



Sense of self and responsibility: a review of

learning from the Winston Churchill Memorial Trust Prison Reform Fellowships – Part V

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Key points

- This report is the fifth in a series of five briefings which present learning from the Winston Churchill Memorial Trust (WCMT) Prison Reform Fellowships.
- Like the preceding four briefings, this one is concerned with the broad theme of ‘connections’. Its particular focus is on interventions visited by the Churchill Fellows which *help offenders and those deemed at risk of offending and/or victimisation to feel a sense of connectedness to themselves and to their own actions. Thereby, these individuals are helped to develop a positive sense of self and a sense of responsibility for their own lives and towards others.*
- This topic of ‘sense of self and responsibility’ is a broad one, which encompasses a wide range of projects visited by the Churchill Fellows. These include projects concerned with:
 - the promotion of positive social identities
 - encouraging self-sufficiency in custodial settings
 - helping offenders to take responsibility for past actions and their consequences
 - helping offenders/ex-offenders to take responsibility for their future.
- Among projects with a focus on positive social identities are those which are seeking to improve personal resilience to violence (as a potential perpetrator or victim) by exploring gender and culture as the bases of identity. Fellows visited projects of these kinds in Sweden, Brazil, Australia and New Zealand.
- While imprisonment tends to deprive individuals of the scope to take responsibility for their day-to-day lives, several Churchill Fellows looked at initiatives which encourage self-sufficiency and personal responsibility among prisoners. In a Norwegian prison, for example, prisoners rear animals for meat, grow fruit and vegetables and chop wood for heating; while a Dutch prison is piloting a wing for life and other long sentenced prisoners in which they live as autonomously as possible, within the constraints of a medium-secure establishment.
- Restorative justice can be understood as a means by which offenders are helped to acknowledge and take responsibility for their past actions and for the harmful consequences of these actions for others, and indeed for themselves. Among restorative justice work examined by the Churchill Fellows was a prison-based project in South Africa, and interventions drawing on indigenous traditions in Canada and the United States.
- Research indicates that an offender’s growing interest in and hope for the future, and belief in his or her capacity to help shape that future, often play an important part in the process of ‘desistance’ from crime. The concept of ‘judicial rehabilitation’ in France, explored by one of the Churchill Fellows, is all about encouraging former offenders to redefine themselves and their own futures.

Introduction

This report is the last in a series of five briefings which present learning from the Winston Churchill Memorial Trust (WCMT) Prison Reform Fellowships. The Fellowships, arranged in partnership with the Prison Reform Trust and conducted from 2010 to 2015, explored ways in which other countries respond to crime and whether similar approaches can be adopted in the UK. The backdrop to the Fellowships was a recognition of the limitations of conventional criminal justice responses to crime which, in England and Wales, have led to an imprisonment rate that is the highest in Western Europe.¹ Prisons in England and Wales are overcrowded, with poor conditions greatly exacerbated by severe cuts to funding and staffing levels. Official figures reveal that the year 2016 saw record high numbers of deaths (including those that are self-inflicted), incidents of self-harm and assaults in prison.²

The overarching theme of the briefings on the Churchill Fellowships is ‘connections’. This reflects the fact that many of the Fellows visited interventions seeking to forge or nurture strong, positive connections between offenders and their families, peers and the services available to them, and between the services themselves. This briefing addresses the theme of connections from a somewhat different perspective: it discusses Fellows’ visits to interventions which, in various ways,

*help offenders and those deemed at risk of offending and/or victimisation to feel a sense of connectedness **to themselves** and **to their own actions** – and thereby to develop a positive sense of self and a sense of responsibility for their own lives and towards others.*

The topic of ‘sense of self and responsibility’, as defined above, is a broad one; and it encompasses a wide range of interventions visited by the Churchill Fellows. There are four sections to this briefing, which look in turn at interventions which promote:

- positive social identities
- self-sufficiency in custodial settings
- taking responsibility for past actions and their consequences
- taking responsibility for one’s future.

