

What are the key challenges that can prevent young adult offenders engaging with diversion programmes aimed at promoting a public health approach to crime? A literature review

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Background

A public health approach to crime is a preventative approach that aims to address the root causes of criminal behaviour.¹ It involves understanding and tackling issues that increase an individual's risk of committing a crime, which includes social determinants, such as housing, education and indebtedness and their impacts including substance misuse.² Taking a preventative approach also relies on addressing personal protective factors known to play a crucial role in changing behaviours and self-concept; individuals who report high self-esteem or resilience are less likely to reoffend.^{3, 4} This approach, advocated by the World Health Organisation (WHO),⁵ seeks to improve the life chances of people convicted of crimes, subsequently reducing offending behaviour, and improving the long-term burden on victims and society.⁶ A range of successful examples of its use exist, including in Glasgow where the Violence Reduction Unit was established in 2005 to take a preventative approach to knife crime.⁷ Over the following decade recorded incidents of weapon handling fell by 69%.⁸ In England, a key objective of the NHS Long Term Plan is to work with partners to improve the wellbeing of people in the justice system, reduce inequalities and address health-related drivers of offending behaviour.⁹ The Policing Vision 2025 is a ten-year plan which closely aligns policing strategy with public health approaches; ensuring that policing focuses on proactive and preventative activities; working with partners to resolve issues; understanding of vulnerability; cohesive communities; evidence-based practice; and taking whole-systems approaches.¹⁰

Young people involved in the criminal justice system aged 18-24 represent a vulnerable population with a range of complex needs which include educational, emotional and mental health issues, substance misuse, family relationships and accommodation problems.¹¹⁻¹⁴ These often-interlocking vulnerabilities span a range of social policy domains.^{15, 16} This age range is overrepresented in the criminal justice process, accounting for approximately 20% of the prison population and more than 30% of police, probation and prison caseloads. Three-quarters of YPs leaving prison are reconvicted within two years.¹⁷ It has also been shown that existing vulnerabilities can be exacerbated through a formal process of criminalisation.^{16, 18}

Diversion is a process whereby an accused offender is formally moved into a programme in the community - sometimes called an out-of-court disposals (O OCD) - instead of being moved through the criminal justice system.¹⁹ O OCDs are an example of a public health approach to crime, with emphasis on reducing reoffending by addressing the risk and protective factors associated with criminal behaviour.²⁰ O OCDs using multi-agency approaches have been shown to help address the complex health and social needs of the YPs population.^{21, 22} In the UK, O OCDs often follow what is termed a 'What Works' model that, similar to a medical model, identifies the programme exclusively as the extent of the intervention to reduce reoffending risks.²³ A tendency of these 'programme focussed' models is to recognise the 'upstream' drivers for offending, including poverty and

education, but they largely focus on individual lifestyle factors which may be affected by these, such as substance misuse.²⁴

Review question

A literature review was conducted addressing the question:

‘What are the key challenges that can prevent young adult offenders engaging with diversion programmes aimed at promoting a public health approach to crime?’

Methods

A search strategy was used to help identify relevant literature including grey literature. Papers were identified using a systematic search strategy, which was developed with the support of a specialist librarian. Academic databases searched were chosen with support from a specialist librarian, and grey literature on the advice of a colleague specializing in a public health approach to crime. For academic sources the following databases were searched: Ovid; Medline; Web of Science; PsycINFO; IBSS. Grey search strategies were conducted through: Ministry of Justice database; National Library of Medicine, NHS England; National Institutes for Health. The reference list for all included studies were also manually searched.

The search was based on the strategy shown in Figure 1. Search terms and synonyms were compiled following an initial scope of the research topic area and consultation with supervisor. The following limits were applied: English language; aged 18 or older; and published between 2003-present.

