

## **Breaking the cycle**

Reducing youth reoffending in London

July 2015

# Police and Crime Committee Members

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## Role of the Police and Crime Committee

The Police and Crime Committee examines the work of the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) and reviews the Police and Crime Plan for London. The Committee can also investigate anything that it considers to be of importance to policing and crime reduction in Greater London and make recommendations for improvements.

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## Chair's foreword



Breaking the cycle of crime is not simple. Long-term investment, tailored support and cooperative work between agencies are critical to help an offender stop reoffending and contribute positively once more to their community.

The number of people in the youth justice system in London is falling, but the proportion who go on to offend again remains a problem. Some positive progress has been made in recent years to reduce youth reoffending, particularly with those coming out of prison. But the recent rise in the youth reoffending rate demonstrates that we are at a critical point. Young offenders today tend to be more entrenched in their offending and have multiple complex needs. This is increasingly the case for those young offenders that are kept in the community, who make up a far greater number than those who go into prison, and so create extra demand on the system.

The challenge now is for agencies to adapt their approach to make sure that the recent rise in reoffending does not turn into an ongoing trend. With the reduction in resources available it is not going to be easy, and it is encouraging to see agencies adopting good practice from elsewhere in the country and working more closely together to share resources and expertise.

We are pleased to hear that MOPAC, the Youth Justice Board and other partners are in the process of revising London's strategy to reduce youth reoffending. We hope that MOPAC will drive forward our recommendations to make sure that the revised strategy is shaped around the needs of young people and that agencies are equipped with the right skills and resources to deliver it. Ultimately, the success of the revised strategy should be based on not only a drop in reoffending rates, but on improved outcomes for young people, and motivating those who do not so readily come forward for help.

I would like to thank all those who gave evidence and their time in order to assist our investigation and in particular to the former young offenders who gave us an insight into their experiences.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading 'J. McCartney'.

**Joanne McCartney AM**  
**Chair of the Police and Crime Committee**

## Executive summary

The number of young offenders in London—those aged 10 to 17—is falling, but the proportion who go on to offend again remains a challenge. Often, young offenders have had traumatic experiences in their lives that have not been addressed. These kinds of experiences often result in a young offender facing difficulties in areas such as education, employment, housing, health or financial well-being.

Effective support to deal with these complex challenges is critical to these young people if they are to contribute positively once more to their community. Resettlement and rehabilitation in its simplest form is the process of supporting a young person through the justice system to a position where they can integrate back into the community and will not re-offend. It is about more than placing someone back into a community: it is about giving them the tools they need to help achieve positive outcomes.

The London Police and Crime Plan commits to delivering a “revolution” that will “break the cycle of crime by improving treatment and resettlement for offenders and cutting reoffending rates which remain too high, particularly for young offenders.” However, the youth justice system is changing, and resources are being scaled back. The Mayor’s Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) and others are looking to revise London’s strategy to tackle youth reoffending.

### **What do we know about youth reoffending in London?**

The number of young offenders in London has dropped significantly. This drop is, in part, because of a reduction in the number of young people entering the justice system for the first time. Young people who commit less serious offences are often pointed towards restorative justice interventions and other services, rather than being prosecuted. For those who do enter the youth justice system and are convicted, far more are being given community sentences than being placed into custody.

The level of youth reoffending in London has been, and continues to be, slightly above the national average. Since 2005, the overall youth reoffending rate in England and Wales, including offenders who have been in prison and those who have not, has remained fairly steady at around 32 to 36 per cent. In London, the overall youth reoffending rate in the same period varied from 33 to 40 per cent. However, since June 2012 the overall rate has been rising. At March 2013 it rose above the 40 per cent mark, and at June 2013 the youth reoffending rate for London rose to 42.2 per cent.

### **How is youth reoffending in London changing?**

The current group of young offenders in London is “comprised of young people whose characteristics mean that they are more likely to reoffend.” As a result, Youth Offending Teams (YOTs) and other partners are working with a higher risk group of young people, who require much more intensive supervision.

The reoffending rate of young people leaving custody in the city has fallen significantly, but remains high. The rate peaked at 70.8 per cent in 2011. By September 2012 it had dropped to 54.5 per cent. Since then the rate has risen, broadly in line with a national rise. The ability to sustain a reduction in the reoffending of young people coming out of custody and to help those young offenders resettle is getting harder.

Normally, the reoffending rate of those coming out of custody would be far higher than for other sanctions: this is no longer the case in London. Young offenders on some community sentences in the city now have similar reoffending rates than those who were in custody. The Metropolitan Police says that there is an increasing demand on agencies that manage the risk presented by offenders on community sentences. It also means that “workers need to have an enhanced and more specialised skillset.” Finding the right people with the right skills, however, is challenging as YOTs in London have a high turnover rate, disrupting continuity of provision. The Mayor and MOPAC should explore the issue of the recruitment to Youth Offending Teams with the Youth Justice Board in London.

### **How transparent is information about youth reoffending?**

Very often, young offenders who have served time in custody are “the ones who hit all the headlines.” To increase the transparency of information about youth offending and reoffending in London, MOPAC have recently introduced a “youth reoffending dashboard.” The dashboard provides some information on the reoffending rate in London, including progress against MOPAC’s 20 per cent reduction target in reoffending from custody, and the individual reoffending rates within the boroughs. The dashboard does not, however, provide the public with a detailed breakdown of the overall reoffending rate, so does not give the public the detailed picture of reoffending in London that we believe would be beneficial. MOPAC should amend the youth reoffending dashboard to allow the public to track the reoffending rate of those on different sanctions, not only those leaving custody.

### **What approach has the Mayor taken to support the resettlement of young offenders?**

Project Daedalus was introduced in 2008 as part of the Mayor’s Time for Action programme. The project included the creation of a wing within Feltham YOI, called ‘The Heron Unit’, in which young offenders received intensive support to build life skills and improve opportunities for education, training and employment. Project Daedalus was replaced by three ‘Re-settlement of Young Offenders Leaving Custody’ projects. These projects are being delivered through

the GLA European Social Fund Youth programme 2011-13, to work with young offenders from all London boroughs who are considered to have the greatest need and require high levels of support.

Despite some teething problems, each of the projects appears to have had a positive effect in supporting young offenders back into education, training and employment. They also appear to have had some success in reducing reoffending. Project Daedalus was, however, never completely evaluated in terms of reoffending rates. We believe there would be benefit in doing so, even if simply to ensure that Project Daedalus adds to what we know about 'what works' in London, and that past criticisms about the project are addressed.

### **A changing landscape**

Resources for services such as Youth Offending Teams have reduced since the Mayoral programmes were introduced, as the number of young offenders in the justice system has reduced. Boroughs are addressing these issues by working more closely together. More recently, resettlement consortia have been trialled in London, through which stakeholders and partners from a wide area are brought together to achieve economies of scale in delivering resettlement programmes. Two consortia have been set up in London, covering 12 boroughs that have high custodial numbers of young people.

The Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime says that trialling the consortia approach is important, but that "we need to be mindful this covers only 12 boroughs and we need arrangements in place to support all 32." A Resettlement Manager post, based in MOPAC, has been created to develop a resettlement offer for the whole of London over the next two years. We were pleased to hear that the Resettlement Manager plays a role in sharing good practice that emerges from the consortia to those boroughs that are not part of either of them.

### **A new strategy to reduce reoffending**

MOPAC and partners agree that there now needs to be a change in focus to address youth reoffending. MOPAC and the YJB are working collectively with partners to revise the strategy for reducing reoffending, so that it addresses reoffending "as a totality", including prevention.

Any strategy or approach to support young offenders is unlikely to succeed unless it responds to their specific needs. The revised youth reoffending strategy should be developed in conjunction with former young offenders, to ensure that young people have a direct input into its objectives and priorities.

We heard that there was not a great deal of knowledge among young people about what support was available to them, and what services or agencies they could approach to help them when they recognised they were getting into trouble. Some young people feel that they have to get into trouble before they get any kind of help. There is more work to do to help parents, schools, and other groups working with young people to recognise the signs that a young

person is at risk of offending. The revised youth reoffending strategy should include a commitment to deliver an awareness raising campaign for young people and for parents, teachers and others working with young people.

Young people want positive relationships with those that they work with. The relationship tends to be more effective when the offender can relate to the person they are working with. We heard from some young people how they were more likely to listen and act on advice from a former offender. The revised youth reoffending strategy should include a commitment to involving former young offenders in support projects where it is clear that their contribution would add value.

Young people want stability in the support they receive. This can be as basic as having the continuity of a single point of contact throughout the period of their rehabilitation, rather than having to explain their situation to a number of different people. The revised youth reoffending strategy should recognise the importance of continuity in the relationship between a young offender and support worker, and work to ensure the system can create opportunities for a one-to-one relationship.

#### **Measuring success**

Improved outcomes for young people mean much more than a reduction in reoffending. Often, the measure of success tends to be on short term reoffending and not on long term outcomes that can themselves help to reduce reoffending.

The revised strategy must take a long hard look at the way payment by results commissioning models are working, and the barriers they can create. Success is much more than getting young people back into education, training and employment. Accommodation, for example, is a key factor in a young person's resettlement. The revised youth reoffending strategy should address the difficulties in the application of a payment by results model for resettlement projects. It should set out how any payment by results approach will support the participation of small community based organisations who have the detailed local knowledge necessary to help young offenders.

In addition to meeting young people's needs the revised strategy must consider how it supports those who might not readily put themselves forward to receive help. Only by motivating "the unmotivated, the disengaged, the disenfranchised" can further positive outcomes be achieved.

#### **Devolution of the criminal justice system**

The Mayor has called for devolution of London's criminal justice system. The Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime has said that without devolution, agencies in London are unaccountable and "not answering to the people of London." While we welcome this aspiration, MOPAC needs to be much clearer about the detailed case for criminal justice devolution and should be specific about what budgets it wants to see handed down to the Mayor. MOPAC also needs to

demonstrate how outcomes would be improved through greater devolution and how it will safeguard the independence of the criminal justice system.