Positive social identities

Work to help young people to develop positive answers to questions such as ‘Who am I?’ and ‘Where do I belong?’ – answers that entail a resistance to or rejection of violence – was examined in some Fellows’ visits. For example, as part of a wider look at approaches to preventing youth violence, Stephanie Waddell³ visited projects in Sweden that sought to improve personal resilience through gender identities (see *Fellowship observations* 1 on page 4; see also the box on *Applying the learning* for an outline of Waddell’s work since her Fellowship on page 6). Gender – and particularly the scope for gender-sensitive

approaches to tackling youth offending – was also a focus of Carlene Firmin's Fellowship,⁴ which spanned Brazil, Australia and New Zealand. Firmin has noted that 'the most stark lesson' to emerge from her visits concerned

the importance of supporting young people to develop safe identities in communities to which they feel they belong, as a means of preventing violence. In supporting young people to understand their heritage, and that of their families and friends, practitioners enabled young people to develop an identity that was not informed by violence or a need to have control over others.

Not just gender but also cultural identities were central to some of the interventions visited by Firmin, who saw work in New Zealand aimed at helping those of Māori, Tongan and Samoan descent to understand their cultural history; and work with Aboriginal young people in Australia, which used resources drawing upon cultural points of reference, including symbols and imagery, to engage young people in anti-violence education. Firmin also visited violence prevention projects working with men in Brazil (see *Fellowship observations 2*).

Fellowship observations 1: Projects seeking to develop positive female identities in Sweden

The founding idea of the United Sisters project in Stockholm, which is for girls and young women aged between 12 and 20 and is delivered by a youth centre, is that stereotypes and assumptions should be challenged, to support the development of a healthy female identity. The focus of the project is on the strengths, aspirations and the potential of each individual rather than the problems she may be experiencing. Small group sessions are facilitated over the course of a year, for young people from varied backgrounds facing varied challenges. Facilitators create a nurturing environment in which girls feel able to leave their social 'identities' outside the room. Individual coaching following the same principles is provided to girls displaying more challenging behaviour. The project has proved popular with its participants and has begun to inform the development of similar projects for boys and young men.

In a similar vein, the *Machofabriken* ('Macho Factory') is a project developed through a collaboration between organisations working on gender issues and tackling violence against women. The project encourages young people to challenge oppressive social norms and ideas of masculinity. In the process of working with the *Machofabriken*, young people reflect on how ideas about gender and sexuality affect their lives and relationships; and interactive exercises encourage them to find new ways of thinking and acting in relation to others, themselves and society in general.

Stephanie Waddell visited Sweden in 2013.

Fellowship observations 2: Fight for Peace in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Mare is a favela in Rio which is home to approximately 132,000 people, and has been deeply affected by drugs, gangs, violence and other criminality over a number of years; its residents also experience social exclusion and poor access to public services. This is the backdrop against which Fight for Peace delivers its services to young people.

Fight for Peace engages young people in combat sports such as boxing and martial arts, embedding these activities within a wider programme that promotes personal development, education and youth leadership. In order to participate in the sporting activities, young people are required to complete this wider programme and it is in this setting that they are encouraged to discuss gender, sexuality and identity, while also being made aware of structural inequalities and ways of challenging these inequalities. By these means, and despite the highly challenging environment in which it is located, the project creates a sense of safety – which is otherwise lacking in the lives of so many of the young participants.

Visiting the project, Carlene Firmin was struck by the ‘calm and playfulness’ of the atmosphere. She observed a group discussion between three young men and one young woman about homophobia, sexism, violence against women and masculinity, and was ‘nearly moved ... to tears’ by the openness and clarity with which the young people spoke about these issues of fundamental importance.

Carlene Firmin visited Brazil in 2015.

Applying the learning: Work to support effect early intervention in England

Since her Churchill Fellowship, Stephanie Waddell has been working for the Early Intervention Foundation (EIF) as a senior advisor. EIF is a national charity and one of the government’s What Works Centres; its mission is to champion and support the use of effective early intervention for children with signals of risk.

In 2015, Waddell edited two EIF reports⁵ looking at the risk indicators for involvement in gangs and youth violence, and at the most effective interventions to help children and young people build their resilience to these influences. The reports concluded that the programmes with the strongest evidence of effectiveness were either family support programmes or strengths-based programmes aimed at developing children’s social and emotional skills (including sense of self and self-esteem).

Waddell is currently leading a project funded by the Battersea Power Station Foundation to consider how best to support primary school children who may be at increased risk of becoming involved in gangs and/or youth violence. This project aims to test new evidence-led approaches in two London boroughs, to generate lessons that will be applicable across London and nationally.

