Howard League for Penal Reform

Early Career Academics Network Bulletin

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Contents

ECAN Facebook Group

The Howard League for Penal Reform is active on Facebook and Twitter. There is a special page dedicated to the Early Careers Academic Network that you can reach either by searching for us on Facebook or by clicking on the button above. We hope to use the Facebook site to generate discussions about current issues in the criminal justice system. If there are any topics that you would like to discuss, please start a discussion.

Introduction

In recent weeks the Howard League has broadly welcomed the planned reunification of the probation service. Our primary reservations centre on the plan to keep unpaid work in the hands of the private sector. We will continue engage with civil servants, ministers and other stakeholders to ensure that the probation service is enabled to effectively support the people sent to them and their wider communities.

It was in the spirit of understanding what it felt like to experience life on probation licence that Liverpool John Moores University, FACT Liverpool and the Howard League joined together. We sought to do this by working with men in approved premises to develop a piece of art. The art turned out to be the game Probationary.

The game provides an empathetic experience which the research team has now played with a range of stakeholders including the MoJ probation consultation team, members of PPO and the Parole Board as well as academics, young men in prison and the wider public. One game player commented: *It's quite an interesting way to learn, and I do think that from that hour we had you could probably take in a lot more than you could sat reading pieces of research.*

The experience of developing Probationary and understanding its potential to achieve change in the penal system has been published in our briefing. The research team is currently exploring how to develop the game's potential in terms of a teaching tool and its potential to impact on penal policy.

Commission on Crime & Problem Gambling

The Howard League has recently launched a commission to investigate the links between crime and problem gambling. The fifteen-strong commission, chaired by the former Attorney General, Lord Goldsmith QC, brings together academics and professionals with expertise in the criminal justice system and public health as well as experts with knowledge of the gambling industry and lived experience of addiction.

The commission will investigate patterns of crime linked to problem gambling, and the societal harms that connect the two, before seeking to make recommendations for government, the gambling industry and within the criminal justice system. It will look at the driving forces influencing change and practice, including legislation, politics and the media. It will engage with industry and political leaders throughout its work.

This is a particularly timely piece of work as Lord Goldsmith commented: "Concern about harmful gambling activity has been growing for some time... Our commission will seek to establish what the links are; what impact they have on communities and wider society; and, crucially, what steps could be taken to reduce crime and make people safer."

The commission has issued a call for evidence. Please do add your voice to our commission. The deadline for submission is Monday 30th September 2019.

The Howard Journal of Crime and Justice has launched a new blog: Policy Insights. It will feature short pieces based on articles published in the journal with its author providing a commentary into how their research links with, applies to or develops justice and penal policies. In short, what difference their research might have on current or future policies.

The first blog has been written by Professor Dominique Moran from the University of Birmingham. She writes about her research into the role of former military service people as prison staff in "Soldiering On"? What difference do ex-military personnel make to the prison service?

Please take a look and leave us a comment.

Anita Dockley, Research Director

Howard League for **Penal Reform**

Crime, Justice and Social Harms
Two-day International Conference
31 March – 1 April 2020, Keble College Oxford

Call for papers

How social harms are understood, questioned and tackled can have a profound effect on how communities approach crime and justice. This conference comes at a time when communities across the world are experiencing change and uncertainly affecting how they understand themselves and challenges to the status quo. Coping with, responding to and supporting such uncertainty and change brings challenges for political institutions, criminal justice agencies and civic society in developing values, strategies and systems. We will bring together academics, parliamentarians, practitioners and those directly affected by the criminal justice system to discuss, reflect on and suggest alternative strategies.

The Howard League's conference will consider the intersection of issues relating to crime, justice and social harms. Building on the Howard League's Commission on Crime and Problem Gambling and the burgeoning international concern around it, we are keen to explore the impact of problem gambling on patterns of crime and the societal harms that link crime and problem gambling.

The Howard League is looking for papers from academics, policy makers, practitioners, PhD students and researchers from within the criminological and legal disciplines, however we are also keen to include contributions from fields of study including philosophy, geography, political science and economics. We will consider theoretical, policy, practice-based and more innovative contributions around a wide range of issues that encompass the broad theme of justice and the wider conference themes. We would particularly welcome papers on the following themes, however other topics will also be positively considered:

- political instability, austerity and social change
- addictions as a social harm including gambling, drugs and alcohol
- racism as a social harm
- cybercrime, technology and social media
- policing
- sentencing and legal change
- the role of probation, prisons and the criminal justice system in responding to social harms
- community and civil society's responses to social harms
- relationships and responsibility of social, health and (criminal) justice
- gender, men and masculinities
- equality and social justice
- women, gender and justice

- overuse of the penal system: mass imprisonment, mass supervision and mass surveillance
- poverty and criminal justice
- domestic violence as a social harm
- young people, young adults – social justice and criminal justice
- victims of crime in a social harm context

Abstract guidelines

Abstracts should be a maximum of 200 words and include a title and 4–5 key words. Your submission should be submitted in English. Papers will normally be presented in panel sessions with 3 or 4 papers presented in either slots of 20 or 15 minutes, followed by 20/30 minutes discussion. This conference is particularly interested in and will respond positively to papers that incorporate participatory and creative methods to discuss ideas and findings, lightning talks, panels, or roundtables. We will ask you indicate your preferred method of delivering your paper. Include the proposer's name and contact details along with the job title or role. Please submit abstracts via email to: anita.dockley@howardleague.org

The deadline for submissions is Monday 2 December 2019. Decisions will be made by Wednesday 8 January 2020.

Conference fees

All conference participants, whether presenting a paper or not, are expected to pay conference fees. Further information can be found at: www.howardleague.org/our-events/

Features

Dying on probation: what do we know and what still needs to be done?

Jake Phillips

In 2011 I worked with Loraine Gelsthorpe and Nicky Padfield on a piece of research, commissioned by the Howard League for Penal Reform, which examined the issue of people dying whilst under probation supervision (Gelsthorpe et al., 2012). Since then we have maintained an interest in this important area, including conducting a separate piece of work for the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) in 2016 which had a narrower focus on people who die following release from prison or police detention (Phillips et al., 2016). In this article I provide a brief overview of the work we have done, and what has happened in terms of scrutiny from other bodies. I provide some thoughts on what we might do next to raise awareness of the problem, reduce the number of deaths, support staff and engage with bereaved families.

The mortality rate – what do we know?