# 1. Introduction

- 1.1 The number of young offenders in London—those aged 10 to 17—is falling, but the proportion who go on to offend again remains a challenge. Often, young offenders have had traumatic experiences in their lives that have not been addressed. They may be disconnected from their family or have suffered a bereavement. They may have had problems in school or been involved in gang activity. They may have been victims of violence. We heard from the Governor of Feltham Young Offenders Institution that some young offenders in prison “have probably gone through more trauma than a soldier who had done a stint in Afghanistan.”<sup>1</sup>
- 1.2 These kinds of experiences often result in a young offender facing difficulties in areas such as education, employment, housing, health, or financial well-being. Effective support to deal with these complex challenges is critical to these young people if they are to contribute positively once more to their community, and if the criminal justice system is to achieve cost savings in the longer term.  
*The language of youth reoffending and resettlement*
- 1.3 The language around reoffending is complicated. What do we measure when looking at reoffending? Where does the information come from? What does resettlement and rehabilitation actually mean?
- 1.4 For the Ministry of Justice (MoJ), which is responsible for publishing statistics on youth justice, a proven offence is one that results in the offender receiving a sanction, such as a reprimand, warning, caution or conviction.<sup>2</sup> A proven re-offence is when this happens for a second time or more in a period following the original sanction.
- 1.5 Resettlement and rehabilitation in its simplest form is the process of supporting a young person through the justice system to a position where they can integrate back into the community and will not re-offend. It is about more than placing someone back into a community: it is about giving them the tools they need to help achieve positive outcomes. In practical terms, the process is possibly best understood by thinking about those who are in prison: resettlement would mean “assistance and support from the Prisons and Probation Services, and voluntary agencies to help them prepare for life after prison [...] The objective is to help prisoners return to normal life, get a job and home, and cope with life without re-offending.”<sup>3</sup> This notion of support is equally applicable to those offenders who do not go into prison.
- 1.6 There are a number of principles for effective resettlement. Beyond Youth Custody—a national programme that looks at best practice in resettlement—reviewed projects aimed at children and young people coming out of custody, and identified five key principles to inform resettlement practice (Box 1).<sup>4</sup> When

successfully applied, these principles can make a big difference for a young offender. It is the application of these principles, which were reiterated to us throughout our investigation, that we have looked at in order to test London's approach to the resettlement of young offenders.

#### **Box 1: key principles to inform resettlement practice<sup>5</sup>**

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- **Ensuring continuity between custody and community:** Planning and delivery of support for a young offender should focus from the beginning on “what needs to change to reduce the risk of reoffending.” This includes in-custody support, consistent post-custody support, and arrangements for continued support once the involvement of the youth justice system has ended.
  - **Adequate preparation for release:** “Education, training and vocational programmes should be available immediately and tailored to the individual's previous experience and levels of attainment.”
  - **Supporting transition:** Reoffending is most likely in the period immediately after release from custody. The young person should be helped to prepare for this difficult period.
  - **Engagement and collaboration:** Relationships should be developed that support change. Young people should be engaged in planning for their own future. Service providers should be able to demonstrate empathy, show respect, and promote individual responsibility.
  - **Coordinated services:** Partnership working helps to address the range of needs a young person might have. The delivery of a “wrap around package of support” means that young people will be more likely to receive continued support once they have left the youth justice system.
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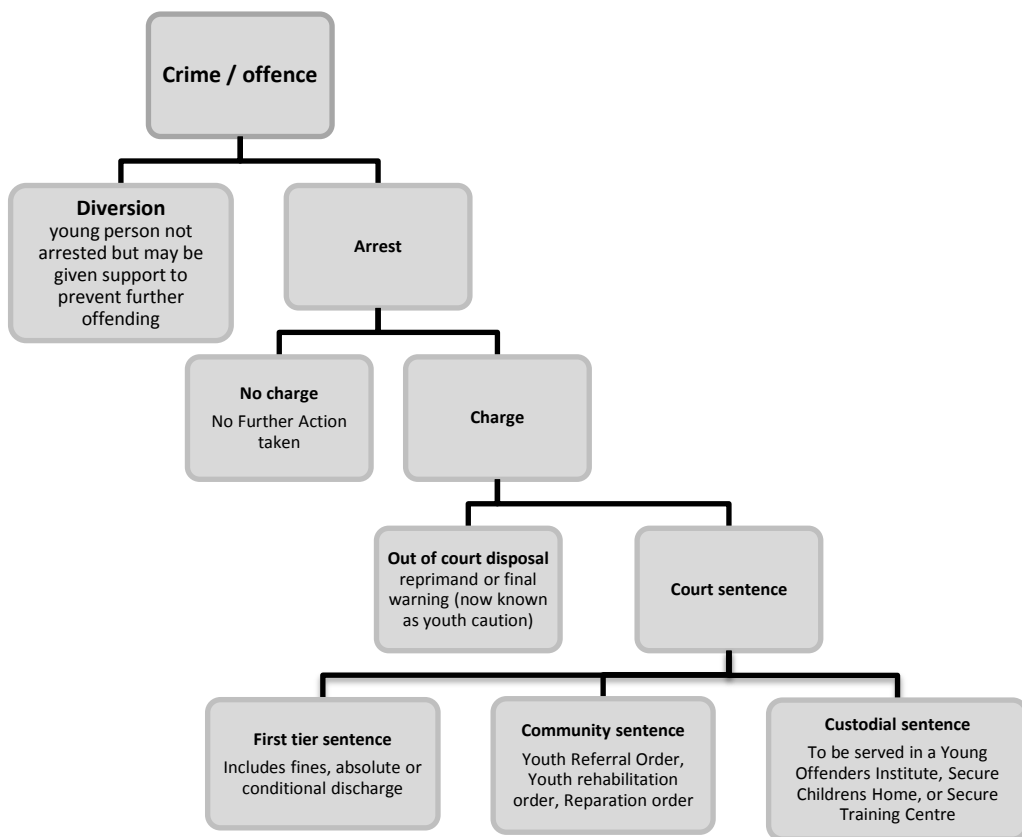
#### *The Mayor's role in the youth justice system*

- 1.7 Young offenders are managed and supported by a network of agencies that make up the youth justice system. These agencies will differ based on an individual's journey through the system, but could include the police, social workers, the courts, prisons, youth offending teams or private sector service providers.<sup>6</sup> Youth Offending Teams (YOTs), based in each local authority, play a key role in supporting a young offender: from helping with sentence planning, to providing tailored support to help them address their needs.<sup>7</sup> The system is overseen by the Youth Justice Board (YJB), an executive non-departmental body of the MoJ.
- 1.8 The Mayor and MOPAC do not directly deliver interventions to reduce youth reoffending and improve resettlement, but they do seek to influence partners in the youth justice system. Through MOPAC, boroughs are also allocated funding through the London Crime Prevention Fund to support young people, and a proportion of this is targeted at reducing reoffending.<sup>8</sup> The London Police and Crime Plan states that:

*MOPAC will strive to break down silos, provide strategic leadership, and lobby for the adoption of an evidence-based approach to rehabilitation, built upon collaboration, innovation and smart commissioning policies.*<sup>9</sup>

1.9 MOPAC works closely with the YJB to avoid duplication of work and operates jointly in some circumstances, for example in the co-chairing of the London Reoffending Strategic Group.<sup>10</sup> In addition, it uses its oversight role of the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) “to ensure that there is a focus around youth reoffending from the policing side.”<sup>11</sup>

**Young offenders can take different journeys through the youth justice system**



Source: Adapted from Youth Justice Board / Ministry of Justice, [Youth Justice Statistics 2013/14 England and Wales](#), January 2015

1.10 The London Police and Crime Plan commits to delivering a “revolution” that will “break the cycle of crime by improving treatment and resettlement for offenders and cutting reoffending rates which remain too high, particularly for young offenders.”<sup>12</sup> It sets a target of a 20 per cent reduction in the reoffending of young people leaving custody in London and states that “getting young offenders into employment, education and training is key to reducing reoffending rates.”<sup>13</sup>

1.11 However, the youth justice system is changing, and resources are being scaled back. MOPAC and others are looking to revise London’s strategy to tackle youth

reoffending. In this report, the London Assembly Police and Crime Committee takes stock of the level of youth reoffending that happens in the capital. We examine how reoffending has changed and the new challenges that presents for service providers. We also look at how the Mayor and MOPAC have been involved in helping to reduce reoffending, and the impact of that involvement. Finally, we consider how stakeholders within the youth justice system are responding to change, and put forward proposals as to what the revised strategy on youth reoffending and resettlement should include to ensure it delivers the best possible support for young offenders.

