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# **Alcohol Abstinence Monitoring Requirement South London Pilot Indicative Impact Report**

April 2017

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MOPAC Evidence and Insight



**M O P A C**

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**MAYOR OF LONDON**

OFFICE FOR POLICING AND CRIME

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# Alcohol Abstinence Monitoring Requirement

## South London Pilot Indicative Impact Report

### 1. Background

In 2011 the Mayor's office secured legislation to allow for the introduction of a new sentencing power, the Alcohol Abstinence Monitoring Requirement (AAMR) to tackle the significant problem of alcohol related offending in London. The AAMR gives the Judiciary the statutory power to stop an offender drinking alcohol (Compulsory Sobriety), where their offence is alcohol related. The AAMR involves fitting a tag to the offender's ankle and monitoring their alcohol consumption for up to 120 days. When this is not complied with, the offender will be breached and punished further.

MOPAC commissioned a compulsory alcohol sobriety trial in South London which aimed to test the monitoring equipment, understand the take up, and test compliance and enforceability of the requirement. A 12 month pilot period commenced 31 July 2014, over which time 113 AAMR Orders were imposed by the Courts. The AAMR pilot<sup>1</sup> had a final completion compliance rate of 95%<sup>2</sup> which compares favourably with other similar orders - analysis by the NPS in 2014 estimated a compliance rate of 61% for other community based Orders it managed with the Community Rehabilitation Company (CRC)<sup>3</sup>. Variation was also seen with different requirements - 82% of offenders completed their Unpaid Work Orders successfully<sup>4</sup> in London compared to Alcohol Treatment requirements (80%) and Drug Rehabilitation requirements / Drug Testing and Treatment Orders (67%)<sup>5</sup>.

The AAMR was received well, particularly by the judiciary and professionals, who recognised the AAMR as an important 'tool in their box'. This can in part be attributed to the strength of the design and implementation of the programme. There were clear toolkits and training provided, effective partnership working and a project management team in place with relevant experience in this area. The effectiveness and certainty provided by the technology, as well as a strong understanding of the aims of the pilot and how the AAMR works in practice amongst both offenders receiving the order and stakeholders involved in its delivery also helped. In addition, there were a number of associated positive consequences of the pilot, including but not limited to; the period of abstinence gave offenders a 'pause' in their drinking; it also provided time for reflection of their alcohol consumption and the impact it has on offending behaviour, work and relationships; and an opportunity was provided for offenders to break their cycle of routine drinking. The AAMR was also used as a 'teachable moment' in some instances with products such as literature and advice tailored by the service providers in order to help offenders further.

The technology working as intended and the strong implementation resulted in a pan London extension of AAMR, launched on 1st April 2016. The initial MOPAC research report<sup>6</sup> explored process and performance, but it was not possible to assess any *impact* of AAMR on offending due to a limited follow up time and relatively small numbers. Given there is now a longer follow up period, this report focuses on an indicative analysis of offending behaviours of the AAMR pilot cohort compared to a comparison group. These findings sit as part of a wider, holistic evaluation around the roll out of the AAMR across London. Additional research is currently being conducted around a process evaluation, cost benefit analysis and performance metrics which will be reported on in summer 2017. Following this, in 2018, once enough time has elapsed; proven reoffending will be explored to demonstrate the potential impact of AAMR.

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<sup>1</sup> Caution needs to be applied when interpreting the completion and compliance rate of AAMR – this was a pilot study with a small sample size enabling the project manager to provide some assurances that the large majority of the AAMRs were enforced when failures to comply arose. This may not necessarily be the case with other Orders and requirements.

<sup>2</sup> The AAMR pilot had a compliance rate of 92%, based on the number of cases (n=9) who were returned to court and convicted on breaching their AAMR as a proportion of all cases imposed. Of these 9, 5 had their AAMR revoked and failed to complete, and the remaining 4 completed their AAMR following their return to court. This gives a final completion/compliance rate of 95%. Pepper, M. & Dawson, P. (2016). *Alcohol Abstinence Monitoring Requirement: A process review of the proof of concept pilot*. MOPAC

<sup>3</sup> However there are caveats to be considered such as a direct 'like for like' comparison is not possible due to different offence types, offender characteristics, breach processes and the length of the orders themselves.

<sup>4</sup> These figures should be caveated however as the AAMR project manager recently reviewed other requirements on Orders (i.e. UPW), finding there were numerous occasions when breaches were not enforced and cases were simply closed, which may distort the actual compliance rate.

<sup>5</sup> Ministry of Justice (2015). *Prison and Probation Performance Statistics 2014 to 2015*. London: Ministry of Justice.

<sup>6</sup> Pepper, M. & Dawson, P. (2016). *Alcohol Abstinence Monitoring Requirement: A process review of the proof of concept pilot*. MOPAC

