

A Criminal Waste

Multiple Disadvantage, Offending and System Failure

A study by three Fulfilling Lives Projects: Fulfilling Lives Newcastle Gateshead, Opportunity Nottingham, and West Yorkshire Finding Independence (WY-FI)



Author and Editor: **Grant Everitt** (Opportunity Nottingham)

Based on contributions from: **Angela Broadbridge, Keith Gibson and Beverley Hunter** (Fulfilling Lives Newcastle Gateshead), **Karan Kaur and Kyle Stringfellow** (Opportunity Nottingham), **Mark Crowe, Molly Jobson, Geoff Doyle, Anthony Leeman and Eve Headley** (West Yorkshire Finding Independence - WY-FI)

October 2021

Contents

Glossary.....	PAGE 04
Summary and recommendations	PAGE 05
Introduction.....	PAGE 08
Context: Criminal justice – the missing piece of the multiple disadvantage jigsaw	PAGE 08
Report structure and methods.....	PAGE 08
1 Quantitative data analysis.....	PAGE 10
Sample selection.....	PAGE 10
1.1 Demographics of the sample group as a whole.....	PAGE 10
Gender.....	PAGE 10
Age.....	PAGE 10
Ethnic background.....	PAGE 11
Disabilities.....	PAGE 11
1.2 Demographic differences between arrested and non arrested group.....	PAGE 11
Demographics of arrested sub sample group.....	PAGE 11
Arrested group by gender.....	PAGE 11
Arrested group by age.....	PAGE 12
Arrested group by ethnic background.....	PAGE 12
Offender by disability.....	PAGE 13
1.3 Number and type of arrests.....	PAGE 13
Total arrests.....	PAGE 13
Types of offences.....	PAGE 14
1.4 NDT (Chaos Index) and Outcomes Star data.....	PAGE 14
NDT changes for Arrested and Not Arrested Beneficiaries.....	PAGE 14
Most recent NDT scores – Arrested and Not Arrested Beneficiaries.....	PAGE 15
Homelessness Outcomes Star.....	PAGE 15
2 Why Beneficiaries are arrested when on the Fulfilling Lives Programme – twelve case studies.....	PAGE 20
Methodology.....	PAGE 20
Substance Use.....	PAGE 21
Unsuitable accommodation and rough sleeping.....	PAGE 21

Financial issues	PAGE 22
Physical health	PAGE 22
Lack of engagement with services	PAGE 22
Social Influence	PAGE 23
Loss of friends and/or family	PAGE 24
Mental Health and Suicidal Ideation	PAGE 24
Domestic abuse	PAGE 25
Normalisation of crime	PAGE 25
3 Dual labelling: victim, offender, or both	PAGE 26
4 Up against it – how a failed system creates a web from which it is difficult to escape offending	PAGE 29
What is meant by “the system”?	PAGE 29
The system and quality of interactions with services: housing, addiction, re-offending, mental and physical health services, Benefits Agency	PAGE 29
Accommodation	PAGE 30
Mental health	PAGE 31
Substance use	PAGE 32
Benefits Agency	PAGE 33
The impact of prison stays	PAGE 33
Family and relationships	PAGE 34
Domestic abuse	PAGE 35
People from Minority Ethnic Groups who experience multiple disadvantage	PAGE 35
Women who experience multiple disadvantage	PAGE 36
5 Offending and the costs to the system	PAGE 38
Analysis of sample group using the Cost Calculator	PAGE 38
Costs - evidence from West Yorkshire	PAGE 39
Costs – evidence from Nottingham	PAGE 40
Positive Costs and Negative Costs	PAGE 41
References	PAGE 42

Glossary

Beneficiaries. A term used for individuals that engage with the Fulfilling Lives Project in order to access support.

Cuckooing. Is a practice where people take over a (typically vulnerable) person's home and use it to facilitate the storage, movement or dealing of drugs.

Dual Labelling. Individuals that commit offences are typically seen as 'criminals'. The reality is people that commit crimes have typically had crimes committed against them, thus the 'dual label'.

Fulfilling Lives. The Fulfilling Lives programme is a National Lottery Community Fund £112 million investment over eight years supporting people who are experiencing multiple disadvantage. The programme funds local partnerships in 12 areas across England to test new ways of ensuring individuals receive joined up and person centred services which work for them.

Partnerships work with beneficiaries, service providers and commissioners, and local authorities to design, test and implement different approaches which:

- Provide learning which can be used to create system change
- Address the combination of factors that can affect the person, in a way that is simple and straightforward for individuals to navigate, with a single access point
- Assume that people can improve their own circumstances and life chances with the right support
- Engage people with first-hand experience of multiple disadvantage in the design and delivery of services
- Provide better co-ordination between those delivering services (both statutory and voluntary sector) and those commissioning services.

Multiple Disadvantage. Experience of two or more of the following: homelessness, offending, substance misuse or mental illness.

Neurodiversity. Refers to the differences in the brain that affect sociability, learning, attention, mood and other mental functions in a non-pathological sense. For example, people with ADHD or Autism are neurodiverse.

Psychotropic Medication. Medication which has an effect on the chemical interactions of the brain. Used to treat mental disorders.

System. The system is the network of services provided by organisations in the public, private and voluntary, community and social enterprise (VCSE) sectors which someone who has experienced trauma or multiple disadvantage might engage with to address health, housing, criminal justice, addiction and wellbeing needs. The system includes services with statutory obligations (such as the courts or housing offices) as well as those where engagement is voluntary.

System change is the process by which these myriad of agencies are brought to work "in concert" with each other and flex their services around the individual to help the person build on their assets and achieve their aspirations. These changes are then established as practice in partnerships and between agencies with the necessary policies and procedures adopted to ensure they become the default way of working with people who have experienced trauma or who are experiencing multiple disadvantages.

Summary and recommendations

This report is a study of why Beneficiaries offend whilst on the Fulfilling Lives programme. It is hoped the study contributes to enabling improved support to reduce the risk of people experiencing multiple disadvantage offending, as well as better understanding of the role played in contributing to offending by other disadvantages.

“ Domestic abuse is a risk factor... ”

The study uses data from three Fulfilling Lives projects – Newcastle Gateshead, Nottingham, and West Yorkshire. The main components of the study were: analysis of quantitative data from all three projects for Beneficiaries who engaged during 2019, a deep dive analysis of 12 cases analysing the Beneficiaries lives prior to an arrest, and a review of the wider impact of “the system” on offending principally using information from an earlier study from West Yorkshire called “Surviving in a Revolving Door” (Crowe and Headley, 2020). In the second part of the report, we look at the dual labelling Beneficiaries face of being both a victim and an offender and also consider the damaging economic impact on “the system” of failure to reduce offending.

It was found that:

In the sample group of 181 Beneficiaries, **45 (25%) were recorded as being arrested** during 2019. A **higher proportion of women** had been arrested compared to men. Those who have a disability made up a higher proportion of those arrested than in the Beneficiary population overall.

The most common type of offence was “breach of legal obligations” such as probation appointments – especially amongst women. The second most common possible offence was **theft** which had equal prevalence among both genders. This was followed by **anti-social behaviour, assault, and carrying an offensive weapon** - all of which had high prevalence amongst men.

Beneficiaries who were **arrested make less progress in their support journeys**. Female Beneficiaries who were arrested make very little progress, if any progress at all.

Issues associated with arrest include:

- **Substance use** as motivation for theft, causing loss of accommodation, and self-medication
- Accommodation - **rough sleeping is clearly an issue** but so is **unsuitability of accommodation**
- Financial hardship - particularly **financial exploitation and difficulties with the benefits system**
- **Mental ill health acts as a barrier to accessing other parts of the system**, sudden **downturns in psychological state** create unpredictability and “chaos” which can lead to arrest
- **Domestic abuse is a risk factor** as it can frequently be co-dependant with worsening mental health and drug consumption
- **The loss of friends or family** in the period before an arrest occurs. This may be a significant **relationship breakdown, or a bereavement**
- Beneficiaries tended to have **lack of engagement with the projects leading up to committing crime**
- The “**normalisation**” of crime in the Beneficiaries’ lives and **negative social influences** may encourage or motivate the Beneficiary into negative behaviours or actions

“ It is clear women and people from BAME communities face additional challenges. ”



- It is clear **women and people from BAME communities face additional challenges.** This arises out of systemic inequalities and insufficiently culturally and gender responsive services
- **Beneficiaries who may offend are also victims of offences** however their treatment as victims is not as effective as it might be.

Conclusion

The systemic failure described above has great financial as well as human cost. Evidence from all three projects found failures elsewhere in the system, such as housing or mental health, contribute to higher costs particularly in the criminal justice sector. Investment in treatment and care will lower costs in the criminal justice sector. Yet the “the system” is too disconnected to enable this – costs occur in the NHS and local authorities, but savings accrue in the criminal justice sector. A whole system approach to funding is needed to counter this.

Recommendations

1. **Support planning should follow common criteria** and focus to a greater extent on supporting a person with their social networks and taking a **strength based and trauma informed approach.**
2. Community based services and out of court disposal which seek to **address the underlying factors linked to offending behaviour** should be promoted as an alternative to custody to a much greater extent.
3. **Excluding people with multiple needs from services** on the basis of risk simply **displaces the cost and moves them further away from the service that they need and towards the risk of arrest.**

4. **Sustaining accommodation for people at risk of offending** and on release from custody is of critical importance, including an expansion of **trauma informed housing support**.
5. A **'Whole Systems Approach'** is needed to underpin changes – realising that failure in one part of the system only leads to negative implications and costs elsewhere. A Whole System Approach requires **strategic leadership** at each area level – including regional leadership and the voice of lived experience. Stronger **multi-agency working is needed** to ensure a holistic package of support that is both trauma, gender and culturally informed.
6. **Improve access to and experience of services for minority ethnic communities** experiencing multiple disadvantage through **better understanding of cultural differences between and within diverse communities** and the **lack of trust** in the “system” among the minority ethnic population.
7. Improve understanding of the **needs and experiences of women** and services available at every stage of the criminal justice process. This should include strengthening **integrated gender-specific community provision** for female offenders.
8. Provide training for criminal justice system staff to understand **trauma informed practice** and that a large proportion of people they work with will be experiencing mental ill health, learning disabilities, other cognitive impairments and neurodiversity. This approach needs to be **sustained from custody, through the gate into the community**.
9. Widen access to **mental health and wellbeing support**, especially psychotherapeutic interventions for people with multiple needs, **particularly where there is co-occurrence with substance use**.
10. Offenders are also often **victims**, improve understanding of the psychological impact of this “dual labelling” across the whole System.
11. Improve access to **peer mentoring and support** for people experiencing multiple disadvantage.
12. **Traumatic events can lead to multiple exclusions in later life** for children and young adults. **Effective early intervention for children and families involved in the Criminal Justice System** is a key factor in achieving long term change.

Introduction

Context: Criminal justice – the missing piece of the multiple disadvantage jigsaw

As the Fulfilling Lives programme reached its latter stages a group of evaluation and learning teams from three of the programme's projects met for some reflection. These projects were Fulfilling Lives Newcastle Gateshead, Opportunity Nottingham, and West Yorkshire Finding Independence (WY-FI). The teams considered the many successes of the programme – the 1000's of individuals benefitting from the work of navigators and other face to face staff in the projects. The systemic changes and practice improvement the programme has driven. One area that it was agreed where less progress has been made however and remains something of a missing jigsaw piece for the Fulfilling Lives programme, is in the sector of criminal justice. It was considered by the three projects that offending and particularly the disruption of prison (Milner et al. 2021), arguably remained the single greatest impediment to Beneficiaries' progress across the whole programme.

This wasn't just a hunch. Testimony from Beneficiaries confirmed how this was considered to be one of the biggest barriers they faced (Bowpitt et al 2019). Additionally, looking at the costs to "the system" from an economic perspective shows the greatest impact is in criminal justice.

“ ...looking at the costs to “the system” from an economic perspective shows the greatest impact is in criminal justice. ”

Given this, it was agreed as three projects to pool data and use it to look into the issue of Beneficiaries who continue to offend whilst they are

on the programme. The first step was analysis of quantitative data from all three projects, which threw up some interesting information about the profile of Beneficiaries who may offend and how their progress is limited in comparison to Beneficiaries who may not offend. It also revealed what Beneficiaries were arrested for and important differences between males and females.

Inevitably this led to a lot more questions about why some Beneficiaries might offend and what's going on in their lives that might act as a trigger for offending. It also led to a question about the dual label that many Beneficiaries have - that is, at different points and in some cases at the same time – being both victim and offender. Leading on from what might influence an individual's behaviour is the wider “system”. The system is the web of services in which Beneficiaries are expected to engage with to enable them to get out of their situation. This system though can impede progress, not allowing Beneficiaries to escape and nowhere is this demonstrated more starkly than in criminal justice. The human cost of this also translates to great economic cost. So, it was felt this study of multiple disadvantage and offending wouldn't be complete without some analysis of how the system operates and ultimately the human and economic cost of “system failure”.

Report structure and methods

This report is therefore split into five sections each to answer the questions posed above:

1. The first section considered **which Beneficiaries might offend whilst on the programme** and what offences might be committed. To understand this, three projects combined anonymised quantitative data for Beneficiaries engaging during 2019 and

distinguished between those who were arrested and those who were not arrested. Overall a sample group of 181 Beneficiaries was created, with 45 of the Beneficiaries falling into the arrested subgroup. What differences can be observed between the two groups was examined and also what offences might be committed is detailed. There is also analysis of differences between males and female in this section.

2. The second section looks at **why Beneficiaries might offend** by looking closely at what is going on in their lives in the period leading up to when they are arrested. To do this 12 case studies were created of Opportunity Nottingham Beneficiaries using a “deep dive” review of case notes. The three months prior to the arrest was most closely considered but things occurring outside of this period were also included if relevant. It was found that there were generally several interacting factors involved. Examples of these factors included, relationships with friends, family or sometimes less welcome, “acquaintances” were key - but other common examples included a person’s accommodation status and their substance use, both of which could be seen to have an influence.

3. One factor coming out of the case study deep dive was that some Beneficiaries are surrounded by offending by peers and sometimes family. In this context offending may become more normalised. The third section therefore explores **the duality of being both an offender and a victim**. To do this, analysis was carried out through reviewing case notes of the 45 Beneficiaries in the in the sample group who had been arrested. It shows a large overlap between the two labels, something that wider society doesn’t seem to account for where victims and offenders are labelled with no attempt to understand the impact of overlap between the two.

