Reoffending Analysis of MAPPA Eligible Offenders

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1. Summary

Context

Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA) were established in 2001 under the Criminal Justice and Court Services Act 2000\(^1\) as an initiative to improve and strengthen monitoring of convicted sexual and violent offenders. The primary focus of MAPPA is public protection and the prevention of serious harm, which are, in part, achieved through reductions in serious reoffending.

This research builds on an earlier Ministry of Justice study (Peck, 2011) which examined the reconviction rates of MAPPA eligible offenders between 1998 and 2004, comparing reconviction rates pre-and-post MAPPA implementation. This research updates the findings using rates of proven reoffending as a more accurate indicator of offending behaviour (the earlier work looked at reconviction rates rather than proven reoffending) and provides findings up to 2010. A proven reoffence is defined by the Ministry of Justice as any offence committed in a one year follow-up period and receiving a court conviction, caution, reprimand or warning in the one year follow-up or a further six month waiting period (Ministry of Justice Statistics, 2012b). Reconviction relates to convictions received rather than offences committed.

There is no centrally held database of offenders subject to MAPPA, and information on offenders subject to MAPPA is held by local force areas. It was not feasible to collate this data from all forces. This analysis instead identified offenders eligible for MAPPA based on their index offence and other criteria set out by MAPPA guidance and assumed all these offenders were subject to MAPPA. It only looked at offenders newly eligible for MAPPA within the year of their disposal (suspended sentence order, court order or caution) or release from prison and not those who have been subject to MAPPA for a number of years. Throughout the report these offenders are called 'new MAPPA eligible offenders'.

The cohorts in this study consisted of new MAPPA eligible offenders each calendar year from 2000 to 2010 and include MAPPA Category 1 offenders (registered sexual offenders) and MAPPA Category 2 (violent and other sexual offenders sentenced to more than 12 months). The offender cohort identified for this study differs from that in the National

Statistics MAPPA Annual Report, which is based on the total cumulative number of offenders under MAPPA supervision across the local MAPPA areas.

As MAPPA Category 3 offenders are determined on a case by case basis, rather than by specific criteria, it was not possible to identify these individuals in the data collated for this study and so they are excluded from the analysis.

Aims
There were three aims to the research:

1. To analyse one year proven reoffending rates of new MAPPA eligible offenders between 2000 and 2010. The analysis also looked at changes in one year reoffending over time of specific sub-groups (low and high risk offenders), and breakdowns of reoffending rates by gender and category of offender.

2. To examine patterns of one year proven reoffending and serious reoffending by MAPPA eligible offenders, by MAPPA Category, gender, and risk of reoffending.

3. To compare differences in reoffending rates for MAPPA eligible offenders and a comparison group to estimate the impact of MAPPA on reducing reoffending, using Difference in Difference (DiD) analysis.

Approach
The analysis used data from the Police National Computer (PNC) held by the Ministry of Justice, and Prison Discharge Statistics to form cohorts of offenders from the calendar years 2000 to 2010\(^2\). The PNC extract held at Ministry of Justice is used as the criminal conviction database for the National Statistics on reoffending, and holds criminal conviction data for offenders who have had a conviction after 2000. The number of new MAPPA eligible offenders each year ranged from 10,616 in 2000 to a high of 16,401 in 2009.

New MAPPA eligible Category 1 and Category 2 offenders were identified and extracted by index offence and the length of sentence using the various iterations of MAPPA Guidance and relevant legislation between 2000 and 2010.

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\(^2\) 2001 is excluded from the analysis throughout the report due to inconsistencies in the matching process with the PNC.
A limitation of the analysis is that due to the lack of a central register, offenders were identified as being eligible for MAPPA based on their index offence and criteria set out by MAPPA guidance. These offenders are assumed to be subject to MAPPA based on their eligibility, but this may not be exact.

One year reoffending rates from 2000 to 2010 were calculated for each category of offender and the analysis examined the types of further offences committed, including further MAPPA eligible offences committed within one year of disposal or release from prison (following the Ministry of Justice methodology for proven reoffending).

To identify the effect of MAPPA on one year proven reoffending rates, a Difference in Difference (DiD) analysis was conducted on a group of offenders subject to MAPPA and a comparison group of offenders who committed the same offences but who did not receive MAPPA supervision. This enabled an attempt at evaluating the impact of MAPPA by viewing the difference in one year reoffending rates between the two groups pre and post the implementation of MAPPA. Due to the methodological limitations in this approach, the DiD analysis should be treated with caution and considered indicative only.

**Findings**

Key findings from the analysis were:

- There has been a year-on-year increase in the annual number of new MAPPA eligible offenders from 10,616 in 2000 to 16,401 in 2009, before falling to 14,396 in 2010.
- The proportion of new MAPPA eligible offenders with the highest OGRS3 risk assessment scores (and therefore in the high risk of reoffending within one year group) increased from 2% in 2000 to 7% in 2010. In 2000, 29% of new MAPPA eligible offenders held medium OGRS3 scores, which increased to 33% in 2010.
- The one year proven reoffending rate amongst Category 2 violent and other sexual offenders decreased from 26% in 2000 (pre-implementation of MAPPA) to 23% in 2004. It has remained relatively stable since, fluctuating between 22% and 24% from 2004 to 2010.
- The one year proven reoffending rate amongst Category 1 registered sexual offenders decreased from 13% in 2000 to 10% in 2004. It has gradually increased back to 13% in 2010.
- For each year between 2000 and 2010, Category 1 registered sexual offenders had a lower proven one year reoffending rate than Category 2 offenders.
• Amongst new MAPPA eligible offenders assessed as having a high risk of reoffending there was a 20% (17 percentage points) reduction in one year proven reoffending between 2000 and 2010, with the reoffending rate falling from 83% to 66%.

