

Prisons Research Centre
Institute of Criminology
University of Cambridge

Annual Report

October 2017



PRISONS RESEARCH CENTRE ANNUAL REPORT 2017

The Cambridge Institute of Criminology Prisons Research Centre (PRC) was established under the Directorship of Alison Liebling in 2000, with a modest budget. It is now well established and attracts funding from NOMS, several research councils (for example, the Economic and Social Research Council, the European Research Council, the British Academy, The Leverhulme Trust and the Nuffield Foundation) and from other organisations. Its members include Professor Alison Liebling, Dr Ben Crewe (Deputy Director), and nine Research Associates: Dr Ruth Armstrong, Dr Katherine Auty, Dr Susie Hulley, Dr Gary Pritchard, Bethany Schmidt, Dr Kristian Mjåland, Dr Anna Schliehe, Dr Julie Laursen and Alice Ievens. There are also currently ten PhD students conducting individual research projects, often linked to other research going on in the Centre. We are delighted to welcome Sarah Rosella as the new Centre Administrator, from May 2017 and also Claire Bonner the Comparative Penology Research Administrator from August 2017. Associate Members include Helen Arnold (a past Research Associate), Dr Adrian Grounds, Dr Joel Harvey (a former PhD student and Research Associate), Dr Amy Ludlow, Dr John Rynne, and Dr Charles Elliott. The centre hosts Visiting Scholars from time to time (this year we are pleased to have Dr Moche Bensimon from Bar-Ilan University, Israel with us). Centre members are provided with intellectual support by Professor Sir Anthony Bottoms, and other colleagues in the department and elsewhere.

The Prisons Research Centre aims to provide a stimulating research environment in which a coherent strategy of high quality research can be pursued, and integration between funded and non-funded, and applied and theoretical projects can be facilitated. We investigate how prisons operate, socially, morally and

operationally, how they are experienced, and the relationship between these moral and social qualities, and their effects. Members of the PRC team carry out, individually and collectively, methodologically rigorous and theoretically relevant field-based studies addressing problems of human and social values, punishment practices, and the organisation and effects of aspects of prison life. We strive to forge links with other prisons researchers, scholars in the broader fields of criminology and sociology, and with practitioners. Our vision is to develop a rigorous and person-centred model of social inquiry.

This Report provides summaries of on-going projects, including PhD theses, as well as a summary of new and recently funded research. The Annual Research conference takes place on October 19th-20th 2017. This year, after last year's very successful and stimulating meeting, we are again discussing 'values, methods and quality in prisons research: developing deep structures of practice'. It will be attended by a range of academics from the UK and overseas, as well as a number of engaged practitioners.

Activities

Alison Liebling, Helen Arnold and Serena Wright were keynote speakers at the second **Prison Officer Summer Symposium** in Oxford in August 2017, organised by The Butler Trust. This was a follow up to the event held in Cambridge in 2016, with several of the participants at this event acting as facilitators. Last year's event led, among other things, to changes in POELT training, the introduction of mentoring for new staff, and a review of training and development for existing staff. This year's event brought together 117 officers, with over 1150 years of experience between them, representing over 95% of the custodial estate in England and Wales, to build on last year's pioneering event. The feedback was, like last year, extremely positive: "It's good to know that some people care so much about prison officers and understand the complex work." "It gave me

an overall 'boost' about my role and reminded me how important the work that we do is."

Senior figures from both HMPPS and the MoJ were present throughout to hear what officers had to say and to ensure that their recommendations and observations were fed back at the appropriate level. See <http://www.butlertrust.org.uk/prison-officer-summer-symposium-2017/>.

Alison also visited three prisons as a guest and gave a keynote lecture at a conference in Hong Kong in July 2017 to celebrate the 35th anniversary of a change of name from the Prisons Department to the Correctional Services Department, to showcase the paradigm shift made in its correctional work and explore ways forward. See <http://www.csd.gov.hk/35anniversary/>

In October 2017 Alison gave a keynote lecture at an International Conference on "Prisons in Portugal and in Europe – history, culture and photography: Comparative Approaches ". See <http://www.prisonphotoproject.international>

During 2017, the Prisons Research Centre undertook MQPL+ exercises at HMP Hull, HMP Wakefield and HMP Peterborough (see below)

In July 2017, Professor Alison Liebling and Dr Ben Crewe presented papers at the newly formed high-security and long-term prisons governors' away day. The aim of the 2 day meeting was to reflect on the purpose of and possibilities for long-term imprisonment.

In September 2017, the Prisons Research Centre co-hosted a two-day workshop, organised by Professor Mark Halsey and Professor Andrew Goldsmith from Finders University, to mark the 60th anniversary of the publication of Gresham Sykes's *The Society of Captives*. In 2018, with Kate Gooch, Dr Ben Crewe is organising a major conference at the University of Leicester to mark Sykes's work.

In October 2017, Dr Amy Ludlow gave evidence to the prison officer pay review body on behalf of the PRC.

Professor Alison Liebling

Alison is working on a series of articles arising from the locating trust in high security prisons with Ruth Armstrong, Ryan Williams and Richard Bramwell (see for example Liebling and Williams in the *British Journal of Sociology*, 2017 below). She is also working with an international team on an evaluation of Norgerhaven prison in the Netherlands (see below) and on the meaning and relevance of the Shotts and Barlinnie Special Units for difficult prisoners based on her empirical study with Richard Sparks and Keith Bottomley in the 1990s and subsequent developments in Scottish penal policy. She edited the new edition of the *Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, with Shadd Maruna and Lesley McAra (2017) and has given invited or plenary lectures in Oxford, Hong Kong, Porto and Cambridge (at the Forensic Psychiatry and International Prison Chaplaincy conferences). She gave evidence to the Justice Committee on Prison performance in January 2017 (18th Jan 2017, Prison reform: Governor empowerment and prison performance, available from Commons Select Committee www.parliament.uk).

Recent publications

Liebling, A. (2017) 'The Meaning of Ending Life in Prison', *Journal of Correctional Health Care* Vol. 23(1) 20-31

Liebling, A and Williams, R. (2017) 'The New Subversive Geranium: Some notes on the management of new troubles in maximum security prisons'. *The British Journal of Sociology*, DOI: 10.1111/1468-4446.12310

Liebling, A and Williams, R. (2017, in press) 'Faith provision, institutional power and meaning among Muslim prisoners in two English high security prisons', in Kerley, K. (ed.). *Religion in Prison*. Praeger.

Liebling, A. McNeill, F. and Schmidt B. (2017) 'Criminological Engagements', in A. Liebling, S. Maruna and L. McAra (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, Oxford: OUP

Auty, K., Cope, A. & **Liebling, A.** (2017) 'Psychoeducational programs to reduce prison violence: a systematic review'. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, DOI: 10.1016/j.avb.2017.01.018

Kougiali, Z., Einat, T., & **Liebling, A.** (2017). Rhizomatic affective spaces and the therapeutic potential of music in prison: a qualitative meta-synthesis. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 1-28. doi:10.1080/14780887.2017.1359710

Lloyd, C, Page, GW, **Liebling, A**, Grace, SE, Roberts, P, McKeganey, N, Russell, C & Kougiali, Z 2017, 'A short ride on the penal merry-go-round: relationships between prison officers and prisoners within UK Drug Recovery Wings'. *Prison Service Journal*, Vol 230, pp. 3-14.

Crewe, B. and **Liebling, A.** (2017) 'Reconfiguring penal power', in A. Liebling, S. Maruna and L. McAra (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, Oxford: OUP

Liebling, A. and Ludlow, A. (2016) 'Privatising public prisons: Penalty, law and practice', *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 0(0): 1–20

Liebling, A. and Kant, D. (2016) 'The Two Cultures: Correctional Officers and Key Differences in Institutional Climate', in J. Wooldredge and P. Smith (eds) *The Oxford Handbook on Prisons and Imprisonment*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dr Ben Crewe

Ben is in the process of completing the writing up his study of prisoners serving very long-sentences from an early age (to be published by *Palgrave* in 2018), with Susie Hulley and Serena Wright. He is also Principal Investigator of the ERC-funded study *Penal policymaking and the prisoner experience: a comparative analysis* (see below). During the last year, Ben has given invited or plenary talks at the University of Oxford, at the *Rethinking Prisons Research* conference at the

University of Leicester, and to the Finnish Criminal Sanctions agency. He continues to be series editor of the *Palgrave Series in Prisons and Penology*, with Professor Yvonne Jewkes and Professor Thomas Ugelvik. He is also a member of the Rehabilitative Culture Committee for Long-term prisons and the high-security prison estate.

Recent Publications

Crewe, B., Hulley, S. and Wright, S. (2017) 'The gendered pains of long-term imprisonment', *British Journal of Criminology*. 57(6), <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azw088>

Crewe, B. and Liebling, A. (2017) 'Reconfiguring penal power', in A. Liebling, S. Maruna, S. and L. McAra (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*. Oxford: OUP.