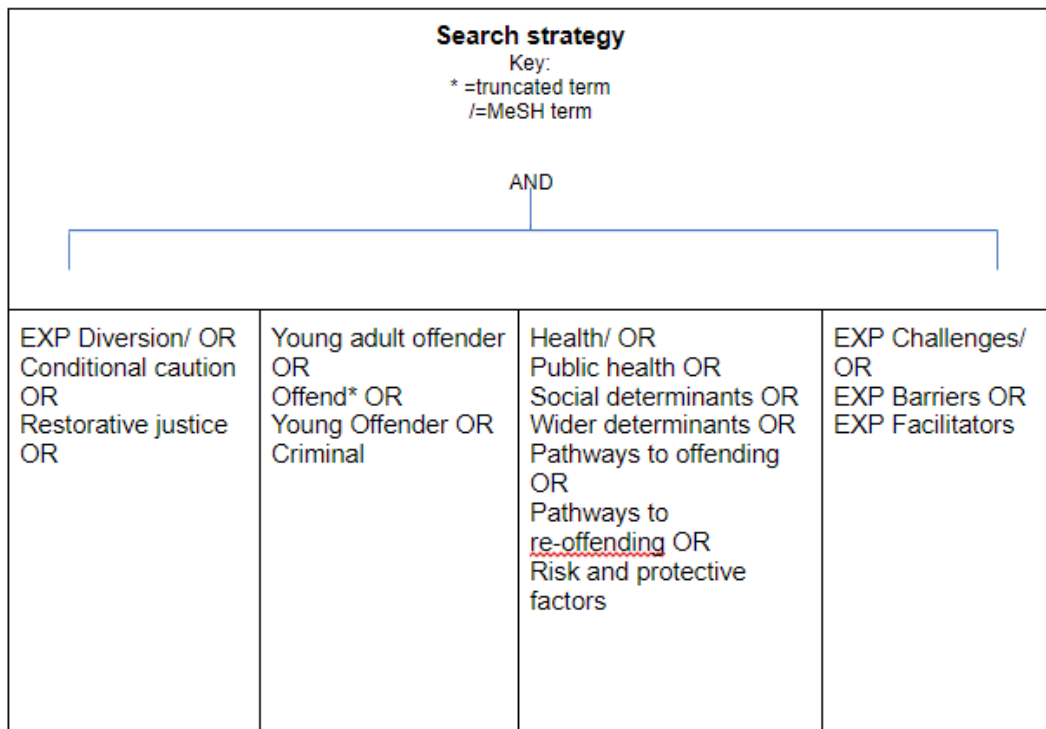


Figure 1: Search strategy

Details of the selection criteria applied to the search results are listed in Table 1.

Table 1: Selection criteria and justification

Selection criteria	Justification
Inclusion criteria	
English language	Researcher's native language - avoid issues around translation
Adult offenders	Different services and approaches may be used in <18 offenders, youth offenders prosecuted in youth courts
Europe, Australia or North America based	Countries with similar diversion programmes
Date, 2003 – current	Conditional Cautions as a statutory disposal introduced for adults by the criminal justice act in 2003
Exclusion criteria	
Date – pre-2003	As above
Non-English language	Translation not possible
Outside UK, Europe, Australasia or North America	Focus on countries with broadly similar patterns of offending and justice system
Diversion as part of a post-court condition	Focus of search is on diversions as an alternative to court, therefore I will focus on pre-court conditions

Results

The searches were carried out in January 2020. A total of n=368 records were identified through database searching (once duplicates removed), of which n=338 were rejected following review of the title/abstract due to non-relevance. A further n=3 papers were identified were identifies by searching through the remaining reference lists. Thirty papers were read in full to review for relevance, 15 of which were rejected, and 15 of which were included in the final review. A flow chart of study selection is presented in Figure 2.

Of the included papers, eight were peer reviewed academic studies, and a further seven were grey literature items. Six of the peer reviewed papers were based in North America, whilst all the grey literature papers were UK evaluations. Four of these were process evaluations of OOC programmes,²⁵⁻²⁸ utilising research methods to answer questions around the delivery of a specific programme in a defined context. There were examples of qualitative methods being used to explore programmes from the perspective of offenders.^{25, 27, 28} Five items focussed on process evaluations over efficacy.^{25, 26, 29-31} Characteristics of the published studies are presented in Appendix 1 and the grey literature in Appendix 2.

All literature identified focussed on OOCs aimed at addressing social determinants, their impacts, or personal risk factors of health and offending behaviour. One paper found that the majority of participants experienced social factors contributing to non-compliance and ongoing criminality.³⁰ A government report described a range of frequently observed (and often interlinked) problems in offender populations, including pro-criminal attitudes, difficult family life, unemployment, mental health problems and homelessness.³² The report referred to evidence demonstrating desistance can be achieved through addressing these issues. Another report found all YPs assessed had multiple offending-related needs, the key issues being: thinking and behaviour; lifestyle; finances; attitude; alcohol; employment; drugs; relationships; accommodation; and mental health.²⁶ Six of the North American papers focussed on YPs with a diagnosis of mental health disorders^{29-31, 33-35}, or experiencing homelessness and mental health issues.³³ One paper examined 'behavioural health