## 2. Key Findings

- Indicative analysis was conducted on the pilot AAMR cohort (n = 109) and a well matched comparison group (Control cohort; n = 250) to explore offending behaviours over three timeframes.
- The Control cohort consisted of offenders who received Community or Suspended Sentence Orders over the same time frame as the AAMR cohort, were from matched boroughs, with similar OGR Scores and of comparable age at the time Order was imposed.
- Examining offending behaviours ***on the order, in the first 12 months from order start date*** and ***9 months since order completion***, there does not appear to be any significant differences between the AAMR and comparison group.
  - Whilst subject to an Order, a slightly higher proportion of the control group were either arrested (40%, n = 100 vs. AAMR: 31%, n=34) or convicted (31%, n = 77 vs. AAMR: 27%, n = 29): this was not a significant difference (and likely explained by the longer length of the comparison Order).
  - There was no significant difference in the proportion of individuals who went on to reoffend in the first year subsequent to their Order (calculated as offence within 12 months, with 3 months lag for convictions: AAMR: 36%, n = 40 vs. Control: 34%, n = 84). These are broadly comparable to proven reoffending rates throughout England and Wales for Community Orders and Suspended Sentence Orders (32%)<sup>7</sup>.
  - There was no significant difference comparing the proportions of offenders arrested in the subsequent nine months for further offences after the end of their Orders (AAMR: 30%, n = 24 vs. Control: 26%, n = 42).
- The majority of reoffences for both cohorts have been for 'Offences Against Police, Courts and Prisons'. There have been very few guilty convictions for the offence of 'Driving whilst under the influence of alcohol' (an alcohol related offence) since the start of the Order for either cohort.
- It is acknowledged that the analysis has limitations and should be viewed as indicative given the relatively small numbers and timeframes under analysis - but the weight of evidence so far indicates that the impact upon offending behaviours of the AAMR is comparable to pre-existing requirements (e.g. Unpaid Work). This should be seen as a positive given the inherent risks of delivering innovation. The AAMR is also shorter than comparable orders raising a wider narrative around achieving the same outcomes in a shorter timeframe in terms of efficient justice and potential cost savings. This will be explored in future reports.
- The next phase of AAMR research will focus upon the pan London roll out, providing a holistic appraisal of the project including performance metrics, and a process, impact and economic evaluation. The pilot cohort will continue to be tracked and new analysis completed when proven reoffending is able to be calculated.

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<sup>7</sup> Ministry of Justice (2017). *Proven Reoffending Statistics: Quarterly Bulletin* April 2014 – March 2015. [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/585908/proven-reoffending-quarterly-bulletin.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/585908/proven-reoffending-quarterly-bulletin.pdf)

### 3. Methodology

The initial MOPAC report<sup>8</sup> explored process and performance, but it was not possible to assess *impact* of AAMR on offending due to a limited follow up time and relatively small numbers. Whilst the numbers remain small, there is now a longer follow up period. In such – this report focuses on an indicative analysis of offending behaviours of the AAMR pilot cohort<sup>9</sup> compared to a comparison group of 250 offenders.

#### 3.1 Creating a matched cohort

Initially, to identify a suitable matched control cohort, 1,000 offenders were identified from the National Probation Service / CRC based on the following criteria:

- Sentencing took place between July 2014 and July 2015;
- Offence was committed in either Ealing, Redbridge, Islington, Haringey, Tower Hamlets, Hackney, Bexley, or Kingston<sup>10</sup>;
- Offender received a Community Order or Suspended Sentence Order; and
- OGRS3 Score: between 6-82<sup>11</sup>.

From this sample, Police National Computer (PNC) data<sup>12</sup> was used to identify a cohort of offenders who matched most closely to the AAMR cohort based on a number of measures including:

- OGRS3 Year 2 score<sup>13</sup>;
- Number of previous convictions in 5 years prior to order;
- Age at first conviction;
- Age at order start date; and
- Seriousness of offending<sup>14</sup>.

For each of the above criteria, the average of the AAMR cohort was compared to the sample; those individuals who fell within the top 50% of similarity<sup>15</sup> were selected as the Control cohort. The match between AAMR and control was strong. See the below tables that illustrate the similarities around the key matching criteria, demographics, court Orders and associated requirements<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Pepper, M. & Dawson, P. (2016). Alcohol Abstinence Monitoring Requirement: A process review of the proof of concept pilot. MOPAC

<sup>9</sup> AAMR cohort in this report = 109 offenders. It was not possible to obtain PNC data for all 113 AAMR cases reported in the initial pilot. From this cohort, 6 Orders were returned to court in the interest of justice. However, if they received the AAMR tag and completed days wearing the tag, they have been included in the 109 cohort reported on here.

<sup>10</sup> Boroughs were selected based on nearest neighbour calculator (containing a host of factors) to select top ten matched boroughs to each of the pilot boroughs. These were then filtered down for number of TNO's 2014/15 and 2015/16, and average no. of re-offences per re-offender for all offences July 2013 – June 2014.

<sup>11</sup> Taken from the range of OGRS3 scores for the AAMR pilot cohort detailed in the AAMR Pilot Evaluation Report.

<sup>12</sup> Downloaded on 02/12/2016.

<sup>13</sup> Offender Group Reconviction Scale version 3 (OGRS3 2 year) score uses static factors, such as age at sentence, gender, offence committed and criminal history to predict the likelihood of proven reoffending within a given time (e.g., either one or two years after starting their Community Order. This research reports the two year score). Offenders with a higher OGRS score are at greater risk of reoffending. Risk of reoffending scores can be categorised as: 0% - 24% = Very Low, 25% - 49% = Low, 50% - 74% = Medium, 75% - 89% = High.

<sup>14</sup> Measured using a scale of offence seriousness identified by the Ministry of Justice.

Mason, T., de Silva, N., Sharma, N., Brown, D. & Harper, G. (2007). Local Variation in Sentencing in England and Wales. Ministry of Justice.

[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/217971/local-variation-sentencing-1207.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/217971/local-variation-sentencing-1207.pdf)

<sup>15</sup> This meant that each individual scored 12/25 or higher. Whilst this is a higher percentage match than would necessarily be ideal, 50% was chosen to provide a robust sample size of 250 offenders. (If this score had been reduced, to create a closer matched score (e.g.: 15/25), this would have provided a sample of 92, which would not have been a robust sample size).

<sup>16</sup> Matching criteria did not include whether the original offence was alcohol related for this indicative piece of work due to limitations with the NPS database filtering system. Retrospective analysis has since indicated that 25% of the control sample convictions were alcohol related. In future waves we shall again seek to include it if possible. None-the-less, the overall match is satisfactory.

