



Penal reform groups, new media and the mainstream news

Strategies for managing the new media landscape

the **Howard League** for **Penal Reform**

Key points

- A lack of public knowledge about crime, justice, punishment and the ways in which some sections of the news media shape public opinion about prisons and prisoners is a significant issue for non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and special interest groups concerned with penal policy and penal reform
- For such groups to work successfully with the mainstream media, it is important to understand how the media work and to develop strategies to obtain coverage without distorting key messages
- Obstacles to improved coverage include:
 - lack of resources: smaller organisations do not always have the resources to do in-depth public relations (PR) work
 - mistrust of the media: Press officers at NGOs and special interest groups are concerned that case studies supplied to the media may be sensationalised and distorted
 - unrealistic expectations on the part of NGOs and special interest groups of the role of the media: material has to be made 'newsworthy' and packaged to appeal to the outlet's specific audience demographic
- This report identifies a number of strategies that could be adopted to achieve improved coverage via mainstream and new media and suggests alternative forms of media that could be used to engage with targeted audiences.

Introduction

One of the biggest problems for NGOs and special interest groups concerned with penal policy and penal reform is the lack of public knowledge about crime, justice and punishment.

This report sets out to discuss strategies for NGOs and special interest groups to

- ensure extra coverage in mainstream and other media
- improve discussion of the complex issues relating to crime and justice, and
- improve public knowledge and understanding of these issues.

The media are the main source of information about crime, justice and punishment for many people. However, Jewkes (2007) suggests that both news reporting and film and television representations offer, at best, a partial picture and, at worst, a highly distorted view of prisoners' lives and of conditions in prison. Coverage of issues such as overcrowding, racism among prisoners and prison staff, drug addiction, mental illness, suicide among prisoners and attacks on prisoners by staff is sparse. Stories about prisoners, particularly in the tabloid press, often concentrate on notorious prisoners, stories about sexual relations between prisoners or prisoners and staff, or stories characterising prisons as 'holiday camps', in which prisoners enjoy advantages they do not 'deserve' such as decent food and extended visits from families.

Although criminal justice systems depend on public confidence for their effective operation, poorly informed public opinion can drive policy towards ineffective or unfair responses to crime while, in turn, politicians who propose tough action against crime derive electoral advantage. This means that in order to change the way in which penal policy is made and to change the context in which policy is framed, the public need to be engaged. Public attitudes to punishment are influenced by a range of factors but, as Indermaur and Hough (2002) argue, the media are at the centre of these influences. It appears that policy-makers get their ideas about the nature of public opinion primarily from the mainstream news media (Dean 2012; Silverman 2012), but also increasingly through social media such as Twitter.

Communicating information on crime and justice is far more complex than merely setting out the facts and correcting misassumptions. For special interest groups and NGOs within the criminal justice system to work successfully with the mainstream media, they must be cognisant of how the media work, and why, on occasion, they are prone to sensationalism, distortion and misrepresentation.

This report is based on interviews with home affairs and legal correspondents in broadcast, online and print media, press officers and heads of NGOs and other penal reform groups, members of the Parole Board, former prison governors, former prisoners, current and former Chief Inspectors of HM Prisons and academics. It aims to explore why the media are more commercially driven than ever before and what this means in terms of coverage of penal issues. It also suggests new strategies to inform, influence and involve the public in terms of increasing understanding and public knowledge, and shaping public opinion on crime, justice and punishment.

Changes in the media landscape

Fenton (2010) argues that the last twenty years have witnessed the complete dismantling of the news media landscape. Changes such as the introduction of 24 hour rolling news and the advent of the internet have contributed to a change in news production. Within the last ten years, online websites have come to be viewed as essential for all newspapers, major broadcasters and news agencies.

In theory, more space should equal more news and the opportunity for more coverage relating to special interest organisations and NGOs such as the Howard League for Penal Reform. In practice, this has not been the case.

A number of factors have contributed to this. For newspapers in particular, a decline in advertising revenues and reader figures since the 1970s has forced papers to increase output while cutting back on staff (Freedman 2010, Dean, 2012). Pressure in the newsroom to produce more articles in less time has led to fewer journalists gathering stories outside the office and a greater dependence on press releases and press agencies. Cutbacks on specialist correspondents and investigative reporting, coupled with the need to find younger readers in order to attract advertising, has pulled even the more serious newspapers towards the commercial end of the field. This has resulted in less space for discussion and coverage of complex policy issues. News outlets are increasingly telling the same stories from the same perspective and using much of the same material.