4. The fourth section builds on the issues identified in the previous sections by considering **the impact of the wider system**. Each element of the system is reviewed and how combined a web is created from which it can be difficult to escape. It could in fact be described as a “system failure”. There are also specific sections on family and relationships, domestic abuse and the additional challenges faced by women and people from minority ethnic communities. Most of the material for this section comes from the work of WY-FI and the in-depth analysis that was conducted for their study *Surviving in a Revolving Door*. (Crowe and Headley, 2020).

5. The fifth section looks at **the cost of offending and the economic consequences of system failure**. The costs to the system have been calculated for the sample group using a well-established set of costings and differences between those who were arrested and those who were not arrested are compared. This is then combined with further economic evidence from WY-FI and Opportunity Nottingham.

A note on terminology: Although this report refers to offenders in general terms, when referring specifically to the data used in this study the term “Beneficiaries who were arrested”, or just “arrested” is used. This is because the analysis was of Beneficiaries who had been arrested, but it isn’t known if they were subsequently convicted and so it would not be correct to describe them as offenders in this context

1 Quantitative data analysis

The aim was to consider a group of Beneficiaries who engaged during a specific time period and then look separately at those who had been arrested from those who had not – linking back to the question posed for the study of why do some Beneficiaries offend when receiving support, whilst others do not?

There were four main strands to the statistical analysis:

1. Demographics of the sample group as a whole
2. Demographic differences between arrested and non arrested group
3. Number and types of offences
4. NDT (Chaos Index) and Outcomes Star data

Sample selection

The sample of Beneficiaries for this section of the study was limited to people supported by Newcastle Gateshead, Nottingham, and West Yorkshire Fulfilling Lives Programmes for most of 2019 which we defined as meeting the following criteria:



Registered on one of the three Programmes for at least 9 months of 2019 (274 days or more)

OR



Registered for less than 274 days but the remainder of 2019 was spent in custody

This resulted in a sample group of 181 beneficiaries comprising the following:

Fulfilling Lives Newcastle Gateshead	39
West Yorkshire Finding Independence	63
Opportunity Nottingham	79
TOTAL SAMPLE	181

1.1 Demographics of the sample group as a whole

Gender

63% of the sample group were male and 37% female.

This is representative of overall Fulfilling Lives data which shows 63% male and 35% female¹.

Age

AGE (COUNT)	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	AGE (%)	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
20 to 29	26	18	5	20 to 29	14%	18%	7%
30 to 39	48	26	22	30 to 39	27%	23%	33%
40 to 49	67	36	31	40 to 49	37%	32%	46%
50 to 59	35	26	9	50 to 59	19%	23%	13%
60 and over	5	5	0	60 and over	3%	4%	0%
TOTAL	181	114	67	TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Table 1: age and gender of sample group (count and %)

¹ Fulfilling Lives Quarter 1 2021 Final Data (<https://public.tableau.com/app/profile/cfe2218/viz/FulfillingLives2021Q1-FINALV2/1UserGuide>) (2% unknown due to lack of data sharing consent)

Nearly two thirds of beneficiaries (64%) were aged between 30 and 49.

Almost half of female beneficiaries (46%) were aged between 40 and 49.

Ethnic background


	TOTAL	%
Not known	3	2%
White British	159	88%
BAME	19	10%
TOTAL	181	100%

Table 2: ethnicity of sample group (count and %)

88% of the sample group were White British; only 10% were recorded as BAME. This profile differs from the Fulfilling Lives programme as a whole with 79% of Beneficiaries recorded as White British.

Disabilities


	TOTAL	%
Disability	93	51%
No Disability	36	20%
Not known	52	29%
TOTAL	181	100%

Table 3: disabilities – sample group (count and %)

Just under half (41%) of the sample group were recorded as having a disability (including long term limiting conditions). This is slightly higher than for Fulfilling Lives programme Beneficiaries as a whole, where 37% were recorded as having a disability.

1.2 Demographic differences between arrested and non arrested group

Demographics of arrested sub sample group

Of the 181 Beneficiaries identified for the sample, 45 (25%) were recorded as having been arrested at least once in the case notes in 2019. The demographics of this group is set out in tables 5 to 8.

Arrested group by gender

(COUNT)	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	(%)	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
Arrested	45	26	19	Arrested	25%	23%	28%
Not arrested	136	88	48	Not arrested	75%	77%	72%
TOTAL	181	114	67	TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Table 4: arrested group by gender (count and %)

Of the 45 in the sample who had been arrested, 26 were men and 19 were women.

In comparison to the overall group, 28% of female Beneficiaries were arrested, slightly higher than male Beneficiaries (23%).

Arrested group by age

(COUNT)	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	(%)	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
20 to 29	9	8	1	20 to 29	20%	31%	5%
30 to 39	18	9	9	30 to 39	40%	35%	47%
40 to 49	12	4	8	40 to 49	27%	15%	42%
50 to 59	5	4	1	50 to 59	11%	15%	5%
60 and over	1	1	0	60 and over	2%	4%	0%
TOTAL	45	26	19	TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Table 5: arrested group by age (count and %)

Beneficiaries in the arrested group tended to be younger overall than those who were not arrested. When the data was broken down by gender, this was more evident among male Beneficiaries; nearly two thirds (66%) of male Beneficiaries who were arrested were aged 20-39.

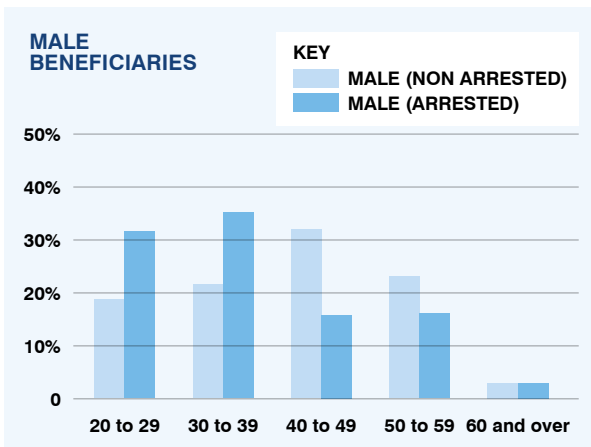


Figure 1: Male Beneficiaries

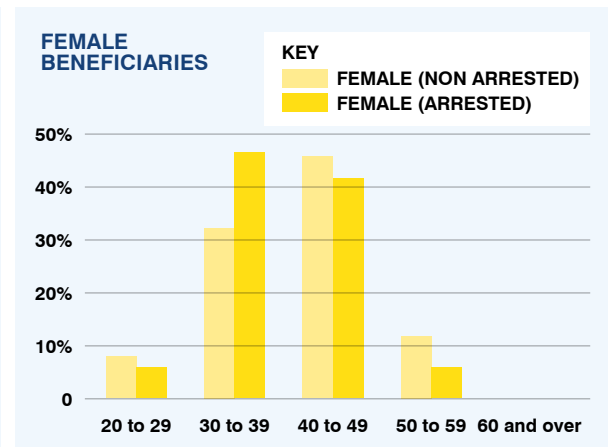


Figure 2: Female Beneficiaries

NB. Caution needs to be applied to drawing too much from age breakdown given the arrested group sample size is relatively small especially for women.

Arrested group by ethnic background

(COUNT)	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	(%)	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
Not known	0	0	0	Not known	0%	0%	0%
White	42	25	17	White	93%	96%*	89%*
BAME	3	1	2	BAME	7%	4%	11%
TOTAL	45	26	19	TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Table 6: arrested by ethnicity (count and %)

* refers to the % of white female arrested out of all female arrested (similarly for white male etc)

Only three people in the arrested group were recorded as BAME, one male and two female.

Offender by disability

(COUNT)	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	(%)	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
Disability	26	17	9	Disability	58%	65%	47%
No Disability	9	5	4	No Disability	20%	19%	21%
Not known	10	4	6	Not known	22%	15%	32%
TOTAL	45	26	19	TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Table 7: arrested by disability (count and %)

Overall, 58% of the arrested group were recorded as having a disability. This is higher than for the sample overall and significantly higher than the Fulfilling Lives Programme as a whole where 37% of Beneficiaries were recorded as having a disability.

Nearly two thirds (65%) of men who were arrested were recorded as having a disability.

1.3 Number and type of arrests

Having considered the demographic profile of the sample group who were arrested, we then looked at the number of arrests and what type of offences the arrests were for. Altogether 123 arrests were recorded amongst the 45 Beneficiaries in the arrested group. 87 offences by males and 36 by females. This equates to an average of 2.8 per person, with men averaging 3.4 arrests and women 1.9.

Total arrests

	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
Total arrests (count)	123	87	36
Total arrests (%)	100%	71%	29%
Mean number of arrests	2.8	3.4	1.9
Max arrests by one person	12	12	5

Table 8: total possible offences by gender

The data showed that within the group of 45, there was a small group who appear to be more prolific, accounting for half of all the arrests. 85% held a case note record of between one and four arrests; 11% had between five and eight records of arrests and 4% were noted as having committed between eight and twelve offences during 2019 as the graph below shows.

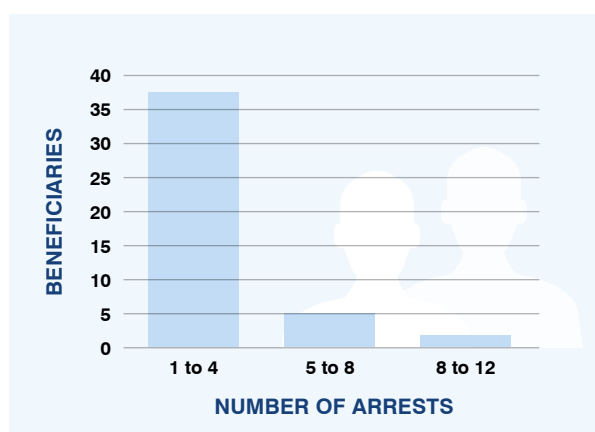


Table 9: Number of recorded arrests (N=45)

Types of offences

The graph below shows the most common types of offence Beneficiaries were arrested for.

The highest number was for failures to meet legal obligations such as probation appointments, missing curfew and breaching of conditions. This type of offence appeared to be more common for female Beneficiaries. The second most common type of offence was theft, and this was the case for both males and females. Anti-social behaviour, assault and carrying an offensive weapon were all more common amongst men.

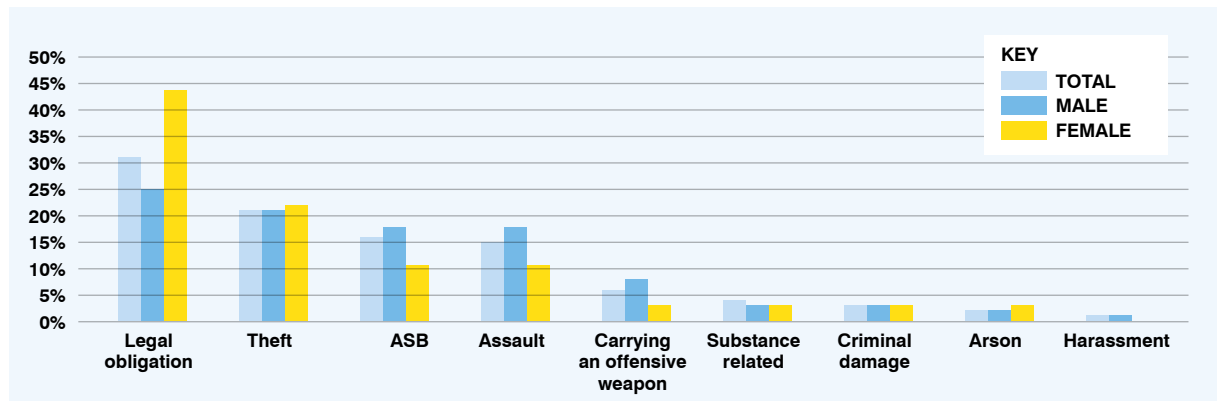


Figure 3: Types of offences

1.4 NDT (Chaos Index) and Outcomes Star data

The New Directions Team assessment (NDT - formerly the Chaos Index) is a tool for assessing Beneficiary need. It focuses on behaviour across a range of areas to build up a holistic picture of need rather than the traditional demonstration of serious need in a specific area only (for example, mental health). It also explicitly measures involvement with other services, which is not routinely used as a measure of service eligibility otherwise. The result is an index which identifies chaotic people with multiple needs who, despite being ineligible for a range of services, require targeted support (Moreton et al, 2016).

Projects use the NDT as part of reporting for the Fulfilling Lives Programme and in some cases to measure change locally. A reading is generally taken every six months and the lower the score the less the level of need, so the aim of successful engagement is for scores to reduce.

NDT changes for Arrested and Not Arrested Beneficiaries

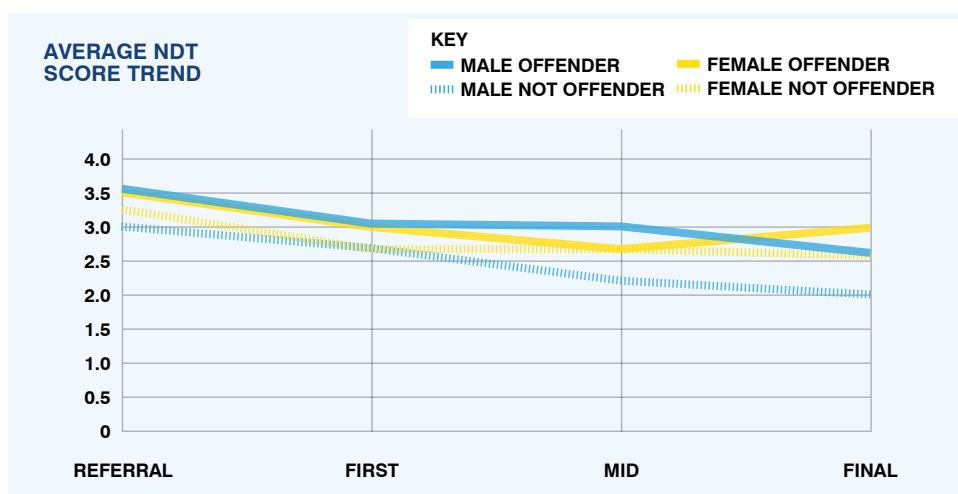


Figure 4: Average NDT score trend

The graph above shows the change in NDT scores from referral to most recent score for males and females and distinguished between those who were arrested and those who were not arrested. The scores for both men and women who were not arrested improved more than those who were

arrested. What is really striking though, is that females who were arrested show only a 14.3% improvement in NDT scores whilst men who were arrested showed a larger 25.7% reduction.