**Table 1: AAMR and Control cohort results for Matching Criteria (calculated at start of Order)**

Matching Criteria	AAMR	Control
OGRS3 Year 2 Score (before Order started)	39%	44%
Average number of convictions in 5yrs before Order started	8	10
Average age of 1st conviction	25	24
Average age Order started	33	33
Average offence seriousness (before Order started)	7	7

**Table 2: Demographics of the AAMR and Control cohorts**

Demographics	AAMR Cohort (N = 109)	Control Cohort (N = 250)
Gender	M = 88% (n = 98)	M = 100% (n = 250)
Ethnicity	White = 56% (n = 61)	White = 50% (n = 124)
	BME = 44% (n = 48)	BME = 50% (n = 125)

**Table 3: Court Order requirements**

	AAMR Cohort	Control Cohort
<b>Multiple Requirement</b>	61% (66)	58% (146)
<b>Standalone AAMR</b>	39% (43)	N/A
<b>Standalone RAR</b>	N/A	3% (8)
<b>Standalone Supervision</b>	N/A	7% (18)
<b>Standalone UPW</b>	N/A	31% (78)

**Table 4: Number of requirements per offender**

	No. of Requirements	AAMR cohort	Control cohort
<b>Standalone</b>	1 requirement	39% (43)	42% (104)
<b>Multiple Requirements</b>	2 requirements	51% (56)	44% (111)
	3 requirements	9% (10)	12% (30)
	4 requirements	0	2% (4)
	5 requirements	0	0.4% (1)

Of the AAMR cohort who received a multiple requirement (n = 66), as well as the AAMR, additional requirements included<sup>17</sup>:

- UPW requirement (64%, n = 42);
- Supervision requirement (23%, n = 15);
- Electronic Monitoring/Curfew (6%, n = 4);
- RAR (12%, n = 8); and
- Accredited Programme (6%, n = 4).

Of the 146 offenders in the Control cohort who received multiple requirements, a combination of requirements imposed included:

- Supervision requirement (77%, n = 113);
- Accredited Programme (38%, n = 55);
- Specified Activity (21%, n = 31); and
- RAR (18%, n = 27).

Three timeframes are explored in this report to explore offending behaviours during and subsequent the Order:

1) *Offending on the Order* = an offender is arrested (and convicted) of an offence whilst subject to a Court Order.

2) *Offence in the first year since order start* = an offender is deemed to have reoffended if PNC data shows that they have committed an offence within the first 12 months since receiving a Court Order, which resulted in a conviction at court within 15 months (12 + 3 months).

This method differs from that used by the Ministry of Justice to calculate official reoffending rates, where an 18 month (12 + 6 months) conviction follow up period is permitted. However, in this instance, given the time frame for this analysis, reducing the follow up period to 15 months allows for a larger and all offenders from both cohorts to be included in the analysis and previous research demonstrates that a 12 + 3 months method closely tracks that of a 12 + 6 month analysis<sup>18</sup>.

3) *Offence after order end* = measured via arrests in the nine months subsequent to the order concluding. This timeframe was selected as it was the optimal length to track the majority of the AAMR timeframe for the longest period.

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<sup>17</sup> For some offenders, who received more than two requirements, they may have received a combination of these requirements, and therefore the proportion (%) per requirement do not equal 100%.

<sup>18</sup> Dawson, P., Stanko, E., Higgins, A. & Rehman, U. (2011). *An evaluation of the Diamond Initiative: year two findings*. London. Metropolitan Police Service; London Criminal Justice Partnership. [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/slp\\_reducing\\_reoffending\\_board\\_-\\_may\\_2011\\_-\\_info\\_item\\_-\\_diamond\\_year2\\_final\\_120411.pdf](https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/slp_reducing_reoffending_board_-_may_2011_-_info_item_-_diamond_year2_final_120411.pdf)

## 4. Results

### 4.1 Offending on the Order

The first analysis was to explore offending whilst on the order. This should be caveated given that the Control cohorts Orders were on average far longer than the AAMR order (Control = 315 days, AAMR = 194 days)<sup>19</sup>. In terms of results, slightly more of the Control cohort were either arrested (AAMR = 31%, n=34; Control 40%, n=100) or convicted (AAMR 27%, n = 29; Control 31%, n = 77) whilst subject to their court Order. These differences were not statistically significant.

Again, in terms of the amount of offending, there was no significant difference in the number of arrests and convictions during the Order (Control cohort 3.1 arrests/person & 2.4 convictions/person, compared to the AAMR cohort 2.8 arrests/person & 1.9 convictions/person). See table 5.

**Table 5: Arrests and Convictions whilst on the Order**

	AAMR Cohort (N = 109)		Control Cohort (N = 250)	
	Arrests	Convictions	Arrests	Convictions
% (number) of offenders who reoffended	31% (n = 34)	27% (n = 29)	40% (n = 100)	31% (n = 77)
Total number of reoffences	97	57	318	190
Minimum number of reoffences	1	1	1	1
Maximum number of reoffences	12	5	15	8
Average reoffences per offender	2.8	1.9	3.1	2.4
Average speed to first reoffence (days)	124	130	132	136
Range (days)	9 - 327	9 - 327	1 - 451	1 - 675

Analysis was also conducted for a variety of splits (i.e., requirement or age of order) within the data to understand any offending differences. No significant differences were found. However, this should be caveated heavily given the low numbers (see Appendix A and B).

### 4.2 Offending in the first 12 months since Order imposed (plus 3 months for convictions)

**Indicative analysis indicates that there were no differences in reoffending between AAMR and the Control cohorts in the first 12 months subsequent to the Order being imposed (AAMR = 36%, n=40; Control = 34%, n=84).** Indeed, these findings indicate that both cohorts appear to be offending above their predicted one year OGRS score (Average OGRS Y1: AAMR = 26%, Control = 29%). See Table 6.