## 2. What do we know about youth reoffending in London?

- 2.1 **The number of young offenders in London has dropped significantly.** In 2005/06, 17,139 people in London aged 10 to 17 were given a reprimand, warning, caution or conviction or were released from custody. In 2012/13, this figure was 7,612. The most recent figures available at the time of writing show that the fall is continuing: in the year to June 2013, 7,150 young people were given a reprimand, warning, caution or conviction or were released from custody.<sup>14</sup>
- 2.2 **This drop is, in part, because of a reduction in the number of young people entering the justice system for the first time,** known as first time entrants. Nationally, the number of first time entrants was 22,393 in 2013/14, down sharply from a peak of 110,757 in 2006/07.<sup>15</sup> The trend has been reflected in London, but the city continues to have a far higher number of first time entrants than any other region except for the South East (3,156 first time entrants compared to an average of around 2,300 per region).<sup>16</sup> In addition, Lisa Harvey-Messina, the then Head of London Business Area at the Youth Justice Board suggested that in London “the drastic drops are starting to level out” and some boroughs “are starting to see some increases in first time entrants, but just for some.”<sup>17</sup>

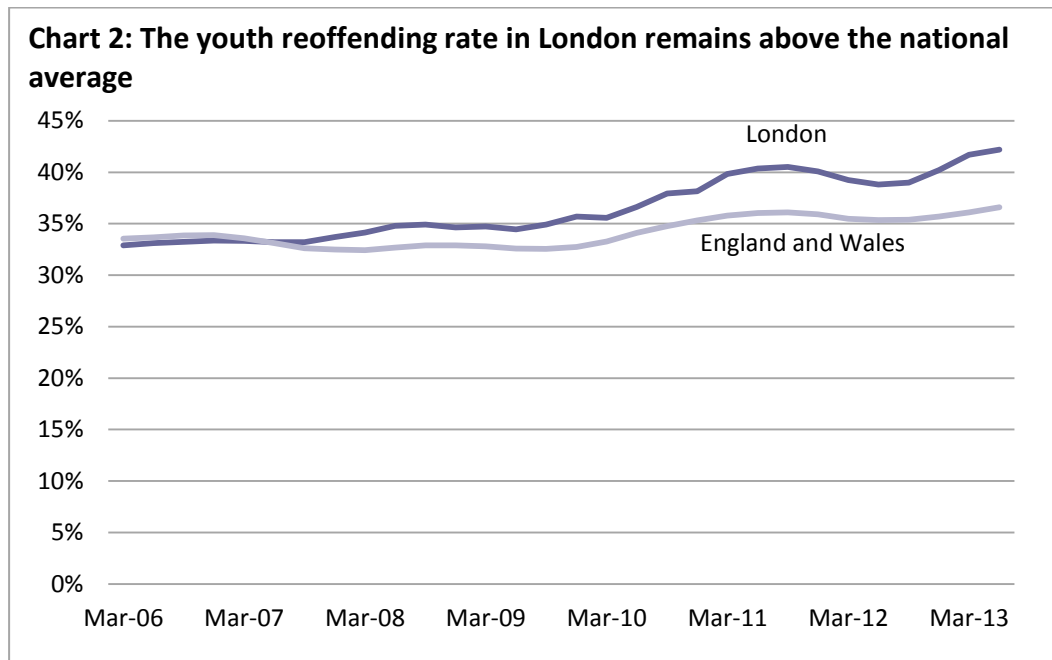


Source: Youth Justice Board / Ministry of Justice, [Youth Justice Statistics 2013 to 2014: supplementary volumes](#), Ch2 – First Time Entrants, chart 2.7, January 2015

- 2.3 **The positive trends in the reduction of offenders do not necessarily point to reducing crime levels, but to crime being dealt with in a different way.** We heard, for example, that the reduction in first time entrants is “partly a consequence of changing responses by criminal justice agencies to young people’s behaviour.”<sup>18</sup> In the past young offenders entered the youth justice system for very minor offending, but now many are “channelled out right from the outset.”<sup>19</sup>
- 2.4 **Young people who commit less serious offences are often pointed towards restorative justice interventions and other services, rather than being prosecuted.** Gill Staunton, Youth Justice Coordinator at the MPS, told us that through ‘triage’ young people are identified as suitable for interventions at an early stage.<sup>20</sup> She said that “for those who have the opportunity of undertaking triage the chances of them coming back are significantly lower.”<sup>21</sup> This is a welcome approach, particularly as we heard that London has tended to have higher prosecution rates than other areas of the country, and that international research shows that “prosecution actually can increase the risk of reoffending for young people who were at low risk of reoffending.”<sup>22</sup>
- 2.5 **It is hard to identify how many young offenders are diverted away from the youth justice system.** They are often not processed through the system or are recorded by the MPS as requiring “no further action.” Lisa Harvey-Messina told us that the triage system across the MPS delivers “on the street resolution”, but this means that little is known about what is happening with those young people. This is something the YJB are working with the MPS to address.<sup>23</sup>
- 2.6 **For those young offenders who do enter the youth justice system and are convicted, far more are being given community sanctions than being placed into custody.** In the year to September 2012—the latest data that MOPAC has published on the different sanctions—most young offenders, 3,331, were given a first-tier penalty.<sup>24</sup> This was followed by around 1,816 offenders receiving a youth community penalty. Those in custody made up only 369 of the total number of young offenders.<sup>25</sup>

#### *Youth reoffending*

- 2.7 **The level of youth reoffending in London has been, and continues to be, slightly above the national average.** Since 2005, the overall youth reoffending rate in England and Wales, including offenders who have been in prison and those who have not, has remained fairly steady at around 32 to 36 per cent.<sup>26</sup> In London, the overall youth reoffending rate in the same period varied from 33 to 40 per cent.<sup>27</sup> However, since June 2012 the overall rate has been rising. At March 2013 it rose above the 40 per cent mark, and at June 2013 the youth reoffending rate for London rose to 42.2 per cent.<sup>28</sup>



Source: MOPAC [youth reoffending dashboard](#) (total proven reoffending rates)

**2.8 In some cases the reoffending of those on community sentences is on a par with those leaving custody.** Those with pre-court sentences, including reprimands, warnings and cautions, tend to reoffend the least.<sup>29</sup> Those who have been placed into custody and those on a youth community penalty—a Youth Rehabilitation Order or Youth Reparation Order—tend to reoffend the most.<sup>30</sup>



Source: MOPAC, [MOPAC Challenge on youth reoffending presentation](#), September 2014, page 12

### 3. How is youth reoffending in London changing?

*The landscape in which YOTs operate, and the challenges they face are now very different to those faced when the youth justice system was conceived over a decade ago. There is a more challenging, complex cohort of young people and it is clear that there will continue to be pressure on public sector budgets. For those reasons it is sensible to take a fresh look at how the model is working and how it has changed to meet these new challenges, so that we can learn and adapt the model as we move forwards.*

*Lucy Dawes, Youth Justice Board.<sup>31</sup>*

- 3.1 **The current group of young offenders in London is “comprised of young people whose characteristics mean that they are more likely to reoffend.”<sup>32</sup>** The reduction in the overall number of young offenders, and particularly of first time entrants to the criminal justice system, means that young offenders are a much more entrenched group than was previously the case, and are more likely to have committed several previous crimes, according to the MoJ.<sup>33</sup> Tim Bateman, Reader in Youth Justice at the University of Bedfordshire, told us that with an increasingly entrenched group of offenders, it would be expected that reoffending would rise, but “if they do not, something is going quite well.”<sup>34</sup> However Lin Hinnigan, Chief Executive of the Youth Justice Board, said at the most recent MOPAC Challenge on youth reoffending that “in a sense we have done the easy stuff and I think that is the case across the youth justice system.”<sup>35</sup>
- 3.2 **As a result, YOTs and other partners are working with a higher risk group of young people, who require much more intensive supervision.** The challenge is not only coming from young offenders who have been placed into custody, but increasingly those who are supported in the community.  
*Young offenders in custody*
- 3.3 **The reoffending rate of young people leaving custody in the city has fallen significantly, but remains high.** The rate peaked at 70.8 per cent in 2011. By September 2012 it had dropped to 54.5 per cent. Since then the rate has risen, broadly in line with a national rise. The most recent reoffending data published (the year to June 2013) shows a reoffending rate for young people leaving custody of 63.6 per cent. The youth justice system in London remains on track to meet the target set out in the Police and Crime Plan.<sup>36</sup>
- 3.4 **The ability to sustain a reduction in the reoffending of young people coming out of custody and to help those young offenders resettle is getting harder.** The HM Chief Inspector of Prisons 2014 Annual Report noted that “as the number of children in custody has fallen the needs and requirements of this population have increased.”<sup>37</sup> The complex needs of young people in custody in London was

explained to us by Glenn Knight, Governor of Feltham YOI, who suggested that around 85 per cent of young offenders in the YOI have gang affiliation, and “before we do anything around resettlement or any issues at all, trying to stop them hurting each other and trying to keep them safe is one of the big difficulties and practicalities that we have.”<sup>38</sup>

- 3.5 **An added complication is that some young offenders are placed into custody outside London.** In March 2015, 279 young offenders from London were in custody, but only 148 offenders in custody were in London. Even if all the young offenders in custody in London were from London, there would still be 131 young people placed outside London.<sup>39</sup> We heard that this “presents some huge challenges [...] in the sense that it is difficult for some of those families to maintain contact with young people and for us to help them work with them around building resilience in those families.”<sup>40</sup>

*Young offenders in the community*

- 3.6 **Normally, the reoffending rate of those coming out of custody would be far higher than for other sanctions: this is no longer the case in London.** Dr Tim Bateman and colleagues note in their 2013 research for Beyond Youth Custody that non-custodial sentences tend to be linked to better outcomes, and higher levels of reoffending would be expected for those in custody because they have more serious or entrenched behaviour.<sup>41</sup> However, young offenders on some community sentences in the city now have similar reoffending rates than those who were in custody (as shown in chart 3). Lisa Harvey-Messina described the reoffending rates for those with a community sanction as “stubborn” and told us that they are generally higher in London than nationally.<sup>42</sup>

*We might have a reduced number of kids going into Feltham or Isis [Young Offenders Institutions] but the reoffending rate in the community is now as high - for those many thousands of kids that are on community sentences - as it is for those leaving custody. That cannot be something that can go unchallenged and that is not what is happening in other cities.*

*Stephen Greenhalgh, Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime.*<sup>43</sup>

- 3.7 **The impact of having a higher risk group of offenders is being felt by all stakeholders.** The MPS says that there is an increasing demand on agencies that manage the risk presented by offenders on community sentences.<sup>44</sup> It also means that “workers need to have an enhanced and more specialised skillset.”<sup>45</sup> We heard about work being undertaken in one YOT to invest in skills development, but **we look to the YJB to respond to the concerns of YOTs in respect of training to meet the demands placed on them.**<sup>46</sup>
- 3.8 Finding the right people with the right skills, however, is challenging as YOTs in London have a high turnover rate, disrupting continuity of provision. Lisa Harvey-Messina told us:

*We cannot underestimate the transience of the workforce in London and the real struggle to get qualified, professional, trained individuals in London. I have worked across the country and it is a feature in London about that kind of flux and the use of agency staff. There is lots of money being spent on those who are not necessarily the most qualified and they are often dealing with the most troubled and difficult young people. It is not a healthy mix, unfortunately.<sup>47</sup>*

