Critical review of initial evaluations on the three J-ARC pilot projects
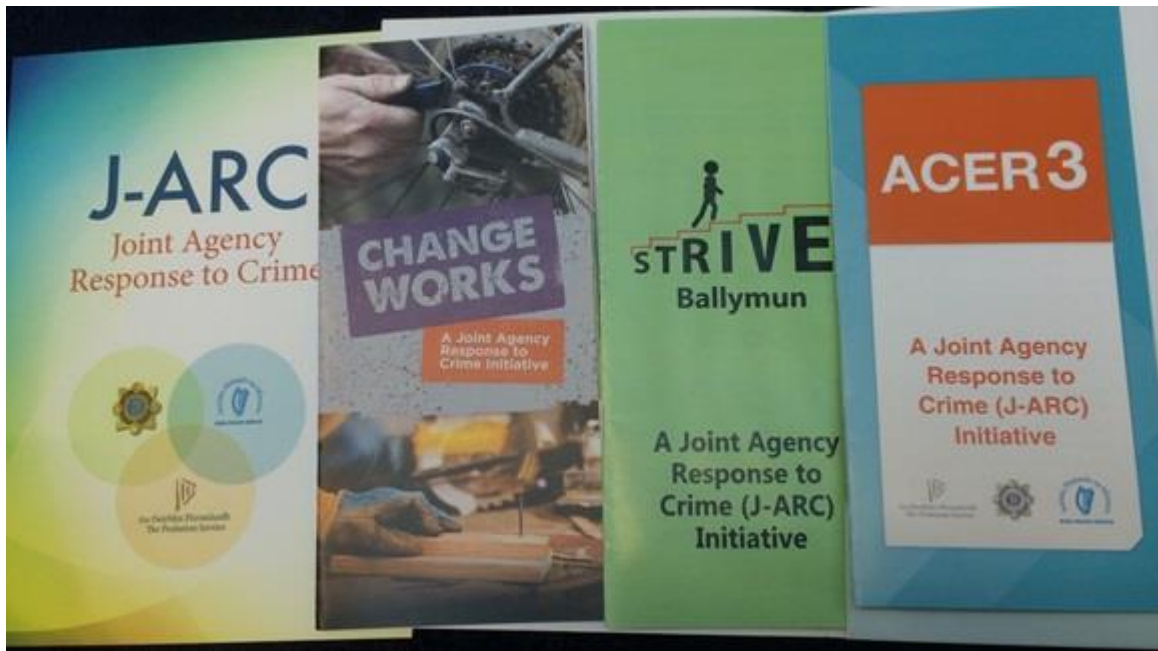
Management Summary

Introduction and background

The Joint Agency Response to Crime ('J-ARC') Evaluation Working Group has been tasked with carrying out a desktop evaluation[1] of the effectiveness of three pilot projects – 'ACER3', 'STRIVE' and 'Change Works' – which use a coordinated approach to preventing crime and increasing public safety as part of a wider J-ARC strategy. This review analyses independent evaluations of each of these projects to identify common strategies and challenges – as well as lessons learned - to create a more informed programme for future use. In particular, the J-ARC programme aims to develop a strengthened multi-agency response to crime, with an emphasis on prolific offenders. Each project fits with the overall objective of J-ARC but can differ in approach, timing and scope, meaning they are not wholly comparable.

The objective of this review is to assess how effective and efficient the co-ordinated approach is, as well as outlining possible changes that would enhance the performance of the J-ARC strategy. As such, it is worth highlighting that this evaluation does not intend to be conclusive and it is important that the programme is monitored and reviewed on a regular basis.

A clear strength of the initial J-ARC programme was the flexibility involved in the formation of each of the pilots, yet this created a number of challenges in terms of evaluation. Data was not gathered in a consistent way at the beginning of each of the pilots and there were no prescribed reference materials across the projects to provide a base for the evaluations. Target group sizes were small and varied between the pilots, preventing any conclusive inferences from the results. Each project also had different numbers of staff associated with them and there was no clear estimate of the staff time involved in the day-to-day running of J-ARC. While this meant that it was difficult to make clear comparisons between the projects, it provides a useful lesson for future rollout. As an initial evaluation of the programme, it was particularly helpful to identify the need for clear procedures that will enhance future analysis.

Future of J-ARC

The findings from each of the evaluations were clear that the multi-agency approach of J-ARC is worthwhile and that information sharing has improved significantly as a result. Despite the caveats highlighted above, there appear to be many positive outcomes associated with the programme, including reductions in re-offending and the severity of re-offences. Larger cohorts and improved data collection will only deliver more robust results in future evaluations, while examining a wider set of outcomes will provide a more detailed description of the impacts of J-ARC. All of this will go towards strengthening the programme and establishing it as a trusted method for reducing criminal activity among the most prolific offenders.

Although the processes required to achieve the objectives of J-ARC should be reviewed on a regular basis, it remains important for these processes not to become too prescriptive. This is to allow individual projects to adapt the processes to their local environment while keeping to the overarching J-ARC approach, enabling facilitators to deliver a tailored programme that is best suited to the needs of their communities. Given the evidence throughout, this review therefore recommends the continuation and extension[2] of the programme, as well as increased efforts to raise awareness of J-ARC through training and communication.

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[1] A desktop review is an assessment of existing documentation to make an informed conclusion about a particular programme or project. It relies on existing primary research as was undertaken during the three J-ARC evaluations.

[2] This review only looks at the initial three J-ARC pilot projects and our recommendations are based on this. J-ARC has since expanded to other locations. Our recommendation does not look into expanding J-ARC past its current (Summer 2018) level. This will be subject of future evaluation reports.

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1.1   Purpose of the document

This desktop review[3] is undertaken by the J-ARC Evaluation Framework Working Group, which is made up members of each of the core J-ARC agencies[4]. The purpose of this document is to provide an evaluation of the benefits derived from the J-ARC strategy. This document:

- critically reviews the three evaluation reports, the evaluation planning process and the relevant ancillary material;
- compiles critically the three separate evaluation reports and their conclusions, including an overarching conclusion and an assessment of its methodological scope and limitations; and
- makes recommendations on the strategy going forward to the Regional Coordination Unit.

Three evaluations have been completed, one for each J-ARC pilot project. This document will provide a summary of the J-ARC specific elements of each of these evaluations. These evaluations were undertaken at different intervals over the last two years. There are features of the evaluations that are comparable but there are also significant differences, which reflect the differences of the projects and the timings and scope of the evaluations.

This review will also critically assess the findings of the three evaluations and how these findings align with the overall strategic objectives of J-ARC. An added key value of this high-level review is that it focuses on the evaluations in terms of the key J-ARC strategic objectives. Each of the three pilot projects have features that are project specific and this is important for the individual evaluations.

The three evaluations are (and will be referenced throughout the document):

- Acer3 (hence "Acer3 Evaluation") undertaken by KC consulting and completed in April 2017
- STRIVE (hence "STRIVE Evaluation") undertaken by Eyton-Williams Consultancy Ltd and completed in April 2016[5]
- Change Works (hence "Change Works") undertaken by KC consulting and completed in January 2018

This report is a summary of these three documents and focuses on the commonalities, the relevance of the projects to the J-ARC strategy, the lessons learned and an overall interim assessment of the progress of J-ARC. While every effort has been made to accurately reflect the content of the three evaluations, there may be instances where the content in this report does not completely reflect the three evaluations. J-ARC has continued and expanded since these evaluations were undertaken and this review focuses on J-ARC during the period that these evaluations covered. It does not represent an analysis of the current performance or structure of J-ARC.

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[3] A desktop review is an assessment of existing documentation to make an informed conclusion about a particular programme or project. It relies on existing primary research as was undertaken during the three J-ARC evaluations.

[4] Full membership of this group is provided in the Annex.

[5] This evaluation was undertaken as part of the 2016 STRIVE Annual Report and the consultants have been contracted to follow up on the programme.

The report is structured as follows:

- Section 1 gives an overview of J-ARC, its first pilot projects and how these projects compare to each other;
- Section 2 gives an overview and assessment of how the three evaluations of the J-ARC pilot projects were planned;
- Section 3 gives a high level overview of the resources required to operationalize J-ARC across the three pilot projects;
- Section 4 outlines the key findings of the process evaluations from each of the three pilot projects;
- Section 5 outlines the key findings of the outcome evaluations from each of the three pilot projects. It also examines the limitations and the key caveats that need to be applied when interpreting the findings from the outcome evaluations; and
- Section 6 examines the recommendations offered in the different evaluations and provides a number of new recommendations based on a critical review of the J-ARC evaluations.

1.2 Introduction to J-ARC

On the 21st of November 2014, a joint protocol was signed by An Garda Síochána, the Irish Prison Service and the Probation Service establishing the J-ARC programme. Joint Agency Response to Crime ('J-ARC') is a multi-agency response to the supervision and rehabilitation of offenders. The core agencies involved operationally during the period of evaluation were the Probation Service, the Irish Prison Service, and the Garda Síochána[6]. The Department of Justice and Equality is also involved through oversight and policy functions. The programme aims to target prolific[7] offenders who are responsible for large amounts of crime. In order to reduce crime and enhance public safety, the selected prolific offenders are managed through the integration of policy and practice between the J-ARC agencies.

The overall strategic objectives of J-ARC[8] are:

- To develop and further strengthen a multi-agency approach to the management of crime;
- To prioritise offenders in order to develop initiatives, which will address their behaviour; and
- To reduce crime and increase public safety in local communities.

This is achieved by:

- Ensuring enhanced co-ordination in implementing policies to reduce crime and manage recidivism;
- Considering emerging trends in criminal activity; and

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[6] Other agencies may also be involved in individual J-ARC projects depending on the different requirements. The Department of Children and Youth Affairs (including Tusla) and the Department of Education and Skills are now also core operational agencies of J-ARC as it has expanded.

[7] J-ARC targets prolific offenders, which is different to recidivist offenders who are likely to re-offend, but it is unknown to what extent. Prolific offenders typically have a large number of charges against them.

[8] http://www.justice.ie/en/JELR/Pages/PR15000617

- Identifying and developing potential areas for collaborative working to address and manage recidivist behaviour.

1.3 Comparison of the three pilot projects

Each project has its own features and fits in under the overall strategic objectives of J-ARC. The three pilot J-ARC projects are ACER3, Change Works and Ballymun STRIVE. Some of the key features of the three projects are shown in the table below. As shown, the Change Works project is significantly larger (in terms of Targets) than the other two J-ARC projects. It is worth highlighting that Change Works stems from the Bridge Project, which has been in existence since 1990.The number of non-core J-ARC agencies also varies significantly, with the STRIVE project having the most number of agencies involved.