Unrealistic expectations of the media

As part of this research, home affairs and legal correspondents, as well as other broadcast, print and online journalists, were asked why, in their opinion, NGOs and special interest groups involved in penal reform were experiencing difficulties in obtaining coverage.

The first reason cited was unrealistic expectations on the part of NGOs and special interest groups of the role of the media. One respondent suggested that:

A lot of reactions to the media are based on these unrealistic notions of expecting them to report stories in this cool, rational, thoughtful way, of reporting something because it's worthy. And that's not the way the media works, never has been. First and foremost is if a story is going to sell, is going to appeal to an audience, not whether or not this NGO or this person or that thinks this is something the general public needs to hear. The news media is a business, not an information service.

Respondents from the 'popular' or tabloid press suggested that the kinds of stories that special interest groups wished them to feature were either not the kind of story that would appeal to their particular demographic or were simply not saying anything new. As one respondent argued:

It's been a long time since there's been a riot or an escape – a really big one. And most of the really horrific conditions have been addressed. So prisons are generally seen to be running reasonably smoothly – so where's the interest?

Correspondents from the broadsheets suggested that, on occasion, NGOs and special interest groups lacked a sense of 'newsworthiness'. Journalists cited the need for 'personalisation' (Jewkes, 2004) if they were to run a story, and noted how case studies based on personal experience would bring stories alive for their readers. However, they argued that too often NGOs and special interest groups provided them with 'lists of statistics about rates of imprisonment' and were increasingly unwilling to provide case studies. The difficulty of access to prisons was also cited by many journalists as a reason for sparse coverage, but the main plea was for NGOs and special interest groups to decide 'what precisely their story angle is and do the groundwork'. As one correspondent put it:

We got the newsletter about sex in prisons. But what we want is for them to think about what coverage they want. If they'd given us some case studies – a prisoner, maybe, who'd been away from his spouse for x years and the lack of relations led to the breakdown of his marriage or a young boy who went through the prison system. They need to be more targeted in their approach, not just sending out press releases. They need to give us a package. Who I can talk to, who I can interview, who they can film, if it's broadcast.

Mistrust of the media

Heads and press officers of NGOs and special interest groups associated with penal reform or

prisoners' issues were asked about their difficulties in getting media coverage for their organisation or in-depth discussion of penal issues into the mainstream press. Although journalists had argued that 'personalisation' and the use of case studies would increase chances of coverage, many respondents expressed concern over providing such case studies to the press. One respondent recalled providing a case study to the national press with unforeseen consequences for the girl involved:

Her media studies teacher thought the piece was so great that he photocopied it and gave it to the entire media studies class at her old school. It did mention her offence in it because, of course, that was something we'd had to describe. She split up with her boyfriend, who posted photocopies of the articles over every lamp post.

Another concern was that stories might be distorted by the tabloid press to fuel sensationalist narratives of prisons being 'like holiday camps'. One respondent gave an example of this:

A few years ago there was a report in The Sun about a Halloween party for prisoners and their families in Holloway. And there was such an outcry, all sorts of outreach visits and arts work were suddenly stopped because it was a party. So when we had children's visits, it had to be educational and we couldn't even have jelly as part of the catering in case the press would get hold of that and call it a party.

A second respondent commented on press coverage of the nationwide riots in 2011 and argued that, by fixing on the most newsworthy and, in this case, inaccurate aspects of the story, the press omitted to bring to the attention of the public the real issues at stake regarding the nature and value of imprisonment and its inability to stop reoffending:

Let me give you an example of something that even the more progressive papers got wrong. They reported it as an overcrowding crisis in our prisons. The fact was there was never any serious doubt that they would be able to fit everyone in. The problem about overcrowding was that you didn't have the staff available to do anything useful with people, so they spent all day locked in their cells. This was the real question that was being missed. Lock all these people up but what then are you going to do with them? And what good is it doing them or our wider society?

A third respondent argued that often the press simply didn't get its facts right and, as a result,

the public were misinformed both about the nature of punishment and alternatives available to imprisonment:

Even the Today programme talks about somebody being 'let off' prison with a community sentence. So the public don't then realise this is a punishment.