#### **Recommendation 1**

**The Mayor and MOPAC should explore the issue of the recruitment to Youth Offending Teams with the Youth Justice Board (YJB) in London, and determine how it may be able to provide the YJB with additional support.**

*How transparent is information about youth reoffending?*

- 3.9 **Very often, young offenders who have served time in custody are “the ones who hit all the headlines.”<sup>48</sup>** They are, as we have seen above, a very small proportion of the overall number of young offenders in London, and this number continues to reduce.
- 3.10 The MoJ is responsible for publishing data on youth offending and reoffending. The MoJ approach is to allow a year’s gap after a young offender is given a sanction, or is released from custody, before it determines whether reoffending has occurred. The data is released approximately six months after that, once it is validated. The YJB accepts that because of the delay in the release of data “we do not know enough about what is going on” currently.<sup>49</sup> Lin Hinnigan, explained at the MOPAC Challenge on youth reoffending that:
- by the time it comes out [reoffending data] it is 18 months old. That is too late to be doing anything about it. So, actually if we can get more real time data or at least closer to real time we have got much more sensitive data to which we can react.<sup>50</sup>*
- 3.11 The YJB is working to make more ‘live’ data available to YOTs and other partners.<sup>51</sup> The live data is not official data and has caveats, but **we welcome it as a positive step towards better supporting young offenders.** Gill Staunton told us that the data had helped YOTs to more effectively redirect resources to where they were needed in a timely way.<sup>52</sup> Betty McDonald, Head of the Tri-Borough Youth Offending Service, told us that it had helped her teams to look more closely at those young offenders who reoffended in the first three months of receiving a sanction, and to think about how they might intervene differently in that period.<sup>53</sup>
- 3.12 To increase the transparency of information about youth offending and reoffending in London, MOPAC has recently introduced a youth reoffending dashboard.<sup>54</sup> The dashboard provides some information on the reoffending rate in London, including progress against MOPAC’s 20 per cent reduction target in reoffending from custody, and the individual reoffending rates within the

boroughs. The dashboard does not, however, provide the public with a detailed breakdown of the overall reoffending rate as described earlier in this report or give access to the data, so does not give the public the detailed picture of reoffending in London that we believe would be beneficial.

**Recommendation 2**

**MOPAC should amend the youth reoffending dashboard to allow the public to track the reoffending rate of those on different sanctions, not only those leaving custody. The data behind the dashboard should also be made available on the London Datastore. These amendments should be made in time for the next update of the dashboard.**

## 4. What approach has the Mayor taken to support the resettlement of young offenders?

- 4.1 **The Mayor brings with him the ability to develop programmes and projects that are difficult to commission at a local level.**<sup>55</sup> He has used GLA money to supplement national provision to meet London's needs, particularly of those coming out of custody. Through MOPAC, boroughs are also allocated funding through the London Crime Prevention Fund to support young people, and a large proportion of this is directed to young people leaving custody.<sup>56</sup> Initiatives funded through the London Crime Prevention Fund are led locally but "must be focused on reducing crime, offending and reoffending and in making London safer in line with MOPAC's Police and Crime Plan" and targets are set for each group that receives funding.<sup>57</sup>
- 4.2 We examined two of the larger projects where significant GLA resources and European Social Fund money have been used. Project Daedalus was introduced in 2008 as part of the Mayor's Time for Action programme.<sup>58</sup> The project included the creation of a wing within Feltham YOI, called 'The Heron Unit', in which young offenders received intensive support to build life skills and improve opportunities for education, training and employment. Young offenders were chosen to join the Heron Unit "if they show sufficient motivation to change their behaviour to move on with their lives when they are released."<sup>59</sup> On joining the Unit, they were allocated a 'resettlement broker' who worked with them in custody and on release. Some young people were removed from the programme if they showed a "lack of compliance", but overall a total of 262 young people went through the Heron Unit programme before funding ended in 2012.<sup>60</sup>
- 4.3 The London Assembly's Time for Action Panel looked at the success of the project in 2012 and heard from offenders, prison and resettlement staff that the Heron Unit approach proved effective. The report said that "the debate over the future of Project Daedalus could prove to be an important milestone in work on rehabilitating young men in custody."<sup>61</sup> Evan Jones, Head of Community Services at St Giles Trust, told us that while this type of intervention had previously existed, Project Daedalus "confirmed our belief that it is a good model."<sup>62</sup> In the HM Chief Inspector of Prison's January 2013 inspection report for Feltham, he stated that the loss of the re-settlement brokers in the Heron Unit had been "a real setback."<sup>63</sup>
- 4.4 Project Daedalus was replaced by three 'Re-settlement of Young Offenders Leaving Custody' projects. These projects are being delivered through the GLA ESF Youth programme 2011-13, to work with young offenders from all London boroughs who are considered to have the greatest need and require high levels

of support.<sup>64</sup> Young offenders who have either been remanded or sentenced to custody in Feltham, Cookham Wood, Medway, Holloway and Downview, and who are not in education training and employment can volunteer to take part in the projects.<sup>65</sup> A key feature, similar to Project Daedalus, is the use of resettlement brokers to provide “seamless support to young people before, during, and after release, with a particular focus on the key transition points.”<sup>66</sup> The target outcomes of the projects are education, training and employment at 26 and 52 weeks.<sup>67</sup> The projects were originally delivered by two organisations, Working Links and Nacro, but are now delivered pan-London by Working Links.

- 4.5 Both of these initiatives ran at a significant cost. Project Daedalus cost just over £2 million, which was funded through the GLA, London Development Agency, and Youth Justice Board and matched by the European Social Fund. The project had two broad types of cost: the cost of the regime on the Heron Unit, such as staff; and the cost of the re-settlement brokerage service. It did not cover the standard cost of keeping a young person in custody. The value of the replacement Re-settlement of Young Offenders Leaving Custody projects was £3.5 million, funded through the GLA and the European Social Fund.

*Impact on reoffending and resettlement*

- 4.6 **Despite some teething problems, each of the projects appears to have had a positive effect on supporting young offenders back into education, training and employment.** Ipsos MORI was commissioned to carry out an evaluation of Project Daedalus and published its final report in November 2012. The report says that at January 2012 of the 222 young people discharged from the Heron Unit, 54.1 per cent entered education, training or employment. However, sustaining those outcomes proved harder: the proportion of those who sustained their involvement in education, training or employment for 6 months was 32.1 per cent.<sup>68</sup>
- 4.7 **Project Daedalus and the Re-settlement of Young Offenders Leaving Custody projects also appear to have had some success in reducing reoffending.** Ipsos MORI, for example, found that of the first group of young people released from the Heron Unit during October 2009 to September 2010, 53 per cent reoffended in the 12 months following their release. The reoffending rate for young offenders leaving Feltham YOI in the same period was 72 per cent, although this should be treated as a broad brush comparison, as it is not a similar comparator group.<sup>69</sup>
- 4.8 Project Daedalus was, however, never completely evaluated in terms of reoffending rates. The Ipsos MORI evaluation noted several qualifications in the data it used to evaluate reoffending, because not enough time had passed to conduct a full reoffending analysis.<sup>70</sup> The Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime has said that a full reoffending analysis would be available now, but has made no commitment to carrying it out.<sup>71</sup> We believe there would be benefit in doing so, even if simply to ensure that Project Daedalus adds to what we know about

'what works' in London, and that past criticisms about the project are addressed.<sup>72</sup>

**Recommendation 3**

**MOPAC should, in the next six months, complete and publish a full reoffending analysis of the Heron Unit participants, to determine the overall success of the project.**

**Recommendation 4**

**MOPAC should ensure that a full reoffending analysis of participants of the re-settlement of Young Offenders Leaving Custody projects is built in to the final evaluation of the programme.**

## 5. A changing landscape

- 5.1 **Resources for services such as Youth Offending Teams have reduced since the Mayoral programmes were introduced, as the number of young offenders in the justice system has reduced.**<sup>73</sup> However, this has created a strain on the system because “the seriousness of offending has gone up” and the needs of offenders tend to be more complex because they are more entrenched in their offending.<sup>74</sup>
- 5.2 Around one third of funding for YOTs comes from the YJB, with the remainder from local authorities and other partners. In 2014/15, local government in London spent £56.3million on Youth Justice, of which £15.1million was the YJB Youth Justice Good Practice Grant. The 2015/16 YJB Youth Justice Good Practice Grant was subject to a 7.6 per cent reduction.<sup>75</sup> London Councils has suggested that there will be a total reduction in core funding for local government in London of £3.7 billion between 2010/11 and 2018/19, and that “it is inevitable that, under the current local government funding model, there will be reduced local budgets for working with young offenders.”<sup>76</sup>
- 5.3 **Boroughs are addressing these issues by working more closely together.** One example is the Tri-Borough Youth Offending Service. Kensington and Chelsea, Hammersmith and Fulham and Westminster City Council Youth Offending Teams have come together to provide “high-quality frontline provision, improve service effectiveness and reduce costs.”<sup>77</sup>

*By sharing resources and jointly commissioning services, we are responding to the difficult economic circumstances. The advantages, however, spread beyond financial savings. We are sharing our ideas and learning from each other to replace our old ways of working with more resilient ones. By combining and co-ordinating services, we can also collaborate more effectively with our key partners.*

