

Electronic monitoring in practice: the second year of the trials of curfew orders

by Ed Mortimer and Chris May

A Research and Statistics Directorate Report

**Home Office
Research and
Statistics
Directorate**

London: Home Office

Home Office Research Studies

The Home Office Research Studies are reports on research undertaken by or on behalf of the Home Office. They cover the range of subjects for which the Home Secretary has responsibility. Titles in the series are listed at the back of this report (copies are available from the address on the back cover). Other publications produced by the Research and Statistics Directorate include Research Findings, the Research Bulletin, Statistical Bulletins and Statistical Papers.

The Research and Statistics Directorate

The Directorate consists of three Units which deal with research and statistics on Crime and Criminal Justice, Offenders and Corrections, Immigration and General Matters; the Programme Development Unit; the Economics Unit; and the Operational Research Unit.



The Research and Statistics Directorate is an integral part of the Home Office, serving the Ministers and the department itself, its services, Parliament and the public through research, development and statistics. Information and knowledge from these sources informs policy development and the management of programmes; their dissemination improves wider public understanding of matters of Home Office concern.

First published 1997

Application for reproduction should be made to the Information and Publications Group, Room 201, Home Office, 50 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1H 9AT

© Crown copyright 1996 ISBN 1 85893 997 6
ISSN 0072 6435

Acknowledgements

A great many people in each of the three trial areas assisted with the production of this report. Staff and sentencers in magistrates' courts co-operated fully with the research and tried wherever possible to accommodate the very tight timescales of the research. We would particularly like to thank the following for their help with the sentencing choices survey and analysis of court records: Judith Burrows, David Carrier, Philip Cuddy, Simon Dodgson, Lesley Gilmore, Winston Gordon, Jim Haydock, Kathleen Johnson, Ian Lomax, Katharine Marshall, Stephen Platt, David Ratcliffe, Chris Roberts, John Robinson, Martin Sale, David Scanlan, Liz Wilson and Fiona Young.

We would also like to thank the contractors, Geografix and Securicor Custodial Services, for continuing to give so generously of their time in meeting our requests for information. Particular thanks go to Andy Homer, Paul Reed and Charles Rose of Geografix, and to Ron Robson, Ron Astles, Andrew Davies and Patricia Walmsley of Securicor.

Several staff at the Home Office also worked on various aspects of the report. Colleagues in the Probation Unit provided support and comments on various aspects of the report, especially Allison Harding, Hugh Marriage and Andrew Cunningham.

Within the Research and Statistics Directorate, we would like to thank: Carol Hedderman, Julie Vennard and Chris Lewis for their helpful comments and advice on the various drafts of the report; James Dunmore for advice on the costs model; Joanne Goodman and James Singer for the work on the Offenders Index; Margaret Ayres for providing court data; Andy James for desk-top publishing the report; Eulalia Pereira and Natasha Garnham for their help with the fieldwork; and particularly Darren Sugg, who assisted with data collection, coding and analysis. Finally we would like to thank Professor George Mair of Liverpool John Moores University for providing the independent peer review for this report.

Foreword

Trials of curfew orders with electronic monitoring began in July 1995 in three areas: Greater Manchester, Norfolk and Berkshire. The first twelve months of these trials were evaluated in Home Office Research Study No.163.

This report evaluates the second year of the trials, covering the period July 1996 to June 1997. It examines the rate of use of the order over this period; the characteristics and offending backgrounds of those sentenced; and the immediate outcomes of curfew orders made. There is an analysis of the market share of electronic monitoring to identify which sentences it is competing with, and a model of the estimated costs for a national roll-out of the sentence.

As in the first year of the trials, the results are generally positive. The number of offenders tagged rose significantly as new courts were brought into the trials and as sentencers grew more accustomed to the availability of curfew orders, and the completion rate remained high. Despite these successes, the curfew order with electronic monitoring remains an infrequently used disposal compared to other community sentences. The analysis suggests that the cost per order is comparable to other community sentences, and that if sufficient offenders were tagged rather than sent to prison, the use of electronic monitoring could generate significant savings.

CHRIS LEWIS

**Head of Offenders and Corrections Unit,
Research and Statistics Directorate**

Contents

	Page
Summary	vii
The current trials of curfew orders with electronic monitoring	vii
The use of curfew orders	vii
Who was tagged?	viii
Completion rates	viii
Market share of curfew orders with electronic monitoring	ix
Costs of electronic monitoring	ix
The future of electronic monitoring	x
1 Introduction	1
Aims and objectives of the continuing trials	2
Methodology	3
The use of electronic monitoring overseas	3
Plan of the report	5
2 Offenders tagged during the second year	7
Comparing curfew orders made with court throughput	10
Current offending	12
Previous offending	14
Outcomes of orders	16
3 Identifying the market share of electronic monitoring	19
The sentencing decision: a survey of sentencing choices	19
Comparing the use of curfew orders with other disposals – an analysis of court records	29
Differences in age and sex	29
Principal offences for which sentenced	30
Comparing tagged offenders with those sentenced to other disposals	32
Summary of the court records analysis	33
4 Estimating costs and savings	35
Introduction	35
The cost elements of the model	36
Assumptions relevant to each of the cost elements	36

Other assumptions used in the model	38
Results – costs of national roll-out	39
Comparison of costs with those for other sentences	42
Overall costs and savings	43
5 Conclusions	45
Use of curfew orders during the second year of the trials	45
The market share of electronic monitoring	45
Costs of curfew orders	46
The future of electronic monitoring in Great Britain	46
References	49
Publications	51

Summary

The current trials of curfew orders with electronic monitoring

The curfew order with electronic monitoring was introduced as a sentence in its own right in the 1991 Criminal Justice Act and, following an amendment in the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act it was introduced on a trial basis in Manchester, Norfolk and Reading, starting in July 1995. Take-up was slow for several months. Nevertheless, the trials were extended and the geographical coverage expanded to cover the whole of the counties of Greater Manchester and Berkshire.

By the end of June 1996, a total of 83 offenders had been tagged, and the evaluation of the first year concluded that the equipment worked reliably and that, despite their early reluctance to use the order, sentencers were pleased with the quick detection of violations and the enforcement action that followed (Mair and Mortimer, 1996, p.27).

This report describes results from the second year of the trial. In addition to providing general information about the rate at which different courts were using the new order, the characteristics of those tagged, and completion rates, it examines two important questions:

- which sorts of sentences curfew orders were competing with (the “market share”)
- how much a national roll-out of electronic monitoring would cost.

The use of curfew orders

More courts were brought on stream early in the second year of the trials and, together with the growing acceptance of the order by sentencers, probation staff and other agencies, this led to greatly increased use of the order. During the second year of the trials, 375 curfew orders with electronic monitoring were made in the three areas, more than four times as many as in the first year. However, compared to other disposals, the curfew

order remained a rarely used sentence. While there were over 300 curfew orders imposed at the adult magistrates' courts, this compared with 2,900 probation orders, 2,400 community service orders, 900 combination orders and 2,800 custodial sentences.¹

Of the 375 orders in the second year, over two-thirds were made in Greater Manchester, just under a quarter in Norfolk, and the remainder in Berkshire. When court workload was taken into account however, the difference between Norfolk and Greater Manchester was negligible at 13 and 14 per 1,000 cases respectively. In Berkshire, the rate was seven per 1,000 cases.

Who was tagged?

The offences which most commonly resulted in curfew orders were the same as for the first year of the trials: 28 per cent of orders were for theft and handling, 19 per cent for burglary and 13 per cent for driving whilst disqualified. Other offences included taking without consent, causing actual bodily harm, driving with excess alcohol, criminal damage, public order offences, assault of a police constable, drugs offences, indecent assault and arson.

Of the 375 offenders sentenced to curfew orders in this study, 45 (12%) had no previous convictions, though two (1%) had more than 40 and a further 30 offenders (8%) had at least 20 previous convictions. Just under half of the offenders tagged had previous experience of custody, while three-quarters had received a community sentence, two-thirds a financial penalty and three in five had been made the subject of an absolute or conditional discharge.

Completion rates

Eighty-two per cent of those orders imposed during the second year which had come to an end by the time of writing (October 1997) were successfully completed, with 18 per cent being revoked and resentenced. This is an improvement on the completion rate in the first year (75%). It is also equivalent to the rate for probation orders and better than that for community service (71%). The completion rate is especially high in Norfolk, where 93 per cent of offenders finished their orders.

¹ Home Office Crime and Criminal Justice Unit figures for the same courts. Note that the data for curfew orders with electronic monitoring relate to the period July 1996 to June 1997, while the data for other disposals are from January to December 1996. All of these figures have been rounded to the nearest hundred.

Market share of curfew orders with electronic monitoring

Market share was investigated in two ways: first, magistrates at 16 courts were asked to say for each offender sentenced during a ten-day survey which other disposals had been seriously considered; and second, court records were sampled from four courts in order to investigate whether those sentenced to curfew orders differed from those sentenced to other types of disposal.

The sentencing choices survey indicated that:

- curfew orders with electronic monitoring were seen as alternatives to custody and the higher end community penalties (community service orders and combination orders)
- magistrates used the sentence more often than it was proposed by probation officers in pre-sentence reports.

Analysis of case files revealed that:

- for a range of different offences, the use of curfew orders differed most significantly from the use of discharges and financial penalties
- differences between the use of electronic monitoring and custody or community sentences were generally not significant.

Costs of electronic monitoring

Using detailed information supplied by the two contractors (Geografix and Securicor Custodial Services), the costs of a national roll-out of curfew orders with electronic monitoring were modelled for a number of different scenarios, taking into account start-up and fixed running costs, as well as the costs based on the number of offenders tagged.

This model estimated:

- the average cost of a curfew order to be £1,900. This was less than the cost of a probation order (£2,300), but higher than for a community service order (£1,600)
- allowing for the fact that some curfew orders are made in conjunction with another community sentence raised the average cost to £2,700 per order. This is similar to the cost of six weeks in a local prison or remand centre, or eight weeks in a category C prison.