There were also no significant differences comparing the proportion of individuals *arrested* within the first 12 months (AAMR 45%, n=49; Control 40%, n=99) or the average number of arrests (AAMR 3.6 vs. control 3.3). Figure 1. also illustrates the relatively low level of offending before and after the order.

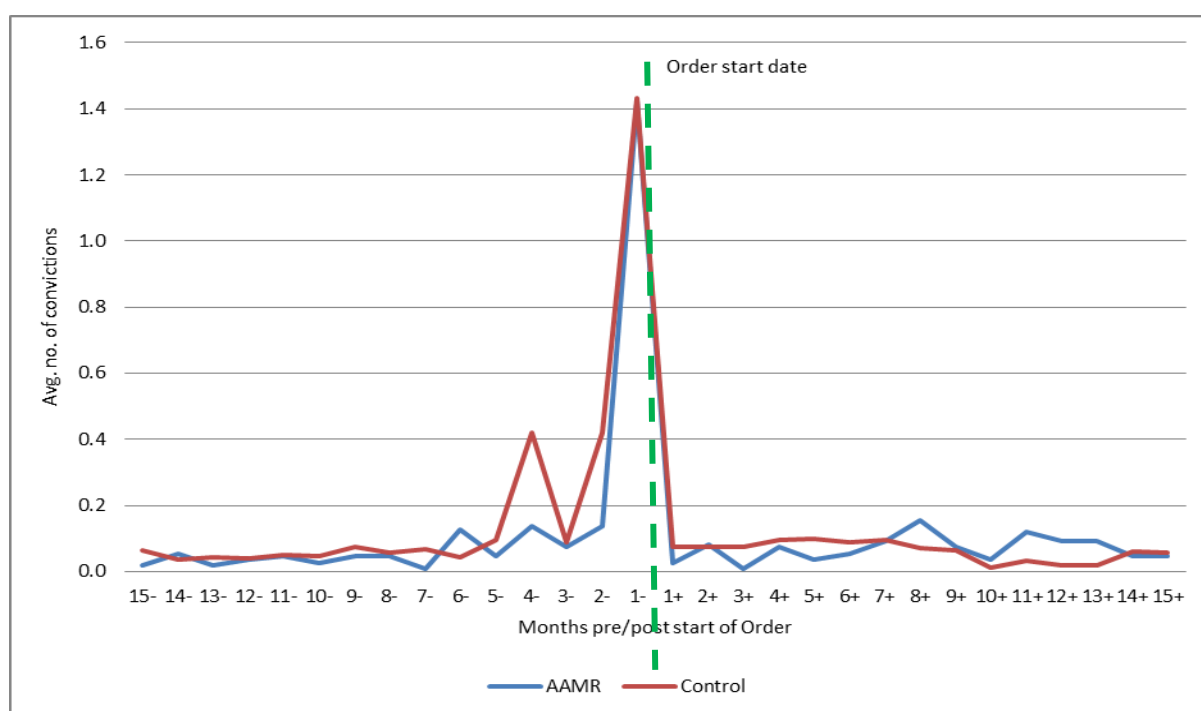
<sup>19</sup> The average Order length has not been calculated for the whole AAMR cohort (N = 109) because for 10 of the AAMR cohort, their Order is still ongoing, or they are subject to a warrant. When calculating the average Order length, these have been excluded as their Order data is not verified at this time.



**Table 6: Reoffending during the 12 months (+ 3 months) since the Order was imposed**

	<b>AAMR reoffences</b>	<b>Control reoffences</b>
% (number) of offenders to reoffend	36% (n = 40)	34% (n = 84)
Total number of reoffences	113	236
Minimum number of reoffences	1	1
Maximum number of reoffences	17	11
Average reoffences per offender	2.9	2.8
Average speed to first reoffence	166 days	149 days
Range	14 - 415 days	1 - 447 days

**Figure 1: Average number of reoffences pre and post start of Order**



To seek further understanding of the reoffending in the first 12 months since the Order started, below details a number of splits in the data analysis, including requirements of the Order, age and offence type. The small sample sizes makes robust conclusions difficult.

#### 4.2.1 Requirement

***There was little difference in reoffending rates in the 12 (+3) months since the Order started despite the combination of requirements were imposed on the Order.*** Approximately one third of the cohorts who received either a standalone AAMR Order or standalone UPW Order reoffended (AAMR = 40%, n = 17 vs. Control = 32%, n = 25), however the standalone AAMR cohort appear to be reoffending slightly more frequently, with 4.1 convictions per offender compared to 2.9 convictions per offender for the standalone UPW cohort (see Appendix C). When a multiple requirement Order was imposed, there was no difference in number of offenders who reoffended. These were not significant differences.

#### 4.2.2 Age at start of Order

Younger offenders were slightly more likely to reoffend in the 12 (+3) months following the start of their Order (AAMR = 44%, n = 27 vs. Control = 34%, n = 52) but this was not a significant difference.