Table 1.1: Summary of key features of the three J-ARC pilot projects			
	ACER3	**Change Works**	**STRIVE**
Number of Targets during the evaluation period*	10 Targets in both Locations. (20 in total). 2 Targets were replaced.	50 "Priority" Targets at programme launch in Q1 2015, 51 "Priority" Targets at end of Q2 2017.	18 key individuals during the time of the evaluation.
Location of Targets	D24 & D8 Tallaght & Kevin St. stations.	Dublin Metropolitan Region.	East Ballymun.
Criminal profile of Targets*	Burglary & Related offences.	Violent & Harmful behaviour.	Most prolific offenders (Total Crimes) in specific area.
Location of intervention	Various locations.	Bridge Centre.	Various locations around East Ballymun.
Start Date of the Project	Q2 2015	Q1 2015	January 2015
Other agencies involved:	Local drug treatment services along with training and employment programmes.	Bridge Project team.	Ballymun Social Regeneration Sub-committee, Job Centre, DSP, DCC and Local Drugs Taskforce.
Initial timescale of the project	2-year pilot	2-year pilot	2-year pilot
Evaluation period	May 2015-Dec 2016	Jan 2016-Aug 2017	Jan 2015-Dec 2015 & July 2016-Dec 2016
The number of targets can fluctuate over time as people move in or out of the programme. *** Criminogenic behaviour and pathway treatments are clearly different for violent/harmful offenders compared to prolific offenders. This means comparing and evaluating Change Works with Acer3 and STRIVE may be challenging, although the latter two will have clear commonalities.*			

2 Review of the approach undertaken for the evaluations

This is a desk-based review so no new primary research has been undertaken as part of this review. Significant primary research was undertaken as part of the three evaluations including structured surveys, face-to-face interviews with clients and practitioners and focus groups.

Three evaluations were undertaken following a joint commitment to assess the J-ARC programme, as the individual pilot projects had been operational for approximately two years. These evaluations were completed at different stages with the last evaluation finalised in early 2018.

This section gives a brief overview of the planning stages of the evaluations including the terms of reference and the methodologies requested.

2.1 Comment on the Terms of Reference for each evaluation

In order to compare the three evaluations, it is important to examine how the evaluations were set up. This relates to the requirements set out in the tender specifications.

A mixed method approach was requested for all three evaluations. Methods used in this type of approach are quantitative and qualitative, incorporating data and document analysis, individual and group interviews, focus group discussions, observation and case studies. The table below summarises the key characteristics of the evaluation requirements set out in the terms of reference for the three J-ARC pilot projects.

Table 2.1: Summary of key Tender Requirements of the three J-ARC pilot projects			
Criteria	**ACER3**	**Change Works**	**STRIVE**
Methodology	Mixed Method approach	Mixed Method approach	Mixed Method approach
Time Frame	An interim report was to be provided after three months and a final report at the end of the evaluation period. The duration of the ACER3 project was to be one calendar year.	The evaluation was to be performed over 12 weeks.	The process assessment was to be performed over two time periods, the first 12 months and final six months. Design of the process evaluation, development of monitoring structures and analysis of results were to take place within the first 12 months. In the final six months, the project was to be reassessed.
Deliverables	Interim report to be provided after three months and a final report to be provided at the end of the evaluation period.	*To design a process evaluative framework for the project incorporating appropriate data collection methods. *To put in place structures to monitor the progress of the project. *To provide results along with analysis of the findings making clear recommendations for	*To design a process evaluative framework for the project incorporating appropriate data collection methods. *To put in place structures to monitor the progress of the project. *To provide results along with analysis of the findings making clear recommendations for informing the work of the STRIVE project. *Quarterly written updates to be provided.

		informing the work of the Change Works project. *Interim and Final Reports to be provided within 12-week timescale. *To design a process evaluation framework for the project. *To develop structures to monitor progress of the project *To analyse results and provide a critical analysis of findings.	*A draft report document to be provided. *Final document and presentations of findings to be provided.
Tender Requirements	*A process and outcome review to be given. *Assess the extent of achievement of the ACER3 project along with the stated aims and objectives. *Identify any lessons learned, what worked well and what did not.	*12 key questions were to be explored as part of the process evaluation. *Some of these questions ranged from an examination of systems / practices to how the model worked, to how the Targets found how the programme worked for them to capacity building to the continued practice of resource use in the project etc. *Analyse results and to provide a critical analysis of findings.	*14 key questions were to be explored as part of the process evaluation. *Some of these questions ranged from an examination of systems / practices to how the model worked, to how the Targets found how the programme worked for them to capacity building to the continued practice of resource use in the project.
Post Evaluation requirements	N/A	N/A	Follow up survey on a yearly basis to be carried out[9].
Funding Agency	An Garda Síochána	Probation Service and the City of Dublin Education & Training Board	Dublin City Council
Note: The above table is based on the tender requirement documents produced			

As outlined above, the terms of reference for each of the evaluations were different. One of the big differences was in relation to the level of reporting required. Similarly, the timeframe given to complete the evaluations was also considerably different. In terms of costing, both Change Works and Strive were very similar with ACER3 being significantly less expensive.

The funding agency for each evaluation was also different. It does not appear to have created any difficulty in the evaluation process but it means that different individuals from the funding agencies were likely to be involved in the process, which may have led to different priorities.

Each evaluation has not been audited to assess whether it complied exactly with their respective requirements set out in the Terms of Reference. This is a governance matter for each of the funding agencies.

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[9] The following additional evaluation methods will be used: one-to-ones; observations; review of SOP, and a Focus Group. The evaluation has expanded to include governance by inclusion of the STRIVE Steering Group.

2.2   Methodologies and approaches used in the evaluations

The methodologies used in the evaluations were broadly similar. For the ACER3 and the Change Works projects a mixed methods approach was employed that included quantitative and qualitative methods, incorporating data and document analysis, interviews, observation and profile development/case studies. For the Ballymun STRIVE project, a Process evaluation was carried out and the Garda Síochána Analysis Service ('GSAS') undertook one element of the outcome analysis.

There was no clear reference document that the evaluators were following. The only J-ARC specific evaluation document provided was a short framework document, which gave a very high-level requirement for both process and outcome measures to be included in any J-ARC project evaluation.

Thus, the evaluators have been typically following approaches that would be used for other comparable evaluations. However, these may not have been J-ARC specific and this will have clear implications for comparability of findings.

Interviews were held with Targets (clients), case managers and steering group members for all the evaluations. This qualitative data gathering provides a clear evidence base on which to examine the processes involved in the J-ARC programme.

2.3   Limitations of the evaluations

There were limitations associated with each of the evaluations. Many of these related to the small sample sizes associated with each of the interventions[10]. Another significant limitation is that there was no clear evaluation plan set out prior to the projects starting. This meant that the data collected was not gathered with future evaluation in mind. The lack of a robust control group in each of the pilots also meant there was no potential to compare the outcomes for those who received the intervention against those who did not.

As the projects were pilots, there were also some operational changes as the projects evolved. Most of the main limitations of the evaluations related to the small samples used in all of the evaluations. In aggregate, still only around 90 Targets were part of the pilot J-ARC programme at the time of the evaluations. As a result, making any clear statistically robust conclusions is difficult. Although the sample sizes were small, the various evaluations provided a significant evidence base on which to examine whether J-ARC was operating efficiently and as planned. Significant new primary research including involving consultation practitioners and Targets was also undertaken which gives a more holistic overview of the various J-ARC projects.

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[10] It could be argued that the use of the term 'sample size' is somewhat misleading since the Targets are essentially a population and there was no way to increase the size of the 'sample'. However, given that the population was too small to draw sweeping conclusions from, the term 'sample size' has been adopted to demonstrate this point.

2.4   Assessment of evaluation planning phase

- Overall, there were a number of differences between the planning undertaken for the three different evaluations. This relates to a number of factors that reflect the timing of the various pilot projects and the different characteristics of the projects.
- The requirements set out in the various terms of reference were quite heterogeneous, with differences in the reporting requirements, timeframes and scope.
- At a wider level, there was no prescribed reference material on which to base the evaluation.
- Evaluation plans were not evident prior to the inception of the different projects, which meant that some of the data required for evaluation was not collected in a consistent way.
- Finally, it must be noted that these three projects were small pilot projects (with a low number of Targets), and the feasibility of applying full evaluation standards should be acknowledged. However, the flexibility of initial J-ARC projects was a clear strength of the programme, but this flexibility creates difficulty from an evaluation perspective.
- It must also be noted that these three evaluations were the first evaluations of J-ARC and the programme was still in development during this phase. Although an evaluation framework was in place at the time these evaluations were undertaken, it was very high-level. These three evaluations will form part of the evidence base for future evaluations so that improved consistency can be achieved when evaluating the impact of individual J-ARC projects or the J-ARC programme as a whole.

3 High-level discussion of resources used in the J-ARC programme

3.1 Assessment of costs

Much of the theory behind J-ARC is that the programme leads to an improvement in the efficiency of the time spent on offender management through better, quicker and more structured information exchange.

It is not possible to make any clear assessment of the operational cost of the programme at this stage. In most cases, the pilot programme has been undertaken without any additional staff so in this instance the exchequer costs of the programme are very low. However, there are non-financial costs that should be considered.

3.2 High-level description of costs associated with J-ARC programme

It is difficult to estimate accurately the exchequer costs of the J-ARC programme. The operation of the programme required significant staff time. Both the direct and indirect costs of the programme need to be examined.

Programme costs

The costs of each of the programmes are simply the costs that are attributable to the programme. The type of costs outlined below are typically associated with similar offender management programmes such as J-ARC.

The key cost headings include:

- Staff costs;
- Non-staff costs that are directly connected to the programme costs;
- Capital costs (development of an IT solution or co-location);
- Opportunity costs;
- Facilities; and
- Equipment and materials.

Staff costs refer to all of the human resources required for the administration and running of the programmes such as salaries. Facilities costs include the physical space required for the programme. Equipment and materials refer to furnishings, instructional equipment and materials that are used for the programme. There are also potential costs associated with the programme such as access to unmarked cars or personal phones.

It is also important to consider opportunity costs[11] when examining the programme. One of the proposed key benefits of J-ARC is that it just involves staff working in a more efficient fashion and this should mean that the opportunity costs are minimal. Without J-ARC, it is likely that significant resources would still be required to respond to the activities of the J-ARC Targets.

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[11] Opportunity costs refer to the cost of not using the resource for an alternative purpose

3.2.1 Evaluation carried out of the Reducing Offending in Partnership (ROP) programme in Northern Ireland

The Economic Advisory Unit of the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) in conjunction with the Probation Board carried out an economic evaluation of the Reducing Offending in Partnership (ROP) programme for Northern Ireland (PBNI). This programme has a number of similarities with the J-ARC programme. This report was published in 2017 and found that for every £1 spent on the programme, an economic benefit of £2.20 was generated in the form of reduced economic costs of crime. The ROP cohort was from 2014 and was made up of 358 individuals. The overall cost of the programme during the assessment period was estimated at £5.2 million[12]. This equates to a cost of around £14,500 per offender and includes all staff time devoted to the programme. It is important to note that costs appear to be gross costs.

3.3 Resources used in the three pilot J-ARC projects

The level of resources required for the operational element for each of the three core J-ARC agencies is strongly linked to the current status of the Target. This can change quickly if the Target is granted temporary release or imprisoned on new charges. For these reasons, the level of resources required from each agency will vary significantly. Furthermore, it is worth highlighting that all staff involved in the programme continued to have other duties outside of J-ARC.

Table 3.1 summarises the resource of inputs for the three projects. It is crucial to note that resource inputs are taken from the three evaluation reports carried out previously. In addition, no staff time or monetary valuation is put on each staff member who was part of the pilot projects. It is not possible to estimate an exact input value[13] based on the data gathered in the evaluations.

Table 3.1: Resource inputs for J-ARC[14]

	ACER3		Change Works	STRIVE
	D8	D24		
Garda (Case Managers)	5	10	NIA	2(Initially)
Gardaí (Case Managers after 12 months)	-	-	13*	10
Gardaí (Superintendent, Inspector, Sergeant etc.)	4	3	3**	3****
Probation Officer	2	2	3***	1
Senior Probation Officer	2		1	1
Prison Officer	2		1	1
Other Agencies	NIA	NIA	2 P/T project workers	2
NIA No Information Available at time of carrying out evaluation of J-ARC programme				

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[12]   IRISH PROBATION JOURNAL Volume 14, October 2017, https://www.pbni.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/GlennParker_GailMcGreevy_IPJ-13.11.17.pdf

[13] No references to whole-time-equivalents (WTE) are made in the evaluations.