Self-sufficiency

It is no surprise that, in depriving individuals of their liberty, prisons also tend to deprive them of the scope to take responsibility for their day-to-day lives and for others. However, this is not an inevitable or intrinsic aspect of prison life. It has been argued, for example by former prison governor Stephen Pryor, that to assume that prisoners must necessarily be prevented from exercising responsibility is ‘to misunderstand the purpose of a prison sentence’; and that prisons should, in fact, ‘require responsible behaviour of the prisoners’ and thereby ‘do more than simply incapacitate’.⁶

Several Churchill Fellows looked at initiatives which aim to promote self-sufficiency and personal responsibility in custodial settings. Among them were Steve Urquhart,⁷ Sheena Leaf⁸ and Angela Allcock,⁹ all of whom visited prisons in Norway where the prison system as a whole is founded on the principle of ‘normalisation’: that is, the intention is to make the experience of life in prison as close to life in the community as possible. Urquhart and Leaf visited Bastøy prison, in which prisoners help to make the prison self-sufficient, for example by rearing animals for meat, growing fruit and vegetables and chopping wood for heating. Allcock observed the trusting and respectful manner in which prisoners in Halden prison were treated (see *Fellowship observations 3*).

David Martin¹⁰ visited a prison community in Canada within which prisoners are given responsibility. Kwikwèxwelhp Healing Village, which is a minimum-security establishment located on traditional Chehalis First Nation land in British Columbia, houses up to 50 prisoners. The prisoners, who live in small units, sign an agreement on entry to the institution to abide by its rules and are encouraged to have ownership of the standards and goals set. The community is organised around the teachings and traditions of Aboriginal peoples, and community elders have a significant input. In a very different context, a Dutch prison visited by Eleanor Butt¹¹ had introduced a pilot wing in which life and other long-term prisoners were encouraged to be as self-sufficient as possible (see *Fellowship observations 4*).

Fellowship observations 3: Responsible prisoners in Norway

In Halden prison in Norway, prisoners do not have to ‘earn’ trust, respect and privileges as in British prisons. They are treated as adults from the outset, and privileges are removed only if trust is breached. Allcock reports that the prisoners she observed on her visit to Halden appeared to be flourishing as a result, in an environment in which they evidently felt safe enough to display their emotions and to work with staff towards the goals of rehabilitation and recovery. Allcock describes prisoners’ participation in the prison cooking school:

On Fridays, [they] ... make a three-course dinner for the Number One Governor and other high ranking members of staff. Guards are also invited to be guests at this dinner on a rotational basis. This is expected to be a proper, fine dining experience with silver service and white linen. Soft drinks are served in wine glasses to mimic the experience of a high-end restaurant. The waiters and kitchen staff are all

prisoners. As I turned the corner I saw the chef and head waiter leaving the dining room at the end of the service, where they had been critiqued by the Governor and his colleagues. They remained calm for a second or two, then giddily began high-fiving, embracing, and excitedly congratulating one another. They saw me and quickly calmed down but could not hide the sense of pride they felt in the obvious praise they had just been given. For these few moments, these men did not feel like prisoners – they were valued and respected for the quality of their work and experienced how it felt to take control of one's life in a positive way.

Angela Allcock visited Norway in 2015.

Fellowship observations 4: An innovative approach to life prisoners in the Netherlands

In a Dutch prison, a pilot wing for life and other long sentenced prisoners allows them to live as autonomously and self-sufficiently as possible, within the constraints of a medium-secure establishment.

At the time of Eleanor Butt's visit to the prison, eight men had been selected by staff to reside on the wing; all were serving sentences of at least ten years, and two had life sentences. The wing was completely unstaffed, and was connected to the rest of the prison by a door with a call bell, which staff answered to let the residents on and off. On the wing itself, the men were largely left to their own devices. Seven of the eight worked in prison jobs, while the eighth was paid by the others to cook for the group and to look after the unit. The men were in the process of applying to train and care for a rescue dog, which was to come and live on the wing. One of the residents commented to Butt that being allowed to make day-to-day decisions and take responsibility for how he lived with others had led to a great improvement in his relationships with his family.

The prison governor told Butt that he had had to struggle for a long time to obtain official approval for the establishment of the wing; but that plans were now in place for similar schemes to be developed in other prisons in the Netherlands.

Eleanor Butt visited the Netherlands in 2015.