**Table 7. Reoffending in the 12 (+3) months since start of Order split by age at Order start**

	AAMR Cohort (mean age = 33)		Control Cohort (mean age = 33)	
	Younger Age Group	Older Age Group	Younger Age Group	Older Age Group
	18 - 32 years (57%, n = 62)	33 - 63 years (43%, n = 47)	18 - 33 years (60%, n = 151)	34 - 62 years (40%, n = 99)
% (no.) of offenders	44% (27)	28% (13)	34% (52)	34% (34)
Total number of reoffences	73	42	151	98
Average reoffences per offender	2.7	3.2	2.9	2.9

#### 4.2.3 Offence Type

All reoffending in the 12 (+3) months since the Order started could be attributed to a variety of different offence types. For both cohorts the main reoffences were committed towards Police, Courts and Prisons (AAMR: 37%, n = 42; Control: 39%, n = 91). Other prevalent reoffence types included Theft (AAMR: 15%, n = 17; Control: 14%, n = 33) and a category known as 'Other' (AAMR: 22%, n = 25; Control: 18%, n = 42) which includes a variety of driving offences (e.g. Drinking Under the Influence of Alcohol, Driving with No Insurance) and Racially/Religiously Aggravated Harassment/Alarm/Distress by Words/Writing. See Appendix D for a full breakdown of offence type.

When offenders reoffend with same offence type as their 'trigger' offence<sup>20</sup>, there were no discernible differences between the AAMR and Control cohorts, with the exception of those who previously committed offences towards Police, Courts and Prisons. Here, a larger proportion of the AAMR cohort (39%) reoffended within this offence type (Control cohort = 26%), although this was not a significant difference (see Appendix E).

Specifically focusing on offences known to be related to alcohol, since the start of the Order, overall there have been very few guilty convictions for the offence of 'Driving whilst under the influence of alcohol'<sup>21</sup>. From both the AAMR and Control cohort, only 5 offenders (in each cohort) have committed a drink related driving offence since the start of their Order.

For both the AAMR and Control cohort, if their 'trigger' offence was for 'Driving whilst under the influence of alcohol' (AAMR – 38 offenders, 40 offences of drink drive; Control – 22 offenders, 23 offences of drink drive), analysis indicates that they have not reoffended since the start of their Order.

<sup>20</sup> The 'trigger' offence refers to the offence that occasions the Community Order/Suspended Sentence Order.

<sup>21</sup> Only driving whilst under the influence of alcohol was used as a measure of alcohol related offending as it is not possible to confidently identify whether alcohol was a related factor of other offences. This information is poorly recorded on MPS CRIS data. Using the trigger offence as an example (where we know the offence was alcohol related), only 25% of all Offences Against the Person were flagged as being related to alcohol.

### 4.3 Offending after completion of the Order

There is a limited timeframe to track offending subsequent to Order. To develop insights, indicative analysis has been conducted tracking the number of arrests in the **nine months** subsequent to the order coming to conclusion. This timeframe was selected as the optimal selection as 81% (n = 80/109) of the AAMR cohort had at least nine months follow up between completion of their Order and data collection (02/12/2016). In comparison, 64% (n = 159/250) of the Control cohort also had 9 months from the completion of their Order when they could potentially reoffended (see Appendix F).

Overall, there was **no significant difference** between the proportions of offenders arrested after they had completed their Order for the AAMR (30%, n=24) or Control (26%, n=42). However, the AAMR cohort appear to present almost double the number arrests per individual and on average were arrested over 6 weeks earlier than the Control cohort. See Table 8 and Appendix G.

**Table 8: Arrests in 9 months after Order was completed**

	<b>AAMR Cohort (N = 80)</b>	<b>Control Cohort (N = 159)</b>
% (number) of offenders	30% (n = 24)	26% (n = 42)
Total number of arrests	95	89
Minimum number of arrests	1	1
Maximum number of arrests	15	13
Average arrests per offender	3.9	2.1
Average speed to first arrest	84 days	129 days
Range	2 - 217 days	10 - 262 days

Analysis explored a variety of splits – including type of requirement and age at start of order. Overall – there were no significant differences, this is likely hampered by low base sizes. Table 9 presents the base sizes if attempting to look at requirement and age.

**Table 9: Arrests in the 9 months since Order completed split by age and requirement for AAMR cohort**

	<b>Standalone AAMR (mean age = 32, n = 43)</b>		<b>AAMR Multiple Req. (mean age = 33, n = 66)</b>	
	<b>Younger Age Group</b>	<b>Older Age Group</b>	<b>Younger Age Group</b>	<b>Older Age Group</b>
	0 - 32 years (60%, n = 26)	33 - 63 years (40%, n = 17)	0 - 33 years (55%, n = 36)	34 - 56 years (45%, n = 30)
% (no.) of offenders arrested	31% (8)	24% (4)	25% (9)	23% (7)
Total number of convictions	37	29	22	12
Minimum number of convictions	2	1	1	1
Maximum number of convictions	14	15	6	4
Average convictions per offender	4.6	7.3	2.4	1.7

#### 4.3.1 Offence Type

After offenders had completed their Order, very few from either cohort went on to commit further offences that are directly attributable to alcohol (e.g.: Drink driving, Drunk and Disorderly), although at this level the sample size is too low to confidently draw conclusions. Whilst violence against the person accounted for nearly half of reconvictions of those who reoffended from the AAMR cohort (46%, n = 6), this reflects a very small sample and it is not possible to confidently know if these offences are related to alcohol<sup>22</sup>. Only a quarter of those who reoffended from the Control cohort (24%, n = 8) were convicted of violent crimes against the person.

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<sup>22</sup> Where the trigger offence for the AAMR cohort was violence against the person (and hence 100% of these would have been related to alcohol by the fact they received a AAMR Order for this offence), CRIS was used to identify how many of these had alcohol flagged on the crime record. Results indicated that the police had only flagged 25% of these offences as being alcohol related and as such, it is not possible to infer how many of this crime type may be attributable to alcohol.

## 5. Conclusion

The AAMR was introduced as a pilot concept in 2014 to address the significant problem of alcohol related offending in London. This new sentencing power enabled courts to impose, as part of a Community Order or Suspended Sentence Order, a requirement that compelled an offender to abstain from alcohol for a fixed time period and be regularly tested via electronic monitoring. A previous report<sup>23</sup> conveys the findings from the initial performance and process evaluation, highlighting the implementation success and initial learning generated from this proof of concept. The findings presented here build on this and take an indicative look at the impact of the AAMR on reoffending behaviour so far.