Crewe, B. and Laws, B. (2016) 'Subcultural adaptations to imprisonment', in J. Wooldredge and P. Smith (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Prisons and Imprisonment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crewe, B. and Liebling, A. (in press) 'Quality, professionalism, and the distribution of power in public and private sector prisons', in Hucklesby, A. and Lister, S. (eds) *The Private Sector and Criminal Justice*

Crewe, B. and Liebling, A. (under review) 'The role of the governor', National Offender Management Service analytic summary. www.gov.uk

Crewe, B., Hulley, S. and Wright, S. (in press) 'Long-term imprisonment from young adulthood', National Offender Management Service analytic summary. www.gov.uk

Morey, M. and **Crewe, B.** (in press) 'Work, intimacy and prisoner masculinities', in Maycock, M and Hunt, K (eds.) (2017) *New Perspectives on Prison Masculinities*. London: Palgrave Macmillan

Liebling, A. and **Crewe, B.** (2016) 'Why moral values matter', in van Eijk, R. and de Wit, T. (eds.) *For Justice and Mercy: International Reflections on Prison Chaplaincy*. Oiserwijk: Wolf Legal Publishers.

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A. RECENT AND ONGOING PROJECTS

Penal policymaking and the prisoner experience: a comparative analysis

Dr Ben Crewe, Dr Kristian Mjåland, Dr Julie Laursen, Dr Anna Schliehe, Alice Ievins

Funded by the European Research Council, this research programme (known as 'COMPEN') is a comparative analysis of policymaking and prisoner experiences in England & Wales and Norway. Its primary goal is to bring into relief the nature and experience of penalty in countries that are considered 'exclusionary' (or 'neo-liberal') and 'inclusionary' (or 'social-democratic') respectively in their social and penal practices. Specifically, a key objective of the research is to test empirically the assumptions of the 'Nordic exceptionalism thesis' i.e. the claim that penal practices in the Nordic countries are milder and more humane than those in other nations (see Pratt 2008a, 2008b).

Conceptually, the research draws upon a framework that has been developed to understand different aspects of the prison experience, formed around the ideas of the 'depth', 'weight', 'tightness' and 'breadth' of

imprisonment. This framework seeks to move beyond the kinds of metrics (such as imprisonment rates and material conditions) that have often been used as indicators of levels of punitiveness and penal harshness. The research also foregrounds the roles of shame, stigma and 'penal consciousness' – the prisoner's sense of what is being done to him or her through state punishment – in shaping attitudes and adaptations to imprisonment.

The project comprises four sub-studies, each of which is being conducted in both jurisdictions: an exploration of processes of entry into and exit from the prison system; ethnographic analyses of the exercise of and responses to penal power; a study of the experience of 'deep-end' custody; and an analysis of policy formation and the penal field.

The entry/exit sub-study involves interviews with prisoners at three separate stages – entry into prison, pre-release, and post-release, with the aim of capturing these key moments in prisoners' penal trajectories, in particular the transition from free citizen to prisoner to free citizen again. One aim is to compare processes of reception into and discharge from each prison system; another is to contrast experiences of imprisonment, concerns about release, and the kinds of disqualifications and disabilities that shape prisoners' lives post-release. This sub-study includes mainstream male prisoners, female prisoners and sex offenders, and has so far involved over 250 interviews, alongside the administration of surveys, in a number of prison establishments in the two jurisdictions, primarily HMP Pentonville, HMP Chelmsford and HMP Peterborough in England and Wales, and Bergen, Bjørgvin and Halden prisons in Norway. Among the emerging findings of the study so far are a clear contrast between the more individualised entry process in Norway and a more mechanised process in England and Wales, and the ambivalent experience of being in the 'prison queue' in Norway: existing in the shadow of the prison prior to the commencement of the sentence.

The ethnographic sub-study focuses on imprisoned sex offenders and female prisoners, that is, prisoner groups that were marginal in the 'golden era' of prison sociology and remain so in mainstream penological theorising. The aim is to conduct four-month ethnographies in both jurisdictions in prisons holding (a) women (for which fieldwork will begin in early 2018) and (b) sex offenders, for which fieldwork has almost been completed in HMP Littlehey (in England and Wales) and Bergen prison (in Norway). This sub-study is already exposing differences in the ways that 'risk-thinking' works upon sex offenders in the two prison systems. In Norway, the culture feels 'risk-aware' rather than 'risk-oriented', and the language of risk is considerably less prominent in everyday discourse than in England and Wales. The result is that there is considerably less anxiety and self-regulation among prisoners, allowing their interactions with each other and with prison staff to be much more natural. This *relational normality* represents an important and under-appreciated dimension of the broader objective of normalization in Norway's prison system.

The third sub-study looks at the treatment of prisoners in the most secure and restrictive corners of each system – in England and Wales, the Close Supervision Centres, and in Norway, a unit holding prisoners on preventative detention as well as interviews with prisoners held in long-term isolation. So far, interviews have been conducted with 30 of the 50 men held in such conditions in England and Wales. Initial findings from this study will be reported at a day symposium, with invited academics and practitioners, in January 2018.

The final sub-study will involve interviews with key players within the penal field in each jurisdiction.

Over the previous year, members of the team have presented findings at a number of conferences, including the 2016 Carceral Geography conference, the 2017 European

Society of Criminology conference, the 2017 American Geography conference, and a Norwegian conference on sex offender imprisonment. In February 2018, the team will host a two-day international conference on 'Comparative penology and Nordic Exceptionalism'.

The project website www.compen.crim.cam.ac.uk provides further information about the research programme, including a weekly blog.

Evaluation of Shared Reading Groups in Psychologically Informed Planned Environments.

Professor Alison Liebling, Dr Katherine Auty, Judith Gardom

Prof Alison Liebling (PI), Dr Katherine Auty, and Judith Gardom have been awarded funding by NHS England and HMPPS to undertake an 18 month evaluation of Shared Reading groups in Psychologically Informed Planned Environments (PIPEs).

PIPEs have been developed jointly by the NHS and HMPPS as part of the Offender Personality Disorder Pathway. They are designed to provide 'Enabling Environments', a relational response to working with offenders with varieties of Personality Disorder, who are thought to make up between 50% and 80% of the prison population. The PIPE programme has been in operation since 2012, and currently consists of 23 special units within existing prison and Approved Premises settings. The aim is to consolidate the benefits of more formal treatment, and to support prisoners and former prisoners through a pathway of change.

Shared Reading groups, run by The Reader Organisation, are offered weekly in all PIPEs. The Reader Organisation has developed a distinctive model which differs from other

reading groups in that literature is read aloud in the group session, rather than in advance. A wide range of participants are therefore able to share the literature, whether or not they are confident readers. Short stories, sections of novels, and poetry are chosen for their potential to open up the breadth and complexity of human experience, and made accessible to participants by a trained Leader, who elicits the discussion of individual and shared responses.

The starting point for the evaluation is a Theory of Change proposed by The Reader Organisation that models how the reading aloud of literature in a supportive environment enables the articulation and integration of profound thought and feeling, and therefore leads to changes that include increased well-being. Intermediate outcomes proposed by this model of change include increased social participation, self-worth, flexibility, agency, and hope, and a sense of connected life and identity. Demonstrating the effectiveness of Shared Reading to support these outcomes would allow connections to be made with the Good Lives Model of rehabilitation as well as the harm-reduction aims of PIPEs.

As well as investigating these outcomes, the evaluation will explore the possible process through which Shared Reading supports change. Existing research on Shared Reading suggests these processes include the sustained imaginative attention and sympathetic engagement with other views and worlds that literature demands. Participants become increasingly able to inhabit more than one position or perspective, to hold together complexity, and to develop greater emotional and mental flexibility. Specific and vivid autobiographical memories or moments of recognition that are stimulated by the literature can be 'held' by the group setting; new ways of processing mental pain can be discovered, allowing fragmented aspects of the self to become more integrated.

The research team will make use of existing measures including the IOMI (Intermediate Outcomes Measurement Instrument) which

was originally developed for measuring the outcomes of mentoring and arts interventions. The team will also be developing a new research tool to capture the multiple experiential processes of the Theory of Change, drawing on the PRC's expertise in 'ethnography-led measurement' within prisons. An interim report on the progress of the research will be produced during 2018, and a final report in 2019.

Friendship and serious violence among young people in the context of 'joint enterprise'

Dr Susie Hulley, Dr Tara Young (at the University of Kent) and Dr Gary Pritchard

History is peppered with concerns about serious violence involving groups of young people. The most recent 'contemporary' issue of youth 'gang' violence has generated government policy (e.g. the Ending Gangs and Youth Violence strategy), police operations (e.g. Trident) and what Williams and Clarke (2016) call a 'gang industry' – with economic activity being generated by the reconstruction of an age-old concern.

'Joint enterprise' is seen as a valuable *legal* 'tool' (House of Commons Select Committee 2012) in the 'all-out war' on gangs (David Cameron, quoted in The Independent 2011). Rather than being a law, as such (there is no such thing as 'joint enterprise law'), joint enterprise is a term that is applied variably to a complex set of principles that have developed through legal cases over many years. Consequently, '[t]here is a great deal of confusion about what is meant by 'joint enterprise' liability, which often results in those discussing this area speaking at cross-purposes.' (Virgo 2014: 2). The term is either interpreted broadly, to include three scenarios in which multiple parties can be convicted for the same offence, or narrowly, to refer to only one of these scenarios, the most controversial of which draws on the

principles of 'parasitic accessory liability' (PAL).