• Between 2000 and 2010, the one year serious reoffending rate of the highest risk of reoffending group decreased by 45% (13 percentage points), with the reoffending rate falling from 29% to 16%.

• The findings from the DiD analysis suggest that MAPPA may be associated with a four percentage point reduction in proven reoffending by new MAPPA eligible offenders, and a two percentage point reduction in serious reoffending, from 2000 to 2010.

**Conclusion and implications**

The reductions in reoffending for new MAPPA eligible offenders suggest that MAPPA may be making a positive contribution to managing offenders convicted of serious offences. Offenders assessed as being at a high risk of reoffending generally receive more intensive inter-agency management under the MAPPA process (considered alongside risk of harm), and these results may indicate success in the risk management of these offenders through MAPPA.

These results should however not be considered as conclusive evidence of the contribution of MAPPA to the effective management of offenders, because there were changes in the composition of MAPPA eligible cohorts between 2000 and 2010 due to changes in the guidance and eligibility criteria. However, these are encouraging findings regarding the ongoing management of serious violent and sexual offenders. The reduction in serious further offences is particularly encouraging, as the main aim of MAPPA is public protection through reducing the risk of serious harm.
2. Introduction and background

2.1 Overview of MAPPA

Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA) were established in 2001 under the Criminal Justice and Court Services Act 2000\(^3\) as an initiative to improve and strengthen monitoring of convicted sexual and violent offenders. Prior to this, Public Protection Panels existed to manage sexual offenders but national guidance and multi-agency cooperation were not formalised or standardised. The introduction of MAPPA widened the scope to include violent offenders as well as sexual offenders and mandated the Police, Prison and Probation Services to form the Responsible Authority which is required to establish arrangements for the management of dangerous offenders in every Police Force Area. Under MAPPA, the Responsible Authority with cooperation from other relevant agencies including Youth Offending Teams, Jobcentre Plus, Local Education Authorities, Local Housing Authorities, Registered Social Landlords, Social Services, Strategic Health Authorities, Primary Care Trusts and NHS Trusts, Home Office Immigration and Enforcement and Electronic Monitoring Providers come together to assess and manage the risks presented by some of the most dangerous offenders in the community.

Although MAPPA was established in 2001, the Criminal Justice Act 2003 introduced Schedule 15 as the comprehensive new list of offences that would qualify an offender as subject to MAPPA. This new legislation cited new offences captured in the Sexual Offences Act 2003, and expanded the violent offences included under MAPPA. These changes came into force in April 2004.

MAPPA eligible offenders fall into three categories:

- **Category 1:** Registered sexual offenders. This applies to offenders convicted of specific sexual offences and who are subject to notification requirements\(^4\) as part of the Sexual Offences Act 2003 (Part 2).\(^5\) Many of the specific offences do not require a particular sentence length to qualify as a MAPPA eligible Category 1 offence. Some offences require a minimum sentence length depending on the age of the offender at the time of the offence.

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\(^4\) Notification requirements are listed in the Sexual Offences Act 2003, and include notifying police of address, passport details, and changes in circumstances, within a set period of time. For more information please see [http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2003/42/part/2/crossheading/notification-requirements](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2003/42/part/2/crossheading/notification-requirements)

• **Category 2:** Violent and other sexual offenders. This category includes offenders convicted of specific offences outlined in Schedule 15 of the Criminal Justice Act 2003\(^6\) and who are sentenced to 12 months or more imprisonment, hospital order or suspended sentence order. This category also includes a small number of sexual offenders who are not subject to notification requirements of Category 1 offenders. Unlike registered sexual offenders classified as Category 1, a 12 month minimum sentence is required alongside specific index offences for Category 2 sexual offenders. Sexual Offenders in Category 2 will have been sentenced to 12 months or more as a result of a conviction for specific sexual offences including operating a brothel, living on the earnings of prostitution, facilitating trafficking for sexual exploitation and some contact sex offences.

• **Category 3:** Other dangerous offenders. These are offenders who do not qualify for MAPPA under categories 1 or 2, but are deemed to pose a risk of serious harm to the public and who would benefit from multi-agency management via Multi-Agency Public Protection (MAPP) meetings. This may include a very few cases where there are no convictions for serious, violent or sexual offences. These offenders are not centrally recorded and are assessed on a case by case basis by the MAPPA agencies. Numbers of offenders in this category are minimal and are not included in this analysis as it was not possible to identify these individuals in the data collated for this study.

The MAPPA Annual Report 2013/14 shows that on 31 March 2014 there were 65,083 MAPPA eligible offenders. Of these, 71% were Category 1 (registered sexual offenders), 29% were Category 2 (violent and other sexual offenders) and 1% were Category 3 (other dangerous offenders) (Ministry of Justice, 2014)\(^7\)\(^8\).

**The MAPPA process**

The MAPPA process involves the MAPPA agencies undertaking an assessment of risk of harm of each offender and then allocation to one of three 'levels', relating to the amount of supervision and resources allocated for the risk management plan. MAPPA offenders from

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\(^8\) The percentages do not add up to 100% due to rounding to the nearest per cent.
all three offender categories are managed at one of the three levels, although offenders can move between levels depending on risk over time as decided by the panel.