The analytics need to be caveated by the relatively short timeframes and the small sample sizes with the AAMR cohort overall and especially within the different analytic splits. It is also worth highlighting that impacting any offending or behaviour change is difficult and can take a long time. None-the-less, such analysis can be useful in gaining insights and helping to plot the future course of the AAMR.

In terms of main results, using a robustly matched Control cohort, this analysis has demonstrated that the AAMR is broadly comparable to other Community Orders/Suspended Sentence Orders in terms of reoffending behaviour (i.e., proportion of offenders, frequency of reoffending) both during and subsequent the imposition of the requirement and Order. Furthermore, the findings here are equivalent to wider reoffending rates throughout England and Wales for both Community Orders and Suspended Sentence Orders (proportion of offenders = 32%)<sup>24</sup>.

Overall, such results should be interpreted as a positive – there are genuine risks in establishing innovation. For example, the Diamond IOM<sup>25</sup> initiative, was hampered in the early stages by implementation issues, which matured in terms of multi-agency delivery but never fully reconciled ‘working tensions’ between the police and other partners. For AAMR to be achieving broadly the same results as longstanding (and longer) orders is a firm foundation to build upon. The findings reiterate that it can always prove challenging to reduce reoffending, especially for low risk offender groups<sup>26</sup>. Indeed, previous research<sup>27</sup> has suggested that interventions with low risk offenders can in fact *increase* the probability of recidivism.

The issue that these comparable orders to AAMR are far longer is also worth highlighting – especially within a narrative of efficient justice and achieving the same results within a shorter timeframe. To illustrate, the average length of a AAMR requirement is considerably shorter in duration, and potentially requires fewer resources than other similar requirements making it a more efficient form of justice with the potential for cost savings<sup>28</sup>. The AAMR tag is an additional punitive requirement available to the judiciary and provides, where there is currently no provision, a means of specifically addressing alcohol related offending. Additionally, this short term requirement provides an opportunity to reflect on their offending behaviour, with minimal disruption to the offender’s everyday lives, for example in terms of family life or employment. The AAMR can provide the offenders with a ‘pause’ in their drinking behaviour, and a teachable moment to address alcohol use<sup>29</sup>, as well as providing reassurance to professionals that the technology underpinning the AAMR is working as intended. Therefore, this requirement potentially has the same impact on offenders offending behaviour, but with efficiency and behavioural benefits.

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<sup>23</sup> Pepper, M. & Dawson, P. (2016). Alcohol Abstinence Monitoring Requirement: A process review of the proof of concept pilot. MOPAC.

<sup>24</sup> Ministry of Justice (2017). Proven Reoffending Statistics: Quarterly Bulletin April 2014 – March 2015. [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/585908/proven-reoffending-quarterly-bulletin.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/585908/proven-reoffending-quarterly-bulletin.pdf)

<sup>25</sup> Dawson, Stanko, Higgins and Rehman (2011). An evaluation of the Diamond Initiative: year two findings. London. Metropolitan Police Service; London Criminal Justice Partnership.

<sup>26</sup> Ministry of Justice (2013). *Transforming Rehabilitation: a summary of evidence on reducing reoffending*.

[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/243718/evidence-reduce-reoffending.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/243718/evidence-reduce-reoffending.pdf).

<sup>27</sup> Bonta, J. (2009). What to do with low risk offenders? Public Safety Canada, 14, 4.

<sup>28</sup> A cost analysis will be conducted as part of the pan London roll out evaluation.

<sup>29</sup> Pepper, M. & Dawson, P. (2016). *Alcohol Abstinence Monitoring Requirement: A process review of the proof of concept pilot*. MOPAC.

This report is just one element of a larger evaluation taking place around the roll out of AAMR across London. Whilst this original AAMR cohort can still be tracked, emphasis now moves to the pan London rollout. Within this are additional elements such as 'Tagging at Source' which aims to administer the electronic monitoring tag to the offender at the Court or probation office rather than their home address, and using the AAMR requirement with offenders of domestic violence, both of which will be evaluated by MOPAC Evidence & Insight. The pan London research includes process aspects (focusing on large scale implementation, stakeholder views, offender experience), cost benefit analysis and performance metrics to gain a greater understanding of the use of AAMR. A report will be produced in summer 2017 providing a comprehensive 12 month rollout report to share the learning and findings from the evaluation focusing on performance and process. In spring 2018 an update report will be produced focusing upon performance and process, and early impact on the pan London cohort (e.g. 6 + 3 months reoffending). A final impact report, focusing on proven reoffending and cost analysis will be produced in winter 2018.

**Appendix A:** Reoffending (arrests and convictions) whilst on Order per requirement

Arrests During Order per Requirements	AAMR Cohort		Control Cohort			
	Multiple Requirement	Stand Alone AAMR	Multiple Requirement	Stand Alone RAR	Stand Alone Supervision	Stand Alone UPW
Total % (number) of cohort who received this Order	61% (66)	39% (43)	58% (146)	3% (8)	7% (18)	31% (78)
% (number) of offenders arrested whilst on Order	24% (26)	7% (8)	25% (63)	2% (4)	2% (6)	11% (27)
Total number of arrests	72	25	177	22	28	91
Minimum number of arrests	1	1	1	1	1	1
Maximum number of arrests	11	12	12	14	10	15
Average arrests per offender	2.7	3.1	2.8	5.5	4.6	3.3
Average speed to first arrest	140 days	74 days	147 days	50 days	101 days	115 days
Range	9 - 327 days	14 - 260 days	1 - 451 days	8 - 113 days	3 - 214 days	8 - 433 days