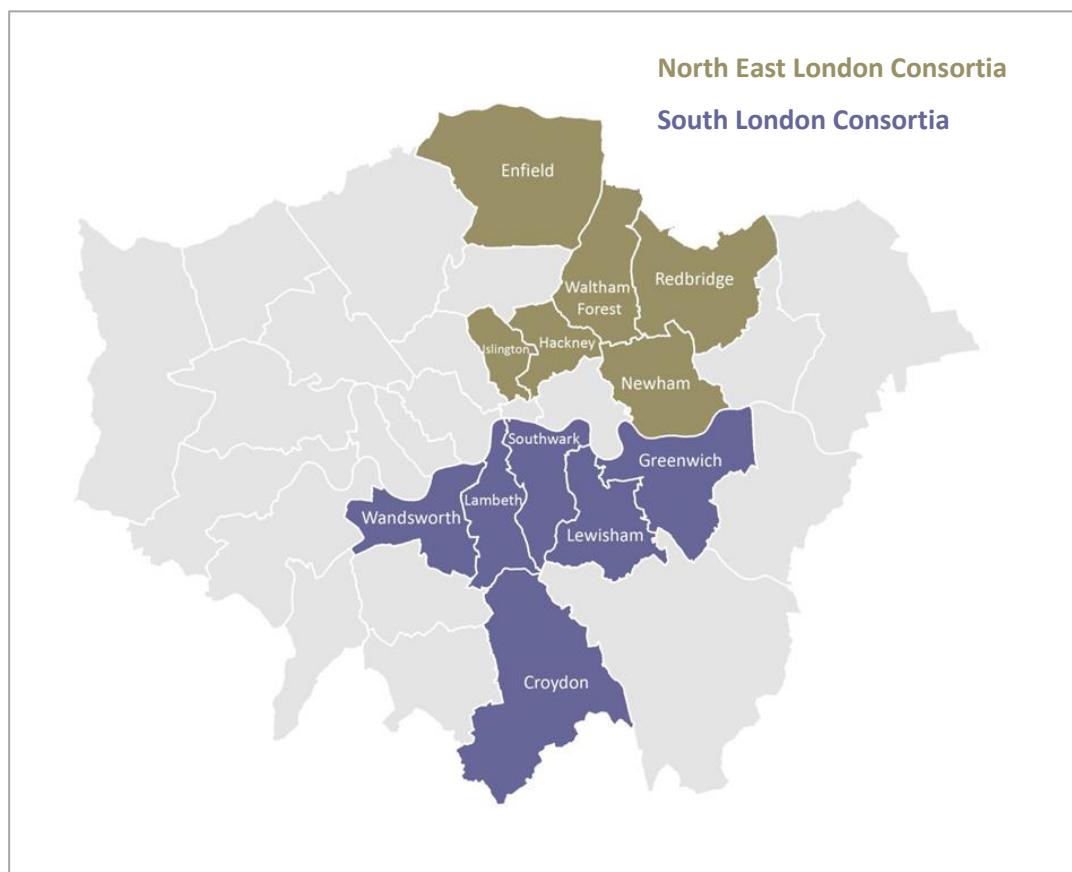
*Andrew Christie, Executive Director of Tri-borough services.*<sup>78</sup>

- 5.4 This shared service approach has delivered benefits. Betty McDonald told us that the three youth offending teams had been able to look at ways to “reduce the back office functions, management overhead costs, and keep the frontline as solid as possible so that we can maintain the quality of services and the provisions that we provide for young people and their families.”<sup>79</sup>
- 5.5 **More recently, resettlement consortia have been trialled in London, which take a similar approach.** In a consortia, stakeholders and partners from a wide area are brought together to achieve economies of scale in delivering resettlement programmes. The overarching aim is to “develop positive links between the secure estate, YOTs and local authorities in order to improve resettlement

outcomes for young people released from custody.”<sup>80</sup> Two consortia have been set up in London, covering 12 boroughs that have high custodial numbers of young people. The creation of the London consortia was aimed to complement the GLA’s current investment in the Resettlement of Young Offenders projects.<sup>81</sup>

- 5.6 The model follows successful trials in other parts of the country, such as North West England. That particular consortium offered support to young people aged 15-18 who served the entirety of their sentence at Hindley YOI and were returning to one of the ten Greater Manchester local authorities upon release. The evaluation of the consortium said that it had “provided a common language on resettlement” among partners, including shared aims and shared targets. Consortium partners had more access to young people in prison, improving service continuity.<sup>82</sup> Funding for the North West consortia model has ended, but the model itself has become self-sufficient and is still in operation using existing resources.<sup>83</sup>

### **12 of the 32 London boroughs are part of a resettlement consortium**



Progress to date in London has been positive. Resettlement managers told us that “key partners with a stake in resettlement are able to work much more collaboratively” and that an “enhanced offer” has been introduced for young offenders: “essentially services and provisions above and beyond what that young person in custody would ordinarily expect to receive.”<sup>84</sup>

- 5.7 **The Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime says that trialling the consortia approach is important, but that “we need to be mindful this covers only 12 boroughs and we need arrangements in place to support all 32.”**<sup>85</sup> Service providers have raised some concern about the potential for larger or a pan-London consortia, particularly in respect of partnership building and maintaining local responses to local needs. Cheryle Davies, North East London Resettlement Consortia Manager, told us that when setting up the consortia she found building relationships with stakeholders and establishing governance arrangements a challenge, and that “trying to spread that across pan-London would be difficult.”<sup>86</sup> Daniel Phelps, Chair of the Executive Group for the North East London consortia, suggested that “crime is a local issue and needs to have local responses.”<sup>87</sup>
- 5.8 The Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime and YJB have co-funded a Resettlement Manager post, based in MOPAC, in order to develop a resettlement offer for the whole of London over the next two years. In addition, we were pleased to hear that the Resettlement Manager plays a role in sharing good practice that emerges from the consortia to those boroughs that are not part of either consortium.<sup>88</sup>

## 6. A new strategy to reduce youth reoffending

*We need to look at the thousands of young people who are in the community and whether they are getting appropriate intervention as well so that we then so not get them triggering and filtering into custody.*

*Lisa Harvey-Messina, Youth Justice Board.*<sup>89</sup>

- 6.1 **MOPAC and partners agree that there now needs to be a change in focus to address youth reoffending.** The Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime says that the change in reoffending patterns across both the community and custody groups has “acted as a prompt for London’s key agencies and stakeholders to consider how our strategic approach to tackling youth offending in London should progress.”<sup>90</sup>
- 6.2 **MOPAC and the YJB are working collectively with partners to revise the strategy for reducing reoffending, so that it addresses reoffending “as a totality”,** including prevention.<sup>91</sup> Marie Snelling, Director of Integrated Offender Management, Programmes and Neighbourhoods at MOPAC, told us that the strategy will be developed in the next couple of months, and the strategy will aim to support individuals at high risk of offending regardless of whether they are in the community or in custody.<sup>92</sup> Working Links told us that they welcome this approach because “a whole sea of young people” could be heading towards custody and intervention at that point “is perhaps too late down the road.”<sup>93</sup>

### *Addressing young people’s needs*

- 6.3 **Any strategy or approach to support young offenders is unlikely to succeed unless it responds to their specific needs.** We were fortunate enough to meet with a group of former young offenders to hear about their experiences of the support they received both in prison and in the community, and to discuss with them what they would like to see from an effective youth justice system. The group, who work with the charity User Voice, came from a variety of backgrounds: some had been placed into custody, others were in the early stages of working with YOTs in the community. There was real benefit in hearing directly from them and we believe that there will be benefit from ensuring that there is a young people’s voice directly inputting into the revised strategy.

### **Recommendation 5**

**The revised youth reoffending strategy should be developed in conjunction with former young offenders, to ensure that young people have a direct input into its objectives and priorities.**

6.4 **Young people want greater awareness of where they can go to for support when they find themselves “getting into trouble.”** We heard that there was not a great deal of knowledge among young people about what support was available to them, and what services or agencies they could approach to help them when they recognised they were getting into trouble. This was particularly a problem when a young person felt they could not approach family members or their school for help. One girl told us that she used to get into trouble in school, but the school failed to ask if there were problems outside school, and labelled her as merely “disruptive and attention seeking.”<sup>94</sup>

6.5 Some young people feel that they have to get into trouble before they get any kind of help. One young person suggested that help is only accessible “by getting arrested.”<sup>95</sup> Dr Alex Newbury, Senior Lecturer at Brighton Business School, heard similar comments in her work with offenders:

*One of the young persons, a 15-year-old, a female offender I spoke to, I asked about her attitude towards getting the court order and having to go to the YOT. She said it was brilliant because before that point she always felt she was banging her head against a brick wall and that she had now found somebody who really listened to her and who really understood.*<sup>96</sup>

6.6 There is more work to do to help parents, schools, and other groups working with young people to recognise the signs that a young person is at risk of offending. MOPAC have said that there will be a strong focus on prevention in the revised strategy. Marie Snelling told us that “preventing those young people from coming into the criminal justice system in the first place” was important and “if they do come into the criminal justice system, to be really focusing and targeting energies to stop reoffending from happening.”<sup>97</sup>

#### **Recommendation 6**

**The revised youth reoffending strategy should include a commitment to deliver an awareness raising campaign:**

**a) for young people, so that they know where they can access support before offending occurs; and**

**b) for parents, teachers and others working with young people, so that they know where to refer young people to before offending occurs.**

6.7 **Young people want positive relationships with those that they work with.** The service provider must be seen to care about the success of the individual “regardless of the fact that they have targets to hit.”<sup>98</sup> We heard that the time a worker spends with an individual demonstrates that commitment, and when time isn’t available that relationship breaks down: one young person told us that because of the number of young people his YOT worker was expected to see on their visit to custody, the time he had to discuss any issues was severely limited.

- 6.8 Resettlement brokers are able to build these positive relationships. They were described as having “the challenge of facilitating an effective return to the community for young people, helping them negotiate the transition from custody by providing support, advice and guidance in respect of education, employment and accommodation needs, while also helping foster family relations.”<sup>99</sup> The brokers involved in Project Daedalus were able to build a significant one-to-one relationship with young people and they benefited from having someone involved who was not seen as part of the statutory agencies that ‘had’ to be involved, but was taking a genuine interest in them. The Ipsos MORI evaluation of Project Daedalus concluded that “the re-settlement broker role was viewed as being unique in that it provided a consistent, supportive point of contact that was not seen as being directly linked to the criminal justice system through statutory obligations.”<sup>100</sup>
- 6.9 The relationship tends to be more effective when the offender can relate to the person they are working with. One young person suggested that if a former offender had approached him to provide support and advice when he was getting into trouble, he would have been more likely to listen and take on their advice.<sup>101</sup> The involvement of former offenders in support work is becoming increasingly popular. We heard that “over the last five years we have seen a greater acceptance of the use of ex-offender staff by statutory agencies” and that the police in particular “have been particularly willing to recognise the benefits of employing ex-offenders.”<sup>102</sup>

#### **Recommendation 7**

**The revised youth reoffending strategy should include a commitment to involving former young offenders in support projects where it is clear that their contribution would add value.**

- 6.10 **Young people want stability in the support they receive.** This can be as basic as having the continuity of a single point of contact throughout the period of their rehabilitation, rather than having to explain their situation to a number of different people.