indicators' by assessing 'internalising disorders' (somatic and depressive symptoms) and 'externalising disorders' (behavioural problems such as inattention or fighting).³⁶ The RNR (Risk-Need-Responsivity) report builds on theory around the 'central eight' risk factors in offending, which include antisocial personality patterns, school/work and family relationships.³⁷ According to the report, assessing YPs against these risk factors identifies their needs to be addressed, referred to as the responsivity principle (responding to identified needs), concluding that cognitive social learning interventions are the most effective way to teach new behaviours. A separate report developed by the Centre for Justice Innovation¹ concluded there is strong evidence for the efficacy of such interventions, and that systematic reviews show strong support for calibrating interventions based on risk, using this RNR model.

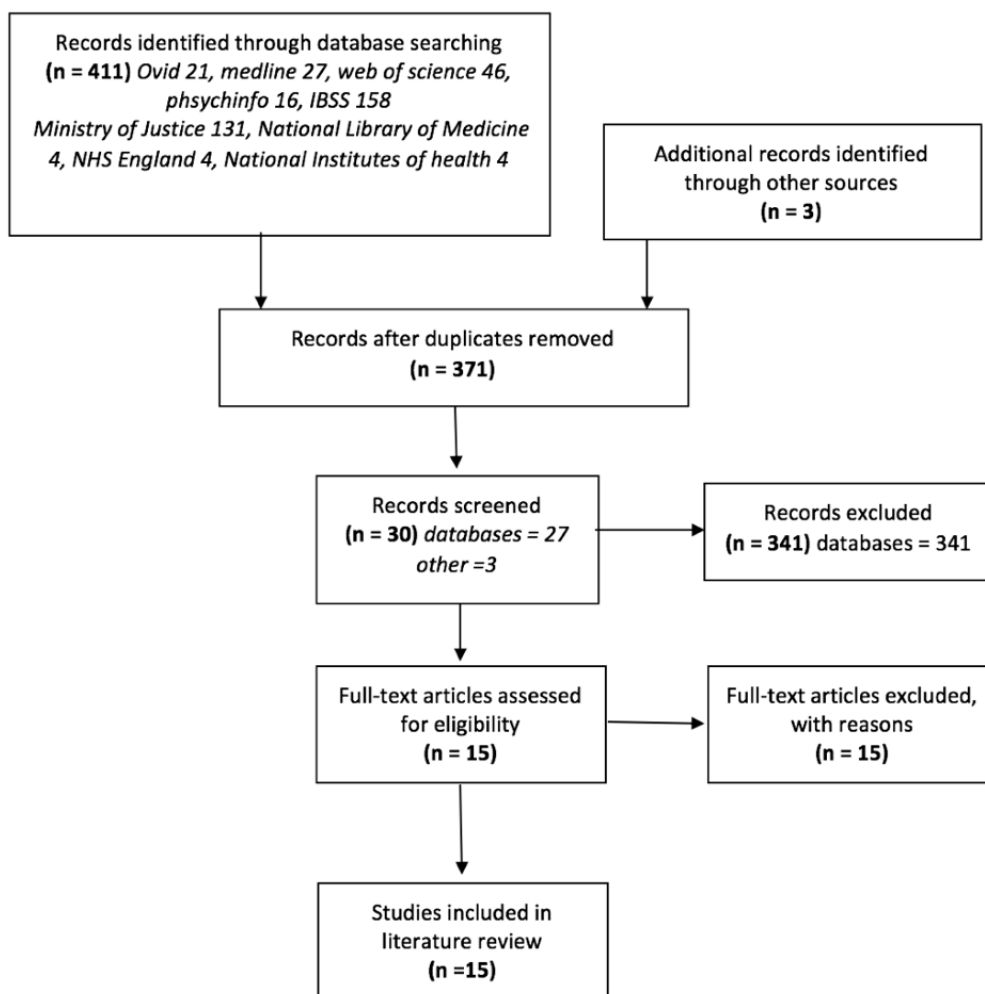


Figure 2: Flow chart of study selection

In terms of engagement, all studies reported the importance of the meaningful engagement of individuals undertaking these programmes, but few attempted to quantify this. One systematic review forming part of the What Works series highlighted the importance of ensuring treatments are accepted by service users for them to be effective.³⁸ Two papers using a medical model approach attempted to calculate dose (arguably a proxy for engagement) by analysing the length of time individuals remained on the programme, and measuring compliance with treatment number of