Until recently, PAL applied when two individuals, for example, participated together in an offence (crime A) and, in the course of this crime, one of them (the principal party) committed a second crime (crime B). In such circumstances, the second individual (the secondary party) could be prosecuted and punished for crime B, if they could have *foreseen* that it *might have* occurred (CPS 2012). In a recent judgement (*R v Jogee; R v Ruddock*, 2016), the Supreme Court effectively abolished PAL, arguing that the law had taken a 'wrong turn' in the application of secondary liability principles (in 1985) (CPS 2017).

Little is known about the way in which joint enterprise is applied in practice, as no official data is gathered and research in this area is limited. In a study by the Bureau of Investigative Journalism (2014), 'joint enterprise' was reported to be used in up to 44% of homicide prosecutions. However, as joint enterprise was defined broadly in this study, the extent to which PAL, for example, featured in such cases was unclear. In a detailed analysis of 61 CPS case files, representing 'multi-defendant prosecutions' for violent offences, two or more individuals were convicted of the principal offence in just over a third of cases (representing the broad definition of joint enterprise), while PAL 'appeared to be a dimension' in only 5% of cases (Jacobson et al 2016: 25).

Previous studies indicate that joint enterprise disproportionately impacts on Black and minority ethnic (BAME) men (Crewe, Hulley and Wright, 2014; Williams and Clarke 2016). BAME men in one such study reported that criminal justice practitioner's invoked notions of the 'gang' during trial, which the authors argued was used as a 'prosecution strategy' to 'neatly demonstrate common purpose' (Williams and Clarke 2016: 17). More broadly, both BAME and white prisoners reported feelings of illegitimacy associated with their conviction and sentence, as both were perceived to be a disproportionate response

to their wrongdoing – that is, they did not correspond with their normative understanding of fairness (Hulley, Crewe and Wright, in progress). Our study aims to examine these issues in detail.

This ESRC funded, qualitative study has four primary aims:

- a) to provide an analysis of young people's social relations and how these shape their involvement in serious group violence;
- b) to document young people's knowledge of the law (their 'legal consciousness') as it relates to serious violence generally, and joint enterprise specifically;
- c) to provide an analysis of criminal justice practitioners' interpretations of young people's social relations and the extent to which these affect practice, in relation to incidents of serious group violence involving young people; and
- d) to document criminal justice practitioners' understandings of the law of secondary liability and the impact of the recent changes in the law on practice.

The research will involve semi-structured interviews with four groups: young people in the community, not specifically identified as involved in group violence ('the college group'); young people in the community identified as having been involved in group violence or associated with group violence; individuals imprisoned for serious group violence when they were young, whose cases involved the doctrine of joint enterprise; and criminal justice practitioners (police officers and lawyers) involved in investigating, prosecuting and defending cases of serious group violence among young people. In addition, the visual methodology of 'photovoice' will be used to engage young people and criminal justice practitioners in dialogue regarding the key issues raised in the study.

The proposed study aims to provide a rare, theoretically informed and empirically grounded account of the impact that joint enterprise is having *on the ground* at a crucial time in its application. The study will speak to questions about the legitimacy of this

contentious and complicated legal doctrine, its potential to deter collective violence among young people and the impact of recent changes to the law on practice.

Can transnational prisons be legitimate? The case of Norderhaven prison

Professor Alison Liebling, Bethany Schmidt, Dr Berit Johnsen, Tore Rokkan, Ansofie Vanhouche, Professor Miranda Boone, Mika Kox, Professor Kristel Beyens

So how do they bring up their children? (Officer)

We don't allow DVDs in Dutch prisons. It is not appropriate. (Officer)

But we saw a prisoner on the yard who had a DVD - he showed it to us. (Researcher)

Yes. This is a Norwegian prison! (Dutch prison officer)

When I first heard about it, I thought it would never go through. It is so controversial. You don't export the use of force over another person to another country. ... We are not far apart ethically. But still, I didn't think it would happen. Then I thought, if we do, then I want to be part of it. Make sure we do it right. (Staff member)

I didn't think there would be such a big difference between us. These differences are huge. (Staff member)

Much to our surprise, the controversial Norderhaven project – a Norwegian prison located in the Netherlands and operated by Dutch prison staff and Norwegian prison management – has generated the most reflexive, 'deliberative' prison we have ever encountered. Many of the staff involved in the decision to 'contract out' penal services (a curious notion in itself, for a Nordic country) assumed that these two jurisdictions were basically alike in their penal values. Few, including its two Directors (one Norwegian and one Dutch), were prepared for the differences that arose once these values

became translated into practices. This small study, funded by the Norwegian Correctional Service and being led by Berit Johnsen of KRUS with an international team of researchers, has taken us to the heart of liberal penal power, as staff explore, and try to collaborate over, what fairness, privacy, professionalism, punishment and discipline mean in day-to-day practices. What is 'legitimate', in a prison that is neither 'Dutch' nor 'Norwegian'? What are the moral as well as operational challenges faced? What do we learn from two penal narratives, in conflict? How do prisoners, staff, or our research team, morally evaluate this unusual project? The project is an outstanding example of international cooperation. The prison's staff team has worked exceptionally hard to make a complex prison work well, and safely. The staff are experienced, and loyal. Paradoxically, the 'deep structures of penal practice' are being developed morally in a place of little obvious legitimacy. Our fieldwork, based on 'MQPL+' methodology involving observation, interviews and surveys, captures a unique shift from 'practical' or tacit to 'discursive' consciousness, as staff challenged or defended many accepted practices, from the use of authority, seclusion and disciplinary proceedings to the operation of visits and the organisation of 'spiritual care'.

Measuring the Quality of Prison Life exercises (MQPL+)

The Prisons Research Centre's work on prison moral climates has developed over 20 years and uses innovative methods combining deep qualitative exploration with quantitative measurement (a methodology we refer to as ethnography-led measurement). We draw in particular on Appreciative Inquiry: a creative exploration of 'what matters most' to participants, peak experience, and moral meaning in the measurement of the quality of prison life. The main outcome of these explorations has been the development of a 'moral climate survey' (MQPL: Measuring the

Quality of Prison Life), which is now widely used, both by the England & Wales Prison Service and by research teams internationally. This methodology (the survey, used together with observational and interview methods) has allowed us over a substantial number of research projects carried out between 2000-2017, mainly in England and Wales, to find significant relationships between aspects of prison quality and four key outcomes: (i) distress and suicide, (ii) order and disorder, (iii) personal development and reoffending, and (iv) 'political charge' or anger and alienation among prisoners (assumed to be relevant to the risk of extremism). The main explanations for variations in these outcomes derive from a set of prison quality dimensions that include fairness, respect, humanity, staff-prisoner relationships, bureaucratic legitimacy, safety, and good uses of authority by prison officers. In other words, the relational, cultural and political characteristics of prisons shape outcomes. The use of authority is central to prisons, and its form and quality varies between them. This idea is neglected in most narratives of punishment. The 'best' prisons combine legitimate use of punishment with interior moral qualities fusing relationships, or care with security, power and rules. This is complex and difficult work, and its accomplishment is rarely observed. Prisoners need stability, clarity, protection and support, decent treatment, including respect and recognition, and freedoms and opportunities to exercise the 'universal capacities constitutive of personhood'. This is 'good authority', understood carefully.

'MQPL+' attempts to combine the strengths of ethnographic with survey work in an efficient and intensive way, in individual prisons. 'MQPL+' exercises are in-depth, intensively-conducted, descriptive analyses of the social environment for staff and prisoners in a prison establishment, using the conceptually validated version of the Measuring the Quality of Prison Life (MQPL) and Staff Quality of Life (SQL) surveys,

alongside detailed observation, and sensitive, appreciative interviews with staff and prisoners. Each research exercise is conducted by a highly experienced team of at least six members of the research centre, who spend at least 70 person days conducting the work. Data analysis is carried out collaboratively, with data from many other prisons in mind, so that any cultural diagnosis of the prison is well informed and fully contextual, taking into account local conditions, and also the historical trajectory of the prison system. The empirical data and the written report provide senior managers with a thorough basis for understanding and improvement, and an assessment of effectiveness and progress. Each study is treated in a cumulative way, adding to our developing expertise in understanding and assessing prison quality and culture. In the last year, we have conducted MQPL+ exercises at HMP Hull, HMP Wakefield and HMP Peterborough prison (as well as Norgerhaven, a prison in the Netherland which is being used to hold Norwegian prisoners).

Establishment Governors or (private sector) Directors often request feedback meetings, as well as return visits. These exercises help us to understand and track how prisons change over time, the relationship between staff and prisoner quality of life, the relative strengths and weakness of public and private sector prisons, and the distinctive characteristics of (for example) high-security prisons and young offender institutions. An increasing number of requests have come to us from international jurisdictions wanting to use or adapt the MQPL survey (e.g. in Spain, Australia, Sweden, and Belgium). We try to support these requests where possible.