[14] These resource inputs are based on the findings from the three evaluations. No new analysis of the resources required has been undertaken as part of this review.

3.3.1   ACER3 Operational Resources

Staff resources used in the setting up and running of the ACER3 project were, from An Garda Síochána: one Superintendent, one Inspector, two Sergeants and five Garda case managers from Kevin Street station (Dublin 8) and one Inspector, two Sergeants and ten Garda case managers in Tallaght station (Dublin 24). From the Probation Service: two Senior Probation Officers and three Probation Officers across the two areas. In addition, from the Prison Service: two members of staff in the co-located office in the Probation Service. These staff continued to have other duties outside of their involvement in ACER3.

3.3.2   Change Works Operational Resources

The majority of the work with Targets in the Change Works programme falls on the Probation Service. The probation team comprises of one senior probation officer and three probation officers, one of which is part time. The Garda DMR Co-ordination & Tasking unit comprises of one sergeant and two Gardaí and the Change Works programme is just part of their duties. A single part-time case manager for the Prison Service has responsibility for all Targets.

3.3.3   STRIVE Operational Resources

Staff costs for the STRIVE programme are made up of two Gardaí with other duties outside of STRIVE, one probation officer working part-time but dedicated to STRIVE, one officer with other duties outside of STRIVE from the Prison Service and two staff members with other duties outside of STRIVE from the Job Centre. Nearly 12 months after STRIVE was set-up an additional 10 Garda 'Case Managers' were allocated.

3.4   Other Costs

Staff training is another cost that would need to be established as the programme is expanded, as it is imperative that staff have the requisite training. Joint training was provided to all staff involved in the initial programme and agency members, in particular, valued this experience[15].

3.5   Comment on costs/resources

- All the evaluations provided a high-level examination of the resources involved in the different J-ARC projects. However, there was no clear estimate of the staff time involved in the day-to-day operation of J-ARC.
- A high-level summary of the evaluations shows that each project had quite different numbers of staff associated with them. However, this tells us little about the actual resource requirements involved, as staff are likely to have spent different amounts of time on J-ARC.

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[15] The STRIVE report highlighted the Probation Service as the only agency that provided training in desistance and risk factors impacting on offending and reoffending.

- At the moment, J-ARC is mainly staff focused. There is likely to be a need for some IT investment, such as building on work-to-date on e-JARC, which would facilitate the better sharing and collection of data.
- It is not possible to make any conclusions on the cost effectiveness of J-ARC based on the three evaluations.
- It is important that a clearer cost and resource examination is undertaken. This may involve new procedures on data collection. Such a review should also consider the optimum level of inputs required for the success of the programme.
- However, before cost-effectiveness is examined, it is important to examine whether the programme assisted in achieving positive outcomes. From an evaluation perspective, it is also important to determine the level of inputs that are being given to J-ARC and there is a need for more work to be undertaken in this area.

4 Review of the Process Evaluations

4.1 Overview of process evaluations

Process evaluations examine how a programme outcome or impact was achieved and the information gathering is useful for understanding the programme impacts and outcomes, and for future programme replication. Process evaluations were undertaken for each of the three J-ARC projects.

4.2 Selection of Targets

A fundamental aspect of the J-ARC programme is how the Targets are selected. This is a key aspect of the process and will clearly have a significant impact on the effectiveness of the programme, in terms of both offending behaviour and other outcomes.

One of the key strategic objectives of J-ARC is the prioritisation of offenders based on their previous criminal activity. The central premise is that by targeting the most prolific offenders, overall crime levels can be reduced in a cost effective fashion. However, selection is not solely based on past offending history and there may be other risk factors that lead to the selection of Targets. Some degree of flexibility regarding selection is important but it is also important that there are general overall criteria that typically drive Target selection.

Table 4.1: Summary of the Target Selection processes for the three J-ARC pilot projects during the evaluation period.			
Criteria	**ACER3**	**Change Works**	**STRIVE**
Target Selection Agency	Each agency could nominate Targets for inclusion but Garda proposals dominated.	The probation service proposed all of the Targets bar one. These were endorsed by An Garda Síochána and the IPS. A large proportion of the Targets were already participants on the Bridge Project.	Selection decisions were made with input from the three agencies. The Job Centre did not have any input into the selection, initially.
Criteria for Selection	The process for initial Target selection in Dublin 8 and 24 was based on prior burglary offending history.	The Change Works programme selected Targets who have a history of violent offending and were judged as being at high risk of causing serious harm.	Individuals who were causing a high level of harm or disruption in East Ballymun. Selection was not crime specific.
Criteria for de-selection	No clear process outlined.	De-selection mentioned but no clear criteria outlined.	There was no clearly defined selection and de-selection process for STRIVE clients at the start of the programme but the completed evaluation states that procedures have since been put in place.
Consent	No requirement for consent. Targets were selected onto the programme and encouraged to buy-in.	No requirement for consent. Targets were selected onto the programme and encouraged to buy-in.	No requirement for consent. Targets were selected onto the programme and encouraged to buy-in.
Selection of Targets during evaluation period	10 Targets selected in both Dublin 8 & 24. Each agency identified targets for inclusion. GSAS then performed analysis of these	51 current ("Priority") Targets in the Change Works programme, of whom 30 were in the community and 21 were in custody.	GSAS identified 40 potential Targets. The three agencies then reduced this list to 18 Targets

	Targets before final selection by the agencies.		who were considered the most harmful to the community.
Non-Selected Targets	Six non-selected offenders in Dublin 8 and nine non-selected offenders in Dublin 24.	Non-selected Targets are not discussed in the Evaluation Report.	22 non-selected Targets out of 40.
Note: Based on an analysis of the three evaluations. It may be that the evaluations do not represent a complete picture of the J-ARC projects.			

There was no clear criteria for J-ARC selection evident in the evaluation reports and selection appeared to be generally based on prior offending. The clear reasoning for including some Targets and excluding others with similar offending histories was unavailable. It should be noted that the evaluations did mention that other offenders could have been chosen using information on the Targets provided by the three agencies such as attitudes, thinking, behaviour, education, current status in regards to custody, supervision and court dates. It is important that there is transparency in how targets are selected and it may be that criteria will change over time to reflect changing external factors.

It does appear that significant data analysis was undertaken in each project to identify a broad cohort of offenders with significant levels of prior offences. Following this, different criteria were applied to select the final J-ARC Targets. Overall, this seems like a reasonable approach as it combines the offending evidence along with knowledge of experienced staff who have day-to-day experiences of different Targets.

One aspect of the JARC selection that should be monitored going forward is the potential Targets who were not chosen for the programme. These could potentially represent a robust control group on which to compare programme outcomes. Still, any attempt at forming a control group would have to apply randomisation to avoid the risk of selection bias (where any inherent differences between the control and treatment groups will explain any differences in outcomes).

It may also be helpful to select Targets who live outside the geographical scope of the programme. This is because prolific offenders often commit crimes across a much broader area than their local communities and neglecting this issue may lead to an underestimate of the effects of the programme.

Another important aspect is to establish clear de-selection criteria. This does not seem to have been clear during the evaluation period. Targets who are de-selected need to be followed and their progress monitored following the J-ARC intervention. The number of clients who have been de-selected is very low at present due to the current lifetime of the programme.

4.3 Summary of findings on process evaluation

The following table gives a summary of the key findings from the three process evaluations carried out.

Table 4.2: Summary of key findings from three evaluations on Process Evaluation			
	ACER3	**Change Works**	**STRIVE**
Multi-Agency working	*Good inter-agency working relations. *Agencies work with a shared purpose.	*Good Inter-agency working relations. *Change Works team operates with a shared purpose. *Cooperation takes place between the three agencies.	*"Overwhelming" support for multi-agency approach and the multi-agency way of working, especially owed to the participation of the Job Centre and community representation.
Information Sharing	*Sharing of relevant information takes place. Information sharing has improved significantly.	*Sharing of information occurs between the three agencies.	*Clear benefit in terms of information sharing.
Target Selection	See above	See above	See above
Resources	See above	See above	See above
Impact on public safety	*Effective in Reducing crime and increasing public safety. This is done by focussing on preventing offending and responding promptly to new transgressions.	*The programme focusses on preventing offending and allows for the prompt response to any new offending. This contributes to reduced offence levels and increased public safety.	*Regular monitoring of Targets is undertaken and changes in priority level of Targets are implemented as required.
Management of Targets	*Increased knowledge of individual circumstances very beneficial. *Important to find balance between strict compliance and tolerance of minor slippages. *Target categorisation was carried out and each Target put into one of six streams[16].	*Progress of clients is reviewed regularly and case notes are kept by the Probation officer and the key worker. *Garda PULSE system identifies when a Target comes to AGS attention. This information is not always passed on to the other agencies. *Evidence of detailed offender plans being put in place.	*Use of a RAG status to monitor Targets. *Use and involvement of the Job Centre seen as a clear positive in management of Targets.
Governance	*No discussion of governance included in the evaluation. *Data protection group was set up to prepare data Sharing Protocol and to examine legislative basis for data sharing between the three agencies if necessary.	*Structures created for the Bridge Project are generally used for the Change Works J-ARC project. * There was improvement in sharing information and file maintenance.	*No evidence emerged relating to the governance requirements of the Steering Group from those interviewed. *There was some concern expressed by those interviewed in respect of communication,

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[16] Streams are used in ACER3 to describe the status of a Target in terms of whether they are in custody, fully compliant with J-ARC or other situations such as in the community.

			policymaking and directives that filter down, from the Steering Group, to the Operational Team.
Data Collection	*ACER3 has access to an early version of case management system to monitor activity of clients. There is still a need to keep case records on Targets.	*Largely based on case notes taken by the Probation officer.	*Only monitoring data collected related to the RAG status of Targets. No clear record of availed services.

4.4 Assessment of process evaluations undertaken

- It appears that the processes involved in the J-ARC pilot projects have developed significantly since their inception. However, these processes must be considered in the context of a relatively small number of Targets.
- All the evaluations make it clear that the multi-agency aspects of J-ARC have been very worthwhile. Arising from this, information sharing has also improved significantly. This is a key feature of J-ARC and it is important that it is monitored and fostered going forward.
- The selection process appears to have been different for the J-ARC projects:
    o ACER3: Agencies proposed Targets; GSAS analysed these Targets; agencies made final decision
    o Change Works: Seems to be mainly based on participation in the Bridge Project
    o STRIVE: GSAS selected a cohort of possible Targets; agencies chose final Targets
- Each J-ARC project had a number of differences so it is difficult to assess what the 'best' processes should look like. For example, in the STRIVE project it is clear that the involvement of the community agencies alongside the core operational JARC agencies was very important. Such an approach may not have been successful in the other J-ARC projects and this would be worth exploring further.
- The programme played an important role in developing the personal relationship and support system between the case worker and the Target, which may have influenced the overall success of J-ARC.
- It is clear that the current processes regarding data collection and the monitoring of effectiveness are not ideal. This reflects the organic nature of the initial J-ARC projects, which has been a strength from an organisational viewpoint. It has allowed adjustments to reflect changing information and challenges.
- A significant rationale behind J-ARC is that if Targets follow set out plans, then they will have access to services. If they do not follow these plans or other conditions, then they will be faced with a more immediate response (i.e. initiation of court proceedings or return to custody). It is not clear if the required services were available at the required time. Programmes on offer should address the needs of the participants rather than participants being required to fit the programme.
- Overall, it is important that the processes needed to achieve the key objectives of J-ARC are reviewed on an ongoing basis but these processes must be flexible enough to reflect the different types of projects through which an overall J-ARC approach may be operationalised to achieve positive outcomes.