The future of electronic monitoring

Over the first two years of the trials of curfew orders with electronic monitoring, the technology has proved itself to be very reliable, and new, smaller tags (or personal identification devices – PIDs) were being introduced by both contractors from autumn 1997. The trials were initially expanded to cover a wider geographical area, then the length of the trials was extended and new courts given the authority to use the order. Starting in late 1997, a number of new areas will be phased into the ongoing trials: West Yorkshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and the London boroughs within the Middlesex Probation Service area.

Finally, it should be noted that the reconvictions of those tagged in the first two years will be examined by the Home Office Research and Statistics Directorate once sufficient time has elapsed. The provisions of the 1997 Crime (Sentences) Act, which extended the use of electronic monitoring to deal with fine defaulters, persistent petty offenders and juveniles, will be piloted in Norfolk and Greater Manchester (starting in early 1998) and will also be evaluated. And, following the generally encouraging findings from the trials of curfew orders in England, the Scottish Office will begin piloting electronic monitoring as part of the new restriction of liberty order in the second half of 1998.

1 Introduction

Electronic monitoring was first introduced in England and Wales on a trial basis in 1989–90 as a condition of bail. These trials were not a great success in terms of take-up, partly because the monitoring equipment was unreliable, but also because of the way the new power was implemented – for example, bailees could be curfewed for up to 24 hours per day, and any time spent tagged was not taken into account in the event of a custodial sentence being imposed (see Mair and Nee, 1990).¹

The Criminal Justice Act 1991 introduced the curfew order with electronic monitoring as a sentence in its own right. This was amended by the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 to allow the introduction of curfew orders with electronic monitoring on a trial basis to investigate the impact of the new sentence. The decision to introduce tagging as a sentence was influenced by a number of factors, including the apparent success with which it operated in the US and the desire for new, credible community sentences which would entail a clear restriction of liberty.

The trials began in July 1995 in the City of Manchester, the County of Norfolk and the Borough of Reading. The evaluation of the first year (Mair and Mortimer, 1996; Mortimer and Mair, 1997) concluded that the trials of curfew orders with electronic monitoring had been successful in a number of respects. In particular:

- the equipment had proved itself reliable
- the private sector contractors had carried out their duties to a high standard
- sentencers were pleased that breaches were detected almost immediately
- estimates of costs suggested that electronic monitoring was considerably cheaper than custody.

¹ Under the current trials, offenders can be curfewed for two to twelve hours per day for up to six months.

However, the take-up of the sentence by magistrates and judges was disappointing, particularly in the early months of the trials, so that by the end of the first year only 83 offenders had been 'tagged'. Partly in response to the low take-up rate, two of the areas in which the order was available were expanded so that offenders living anywhere in Greater Manchester or anywhere in Berkshire were eligible, and the trials were extended to the end of March 1997. Subsequently, the sentence was made available to all courts in Berkshire (rather than just Reading) and Greater Manchester (rather than the City of Manchester alone), and the length of the trials was extended by a further year to March 1998. No changes were made during the first two years to the availability of the sentence in Norfolk, where all the courts could use it from the start.

Aims and objectives of the continuing trials

The trials were set up with three main formal objectives:

- to establish the technical and practical arrangements necessary to support the electronic monitoring of curfew orders
- to ascertain the likely cost and effectiveness of curfew orders in relation to other sentencing disposals
- to evaluate the scope for introducing electronic monitoring for curfew orders on a selective or national basis.

While the first year of the trials went part of the way towards meeting these objectives, the low numbers in the early months made it difficult to assess the feasibility and cost of a national roll-out of electronic monitoring. This report, which covers the second year of the trials (July 1996 to June 1997), is able to examine these questions in the light of the higher numbers achieved in the second year and using more detailed data. Further consideration is also given to the extent to which orders were successfully completed. Magistrates' views of the most appropriate offenders for curfew orders with electronic monitoring are also addressed, along with the differences between those sentenced to curfew orders compared to offenders sentenced to other disposals.

Methodology

This report is based on data derived from a number of different sources:

- centrally held information, supplemented by data from contractors, was used to provide overall figures on the number of curfew orders made, types of offence, and the proportion of orders completed or revoked
- a special ‘sentencing choices’ exercise, in which magistrates at a selection of courts involved in the trials were asked to record which other options they considered when passing sentence during a two week period. This information was used to discover whether the curfew order was seen as having a particular place in the sentencing framework and which other sentences it was replacing (i.e. where its “market share” comes from)
- samples of records from four magistrates’ courts were examined to provide more detailed information about the characteristics of cases in which a curfew order was used, and how different these cases were from those which attracted other sentences
- a model of costs was developed using information held centrally and supplied by the contractors.

The focus of much of this report is on the adult magistrates’ courts. This reflects the fact that, across the three trial areas, curfew orders were used less often at either the Crown or Youth Courts during the first year, and this pattern has continued in Year Two.

A reconviction study of those sentenced to curfew orders is planned. The data for this will become available during 1999. This will permit a standard two-year reconviction analysis of all those sentenced to a curfew order with electronic monitoring.

The use of electronic monitoring overseas

Electronic monitoring is being used in a number of other countries, including the US, Canada, Australia, Israel, Singapore and, closer to home, The Netherlands and Sweden. There has also been interest in electronic monitoring from other European countries and trials are currently being planned by the Scottish Office.

Electronic monitoring has been in operation in the United States since 1984, where it is used in a wide range of situations: as a bail condition; to enforce house arrest schemes; for early release from prison; and in combination with existing community-based programmes. It is used at county, state and federal levels. There has been no coherent national approach to tagging in the US, and much of the evidence from its use has been contradictory and/or inconclusive. Whitfield (1997) summarises some of the most important work in this field, and concludes that “good practice is not difficult to find but is still outweighed by poorly targeted, non-cost effective schemes which all too often increase criminal justice costs and prison populations by net widening”.² In contrast to the US, the use of electronic monitoring is less widespread in Canada, though it has been used in British Columbia since 1987. It is currently available in four provinces but is not available at the federal level, mainly because the federal authorities are responsible for those offenders sentenced to two years or more in custody. There at least appears to be an attempt to conduct a coherent evaluation of the various schemes in Canada.³

Perhaps the most structured approach to using electronic monitoring is evident in Sweden (see Bishop, 1996a, 1996b and Somander 1995a, 1995b and 1996, as well as Whitfield, 1997). One interesting aspect there is that those targeted would otherwise have received a custodial sentence, and are placed under intensive supervision and monitoring by the probation service. They are also prohibited from taking alcohol or drugs for the duration of the electronic monitoring supervision, perhaps reflecting the fact that over half were convicted of drink-driving, which carries a mandatory custodial sentence in Sweden. There is a strict selection procedure for this programme, and Whitfield (1997) cites completion rates of 92 per cent (p.62). A similar success rate is cited for the programme in The Netherlands (Whitfield 1997, p.64), which targets those who would have received a prison sentence of 6–12 months, and others who may be selected to spend the last 1–6 months of a longer sentence being monitored electronically in the community.

² Whitfield (1997), p.54.

³ The first part of this research – an evaluation of the electronic monitoring programme in British Columbia – has already been carried out (Bonta et al., 1997). This shows a 91 per cent completion rate, though the authors attribute this to the short duration of the programme and the relatively low-risk offenders selected (p.36).

Plan of the report

The next chapter gives details of the overall use of curfew orders, including the range of offences for which they were used, the criminal histories of offenders tagged and the extent to which they successfully completed the orders. The sentencing choices exercise and analysis of data derived from court records are described in Chapter 3, which draws some tentative conclusions about the market share of curfew orders with electronic monitoring. Chapter 4 discusses the costs of the trials and provides estimates for a national roll out. The final chapter brings together the results of the second year of the trials and discusses plans for expanding the use of curfew orders.

2 Offenders tagged during the second year

In this chapter we examine the number of curfew orders made over the course of the trials in each of the three areas, and compare this to the throughput of cases in the courts concerned. We look at the age and sex of offenders, their current and previous offending, and the outcomes of the orders.

The use of curfew orders was starting to increase by the end of the first year. The introduction of new courts gave fresh impetus to this, as can be seen from Figure 2.1, with orders being made at a far higher level than in the first year.¹

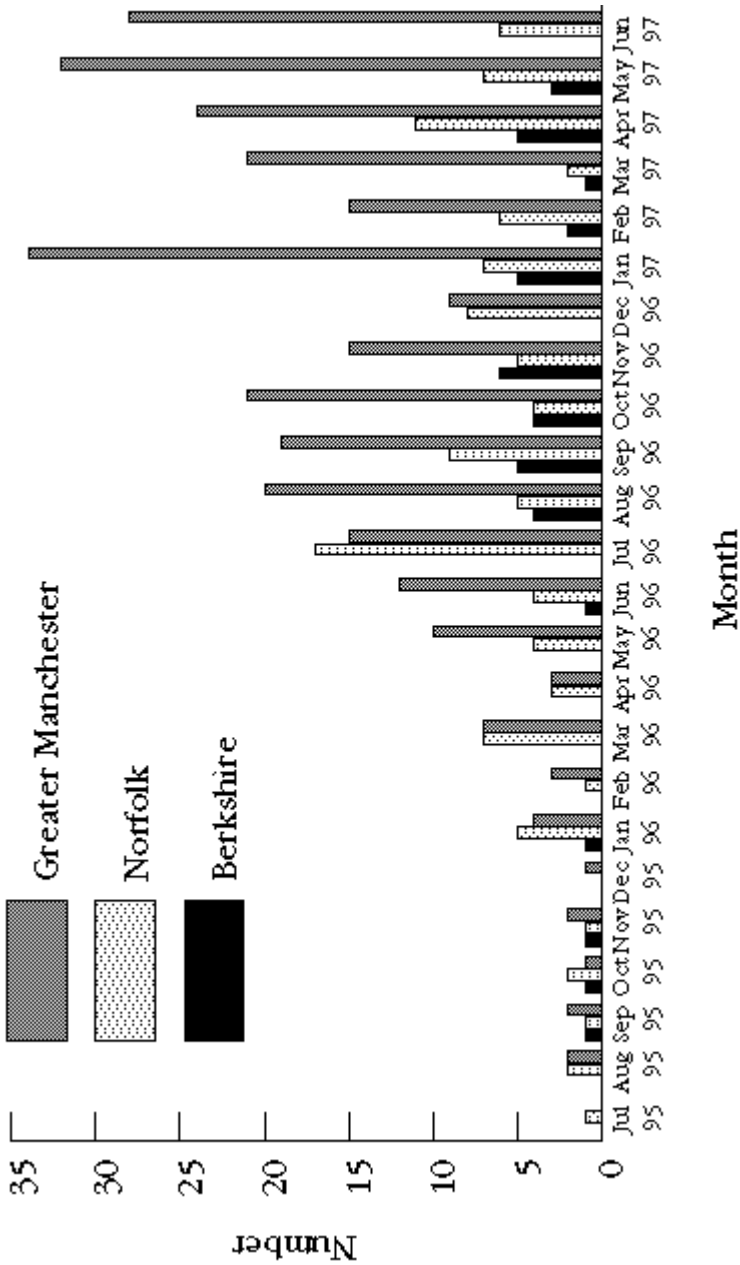
Table 2.1 below shows the orders made in each of the three trial areas, broken down by the type of court.

