high harm sex-offenders through a crime harm index and proactively targeting them in different ways help reduce overall harm to society caused by these offenders?

[4] An electronic crime recording system for several police forces in the UK.

The research questions this thesis seeks to address are:

1. What is the level of harm in a cohort of registered sex-offenders who were first convicted between 31st July 2015 to 31st July 2017 and then tracked over an individual 4-year duration?
2. Who are the Power Few offenders in the cohort for sexual offending, non-sexual offending, and combined offending?
3. What are the demographics of the cohort and how does that compare to the harm levels?

Structure

This thesis is formulated into six sections and opens with a literature review providing a critical evaluation of topics relating to sex-offenders including sexual and general recidivism, homogeneity, demographics, management of sex-offenders and crime harm seeking to identify what research currently exists and what gaps need to be further examined. The data and methods chapter explores the processes and analytical techniques that were used to capture and analyse the data and examines the limitations and complications of the data capture and how these were overcome. External validity and further research opportunities are explored and discussed. The results are presented under the research questions for ease and are supplemented with graphics to enable understanding. A discussion of the findings then follows, documenting the strengths and limitations of the research and examining key findings in more detail. Implications regarding policy relating to the study are formally discussed. Finally, the conclusion details a summary of discussed material and highlights

gaps that the research has filled with recommendations for further research to help manage sex-offender harm more effectively.

Literature Review

Introduction

Do sexual offenders re-offend? Research has shown that this is not a simple question. Public opinion from studies show that the public believes they do, and quite considerably (Socia and Harris 2016; Thomas and Marshall 2021). This is re-enforced with sensational news headlines such as *''More than 1,000 registered sex offenders in Essex''* (Clacton and Frinton Gazette 2021), which feed the public view that there is a necessity to manage sex-offenders because of the risk of re-offending but what does the academic evidence say about recidivism in sex-offenders and what harm levels do they cause?

Studies show that sexual recidivism can be anywhere from 4% to 71% (Marshall & Barbaree 1990), which shows there is a vast difference between sex-offenders recidivism rates compounded with many influencing factors. More recent evaluations show that recidivism in sex-offending can change over time and is dependent on other factors such as previous offending, age (Hanson and Bussiere 1998; Harris and Hanson 2004) and support mechanisms (Hedderman and Sugg 1996; Soldino and Carbonell-Vaya 2017).

Recidivism rates are not just confined to sex-offences and other studies explore sexual, violent and in some cases combined offending. Violent recidivism rates fall anywhere between 17.1% and 21.7% (Sample and Bray 2003; Cann et al 2004) but the length of follow-up is widely different. Sample and Bray's (2003) 3-year study of arrested sex-offenders in America is certainly worth mentioning due to the large sample size, however, Cann et al's (2004) 21-year follow-up study in England is also interesting despite the sample size being

smaller. It is difficult to assess whether a smaller cohort over an extended time has more significant findings than a larger cohort over a smaller time. When examining sexual and combined offending, recidivism rates were found to be between 21.3% over 1-year rising to 61.8% over 21-years (Sample and Bray 2006: Cann et al 2004). This supports research showing recidivism increases over time, however, there is very little literature that looks at harm levels in recidivism for all offence types which should be further explored to understand what harm levels repeat sex-offenders are causing both in sexual and non-sexual offending.

This literature review will outline existing international research of recidivism in cohorts of sex-offenders, descriptive summary accounts of demographic characteristics and offending behaviour. An analysis of the literature identifies that there are gaps in research regarding harm measurements. Crime count rather than harm is often tracked, and the only research found regarding sex-offender harm measurements using the Cambridge Crime Harm Index (CCHI) was Ralph Jackman's (2015) study regarding the management of sex-offenders. Jackman adapted the CCHI to measure some historic high harm offences for his research. This review will conclude with an outline of CCHI and how it can apply to sex-offender studies.

Sexual and General Recidivism

Research shows that sex-offenders are more likely to recidivate sexually than non-sexually, and non-sexual offenders are more likely to recidivate non-sexually than sexually. This is supported by Hanson et al (1995) study which found that 83.2% of non-sexual offenders and 61.8% of sex-offenders were reconvicted between a 15-30 year follow up period. They found that 96% of the non-sexual recidivism was by the non-sexual offenders

and sex-offenders were responsible for 97% of the sex-offending. This is an interesting finding and suggests homogeneity in different offending types.

Both sexual and non-sexual typologies are likely to be at risk of recidivism. As much as 15-20 years later according to Prentky et al (1997), however, Rettenburger et al (2015) disagrees with this assessment arguing that most sex-offenders do not re-offend sexually after release from prison and of the much larger sample size he measured, sexual recidivism rates were 6% for the total sample after 5-years, 4% for the rapist typology and 8% for the child sex-offender typology. This finding appears at odds with Cann et al's (2004) research which suggests recidivism may be different across typologies.

More reliable evidence comes from research by Harris and Hanson (2004) who evaluated ten studies that identified 73% of sex-offenders had not been charged or convicted of another sex-offence after 15 years. It also identified that previous sexual convictions are a positive indicator of sexual re-offending whilst first-time sex-offenders are unlikely to sexually re-offend with 19% re-offending in sex-offences compared to those with previous convictions of which 39% recidivated. The observed recidivism rates for combined offender typologies in this study were 14% after 5 years, 20% after 10 years, and 24% after 15 years, showing an increase in repeat offending over a longer period.

During a longitudinal study of a cohort of 411 men, it was found that repeat sex-offending was rare with under 3% of the men being re-convicted of a sex-offence. The cohort in this study was followed through to the age of 50. It found that non-sexual types of offences such as burglary and theft were more common for re-offending in the younger age bracket whilst assault, drugs, fraud, and miscellaneous offences were more common nearer to the age

of 50. However, this study also acknowledges that a small proportion of the cohort committed many crimes and other men in the cohort were only responsible for one offence each which is a limitation (Piquero et al 2012).

Long term studies tend to show better results and appear to be more reliable. In Langevin et al's (2004) 25-year follow-up study on Lifetime Sex-Offender Recidivism, the cohort of 320 sex-offenders and 31 violent non-sex offenders were examined for their overall recidivism risk. It found that around three out of five sex-offenders were re-convicted of a sex-offence during the 25-year follow-up. When including all offences, including non-sex offences, four in five sex-offenders recidivated during the follow-up period. Child sex-abusers and exhibitionists[5] were most likely to re-offend, while incest sex-offenders were the least likely to re-offend. This supports academic evidence that sex-offenders shouldn't be treated the same and their recidivism risk is based on many factors (Hanson and Bussiere 1996, 1998; Greenburg 1998).

There have been examinations of recidivism in cohorts of offenders released from prison. This is a good measure of whether imprisonment works for the sex-offender, or community-based treatments and resolutions are a better way forward, particularly for low-risk sex-offences such as Indecent Images of Children (IIoC) (Goller et al (2016).

A cohort of sex-offenders who was released from prison in England during 1979 was followed over 21-years to observe sexual, violent, and general reconvictions post-release. A

[5] The offence of Exhibitionism is referred to under UK law as Exposure

quarter (24.6%) received a reconviction for a sex-offence over the 21 years, 21.7% received a violent reconviction and 61.8% received a general reconviction[6] (Cann et al 2004).

Studies also show that in the short-term recidivism risk for sex-offences remains low. In Langan, Smith, and Durose (2003) it was observed that over three years the cohort of sex-offenders released from prison in 15 states of America in 1994, the sexual recidivism rate was only 5.3%. This study was measured by arrests rather than convictions. The violence recidivism rate was higher at 17.1% and four in ten sex-offenders returned to prison within three-years of their release due to the commission of a new crime or a breach of conditions. Sex-offenders were found to have a lower overall rearrest rate than non-sex offenders (43% compared to 68%), but their sex-crime re-arrest rate was four times higher than the rate for non-sex offenders (5.3% compared to 1.3%), which is supported by Hanson et al's (1995) study which examined risk predictors and long-term recidivism.

Other prison release studies, such as Rettenberger et al (2015) study measured the re-conviction rate of a sample of released convicts in Australia. This study also found that most sex-offenders do not re-offend sexually after release from prison. Notably, in the first five-years, only 6% of the cohort recidivated for a sex-offence which is at odds with Cann et al's (2004) study. In this data, the typology seems to have different results to other studies in that rapists were less likely to recidivate than child sex-offenders (4% and 8% respectively). However, it was noted that rapists were more likely to recidivate for a general or violent offence than child sex-offenders.

Regardless of the recidivism research in past years, the true extent to which sex-offenders recidivate is especially difficult to determine because sex-crimes are underreported

[6] All offending including sexual offending

to professionals and because of how recidivism is currently measured such as arrest or conviction rates (Heilbrun et al 1998).

Management of Sex-Offenders

Due to the potential and perceived danger sex-offenders present to the public, the statutory management of sex-offenders by public institutions is an internationally recognised practice. Most academic evidence available is from America which has some very different management requirements to England, particularly around risk-assessments. English sex-offenders are managed in the community by police post-conviction under MAPPA and through the multi-agency system Visor[7]. Some academic evidence shows the benefits and challenges of the management of sex-offenders in the community. Particularly, whether management using risk assessments by professional agencies has any effect on recidivism at all (Kewley et al 2020). The question remains; are sex-offenders not re-offending because they are being managed by professionals in the community or is it because they are managed that their offending is uncovered?

A study in America explored the association between registration[8] and recidivism. From a cohort of 2,970 sex-offenders, no significant differences were noted between those who sexually recidivated and those who complied with requirements and the failure to register. Therefore, there was little evidence that sex-offenders who do not register or breach their requirements are more likely to recidivate sexually (Levenson et al 2010).

[7] Visor: Violent and Sex Offender Register is a database of those convicted for a qualifying offence under the Sexual Offences Act 2003.

[8] Similar to the Notification requirements under the Sexual Offences Act 2003 in England and Wales.

Duwe and Donnay's (2010) study noted that a failure to register an offence significantly increased the risk of recidivism for failing to register again in the future, but they were unable to find evidence that general recidivism was linked to failing to register.

So, does sex-offender registration work? In a study by Sandler et al (2008) the arrest rates of sex-offenders were examined before and after the enactment of the Sex-Offender Registration Act in New York, USA. They found that there was no evidence that the registration rules were effective in any typology of sex-offender. Over 95% of sex-offences were committed by first-time offenders.

After 24-years of sex-offender registration it is useful to understand what practitioners think of the benefits of registration are and if registration stops sexual and other offending. Masters and Kebbell (2019) conducted a qualitative study to examine just this. They conducted interviews with police offender managers. The offender managers told the interviewers they believed the register was a better option than nothing at all but that it likely offers little protection to children. This is supported by another qualitative study by McCarten et al (2018) in which officers stated that certain issues impacted the sex-offender register scheme in practice such as multi-agency working and public understanding.

So, what does the public think? When Kernsmith et al (2009) interviewed members of the public in America, nearly all the participants reported being afraid of sex-offenders particularly if living near to them. Women were more afraid than men and the majority were most afraid of child sex-offenders (80% of the sample). Less of the sample were fearful of rapists and less of the sample felt they should be subject to registration. Most participants agreed that child sex-offenders should be registered with the police with 97% agreeing. This

study does not separate different typologies of child sex-offenders. Perhaps the respondents would have felt differently between child-contact and non-contact sex-offenders?

Common public opinion is that sex-offenders are more likely to target strangers rather than someone they know. Research in America by Craun and Theriot (2009) on Misconceptions of Sex-Offender Perpetration found that despite over 50% of respondents having equal concern over a child being sexually abused by a stranger or someone they knew, three in ten respondents worried more about a child being sexually abused by a stranger than someone they know whilst only two in ten worried more about a child being sexually abused by someone they knew. The public perception that the child-sex-offender is more dangerous than a rapist is supported by further UK research by Brown et al (2008) who completed questionnaires with 979 people and found child sex-offenders were more feared than other sex-offenders.

Homogeneity

An argument that often arises is whether sex-offenders are a homogenous group. UK Sex-Offender Legislation treats them as such, but interestingly research shows that sex-offenders are not homogeneous and are confined to their sex-offending typology. Past research and public opinion show that there's a belief that contact child sex-offenders are more likely to recidivate, but academic evidence supports that rapists and exhibitionists are more likely to re-offend sexually (Hanson and Bussiere 1996; Greenburg 1998). This is supported in another study by Hanson and Bussiere's (1998) where they observed increased sex-offending in a group of sex-offenders by 13.4% but when separated down into typologies, rapists' recidivism rate was 18.9% and only 12.7% was observed in child sex-

offenders showing a marked difference. Rapists are also more likely to recidivate with a violent offence than child sex-offenders are (Hanson and Bussiere 1996).

In a methodological analysis by Prentky et al (1997) recidivism rates amongst rapists and child sex-offenders were measured and they found that over 25-years, both typologies were at risk of re-offending long after conviction or release from custody. At the end of 15-years, 26% of the rapists had sexually re-offended within an average of five-years rising to 39% by the end of the study. A rate of about 34.5% repeat offending rate was noted for non-sexual offences whilst for child sex-offenders 32% had re-offended by the end of 15-years with an average of 3.6 years before re-offence. This has risen to 52% by the conclusion of the study which supports other academic evidence that re-offending rates for rapists are earlier in their adulthood whilst child-sex offenders continue to re-offend later into life.

When analysing research around Indecent Images of Children (IIoC) offenders, there is a wider plethora of evidence to absorb. The rate at which IIoC offenders are being identified and prosecuted has dramatically increased over the last two decades (Bates and Metcalf 2007; Motivans and Kyckelhahn 2007; Wolak, Finkelhor, and Mitchell 2009). Before the explosion of the internet, IIoC was mainly restricted to physical images and videos numbering in the thousands, mainly passed around by hand. With wider access to the internet, sharing of IIoC has become an international crime and the images now number in their millions (Gilespie 2005; Home Office 2018 - CAID).

Recidivism rates of IIoC offenders still appear to be low. In a 6-year follow up study conducted by Endrass et al (2009) a cohort of 231 IIoC offenders from Switzerland were analysed. Using recidivism measurements based on investigations, charges, and convictions

only 3% of the study recidivated with a violent or sexual offence, 4% with a non-contact sex-offence and 1% with a contact sex-offence. The study concluded that consumption of IIoC alone does not appear to be a risk factor for committing contact sex-offences.

This is further supported in the work conducted by Goller et al (2016) which reviewed a cohort of 4,612 offenders in Switzerland and followed them over 35-years. At 3-years the re-conviction rate on child non-contact sex-offenders was 0.2% which showed a low progression rate of any sex-offences. The study argues that community sentences for IIoC offenders are appropriate. In a meta-analysis of a sample of 2,630 online sex-offenders by Seto et al (2011) 4.6% of online sex-offenders committed a new sex-offence during a 1.5 to 6-year period. 2% committed a contact sex-offence and 3.4% committed a new IIoC offence. All three studies have interesting findings particularly, the meta-analysis which is a strong form of research. All three support an argument to consider out-of-court disposals for low harm sex-offences such as IIoC in future.

Other areas of sexual recidivism remain vastly unexplored such as Exposure[9] and Voyeurism[10]. Despite academic evidence that both typology offenders tend to recidivate, policing around the world continues to treat these as low-harm offences as they attract a low sentence and do not feature high on the Crime Severity Scores (Office of National Statistics 2021) or the CCHI (Sherman et al 2016; 2020).

Robinson's (1989) study is one of the earliest studies which explored recidivism in Exposure and Voyeurism sex-offenders. It showed that both typologies tend to have the

[9] Section 66 - The Sexual Offences Act 2003 in England and Wales
[10] Section 68 of the Sexual Offences Act 2003

highest recidivism rates with some studies reporting rates that exceed 40%. In 2015 Przybylski conducted a review of the literature and could only find limited research around the subject of recidivism in Exposure offenders. The three studies he reports on observe that recidivism rates were between 12% for a new sex-offence or conviction over 7-years (Rabinowitz-Greenberg et al 2002) rising to 24% over 13-years (Firestone et al 2006) to 32% over 17-years (Sugarman et al 1994). This supports earlier literature which saw more accurate results and rises in sexual recidivism over longer studies (Hanson and Bussiere 1996; Cann et al 2004).

The subject of prediction of recidivism in Exposure offenders was studied further in Greenburg et al's (2002) research, which assessed 221 Exposure offenders between 1983 and 1996. Despite being regarded as a low-risk offender with no risk of re-offending (Firestone et al 2006; Gardiner 2012), 33% of the cohort were charged with other offences including sexual and violent offences.

Researchers in this area often acknowledge that the results are likely to be an under-representation of the true rate, as there is no way of knowing how many sex-offenders do not get caught but re-offend (Firestone et al 2006). Sadly, this is likely to be the case in many sex-crimes as it is widely acknowledged that sex-crimes are under-reported across the UK (Office of National Statistics 2020).

Since the wide publication in 2021 of the rape and murder of Sarah Everard by Police Officer Wayne Couzens, who had a history of Exposure and sex-offences, media and public opinion believe we need to take Exposure offenders more seriously and more research in this area is a must to understand the full impact of harm.

Demographics of Sex-Offenders

There appear to be differences when comparing recidivism in male and female sex-offenders. Male sex-offenders are more likely to sexually recidivate than female sex-offenders and they are more likely to recidivate non-sexually as well (Freeman and Sandler 2008). There is very little research found regarding female sex-offenders and even less regarding transgender/gender-fluid/gender-neutral offenders.

Many studies observe that sex-offenders are mostly of white ethnicity. A study by Meloy (2005) noted that three-quarters of sex-offenders on probation were of white ethnicity. Ethnic characteristics of IIoC offenders remain consistent across different studies. A meta-analysis by Babchishin et al (2011) findings indicated that online offenders were more likely to be white ethnicity and slightly younger than offline offenders. Approximately 8% of online offenders were classed as a racial minority which was much lower than offline contact sex-offenders of which racial minorities were about 35%. In Aslan and Edelmann's (2014) paper which evaluated the characteristics of online sex-offenders, 94% of the cohort (N=230) were white men and were generally younger than child contact sex-offenders. However, Babchishin et al (2011) notes that one possible explanation for a large proportion of white ethnicity online sex-offenders is access to the internet in the general population alongside economic and wealth inequality. The global internet usage rate is 59.5% but some poorer continents such as Africa have limited internet use (OurWorldInData.Org 2021) and most countries have inadequate social systems to understand and manage gender-based violence (World Health Organisation 2021). This is an assumption and not supported by evidence and does not account for why research in richer countries still appears to show a larger proportion of white ethnicity offenders.