5 Review of Outcome Evaluations

Typically, in offender management interventions, there is a focus on re-offending. It must be noted that there are a number of other possible outcomes aside from just re-offending. A list of these outcomes includes:

Table 5.1: Summary of Possible Positive Outcomes

• Reduction in risk score
• Positive life attitudes
• Educational attainments
• Completed offender management plans
• Quick and coordinated response to offending
• Positive change in clients' priority status
• Reduction in severity of crimes committed
• Longer gaps in offending behaviour
Observations from the Department of Justice & Equality IGEES Unit only

Each of the outcome evaluations focuses on re-offending and changes in the number of recorded crimes and/or convictions in determining the achievements of the J-ARC approach. These tangible measures directly relate to important issues like public safety and the cost of crime. Indeed, any reduction in re-offending, and in crimes committed in general, is likely to provide evidence of the positive impacts of the programme. However, there were also attempts to capture broader measures of positive impacts, including through qualitative survey data questioning Targets on their attitudes to the intervention, and this warrants further investigation.

The STRIVE evaluation asked Targets to self-categorise themselves on whether or not they were an offender, as well as questioning them on improvements they would like to make to their personal circumstances. It also asked Targets about their attitudes towards the project and if it differed to other interventions, albeit the response rate was low at seven out of 17 clients. Still, this marks a step in the right direction in terms of taking a holistic approach to monitoring J-ARC and considering not only the benefits to society from the perspective of civilians, but also in terms of the offenders themselves. Change Works and ACER3 also carried out surveys and interviews as part of the mixed methods approach, with all of this qualitative data building on the evidence provided by quantitative results to paint a more complete picture of the outcomes delivered by J-ARC.

There are other ways to capture the effects of the programme too, as outlined above. However, many of these may require follow-up studies across Targets to gather information including on their educational attainment and offending behaviour over a significant period of time. Statistically significant improvements in these types of measures would suggest that the scope of J-ARC is wide

reaching, and it would support proposals to expand the programme. If, on the other hand, there were no improvements in these measures then it would serve to determine the realistic parameters of J-ARC and what it can be expected to achieve. In any case, it would help with refining the objectives of J-ARC and its potential successes.

5.1 Overview of outcome evaluation

Outcome evaluations assess the effectiveness of a programme in producing change. The principal change that the three programmes set out to achieve was to reduce crime and increase public safety in local communities through improved multi-agency working and offender prioritisation. The below table summarises the key findings of the outcome evaluations. Each of the three programmes has seen a reduction in offending carried out by the targeted cohorts. This in turn should lead to an increase in public safety. It is important to note that overall crime figures in each of the chosen offender's locations may have increased or decreased without the programme. It is also very difficult to link the change in offending behaviour of the J-ARC Targets with the intervention. There may be other confounding factors that have led to the change in offending.

While a randomised control trial would be useful in establishing a causal link between the programme and a change in outcomes, this approach is not always possible or practical with an offender management intervention. However, there is the potential to look to 'indicator data' as an alternative. This refers to reports by Targets on the usefulness of one-to-ones and their attitudes to the assistance they received from their managers, including in relation to alcohol and drug usage. This preliminary data can be used to help gain an initial sense of the success of the programme until more substantial data is gathered.

5.2 Summary of findings on outcome evaluation

It is important to examine the findings of the outcome evaluation carried out on the three evaluation programmes. Table 5.2 summarises the key findings from the outcome evaluations. It compares the outcomes from each of the programmes such as the number of offenders who commit offences to the risk of offenders re-offending.

Table 5.2: Summary of key findings on Outcome Evaluation during the evaluation period			
Criteria	ACER3	Change Works	STRIVE[17]
No. of offenders who committed an offence	Three of the 20 offenders (15%) did not re-offend during the observation period[18], while nine had partially desisted (45%).	19 of the 51 Priority offenders did not re-offend (37%)[19].	Five of the 18 offenders (28%) did not re-offend[20].
No. of offences committed by the Targets	*Reduction of 90-100 (37%) burglaries by Targets on programme.	The Change Works objective of reducing violent offending by "programme completers" could	Reduction of 35 (43%) of offences committed by Targets.

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[17] The outcome evaluation was not undertaken by the successful tenderer. It was instead undertaken by GSAS.

[18] This refers to those who did not re-offend and who were not returned to prison at the time of the evaluation.

[19] The Change Works evaluation stated that 19 out of the 42 current active "Priority" offenders did not re-offend. There were 51 "Priority" offenders in total on the programme since its inception, with the difference being made up of those who were no longer taking part. Using the smaller current active number of 42 may not capture the full extent of new offending so a better indicator of success in terms of the reduced number of Targets who have re-offended is therefore that 19 of 51 "Priority" Targets have not re-offended.

[20] It was assumed that the lead agency - stated in Table 39 from the evaluation report - is the current lead agency and that which was used to calculate these figures.

		be said to be largely achieved. No figures given.	
Severity of re-offending	No explicit details of this was given in the evaluation.	No explicit details of this in the evaluation but this should be a key outcome of this particular intervention, which targets offenders with history of violence.	Analysis of offences undertaken but no conclusive findings provided.
Immediacy of sanction	*Ten Targets were returned to prison.	16 of the Priority Targets who re-offended were re-imprisoned.	Return to prison was a clear deterrent for at least two clients interviewed.
Clients' Priority Status	*Target categorisation was carried out and each Target put into one of six streams[21].	*Relatively few Targets have moved from "Priority" to "Progress" or have completed the programme so there was limited scope for new selection of Targets.	*RAG rating used; four Targets were Red, ten Amber and three Green at the end of the first year. Six months previously in June 2015, six Targets were Red, eight Amber and three Green.
Offender Plan Completed	It was unclear how many Targets completed their respective plans.	18 were engaging or had engaged satisfactorily with the programme.	It was unclear how many Targets completed their respective plans.

Table 5.3 below gives a list of the outcomes considered in the evaluations. The criteria examined included outcomes for both the local community affected and the individual Targets. This will give a more complete picture of whether the programme had the desired effect in reducing crime and increasing public safety in local communities.

Table 5.3: Outcomes considered in the evaluations			
Criteria	ACER3	Change Works	STRIVE
No. of offences committed	Yes	Yes	Yes
Timeframe of re-offending	No	No	No
Risk of offending	Yes	Yes	Yes
Immediacy of sanction	Yes	Yes	No
Public safety	Yes	Yes	Yes
Clients' status	Yes[22]	Yes	Yes[23]

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[21] Category 1 was made up of "Priority Targets" in Streams 1 and 2; Category 2 refers to "Progress Report Targets" in streams 3-6, and Category 3 refers to Targets who are "No Longer on Scheme" because they are deceased or were deemed to have been compliant for at least 12 months. Stream 1 consists of Targets in prison custody; Stream 2 is comprised of Targets in the community; Stream 3 are Targets who are serving a sentence of two or more years; Stream 4 are Targets who have left the jurisdiction and have not returned within a three-month period; Stream 5 are Targets whose whereabouts are unknown for a period of three months, and Stream 6 are Targets who are fully compliant (with no new charges or soft intelligence against them for a period of at least six months).

[22] ACER3 used three categories and six streams to categorise different clients at the time of evaluation as outlined in the footnote above.

[23] A Red-Amber-Green (RAG) approach is used in STRIVE.

Offender Plan completed	No	Yes	No[24]
Attitude to offending	Yes	Yes	Yes
Positive life choices	Yes	Yes	Yes

As discussed above, it is important that a number of outcomes be considered when evaluating the impact of an intervention.

5.3   Outcome evaluations: Focus on re-offending

The table below gives a list of the criteria taken into account in each of the outcome evaluations used to analyse re-offending behaviour. This is significant because an outcome evaluation should consider a variety of factors, with each programme evaluation examining (to some degree) a range of features. The criteria in the evaluations ranges from the type of offending to the geographical impact of offending. The ACER3 and STRIVE evaluations examined most of the criteria, while the Change Works evaluation could only examine if the Target had re-offended due to the restrictions on access to records. It is worth noting too that ACER3 considered a control group of individuals who were nominated as Targets but who were not ultimately selected. This analysis indicated that there was very little difference between the selected and non-selected (3.2 vs 2.8) offences. However, the size of the Target group was very small so it is not possible to make any conclusions from this analysis. It must also be noted that the offending history from the non-selected Targets was quite different.

Table 5.4: Offending analysis examined in the evaluations			
Criteria	**ACER3**	**Change Works**	**STRIVE**
Locational impact analysis	Yes	NIA	Yes
Re-offending (Yes or No)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Total Gross offending	Yes	No	Yes
Net Level of offending	Yes*	No	Yes*
Type of Re-offending	No	No	Yes
*although some effort to account for countervailing factors was made, there are clear caveats needed with the interpretation of the net effects			

Below is a comparison of re-offending for the three J-ARC programmes. It is important to highlight here that the definition of 're-offending' does not appear to be consistent across the evaluations but it is possible that the measures are consistent[25]. Ultimately, however, changes in the re-offending rate remain relevant since they can be compared against the past rate within the same

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[24] Probation maintained an Offender Plan that was available and accessed for analysis by STRIVE but it was not clear if this was updated or added to by the other agencies.

[25] Re-offending is defined as 'detection' in ACER3; as a 'new offence/charge' in Change Works, and as a 'recorded offence' in STRIVE.

pilot area, providing evidence of the impact of the J-ARC approach within that area. This will become more pronounced in future evaluations that can make comparisons across time within each project, rather than merely across projects.

As can be seen, just over 35% of Targets in the Change Works programme did not re-offend, while almost 30% and 25% of Targets did not re-offend for the STRIVE and ACER3 programmes respectively. All three pilot projects were based on small group sizes and it is not possible to state which project (in terms of statistical significance) had the best success in reducing the likelihood of re-offending. It must also be noted that the length of the evaluation period differs between each project and changes in total offences committed are not directly comparable because each of the pilots focused on different types of offences. Prolific offenders are, by their very nature, more likely to commit a larger volume of offences than those categorised as violent offenders.