1. **Level 1**: Ordinary Agency Management. Most MAPPA eligible offenders are managed at this level, where the risk posed by the offender can be managed by one agency without actively or significantly involving other agencies. Information is shared between relevant agencies but without formal multi-agency meetings.

2. **Level 2**: Active Multi-Agency Management: Offenders are assessed as needing enhanced levels of supervision involving the coordination and cooperation of other agencies and requires regular multi-agency public protection meetings, but where either the level of risk or complexity of risk management is not so great as to require referral to level 3.

3. **Level 3**: Active Multi-Agency Management: Used for the management of a small number of offenders assessed as being a high or very high risk of causing serious harm. These cases present risks that can only be managed by a plan that requires close cooperation at a senior level due to the complexity of the case and/or because of the unusual resource commitments it requires. It also includes offenders not assessed as a high or very high risk, but where the case is exceptional because of the likelihood of media scrutiny and/or public interest in the management of the case is very high.

Once the MAPPA panel has agreed the level at which the offender should be managed, a risk management plan is agreed by the relevant agencies. This may include the use of:

- **Restrictive interventions or orders**: These are requirements placed on an individual that aim to control and/or reduce opportunities for harmful behaviour. They may include restricting access to particular venues like schools, leisure facilities or contact with previous victims. Notification orders, sexual offences prevention orders, foreign travel orders and violent offenders orders may also be used to limit the offender’s activities.

- **Rehabilitative interventions**: These interventions seek to support the offender to develop appropriate skills, behaviours and strategies. Rehabilitative interventions include cognitive behavioural programmes and drug/alcohol treatment programmes.

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2.2 Previous research on MAPPA

Previous research by the Ministry of Justice (Peck, 2011) looked at reconviction patterns of offenders subject to MAPPA from 2001-2004 compared to pre MAPPA offenders from 1998-2000. The findings indicated a 6.5 percentage point reduction in one-year general reconviction rates between 1998 (pre-MAPPA implementation) and 2004. The methodology used in this study could not evaluate the specific impact of MAPPA on reconvictions as it did not identify a comparison group and could not control for factors other than MAPPA.

There have been three major process evaluations of MAPPA (Kemshall and Maguire, 2001; Kemshall et al, 2005; and Wood and Kemshall, 2007). Findings from the studies showed improving standards and greater consistency of MAPPA during the first five years of its implementation. These evaluations were qualitative, involved studying small geographical areas and focused on gathering a rich and detailed understanding of the delivery of MAPPA. Consequently, they did not include any analysis of the impact of MAPPA on reoffending and the findings cannot be generalised across MAPPA nationwide.

The first process evaluation by Kemshall and Maguire (2001) examined the precursor to MAPPA, Public Protection Panels, and highlighted variability in risk assessment, management plans and monitoring/review systems. The study reviewed the implementation of risk assessment and risk management procedures by Public Protection Panels in England and Wales. Recommendations included new guidelines to promote consistency, improve recording of decision making and tighter control over referral and risk assessment, and to improve overall accountability and management.

The second study by Kemshall et al (2005) looked at progress made since Kemshall and Maguire (2001), following the Criminal Justice and Court Services Act 2000, and the two successive MAPPA guidance documents. The review was conducted between December 2003 and August 2004. Findings suggested an improvement in consistency of MAPPA and more involvement from partner agencies. The study also found evidence of greater effectiveness and consistency across MAPPA panels than was evident in the earlier review and that areas were meeting the MAPPA guidance specification to a large extent.

The third process evaluation conducted by Wood and Kemshall (2007) used a small scale qualitative case study approach. It concluded that a variety of mechanisms available to MAPPA practitioners (which included the ability to set licence conditions and restrict behaviour) supported the offender managers to manage sexual offenders in the community.
Further information about MAPPA can be found in MAPPA annual reports which collate information provided by each MAPPA Strategic Management Board in England and Wales, relating to offenders under MAPPA by geographical area. However, these reports contain a cumulative total of offenders subject to MAPPA management at levels 2 and 3 and a snap shot on 31st March each year of all MAPPA nominals (i.e levels 1, 2 and 3) and do not isolate new offenders. Statistics for the total number of offenders, breaches, recalls and serious further offences are available on GOV.uk.

2.3 Rationale and aims
This research builds on the earlier Ministry of Justice study (Peck, 2011) which examined the reconviction rates of MAPPA eligible offenders between 1998 and 2004, comparing reconviction rates pre and post MAPPA implementation. The current study brings the reoffending analysis up to date, using the latest available datasets from 2000-2010. The previous study used the Offenders Index as its data source, whereas this research uses more reliable data from the Police National Computer (PNC) and Prison Discharge statistics, and is based on the National Statistics agreed measure of proven reoffending (rather than reconviction analysis). A proven reoffence is defined by the Ministry of Justice (2012b) as any offence in the one-year follow-up period for which an offender receives a court conviction, caution, reprimand or warning.

There is no year-on-year database of new offenders subject to MAPPA, as information on offenders subject to MAPPA is held by local Police Force Areas. It was necessary to identify which offenders meet the specific index offence and disposal criteria, and who would therefore be subject to MAPPA. For this reason, the report refers to ‘new MAPPA eligible offenders’, rather than ‘offenders managed under MAPPA’. MAPPA eligible offenders’ for each yearly cohort have been identified according to the criteria in the version of the MAPPA guidance that applied at the time. The criteria changed with revisions to the MAPPA guidance in 2003, 2007 and 2009, and this has affected the number of offenders who were MAPPA eligible. For the 2000 cohort, prior to the implementation of MAPPA, offenders who met the same set of criteria as 2001 were included.