Analysis of the results is on-going (reports are written for and distributed to each establishment). In a chapter in the new Oxford Handbook of Criminology (2017), we draw on the findings from three of our recent 'MQPL +' research exercises in prisons to outline some of the changes that have taken place over recent years, which, we argue, have reconfigured penal

power in significant ways. While not necessarily representative (they were all prisons of some 'operational concern'), these establishments provide insights into some of the general changes in prison life in England and Wales. All three research exercises took place in 2015-16. The chapter reflects on these transitions, including the ways in which they are being manifested in staff-prisoner relationships, matters of penal order and legitimacy, and the everyday prisoner experience

Publications

Crewe, B. and Liebling, A. (2017) 'Reconfiguring penal power', in A. Liebling, S. Maruna, S. and L. McAra (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*. Oxford: OUP.

Learning Together

Dr Amy Ludlow and Dr Ruth Armstrong

In January 2015, Dr Amy Ludlow and Dr Ruth Armstrong obtained support from The University of Cambridge's Teaching and Learning Innovation Fund to pilot a new educational initiative through the Institute of Criminology called *Learning Together*. *Learning Together* brings together people in criminal justice and higher education institutions to study alongside each other in inclusive and transformative learning communities. *Learning Together* partnerships aim to provide progressive learning opportunities for people in criminal justice and higher education institutions to study degree level material together, and learn with and from each other through dialogue and the sharing of experience. Courses are academically rigorous and their design and delivery builds upon and (through evaluation) advances educational, sociological and criminological research and best practice. The goal of *Learning Together* is to act in theoretically informed ways to generate new

theoretical and empirical knowledge to inform best practice in the field.

Since 2015, *Learning Together* has attracted funding from the British Academy, ESRC, HEFCE and several philanthropic donors. The initiative has been covered in *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *Inside Time* and various University of Cambridge publications and was highlighted as an example of best practice by Dame Sally Coates in her 2016 review of prison education. Amy and Ruth have received a Butler Trust Award and awards from the Prisoner Learning Alliance and the University of Cambridge for public engagement with research for their work. Within the University, *Learning Together* has grown from criminology at HMP Grendon to encompass philosophy and theology and literary criticism courses, and a partnership with HMP Whitemoor. A new law *Learning Together* course is planned for 2017-18, with a proposal to run this in partnership with HMP Warren Hill, as well as a new creative writing course run by Jesus College, which will operate alongside the existing theology/philosophy course at HMP Whitemoor. There is growing interest from other Departments and Faculties across the University of Cambridge in hosting their own *Learning Together* courses, with a long term ambition to offer a full Cambridge degree to appropriately qualified students currently under criminal justice supervision.

Evaluation findings from the 2015 pilot criminology *Learning Together* course at HMP Grendon were published in the *Prison Service Journal* and yielded new insights into how learning communities can transform students' ideas about themselves, others, and their futures. Amy and Ruth have written two further academic articles, which are currently under review, about theory, reflexivity and localism in prison-university partnership-working, and about the 'productive discomfort' of inter-institutional working. Further writing is underway about findings from the 2016 and 2017 courses. This work includes comparative reflection across the three *Learning Together* courses that were run from Cambridge in 2017 across two prison

sites and analysis of new data that shows statistically significant increases in self-esteem, self-efficacy, social self-efficacy and perspective-taking among all *Learning Together* students. Inspired by participatory action research methods, Amy and Ruth are further developing their methods of evaluation in 2017-18 in ways that are co-produced with their students and that also advance technological development agendas within the prison estate. This work will enable more detailed, reliable and efficient data collection, in ways that will simultaneously develop prison-based learners' IT skills.

Under Amy and Ruth's leadership, *Learning Together* has grown beyond Cambridge into a network of over twenty universities and twenty prisons, guided by a common set of theory and value-led frameworks. Growth of the initiative means that between 500 and 600 students are expected to be involved in *Learning Together* across higher education and criminal justice institutions during 2017-18. Amy and Ruth have also collaborated with colleagues Dr Ingrid Obsuth and Dr Caroline Lanskey to develop a short course for higher education and criminal justice professionals, called 'Engage in Learning'. The course engages staff in appreciative, theoretically-led conversation to support people in their learning and was piloted in Spring 2017 at HMP Oakwood and through the University's Centre for Teaching and Learning.

In 2016, Amy and Ruth visited Australia and held several events to bring together academics, criminal justice professionals, policy makers and people under criminal justice supervision, to share their work on *Learning Together* and learn about existing or potential similar partnership working within the Australian context. In June 2017, with funding from the ESRC Impact Acceleration scheme, they visited Mexico City and New York, holding similar workshop and discussion events in prisons and universities. In September 2017, Amy and Ruth travelled to Argentina and Uruguay on invitation from the Uruguayan Inspector of Prisons to support the development of educational partnership working. They hope to be successful in a

Newton grant application that will enable Dr Mary Nel from the University of Stellenbosch to collaborate with them and develop *Learning Together* over the next two years for a South African context. Amy and Ruth's mid-term plan is to harness the intellectual value of these international connections by producing a handbook on prison education (for publication by Palgrave) and then apply for an international comparative action research grant.

Publications

Armstrong, R. and Ludlow, A. (forthcoming, 2017). 'Prison-university partnerships and productive discomfort'

Ludlow, A., Armstrong, R. and Bartels, L. (forthcoming, 2017) 'Learning Together: theory, reflexivity and localism in prison and university partnerships', *Journal of Prison Education and Reentry*.

Reed, J., Evans, G., Price, E., Ludlow, A., Armstrong, R. and Maruna, S. 'Spending time on death row', in Toch, Acker and Bonventre (eds.) *Living on Death Row* (American Psychological Association Books, forthcoming, 2017).

Armstrong, R. and Ludlow, A., (2016) 'Educational partnerships between universities and prisons: how Learning Together can be individually, socially and institutionally transformative', *Prison Service Journal* 225: 9-17.

B. POST-DOCTORAL RESEARCHERS

Dr Ruth Armstrong is a Senior Research Associate at the Institute of Criminology and at St John's College Cambridge. Together with Dr Amy Ludlow she founded and directs the *Learning Together* initiative building partnerships between higher education and criminal justice institutions. Her British Academy post-doctoral fellowship is evaluating the experiences of students involved in *Learning Together*. The research design is longitudinal. It uses a co-produced mixed methods approach to quantitatively

and qualitatively understand and measure students' experiences of *Learning Together*, and will relate these experiences to students' life trajectories in the future. This year, together with a software developer, the course materials and evaluation will be delivered on an app designed for these purposes. This will make it possible for the evaluation to be expanded nationally and internationally as the initiative grows.

Prior to *Learning Together*, Ruth's PhD explored the realities of life after release from prison for 48 men in the USA. It was awarded the Nigel Walker prize in 2013. Ruth has published several articles and book chapters drawing on her thesis, including examining the role of trust in desistance from crime, the potential for faith based groups to support people post release, and the methodological and ethical challenges of undertaking ethnographic research with people released from prison. She has also produced two sets of short films to communicate the findings of her research more broadly. Her first two films ('Jogging with Jody' and 'Jogging with Jody – The Expert's View') highlight the role of trust in the desistance process through looking at the work of volunteer mentors with ex-prisoners. They premiered at the Cambridge Festival of Ideas in October, 2014 and are now freely available on the University of Cambridge YouTube website. This year she has produced three further films about the work of chaplaincy teams and faith communities supporting people through the gate. These films will form part of the Welcome Directory, a HMPPS led training course designed to equip faith communities to work alongside prison chaplains to welcome people leaving prison.

Publications

Evans, G. Price, E., Ludlow, A. **Armstrong, R.** and Maruna, S. with Reed, J.B. (forthcoming, 2017). 'Spending time on death row' in H. Toch, J. Acker and V. Bonventre (eds.) *Living on Death Row* American Psychological Association Books.

Armstrong, R. and Durnescu, I. (eds) (2017) *Parole and Beyond: International experiences of life after prison*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Armstrong, R. and Ludlow, A. (2016) 'Educational Partnerships Between Universities and Prisons: How Learning Together can be Individually, Socially and Institutionally Transformative' *Prison Service Journal*, 225: 9- 17

Halsey, M., **Armstrong, R.** and Wright, S. (2016) "'F*ck it!": Matza and the Mood of Fatalism in the Desistance Process', *British Journal of Criminology*, doi: 10.1093/bjc/azw041

Armstrong, R. and Maruna, S. (2016) 'Examining imprisonment through a social justice lens' in S. Farrall, B. Goldson, I. Loader, and A. Dockley (eds) *What is justice: reimagining penal policy*, London: Routledge.

Dr Katherine Auty joined the Prisons Research Centre as a Research Associate in 2012. She was previously a PhD student in Forensic Psychiatry at Barts and The London School of Medicine and Dentistry, Queen Mary, University of London. Using data from the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development, she examined the intergenerational transmission of psychopathy, personality disorders and criminal offending. Aspects of her PhD work were published in the *British Journal of Psychiatry* and the *British Journal of Criminology*. This year she has presented her work in this area at the Society for the Scientific Study of Psychopathy in Antwerp and the American Society of Criminology Conference in Philadelphia.