Guilty Convictions During Order per Requirement	AAMR Cohort		Control Cohort			
	Multiple Requirement	Stand Alone AAMR	Multiple Requirement	Stand Alone RAR	Stand Alone Supervision	Stand Alone UPW
Total % (number) of cohort who received this Order	61% (66)	39% (43)	58% (146)	3% (8)	7% (18)	31% (78)
% (number) of offenders convicted whilst on Order	18% (20)	8% (9)	18% (46)	2% (4)	2% (4)	9% (23)
Total number of convictions	40	17	118	9	6	57
Minimum number of convictions	1	1	1	1	1	1
Maximum number of convictions	5	5	8	3	2	6
Average convictions per offender	2	1.9	2.5	2.2	1.5	2.4
Average speed to first conviction	166 days	93 days	146 days	94 days	84 days	114 days
Range	27 - 342 days	14 - 351 days	1 - 436 days	22 - 239 days	41 - 177 days	18 - 473 days

**Appendix B:** Reconvictions during Order split by age and requirement

	<b>Standalone AAMR (mean age = 32, n = 43)</b>		<b>AAMR Multiple Req. (mean age = 33, n = 66)</b>		<b>Control Standalone UPW (mean age = 33, n = 78)</b>		<b>Control Multiple Req. (mean age = 33, n = 146)</b>	
	<b>Younger Age Group</b>	<b>Older Age Group</b>	<b>Younger Age Group</b>	<b>Older Age Group</b>	<b>Younger Age Group</b>	<b>Older Age Group</b>	<b>Younger Age Group</b>	<b>Older Age Group</b>
	0 - 32 years (60%, n = 26)	33 - 63 years (40%, n = 17)	0 - 33 years (55%, n = 36)	34 - 56 years (45%, n = 30)	0 - 33 years (62%, n = 48)	34 - 53 years (38%, n = 30)	0 - 33 years (60%, n = 87)	34 - 63 years (40%, n = 58)
% (no.) of offenders	19% (5)	24% (4)	42% (15)	17% (5)	27% (13)	33% (10)	30% (26)	33% (19)
Total number of convictions	7	10	30	10	32	25	67	46
Minimum number of convictions	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Maximum number of convictions	2	5	5	4	6	6	5	8
Average convictions per offender	1.4	2.5	2	2	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.4

The other standalone requirements for the Control cohort (RAR and Supervision) had very low sample size, making them unsuitable to be split further by age.



**Appendix C: Reoffending (arrests and convictions) in the 12 (+3) months from start of Order**

ARRESTS +12m from start of Order	AAMR Cohort		Control Cohort			
	Multiple Requirement	Stand Alone AAMR	Multiple Requirement	Stand Alone RAR	Stand Alone Supervision	Stand Alone UPW
Total % (number) of cohort who received this Order	61% (66)	39% (43)	58% (146)	3% (8)	7% (18)	31% (78)
% (number) of offenders arrested	45% (30)	44% (19)	40% (58)	63% (5)	39% (7)	37% (29)
Total number of arrests	87	87	181	28	31	90
Minimum number of arrests	1	1	1	1	1	1
Maximum number of arrests	11	18	19	14	12	15
Average arrests per offender	2.9	4.6	3.1	5.6	4.4	3.1
Average speed to first arrest	146 days	141 days	122 days	93 days	125 days	115 days
Range	9 - 327 days	40 - 319 days	1 - 351 days	8 - 268 days	3 - 265 days	8 - 314 days

CONVICTIONS 12 (+3)m from start of Order	AAMR Cohort		Control Cohort			
	Multiple Requirement	Stand Alone AAMR	Multiple Requirement	Stand Alone RAR	Stand Alone Supervision	Stand Alone UPW
Total % (number) of cohort who received this Order	61% (66)	39% (43)	58% (146)	3% (8)	7% (18)	31% (78)
% (number) of offenders convicted whilst on Order	33% (22)	40% (17)	34% (50)	50% (4)	28% (5)	32% (25)
Total number of convictions	43	70	135	18	11	72
Minimum number of convictions	1	1	1	2	1	1
Maximum number of convictions	5	17	10	7	4	6
Average convictions per offender	2	4.1	2.7	4.5	2.2	2.9
Average speed to first conviction	167 days	164 days	163 days	94 days	148 days	129 days
Range	27 - 342 days	14 - 415 days	1 - 447 days	22 - 239 days	41 - 407 days	18 - 436 days

**Appendix D:** Offense type for reoffences in the 12 (+3) months since start of Order.

<b>Offence Type</b>	<b>AAMR Cohort</b>	<b>Control Cohort</b>
Total number of reoffences	113	236
Drugs	6% (7)	11% (27)
Offences Against the Person	4% (5)	8% (19)
Offences Against the Property	5% (6)	4% (9)
Offences Against Police, Courts and Prisons	37% (42)	39% (91)
Other	22% (25)	18% (42)
Public Disorder	4% (5)	1% (3)
Sexual Offences	4% (4)	1% (2)
Theft	15% (17)	14% (33)
Weapons	2% (2)	1% (2)
Fraud	0	3% (6)

