



'Prison Does Not Work'

Advanced Higher Modern Studies Dissertation

Overall Word Count: 4173

Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| Evaluation of Research Methodology..... | 3 |
| Introduction | 4 |
| Chapter One: Assess the extent to which prisons meet their aims..... | 6 |
| Chapter Two: To what extent do alternatives to prison produce more effective outcomes?..... | 11 |
| Electronic Tagging | 11 |
| Restorative Justice..... | 12 |
| Community Payback | 13 |
| Fines | 14 |
| Early Intervention Strategies | 14 |
| Chapter Three: To what extent do international countries show that prison does not work?..... | 16 |
| Conclusion | 20 |
| Appendix 1: Advanced Higher Modern Studies - SurveyMonkey Survey Data, February 2016..... | 21 |
| Bibliography..... | 23 |

Evaluation of Research Methodology

Primary Sources

I conducted a survey using SurveyMonkey to gather information on what people's opinions are towards today's prison service and how worthy they think alternatives to imprisonment are in today's society. A total of 77 people participated in my survey, of which 47 were female and 33 were male. Despite a large number of responses giving a better insight into multiple opinions, a large majority of the respondents were female. This makes the results less reliable as it is not a proper representation of the population. As well as this, the vast majority (92%) were aged 16-24, again making the results less reliable due to this imbalance. Despite this, the survey was time and cost effective. SurveyMonkey was very straightforward and a total of only 7 questions asked meant the survey was quick and easy for the respondent. In hindsight, I would not have posted my survey on a social networking site which limited the age group. I would have, if I were to do it again, included a greater representation of other age groups. This would mean that my survey would be less limited in circulation.

Secondary Sources

The secondary sources used were mainly government reports and statistics from government websites. Other sources included, publications both academic and newspaper, and general news sites, for example, the BBC. I relied heavily on the BBC website to improve my general knowledge about crime and punishment. This is a generally impartial source of information, however, in the past there have been accusations of bias within the BBC. The provision of government reports and statistics rectify this potential source of bias.

Word Count: 267

'Prison Does Not Work'

Introduction

The world's total current prison population is nearing 9 million¹ and rising. This shocking statistic means there are 9 million people not contributing to society either as part of the workforce or as a parent or family member and 9 million people with a background that will include imprisonment often from a young age and therefore starting adult life with a stigma.

Prison is defined as 'a building in which people are legally held as a punishment for a crime they have committed'². This formal definition refers to two of the four main aims of prison: incarceration and punishment. However, it does not include reference to the other two aims: deterrence and rehabilitation. These four aims are in place to try and ensure that prison successfully protects society, deters crime and stops reoffending. Prisons and/or responses to crime take various shapes and forms. At one end of the spectrum, they are highly focused on punishment and ensuring retribution for crime with the hope that this will deter future offences. At the other end of the spectrum, they focus highly on rehabilitation of the offender with the target of reducing reoffending rates. It is universally accepted in the civilised world that there has to be an organised reaction to crime but there are factors that dictate success.

In order to prove or disprove my hypothesis, 'Prison does not work', I have split my research into three sections:

Chapter One: 'Assess the extent to which prisons meet their aims'. This chapter individually analyses each aim of the UK Prison Service, their purpose and the

¹ http://www.prisonstudies.org/highest-to-lowest/prison_population_rate?field_region_taxonomy_tid=All&=Apply

² Oxford English Dictionary 2016. Oxford University Press

degree of success. Research for this was based on recent HMI reports and recent publications.

Chapter Two: 'To what extent do alternatives to prison produce more effective outcomes?' The current main alternatives to incarceration - electronic tagging, restorative justice, community payback, fines and early intervention measures - are discussed. Recidivism and completion rates are used to evaluate whether these alternatives are successful or don't have a place in today's society.

Chapter Three: 'To what extent do international countries show that prison does not work?' Norway and the USA are used as two international comparisons. These two countries are at the opposite extremes of recidivism rates with the UK being somewhere in between. The systems of each are compared and contrasted in order to consider which one is the most successful.

Word Count: 401

Chapter One: Assess the extent to which prisons meet their aims

'Her Majesty's Prison Service serves the public by keeping in custody those committed by the courts. Our duty is to look after them with humanity and help them lead law-abiding and useful lives in custody and after release'³.