11 The Offenders Index was used in the 2011 study as the Police National Computer data do not contain reoffending information from 1998 and 1999, which was included as the pre-MAPPA time period in that study. The current study uses data from 2000-2010, and as a result can use the more reliable Police National Computer dataset.
12 MAPPA area reports can be found on: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/multi-agency-public-protection-arrangements-mappa-annual-reports-2013-14
The research objectives for the study were:

1. Explore overall reoffending rates of new MAPPA eligible offenders

The research aimed to analyse reoffending rates of new MAPPA eligible offenders between 2000 and 2010. These years were the earliest and latest relevant datasets held by the Ministry of Justice on the PNC when this analysis was conducted. The analysis also looked at changes in reoffending over time of specific sub-groups (low and high risk offenders), and breakdowns of reoffending rates by gender and category of offender.

2. Examine patterns in reoffending between 2000 and 2010

This research aimed to examine patterns of one year reoffending and serious reoffending by new MAPPA eligible offenders by MAPPA Category, gender, and risk of reoffending.

3. Estimate the effect of MAPPA on reducing reoffending

In order to more clearly link MAPPA to proven reoffending, the study tested whether offenders subject to MAPPA had a lower proven one year reoffending rate compared to similar offenders not subject to the arrangement, using Difference in Difference (DiD) analysis.
3. **Approach**

3.1 **Data sources and cohort details**

Using data from the PNC and the Prison Discharge datasets, the analysis focuses on reoffending rates of new MAPPA eligible offenders within one year of their disposal or release from prison, between calendar years 2000 and 2010. The analysis looked at binary reoffending rates (whether the offender did, or did not, reoffend within one year). As the focus of the report was on whether or not new MAPPA eligible offenders reoffended, the frequency of reoffending was not examined in the analysis.

Prior to the implementation of MAPPA in 2001, the management of sexual offenders and other high risk offenders was arranged by Public Protection Panels but these panels were not required to use inter-agency collaboration to manage offenders in the community. As there were pre-existing arrangements in place before MAPPA, this analysis is not a direct comparison of offenders subject to MAPPA and those not subject to any formal public protection measures, but rather an examination of changes over time.

Due to the time lapse between offenders receiving a court sentence and the data being available on the PNC database for analysis, 2010 is the most up to date reoffending data available at the time of the analysis. The earliest data available on the Ministry of Justice PNC extract is 2000, and so this is the only cohort available before the implementation of MAPPA.

The cohort was identified through length of sentence (custody, suspended sentence, community order), age of offender at time of offence, date offence was committed, and the index offence committed. These criteria were set by the initial MAPPA guidance in 2001, and include the changes made by the 2003 Criminal Justice Act and the following MAPPA guidance 2003.

The cohorts consisted of new MAPPA eligible offenders each year from 2000 to 2010 and include:

- **Category 1 offenders (registered sexual offenders), identified as far as possible by isolating specific sexual offences and necessary criteria that would automatically qualify offenders for MAPPA using the relevant legislation; and**

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13 Please see Appendix 1 for a list of all applicable offences by Home Office code.
14 For more information on this Act, please see [http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2003/44/contents](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2003/44/contents)
Category 2 (violent and other sexual offenders) identified by the nature of the index offence and the length of sentence using the various iterations of MAPPA Guidance. The offender cohort identified for this study differs from that in the National Statistics MAPPA Annual Report, which is based on the total cumulative number of offenders under MAPPA supervision across the local MAPPA areas.

Offenders are eligible for MAPPA regardless of age and this analysis includes adults and juveniles (from age 10 as per the minimum age of criminal responsibility in England and Wales).

Reoffending refers to an individual who has received a conviction or caution who then goes on to commit another offence within a set time period. A proven reoffence is defined by the Ministry of Justice as any offence committed in a one year follow-up period and receiving a court conviction, caution, reprimand or warning in the one year follow-up or a further six month waiting period (Ministry of Justice, 2012b). When the term ‘reoffending’ is used within this report, it refers to any further offence and not only further MAPPA eligible offences, unless specified. The data are from the PNC, held by the Ministry of Justice.

3.2 Data and methodological limitations

There is no centrally held database of offenders subject to MAPPA, and information on offenders subject to MAPPA is held by local Police Force Areas. For the purpose of this analysis, offenders were identified as being eligible for MAPPA based on their index offence and criteria set out by MAPPA guidance. These offenders are assumed to be subject to MAPPA based on their eligibility, but this may not be exact.

As MAPPA Category 3 offenders are determined on a case by case basis, rather than by specific criteria, it was not possible to identify these individuals from the data sets, so they were excluded from this analysis. MAPPA eligible offenders who receive a hospital order were also excluded as the information was not available.

The annual cohorts of MAPPA eligible offenders were based on the MAPPA guidance that applied each respective year. Guidance and criteria for identifying and managing offenders changed in 2003, 2007 and 2009. Consequently, the MAPPA eligible populations that have been identified in this report in different years should not be considered as directly comparable. The differences in composition and subsequent comparability of the different cohorts of MAPPA eligible offenders may have had an impact on the rates of reoffending, as
certain groups of MAPPA eligible offenders are known to have lower reoffending rates than others, such as sex offenders (MAPPA Category 1).

It was not possible to undertake analysis into the different levels of MAPPA management (Levels 1-3) which vary according to risk of harm and level of multi-agency involvement. This information is recorded by local Police Force Areas on a case by case basis and is subject to change depending on the risk posed by the offender.