outpatient appointments or programme completion.^{33, 35} Compliance was correlated with decreased post diversion arrest rates, with receiving the ‘full dose’ being associated with recidivism reduction. Another paper found that interviewed offenders who successfully completed the intervention had a reduction in offending behaviour, and that the intervention improved their self-esteem and enabled them to regain control of drugs and alcohol misuse.²⁵ This report interviewed a total of 80 offenders and reported on challenges that inhibited/prevented engagement. Challenging factors included legislative factors such as the threat of breaching,¹ and logistical activities such as improving attendance through text reminders. Crucially, intervention delivery factors such as ensuring offenders had ‘ownership’ – i.e. were actively involved in decision-making – impacted both on engagement but also on the perceived success of the programme. One systematic review concluded that effectiveness depends, in part, on successful engagement of YPs with more research required to understand how to improve treatment engagement and compliance.³⁴

Evaluation processes and implementation were addressed by five studies,²⁷⁻³¹ which reported on the importance of an integrated approach that aims to support YPs in a holistic manner. Wolff et al (2013) undertook qualitative interviews with staff responsible for service delivery and explored factors which promoted compliance and engagement.³⁰ Results indicated that factors such as gaining trust in staff, or having a personal success in treatment, were examples of what could switch a YP from non-compliance to compliance. This paper also concludes that the philosophy of seeing a YP within a ‘stages of change’ model was vital, noting that change takes time, tolerance and multiple chances.³⁹

Understanding mechanisms of change, as opposed to implementation or efficacy, was the focus of one study.²⁹ In order to measure these mechanisms the research undertook three validated questionnaires (CORE⁴⁰, and WHOQOL-BREF⁴¹, and LSI-R:SV⁴²) before and after intervention. While it did not show a significant change in any of the variables, the study recommends further investigation into understanding and measuring the mechanisms of change within OOCs. Two reports focussed on delivery of the intervention, with key factors emerging relating to the importance of the programme’s mechanisms supporting YPs to reduce offending.^{27, 28} These include the importance of mentoring, providing 1:1 options for those who struggle in group work, and having alternatives to unpaid work for those with chronic substance misuse.

Figure 3 depicts a conceptual framework summarising the evidence from the literature review.

¹ Breaching is a term to describe when a YCA does not meet the conditions of their OOC and are returned to the ‘usual care’ criminal justice process. Breaching is often as a result of lack of engagement with OOC or re-offending.