The reasons for sending an offender to prison are primarily to protect the public, to punish the offender, to act as a deterrent and, during the course of their sentence, to rehabilitate them ready to enter society again.

It is obvious that while in prison, an offender cannot harm the public. While they are incarcerated all their freedoms are withdrawn and they have almost no control over most everyday decisions. However, in some circumstances, life in prison with access to food, shelter and education is better than life outside and it is argued that prison life now, in conjunction with poverty, are the reasons for high recidivism rates. Thus, for some offenders, prison is not a punishment. Modern-day prisons, with upgraded conditions, have been controversial as they are said to have become too forgiving and to resemble 'holiday camps'⁴.

Lord Woolf, former Lord Chief Justice has said "overcrowding is the cancer at the heart of the prison system". Extremely cramped cells originally designed for one prisoner but now often accommodating two has meant that some prisoners endure a distance of approximately 12 inches between their pillow and their toilet. In some prisons, due to overcrowding and staff shortages, prisoners can be locked in their cells for up to 22 hours a day⁵. The current CNA (Certifies Normal Accommodation)

³ <http://www.justice.gov.uk/about/hmps/>

⁴ <http://www.politics.co.uk/reference/prison-rehabilitation>

⁵ HM Chief Inspector of Prisons for England and Wales, Annual Report 2014-2015

level is 77,272 meaning that 8,658 men and women are being held above this level.⁶ Prisons haven't got the funding to be able to provide special protection for the more vulnerable inmates, thus 26% of all self-harm incidents occur within the first month of an offender's sentence.⁷ Due to this huge overcrowding issue and cuts to staff numbers, prisons have become cramped and unordered. Frances Cook, Chief Executive of the Howard League for Penal Reform said to The Huffington Post UK, "there are many people who are in prison who the prison system is just quite simply not set up to look after. I've known lots of situations with men banging their heads on a wall, bleeding, blood coming out of their heads and their noses, scarring themselves. Then mental health people come, have a look at them and say 'Nah, they're not mad, they are bad.' I am sorry, I don't understand that." He adds "Prisoners are scared. Staff are scared. Prison is a scary place"⁸. In an analysis of prison deaths, 10% of all cases noted that the location of the cell was contributory.⁹ In 2014, 235 offenders died in prison, 35% of these took their own lives, compared to 0.8% of the English and Welsh general population who died in the same period, of self harm¹⁰. Something deep rooted is wrong with the funding of the prison system in the UK. The aim "to look after them with humanity" is clearly not working.

With the lack of time prisoners have out of their cells, boredom is said to be the main reason for drug use among prisoners¹¹. Indeed, about half of the prison population have a drug addiction. A Prison Reform Trust survey reported that 19% of offenders

⁶ www.howardleague.org/weekly-prison-watch/

⁷ Criminal Justice Alliance. Restorative Justice: Time for Action. (2011). <http://www.criminaljusticealliance.org>

⁸ http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2012/03/05/prison-deaths-overcrowding-howard-league-poa_n_1321771.html

⁹ The Prison and Probation Ombudsman Foundation

¹⁰ Office for National Statistics, Death Registrations Summary Tables, England and Wales, 2014, <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcn%3A77-370351>

¹¹ Max Daly & Steve Sampson, *Narcomania: A Journey Through Britain's Drug World* (William Heinemann 2012), p 42

first started using heroin in prison¹². In Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons, Annual report 2011-12¹³, 24% of prisoners asked, reported that it was 'easy' or 'very easy' to get drugs into prison. In the more recent HM Chief Inspector of Prisons for England and Wales Annual Report 2014-15 there was shown to be a strong link between legal highs and violence in prisons. With the heroin and other illicit drug problems unsolved, the prison service has yet another difficulty to tackle, legal highs. These new psychoactive substances e.g. Spice and Black Mamba have unpredictable and life threatening outcomes. The volatile and violent behaviour takes many officers to control.