Table 2.1 Curfew orders made by type of court in each area during the second year of the trials: July 1996 – June 1997

	Crown Court	Magistrates' Court (Adults)	Youth Court	Total
Greater Manchester	0	222	31	253
Norfolk	22	61	4	87
Berkshire	1	31	3	35
Total	23	314	38	375

¹ The dip in December's figures and peak in January's reflect the fact that courts are closed for the Christmas and New Year holidays.

Figure 2.1 New orders made by month



A total of 375 curfew orders were made by sentencers in the second year of the trials, more than four times as many as in the first 12 months, when 83 were made. Greater Manchester continues to dominate the trials, particularly Manchester City Magistrates' Court which alone accounted for 125 cases in the second year. (This is partly due to the high workload of the court – an issue which will be addressed later in the chapter.) Five times as many curfew orders were made in Greater Manchester as a whole in the second year as in Year One.

The biggest proportionate increase in the use of electronic monitoring was in Berkshire, although this sevenfold increase was from the extremely low base of five cases in Year One. The use of tagging in Norfolk continued to rise, with nearly three times as many orders as in the first year. This indication of the increasing acceptance of the new order by sentencers in Norfolk is especially noteworthy as, unlike the other two areas, no new courts were brought into the trials there.

Despite these big increases in the use of electronic monitoring in the adult magistrates' courts, the curfew order with electronic monitoring is a rarely used sentence when compared with other disposals. In the second year of the trials, over 300 curfew orders were imposed at the adult magistrates' courts, compared to 2,900 probation orders, 2,400 community service orders, 900 combination orders and 2,800 custodial sentences.²

The Crown and Youth courts still make very little use of the order. There has still been no Crown Court order from Manchester in the current trials, and only two (one in each year) from Reading. The Crown Court centres at Norwich and King's Lynn, however, made 22 orders in the second year, a quarter of the Norfolk total. It is not clear why there are such discrepancies in the use of the order between different Crown Court centres. Youth Court cases account for 10 per cent of all cases in the three trial areas.

Of the 375 offenders tagged in the second year, 346 (92%, slightly above the 90% figure in the first year) were male, and 29 (8%) were female. The ages of those curfewed ranged from 16 years to 77 years of age. The average age for all offenders was 26.4 years, almost identical to the figure for the first twelve months of the trials.

² Home Office Crime and Criminal Justice Unit figures for the courts involved in the trials. Note that the data for curfew orders with electronic monitoring relate to the period July 1996 to June 1997, while data for other disposals are for January to December 1996. All of these figures have been rounded to the nearest hundred.

The average length for all orders made in the second year of the trials was 100 days (3.3 months, compared with 3.4 months in the first year). However, there was considerable variation between areas: Norfolk sentencers made the longest sentences, averaging 116 days (3.8 months), while the averages for Berkshire and Greater Manchester were 98 days (3.2 months) and 94 days (3.1 months) respectively.

Comparing curfew orders made with court throughput

In order to compare the take up of curfew orders fairly across different courts, the number of orders must be compared to caseloads. Table 2.2 shows the use of curfew orders during the second year of the trial as a rate per 1,000 adult offenders sentenced for the types of offences for which curfew orders were commonly used (i.e. all indictable offences, common assault, public order, driving whilst disqualified and driving with excess alcohol).³ This figure was generated for all courts which were able to use the sentence from Summer 1996 and allowance was made for the fact that the sentence was available to some courts from July, whereas others (e.g. Newbury) introduced it some weeks later.⁴

3 Court activity data, covering all of 1996, were supplied by the Crime and Criminal Justice Unit, Home Office Research and Statistics Directorate.

4 Bolton, Rochdale and Salford were excluded on the grounds that curfew orders were only introduced there in 1997.

Table 2.2 Curfew orders – rate per 1,000 adult cases in magistrates' courts

Petty sessional division	No. of adult curfew orders made in second year	Curfew orders – rate per 1,000 adult cases sentenced
Bury	6	5.6
Leigh	8	11.3
Manchester	125	20.5
Oldham	10	5.0
Stockport	19	11.9
Tameside	31	24.8
Trafford	9	7.4
Wigan	8	5.3
all Greater Manchester (excluding Bolton, Salford and Rochdale)	216	13.9
Central Norfolk (Swaffham and East Dereham)	7	19.7
North Norfolk (Great Yarmouth and Cromer)	9	6.4
Norwich	33	16.8
South Norfolk (Thetford and Diss)	11	29.9
West Norfolk (King's Lynn and Fakenham)	1	1.9
all Norfolk	61	13.2
Forest (Bracknell)	1	1.7
Maidenhead	11	25.0
Reading and Sonning	6	3.8
Slough	10	11.7
West Berkshire (Newbury)	3	4.9
Windsor	0	0
all Berkshire	31	7.3
all three areas	308	12.6

The figures in Table 2.2 should be treated with some caution as the court activity data used relate to January to December 1996, while the data on curfew orders cover the period July 1996 to June 1997. However, this is

unlikely to affect seriously the results which show that differences within each of the three areas are greater than the differences between them. The greatest disparity occurs in Norfolk, where South Norfolk has the highest rate of orders made (29.9 per 1,000) while West Norfolk's rate is just 1.9 per 1,000. In Berkshire, Maidenhead has the highest rate of orders made (25.0 per 1,000) while Windsor has yet to make a single order. Only in Greater Manchester is there a smaller range between the most frequent users of curfew orders and those using them least, though even here the difference between Tameside (24.8 per 1,000) and Oldham (5.0 per 1,000) is striking.

Reasons for the discrepancies are not easy to find. King's Lynn (West Norfolk) saw the first offender tagged in the current trials. The offender in question repeatedly violated the order, leading to breach, revocation and resentencing to custody. This case attracted a great deal of adverse publicity from the national media and may well have been a factor in deterring local sentencers from using curfew orders. Given the small size of the workload at Maidenhead Magistrates' Court, there has been a relatively large number of curfew orders made. This may be related to the presence on the local bench of a former Chair of the Magistrates' Association who was involved in setting up the trials and was keen to see the new order properly tested.

Overall, the rate per 1,000 in Berkshire (7.3) was little more than half that of Greater Manchester (13.9) and Norfolk (13.2). Thus, the low number of orders made in Berkshire seems to be partly explained by a comparatively low caseload, but this alone is not sufficient to account for it. There have been suggestions from local sentencers and staff from Berkshire Probation Service that the size of the Personal Identification Device (PID, or tag) may have deterred sentencers, probation officers and particularly offenders from opting for electronic monitoring unless custody was the likely alternative. The gradual introduction of smaller PIDs from autumn of 1997, together with the removal of the need for consent to community sentences, may therefore result in a higher rate of use of curfew orders in Berkshire in the future.

Current offending

The main offence types which attracted curfew orders during the second year are summarised in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 Main offences attracting curfew orders in Year Two

Main offence	No. of cases	Percentage
Theft and handling (including attempts)	104	28
Burglary (including attempts)	70	19
Driving whilst disqualified	47	13
TWOC / TDA (including allowing self to be carried)	31	8
Common assault (including ABH)	28	7
Driving with excess alcohol / while unfit	18	5
Criminal damage	14	4
Minor misdemeanours (including public order offences)	12	3
Assault on a police constable	11	3
Fraud and forgery (including deception)	10	3
Possession of drugs	8	2
Breach of a community sentence	4	1
Criminal attempts	3	1
Sexual offences	3	1
Minor motoring-related	2	1
Possession of an offensive weapon	2	1
Other, various	8	2
Total	375	100

N.B. Percentages do not add to 100 due to rounding.

As in the first year of the trials, the three most common offence groups for which curfew orders were used were theft and handling, burglary and driving whilst disqualified – between them these accounted for 59 per cent of all offenders tagged. Moreover, as the analysis of court records in Chapter 3 shows, this is not simply a reflection of the proportion of such cases coming to court. Taking without consent and taking and driving away have become associated with tagging in Greater Manchester, though the use of electronic monitoring for drugs offenders, which was relatively common in Norfolk in the first year of the trials, appears to have become much less frequent.

Previous offending

Table 2.4 below summarises the number of previous convictions of offenders sentenced during the second year of the trials.

Table 2.4 Number of previous convictions of offenders sentenced to curfew orders⁵

Number of previous convictions	Number of offenders	Percentage of offenders
0	45	12
1	39	11
2-4	83	22
5-9	77	21
10-19	95	26
20-29	25	7
30-39	5	1
40-64	2	1
Total	371	100

N.B. Information was not available on four offenders. Percentages do not total 100 due to rounding.

Forty-five (12%) of those tagged were first-time offenders, while one offender had 64 previous convictions. The average number of previous court appearances resulting in a conviction was 8.1. It is common for offenders to be convicted of more than one offence at each court appearance, so we also calculated the number of previous offences for each offender tagged. On average, offenders had been convicted of 20.3 offences. These figures for average numbers of previous convictions and average number of previous offences were slightly higher than for those tagged in the first year (7.7 and 17.5 respectively).

⁵ Criminal histories for tagged offenders were taken from the Offenders Index. This contains information on standard list offences only, which excludes many motoring offences. In particular, driving whilst disqualified has not always been included as a standard list offence, and this may therefore lead to a slight underestimate of previous offending.