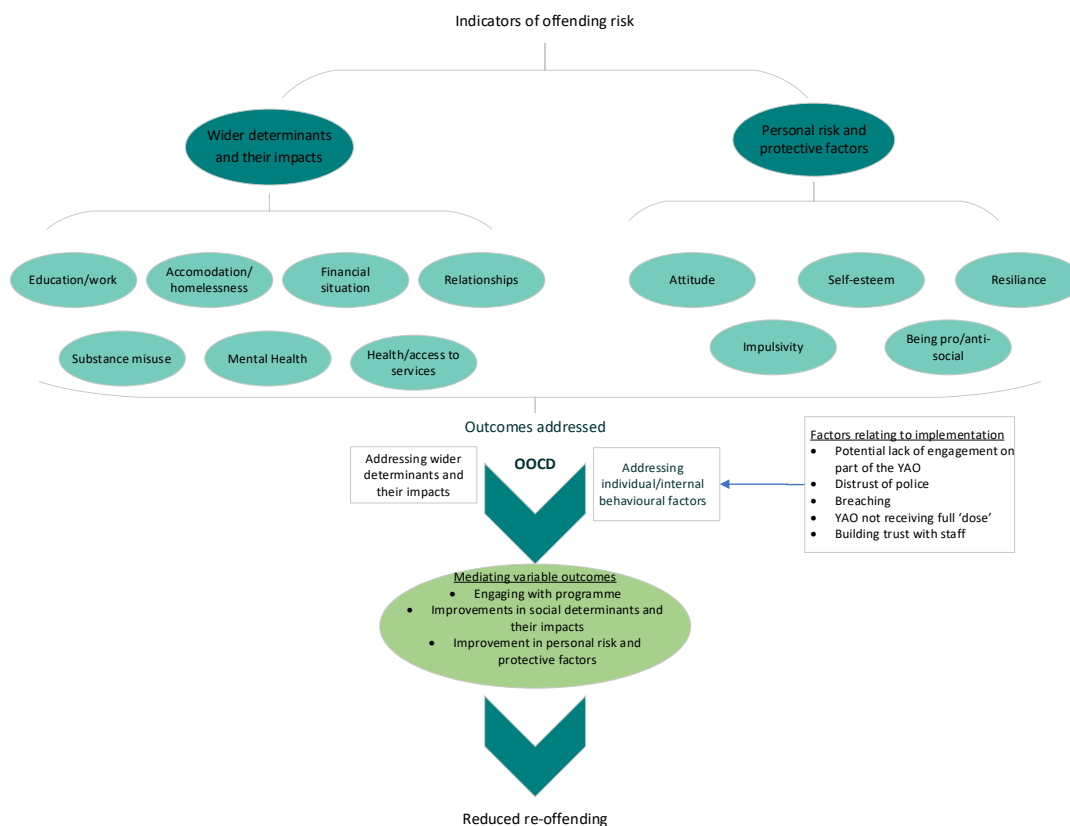


Figure 3: Conceptual Framework for determining risk of offending behaviour, and role of OOCs in reducing offending

Conclusion

What is clear from the literature is that engagement is a key factor in the success of these programmes as it relates to dose, motivation, and compliance but understanding the interventional process that impacts on YPs and effects a change in behaviour or life chances is also key in evaluating what can make these interventions successful. It is therefore important when evaluating an OOC to look at both engagement and other drivers for change.

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Appendix 1: Characteristics of published studies

Author (year) Country Study design Title	Aim	Methods	Summary	Strengths	Weaknesses
Albert M. Kopak (2020) USA Cohort Behavioural health indicators and time-to-rearrest in an adult pre-arrest diversion program	To assess the impact of behavioural health indicators on time to re-arrest of adults diverted to a community behavioural health provider following a first-time misdemeanour	Retrospective cohort study following participants who had received a 'citation' (a pre-charge diversion) between March 2013 and April 2017 Sample: 1071	Evidence demonstrated that male participants were more likely to be re-arrested than female $p < 0.001$. There was an association between participants ethnic or racial background and rearrests ($p = 0.023$) specifically black participants were more likely to come into subsequent contact with police, raising a question about the generalisability of the intervention for different populations (though this could have been due to unmeasured variables such as neighbourhood composition. Participants who submitted a test indicative of drug use at the time of program initiation were also more	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Research has a clearly defined question - All participants were on the same diversion intervention - Measure was validated - Outcome measure (re-arrest) clearly defined and measurable - The authors discuss potential confounding and explore different explanations for relationships - follow up was sufficient in terms of length, and relied on routine data and therefore was complete 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Some participants were excluded due to missing data, or because they never reported to initiate the programme - this may result in selection bias in that those participants who took part may have been more motivated. - No measure for exposure/dose (level of intervention participant had to complete not discussed, no record of missed sessions etc.) - some confounding factors not discussed (e.g. potential for confounder relating to racial bias by police) - Significant results are presented that do not directly relate to the research aim (fishing?)

			likely to be arrested following the program.		
Scott et al (2013) UK Systematic review Effectiveness of Criminal Justice Liaison and Diversion Services for Offenders With Mental Disorders: A Review	To review studies of the effectiveness of criminal justice liaison and diversion (CJLD) services comparing outcomes of participants in these services compared with offenders with mental illness who received no intervention or a standard intervention. Synthesize evidence in respect to changes in mental health status or criminal recidivism.	Systematic Review of more than 30 databases Sample size: 10 studies met the inclusion criteria	Methodologies of existing studies are only moderately rigorous, however overall findings suggest that CJLD services can be beneficial. Their effectiveness depends on the model of service delivery, the availability of community services, and the engagement of offenders with mental disorders in treatment. Further research is required to examine how to improve treatment engagement and effectiveness of sanctions for noncompliance with treatment programmes.	- Aim is stated, but parameters are broad and the control not consistent. - a large number of studies were reviewed for eligibility - Authors recognise the lack of rigorous evidence	- Evidence used in synthesis only moderately rigorous and lack if research from higher in the evidence hierarchy. Only one study randomised, the remainder were quasi-experimental - One of the key outcomes of the study was recognition of the lack of good quality evidence in relation to efficacy of diversion - Research does not give clear enough results to draw any sort of conclusion.
Lowder et al (2016) USA Quasi experimental	To determine whether: 1) there are significant differences in post-program	Quasi-experimental study. Treatment group (those receiving diversion) and treatment as usual group (those moving through the	MHC graduation status was found to be associated with significantly greater reductions in jail days served before program entry to after program exit, which is	- Main outcome (recidivism) captured (though see strengths for limitations in terms of comparisons between groups)	- Control group not comparable to treatment group as self-identifying as having mental health problem rather than have a diagnosis. - Different descriptive data