The age of sex-offenders is shown to have an impact on sex-offending. Offenders over the age of 50 are found to be less likely to re-offend than those under 50. The overall recidivism rate increases with time the younger an offender is at first offence (Harris and Hanson 2004). There also appears to be a difference between juveniles and adults when they are first convicted of their first sex-offence. In Lussier and Blokland's (2013) study on adolescence to adulthood transition by sex-offenders, they noted that most juveniles stopped sex-offending whilst adult's started sex-offending in adulthood. This is at odds with non-sexual offending where it was noted that offending increased more in childhood, and they were also more likely at risk of becoming an adult sex-offender. The study notes that future prevention programmes should monitor this section of juveniles more closely for further risk factors of sex-offending.

Harm Measurements

Harm can have a broad definition. Generally, when people refer to harm, they mean to physically hurt someone or damage something (Cambridge Dictionary 2021). Harm can have a much wider meaning and for the purposes of crime. Harm can be caused through personal impacts such as Post Traumatic Stress or personal cost to the individual (Sherman and Strang 2012; Strang et al 2013).

When measuring harm, some crime is more severe than others and some harm is incredibly difficult to measure such as unreported crime.

Numerous ways have been developed to measure criminal harm to be able to target resources effectively at a minimal cost. In the UK the Crime Count has been used by Policing

as a measure, but this only counts the number of crimes that have taken place and does not consider the individual harm caused by each crime. For example, you may have hundreds of shopliftings compared to a few homicides but homicide is more harmful. It also doesn't consider unreported crime (Home Office 2021a).

Crime Severity Scores (CSS) were developed after it was acknowledged that harm needed to be measured in a more productive way (Office of National Statistics 2021). The CSS is calculated by taking the average custody length by days, community order or fine rate of all convicted offenders over the previous 5-years. This method, however, is too subjective as sentences passed are subject to aggravating and mitigating factors. The CSS could be considered imperfect in many ways and is robustly examined in Ashby's (2018) paper comparing CSS to the CCHI (Sherman et al 2016; 2020). In this paper, Ashby says that both harm measurements have flaws, but there is equal value, and more research is required in both areas. The CCHI which takes the sentencing starting point from the sentencing guidelines rather than the average calculates the harm through the number of days imprisonment multiplied by the number of offences committed giving an overall harm score. It is flawed as it treats all offences equally for the measurement of harm and misses additional impact. Offences with an aggravating factor such as domestic abuse or hate crime receive the same score as other offences without the aggravating factor. Sherman et al acknowledge this in their (2020) paper explaining the use of the CCHI and describes the possibility of developing future versions to take these factors into account.

An interesting observation by Sherman in the (2013) paper on the Rise of Evidence Based Policing is that the CCHI has enormous value in forecasting crime in the future to reduce harm. However, in Sherman et al's 2020 paper on CCHI, it is suggested that police

detected crime should be eliminated. This makes sense in some areas such as drug offences, which are often police found cases however, removing this measurement of harm in some police detected offences such as breaches of domestic abuse and sex-offending court orders may miss some high harm measurements which are at odds with its intended objective.

The Power Few are described as the small percentage causing the most harm (Sherman 2007). This can relate to places, victims, or offenders. Identifying the Power Few offenders may assist in reducing harm. Sherman (2007) acknowledges this can be difficult and works in some areas but not others. The Power Few tend to be the hardest case types or offenders who are in prison. Perhaps the police should be concentrating on those in prison and preventing their future harm rather than just those released in the community. As Sherman said *''Leaving them unchecked and most of the harm remains unchecked''* (Sherman 2007, p308).

An interesting study that uses the CCHI measuring offenders is Liggins et al (2019) who looked at 327,566 crimes and 39,545 offenders in Northamptonshire over 7-years. He found that 80% of crime harm was linked to 7% of offenders. This is an important finding due to the large sample size. The study supports that policing sex-offenders could be concentrated on the Power Few causing the most harm to improve efficiencies and reduce harm (Sherman 2007).

Literature Summary

The evidence regarding recidivism shows that most sex-offenders do not re-offend sexually, and the longer offenders remained offence-free, the less likely they are to re-offend

sexually (Harris and Hanson 2004). Most sex-offenders are at risk of re-offending within the first five-years of their conviction or release from custody and generally, this hovers below a 6% recidivation rate. The longer the study is regarding recidivism, the more accurate the results are likely to be and likely to increase the recidivism rate. Evidence generally supports that Exposure offenders and Rapists are more likely to sexually recidivate particularly in their early 20's, whilst child sex-offenders are more likely to recidivate later in life. A potential explanation regarding this age parameter could be due to late reporting of historic crime, including intra-familial cases which is often not reported until the victim reaches adulthood (Office of National Statistics 2020). There appears to be a higher rate of recidivism in violent and combined offending in all studies observed.

Comparisons of the CSS and CCHI show there is value in using the CCHI to measure harm (Ashby 2018), but additional considerations need to be considered such as its value when reviewing harm around proactive orders and offending uncovered by police especially in sex-offences where the management of sex-offenders is very proactive, and many offences are discovered this way which could arguably prevent further harm.

There is no research showing the cost-benefit analysis for policing to continue to manage low-risk non-contact sex-offenders such as the IIoC typology. Based on the academic evidence available and awareness of policing austerity challenges, should police continue to actively manage sex-offenders in the current format when the low-harm sex-offenders present little documented risk from studies conducted so far? This, of course, must be balanced in line with public opinion and perception who feel they are at risk from sex-offenders and any decision moving away from this course of action would have to be balanced in line with retaining public confidence in communities.

Methodology

This chapter outlines the methods used to collect, cleanse, and analyse data relating to the cohort of Essex sex-offenders and answer the research questions concerning harm levels caused by this cohort, who the Power Few are, their impact and the demographics of the cohort.

The data section details all sources and how these were abstracted from the Police Crime Recording System named 'Athena'. It also describes data collection issues with the Police National Computer (PNC) and the original primary data source that was planned for use called ViSOR for which no authority for its use was granted and how this barrier was overcome.

The next section describes the process of cleansing the data to draw out findings and patterns associated with the sample of sex-offenders and the analytical processes used to statistically review the data utilising proven methods.

Finally, the external validity of the research is discussed with encouragement given for further research in different areas relating to sex-offenders.

Rationale and assumptions

Quantitative methods with a descriptive cross-sectional design were used for measuring frequency distribution, averages, ranking, and categorising the sample to identify patterns and interpret the data. This is a widely recognised and suitable approach to

answering the research questions which relate to measuring harm and recidivism in sexual, non-sexual and combined offending. Williams (2007) paper on research methods explains that although descriptive quantitative research is a basic form of research it is appropriate when measuring numerical data in a population sample to identify phenomena, which this thesis seeks to achieve.

Data Sources

Data was captured from one primary data source which was the Athena Police Crime Recording System and cross-referred to a secondary data source called the Police National Computer (PNC). This was prepared and cleansed before analysing to check for missing data, remove outliers and exclusions, and transform any variables. There were two major data processes undertaken.

The Crime Recording System: Athena

The primary data source used was the police crime recording system in Essex Police called 'Athena'. Athena is used by several police forces across England, and there is access to the data within the system across the consortium.

Data was extracted by an analyst using initial criteria to identify the sample for further examination. The criteria set included all sex-offenders who were over-18 and convicted of a first-time sex-offence listed under schedule 3 of The Sexual Offences Act 2003 and was committed between 31/07/2015 and 31/07/2017.

Registered Sex-Offenders (RSO) are flagged on Athena with an RSO marker for ease of identification and tracking within Police Forces. This identified an initial cohort of 399 convicted sex-offenders. Female sex-offenders (N=2) were excluded due to low numbers which would affect data outcomes. One sex-offender who 1-year post-conviction of their Index offence began to identify as female but was born as male was included in the data set as the Index offence and conviction was at the time she identified as male. All those convicted after they were 18 years old were selected to improve internal validity due to differences in offending recidivism rates observed between youths and adult offenders as identified in other studies including Craig's (2008) study on understanding the effect of age on recidivism. A manual examination of the data was then performed to ensure that the sample could be successfully tracked over an independent 4-year duration for each sex-offender. Further exclusions were made in the data set including any sex-offenders who were absent from the UK, deported after conviction or subject to a hospital order as they would not be able to be tracked equally over a 4-year duration. It was found that some sex-offenders were imprisoned immediately or within a few months of their conviction. To ensure successful and equal tracking of individuals, all sex-offenders remaining in prison longer than 12-months were excluded from the data set leaving 235 viable sex-offenders who remained in the sample. Release dates for those imprisoned had to be checked through PNC to ensure all cohort individuals were equally tracked over the 4-year duration. All sex-offenders in the cohort were then anonymised by giving them a unique identifier and removing all identifiable data to comply with data protection requirements.

Figure 1: Timeline showing example of cohort member Index Offence when tracked from Court release

Figure 2: Timeline showing example of cohort member Index Offence when tracked from prison release

Initial observations were made regarding the demographic characteristics of the 235 in the cohort which is presented in the results. The Athena system was reviewed to identify how many of the sample were present. 209 sex-offenders were identified. To analyse ongoing offending, each of the 209 sex-offenders in the cohort was further examined to identify a unique start and finish date to measure ongoing personal offending over 4-years based on the date they were convicted of their Index offence or released from prison for that offence. This gave parameters to measure ongoing offending for each member of the sample accurately and effectively (Appendix A).

Data was manually examined further to remove incidents where a crime hadn't been committed (non-crimes) and any non-sanctioned police justice outcomes (Appendix B) to ensure accurate measurements of recidivism and harm. All offending outside of the sex-offender's time parameters was also removed leaving a final cohort of 144.
A total of 416 ongoing offences were found to have been committed by the cohort of 144 sex-offenders in their respective periods. Of this, 347 were identified as sex-offences and 69 were identified as non-sexual offences.

Demographics were measured both at Index offence for the initial cohort of 235 and the final cohort of 144. Demographic measurements included measuring the frequency distribution of ethnicity in the Index offence and ongoing offences under the categories of sexual, non-sexual and combined offending. It was observed early on that a large proportion of ongoing offending was linked to sex-offenders who identified as one of the three white ethnicity categories according to 18+1 self-defined ethnicity categories under the Home Office and NPCC guidance (DCC C Gray, 2002). For the purposes of this study and to simplify findings in this thesis all sex-offenders who identified as one of the three white categories were grouped into a white category and all other ethnicities who identified as another category were grouped into a category of Not White.

The demographic of age across the Index offence and ongoing sexual, non-sexual and combined offending was measured. Age groups were listed into categories of 0-17, 18-34, 35-49, 50+ years. The average age across the categories of sexual, non-sexual and combined offending was examined to identify if there were offences aligned to different age groups. The minimum and maximum age in each category were also observed for the same reasons.

Of the 235 initial cohort, 209 of them featured on Athena and 26 of them did not at all. This was examined in further detail and of the 26 who were not in the Athena data set only 3-crimes were recorded outside of Athena Force areas according to PNC. Of the 209 who were recorded in Athena, only 5-crimes were recorded outside of Athena Force areas according to PNC. Only 4 of these crimes received a positive police justice outcome. These are very small numbers and as this cohort of sex-offenders reside and are managed by Essex Police any external offending appears to be minimal and would not widely affect the results in this research.

Some data inaccuracies were observed when further cleansing the data, which is always expected when data is input manually. For example, 69 offences had to be independently analysed as it was not clear what crimes they were recorded as. These applied to crime types such as mental-health and domestic-abuse. Manual changes in the data were made to show the correct crime type to enable the analysis. These errors were noted to be minor and affected negative outcomes, so did not affect the results once changed.

The Crime Harm Calculation

As Sherman et al (2016) said '*'All crimes are not created equal''* (p.1). When measuring harm, applying alternative methods such as the Crime Severity Score does not create an accurate measurement of harm as it can be impacted by many external factors such as an individual's previous offences. The Cambridge Crime Harm Index (CCHI) removes this impact and measures harm more accurately. The CCHI was used in this study to calculate the overall harm within the sample by calculating the number of days imprisonment from the

sentencing starting point within the sentencing guidelines from the sentencing council (2013) in days and multiplying that by the number of crimes committed by each individual sex-offender.

Due to the complexity of legislation under the Protection of Children's Act 1978, possessing, taking, and making indecent images of children were all treated as 'Taking' offences which has a score of 19 under the CCHI. Some historic legislation such as the Protection of Children's Act 1978 has not yet caught up to modern times and relied on the physical aspect of creating images such as photographs and video cassettes. 'Making' today under case law can also mean a 'change' to the image from the act of uploading or downloading to/from a computer, therefore all are similar offence types. There was also one offence that was outside of the CCHI scoring system which was historic with a late conviction. This was an offence of Indecent assault on a female under 16, Sexual Offences Act 1956: s.14 and was given a CCHI score of 10 after reviewing the method of offence and comparing it to the similar offence of Sexual Activity with a Female Child under 16, No Penetration - Offender 18 or over Sexual Offences Act 2003 s9.

Police National Computer (PNC)

Data was collected through the PNC. PNC contains convictions relating to charges, police issued cautions and charges acquittals at Court. Therefore, not all police justice outcomes are recorded on PNC. Outcomes such as police outcome 10 where the offender accepts criminal responsibility, but it is deemed by police not to be in the public interest to proceed is not recorded on PNC.

Outcome 10 data was required to examine policing decisions regarding the management of ongoing offending by sex-offenders and the harm they cause and whether the right outcomes are being issued by the Police. A decision was made to exclude four positive police justice outcomes recorded on PNC for the cohort as they were small numbers and were not from Athena crime records which is where this research is focussed.

Violent and Sex Offenders Register (ViSOR)

Initially, the primary data source was ViSOR but permission to use the data was not given by the Innovations and Security Group who own the data. This is unfortunate as it limits research into the area of sex-offending and perhaps consideration needs to be given to improving data sharing in an ethical way to encourage research. This barrier was overcome by using data from Athena and PNC to identify standard information such as demographics, allegations of offending and investigative/criminal justice outcomes. Some data in the ViSOR system has better recording accuracy than some other systems such as Athena. Data such as a sex-offender's employment, marital status, family background and their ongoing risk-assessments and the impact on recidivism could not be observed and therefore this limited exploration in this area for the purposes of this study. Certainly, more data and results could have been evaluated such as other demographic criteria, order breaches and identifying if risk-assessments are useful in reducing offending and harm in sex-offenders.

Processing The Data and Analytical Procedures

The Crime Recording System: Athena

Data from Athena for relevant offending including the Index offence was processed and grouped into offending types to understand the harm caused in sexual, non-sexual and combined offending and to measure the demographics within the cohort (Appendix C). Some individual offences were categorised independently as it was observed early on that they formed a large part of the cohort. These included offences such as Indecent Images of Children Offences (IIoC) and Exposure which is very relevant to current topical issues like Violence Against Women and Girls. This enabled a temporal analysis of harm based on offending type.

The sample was treated as a population sample as this is a representative sample of the sex-offender population residing in Essex. Demographics such as ethnicity and age were explored across the offending types under their categories of sexual, non-sexual and combined offending to determine the patterns and comparisons within the sample. Within these areas, a standard deviation calculation was performed to measure the spread in areas.

The Crime Harm Calculation

Data from Athena was analysed using the CCHI to determine the harm caused by parts of the cohort and by individuals themselves. The CCHI score totals were categorised into very high, high, medium, and low according to their value (Appendix D):

Table 1: Cambridge High Harm Score Levels Categorisation

Harm Level	Score level
Very High	1500+
High	500-1499
Medium	50-499
Low	0-49

This enabled an analysis of overall harm in the Index offence and over the 4-year duration of ongoing offending. Each sex-offender in the sample was examined manually and assigned a year according to the date of when the offence was committed and where that occurred in the individual's respective time stream. This enabled a longitudinal analysis to be performed each year to measure the overall harm one caused over time and what level that harm was and enabled a harm analysis by year. Each harm level was further assessed under sexual, non-sexual and combined offending to create an analysis of harm by offending type and overall. Notable differences were observed which will be further discussed later in this thesis. Measuring harm this way assists in identifying the harm levels within this cohort which represents a selection of offenders in the Essex Police cohort of sex-offenders.

Power Few Offenders

The Power Few are the offenders calculated through the CCHI to have committed the overall highest harm. Identifying these particularly, in categories of sexual, non-sexual and combined offending will assist policing in targeting their resources more effectively. The

Power Few offenders in this sample were examined and evaluated for patterns of harm levels. The cohort was further broken down by removing breaches of Notification Requirements and breaches of Sexual Harm Prevention Orders (SHPO) to enable a more accurate understanding of sexual harm based on reported sex-offences rather than combining with breaches of orders. Further analysis of the Power Few was completed measuring sexual, non-sexual and combined offending over the previous 18-months. This was to measure the current harm levels presented by the Power Few enabling an even more refined understanding of harm and allow a better distribution of resources in policing sex-offenders. The Index and ongoing offending crime harm were compounded together to identify the highest Power Few, however, caution must be exercised with this combination result as the Index offence tended to attract the highest CCHI scores.

Comparisons

Data was examined to cross-refer the Index offence to ongoing offending categories. This enabled observation of the number of ongoing offences both sexual and non-sexual in comparison to the Index offence and what offences were later committed. Understanding comparisons across the different offending types will enable more efficient targeting of sex-offenders using different resources rather than just Management of Sex-Offender (MOSOVO) units alone.

Police Justice Outcomes

Policing moved to measure disposals of criminal investigations by outcomes rather than detections in the recognition that not all results need to be sanctioned detections and

other positive outcomes are more suitable for the victim (Home Office 2021f). In this data set positive police justice outcomes have been defined under Appendix B. Home Office positive justice outcomes do not include outcome 10 but for the purposes of measurement in this research all outcomes determined 'not in the public interest to proceed' will be measured as a positive outcome. This is because the outcome is mainly used for breaches of Notification Requirements in Essex and there is enough to charge the sex-offender, but it is deemed not in the public interest to proceed. Therefore, there is a general acceptance of responsibility for the offence. Potentially 'not in the public interest to proceed' justice outcomes may be used too frequently and may not be considered alongside risk and harm present. Further research in this area under a qualitative basis would be useful in future to understand if this is the case and the impact.

An analysis was completed around all positive justice outcomes based on offending category under sexual, non-sexual and combined offending to understand the frequency of outcomes used. A further analysis was conducted around breach of Notification Requirements and breaches of Sexual Harm Prevention Orders (SHPO) to determine the most frequently used outcome. This will enable Essex Police to understand the most frequent outcomes used by offending category to enable further examination into this area to ensure they are appropriate outcomes for the crime especially in the case of repeat crimes relating to breach of Notification Requirements and SHPO's which could affect the management of high harm sex-offenders.