Table 2.5 below summarises offenders' previous experiences of different sentencing disposals.

Table 2.5 Previous disposals received by offenders tagged in Year Two

Type of disposal	No. of offenders	Percentage of offenders
Absolute / conditional discharge	223	60
Fine	235	63
Compensation order	49	13
Any financial disposal	243	65
Supervision order	91	25
Attendance centre order	131	35
Probation order	137	37
Probation order with requirement	70	19
Community service order	176	47
Combination order	45	12
Any probation order	162	44
Any community sentence	282	76
Fully suspended sentence	50	13
Youth custody	129	35
Custody (adult)	119	32
Any unsuspended custody	174	47
No previous convictions	45	12
Total offenders	371	

N.B. Percentages total more than 100 as each offender may have experience of a number of different disposals. Information was not available on four further offenders.

Just under half (47%) of those sentenced to curfew orders during the second year of the trials had previously received an immediate custodial sentence (as opposed to a suspended one), slightly less than in the first year (54%).⁶ Three-quarters had received some form of community sentence in the past. Of these, 44 per cent had been sentenced to probation orders, 47 per cent to community service orders and 12 per cent to combination orders. These figures are similar to those in the first year (52% probation, 45% community service and 12% combination orders). Two-thirds had previously received a financial penalty and six out of ten had been made the subject of absolute or conditional discharges.

⁶ For details of previous disposals in the first year of the trials, see Mair and Mortimer, pp 16–17.

Outcomes of orders

Table 2.6 below summarises the outcomes of orders made during the second year.

Table 2.6 Outcomes of curfew orders with electronic monitoring

Area	Orders completed	Orders revoked	Orders continuing	Total orders
Greater Manchester	196	52	5	253
Norfolk	76	6	5	87
Berkshire	28	6	1	35
Total	300	64	11	375

Excluding those orders still in force at the time of writing (October 1997), 82 per cent of orders made during the second year were successfully completed, which is an improvement on the 75 per cent figure for those tagged in the first year. This completion rate is better than for community service orders (71%) and the same as for probation orders (82%).⁷ Judged on this criterion, electronic monitoring is clearly a worthwhile sentence. While it is true that community service orders and probation orders tend to last longer than a curfew order, it is also true that the enforcement of these orders (probation orders in particular) is more variable and sometimes less strictly applied than for curfew orders (see Ellis et al., 1996). Furthermore, the revocations include a small number which were terminated for reasons other than breach, such as the offender finding employment. The completion rates should therefore be taken as being, if anything, a slight underestimate.

The results in Table 2.6 are also noteworthy as they show an overall successful completion rate of 93 per cent for Norfolk compared with one in Greater Manchester of 79 per cent and Berkshire of 82 per cent. This is surprising given that, as mentioned earlier, Norfolk has the longest average sentence length of the three trial areas. Furthermore, the completion rate for the longest orders (from 5 to 6 months) in Norfolk is also very high, at 88 per cent (compared to 54% in Greater Manchester and 33% in Berkshire). As

⁷ Source: Probation Statistics, England and Wales 1996. The figure for successful probation order completions includes those replaced by a conditional discharge and those terminated early for good progress.

the focus of this report has been on the market share and costs of electronic monitoring it has not been possible to investigate the reasons for these differences. Whitfield (1997), has suggested that compliance may be affected by the nature of induction procedures, the way early (minor) breaches are responded to, and the quality of the relationship which develops between monitoring staff and the offender.⁸ It may also be worth examining whether the targeting process at the pre-sentence report and sentencing stages differs between areas.

In all three areas there is a clear relationship between the length of the order and the likelihood of its being revoked. As Table 2.7 shows the shorter the order, the more likely it is to be completed without revocation.

Table 2.7 Curfew orders completed and revoked, by length of order

Length of order	No. of orders completed	No. of orders revoked	Percentage revoked
up to 1 month	12	0	0
>1 month – 2 months	74	4	5
>2 months – 3 months	118	23	16
>3 months – 4 months	53	14	21
>4 months – 5 months	14	7	33
>5 months – 6 months	29	16	36
All orders	300	64	18

N.B. This analysis excludes those orders still continuing at the time of writing (October 1997).

This is not unexpected: offenders who may find a curfew with electronic monitoring particularly difficult and who have received a relatively long sentence might decide at an early stage to withdraw their consent; those that continue with the order have a greater chance of accumulating sufficient absences to warrant breach action.

8 Whitfield (1997), pp. 91–92.

3 Identifying the market share of electronic monitoring

Findings from the evaluation of the first year of the trials of curfew orders with electronic monitoring suggested that the new sentence was viewed by sentencers and probation services as being towards the upper end of the community sentence band, and even as a possible alternative to a custodial sentence. During the second year evaluation, it was decided to examine this issue more closely. In particular, it was important to discover whether electronic monitoring had acquired a natural place in the sentencing framework and, if so, where that was. In other words, was it primarily used as an alternative to custodial sentences, an alternative to other community penalties (combination orders, community service or probation) or to lesser penalties such as fines or discharges? This examination of electronic monitoring's market share involved two separate but related exercises – a survey of magistrates' sentencing choices and an analysis of court records – the results of which are described below.

The sentencing decision: a survey of sentencing choices

Sixteen of the 20 courts in which curfew orders had been a sentencing option since summer 1996 took part in the sentencing choices exercise over a period of ten working days. Fifteen carried out the survey between May and July 1997, with the remaining court taking part in September. The remaining four courts were unable to take part within the tight timescale of the project. Courts where curfew orders were introduced more recently were excluded from this exercise on the grounds that it was too soon to expect them to have developed a clear view about where in the tariff the new order fitted.

Magistrates at participating courts were asked to complete one form for each offender sentenced during the course of the two weeks. As the focus was on the kinds of cases which could attract a community sentence, the following were excluded: cases where the offender pleaded guilty by letter; cases resulting solely in a bind-over; minor motoring and document offences; TV licence cases.¹ The form asked for details of the offender, the

¹ As explained in Chapter 1, Youth and Crown Court cases were excluded from this exercise on the grounds that the vast majority of curfew orders have been made in the adult magistrates' courts.

main offence, the PSR proposal, and the sentence imposed. This purely factual information was sometimes supplied by court clerks, but magistrates were expected to provide the answer to the key question posed: “What other options were seriously considered by the bench in this case?”.

A total of 801 valid forms were returned by the various courts. Table 3.1 shows these returns broken down by petty sessional area. Clearly some courts set out to provide details on all relevant cases, whereas others completed forms on only some of the potentially suitable ones. However, there is no reason to suppose the latter were deliberately selective or that this invalidated the results of this exercise.

Table 3.1 Number of cases from each Petty Sessional Area

Petty Sessional Division	No. of cases	Percentage
Bury	6	1
Leigh	7	1
Manchester	229	29
Oldham	105	13
Stockport	55	7
Tameside	37	5
Trafford	22	3
Wigan	129	16
Norwich	84	10
Great Yarmouth	33	4
West Norfolk	13	2
Central Norfolk	7	1
South Norfolk	22	3
Reading	20	2
Maidenhead	20	2
Newbury	12	1
Total	801	100

Ninety per cent of the cases on which sentencing choices information was obtained were dealt with by lay benches. Stipendiaries only sat at the courts in Manchester (where they dealt with 23% of the cases), Norwich (27%) and Great Yarmouth (13%). The number of offences for which offenders were sentenced ranged from one to 48, the average being between 2–3 offences.

The main offences were broken down as follows:

Table 3.2 Main offence types for all cases

Offence type	No. of cases	Percentage
Section 18 / Section 20 wounding / other serious violence	5	1
Assault on a police constable	12	1
Common assault / ABH	37	5
Sexual offences	3	0
Burglary (or attempt) in a dwelling	16	2
Burglary (or attempt) non-dwelling	19	2
Supplying drugs	4	1
Possession of drugs	28	4
Theft and handling	193	24
Fraud and forgery	16	2
Minor misdemeanours (e.g. breach of the peace, public order)	90	11
Criminal damage	39	5
TWOC/TDA	15	2
Driving whilst disqualified	56	7
Driving with excess alcohol	102	13
Failure to surrender to bail	2	0
Breach of community sentence	29	4
Other, various	127	16
Information not available	8	1
Total	801	100

N.B. Percentages do not total 100 due to rounding.

Information was also provided on whether a PSR was obtained and the main sentencing proposals such reports contained. The results are in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 PSR proposals for all cases

PSR proposal	No. of cases	Percentage
Conditional discharge	27	4
Fine	10	1
Probation order	83	12
Probation order + requirements	58	9
Community service order	65	10
Combination order	27	4
Curfew order with electronic monitoring	10	1
Custody	2	0
No clear proposal	27	4
No PSR required	368	54
Total cases with PSR information²	677	100

N.B. Percentages do not add to 100 due to rounding.

Custody is almost never proposed in a PSR, but probation officers sometimes note in the report that there is no realistic alternative to it.

Table 3.3 indicates that probation officers writing PSRs only view curfew orders as the most suitable sentence in a small minority of cases. This is in line with the relatively low use of the order during the first year of the trials. However, it is worth noting that curfew orders were recommended as often as fines, and that there were no proposals in the survey for compensation orders or attendance centre orders (though the latter are only available for those aged 17–20). One explanation for the infrequent proposal of a curfew order could be that probation officers are more willing to propose community sentences they are familiar with and will exercise influence over if imposed.

The offences involved in the ten cases in which curfew orders were proposed were theft and handling (5 cases), driving whilst disqualified (2), burglary in a dwelling (1), burglary non-dwelling (1), and breach of a community sentence (1). The actual sentences made were five curfew orders, one curfew order combined with a probation order, two combination orders and two custodial sentences. Although the numbers are low, this does give some indication that, for the cases in this survey, PSR writers saw tagging as being a higher-end community sentence.

² This table excludes 124 cases where there was no response to the relevant question. The base for Table 3.3 is therefore 677, as opposed to the overall total of 801 cases.

Sentencers are not, of course, bound by the PSR proposal. Table 3.4 below shows the number of times that different sentences were actually imposed by magistrates on offenders covered by the survey. From this it is clear that curfew orders were used infrequently.