<p>Recidivism Following Mental Health Court Exit: Between and Within-Group Comparisons</p>	<p>charges, convictions, and jail days between Mental Health Court (MHC) participants and a comparison group of offenders; 2) individual factors are associated with changes in pre- and post-program jail days among MHC participants; 3) process factors are associated with changes in pre and post-program jail days among MHC participants.</p>	<p>formal courts system) not randomised. Sample size: Total n=98 (treatment n=58, control n=40)</p>	<p>consistent with findings of previous studies. The findings suggest that long-term engagement with the MHC has a positive effect on criminal justice outcomes and that receiving the “full dose” of the MHC program is especially critical to recidivism reduction. Additional research is needed to replicate prior findings and to increase our understanding of how MHCs are effective at decreasing recidivism, with particular attention to individual, programmatic, and process-related factors.</p>	<p>- secondary analysis (association between individual factors in the treatment group) able to present some significant results.</p>	<p>collected in both groups so not comparable - Follow up quite short (1 year)</p>
<p>Rivas-Vazquez et al (2009) USA Retrospective cohort A Relationship-Based Care Model for Jail Diversion</p>	<p>To assess the effectiveness of a jail diversion program for a homeless population with mental illness in South Florida, as measured by rate of arrests after</p>	<p>Retrospective comparative cohort study. Analysis of data from individuals diverted to a relationship based care intervention to individuals diverted to other programmes. Sample size: n=229 intervention group n=151 Control group n=78</p>	<p>Results indicated a highly significant reduction in arrest rates after admission to the program. The longer individuals remained in our program, the less likely they were to be arrested. Similarly, compliance with psychiatric treatment, as measured by number of outpatient</p>	<p>- The research asked a focussed question, with a specific population in a specific geographical area exposed to a specific intervention - Control group identified with similar characteristics to intervention group - despite significantly more pre-diversion arrests in the</p>	<p>- Group (intervention or control arm which was a different diversion) was chosen by geography or preference of the individual - potentially introducing bias. - Exposure to intervention variable - ranging from 1 - 1655 days - though this was recorded and included in analysis.</p>

	admission to the program.		contacts, was also correlated with decreased post diversion arrest rates. type of diversion program. The findings support other evidence regarding the challenges of engagement. As noted, among those who left the program prematurely, almost 60% did so within the first 30 days.	control group a subsection were identified who were matched to the intervention group to try and address this confounder. However sample size must have been very small. - Outcome measures were objective - Separate analysis done for within intervention arm and across arms	- Confounding discussed but huge number of potential variables which cannot be accounted for without randomisation - Follow up 1 year so cannot give indication of any long term effect
Lim & Day (2016) USA Prospective cohort Mental health diversion courts: A prospective study of reoffending and clinical outcomes of an Australian mental health court program	Focussing on mechanisms for change that can promote a reduction in reoffending: 1) determine whether successful completion of a mental health court program leads to clinical improvement in mental health symptomology and general well-being. 2) determine if such	Longitudinal cohort study. Comparison of number of charges in the 12 months pre-program to the 12 months post-program (data for this collected retrospectively). Additional outcomes relating to QoL and mental health collected pre and post intervention using validated questionnaires.	The data show that this mental health court program is generally successful in reducing reoffending, particularly for those who successfully complete the program. It is less effective in addressing mental health symptomology and improving psychosocial functioning.	- Research question addresses a specific population and question - recruitment ethical and thoroughly explained - Participants who violated were excluded (good - ensures dose exposure consistent). - Measures used were validated and objective Measures used were for outcomes which have a evidence base for being indicators of recidivism	- Participants who violated or did not complete the programme were excluded (negative - this could introduce bias with only those more motivated participants being analysed - bias) - Paper acknowledges the 'many limitations' but does not go into much detail, or discuss confounding variables. - Follow up for recidivism short (12 months)