Figure 1a: Percentage of Targets in ACER 3 who did not re-offend

ACER3
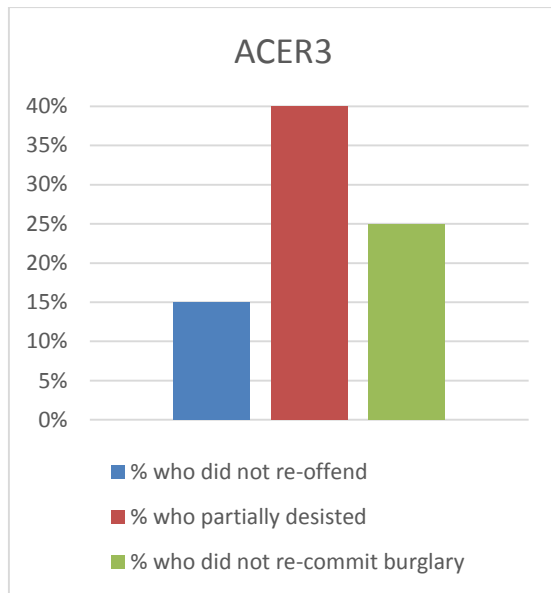
- Evaluation period:

  May 2015 to Dec 2016
- Number of Targets: 20
- Number who did not re-offend: 3
- Number who partially desisted: 9
- Number who did not re-commit burglary: 5
- Change in burglary offences: -60%

Figure 2b: Percentage of Targets in Change Works who did not re-offend

Change Works
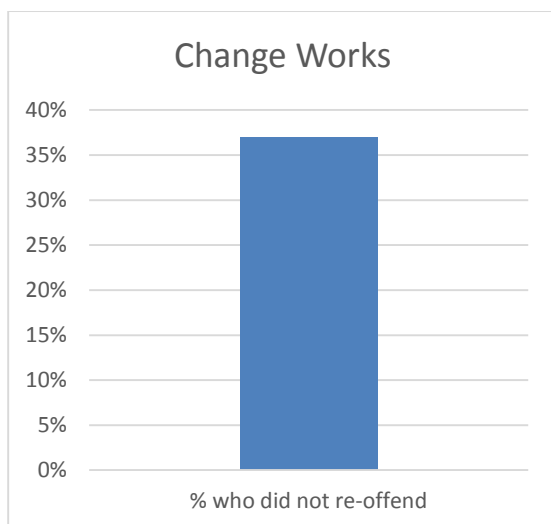
- Evaluation period:

  Jan 2016 to Aug 2017
- Number of Targets: 51
- Number who did not re-offend: 19
- Change in total offences not provided; emphasis was on violent crimes

Figure 3c: Percentage of Targets in STRIVE who did not re-offend

STRIVE chart showing % who did not re-offend at approximately 28%.

- Evaluation period:

  Jan 2015 to Dec 2015

  & Jul 2016 to Dec 2016

- Number of Targets: 18
- Number who did not re-offend: 5
- Change in offences in STRIVE area between 2014 and 2015: -23%
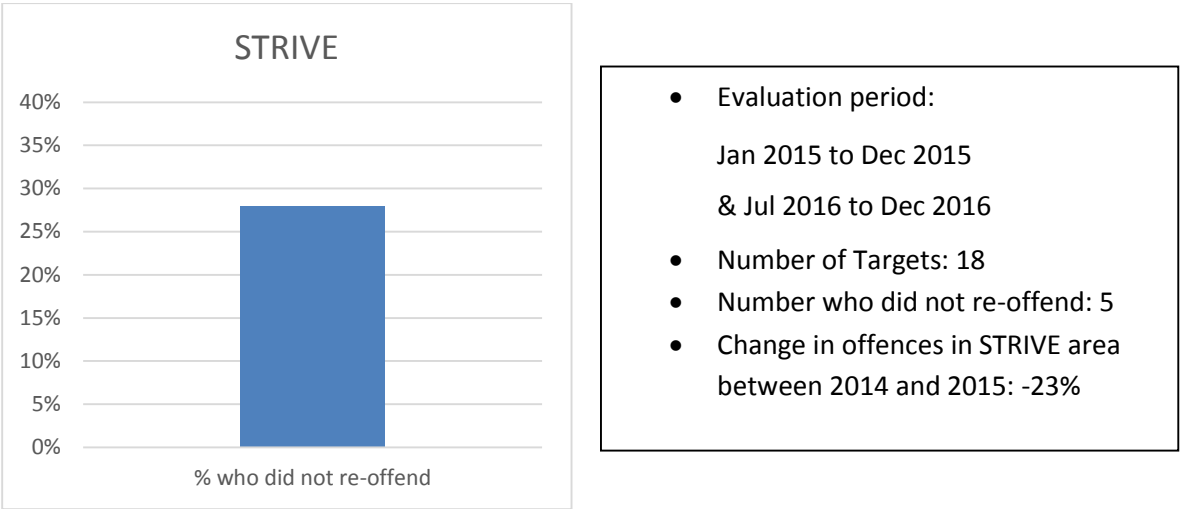
These Targets are typically prolific offenders who have significant numbers of previous convictions. Based on the latest CSO recidivism study, 35% of offenders who leave prison will re-offend within the first year of release. However, the recidivism in the CSO study is based on convictions. The J-ARC definition of offending is based on detections/charges. In addition, the type of initial offence is very important. Offenders who had offences like burglary, public order and drugs have a much higher likelihood of re-offending.

Combining the types of typical offences of J-ARC Targets and the CSO analysis gives a much more appropriate figure of 58%. This indicates that J-ARC appears to be performing quite well considering its Targets are the most prolific offenders and examines re-offending at an earlier stage than the CSO analysis.

Figure 4 below compares the percentage change between burglary offences committed by Targets on the ACER3 programme and the percentage change in total burglary offences for Kevin Street and Tallaght Garda stations. Taking in the same period as the ACER3 evaluation report, burglary offences for Kevin Street and Tallaght Garda stations have reduced by less than 40%. The reduction in burglary offences for ACER3 Targets was around 60% in the J-ARC intervention period compared to the same time period prior to the J-ARC intervention. It must be noted that the figures below are based on total offences rather than individual offenders[26].

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[26] For example, all offenders could re-offend but they may only have a single offence which would lead to a situation where the total number of offences would decline sharply.

Figure 4: Comparison between total burglary offences and pre & post ACER3 Targets for Kevin Street and Tallaght Garda stations.
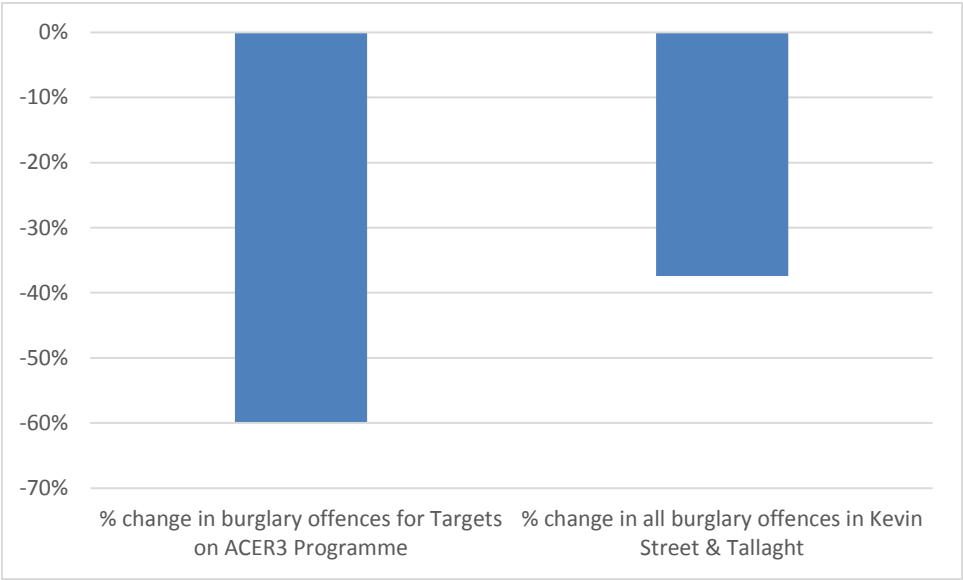
Figure 5 below shows the percentage change in offences for the STRIVE area and for the rest of Ballymun excluding the STRIVE area between 2014 and 2015. This allows for comparison between the two areas along with what offences are increasing or decreasing in these areas. The sale and supply of drugs has increased by just over 60% in the STRIVE area. One explanation for this could be due to increased surveillance in the area and the targeting of this crime type by the Gardaí.

The number of assaults and violent crime increased by 70-80% in the STRIVE area. There was an approximately 27% increase in DMR Northern Garda Division of which STRIVE area and the Ballymun area were part of at this time. This indicates that there was an increase in assaults and violent crimes in the surrounding areas. One explanation for the big increase in the STRIVE area may be because of the increased Garda presence, making it easier to report these crimes which otherwise may go unreported.

It is worth highlighting the reduction in offences for the two areas over the same period too. While burglary was down by almost 40% in Ballymun, it had halved in the STRIVE area which also saw a 57% reduction in arson. Vehicle theft reduced by around 15% in both areas and drug offences were down by about 30%. Overall, non-traffic offences were down by nearly 24% in the STRIVE area and by over 15% in Ballymun, with reductions in criminal damage, public order, simple possession and property crime offences as well. It must be noted however that these percentage changes are often based on small sample sizes and thus should be viewed with caution.

Figure 5: Change (%) in Offences between 2014 and 2015 for STRIVE Area and Ballymun (Excl. STRIVE Area)
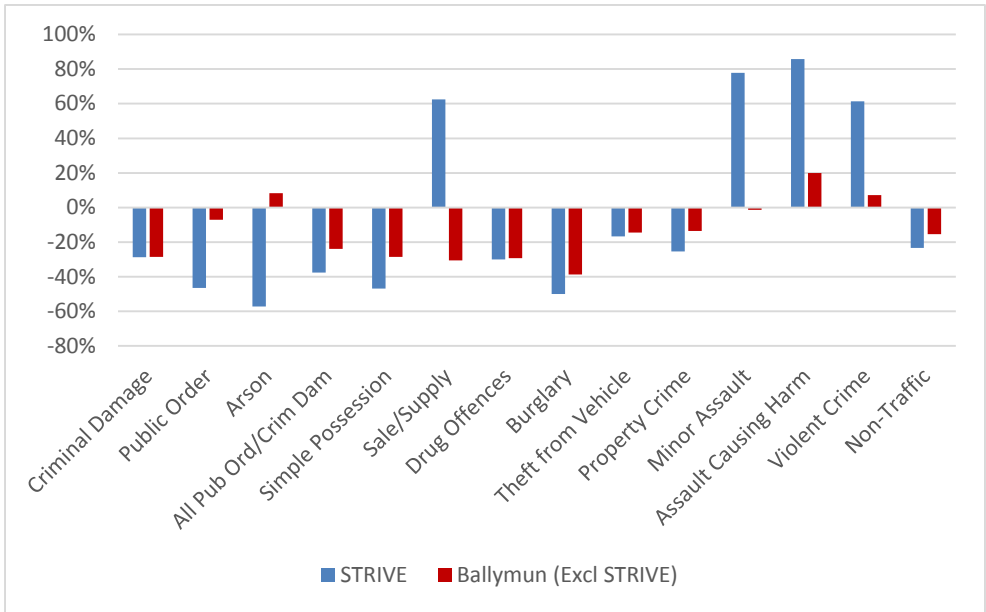
Figure 6 below shows the overall percentage change in offences for both the STRIVE area and for the rest of Ballymun excluding the STRIVE area between 2014 and 2015. The overall reduction in offences committed is nearly 23% for the STRIVE area and approximately 15% for Ballymun excluding the STRIVE area. The percentage change in the offending behaviour of STRIVE Targets should be viewed with caution due to the small sample size.