While acknowledging that in order to gain news coverage, NGOs and special interest groups increasingly need to do the groundwork for journalists by providing a complete package rather than a general press release, smaller organisations believed themselves to be at a disadvantage, saying that they did not have the resources to devote to such in-depth PR work. Rather than creating a more level playing field, such organisations believed that the advent of the internet had made it harder for them to get coverage in the press.

Greater professionalism on the part of all organisations involved in the criminal justice system meant that most editors could receive anything up to 100 emails a day, and so tended to respond mainly to organisations that they already knew, because they were trusted and any information they gave could be more easily verified. Junior reporters also suggested that, when using Google to find contacts, their biggest fear was using information that may turn out to be false – accordingly, they also prioritised known and therefore 'safe' organisations and special interest groups. Smaller organisations argued that, as a result, the same 'authoritative sources' appear over and over again in the press. Moreover, because of the need to make their stories 'newsworthy', one respondent argued that organisations were increasingly contributing to existing news values driven by commercialism rather than challenging narratives about 'undeserving' prisoners in the press.

To get a story in the press, it's like you're already censoring yourself. You can't place that one with the Daily Mail, because they won't want to hear about prisoners' rights or you'll have to take out that element for the Guardian as it won't fit their agenda. And that's not our job. We're meant to be advocates. We're meant to be challenging the status quo not fitting in.

It would seem that there is an impasse between the news media's need to publish or broadcast stories that will appeal to a general audience and NGOs and special interest groups' desire to raise the quality of debate about penal issues and increase public knowledge through the media. Additionally, due to increased time pressures, staff shortages and the sheer volume of email traffic to which journalists are

exposed every day, it would seem that journalists prioritise known 'safe' sources, and NGOs and special interest groups with limited PR resources increasingly find themselves at a disadvantage in securing mainstream media coverage.

Strategies to engage with the public through mainstream and new media

It is important to stress that the media is not a monolithic entity. Not only are there differences in ethos between tabloid and broadsheet newspapers; there are also journalists in both the popular and 'quality' press who are aware of their fourth estate status and are both interested and willing to feature stories on penal issues. This section explores strategies to engage with both the popular and 'quality' press.

Telling the press something new

One of the most common complaints from members of the press interviewed for this research was that penal reform groups gave them the same material with the same messages. As one respondent commented, "it's the same old thing, prisoners' rights, prisoners' conditions and frankly unless something is very, very wrong, like a riot or a big escape, there is no story."

One strategy suggested by a press respondent was for NGOs and penal reform groups to emulate journalists' practices and cultivate sources within the Home Office:

I'll give you an example. Harry Fletcher, who nominally is [was at the time of interview] Deputy General Secretary of the Probation Officers Union and has been for well over twenty years. If you were to do a quantitative analysis of the number of times that his name appears in the papers, he would easily come out ahead. How does he do it? Because he has inside information, he gets involved in meetings at the Ministry of Justice. He's built up very good relationships with correspondents like me, but he's not just giving them an opinion about something, he's telling them something they didn't know. And that's the way to break into mainstream news.

One key, then, is not giving journalists opinions but privileged information.

Engaging journalists beyond the penal affairs remit

In an age when most journalists depend on the same sources for news stories, the journalist who brings in a scoop is prized (Phillips, 2010). Press respondents in this survey all suggested that the way forward in terms of coverage for NGOs and penal reform groups was to seek feature rather than news

coverage, and to target magazines and supplements of Sunday newspapers where freelancers with more to gain by bringing in 'exclusives' are more usually employed. All respondents stressed that the key was preparation: ensuring access for the journalist, the key issues to be covered and arranging interviewees.

Another strategy suggested by a press officer was to engage with journalists not usually associated with penal affairs. In this case, the strategy was to arrange a day of prison visits for editors; something that journalists described as being too time-consuming at their end to set up. The end result was coverage in papers not normally given to covering penal issues. The press officer explained that "as a result, we formed a link with the *Financial Mail on Sunday* who ran a financial advice section for women coming out of prison – so that's opened the door for other stories."

A third strategy involves lateral thinking around issues. One journalist described how a story on Halden prison in Norway came about through a brief from the design editor on the newspaper for which she worked, who was interested in the architectural concept of the building – this developed into a fascinating piece on Norwegian penal culture. Similarly, press officers might explore unusual angles on stories as a way of selling the idea to outlets not normally interested in taking material and then use the story as a chance to introduce other key issues.