Most recent NDT scores – Arrested and Not Arrested Beneficiaries

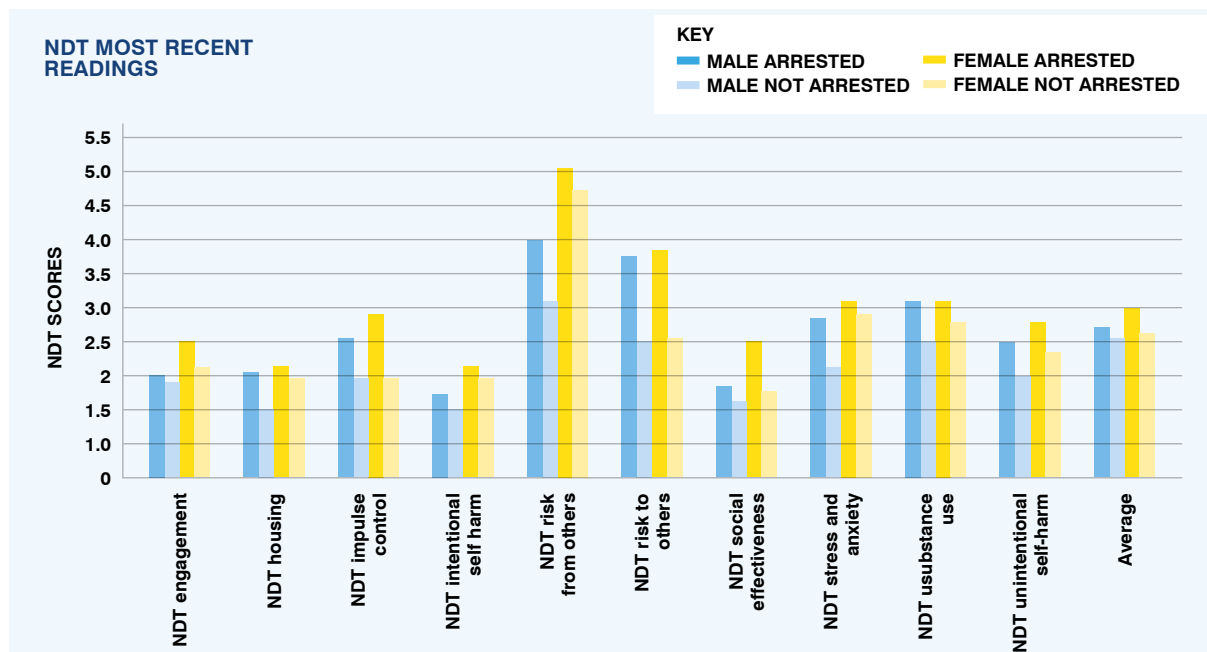


Figure 5: NDT most recent readings

The graph above shows most recent NDT readings across all ten domains for males and females in the sample group and showing differences between the group who were arrested and the group who were not. Note that “risk from others” and “risk to others” score between zero to eight - all other domains score between zero to four. The graph shows both men and women who have been arrested have higher scores across all domains. It also shows that women who have been arrested have higher scores than men who have been arrested across all domains apart from substance use, where females have the same score as males. The biggest single domain where there is a difference in scores between arrested and non-arrested Beneficiaries (both men and women) is impulse control. In relation to the NDT assessment this means the arrested group scoring at a level where impulsive acts, outbursts or aggressive behaviour occurs fairly often, even though they will have been engaging with the respective Fulfilling Lives projects for some time. Additionally, it is worth noting there is a larger difference between women who were arrested and those not arrested regarding social effectiveness. This refers to lower levels of social skills and lower engagement in “give and take” social conversation and response to social cue².

It can therefore be concluded for the sample group at least, that Beneficiaries who are arrested have higher levels of need across all levels of domains as measured by the NDT and this is especially the case for women.

Homelessness Outcomes Star

The Homelessness Outcomes Star (HOS) is also completed for Fulfilling Lives Beneficiaries. It is a widely used tool in homelessness services³. It covers ten key outcome areas:

1. Motivation and taking responsibility
2. Self-care and living skills
3. Managing money and personal administration
4. Social networks and relationships
5. Drug and alcohol misuse
6. Physical health

² NDT Assessment tool.

³ <https://www.outcomesstar.org.uk/using-the-star/see-the-stars/homelessness-star/>

7. Emotional and mental health
8. Meaningful use of time
9. Managing tenancy and accommodation
10. Offending

The underlying model of change for the Homelessness Star follows the core Outcomes Star Journey of Change:

1. Stuck
2. Accepting help
3. Believing
4. Learning
5. Self-reliance

It is generally completed every six months. The HOS is more strengths-based than the NDT and is more likely to be completed with direct Beneficiary input. The HOS scores out of ten and the aim is to move from a lower score to a higher score. It can therefore, like the NDT, be used to track change over time. The graph below shows a similar story to the NDT, that those who have been arrested make less progress than those who were not arrested, and this is particularly the case for women.

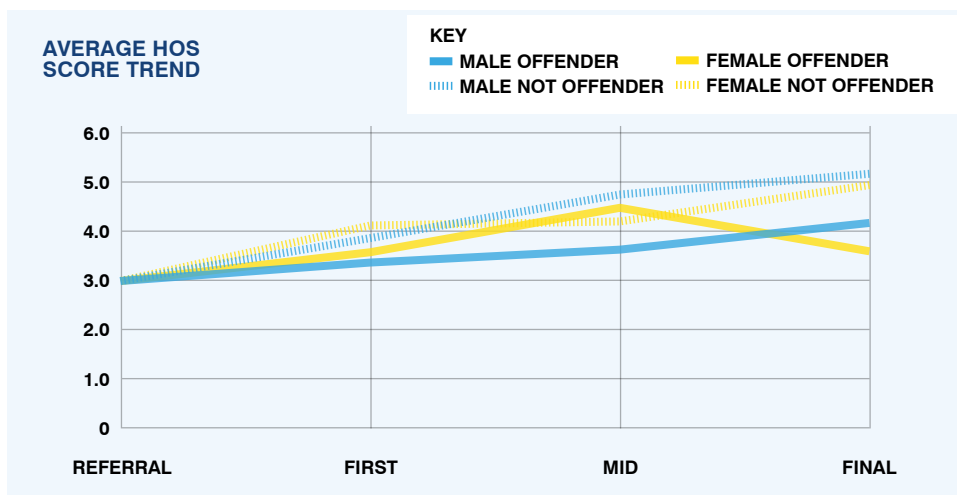


Figure 6: Average HOS score trend

The following graphs show analysis for the ten separate HOS domains and shows a similar trajectory for all four groups in most cases, apart from money management and social networks, where men and women who have been arrested show the same lack of progress. One other notable point is that unlike men, women make no progress at all in relation to reducing offending and self-care and living skills.

