



Are short term prison sentences an efficient and effective use of public resources?

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Foreword

In the last ten years prison numbers in Britain have risen at an unprecedented rate. We have the highest prison population in Western Europe and are locking up more and more people who 12 years ago would have served non-custodial sentences. 65% of prisoners are serving less than 12 months. If imprisonment continues at the same rate the government intends to charge the taxpayer upwards of £3 billion to cover more prison places.

It is within this context that the Make Justice Work campaign has come into formation – we must scrutinise whether the criminal justice system is in fact serving the needs of the public and victims.

Make Justice Work has been established in response to an overwhelming concern that the public are lacking the opportunity to engage in any kind of rational and informed debate around the benefits of community sentencing. The system is failing everyone: the public, victims and offenders.

Having worked in and around prisons for over 15 years, too often I have seen excellent work with offenders being disrupted because they are shunted in and out of the prison system for short periods of time. Much of this work can be done more effectively with offenders in the community – prison is simply not the place to get low level, non-violent offenders away from criminal behaviour. We are not suggesting spending less on sanctions: The reality is that prison does little to reduce the number of victims and does virtually nothing to reduce re-offending for those on short sentences. Community sentences, however, in comparison are more effective and offer substantial cost savings. This is where money should be diverted.

This independent report by Matrix Knowledge, commissioned by the Make Justice Work campaign, outlines for the first time the cost-benefits of sentencing low-level, non-violent offenders to community based alternatives to prison. The research also analyses the level of re-offending related to short-term prison sentences in comparison to community based alternatives. The report findings are at times staggering.

The research reveals that the majority of community sentences provide similar or better value for money and effectiveness than short-term prison sentences. Furthermore, when looking at prisoners with drug problems the comparative savings and effectiveness provided by community based sentences rise massively. Diverting one offender from custody to residential drug treatment would save society approximately £200,000 over the lifetime of the offender. Tellingly, this figure not only includes capital cost savings for the state but savings to society in terms of both reduced financial costs and reduced pain and suffering.

Make Justice Work, using this robust research as a starting block, is aiming to significantly change the public perception of short-term prison sentences and inform the public through the media about the comparative costs and inefficiency of locking up low-level, non-violent offenders. The present system is simply not working. Now is the time for change. We must start diverting more low-level offenders to community based sentences: the alternative is more prisoners, more prisons, more tax payers' money, more crime and critically, more victims.

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1.0 Summary

Matrix Knowledge Group was commissioned by the Make Justice Work campaign to undertake an independent assessment of whether short-term prison sentences (12 months or less) are an effective and efficient use of public resources.

In response to this challenge, two sets of analyses are presented in this paper. First, brand new analysis is presented for the first time that estimates the economic impact expected from diverting offenders from short-term prison sentences to community sentences. Second, the paper summarises the analysis of the costs and benefits of alternative sentences undertaken by Matrix Knowledge Group in 2007/8 (Matrix, 2007; Marsh and Fox, 2008).

The economic impact incorporated in this analysis includes not only the cost of implementing different sentences, but also the economic impact of the crimes committed during and after alternative sentences. The economic impact of a crime includes the cost to the criminal justice system of responding to a crime, the healthcare costs of treating the victim of a crime, the victim's financial cost of a crime, and the pain and suffering experienced by the victim of a crime.

Our analyses suggest that the majority of community sentences provide similar or better value for money and effectiveness than short-term prison sentences. Residential drug treatment and intensive supervision with drug treatment produce significant cost savings to society when compared with custody. That is, diversion from custody to these interventions would result in net savings to society.

Specifically:

- Diverting one offender from custody to residential drug treatment would save society approximately £200,000 over the lifetime of the offender.
- Diverting one offender from custody to intensive supervision with drug treatment would save society approximately £60,000 over the lifetime of the offender

These cost savings include not only the lower cost of implementing the sentences, but also the costs avoided due to reduced re-offending as a result of these non-custodial sentences. Amongst others, the costs saved by diverting one offender from custody to residential drug treatment include:

- £112,000 avoided by people who would otherwise have been victims of crime, due to both reduced financial costs and reduced pain and suffering.
- £75,000 avoided by the Criminal Justice System due to reduced intervention costs and having to respond to fewer crimes.
- £13,000 avoided by the NHS as a result of having to respond to fewer crimes.