Taking responsibility for past actions and their consequences

Restorative justice initiatives in a range of countries and settings were examined by several Churchill Fellows. Restorative justice takes many different forms, but can be defined as an approach which

brings those harmed by crime or conflict and those responsible for the harm into communication, enabling everyone affected by a particular incident to play a part in repairing the harm and finding a positive way forward.¹²

Restorative justice can thus be understood as a means by which offenders are helped to acknowledge and take responsibility for their past actions and for the harmful consequences of these actions for others, and indeed for themselves. Across the UK over the past decade and more, there have been many initiatives aimed at promoting and supporting restorative justice, and national and international research has frequently highlighted the benefits of this approach in terms of the positive responses of both victims and offenders who participate in it - although hard evidence of impact on re-offending levels remains limited.¹³ However, notwithstanding the substantial policy interest in restorative justice, it is not yet established as mainstream practice in much of the UK,¹⁴ and provision continues to be fragmented and piecemeal. Jurisdictions in which restorative justice is more established may therefore have some valuable lessons to impart.

Among the Churchill Fellows who visited restorative justice schemes was Bonita Holland,¹⁵ who looked at how this approach was being applied to tackle challenging behaviour in schools in Australia. Two schools for children with learning disabilities in Melbourne, for example, have developed a 'whole school restorative approach', involving the use of restorative discussions and meetings of varying levels of formality. In contrast, restorative practices within the criminal justice system were explored by Sakira Suzia in South Africa (see *Fellowship observations 5*).¹⁶ Suzia also learnt about the use of restorative justice to tackle gang violence in Chicago, USA. She took part in a Restorative Justice Circle group in South Chicago, which has a high rate of gang and gun crime. The participants in the group were from many different backgrounds, and all were encouraged to tell their own stories about the 'journey [they] have taken to get to where they were, the struggles that they have gone through and are still going through'.

Fellow Marina Cantacuzino visited restorative interventions drawing on indigenous traditions in Canada and the United States (see *Fellowship observations 6*).¹⁷ Also in Canada, she visited a project working with sex offenders as part of the Circles of Support and Accountability (CoSA) programme. This programme, which originated in Canada 20 years ago, involves the creation of caring 'circles' of volunteers for high-risk sex offenders after release from prison. The work is restorative in that it holds people who have offended accountable for the harms they have caused and on this basis seeks to builds peace within communities. The director of the service told Cantacuzino that the emphasis is on valuing each person as a human being:

We walk with these very high risk, high need people to create lives which they themselves want. They know we know what they've done and are amazed we'll shake their hands and treat them as human beings.

Cantacuzino's Fellowship has encouraged her to develop 'restorative circles' work through the London-based Forgiveness Project - see box on *Applying the learning on page 10*.

Fellowship observations 5: Restorative work with prisoners in South Africa

Fellow Sakira Suzia describes attending a Christian restorative justice service in Voorberg prison, in South Africa. The session, which was run by six volunteers and a priest, began with a prisoner singing and another reading from the Bible. The priest explained the ways in which restorative justice can address crime – including, for example, by helping the offender to restore the ‘self’ or to build or restore the offender’s relationships with others, including the victim.

The prisoners were asked to consider and address the following questions with each other:

1. Did you hide your crime?
2. How did the denial of your crime lead to more crime?
3. How did your actions hurt others, your family, your victims and your community?
4. Before today did you fully realise the consequence of your crime?
5. How has your crime affected you?

One of the prisoners participating in the session spoke of having nightmares about the harm he had caused to others as an armed robber. He recognised that while he had not intended to harm people, his actions had caused hurt and pain, and the victims were still scarred. Among the victims was an elderly, frail man who, in one of the robberies, had been tied up and had a gun pointed to his head. The image of this old man now haunted the prisoner.

Suzia reports that the restorative justice session ‘helped the prisoners to look inside themselves and rediscover who they really were’. For some of them, the hardest task was to forgive themselves and feel at peace, which they had to do before they could start to make amends. Suzia also reflects on how she herself was impacted by observing the session: while at first she had felt fearful of the prisoners, she came to see them as ‘simply human beings who were doing their best to restore themselves’.

Sakira Suzia visited South Africa in 2014.

Fellowship observations 6: Restorative practices drawing on indigenous traditions in the US and Canada

As Fellow Marina Cantacuzino reports, the indigenous people of Hawaii live in ‘one of the most isolated places in the world’ and therefore have had little opportunity to escape each other; in this setting, it is unsurprising that they ‘have a rich history in learning to heal relationships’. Ho’oponopono is a traditional form of justice through which ‘relationships are set right and hurt feelings alleviated through prayer, discussion, confession, repentance, and mutual restitution and forgiveness’. This approach shapes

much of the existing restorative work undertaken in Hawaii. The Ho'oponopono spirit imbues much of the conflict resolution and restorative practices currently being delivered in Hawaii.