Other considerations for collecting data for this research included analysing a larger sample and would have been progressed had access to ViSOR been authorised. As such, data from the Athena System could only be used which greatly impacted the sample size as the

inception of the Athena system was in April 2015, so limited the number of sex-offenders that could be analysed. Despite this, the results and data presented are useful to continue research into the areas of harm caused by convicted sex-offenders both sexually, non-sexually and combined and analyse demographics to understand if sex-offending is homogenous. The data presented is also useful to Essex Police to understand the demographics and harm levels of the sample presented who are currently being managed in the Essex Police area.

External Validity

All Police Forces in England and Wales follow the College of Policing guidance regarding Management of Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA) which guides MOSOVO units in the management of sex-offenders in the community. It is hoped that similar descriptive analysis' can be conducted in other Police areas to identify whether there are similar patterns that can lead to further research. Other research can also be further explored from the findings contained in this thesis to identify better ways of measuring harm and managing sex-offenders more effectively.

Results

This chapter focuses on answering the three-research questions that were set out at the beginning of this thesis to describe the sample of sex-offenders that reside in Essex, what levels of harm they create, who the Power Few are and what the demographics of the sample are? The research questions will be used as headers to present the results. A summary of findings is contained at the end of the chapter. There will be a focus on the initial cohort of 235 convicted sex-offenders and their Index (start) offence in relation to the research questions and the final cohort of 144 sex-offenders who are responsible for ongoing sexual, non-sexual and combined offending in their respective 4-year time stream. Finally, there is a comparison of harm which includes the Index offence compared to ongoing offending to measure overall harm over the 4-years.

Research Question 1: What is the level of harm in a cohort of registered sex-offenders who were first convicted between 31st July 2015 to 31st July 2017 and then tracked over an individual 4-year duration?

In this study, four-areas were evaluated to measure the harm caused by the cohort at Index offence and in ongoing offences in a temporal analysis over an individual 4-year time-stream for each sex-offender. An analysis was conducted between Index offending and ongoing offending under sexual and non-sexual categories. Finally, positive justice outcomes were evaluated to measure how policing manages offending by sex-offenders and whether that contributes to harm levels.

Index Offence Cohort

The Index offence cohort (N=235) was analysed for harm levels according to their scores using the CCHI commencing from their Index sex-offence when they were convicted or upon release from prison. The analysis (Figure 3) shows that 87% (N=204) of the cohort were identified to have committed Low Harm[11] Index offences. The remainder of the cohort (N=31) were a mixture of very high, high, and medium harm offences with less than 1% (N=2) committing a very high harm offence. This result was expected due to the parameters set of 12-months maximum in prison to allow the temporal tracking over 4-years. What is interesting about this starting point is analysing if the harm increases from a low harm level.

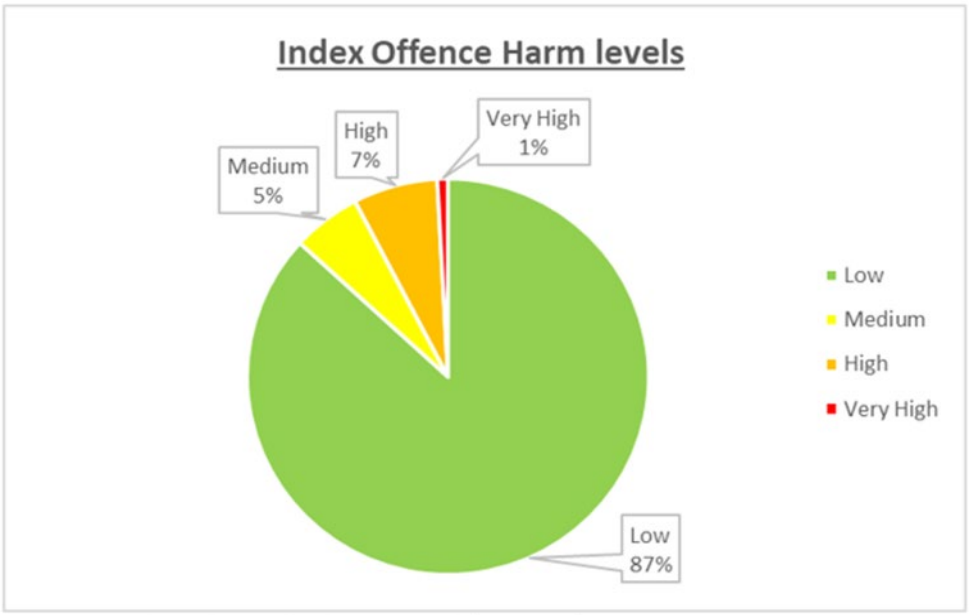

Figure 3: Index offence by harm levels (N = 235)

From this sample, 26 offenders did not re-offend within the Athena Force areas so were excluded from analysis in ongoing offending. Of the 209 remaining, 144 offenders committed an offence with a positive justice outcome assigned during their respective 4-year time-stream.

[11] Table 1: CCHI Values: Low Harm: 0-49, Medium Harm: 50-499 High Harm: 500-1499 Very High Harm: 1500+

Ongoing Harm

Harm levels were assigned to ongoing offences using their values from the CCHI. These were then categorised into sexual harm, non-sexual harm, and combined harm. An analysis was conducted regarding their overall harm in each category, followed by a temporal analysis year by year up to 4-years for each sex-offender. The sample of 144 sex-offenders was reviewed in relation to sexual harm and a total of 347 sexual-offences and 69 non-sexual offences were committed in this period. When the offences, Breach of Sexual Harm Prevention Order (SHPO) and Breach of Notification Requirements were removed (which are not stand-alone sex-offences and are legislation that helps manage the sex-offenders) then the total number of sex-offences in each category is more balanced with 62 sexual-offences committed by the sample. Figure 4 shows there was an overall increase in harm when combing all ongoing offences whilst both sexual harm and non-sexual harm change over the years.

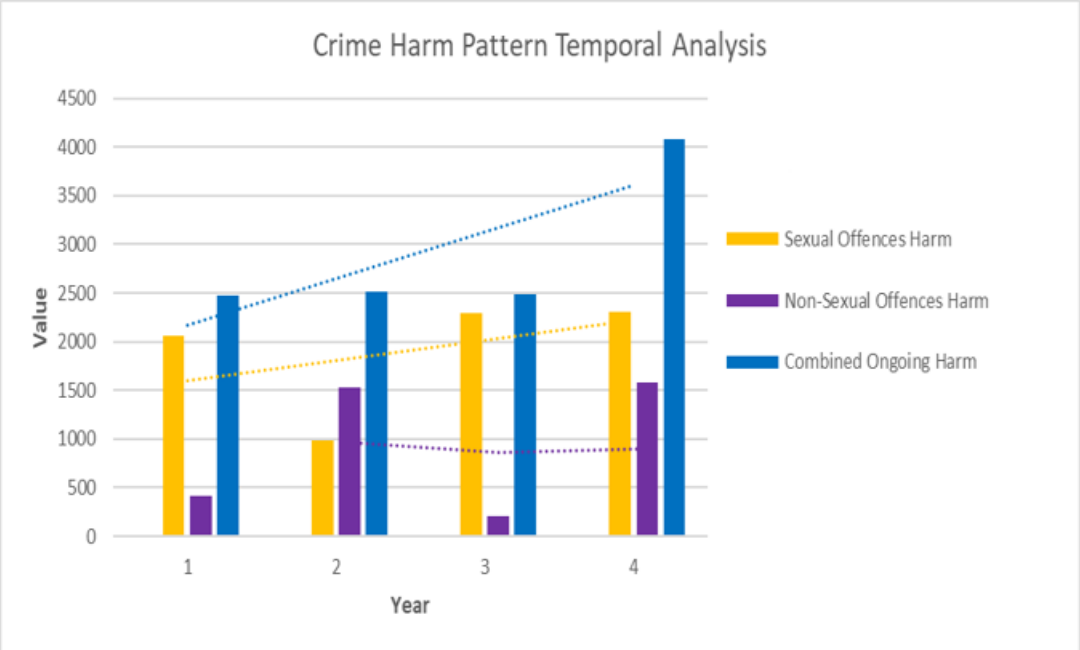

Figure 4: All Offences Crime Temporal Analysis with Index Offence Levels removed

Ongoing Sexual Harm

Harm levels change throughout the 4-years in relation to sex-offences with 96% identified as low harm, which is a large difference compared to other levels (See figure 5). When removing breaches of Notification Requirements and SHPO, ongoing sexual harm changes somewhat with 81% graded as low harm and an increase observed in the high and medium harm level areas (See Figure 6). The total harm value caused by applying the CCHI is 7,347 days.

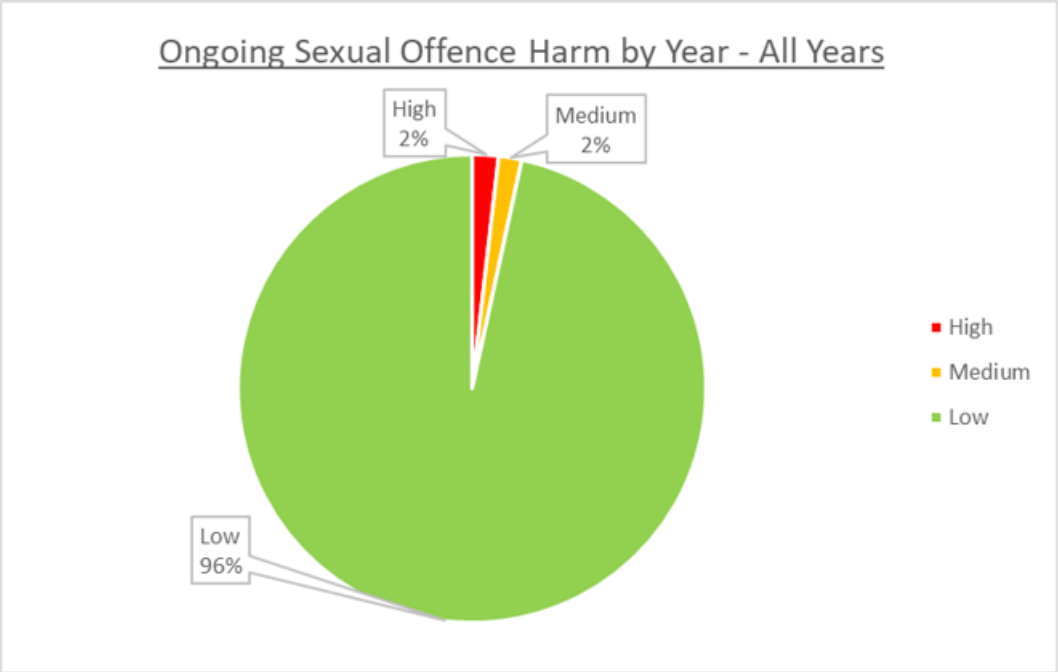

Figure 5: Ongoing Sexual Offence Harm overall years

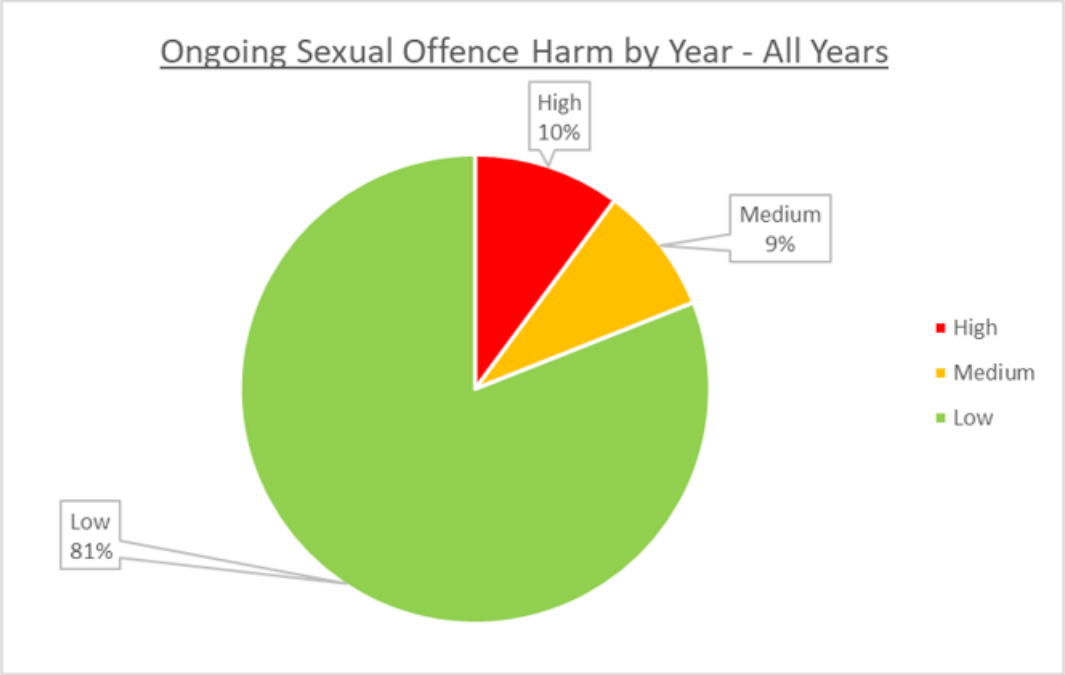

Figure 6: Ongoing Sexual Harm with breaches of Notification Requirements and SHPO's removed.

The Pareto chart below (Figure 7) shows the difference between the harm levels in this sample of sex-offenders.

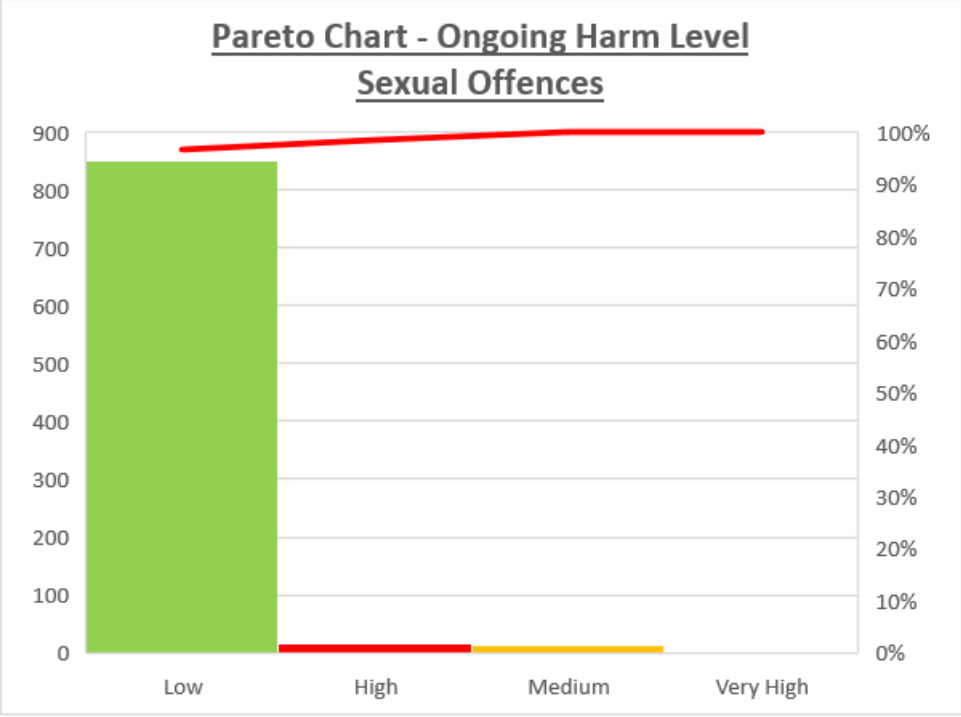

Figure 7: Pareto Chart showing harm level comparisons in each area

When analysing the harm levels individually by year the picture changes somewhat showing a more detailed analysis of each harm level over the years. In Figure 8 which analyses high harm, there is a large drop from year 1 into year 2 which sharply rises again and stays almost static from year 3 onwards. In contrast in Figure 9 which analyses medium-harm, there is a rise in year 2 of medium-harm which lowers again in year 3 and remains static. Low harm is the most interesting (Figure 10) which sees a continuous rise in harm over the 4 years.