In prison, offenders have the chance to learn new skills, get qualifications and change their behaviour so that they can be part of society without relying on crime. Although these opportunities exist, they are not universally available due to lack of funding and overcrowding such that the schemes are not run effectively or at all. The results of these rehabilitation opportunities are also hindered by addictions and mental health problems. The latter account for almost 70% of the prison population¹⁴. This huge percentage clearly needs major funding to tackle. Due to the lack of funding and lack of support prisoners receive, thousands leave prison with nowhere to stay, adding to the problem of homelessness. The majority of prisoners want to stop offending; a survey carried out by the charity Shelter in July 2015, found that 60% of prisoners asked what would be the most significant factor that would stop them reoffending said 'having a place to live'¹⁵. With nowhere to live, no form of income and the struggle to find employment with their record, many former offenders

¹² Prison Reform Trust, *Out for Good: taking responsibility for resettlement* (September 2012)

¹³ Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons, Annual report 2011-12

¹⁴ <http://www.politics.co.uk/reference/prison-rehabilitation>

¹⁵ http://www.scotland.shelter.org.uk/news/july_2015/support_for_young_offenders+&cd=3&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=uk&safe=vss

see no way to live other than to commit crime. When offenders have a long term sentence it is highly likely they will lose their home. When asked 'half of prisoners in Scotland surveyed said that they lost their accommodation when they went to prison'¹⁶. This is not unexpected and so they should receive appropriate support to help find accommodation before they leave. Any rehabilitation, education or work experience that offenders receive during their sentence does not fully prepare them for the struggle they will encounter reintegrating into the community because of the stigma that comes with being an offender. This stigma, as well as absenteeism on their work record or CV, makes it difficult to find any kind of employment, therefore worsening social exclusion and so, with no form of income, offenders may see no other option than to return to crime.

In assessing whether prisons meet their aims, the evidence clearly supports that they do not. Despite this, a recent survey conducted for this dissertation found that when asked, 'Do you think the current prison system is effective?' the majority of respondents answered 'Somewhat Effective'. However, when asked, 'What do you think the current rate of reoffending is in England and Wales for short term (less than one year) sentences?' the majority answered 40-80%¹⁷. These findings do not equate: high recidivism rates do not reflect an effective prison system.

One of the final aims of a prison sentence is to rehabilitate offenders and to stop them reoffending. Despite this, 45-49% of all offenders in England and Wales reoffend.¹⁸ Over half of those who reoffend have had a sentence of less than 12

¹⁶http://www.scotland.shelter.org.uk/news/july_2015/support_for_young_offenders+&cd=3&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=uk&safe=vss

¹⁷ See Appendix 1

¹⁸ Ministry of Justice Statistics Bulletin Proven Re-offending Statistics Quarterly Bulletin. April 2013 to March 2014. Published 28 January 2016

months. "Around three fifths of all re-offences were committed by offenders with 11 or more previous offences".¹⁹ This is an alarming statistic to add to all the others.

Word Count: 1256

¹⁹ <http://open.justice.gov.uk/reoffending/>

Chapter Two: To what extent do alternatives to prison produce more effective outcomes?

With the news of the closure of some of the UK's oldest prisons, described as "relics from Victorian times" by George Osborne²⁰, and the plans to build nine new prisons, it is important to consider if these current plans will be an effective means of punishment and rehabilitation of criminals. It is also appropriate to review alternatives to imprisonment. The current main alternatives to incarceration include electronic tagging, restorative justice, community payback, fines and early intervention measures.

Electronic Tagging

Electronic Tagging, introduced in the UK in 1999, is not only used as a condition of bail or to allow early discharge from prison, but can also be made a condition of a sentence following a conviction for an offence. Community orders using electronic tagging require an offender to stay at a certain address during specified times.

A Home Office evaluation of electronic tagging²¹ found that 80% of offenders successfully abided by their curfew orders but that two year reconviction rates were higher (73%) than those who serve custodial sentences (66%). Many argue that this 7% gap is not significant as tagging costs £13.14 per monitored day in England and Wales (£4796 a year) compared to £65,000 to imprison one person after police costs, court costs and all other processes are taken into account. On top of this cost, a further £40,000 is required for each year spent in incarceration²². It is not surprising

²⁰ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-34763339>

²¹ <http://www.fpe.org.uk/the-cost-of-prisons/>

²² <http://www.channel4.com/news/g4s-serco-electronic-monitoring-tagging-probation>

that many have described imprisonment as outdated and to be unjustifiably expensive.

Along with being obviously cost effective, electronic tagging is also an effective means of changing offender behaviour as well as providing different curfew options. For those prisoners released with a tag, it gives a sense of some control over the prisoner whilst in the community. Electronic Tagging enables offenders to maintain or seek employment or continue with educational studies outwith prison. In addition, surveys undertaken with over 16,000 offenders have found that nearly 90% said that being tagged had stopped them reoffending, and more than 70% had reduced alcohol and drug use as a direct consequence of being tagged²³.