The core function of MAPPA is to protect the public from harm, but data relating specifically to the risk of harm was not available for this analysis. The absence of data relating to risk of harm means that risk was only assessed as risk of reoffending (OGRS3). This is a weakness of the analysis.

Another limitation was that the analysis was based on only one year prior to MAPPA implementation; it is possible that reoffending rates for that year were anomalous or unusually high.

The 2001 cohort has been excluded from this analysis because of inconsistencies in the matching process with the PNC. Within the graphs, 2001 is depicted as a calculated midpoint with a dotted line and no expressed value, as per Ministry of Justice guidelines. The Difference in Difference (DiD) analysis used control groups that were similar, but not necessarily directly comparable with the treatment groups. Due to the methodological limitations in this approach, the DiD analysis should be treated with caution and considered indicative. Further discussion about the limitations of the DiD approach within this context are discussed in Chapter 5.
4. **Findings**

This chapter begins by presenting findings on the number of offenders newly eligible for MAPPA each year, from 2000 (pre-MAPPA) to 2010. The 2000 (pre-MAPPA) cohort of MAPPA eligible offenders was identified through MAPPA 2001 guidance and criteria. These offenders are referred to as ‘new MAPPA eligible offenders’ throughout this report. The offenders are then shown by MAPPA category (Section 4.2), gender (Section 4.3), and risk group (Section 4.4).

Findings on proven reoffending rates within one year of the offender’s disposal or release from prison (Section 4.5) are also presented. The findings are broken down by category of offender (Section 4.6), gender (Section 4.7), and risk group (Section 4.8), and then serious reoffending by risk group (Section 4.9).

4.1 **Number of new MAPPA eligible offenders**

Figure 4.1 shows the total number of new violent and sexual offenders (determined by index offence) eligible for MAPPA each year between 2000 and 2010. Each year depicts the cohort who received their disposal (cautioned or received court order or suspended sentence order) or were released from prison during that year.

**Figure 4.1: New MAPPA eligible offenders 2000-2010**

1. 2001 is excluded from the analysis due to inconsistencies in the matching process with the PNC, and is shown as a calculated mid-point with a dotted line and no expressed value.
There was a year-on-year increase in the annual number of new MAPPA eligible offenders from 10,616 in 2000 to 16,401 in 2009, before falling to 14,396 in 2010. This increase is likely at least in part to reflect the expansion of offences eligible for MAPPA under the Criminal Justice Act 2003. This Act introduced Schedule 15\textsuperscript{15} as a comprehensive and more extensive list of offences that would qualify an offender to be subject to MAPPA. These new offences included those captured in the Sexual Offences Act 2003, such as grooming offences, and a wider range of violent offences, such as making threats to kill. These changes came into force in April 2004 and it would be expected that more new offenders would be eligible for MAPPA following this change in legislation.

There is no obvious explanation of the reduction in new MAPPA eligible offenders in 2010, as there were no changes in guidance or policy that would be expected to lead to this reduction. The cumulative number of offenders subject to MAPPA in the MAPPA Annual Report 2010/11 does not indicate a similar reduction (Ministry of Justice, 2011).

Between 2000 and 2010, between 81% and 86% of MAPPA eligible offenders received custodial sentences rather than other disposals such as community sentences. In 2000, 85% of MAPPA eligible offenders received custodial sentences in comparison to 81% in 2010 (Ministry of Justice, 2011). The lower custody rate may be related to the introduction and establishment of MAPPA as an additional requirement for the most serious offenders in the community.

### 4.2 New MAPPA eligible offenders by category

Figure 4.2 shows the number of new MAPPA eligible offenders 2000-2010, by category (as determined by their index offence). New MAPPA eligible offenders were split into Category 1 (registered sex offenders) and Category 2 (violent offenders and other sex offenders with a 12 month or more sentence) according to the index offence and specific criteria in the MAPPA guidelines. Each year depicts the number of offenders who were released from prison or received their disposal (cautioned or received court order or suspended sentence order) during that year.

\textsuperscript{15} For the full list of Schedule 15 offences, please see http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2003/44/schedule/15
Figure 4.2: New MAPPA eligible offenders by category, 2000-2010

1. 2001 is excluded from the analysis due to inconsistencies in the matching process with the PNC, and is shown as a calculated mid-point with a dotted line and no expressed value.

Each year, there were fewer Category 1 offenders (registered sexual offenders) than Category 2 offenders (violent and other sexual offenders). There were 3,283 new Category 1 offenders in 2000 rising to 4,806 in 2010, while new Category 2 offenders increased from 7,333 in 2000 to 11,555 in 2009 and decreased to 9,590 in 2010. Some fluctuations may reflect the changes enacted by the Criminal Justice Act 2003 and the Sexual Offences Act 2003, which expanded the list of MAPPA eligible offences. Changes in eligibility for management under MAPPA in the 2007 and 2009 MAPPA guidance revisions may have affected the changes in the number of MAPPA eligible offenders between 2000 and 2010. Changes in eligibility for management under MAPPA will have had an impact on the characteristics and composition of the MAPPA eligible offenders, including risk level, and the balance between custodial and community sentences for each cohort. These may have had an impact on reoffending rates for the cohorts.

Between 2000 and 2010 approximately 30% of new MAPPA eligible offenders were classified as Category 1 and 70% were classed as Category 2. Less than 1% of Category 2 offenders were sexual offenders.
4.3 New MAPPA eligible offenders by gender

Figure 4.3 shows the breakdown of new male and female offenders eligible for MAPPA each year.