Table 3.4 Actual disposals made for all cases

Disposal	No. of cases	Percentage
Absolute discharge	6	1
Conditional discharge	165	21
Fine	293	37
Compensation order	72	9
Attendance centre order	2	0
Probation order	70	9
Probation order + requirements	27	3
Community service order	62	8
Combination order	39	5
Curfew order with electronic monitoring	19	2
Suspended sentence	2	0
Custody	117	15
Total disposals used	874	
Total cases	801	100

Note that the percentages will add to more than 100, as some disposals can be combined, e.g. curfew orders can be combined with other community sentences, and compensation orders can be combined with any non-custodial sentence.

It is also noteworthy that electronic monitoring was the main sentencing proposal in only six of the 19 instances in which it was employed, suggesting that sentencers may be more comfortable with curfew orders than probation officers responsible for writing PSRs. Table 3.5 summarises the PSR proposals for the 19 cases resulting in a curfew order. It indicates that they were being used most frequently in place of community service orders, at least as far as the PSR proposals go. This confirms the view of tagging as being towards the higher end of the community sentence band, as community service orders are only available for offences which carry a potential custodial sentence.

Table 3.5 PSR proposals for cases where a curfew order was made

PSR proposal	No. of cases
Conditional discharge	2
Fine	1
Probation order	2
Community service order	5
Curfew order with electronic monitoring	6
No clear proposal	1
No PSR required	2
Total cases	19

Table 3.6 shows the range of offences for which curfew orders were imposed and Table 3.7 shows the offences for which it was considered but another penalty was imposed. These offences are broadly in line with those attracting a curfew order in all areas over the course of the second year of the trials (see Chapter 2). Four aspects of these tables are noteworthy:

- the offences for which curfew orders were used or considered in the sentencing choices exercise were similar to the offences resulting in a curfew order in the first year of the trials (Mair and Mortimer, 1996) and in the second year (see Chapter 2)
- the main exception was that the sentencing choices sample contains a higher proportion of cases in which offenders were being dealt with for breaching community sentences
- all of these cases involved imprisonable offences
- curfew orders were most frequently imposed, or seriously considered as an alternative to the actual sentence, in theft and handling cases (Table 3.7). However, this may be at least partly attributable to the number of times these offences were captured in the sentencing choices survey (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.6 Principal offence type for cases where a curfew order was made

Principal offence type	No. of cases
Burglary (or attempt) in a dwelling	2
Possession of drugs	1
Theft and handling	4
Fraud and forgery	1
Criminal damage	1
Driving whilst disqualified	1
Driving with excess alcohol	2
Breach of community sentence	6
Other	1
Total cases	19

Table 3.7 Principal offence type where a curfew order was seriously considered but not used

Principal offence type	No. of cases
Assault on a police constable	1
Common assault / ABH	4
Burglary (or attempt) non-dwelling	1
Theft and handling	8
Minor misdemeanours (e.g. breach of the peace, public order)	1
Criminal damage	2
Driving whilst disqualified	2
Driving with excess alcohol	2
Breach of community sentence	2
Other	1
Total cases	24

Of the 19 cases attracting a curfew order, 16 were made in the Greater Manchester courts (9 at Manchester City Magistrates' Court), three in Norfolk, and none in Berkshire. This is broadly in line with the overall use of curfew orders by magistrates' courts in the three areas. Responses to the question about which alternative disposals magistrates considered are shown in Table 3.8. Fourteen of the 24 cases where a curfew order was considered

but not imposed were from Greater Manchester and 10 were from Norfolk. It is reasonable to conclude from this that the higher take-up rate in these areas reflected a greater willingness on the part of sentencers actively to consider it as an option, rather than simply being a consequence of their happening to deal with more suitable cases.

Table 3.8 Alternative disposals seriously considered for all cases

Disposal	No. of cases	Percentage
Absolute discharge	1	0
Conditional discharge	75	9
Fine	117	15
Compensation order	21	3
Supervision order	1	0
Attendance centre order	1	0
Probation order	44	6
Probation order + requirements	33	4
Community service order	74	9
Combination order	36	4
Curfew order with electronic monitoring	24	3
Suspended sentence	6	1
Custody	115	14
No other options considered	412	51
Total disposals considered³	548	
Total cases	801	100

N.B. Respondents were able to circle more than one alternative, so percentages total more than 100.

When the actual disposals of the 24 cases where magistrates indicated that they had seriously considered tagging were examined (Table 3.9), it was discovered that seven of these offenders received a custodial sentence and eight received community service orders. This can be interpreted as indicating that the curfew order is viewed by sentencers as a severe non-custodial option and a genuine alternative to custody.

3 This figure excludes the 412 cases where no other options were considered.

Table 3.9 Sentence imposed when a curfew order was seriously considered but not used

Disposal	No. of cases
Fine	1
Compensation order	2
Attendance centre order	1
Probation order	3
Probation order + requirements	3
Community service order	8
Combination order	1
Suspended sentence	1
Custody	7
Total sentences made	27
Total cases	24

Finally, analysis of the alternative disposals considered for the 19 cases where curfew orders were actually imposed (Table 3.10) shows that curfew orders were taking the biggest part of their market share from custody. In addition, they were also taking away from those disposals which are only available for imprisonable offences, particularly community service orders, but also combination orders. Tables 3.9 and 3.10 also show that few of the cases in which a curfew order was considered or used were sufficiently low tariff for a fine or compensation order to be used as the principal sentence.

Table 3.10 Alternative disposals seriously considered when a curfew order was made

Disposal	No. of cases
Fine	1
Compensation order	1
Attendance centre order	1
Probation order	3
Probation order + requirements	2
Community service order	5
Combination order	2
Custody	12
No other options considered	3
Total alternative disposals considered	30
Total cases	19

Table 3.11 summarises what we know from the sentencing choices survey about the way curfew orders are considered and used.

Table 3.11 Curfew orders in the survey of sentencing choices

Curfew orders proposed in pre-sentence reports	Curfew orders considered but not used	Curfew order made by the court
10 (1.3% of cases)	24 (3.0%)	19 (2.4%)

Curfew orders with electronic monitoring were considered in a total of 43 cases. In six of these this was proposed in the pre-sentence report, and the order was actually used in 19 cases.

Overall then, the results of this survey indicate that:

- as yet, neither probation officers nor sentencers routinely consider the option of a curfew order

- the range of offences for which curfew orders is being used, and considered, has remained fairly stable over the first two years of the trials
- curfew orders appear to be primarily used, or considered, as an alternative to custody or a severe community penalty.

Comparing the use of curfew orders with other disposals
– an analysis of court records

Electronic monitoring's market share was further explored by analysing a sample of case files from selected courts in the three trial areas. The aim was to obtain a clearer idea of whether tagged offenders differed significantly from those receiving other types of disposals.

Information on approximately 500 cases sentenced in early 1997 was taken from court records in each of four magistrates' courts taking part in the trials of curfew orders with electronic monitoring: Manchester, Stockport, Reading and Norwich. These courts were selected on purely pragmatic grounds: they used curfew orders comparatively frequently and they could accommodate the research team's request for access at short notice. The range of offences included was the same as for the sentencing choices survey. Once again the focus was on the adult magistrates' courts because of the low take-up rates at the Crown and Youth Courts.

For each case, details relating to the offender, the offence, the pre-sentence report (where available) and the sentence were recorded. The cases were then weighted to ensure that the distribution of offences was representative of each court's throughput. These were then compared with similar data on adult offenders sentenced to curfew orders during the second year of the trials. In the following discussion, differences are only referred to as being "statistically significant" if the likelihood of their occurring by chance is five in 100 or less (the 5% level).

Differences in age and sex

Unsurprisingly the overwhelming majority of offenders tagged and given other sentences were male. However, it is interesting to note that even so females were significantly less likely to be tagged (8% versus 13.5% of those given other sentences).⁴ Tagged offenders also tended to be younger than other offenders (see Table 3.12).

⁴ This is in line with community service orders and combination orders, where the proportion of females was eight per cent and nine per cent respectively in 1996. 19 per cent of offenders sentenced to probation orders in 1996 were female. Source: Probation Statistics England and Wales 1996.

Table 3.12 Comparison of the age breakdown of tagged offenders and the sample of court records

Age group	Percentage of tagged offenders	Percentage in court records sample
16–17	2	3.5
18–20	22	16
21–25	27	23
26–29	18	17
30–39	22	25
40 and over	8	15.5
Total	100	100
Total cases	314	1,606

N.B. Although most 16- and 17-year-olds are sentenced at the Youth Court, some are sentenced at the adult magistrates' courts (particularly if they are co-defendants with others aged 18 or over) and so they are included in this analysis.

Principal offences for which sentenced

Table 3.13 shows that offenders sentenced to curfew orders with electronic monitoring are more likely than other offenders to have been convicted of common assault and actual bodily harm (ABH), burglary, theft and handling, taking without consent and driving whilst disqualified. However, proportionately fewer offenders convicted of public order offences and driving with excess alcohol were sentenced to tagging.⁵

⁵ Some care should be taken when considering the significance of the difference in proportions, as the numbers involved can be small and a slight change in the numbers sentenced for a particular offence could have an undue bearing on it. For this reason only those offences where there were at least 10 offenders tagged are considered in this discussion.

Table 3.13 Principal offences committed by tagged offenders and the court records sample

Offence type	Percentage of tagged offenders	Percentage of court records sample
Section 18 / Section 20 wounding / other serious serious violence	0	2.2
Assault on a police constable	3.6	2.3
Common assault / ABH	6.2	2.9*
Sexual offences	0	0.2
Burglary (dwelling or non dwelling)	18.8	13.1*
Criminal attempts	1.0	0.5
Supplying drugs	0.3	0.3
Possession of drugs	2.0	7.3*
Theft and handling	30.2	24.5*
Fraud and forgery	2.3	3.2
Minor misdemeanours (e.g. breach of the peace, public order)	4.2	11.9*
Criminal damage	3.6	6.7*
TWOC/TDA	7.1	1.9*
Driving whilst disqualified	14.0	5.6*
Driving with excess alcohol	5.2	19.5*
Failure to surrender to bail	0.3	4.5*
Breach of community sentence	1.3	3.8*
Total	100	100
Total cases	308	1,606

N.B. Other offences were excluded from the analysis.