In our initial research we were unable to calculate the mortality rate amongst people on probation due to the poor quality of the data. Indeed, this was one of our main findings and subsequently led to the argument that these deaths are missing, neglected or considered unimportant (Phillips et al., 2017). The data we received via the Howard League from Probation Trusts were replete with important gaps. Many cases did not have the index offence recorded and in many instances the

sentence being served at the time of the death was not known. Since then, the situation seems to have improved, albeit only marginally. Data obtained through our research for the Equality and Human Rights Commission contained fewer gaps, especially when it came to information which probation providers should know about. However, in the government's most recent data it is worth highlighting the very high proportion of deaths where the cause of death was unknown. The reasons for this are manifold but it is most likely that the probation worker did not know when the relevant form was completed. In those cases, which are common, the records are supposed to be updated, but it would appear that they are not. Inquests take a long time to complete and updating someone's file which has long been 'closed' is unlikely to be at the top of a practitioner's priority list

when they have a caseload of 100, as is common in the post-Transforming Rehabilitation landscape.

In spite of these missing data, we can calculate the mortality rates for people on probation using government data, an improvement on the situation 8 years ago. In Phillips, Padfield and Gelthorpe (2018) we showed that the self-inflicted death rate amongst people on probation is almost 9 times higher than the suicide rate amongst the general population. This rate ratio is even higher for women, with women on probation being 30 times more likely to take their own life than women in the general population. Within those headline findings, people in their 30s and 40s are even more likely to die by suicide than the equivalent group in the general population. Although we are dealing with low numbers, in terms of the risk faced by people on different sentences, women serving a period of license or post-sentence supervision are most at risk of dying from a self-inflicted death in both absolute and relative terms. Indeed, the rate at which people die following release from prison is of serious concern because firstly the chances of their criminal justice involvement being relevant to the death is high and secondly the number of people dying in such circumstances has been increasing in recent years. The Ministry of Justice (MoJ) has put this increase down to a higher caseload following the implementation of the Offender Rehabilitation Act (2014) but our analysis (Phillips et al., 2019) shows

> ...**the number of people on post-release supervision has doubled since 2014 whilst the number of deaths within that group has increased fourfold.**

that the number of deaths has increased much quicker than the caseload. In short, the number of people on post-release supervision has doubled since 2014 whilst the number of deaths within that group has increased fourfold.

These findings, that people are at a high risk of dying from self-inflicted deaths, have been picked up and highlighted by several bodies. In its report on Prison Health, the Health and Social Care Committee (2018, paragraph 100) asked the government to 'undertake a thorough investigation of deaths during post-release supervision in the community, including the reasons for the rise in death rate that has been described'. In its response, the government (MoJ, 2018, p. 36) announced that it will conduct 'a national review of deaths under post-release supervision with the aim of identifying what further actions may be appropriate to prevent such deaths'. In its recent report on custody-community transitions the Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs (ACMD, 2019) highlighted the 'first few weeks immediately following release to the community [as] the highest risk period' and urged the government to improve the support provided to opioid, non-opioid and abstinent drug users when they are released. This should involve better therapeutic support, fewer people being released homeless as well as the provision of naloxone which can reverse the effects of a heroin overdose if administered quickly. The ACMD also recommended avoiding releasing people from prison on Friday afternoons

as this can hinder access to relevant support services. An indicator of success in this regard would be a reduction in the number of people who die within four weeks of leaving prison. However, in view of what we know about the data in this area this would create additional challenges. Knowing whether these interventions are successful would require the better collation of data, at least separating out deaths by suicide from drug-related deaths. All of this needs to be understood in the context of a probation service which has experienced high levels of upheaval in recent years as a result of the government's disastrous Transforming Rehabilitation reforms which have been universally lambasted by academics, the Justice Select Committee, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation, the National Audit Office and organisations such as the Howard League for Penal Reform.

There are, thus, multiple avenues to pursue in terms of improving the situation. We still need better data collection – something we called for in our report for the Howard League (Gelsthorpe et al., 2012). Once we have better data then we can really start to understand who is most at risk of dying. There are many reasons why people die from a self-inflicted death whilst under supervision. Moreover, many of the reasons will overlap with those deaths in the general population. For example, poverty is highly correlated with suicide, as is prior mental ill health and experience of bereavement, issues which are prevalent amongst people under probation supervision. However, we should not discount the role that being on probation might play here. We know from McNeill's (2018) work that being under penal supervision is far from painless. I would argue for examining these deaths as part and parcel of the structural violence

imposed upon people who are found to be in conflict with the law. We also know that there are certain aspects of the supervisory process which seem to be associated with a higher risk of dying. Research by Borrill, Cook and Beck (2016) and Mackenzie, Cartwright and Borrill (2018), for example, highlights the effect of new legal proceedings and changes to the supervision process (such as change of officer) which seemed to play a part in some of the suicides they analysed. Finally, there is a need for more effective interventions by probation providers themselves. In a recent workshop with practitioners, delegates highlighted the lack of training around suicide awareness and prevention, an important theme in our research for the EHRC in 2016.

Enhancing accountability and improving lesson learning
A strong theme to emerge in this area concerns a seeming lack of accountability when it comes to considering which organisations should be responsible for this group of people. The government (MoJ, 2019, p. 36) argues that 'the level of responsibility and accountability of the National Probation Service for the health and well-being of this population is substantially different from that of the Prison Service in relation to deaths in custody'. It is hard to argue with this, but it is also hard to accept that this means that probation providers and other institutions should be absolved from all responsibility when someone under their supervision dies. When someone dies under supervision the probation worker and their senior probation officer must undertake an internal review which should, in theory, be used as part of wider lesson learning by the provider to reduce future deaths. There is very little evidence that this takes place. In our report in 2012 we highlighted a defensive tone in forms which were very

cursorily completed. It would appear that little has changed in the intervening years.

This is important because this is a group which presents with a high risk of premature death, something which is reflected in the need for probation providers to explicitly assesses 'risk to self' for all service users. As a result, we have argued (Phillips et al 2019) that there is the potential for these deaths to engage Article 2 of the Human Rights Act, which demands that the State protect the right to life of its citizens. In spite of this there is a lack of clarity about which agency should have oversight of these deaths, as highlighted by the Health and Social Care Committee's report (2018, paragraph 100) which asked the government to 'clarify where responsibility for oversight of such deaths should lie'. That there is no duty to investigate these deaths, even when someone dies within a few weeks of leaving prison, is telling. Compare this to the situation in prison where deaths are (rightly) followed by an Article 2

compliant inquest, a clinical review, a PPO investigation and a police investigation all of which are used to provide access to justice for bereaved families, understand what happened in the run up to the death and contribute to lesson learning to prevent subsequent similar deaths (Tomczak, 2019). I would not argue for such a heavy-handed approach following a death under supervision, and there will be some deaths which require very little in terms of review. However, there will be some deaths where being on probation or engaged in the criminal justice system is highly relevant. At the moment we do not fully know the extent of this. This is not to say that individual probation workers should be held responsible for the deaths of people on probation. Rather, I see this as a call for investigations and, subsequently, better lesson learning so that systematic improvements to policy can be implemented to prevent future deaths.