Katherine continues to work with the Measuring the Quality of Prison Life (MQPL) and Staff Quality of Life (SQL) survey data, producing quantitative analysis from the datasets, and participating in fieldwork exercises. Her work has also involved looking at measurement invariance across male and

female prisoner groups, to see if the MQPL captures the same quality of life dimensions in male and female prisoners. Katherine has also examined the relationship between the MQPL dimension mean scores and proven reoffending rates for every prison the MQPL survey is conducted in. She continues to work with the Prisoners' Education Trust (PET) as the Principal Investigator of a study of rehabilitative culture in eight prisons, which was supported by the National Offender Management Service (NOMS). Recently, additional funding was obtained to produce a psychometric evaluation of the survey tool that was developed in the previous phase of the project and this analysis will commence in September 2017.

Katherine (in collaboration with Alison Liebling and Aiden Cope) recently finished a systematic review of the effectiveness of programmes in prison to reduce violence. Twenty-one separate studies were identified, with considerable variations in program quality and evaluation methodology. The majority of programs adopted a cognitive behavioural or social learning approach. There was limited evidence for the efficacy of these programs, although highly-structured programs showed the most promise. Programs that aimed to integrate their treatment ethos into the institutional regime and target specific criminogenic risks also produced evidence of the effectiveness in reducing institutional violence.

Recently, Katherine was part of a team (with Alison Liebling and Judith Gardom) that successfully bid for a research project to evaluate the Shared Reading (formerly 'Get into Reading') project in six English prisons (see above).

Publications

Auty, K. M., Cope, A. & Liebling, A. (2017) 'A systematic review and meta-analysis of yoga and mindfulness meditation in prison: effects on psychological well-being and behavioural functioning', *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*. 61: 689-710. DOI: 10.1177/0306624x15602514

Auty, K., Cope, A. & Liebling, A. (2017) 'Psychoeducational programs to reduce prison violence: a systematic review', *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, DOI: 10.1016/j.avb.2017.01.018

Auty, K. M., Farrington, D. P. & Coid, J. W. (2017). 'The intergenerational transmission of criminal offending: exploring gender-specific mechanisms', *British Journal of Criminology*, 57(1), 215-237. DOI: 10.1093/bjc/azv115

Auty, K., (2017). 'The intergenerational transmission of psychopathy' in M. DeLisi, (ed) *Routledge International Handbook of Psychopathy and Crime*, New York: Routledge.

Auty, K., (2018) 'Mindfulness-based interventions in the criminal justice system', in H. Graham, F. McNeill, P. Raynor, F. Taxman, C. Trotter, & P. Ugwudike (eds) *The Routledge Companion to Rehabilitative Work in Criminal Justice*. London: Routledge.

Auty, K., (2018) 'Meditation in prison', in M. Farias, D. Brazier & M. Lalljee, (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Meditation*, Oxford: OUP.

Dr Julie Laursen is a Research Associate on the COMPEN research programme. She mainly works on two of the sub-studies (the entry/exit study and the ethnographies), and will also work on the deep-end study in Norway in due course. Julie earned her PhD in anthropology at Aalborg University, Denmark in 2016. Her PhD provided a critical examination of prison-based cognitive behavioural programmes through participant observation and interviews in three different Danish prisons. During her PhD, Julie was a Visiting Scholar at the Prisons Research Centre as well as at the University of Oslo and the University of California, Berkeley. Julie's work has been published in journals such as *Punishment & Society* and the *British Journal of Criminology* and she has an article coming out (with Ann-Karina Henriksen) in *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. Together with Anna Schliehe and Kristian Mjåland, Julie was appointed a College Research Associate at King's College as of October 2017.

Publications

Laursen, J & Henriksen, A.K. (accepted 2017) 'Itering violent repertoires: perspectives on violence in the prison-based cognitive-behavioural program Anger Management', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*.

Laursen, J & Brinkgaard, L (2017) "'Vi er ikke ude i, at I tænker kriminelle tanker": Kognitive Færdighedsprogrammer i Kriminalforsorgen'. I: *KRIM - 50 års kriminalpolitik - resultater og visioner*. Fjerritslev: Forlag 1.

Laursen, J & Laws, B (2017) 'Honour and respect in Danish Prisons – contesting "cognitive distortions" in Cognitive-Behavioural Programmes', *Punishment & Society* 19 (1): 74-95.

Laursen, J (2017) '(No) laughing allowed - humour and the limits of soft power in prison', *British Journal of Criminology*. DOI:10.1093/bjc/azw064

O. Pedersen,., Prieur, A & **J. Laursen** (2017) 'Det skulle være så evident ... Om brug af manualbaserede adfærdsprogrammer til børn og unge i danske institutioner', *Social Kritik* 29(150), s. 34-50.

Pedersen, O & **Laursen, J** (2016) "'Stop – ro på – tænk!' Normativitet og selvkontrol i statens arbejde med børn og indsatte. *Dansk Sociologi* 3-4.

A. Prieur, S. Qvotrup Jensen, **J. Laursen** & O. Pedersen (2016): "'Social Skills": Following a Travelling Concept from American Academic Discourse to Contemporary Danish Welfare Institution', *Minerva – A Review of Science, Learning and Policy* 54 (4): 423-443.

Laursen, J (forthcoming.) 'I just want to make a difference' – an exploration of the practices, constraints and possibilities of cognitive-behavioral program facilitators in Danish prisons', *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*.

Dr Amy Ludlow is a College Lecturer and Fellow at Gonville and Caius College and an Affiliated Lecturer at the Faculty of Law. In these capacities, she teaches EU, labour and

criminal law, though for the last eighteen months, Amy has been on leave from teaching having been successful in obtaining major ESRC funding for a research project on migration and social security, linked to the EU referendum and Brexit

(<http://www.eumigrantworker.law.cam.ac.uk/About>).

Alongside leading the increasingly international development, delivery and evaluation of *Learning Together* with Dr Ruth Armstrong, Amy has continued to develop her interest in prison competition/privatisation and its staffing and industrial relations impacts, alongside a broader interest in the ways that public service procurement can increase social value. Building on the ethnographic work that formed the basis of her monograph *Privatising Public Prisons*, Amy has published a chapter in the latest edition of *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology* on 'Marketising criminal justice' and she has co-authored an article with Alison Liebling on 'Privatising Public Prisons: Penalty, Law and Practice', which has been published in the *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*. Amy is currently scoping a new collaborative project with Gwen Robinson and Adam White to 'revisit' privatisation, exploring intersections between major privatisation projects across prisons, probation and policing.

With the support of Tony Bottoms, in 2016, Amy secured a *British Academy Rising Star Engagement Award*, 'Understanding prison life: new research frontiers'. Throughout 2016 and 2017, Amy has used this award to create a network of 20 early career researchers, all of whom are researching the internal aspects of prison life. The network has met twice, first in Cambridge and then in HMP Low Moss and Glasgow to explore the conceptualisation of prisons research, its aims and values, and methodological innovation and ethics. Discussions are currently underway with Hart about plans for an edited collection on the future of prisons research that will be produced by members of the group, led by Amy with her colleagues Ruth Armstrong and Bethany Schmidt.

Publications

Evans, G. Price, E., **Ludlow, A.** Armstrong, R. and Maruna, S. with J. B. Reed (forthcoming, 2017). 'Spending time on death row' in H. Toch, J. Acker and V. Bonventre (eds.) *Living on Death Row*, American Psychological Association Books.

Barnard, C. **Ludlow, A.** and Fraser-Butlin, S. (in press) 'Beyond employment tribunals: enforcement of employment rights by EU-8 migrant workers' *Industrial Law Journal*

Ludlow, A. (2017) 'Marketising criminal justice' in A. Liebling, S. Maruna and L. McAra (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Criminology* Oxford: OUP.

Liebling, A. and **Ludlow, A.** (2016) 'Privatising prisons: penalty, law and practice' *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, published online 28 September 2016: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0004865816671380>.

Liebling, A. and **Ludlow, A.** (2016) 'Suicide, distress and the quality of prison life' in Y. Jewkes, J. Bennett and B. Crewe (eds) *Handbook on Prisons* London: Routledge.

Ludlow, A. (2016) 'Social procurement: policy and practice' (2016) *European Labour Law Journal* 3, 479-497.

Barnard, C. and **Ludlow, A.** (2016) 'The free movement of services, migration and leaving the EU' (2016) 236 *National Institute Economic Review*, 23-30.

Armstrong, R. and **Ludlow, A.** (2016) 'Educational partnerships between universities and prisons: how Learning Together can be individually, socially and institutionally transformative', *Prison Service Journal* 225 9-17.

Barnard, C. and **Ludlow, A.** (2016) 'Enforcement of employment rights by EU-8 migrant workers in Employment Tribunals' *Industrial Law Journal* 45(1) 1-28.

Selected recent media / blogs

<http://www.cam.ac.uk/research/features/releasing-a-better-version-of-me-the-power-of-education-in-prison-to-change-lives>

<https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/nov/09/the-criminology-course-opening-the-door-to-education-for-prisoners>.