Finally, a number of press officers argued that another strategy to gain coverage for penal issues was to forge relations with local press and broadcasters. Dean (2012) points out that regional and local newspapers were hit hardest by the 2007 economic recession and the advent of the internet, but as one respondent explained, those that remained were keen to fill their pages and were invariably more open to 'good news stories' about penal issues than some of their national counterparts.

Basically I told my team that if we didn't go out and look for positive coverage, one hundred per cent of news will be negative because in many people's eyes, NACRO is about working with undeserving people, people who've done things that have caused damage and injury. But if you go out and look for positive coverage and build up good relations with local journalists, who are looking for stories, they are more likely ... to feature good news stories on their own merits ... because they've got to fill a local paper.

Understanding what the story is

Solomon (2006) argues that one of the first lessons in journalism is how to identify the top line of a story or, for broadcasters, the key sound bite. Journalists are taught to read through long

reports and to come up with a single sentence that encapsulates the most newsworthy angle, which will appeal most to his or her editor. This process of selection often means that many more important findings are omitted; and to the authors or others involved in the research, it can seem a case of wilful misrepresentation or distortion. It is essential, then, for press officers to make sure they know what the key line of the story will be for journalists, in order to steer them away from misrepresentation. Another more risky strategy might be for press officers to highlight a controversial element of the story deliberately, so that it gets into the news and then provides an opportunity to air more complex issues.

Being selective with press releases

A number of respondents admitted that they often saw the same names appearing in their mailbox and, as a matter of course, did not treat them as a priority. As one respondent put it, "there seems to be an expectation that stories should make it into the press and, if not, we are being irresponsible".

Press correspondents asked for fewer press releases and more story packages deliberately targeted at their readership. The Howard League gave a successful example of this.

We knew that there had been a lot of stories in the press about ex-armed forces ending up in prison. So we knew if we did an inquiry, it would get attention, which it did. Fairly quickly, we realised that actually the issues that affect them affect most adult males in prison. And so, from our perspective, it was actually an opportunity to highlight problems that all men in prison face.

By finding a new angle on a familiar story, the Howard League were able to gain coverage in the more right-wing sections of the national press, while telling the story through, as the respondent put it, a "more sympathetic prism" to its readership demographic.

Critiquing existing assumptions in the press

A key way to change penal discourse in the news is for NGOs and special interest groups to produce research that disputes claims appearing in crime news. For example, the Prison Reform Trust were concerned over levels of sentencing following the riots in the United Kingdom in 2011, particularly of people who had offended for the first time. The respondent reported that to counteract what they saw as the "media-led hysteria purporting to be public opinion", they commissioned a poll on public attitudes to sentencing and punishment of the rioters. Their findings indicated that "there was a very strong public support for restorative justice and that prison was the second least popular solution behind things like mental health treatment and treatment for

drug and alcohol addiction.” The respondent went on to comment that contrary to ‘public opinion’ as expressed in some sections of the tabloid press, their poll was immensely effective in making the point that “the public aren’t just interested in more and more punitive measures, they’re far more sophisticated than that, in their sense of what they do think is effective, in terms of what works”.

Thus, on occasion, the media can be challenged and discourse changed by direct intervention backed by new research.

Building contacts outside the national press

Many respondents commented on how, in the current media climate, it was harder than ever to meet home affairs correspondents outside the office, let alone invite them to publicity stunts or events. However, as Solomon (2006) comments, one way of building contacts is to engage with local journalists and reporters on online sites. Specialist reporting is largely a thing of the past and, as a result, many journalists are expected to be ‘generalists’. Often, more junior journalists on local or regional media or on the 24 hour news channels do not know where to find the most relevant statistics, or who the most knowledgeable and accessible commentators on a particular subject are, meaning that ‘someone on the end of a phone who is ... prepared to help with a solid background briefing is invaluable’ (Ibid., 2006). Moreover, the exchange is two-way. Just as many police officers find that press contacts made at the start of their career prove advantageous in their later career, so too press officers may find that relationships formed with journalists at the start of their career may lead to favourable coverage in the future.