Supporting affected parties
There is a final strand to this work which requires further development. I have spent the last few years doing research on the emotional labour of probation work. Service users who have died have come up in several conversations in the context of this work and it is clear that this can cause significant emotional distress to practitioners. There is a need to think more about how to support practitioners with these difficult circumstances. This might include the provision of counselling as well as time off to deal with the aftermath, attend inquests where necessary and have some space. The other group of people who may need support after the death of a service user is the bereaved families. At the moment, support provided to bereaved families is *ad hoc,* although bereaved family members of people who die whilst in Approved Premises (AP) are entitled to support

and a financial contribution to the funeral costs. I suspect that some bereaved families of people who died when not resident in an AP would also benefit from such support. At the very least, they might want to know whether being on probation played a role in their relative's death and whether anything might have been done to reduce the risk of their loved one dying. Current practice does not allow for this, with the only real scrutiny coming from prevention of future deaths reports written by coroners following some inquests. These can be an effective means of providing accountability but require an inquest to take place and are dependent on the coroner knowing that the deceased was under supervision at the time of their death. Due to the lack of reporting and recording requirements there is no way of knowing how many such inquests take place with no input from probation.

Conclusion

There has been some progress in the area of deaths under probation supervision since we began exploring this issue eight years ago. For example, there are fewer gaps in the data and there is more awareness amongst probation providers, some of whom have suicide prevention leads and suicide reduction strategies. However, this does not appear to happen across the board. The government is about to embark on the reunification of the offender management aspect of probation so that the National Probation Service will, from Spring 2021, be responsible for managing everyone on probation regardless of risk. This represents a prime opportunity to think seriously about what can be done to reduce the number of people who die whilst under probation supervision – with a focus on women and people leaving prison as the highest risk groups – as well as rethink the way in which

probation providers might improve the way they respond to and review the important issue of deaths under probation supervision.

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Reintegrating Mexico's prison population: some creative solutions

Eva Bush

The Central Penitentiary of Oaxaca was my first experience of prison life in Mexico. I had read the newspaper articles and seen the documentaries depicting Mexican prisons as some of the worst in the world. Places of overcrowding, drug abuse and violence, where, if you have money, you can afford your own luxury apartment complete with television. If you don't, you have to rent a mattress on the floor for a few hours of sleep a night.

Entering Oaxaca's medium-secure male prison for the first time I was understandably nervous. However, the prisoners spoke to me using the most formal Spanish, politely enquiring about my name and where I was from. This was against a backdrop of mural-covered prison walls and multi-coloured woven baskets that were hung on display for sale among other artisanal products. Men sat in groups weaving baskets, sandals and chicken-shaped egg bowls, while children ran around the patios and through the cells playing. This was hardly what I had expected from the western view of prisons in Mexico.

There are, of course, many problems in the Mexican prison system including overcrowding, poor resources and a high prison population. In the UK we often hear these narratives, so the purpose of this article is to shed some light on something we rarely if ever hear about – the positive art and education projects that exist in Mexican prisons.

While living in Mexico I have come into contact with many independent organisations, as well as state government departments, which are working towards the reintegration of prisoners into society. I want to highlight what these initiatives are doing well, in order to balance the perception of Mexican prisons, which are nearly always represented negatively by foreign journalists. Although I have encountered many different organisations, I have chosen to focus on those that are succeeding in doing something unique and that offer solutions that could be applied elsewhere.

The Prison Art Project

The Prison Art Project is an independent organisation working to improve conditions and future prospects for Mexico's prison population. Jorge Cueto founded the project in 2012 to create a rehabilitation programme. This programme provides training in art and design which can be applied in the production of fashion items both inside prison and on release. Prisoners learn to produce tattoo designs which are transferred using tattooing machines onto leather for bags, wallets and jackets. Cueto found that they quickly learned the skills of using the machines and many already had tattooing experience.

Tattoos have traditionally played a big role in prison life, gang culture and among social outsiders. For centuries tattoos have been used to mark and identify criminals, and for many prisoners the act of tattooing is a way to claim some freedom over their body while serving their sentence. In Mexico, coded gang tattoos are commonly used to show membership, allegiance and to communicate an individual's identity, including their crimes and beliefs. The tattoos demonstrate a commitment to a community while simultaneously displaying a rejection of society. It is highly imaginative to adopt tattoos that are linked to the lives of many Mexican prisoners in order to produce something creative, beautiful and ultimately positive. It brings those from the outside back into society through a medium that is intertwined with their identity. Besides this, the bags are high quality and extremely desirable one-offs, which explains why *The Prison Art Project* has been such a financial success with 14 shops in Mexico and Spain.

As well as offering workshops in numerous prisons across Mexico, the organisation employs ex-prisoners in its various departments and shops as part of their reintegration into society. Like the UK, most Mexican employers prefer their employees to have a clean criminal record, which makes earning money legally extremely difficult after release, and leads to many being recruited by gangs. The motivation for the project was to create prospects for legitimate work post-release and thereby reduce re-offending. It is claimed by Cueto that the rate of reoffending in Mexico is close to 65% and as high as 90% in some states, even though it is only recorded at 25.9% by the Mexican National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI). *The Prison Art Project,* however, boasts that 89% of participants have not returned to crime since leaving prison. This is a great example of using the arts to reintegrate prisoners: the creative process is a psychological help to prisoners in addressing their identity, and the work provides a substantial income to support themselves and their families during and after their time in prison.

Original friends dolls

I am currently, and most directly, working with the *Original Friends Dolls* project. It provides donated materials and training in doll-making to the women in the Puente Grande Penitentiary in Jalisco. The organisation was founded by a former prisoner, US-born Rebecca Roth, who was wrongly incarcerated for four years before she was found innocent and released. During her time in prison she lived with 13 other women and a baby in a cell designed for six. Baby Lupita was born inside the prison after a conjugal visit from the mother's husband. As Lupita grew up she had no toys to play with, so Roth decided to make her a rag doll.

This was the birth of the project, which was spurred on by Roth's fellow prisoners wanting to learn how to make dolls to sell, and thus earn a better income than the badly paid prison jobs. Roth explained to me that incarcerated women often do not have the same family support as male prisoners because they are even more stigmatised in Mexican society. Many prisons do not even provide drinking water or sufficient food, so the women must find ways to support themselves. Since her release, Roth has continued to manage the project and sell dolls online and at fairs with over 2000 dolls having been made and sold as of 2019. Now she is also running a preventive community cooperative and is preparing to open her first shop.