Figure 6: Change (%) in all offences between 2014 and 2015 for STRIVE Area and Ballymun (Excl. STRIVE Area)
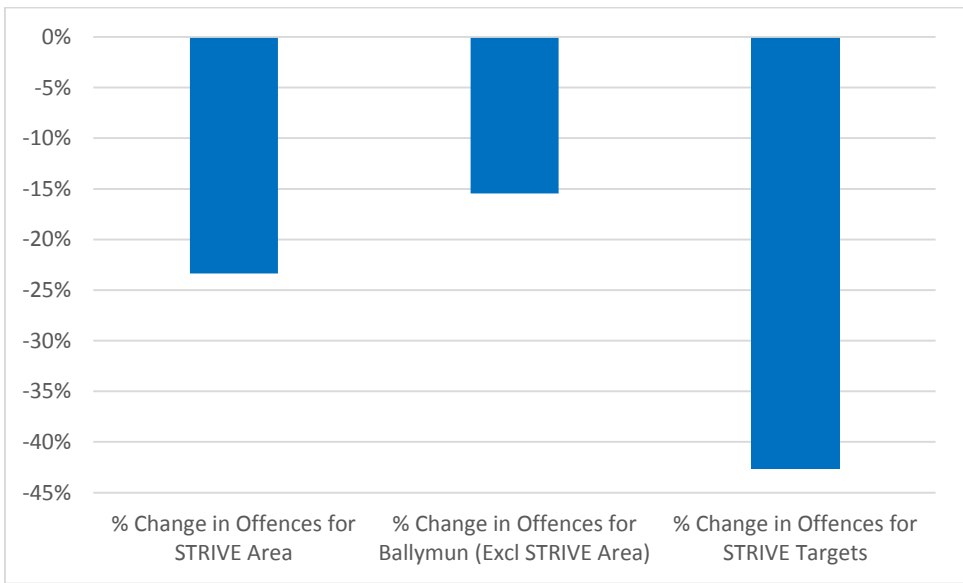
**Box 1: Analysis of the importance of the Severity of Crimes in evaluation (STRIVE)**

It is also important to consider the types of offences that the Targets commit when in the J-ARC programme. A possible positive outcome may be Targets committing offences that are of relatively lower harm to society. This is one possible positive outcome of J-ARC, considering the types of Targets who are selected for the programme.

Figure 7: High-Level analysis of the change (%) in severity of crimes between 2014 and 2015 for STRIVE Area and Ballymun (Excl. STRIVE Area) using crime severity weightings[27]
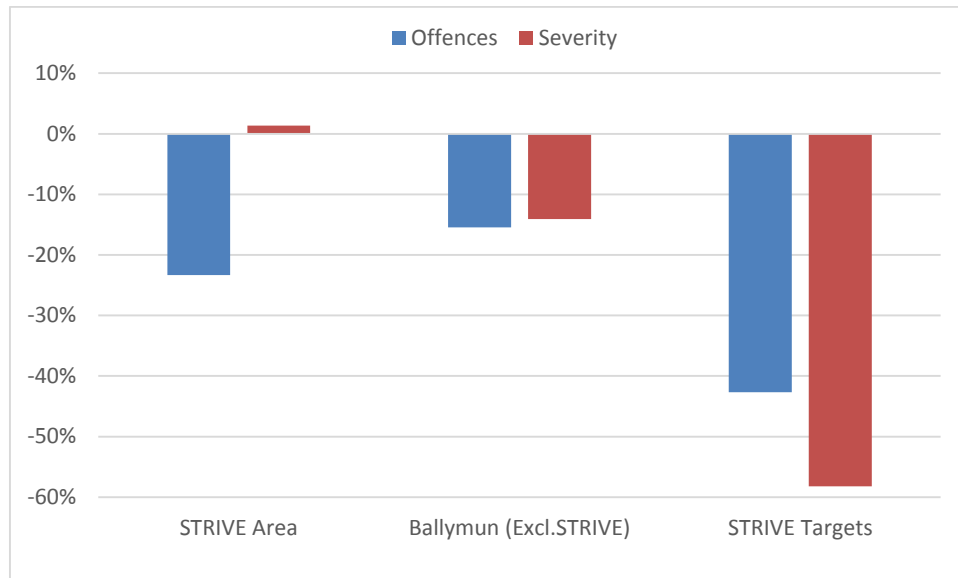
The analysis in Figure 7 above makes use of crime severity indices and the breakdown of the types of offences in the STRIVE and Ballymun areas. It must be noted that this is only a high-level estimate, as estimating the exact harm by specific crimes is complex, and there are a number of different factors that may have an impact. However, the chart indicates that the positive impact of STRIVE on selected Targets appears to be higher when the severity of the offences is considered. (Source: DJE)

5.4   Limitations of the outcome evaluations

It is very difficult to make any clear conclusions regarding the outcomes associated with the initial J-ARC pilot programmes[28]. This is mainly due to the small number of J-ARC Targets and the nature

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[27] Severity is based on the 'Cambridge Crime Harm Index' (Sherman, Neyroud & Neyroud (2016)). This measures the total harm from crime using minimum sentencing guidelines in the UK.

[28] A programme like J-ARC will be subject to practical, methodological, and ethical factors which will get in the way of isolating a single cause to a well-defined and consistent effect. In such a context, one should not expect to establish statistical certainty. The objective of any J-ARC evaluation should be to assess whether we can reasonably conclude that JARC has likely contributed to support the targets in reducing their offending and, more generally, improving the risk factors associated with it. Typically, such an evaluation rests upon a mixed-method approach. This is where multiple streams of data are examined to see if they point in the same direction to provide an understanding of how the programme

of the projects, which were not designed explicitly with evaluation in mind. Larger groups of Targets would add weight to the results of any analysis of the outcomes, especially in terms of identifying 'statistically significant' results that improve the credibility of the findings of the evaluations. Moreover, the collection of data was inconsistent across the three pilots, which meant that making comparisons is difficult. Each project also had different numbers of staff associated with them and there was no clear estimate of the staff time involved in the day-to-day running of J-ARC. This meant that it was not possible to determine the resource demands of the pilots.

While the current results are informative about the potential achievements of the J-ARC approach, these results are not evidence of success in themselves. As such, this report recommends that future data gathering and definitions are consistent across the various projects. However, a cautious approach should be taken to prevent prescriptive processes that limit the ability of individual projects to adapt these processes to their unique settings.

Another limitation of the outcome evaluations is that they do not provide a medium to long-term view of the outcomes for Targets. An important aspect in determining the achievements of J-ARC is to assess whether any positive outcomes are sustainable. As such, it will be important to re-visit Targets in future to investigate if the initial progress translated into long-term, persistent improvements. This is beyond the current phase of evaluations.

These were the first evaluations of the J-ARC projects and this should be noted as this limited the evaluators in the type of evaluation that they could undertake, especially in terms of assessment of outcomes. A number of recommendations are made in each of the evaluations (and this review) which will improve the robustness of future evaluations.

5.5   Assessment of the outcome evaluations

- The result of the outcome evaluations appear to be quite positive considering the types of offenders being selected into J-ARC.
- Despite the clear caveats, there appears to be positive impacts associated with J-ARC.
- There is a need to examine a wider set of outcomes in the evaluation of the success of J-ARC.
- The number of Targets for the three pilot projects was low and it is difficult to make any conclusive findings on the casual impact of the programme on behavioural change.

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contributes to the change recorded. It is worth noting that all three evaluation reports for STRIVE, Change Works and ACER are based on mixed methods and put forward various elements providing complex and nuanced results, which is in line with a contributory - rather than an attributory - approach to the evaluation of public programmes.

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6 Critical review of recommendations from the evaluations

A large number of recommendations were made in the three evaluations. Many of these recommendations were project rather than J-ARC specific. This section focuses on the recommendations that are the most appropriate to achieving the overall strategic objectives of J-ARC. Many of the recommendations in the three evaluations are clearly very important for the future development of the specific individual J-ARC projects.

6.1 Summary of recommendations from the three evaluations

We have grouped the key recommendations into the relevant headings that are directly applicable to the key strategic objectives of J-ARC.

Table 6.1: Summary of recommendations made in the evaluations			
	ACER3	**Change Works**	**STRIVE**
Continuation of the project	Evaluation recommended for the continuation of the project.	Evaluation recommended for the continuation of the project.	Evaluation recommended for the continuation of the project.
Multi-Agency Co-operation	Awareness of the J-ARC initiative needs to be raised so that the interaction between Targets and all agency staff is consistent.	Although the multi-agency working has been successful, it was still recommended that this progress be monitored by the three agencies.	Raising awareness of the STRIVE project in the local community is important, as well as the inclusion of the Job Centre and community in the approach.
Public safety	Given the effectiveness of the initiative on public safety, it should be rolled out across other regions, prioritising high burglary areas.	The programme should be continued in DMR and consideration should be given to replicating it across other densely populated areas.	Consider developing further processes for the rapid deployment of Garda enforcement tactics to STRIVE clients who are identified as presenting an increased risk of re-offending.
Sharing of Data/IT platform	Common IT platform that is accessible to all appropriate staff. There needs to be clarification on data sharing protocols.	There needs to be the development of an IT platform to provide access to client data and allow for tracking of activity and inputs. There needs to be clarification on data sharing protocols.	Development of IT system to support operational teams. There needs to be clarification on data sharing protocols.
Structure of J-ARC	Any future expansion of the programme should take account of the capacities of each agency.	The concept of a lead agency should be examined; future selections should be based on Targets from each of the three agencies.	The feasibility of co-location for future J-ARC projects should be examined. Inclusion of other agencies outside the three core agencies to be considered.
Resources	Analysis is required of the staff costs involved in ACER3 and the likely resource constraints involved in expansion. Consideration of the	Analysis of current resources is required, as well as an examination of how resources are deployed in the context of taking on more Targets, and of the	A review of current resources and future resources is required for expansion of the programme. Resources in all core agencies should be reviewed regularly.

	resources in each agency should be noted.	resources required for this possible expansion.	
Evaluation and Monitoring	Data to be collected in a more structured way.	Better collection of data on an ongoing basis; risk levels to be measured using LSI-R.	Performance monitoring of the effectiveness of STRIVE based on a number of different metrics to be considered.

All three evaluations were clear in their support of the different J-ARC projects. This is an important recommendation but should not be viewed in isolation, as there are a number of other important recommendations that will need to be examined for the continued growth of J-ARC.

6.2 Recommendations based on the analysis of the three evaluations

6.2.1 Future structure of JARC

The three extensions of J-ARC in Dundalk, Waterford and Limerick have followed the operational model set out in ACER3.

The Youth J-ARC project was initiated earlier this year and looks at the offenders causing the most harm aged between 16-21; it is being piloted in Blanchardstown and in Mayfield and Gurranabraher in Cork.

Five youths have been selected in each location and a gradual expansion to ten Targets is currently being implemented. The aim of the project, like the adult J-ARC, is to take a multi-agency approach to intervening in order to reduce their level of offending. Youth J-ARC involves Tusla and recommendations about how to involve non-core J-ARC agencies are likely to be relevant here.

6.2.2 Development of an Evaluation Framework for future JARC projects

An evaluation framework is currently being developed by the J-ARC Evaluation Framework Working Group, which is comprised of members of each of the core J-ARC agencies, and it is due to be published shortly. Performance monitoring is expected to be incorporated into a future evaluative approach, with data gathering another fundamental aspect for the successful evaluation of projects. This framework is being drawn up in order to ensure consistency throughout each of the projects and across the entire programme.

Any discrepancies between the projects make them difficult or impossible to compare and a well-defined evaluation framework will ensure these discrepancies are detected, as well as encouraging a more uniform approach for future interventions. Consistency is crucial for the effective performance of any intervention policy and the evaluation of the intervention is paramount for determining whether it is achieving its stated objectives and if this is within a commensurate cost.