Influencing the public through emotional as well as informational content

Indermaur and Hough (2002) argue that, in order to bring about a better and more informed debate on penal issues, reformers need to understand that a message has an emotional as well as an informational component. The appeal of penal policy is that it is tough-minded and resonates with public emotions such as fear and anger. Those who want to counter these messages of penal policy need to concentrate not only on the informational content of their message, but also how that message will resonate emotionally with the media and with the public. In other words, they need to concentrate on ‘affective’ as well as ‘effective’ strategies.

Journalists responding to this research talked of penal reformers’ lack of understanding that the narrative they are selling is an unpopular one.

We live in a society where it's offenders versus victims, black and white. And, in a sense, that's how news stories have always worked – who are the goodies, who are the heroes, who are the baddies. That's why they are called news stories. So banging on about prisoners' rights or the rights of prisoners' families isn't going to appeal. What the public want is to hear what's being done for victims.

This argument was countered by a former Chief Inspector of Prisons, who suggested that one way forward for penal reform groups would be to deliberately re-frame the argument that prison does not work and rather show it as a failing of the government to keep the public safe:

The Daily Mail claims it can bring pressure to bear on the government. Well, here is a story for the Daily Mail. Why are prisons failing? Why is the government failing in its duty to the public to keep them safe. If security is the buzzword, then this is what reform groups need to stress – that putting more and more people in prison does not reduce reoffending and does not keep the public safe.

Sensing the emotional appeal of a policy or a story is an essential skill for policy-makers, editors and journalists – those whose livelihood depends on public reaction. In the same way, reformers speaking to the public on the issue of crime and punishment need to think of the emotional appeal of their story to the public.

Using new and other forms of media to engage with targeted audiences

Using social media to reach new audiences

Although most mainstream news sites allow readers to interact with stories by responding with comments, the emergence of social networking sites, such as Facebook and Twitter, has allowed special interest groups and NGOs to interact more directly with a wider public. By using these social sites to comment on news stories brought to them by the mainstream news, press officers and heads of NGOs and special interest groups can communicate their thoughts and experiences and, as in the case study below, use these sites to organise public protest and direct political intervention.

In November 2013, the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) introduced a new Prison Service Instruction which prevented prisoners from receiving parcels, meaning prisoners could no longer be sent essentials such as underwear, clothing, stationery and books. Prior to this rule, prison governors had discretion over how many and what type of parcels prisoners could receive.

On Sunday 23 March 2014, Frances Crook, Chief Executive of the Howard League, wrote an article for *politics.co.uk*, criticising the restrictions and urging the Justice Secretary, Chris Grayling, to rethink the policy. The article was shared widely on social media. Staff at *politics.co.uk* later confirmed that it was the most-read article the website had ever published.

The Howard League used Twitter to draw attention both to the article and an online petition calling on the government to review its policy. This approach resulted in a sharp rise in the number of followers of the charity's account. Between 25 February 2014 and 18 March 2014 – the three-week recording period prior to the *politics.co.uk* article's publication – the number of followers of the Howard League's Twitter account rose by 172 from 11,435 to 11,607. In the following three weeks, the total grew by 997 from 11,607 to 12,604. The number of followers of the Howard League's Facebook account also rose.

Tens of thousands of people showed their support for the campaign by signing the petition and sending photographs of their bookshelves to the MoJ's Twitter account, using the hashtags '#shelfie' and '#booksforprisoners'. At the same time, leading writers put their names to letters condemning the policy. One, signed by more than 80, was published in the *Daily Telegraph*. Another, signed by about 100, appeared in the *London Evening Standard*.

The Howard League also worked with the Poet Laureate, Carol Ann Duffy, to arrange a poetry reading outside Pentonville prison, attended by writers and actors including Sir David Hare, Vanessa Redgrave, Samuel West and Kathy Lette.

All this happened within the first five days of the campaign – and the campaign gained momentum as information was shared quickly via social media. In the following months, the charity continued to use social media to promote the campaign – most notably on 9 July 2014, when supporters held up copies of Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment* and bore silent witness while Mr Grayling faced questions from the justice select committee. The display could be seen on a live video-feed on the Parliament.uk website. These images were screen-grabbed and shared widely via Twitter, drawing yet more attention to the campaign.

As the campaign progressed, the Howard League worked closely with English PEN, The Book Trade Charity and other organisations that supported its objective. Partners in the campaign posted tweets drawing attention to each other's work, using the '#booksforprisoners' hashtag.

On Friday 5 December, the High Court ruled that the ban on books for prisoners was unlawful, although the Howard League continues to campaign for the restrictions on parcels to be lifted completely, so that prisoners can receive other essential items as well as books.

