

# Time for change

A call for collaborative criminal justice reform

June 2024



**Criminal  
Justice  
Alliance**

## About the Criminal Justice Alliance

The Criminal Justice Alliance (CJA) is a network of over 200 organisational and academic members working towards a fair and effective criminal justice system.

Our members include charities, social enterprises, think tanks, research institutions and staff associations. They work across the criminal justice system, in areas such as crime prevention, sentencing, policing, prisons, probation, victim services, mental health, drug policy and treatment, and more.

We investigate key issues in criminal justice, and co-produce evidence-led briefings and reports with our members to influence policy change. We connect practitioners, academics, the media, people with lived experience and policy makers from across the justice system to hold the government and other institutions to account and to promote power sharing.

## Acknowledgements

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# 1. Introduction

**This report has two aims. The first is to present the case for a different approach and ethos to addressing the challenges facing our criminal justice system (CJS), and to place a reinvigorated relationship between government and civil society working together, across the CJS.**

Systems change has become an established concept across civil society,<sup>1</sup> and the CJA has adopted it at the centre of its mission, values and strategy.<sup>2</sup> We wanted the consultation sessions to explore the current context of the relationship between the government and the criminal justice sector, as well as how our members can contribute to creating systemic change. It is our belief that an effective relationship with the sector as a valued strategic partner can make a vital contribution to creating the conditions to enable systems change to happen.

Our second aim was to enable our members to share their recommendations and proposals for any new government. We wanted to facilitate a platform for policy changes that can be developed through the experience and understanding of our members, with and for the people who receive their services, using lived experience to change the CJS and society for the better.

This report champions a pathway for government towards reform that is based on shared understandings, seeks long term sustainable solutions, and addresses the 'hardwired' inequities in the system. Critically, the government must understand that the solutions to the challenges facing the CJS require a greater focus on prevention, diversion, discrimination, and addressing the social causes that are often the reasons behind people entering the system in the first place.

We would like to thank all CJA members who participated in the consultations for sharing their expertise and experiences, their voices must be heard. We must establish a method for addressing the common challenges that have been brought to the surface through these consultations.

## 2. Consultation process and methodology

In February and March 2024, the CJA hosted six (online) consultations:



**Improving victim services** and access to restorative justice (RJ).



**Improving conditions** in prisons and probation.



**Improving services for women**, reducing the numbers of women in prison, and addressing violence against women and girls (VAWG).



**Addressing institutional racism** and creating a CJS that achieves fair, just and equitable outcomes for all communities.



Achieving respect, increasing understanding, and delivering active, **valued engagement** in the development of criminal justice policy for **people with lived experience**.



**The role of academia** in bringing about systemic change across our CJS.

These meetings were open to all CJA members working in the subject areas; each lasted an average of 90 minutes. Specific questions were sent to the participants before the meetings, and the floor was opened to other concerns that participants wanted to raise at each meeting. The sessions were recorded, and notes were taken, which were used to compile and consolidate findings.

A recurring theme was raised across all six sessions: the relationship between the voluntary and community sector and government. It was seen as pivotal in creating the conditions for effective change. We explore this in more detail in Section 4 of this report: [Common themes](#).

A list of the 42 organisations that were represented across the consultation meetings are detailed in [Appendix 1](#).

# 3. Political, social and economic context

The UK has endured a difficult period over the past five years with several historically significant events landing simultaneously: the COVID pandemic, departure from the European Union, the economic and political aftermath from Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and ongoing austerity impeding public services.<sup>3</sup>

The cost-of-living crisis has been a major issue for the British people and has thrown into focus the precarious financial position of many UK households and the deepening effect of poverty.<sup>4</sup> A combination of lower levels of growth and high levels of inequality has hit middle and lower-income earners harder in Britain than in countries such as France and Germany, where workers in those same income brackets earn on average between 20–30% more than their equivalents in the UK.<sup>5</sup>

Civil society organisations working across all sectors often bear the responsibility of responding to the social consequences of the country's economic problems in circumstances where state support is absent, reduced, and/or inadequate. This fact is often remiss in media debates about the economy. In this sense, civil society can be viewed as a barometer of the 'real' economy, and as evidence of the inextricable links between the inequity of the economy and the real social hardship civil society organisations respond to.