During 2007, the last year for which figures are available, it is estimated that there were a total of 7,873 prisoners given sentences of less than 12 months who were drug users

and who could have instead been offered these alternative sentences - 9.2% of all offenders who were given custodial sentences. Had they been given these alternative sentences, our analysis suggests this would have resulted in significantly reduced re-offending and intervention costs.

It is estimated that society would have saved almost £1 billion had those drug-using offenders sentenced to 12 months or less in 2007 instead been given residential drug treatment. The annual cost savings for the first six years post sentencing would have been £60-100 million.

The recent rise in the prison population means that the efficiency of alternative sentencing options is a matter of particular importance to policy makers. Prison populations are on the rise in a number of western countries. In the USA the prison population rose from 1,585,586 in 1995 (a rate of 600 per 100,000) to 2,135,335 in 2004 (a rate of 723 per 100,000). By 2007 this figure had risen to 2,319,258 (a rate of 750 per 100,000), and the Pew Center on the States (2008: 5) reported that "more than 1 in 100 adults are now locked up in America". At the time of writing the prison population in the UK had exceeded 83,000 (Prison Reform Trust 2008).

It is in response to these increases in demand for prison places that the Government is planning its prison building programme; increasing the prison rate of England and Wales from 153 per 100,000 people to 178 per 100,000 people, the highest rate in Western Europe (Prison Reform Trust, 2008). This prison building programme will come with a large price tag – which the government estimates to be £2.3 billion – a cost that has yet to be factored into the above calculations. That is, the analysis summarised above suggests that custody is an inefficient use of public funds compared to some alternative sentences even before the large capital costs of prison builds are considered.

This paper provides evidence on the costs and benefits of alternative sentencing programmes; evidence that is crucial to informing decisions and ensuring that public resources are used in the most effective way possible. Such evidence is already routinely applied in decisions on whether to provide drugs on the NHS, and it is important that similar high standards of evidence generation are also applied in criminal justice. Current plans to expand the prison estate mean that it is a good time to ask whether sending offenders to prison is a good use of public resources; and how far the alternatives offer better value for money.

The remainder of this paper presents in more detail the analysis summarised above.

2.0 Method

A cost benefit analysis (CBA) generally comprises three elements: an estimate of the cost of the intervention; an estimate of the effect of the intervention; and an estimate of the monetary value of the effect.

Estimating the cost of sentences

A review of existing studies was undertaken to identify the economic cost of implementing prison and non-prison sentences. Detail of the review is available in Marsh and Fox (2008).

Equation 1 summarises the analysis undertaken to estimate the cost savings of community sentences compared to custodial sentences:

$$InterventionCost_i = (Cost_i * Length_i) - (CostCustody * LengthCust_i) \quad (1)$$

Where $InterventionCost_i$ is the incremental cost of intervention i compared to standard prison, $Cost_i$ is the annual cost of intervention i (source: review of economic data), $Length_i$ is the average length of intervention i (source: RDS NOMS, 2007), $CostCustody$ is the annual cost of a standard prison (source: review of economic data), and $LengthCust_i$ is the average length of a standard prison sentence (source: RDS NOMS, 2007).

Estimating the effect of sentences on re-offending

A Rapid Evidence Assessment (REA) of effectiveness studies was undertaken. This identified the change in re-offending resulting from moving an offender from a standard prison sentence to an alternative sentence. Detail on the search strategy, and inclusion criteria adopted by the REA are available in Marsh and Fox (2008). The studies included in the review had to employ an experimental research design that was scored three or above on the Maryland Scale of Methodological Rigour (Sherman et al, 1997), with a group receiving a standard prison sentence and a group receiving an alternative sentence. Effect sizes were calculated as odds ratios using Comprehensive Meta-Analysis. A random effects meta-analysis was undertaken to estimate an overall effect size from the data collected for each combination of sentencing options.

Estimating the monetary value of effects

An economic model was constructed to transform the data on change in short-term re-offending into a monetary estimate of the benefit of alternatives to custodial sentences over the lifetime of offenders. All costs were calculated in 2007 prices. The analysis estimated change in offending both during and post sentence. This section reports the

method employed to estimate the change in offending post sentence. Further detail of the analysis is available in Marsh and Fox (2008).