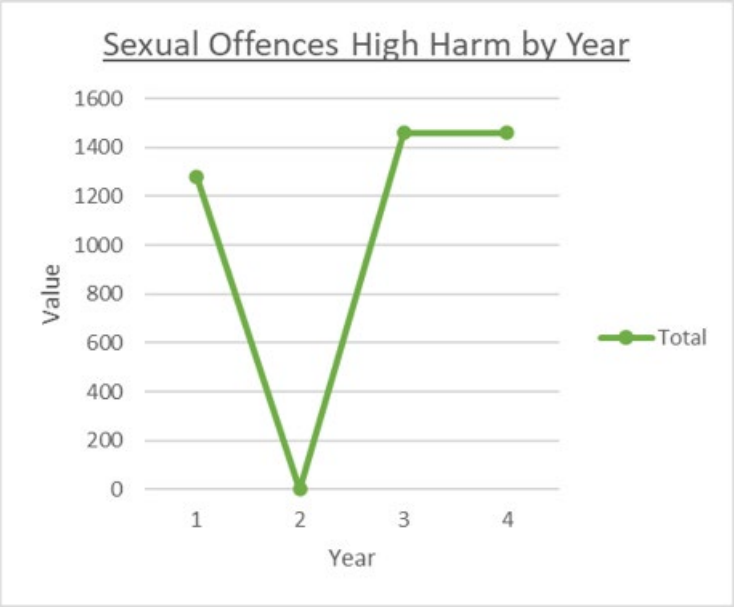

Figure 8: High Harm by Year

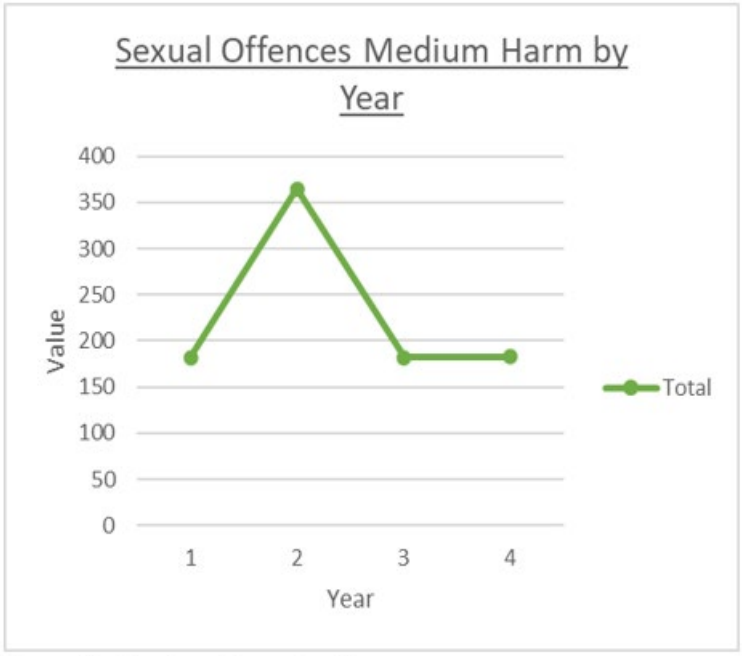

Figure 9: Medium Harm by Year

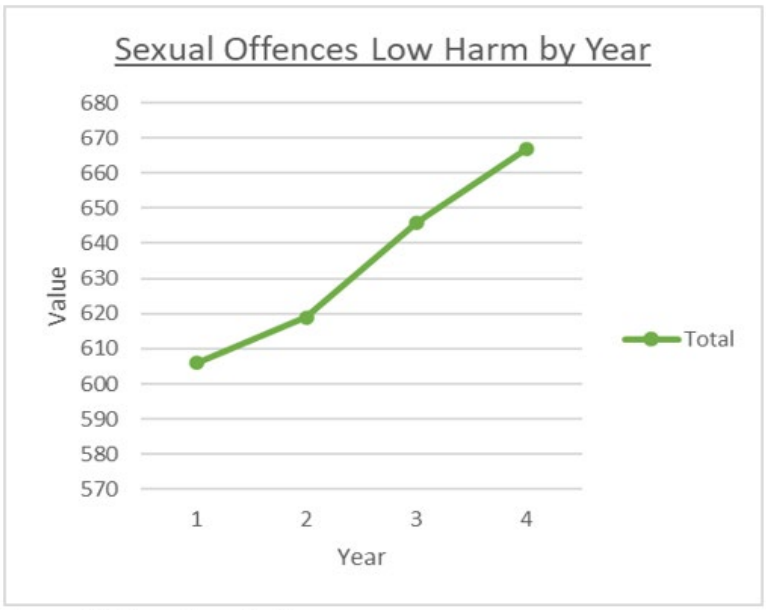

Figure 10: Low Harm by Year

Ongoing Non-Sexual Harm

Harm levels in non-sexual offences reached 3,729.5 days which was about half of that of the sex-offences. Data showed that 95% of harm was categorised as low harm (Figure 11). Analysis showed that year-1 and 3 were low but there were big rises in year-2 and year-4. Analysing this further it was found that more violent offences, such as assault took place which attracted a higher harm score than some other miscellaneous offences. Some of these assaults were attributed to the same offender and were assaults against the police which attracts a higher harm score than a general assault. There is a possibility that some of the cohort could be intermittently sent to prison for other offences during their time-stream which is acknowledged as a limitation. Over 95% of the harm was low harm and numbers were very small (N=69 offences).

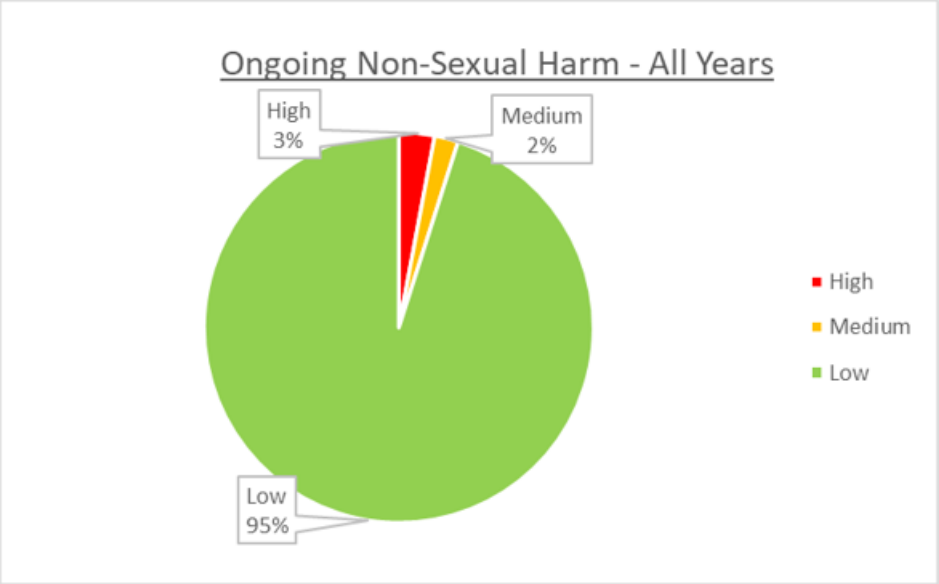

Figure 11: Ongoing Non-Sexual Offences All Years

Ongoing Combined Harm

When sex-offences and non-sexual offences were combined a total harm score of 11,559 days was found. Harm levels remained static between year-1 and year-4 but increased overall by 2,216.5 days. From further analysis, this appears to have risen due to a serious assault by one offender and several very serious child sex-offences. An overwhelming 96.3% of the harm level (Figure 12) was low harm showing that there were very small numbers when it came to re-offending for more serious offences both sexual and non-sexual.

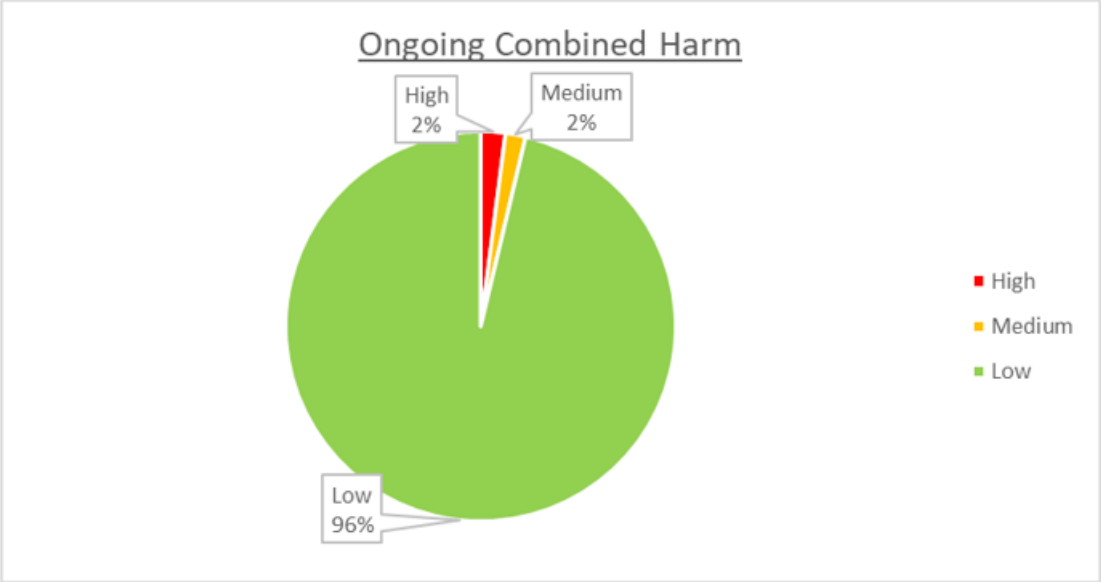

Figure 12: Ongoing combined harm over 4-years

The Pareto chart below (Figure 13) shows the difference between the combined harm levels in this sample of sex-offenders.

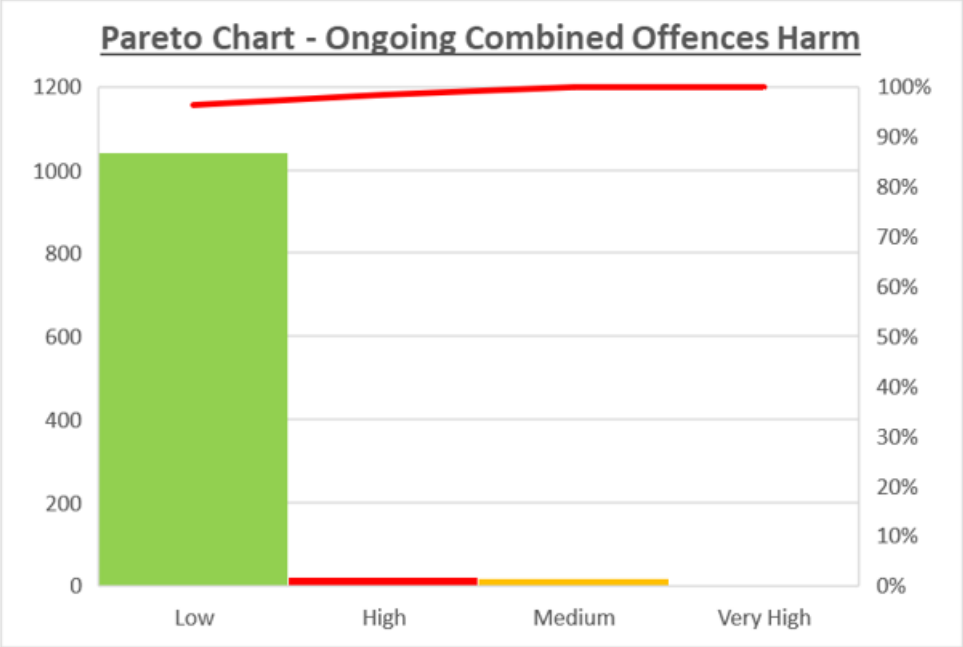

Figure 13: Pareto Chart showing harm level comparison in each area

Comparisons of Offending

The re-offending rate was analysed to identify what offences were committed by each sex-offender depending on their Index offence type (See Table 2). The data suggests that of all repeat offending (N=416): Breach of Notification Requirements and Breach of SHPO made up most re-offending across sex-offending and combined offending (N=285). This was an expected result considering the cohort parameters set in the beginning. Adult sex-offenders committed the most adult sexual re-offending whilst all child sex-offenders including Indecent Images of Children (IIoC) offenders did not commit any offences against adults. Exposure offences were committed more by adult sex-offenders. IIoC offenders had a higher recidivism rate than other offender types for the offence Exposure. IIoC offenders far exceeded other

offence typologies for offences Breach of Notification Requirements and Breach of SHPO. Adult sex-offenders did not go onto commit any known IIoC offences. Finally, there was nothing extraordinary noted regarding ongoing non-sexual offending. Of the 69 offences committed the highest group was violent offences under two categories of assault which made up 20 of the offences.

Table 2: Re-Offending Sexual Offences by Index Type

Index Offence Type	Adult Sexual Other	Breach NReq	Breach SHPO	Child Sexual Grooming	Child Sexual Other	Exposure	IIOC	Other Sexual Offence	**Grand Total**
IIOC	0	95	47	2	3	4	21	1	**173**
Child Sexual Other	0	46	8	1	3	0	2	0	**60**
Adult Sexual Other	5	23	18	1	2	1	0	0	**50**
Child Sexual Grooming	0	26	5	1	2	0	0	0	**34**
Exposure	0	13	2	1	3	3	2	0	**24**
Other Sexual Offence	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	**2**
Grand Total	**5**	**205**	**80**	**6**	**13**	**8**	**25**	**1**	**343**

Outcomes Ongoing Offending

The overwhelming majority of positive justice outcomes assigned to offences under sexual and non-sexual offences was outcome 1 - charge of the offender which is where the offender will have to appear in court (See Table 3). When combining offences, this was 49% of the outcomes followed by outcome 10 – police decision: not in the public interest to proceed, which had high usage as an outcome in sex-offences (39.1%) (See table 4) but hardly at all in non-sexual offences (1.5%) (See Table 5). Under sex-offences, breach of notification requirements and SHPO's were analysed separately, and it was discovered that 58.6% of outcomes were finalised as outcome 10 which was the highest outcome. Breach of SHPO used outcome 1 most often at 70.3% (Appendix B).

Table 3: Combined Offending Outcomes

Positive Outcome Type	No of Outcomes	% Of Outcomes
Type 1 - Charged/Summonsed/Postal Requisition	204	**48.92%**
Type 10 - Formal Action Against Offender is not in the Public Interest (Police)	137	**32.85%**
Type 1A - Charged/Summons - alternate offence. Offender has been charged under the alternate offence rule.	14	**3.36%**
Type 20 - Further action resulting from the crime report will be undertaken by another body or agency subject to the victim (or person acting on their behalf) being made aware of the act to be taken	5	**1.20%**
Type 21 - Further investigation resulting from crime report which could provide evidence sufficient to support formal action against the suspect is not in the public interest - police decision.	11	**2.64%**
Type 22 - Diversionary, educational or intervention activity, resulting from the crime report, has been undertaken and it is not in the public interest to take any further action.	1	**0.24%**
Type 3 - Caution Adult	31	**7.43%**
Type 6 - Penalty notice for disorder	1	**0.24%**
Type 7 - Cannabis/Khat Warning	1	**0.24%**
Type 8 - Community resolution (Crime)	10	**2.40%**
Type 9 - Prosecution Not In the Public Interest (CPS)	2	**0.48%**
Grand Total	**417**	**100.00%**

Table 4: Sexual Offending Outcomes

Positive Outcome Type	No of Outcomes	% of Outcomes
Type 1 - Charged/Summonsed/Postal Requisition	162	**46.55%**
Type 10 - Formal Action Against Offender is not in the Public Interest (Police)	136	**39.08%**
Type 1A - Charged/Summons - alternate offence. Offender has been charged under the alternate offence rule.	4	**1.15%**
Type 20 - Further action resulting from the crime report will be undertaken by another body or agency subject to the victim (or person acting on their behalf) being made aware of the act to be taken	3	**0.86%**
Type 21 - Further investigation resulting from crime report which could provide evidence sufficient to support formal action against the suspect is not in the public interest - police decision.	11	**3.16%**
Type 3 - Caution Adult	29	**8.33%**
Type 8 - Community resolution (Crime)	1	**0.29%**
Type 9 - Prosecution Not In the Public Interest (CPS)	2	**0.57%**
Grand Total	**348**	**100.00%**

Table 5: Non-Sexual Offending Outcomes

Positive Outcome Type	No of Outcomes	% of Outcomes
Type 1 - Charged/Summonsed/Postal Requisition	42	**60.87%**
Type 10 - Formal Action Against Offender is not in the Public Interest (Police)	1	**1.45%**
Type 1A - Charged/Summons - alternate offence. Offender has been charged under the alternate offence rule.	10	**14.49%**
Type 20 - Further action resulting from the crime report will be undertaken by another body or agency subject to the victim (or person acting on their behalf) being made aware of the act to be taken	2	**2.90%**
Type 22 - Diversionary, educational or intervention activity, resulting from the crime report, has been undertaken and it is not in the public interest to take any further action.	1	**1.45%**
Type 3 - Caution Adult	2	**2.90%**
Type 6 - Penalty notice for disorder	1	**1.45%**
Type 7 - Cannabis/Khat Warning	1	**1.45%**
Type 8 - Community resolution (Crime)	9	**13.04%**
Grand Total	**69**	**100.00%**

Research Question 2: Who are the Power Few Offenders in the cohort for sexual offending, non-sexual offending, and combined offending?

In examining this research question the Power Few offenders (Sherman 2007) were selected using their overall harm scores based on the CCHI. Analysis was conducted to identify the Power Few in sexual, non-sexual and combined offences. The Breach of Notification Requirements and Breach of SHPO data were then removed to re-assess the Power Few to see if there was any difference to the Power Few group. Finally, an analysis was completed over 18-months (January 2020 – July 2021) to identify the Power Few causing the most recent harm.

The Power Few

The Index offence was examined, and data showed that 10-offenders (of 235) caused 46.7% of the harm and were the Power Few at Index Offence. One offender (NR18) caused most of this harm at 10.4% (See Table 6).

Table 6: Power Few at Index Offence

Offender	Sum of CCHI Index Score	% of CCHI Index Score
NR18	2190	10.39%
NR207	1095	5.19%
NR213	1095	5.19%
NR143	1095	5.19%
NR14	730	3.46%
NR232	730	3.46%
NR229	730	3.46%
NR227	730	3.46%
NR15	730	3.46%
NR231	730	3.46%

Sex-offences were analysed, which included Breaches of Notification Requirements and SHPO's. The data showed that 10-offenders caused 75.4% of the highest harm and were the Power Few for ongoing sex-offences over their respective 4-year period. Three offenders caused more high harm than anyone else (NR111: 22.2%, NR201: 12.0%, NR232: 9.4%) (See Table 7).

Table 7: Power Few Ongoing Sexual Offences

Offender	Sum of CCHI Ongoing SO	% of CCHI Ongoing SO
NR111	1735.5	22.17%
NR201	937.5	11.97%
NR232	735	9.39%
NR100	730	9.32%
NR60	651.5	8.32%
NR18	395	5.05%
NR215	251	3.21%
NR4	187	2.39%
NR131	161	2.06%
NR211	117	1.49%

When removing Breach of Notification Requirements and SHPO's the data showed that 10-offenders caused 94.0% of harm and were the Power Few for ongoing sex-offences over their respective 4-year period. Four offenders caused more harm than the others (NR111: 28.7%, NR201: 15.4%, NR100: 12.2%, NR232: 12.2%) (See Table 8).

Table 8: Power Few Ongoing Sexual Offences (Minus Breach of Notification Requirements and SHPO)

Row Labels	Sum of CCHI Ongoing SO	% of CCHI Ongoing SO
NR111	1720.5	28.72%
NR201	922.5	15.40%
NR100	730	12.18%
NR232	730	12.18%
NR60	586.5	9.79%
NR18	375	6.26%
NR215	231	3.86%
NR4	182	3.04%
NR131	76	1.27%
NR43	76	1.27%

Non-sexual offences were interesting, as out of the 27-offenders who were convicted of a non-sexual offence two-offenders were responsible for 79.2% of the harm and were the Power Few (NR143: 40.0%, NR160: 39.2%) (See Table 9).

Table 9: Power Few Ongoing Non-Sexual offences

Offenders	Sum of CCHI Ongoing NSO	% of CCHI Ongoing NSO
NR143	1493	40.03%
NR160	1462	39.20%
NR176	376	10.08%
NR42	204.5	5.48%
NR60	28	0.75%
NR96	22	0.59%
NR232	20	0.54%
NR14	16	0.43%
NR135	15	0.40%
NR25	12	0.32%

Finally, in combined offences, 10-offenders caused 76.4% of harm and were the Power Few over their respective 4-year period. This included Breaches of Notification Requirements and SHPO's.

Three caused more high harm than the others (NR111:15.0%, NR143: 13.0%, NR160: 13%). When removing Breach of Notification Requirements and SHPO's 10-offenders caused 89.2% of harm and were the Power Few over their respective 4-year period. Three caused more harm than the others (NR111: 17.7%, NR143: 15.4%, NR160: 15.0%) (See Table 10).