*When I first came out and went into probation I didn't want to be there [...] I didn't want to sit there and digress my whole life story to someone again, and when she left the job I had to do the same thing again to the next probation officer and when she had left I had got to the point where I'd had enough ... can I not just leave it behind me now.*

*Former young offender.*<sup>103</sup>

- 6.11 Stakeholders agree about the need for stability. Only Connect, a criminal justice charity focused on preventing offending and reoffending, told us that young people “get sold” a project that then does not engage them in the long term, and as a result there is “a sense of initiative fatigue.”<sup>104</sup> MOPAC agrees that stability

needs to be considered as part of the future strategy, and that there is a need to “move away from programmes and pilots and more initiatives to actually developing sustainable models for tackling reoffending going forward.”<sup>105</sup>

#### **Recommendation 8**

**The revised youth reoffending strategy should recognise the importance of continuity in the relationship between a young offender and support worker, and work to ensure the system can create opportunities for a one-to-one relationship.**

#### *Measuring success*

- 6.12 **Improved outcomes for young people means much more than a reduction in reoffending.** Often, the measure of success tends to be on short term reoffending and not on long term outcomes that can themselves help to reduce reoffending.<sup>106</sup> Reoffending rates were described to us as a blunt measure that do not take into account, for example, the “nuances regarding reduced frequency or severity of offending” or “enhanced life chances such as improved literacy or gaining employment.”<sup>107</sup>
- 6.13 **The revised strategy must take a long hard look at the way payment by results commissioning models are working, and the barriers they can create.** The GLA has increasingly moved towards using a payment by results model to ensure that outcomes are delivered rather than outputs. Both Project Daedalus and the Re-settlement of Young Offenders projects were subject to specific European Social Fund requirements, meaning that providers are required to fulfil a number of obligations, particularly around education, training and employment outcomes, in order to put in claims to the contract holders.
- 6.14 In the context of these kinds of projects, payment by results presented some challenges. The evaluation of Project Daedalus said that “re-settlement brokers spoke of being unclear at times on what the focus of their working practice was to be, with some uncertainty as to whether their key concern at any one time should be meeting targets, or meeting the wider needs of young people.”<sup>108</sup> The evaluation gave an example of a re-settlement broker not being able to secure education, training or employment within the period of contact with the programme but being able to help solve some of the wider problems that the young person had. It said that “the significance of addressing these wider issues was not identified within the outcome-based payment model of payment by results, yet constituted clear improvements made by the young person in addressing their re-settlement needs.”<sup>109</sup> Providers of other resettlement projects agree that achieving “soft outcomes” is often not recognised:

*The biggest thing is that the funding does not allow you to celebrate success in some of the smaller areas. Success can be measured in quite a broad scale, not just about going into education or going into employment. It might be just the fact that they have reengaged with their*

*family and that is a huge milestone to be achieved when you are thinking about reducing reoffending.*<sup>110</sup>

- 6.15 Payment by results can, on occasion, have a detrimental effect on service providers. Evan Jones told us that because of the 100 per cent payment by results model used for many voluntary and third sector services, “you could literally not get the money to pay your staff’s wages.”<sup>111</sup> He suggested that a better model might be one that paid a percentage of funding by results, and the other percentage by core costs.

*The big agencies, if you look at Transforming Rehabilitation, private prisons and other big contracts, there is payment by results in there of 5 per cent or 10 per cent. Quite why the voluntary sector goes for 100 per cent I do not know; we are just daft.*

*Evan Jones, St Giles Trust.*<sup>112</sup>

- 6.16 The debate about the effectiveness of payment by results for these types of projects is not limited to youth reoffending. The Mayor’s Mentoring Programme has been monitored by the London Assembly Oversight Committee throughout its lifetime with Members asking questions regarding progress, the approach to recruitment and the delivery model. Similar issues have been raised, for example about how small community-based organisations can survive on a payment by results system.

#### **Recommendation 9**

**The revised youth reoffending strategy should:**

- a) address the difficulties in the application of a payment by results model for resettlement projects, and consider how these might be mitigated; and**
- b) set out how any payment by results approach will support the participation of small community based organisations.**

- 6.17 **Success is much more than getting young people back into education, training and employment.** Accommodation, for example, is a key factor in a young person’s resettlement. We heard that while there may be opportunities for young offenders in terms of employment and education, they “will not be very interested in following those opportunities unless they have somewhere stable to live.”<sup>113</sup> This, in particular, was an issue which stakeholders agreed was becoming more difficult to manage.<sup>114</sup> We heard that not only the availability but the quality of accommodation for young offenders in London was an issue. Loretta Albertini, Switch Direction Performance Manager at Working Links, told us that housing was “not standardised” and was “very diverse” across the city: it worked well when there was a structured environment for a young person to move to, but there was far less success when there were no boundaries and no structure for a young person.<sup>115</sup>

- 6.18 The Mayor has no specific policy on housing for young offenders. However the 2015/18 Homelessness Change and Platform for Life fund is providing £30 million of capital funding “to help both improve hostel services for homeless people and deliver accommodation for young adults facing homelessness who may not otherwise be able to maintain employment, education and training.”<sup>116</sup> In addition MOPAC has given funding to Safer London for the Safe and Secure scheme, which helps to re-locate those committed to moving away from a life of gang involvement.<sup>117</sup>

**Recommendation 10**

**The Mayor should take a lead role in ensuring that suitable accommodation for young offenders is available across all boroughs in London.**

- 6.19 **A successful strategy should result in improved outcomes across all groups of young people.** Recent research suggests that outcomes can vary for different groups of young offenders. In January 2014, the Young Review Task Group published Improving outcomes for young black and Muslim males in the Criminal Justice System, which considered effective approaches to address the poorer outcomes experienced by this group of young offenders. The report found that young black and/or Muslim males are reporting the least positive perceptions of life in youth custody compared to all other groups and that they face a significantly more complex mix of educational, employment, health and social disadvantage. The report makes a number of recommendations, including that commissioning frameworks should identify and address specific needs associated with young black and/or Muslim men.<sup>118</sup> Marie Snelling told us that a closer examination of the varying outcomes was “emerging work” that MOPAC was considering with the YJB.<sup>119</sup>
- 6.20 **Overall, the revised strategy must recognise that reoffending rates are not the only measure of success.** MOPAC say that this is “a key element” of the upcoming strategy:

*What we want is to understand where positive life choices have been taken and to understand how young people not only have reduced their criminality but have gone into jobs and are now leading positive lifestyles.<sup>120</sup>*

- 6.21 **In addition to meeting young people’s needs the revised strategy must consider how it supports those who might not readily put themselves forward to receive help.** Projects such as Daedalus and the Resettlement of Young Offenders projects worked with offenders who volunteered to take part and were motivated to change, so success was more likely. It was suggested to us that only by motivating “the unmotivated, the disengaged, the disenfranchised, and the young people who do not really want to work with us” can further positive outcomes be achieved.<sup>121</sup>

*Supporting the transition to adulthood*

- 6.22 **Young offenders need improved support at the point at which they move to be 'managed' by adult offending services.** When a young person turns 18 they are treated as adults by the criminal justice system, and the types of agencies and interventions involved will change. The majority of stakeholders that we heard from said that once a young offender turns 18, they fall off “the cliff edge” and receive far less support than they are used to.<sup>122</sup> There are difficulties for service providers too: Working Links told us that that they were “more often unintentionally excluded from the transition process.”<sup>123</sup>
- 6.23 Work is being progressed to address this issue. The changes made through the government’s Transforming Rehabilitation programme mean that there are changes in the way that YOTs interact with services when it comes to transition at 18. London Councils and MOPAC are working with MTCNovo, which now delivers adult probation services in London alongside the National Offender Management Service, to build up their understanding of the London commissioning and delivery landscape. In addition, MTCNovo is developing specific approaches to supporting different groups of offenders, and one of those groups will be young adults.<sup>124</sup> **We will monitor its progress in improving support and outcomes for this group of offenders,** particularly in light of recent reports that suggest Community Rehabilitation Companies are tackling some early challenges around both staffing and IT systems.<sup>125</sup>

## 7. Devolution of the criminal justice system

### 7.1 **The Mayor has called for devolution of London’s criminal justice system.**<sup>126</sup>

MOPAC looks at the performance of the criminal justice system in London, including the youth justice system, but has little authority over the agencies in it. It brings together, influences and persuades partners: we see this played out through events such as MOPAC Challenge meetings.<sup>127</sup> Accountability of the agencies, however, falls to different government departments, as does budgetary control. The Mayor uses the New York City model as an example that could be replicated in London, in which the Mayor “holds to account those responsible for investigation and arrest, through to charging, prosecution and sentencing.” (Box 2)<sup>128</sup>

#### **Box 2: accountability of the criminal justice system in New York City**

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**The Mayor’s Office of Criminal Justice (MOCJ) operates as a liaison between the New York Police Department, Departments of Corrections and Probation, the five District Attorney’s Offices, and other agencies to help coordinate consistent citywide policy on criminal justice issues.**

- **The MOCJ is overseen by the First Deputy Mayor of New York.**
  - **The Department of Probation is also overseen by the First Deputy Mayor, working with and supervising people on probation.**
  - **The First Deputy Mayor also oversees the New York Department of Correction, which provides care and custody for persons accused of crimes and sentenced to one year or less of jail time.**
  - **The Mayor appoints the Commissioners for both Departments.**
- 