Despite this evidence which shows that tagging is cost effective compared to incarceration, the overall reoffending rate is still significantly high, thus it is important to consider whether electronic tagging is still relevant.

Restorative Justice

The aim of Restorative Justice is to confront a criminal with the consequences of his actions. It usually involves a face-to-face meeting with the victim(s) or indirectly via a mediator. It can also mean that an offender has to financially compensate the victims.

A review²⁴ of restorative justice in the UK and abroad showed that it substantially reduced repeat offending for some, but not all, offences. In particular, it seemed to work best in reducing reoffending rates for more serious violent crimes and, to a lesser extent, property crime.

²³ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-18432500>

²⁴ Criminal Justice Alliance. Restorative Justice: Time for Action. (July 2011).
<http://www.criminaljusticealliance.org>

Community Payback

As part of the reform of sentences brought about by the Criminal Justice Act 2003, community service was introduced in 2005²⁵. It has often been described as 'the easy way out' or the 'soft' option, yet research²⁶ has shown it is much more effective than any other reactions to crime. Although it may not be as strong as a deterrent it has lower rates of reoffending than short term incarcerations

It is designed to allow the sentence to be tailored to the offender/offence. For example, by doing compulsory unpaid work on community projects, participating in education or training and participating in Offending Behaviour Programmes. It also can involve prohibition from certain activities and electronic curfew.

Community service is organised via a series of community orders:

- a Community Rehabilitation order of between 6 months and 3 years which can include requirements such as residence, probation centre attendance or treatment for drug, alcohol or mental health problems.
- A Community Payback Order which is unpaid work in the community of between 40 and 240 hours.
- A Community Punishment and Rehabilitation Order which is the combination of the above, with between 1-3 years probation combined with between 40 and 100 hours community punishment.
- a Drug Treatment and Testing Order (DTTO) which requires the regular testing of drug offenders and compulsory attendance at a specified drug treatment centre for 6 months to 3 years.

²⁵ <http://www.parliament.uk/documents/post/postpn308.pdf>

²⁶ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-10725163>

Public perception of community service

There is some evidence to suggest that the public may perceive community sentences as being too lenient. However, The Lord Chief Justice stressed that community sentences were not used for offenders committing serious crimes or for those who pose a threat to society. He commented that community sentences provide a visible demonstration of compensation to the community in which the offence took place and that the community is able to influence and to understand the type of sentence issued. There were 116,876 terminations of community orders in 2012. Of these, 66% had completed with successful outcomes²⁷.

Fines

Fines are the most common alternative to imprisonment for lesser crimes. In 2014, 70% of all UK offenders received a fine²⁸. However, to deter effectively, fines need to correlate with the income of the offender. If the fine is too low, then the offender is not being punished. If they are set too high, then offenders cannot pay them and it has been found that those offenders unlikely to pay the fine are harder to reform²⁹.

Early Intervention Strategies

The aim of these strategies is to reduce youth crime and anti-social behaviour from a young age. Strategies³⁰ include giving children social and emotional support and help them deal with anger management and how to express their emotions. There are also family focused programmes which help teach parents to be consistent in dealing with good and bad behaviour. There are more intensive clinic based

²⁷ www.gov.uk/government/statistics/offender-management-statistics-quarterly-2+&cd=2&hl=en&ct=clink&gl=uk

²⁸ <https://www.sentencingcouncil.org.uk/about-sentencing/types-of-sentence/fines/>

²⁹ Ministry of Justice, 'Punishment and Reform: Effective Community Sentences'. Consultation Paper CP8/2012, MARCH 2012

³⁰ https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/182548/DFE-RR111.pdf

therapies, including specialised foster care. Other strategies include mentoring programmes and after school recreation.

This chapter asks, 'To what extent do alternatives to prison produce effective outcomes?' The option to imprison is often regarded as being the 'tough' option, the other options are regarded as being 'too lenient' or 'soft'. However, some of these 'softer' options often produce equal outcomes to imprisonment, for example, electronic tagging. Restorative justice has been shown to reduce repeat offending for some offences and community payback is highly effective for some offenders. It can be concluded that some alternatives are equal to or better than imprisonment and more cost effective.

Word Count: 1091

Chapter Three: To what extent do international countries show that prison does not work?