Among specific restorative initiatives in Hawaii are Huikahi Reentry Circles. These entail voluntary, facilitated meetings between prisoners, their loved ones, and representatives of the prison service, for purposes of planning for the transition to life outside prison. The prisoner is invited to lead the process, and is expected to acknowledge the harm caused to loved ones, and to determine goals, identify strengths, and consider how to prepare for life in the community. Victims, unless they are family members, do not participate, but the process does involve looking at how offenders can help to address victims' and the wider community's needs. Aboriginal concepts, such as that of 'healing justice', have also informed restorative work in Canada. Healing justice has been described as an approach which seeks to uncover and address the causes and conditions which give rise to harmful behaviour. As such,

it does not try to create good people by telling them that they are bad... Rather ... [it] moves to understand how it is that families, villages, and countries raise people who harm others. It seeks to transform the whole collective — its memory, its structures, its relationships, and its patterns of behaviour... Healing justice is rooted in a justice that respects the sacredness of each person and believes that all can heal.¹⁸

Marina Cantacuzino visited the US and Canada in 2013.

Applying the learning: Restorative Circles in the UK

Fellow Marina Cantacuzino founded the Forgiveness Project in 2004, which uses victims' and perpetrators' real stories to explore concepts of forgiveness, and to encourage people to consider alternatives to resentment, retaliation and revenge.

She has been inspired by her 2013 Fellowship to initiate 'restorative circles' as part of the work of the Forgiveness Project. One such circle involved parishioners and clergy, and aimed to address shame in the community after incidents of historical child abuse had come to light. (The participants in the circle did not include direct victims or perpetrators of the abuse.) She has also run a restorative circle for people dealing with unresolved issues of a range of kinds, which she described as an opportunity to 'explore how we can shift perceptions and perspectives whether from revenge to empathy, or hopelessness to making meaning'. The circle sought 'to reach across boundaries, because forgiveness and reconciliation have to do the same'.

Taking responsibility for future actions

Much of the research which has looked at the factors promoting ‘desistance’ from offending emphasises the subjective dimensions of this process. It is argued that offenders desist from offending not simply because of change to the objective conditions within which they live and the opportunities that are and are not available to them. The existing research demonstrates that positive transformations in how individuals perceive themselves, and in how they relate to people around them and to wider society, play an enormous part in the desistance process. Critically, these kinds of subjective changes are also associated with a greater interest in and hope for the future, and a belief in one’s own capacity to help shape that future – that is, a sense of having ‘agency’ rather than being a passive recipient of one’s fate.¹⁹

Identity change, and its various constituent parts, is highly intangible, as are many of the factors which might promote the desired change. For the most part, criminal justice interventions do not focus solely or explicitly on identity change as a goal. However, there are many interventions – including those which have already been discussed in this report – which, at least in part, support or directly encourage reflection and personal development. A community-based programme for domestic violence perpetrators in Minnesota was among projects visited by Churchill Fellows which seek to elicit a commitment to change on the part of offenders. This project was observed by Rebecca Rogerson, who found that successful engagement with it requires motivation and a ‘personal investment’ – including in a financial sense, since participants were required to pay fees.²⁰ A very different approach to achieving similar goals of personal transformation and a sense of a stake in the future is adopted by the Prison Entrepreneurship Program in Texas, visited by Sheena Leaf.²¹ By way of training and skills development, and the provision of support both inside prison and after release, this rehabilitation programme seeks the ‘translation of previous illegitimate entrepreneurial activity into legitimate entrepreneurship’.

The concept of ‘judicial rehabilitation’ in France, examined by Christopher Stacey, is all about encouraging former offenders to redefine themselves and their own futures.²² This, Stacey argues, ‘could be regarded as a “rehabilitation ritual” which recognises full desistance’ (see *Fellowship observations 7*). Some of the ways in which Stacey’s Fellowship has influenced his work since returning to the UK are described in the box on Applying the learning.