### 7.2 **The Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime has said that without devolution, agencies in London are unaccountable and “not answering to the people of London.”**<sup>129</sup> He suggested that devolution would give City Hall greater ability to “look at what is going on across London and start to ask the difficult questions.”<sup>130</sup> He also suggested that budget savings could be achieved through co-location of services—such as MPS officers and Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) staff that prepare the case files—and improved IT systems. Helen Bailey, Chief Operating Officer at MOPAC, also suggested that being able to approach savings requirements from a “London criminal justice system” context would be easier than having to absorb the savings requirements of “four or five government departments” who each take their own decisions about where savings are made.<sup>131</sup>

- 7.3 Arguments against change include the risk of politicisation of the criminal justice process that has been set up to ensure its independence, and the potential of a “‘postcode lottery’ for justice.”<sup>132</sup> MOPAC has sought to address these arguments, explaining that its approach would be similar to that of its oversight of the MPS. MOPAC “would not be setting thresholds for prosecutions for the CPS, nor would you be trying to tell judges” how to operate, in the same way that it has no operational direction over police officers.<sup>133</sup>
- 7.4 **Ultimately, the goal of devolution of the youth justice system must be to enable and empower local agencies that work with young offenders to reduce offending and reoffending.** The Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime’s vision for devolution aims to do this by putting in place a model through which the savings made by reducing reoffending could be released into local services:
- You would try to have a situation where a borough is incentivised over time to work on those things that reduce youth reoffending and that they benefit, they get a dividend that they can reinvest in local communities.*<sup>134</sup>
- 7.5 **Much of this thinking remains work in progress and the case has not yet been fully developed.** MOPAC needs to be much clearer about the detailed case for criminal justice devolution and should be specific about what budgets it wants to see handed down to the Mayor. **MOPAC also needs to demonstrate how outcomes would be improved through greater devolution and how it will safeguard the independence of the criminal justice system.**

# Appendix 1 – Recommendations

## Recommendation 1

The Mayor and MOPAC should explore the issue of the recruitment to Youth Offending Teams with the Youth Justice Board (YJB) in London, and determine how it may be able to provide the YJB with additional support.

## Recommendation 2

MOPAC should amend the youth reoffending dashboard to allow the public to track the reoffending rate of those on different sanctions, not only those leaving custody. The data behind the dashboard should also be made available on the London Datastore. These amendments should be made in time for the next update of the dashboard.

## Recommendation 3

MOPAC should, in the next six months, complete and publish a full reoffending analysis of the Heron Unit participants, to determine the overall success of the project.

## Recommendation 4

MOPAC should ensure that a full reoffending analysis of participants of the re-settlement of Young Offenders Leaving Custody projects is built in to the final evaluation of the programme.

## Recommendation 5

The revised youth reoffending strategy should be developed in conjunction with former young offenders, to ensure that young people have a direct input into its objectives and priorities.

## Recommendation 6

The revised youth reoffending strategy should include a commitment to deliver an awareness raising campaign:

- a) for young people, so that they know where they can access support before offending occurs; and
- b) for parents, teachers and others working with young people, so that they know where to refer young people to before offending occurs.

**Recommendation 7**

The revised youth reoffending strategy should include a commitment to involving former young offenders in support projects where it is clear that their contribution would add value.

**Recommendation 8**

The revised youth reoffending strategy should recognise the importance of continuity in the relationship between a young offender and support worker, and work to ensure the system can create opportunities for a one-to-one relationship.

**Recommendation 9**

The revised youth reoffending strategy should:

- a) address the difficulties in the application of a payment by results model for resettlement projects, and consider how these might be mitigated; and
- b) set out how any payment by results approach will support the participation of small community based organisations.

**Recommendation 10**

The Mayor should take a lead role in ensuring that suitable accommodation for young offenders is available across all boroughs in London.

## Appendix 2 – How we conducted this investigation

On 9 October 2014, the Police and Crime Committee agreed to undertake an investigation into youth reoffending and resettlement in London, and assess what more the Mayor could do in the future to address youth re-offending.

The investigation's terms of reference were:

- to assess the nature and extent of youth reoffending in London;
- to examine the strategies and programmes that MOPAC and partners have put in place to tackle youth re-offending in London;
- to review these strategies against any established best practice, including the learning from Project Daedalus, and national and international practice; and
- to establish future challenges and opportunities to further reduce youth re-offending.

### *Public meetings*

The Committee held three public evidence sessions to collect evidence to inform its investigation.

On 8 January 2015, it heard evidence from:

- Dr Tim Bateman, Reader in Youth Justice, University of Bedfordshire
- Dr Alex Newbury, Senior Lecturer, Brighton Business School
- Graham Robb, Youth Justice and Education Consultant
- Lisa Harvey-Messina, Head of London Business Area, Youth Justice Board
- Glenn Knight, Governor, Feltham Young Offenders Institution
- Evan Jones, Head of Community Services, St Giles Trust
- Loretta Albertini, Switch Direction Performance Manager, Working Links
- Paul Crookendale, Operations Manager, Working Links
- Helen Dyson, Offender Management Service Manager, Nacro

On 12 February 2015, it heard evidence from:

- Ronke Martins-Taylor, Chief Services to Young People Officer, London Borough of Redbridge
- Betty McDonald, Head of Tri-borough Youth Offending Service
- DS Gill Staunton, Youth Justice Coordinator, Metropolitan Police Service
- Chief Superintendent Dave Stringer, Youth Justice Lead, Metropolitan Police Service
- Keith Cohen, South London Resettlement Consortium Manager
- Cheryle Davies, North East London Resettlement Consortium Manager
- Daniel Phelps, Assistant Director, Early Help, London Borough of Waltham Forest

- Geeta Subramaniam-Mooney, Head of Crime Reduction and Supporting People, London Borough of Lewisham

On 12 March 2015, it heard evidence from:

- Marie Snelling, Director of Integrated Offender Management (IOM), Programmes and Neighbourhoods, MOPAC

Transcripts of these meetings are available at  
<http://www.london.gov.uk/mayor-assembly/london-assembly>

#### *Views of young people*

The Committee met with former young offenders to talk about their experiences of the youth justice system and the resettlement support they received. The young people represented the charity User Voice, which aims to help former young offenders influence providers in the criminal justice system and to improve the resettlement experience. The Committee was joined by six former young offenders and the CEO of the charity, Mark Johnson.

#### *Submissions*

The received a number of written submissions from individuals and organisations during the course of its investigation. Submissions are available to view at:  
<http://www.london.gov.uk/mayor-assembly/london-assembly/publications>

## Appendix 3 – Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Glenn Knight, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 21
- <sup>2</sup> Youth Justice Board / Ministry of Justice, *Youth Justice Statistics 2013/14 England and Wales*, January 2015, page 30
- <sup>3</sup> Ministry of Justice website, *Resettlement of released prisoners*, 25 February 2012
- <sup>4</sup> Beyond Youth Custody, *Resettlement of Young People Leaving Custody: Lessons from the literature*, 2013
- <sup>5</sup> Written submission from Beyond Youth Custody
- <sup>6</sup> Clinks, *Briefing on Youth Justice*, August 2011
- <sup>7</sup> GOV.UK website, *Youth Offending Teams*, 12 November 2014
- <sup>8</sup> Written submission from the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime, MOPAC
- <sup>9</sup> Mayor of London, *Police and Crime Plan 2013-16*, March 2013, page 63
- <sup>10</sup> Lisa Harvey-Messina, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 17
- <sup>11</sup> Marie Snelling, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 March 2015, page 3
- <sup>12</sup> Mayor of London, *Police and Crime Plan 2013-16*, March 2013, page 58
- <sup>13</sup> Mayor of London, *Police and Crime Plan 2013-16*, March 2013, page 65
- <sup>14</sup> MOPAC youth reoffending dashboard (total number of offenders and reoffenders)
- <sup>15</sup> Youth Justice Board / Ministry of Justice, *Youth Justice Statistics 2013 to 2014: supplementary volumes*, Ch2 – First Time Entrants, chart 2.7, January 2015
- <sup>16</sup> Youth Justice Board / Ministry of Justice, *Youth Justice Statistics 2013 to 2014: supplementary volumes*, Ch2 – First Time Entrants, chart 2.7, January 2015
- <sup>17</sup> Lisa Harvey-Messina, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 3
- <sup>18</sup> Dr Tim Bateman, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 1
- <sup>19</sup> Dr Alex Newbury, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 2
- <sup>20</sup> Triage is the process through which young offenders are assessed and those who have committed less serious crimes are pointed towards restorative justice interventions and other services, rather than being prosecuted.
- <sup>21</sup> Gill Staunton, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 February 2015, page 1
- <sup>22</sup> Dr Tim Bateman, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 12
- <sup>23</sup> Lisa Harvey-Messina, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 4
- <sup>24</sup> MOPAC, MOPAC Challenge on youth reoffending presentation, September 2014, page 12
- <sup>25</sup> MOPAC, MOPAC Challenge on youth reoffending presentation, September 2014, page 12
- <sup>26</sup> Ministry of Justice, *Proven reoffending statistics*, 30 April 2015, table 1
- <sup>27</sup> Written submission by the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime
- <sup>28</sup> MOPAC youth reoffending dashboard (total proven reoffending rates)
- <sup>29</sup> Although it should be noted that the reoffending rate for this sanction has risen.
- <sup>30</sup> MOPAC, MOPAC Challenge on youth reoffending presentation, September 2014, page 12
- <sup>31</sup> Youth Justice Board, *Youth Justice Bulletin*, Issue 23, 28 January 2015
- <sup>32</sup> Youth Justice Board / Ministry of Justice, *Youth Justice Statistics 2013/14 England and Wales*, January 2015, page 12
- <sup>33</sup> Youth Justice Board / Ministry of Justice, *Youth Justice Statistics 2013/14 England and Wales*, January 2015, page 12
- <sup>34</sup> Dr Tim Bateman, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 2
- <sup>35</sup> MOPAC, MOPAC Challenge on youth reoffending transcript, September 2014, page 8
- <sup>36</sup> MOPAC youth reoffending dashboard (proven reoffending rates for youth leaving custody against target)
- <sup>37</sup> Written submission from Only Connect