* Differences are significant at least at the 5% level.

Comparing tagged offenders with those sentenced to other disposals

Finally, we compared the offences of tagged offenders with those given other sentences.⁶ Table 3.14 below shows the difference in the proportions of particular disposals made up by different offence types. It suggests that:

- electronic monitoring seems to have a distinct place in the range of sentencing options for burglary, and (although somewhat less clearly) the results for common assault also point in this direction
- for theft and handling and criminal damage cases, the use of electronic monitoring is significantly different from the use of fines and compensation orders⁷
- for public order offences and driving while disqualified its use is not significantly different from the use of community penalties
- for TWOC/TDA it is being used differently from all the other disposals except custody.

6 As before, this analysis looks only at those offences for which at least 10 offenders received a curfew order during the second year of the trials.

7 Strictly speaking, non-significant findings from tests of difference cannot be interpreted as evidence that the use of any penalty is *similar to* that of any other – only that any difference is not great enough to reach significance levels.

Table 3.14 Comparing differences between offence distributions for curfew orders and other disposals

Offence type	Percentage of curfew orders	Percentage of discharges	Percentage of financial penalties	Percentage of community sentences	Percentage of custodial sentences
Burglary	18.8	6.6 *	0.2 *	12.6 *	10.5 *
Theft and handling	30.2	37.3 --	15.8 *	30.4 --	31.3 --
Public order offences	4.2	19.0 *	16.4 *	3.3 --	0.5 *
Criminal damage	3.6	5.1 --	9.8 *	4.1 --	2.9 --
TWOC /TDA	7.1	0.9 *	0.1 *	3.1 *	9.4 --
Driving whilst disqualified	14.0	0.3 *	1.4 *	10.9 --	22.5 *
Assaulting a PC	3.6	2.3 --	1.7 --	3.6 --	1.7 --
Common assault/ABH	6.2	3.4 --	2.7 *	3.1 *	2.2 *
n	308	302	733	367	157

* significant at least at the 5% level

-- differences in proportions not significant.

Summary of the court records analysis

One of the most striking aspects of these results is that its use differs most from the use of financial penalties. Overall however, the findings from this analysis of court records support the thrust of the sentencing choices exercise, indicating that electronic monitoring is evolving into a sentence

which is mainly competing with community penalties and even imprisonment.

4 Estimating costs and savings

Introduction

The first report on the trials of curfew orders as a sentence (Mair and Mortimer, 1996) included a chapter on the relative costs of electronic monitoring and other sentences. The cost estimates were based on the limited information available for the first year of the trials, during which the two contractors had large start-up costs while only small numbers of orders were made.

For the second year of the trials the contractors had the experience of the first year on which to base new pricing structures. Using these together with information on the increased number of orders in the second year, we have modelled the costs of monitoring in more detail than was previously possible. The model can be used to estimate the total cost of introducing electronic monitoring nationally and average costs per curfew order for different scenarios. The results can be compared with the costs of probation and community service orders and custody.

An indication of possible savings in prison places has been estimated using the information on sentencing decisions described in Chapter 2.

It was intended that the costs of all the separate elements involved in electronic monitoring (such as equipment, accommodation, software, staffing, vehicles) would be combined to make the new estimates. This was attempted at an early stage. Many of the individual costs were available in the contracts for work commissioned so far, but much more detailed information was needed. We began to collect this, and developed a rudimentary detailed model. However this approach was abandoned when it became clear that it involved making too many crude assumptions about such matters as staffing details and vehicle fleet management. We decided that it would be more practical and realistic to base the model instead on aggregate costs related to the contractors' pricing structures.

There might be objections to using aggregate information in that our original method aimed at estimating actual costs rather than the prices offered by contractors. However, as the contractors are operating in a very competitive market it can be argued that the contract prices are unlikely to greatly

exceed costs, and will realistically be those that will apply if contractors are commissioned to extend monitoring to cover all of England and Wales. We therefore went ahead on the basis of asking both current contractors to supply further information in aggregate form based on their present pricing structures.

The cost elements of the model

In the model there are three main types of cost: start-up costs, fixed running costs and volume costs. The start-up costs (1) are the one-off cost of setting up, equipping and staffing the control centres and field offices. The other two costs are ongoing. The fixed running costs (2) are incurred no matter how few or many offenders are being handled, whereas the volume costs (3) are dependent on the number of offenders. These components are further divisible, as shown below, into a number of elements.

1. Start-up costs:

- a. control centre
- b. field offices.

2. Fixed running costs:

- a. control centre
- b. field offices.

3. Volume costs:

- a. a running cost per offender
- b. breach costs
- c. extra equipment required as numbers increase
- d. changes of terms of order.

In the following section we discuss the assumptions relating to each cost element.

Assumptions relevant to each of the cost elements

Control centre start-up

The start-up costs (1a.) of the existing two control centres have already been borne by the current contractors. No more than one centre is needed to cover the whole country, but in the event of a national roll-out each

contractor would be expected to operate its own centre. It is possible that one or more new contractors will enter the field. If so, each would set up its own control centre.

Field office start-up

At present only one of the contractors operates a field office. In the event of a national roll-out new field offices would be required to cover England and Wales. The chief factors affecting the number of offices needed are:

- the required response time
- the maximum number of offenders that each office can handle
- the minimum number of offenders required to make establishing a field office worthwhile.

At present the required response time is two hours, but it is possible that this could be relaxed to, say, three or four hours for some less serious offenders. We have roughly estimated, using straight-line distances, the number of offices needed to cover the country to achieve a given standard of response. (No allowances were made for factors such as urban congestion or sparsity – a more detailed study should perhaps be considered in the future.) The results suggest that there should be between about 20 and 40 field offices, depending on the response time required. With such numbers it is very unlikely that the capacity of the offices would be exceeded unless very large numbers of curfew orders were made.

Control centre and field office running costs

The contractors have supplied fixed costs for different ranges of numbers of offenders tagged at any time.

Running cost per offender

The model uses daily costs per offender for different average lengths of order. The costs decrease as the length of curfew increases due to the effect of allowing for fixed costs per offender, such as the installation cost of a telephone line. (Telephone installation costs are only fixed if terrestrial telephone lines are used. The use of mobile telephones may be possible in the future.)

Breach costs

The numbers of likely breaches have been estimated from the percentage of revocations observed in the second year of the trials (about 20%). The costs to the contractors arise from travel and staff costs for court appearances. It has been assumed that five per cent of offenders plead not guilty (probably an over-estimate as only one such case has arisen during the whole of the current trials). The costs of such contested cases are high compared with the costs of uncontested cases, which involve fewer and shorter court appearances. The values assumed for the model are very rough estimates based on informal conversations with the contractors. More accurate assessments are probably not necessary because, as the results show, breach costs are small in comparison to other costs of monitoring.

Other costs

Two other costs have been included. Firstly, for changes of the conditions of order it has been assumed that 20 per cent of offenders have changes of terms, which very often involve re-installation of equipment. As for breaches, very rough estimates have been used, but again the total costs are small compared with other costs.

The second 'other' cost is that of extra equipment. The start-up costs include a basic number of sets of tags and monitoring units. If the number of offenders exceeds this number then extra equipment is required. The charge for this can, according to the pricing structure adopted, be counted either as an additional cost or as part of the offender running costs.

Other assumptions used in the model

The model uses average values for the length of orders, and numbers of offenders per centre or field office. There is a distinction between the length of order imposed by the court and the length actually served. The time served will, on average, be less than that given by courts for reasons such as breaches. The model is based on the time actually served. For the Manchester and Berkshire areas together this is about 2.75 months, whilst for offenders tagged in the Norwich area it is rather higher at about 3.4 months.

As the fixed running costs are based on the volume of offenders handled, the model needs to allocate the offenders to the centres and field offices. This allocation is made in proportion to the notional capacities of the offices.

An estimate has been made of the annual number of orders expected to be made nationwide by magistrates' courts as follows. First we calculated the ratio of the number of curfew orders imposed in the second year of the trials to the number of persons sentenced for indictable offences at the magistrates' courts included in the trials. This proportion was then applied to the number of persons found guilty nationally.

The numbers arising from the Crown Court are more difficult to estimate. The take-up at Manchester Crown Court has been very low, while 22 orders have been imposed by Norwich Crown Court in the second year. It is not known whether judges' reluctance to use electronic monitoring will be overcome in future, or whether the take-up rate shown in the trials is a true indication of what can be expected.

The number of curfew orders imposed by Youth Courts during the trials does not provide a sure basis for projections. We have, however, estimated the number of these orders as being about ten per cent of those made by magistrates' courts.

We estimate that, at current take-up rates, for national roll-out about 6,000 orders or more would be imposed each year by magistrates' courts and Youth Courts, and in the order of 2,000 by the Crown Court. The results given here are therefore based where appropriate on a rough estimate of 8,000 orders per year.

Results – costs of national roll-out

The model that has been developed can provide cost estimates for chosen values of the following three main factors:

- average length served
- annual number of orders made
- number of field offices.

Our estimates of the probable values of these are based on the relatively small numbers of offenders arising during the trials. Of course, in the event of national roll-out, such factors as take-up rates and breach rates could be quite different.