<http://www.butlertrust.org.uk/ruth-armstrong-amy-ludlow-hmp-grendon/>.

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/brexitdivisions/catherine-barnard-amy-ludlow/honeypot-britain-do-eu-nationals-come-to-uk-for-benefit>.

<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexitvote/2016/05/11/why-the-failure-to-enforce-eu-workers-employment-rights-matters/>.

<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2017/06/01/the-view-from-east-anglia-brexit-messages-to-theresa-may/>

Dr. Kristian Mjåland joined the Prisons Research Centre in 2016, and holds a Senior Research Associate post on the ERC-funded (COMPEN) project 'Penal policymaking and the prisoner experience: A comparative analysis'. Until March 2017, he also worked as a senior researcher at the Stein Rokkan Centre for Social Studies, since when he has taken up a position as Associate Professor at the University of Agder, Norway. Kristian's research interests are concerned with comparative penology, prison social life, offender rehabilitation, and drug use and drugs economies in and beyond prisons. He recently finished a research project on 'open drug scenes', based on long term ethnographic fieldwork in the open-air drug markets in the city of Bergen, Norway. Outputs from this research include a comprehensive report and the organisation of an international conference on the handling of open drug scenes in Nordic cities and beyond (May 2017). Together with his colleague Ingrid Lundeberg, Kristian continues to work on papers and a book manuscript based on this research. Together with Julie Laursen and Anna Schliehe, Kristian was appointed a College Research Associate at King's College as of October 2017.

Publications

Lundeberg, I.R & **Mjåland, K.** (2017): *Åpne russcener i Bergen etter stengningen av Nygårdsparken: En studie av strategi, tiltak og brukererfaringer.* [Open drug scenes in Bergen after the close-down of Nygårdsparken: A study of strategies, services and drug users' experiences]. Bergen Studies in Sociology No. 1/2017. Bergen: University of Bergen.

Lundeberg, I.R. & **Mjåland, K.** (in press): 'Between the repressive and the constructive: The handling of open drug scenes in Bergen'. In *STOF: Tidsskrift for Stofmisbrugsområdet*.

Dr Anna Schliehe works as a Research Associate on the COMPEN research programme. She is primarily responsible for fieldwork in England and Wales but also undertakes fieldwork in Norway as often as possible to obtain a more comparative view of imprisonment practices. She mainly works on two of the sub-studies (the entry/exit study and the ethnographies) while also contributing to the 'deep-end' study in England and Wales. Coming from a background in carceral geography, Anna finished her PhD in 2016 and alongside her main responsibilities is working on publications drawing on her doctoral project on young women's experiences of confinement in different 'closed' institutions in Scotland. She has recently published an edited collection on 'Carceral Spatiality' with her colleague Dominique Moran in which she wrote a chapter on feminist carceral geography. Other current publications include a journal article entitled 'Conceptualizing the carceral in carceral geography' (PiHG; with Dominique Moran and Jen Turner) and a book chapter on micro-scale mobilities of objects in carceral environments in a book on Carceral Mobilities (edited by Jen Turner and Kim Peters). Anna has recently been appointed secretary for the newly founded Carceral Geography Working Group (as part of the Royal Geographical Society) and is in the process of co-organising the 2nd international Carceral Geography Conference in Birmingham in December this year. Together

with Julie Laursen and Kristian Mjåland, Anna was appointed a College Research Associate at King's College as of October 2017.

Publications

Schliehe, A. (2017) 'Towards a feminist carceral geography? Of female offenders and prison spaces', in D. Moran and A. Schliehe (eds) *Carceral Spatiality: dialogues between geography and criminology*. London: Palgrave, London

Schliehe, A. (2017) 'Constraint locomotion: of complex micro-scale mobilities in carceral environments' in K. Peters and J. Turner (eds) *Carceral mobilities: interrogating movement in incarceration*. London: Routledge.

Moran, D., Turner, J. and **Schliehe, A.** (2017) 'Conceptualising the carceral in carceral geography', *Progress in Human Geography* DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132517710352>

Dr Ryan Williams is an Affiliate Member of the Prisons Research Centre. His current research is based in the Centre of Islamic Studies at the University of Cambridge and is entitled, *Reimagining Citizenship: Muslim offenders' experiences of the criminal justice system*. Criminological research has highlighted the relationship between 'citizenship values' and desistance from crime. However, there has been little research into the lived experiences of citizenship among offenders and how these experiences shape individuals' values and identities. This research takes Muslim offenders and ex-offenders as sites for exploring how experiences of the Criminal Justice System in England shape identity, belonging, and opportunities for substantive citizenship, and how offenders and ex-offenders reimagine and navigate their own selfhood in relation to society and the state. Recent reports have highlighted the over-representation of Muslim offenders through the Criminal Justice System and have stressed the diversity and complexity around Muslim offenders and the unique challenges they face in prison and

post-release. This research will build on these observations but probe more deeply into Muslim offenders' and ex-offenders' experiences of citizenship in two contrasting sites, in prison contexts and in the community post-release.

The research aims to: (1) explore issues of humanity, meaning, and values among Muslim offenders and ex-offenders, and in so doing explore fundamental questions about identity, belonging and citizenship, and how these interact with punishment, criminal justice, security, and the state in the modern context. (2) detail how Muslim offenders and ex-offenders manage existential issues of selfhood, alterity, and belonging through their prison sentence and post-release, and how their prison experiences and sentence conditions shape perceptions of authority, notions of citizenship, and levels of engagement and resistance, exclusion and belonging. (3) create opportunities for interrogating conceptions of citizenship through attention to lived experiences and seeking to understand how the co-production of citizenship is enabled through the Criminal Justice System.

Ryan is also co-convenor and course developer for the first *Learning Together* course in the area of Theology and Religious Studies entitled 'The Good Life and the Good Society' which brings University of Cambridge students to learn alongside students resident in HMP Whitemoor. Through this project and his ongoing research, Ryan is concurrently developing his interests in everyday ethics and virtue formation.

Publications

Williams, R. and Liebling, A. (in press) 'The New Subversive Geranium: Some notes on the management of new troubles in maximum security prisons', *The British Journal of Sociology*.

Williams, R. and Liebling, A. (in press) 'Faith provision, institutional power and meaning among Muslim prisoners in two English high security prisons', in K. Kerley (ed.). *Religion in Prison*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

Williams, R. (2017) 'Finding freedom and rethinking power: Islamic piety in English high security prisons'. *British Journal of Criminology*. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azx034>

Williams, R. (2017) 'Expertise and (in)security: Lessons from prison and probation contexts on counter-terrorism, trust, and citizenship', *The Review of Faith and International Affairs*. 15(2):77-86. doi: 10.1080/15570274.2017.1329437.

Williams, R. (2017) Review of 'The Psychology of Radicalization and Terrorism'. Willem Koomen & Joop van der Plicht. *Journal of Contemporary Religion*. 32 (1):154-155.

Williams, R. (2017) 'Unpacking radicalization in a Prison Environment'. Convenor, Editor, and Contributor. Introduction (pp. 5-10; 25 – 34)). Centre of Islamic Studies. University of Cambridge.

Williams, R. (2017) Approaches to Violent Extremist Offenders and Countering Radicalisation in Prison and Probation contexts. Radicalisation Awareness Network. P&P Practitioners' Working Paper, 2nd ed. European Commission.

C. PHD STUDENTS

Opening new prisons: a comparative study of the penal field

Aiden Cope

Aiden is entering the second year of his PhD, entailing a comparative analysis of three newly opened prisons in three different legal jurisdictions: HMP Berwyn (England and Wales), HMPYOI Grampian (Scotland), and Ravenhall prison (Victoria, Australia). Aiden's study aims to describe the changing shape and purpose of new prisons in these different jurisdictions. It will explore the changing nature of the penal state and the tension between increasing financial pressures and

the high aspirations apparent in recent penal policy.

Aiden's first year has been spent developing his research design and analytical approach, which will involve case studies detailing the composition of the penal field in each jurisdiction. Analysis of official documents and academic studies of each jurisdiction will form the foundation of each case study. This will be enhanced by interviews with key personnel within each penal jurisdiction, in order to illuminate the way that the penal field refracts and mediates macro level trends and pressures to shape and influence policy outcomes. The aim is to deepen our understanding of what takes place in the gap between global political and social trends and specific policy outcomes

Last year, Aiden visited two of the research sites, attended specialist conferences and identified the first wave of interview participants. He will continue to identify participants, visit the research sites and conduct interviews during the second year of the study in each of the three jurisdictions.

Prisoner segregation: how can the use of segregation in prisons be effectively reduced?

Eleanor Brown

Ellie is a first year PhD student, whose research will seek to understand the current use and experience of segregation, and to establish viable alternatives to the practice of segregation. In many jurisdictions, the practice of segregation has received a substantial amount of criticism. Existing research is often critical of the detrimental impact of segregation: its potential for exacerbating pre-existing mental health conditions, for putting individuals at greater risk of self-harm and suicide, and for its negative effect on prisoners once released from segregation units. Such consequences

have prompted scholars, the judiciary and policy-makers to question the practice of segregation and call for reform of segregation practices. However, current research in England and Wales fails to systematically address the extent to which such recommendations are being implemented and with what success.