- <sup>38</sup> Glenn Knight, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 2
- <sup>39</sup> Ministry of Justice, *Youth custody report: March 2015*, May 2015, table 1.0
- <sup>40</sup> Betty McDonald, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 February 2015, page 4
- <sup>41</sup> Beyond Youth Custody, *Resettlement of Young People Leaving Custody: Lessons from the literature*, 2013
- <sup>42</sup> Lisa Harvey-Messina, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 11
- <sup>43</sup> Stephen Greenhalgh, meeting of the Devolution working group, 26 February 2015, page 6
- <sup>44</sup> Written submission from the Metropolitan Police Service
- <sup>45</sup> Ronke Martins-Taylor, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 February 2015, page 2
- <sup>46</sup> Betty McDonald, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 February 2015, page 12
- <sup>47</sup> Lisa Harvey-Messina, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 16
- <sup>48</sup> Lisa Harvey-Messina, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 8
- <sup>49</sup> Lisa Harvey-Messina, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 4
- <sup>50</sup> MOPAC, MOPAC Challenge on youth reoffending transcript, September 2014, page 17
- <sup>51</sup> Children and Young People Now, *YJB toolkit aims to cut youth reoffending rates*, 26 March 2014
- <sup>52</sup> Gill Staunton, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 February 2015, page 17
- <sup>53</sup> Betty McDonald, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 February 2015, page 16
- <sup>54</sup> MOPAC, Youth reoffending dashboard
- <sup>55</sup> Written submission from London Councils
- <sup>56</sup> Written submission from the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime, MOPAC
- <sup>57</sup> MOPAC, *London Crime Prevention Fund Grant Agreement template*, April 2013, page 14
- <sup>58</sup> London.gov.uk website, *Time for action*, 1 November 2008
- <sup>59</sup> Greater London Authority, *Time for Action Daedalus update*, November 2009
- <sup>60</sup> Ipsos MORI, *Evaluation of the London youth reducing reoffending programme (Daedalus)*, Final report, November 2012
- <sup>61</sup> London Assembly Police and Crime Committee, *Time to Reflect. The Development of Time for Action, The Mayor's Strategy to Tackle Serious Youth Violence*, March 2012
- <sup>62</sup> Evan Jones, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 3
- <sup>63</sup> Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons, *Report of an unannounced inspection of HMP/YOI Feltham (Feltham A – children and young people)*, January 2013, page 6
- <sup>64</sup> Greater London Authority, *GLA ESF Co-Financing Programme 2011–13: Youth*
- <sup>65</sup> London Assembly, Questions to the Mayor: 0044/2013, 30 January 2013
- <sup>66</sup> Mayor of London, *Greater London Authority European Social Fund Co-financing Programme 2011-2013*, February 2012, page 52
- <sup>67</sup> Written submission from Working links
- <sup>68</sup> Ipsos MORI, *Evaluation of the London youth reducing reoffending programme (Daedalus)*, Final report, November 2012, page 80
- <sup>69</sup> Ipsos MORI, *Evaluation of the London youth reducing reoffending programme (Daedalus)*, Final report, November 2012, page 80
- <sup>70</sup> Ipsos MORI, *Evaluation of the London youth reducing reoffending programme (Daedalus)*, Final report, November 2012, page 9
- <sup>71</sup> Written submission from the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime, MOPAC
- <sup>72</sup> In oral evidence to the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee on 6 September 2011, the Mayor stated that “We cut reoffending rates in that wing from 80 per cent to 19 per cent.” These figures were challenged by Sir Michael Scholar, Chair of the UK Statistics Authority, who raised concerns about this claim. In a letter to the Chairman of the Home Affairs Committee, he stated that “the Mayor’s evidence to your Committee is not supported by the Ministry of Justice’s (MOJ) published statistics; nor is it supported by any statistical analysis published by the Mayor’s Office.” To clarify the situation the Mayor wrote to the Home Affairs Committee stating “The interim figures for the unit calculated by the London Criminal Justice Partnership (which is

independent of City Hall) suggest that the reoffending rate for the unit's first year of operation was 19 per cent. As the Heron Unit has been operational for less than two years, at your hearing I should perhaps not have given the impression that the new unit's original reoffending rate was around 80 per cent. I should have made it clear that I was comparing the unit's 19 per cent figure with the national average for young men leaving custody, which was 77.6 per cent during the period – according to MOJ data.”

<sup>73</sup> Dr Tim Bateman, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 9

<sup>74</sup> Lisa Harvey-Messina, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 13

<sup>75</sup> Written submission from London Councils

<sup>76</sup> Written submission from London Councils

<sup>77</sup> Hammersmith and Fulham, The Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, and the City of Westminster, *Tri-Borough children's service. An Overview Guide*, May 2013

<sup>78</sup> Hammersmith and Fulham, The Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, and the City of Westminster, *Tri-Borough children's service. An Overview Guide*, May 2013

<sup>79</sup> Betty McDonald, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 February 2015, page 13

<sup>80</sup> Ministry of Justice website, *Resettlement Consortia evaluations*, April 2013

<sup>81</sup> Written submission from the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime, MOPAC

<sup>82</sup> University of Salford Manchester & ARCS, *Evaluation of the North West Resettlement Consortium: Final report*, November 2012, page 112

<sup>83</sup> Public Service Transformation Network, *Supporting young offenders to reduce re offending*, June 2014

<sup>84</sup> Geeta Subramaniam-Mooney, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 February 2015, page 2

<sup>85</sup> Written submission from the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime, MOPAC

<sup>86</sup> Cheryle Davies, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 February 2015, page 17

<sup>87</sup> Daniel Phelps, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 February 2015, page 18

<sup>88</sup> Cheryle Davies, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 February 2015, page 6

<sup>89</sup> Lisa Harvey-Messina, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 8

<sup>90</sup> Written submission from the Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime, MOPAC

<sup>91</sup> Marie Snelling, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 March 2015, page 4

<sup>92</sup> Marie Snelling, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 March 2015, page 17

<sup>93</sup> Loretta Albertini, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 7

<sup>94</sup> Police and Crime Committee meeting with representatives from User Voice

<sup>95</sup> Written submission from User Voice

<sup>96</sup> Dr Alex Newbury, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 22

<sup>97</sup> Marie Snelling, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 March 2015, page 5

<sup>98</sup> Helen Dyson, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 20

<sup>99</sup> Ipsos MORI, *Evaluation of the London youth reducing reoffending programme (Daedalus)*, Final report, November 2012, page 57

<sup>100</sup> Ipsos MORI, *Evaluation of the London youth reducing reoffending programme (Daedalus)*, Final report, November 2012, page 58

<sup>101</sup> Police and Crime Committee meeting with representatives from User Voice

<sup>102</sup> Written submission from St Giles Trust

<sup>103</sup> Police and Crime Committee meeting with representatives from User Voice

<sup>104</sup> Written submission from Only Connect

<sup>105</sup> Marie Snelling, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 March 2015, page 13

<sup>106</sup> Written submission from Beyond Youth Custody

<sup>107</sup> Dr Alex Newbury, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 11

<sup>108</sup> Ipsos MORI, *Evaluation of the London youth reducing reoffending programme (Daedalus)*, Final report, November 2012, page 79

- <sup>109</sup> Ipsos MORI, *Evaluation of the London youth reducing reoffending programme (Daedalus)*, Final report, November 2012, page 79
- <sup>110</sup> Paul Crookendale, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 20
- <sup>111</sup> Evan Jones, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 22
- <sup>112</sup> Evan Jones, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 22
- <sup>113</sup> Dr Tim Bateman, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 19
- <sup>114</sup> Dr Tim Bateman, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 19
- <sup>115</sup> Loretta Albertini, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 12
- <sup>116</sup> Greater London Authority, *Homelessness Change and Platform for Life*, March 2015
- <sup>117</sup> Safe London Foundation, *Safe and Secure Scheme*
- <sup>118</sup> Baroness Young report Young Review Task Group, *Improving outcomes for young black and Muslim males in the Criminal Justice System*, January 2014
- <sup>119</sup> Marie Snelling, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 March 2015, page 8
- <sup>120</sup> Marie Snelling, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 March 2015, page 8
- <sup>121</sup> Keith Cohen, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 12 February 2015, page 6
- <sup>122</sup> Graham Robb, meeting of the Police and Crime Committee, 8 January 2015, page 22
- <sup>123</sup> Written submission from Working Links
- <sup>124</sup> MTCNovo, *Announcement of acquisition – 01 February 2015*, February 2015
- <sup>125</sup> HM Inspectorate of Probation, *Transforming rehabilitation early implementation 2*, May 2015, page 8
- <sup>126</sup> The Guardian, *Boris Johnson to seek control of CPS and court system in London*, 30 November 2014
- <sup>127</sup> For example the MOPAC Challenge meeting on criminal justice timeliness on 26 November 2014
- <sup>128</sup> The Guardian, *Boris Johnson to seek control of CPS and court system in London*, 30 November 2014
- <sup>129</sup> The Guardian, *Boris Johnson control of courts risks ‘postcode lottery’ for justice – experts*, 1 December 2014
- <sup>130</sup> Stephen Greenhalgh, meeting of the Devolution working group, 26 February 2015, page 2
- <sup>131</sup> Helen Bailey, meeting of the Devolution working group, 26 February 2015, page 2
- <sup>132</sup> The Guardian, *Boris Johnson control of courts risks ‘postcode lottery’ for justice – experts*, 1 December 2014
- <sup>133</sup> Helen Bailey, meeting of the Devolution working group, 26 February 2015, page 6
- <sup>134</sup> Stephen Greenhalgh, meeting of the Devolution working group, 26 February 2015, page 6

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### Vietnamese

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### Greek

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### Turkish

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### Hindi

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### Bengali

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### Arabic

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