What makes the dolls so special and marketable is that with each high-quality base (Roth's design) the women have creative freedom to decorate them however they wish, meaning no two look alike. There is a doll that speaks to everybody: whether a red-headed bride, a tomboy in dungarees, or a rabbit-eared pixie. At

fairs I have seen how they grab the attention of passers-by because of the personality and care put into each one by the designer. Again, the creative process allows prisoners to transfer something of their own identity into each doll and this attracts people on a personal level. Not only does this sell dolls, but the connection made between the customer and the prisoner helps to break through the stigma of prisoners as 'bad' people. The customer can relate to the prisoners and no longer views them as the 'other', but as a complex individual like themselves. This is powerfully restorative and vital to the acceptance of ex-prisoners back into society.

The UK also has organisations that employ prisoners to make high quality products, but the prisoners themselves have no part in the creative design process. *Original Friend's Dolls* and *The Prison Art Project* focus on creativity to address how prisoners see themselves and how society sees them. For both sides, believing ex-prisoners have something positive to give to the community is the key to their reintegration and should be the motivation behind prison reinsertion projects. Prisoners should not simply be seen as a form of cheap labour.

System level change

Along with individuals recognising a need for change and taking action, the Mexican government has been implementing reforms including tackling widespread corruption in the criminal justice system; acknowledging the presumption of innocence; and reducing levels of incarceration. In southern Mexico, in one of the poorest of its 32 states, the state government of Oaxaca is successfully implementing these constitutional reforms in the Central Penitentiary of Oaxaca. They focus on providing work and training schemes, education, sports and health care to all those incarcerated to achieve social rehabilitation and reduce recidivism in accordance with Article 18 of the constitution.

Several months since my initial visit to the Oaxaca state prison I returned to attend an exhibition of prints produced in the weekly art workshop. The artwork was on display in the main patio where I freely wandered, eating coconut ice-cream provided by the prison, until an prisoner offered to escort me and proudly explained his piece. The workshops were initiated by an artist serving time in the prison and have become known as the *Taller de Gráfica Siqueiros* after David Alfaro Siqueiros, the famous Mexican painter. Volunteer artists have taught classes on engraving, print-making, stencils, mural-painting and drawing, while the prison has provided a space to work and store art, as well as a gallery and materials to facilitate the workshops.

During my time in Oaxaca, I met many sports, recreation and training practitioners and was shown around the separate drug addiction unit where prisoners receive therapy and health care. The impression of Mexican prisons is that they are rife with drugs, and it is true drugs are a problem inside, just as they are in wider Mexican society. However, during my visits I found the environment safe, pleasant even, with no sign of drugs or violence. One of the officers explained that the prisoners wanted to keep the prison safe for when their families visit, as there is no separate visiting hall. My visits often coincided with family days and I was initially surprised to see relatives spending time in the compound with all the prisoners. Yet the experience was actually much more positive than a family day in the UK, where prisoners cannot leave their seat or embrace their loved ones for long. The Mexican approach seems to be providing a solution to issues of violence and drugs. In fact, research has shown how positive family visits can reduce re-offending and even lead to an improved environment with less violence, although the restorative power of this aspect of prison life is hugely underexplored.

Despite many criticisms of the failings of the reforms – which are now at the end of the eight year implementation process – the results are still a great achievement for one of the most economically depressed states of the republic. Although not all Mexican prisons are like this, my first impression is much more positive than my experience of British prisons, and a far cry from what I've read about in the press. While many of these projects are initiated by ex-prisoners, the willingness of some state governments to make changes and support these projects is vital to their success. According to Cueto, the Mexican government is conscious of the importance of reintegration programmes, and although they do not have the resources to offer economic support, in his experience they have in many ways encouraged and facilitated the projects.

There are many more organisations I have not mentioned in this article, such as *The Penitentiary Theatre Company* which, like similar groups in the UK, uses performance to help prisoners deconstruct their actions and feelings. Instead, I have focused on innovative projects that I have not seen in the UK in order to open up discussion on new ways of improving social integration and reducing incarceration rates. The widely held view that the UK system is better than less developed countries (such as Mexico) glosses over the reality of the problems we face in the UK, such as the high reoffending rate which sees 48% of adults reconvicted within one year of leaving prison. I want to reiterate that the Mexican prison system has many problems, and the reforms now in place have not solved these. The reality is that there is a global crisis in penal systems with overcrowding and high reoffending rates, the solution to which is rooted in how we as a society understand crime and criminals. It is important that we focus on projects that are clearly working – wherever they occur – in order to tackle these long-standing problems effectively.

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I became particularly interested in prison reform after taking a criminology module as part of my English Literature degree at the University of Southampton. Since then I have worked at the Koestler Trust prison arts charity in London, first as a volunteer then as an arts and exhibitions assistant. For the last two years I have been working with various prison-related projects in Colombia and Mexico, most recently with an organisation in Guadalajara which offers doll making workshops to women in prison and underprivileged local women. During this time I have been building networks between similar projects, with a view to collaboration and the sharing of ideas and data. I will soon be returning to live in London and can be contacted at evabush@hotmail.co.uk.

Gendered working in Southwark YOT – reflections on facilitating a girls' group

Rebecca Shepherd

Introduction

Youth Offending Teams (YOTs) have a statutory duty to provide gender-sensitive interventions under the Equality Act 2010. Unlike the probation service, YOTs do not deliver nationally standardised interventions. In probation, there is a significant emphasis on programme integrity in relation to accredited programmes. Programme content and session delivery are rigorously standardised, and must be scrupulously adhered to, to enable reliable evaluation of effectiveness (Hollin et al., 2002; Bhui, 2001). Therefore, YOTs' freedom to develop localised interventions can be seen as substantially different from probation. This can be an opportunity for innovation and development of staff expertise. However, this can also mean that there is wide variation in quality of available interventions.

This article comprises my reflections as a former YOT worker on delivering Southwark YOT's girls' groupwork programme. I will discuss the programme content as an example of best practice, consider the need for a holistic gender-sensitive framework to support groupwork, and discuss the need for reflexive practice with this client group.

Girls in the system: underrepresentation, overrepresentation and stigmatisation

Girls are underrepresented among young offenders, approximately 80% of whom are boys (Youth Justice Board, 2018). Most research into young people who offend is undertaken with boys who form the much larger subject population; and even when discussing young offenders generically a masculinist norm can be assumed. Therefore, gender-aware interventions are needed, as girls' offending is often expressed and motivated differently to boys' (Worrall, 2004).

Girls who end up subject to statutory youth justice supervision are often extremely disadvantaged (O'Neill, 2005; Sharpe and Gelsthorpe, 2009). Unless an anti-oppressive approach is taken by practitioners, YOT supervision can risk reproducing forms of disadvantage. There is widespread evidence of girls being perceived as difficult to work with, and emotionally unstable by justice system staff (Baines and Alder, 1996; Gaarder et al., 2004). Some girls will say that they don't like other girls. The issue of girls' trust in other girls is a complex one, involving social, familial and psychological factors, and can sometimes be understood as symptomatic of internalised misogyny (Schaffner, 2004).