The change in the cost of crime if an offender is diverted from prison to an alternative sentence was calculated as follows:

$$ChangeCostPost_i = LifetimeCost_i * Effect_i \quad (2)$$

Where $ChangeCosPost_i$ is change in the costs of crime post sentence as a result of diverting an offender from prison to intervention i , $LifetimeCost_i$ is the cost of crime post-release from prison if those offenders diverted to intervention i had instead been given a prison sentence (source: equation 3), and $Effect_i$ is the relative risk of re-offending with intervention i compared to prison (source: effectiveness review, above).

Equation 3 summarises the function used to calculate the baseline cost of re-offending:

$$LifetimeCost_i = \sum_{s=1}^S ChanceOffence_{i,s} * LifetimeCost_s \quad (3)$$

Where $LifetimeCost_i$ is the lifetime cost of crime committed post release from prison of those offenders who could be diverted to alternative intervention i , $ChanceOffence_{i,s}$ is the proportion of offenders currently sentenced to intervention i who have been sentenced for committing offence s (source: RDS NOMS, 2007), and $LifetimeCost_s$ is the lifetime cost of crime post-release if the offender had been sentenced to prison for offence s (from equation 4)

The total cost of crime committed post-release from prison until the age of 50 years is given by equation 4:

$$LifetimeCost_s = \sum_{y=1}^{25} \frac{ValueCrime_s * NumberCrime_{sy}}{(1 + DR)^{y-1}} \quad (4)$$

Where $LifetimeCost_s$ is the cost of crime post-release from prison until the age of 50 years for offenders sentenced for offence s and released at the age of 25 years, $NumberCrime_{sy}$ is the number of crimes committed in year y by offenders released from prison after being sentenced for offence s (from equation 5), $ValueCrime_s$ is the average value of a crime committed post-release for offenders released after being sentenced for offence s (from equation 6), and DR is the discount

rate. In line with Green Book guidance (H.M. Treasury, 2003), a discount rate of 3.5% was employed in the analysis.

Equation 5 shows the function used to calculate this baseline level of re-offending post release from prison:

$$NumberCrime_{sy} = ConvictChance_s * ConvictAve * OffConvict * CrimeRatio_y \quad (5)$$

Where $NumberCrime_{sy}$ is the number of crimes committed in year y by offender in prison for offence type s , $ConvictChance_s$ is the chance that an offender in prison for offence type s is convicted of any offence in the year following release (source: Cuncliffe and Sheperd, 2007), $ConvictAve$ is the average number of convictions in the first year post release per adult male offender convicted (source: RDS NOMS, 2007), $OffConvict$ is the number of offences committed per conviction, and $CrimeRatio_y$ is the ratio of the number of crimes committed in year y (where $y=1$ corresponds with the first year of release when the offender is 25 years old) and the number of crimes committed at the age of 25 years (source: Farrington et al, 2006).

Equation 6 summarises the function used to calculate the average value of a crime:

$$ValueCrime_s = \sum_{r=1}^R \sum_{o=1}^O OffenceDist_{os} * CostCrime_{or} \quad (6)$$

Where $ValueCrime_s$ is the average value of a crime committed post-release from prison by an offender sentenced for offence s , $OffenceDist_{os}$ is the chance that a crime committed by an offender released from prison for offence s will be a particular crime type o (source: RDS NOMS, 2007), and $CostCrime_{or}$ is the cost of resource type r associated with offence o (source: Dubourg et al, 2005).

The analysis was run from a societal perspective, where resource type r included defensive expenditure, insurance costs, criminal justice costs, NHS costs, property stolen and not recovered, property damaged, lost output and the physical and psychological suffering of the victim. Box 1 provides more detail on the content of the estimates of the cost of crime.