Fellowship observations 7: Judicial rehabilitation in France

An offender who is granted judicial rehabilitation in France has their criminal record completely deleted, so that it is as if it never existed. Judicial rehabilitation can be applied to all types of offence and all types of sentence. For those who have offended multiple times, it does not concern a single conviction, but all of them. Indeed, as Fellow Christopher Stacey reports, it ‘concerns their entire life’. It is, moreover, not simply a matter of ceasing offending; the individual is expected to have become, effectively, a ‘near perfect citizen’.

Individuals can put themselves forward for judicial rehabilitation after a specified period of time since their last conviction. The application is made to the district prosecutor, who – following consultation – submits the case to a court which is part of the Court of Appeal. The case is considered by way of an adversarial debate, at which the applicant can present the case themselves or with legal assistance. The police and a separate investigation are also part of the process. The applicant must have paid all compensation and fines, and must acknowledge and take responsibility for the offence and conviction. However, the main consideration for the court is what the applicant has done since the end of the sentence: the formal requirement is that they should have ‘behaved irreproachably’. Engagement in employment, or at least active involvement in training or the search for employment, tends to be a key factor.

The court will then decide either to reject the application, determine that it is premature, or grant judicial rehabilitation. Where it is granted, a ‘rehabilitation certificate’ is provided. Stacey argues that it is appropriate that it is a court which has the power to grant judicial rehabilitation:

After all, only courts have the ability to deliver the lifelong stigma that is attached to a criminal conviction, and so it's perhaps right that only courts have the ability to remove that label. This process acts to restore the person's reputation as ultimately good.

He also notes that only a very small number of individuals have benefitted from the process – a total of just 67 individuals were granted full judicial rehabilitation from 2012 to 1 November 2014 – pointing to the stringency of the assessment.

Christopher Stacey visited France in 2014.

Applying the learning: Working for policy change on disclosure of criminal records

In his Fellowship, Christopher Stacey explored approaches to the disclosure of criminal records in France, Spain and Sweden. Stacey has since taken forward the findings of the Fellowship and fully embedded them into the project, policy and campaign work of Unlock – the charity for people with convictions, of which Stacey is co-director.

For example, he has been working at a policy level to push for changes to the disclosure of old and minor criminal records, and in how criminal records are used more generally. He has supported employers to ‘ban the box’ about criminal records from application forms. In response to the UK government’s reluctance to improve the rules around the disclosure of old and minor records, he supported a legal challenge which was successful in the High Court in January 2016. (The judgement in a government appeal against the High Court ruling is currently awaited.)

Stacey has particularly used the information gathered from other countries to inform policy discussions in the UK; for example, his Fellowship research was used as a foundation for work carried out by the Standing Committee for Youth Justice and led to comparative research focused on childhood criminal records. He also presented the findings of his Fellowship to a symposium held by the Law Commission in February 2017 on the disclosure of old and minor records, which has informed active policy development in this area.

Looking ahead

As with the previous reports in this series, we hope that the initiatives discussed in this one will help to stimulate new ideas and innovative practice within criminal justice in the UK. At a time of rapid change to the policy landscape, there are undoubtedly many opportunities to adapt and apply the learning from abroad to the UK context. This report only touches on certain specific aspects of the Fellowships covered here, and we would urge readers to read the full reports listed in the Appendix for more information, or to contact the Winston Churchill Memorial Trust, the Prison Reform Trust or the Institute for Criminal Policy Research for more details.

Winston Churchill Memorial Trust <http://www.wcmt.org.uk/>

Prison Reform Trust <http://www.prisonreformtrust.org.uk/>

Institute for Criminal Policy Research <http://www.icpr.org.uk/>

Endnotes

¹ According to the Institute for Criminal Policy Research World Prison Brief database, the current prison population rate stands at 146 per 100,000 of the national population (http://prisonstudies.org/highest-to-lowest/prison_population_rate?field_region_taxonomy_tid=14, accessed 24 March 2016).

² Ministry of Justice (2017) *Safety in Custody Statistics Bulletin, England and Wales: Deaths in prison custody to December 2016, Assaults and Self-Harm to September 2016*, London: Ministry of Justice, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/586364/safety-in-custody-quarterly-bulletin.pdf

³ Waddell

http://www.wcmt.org.uk/sites/default/files/migrated-reports/1195_1.pdf

⁴ Firmin

<http://www.wcmt.org.uk/sites/default/files/report-documents/Firmin%20C%20Report%202014%20Final.pdf>

⁵ Preventing Gang and Youth Violence: Spotting Signals of Risk and Supporting Children and Young People, <http://www.eif.org.uk/publication/preventing-gang-and-youth-violence/>; Preventing Gang and Youth Violence – Advice for Commissioning Mentoring Programmes, <http://www.eif.org.uk/publication/preventing-gang-involvement-and-youth-violence-advice-for-commissioning-mentoring-programmes/>.