These issues can all pose barriers to promoting girls' groupwork in youth justice, due to concerns about girls' volatility in group settings. In Southwark this meant that when relaunching the group it was important for the staff body as a whole to be engaged in the process, and to 'buy into' the group's aims. At Southwark the staff body has been uniformly supportive of the relaunched group, and those supervising girls have made significant efforts to support their girls to attend, including attending the group themselves. This demonstrates how a working environment in which staff feel supported by each other is central to successful groupwork delivery.

The Southwark context
Southwark is a diverse inner-London borough with over 120 languages spoken (Southwark Council, 2017). It is among the boroughs with high levels of serious youth violence and knife crime and has a high teenage pregnancy rate (Southwark Council, 2018). It has areas of significant wealth alongside areas of intergenerational deprivation.

Southwark YOT, like the entire youth justice system, has a high level of racial disproportionality (Lammy, 2017). Consequently, most of the girls who have been through the girls' group are from BAME backgrounds, particularly from Black ethnic groups, which are the most overrepresented (Lammy, ibid.), and have experienced multiple forms of disadvantage.

Southwark girls' group is unusual in one regard: it is also open to non-YOT girls who are known to Southwark children's services. A statutory aim for YOTs is to reduce first-time entrants into the youth justice system, and due to the similarity of issues that both groups face (Schofield et al., 2014) it is hoped that girls at risk of offending who complete the group may be less likely to enter the justice system. A further aim is the de-stigmatisation of YOT girls. The Corston Report (Corston, 2007) recommends that services for female offenders in the community are also available to non-offenders, to reduce stigma and 'othering'. This inclusive principle has been adopted at Southwark, and therefore the group takes place at a local community centre. This can allay social workers' concerns about non-offending girls attending the YOT building. It was also felt that it was important to demonstrate to all the girls that they don't have to commit an offence to gain support.

Southwark YOT has been running a girls' groupwork programme for several years, although it has not run consistently throughout that time due to previous challenges in getting enough referrals. The Youth Justice Board (YJB) itself has noted that girls' interventions can be short-lived and dependent on enthusiasm of particular staff members (Youth Justice Board, 2009). In Southwark, the facilitators are particularly good at engaging the

girls, colleagues and social workers. However, the programme is only 6 weeks in total (although girls can attend future groups as volunteer co-facilitators). To embed girls' work more holistically there is also a wider YOT girls' strategy, which should help protect against the risk of short-termism. The group is comprised of an annual summer programme with activities specifically for girls, such as drama or photography workshops, and a series of quarterly girls' forums, at which recent topics have included sexual health awareness and self-defence training.

The programme
The session topics are based on relevant factors for girls' offending, as identified in the YJB's 2009 report 'Girls and offending – patterns, perceptions and interventions' (ibid.).

The programme starts with an introductory session such as bowling, going out for a meal or doing an activity. One popular session included a member of staff doing henna tattoos. The approach taken by facilitators is very informal and relaxed, and girls respond well to this. This introductory session is a direct attempt to overcome girls' negative views towards each other, and to build a sense of camaraderie, before the content becomes more challenging.

Incorporating pre-group activities has been found to help reduce girls' anxiety about the group. The feedback informally from girls at the end of this session has been that they expected not to like it and that they expected hostility from other participants. They thought that the session might end in 'beef' or being 'screwfaced', i.e. conflict with other girls. The aim of the session is to reassure, so that girls are more likely to return in future weeks, which has been successful.

There are a further five sessions:

1) **Girlhood.** This focuses on identity, and encourages the girls to think about their friendships, family dynamics, loyalty, self-respect and pre-emptive bullying. The session involves watching French film 'Girlhood', set in the Parisian banlieue, which engages with all these issues, including structural racism and social exclusion. Another film is sometimes used instead: 'Honeytrap', about the murder of a young person in the neighbouring borough of Lambeth. This film engages with issues of friendship, fitting in, 'immigrating' to a new community, and the pressure to act as a 'set up chick', i.e. a girl who sets up a boy to be attacked by other boys. This theme of betrayal is one which recurs in group discussions with the girls, so this film is very pertinent.

2) **Healthy relationships.** This session builds on discussions from week 1, and considers what a healthy relationship looks like, including within families, friendships and romantic relationships. Child Sexual Exploitation (CSE) and teenage domestic abuse is covered. The aim is for girls to be able to identify signs of an unhealthy

relationship, to recognise abusive behaviour, and to consider what a healthy friendship is. This session initially focused more on domestic abuse and CSE, but consistently the girls have wanted to talk about their platonic friendships, particularly issues of trust, and instances when friendships have betrayed. The discussions have shown there can be significant and sometimes complex overlap and interplay between girls' platonic and romantic relationships, with concerns about sexual chasteness or not being perceived as a 'sket' or 'jezzy' (slut) impacting on both types of relationship.

3) **Offending behaviour and consequences.** Girls are encouraged to think about their own moral boundaries in this session. One of the exercises requires the girls to rank a series of offences in order of perceived seriousness. Following this, the real ranked seriousness is shown, which generates a lot of discussion about whether they agree with the law, and what offences they consider worst. This encourages the girls to engage in reflective discussion and work out where their own moral 'red lines' are.

A key aspect of the group is its flexibility. Content can be tailored at short notice in pre-group planning meetings, as needed. For example, one group session took place just after the murder of a well-known local young person. The session was altered to allow the girls to reflect on the incident, which led to a useful wider discussion about how they keep themselves safe at parties when other young people, usually boys, are armed, and violence is likely.

This reflexive approach means that no two sessions are the same, and much of the learning can be absorbed through informal talk – the role of which is arguably under-acknowledged in offending behaviour work.

4) **Self-identity and offending**. This session promotes self-love and aspiration, and includes reflecting on societal factors, peer pressure, and self-esteem. Again, the content has been amended over time in response to issues which the girls raised. It now involves a particular focus on racialised beauty standards and societal perceptions. Girls are asked to locate themselves in the room on a series of 'agree/disagree' statements, which are then discussed. The discussion is led primarily by the girls' own views, so it is different each time. However, the girls' perception that Eurocentric beauty norms are privileged in society, and their own rejection of these norms, has been a consistent feature.