Box 1: The cost of crime

The Home Office estimates of the cost of crime (Dubourg et al, 2005) employed in this research comprise the following costs:

1. **Costs in anticipation of a crime**, including: defensive expenditure, such as home security, and insurance administration. Estimates of defensive expenditure were derived from a number of data sources, including estimates in the British Crime Survey (BCS) on ownership of security products and their cost, and information from the British Security Industries Association on the market size of various security products and services. Estimate of insurance administration included the commission and expenses incurred by insurers, which were taken from the Association of British Insurers 'Insurance Statistics Yearbook 1988-1998'.
2. **Costs as a consequence of a crime**, including: costs to health and victim services; property lost and damaged; lost output; and the physical and psychological costs to the victim. A number of elements of the cost of the consequences of a crime were estimated based on responses to the BCS, including: the value of the property stolen, recovered, damaged, and destroyed, as well as lost output (time off work). Costs of victim services were based on an analysis of the Home Office grant for victim services. Costs of health services were based on estimates of the cost of health services as a result of road accidents produced by the then DETR.

Perhaps the most methodologically challenging of the cost estimates is the physical and psychological cost of crime to the victim. The method employed comprised three steps (Dolan et al, 2005). First, the expected prevalence and duration of the physical and psychological effects of crimes were identified from the BCS and other sources. Second, these effects were converted into Quality Adjusted Life Years (QALYs) – a standardised measure of health. Finally, the QALYs lost were converted into monetary values based on work by Carthy et al. (1999).

3. **Costs of responding to a crime**, including police activity, court costs, probation and prison costs. Court costs associated with different crime types were taken from the Home Office' own estimates (Harris, 1999). Sentence costs were calculated from Home Office data on the types of disposal received for different offence types, the average length of these sentences, and the unit cost of sentences. Police costs per crime were estimated by attributing police budgets to crime types (using police activity data) and then dividing total budget per crime type by the total number of incidences of that crime type.

Estimating total cost savings

Estimates were produced of the number of offenders serving custodial sentences of 12 months or less for whom the costs and benefits of alternative sentences would apply. This number was used to estimate the annual costs and benefits had these offenders been given these alternative sentences. This calculation was undertaken for those alternative sentences with a net benefit that was statistically significantly different from that for custody.

In 2007 there were 55,443 adult offenders sentenced to custodial sentences of 12 months or less, or 65% of all sentences (Ministry of Justice, 2008).

Drug-treatment interventions were found to have a net benefit that was statistically significantly different from custody, including:

- Residential drug treatment: The proportion of adult offenders on short sentences who were drug using offenders and who could be given an alternative sentence of residential drug treatment was estimated at 8.9%¹. Consequently, it was estimated that 4,934 offenders who were sentenced in 2007 could have been given residential drug treatment.
- Intensive supervision² with drug treatment: The proportion of adult offenders on short sentences who were drug using offenders and who could be given an alternative sentence of intensive supervision in combination with drug treatment was estimated at 5.3%³. Consequently, it was estimated that 2,938 offenders who were sentenced in 2007 could have been given intensive supervision with drug treatment.

Therefore, it is estimated that 9.2% of those offenders sentenced to prison sentences in 2007 (or 7,873 offenders) could have been offered community sentences that would have been more efficient at reducing re-offending.

¹ It was assumed that those offenders on short sentences for robbery, burglary and theft (30.8%, MoJ (2008)) could be given an alternative sentence of intensive supervision, and that 29% of this group were drug using offenders and could thus be given intensive supervision with drug treatment (the proportion of arrestees reporting opiate use, Stevens et al (2005).

² Including intensive supervision programmes and electronic monitoring.