To discuss whether imprisonment works it is useful to consider other international comparisons. Norway and the USA have been selected to explore the differences in prison systems and their effectiveness.

Norway's incarceration rate is approximately 70 per 100,000 people, compared to 700 people for every 100,000 people in the US and 380 per 100,000 people in the UK³¹. Norway starts with a low imprisonment rate; most crimes are theft related and although rare, there is a rise in violent crimes which usually occur in areas known to have drug trafficking and gang problems, such as certain parts of eastern Oslo³². As well as having a lower imprisonment rate Norway also has the lowest recidivism rate in the world at 20%. Norway heavily relies on Restorative Justice which aims to repair the harm caused by crime rather than punish the offender, by rehabilitating prisoners. A good example of this is Bastoy Prison which is on an island about a mile off the coast of Norway. It has been called one of the most liberal prisons in the world. It contains 115 criminals, including convicted murderers, rapists, and drug dealers. It aims to maintain some sense of normality by having no barbed-wire or electric fences and no armed prison staff. It is said that the prison population live in peace and work together. By farming and using local resources they live a semi self-sufficient life. There is an emphasis on healthy lifestyle, eco-friendly principles, education and rehabilitation. Bastoy was originally an experiment, and is now in its 34th year. The emphasis on rehabilitation rather than punishment is confirmed by a

³¹ <http://www.prisonstudies.org/world-prison-brief>

³² Norway 2013 Crime and Safety Report, Overseas Security Advisory Council, Bureau of Diplomatic Security (23 February 2013).

recent recidivism rate of 16%³³. Halden Prison, in south west Norway, also emphasises the value of looking as little as possible like a prison, with no bars on windows and open kitchens. In Halden, much like Bastoy, emphasis is placed on having a good relationship with guards rather than having an adversarial one. The aim is to prepare the offenders for real life giving them skills as a form of rehabilitation. They enter back into society with less vengeance against the system and are therefore less likely to reoffend. Thus, arguably, Norway shows that prison can be an effective form of dealing with crime and demonstrates that if done in this way, prisons work.

In contrast, the USA has one of the highest recidivism rates in the world at 76%, and unlike Scandinavian prison systems, the USA's prison system focuses on punishment and incarceration. The United States incarcerates more people per head of population than most western European countries, and many of those imprisoned within the U.S. will be released and reoffend within three years³⁴.

Recidivism rates have been rising due to the recent cuts to prison budgets. Rehabilitation programmes have been cut completely in some cases and incarceration is simpler and cheaper. For example, California have decreased funding, or stopped funding altogether, for programmes which are designed to rehabilitate the prison population³⁵. As a result, inmates are often unable to participate in programmes even if they are interested; wait times can be months or even years.

³³ <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2013/sep/04/bastoy-norwegian-prison-works>

³⁴ Katie Ward, Amy J. Longaker, Jessica Williams, Amber Naylor, Chad A Rose, and Cynthia G. Simpson THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF RESEARCH AND PRACTICE ON STUDENT ENGAGEMENT, <http://www.dropoutprevention.org/engage/incarceration-within-american-and-nordic-prisons/>

³⁵ <http://californiainnocenceproject.org/issues-we-face/recidivism/>

Arguably, the cuts are costing the system more money as they ultimately have to pay again for those who are not adequately rehabilitated. Prison programmes such as anger management, vocational skills training, educational opportunities, and even trauma support groups are crucial to ensure offenders have the life skills necessary to settle back into society. For example, participants in prison substance abuse programs are less likely to reoffend than those who do not participate³⁶.

The death penalty is still an option in many US states such as California. A study carried out by the University of Colorado in 2009³⁷ concluded that the vast majority of the world's top criminologists believe the death penalty as the ultimate deterrent doesn't work.

Offenders leaving prison without proper rehabilitation, angry and vengeful against the system, together with high rates of poverty, lack of, or no, accommodation or employment, all contribute to reoffending and so a cycle develops.

In England and Wales recidivism rates have been about the same for the last few years at around 45-49% in adults³⁸. However, in Scotland the rates are going down, this may be due in part to a new law which means that offenders can only be imprisoned for 6 months or more. This allows enough time for rehabilitation programmes to be effective in prison. Offenders that need a lesser sentence receive other forms of punishment or rehabilitation such as community payback.