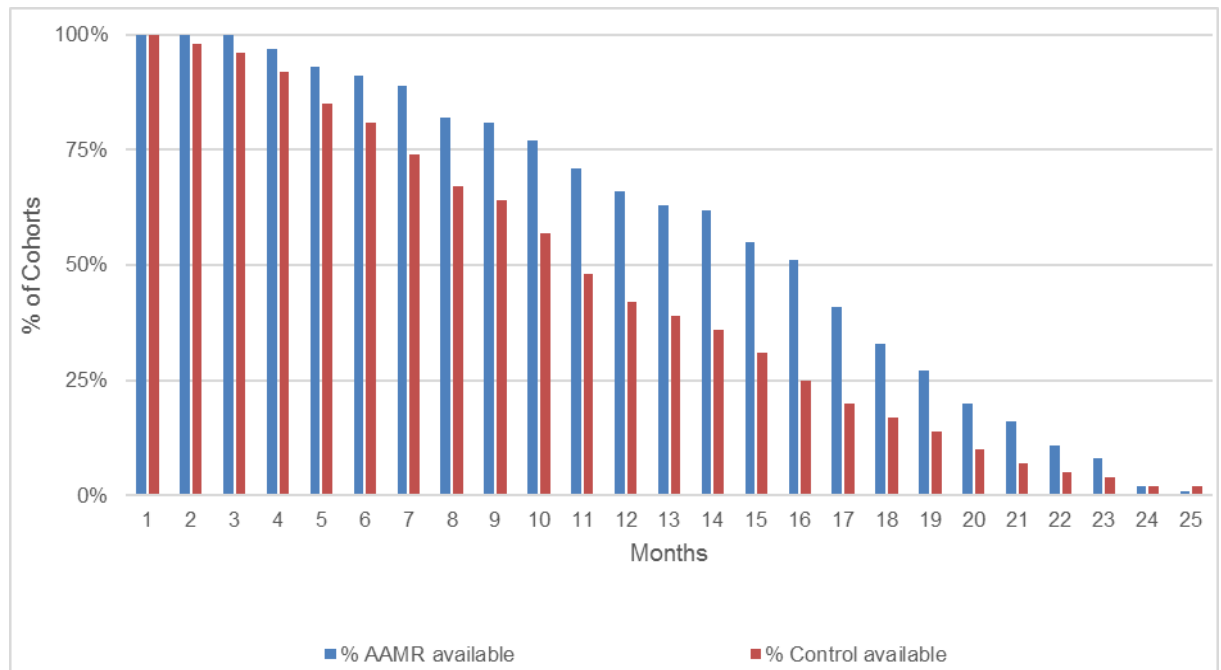
**Appendix E:** Reoffences by specific crime type in 12 (+3) months after start of Order

	<b>Drugs</b>	<b>AAMR</b>	<b>Control</b>	<b>Offences Against the Person</b>	<b>AAMR</b>	<b>Control</b>	<b>Offences Against Property</b>	<b>AAMR</b>	<b>Control</b>	<b>Offences Against Police, Courts &amp; Prisons</b>	<b>AAMR</b>	<b>Control</b>
% (no) of offenders with reoffence for specific crime type prior to start of Order (Sub-Cohort)		29% (32)	34% (85)		43% (47)	57% (143)		37% (40)	31% (78)		38% (41)	49% (122)
% (no) of Sub Cohort offenders with reoffence of any type post start of Order		53% (17)	42% (36)		43% (20)	32% (46)		55% (22)	41% (32)		51% (21)	42% (51)
Number of reoffences		69	112		70	127		77	85		79	148
% (no) of these reoffences for specific crime type:		7% (5)	24% (27)		4% (3)	13% (17)		8% (6)	9% (8)		39% (31)	38% (56)
% (no.) of Sub-Cohort with reoffence for specific crime type:		9% (3/32)	13% (11/85)		6% (3/47)	6% (9/143)		13% (5/40)	10% (8/78)		39% (16)	26% (32)
Average no. of reoffences each (for sub-cohort)		4.1	3.1		3.5	2.8		2.4	2.7		3.8	2.9

	<b>Other Offences</b>	<b>AAMR</b>	<b>Control</b>	<b>Public Order Offences</b>	<b>AAMR</b>	<b>Control</b>	<b>Theft Offences</b>	<b>AAMR</b>	<b>Control</b>
% (no) of offenders with reoffence for specific crime type prior to start of Order (Sub-Cohort)		66% (72)	48% (119)		37% (40)	25% (62)		37% (40)	43% (108)
% (no) of Sub Cohort offenders with reoffence of any type post start of Order		35% (25)	39% (47)		40% (16)	42% (26)		55% (22)	43% (46)
Number of reoffences		83	154		32	69		80	145
% (no) of these reoffences for specific crime type:		24% (20)	19% (30)		3% (1)	3% (2)		23% (18)	23% (34)
% (no.) of Sub-Cohort with reoffence for specific crime type:		13% (9)	12% (14)		3% (1)	3% (2)		15% (6)	18% (19)
Average no of reoffences each (for sub-cohort)		3.3	3.3		2	2.7		3.6	3.2

\*Highlighted row in table denotes reoffences for specific crime type where there was also a pre-conviction for this same crime type.

**Appendix F:** Percentage of available cohorts to measure reoffending post completion of Order



**Appendix G: Arrests in the 9 months after completion of the Order**

	AAMR Cohort		Control Cohort			
	Multiple Requirement	Stand Alone AAMR	Multiple Requirement	Stand Alone RAR	Stand Alone Supervision	Stand Alone UPW
% (number) of offenders arrested in 9m since Order complete	15% (n = 12)	15% (n = 12)	16% (n = 25)	1% (n = 2)	4% (n = 6)	6% (n = 9)
Total number of arrests	29	66	54	6	11	18
Minimum number of arrests	1	1	1	2	1	1
Maximum number of arrests	6	15	13	4	3	4
Average arrests per offender	2.4	5.5	2.2	3	1.8	2
Average speed to first arrest	85 days	83 days	137 days	116 days	137 days	102 days
Range	8 - 151 days	3 - 217 days	21 - 262 days	85 - 146 days	15 - 256 days	10 - 224 days