Table 10: Power Few Combined Offences

Offenders	Sum of Combined CCHI	% of Combined CCHI
NR111	1735.5	15.01%
NR143	1498	12.96%
NR160	1462	12.65%
NR201	937.5	8.11%
NR232	755	6.53%
NR100	730	6.32%
NR60	679.5	5.88%
NR18	397	3.43%
NR176	381	3.30%
NR215	251	2.17%

An analysis of the last 18-months of harm caused by the entire cohort was researched for sexual and non-sexual offences. In sex-offences 10-offenders caused 92.8% of harm and were the Power Few for sex-offences throughout 18-months between January 2020 and July 2021.

One caused significantly more high harm than the others (NR111: 74.6%) who was charged with 4 counts of sex-offending against children. The next closest (NR201) caused 8.5% of harm who was charged with one child sex-offence and one Breach of Notification Requirement.

Non-sexual offences were evaluated, and eight-offenders caused 100% of harm and were the Power Few for non-sexual offences throughout 18-months between January 2020 and July 2021. The remainder of the cohort did not receive a positive justice outcome for re-offence

during this period. This is not surprising due to the low amount of repeat crimes in non-sexual offences. One offender caused significantly more high harm than the others (NR143: 95.6%).

When combining offences, 10 offenders were found to have caused 93.4% of harm and were the Power Few throughout 18-months between January 2020 and July 2021.
Two caused significantly more harm than the others (NR111: 43.8% and NR143: 39.7%). NR111 was found to be the second-highest in the Power Few when combining his Index and all ongoing offences together that had a positive justice outcome.

Index and Combined offences CCHI

When combining the harm from Index offences and all combined offences 10 offenders were found to have caused 52.6% of harm over their respective four-year period. One caused more overall harm than the others (NR18: 9.7%).

Specific Findings of Interest

Below are specific findings of interest regarding four of the sample who caused the most harm during the research period. This could potentially be used for further research into their specific offending or management post-conviction to identify more efficient ways of preventing harm.

Analysis of NR18

When combining his Index offence and all combined offences his CCHI was 9.7%. His combined CCHI score was relatively low at 397 days, but he had the highest Index offence score at 2190 days. NR18 features at number 8 in the Power Few for combined offences and number 6 of the Power Few for ongoing sexual offences having committed 4 x low harm offences and 1 medium harm offence. He does not feature on the top Power Few for non-sexual high harm offending nor in the top Power Few for the last 18-months for sexual, non-sexual and combined offending.

Analysis of NR143

NR143 is the second-highest harm offender when combining his Index offence and combined offences (CCHI=7%). He is the second-highest harm offender over the last 18-months for combined offences (1498 days, 39.7%) and the highest for non-sexual offences over the last 18-months (1493 days) which is a huge 95.6% of the non-sexual offence harm over the last 18-months. He only had one sex-offence in the last 18-months which was a low harm breach offence. His Index offence was a medium harm level child sex-offence. He is the second-highest Power Few offender in combined offences (13%) and is first in the Power Few for repeat non-sexual offences (40%). He is not in the Power Few for repeat sex-offences.

Analysis of NR111

NR111 is third in the Power Few for Index offence and combined offences (CCHI 6.6%). His Index offence score is low at 10 days for an offence of Exposure but over the four

years has a combined CCHI score of 1735.5 days. Of this score, he was identified as the highest combined offences subject in the last 18-months (1652.5 days, 43.8%) and overall combined offending (15%). His re-offending in the last 18-months has been all sex-offences of which two were high harm level offences, one was medium, and one was low. Since his Index offence, he has committed two high harm offences, one medium harm offence and eight low harm offences of which three have been Exposure offences. He is the highest ongoing sexual harm offender over his respective four-year period (1735.5, 22.2%). This is the highest harm sex-offender in the cohort.

Analysis of NR201

NR201 is fourth in the Power Few for Index offence and combined offences (CCHI 5.6%). He has the third-highest combined offences harm level over the last 18-months, but this is a relatively low harm level when compared to NR111 and NR143 at 5%. He is mainly known over the past 18-months for repeat sex-offences (8.5%) which is the second-highest. He has not re-offended non-sexually over the last 18-months. He is the fourth-highest combined offences offender (8.1%) which is all for sex-offences (12% second highest). His re-offending includes one high harm offence, one medium and three low harm offences.

Research Question 3: What are the demographics of the cohort and how does that compare to the harm levels?

Two variables were analysed to present a demographic picture of the cohort: Age and ethnicity. Both demographics were analysed in the initial cohort of 235 at Index offence and in the follow-up a sample of 144 offenders in ongoing offending.

Age at Index Offence (N=235)

Some of the cohort were convicted at later dates from the date the offence was committed. Analysis was focussed on the age of the sex-offender at the time the Index offence was committed rather than the time they were convicted to ensure accuracy and account for any historical allegations. The mean age of the cohort at the date of committing the Index offence was 38.4 years with a standard deviation of 15.8. The median age is 36 and the mode is 19. The minimum age of sex-offender at the committed date was just 12-years old for a child sex-offence whilst the maximum age at the committed date was 85-years old for an adult sex-offence (See Figure 14). The standard deviation for each categorised sex-offence for the Index offence is presented in Figure 15.

Average ages are presented in Figure 16. Notably, the highest average age at the committed date was 41-years old for child sexual images (IIoC) offences (N=139) whilst the youngest average age at the committed date was 31-years old for child sexual other offences (N=36). One 20-year-old committed an offence of child rape but was excluded from the analysis due to the low number. Table 11 below shows the dispersion of the ages across the age groups.

Table 11: Index Offence showing the average age and standard deviation

Age Group	N	Average	SD
0-17	13	16	1.3
18-35	96	25	5.0
35-49	65	43	4.4
50+	61	60	7.6

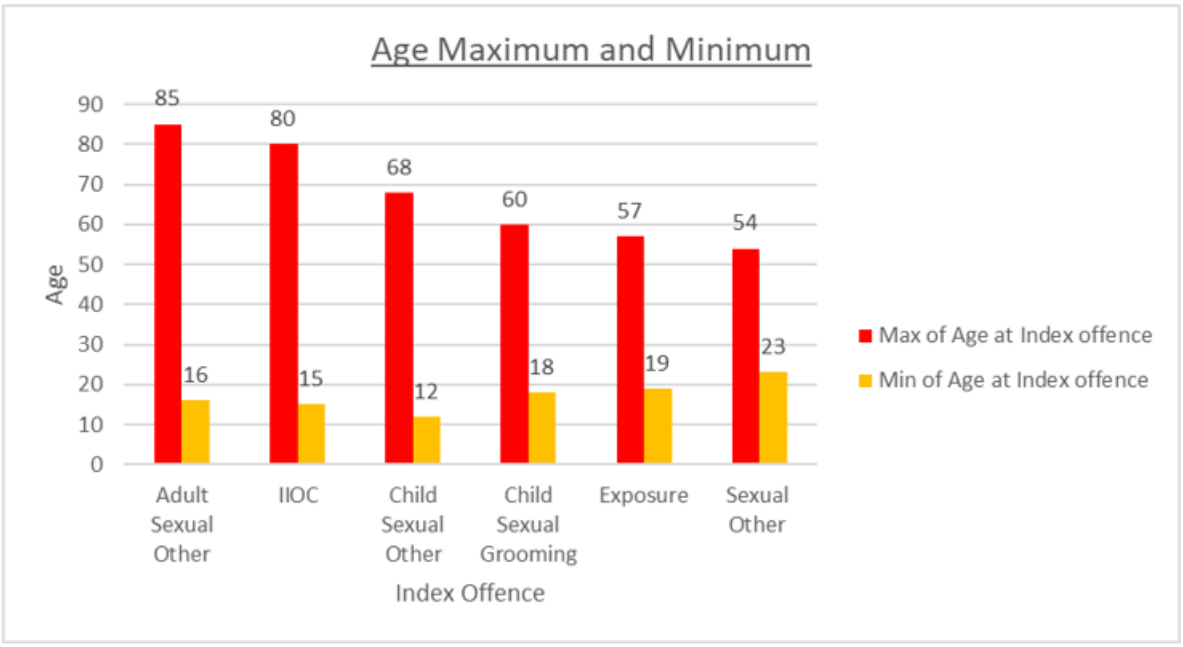

Figure 14: Maximum and Minimum ages at Index Offence

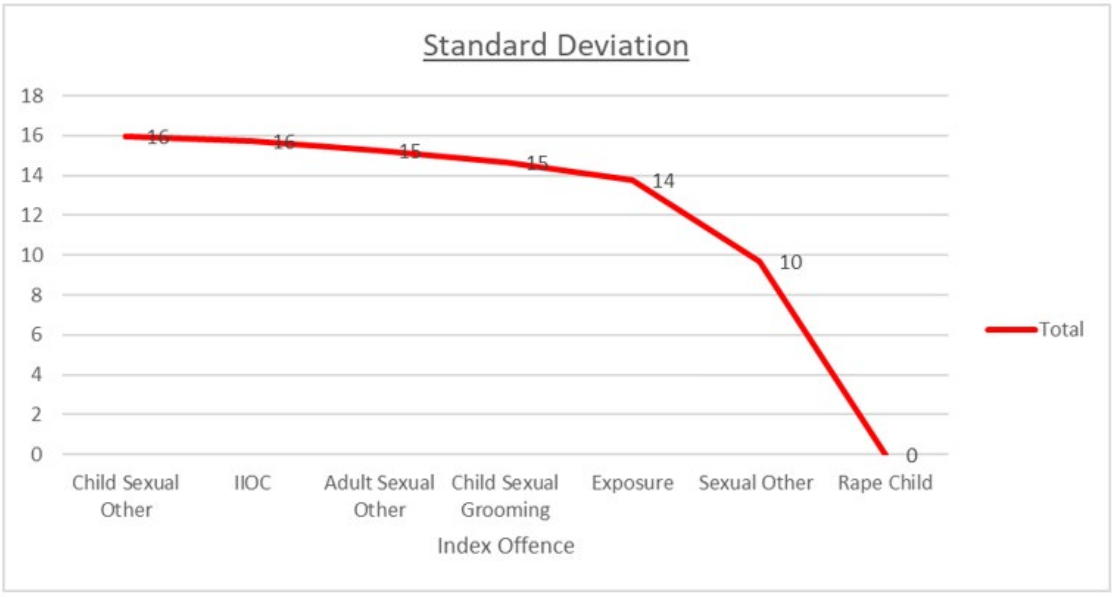

Figure 15: Standard Deviation of Age at Index Offence

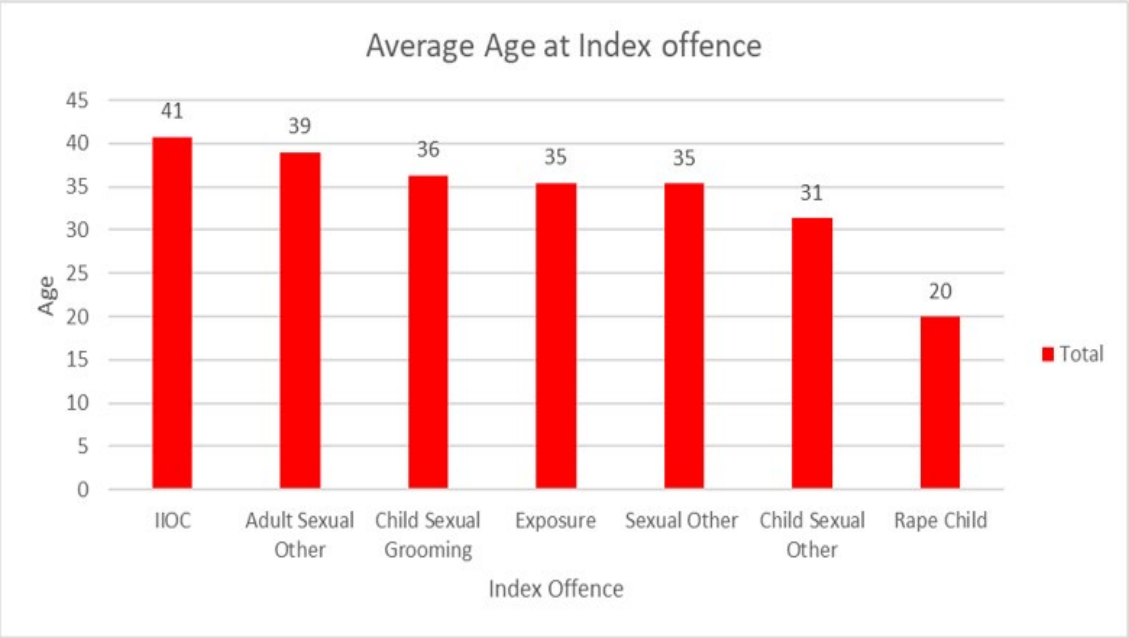

Figure 16: Average Age at Index Offence

Ongoing Offending

The average age of offenders in the cohort of 144 who received a positive justice outcome for a crime over their respective four-year recidivism period was 39-years old with a standard deviation of 16.6. This was from a total of 416 offences (Combined Offences) (Table 12).

Table 12: Combined Offences showing the Average and Standard Deviation

Year	N	Average	SD
1	85	35	17.1
2	115	39	17.4
3	97	40	16.0
4	119	40	15.7
Total	416	39	16.6

It was noted that whilst there was a wide difference in age at Index offence compared with the age of combined ongoing offences over the four-year individual period. Sex-offences

remained broadly similar with a rise through year 1 to year 4 for ongoing sex-offences and an average age of 40-years old. Figure 17 shows the spread of average age across the categories in ongoing sexual offending. Non-sexual offences meanwhile had an average age of 32-years old which is far less than sexual offending. Figure 18 shows the spread of average age across the categories in ongoing non-sexual offending. The average age of ongoing offending was measured using the age the offender was at the crime reporting date. Therefore, an acknowledged limitation of age in this research is there may be some late reporting which could affect age analysis.

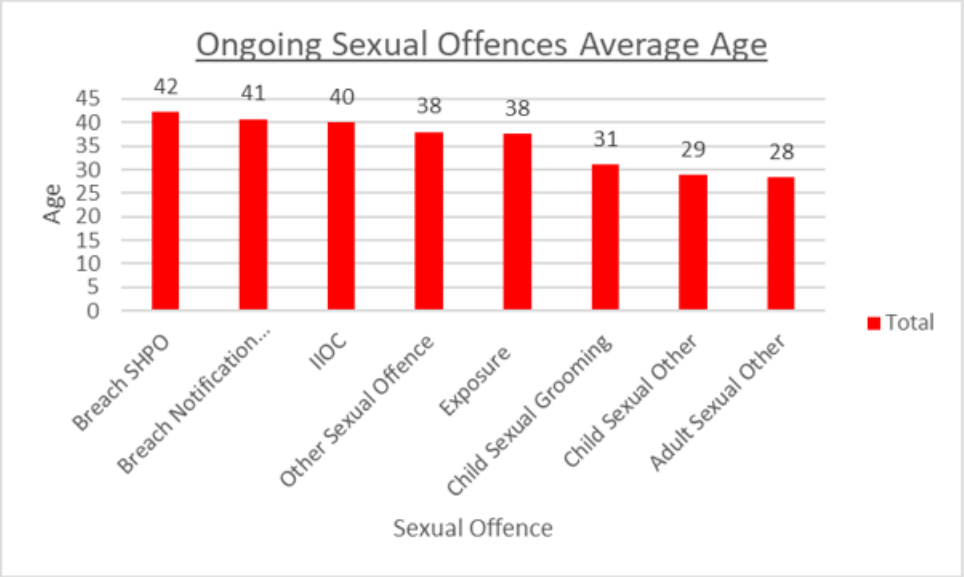

Figure 17: Average Age Ongoing Sexual Offences (N = 144)

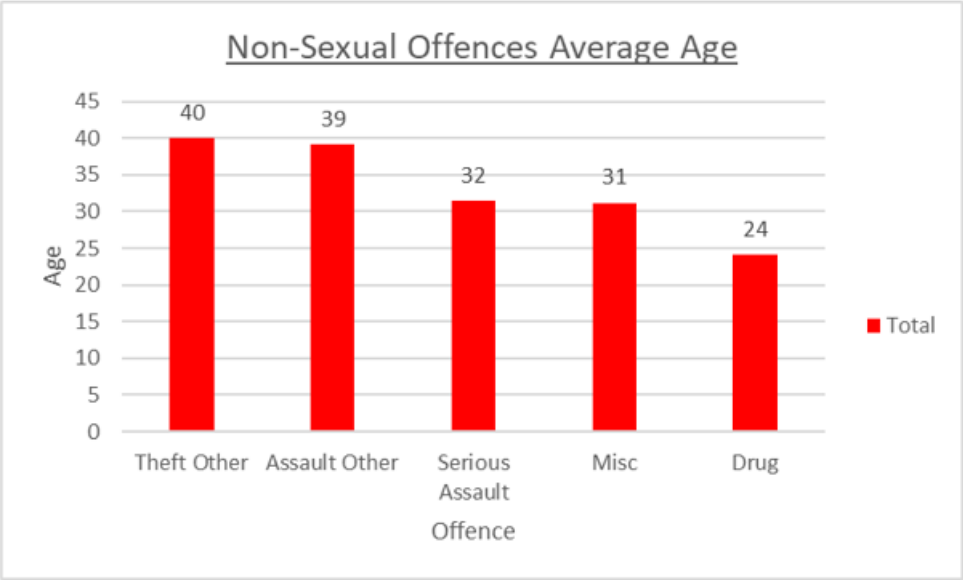

Figure 18: Average Age Ongoing non-sexual Offences (N = 144)

The Power Few Analysis

The Power Few (NR18, NR143, NR111, NR201) were analysed for age and the mean age was 23-years old for Index offence committed date, 30-years old for Index offence conviction date and 29-years old for combined ongoing offending with a standard deviation of 0.7.

Age Category Analysis

The Index offences were broken down into their sex-offence categories and four age groups. In the 0-17 category child sexual images (IIoC) remained the highest committed offence (N=6) along with child sexual other (N=6). In the 18-34 category IIoC, again remained the highest committed offence (N=50) with an average age of 26-years old. The lowest committed offence was child sexual grooming (N=3) and sexual other (N=3) which includes offences such as Voyeurism. In the 35-49 category the data showed that the highest committed

offence was IIoC again which surpassed all other sex-offence types (N=43) with an average age of 43-years old. The lowest committed offence was child sexual grooming (N=2) and sexual other (N=2). Finally, the 50+ category also saw the highest committed sex-offence as IIoC (N=40) which far surpassed all other sexual categories. The lowest committed category was sexual other (N=1). Two categories (Rape Adult and Rape Child) were not committed at Index offence by any of the sample. The highest count of Index offences was in the age bracket 18-34 who committed 96 of the Index sex-offences. The lowest age bracket was 0-17 followed by 50+. Due to the parameters set not many juveniles would have been featured in this sample so this result is not surprising.