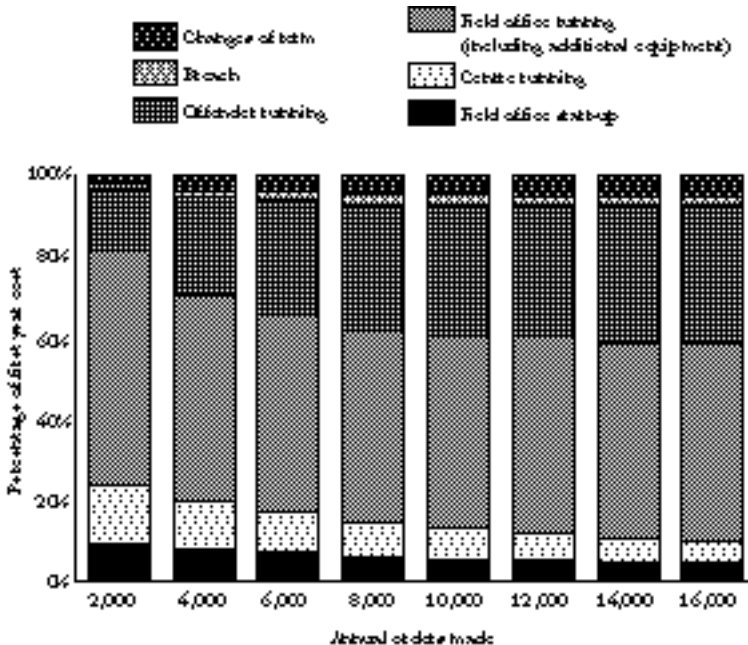
Using information from the two contractors separately gives different estimates of overall costs. The proportion by which the estimates differ depends on the particular values of the three variable factors. The balance between the different elements of cost also differs slightly, for example, different proportions of staff costs can be included in the fixed charges and

in the charges per offender. The results given here are based on a model which combines information from both contractors. The estimates are at current prices and exclude VAT. We have assumed that the two existing control centres will be in operation and will incur no start-up costs. If additional contractors were to be taken on then each would require a control centre, adding about £500,000 for each to the total first year cost. New field offices will be required for national roll-out. It has been assumed that their start-up costs will fall completely in the first year of operation.

Comparison of the components of the cost estimates

Figure 4.1, based on costs in the first year, shows a comparison of the components of costs. The greatest cost is the field office running cost, which is necessarily high even with a low volume of offenders tagged. The next greatest cost, at least at higher volumes, is the total running cost for all offenders, which depends directly on the number of offenders dealt with. At the top end of the range of numbers tagged the cost of any extra equipment required becomes more significant. The chart shows that the costs of breaches and changes of term are a small percentage of total costs.

Figure 4.1 Components of first year cost



Each of the component costs shown in Figure 4.1 recurs annually except the start-up costs of field offices.

Total costs versus costs per order

The model shows the way in which costs would vary for different values of the three main factors. Not surprisingly the total cost would increase with increasing numbers of offenders, with more field offices and with a longer average length on curfew. However the cost per order shows a different pattern. For small numbers of offenders costs per order would be very high because the fixed costs are incurred for any number of offenders. Above an annual figure of about 6,000 offenders the cost per order varies little for a given average length of order.

Cost estimates

The model has been developed in order to be able to give cost estimates for a variety of possible uses of electronic monitoring. This section gives two estimates of the costs that would apply to the national extension of the current system. The first is based on an average or expected scenario, whilst the second is for an “upper limits” scenario. Results are given in Table 4.1. Should our expected number of annual orders prove to be an over-estimate, then the total cost would be less, while the cost per order would be slightly higher.

Table 4.1 Cost estimates for two scenarios

	Annual orders made	Number of field offices	Total first year cost	Cost per order
“Expected” scenario	8,000	30	£13,970,000	£1,750
“Upper limit” scenario	12,000	40	£22,500,000	£1,900

Comparison of costs with those for other sentences

Table 4.2 shows the average costs of probation orders and community service orders (taken from *Probation Statistics, England and Wales, 1996*) compared with the estimate for curfew orders with electronic monitoring. The curfew order cost is that for the “upper limit” case given above. The cost for the “average” case would be only slightly less.

Table 4.2 Average cost of different types of order, 1996/97 prices

Probation order	£2,200
Community service order	£1,700
Curfew order with electronic monitoring	£1,900

It can be seen that the cost of a curfew order is likely to be higher than that of a community service order, but rather less per order than probation. However, it must not be forgotten that additional costs will arise when probation and community service orders are imposed alongside a curfew order. The evidence from the second year of the trials in the Norfolk area (for which this information is most readily available) is that 24 per cent were given a probation order, 13 per cent community service and seven per cent a combination order, with the Crown Court much more likely to impose an additional order. (The numbers are too small to allow us to distinguish probation orders with added conditions.) Adding an element to allow for additional orders, the average cost of a curfew order would be about £2,700, rather more than a probation order.

It is difficult to compare the *overall* costs of curfew orders directly with custody. However, in the report of the first year of the trials the *monthly* costs of curfew orders and custody were compared. The same approach is adopted here.

Where curfew orders replace custody, that custody would ideally have been spent in a category C prison. However, any time spent on remand or waiting for a move to a category C establishment means that some or even all of a custodial sentence would be spent in a local prison or remand centre. The monthly cost (at 1996/97 prices) of custody is about £1,420 in a category C prison and £2,040 in a local prison or remand centre.¹ Comparing this with about £760 for a curfew order (including an element for additional community penalties), the cost of a curfew order is between a third and a half that of custody. Another way of expressing this is that the average cost of a curfew order would buy about eight weeks in a category C prison or six weeks in a local prison or remand centre.

¹ Calculated from Prison Service Annual Report and Accounts 1994–95, uprated using the GDP deflator.

Overall costs and savings

The survey of sentencing choices described in Chapter 2, though based on small numbers, gives an indication of the sentences that might have been imposed had curfew orders not been available.

Diversions from custody

Custody was 'seriously considered' for nearly two-thirds of those on whom a curfew was imposed. Taking the estimate of 8,000 curfew orders and assuming that two-thirds of these replace sentences of three month's custody we estimate that more than 1,300 prison places would be saved on national roll-out. These places would be spread over prison establishments in England and Wales so it is not possible to say that the costs of one or more prisons would be saved in the short term. In the longer term, however, the potential savings, based crudely on the current costs of custody (realised as reductions in the prison building programme and in running costs), could be in the order of £20,000,000 to £30,000,000 a year. Balanced against the costs of electronic monitoring, this implies an overall saving of several million pounds a year. It should be remembered that we are extrapolating from a small sample, with the likely take-up of curfew orders by the Crown Court being in particular doubt. However, the savings would be increased substantially if, firstly, the use of curfew orders were to prove greater than that indicated by the trials, and if, secondly, electronic monitoring were to be made available for types of offenders not eligible at present. With good management and continued successful operation the first of these possibilities should be achievable, whilst the second is already being actively pursued.

Diversions from other sentences

The sentencing survey showed that community sentences, in particular community service orders, were also often considered in cases when a curfew order was chosen. As the costs of community sentences are similar to those estimated for curfew orders, a reduction in their market share would yield neither significant savings nor extra costs.

There is no firm evidence from the sentencing survey that other sentences would be significantly diverted to curfew orders. It is unlikely, therefore, that there would be a large loss of revenue from fines.

5 Conclusions

Use of curfew orders during the second year of the trials

Early in the second year of the trials of curfew orders with electronic monitoring, the availability of the sentence was extended to all of the courts in Berkshire and the majority of those in Greater Manchester. This, together with an increased acceptance of the order by sentencers, the probation services and other agencies involved in the trials, led to a much higher level of use of the order than during the first year.

A total of 375 curfew orders with electronic monitoring was made by sentencers in the three trial areas, more than four times as many as in the first year. Two-thirds of these were in Greater Manchester, a quarter in Norfolk, and one-tenth in Berkshire. The rate of use in the adult magistrates' courts was very similar in Greater Manchester and Norfolk – 13–14 per 1,000 cases, as opposed to seven per 1,000 in Berkshire. However, the rate of use varies much more within each area than it does between them.

The offences which most often attracted a curfew order during the second year of the trials were the same as in the first year: theft and handling, burglary and driving whilst disqualified. There was also a similar breakdown in terms of tagged offenders' previous convictions: almost half had previous experience of custodial sentences, and over three-quarters had previously been the subject of a community sentence.

Curfew orders in these trials continue to have a very high completion rate (82%), better than for community service orders, and identical to that for probation orders. The reasons for this are not clear, but may include effective targeting, a professional approach by the agencies involved and the relatively short overall length of curfew orders compared to other community sentences.

The market share of electronic monitoring

The analysis of magistrates' choice of disposals from the range of sentencing options suggested that curfew orders seemed to be used as a severe form of community penalty, and were effectively "in competition" with the higher

end community sentences (community service and combination orders) and with custody. Analysis of a sample of court records, which was compared with those sentenced to curfew orders in the adult magistrates' courts, indicated that for most offences, the use of electronic monitoring differed significantly from the use of fines and compensation orders.

Costs of curfew orders

The costs of a national roll-out of curfew orders with electronic monitoring were modelled for a variety of different scenarios. The average cost per curfew order was estimated to be £1,900, slightly more than a community service order (£1,600), though less than a probation order (£2,300). However, allowing for the fact that some orders will be imposed in conjunction with another community sentence raised the average cost to £2,700. This is roughly equivalent to the cost of eight weeks custody in a Category C prison or six weeks in a local prison.

The future of electronic monitoring in Great Britain

The trials of curfew orders as a community sentence have been in place since July 1995, during which time the electronic monitoring technology has shown itself to be very reliable, and new, smaller tags were introduced in autumn 1997. The increase in the acceptance of electronic monitoring by sentencers, the probation services, social services departments and others, together with the consequent rise in the numbers of those tagged, have resulted in the expansion of the trials and the extension of the use of curfew orders.

With a scheduled start in late 1997, the use of curfew orders with electronic monitoring will be phased in progressively to a number of new areas: Geografix will be providing the service in the new areas of Cambridgeshire and Suffolk, while Securicor Custodial Services will be monitoring offenders in West Yorkshire and the eight London boroughs within the Middlesex Probation Service area.¹

The 1997 Crime (Sentences) Act also made curfew orders with electronic monitoring available for three new groups of offenders: fine defaulters, persistent petty offenders and juveniles aged 10 to 15.² These new arrangements will be piloted in Greater Manchester and Norfolk, beginning in early 1998. Along with a range of other measures introduced by the legislation, the Crime (Sentences) Act also removed the requirement for

¹ The eight boroughs are Enfield, Haringey, Barnet, Brent, Ealing, Harrow, Hounslow and Hillingdon.