**Figure 4.3: New MAPPA eligible offenders by gender, 2000-2010**

Between 2000 and 2010, the majority of new MAPPA eligible offenders were male (approximately 95%), although the number of new female offenders eligible for MAPPA increased from 398 in 2000 to 657 in 2010.

4.4 New MAPPA eligible offenders by risk group

Since the late 1990s, the Offender Group Reconviction Scale (OGRS) has been the standard method of predicting reoffending among offenders in England and Wales (Home Office, 1999; Taylor, 1999). OGRS is a predictor of reoffending based only on static risks (factors include age at offence, gender and criminal history). Offenders are given a score between 0 and 1 which allows offender managers to measure their risk of reoffending within one year of their release from prison or their disposal, with 0 being the lowest and 1 the highest. The version of OGRS used for this analysis was OGRS3.
The highest OGRS3 score in the MAPPA eligible cohorts was 0.99 (meaning that 99% of offenders with a score of 0.99 were expected to reoffend within one year). For the purpose of this analysis only, OGRS3 scores were divided equally into three groups denoting the level of risk of reoffending – highest, medium and lowest risk. These risk bands are not standardised or used by NOMS, the Probation Service, or the Police, but were developed specifically for the purposes of this analysis.

This analysis uses the following breakdown of OGRS3 scores:

- The highest risk group includes those with OGRS3 score of 0.67-0.99 (between 67-99% of offenders in this band are expected to reoffend within one year).
- The medium risk group consists of offenders with an OGRS3 score 0.34-0.66 (34-66% of offenders in this band are expected to reoffend within one year).
- The lowest risk group includes those with an OGRS3 score of 0.0-0.33 (0-33% of offenders in this band are expected to reoffend within one year).

Figure 4.4 shows the proportion of new MAPPA eligible offenders grouped by OGRS3 scores as lowest, medium and highest risk groups from 2000 to 2010.

Figure 4.4: New MAPPA eligible offender population by risk group, 2000-2010

1. 2001 is excluded from the analysis due to inconsistencies in the matching process with the PNC, and is shown as a calculated mid-point with a dotted line and no expressed value.
Overall, the risk of reoffending as measured by OGRS3 increased for new MAPPA eligible offenders, from an average (mean) for all new MAPPA eligible offenders of 0.25 in 2000 to an average of 0.29 in 2010. For the cohort that means:

- The proportion of new MAPPA eligible offenders with the highest OGRS3 scores (and therefore the highest risk of reoffending within one year) increased from 2% in 2000 to 7% in 2010.
- In 2000, 29% of new MAPPA eligible offenders held medium OGRS3 scores, which increased to 33% in 2010.
- The proportion of offenders with the lowest OGRS3 scores decreased over time. In 2000, 69% of new MAPPA eligible offenders were in the lowest category of OGRS3 scores, which fell to 60% in 2010.

Considering risk of harm is as important as considering risk of reoffending, however data about risk of harm through reoffending was not available for this analysis (OGRS3 scores do not include an assessment of risk of harm).

### 4.5 One year proven reoffending rates of new MAPPA eligible offenders

Figure 4.5 shows the percentage of new MAPPA eligible offenders between 2000 and 2010 who reoffended within one year of their disposal or release from prison.

*Figure 4.5: One year proven reoffending rates of new MAPPA eligible offenders, 2000-2010*

1. 2001 is excluded from the analysis due to inconsistencies in the matching process with the PNC, and is shown as a calculated mid-point with a dotted line and no expressed value.
The proportion of new MAPPA eligible offenders with at least one proven reoffence within one year decreased from 30% to 26% between 2000 and 2004 and then remained relatively stable between 2004 and 2010. For comparison, the rates of general proven reoffending of all adult offenders in England and Wales (on community sentences and serving custodial sentences) were 26% in 2000 and 25% in 2010. The reduction in reoffending amongst new MAPPA eligible offenders is therefore greater than that observed in the general offender population.

4.6 Reoffending rates by category

Figure 4.6 shows the percentage of violent and sexual offenders eligible for MAPPA (determined by their index offence) between 2000 and 2010 who reoffended within one year of their disposal or release from prison. Each year depicts MAPPA eligible offenders who received their disposal during that year (cautioned or received court order or suspended sentence order) or who were released from prison during that year.

Figure 4.6: One year proven reoffending rates by category of new MAPPA eligible offenders, 2000-2010

1. 2001 is excluded from the analysis due to inconsistencies in the matching process with the PNC, and is shown as a calculated mid-point with a dotted line and no expressed value.

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Each year, Category 2 offenders (violent and other sexual offenders) showed a higher rate of one year proven reoffending from 2000 to 2010 than Category 1 offenders (registered sexual offenders). For example in 2007, 24% of Category 2 offenders reoffended, compared to 14% of Category 1 offenders. Category 2 offenders showed the highest reoffending rate of 26% in 2000 and 2002 and a low of 22% in 2006 and 2010.

In 2000, Category 1 offenders had a one year proven reoffending rate of 13%. The reoffending rate for these offenders decreased to 10% in 2003, before increasing back to 13% by 2010, peaking at 14% in 2007 and 2008.

### 4.7 Reoffending rates by gender

Figure 4.7 shows the breakdown of new male and female MAPPA eligible offenders who reoffended within one year of their disposal or release from prison between 2000 and 2010, by gender.