In ongoing sex-offending, the highest overall offences committed were Breach of Notification Requirements and Breach of SHPO. However, when these were removed the data in all age brackets showed that IIoC was the highest committed offence. Analysis showed that the 18-34 age bracket committed the most offences (N=162) and the lowest (excluding the 0-17 age bracket) was 35-49 years old (N=74). In non-sexual offending, data showed that overwhelmingly, most offences were committed by the 18-34 age bracket (N=50) whilst the 35-49 and 50+ age bracket only committed 11 offences each. The 18-34 age bracket committed more miscellaneous offences (N=26) followed by drug-related offences (N=12). There were little violent related offences. The 35-49 age bracket committed mostly miscellaneous and violent offences whilst the 50+ age bracket committed mainly violent offences such as assault.

Ethnicity

The sample was analysed to identify ethnic characteristics. As described earlier it was apparent from the data that an overwhelming amount of the offenders were categorised as one

of the three white ethnicity categories and a very small number of offenders were categorised as other ethnicities that were not categorised as white.

Of the original 235 from the Index offence cohort, 91 did not feature as re-offenders across the Athena crime recording system for a positive justice outcome. 95% of the sample were categorised as white ethnicity (Figure 19).

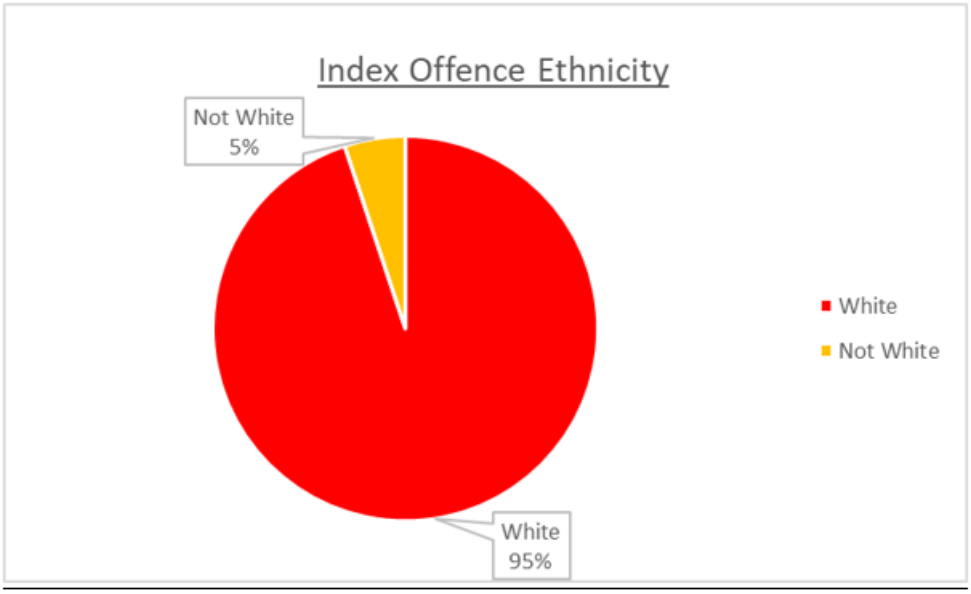

Figure 19: Index Offence Ethnicity

Data analysed from the 144 offenders who were identified as ongoing offenders over their respective four-year period found that 95.2% of the cohort were categorised as white ethnicity which is overwhelming but not unexpected due to previous research outlined in the literature review. In sex-offending, 94.6% of offenders were categorised as white ethnicity (Figure 20) and in non-sexual offences, it was found that all the sample committing offences were white ethnicity.

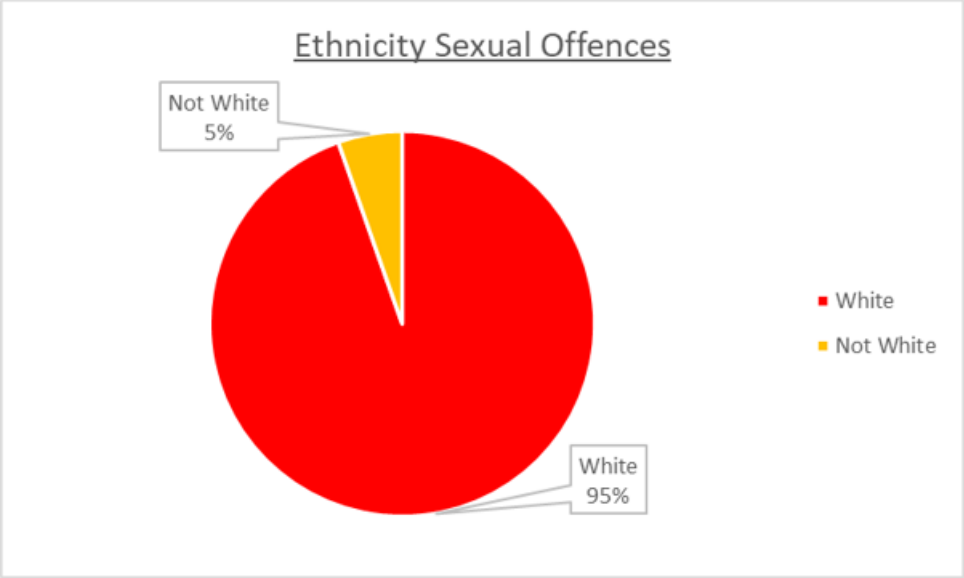

Figure 20: Ongoing Sexual Offence Ethnicity

The ongoing sex-offences were analysed under their categories and 85% of the sample were responsible for breaches of Notification Requirements and SHPO's and of these, 81.3% were categorised as white ethnicity. These two categories were removed so that four categories remained. 100% of the sample who committed the remainder of the offences were categorised as white ethnicity whilst none were categorised as non-white. In non-sexual offences, of the 43.8% of miscellaneous offences all were committed by white ethnicities. In violent offences such as assault, both categories were equal with 6.3% each, whilst white ethnicities were responsible for 31.3% of drug-related offences.

Summary

In this results chapter under the research questions, the data has been explored in detail and it was found that harm didn't change over time other than for low harm which in some cases later became high. Findings identify a clear Power Few offenders who change over time causing the most harm in sexual, non-sexual and combined offending with interesting findings

over the last 18-months. Results show that overwhelmingly the sample was predominantly of white ethnicity and most offending was confined to the 18-34 years old category. In the next chapter, the results will be discussed in detail to understand how they relate to other findings set out in the literature chapter and what the limitations and implications of this research could be.

Discussion

Introduction

This research will have implications for managing the population of sex-offenders who reside in Essex. Although a relatively small sample of offenders in comparison to the overall population of offenders it is indicative of what policing sex-offenders in Essex involves through an appreciation of the harm they generate when re-offending. This chapter will discuss the findings in detail, limitations, and policy implications for policing. It will also detail potential further research that can be conducted to reduce recidivism and identify cost-effective ways to manage sex-offenders.

Limitations

Limitations are important to identify to assist with understanding policing implications. This descriptive research has some limitations as it is restricted to a low sample size of a very specific group of offenders. This limits the study's generalisability to other types of offenders. However, albeit an assumption with risk it is widely recognised that policing of sex-offenders is governed by guidance and legislation across the UK through College of Policing Approved Professional Practice (APP) and MAPPA arrangements. Although there may be differences between UK police forces, this will be minimal. This makes this study extremely useful for other UK police forces to replicate in their policing areas or take the findings and policy implications identified and apply them to their county cohorts for further analysis.

Information Communications Technology (ICT) presented limitations in terms of tracking further offending across 42 forces, time scales and sample size. It is accepted as a limitation that some other offending could exist in other forces outside of the Athena consortium that could not be further measured.

The generalisability of the results is limited by the Athena Crime Recording System where all ongoing offending of the cohort was identified and used as the source database to extract the relevant information for analysis. Athena is currently only adopted by a limited number of police forces so this research will not account for any arrests outside of the Athena System areas. However, all police forces do manage sex-offenders, so the results of this study will have some generalisability for all police areas.

The measurement of harm using the CCHI was impacted by the Athena system as Athena was only implemented in Essex Police from April 2015. This limited the size of the cohort that could be reviewed and caused some exclusions, such as those sex-offenders who were sent to prison and wouldn't get an equal tracking period of 4-years. Therefore, the remaining sample had a large low harm level percentage for their Index offence. Despite this, the research does have immense value to identify whether low harm at Index offence leads to higher harm over time. This descriptive study would benefit from a longer study from an earlier cohort using previous crime recording systems to fully understand the harm generated. Due to the lack of available data, particularly as authority to use ViSOR[12] data wasn't granted, the results cannot confirm whether there is any link to harm caused and the offender's Active Risk Management System (ARMS) risk assessment[13] to identify whether

[12] ViSOR – Violent and Sex-Offender Register – System used by Police and Probation to manage and monitor convicted sex-offenders subject to Notification Requirements under Sexual Offences Act 2003.
[13] ARMS: Active Risk Management System – Risk assessment tool used by agencies to assess ongoing sexual risk

this type of risk assessment is in line with the harm caused. Combining both the risk assessment and CCHI would give policing new ways of identifying the highest harm sex-offenders for combined offences to target them more effectively to reduce harm.

It is beyond the scope of this study to measure ongoing offending outside of Athena force areas as access to other positive justice outcomes that were not documented on PNC would be needed to be able to undertake a full analysis. Similarly, it is widely recognised that sexual violence is underreported (Office of National Statistics 2021) and many of the sample were named as responsible for other offences including some very serious sexual offences but they were discontinued under a non-positive justice outcome. The highest of these outcomes was 16 where the victim withdraws support for the case to proceed. Despite this, the data is useful to analyse further, particularly in Essex Police to understand the undetected harm that this sample of offenders is likely to be causing to enable better victim engagement and effective disruption techniques.

Strengths

This sample of sex-offenders still reside in the Essex area and are still being managed by MOSOVO teams in Essex Police. Although some limitations exist regarding the generalisability of the study outside of the Essex Police area there is still much internal validity for Essex and the ongoing management of these sex-offenders. There is opportunity for Essex to develop an interfaced harm and risk identification system and identify the Power Few sex-offenders for combined harm to enable better disruption tactics and efficiencies. Some of the research can also be generalised across different police areas as all police forces are required to manage sex-offenders under the MAPPA arrangements. Athena Crime

recording System, despite the limitations, is managed by a central team and is governed by data accuracy requirements particularly crime recording and demographic data, therefore, an assumption is that this is accurate, albeit due to human error some anomalies may exist.

Answers to Research Questions

The answer to the research is set out under three overarching questions:

Research Question 1: What is the level of harm in a tracked cohort of registered sex offenders over a four-year duration?

Index Offence Harm

Of the 235 final cohort of sex-offenders it was found that 87% (N=204) of the cohort of sex-offenders caused low harm at their Index offence whilst 13% (N=31) made up the remainder of the harm (Very High, High, and Medium). Of the cohort, 139 were initially convicted of indecent images of children offences (IIoC) offences, which is a non-contact offence and low harm according to the CCHI. This could be due to the parameters set, whereby anyone with a prison sentence longer than 12-months was eliminated from the data set to ensure an equal tracking period for all the sample. However, before eliminations, the sample was 399, which shows that IIoC still made up 35% of the initial sample. This could mean that police are managing more low harm sex-offenders than any other harm level which may not be an effective use of their time. It is difficult to assess this without further research combining the risk assessment tools used under MAPPA with the CCHI. Ralph Jackman (2015) identified that the risk matrices currently in use were limited in measuring harm accurately but equally, he

noted that there were some flaws with the CCHI which caused him to develop his version of the CCHI called the Jackman CCHI. A blend of both the CCHI and risk matrices to review the highest harm and Power Few will be beneficial in any future analysis.

Ongoing Offending Harm (N=416 offences) (N=144 offenders)

Of the 235 sex-offenders in the cohort 26 of them did not re-offend outside of Athena force areas but this was noted to be a small number of offences so were excluded from the dataset. It is difficult to determine how many offences were caused outside of Athena Crime Recording areas as not all positive justice outcomes are recorded on PNC and further data requests would have to be made to other forces to fully determine this. Had the ViSOR system been authorised would not have assisted as its primary function is to record sex-offences and breaches of orders only and does not take into consideration non-sexual offending. 91 offenders overall did not reach the final dataset due to the exclusions and parameters.

Of the 347 sex-offences committed 285 of them were Breach of Notification Requirements or SHPO leaving only 62 sex-offences being committed over the 4-year tracking period which appears to be a low recidivism rate and in line with the non-sexual offending rate in which 69 offences were recorded during this period for the cohort. These results build on existing evidence by Levenson et al (2010) who found that there was little evidence that sex-offenders are more likely to recidivate sexually.

Again, it is unsurprising that 96% of the sexual offences were scored as low harm when including Breach of Notification Requirements and SHPO's. However, when these

were removed sex-offences had a harm score of 81% for low harm and both high harm and medium harm offences increased (10% high and 9% medium). A total of 7647 days of harm was identified using the CCHI but when breach of Notification Requirements and SHPO were removed this adjusted somewhat to 5829 days which was more in line with non-sexual offences.

A temporal analysis was conducted over the individual 4-year duration to look at harm levels in more detail. The analysis found that high harm increased in years 3 and 4 (Total harm N=4197.5 CCHI days) and was lowest in year 2 where no high harm was caused. Medium harm was found to be highest in year 2 (Total harm N=911.5 CCHI days) and lowest in years 1, 3, and 4 and low harm was found to be highest in year 4 (Total harm N=2538 CCHI days) and lowest in year 1 including Breach of Notification Requirements and SHPO. When removing these the highest year was in year 3 (N=720 CCHI days) and lowest year 2. Analysis of the above shows that more harm was caused in years 3 and 4 (N=4597.5 CCHI days) than in years 1 and 2 (N=3049.5 CCHI days) and year 2 and 3 (N=3272 CCHI days) This finding does not fit with the analysis by Sample and Bray (2006) and Cann et al (2004) who found that in sexual and combined offending recidivism rates were found to be between 21.3% over 1-year rising to 61.8% over 21-years. An answer for this, based on the data from Essex Police could be they are managing them more effectively in years 1 and 2 and reducing management in years 3 and 4 which leads to higher offending rates and harm. This is an interesting find and warrants further research to identify any connection.

Sex-offence typologies, which were categorised to enable the analysis (Appendix C) were further examined to observe what types of sex-offences sex-offenders went onto commit in comparison to their Index offence. Breach of Notification Requirements and SHPO

offences were excluded from this analysis due to their high offence rate. When an Index offence was categorised as an Adult sexual other offence the offender committed the most adult sexual offences out of all re-offending categories (56%) which were the highest re-offence in its respective category. When the Index offence was child sexual other offences or IIoC, re-offending against adults was not present and 50% of re-offences were also child sexual other offences which was the highest re-offence category. IIoC offences had the highest recidivism rate for IIoC (68%) and Exposure (13%) offences, albeit small numbers for Exposure but still interestingly higher than the others which seems not to support previous research by Endrass et al (2009) where only 3% of the cohort in the study recidivated with a violent or sexual offence, 4% with a non-contact sex-offence and 1% with a contact sex-offence. IIoC offences also had the highest recidivism rate for Breach of Notification Requirements and SHPO's which is unsurprising given that previous research shows that there is no evidence that the registration rules were effective in any typology of sex-offender and over 95% of sex-offences were committed by first-time offenders (Sandler et al 2008). Child sexual grooming offences' highest category was child sexual other offences (68%), and Exposure offenders highest re-offence category was child sexual other (33%) and Exposure (33%) offences which support previous research by Robinson (1989), Hanson and Bussiere (1996) and Greenburg (1998) who found that Exposure offenders were more likely to recidivate than other sex-offence typologies. This has an impact on current policing practices who currently treat Exposure as a low-level offence. Even the CCHI (Sherman et al 2016; 2020) does not consider this and gives it a low CCHI score based on the starting point for sentencing.

Non-Sexual offending was analysed, and it was surprising to find a low level of re-offending rate for non-sexual offending (N=69) with a CCHI of 3729.5 days. Other studies

such as Langan, Smith, and Durose (2003) show that in the short-term recidivism risk for sex-offences remains low, but violence remains high. 3-years after the cohort of sex-offenders were released from prison the sexual recidivism rate was only 5.3% but the violence recidivism rate was higher at 17.1% which does not corroborate the findings from Essex. In studies by Hanson and Bussiere (1996) and Greenburg (1998), it is generally noted that sex-offenders are a homogenous kind of offender who is more likely to re-offend sexually than non-sexually. However, the research in this thesis does not appear to be in line with that as non-sexual offending rates are similar to the sexual offending rates especially when Breach of Notification Requirements and SHPO's are removed (N=62). This means this cohort were more likely to re-offend non-sexually than sexually albeit by a very small margin.

Of the non-sexual harm analysed, 95% were low harm offences. When analysing the category types that ongoing non-sexual offending was assigned to, this was not surprising. Research by Pedneault et al (2015) shows that non-sexual violence and burglary has links to sex-offenders but in this cohort's case there were few serious violent offences but some evidence of links to lower-level assaults including domestic categorised abuse. This was not further analysed but is an interesting find and future research in Essex or wider may want to look at data linking sex-offenders to ongoing domestic violence. A temporal analysis of the data over the 4-year duration was conducted and it showed that in years 1 and 3 crime harm was lower and in year-2 and 4 higher. In year 2 there was a single serious assault that raised the CCHI considerably and in Year 4 there were more assaults identified. Further analysis identified there were several assaults on police recorded which attracts a higher CCHI and one serious assault. In fact, of the 69 offences recorded 20 of them were recorded as assaults (29%). One thing this research cannot account for as it was not analysed was whether any of

the cohort were sent to prison or absent from the UK for any length of time which would prevent re-offending. Of the 416 offences committed however offending was balanced through the years with rises in years 2 and 4 which coincides with the temporal analysis.

When analysing combined offending 96% of the harm measured was low harm. This is unsurprising given the analysis already conducted in this chapter. Years 3 and 4 logged the highest rise in harm which shows that overall, when measuring combined offending in this cohort the principal year for harm appears to be year 4. Policing should consider this when analysing sex-offenders in future. Perhaps this is because sex-offenders are more robustly managed in their first few years on the sex-offender's register and this management reduces along with the risk assessment analysis. This is another argument for measuring harm and risk together to understand the overall harm a sex-offender causes.