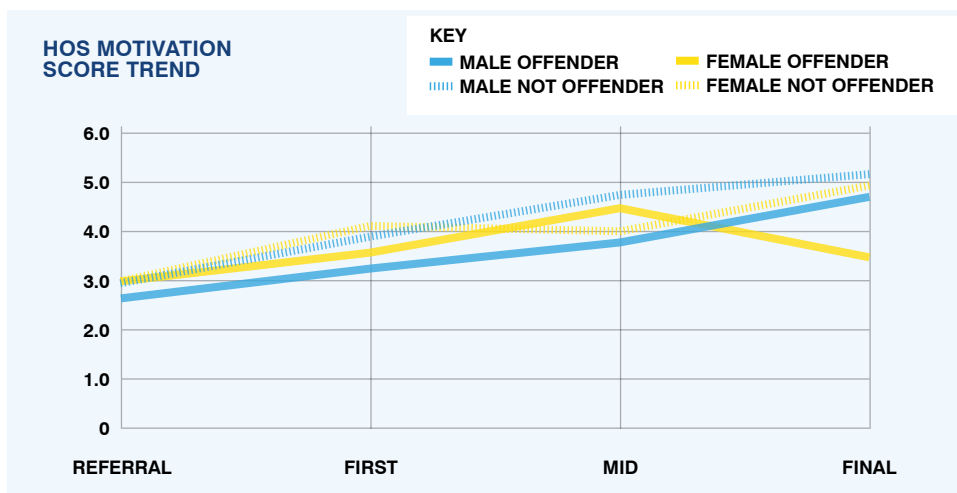


Figure 7: HOS motivation score trend

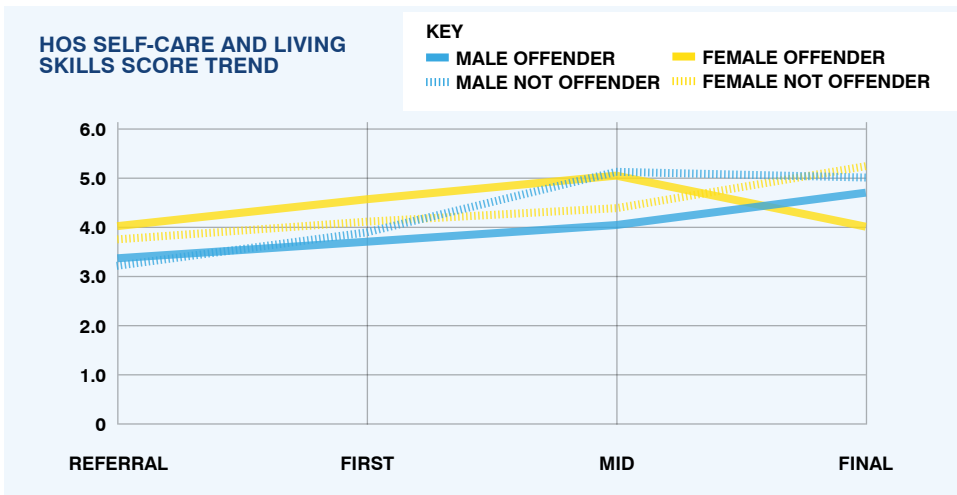


Figure 8: HOS self-care and living skills score trend

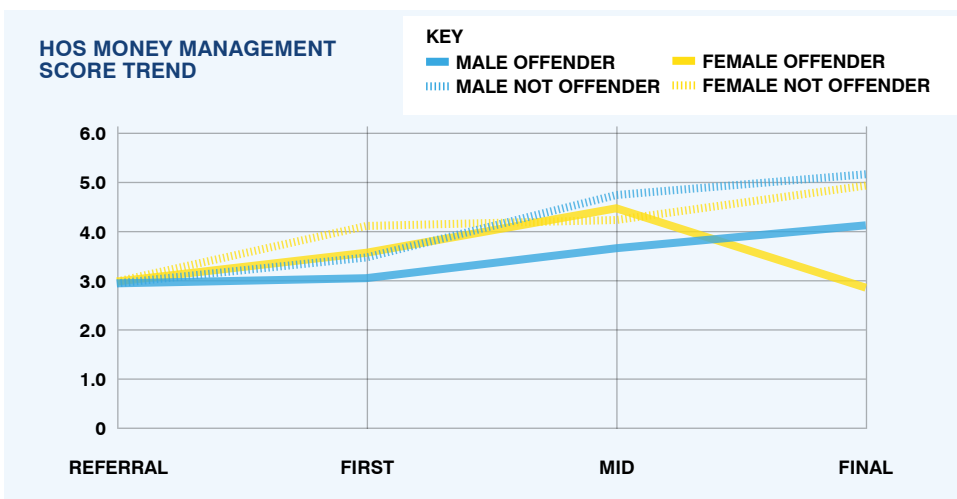


Figure 9: HOS money management score trend

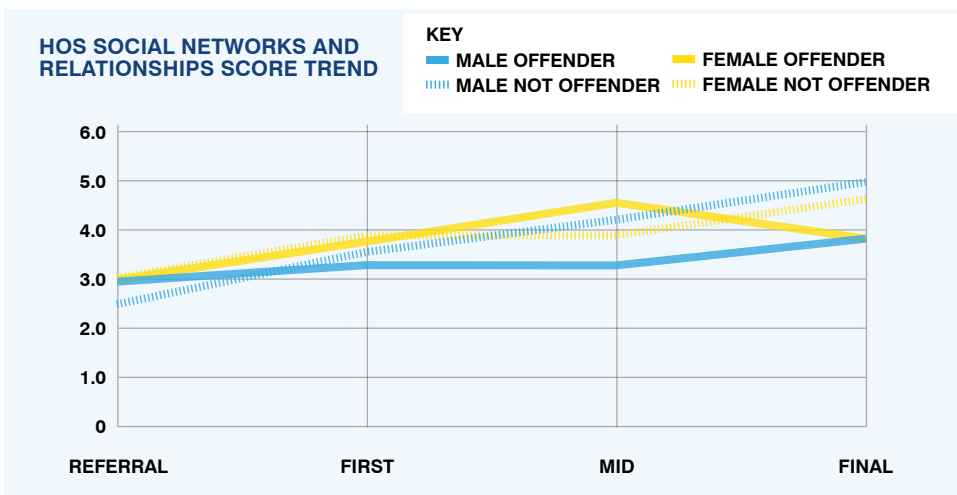


Figure 10: HOS social networks and relationships score trend

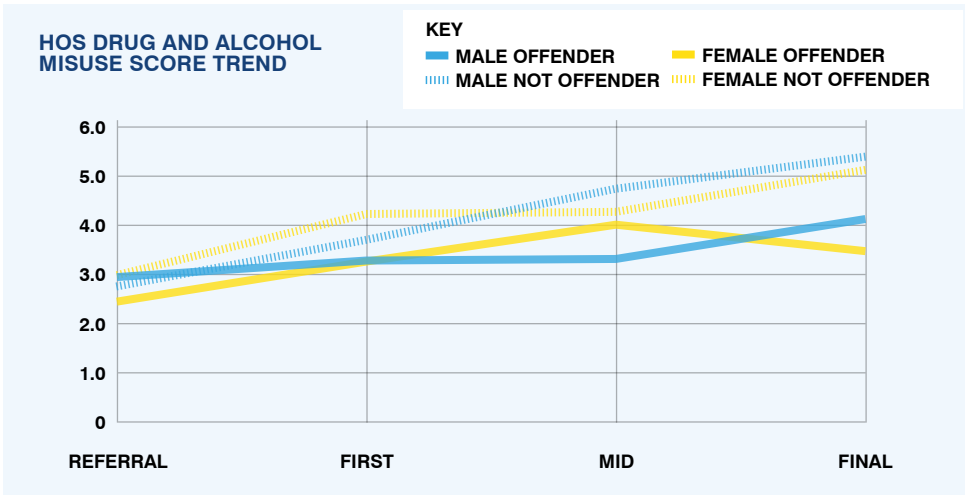


Figure 11: HOS drug and alcohol misuse score trend

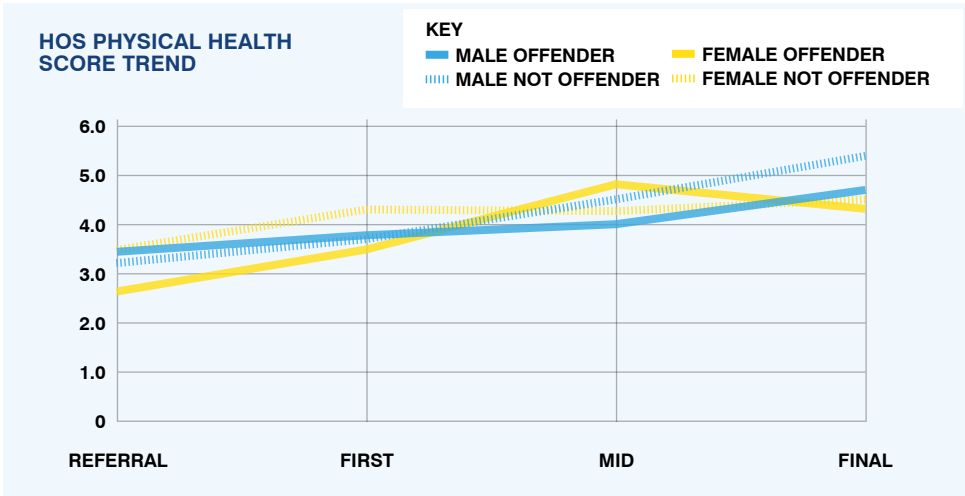


Figure 12: HOS physical health score trend

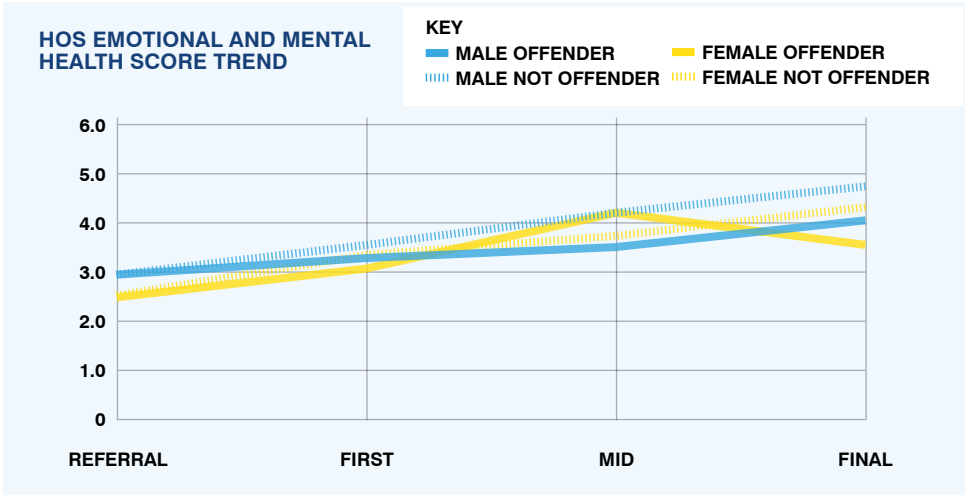


Figure 13: HOS emotional and mental health score trend

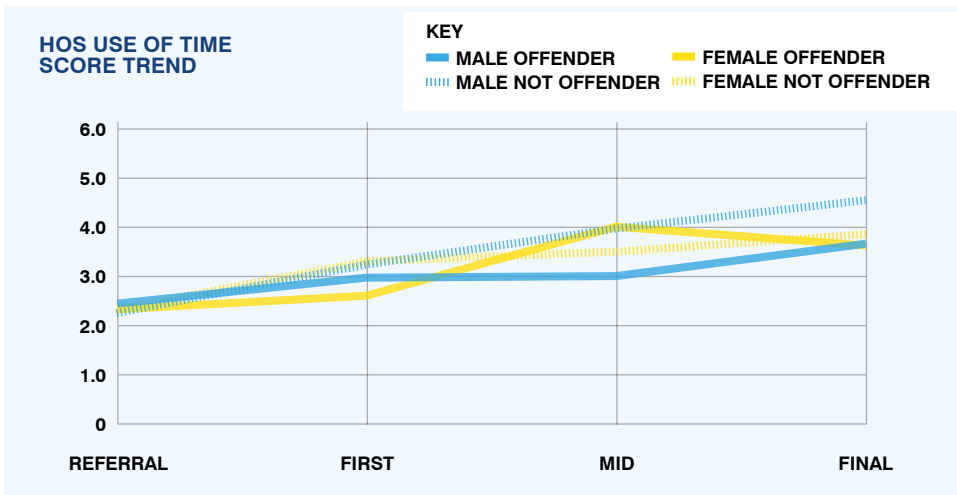


Figure 14: HOS use of time score trend

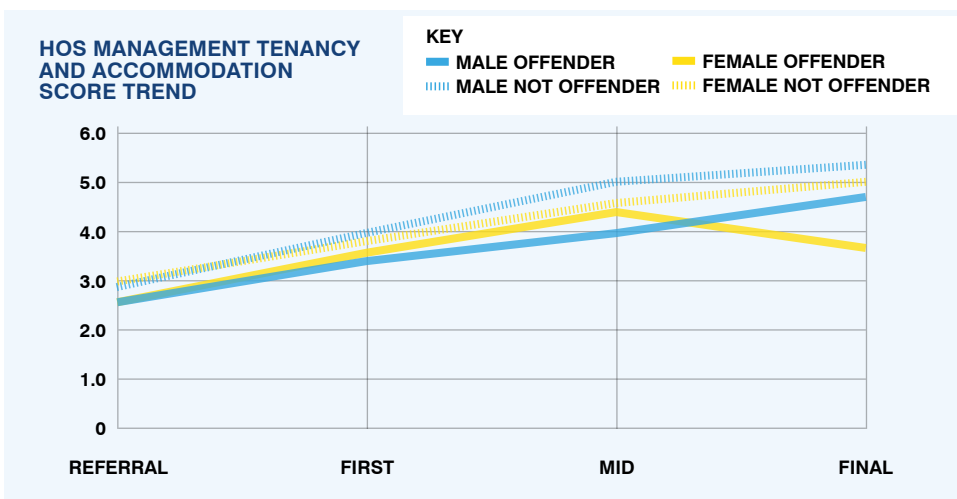


Figure 15: HOS management tenancy and accommodation score trend

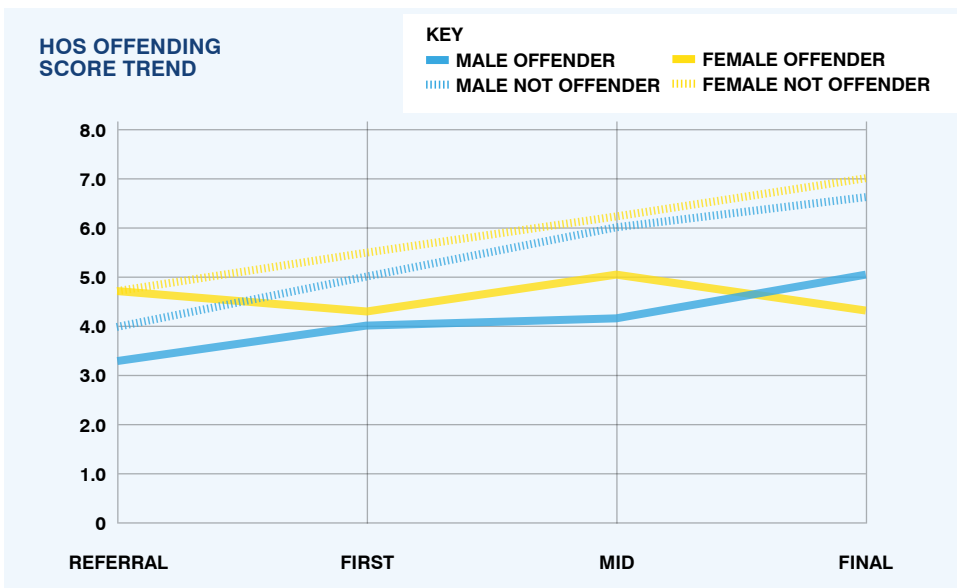


Figure 16: HOS offending score trend



2 Why Beneficiaries are arrested when on the Fulfilling Lives Programme – twelve case studies

Methodology

In the previous section Beneficiaries who were arrested at least once whilst on the programme were compared with those who were not arrested, by using quantitative data. The data showed that those who were arrested made less progress in relation to their support journey compared to those who were not arrested. Further, this was particularly the case for women who made even less progress than men on average. It also showed the main types of offences Beneficiaries were arrested for. What this data was unable to show however, was what the reasons for these arrests were. Particularly, what else might be occurring in Beneficiaries lives in the period before they are arrested that might act as a particular “trigger” for an arrest or provide a wider, background explanation.

For the second part of the study a “deep dive” was conducted into the case notes for twelve Beneficiaries in the arrested sub sample group, this group were all from the Opportunity Nottingham project. The focus was to concentrate closely on the three month period prior to the arrest, although significant events that occurred before this were also included where a connection was found to the arrest.

Alongside the deep dive, a literature review was also conducted. The aim was to see if the themes that were observed in the deep dive were also found in wider literature. Therefore, reference is made throughout this section to relevant studies that provide wider understanding of the issues raised.

From this analysis a number of key themes were identified, and these are discussed below. The narrative has been divided by these themes, but often these are interconnected, and the events described could often fit under different categories.

Substance Use

The narrative below does not include a specific section about substance use. Its significance should however be stressed as it is pervasive throughout, and so features in all of the themes described. Considering all of the instances described, the main issues where substance use plays a role in subsequent arrests are:

- Loss of accommodation. This can be connected to conditionality and not being able to meet requirements for sobriety in order to access or retain accommodation. Or less formally, giving up or not staying in accommodation to be closer to substance use – street drugs or social networks where substance use is pervasive.
- Obtaining money or goods unlawfully, such as theft, in order to raise income to purchase substances.
- Being provided with substances by a perpetrator as a part of a controlling and abusive relationship.
- Being part of a social group where substance taking is prevalent or reconnecting with such a group perhaps by a chance encounter or deliberate reconnecting due to loneliness and isolation.
- Using substances as a “coping mechanism” to provide relief from both mental and physical health issues.

Unsuitable accommodation and rough sleeping

For all 12 case studies, the three month period before being arrested showed that the Beneficiaries were in unsuitable accommodation during this period. This was mainly due to the vulnerability of the Beneficiaries. The accommodation helped in some cases for Beneficiaries to be perpetrators. However, we found they were often also victims of crime, as the accommodation made them more vulnerable to theft and assault.

For some Beneficiaries, their accommodation was unsafe and they wanted to get away from the environment. For example, Jay was living in a shared property, where he was staying with his partner and an additional flatmate. The flatmate would often harass Jay and sexually assaulted his partner. In addition to this, Jay had mobility issues which meant that he was sleeping in the living room, where he was left vulnerable due to the lack of having any privacy or a place to escape to. The continued harassment from his flatmate likely contributed to Jay assaulting his flatmate, so resulting in his arrest.

Similarly, Liam was also very vulnerable within shared accommodation as he was often seen as a bullying target whilst housed within hostel accommodation. This made him increasingly agitated and he would get arrested to avoid rough sleeping.

Furthermore, during periods of rough sleeping, the Beneficiaries often found themselves being victims of assault. Morgan often tried to rough sleep where there were CCTV cameras, so that he felt somewhat safe. For those who were rough sleeping, the constant fear of assault also has an impact on their mental health, which is echoed by research on rough sleeping (Sanders and Albanese, 2016). However, issues were also seen within private tenancies. For instance, Mel was often intimidated by her neighbours and was living in a domestically abusive relationship where she was both a perpetrator and victim. In Mel’s offences, they were in relation to domestic abuse and making threats towards her neighbours. The continued harassment within unsuitable accommodation points to some Beneficiaries feeling the need to react in aggressive ways in order to protect themselves from being victims.

There were some cases where the accommodation was unsuitable, however this was not due to harassment. Out of three instances Angelina had one instance where she was placed in a Housing First property, however she did not stay in the property, instead she sought to stay with friends. She stated that she felt isolated from friends in the property and the house was not homely due to there being no electricity or gas.

However, on the other two occasions when arrested, Angelina was sofa surfing linked to reasons of increased accessibility to illicit substances. This may imply that the accommodation does not have much influence on her offending; her substance misuse plays a key role. In relation to Alan, he was set to lose his accommodation if he did not attend a detox, however whilst receiving the detox he became hostile and lost his accommodation. For Alan, the condition of needing to be sober in order to stay in his accommodation was a condition which he could not meet, thus impacting his behaviour.

Financial issues

There are two key ways in which finances impact a Beneficiary. One is the impact of leaving prison and the other is issues with budgeting and instating benefits. The issues surrounding finances have an impact on the method Beneficiaries use to get money, some may wait until benefits are instated whilst others reverted back to crime.

Studies have shown that leaving prison can interrupt the progress that people make and can also cause issues with finances (Bowpitt et al. 2019). This can lead people into debt and the process for accessing benefits can appear to be a long process for some Beneficiaries. A common issue that was observed from the case studies is that it was difficult for Beneficiaries to attend their appointments to arrange benefits, often taking numerous attempts to do this successfully. For Angelina, the frequency of her arrests and time in custody meant that she was often without benefits. Upon prison release, she would often sofa surf and engage in sex work in order to get money for her substance misuse. This made it hard for services to try and engage with her to sort out her benefits, furthermore as she was reliant upon substances, sex working seemed like a quicker and viable way to access drugs quickly.