The latter part of the session involves the girls making an 'I love myself because' board with brightly coloured cardboard stickers (see on next page). Facilitators prepare for this session beforehand particularly carefully, so no girls are left without enough good things about themselves to fill a flipchart and contribute positive statements of their own about the girls. The wallcharts are photographed, and the girls are invited to choose their favourite word about themselves from their sheet.
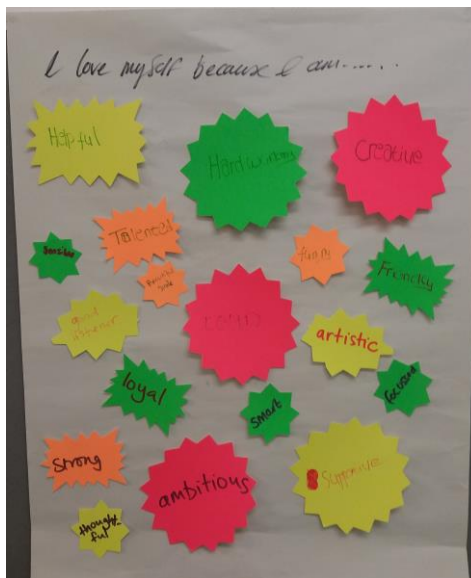
5) **Awards ceremony**. Since the group has been relaunched its completion is always properly celebrated.

This started off being just a pizza night. However, as pizza gradually became an essential component of each week's session (the group runs in the early evening) something different was needed. This has now become a two-pronged event, with a meal out for girls and facilitators, followed by a presentation to which social workers, parents and YOT staff are actively encouraged to attend. This is influenced by the Good Lives Model focus on strengthening positive factors and encouraging young people to see themselves as capable of achieving highly.

Girls are commended for completing the group and given two certificates – one for completion, and an individualised certificate for 'group's most….', which is decided by facilitators (e.g. group's best listener, group's funniest, group's most reflective). Girls are also presented with a 'goody bag', including some gift toiletries and/or cosmetics, and a unique piece of jewellery for each girl, inscribed with the favourite word about themselves that they chose during

session 4. This type of gift was chosen so the girls had an active reminder of something positive they like about themselves, to promote self-belief.

The feedback from girls about this has been overwhelmingly positive. The presentation encourages girls' families and other workers to attend and to hear their girl being actively praised for what they have achieved during the group. The girls get to see themselves being talked about positively. For the many girls who have had much negative feedback from parents, social workers and teachers, hearing something very different from professionals can act as a powerful corrective.

Feedback on the group is still quite informal and is one example of how the group has had to adapt. Participants felt that the initial feedback sheets were too wordy. A simpler form has been devised. Girls are also asked to give verbal feedback after the ceremony, to say what their favourite session was, and why, and if they would make any changes to the programme. Some girls said that sessions with too much writing were off-putting, so this was changed to become more dynamic and interactive. In this way the group is a collaboration between staff and girls: the girls can feel they have some influence and control, which is often lacking in their lives.

Conclusion

Whilst co-facilitating the group, I was reminded strongly of what is known about dynamic youth justice practice – it requires staff commitment, creativity and energy to make it work. Even the best-devised group can become stale, and requires constant evaluation and adaptation to keep it feeling fresh and relevant. As I stated in the introduction, due to the operating model of YOTs as independent from each other, it can be harder to communicate good practice than in probation or prisons. The YJB does have an online resource hub, in which examples of good practice can be lodged, but this is not looked at consistently by staff, and only contains a fraction of the good practice in operation nationwide. Likewise, communication between academia and practitioners can be patchy: many academics have limited contact with the field, and practitioners are often not aware of the most up-to-date published research. My aim in writing this short piece has been to give a snapshot of some current good practice, and to encourage practitioners to exchange knowledge with each other and with researchers. This will ensure that the central aim of supporting marginalised and vulnerable girls can be supported.

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About the author

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What kind of leadership do prisons need?

Lucie Benaiteau

Prison leadership has been described as an 'impossible job' by nature (DiIulio, 1990). Prisons suffer from deeply conflicted missions, a lack of resources and legitimacy, and low public support for the interests of those in their care (Hargrove and Glidewell, 1990). However, evidence shows that some prisons provide a better quality of life for prisoners and staff than others (Liebling, 2004), a fact which has been linked in part to the actions and values of individual governors (DiIulio, 1987; Liebling, 2004). Despite the 'tragic' nature of imprisonment as a response to social problems (Garland, 1991, p. 285), good prisons leadership may therefore exist.

This article will explore what may lie at the heart of good prison leadership, focusing on the practice of prison governors. Research has been conducted on the impact of management styles on order within prisons, predominantly in the American context (Barak-Glantz, 1981; DiIulio, 1987; Jacobs, 1977). More recently, a body of work has also emerged on the values and motivations of senior managers (Liebling and Crewe, 2012a, 2016) and their agency in the context of late modernity and managerialism in England and Wales (Bennett, 2015). However, little research has been produced on prison 'leadership', let alone good

leadership[1], and perhaps understandably. There are complexities inherent in defining what

'good' may mean in an organisation where goals are ambiguous, outcomes difficult to measure, and individual establishments so diverse that a different leadership 'style' may fit different prisons at different stages of their evolution (Liebling, 2004; Liebling and Crewe, 2015).

Moreover, leadership itself is an elusive term. Despite an abundance of scholarly and popular literature on the topic, no consensus exists on its definition (Spector, 2016). Kellerman

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[1] Except perhaps for Bryans and Wilson (1998, pp.62–65) and Jacobs & Olitsky (2004)

(2012) argues that 'good' leadership has no essence of its own and is inherently context-specific. In the prison context, governors may engage with a variety of audiences including staff and prisoners whose interests may strongly diverge and who may recognise other forms of leadership as more legitimate[2]. Moreover, unlike corporate sector managers whose primary goal is profit, prison governors must reconcile the conflicting aims of imprisonment (Bryans and Wilson, 1998), which entails making complex moral judgments. This is however deeply tied to a penal context of managerialism and punitiveness which may restrict their agency (Bennett, 2015).

In light of these challenges, this article begins by arguing that good prison leadership, at its core, lies in the ability of governors to foster meaningful relationships with prisoners and staff. I then argue that the best governors also engage with the moral dimension of their work, reconciling security and harmony, management and sense of purpose, loyalty and resistance. Finally, I examine how the current context of managerialism can impede the development of positive practices and argue that good leadership may ultimately be needed in the way governors themselves are governed. At their best, governors may be 'craftsmen', skilfully navigating the moral complexity of imprisonment; they cannot however function without a 'well-crafted organisation' (Sennett, 2009), fostering the kind of moral direction, trust and commitment they are asked to demonstrate.