**Figure 4.7: One Year Proven Reoffending Rates of New MAPPA Eligible Offenders by Gender, 2000-2010**

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1. 2001 is excluded from the analysis due to inconsistencies in the matching process with the PNC, and is shown as a calculated mid-point with a dotted line and no expressed value.
Between 2000 and 2009, a slightly higher proportion of new male offenders eligible for MAPPA reoffended in comparison to new female offenders eligible for MAPPA. In 2010 they both had a proven one year reoffending rate of 27%.

The one year proven reoffending rates for new male offenders eligible for MAPPA showed an overall decrease of three percentage points between 2000 and 2010, from 30% to 27%.

In 2000, 25% of new female offenders eligible for MAPPA reoffended. There was a decrease in the proven one year reoffending rate from 28% in 2002 to 22% in 2005. Since 2005 there was an overall increase in the reoffending rate for new female offenders eligible for MAPPA to 27% in 2010.

4.8 One year reoffending by risk group
As described in Section 4.4, for the purpose of this analysis new MAPPA eligible offenders have been ascribed risk groups according to their OGRS3 score which is based on an assessment of risk of reoffending. It would be expected that a higher proportion of offenders in the highest risk band will reoffend within one year of disposal or release from prison.

Figure 4.8 shows one year proven reoffending rates by risk group of new MAPPA eligible offenders each year, between 2000 and 2010.
Findings suggest that OGRS3 scores do effectively estimate the likelihood of reoffending within one year, as those with a low score consistently showed a lower rate of reoffending. The highest risk group showed a higher rate of reoffending although it declined from 83% to 66% between 2000 and 2006, and remained stable around that level. This was a reduction of 20% (17 percentage points). Offenders assessed as being a high risk of reoffending and given a high OGRS3 score may receive more intensive inter-agency management under the MAPPA process (in conjunction with risk of harm assessments and other intelligence).

A decrease in one year reoffending can be seen in the other risk groups as well. The proportion of offenders in the medium risk group with at least one proven further offence decreased from 52% in 2000 to 43% in 2010. The lowest risk group showed a decrease in reoffending of four percentage points from 18% in 2000 to 14% in 2010.
4.9 One year serious reoffending by risk group

The Ministry of Justice definition of a serious further offence is based on a classification used by a legacy Home Office performance indicator. Serious offences are classified as sexual, violent and serious acquisitive offences.

Figure 4.9 shows the proportion of MAPPA eligible offenders who committed a serious further offence by their risk group as determined by their OGRS3 score.

Figure 4.9: One year serious reoffending rate of new MAPPA eligible offenders by risk group, 2000-2010

1. 2001 is excluded from the analysis due to inconsistencies in the matching process with the PNC, and is shown as a calculated mid-point with a dotted line and no expressed value.

Between 2000 and 2010 the one year serious reoffending rate of the highest risk group decreased from 29% to 16%, a decrease of 45% (13 percentage points). The one year serious reoffending rate of the highest risk group decreased year-on-year from 2000 to 2009 (except a slight increase between 2004 and 2005), before increasing slightly in 2010. A reduction in the most serious offending among the highest risk group is a good indication of MAPPA performing its core function. However, OGRS3 scores are not indicators of risk of harm. Due to limitations in the availability of the data, it was not possible to analyse further MAPPA eligible offences by risk of harm category of offenders.
5. Difference in Difference (DiD) analysis of the effect of MAPPA on one year reoffending

Difference in Difference (DiD) analysis was undertaken to estimate the impact of MAPPA on one year reoffending by comparing one year reoffending rates of offenders subject to MAPPA with a group of similar offenders who did not receive MAPPA supervision.

The DiD methodology compares the change in reoffending rates for the MAPPA group with change in reoffending for the control group. This is done by subtracting the average change in the control group from the average change in MAPPA group, showing whether the MAPPA group has had greater or lesser year-on-year change in reoffending rate compared with the control group.

One year reoffending outcomes were observed for the treatment and control groups over the period 2000-2010. The two groups were selected as follows:

1. **Treatment Group**: This group was exposed to MAPPA after 2001 (post the implementation of MAPPA). All offenders in the treatment group were selected on the same criteria (i.e. they committed offences making them eligible for MAPPA and given the appropriate sentence). In the pre-treatment period (2000), MAPPA eligible offenders were those who had committed a MAPPA qualifying offence (and were given the relevant sentence length) and released in the first quarter of 2000. This was to ensure there was no overlap in the one year reoffending follow-up when MAPPA started on 1st April 2001.

2. **Control Group**: The second group was not exposed to MAPPA during either period (pre-and-post implementation of MAPPA in 2001). For many MAPPA offences, an offender must have been sentenced to a year or more in custody to be managed under MAPPA. As a control group, offenders were selected who were sentenced for these same offences but sentenced to less than a year in custody. Category 1 offenders (registered sexual offenders) were excluded from the control group as they are subject to MAPPA supervision irrespective of sentence length. Controlling for OGRS3 scores allowed the groups to be comparable in terms of risk of reoffending.

There are limitations with the comparability of the control and treatment groups, especially as the sentence length (of less than one year in custody) indicates that the control group as a whole had committed less serious offences than the treatment group. The inclusion of Category 1 offenders (registered sexual offenders) in the treatment group, but not in the control
group may also have influenced the observed reoffending rates, as sex offenders tend to have lower rates of reoffending than violent offenders. Due to the methodological limitations in this approach, the DiD analysis should be treated with caution and considered indicative.