This example demonstrates how social media can be used by NGOs and pressure groups as a powerful tool to initiate discussion and trigger high-profile action as well as bringing issues to the attention of individuals and communities nationally and internationally.

The power of the blog

Although many heads of NGOs and penal reform groups (as well as their press, policy and research officers) blog as well as tweet, one suggestion arising from the research was for these groups to widen their scope and ask for volunteer bloggers. Fenton (2010) elaborates on this, describing how one head of press at a large international NGO did some work on internet repression, which caught the eye of a large number of bloggers. In turn, the head of press utilised this interest by forming what he called an 'E-Action Task Force', composed of 200 or so independent bloggers, to whom his organisation regularly sent information, asking them to blog on these issues on behalf of the organisation.

While this could potentially mean relinquishing control over content for NGOs and penal reform groups, the same NGOs and special interest groups already feel compelled to make their copy conform to normative news values in order to gain coverage, and so this has become less of a concern. As Fenton argues:

The people with the potential to disrupt the monotony of news [coverage] are the audience/interested others.
(2010: 166)

By reaching out to volunteer bloggers in this way, press officers may find another opportunity to replace established discourses on penal issues in the news and promote 'unpopular narratives' without having to censor them for the media marketplace.

Using television drama to reach new audiences

Although Jewkes (2007) suggests that today's media audiences are too fragmented for a drama to have the social impact that *Cathy Come Home* and its depiction of homelessness had on audiences in the 1960s, it is nevertheless the case that soap operas such as *EastEnders* and *Coronation Street* still attract the highest ratings of any dramas on television. Soap operas regularly explore social issues such as mental illness, domestic abuse and cancer as part of their storylines. Hungry for new material, they are always

looking for new ideas and, as Henderson (2007) suggests, they are frequently open to working with new organisations. As such, they offer untapped resources for NGOs and penal reform groups to offer their assistance to explore issues such as stigmatisation of the families of people who offend.

A proactive approach is recommended. On existing soap operas, the first port of call should be the series story or script editor, as she or he is usually the key person involved in the generation of story material. Contacting the Writers' Guild is also another way of making contact with writers and production companies involved in developing scripts on penal issues, and direct approaches to executive producers of smaller, independent companies offering consultancy advice on productions may also prove fruitful.

Summary

- NGOs and special interest groups should develop strategies for dealing with the media that will enable them to obtain improved coverage without key messages becoming sensationalised or distorted
- For such strategies to be effective, it is essential to understand how the media work and to have realistic expectations about the role they play
- Strategies to achieve improved coverage via mainstream and new media could include:
 - telling the press something new – bringing a new angle to a story, presenting privileged information rather than opinion
 - engaging with journalists outside the remit of penal affairs
 - understanding what the story is – identifying the key sound bite or single sentence
 - using fewer press releases and more targeted story packages
 - critiquing existing assumptions in the press
 - building contacts outside the national press
 - influencing changes in public opinion through emotional and informational content.

- Alternative forms of media that could be used to engage with targeted audiences include:
 - social media (e.g. Twitter, YouTube, Facebook)
 - independent bloggers
 - television drama (including existing soap operas).

A full list of references is available on our website: www.howardleague.org/publications-media.

About the author

Marianne Colbran is a Mannheim Fellow in Criminology at the London School of Economics and Political Science on the topic of crime and the media. Marianne Colbran was the second Howard League for Penal Reform Oxford Centre for Criminology Postdoctoral Fellow in Criminology at the Centre for Criminology. Before becoming an academic, she worked as an actress and television scriptwriter. Her first book, *Media Representations of Police and Crime: Shaping Television Drama* was published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2014.

Oxford Centre for Criminology and Howard League post-doctoral research fellowship

The Howard League for Penal Reform and the Oxford Centre for Criminology appointed four recipients of a part-time (50%) post-doctoral research fellowship for a fixed period of 12 months.

The fellowship was awarded in memory of Lord Parmoor.

Cover image: Justin Kase z03z/Alamy

About the Howard League for Penal Reform

The Howard League is a national charity working for less crime, safer communities and fewer people in prison.

We campaign, research and take legal action on a wide range of issues. We work with parliament, the media, criminal justice professionals, students and members of the public, influencing debate and forcing through meaningful change.

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