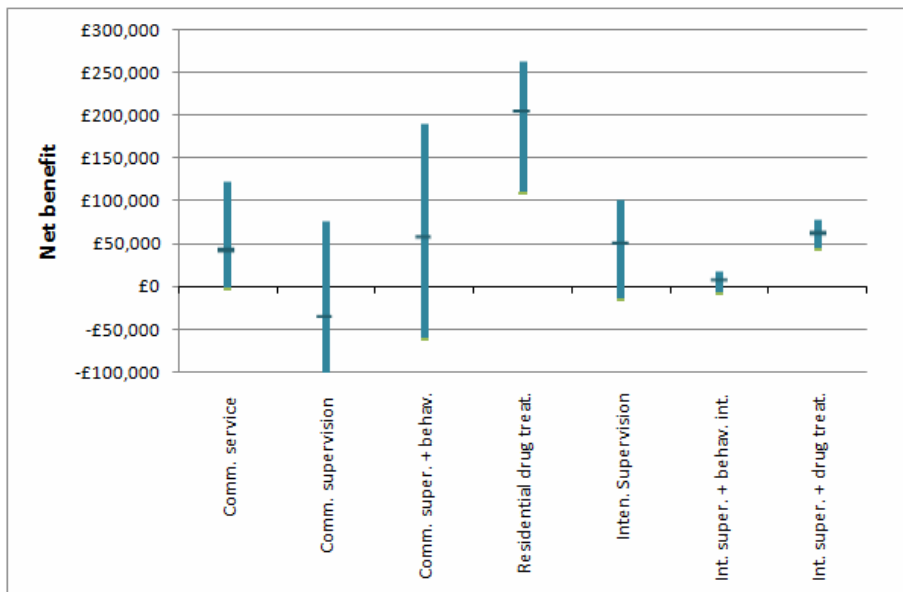
³ It was assumed that those offenders on short sentences for violence against the person (18.3%, MoJ (2008)) could be given an alternative sentence of intensive supervision, and that 29% of this group were drug using offenders and could thus be given intensive supervision with drug treatment (the proportion of arrestees reporting opiate use, Stevens et al (2005).

3.0 Findings

Figure 1 summarises the net benefit per offender of redirecting an offender from a standard custodial sentence to a community sentence. It includes the mean net benefit and the 95% confidence interval of the net benefit estimate. The latter estimate is an indication of the range within which we are certain the net benefit estimates is located. Consequently, a 95% confidence interval range that crosses zero suggests that we cannot be certain whether the alternative sentence is more or less efficient than prison. A positive net benefit indicates an overall cost saving to society, based on changes in sentencing cost and the cost of re-offending.

Figure 1 demonstrates that, of the seven community sentences for which data was available, six had a mean net benefit that was positive. That is, redirecting an offender from a custodial sentence to one of these community sentences would produce a net benefit to society. In each instance, this net benefit comprises the reduced cost of the intervention, and a reduction in the cost of offending post-sentence. These benefits are sufficient to offset the increased cost of offending during the sentence. The exception to this rule is community supervision, which the evidence suggests is associated with an increase in offending post-sentence, and consequently has a negative net benefit when compared with custody.

Figure 1: Discounted net benefit per offender or community sentence types, compared with standard custodial sentence. Mean and 95% confidence interval (£, 2007).



For two of the interventions both the lower and upper 95% confidence intervals were positive. That is, we can say with statistical certainty that two of the community interventions produced positive net benefits when compared with prison – residential

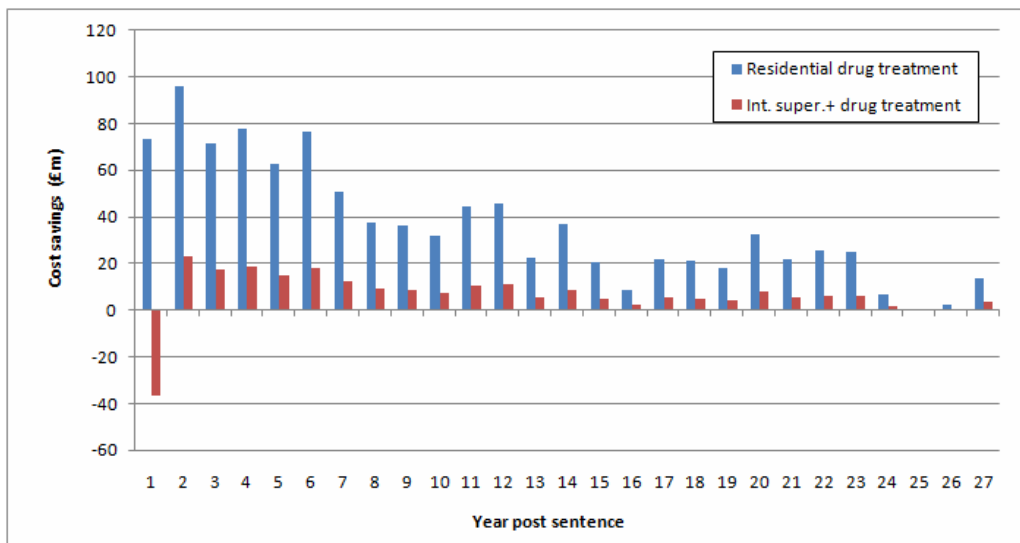
drug treatment and intensive supervision with drug treatment demonstrated statistically significant reductions in re-offending and consequently achieve positive net benefits. The other five community interventions have costs and benefits that are not statistically significantly different from custody.