The relationship with finances is a complicated one. Due to the “chaos” that some of the Beneficiaries can find themselves in, it can be difficult for Beneficiaries to manage their finances. Alan and Morgan’s mental health is often very poor which tends to lead to the mismanagement or lack of funds, whilst three Beneficiaries found themselves turning to illegal activities to fund their lifestyles. On the other hand, they can also be vulnerable and find themselves victims of financial crimes. For example, Mel was often taken advantage of by her partner who often stole her money and possessions for drugs. In addition to this, she was a victim of a financial scam which led to further debt. Similarly, Lynus was indebted to drug dealers which led to him being assaulted by associates. Overall, the Beneficiaries tended to exhibit unhealthy relationships with money which can lead to offending behaviour or make them more vulnerable to crimes.

Physical health

The analysis showed numerous issues with physical health. The majority of the Beneficiaries had pre-existing physical health conditions, whilst others were often assaulted. In one case, a Beneficiary’s physical health was often impacted by his mental health. Alan believed that he had been banned from the GP practice, therefore he did not change his bandages for months, which increased the risk of his wounds being infected. Furthermore, due to his poor physical health, he was placed under a deprivation of liberty safeguard in the lead up to his arrest. This shows that during this period, Alan was so vulnerable that interventions were put in place due to a life-threatening condition and he was not in a mentally stable place to make informed decisions. In another case study, Mel’s health was impacted by her domestically abusive partner. Mel had a heart condition which was severely impacted by substance misuse. Her partner would often give her drugs which meant that she spent a considerable time in hospital.

Another issue that Beneficiaries faced was with nutrition. Five Beneficiaries had issues with their weight, whilst one Beneficiary struggled with anorexia which was exacerbated by the domestic abuse that she was experiencing. Other Beneficiaries struggled with their weight due to food tending not to be a priority to them or having limited funds. There has been a link between homelessness and poor nutrition which may have an impact in worsening physical health

issues as well as mental health (Seale et al. 2016). Dietary needs are often overlooked; however, lack of nutrition can have a serious impact on people's physical and mental health and in turn behaviour. Overall, the health of the group was generally poor and in some instances a number of Beneficiaries often neglected their physical health, which may have been due to the "chaotic" lives that they are living.

Lack of engagement with services

Another common theme that was found, was that Beneficiaries tended to have lack of engagement leading up to committing crime. The lack of engagement can be linked to the "chaos" that may be surrounding them or the lack of trust they have with services.

Research has shown that domestic abuse perpetrators can be controlling and often force the partner to be isolated (Walby and Towers, 2018). For Mel, the domestic abuse that she was experiencing has been the key driver in her life. It had an impact on all aspects of her life, including engagement with services. The abuse which she suffered isolated her from accessing support, which meant that it was difficult for services to help her address substance misuse issues, her debt and escaping the relationship. Although Angelina was not in a domestically abusive relationship, she experienced isolation due to being lonely within her accommodation. As she felt as though there was a lack of support within her housing, she decided to sofa surf at friends' houses. Consequently, this would lead to her rarely engage with services.

A lack of trust can also develop amongst Beneficiaries towards services. Morgan's mental health was often extremely poor, and he believed that the management team at Opportunity Nottingham were conspiring to kill him, which impacted on his engagement with the service. Lynus was suspicious of his worker due to the illegal activities that he was involved in. Therefore, engagement was poor and often sporadic. However, for two Beneficiaries whose engagement was often poor, the PDC managed to have some contact with them through food parcels. As the group often found it difficult to access food, they would seek food support from their worker which helped to slightly improve their engagement.

Social influence:

One commonality between most of the case studies was the presence of negative social influences in the three-month period leading up to an offence. Frequently this was friends or acquaintances, however it was also often family. Negative social influences may be individuals which encourage or motivate the Beneficiary into behaviours or actions that could be criminal, breaching of license, worsen mental health or increase substance use or dependency.

For many case studies, the negative social influences were in relation to drug use. This was the case for Angelina who acknowledged that her friends and social circle encouraged her to use illicit substances. This was further encouraged by Angelina living with their friends, meaning a constant influence to use substances. Angelina's social influences also encouraged her and her social circle into sex work to afford more drugs for themselves and others. These behaviours encouraged and normalised Angelina into criminal behaviour within the three-month period before their arrests. This was a similar case to Mel, who was regularly abused and forced to consume drugs by their partner. In both case studies, the Beneficiaries were somewhat isolated from most other points of social influence and were therefore consistently surrounded by unhealthy relationships and negative models of behaviour.

Some Beneficiaries have negative social influences which may encourage anti-social behaviour. Lynus experienced physical confrontation with people and due to this wished to escape the area, however this was not possible for him at the time. Shortly after this period of physical confrontation Lynus offended and was taken back to prison. Similarly, both Mel and Jay had experiences of violence and aggression within their direct social circle. Mel had many verbal confrontations with their neighbour and expressed a wish to run away in order to escape their neighbour. For this period Mel was surrounded by aggressive and confrontational social influences from their partner

and their neighbour. In Jay's case study, he too was involved in arguments in their social circle and with their daughter, again leading to a normalisation of confrontation and aggression. When surrounded by these negative social influences, a wish to escape or a wish to protect themselves appears to lead to criminal behaviour in order to resolve their problems. Furthermore, some Beneficiaries themselves admitted that their social circle were the motivating factor in substance use.

Loss of friends or family:

Another frequent theme throughout the Beneficiaries case studies is the experience of loss of friends or family in the period before an arrest occurs. This may be due to a significant relationship breakdown, or the death of someone to which the Beneficiary was close. Occasionally after the loss of family or friends, Beneficiaries turned to substance use as a coping mechanism to cope with the grief. This type of drug use might be more extreme if the person who has died or departed is a member of the Beneficiary's support group, as for Jay who lost his brother and Morgan who lost his partner. When experiencing this loss, the Beneficiary may lose clarity of thought which could lead to some degree of criminal behaviour.

Historical abandonment issues may arise when a family relationship breaks down in a Beneficiary's life, as was the case with Lynus. This could trigger memories of abandonment from a younger age, especially if it is the same individual both times. Furthermore, the same trauma may be experienced again, leading to an individual behaving illegally in order to deal with the events. Often during these periods drug consumption is increased as a way to "self-medicate" the consequences of the event, which typically further worsens mental health as well as increasing the risk of criminal behaviour (Garland, Pettus-Davis & Howard, 2013). Similarly, having someone close die may remind Beneficiaries of previous historic incidents where they were a witness to someone dying or murder. Alan had a similar experience witnessing two murders and living in fear of repercussion as well as the trauma caused by the initial event. Being reminded of these events can re-traumatise and following this a decline in behaviour and mental health is likely, even more so than for the first traumatising event that a Beneficiary has experienced (Graham-Kevan et al., 2015).

“ Historical abandonment issues may arise when a family relationship breaks down. ”

Some Beneficiaries may also not have properly developed the ability to cope with grief at a younger age or may not be in an appropriate mental state to deal with death or loss which could lead to further difficulties in managing their grief. This may particularly be the case if they are using substances, as some research such as Furr, Johnson and Goodall (2015) discovered - that people who actively drink are "involved in a perpetual state of grief". It appears to be common for an individual to cope with loss/ death either directly with criminal behaviour, or via methods which put them at risk of becoming offenders.

Mental Health and Suicidal Ideation:

A frequent occurrence within the case studies is the mention of mental ill-health or a sudden down turn in their psychological state. This frequently includes suicidal ideation or a general worsening in their mental health symptoms. Within the months prior to her arrest, Angelina reported that she was feeling consistently low and vulnerable in her current situation. She also expressed fear of dying on the streets. Living within this environment and consistently feeling this way may make an individual engage in reckless behaviour such as consuming drugs, which can also worsen mental health. It could also provoke an individual to be defensive and they could injure themselves or others in the process. One example of this is Morgan, who believed that people were out to kill him, and was

paranoid to be in public. Another similar instance is Mel who did not feel safe in her own home. These beliefs and behaviours may lead Beneficiaries to defend themselves due to the paranoid thoughts, which could lead to a violent or aggressive confrontation as drug consumption has been found to cause lowered impulse control in regard to violence (Nestor, 2002).

Another frequent similarity in case studies is the self-reporting of worsening mental health by Beneficiaries in the months before arrest. Six of the case studies self-reported either a downturn in mental health such as Morgan reporting that he was beginning to hear voices which weren't previously there, or suicidal intention and plans to end their life. Typically, this shows that the Beneficiaries have an accurate idea of their mental health and can report when they are beginning to decline. Frequently the link between drug use and mental health is that of a self-medicating nature, such as Morgan's usage of mamba to stop hearing voices. Research by Asher and Gask (2010) found that people with schizophrenia often view illicit substances as "equivalent to taking psychotropic medication", and often it was reported that street drugs were used to reduce the anxiety which was aroused by hearing voices. A self-reporting of worsening mental health may also contribute to a Beneficiary offending as they may view it as losing progress that they may have been working hard to improve upon. This realisation and subsequent frustration could lead to a Beneficiary making more impulsive decisions or allowing anxiety to control behaviour like in LN's experience.

Domestic abuse:

Being within a domestically abusive relationship is also commonly mentioned in the period running up to an arrest by one case study. Domestic abuse victims can frequently be co-dependant with worsening mental health and drug consumption. This may be used to gain some independence from the reality of the relationship, and for the experience of someone relying on them financially, rather than the victim purely relying on the perpetrator (Gadd et al., 2019). Mel displayed both behaviours within the months before being arrested. She mentioned a desire to escape her partner, and the easiest way may have been through drug consumption or attempted overdose. Mel also reported that her mental health was deteriorating because of the domestic violence, therefore using substances to attempt to improve her own mental health or reduce/ manage the physical pain of being bruised and cut repeatedly.

In this case study, the offending can also be directly related to the domestic abuse as Mel suffered psychological abuse and torment from her partner which angered them and subsequently inspired them into an attempted attack on an individual that they both knew. At another incidence Mel was forced to consume various illegal substances by her partner after a period of sobriety which therefore re-triggered drug dependency and addiction. This also forced her to "slip into her old behaviours" of actively seeking unlawful sources of drugs.

Normalisation of crime:

An overall but not actively present theme in the case studies is the normalisation of crime in the Beneficiaries' lives. Consistently living around other people, partners or family members that are perpetrating domestic abuse, dealing, or consuming drugs or engaging in violent behaviour leads to criminal behaviour having less stigma, or less perceived risk from committing crimes. Research by Di Tella et al. (2019) showed that individuals who are repeatedly exposed to criminal behaviour have a less severe biological reaction to witnessing these actions. One Beneficiary, Lynus was frequently exposed to violent interactions with others, and similarly had a history of violent behaviours and interactions. This led to Police or probation being involved regularly. Similarly, as Mel had frequently been threatened with serious assault or murder, asking her partner to kill their neighbour may not have felt as significant as the decision was. This was possibly due to serious crimes feeling normalised. Another Beneficiary had a history involved in drug dealing and participating in fights, and now more easily resorts to violence or fighting with other homeless individuals as this appears a normalised response.

3 Dual labelling: victim, offender, or both

Although this report is primarily about Beneficiaries who are arrested for allegedly committing offences themselves, one important issue that is clear from the preceding section is the extent to which they are also often victims of offending behaviour by others. In the narrative about accommodation and rough sleeping for example there are four separate references to Beneficiaries who were arrested also being a victim of crime:

- *The flatmate would often harass Jay and sexually assaulted his partner. In addition to this, Jay had mobility issues which meant that he was sleeping in the living room, where he was left vulnerable due to the lack of having any privacy or a place to escape to.*
- *Similarly, Liam was also very vulnerable within shared accommodation as he was often seen as a target for bullies.*
- *Furthermore, during periods of rough sleeping, the Beneficiaries in the “deep dive” group often found themselves victims of assault.*
- *The continued harassment within unsuitable accommodation points to some Beneficiaries feeling the need to react in aggressive ways in order to protect themselves from being victims.*

This duality of being both a victim and perpetrator is significant as an explanatory factor for offending, in that if you are surrounded by offending, it can in some circumstances be normalised. It is also significant in relation to how crime is labelled by wider society at large, perhaps most obviously the media. That is, an individual is labelled either a victim or a perpetrator. Both are perceived very differently. Whilst there is clearly a need to do this in relation to an individual crime, more widely in relation to multiple disadvantage, this doesn't reflect the reality of people's lives and can be unhelpful. On occasions when Beneficiaries have been reported in the media because of their offending, there is no mention of the offending that occurred against the Beneficiaries or the wider disadvantages they have had to face. Further investigation of the deep dive analysis in the previous section catches some of this duality, as do conversations with any of the Fulfilling Lives Navigators or Personal Coordinators, which will yield anecdotal evidence. A further example is the evidence in the literature and the deep dive into case notes to indicate that people experiencing multiple disadvantage do not report all crimes committed against them⁴.

One of the aims of this study, however, was to quantify some of the evidence of this duality, so as to understand its impact somewhat better. To do this, possible offences against Beneficiaries in the arrested subsample were analysed. A group of 19 Beneficiaries within the sample of 45 where quantifiable data was available was found. Of course, other Beneficiaries with the subsample of 45 group may have been victims of offences during the study period, but this was not investigated.

The table below shows the 19 Beneficiaries in this dual “victim offender” group. Amongst this group, 46 reports of offences against the Beneficiary were found, which equates to more than two per Beneficiary. There were 22 occurrences of assaults (including sexual assault and rape) and 18 occurrences of theft within the dual victim-offender group. It is notable therefore that these two types of offences made up 90% of recorded instances of offences against Beneficiaries.

“...people experiencing multiple disadvantage do not report all crimes committed against them.”

⁴ See for example: https://www.crisis.org.uk/media/20502/crisis_its_no_life_at_all2016.pdf
<https://www.crimeandjustice.org.uk/sites/crimeandjustice.org.uk/files/09627250008552877.pdf>
[https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lanpub/article/PIIS2468-2667\(20\)30075-X/fulltext](https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lanpub/article/PIIS2468-2667(20)30075-X/fulltext)


	BENEFICIARIES	% OF GROUP	OCCURRENCES	PROPORTION OF ALL OFFENCES
Assault	14	74%	22	48%
Theft	8	42%	18	39%
ASB	3	16%	3	7%
Criminal Damage	1	5%	1	2%
Financial Exploitation	1	5%	1	2%

Table 10: Main types of offence Beneficiaries were victims of

The table below shows the 19 Beneficiaries in the “victim-offender” subgroup and both the number of offences committed against Beneficiaries alongside the number of offences they were arrested for.