This year, Ellie will develop her research framework and review the existing literature to examine: (1) the current uses and effects of segregation; (2) the legal frameworks governing segregation and how these frameworks have been challenged and defended in the legal system; and (3) the alternatives, approaches and recommendations currently proposed to reduce the use of segregation and the strength of the evidence supporting such proposals. Ellie will then explore the extent to which such alternatives, approaches and recommendations are implemented in practice. Her empirical study of two prisons will take the form of interviews with prisoners and prison staff, as a way of generating data on the main challenges of segregation (for prisoners and prison staff), the attempts being made by prisons to reduce the use of segregation, and the relative success of such strategies.

The role and meaning of reading for pleasure in two Category C men's prisons in the East of England

Judith Gardom

Judith is a second-year PhD student, whose research explores the personal, social, and institutional roles and meanings of reading for pleasure for men in prison. Using a linked-case-study design, the research explores the everyday habits and circumstances of prisoners' reading, the obstacles to reading that prisoners experience, and the

assumptions about reading for pleasure that are expressed through institutional structures.

Improving prisoner literacy is among the key aims of prisoner education. Reading for pleasure is an explicit aim of statutory library provision for prisons in England and Wales, and is widely believed to be beneficial for literacy, education and well-being. Many prisoners only develop a reading habit while in prison, as a way of coping with or using time spent locked up. However, staff shortages prevent prisoners from visiting libraries, time spent in-cell is not counted as time spent in 'purposeful activity', and the Coates Review of Prisoner Education (2016) does not discuss reading for pleasure. The pains of imprisonment make reading difficult even for literate prisoners.

Fieldwork is planned to take place over the next six months. During the past year, Judith has been visiting and gaining formal access to suitable research sites for her fieldwork: two contrasting men's Category C prisons in the East of England. One is part of the London resettlement estate; the other, much smaller establishment, operates a distinctive Progression regime, alongside a Therapeutic Community and Psychologically Informed Planned Environment. Judith will draw on the insight of Prison Librarians and Education Staff, using Prison Libraries as a base, and attending reading groups and other organised events. She will make use of ethnographic observation, interviews, focus groups and reading diaries, to gather data on the institutional structures, social exchanges and practices relating to reading in prison, and the meanings that these have for prisoners and staff.

Presentations

'Reading in Prison: "Narrative Absorption" and the Pains of Prison Time', University of Leicester, conference on *Rethinking Prisons Research*.

Adaptation, moral community and power in a prison for men convicted of sex offences

Alice levins

Alice has recently submitted her PhD, fieldwork for which was conducted at HMP Stafford, a medium-security prison which exclusively holds adult men convicted of sex offences. Alice spent five months undertaking ethnographic fieldwork, in which she explored the social dynamics on two residential wings. She conducted 43 long qualitative interviews with prisoners, interviewed 13 staff members, and spent long periods of time in all areas of the prison, observing life, talking to and shadowing staff and prisoners, attending meetings and building relationships.

Alice's study explores the experiences of a significant and growing population within the prison system, one which has hitherto been neglected by sociological studies of imprisonment. It develops findings which suggest that people convicted of sexual offences are particularly likely to deny their offences, and argues that how people feel about their convictions structures the way in which they do their time and how they orient themselves to power. In so doing, it hopes to show how shame and identity management interact with prisoners' adaptations to imprisonment. The thesis also has a strong social focus, and seeks to explore how prisoners convicted of sex offences feel about living with other such prisoners. As well as outlining and explaining the dynamics of trust, solidarity and friendship among this group, Alice has also developed the concept of 'stain', which seeks to describe the contaminating effect of living with people who may have done 'bad things' and may continue to have deviant sexual interests. In addition, the thesis explores the dynamics of power and legitimacy in a prison of men convicted of sex offences. It is often argued that such prisoners are uniquely compliant, which can lead to the overuse of power by

staff. The thesis explores these dynamics, and outlines the diverse ways in which men convicted of sex offences nevertheless challenged the authority of officers.

Since March, Alice has also been working as a Research Assistant on the Comparative Penology project, where she is focusing on power and social dynamics in prisons for men convicted of sex offences.

Conferences and presentations

'Orientations towards women among male prisoners convicted of sex offences' as part of a panel on 'Sex Offenders in Prison' at the *European Society of Criminology* Conference in Cardiff, 2017

'What don't we study, what don't we see, and why' at the British Academy Rising Stars conference on *Understanding Prison Life: New Research Frontiers* at HMP Low Moss and the University of Glasgow, 2017

Under threat? A social and occupational history of prison officers

Deborah Kant

Deborah is a finishing PhD student, whose research explores the personal and professional narratives of prison officers recruited between the 1970s and the present, in order to explore the relationship between officers' identities and their experiences of organisational change within the Prison Service.

Previous research (for example Liebling 2008; Crawley 2004) has shown that prison officers share certain occupational traits such as a sense of camaraderie and social cohesion, an appreciation of humour and 'straight talk', as well as a cynical outlook, sense of nostalgia for a shared past, and mistrust of people outside their group. However, research has also shown that there are distinct 'schools' of

officers, whose philosophies affect their approaches to care, punishment, management, etc. (see, for example, Tait 2008), and which are influenced by broader institutional cultures specific to the prison. Deborah's research explores this distinction in order to answer the question of whether there is an 'essential prison officer', or whether the professional role and self-definition of uniformed staff is forged within the context of changing socio-economic contexts and prison officer demographics, ideologies of punishment, and the cultural norms of individual establishments.

Adopting a mixture of semi-ethnographic and biographical research methods, Deborah conducted interviews with uniformed staff and managers at two large and busy men's Category B local prisons, located in the North and South of England. Her findings suggest that, while different generations of prison officers hold distinctive attitudes and approaches toward some aspects of their work and each other, the geography and culture of their establishment may be more powerful in influencing their professional identities and practices. This suggests that officer cultures are informed by a complex interplay of individual agency, and structures of the penal field, work role, and locale. While officers from different generations may have imported subtly different motivations into the prison, the experience of doing prison work within embedded institutional contexts narrows the field of individual expression.

Publications

Liebling, A. and **Kant, D.** (2016) 'The Two cultures: correctional officers and key differences in institutional climate', in J. Wooldredge and P. Smith (eds) *The Oxford Handbook on Prisons and Imprisonment*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Emotions in prison: an exploration of space, emotion regulation and expression

Ben Laws

Ben is a finishing PhD student, whose research investigates the ways in which prisoners regulate and express their emotions under conditions of confinement, through a combination of semi-structured interviews and prisoner shadowing. His fieldwork involved six months of research in HMP Ranby (a Category C men's prison in Nottinghamshire) and HMP Send (a closed category women's prison in Surrey). One significant finding is the prevalence of emotion suppression among both male and female prisoners. While suppression was, in part, a product of pre-prison experiences, it was also exacerbated by institutional practices. This was particularly the case for prisoners at risk of self-harm or suicide who often felt spotlighted rather than supported with their emotions. Importantly too, the research found a strong correlation between prisoners who suppressed emotion and who subsequently engaged in violence (either towards others, or inflicted upon themselves). Ben hopes that his findings will help explain the emotional 'survivability' of different prisons and will assist management and practitioners to ensure that prisons are positive, secure and safe environments for managing offenders.

In the previous year, Ben has presented his findings for the American Society of Criminology in New Orleans, and at the 15th European Congress of Psychology in Amsterdam. He is currently working on an article about the similarities and differences between men and women's emotional management strategies in prison. This article attempts to foreground gender in the context of emotions in prison and highlight some of the causes and consequences of 'bottling-up' emotions in prison.

Publications

Laws, B. (In progress). 'Emotions in prison: men, women and the 'fluidity' of feelings'.

Laws, B. (2016). *Fronting, masking and emotion release: An exploration of prisoners' emotional management strategies*. The

Howard League for Penal Reform.

Laursen, J., & Laws, B. (2016). 'Honour and respect in Danish prisons: Contesting 'cognitive distortions' in cognitive-behavioural programmes'. *Punishment & Society*, 19(1), 74-95.

Laws, B. and Crewe, B. (2015). 'Emotion regulation among male prisoners'. *Theoretical Criminology*, 20(4), 529-547.

Crewe, B. and Laws, B. (2017) 'Subcultural adaptations to incarceration', in J. Wooldredge and P. Smith (eds) *The Oxford Handbook on Prisons and Imprisonment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Faith, race, gangs and 'the street' in prison: An inductive analysis

Dev Maitra

Dev is a finishing PhD Student, currently writing up the results of his study. Dev's research primarily focuses on attempting to explain the reasons why gangs form, and how gang members are affected by the process of imprisonment. Specifically, his PhD has four main aims:

- To explore how gang identities develop on the streets and in the prisons of Greater Manchester, particularly focusing on the causal factors that lead individuals to become gang affiliated;
- To investigate the linkages between street gangs and prison gangs in the region, and how street gang members' behaviours develop in a prison environment;
- To examine how the carceral experiences of gang members compare to non-gang-affiliated prisoners, especially in relation to the role of violence;
- To explore how racial identities relate to gang affiliation, and the wider role played by religion in the prison experiences of gang members.