Norway and USA are at each end of the spectrum with respect to prison types. The comparison between the Norwegian system, highly focused on rehabilitating the offender with examples like Bastoy, contrasts starkly with the USA's system highly

³⁶ <http://californiainnocenceproject.org/issues-we-face/recidivism/>

³⁷ <http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org/files/DeterrenceStudy2009.pdf>

³⁸ Ministry of Justice Statistics Bulletin Proven Re-offending Statistics Quarterly Bulletin. April 2013 to March 2014. Published 28 January 2016

focused on retribution for crime. The UK prison system sits somewhere in between these two extremes. Incarceration is still the most common response to crime but where budget allows there is still a strong focus on rehabilitation. The statistics show clearly that prison systems focused on rehabilitation, rather than punishment, have more effective outcomes.

Word Count: 915

Conclusion

The four main aims of prison are to protect society, to rehabilitate the offender, to act as a deterrent and to punish the offender. The high number of incarcerations would support that society is protected from criminals and arguably offenders are being punished by lack of freedom. However, high recidivism rates would suggest that the other aims, deterrence and rehabilitation, are not being met. There are examples of prison systems in other countries, like Norway, that focus on rehabilitation: they have considerably lower rates of recidivism (approximately 20%) and so arguably confirm that prison can work. On the other hand, countries that have adopted prison systems which emphasise punishment and retribution, like the USA, have contrastingly higher recidivism rates (approximately 75%) and thus, it could be concluded that this form of imprisonment does not work. The United Kingdom's Prison System is a flawed mixture of both systems, with the most recently quoted recidivism rate of 46%. This combination of punishment and rehabilitation has produced success and failure. For the minority of cases, the UK prison service results in a rehabilitated offender who does not reoffend. However for the majority of offenders, the UK prison system fails and recidivism rates are rising. Based on all research and evidence, I have proved my hypothesis to an extent in that although prison works for certain types of long term sentences, there is strong evidence to show that for the majority of offenders, prison does not work.

Word Count: 243

Appendix 1: Advanced Higher Modern Studies - SurveyMonkey Survey Data, February 2016

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| 1. What is your gender? | |
| Female | 61.04% (47) |
| Male | 38.96% (30) |
| | Total 77 |
| 2. What is your age? | |
| 16-24 | 92.21% (71) |
| 25-34 | 1.3% (1) |
| 35-44 | 2.6% (2) |
| 45-54 | 1.3% (1) |
| 55-64 | 2.6% (2) |
| 65-74 | 0 |
| 74 or older | 0 |
| 3. Do you think the current prison system is effective? | |
| Very Effective | 1.3% (1) |
| Somewhat Effective | 45.45% (35) |
| Not Effective | 37.66% (29) |
| Don't Know | 15.58% (12) |
| 4. What do you think is the most effective way of dealing with violent crime? | |
| Community Service | 2.6% (2) |
| Early Intervention Strategies | 27.27% (21) |
| Electronic Tagging | 2.6% (2) |
| Fines | 1.3% (1) |
| Imprisonment | 59.74% (46) |
| Other | 6.49% (5) |
| 'Other': Death penalty for "violent crimes", Death. Deters others. Been successful in the past, Hanging, Hard Labour, a combination of these options would be my choice. early identification, support and consequence alongside imprisonment and rehabilitation. | |

5. What do you think is the most effective way of dealing with non-violent crimes?

| | |
|----------------------------|-------------|
| Community Service | 44.16% (34) |
| Early Intervention Methods | 28.57% (22) |
| Electronic Tagging | 5.19% (4) |
| Fines | 6.49% (5) |
| Imprisonment | 12.99% (10) |
| Other | 2.6% (2) |

'Other': Restorative Justice, Hanging

6. Would you rather criminals were rehabilitated or punished for their crimes?

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| Rather they were rehabilitated | 25.97% (20) |
| Rather they were punished | 19.48% (15) |
| Both | 51.95% (40) |
| Don't Know | 1.3% (1) |
| Other | 1.3% (1) |

'Other': Balance

7. What do you think the current rate of reoffending is in England and Wales for short term (less than one year) sentences?

| | |
|---------------|-------------|
| 80% and above | 6.49% (5) |
| 60-80% | 42.86% (33) |
| 40-60% | 42.86% (33) |
| 20-40% | 6.49% (5) |
| 20% and below | 1.30% (1) |

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