GENDER	AGE	VICTIM SUMMARY	OFFENDER SUMMARY
Male	50 to 59	Various x1, Assault x2, ASB x1, Theft x1	Legal Obligation x2, Theft x1, Assault x2
Male	40 to 49	Assault x1	Legal Obligation x1, Carrying an Offensive Weapon x1
Male	40 to 49	Assault x1	Carrying an Offensive Weapon x1
Male	20 to 29	Assault x1, Financial exploitation x1	ASB x2, Assault x1
Female	30 to 39	Assault x1	ASB x1, Carrying an Offensive Weapon x1, Criminal Damage x1
Male	20 to 29	Assault x1	Assault x2, Carrying an Offensive Weapon x1
Male	20 to 29	Theft x1	Legal Obligation x2, Theft x2, Carrying an Offensive Weapon x1
Male	40 to 49	ASB x1	Legal Obligation x1, Assault x1, Harassment x1
Male	40 to 49	Assault x1	Criminal Damage x1
Female	30 to 39	Assault x1	Theft x1, ASB x1, Arson x1
Female	30 to 39	Assault x1	ASB x1, Assault x2
Female	40 to 49	Assault x1	Legal Obligation x1, Theft x1
Male	40 to 49	ASB x1	Assault x1
Male	30 to 39	Theft x1	Assault x1
Male	40 to 49	Theft x1	Legal Obligation x2
Female	40 to 49	Assault x4, Theft x6	Assault x2
Female	30 to 39	Assault x3, Theft x3	Legal Obligation x1, Theft x1, ASB x1, Substance Related x1
Male	20 to 29	Assault x1, Theft x3	Legal Obligation x4, Theft x1, ASB x2, Assault x3
Male	20 to 29	Assault x3, Theft x2	Legal Obligation x2, Theft x1, Substance Related x1

Table 11: Arrests and victims of possible offences for each Beneficiary in subsample



“ Beneficiaries have been victims of a wide range of offences. ”

Although this represents only 21 Beneficiaries (each row in the table represents an individual Beneficiary), what is notable is that although all have allegedly committed offences, a substantive proportion have had much more serious offences committed against them. We also know that there is some under-reporting of crimes by victims, especially among this cohort. However, even when they are victims of crime, Beneficiaries can feel criminalised in their contact with the criminal justice system and respond negatively to the support available.

WY-FI noted during its delivery phase that a high proportion of Beneficiaries have been victims of a wide range of offences. This is in line with the experiences of rough sleepers, that crime “hotspots” are in areas of deprivation and the specific safeguarding requirements for people with physical and cognitive impairments are frequently not in place. Crimes against Beneficiaries include coercion and control, financial abuse, violence, theft, fraud, “cuckooing properties”, sexual assault and rape and false imprisonment. Evidence from a sample of case summaries by WY-FI showed that crimes against Beneficiaries tend to be under-reported, under investigated by the police and under-punished, particularly in relation to women.

This duality of being both victim and offender needs to be better understood, for instance its psychological impact. It also needs to be given more consideration in responses by the network of services in the multiple disadvantage system (see “What is the System?” In the next section). The experience of beneficiaries who feel the “full force of the law” when they fail to comply with orders but who don’t receive the full support of the law when they are a victim of a crime leads to deepened mistrust and a lost opportunity to break the cycle of the “revolving door”.

4 Up against it – how a failed system creates a web from which it is difficult to escape offending

In this report so far, Beneficiaries who have been arrested whilst on the programme have been considered in relation to demographic differences, kinds of offences committed and the circumstances in individual Beneficiaries lives that contribute towards possible offending. Surrounding individuals though, and interacting with them, is the wider “system” in which Beneficiaries actions and the actions of the people with whom they have relationships play out.

What is meant by “the system”?

The system refers to the services that people experiencing multiple disadvantage encounter. Whilst there are a common core of services such as accommodation providers, probation and substance misuse services, the full number of services in “the system” can be upwards of 50. Most services are configured to focus on a single issue or source of disadvantage. This doesn’t reflect the real world for people experiencing multiple disadvantages, who aren’t necessarily compartmentalising each disadvantage in the same way. In fact, these *other* issues actively prevent successfully completing single issue treatment or support programmes or sustaining accommodation. Common examples of this include people with substance misuse issues being refused mental health treatment because of their substance misuse or people with mental health issues being excluded from a homeless service because their mental health related behaviour leads to them “breaking the rules”. Lack of communication between services in the system is also a major problem, it leads to miscommunication and services working at cross purposes and people constantly having to retell their story. It is little wonder that people lose trust in services and that navigators are needed to rebuild this trust and help guide people through this complex and seemingly unhelpful system.

It can be seen that this combined effect the system creates almost acts as a kind of prison on the outside for Beneficiaries. It leads to Beneficiaries being and feeling “trapped”, or feeling like they are on a hamster wheel⁵ from which it is really difficult to escape. The result is that offending or reoffending becomes almost an inevitability from which many cannot escape.

In this section the interacting parts of the system are considered in turn, including how they stack up to give Beneficiaries a much reduced chance of a fulfilled life. In addition, it is known women and people from BAME communities face additional challenges and these are both discussed in this section.

Much of the evidence for this section comes from previous work by WY-FI and a fuller account can be read in their report *Surviving in a Revolving Door: A Study of the Evidence about Offending in WY-FI* (2020).

The system and quality of interactions with services: housing, addiction, re-offending, mental and physical health services, Benefits Agency

The system only exists in the interactions it has with those who must use it. For Beneficiaries, the overwhelming impression is that services expect compliance with their regimes of intervention as the mechanism for offering ongoing support. Even services with teams that undertake outreach work to bring Beneficiaries “into services” have failed to appreciate the precariousness of their lives. Beneficiaries depend on interlaced service provision from a number of providers, which is

⁵ http://www.opportunitynottingham.co.uk/uploadedfiles/documents/49-1579796855-the_hamster_wheel_of_homelessness_final_online.pdf

in itself fragile and often dependent on both the personal relationships between Beneficiaries and individual workers, as well as the working relationships between the workers themselves. The process of initial engagement has to be continued into a process of sustained engagement by services, rather than enforcement by conditionality and compliance. Initial assessments seem to have focussed to a greater extent on the assessment of risk (particularly to others) rather than the assessment of the vulnerability of Beneficiaries. There has almost always been a presumption that the Beneficiary will at all times behave entirely rationally, even if their history suggests otherwise. This has often been compounded by information (where it has been shared) containing outdated or inaccurate assessments. All these things have been found to limit the courses of action open to the Beneficiary, in particular limiting the accommodation they can enter.

Accommodation

Housing and accommodation appears to have been the single biggest challenge facing workers who've supported Beneficiaries with an offending history, and particularly those who've been released from prison. Evidence from WY-FI demonstrates this. WY-FI divided their Beneficiary population into two groups: those who had *little or* no interaction with the Criminal Justice System (CJS) (486, described as "other") and those who had frequent contact with the CJS (229 Beneficiaries, described as CJS 229). A stark difference was found. In the CJS 229 group, 50% of men and 40% of women were evicted at least once during their WY-FI journey, as opposed to only 11% and 12% for men and women respectively in the "other" group.

The qualitative evidence for the WY-FI study – a deep dive into case notes - highlighted the difficulties of obtaining and sustaining accommodation and the consequences of being vulnerably housed or street homeless increase the likelihood of contact with the CJS. Likewise, the release of Beneficiaries with "no fixed abode" (NFA), to insecure housing or to necessary but inappropriate approved premises is identified as an obstacle to making progress on their journey.

Whilst the link with having no accommodation is clearly well identified (Bowpitt et al, 2019). WY-FI's deep dive into case notes found many other systemic issues relating to accommodation that in turn link to offending:

- Past peer groups finding the address and exploiting the Beneficiary to be able to use substances in their home.
- Failing to attend appointments due to anxiety and chaos.
- Not having a bank account for housing benefit.
- Being financially exploited.
- Feeling unsafe and anxious in the home due to trauma.
- Prisons failing to provide the right information and documents upon release.
- Anti-social behaviour due to substance misuse issues.
- Quality of the accommodation and relationships with landlords.

In common with other forms of shared and temporary accommodation, Beneficiaries find living with other people extremely personally challenging, particularly when this takes place in an "institutional" setting with rules and restrictions. Although many of these settings are designated as "supported housing", it's also apparent that there is either insufficient capacity or expertise amongst the staff teams to provide support in environments where there is often conflict between vulnerable people and "dominant" peers. Whilst there are clearly financial efficiencies to delivering a service to people with similar needs in one place (accommodation or otherwise), it's clearly not effective when people are subsequently excluded or abandon the service.

Some Beneficiaries see "approved" or supported accommodation as an extension of prison or their sentence (which it technically is in some circumstances). In the WY-FI case notes it's clear that a lot of time and effort is spent on pursuing accommodation for this group.

“...it is estimated that as many as 90% of prisoners have some form of mental health problem, personality disorder, or substance misuse problem.”



A history of failed tenancies as well as correct and incorrect diagnoses and risk factors follow individuals round the system. With each new application for accommodation, Beneficiaries' options reduce, restrictions tighten, and the risks of failure are higher. It's unsurprising that a number of Beneficiaries abandon tenancies to sleep rough or sofa surf. In the majority of cases WY-FI looked at, this appears to be because of actual or perceived discrimination by staff and/or peers in the property. It's not unusual for a Beneficiary to have been sanctioned by an accommodation provider because of the actions of others, such as “cuckooing” a property for the purposes of taking or supplying drugs, financial control or simply staying off the streets.

Mental health

Evidence from the Fulfilling Lives programme shows the high overlap between offending and mental health (Reeve et al. 2018). Other evidence supports this too overlap too. A report by the Centre for Mental Health commissioned by the Department of Health and Ministry of Justice states (Durcan, 2016) that it is estimated that as many as 90% of prisoners have some form of mental health problem, personality disorder, or substance misuse problem.

Accessing support with mental health however remains challenging. WY-FI like other Fulfilling lives projects found an extremely high level of co-occurring substance use and mental ill health needs. WY-FI found only 40% of Beneficiaries accessed at least one form of mental health service – that's less than half the people that needed to. 19% accessed a single service, 12% accessed two services, 8% accessed three and 3% accessed all four.

WY-FI's deep dive into case notes shows the impact of how lack of support with mental ill health acts as a barrier to accessing other parts of the system. For all the Beneficiaries, mental ill health was a significant barrier to moving out of chaos, affected largely by the trauma and grief they had been through. They'd all witnessed or experienced some kind of abuse, been exploited, or put in other adverse situations prior to, or whilst supported by WY-FI. These experiences seriously

affected their self-esteem and mental health and dealing with them has been personally very difficult for them. This has included Beneficiaries separating themselves from family or partners that were detrimental to their mental health.

Issues identified by the WY-FI deep dive included the finding that the prescribing of medication in prison and in the community is different and, in many cases, information was not shared between prison healthcare staff and GP's in the community. WY-FI also found assessments for (and by) mental health services were particularly hard to access. Even when successful in getting a mental health assessment, Beneficiaries were given a diagnosis that did not lead to treatment, or they were deemed to 'have the capacity' to make changes without mental health services' support. Beneficiaries who had been stuck in a cycle of scrutiny from services, closer supervision from probation and producing evidence for benefit claims from GP's did not seem to show improved physical health. Other regular medical routines, such as having abscesses dressed or picking up daily scripts were difficult to maintain.

An overall conclusion by WY-FI was that the more that treatment depends on a routine for success, the higher the risk of it failing if it's interrupted. The chances of treatment being interrupted seems to increase along with the number of different areas of scrutiny the individual is under. Despite the increased scrutiny that an individual is under, the variation in their presentation in services seems to have gone largely unremarked.

There seems to be a tendency for services to hang on to the most optimistic version of the person they see, but this often masks reality. It takes a long time for professionals to accept that an individual is still in a 'revolving door' situation. Increased scrutiny of their lives does not actually improve outcomes, it actually increases the precariousness of their situation. It feels like their treatment is solely conditional on their compliance with the requirements of services, which can seem arbitrary or contradictory. Unplanned or emergency hospital admittances were common, as were self-discharges before medical assessment or the completion of treatment. These discharges seem to be out of fear of what the outcome of an assessment might be, or because the desire for drugs and/or alcohol is greater than the desire to be treated.

“ Unplanned or emergency hospital admittances were common...” ”

Substance use

For many people with offending and reoffending needs, substance misuse can be a simultaneous need. In a joint report by the Ministry of Justice and Public Health England (2017), it was found that overall, 46,166 (35%) of those accessing treatment had committed at least one offence in the two years prior to starting treatment in 2012. The analysis found that opiate clients had the highest prevalence of offences at 47%. In the WY-FI CJS 229 group, 178 Beneficiaries accessed drug and alcohol services (over 75%); but only 16 tried to detox (6%) and only 9 (3%) accessed rehab for their substance use. The proportions are very similar for the 79 Beneficiaries identified above who had behavioural needs or progressive/long term conditions. By comparison, the non-CJS 229 cohort of Beneficiaries ('other') had 10% fewer people accessing drug and alcohol services (65%), 5% fewer accessing to detox and 3% fewer going into rehab. Most of the arrests by the Beneficiary sub sample group highlighted in Section 2, were for assault and the link between substance use and violent crime. The deep dive by WY-FI into case notes that alcohol, rather than drugs, was involved in a significant number of events that led to offences, usually related to public order, anti-social behaviour, or assault.

Having access to the right kinds of treatment is important. Harrison discusses the impact that

group interventions can have on individuals with a substance misuse need, providing people with treatment and peer support at the same time in her thesis 'Links between Problematic Substance Use and Violent Offending: Developing an Effective Treatment Programme' (2020). Group interventions can also provide services with opportunities to provide treatment in creative ways, as a way of overcoming funding cuts (Harrison, 2020). All this results in positive outcomes for individuals and society, as a Therapeutic Community Model, reducing reoffending and helping engagement in substance misuse services. Group work is highlighted as one of the recommendations in this report, along with victim impact work, to help violent offenders understand how their actions have affected others.