	improvements are associated with lower rates of reoffending.				
Hartford et al (2006) USA Literature review and survey (of police forces) Pre-arrest Diversion of People with Mental Illness: Literature Review and International survey	to identify evidence-based practices in pre-arrest diversion programmes. Illustrate - through a survey - how these practices are implemented	Literature review and international survey. Lit review conducted using free-text searches of a range of academic databases, alongside extensive searches on the internet. Surveys sent to police (part of a larger survey intended to collect information about mental health courts and diversion programmes). This aspect was made up of 60 questions designed to elicit information relating to programme structure, administration, links with community agencies and future training needs. Sample size: Lit review – n=92 papers identified Survey=54	Existing evidence on the efficacy of diversion is weak with a lack of a) control groups b) longitudinal designs and c) objective data on key variables There is a need to identify 'successful' characteristics of a diversion programme.		- Research question is broad and data collected from a wide range of sources (international, range of diversion interventions) - no described definition of diversion. - surveys were sent to police forces in identified countries, however diversions are often outsourced to charitable or third sector organisations thus police forces may not have been the most appropriate persons to respond. - Methodologically, surveys may not have provided adequate depth of information as to the implementation of diversion, particularly given the huge variety of programmes included and the differences from programme to programme - clear examples of how this method could have used selection bias - forces where programmes are working, or who have time to respond, for example.

					- Survey un able to provide a statistically generalisable dataset
Wolff et al (2013) USA Survey Practice informs the next generation of behavioural health and criminal justice interventions	To provide a general view of the behavioural, economic, and programmatic challenges facing programmes as they work with justice-involved persons with serious mental illnesses, and the multitude of complex issues faced by their clients.	This was a mixed methods study with a) A web based survey b) A subsequent workshop with a subset of the survey respondents qualitatively analysed Sample size: Survey = 86 Workshop = 33	Some individuals on diversion programmes may be resistant to prosocial interventions because they have thinking styles, life situations, and/or behavioural tendencies that put them at greater risk for criminality Even for those clients who are accepting of intervention, the philosophy, structure, orientation, and availability of the intervention approach may not fit their needs in ways that are most effective. Study's recommendations include : Adopt and consistently implement a "person first" value into engagement and recovery philosophies.	- Research question specific and focussed - ethically sound - Methods used are appropriate - survey establishes basic data, and workshop provides more in-depth qualitative data collection - Recruitment methods acceptable - survey participants were stratified - Qualitative analysis methods were appropriate with 2 researchers reviewing themes and rigorous	- Only 56% response rate and likely bias introduced in self-selection of those who chose to respond - Researchers do not discuss their relationship and potential biases in the qualitative work

Appendix 2: Characteristics of grey literature

Author/publisher	Title	Aims	Key findings (relevant)
Ministry of Justice Analytical series (2018)	Adult Out of Court Disposal Pilot Evaluation – Final Report	Understand differences in outcomes between the pilot and counterfactual areas (and the rest of England and Wales where possible); understand the experiences of the pilots from the perspectives of delivery stakeholders and victims of crime; and to identify good practice.	Significant amount of missing data in relation to compliance, so conclusions drawn from compliance monitoring has serious limitations. Out of court disposals do not automatically result in an individual being registered as having breached. In this analysis the breach rate for conditional cautions was highest out of all the OOCs, at 8% (427 of 5,431 cases)
Ministry of Justice (2012)	Intensive Alternatives to Custody Process evaluation of pilots in five areas	A process evaluation of five pilot projects in the Intensive Alternative to Custody (IAC) programme To examine and assess good practice and barriers across the sites, in particular the processes for identification of suitable offenders, sentence confidence in IAC, and development of tailored approaches to offender management including compliance.	The majority of offenders interviewed found the initial intensity of the order was overwhelming. This reduced when they began to identify benefits of being on an IAC Offenders welcomed having structure which had previously been lacking in their lives and reported such intense attendance requirements as leaving less time for 'getting into trouble'. OMs identified offender 'ownership' of IAC orders and active involvement in decision making processes as important factors in engaging offenders. Whilst understanding the punitive nature of the order, the majority of offenders reported having a clear voice in identifying needs, risks and potential barriers to success from an early stage.