A clear and consistent evaluation framework will allow for a reliable comparison between projects, as well as a definitive assessment of the delivery of results across the programme. However, evaluators will need to take account of the types of offenders that are being targeted by each J-ARC project since any differences will make them unsuitable for comparison (i.e. prolific versus violent offenders). Another important caveat here is that the evaluation framework will avoid being too prescriptive in order for future projects to remain relatively flexible in how they tailor the J-ARC

approach to suit the needs of their local areas, and in some cases it will be necessary to evaluate projects on their own individual merits only.

6.2.3 Proposed recommendations

As part of this review, we have critically examined each of the evaluations of the J-ARC projects. Following this review, we believe that there are a number of recommendations that could be applied across all J-ARC projects. We have tried to keep these recommendations relatively high-level and we recognise that the unique features of each individual project are important. The recommendations are intended to be read in the context of J-ARC overall rather than for the individual J-ARC projects. These recommendations are summarised in the table below.

Table 6.2: Proposed recommendations based on a critical analysis of the three evaluations of the J-ARC pilot projects		
Recommendation		**Explanation**
1.	Continuation and potential expansion of the programme[29]	The programme appears to have clear benefits but It is not clear at present if it will be possible to expand the programme beyond its current size.
2.	Examination of the resources available and those required across all three core agencies	To allow for an increase in the number of J-ARC Targets.
3.	Evaluation, monitoring & data collection	Important that procedures are put in place for the effective data collection and monitoring of selected J-ARC Targets (& Targets who leave the programme).
4.	Monitoring of outcomes and agreement on definitions	There should be an agreement on definitions used in the evaluations such as re-offending which is clear to all stakeholders and practitioners.
5.	Detailed analysis of costs of the J-ARC project (particularly in the context of its proposed expansion)	The initial three J-ARC projects may have required extra resources. There is an argument that these resources would have already existed but J-ARC meant using them in a more efficient way; this needs to be examined in detail.
6.	Examination of initial selection	This should be reviewed and monitored on an ongoing basis with an acknowledgment that selection criteria may need to change in response to external factors.
7.	Examination of the issue of de-selection	Likely to become more of an issue as the J-ARC projects continue as more clients are likely to become eligible for de-selection. May also have an impact on the resourcing issue.

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[29] This review only looks at the initial three J-ARC pilot projects and our recommendations are based on this. J-ARC has since expanded to other locations. Our recommendation does not look into expanding J-ARC past its current (Summer 2018) level. This will be subject of future evaluation reports.

8.	Lead agency	Clarify this role for each organisation. Lead Agency concept and who ultimately makes decisions should be developed and a process should be implemented for how responsibility changes as the status of the Targets change.
9.	Shared IT platform	A secure, easy to use IT system which can share information is needed. It needs to have visibility and to be more useful than the local systems available in the three agencies.
10.	Consideration of the services available to J-ARC Targets	The original model behind J-ARC was thought to have clear benefits to selected Targets. It is not clear whether these benefits were available. This reputational concern may become an issue going forward. A clear benefits model (or pathways) of J-ARC should be outlined.
11.	Identification of key external stakeholders at the earliest possible stage	This would allow stakeholders to be involved as early as possible, noting that they are likely to differ for each project.
12.	Evaluation framework development that can be applied to future J-ARC projects	A more nuanced assessment of outcomes should be encouraged: it should not be completely driven by re-offending and it should acknowledge the small sample sizes. Additionally, the issue of causation/contribution means that a more balanced overview of outcomes is important.
13.	Training & communication	J-ARC as a concept is still quite young so it will be important to maintain a high level of awareness in each agency. This was clear from the three evaluations and this awareness will be important as J-ARC becomes part of normal activity.

Overall, the findings from the JARC evaluation are encouraging; the programme has produced positive outcomes. This is significant considering the typical profiles of offenders who were selected for the programme.

Annex A International Evidence

While lowering re-offending is a major objective for all correctional services, making a comparison of reconviction or re-imprisonment rates between countries is a challenging exercise. Measures of recidivism, especially reconviction and re-imprisonment rates[30], can be used as key indicators of the performance of a criminal justice system. However, countries differ significantly in how criminal justice data is handled. This ranges from legislation to sentencing practices to resource levels, as well as the volume of crimes committed and rates of detection and re-imprisonment. While it is not possible to make a direct comparison, it remains useful to take account of the different ways in which countries seek to reduce re-offending.

AA.1 United Kingdom

Research from the UK government suggests that, of a total offending population of around one million, only approximately 100,000 offenders (10% of all active offenders) are responsible for half of all the crime committed in England and Wales (Home Office, 2001). The most active 5,000 of this group are estimated to be responsible for almost one in ten offences (Home Office, 2002). The Prolific and other Priority Offender (PPO) programme, which was implemented in 2004, prioritises and directs resources to these offenders.

The programme was considered an end-to-end process that specifically targeted the small number of the most active and/or problematic offenders. It was designed to give offenders a choice between ending their offending in return for support in the form of rehabilitative programmes or to carry on offending with the risk of arrest and punishment. There are three complementary strands to the PPO programme[31].

1. Prevent and Deter (P&D), which aims to stop young people from engaging in offending behaviours and becoming the prolific offenders of the future.
2. Catch and Convict (C&C), which aims to reduce offending through apprehension and conviction, through licence enforcement, and by ensuring a quick return to the courts for PPOs who persist in offending.
3. Rehabilitate and Resettle (R&R), which aims to rehabilitate PPOs who are in custody or serving sentences in the community, through closer working between all relevant agencies and continued post-sentence support.

A broad overview of the results from this study indicated a marked reduction in offending following entry onto the PPO programme. There was also evidence of reductions in the average rate of offending and improvements in the fast tracking of PPOs to court. Indeed, when viewed alongside

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[30] It is also clear that there is a significant chance that an offender will re-offend but this crime may not be detected. As such, recidivism estimates based on recorded crimes may be a significant underestimate of re-offending behaviour.

[31] Interventions with drug misusing offenders and prolific and other priority offenders: http://www.unafei.or.jp/english/pdf/RS_No74/No74_08VE_Wheelhouse.pdf

qualitative data detailing the views of PPOs and staff, there were positive signs of the impact of the PPO programme on the first cohort of PPOs[32].

Another strategy that has been employed in the UK is the Integrated Offender Management (IOMP) approach. It is a key aspect of the wider strategy of the Home Office and Ministry of Justice to prevent crime and reduce re-offending. The key principles of the approach were set out in a joint Home Office and Ministry of Justice publication in 2009.[33]

Key findings from a review into the approach included:

- That the police force was usually the lead agency and, in some cases, attempted to fulfil both rehabilitative and control functions where Probation Trusts had not committed the sufficient resources[34].
- That the approach had the most potential for success when Probation Trusts were fully engaged at a strategic and operational level, alongside the police and other organisations.

In many cases, interventions to promote rehabilitation were promising, with those subject to the approach aware of why they had been targeted. They were usually very positive about the way they had been managed, even when this involved enforcement action. However, the evidence base for Integrated Offender Management remains in need of further development. According to the review, trying to balance the desire for rehabilitation with the requirement to target enforcement activity on those who are most likely to re-offend, and capturing this within a performance framework, remains a work in progress[35].

The review also singled out a number of challenges in relation to the selection of Targets, questioning the robustness of the methodology employed for selection. It raised concerns that while some areas had a 'clear selection criteria', others took a general approach. It noted that in one instance, there had been no systematic review of the cohort for more than six months, compared to daily reviews for other areas. In one case, the review found that the individuals managed under the approach were entirely made up of those defined as PPOs.

Despite this, the IOMP model seeks to develop a consistent approach that would be adoptable by existing programmes, in order to deliver an appropriate and efficient reaction to the problems posed by local offenders. The idea is to develop a framework that would allow agencies to work together in a more effective way by combining their resources, agreeing on best practice and ensuring that interventions are implemented appropriately.

AA.2 Northern Ireland

Reducing Offending in Partnership (ROP) is a Northern Ireland-wide approach to the management of prolific offenders, based on evidence that they commit crime such as robberies, burglaries and

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[32] A Joint Inspection of the Integrated Offender Management Approach, A Joint Inspection by HM Inspectorate of Probation and HM Inspectorate of Constabulary: https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/crown-prosecution-service/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2014/04/Integrated-Offender-Management-report.pdf

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

thefts[36]. The main aim is to bring together criminal justice agencies to ensure that 'the right interventions are undertaken with the right offenders at the right time', with the goal of disrupting their criminal activity and, consequently, reducing their re-offending or the chances of re-offending. The Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI), the Probation Board for Northern Ireland (PBNI), the Youth Justice Agency and the Department of Justice are just some of the criminal justice agencies working together within ROP. As well as reducing crime and re-offending, the partnership aims to raise public confidence in the criminal justice system.

The main idea behind ROP is to provide a more coordinated and joined up approach to dealing with prolific offenders, with the relevant agencies working together and sharing information in a more inclusive and cohesive manner. The initial pilot project was launched in Ballymena/Coleraine for a two-year period. The agencies set out to deliver a set of interventions that aimed to disrupt the offender's criminal activity. An evaluation of that pilot suggests that ROP has been successful in achieving its aims, with increased efforts in working together leading to a clear decision making process and, consequently, to greater ownership and a reduction in crime and reoffending. In 2012, 68% of Priority Offenders in Ballymena/Coleraine reduced their offending whilst engaged with ROP[37]. Additionally, Reducing Offending Units (ROUs) have been in operation in every PSNI District since March 2013, operating a 'Catch and Control' strand of ROP[38].

ROP programmes manage a select cohort of offenders from within their community, regardless of whether they are under probation supervision or not. The programmes aim to support offenders who are of most concern through a consistent strategy that uses pooled resources to deter offenders from future crimes. Included within the Policing Plan, ROP is linked to the Police Service's wider strategy of adopting an offender-focused approach[39].

The Economic Advisory Unit of the PSNI in conjunction with the PBNI carried out an economic evaluation of ROP. Published in 2017, the report estimated that for every £1 spent on the programme, an economic benefit of £2.20 was generated in the form of reduced economic costs of crime.

In 2014, a ROP cohort of 358 individuals was formed. These people were chosen for analysis because it allowed for 12 months of crime to be assessed before and after they entered the programme. This allowed the offending rate pre and post ROP to be examined. Over 150 individuals out of the total cohort were selected for analysis but this was reduced to 112 because a number of individuals did not meet the selection criteria. This was mainly due to spending time in prison during the ROP period in question and equated to 31% of all ROP offenders.

According to the analysis, there was a 72% reduction in the incidence of crime over the 12 months of the programme. There was also a significant reduction across most crime categories. The programme had a crime saving of £3.6m, as well as a net economic benefit of £1.97m and a cost-

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[36] Reducing Offending in Partnership, http://www.pbni.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/PD135812Reducing-Offending-in-Partnership-A5-Booklet-13.05.14.pdf

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] An update from Police Service Northern Ireland, http://www.retailersagainstcrime.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/cpi/PSNI-E-Brief-Nov-2012.pdf

benefit-ratio of 2.2 for the given sample size, which covered 31% of offenders in the programme. When the benefits were extrapolated up to incorporate 100% of offenders, the savings on crime were £11.64m and the net economic benefit was approximately £6.34m. The overall cost of the programme during the assessment period was £5.2m, with police officers' salaries accounting for approximately 98% of the total project costs[40]. This figure needs clarification as it only represents incremental costs and thus for example does not include the efforts of the Probation service with these offenders that were happening without the programme.