“ Access to benefits is obviously critical for Beneficiaries. ”

But Harrison also found barriers to treatment. The principal barrier relates to substance use and mental ill health co-morbidity, sometimes referred to as dual diagnosis. The CFE report Improving Access to Mental Health Support for People Experiencing Multiple Disadvantage reviewed evidence from the Fulfilling Lives partnerships. There were widespread reports that the vast majority of clinical responses require an individual to address their substance misuse before mental health treatment can be provided or even a needs assessment carried out. This is despite guidance to the contrary from NICE and PHE. This leaves many Beneficiaries in a 'Catch 22' situation where they are unable to get support for their mental health needs because they are using substances to self-medicate symptoms of poor mental health.

Benefits Agency

Access to benefits is obviously critical for Beneficiaries and the local staff at the Benefits Agency and Job Centre Plus in general do a good job of getting Beneficiaries onto the system. When things don't go as planned for Beneficiaries (which can be down to circumstances both in and out of their control) benefits can be suspended, sanctioned, or delayed. This is sometimes because Beneficiaries have been asked to provide evidence (e.g. 'fit notes' for Employment Support Allowance) that they haven't been able to obtain. It takes 10 days for a mandatory re-instatement of a claim that's been terminated due to inaccurate information. In that time, because they've lost their source of legitimate income, a Beneficiary will probably have to access a food bank or collect food parcels. In some cases, people may resort to illegitimate sources of income, which increases the risk of being suspended from services, or even a loss of liberty. It appears from the case notes that whilst Job Centre staff were responsive to proactive approaches from Beneficiaries or WY-FI Multiple Needs Navigators, the CJS 229 group of Beneficiaries were either not in a position, or not willing to be proactive about managing their claims.

The impact of prison stays

The data in section two shows a high number of arrests are for legal breaches, such as breaching their conditions or failing to attend court. WY-FI's deep dive into case notes found more than half of Beneficiaries were sent back to prison, for committing minor offences like these, which only interrupted their recovery. These interruptions may have only been for a few weeks, but they had serious effects on the Beneficiaries' wellbeing, their engagement and consequently their re-offending, which in turn led to custodial sentences, even for minor offences.

Other crimes committed during Beneficiary journeys were linked to substance misuse, which in turn was linked to trauma or mental health difficulties. For those who were sent to prison for reasons linked to substance misuse, it only served to worsen their engagement and their overall situation.



From reading the case notes, it's clear that their actions were the result of distress, their vulnerable situations, and a sign that they needed help.

Family and relationships

The WY-FI deep dive found around half of the Beneficiaries had relationships with their family or long-term partners. One Beneficiary who had a largely positive relationship with her partner and father who, throughout her journey, encouraged her into work. However, this became too much as she was not ready to take these steps and this pressure led her to leave WY-FI support. For other Beneficiaries, relationships with families were often strained, and sometimes a cause of trauma after experiencing or witnessing domestic abuse. These experiences cause distress, leading to mental health issues and/or substance misuse as a way of coping. Even for Beneficiaries who hadn't experienced domestic abuse, their relationships were strained. For some, their family had put a restraining order on the Beneficiary because of past experiences or stopped them from seeing their children. In some cases, family members were defined as vulnerable and Beneficiaries were prevented by orders from having access to their children. The relationships of Beneficiaries are difficult.

Some were struggling with partners or friends that could be controlling. Others might want to see family but don't have the ability to maintain positive relationships whilst in chaos. In addition, there is little recognition among service providers that a substantial number of Beneficiaries in the offending group have children. For many, their children are looked after or are cared for by family members, and they won't allow them to see their children. There seemed to be little support for rebuilding parent and child relationships and reuniting Beneficiaries with their children.

The WY-FI Beneficiary population was generally not considered to contain people who are responsible for children, but in fact a third of all Beneficiaries claim Children's Tax Credit. Although in the overall WY-FI population there is a higher proportion of women with responsibility for one or

more children, in the CJS 229 population there is a higher proportion of men. There are obvious consequences for the care of children if one (or both) parents experience multiple needs and exclusions. A number of cases involved women having a history of their children being taken into care. In some cases, WY-FI Multiple Needs Navigators supported women whose children were in formal or informal care placements. On occasion WY-FI Navigators were able to support parents to have access to children or bring them back into their own care. For Beneficiaries caring for children, access to services was an issue in terms of accessing childcare, either whilst in treatment or whilst trying to get appointments during school time. As a child, being cared for by someone with multiple needs and exclusions is in itself a form of childhood trauma (Bramley et al 2015) and is a predicting factor for that child's possible eventual multiple needs as an adult.

Domestic abuse

Female offenders have almost always experienced trauma, which often involves domestic abuse. This in turn leads to problems with mental health when leaving prison and accessing services. In 2012, a report on women rough sleepers who have been victims of domestic abuse found:

- Family abuse was at 55% and partner abuse at 85%.
- Drug dependence was 55%; alcohol dependence at 60%.
- 60% of the women interviewed had mental health issues.
- 35% had been to prison or had contact with the police.
- 20% had been involved in sex working.
- The findings on how many women had rough slept were:
 - 5% more than five times.
 - 15% said three times or more.
 - 10% slept rough twice.
 - 5% had slept rough once.
- 80% of the women had children.
- All but three of the women interviewed had been victims of intimate partner violence.
- Two of the women had previously lived in family situations where their father abused their mother. (Moss & Singh, 2012).

A report in 2014 by McNeish & Scott found that in Britain, one in four women experience some kind of physical abuse by a partner at some point in their lives and domestic violence accounts for a quarter of all violent crime. Across most research involving women and violence (McNeish & Scott, 2014; Moss & Singh, 2012; Lowthian, 2015; Corston, 2007) more female centred training is needed to create a female informed approach. From previous WY-FI research we found that services don't necessarily need to be gender centred, but they do need to be gender informed. This means taking into consideration the differences between men and women, and how they react wholly differently to trauma. For many women who commit non-violent crimes, they are often as a result of being exploited in adverse or abusive situations. These women have most likely suffered some form of abuse and prison is not effective for them as individuals, for society or for costs. In West Yorkshire, domestic abuse figures produced by West Yorkshire Police show that between April 2019 to January 2020, violence accounted for 54% of all domestic abuse crimes (West Yorkshire Violence Reduction Unit, 2020). It's worth noting that heavy alcohol use is a common factor among perpetrators of the most serious domestic abuse crimes.

People from Minority Ethnic Groups who experience multiple disadvantage

It is clear that people from ethnically diverse communities face more barriers than White British people. Minority ethnic groups are overrepresented in the criminal justice system. They represent

25% of the prison population as opposed to 14% of the overall population (Ministry of Justice, 2017). WY-FI's (2018) prison research found that people from ethnically diverse communities are 25% more likely to be imprisoned after arrest than their White British counterparts. A review by Lammy (2017) reflected the social inequalities experienced by people from minority ethnic groups in prison, including health inequalities. The Lammy (2017) report, although independent from the Government, had access to resources, data and information held by the criminal justice system itself. The report found that the biggest concern was for younger generations of people from diverse ethnic communities. Figures show that rates of offending are rising for young people in ethnic minorities, despite overall figures for young people overall going down.

Further there are additional barriers for people from minority ethnic communities in accessing mental health services. CLINKS (2019) evaluated who was accessing mental health support in prisons and found a much higher proportion of the White British prison population were involved in services. It was found that Black and Asian offenders were not accessing mental health support because of the stigma it would lead to within their communities. Therefore, the report suggested more cultural considerations in how support can reach Black and Asian communities.

In a review of WY-FI evidence by Moon (2015) a number of considerations and changes needed to be understood to help services reduce the exclusion that people from ethnically diverse communities face. These are

- Provide community orientated learning about where to access services.
- Discretion (use of professional judgement) is vital.
- It's important to be able to access all kinds of services in case they want anonymity. Culturally specific services may not help individuals.
- Trust on an individual and organisational level needs to be reached.
- Services need to reach out to communities of ethnically diverse communities.
- Culturally diverse, bilingual teams are vital.
- Education and awareness of multiple needs for services and communities.

Women who experience multiple disadvantage

The data analysis in section 2 of this report showed that whilst it is true that Beneficiaries who were arrested generally made less progress on the Fulfilling Lives programme than those who were not arrested, women Beneficiaries who were arrested made even less progress than men and in some cases, made no progress or actually regressed. In this section we will look at reasons why this is the case.

Research by Crowe et al. (2013) found women felt that professionals perceived substance misuse and offending needs inappropriately based on their gender. Women have frequently stressed the importance of teams being trained on gendered multiple needs, in which female/female support is provided, as well as education and training for cognitive skills and employability (Moon, 2015). For the WY-FI cohort in 2013, the dataset across each area was split approximately two thirds male, one third female. Women formed the majority in the 18-25 age group; however, they are less visible in data once the ages rise. In terms of offending, almost three quarters of female Beneficiaries who reoffend are aged between 30 and 49. In WY-FI's (2018) research in HMP New Hall and HMP Leeds, women were more likely to experience higher levels of substance misuse, mental ill-health and reoffending needs, compared to other cohorts. The Corston (2007) report recognises these problems in the criminal justice system, which has mainly been designed by men, for men. People need to be treated with the same amount of respect according to their need which in turn encompasses inclusion for all. A number of key findings from previous WY-FI research on women and offending are considered here:

- In prison, women are more likely than men to have mental health needs (Lowthian, 2015)
- Unfair sentencing impacts heavily on women in the criminal justice system. This can include loss of relationships with children, either temporarily or permanently (Northern Women's Network, 2020)
- Self-harm rates in prison are higher for women than they are for men (Lowthian, 2015).
- More women than men are reported to be at risk from others in prison. This includes exploitation (WY-FI Data Sept. 2019)
- Over 10% of women on WY-FI caseload were recorded as being sex workers (WY-FI Data Sept. 2019). Out of these women: 47% reported being a victim of crime, robbery, or rape, 36% reported threats by text, email, or phone calls, 30% reported getting income from sex working
- 45% of women questioned in HMP Newhall said they would not have accommodation on release (WY-FI, 2018)
- 50% of women questioned in HMP Newhall had at some time in the past experienced not having settled accommodation or being homeless (WY-FI, 2018).

5 Offending and the costs to the system

Analysis of sample group using the Cost Calculator

In section 3 of this report a detailed analysis of why Beneficiaries might offend was conducted. It certainly makes sense from an economic perspective to do this in order to understand how offending can be reduced. Looking across the whole system criminal justice costs tend to be the highest. It is no surprise therefore that fiscal analysis conducted for this study confirms the subsample group who were arrested had higher costs than those who were not arrested.

The fiscal costs of the whole sample group (181 Beneficiaries) were calculated by using a “cost calculator” previously developed by Fulfilling Lives Newcastle Gateshead⁶. This calculator utilises 51 variables covering such things as type of accommodation, evictions, arrests, court appearances, A&E admissions etc. The costs themselves for the calculator are taken from the Greater Manchester Combined Authority – Cost Benefit Analysis Tool⁷. The graph below show some of the main variables in the cost calculator and the average cost per Beneficiary across the whole sample group:

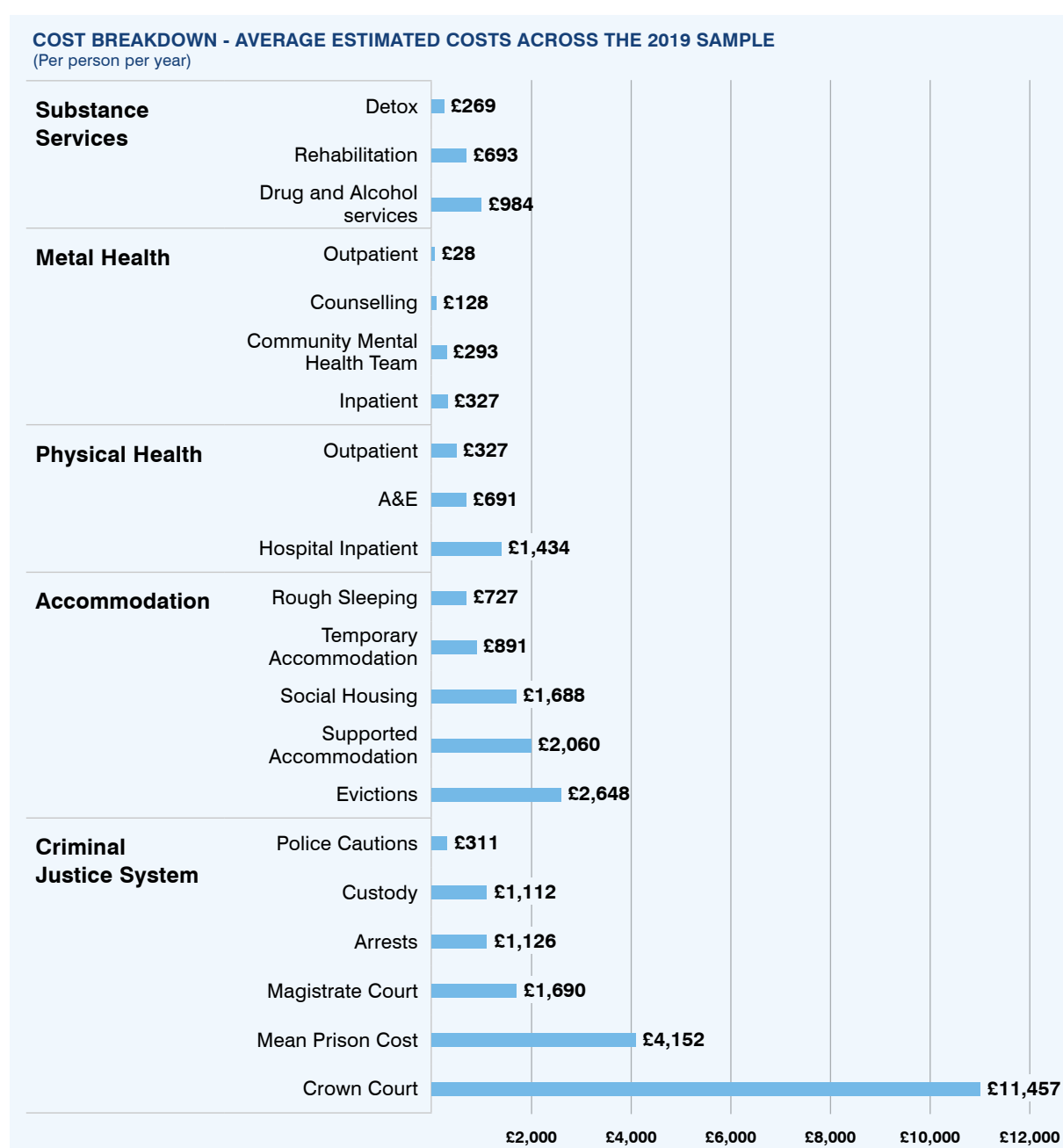


Figure 17: Cost breakdown - average estimated costs across the 2019 sample

Whilst the cost calculator covers a good proportion of fiscal costs it does not provide for a full social value exercise. For instance, costs to victims or the wider benefits to society of reducing crime are not included.