² Community Service Orders and disqualification from driving will also be available to sentencers dealing with fine defaulters and persistent petty offenders.

offenders to consent to a community sentence, including curfew orders with electronic monitoring. This took effect for offences committed on or after 1 October 1997. Finally, plans are under way in Scotland to pilot a new restriction of liberty order, to be monitored by electronic tagging. Trials of this order are scheduled to start in the second half of 1998.



References

Bishop, N. (1996a). *'Intensive Supervision with Electronic monitoring: a Swedish alternative to imprisonment'*. Vista, Vol. 1 No. 3 pp 23-30.

Bishop, N. (1996b). *'Intensive supervision with electronic monitoring'*. CEP Bulletin, June 1996. 'sHetegenbosch: CEP.

Bonta, J., Trytten, T., and Wallace-Capretta, S. (1997). *'Electronic Monitoring in British Columbia'*. Internal Preliminary Report. Ottawa: Solicitor General Canada.

Ellis, T., Hedderman, C. and Mortimer, E. (1996). *'Enforcing community sentences: supervisors' perspectives on ensuring compliance and dealing with breach'*. Home Office Research Study No.158. London: Home Office.

HM Prison Service (1996). *'Prison Service Annual Report and Accounts, April 1994 – March 1995'*. London: HMSO.

Home Office (1995). *'Availability of a new community sentence: electronic monitoring of curfew orders'*. Home Office Circular 36/1995. London: Home Office.

Home Office (1997). *'Probation Statistics: England and Wales 1996'*. London: Home Office.

Mair, G. and Nee, C. (1990). *'Electronic monitoring: the trials and their results'*. Home Office Research Study, No.120. London: HMSO.

Mair, G. and Mortimer, E. (1996). *'Curfew orders with electronic monitoring: an evaluation of the first twelve months of the trials in Greater Manchester, Norfolk and Berkshire, 1995–1996'*. Home Office Research Study No.163. London: Home Office.

Mortimer, E. and Mair, G. (1997). *'Curfew orders with electronic monitoring: the first twelve months'*. Home Office Research Findings No.51. London: Home Office.

Somander, L. (1995a). *Intensive supervision with electronic monitoring: a description of the method with some preliminary results for the period August 1994 – February 1995*. Norrköping: National Prison and Probation Administration.

Somander, L. (1995b). *A year of intensive supervision with electronic monitoring: results for the period August 1994 – July 1995*. Norrköping: National Prison and Probation Administration.

Somander, L. (1996). *The second year of intensive supervision with electronic monitoring: results for the period 1 August 1995 – 28 February 1996*. Norrköping: National Prison and Probation Administration.

Whitfield, D. (1997). *Tackling the tag: the electronic monitoring of offenders*. Winchester: Waterside Press.

Publications

List of research publications

A list of research reports for the last three years is provided below. A **full list** of publications is available on request from the Research and Statistics Directorate Information and Publications Group.

Home Office Research Studies (HORS)

151. **Drug misuse declared: results of the 1994 British Crime Survey.** Malcom Ramsay and Andrew Percy. 1996.
152. **An Evaluation of the Introduction and Operation of the Youth Court.** David O'Mahony and Kevin Haines. 1996.
153. **Fitting supervision to offenders: assessment and allocation decisions in the Probation Service.** Ros Burnett. 1996.
154. **Ethnic minorities: victimisation and racial harassment. Findings from the 1988 and 1992 British Crime Surveys.** Marian Fitzgerald and Chris Hale. 1996.
155. **PACE: a review of the literature. The first ten years.** David Brown. 1997.
156. **Automatic Conditional Release: the first two years.** Mike Maguire, Brigitte Perroud and Peter Raynor. 1996.
157. **Testing obscenity: an international comparison of laws and controls relating to obscene material.** Sharon Grace. 1996.
158. **Enforcing community sentences: supervisors' perspectives on ensuring compliance and dealing with breach.** Tom Ellis, Carol Hedderman and Ed Mortimer. 1996.
160. **Implementing crime prevention schemes in a multi-agency setting: aspects of process in the Safer Cities programme.** Mike Sutton. 1996.
161. **Reducing criminality among young people: a sample of relevant programmes in the United Kingdom.** David Utting. 1997.

162. **Imprisoned women and mothers.** Dianne Caddle and Debbie Crisp. 1996.
163. **Curfew orders with electronic monitoring: an evaluation of the first twelve months of the trials in Greater Manchester, Norfolk and Berkshire, 1995 – 1996.** George Mair and Ed Mortimer. 1996.
164. **Safer cities and domestic burglaries.** Paul Ekblom, Ho Law, Mike Sutton, with assistance from Paul Crisp and Richard Wiggins. 1996.
165. **Enforcing financial penalties.** Claire Whittaker and Alan Mackie. 1997.
166. **Assessing offenders' needs: assessment scales for the probation service.** Rosumund Aubrey and Michael Hough. 1997.
167. **Offenders on probation.** George Mair and Chris May. 1997.
168. **Managing courts effectively: The reasons for adjournments in magistrates' courts.** Claire Whittaker, Alan Mackie, Ruth Lewis and Nicola Ponikiewski. 1997.
169. **Addressing the literacy needs of offenders under probation supervision.** Gwynn Davis et al. 1997.
170. **Understanding the sentencing of women.** edited by Carol Hedderman and Lorraine Gelsthorpe. 1997.
171. **Changing offenders' attitudes and behaviour: what works?** Julie Vennard, Darren Sugg and Carol Hedderman 1997.
172. **Drug misuse declared in 1996: latest results from the British Crime Survey.** Malcolm Ramsay and Josephine Spiller. 1997.

No. 159 is not published yet.

Research Findings

30. **To scare straight or educate? The British experience of day visits to prison for young people.** Charles Lloyd. 1996.
31. **The ADT drug treatment programme at HMP Downview – a preliminary evaluation.** Elaine Player and Carol Martin. 1996.
32. **Wolds remand prison – an evaluation.** Keith Bottomley, Adrian James, Emma Clare and Alison Liebling. 1996.

33. **Drug misuse declared: results of the 1994 British Crime Survey.** Malcolm Ramsay and Andrew Percy. 1996.
34. **Crack cocaine and drugs-crime careers.** Howard Parker and Tim Bottomley. 1996.
35. **Imprisonment for fine default.** David Moxon and Claire Whittaker. 1996.
36. **Fine impositions and enforcement following the Criminal Justice Act 1993.** Elizabeth Charman, Bryan Gibson, Terry Honess and Rod Morgan. 1996.
37. **Victimisation in prisons.** Ian O'Donnell and Kimmitt Edgar. 1996.
38. **Mothers in prison.** Dianne Caddle and Debbie Crisp. 1997.
39. **Ethnic minorities, victimisation and racial harassment.** Marian FitzGerald and Chris Hale. 1996.
40. **Evaluating joint performance management between the police and the Crown Prosecution Service.** Andrew Hooke, Jim Knox and David Portas. 1996.
41. **Public attitudes to drug-related crime.** Sharon Grace. 1996.
42. **Domestic burglary schemes in the safer cities programme.** Paul Ekblom, Ho Law and Mike Sutton. 1996.
43. **Pakistani women's experience of domestic violence in Great Britain.** Salma Choudry. 1996.
44. **Witnesses with learning disabilities.** Andrew Sanders, Jane Creaton, Sophia Bird and Leanne Weber. 1997.
45. **Does treating sex offenders reduce reoffending?** Carol Hedderman and Darren Sugg. 1996.
46. **Re-education programmes for violent men – an evaluation.** Russell Dobash, Rebecca Emerson Dobash, Kate Cavanagh and Ruth Lewis. 1996.
47. **Sentencing without a pre-sentence report.** Nigel Charles, Claire Whittaker and Caroline Ball. 1997.

48. **Magistrates' views of the probation service.** Chris May. 1997.
49. **PACE ten years on: a review of the research.** David Brown. 1997.
50. **Persistent drug-misusing offenders.** Malcolm Ramsay. 1997.
51. **Curfew orders with electronic monitoring: The first twelve months.** Ed Mortimer and George Mair. 1997.
52. **Police cautioning in the 1990s.** Roger Evans and Rachel Ellis. 1997.
53. **A reconviction study of HMP Grendon Therapeutic Community.** Peter Marshall. 1997.
54. **Control in category c prisons.** Simon Marshall. 1997.
55. **The prevalence of convictions for sexual offending.** Peter Marshall. 1997.
56. **Drug misuse declared in 1996: key results from the British Crime Survey.** Malcolm Ramsay and Josephine Spiller. 1997.
57. **The 1996 International Crime Victimization Survey.** Pat Mayhew and Phillip White. 1997.
58. **The sentencing of women: a section 95 publication.** Carol Hedderman and Lizanne Dowds. 1997.

Occasional Papers

Mental disorder in remand prisoners. Anthony Maden, Caecilia J. A. Taylor, Deborah Brooke and John Gunn. 1996.

An evaluation of prison work and training. Frances Simon and Claire Corbett. 1996.

The impact of the national lottery on the horse-race betting levy. Simon Field. 1996.

Evaluation of a Home Office initiative to help offenders into employment. Ken Roberts, Alana Barton, Julian Buchanan, and Barry Goldson. 1997.

Requests for Publications

Home Office Research Studies from 143 onwards, *Research and Planning Unit Papers, Research Findings and Research Bulletins* can be requested, **subject to availability**, from:

Research and Statistics Directorate
Information and Publications Group
Room 201, Home Office
50 Queen Anne's Gate
London SW1H 9AT
Telephone: 0171-273 2084
Fascimile: 0171-222 0211
Internet: http://www.open.gov.uk/home_off/rsd/rsdhome.htm
E-mail: [rsd.ha.apollo @ gtnet.gov.u](mailto:rsd.ha.apollo@gtnet.gov.u).

Occasional Papers can be purchased from:

Home Office
Publications Unit
50 Queen Anne's Gate
London SW1H 9AT
Telephone: 0171 273 2302

Home Office Research Studies prior to 143 can be purchased from:

HMSO Publications Centre

(Mail, fax and telephone orders only)
PO Box 276, London SW8 5DT
Telephone orders: 0171-873 9090
General enquiries: 0171-873 0011
(queuing system in operation for both numbers)
Fax orders: 0171-873 8200

And also from HMSO Bookshops