Dev's research has combined observations with semi-structured interviews and ethnographic techniques. He has conducted research at two adult men's prisons in the North-West of England, interviewing gang members, prison officers and non-gang-affiliated prisoners. His final data-set also contains interviews with youth workers, community members, police and probation officers, active street gang members and reformed offenders. During the course of his PhD, he has presented his emerging findings in a number of places, including at an international conference on gangs and youth delinquency at City University, Hong Kong in December 2015. Alongside his PhD, Dev has worked as an Affiliated Lecturer at Anglia Ruskin University.

Publications

Maitra, D.R., McClean, R., and Deuchar, R. (in press) "If you want to get paid, you've got to do it": a qualitative study on the morality of crime', *Journal of Deviant Behaviour*.

Maitra, D.R., McClean, R., and Holligan, C. (in press) 'Voices of quiet desistance in UK prisons: exploring the emergence of new identities under desistance constraints', *The Howard Journal of Crime and Justice*.

The construction of prisoner masculinities in terms of work experiences

Martha Morey

Martha is a third year PHD student, who has spent much of the previous year collecting data for her research on prisoner masculinities and their construction through experiences of work. Her fieldwork has taken place at three establishments: HMP YO1 Swinfen Hall, HMP YO1 Isis and HMP Wealstun, where approximately 30 interviews were completed at each site. Martha's interviews covered attitudes towards work in childhood and adolescence, experiences of work (defined as any licit or illicit way of

making money) in and out of prison, and expectations regarding work post-release. The three-site design was intended to facilitate a comparison of how locale impacts on prisoner masculinities, and the populations from the three prisons produced significant samples from London, Yorkshire, the North West and the Midlands.

The research also involved extensive observations (and occasional participation) in various prison work environments, including classroom-based education, workshop-based vocational courses, contract workshops and on-wing jobs, among others. Martha is currently transcribing and analysing her interviews.

Martha was one of three recipients of the 2016 Howard League Sunley Prize for her MPhil dissertation 'Men at work: the construction of masculine identities through work in prison'

Publications

Morey, M. and Crewe, B. (2017) 'Work, Intimacy and Prisoner Masculinities' in M. Maycock and K. Hunt (eds) *New Perspectives on Prison Masculinities*. Palgrave Macmillan.

The experiences of former military service personnel in prison in England and Wales

Daniel Packham

Daniel has continued work on his PhD (part-time), studying the experience of imprisonment amongst UK ex-military personnel. Drawing on Goffman's (1961) insights on the 'Total Institution', Daniel's research is concerned with the similarities and differences between military and prison institutions and on the impact of having experienced life in the military might upon the experience of imprisonment. The study aims to investigate and establish how ex-military prisoners experience their imprisonment, with a particular focus on identity and self-

conception, social status, attitudes towards authority, perceptions of state legitimacy and the dynamics of interpersonal relationships with other prisoners and staff.

Over the past year, Daniel has completed his fieldwork, which has consisted of more than forty semi-structured qualitative interviews with former military prisoners and members of prison staff in seven prison establishments of various security categories in England and Wales. Since completing his fieldwork, Daniel has been transcribing and analysing his interview data in preparation for the writing up of his findings.

While conducting his doctoral research part-time, Daniel continues to work full-time as a senior researcher and policy manager in the Middle East and North Africa Hub at the Department for International Development.

Democratizing democracy: re-imagining prisoners as citizens through participatory governance

Bethany Schmidt

Bethany is a finishing PhD student, whose research explores the work of the innovative non-profit organisation *User Voice* and its ex-offender-led prison deliberative democratic council model. Her research employs both qualitative and quantitative methods to examine and understand the processes at work when a prison-based council, which aims to give a voice to prisoners in order to facilitate collaborative problem-solving with staff, is established in the prison environment. Three English prisons with *User Voice* councils were selected for observation and Bethany has continued her fieldwork within them, including the collection and analysis of MQPL and SQL data. Her focus is on the impact of democratic participation on institutional life, staff and prisoners' perceptions of procedural justice, legitimacy, and how these intersect with humane care, decency, and order.

Bethany's research has produced important evidence in support of a prison-based cooperative and co-producing council model that assists prisoners in developing civil dispositions through democratic engagement. The data suggest that fostering democratic principles in the prison setting has the potential to 'civilise' individuals and institutional practices, and more closely align them with democratic virtues that endorse community, trust, and dialogical work towards collectivist objectives. This study illustrates how the de-civilising process of incarceration can, in some ways, be diminished or mitigated through the establishment of a normative pattern of civic reciprocity. For prisoners, council participation promotes civic skills, positive identity transformation, and encourages responsibility within their 'community'. This in turn strengthens penal legitimacy through fair proceedings and justifiable decision-making. Re-enfranchising prisoners through forms of participatory governance and agential engagement could therefore lessen exclusion and marginalisation and in turn, possibly strengthen civic culture and democratic character.

Bethany was appointed to the post of Research Associate in the Prisons Research Centre in January 2016. This role involves project management responsibilities for the conduct and development of 'outreach' MQPL+ activities, including international projects, and other projects which form part of the overall research activities of the Prisons Research Centre. The aim of the post is to maximise the Centre's efforts to diagnose and describe prison cultures, and to conceptualise and measure changing aspects of the quality of prison life.

Bethany, with Dr Andrew Jefferson from the Danish Institute Against Torture (DIGNITY), has recently completed a two-year pilot study of the quality of life in Tunisian prisons. Intensive ethnographic fieldwork has been carried out in three prisons, alongside interviews with former political prisoners, and other criminal justice and NGO stakeholders.

The study has explored several aspects of prison life in Tunisia, including: prison policy and the practice of punishment pre- and post-revolution; the gendered experience; the role of civil society and human rights in reform; terrorism; staff-prisoner relationships; and, how power and authority are wielded. This work is ongoing.

Publications

Schmidt, B.E. (under review) 'Carceral counterveillance and productive resistance amongst prisoners: reconceptualising the panopticon through participatory governance'.

Liebling, A., McNeil, F. and **Schmidt, B.E.** (2017) 'Criminological engagements', in A. Liebling, S. Maruna and L. McAra (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Barry, M., Weaver, B., Liddle, M., **Schmidt, B.E.**, with Maruna, S., Meek, R. and Renshaw, J. (2017) 'Custody to community voice: an evaluation of User Voice councils'. Available at: http://www.nesta.org.uk/sites/default/files/user_voice_final_evaluation_report.pdf

Ludlow, A., **Schmidt, B.E.**, Akoensi, T., Liebling, A., Giacomantonio, C. and Sutherland, A. (2015) 'Self-inflicted deaths in NOMS' custody amongst 18-24 year olds: Staff experience, knowledge and views'. Study commissioned by Harris Review. Available at: <http://iapdeathsincustody.independent.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Self-Inflicted-Deaths-in-NOMS%E2%80%99-Custody-amongst-18%E2%80%9324-Year-Olds-Staff-Experience-Knowledge-and-Views.pdf>

Philosophy in prisons: an exploration of personal development

Kirstine Szifris

Kirstine successfully defended her thesis in March 2017. Her research explored survival and growth in the context of a prison

education classroom and took a unique perspective on the 'person-in-context' to explore the role of philosophical dialogue in the lives of prisoners. The pilot work for this research has recently been published in the *Howard Journal of Crime and Justice*. To further this work, Kirstine has been working with the Philosophy Foundation to promote the use of philosophy in prison education. In collaboration, they have delivered a 12-week course in HMP Thorn Cross and are looking to deliver in more prisons in the London area.

Kirstine is now a Research Associate at the Policy Evaluation and Research Unit, at Manchester Metropolitan University. Her main role is to work with Novus, the largest prison education provider in the UK, to develop a range of research projects. In this role she has completed a realist review of prison education that aims to develop theory around the role of education in personal development. Further to this, she has been invited to chair one of the Prison Education Trust's working groups to further develop prison education theory. In addition to her work with Novus, Kirstine will also be evaluating the Koestler Awards and Duke of Edinburgh scheme in prisons and has consulted on a range of project for Interserve around probation and desistance.

Publications

Szifris, K. (2017). 'Socrates and Aristotle: the role of ancient philosophers in the self-understanding of desisting' prisoners', *Howard Journal of Crime and Justice*. DOI:10.1111/hojo.12211

Ellison, M., **Szifris, K.** Horan, R. and Fox, C. (2017). ', *Probation Journal*. 64(2), pp.108-128.

Szifris, K., Fox, C. & Bradbury, A. (under review) 'Education, desistance and growth in the prison environment: A Realist Review of Prison education'.

D. Appointments

Jason Warr has been appointed to a Lectureship in Criminology at De Montford University, Leicester.

Fabio Tartarini has been appointed to a Lectureship in Criminology at the University of Suffolk, working with Helen Arnold on the Masters in Leadership and Custodial Environments.

Kirstine Szifris is now a Research Associate at the Policy Evaluation and Research Unit, at Manchester Metropolitan University.