Therefore, Table 12 (below) provides a conservative summary of the estimated average costs associated with those who were identified as arrested and those who were not arrested. It is further split by gender.

SPENDING CATEGORY	ARRESTED		NOT ARRESTED	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
Accommodation	£9,185	£9,358	£6,063	£8,243
Criminal Justice	£31,756	£29,654	£7,504	£10,480
Health	£3,960	£1,736	£1,599	£2,511
Mental health	£4,211	£960	£1,377	£3,231
Substance	£1,678	£1,468	£1,610	£3,029
TOTAL	£50,789	£43,177	£18,154	£27,494

Table 12: Costs differences for Beneficiaries who were arrested and those who were not arrested

Male Beneficiaries who were arrested cost the most at £50,789 per year per person, females who were arrested cost a little less with an average of £43,177 per year per person. Those who were not arrested cost significantly less, females cost £27,494 per year and males cost the least at approximately £18,154.

It can be seen that the not arrested group has costs associated with the Criminal Justice System (CJS), this can be attributed to two reasons:

- Those who were arrested were identified by case note records of possible offences. A person with no details in their case notes may still encounter the criminal justice system
- CJS costs can be in relation to offences from previous years i.e., delayed court proceedings and sentences for past crimes.

Costs - evidence from West Yorkshire

The table above shows not only higher costs for the arrested group, but that the majority of these costs accrue to the criminal justice sector itself. This is confirmed by previous analysis by the projects involved in this study.

WY-FI's Impact and Cost Effectiveness analysis shows that as a result of WY-FI's interventions, the criminal justice sector makes the largest cost savings overall. These savings are made earlier in the Beneficiary journey than for other public agency sectors. Reoffending costs the

“ Reoffending costs the taxpayer £9.5 - £13 billion a year... ”

taxpayer £9.5 - £13 billion a year, with almost half of people reoffending within the first 12 months of their release. More than two in five prisoners (44%) reported being in their accommodation for less than a year prior to going into custody (Ministry of Justice). WY-FI's Impact and Cost Effectiveness analysis shows that as a result of WY-FI's interventions, the criminal justice sector makes the largest cost savings overall (WY-FI, 2019 Section 4). These savings are made earlier in the Beneficiary

⁶ Currently available at <http://www.fulfillinglives-ng.org.uk/resources/cost-calculator/>. In the future this should be available via the Centre for Homelessness Impact.

⁷ <https://greatermanchester-ca.gov.uk/what-we-do/research/research-cost-benefit-analysis/>

journey than for other public agency sectors.

The largest areas for cost savings over a period of five quarters result from reductions in:

- Crown Court appearances (£864,830 or £1,081 per service user)
- Evictions (£625,921 or £782 per service user)
- Arrests (£401,879 or £502 per service user)

Costs - evidence from Nottingham

Opportunity Nottingham has also conducted economic analysis using the cost calculator developed by Newcastle Gateshead. A systematic sample of 10% of Beneficiaries who have left the programme between 2014 and 2018 was selected. Costs for each Beneficiary's first six months on the programme were compared with their final six months on the programme. Analysis found savings were made for 69% of Beneficiaries. The graph below shows where these savings were made.

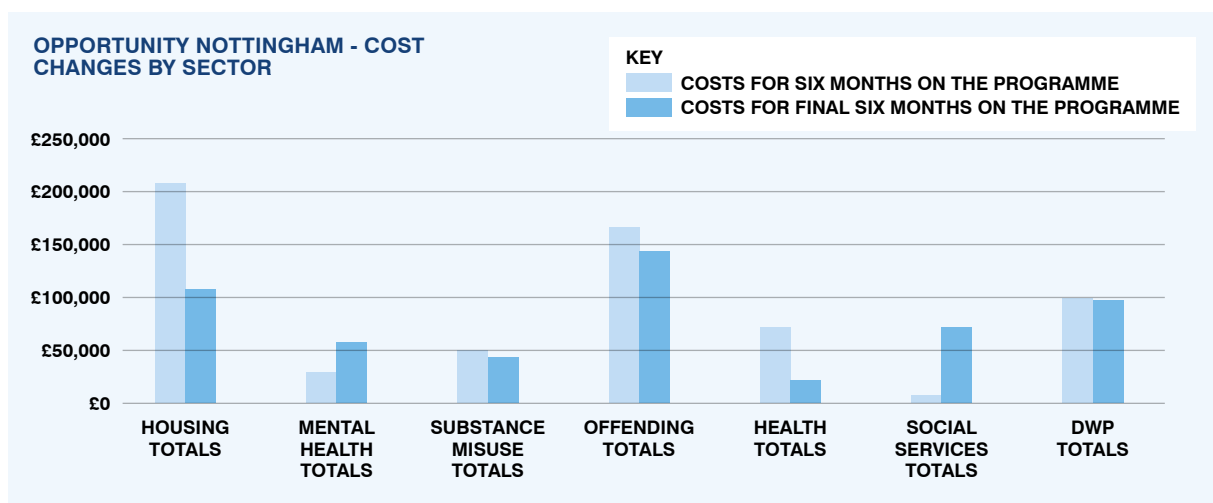


Figure 18: Opportunity Nottingham - cost changes by sector

There were though 31% of Beneficiaries who had higher costs on exit from the programme than on joining. In most cases this was a small financial difference, but in a limited number of instances it was a substantially higher cost. This subgroup with the substantially higher cost was a small number, but they offset the savings made in relation to the other Beneficiaries in the sample and so explain why for offending, there is only a small decrease in overall costs. When the reasons for this were analysed it was always connected to criminal justice usually also linked to substance use. The narrative below provides some examples of this for the small higher cost offender group:

- Beneficiary struggled to engage, he has been on the project more than once. Is still in a cycle of substance misuse and offending
- The Beneficiary had been rough sleeping towards the end of his journey with Opportunity Nottingham. The Beneficiary was using substances heavily and was often in the criminal justice system due to crimes relating to maintaining his substance misuse.
- The Beneficiary spent some time on remand awaiting a crown court case where he was sentenced to 18 months in prison. The case was in relation to robbery, the Beneficiary is a prolific heroin user and therefore steals in order to fund his substance misuse.

Positive Costs and Negative Costs

One further important point in relation to costs that can be seen in the graph above, is that for mental health and social services, costs increase. This relates to Beneficiaries actually being able to

access the support and help they need and so can be seen as positive costs. Evidence from WY-FI also distinguished positive costs:

Service usages with increased costs tend to be positive treatment services. Many of these will be to address previously untreated conditions. These costs will reduce over time and are likely to prevent longer-term, often more expensive, and reactive, service usages. Increased costs were identified despite Beneficiaries reporting positive outcomes on other metrics, for example HOS and NDT scores. This suggests that improvements in HOS and NDT scores have been achieved because of the increases in wider service use costs. Therefore, cost increases, at least in the short term, should be seen as a positive, rather than a negative, effect of WY-FI.

“ ...cost increases, at least in the short term, should be seen as a positive, rather than a negative...”

Further, WY-FI found Beneficiaries with higher criminal justice costs tend to have lower positive costs.

This analysis highlights a large difference in the increase in service use costs between WY-FI Beneficiaries who recorded a prison stay whilst on caseload, compared to those who did not: £10,624 and £515 respectively over two quarters (WY-FI, 2019 p. 27).

The importance of lower cost preventative treatment services, which can produce positive outcomes and keep Beneficiaries

engaged is currently under-explored. These services also reduce the likelihood of prison stays and therefore lower the overall cost to the public purse (WY-FI, 2019 p. 27).

The conclusion is that investment in treatment and care will lower costs in the criminal justice sector. Yet “the system” is too disconnected to enable this – costs occur to the NHS and local authorities, but savings accrue in the criminal justice sector. A whole system approach to funding is needed to counter this.

References

- Asher, C.J., Gask, L. (2010) 'Reasons for illicit drug use in people with schizophrenia: Qualitative study'. *BMC Psychiatry* 10, 94 <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-244X-10-94>
- Bowpitt G., De Motte C. et al (2019) *Entering and leaving prison: A co-constructed research study exploring the experiences of Beneficiaries*, Opportunity Nottingham: Nottingham [online]. Available at: https://www.fulfillinglivesevaluation.org/wpfd_file/entering-and-leaving-prison-a-co-constructed-research-study-exploring-the-experiences-of-Beneficiaries-2019/ (Accessed 11/08/2021)
- Bramley G., Fitzpatrick S., Edwards J., Ford D., Johnsen S., Sosenko F. and Watkins D. (2015) *Hard Edges: Mapping severe and multiple disadvantage*, Lankelly Chase Foundation [online] Available at: <https://lankellychase.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Hard-Edges-Mapping-SMD-2015.pdf> (Accessed 11/08/2021)
- Clinks (2019) *Whole prison, whole person: How a holistic approach can support good mental health in prison* [online] Available at: [clinks_whole-prison-mh_V4.pdf](https://www.clinks.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/Whole-prison-whole-person-How-a-holistic-approach-can-support-good-mental-health-in-prison_V4.pdf)
- Corston, J. (2007) *The Corston Report: a review of women with particular vulnerabilities in the criminal justice system*. London: Home Office.
- Crowe, M. et al (October 2013). Big Lottery Fulfilling Lives: West Yorkshire Multiple and Complex Needs Project Needs Analysis. DISC.
- Crowe M. and Headley E. (2020) *Surviving in a Revolving Door: A study of the evidence about offending in WY-FI*, [online] Available at: [Surviving-in-a-Revolving-Door-FINAL-1.pdf](https://www.wy-fi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Surviving-in-a-Revolving-Door-FINAL-1.pdf) (wy-fi.org.uk) (Accessed 15/07/2021)
- Di Tella R. et al (2019), 'Crime and violence: Desensitization in victims to watching criminal events', *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, Volume 159, Pages 613-625, ISSN 0167-2681, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2017.10.005>.
- Durcan, G (2016) *Mental health and criminal justice: views from consultations across England and Wales*, Centre for Mental Health: London Available at: https://www.centreformentalhealth.org.uk/sites/default/files/2018-09/Centre_for_Mental_Health_MH_and_criminal_justice_PDF.pdf (Accessed 11/08/2021)
- Gadd D. et al (2019) 'The Dynamics of Domestic Abuse and Drug and Alcohol Dependency', *The British Journal of Criminology*, Volume 59, Issue 5, Pages 1035–1053, <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azz011>
- Furr, S.R., Johnson, W.D. and Goodall, C.S. (2015), 'Grief and Recovery: The Prevalence of Grief and Loss in Substance Abuse Treatment'. *Journal of Addictions & Offender Counseling*, 36: 43-56. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1874.2015.00034.x>
- Garland, E.L., Pettus-Davis, C., Howard, M.O. (2013) 'Self-medication among traumatized youth: structural equation modeling of pathways between trauma history, substance misuse, and psychological distress'. *Journal of behavioral medicine*, 36(2), pp.175-185. doi: 10.1007/s10865-012-9413-5
- Graham-Kevan, N. et al (2015). 'Repeat Victimization, Retraumatization and Victim Vulnerability'. *The Open Criminology Journal*. 8. 36-48. Doi: 10.2174/1874917801508010036.
- Lammy D (2017) *The Lammy Review: An Independent Review into the Treatment of, and Outcomes for, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic Individuals in the Criminal Justice System*. London: Lammy Review. Available at: www.gov.uk/government/publications/lammy-review-final-report (Accessed 11/08/2021)

- Lowthian, J. (2015). *Vulnerable Women with Multiple Needs: What does the literature tell us about improving outcomes?* Report for WY-FI.
- McNeish D. and Scott S. (2014) *Women and girls at risk: Evidence across the life course*, Lankelly Chase Foundation (online) Available at: <https://lankellychase.org.uk/publication/women-and-girls-at-risk-evidence-across-the-life-course/> (Accessed 11/08/2021)
- Milner C., Moreton R. and Welford J. (2021) 'Improving Service transitions for experiencing multiple disadvantage: Prison release', CFE Research and The University of Sheffield, with the Systems Change Action Network. Available at: <https://www.fulfillinglivesevaluation.org/improving-service-transitions-for-people-experiencing-multiple-disadvantage-prison-release-new-publication/> (Accessed 11/08/2021)
- Moon, V (2015). *Action Learning Research Report Summary*. WY-FI, Fulfilling Lives. DISC.
- Moreton R. et al (2016) *Fulfilling Lives: Supporting people with multiple needs, Annual report of the national evaluation 2016* [online] Available at [Annual-Report-2016.pdf](#) (tnlcommunityfund.org.uk) Accessed 15/07/2021
- Moss, K., Singh, P. (2012). *Women Rough Sleepers Who are Victims of Domestic Abuse*. University of Wolverhampton. DAPHNE Programme.
- Nestor P.G. (2003) 'Mental disorder and violence: personality dimensions and clinical features'. *American Journal of Psychiatry* 159:1973–1978. Doi: 11.1176/appi.ajp.159.12.1973
- Reeve K. et al (2018). *The mental health needs of Nottingham's homeless population: an exploratory research study*, Sheffield: Sheffield Hallam University. Available at: <http://shura.shu.ac.uk/21958/1/mental-health-nottinghams-homeless-population.pdf> (Accessed 11/08/2021)
- Sanders, B. & Albanese, F. (2016) *"It's no life at all": Rough sleepers' experiences of violence and abuse on the streets of England and Wales*. London: Crisis. Available at: https://www.crisis.org.uk/media/20502/crisis_its_no_life_at_all2016.pdf (Accessed 11/08/2021)
- Seale J.V., Fallaize R. & Lovegrove J. A. (2016) 'Nutrition and the homeless: the underestimated challenge', *Nutrition Research Reviews*, 29(2), 143-151. Doi: 10.1017/S0954422416000068
- Walby S. & Towers J. (2018) 'Untangling the concept of coercive control: Theorizing domestic violent crime', *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 18(1):7-28. Doi: 10.1177/1748895817743541