The CJA's members are at the coalface of supporting growing numbers across society in need of support given rising demand for services. which, in return, represent a too often ignored but substantial increase in costs on the public purse. These difficult circumstances have created further adverse demands for voluntary sector service providers including funding pressures, increased costs, and managing government contracts that often do not cover the full costs of delivery.<sup>6</sup>

What is more, the political landscape has reflected the economic and social pressures of recent years with a historically unparalleled period of turbulence. The UK has had five Prime Ministers since 2016 and eight Justice Secretaries, an illustration of rapid change and volatility.<sup>7</sup> The criminal justice sector has suffered as a result, with plans for reform subject to the same churn and instability as the Justice Secretaries.

Policing, courts, prisons, and probation have all regularly made the headlines over recent years. Undoubtedly the COVID pandemic has played a significant role in exacerbating these difficulties. However, from inspection reports regularly citing themes of systemic problems,<sup>8</sup> through to successive crises in each sector,<sup>9</sup> the picture of a justice system in perpetual difficulties is hard to refute.<sup>10</sup>

All of this has taken place while the political and media discourse around crime has become harsher and more punitive.<sup>11,12</sup> This

discourse has made it more difficult for civil society organisations such as the CJA to advocate for the more community-based, user-focused, equitable, and preventative models of service delivery.

The prison population crisis has led the government to announce early-release schemes in what can appear to be panic measures to increase capacity.<sup>13</sup> The government's forecasts predicted this cliff edge; the Chief Inspector of Prisons has also made clear his concerns.<sup>14</sup>

This raises the obvious question as to why action was not taken earlier to avert the current situation.

- Is the punitive political narrative becoming a strait jacket for criminal justice policies?
- What are the options in the short to medium term?
- How can CJA members work with the government in formulating and implementing effective responses?

In policing, the murder of Sarah Everard and the reviews and inquiries that followed led the Chief Inspector of Constabulary, chief officer for His Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary Fire and Rescue Services (HMICFRS), to state that policing is facing its biggest crisis in his 30-year career to restore public confidence.<sup>15</sup> Commitments to address the crisis of violence against women and girls is high on the policy pledges of the main parties in the upcoming election through all stages of the CJS.<sup>16</sup>

However, it is the responses to these challenges that have been enlightening. The Institute for Government (IFG) arrived at some worrying conclusions in a report assessing the health and likely trajectory of UK public services last year.<sup>17</sup> The report stated that the UK was in a 'doom-loop' concerning public services through a cycle of short-term policy, historically lower investment levels than comparative nations and depleting levels of confidence in the system to meet the challenges of the 21st century. We would agree with the IFG analysis and argue that the CJS is at the forefront of this worrying trend.

However, we would add another element to this analysis: the growing and perennial problem of government (and institutional) inaction in addressing deep-rooted problems; too often appearing to hardwire what are often systemic injustices into the DNA of our CJS.<sup>18</sup>

Many of our members campaign and/or provide services and advocacy on these issues, including Imprisonment for Public Protection (IPP) sentences, joint enterprise, VAWG, stop and search, race disparities and children's rights. There is an emerging theme of acknowledgment of the problems but inaction to address them from

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**There is an emerging theme of acknowledgment of the problems but inaction to address them from the government.**

the government. We have no quantitative evidence base for this, but it is clearly beyond conjecture to make the obvious links with the national outpouring regarding the recent Post Office Horizon scandal.<sup>19</sup> The following two illustrations from our members exemplify this and we could have included many more from our membership.

Firstly, one CJA member, the Centre for Women's Justice led a super-complaint<sup>20</sup> on police-perpetrated abuse, launched before the tragic murder of Sarah Everard in 2021. The Chief Inspector of Constabulary addressed this issue in the State of Policing report in 2023<sup>21</sup> expressing his chagrin at policing's response to the crisis of police-perpetrated abuse. Specifically, the Chief Inspector highlighted reports and recommendations from HMICFRS stemming back to 2016 that were not implemented by most forces. If they had been implemented, it could have saved lives.

Secondly, another CJA member, INQUEST, recently gave evidence to the Justice Select Committee's inquiry into the Coroner's Service.<sup>22</sup> Chief Executive Deborah Coles outlined the issues of successive recommendations from Coroner reports failing to be addressed and implemented. These cases often involved institutional racism – an issue INQUEST puts front and centre of its analysis of deaths in state custody. This scenario, we would argue, applies across reports from criminal justice inspectorate bodies, which not only compounds the suffering of the families of those who have lost their lives in state custody, but also diminishes the sector's faith in our institutions and democracy to make sustained improvements and address injustice.