Centre for Justice innovation	Pre-court diversion for adults: an evidence briefing	The purpose of this briefing is to summarise the evidence to date on the impact of pre-court diversion for adults and to draw out some promising practice principles for those working in pre-court diversion schemes.	Avoid 'overdosing' with overly intensive intervention. Repeatedly demonstrated that employing intensive treatments intended for high-risk or persistent offenders on low-risk offenders ('overdosing') may backfire, leading to further offending. The principle of proportionality guards against the well-meaning, but potentially damaging, tendency that pre-court diversion schemes can have in extending criminal justice contact and enforceable requirements to meet an individual's welfare needs, when these are better addressed by welfare agencies.
Ministry of justice	Process Evaluation of Derbyshire Intensive Alternatives to Custody Pilot	The aim of this study was to critically assess the implementation and development of the Intensive Alternatives to Custody (IAC) pilot in Derbyshire.	The vast majority of offenders reported that, although intense, the IAC order kept them busy and provided structure to their lives that many had not previously experienced. Coping with the initial intensity of the Order was generally regarded by OMs as a key predictor of successful offender compliance with IAC. Some offenders struggled to cope with group-based programme work and were frustrated by waiting lists when they felt ready and motivated to engage with this type of intervention. Unpaid work was especially difficult for those with substance misuse issues, health problems and childcare responsibilities. Offenders overwhelmingly stated that the practical and emotional support offered by the mentors was the most effective intervention which they received.

Ministry of justice	Transforming Rehabilitation: a summary of evidence on reducing reoffending (second edition)	provide an overview of key evidence relating to reducing the reoffending of adult offenders.	The principles of Risk, Need and Responsivity are known to be important to successful management of offenders. These involve the accurate assessment of an individual offender's needs and providing tailored responses. Such approaches caution against over-treatment of low-risk offenders, and ensure that interventions are targeted where they are most needed and likely to be useful. Identifying styles of delivery that offenders are most likely to respond to is also an important aspect, because different offender groups may have different needs (including, for instance, women offenders, those with learning disabilities or mental health issues, or LGBT offenders)
James Bonta and D A D Andrews	Risk-Need-Responsivity Model for Offender Assessment and Rehabilitation	<p>This paper summarises how the RNR model has influenced development of offender risk assessment instruments and offender rehabilitation programs.</p> <p>Risk principle: Match the level of service to the offender's risk to re-offend.</p> <p>Need principle: Assess criminogenic needs and target them in treatment.</p> <p>Responsivity principle: Maximise the offender's ability to learn from a rehabilitative intervention by providing cognitive behavioural treatment and tailoring the intervention to the learning style, motivation, abilities and strengths of the offender.</p>	Increasing motivation and reducing barriers to attending treatment must be well thought-out. This may be particularly important for women offenders (e.g., provide child care so the mother can attend treatment) and for Aboriginal offenders (e.g., include elders and spiritual ceremonies along with structured cognitive behavioural treatment).

<p>Karen Schucan Bird et al</p>	<p>What works: Crime reduction systematic review series No. 7: Police pre-arrest diversion of people with mental health issues: A systematic review of the impacts on crime and mental health</p>	<p>What is the impact of police pre-arrest diversion of people with mental health issues on subsequent crime and mental health outcomes?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Mechanisms: What are the mechanisms associated with effective pre- arrest diversion? · Moderators: Under what conditions or for what population groups might pre-arrest diversion work best? · Implementation: What factors that can facilitate or impede the implementation of pre-arrest diversion? · Economics: What are the economic impacts of pre-arrest diversion 	<p>Specifically, in relation to the implementation aim paper recommends:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Multi agency collaboration in the delivery of the intervention Promoting police awareness of pre-arrest diversion Making referrals easy for police officers Supporting take up of treatment and services <p>In particular: Authors argue that diversion programmes that ensure that treatment is accepted can lead to improvements in mental health and crime outcomes</p>
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<p>Ministry of Justice</p>	<p>Process Evaluation of Manchester and Salford Intensive Alternatives to Custody Pilot</p>	<p>critically assess the implementation and development of the Intensive Alternatives to Custody (IAC) pilot in Manchester and Salford.</p>	<p>Sustaining motivation and securing compliance was an important outcome. Of those 194 individuals whose order had terminated in the two-year pilot period, 41% were terminated not for completion, but as a result of non-compliance (18%) or further offending (23%).</p> <p>Various elements of the order were targeted to achieve different types of compliance (Bottoms, 2002). Towards the end of the second year, and on reflection of a range of findings from the evaluation, the project team established a 'tiering' system within the IAC. This differentiated cases based on level of intervention with regards to compliance, offending related need and risk of serious harm.</p> <p>Case conferencing resulted from a need for team members to regularly share information to maintain consistency in practice. This involved mentors, OMs and the probation operational manger. Cases with 'acceptable' absences were targeted for audit to assess whether OMs were managing to appropriately balance the principles of enforcement and compliance.</p>
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