Diversion from custody to residential drug treatment produces a cost saving to society of approximately £200,000 per offender. Specifically, the types of residential drug treatment identified in the literature include programmes designed to divert non-violent drug using offenders into community-based facilities. The programmes involve the use of intensive and individual group counselling, and the using the dynamics of communal living, to teach positive personal and social values and behaviour. Diversion from custody to intensive supervision with drug treatment produces a cost saving of approximately £60,000 per offender.

Figure 2 shows the annual cost savings produced if those offenders given a custodial sentence of twelve months or less in 2007 had been diverted to either residential drug treatment or intensive supervision with drug treatment where appropriate. It demonstrates that large annual cost savings are produced, including:

- Residential drug treatment: £60-£100 million per annum for the first six years post sentencing.
- Intensive supervision with drug treatment: £20 million per annum for the first five years after the end of the sentence.

Figure 2: Discounted annual societal cost savings associated with diversion from custodial to non-custodial sentences (£, 2007)



The annual savings associated with community sentences reduce as offenders' rate of re-offending reduces as they get older. However, the annual cost savings associated with diversion to residential drug treatment remains in the £20-£40 million range for more than 20 years post sentencing. The total cost saving associated with providing residential drug treatment in place of custody is approximately £980 million over the lifetime of offenders.

In the first year post sentence, diversion to intensive supervision with drug treatment results in greater costs to society than custody. This is the result of a higher level of offending offsetting the lower intervention cost. This increase in costs is not observed for residential drug treatment, as the lower intervention cost is sufficient to offset the higher cost of offending.

Box 2: Summary of findings

- Diversion from custody to residential drug treatment produces a lifetime cost saving to society of approximately £200,000 per offender.
- Diversion from custody to intensive supervision with drug treatment produces a lifetime cost saving of approximately £60,000 per offender.
- £980 million would have been saved if those offenders given a custodial sentence of twelve months or less in 2007 had instead been diverted to residential drug treatment.
- If those offenders given a custodial sentence of twelve months or less in 2007 had instead been diverted to residential drug treatment, an annual cost saving of £60-£100 million per annum would have been made for the first six years post sentencing.
- If those offenders given a custodial sentence of twelve months or less in 2007 had instead been diverted to intensive supervision with drug treatment, an annual cost saving of £20 million per annum would have been made for the first five years post sentencing.

4.0 Discussion

The analysis presented in this paper suggests that a number of community-based sentencing options are more effective and more efficient than standard prison sentences. Diverting drug using offenders from custody to residential drug treatment or intensive supervision with drug treatment would produce net savings to society; both in terms of public sector costs avoided and reduced victim costs. A number of other community sentences are associated with re-offending rates no different from those observed with custodial sentences. It is estimated that society would have saved almost £1 billion had those drug using offenders sentenced to 12 months or less in 2007 instead been given residential drug treatment.

There are a number of important caveats to the above conclusion. First, despite efforts to focus the analysis on UK-based studies, much of the data on the relative effectiveness of sentencing options was taken from US-based studies. Furthermore, there is evidence that the effect data identified in the literature is subject to publication bias which would tend to favour non-custodial sentences.

Second, it was necessary to make a number of simplifying assumptions when constructing the economic model. For instance, the model employs post-release reconviction rates for average offenders to construct the baseline offending rate—the offending rate associated with standard prison sentences. However, it is likely that the decision to employ sentencing options other than prison will apply to offenders with a lower than average likelihood of re-offending. The model also assumes a zero decay rate in the effect of the sentencing options. That is, it is assumed that any reduction in offending with, for instance, drug treatment compared with standard prison identified in the short term by effectiveness studies will be maintained for the lifetime of the offender. This assumption will obviously overestimate the effect of the alternatives to standard prison sentences. The analysis suggests that the conclusions are not very sensitive to estimates of intervention effect, baseline re-offending rate and decay rate impact. This provides some reassurance regarding the validity of the conclusions despite the above caveats. However, it is important to acknowledge these caveats, and any further work in this area should seek to address them.