Police Justice Outcomes

There was no research available that analysed police justice outcomes (Appendix B) particularly, their use and whether this may be contributing to harm levels and recidivism in sex-offenders. As far as the author is aware this is the only academic analysis. The Office of National Statistics collate all police justice outcomes and publish tables on their website (Office of National Statistics 2021). Local police forces may also conduct small scale analyses of different outcomes and their impact on solvability. To the author's knowledge, Essex Police have not conducted any local analysis of outcome 10 usages in sex-offending. When analysing combined offending data Outcome 1 was the most used outcome for sex-offenders at 49%, which is pleasing to see as it shows a high solved rate where sex-offenders are charged for offences or breaches of orders. Within sexual offences, Outcome, 1 was the

highest used outcome (47%) followed by Outcome 10 (39%). Outcome 10 in sex-offences was related to Breach of Notification Requirements and SHPO as when these were removed Outcome 1 for sex-offences increased to 80% and Outcome 10 reduced to 7%. In comparison Outcome 10 had considerably low usage in non-sexual offences (1.5%). Analysis of SHPO breaches alone found that 70% were recorded as Outcome 1 whilst in breach of Notification Requirements, Outcome 10 was the most used disposal (59%). Considering most ongoing offences recorded were breaches of Notification Requirements and the most used outcome was Outcome 10 – Not in the public interest to proceed perhaps outcome 10 is overused and contributes to undetected harm or perhaps it is an indication that the sex-offender Notification Requirements are unnecessary as the punishment is not severe enough and policing feel the costs outweigh the benefits. Further qualitative research in this area would be essential.

Research Question 2: Who are the Power Few Offenders in the cohort for sexual offending, non-sexual offending, and combined offending?

The Power Few, who are the percentage of offenders who cause the most harm (Sherman 2007) were analysed at their Index offence (N=235) and 10 sex-offenders were found to have committed 47% of the harm. One offender caused 10% alone (NR18). In sexual offences including orders, ten offenders were found to cause 75%. One offender caused 22% alone (NR111). When orders were removed NR111 increased his Power Few status to 29% of the harm.

In non-sexual offences, two offenders caused 79% of the harm. One offender caused 40% (NR143). When combining all offences ten offenders caused 77% of the total harm.

The results support the claims of Sherman (2007) and Dudfield et al (2017) that around 4% of people or places account for 85% of the harm.

A further analysis was conducted over the pre-18-months (January 2020 – 2021) to measure the Power Few. Although this analysis is not indicative of all offenders during this period it is useful for Essex Police to understand who their current Power Few are to target them effectively. Of the ten offenders identified 92.8% caused the most harm in sexual offending. Eight offenders caused 100% total harm for non-sexual offences and ten offenders caused 93% total harm when combining offences.

The most interesting subject in the sample was NR111 who had a low harm Index score for an offence of Exposure but rose to become the highest harm offender in the cohort over the 4-years and in the last 18-months for sex-offences showing consistency throughout the analysis as the highest harm offender. Research shows that analysing the Power Few can be difficult in the case of offenders especially as the Power few tend to be the hardest case types or offenders (Sherman 2007). Further local analysis regarding this cohort subject's management would be useful to ensure Essex Police are managing the apparent highest harm offender in this cohort.

Research Question 3: What are the demographics of the cohort and how does that compare to the harm levels?

Age

The Index offence data was analysed, and the average age of conviction was 38-years old with a standard deviation of 15.8. IIoC offences had the highest proportion of offences at Index (N=139) and the average age was 41-years old. The average age for child sexual other offences was 31-years old which was the lowest of the sample. A limitation in this analysis was there was one rape of a child offence for a 20-year-old which was removed from the analysis as the harm levels would have conflicted with the data.

IIoC offences were the highest in all age categories for most committed offences when Breach of Notification Requirements and SHPO's were removed. In the 0-17 category IIoC (N=6) and child sexual other offences (N=6) were the highest committed offences. In the 18-34, age category IIoC offences (N=50) was the highest committed offence with an average age of 26-years old. They had the lowest Index offence rate for child sexual grooming offences (N=3). The age category 35-49 committed IIoC offences mostly (N=43) and had an average age of 43 years old. The lowest committed offences were child sexual other (N=2) and sexual offences other (N=2). In the 50+ category, IIoC offences (N=40) were the most committed offence and the lowest was sexual offences other (N=1). The age category that committed the most offences was 18-34 (N=96).

All ongoing offending was analysed and 39-years-old was the average age with a standard deviation of 16.6. When individually analysing ongoing sex-offences, it was

discovered that 40-years-old was the average age, whilst in non-sexual offences, the average age was 32-years old which is different. When analysing ongoing sex-offences, Breach of Notification Requirements and SHPO had the highest number of offences recorded in all categories of age. When removed, IIoC offences were the highest committed offence, which is no surprise when looking at the data from the Index offence and age brackets.

The highest category for committing sex-offences was the 18-34 category (N=162) which were responsible for 47% of the harm. In ongoing non-sexual offences unsurprisingly, the category 18 – 34 were the highest harm category causing 86% of the harm. Offending of specific note was drug offences and other miscellaneous offences. Interestingly it was also found that violent offences such as assault were committed more by the older two categories 35-49 and 50+. These results are slightly at odds with research by Piquero et al (2012) where he observed that assault, drugs, fraud, and other miscellaneous offences were more common nearer to the age of 20.

Overall, the data suggests that the 18-34 age category was responsible for 51% of the combined harm and is the most harmful out of all the cohort.

Ethnicity

The analysis of ethnicity was conducted across the three main areas: Index offence, ongoing sex-offences, and ongoing non-sexual offences. Combined offending was also compared to understand the demographics of the sample of sex-offenders. Existing research such as Meloy (2005) noted that three-quarters of sex-offenders in his study were of white ethnicity. This was in line with research in this thesis. 95% of the Index sample (N=235)

identified as white ethnicity with 5% of the cohort identifying as other ethnicities. In ongoing sexual offending this remained the same (95%). In non-sexual offending, this decreased slightly to 94%. No drug-related crimes were committed by non-white ethnicities in this sample. Only the violence category was equal with 50% each committing offences. Overall, the results in this thesis are unsurprising especially when looking at the ethnicity rate of IIoC where results showed that 100% of the offenders were of white ethnicity. This supports previous research by Aslan and Edelmann's (2014) who conducted analysis into online offenders and found that 94% of the 230 cohort were white males.

The limitation to measuring ongoing offending is that there were little of the sample identifying as non-white ethnicities in the Index offence data. Existing research supports low recidivism rates in sexual offences. Studies such as Langan, Smith, and Durose (2003) show that short term recidivism risk remains low. However, publications such as Gilligan and Akhtar (2005) which analysed cultural barriers to disclose child sexual abuse indicates there is likely to be a vast underreporting of sexual crime not only in general as discussed in the British Crime Survey (Office of National Statistics 2021) but perhaps even more so in underrepresented diverse communities living in Britain.

Policy Implications

Currently policing uses risk assessment tools such as ARMS to predict the risk of harm that sex-offenders pose. However, despite the changes in these tools to enable better risk management they still only consider the risk of harm sex-offenders pose sexually and do not consider cases of non-sexual offences or combining the two categories. Public Protection Units in policing are the designated unit responsible for the management of sex-offenders to

prevent recidivism and harm to the most vulnerable in society, yet the evidence above shows that the investment perhaps exceeds the risk of harm that the cohort causes. The apparent question is 'Are we stretching ourselves too thin?' We know from previous research that public opinion believes sex-offenders are dangerous, and they feel they are most at risk from the stranger sex-offender such as Kernsmith et al's (2009) qualitative study from telephone interviews but the evidence of this is remarkably low and policing continues to balance the expectations of the public to safeguard trust and confidence with precious resource allocation and cost.

Without compromising risk and further harm and still balancing the expectation of the public, perhaps a review of how sex-offenders are managed at different risk levels and adjusting the amount of time and administration requirements each offender manager spends on a sex-offender is required. It makes more sense that the highest harm offender has more time devoted to them to disrupt them and uncover their offending by more involved investment broader than just sexual offending, than a lower harm sex-offender who, perhaps has not offended in some years. The risk assessment tool ARMS is a national requirement but perhaps locally, policing can consider adding in a CCHI aspect to the risk scores in the form of a harm matrix to provide an overall score for proactive targeting. We can see from the results that the highest harm Power Few could benefit from more investment and scrutiny, yet the fact remains officer's time will be spent equally on the highest harm offender as the lowest harm offender when it comes to administration and reports from risk management visits.

Further Research

Throughout this chapter recommendations for further research have been highlighted to enable a better understanding of sex-offenders nationally and in the Essex area.
The research conducted could benefit from a longer-term temporal tracking study as sex-offending can change over time and is dependent on other factors such as previous offending and the age of the offender according to research explored in the literature chapter by Hanson and Bussiere (1998) and Harris and Hanson (2004). Longer-term studies such as that used in this research produce more consistent results as generally, there is more offending over time to analyse. However, it would be beneficial to understand if sex-offenders in other cohorts remain high harm or should forces should consider recommending removal from the sex-offender register? This research provides new insight into the usage of police justice outcome 10 and provides opportunities for an analysis of its apparent over-usage. This enables police to evaluate whether the register is a useful tool for law enforcement or not.

Finally, combining the current risk assessment processes with the CCHI could be undertaken as a trial to determine whether we can more accurately measure and target harm in sex-offenders.

Conclusion

This research set out to describe harm levels and patterns of offending in a cohort of sex-offenders who reside in Essex over a four-year duration. Through a quantitative analysis of harm levels by crime caused using the Cambridge Crime Harm Index (CCHI) (Sherman et al 2016; 2020) it was clear to see the cohort of 235 sex-offenders at Index offence were responsible for mainly low harm offences. Only 209 sex-offenders who were not eliminated from the initial criteria continued to offend or were already known for offending on the Athena Crime Recording System.

A temporal analysis of harm took place over 4-years for each sex-offender with a specific 4-year time stream based on the individual sex-offender's conviction or release date and 14 sex-offenders were identified for the final analysis for ongoing sexual offending, non-sexual offending, and combined offending. An overwhelming amount of ongoing offending (96%) was identified as low harm and a great proportion of the offending was linked to breaches of Notification Requirements and SHPO's which are designed to manage an offender's recidivism.

A rise in harm was detected over a 4-year duration specifically in low harm offences and the key years from analysis appeared to be year 3 and year 4. This could indicate the police are managing well as they are detecting breaches and offences but could also be an indication that such orders are not a deterrent to sex-offenders who are continuing to offend. Further research in this area is also called for to identify whether offending desists independently without any other influences or does police management of sex-offenders reduce over time giving them the freedom to offend without detection? A longer-term study

into recidivism and harm would be welcomed to examine this question in Essex or a similar Force.

Further examination into police justice outcomes revealed that police justice outcome 10 – Not in the Public Interest to proceed was used 59% of the time for these types of offences leading to the question: Is this police justice outcome overused and could this contribute to undetected harm? Additionally, why is outcome 10 overused when legislation was designed to protect the communities from what is perceived as the most dangerous offenders in society (Sample and Bray 2003)? Further research is required to understand the impact of the sex-offender Notification Requirements and if they hold any value in preventing recidivism and harm.

The question of harm and the Power Few was analysed, and the results indicate the Power Few phenomena existed in this data set. The Power Few were measured through the lens of sexual offences, non-sexual and combined offence types. Further analysis looked at the previous 18-months of harm to identify who were the existing Power Few. A single overall sex-offender was identified for the highest harm in all areas. The question remains: Should policing be looking at the way they manage their sex-offenders and how they accurately identify the highest harm offenders? We know there is no perfect risk analysis system due to other research in this area outlined in the literature review and certainly, the ones currently used such as ARMS only considers the sexual risk factor but not their ongoing offending risk or harm levels particularly when it comes to violence or other sexual offending. Research into combining the CCHI with risk assessment tools to identify the highest harm whilst still interfacing with agreed National processes may be beneficial.

Finally, demographics were measured to identify who caused the most harm. This supported research such as Harris and Hanson's (2004) which both found that the recidivism rate increases with time the younger an offender is at first offence. In this research, the 18–34-year-old category were the highest harm age group causing 47% harm in sexual offences and 86% of harm in non-sexual offences. An interesting find was that in every age category for sex-offences, IIoC offences were the most commonly committed offence type. It is unclear why this is and despite some extensive research into the area of IIoC offences such as studies like Babchishin et al (2011) who researched online offenders and their demographics, there appears little research into age demographic in this area. Perhaps, increased access to the internet has led to younger online offenders finding illegal material. Only further studies can answer this question.

95% of the sample were self-declared white ethnicity which does support previous research in this field such as Meloy (2005) where he noted that three-quarters of sex-offenders on probation were of white ethnicity. The question that hasn't yet been answered is why this is? Research such as Gilligan and Akhtar (2005) identifies cultural barriers to reporting but there still seems limited research in this area. It also still doesn't explain why other research including in this thesis has found that most IIoC offences are committed by white ethnicities when IIoC does not usually have a victim reporting the offence and crime is found through proactive methods.

The most surprising finding within this research was the cohort caused slightly more non-sexual offences than sexual offences albeit the harm levels were quite different. This cohort was more likely to recidivate non-sexually than sexually but created more harm when committing sex-offences.

What this research has identified is a gap in the knowledge surrounding Police Justice Outcomes, identifying hidden harm, and questioning the value of the current sex-offender registration requirements. Does the criminal justice system take breaches of these offences seriously enough? If not, does that contribute to police decision making regarding the use of outcomes such as outcome 10 which is not strictly a solved outcome to finalise cases?

Finally, does this impact harm? The research identified that using CCHI as a tool established what levels of harm exist in a cohort of sex-offenders in Essex. The analysis found that the harm remains low for ongoing offences. This could be replicated in other police areas to identify harm levels and support this research.

The research has also identified that one of the Power Few sex-offenders was the highest harm offender and was initially convicted for a very low harm offence of Exposure which leads to the call for further research into low harm offences such as Exposure for which there is very little research on internationally and the rise of harm over time. This is especially key in the current climate with the rising sexual violence in society particularly as it is underreported (Office of National Statistics 2021).

A descriptive approach using quantitative analysis was taken in this thesis to understand the harm and demographics of a cohort of sex-offenders who reside in Essex. This was to identify opportunities to manage sex-offenders in a better way and reduce harm not only in sexual offending but all offending. Policing going forward should invest in further research to understand if managing sexual risk alone is sufficiently good enough to reduce harm or should a new comparison method be adopted into existing processes such as measuring all harm using the CCHI? Findings from this research and future research

undertaken in these areas can be considered by other Forces and even agencies such as Probation to improve measurements of harm and risk that a sex-offender presents to enable adequate prevention of future harm.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Table 13: Individual ongoing offending start and finish dates from original cohort (N=235)

Those highlighted in red were eliminated from the final sample (N=144) as they had no documented positive justice outcome offending on the Athena Crime Recording System during their relevant time stream.

Those highlighted in green were included in the final sample (N=144).

ASSIGNED NUMBER	START DATE	END DATE
NR1	22/08/2016	22/08/2020
NR2	15/02/2017	15/02/2021
NR3	04/02/2017	04/02/2021
NR4	11/05/2017	11/05/2021
NR5	01/07/2016	01/07/2020
NR6	31/08/2016	31/08/2020
NR7	08/09/2016	08/09/2020
NR8	11/04/2016	11/04/2020
NR9	10/01/2017	10/01/2021
NR10	29/09/2016	29/09/2020
NR11	20/06/2017	20/06/2021
NR12	20/11/2015	20/11/2019
NR13	22/09/2015	22/09/2019
NR14	14/04/2016	14/04/2020
NR15	02/06/2017	02/06/2021
NR16	29/03/2017	29/03/2021
NR17	28/07/2016	29/07/2020
NR18	16/03/2017	16/03/2021
NR19	11/07/2016	11/07/2020
NR20	01/02/2017	01/02/2021
NR21	11/01/2017	11/01/2021
NR22	04/01/2017	04/01/2021
NR23	03/07/2017	03/07/2021
NR24	24/04/2017	24/04/2021
NR25	04/11/2016	04/11/2020
NR26	07/02/2017	07/02/2021
NR27	27/11/2015	27/11/2019
NR28	18/04/2016	18/04/2020
NR29	21/06/2017	21/06/2021
NR30	25/01/2016	25/01/2020
NR31	02/02/2017	02/02/2021

NR32	19/10/2015	19/10/2019
NR33	06/11/2015	06/11/2019
NR34	21/12/2016	21/12/2020
NR35	23/05/2017	23/05/2021
NR36	30/01/2017	30/01/2021
NR37	23/05/2016	23/05/2020
NR38	09/01/2017	09/01/2021
NR39	22/12/2016	22/12/2020
NR40	10/03/2017	10/03/2021
NR41	21/09/2015	21/09/2019
NR42	29/06/2016	29/06/2020
NR43	28/07/2016	28/07/2020
NR44	10/03/2017	10/03/2021
NR45	13/05/2016	13/05/2020
NR46	30/11/2016	30/11/2020
NR47	07/06/2017	07/06/2021
NR48	16/05/2017	16/05/2021
NR49	19/09/2016	19/09/2020
NR50	28/03/2017	28/03/2021
NR51	13/01/2017	13/01/2021
NR52	21/03/2016	21/03/2020
NR53	21/06/2016	21/06/2020
NR54	09/02/2017	09/02/2021
NR55	28/10/2016	28/10/2020
NR56	01/09/2016	01/09/2020
NR57	26/08/2016	26/08/2020
NR58	14/07/2017	14/07/2021
NR59	08/08/2016	08/08/2020
NR60	03/06/2016	03/06/2020
NR61	03/05/2016	03/05/2020
NR62	29/06/2017	29/06/2021
NR63	14/09/2015	14/09/2019
NR64	01/02/2017	01/02/2021
NR65	30/11/2016	30/11/2020
NR66	03/05/2017	03/05/2021
NR67	10/10/2016	10/10/2020
NR68	07/10/2016	07/10/2020
NR69	09/09/2016	09/09/2020
NR70	07/09/2016	07/09/2020
NR71	11/11/2016	11/11/2020
NR72	05/10/2015	05/10/2019
NR73	10/03/2017	10/03/2021
NR74	15/06/2016	15/06/2020
NR75	11/04/2017	11/04/2021
NR76	26/05/2017	26/05/2021
NR77	05/05/2016	05/05/2020
NR78	31/03/2016	31/03/2020
NR79	04/08/2016	04/08/2020
NR80	21/08/2015	21/08/2019
NR81	02/02/2017	02/02/2021
NR82	03/03/2017	03/03/2021