AA.3 New Zealand

New Zealand has a single justice system that ensures all instances of reconviction and sentencing are captured and recorded in one single database, putting it at an advantage over other countries. It also has one of the highest crime resolution rates in the developed world, with around 47% of crimes recorded by Police described as 'resolved'. According to New Zealand's Department of Corrections, the majority of these instances lead to the successful prosecution of an offender[41].

A report commissioned by the department in 2009 found that, amongst offenders released from New Zealand prisons in 2002-2003, 52% were convicted of a new offence and received a further prison sentence within 60 months of the first release[42]. Of those who were re-imprisoned over 60 months, about half were re-imprisoned within the first twelve months. Clearly, the first year after release is the highest-risk period for relapsing into old patterns of behaviour.

AA.4 Canada

To tackle the problem of repeat offenders, the Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General launched the Priority Prolific Offender Program (PPOP) in 2008. PPOP is an integrated strategy to improve coordination between courts, law enforcement, probation officers and analysts[43].

The PPOP unit includes police officers representing the Calgary Police Service, the Edmonton Police Service and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), criminal intelligence analysts, programme support analysts and probation officers. Receiving referrals from law enforcement on repeat offenders who primarily commit low-complexity crimes like breaking and entering, PPOP works to ensure that the courts have the most comprehensive information available on these offenders. This is expected to ensure that the most appropriate sentences are imposed and that rehabilitation opportunities are realised[44].

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) 'K' Division in late 2013 launched the Alberta Crime Reduction Strategy. It aims to reduce crime and its effects on communities through enforcement, intervention and prevention. The RCMP uses a community policing problem-solving model known

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[40] IRISH PROBATION JOURNAL Volume 14, October 2017, https://www.pbni.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/GlennParker_GailMcGreevy_IPJ-13.11.17.pdf

[41] How Corrections measures progress towards its 25 percent reducing re-offending Target, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0011/736265/COR-Practice-Journal-Vol2-Iss1-April14-v4lowres.pdf

[42] Reconviction patterns of released prisoners: A 60-months follow-up analysis: http://www.corrections.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/672764/Complete-Recidivism-Report-2009-DOC.pdf

[43] Priority Prolific Offender Program: https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/cntrng-crm/plcng/cnmcs-plcng/ndx/dtls-en.aspx?n=129

[44] Priority Prolific Offender Program, Alberta Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General: https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/cntrng-crm/plcng/cnmcs-plcng/ndx/snpss-en.aspx?n=129

as CAPRA (Clients, Acquire/Analyse Information, Partnerships, Response, Assessment of Action taken)[45] for its problem-solving initiatives.

In 2009, the West Vancouver Police Department developed an evidence-based crime reduction strategy to identify and apprehend the top ten prolific offenders in West Vancouver. This included the Capilano Indian Reserve located within the municipality. The police department sought to address the root causes of criminal behaviour, including mental health issues and drug and alcohol problems, by working with local justice and social services partners. The process also sought to identify the most vulnerable youths in the community. Police then partnered with community representatives such as school personnel and the British Columbia Ministry of Children and Family Development in an effort to create an effective intervention strategy[46]. The aim was to reduce instances of crime in West Vancouver, as well as ensuring that prolific offenders and the causes of their behaviour were managed appropriately.

The strategy has been described as having 'exceeded initial expectations', with significant economic benefits achieved alongside improvements in policing. Indeed, the police force has been able to operate more efficiently through strategic policing functions, which required fewer officers.

Intelligence-led policing is used by the North East Nova Crime Reduction Strategy to reduce crime in the North East Nova District. Intelligence is generated by information pulled from police records by civilian criminal intelligence analysts. This information is then used by frontline agencies to plan tactical action, with the strategy featuring the following three key initiatives:

- The prolific offender initiative, which disrupts the criminal activity of known offenders.
- The "calls for service" initiative, which identifies high frequency call locations or individuals, and analyses and addresses the underlying issues.
- The initiative to identify vehicles and drivers with a demonstrated history of driving offences (up to and including impaired driving), which allows for more efficient deployment of police resources toward targeted monitoring.

The North East Nova Crime Reduction Strategy was launched in 2011 with limited scope but has since expanded to cover much more of the district. 'H' Division shares information with municipal police agencies and other Royal Canadian Mounted Police units in the district.

While the prolific offender initiative has contributed to a measurable reduction in property crime in general and a significant reduction in criminal activity by individuals identified as prolific offenders, the "calls for service" initiative has helped to reduce calls in certain geographic areas[47].

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[45] Alberta Crime Reduction Strategy, Royal Canadian Mounted Police—'K' Division: https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/cntrng-crm/plcng/cnmcs-plcng/ndx/snpss-en.aspx?n=459

[46] Evidence-Based Crime Reduction Strategy—Prolific Offender Management, https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/cntrng-crm/plcng/cnmcs-plcng/ndx/snpss-en.aspx?n=104

[47] North East Nova Crime Reduction Strategy, Royal Canadian Mounted Police—'H' Division—North East Nova District, https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/cntrng-crm/plcng/cnmcs-plcng/ndx/snpss-en.aspx?n=475

Annex B Evaluation Framework Working Group

The J-ARC Evaluation Framework Working Group comprises of:

- Ailish Glennon – Probation Service (Chair)

- Ben Ryan – Department of Justice and Equality

- Hugh Hennessy – Department of Justice and Equality

- Sara Parsons – An Garda Síochána

- Supritha Subramanian – Probation Service

- Martin Moucheron – Irish Prison Service

Annex C Other Issues

AC.1 Other Issues

Another important aspect is the issue of spillovers, whether they are positive or negative. This section is a guide to these spillover effects, what they are and why it is important to measure them. The spillover effects here are examined as:

- Externalities
- Social Interactions

AC.2 Externalities

It is important to look at externalities from the project. An externality is the cost or benefit that affects individuals who did not choose to incur that cost or benefit from the J-ARC programme. The programme intervention may cause a couple of types of externalities: it might cause the Targets to choose to commit crimes outside their local area (Negative Externality) or it might cause the Targets to reduce the amount of crimes that they commit (Positive Externality).

An important externality that should be examined is the education levels of children whose parents are involved in criminal activity. Existing literature on education and crime suggests that both criminal behaviour and educational attainment are transferred from parents to children. Empirical findings suggest that having parents with criminal behaviour increases the probability of completing a lower education level relative to completing a higher education level.

AC.3 Potential Areas of Impact

Does crime in an area cause future crime? Through social interaction, the programme may indirectly influence the local population of both offenders and non-offenders. Some studies find that peers have considerable influence on the decisions of individuals in their close circle, and these effects are concentrated among individuals from poorer areas.

Spillovers

There may be some positive or negative spillovers from these programme interventions. The effects of a crime can be felt by numerous parties not only by the individual, who the criminal justice system treats as the direct victim, but also by their family and those close to them. It also has an adverse effect on the Targets' family and friends. There may be negative connotations for the rest of the locality because of the extra Garda presence in the area who may be monitoring Targets.

Due to the reduction in crime rates, this will also have a positive effect on all agencies in the criminal justice system. These effects could be seen as a positive spillover from a reduction in the crimes committed by the Targets by having a positive influence on family members, peers and in helping to improve public safety.

Intertemporal analysis

Targets may move location to commit crimes just to avoid detection. This displacement is important as it could be used as an indicator to show if the Target is keeping to the programme's conditions. Offenders may also change their habit in the short term but revert to their old behaviour once their intertemporal choices extend to more than a single time period in the future. It is important to keep track of the Targets' crime profile once they exit the programme. Criminal behaviour may lead to intertemporal effects that extend to more than a single period in the future so a medium to long term outlook may be beneficial.

Economic climate

It is difficult to determine the amount of time it takes before any economic changes can be said to have an effect on criminality. Evidence from a study carried out by the United Nations in 15 countries established evidence that crime is linked to the economic climate. One way to catch any effects on the change in crime levels due to a change in the economic climate would be to use a time lag. It should be noted that it is harder to establish a relationship between specific crime types and specific economic factors.

Garda presence

Garda presence or the perception of a greater Garda presence in areas where the programmes are taking place needs to be examined. Pre and post crime levels should be recorded as increased levels of detected crimes may occur due to the extra presence of Garda in the area. If future programmes have treatment and control groups, this analysis would be beneficial.

Attrition rates

It is important to firstly measure the attrition rate of Targets on the programme and secondly analyse why these dropouts occurred, and whether there are any discernible patterns to these. Another aspect of this would be to evaluate pre-programme differences between the Targets who

completed the programme and Targets who dropped out. This would help tailor the programmes to fit the individual's needs rather than the individual fitting the specific programme's needs. It would also help in the selection of Targets who are more likely to complete the programme successfully.

Counterfactual impact evaluation

An important consideration when evaluating programmes is to carry out a counterfactual impact evaluation. What would have happened if the programmes never occurred? A counterfactual impact evaluation will compare the outcomes of the Targets who have benefitted from the programme (the "treated group") with those Targets who are similar in all respects to the treatment group (the "control group"), the only difference being that the control group has not been exposed to the programme. The control group can be used to provide information on what would have happened to the Targets who were subject to the programme had they not been exposed to it.

The reason why a counterfactual impact evaluation is carried out is to determine whether policy objectives have been met and, ultimately, whether the resources were used efficiently.

Diffusion effects, deadweight & geographical displacement issues with programmes

There is a growing body of research that has shown that interventions in a particular area may result in a diffusion of crime prevention benefits. Instead of the intervention project displacing crime to the surrounding areas, the programme's prevention benefits are diffused into the surrounding areas. As with displacement, diffusion of benefits can occur in many different forms. Spatial diffusion occurs when areas close to the programme intervention area also experience a reduction in crime. Temporal diffusion occurs when other time periods experience a reduction in crime despite the fact that the programme intervention was not applied at that time. Crime type diffusion occurs when other crime types are prevented even though they were not targeted by the intervention (for instance, a project targeting burglary may also achieve an added reduction in shoplifting).

Crime can cause Deadweight Loss from a monetary and time point of view. This loss can be attributed to both society as a whole and to the individual victims of crime.

On top of measuring crime rates in the areas where an intervention has taken place, there is a concern that there may be geographical displacement to surrounding areas. It would be expected that it is inevitable that there will be some level of displacement but there may also be a positive overall ripple effect to these surrounding areas. It is important to note and measure the crime type that occurs in the displaced areas.

Other types of displacement that should be examined are temporal displacement, tactical displacement (changes in offending patterns for example from robbery using gun to robbery using a knife), offence displacement (changes in offending patterns for example from burglary to robbery) and offender displacement where offenders are immediately replaced by others when they desist.

The table below is an example, taken from the Center for Problem-Orientated Policing, of the displacement and diffusion effects for the burglary of apartments.

Table A:1 Displacement and Diffusion for Burglary of Apartments			
Type	Definition	Displacement	Diffusion
Geographical	Geographic change.	Switch to another building.	Reduce burglaries in targeted building and in nearby buildings.
Temporal	Time switch.	Switch from day to evening.	Reduce burglaries during day and evening.
Target	Switching object of offending.	Switch from apartments to houses.	Reduce burglaries in apartments and houses.
Tactical	Change in method of offending.	Switch from unlocked doors to picking locks.	Reduction in attacks on locked and unlocked doors.
Crime Type	Switching crimes.	Switch from burglary to theft.	Reduction in burglary and theft.

Source: Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, http://www.popcenter.org/learning/60steps/index.cfm?stepNum=13