Offenders included in this component of the analysis were those who were convicted for MAPPA offences which were not affected by changes to MAPPA guidance and criteria from MAPPA’s implementation in 2001 to 2010. These were generally offences under older legislation such as the Offences Against the Person Act (e.g. wounding) or the Sexual Offences Act 1956 (e.g. unlawful sexual intercourse with girl under 13). Offenders convicted for MAPPA eligible offences which came in during the period 2000 to 2010 (e.g. new offences under the Sexual Offences Act 2003) were not included as it would have meant the cohorts were not directly comparable over time. MAPPA eligible offenders were included from both Category 1 offenders (registered sexual offenders) and Category 2 offenders (violent and other sexual offenders) where MAPPA guidance stipulates a minimum sentence length of at least a year as a condition for being eligible for MAPPA.

The DiD method controls for changes in reoffending over time that are independent of receiving MAPPA by assuming that such changes will equally affect both the control and the treatment groups. It should be noted that this assumption implies that the trend in reoffending is the same for both groups, i.e. any systematic differences in reoffending remain constant over time. This may not be the case, but the inclusion of OGRS3 scores partially controls for systematic changes in the propensity to reoffend between groups; however, data limitations have prevented formal testing of the ‘parallel trend’ assumption, and this is a weakness of the analysis.

The analysis looked at both the one year reoffending rate and the one year serious reoffending rate. Serious reoffences are classified as sexual, violent and serious acquisitive offences.

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19 If differences between groups are constant over time then the time-series plots of reoffending of the treatment and control groups on the same graph will be parallel, even if there are systematic differences in their reoffending rates. For example, those in the control group, on shorter sentences, are likely to have systematically higher reoffending rates than the treatment group, but differences between their reoffending rates might be expected to remain stable over time. Changes in the OGRS scores of the cohorts over time will cause the trends to diverge and the DiD estimate of the effect of MAPPA to be inaccurate, as it will include the effects of these changes. By including the OGRS score as an independent variable these changes are controlled for. However, other variables that differ over time may have been omitted, and there is no guarantee that the DiD estimate is not including the effects of changes other than receiving MAPPA.

These are MAPPA eligible offences but are fewer in total than the original list of MAPPA eligible offences.

Table 5.1 shows the estimated effect of MAPPA on both the reoffending rate, and the serious reoffending rate, within one year of new MAPPA eligible offenders’ disposals or release from prison.

**Table 5.1: Estimated effect of MAPPA on one year reoffending rates compared to control group, controlling for OGRS3 risk scores**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change in overall one year reoffending rate of the MAPPA group compared with the control group, 2000-2010</th>
<th>Change in one year serious reoffending rate of the MAPPA group compared with the control group, 2000-2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage change</td>
<td>Standard error</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-.042*</td>
<td>.011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Statistically significant results at the 1% level

The table shows the average difference between the control group and the treatment group (MAPPA eligible offenders) from the pre-treatment period (2000) and the post treatment period (2010). The findings suggest that MAPPA may have reduced one year reoffending between 2000 and 2010 by 4 percentage points and reduced the rate of serious reoffending by 2 percentage points when controlling for changes in reoffending rates not attributable to MAPPA.
6. Conclusion

This is the first study that has used PNC data to analyse one year rates of proven reoffending among new MAPPA eligible offenders and examine the number and characteristics of new MAPPA eligible offenders. In addition, the DiD analysis has attempted to estimate the effect of MAPPA on reoffending within one year of an offender’s disposal or release from prison.

Analysis of reoffending patterns shows that both Category 1 offenders (registered sexual offenders) and Category 2 offenders (violent and other sexual offenders) showed an overall decrease in one year reoffending between 2000 and 2004, and reoffending remained relatively stable between 2004 and 2010 (there was a small increase in reoffending of Category 1 offenders between 2004 and 2010). The most frequent reoffences committed within one year by new MAPPA eligible offenders were classified as non-serious.

A finding of particular note is the overall one year reoffending rate of new MAPPA eligible offenders assessed as high risk of reoffending (determined by high OGRS3 scores), which showed a decrease of 20% (17 percentage points) between 2000 and 2010.

Furthermore, there was a reduction of 45% (13 percentage points) in serious reoffending rates between 2000 and 2010 among the high risk of reoffending group of new MAPPA eligible offenders, which is supported by the DiD analysis. The DiD analysis suggests that across new MAPPA eligible offenders, MAPPA supervision is associated with an estimated 4 percentage point reduction in overall reoffending and an estimated 2 percentage point reduction in serious reoffending, when controlling for other factors that may have influenced rates of reoffending in this period.

These reductions suggest that MAPPA may be making a positive contribution in reducing the risk of serious harm. Offenders assessed as being at a high risk of reoffending generally receive more intensive inter-agency management under the MAPPA process, and these results may indicate success in the risk management of these offenders through MAPPA.

The limitations of both the data and the methods of analysis prevent the isolation of the effect of MAPPA on reoffending and the contribution of MAPPA to reducing reoffending cannot be conclusively determined. MAPPA guidance and eligibility for management under MAPPA changed in 2003, 2007 and 2009 and as such, the profile and characteristics of offenders is not the same for the years 2000-2010. In addition, the proportion of offenders with custodial
and non-custodial sentences varied between the cohorts, as did the characteristics of offenders. This may have had an impact on reoffending.

The analysis of one year reoffending rates indicates that MAPPA may have played a part in reducing reoffending by new MAPPA eligible offenders. It also suggests that the multi-agency approach is likely to support the effective management of violent and sexual offenders in the community, as an effective public protection measure.
References


**Legislation**