Third, the analysis focuses on the incapacitation and rehabilitation effects of sentencing options. That is, a number of benefits associated with criminal justice interventions are not included in the analysis, namely the deterrent effect and the ‘retribution value’ of different sentence options. There is little evidence in the literature on the relative size of these effects for different sentence options (Marsh et al, 2009). Further research is required to determine whether custody produces these benefits to a greater or lesser extent than community sentences, and whether these effects mean that custody can be considered an efficient use of public resources.

Fourth, the estimates of the effectiveness and efficiency of alternative sentences do not apply to all offenders in custody. However, there is limited evidence on how the effect estimates identified in the literature apply to the current cohort of offenders in custody in the UK. The effect studies themselves provide limited detail on the nature of the offenders studied. Furthermore, the current sentencing guidelines and the data on the characteristics of the custodial population provide limited evidence on which offenders the effect data could be applied.

The paper uses estimates of the proportion of offenders reporting the use of opiates on arrest to estimate the proportion of the custodial population who offend as a result of their drug use, and who could thus benefit from drug treatment programmes. However, the relationship between offending and drug use is far from clear. That is, while drug treatment is likely to reduce re-offending to the extent that offending is caused by drug use, those offenders who use opiates do not necessarily offend because of their opiate use.

Stevens et al (2005:1) review the literature on the relationship between drug use and crime and conclude that “many current claims on drug-related crime overstate the amount of crime that is caused by drug use and the precision of our knowledge of this link”. Specifically, the causal relationship between drug use and crime is not clear. While the need to raise funds to support a drug habit may in some circumstances be the cause of crime, it is also possible that the causal relationship may run in the opposite direction, or that both crime and drug use are the manifestation of socio-economic deprivation. Thus, those offenders who use opiates do not necessarily offend because of their opiate use. Their opiate use and offending may have a more complex relationship. Further research is required to understand how the results of studies of the effect of alternative sentences could be applied to the UK custodial population.

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About Make Justice Work

Make Justice Work is a dynamic, major new campaign aimed at changing public opinion towards short-term sentencing and ultimately government policy on the issue. Make Justice Work is not about being liberal or lenient; it is about calling for robust alternatives to custody, for less serious offences, which are proven to be more effective at reducing criminal behaviour, increasing public safety and offering much better value for money. In other words, it is about calling for a penal and criminal justice system that works.

The campaign is supported by over 100 ambassadors who have signed-up and acknowledged the campaign. They are listed below.

Alex Proud, Founder and CEO, Proud Galleries
Amir Khan, Boxer
Andrew Coyle, Professor of Prison Studies, School of Law, King's College London
Andrew Phillips, Solicitor
Andy Keen-Downs, CEO, Prison Advice and Care Trust
Angela Camber, JP Chair, The Griffins Society
Annabel Harris, Former Executive Director, Reprieve
Ashley Walters, Actor and musician
Baroness Neuberger, House of Lords
Baroness Linklater, Esmee Fairbairn Foundation
Baroness Anne Gibson, House of Lords
Barry Loveday, Criminologist, Institute of Criminal Justice Studies
Basia Spalek, Criminologist Birmingham University
Benjamin Zephaniah, Poet
Bob Turney, Writer and probation officer
Carol Hedderman, Professor of Criminology, University of Leicester
Cathy Eastburn, Founder and Director, Good Vibrations
Charles Fraser, Chief Executive, St Mungo's
Claudia Webbe, Vice chair, Trident Independent Advisory Group
Clive Hopwood, Director, Writers in Prison Network
Danny Kushlick, Founder and Head of Policy, Transform Drug Policy Foundation
David Ahern, Chief Executive Officer, Shannon Trust
David Downes, LSE
David Howarth MP, Liberal Democrat Shadow Solicitor General
Debbie Scott CEO, Tomorrow's People
Deborah Cowley, Director, Action for Prisoners' Families
Dr Chris Fox, Principal Lecturer in Criminology, Manchester Metropolitan University
Dr David Scott, Criminologist, Department of Education and Social Sciences / Centre for Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Central Lancashire
Dr Laura Piacentini, Criminologist, Strathclyde University
Eilís Lawlor, Head of Valuing What Matters, New Economics Foundation
Fay Selvan, Chief Executive, The Big Life group
Frances Cairncross, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford University and former managing editor, the Economist
Gary Lashko, Chief Executive, Carr-Gomm
Geoff Mulgan, Director, Young Foundation
Gordon Roddick, Social activist and social entrepreneur