NR83	08/12/2016	08/12/2020
NR84	11/04/2017	11/04/2021
NR85	31/03/2016	31/03/2020
NR86	07/12/2016	07/12/2020
NR87	10/12/2015	10/12/2019
NR88	05/07/2016	05/07/2020
NR89	06/02/2017	06/02/2021
NR90	18/03/2017	18/03/2021
NR91	10/02/2017	10/02/2021
NR92	05/04/2017	05/04/2021
NR93	03/03/2017	03/03/2021
NR94	08/12/2016	08/12/2020
NR95	24/10/2016	24/10/2020
NR96	02/06/2017	02/06/2021
NR97	18/07/2016	18/07/2020
NR98	04/08/2016	04/08/2020
NR99	23/09/2015	23/09/2019
NR100	08/05/2017	08/05/2021
NR101	22/05/2017	22/05/2021
NR102	22/02/2017	22/02/2021
NR103	30/09/2016	30/09/2020
NR104	16/06/2017	16/06/2021
NR105	24/07/2017	24/07/2021
NR106	08/05/2017	08/05/2021
NR107	11/04/2016	11/04/2020
NR108	16/06/2017	16/06/2021
NR109	02/02/2017	02/02/2021
NR110	08/11/2016	08/11/2020
NR111	23/12/2016	23/12/2020
NR112	06/03/2017	06/03/2021
NR113	16/01/2017	16/01/2021
NR114	05/07/2016	05/07/2020
NR115	29/06/2017	29/06/2021
NR116	10/12/2015	10/12/2019
NR117	15/12/2015	15/12/2019
NR118	09/05/2017	09/05/2021
NR119	03/11/2016	03/11/2020
NR120	20/11/2015	20/11/2019
NR121	12/04/2017	12/04/2021
NR122	29/04/2016	29/04/2020
NR123	08/02/2017	08/02/2021
NR124	18/05/2016	18/05/2020
NR125	09/09/2016	09/09/2020
NR126	02/11/2016	02/11/2020
NR127	13/07/2017	13/07/2021
NR128	09/01/2017	09/01/2021
NR129	24/11/2015	24/11/2019
NR130	23/05/2017	23/05/2021
NR131	22/02/2016	22/02/2020
NR132	07/06/2017	07/06/2021
NR133	28/11/2016	28/11/2020

NR134	30/03/2016	30/03/2020
NR135	10/06/2016	10/06/2020
NR136	22/11/2016	22/11/2020
NR137	27/06/2016	27/06/2020
NR138	05/05/2017	05/05/2021
NR139	03/05/2017	03/05/2021
NR140	21/04/2017	21/04/2021
NR141	04/11/2016	04/11/2020
NR142	20/04/2017	20/04/2021
NR143	13/06/2017	13/06/2021
NR144	08/08/2016	08/08/2020
NR145	05/04/2016	05/04/2020
NR146	20/05/2016	20/05/2020
NR147	09/12/2015	09/12/2019
NR148	08/07/2016	08/07/2020
NR149	13/06/2016	13/06/2020
NR150	09/10/2015	09/10/2019
NR151	22/08/2016	22/08/2020
NR152	18/07/2016	18/07/2020
NR153	24/07/2017	24/07/2021
NR154	01/03/2016	01/03/2020
NR155	11/05/2016	11/05/2020
NR156	18/08/2016	18/08/2020
NR157	26/10/2016	26/10/2020
NR158	21/11/2016	21/11/2020
NR159	28/04/2017	28/04/2021
NR160	27/03/2017	27/03/2021
NR161	25/11/2016	25/11/2020
NR162	15/02/2016	15/02/2020
NR163	29/01/2016	29/01/2020
NR164	02/02/2017	02/02/2021
NR165	09/03/2017	09/03/2021
NR166	27/04/2017	27/04/2021
NR167	19/05/2016	19/05/2020
NR168	19/09/2016	19/09/2020
NR169	28/09/2016	28/09/2020
NR170	02/05/2017	02/05/2021
NR171	22/09/2016	22/09/2020
NR172	29/09/2016	29/09/2020
NR173	08/01/2016	08/01/2020
NR174	29/12/2015	29/12/2019
NR175	06/12/2016	06/12/2020
NR176	12/09/2016	12/09/2020
NR177	09/03/2017	09/03/2021
NR178	07/03/2017	07/03/2021
NR179	26/02/2016	26/02/2020
NR180	27/09/2016	27/09/2020
NR181	28/03/2017	28/03/2021
NR182	26/07/2017	26/07/2021
NR183	23/06/2017	23/06/2021
NR184	24/03/2017	24/03/2021

NR185	28/03/2017	28/03/2021
NR186	16/09/2016	16/09/2020
NR187	13/06/2017	13/06/2021
NR188	02/03/2017	02/03/2021
NR189	30/09/2016	30/09/2020
NR190	07/01/2016	07/01/2020
NR191	02/09/2016	02/09/2020
NR192	20/06/2017	20/06/2021
NR193	12/01/2016	12/01/2020
NR194	12/10/2016	12/10/2020
NR195	04/11/2016	04/11/2020
NR196	25/07/2017	25/07/2021
NR197	04/11/2016	04/11/2020
NR198	06/12/2016	06/12/2020
NR199	04/08/2016	04/08/2020
NR200	09/05/2017	09/05/2021
NR201	19/08/2016	19/08/2020
NR202	24/11/2015	24/11/2019
NR203	26/10/2016	26/10/2020
NR204	04/08/2015	04/08/2019
NR205	22/11/2016	22/11/2020
NR206	07/06/2016	07/06/2020
NR207	11/11/2016	11/11/2020
NR208	15/02/2016	15/02/2020
NR209	20/03/2017	20/03/2021
NR210	29/01/2016	29/01/2020
NR211	21/10/2016	21/10/2020
NR212	01/12/2016	01/12/2020
NR213	13/01/2017	13/01/2021
NR214	24/07/2017	24/07/2021
NR215	26/10/2015	26/10/2019
NR216	07/03/2017	07/03/2021
NR217	26/01/2016	26/01/2020
NR218	06/02/2017	06/02/2021
NR219	17/11/2016	17/11/2020
NR220	02/10/2015	02/10/2019
NR221	01/11/2016	01/11/2020
NR222	16/11/2016	16/11/2020
NR223	24/10/2016	24/10/2020
NR224	31/05/2016	25/10/2020
NR225	01/09/2016	01/09/2020
NR226	28/04/2016	28/04/2020
NR227	18/02/2016	18/02/2020
NR228	15/02/2017	15/02/2021
NR229	02/11/2016	02/11/2020
NR230	20/06/2017	20/06/2021
NR231	13/07/2017	13/07/2021
NR232	14/10/2016	14/10/2020
NR233	11/06/2016	11/06/2020
NR234	11/04/2016	11/04/2020
NR235	07/08/2015	07/08/2019

Appendix B

Police Justice Outcomes

Table 14: Police Justice Outcomes framework - April 2014 onwards (outcomes 1 - 22)

(Home Office, 2021f)

1. Charge and or Summons	2. Caution - youths
3. Caution - adults	4. Taken into consideration (TIC)
5. The offender has died (all offences)	6. Penalty Notice for Disorder
7. Cannabis warning	8. Community Resolution
9. Prosecution not in public interest (CPS) (all offences)	10. Formal action against the offender is not in the public interest (police decision)
11. Prosecution prevented - named suspect identified but is below the age of criminal responsibility	12. Prosecution prevented - named identified suspect identified but is too ill (physical or mental health) to prosecute
13. Prosecution prevented - named suspect identified but victim or key witness is dead or too ill to give evidence	14. Evidential difficulties victim based - named suspect not identified but the victim declines or is unable to support further police action to identify the offender
15. Evidential difficulties - named suspect identified and the victim supports police action, but evidential difficulties prevent further action	16. Evidential difficulties victim based - named suspect identified - the victim does not support (or withdraws support from) police action
17. Prosecution time limit expired - suspect identified but the time limit for prosecution has expired	18. Investigation complete - no suspect identified. Crime investigated as far as reasonably possible - case closed pending further investigative opportunities becoming available
19. National Fraud Intelligence Bureau field (NFIB only). A crime or fraud has been recorded but has not been allocated for investigation because the assessment process at the NFIB has determined there are insufficient lines of enquir1 to warrant such dissemination	20. Further action, resulting from the crime report, will be undertaken by another body or agency subject to the victim (or person acting on their behalf) being made aware of the action to be taken (from April 2015)

21. Further action, resulting from the crime report, which could provide evidence sufficient to support formal action being taken against the suspect is not in the public interest - police decision (from Januar1 2016)	22. Diversionary, educational or intervention activity, resulting from the crime report, has been undertaken and it is not in the public interest to take any further action (Voluntary from April 2019)

Appendix C

Table 15: Offence Coding

Sexual Offending

Offence (Act and Section) SOA 2003 unless otherwise stated	Coding Category
Rape (s.1)	Rape Adult
Rape of a child under 13 (s.5)	Rape Child
Assault by penetration (s.2) Sexual assault (s.3)	Adult Sexual Other
Assault of a child under 13 by penetration (s.6) Sexual assault of a child under 13 (s.7) Causing or inciting a child under 13 to engage in sexual activity (s.8) Sexual activity with a child (s.9) Causing or inciting a child to engage in sexual activity (s.10) Engaging in sexual activity in the presence of a child (s.11) Causing a child to watch a sexual act (s.12) Child sex offences committed by children or young persons (s.13) Abuse of position of trust: sexual activity with a child (s.16) Abuse of position of trust: causing or inciting a child to engage in sexual activity (s.17) Abuse of position of trust: sexual activity in the presence of a child (s.18) Abuse of position of trust: causing a child to watch a sexual act (s.19) Sexual activity with a child family member (s.25) Inciting a child family member to engage in sexual activity (s.26)	Child Sexual Other
Arranging or facilitating the commission of a child sex offence (s.14) Meeting a child following sexual grooming etc. (s.15) Paying for sexual services of a child (s.47) Causing or inciting child prostitution or pornography (s.48)	Child Sexual Grooming

Controlling a child prostitute or a child involved in pornography (s.49) Arranging or facilitating child prostitution or pornography (s.50)	
Exposure (s.66)	Exposure
Section 1 of the Protection of Children Act 1978 (PCA 1978); and Section 160 of the Criminal Justice Act 1988 (CJA 1988)	Indecent Images of Children
Sexual activity with a person with a mental disorder impeding choice (s.30) Causing or inciting a person, with a mental disorder impeding choice, to engage in sexual activity (s.31) Engaging in sexual activity in the presence of a person with a mental disorder impeding choice (s.32) Causing a person, with a mental disorder impeding choice, to watch a sexual act (s.33) Inducement, threat or deception to procure sexual activity with a person with a mental disorder (s.34) Causing a person with a mental disorder to engage in or agree to engage in sexual activity by inducement, threat or deception (s.35) Engaging in sexual activity in the presence, procured by inducement, threat or deception, of a person with a mental disorder (s.36) Causing a person with a mental disorder to watch a sexual act by inducement, threat or deception (s.37) Care workers: sexual activity with a person with a mental disorder (s.38) Care workers: causing or inciting sexual activity (s.39) Care workers: sexual activity in the presence of a person with a mental disorder (s.40) Care workers: causing a person with a mental disorder to watch a sexual act (s.41) Causing or inciting prostitution for gain (s.52) Controlling prostitution for gain (s.53) Trafficking into the UK for sexual exploitation (s.57) Trafficking within the UK for sexual exploitation (s.58)	Other Sexual Offence

Trafficking out of the UK for sexual exploitation (s.59) Administering a substance with intent (s.61) Committing an offence with intent to commit a sexual offence (s.62) Trespass with intent to commit a sexual offence (s.63) Sex with an adult relative: penetration (s.64) Sex with an adult relative: consenting to penetration (s.65) Voyeurism (s.67) Intercourse with an animal (s.69) Sexual penetration of a corpse (s.70) Sexual activity in a public lavatory (s.71)	
Fail to comply with notification requirements (s .91)	Breach of Notification Requirements
Breach of SHPO or interim SHPO (s 103I)	Breach of Sexual Harm Prevention Order

Non-Sexual Offending

Unlawful wounding/inflicting GBH – s.20 and wounding/causing GBH with intent – s.18 Offences Against the Persons Act 1861	Serious Assault
All other assaults against the person	Assault Other
All offences under the Theft Act 1968	Theft
All offences under Misuse of Drugs Act 1971	Drug
All other offences outside of these parameters	Miscellaneous

Appendix D

Table 16: Cambridge Crime Harm Index Scores (Used in calculations)

Engage in sexual activity in presence of child aged under 13 offender 18 or over Sexual Offences Act 2003: s.11(1)(a)	10.00
Making indecent photograph or pseudo-photograph of children Protection of Children Act 1978: s.1(a)	19.00
Possessing indecent photographs or pseudo-photographs of children with a view to distributing or showing Protection of Children Act 1978: s.1	19.00
Sexual assault -intentionally touch female - no penetration Sexual Offences Act 2003: s.3	19.00
Adult meet a boy under 16 years of age following grooming Sexual Offences Act 2003: s.15	547.50
Adult meet a girl under 16 years of age following grooming Sexual Offences Act 2003: s.15	547.50
Arranging or facilitating the commission of a child sex offence	182.50
Arson endangering life (Indictable)	365.00
Assault occasioning actual bodily harm (ABH)	10.00
Assault on female/male by penetration Sexual Offences Act 2003: s.2	730.00
Assault or assault by beating of a constable	2.00
Assault or assault by beating of an emergency worker (except a constable)	2.00
Assault Police - Assault occasioning actual bodily harm (ABH) (S.47)	182.50
Assault without Injury - Common assault and battery	1.00
Assault without injury on a constable (Police Act offence)	2.00
Breach a sexual risk order / risk of harm order etc. or fail to comply with requirement under Sec 122 c (4)	10.00
Breach of a restraining order	5.00
Breach of Sexual Offences Prevention Order (SOPO)	10.00
Breach SHPO / interim SHPO / SOPO / interim SOPO / Foreign travel order or fail to comply with a requirement under Sec 103D (4)	10.00
Cause/incite a female/male child under 13 to engage in sexual activity - no penetration Sexual Offences Act 2003: s.8(1)	730.00
Cause/incite female/male child u13 engage sexual act offender 18+ penetrate anus/vagina/mouth by penis, body part Sexual Offences Act 2003: s.10(1)(a)	2190.00
Cause/incite female /male child u16 engage sexual act offender 18+ penetrate anus/vagina/mouth by penis/body part Sexual Offences Act 2003: s.10(1)(a)	365.00

Cause/incite sexual activity with female/male 13-17 offender 18 or over abuse of position of trust. SOA 2003 S17	10.00
Causing a child under 13 to watch a sexual act by an offender over 18 years of age	10.00
Children Act 1989, Taking, keeping, inducing, assisting or inciting a child away from the person having responsibility for care under a care order, emergency protection order or police protection	3.00
Commit an act outraging public decency by behaving in an indecent manner Common Law	5.00
Committing or conspiring to commit, an act outraging public decency. Common Law	5.00
Cruelty to Children/Young Persons - Cruelty to and neglect of children	10.00
Distributing indecent photographs or pseudo-photographs of children Protection of Children Act 1978: s.1	19.00
Exposure Sexual Offences Act 2003: s.66	10.00
Fail to comply with notification requirements of Sec 108(1)	5.00
Fail to comply with requirements re notification of changes under Sec 109(1) or 6(b)	5.00
Failure to comply with (Sexual Offence) Notification Order	10.00
Gross indecency with child (girl) under 14 Indecency with Children Act 1960: s.1(1)	10.00
Harassment - Pursue course of conduct in breach of Sec 1 (1) which amounts to stalking	10.00
Having an article with a blade or point in a public place	5.00
Having possession of a controlled drug - Class A - Cocaine	3.00
Having possession of a controlled drug - Class B - Amphetamine	2.00
Having possession of a controlled drug - Class B - Cannabis	2.00
Indecent assault on female under 16 Sexual Offences Act 1956: s.14	10.00
Indecent assault on male under 14 Sexual Offences Act 1956: s.15	10.00
Making indecent photograph or pseudo-photograph of children Protection of Children Act 1978: s.1(a)	19.00
Making off without payment	1.00
Meet female/male child under 16 following sexual grooming-offender 18 or over Sexual Offences Act 2003: s.15	547.50
Notifies police, under Notification Order, with false information	19.00
Other criminal damage to a building other than a dwelling (Under £5,000)	1.00
Other criminal damage to a dwelling (Under £5,000)	1.00
Other criminal damage, other (Under £5,000)	1.00
Possessing an indecent photograph or pseudo-photograph of a child Criminal Justice Act 1988: s.160	19.00

Possession of extreme pornographic images - an act which results, or is likely to result, in serious injury to a person's anus, breasts or genitals	4.00
Possession of offensive weapon without lawful authority or reasonable excuse	5.00
Rape of female child under 13 by a male Sexual Offences Act 2003: s.5	2920.00
Sec 4 POA Fear or provocation of violence	5.00
Sec 4a POA Causing intentional harassment, alarm or distress	3.00
Sec 5 POA Harassment, alarm or distress	1.00
Sending letters etc with intent to cause distress or anxiety, Malicious Communications Act 1988	2.00
Sexual act with female child u16 offender child/young person penetrate anus/vagina/mouth by penis/body part Sexual Offences Act 2003: s.9(1)(a)+s.13	365.00
Sexual activity with female child under 16 - offender 18 or over - no penetration Sexual Offences Act 2003: s.9(a)	10.00
Sexual assault of female child under 13 Sexual Offences Act 2003: s.7	182.00
Taking indecent photographs or pseudo-photographs of children Protection of Children Act 1978: s.1	19.00
Theft from shops and stalls	1.00
Theft in a dwelling other than from automatic machine or meter	2.00
Trespass with intent to commit a relevant sexual offence Sexual Offences Act 2003: s.63	730.00
Voyeurism - install equipment/construct/adapt structure w/i enabling one to record person doing private act Sexual Offences Act 2003: s.67(4)	10.00
Wounding with intent to do grievous bodily harm (Indictable)	1460.00

Appendix E

List of Abbreviations

ABH	Assault Occasioning Actual Bodily Harm
APP	Authorised Professional Practice
ARMS	Active Risk Management System
CCHI	Cambridge Crime Harm Index
CSS	Crime Severity Score
GBH	Grievous Bodily Harm
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IIoC	Indecent Images of Children
MAPPA	Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements
MOSOVO	Management of Sexual Offenders and Violent Offenders
PNC	Police National Computer
RSO	Registered Sex-Offender
SHPO	Sexual Harm Prevention Order
SOA	Sexual Offences Act
VAWG	Violence Against Women and Girls
VISOR	Violent and Sex-Offender Register

Appendix F

List Of Figures

Appendix G

List of Tables