⁶ Pryor, S. (2001) *The responsible prisoner: An exploration of the extent to which imprisonment removes responsibility unnecessarily*, Home Office.

⁷ Urquart

http://www.wcmt.org.uk/sites/default/files/migrated-reports/1188_1.pdf

⁸ Leaf

<http://www.wcmt.org.uk/sites/default/files/report-documents/Leaf%20S%20Report%202015%20FINAL.pdf>

⁹ Allcock

<http://www.wcmt.org.uk/sites/default/files/report-documents/Allcock%20A%20Report%202015%20FINAL.pdf>

¹⁰ Martin

http://www.wcmt.org.uk/sites/default/files/migrated-reports/907_1.pdf

¹¹ Butt

http://www.wcmt.org.uk/sites/default/files/report-documents/Butt%20E%20Report%202015%20Final_0.pdf

¹² Restorative Justice Council (England and Wales)

<https://www.restorativejustice.org.uk/what-restorative-justice>

¹³ For example, for overviews of the existing research literature on the impact of restorative justice, see Latimer, J., Dowden, C. and Muise, D. (2005) 'The effectiveness of restorative justice practices: A meta-analysis', *The Prison Journal*, 85 (2); Sherman, L.W. and Strang, H. (2007) *Restorative justice: the evidence*, London: The Smith Institute; Sherman, L.W., Strang, H., Mayo-Wilson, E. et al. (2015) 'Are restorative justice conferences effective in reducing repeat offending? Findings from a Campbell Systematic Review', *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 31.

¹⁴ One exception to this is the integration of restorative conferencing within the youth justice system of Northern Ireland (<https://www.nidirect.gov.uk/articles/youth-justice>).

¹⁵ Holland
http://www.wcmt.org.uk/sites/default/files/migrated-reports/1035_1.pdf

¹⁶ Suzia
<http://www.wcmt.org.uk/sites/default/files/report-documents/Suzia%20Report%202014%20Final.pdf>

¹⁷ Cantacuzino
http://www.wcmt.org.uk/sites/default/files/migrated-reports/1199_1.pdf

¹⁸ Dr Jarem Sawatsky, Co-director of Canadian School of Peacebuilding at Mennonite University, cited by Cantacuzino.

¹⁹ For short overviews of desistance research and its relevance to policy and practice, see McNeill, F., Farrall, S., Lightowler, C. and Maruna, S. (2012) *How and why people stop offending: Discovering desistance*, Institute for Research and Innovation in Social Services (IRISS), Glasgow; McNeill, F. and Weaver, B. (2010) *Changing Lives? Desistance Research and Offender Management*, The Scottish Centre for Crime & Justice Research; Clinks (2013) *Introducing Desistance: A guide for voluntary, community and social enterprise (VSCSE) sector organisations*, Clinks 'Do it Justice' report.

²⁰ Rogerson
http://www.wcmt.org.uk/sites/default/files/migrated-reports/887_1.pdf

²¹ Leaf
<http://www.wcmt.org.uk/sites/default/files/report-documents/Leaf%20S%20Report%202015%20FINAL.pdf>

²² Stacey
<http://www.wcmt.org.uk/sites/default/files/report-documents/Stacey%20C%20Report%202014%20Final.pdf>

Appendix

The following is a list of the 12 participating Fellows who contributed to this report, with a link to each online profile on the WCMT website. The profile includes the option to download the full report where available.

Angela Allcock

Developing a trauma informed approach to rehabilitative group work in prisons in Norway and the USA, 2015
<http://www.wcmt.org.uk/users/angelaallcock2015>

Eleanor Butt

Treatment and conditions for prisoners with very long sentences in Canada, Netherlands and Portugal, 2015
<http://www.wcmt.org.uk/users/eleanorbutt2015>

Marina Cantacuzino

Learning from other restorative justice programmes in custodial settings in Canada and the USA, 2013
<http://www.wcmt.org.uk/users/marinacantacuzino2013>

Carlene Firmin

Exploring the impact of gender-sensitive approaches to youth offending in Australia, Brazil and New Zealand, 2014
<http://www.wcmt.org.uk/users/carlenefirmin2014>

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