Henry Tinsley, Former chairman, Green & Blacks
Howard Williamson, Professor of European Youth Policy at the University of Glamorgan
Humfrey Malins MP, House of Commons
Ian Loader, Oxford University
James Scudamore, Novelist
Jessica Asato, Acting Director, Progress
John Austin MP, House of Commons
John Samuels QC, Chairman, Prisoners' Education Trust
John Leech MP, House of Commons
Jon Collins, Campaign Director, Criminal Justice Alliance
Jonathan Heawood, Director, English PEN
Jonathan Myerson, Novelist, playwright, screenwriter and magistrate
Joy Doal, Anawim Project
Joyce Moseley, Chief Executive, Catch22
Katherine Rake, Director, The Fawcett Society
Keith Palmer, Director, The Comedy School
Leslie Morphy, Chief Executive, Crisis
Linda Jack, Youth Advisor, FSA
Lord Dubs, House of Lords
Lord Ramsbotham, Former Chief Inspector of Prisons – 1995-2001
Lord Woolf, Former Lord Chief Justice – 2000-2005
Lord Hastings, House of Lords/KPMG
Lord Bingham of Cornhill, Former Lord Chief Justice
Lord Carlile of Berriew QC, Barrister
Lord Thomas of Gresford, Shadow Attorney General
Marion Janner Bright Place
Martha Lane Fox, Entrepreneur
Martin Barnes, Chief Executive, DrugScope
Michael May, Chief Executive, Blue Sky
Mick Ryan, University of Greenwich
Neil Wragg, Chief Executive, Youth at Risk
Pat Jones, Director, Prisoners' Education Trust
Paul Rock, Professor of Social Institutions, Department of Sociology
Peter Francis, Lecturer in Criminology
Peter Sandford, Writer and Chair, Lord Longford Trust
Peter Tatchell, Human rights campaigner
Peter Woolf, Forgiveness Project
Polly Toynbee Columnist, The Guardian
Professor Ben Bowling, Professor of Criminology & Criminal Justice
Professor David S. Wall, Criminologist, Centre for Criminal Justice Studies, University of Leeds
Professor Kevin Stenson, Criminologist, University of Kent
Professor Lawrence Sherman, Wolfson Professor of Criminology, University of Cambridge
Professor Rod Morgan, Former Head, Youth Justice Board
Rachel Billington, Author
Rev Nims Obunge, Chief Executive, The Peace Alliance
Revd Paul Cowley, Executive Director of Alpha for Prisons, Caring for Ex-Offenders and Alpha for Forces

Rob Owen, Director, St Giles Trust
Roger Graef, Film producer
Rowenna Davis, Journalist
Rupa Huq, Sociologist
Saul Hewish, Co-director of Rideout
Simon Fanshawe, Broadcaster, writer and comedian
Simon Hughes MP, House of Commons
Simon Woodroffe, Entrepreneur
Sir Charles Pollard, Chief Constable of Thames Valley Police 1991-2001
Sir Louis Blom-Cooper QC, Leading barrister and campaigner
Stephen Bubb CEO, ACEVO
Stephen Howard, Chief Executive, Business in the Community
Suzanne Sibillin, Director, Women In Prison
Tim Desmond, NCCL Galleries of Justice
Tim Robertson, Chief Executive, The Koestler Trust
Tim Smit, Co-Founder and Chief Executive, The Eden Project
Trevor Philpott, Co-Founder and Director, Life Change UK
Uanu Seshmi, Founder & Director, From Boyhood to Manhood Foundation
Will Higham, Public Affairs Manager, Intellect and former
Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, Columnist, Independent

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