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[2] See e.g. Crewe (2009, pp. 248–300) on prisoner leadership or Liebling & Price (2001, pp. 145–172) on prison officer unions

Leading through relationships: authority, trust and dialogue

The ability of skilled prison staff to navigate the 'softer' elements of prison life, such as culture or emotions, is often described as 'jailcraft' (Bryans, 2008, p. 226; Crewe, Liebling, and Hulley, 2014). This resonates with what Sennett (2009) describes as 'craftsmanship', a work identity developed through physical practices and experience. If there is a 'craft' of good prison leadership, it appears to be based, at its core, on the establishment of meaningful relationships through which governors embody authority and values, establish trust in a climate of risk, and encourage moral dialogue.

Governors have been described as 'hyper-visible' (Liebling and Crewe, 2015, p. 9) within prisons. They may produce formal statements of purpose for their establishments. However what staff and prisoners scrutinise is the way in which they *embody* their values. Interactions between governors and staff, however symbolic, may be particularly important in 'setting the tone' of an establishment (Liebling and Price, 2001, p. 185). Governors may act as 'moral translators' (Liebling and Crewe, 2015, p. 9), bridging the gap between 'high-flown theory' (Godfrey, 1996, p. 13) and the realities of prison wings. Simple actions such as queuing up with prisoners for a meal or conversations encouraging compassion and care may represent 'teachable encounters' (Tyler, 2011) during which legitimacy and values of decency and humanity are reaffirmed (Liebling and Crewe, 2015). Through formal events such as adjudications or disciplinary hearings as well as more informal interactions, governors may also play a role in modelling the appropriate use of authority in their prisons, setting boundaries for appropriate behaviour through visible moral leadership (Bennett, 2015; Liebling and Price, 2001).

However, there may be such a thing as a 'right' kind of visibility. According to Liebling (2004), prisons are inherently 'low-trust environments' and staff may perceive excessive control of their work by governors as a lack of trust in their abilities. This is reinforced by the increasingly risk-averse context in which prisons operate, characterised by the replacement of informal modes of trust by procedural forms of accountability such as performance indicators and targets (Liebling, 2010; O'Neill, 2002; Sennett, 1999). This emphasis on risk-avoidance has reduced the scope of staff discretion (Carlen, 2001; Liebling and Arnold, 2012) and led to the experience of a 'tighter' form of imprisonment for prisoners (Crewe, 2011). In turn, this may lead to a fragmentation of relationships resulting in heightened levels of violence and fear (Liebling and Arnold, 2012). In this context, it has been argued that successful prisons are characterised by 'intelligent' trust (Liebling, Armstrong, Bramwell, and Williams, 2015; O'Neill, 2002), an inherently relational form of trust based on the acknowledgment of others as moral agents. Pettit (1995) argues that trust always involves an element of risk: what is important is that, even for the apparently untrustworthy, the very act of being trusted may spark a will to live up to expectations and engage in positive action. Placing trust 'intelligently' in staff may involve supportive positive uses of discretion such as 'time-consuming but life-supporting' responses including kindness and comfort to prisoners at risk of suicide (Carlen, 2001, p. 467); with regard to prisoners, these responses may arise through symbolic actions such as offering someone a job on the wing or supporting their progress despite a relapse into drugs (Liebling et al., 2015). Good prison leadership may be that which acknowledges that trust

represents both a risk and a necessity and uses it 'intelligently' to build meaningful relationships.

Building on this foundation of trust, a third element of the 'craft' of good prison leadership lies in establishing meaningful dialogue with staff and prisoners. Amid operational challenges, prisons provide little space for moral conversations (Liebling and Crewe, 2012a). The best governors may be those who enlist individuals in moral discourse as agents of change. The use of appreciative inquiry, an approach to organisational change based on the acknowledgment of value and possibility, has been found in two English prisons to generate considerable enthusiasm in staff, provided governors engaged with the process (Liebling, Elliott, and Arnold, 2001). Carlen (2001) also describes the powerful effects of a governor's decision to foster dialogue in a Scottish Women's prison faced with particularly high rates of suicide. Democratic 'ownership' of the problem led to staff challenging existing procedures and promoting a more positive treatment of prisoners. In that sense, good prison leaders are 'catalysts' (Wright, 1991) who identify and develop capabilities in the pursuit of clear moral values.

Leading with values: moral dualism, purpose and commitment

Given the ambiguity surrounding the aims of imprisonment, Bryans (2008) argues that it generally falls to prison governors to reconcile and mould competing values into a coherent ethos for their establishment. Those values may be oriented towards 'security' (e.g. order, procedure and stability) or 'harmony' (e.g. dignity, progress, relationships) (Liebling and Crewe, 2012a). According to Liebling and Crewe (2016), the best governors are 'moral dualists', who seek to reconcile both sets of values. In their management style, they combine high operational skill with a moral vision and 'hold idealism and pragmatism in healthy tension' (Liebling and Crewe, 2016, p. 204). In their establishments, this results in a 'light-present' form of authority (Crewe, Liebling, and Hulley, 2014; Liebling et al., 2019), based on meaningful relationships rather than coercion or situational control. Like Sennett's (2009) 'craftsmen', they are more likely to work 'with' rather than 'against' resistance. They engage with the meaning of behaviour rather than being excessively punitive. Their approach is based on a 'tragic' understanding of human nature (Liebling and Crewe, 2012a; Muir, 1977) and a view of individuals as 'experiencing subjects', rather than 'experienced objects' (Liebling et al., 2019, p. 8). Thus, in HMP Warren Hill, a particularly successful category C men's prison, an ethos based on 'hope' was found to be underpinned by supportive authority and the recasting of security order as *means* to achieve positive outcomes rather than *ends* in themselves, enabling the flourishing of personal growth (Liebling et al., 2019).

Beyond the reconciliation of security and harmony, the skill of good prison governors also appears to arise in the way they negotiate managerialist practices with a sense of purpose. In recent decades, prisons have seen the emergence of a 'no-frills' approach to imprisonment prioritising containment, risk management and a narrow conception of decency (Liebling and Crewe, 2012b). Among prison governors, Liebling and Crewe (2016) have described the rise of 'performance-plus' and 'entrepreneur' types who entered the prison service seeking an opportunity to manage rather than with a moral purpose, and thrive on 'delivery' and 'performance', adhering to a credo of 'efficiency' (Rutherford, 1993). In contrast to this approach, moral dualists often adhere to liberal-humanitarian values, in the spirit of Rutherford's (1993) 'humanity' credo (Liebling and Crewe, 2012a). This adherence to a higher purpose beyond mere 'expediency and survival' (Rutherford, 1993, p. 120) influences the way they navigate managerial reforms. As with order and security, they see targets and performance as 'for other things' (Liebling and Crewe, 2016, p. 204). They may, for instance, rely on formal procedures as a 'defensive guard' to challenge traditional staff cultures (Bennett, 2015). They may also know to look behind numbers and targets, wary of their tendency to create a 'virtual prison' far removed from reality (Bennett, 2015, p. 28), and value qualitative outcomes (such as emotional support, hope or harmony) over quantitative performance indicators (Carlen, 2001).

Finally, and in relation to the rise in managerialist practices, the best governors may be those who are able to skilfully balance loyalty and resistance in their relationship with the Prison Service. 'Moral dualists' tend to work with an awareness of the 'tragic' character of imprisonment (Garland, 1991, p. 285; Liebling and Crewe, 2012a) as a deeply imperfect solution to a perfect storm of social issues, yet as opposed to 'faded idealists' or 'alienated' governors, they may demonstrate a profound loyalty for the

Prison Service (Liebling and Crewe, 2016, p. 205). In reconciling loyalty to their values and to the organisation, they may thus attempt to negotiate a position 'between revolutionary resistance and blind conformity' (Bennett, 2015, p. 32) and engage in measured acts of moral resistance. According to Liebling (2015), the most successful prisons in terms of quality of life are not necessarily the most compliant. Governors may use 'discreet discretion' (Cheliotis, 2008) or 'cut corners' in order to achieve moral outcomes. This involves an ability to distinguish between the 'message' and the 'noise' of penal policy, which may imply disregarding targets or delaying procedures when they are perceived to conflict with the 'bigger picture' of humanity, growth and care (Carlen, 2002; Liebling and Crewe, 2015, pp. 7-8; Liebling et al., 2019).

Leading the leaders

Beyond the establishment of meaningful relationships within their establishments, the 'craft' of good prison governors thus seems to lie in the skilful reconciliation of seemingly opposing values as well as the negotiation of managerialist practices through adjustments and acts of non-compliance and resistance. However, although examples of outstanding leadership may represent powerful aspirational models, the very idea that the best governors may be those that 'resist' is problematic. To what extent is the kind of leadership outlined above enabled in the Prison Service, and how common might it be?

According to Bennett (2015), prison governors have traditionally been portrayed as 'crusading, heroic moralists', with little attention to the context and organisational structures in which they operate. However, governors themselves are 'governed' by a broader structure, from area managers to the

Prison Service headquarters, which may constrain their agency to act according to

their values (Bennett, 2015). The risk-averse managerialist practices which governors must negotiate in relation to their treatment of staff and prisoners are indeed present at every level of the organisation. The constant re-assignment of successful governors to new establishments may break bonds of trust and lead to cynicism in staff (Liebling, 2004). Governors themselves also tend to lament the narrowing of their discretion and the decline of trust from their superiors (Liebling and Crewe, 2015), as well as the irony of the notion that 'every contact matters' in a context where transformations in their role have led them to become increasingly office-bound (Bennett, 2015). Some also point out a lack of emotional support and 'organisational respect' (Liebling and Crewe, 2015) as well as 'hidden injuries' to do with gender, ethnicity and ill-health

(Bennett, 2015). Overall, governors may resent the design of policies by civil servants far removed from the realities of prison work (Carlen, 2002). They, too, may yearn for positive leadership from those above them and a perceived lack of trust, support and dialogue in the way they are governed may impact their ability and willingness to govern others according to such principles.

Moreover, due to the very same managerialist practices, liberal-humanitarian values have become scarce in the Prison Service, as have opportunities for practitioners to engage in 'moral dialogue' about the aims of imprisonment, penal policies, and how to shape and implement them in a meaningful way (Liebling and Crewe, 2012a). According to Liebling and Crewe (2012a), the professional socialisation of governors no longer bears the mark of the older generation of 'liberal-romantics' who used to advocate values of care and compassion and promote a reflection on imprisonment in public forums. Instead, managerialism and its very immediate concern for service delivery seems to have produced a generation of highly dispassionate governors. In this context, such acts of liberal-humanitarian resistance as outlined above are increasingly rare. Liebling and Crewe (2012b) argue that most governors in the current context are highly compliant, while Bennett (2015) explains that resistance, when it does occur, tends to reinforce traditional staff culture and managerialism rather than liberal-humanitarian values. This is consistent with Le Grand's (2003) analysis of how 'command-and-control' models of public administrations may turn the altruistic, public-spirited 'knights' of public administrations into powerless 'pawns', incapable of realising their moral aspirations, or self-interested 'knaves', manipulating figures to give the illusion of performance. Those individuals who

maintain strong moral values may feel like their organisations 'hit the target but miss the point' (Le Grand, 2007, p. 29) and become increasingly alienated.

According to Sennett (2009, p. 249), 'craftsmanship' in individuals must come hand in hand with 'well-crafted organisations' who 'focus on whole human beings in time', encourage mentoring, and develop clear aims in a language understandable by their various audiences. In the Prison Service, this may mean acknowledging the harmful effects of managerialist practices and fostering at all levels the very relationships of trust, support and dialogue that define the practice of good prison governors, in order to encourage a moral questioning on the practice and purposes of penal institutions. This 'remoralisation' of prisons should be authentic and reflexive (Carlen, 2001; Liebling, 2010) and approach the concept of leadership with care. Promoting leadership in governors, senior managers and staff should not constitute a strategy of 'responsibilisation' (Garland, 1996) through which the organisation abdicates responsibility for the running of prisons (Carlen, 2001). Rather, what should be sought is the encouragement of good practices demonstrated to improve prisoner and staff quality of life, along with a shared 'democratic ownership' (Carlen, 2002) of penal policy supporting moral initiative from those who know most about the qualitative aspects of prison life, including staff and prisoners. Moreover, a focus on what outstanding prison governors can achieve should not obscure what even good leadership simply cannot do. In this regard, the example of HMP Warren Hill as described by Liebling et al. (2019) is particularly telling. In spite of the remarkable sense of moral imagination displayed by individuals in building an exceptionally safe, humane and hopeful

environment, the 'tragedy' of imprisonment nevertheless surfaced in the experience of prisoners upon release. Beyond the establishment, and outside its reach, lay poorly-coordinated penal policies, a climate of punitiveness and the results of broader social dynamics of exclusion, which undermined the very values and hopes which outstanding leadership had encouraged.

Conclusion

At an organisational level, the Prison Service seems to currently be engaged in what Hart (2014, p. 121) describes as 'fire-fighting' leadership, for which the main task is to 'get the organisation off the front pages and out of the news bulletin'. In this context, the emergence of the concept of leadership in job descriptions and policy recommendations (Bryans and Wilson, 1998; Learmont, 1995) may demonstrate a search for salvation in 'great men' (Kellerman, 2012). This article has demonstrated that outstanding governors do make a difference in individual prisons through well-crafted relationships and values, but that the kind of leadership they embody may be rare and threatened by managerialist practices and the decline of liberal-humanitarian values. More attention may need to be given to ways in which the organisation could enable such leadership and learn from the moral imagination of those individuals in the development of broader penal policy.

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