Our aim is not to criticise those working within our CJS who are doing their best to deliver services under great pressure, but to acknowledge the current context of the CJS and the systemic nature of the challenges it faces. Without having a shared understanding of the current context, we cannot hope to move forward. As a collective ecosystem of government bodies, third sector organisations and service providers, we must:

- Work together to identify and address the root causes.
- Improve outcomes and satisfaction for those impacted by it.
- Create working conditions that address recruitment, retention, and wellbeing of staff.
- Implement effective solutions to avert an ever-increasing social and economic cost of the CJS to the UK's financial health.

The CJA and our members want to have a shared understanding with the government on the context and challenges the CJS faces, and to work together constructively to find solutions.

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# 4. Common themes

This section analyses recurring themes identified across all six consultations. What was clear from the feedback from CJA members was the centrality of the relationship between the government and the sector in creating the conditions necessary for the reform of the justice system that CJA members aim to bring about.

We have highlighted 10 cross-cutting issues from the consultations. These common themes, if addressed, will support building a better relationship with the government, the CJS and civil society. In turn, this will contribute to a growing consensus between the criminal justice voluntary sector and the government to address the challenges facing our CJS.

## Common themes

- Currently, there is a widespread perception that the government is not engaging with civil society with genuine intent. Many of our members believe that consultations are merely tick-box exercises, with decisions already made beforehand.
- The sector needs to be recognised as a strategic partner, rather than just a service delivery provider for the government, often at below cost.
- There is a diminishing level of trust and confidence in our CJS institutions and politicians. The sector feels that they are not committed to shaping effective policies or investing in meaningful improvements.
- There is a sense that evidence bases, which were previously sources of consensus, are now being contested. Most notably, this affects evidence regarding critical issues such as institutional racism and the effectiveness of restorative justice.
- Reaffirming a commitment to evidence-based solutions is essential for uniting people and sectors. We need to see more reform processes making an agreed evidence base a central foundation on which to deliver successful change.
- Challenges related to misogyny and racism are not being adequately addressed. Persistent issues, such as police-perpetrated abuse, are exacerbated by a police culture that enables such behaviour and subsequent defensive responses undermine accountability.

- Worryingly the government and its justice system institutions appear unable to address injustices and learn lessons from past inspections and reviews. This inability hinders progress, perpetuates systemic injustices, and breeds cynicism in the system.
- Vetting processes often prevent committed people with valuable lived experience from working within the CJS. This leaves the impression that institutions such as prisons and probation services do not value the positive contributions of people with lived experience. Worse still, it causes efforts from such institutions to engage with people who have or are currently experiencing their services to appear disingenuous and tokenistic.
- There is a tendency to romanticise history across the CJS and uphold the sense that things were better in the past. The idea of 'golden bygone eras' is usually steeped in myths in any area of life. This is not a sound basis for future reform. We need solutions that address today's problems, that are grounded in the realities of the current context and crucially informed by strong evidence bases, the knowledge of practitioners, and the lived experience of people who have been through the CJS.
- Smaller organisations often feel excluded from government contracting processes. It is often viewed by smaller voluntary organisations in the sector that the government is more inclined to work with larger organisations. Smaller frontline organisations and community groups can offer valuable insights and solutions, and it is essential to engender greater trust between CJS bodies and small charities and organisations.

# 5. Consultation summaries and key recommendations

## Improving victim services and access to restorative justice (RJ)

Victims should have the right to read their victim statements in court.

There should be greater recognition of the professionalism of those who support victims. The sector is viewed and often treated in a patronising manner.

Restorative justice is still too often dismissed as ineffective, but a strong evidence base repudiates this.

### What should be the priorities for a new government to improve victim services?

- **Access to RJ for victims and as well as for those who have committed the crime** – RJ can benefit both parties, if they are in agreement to pursue an RJ process. RJ can subsequently improve CJS outcomes about victim satisfaction and rehabilitating perpetrators.
- **Right to a referral to an RJ service in legislation** – This is currently in the Victims' Code, but enforcement is sporadic. The right to referral should be strictly implemented with the Victims' Commissioner playing an oversight role.
- **Mandatory RJ training for local police** – The police are critical gatekeepers who often see RJ as burdensome and do not appreciate it. We need the police and other key stakeholders to understand and value it, and to effectively communicate it as an option for victims.
- **National data/information sharing agreements** – There is a need to ensure consistency and avoidance of duplication by having consistent data monitoring systems across the CJS. There are good examples in Northern Ireland where this is built into contracting and led by their Department of Justice.<sup>23</sup>

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## The language used by policymakers about victims needs to be more inclusive.

- **Standardised commissioning requirements** – Whichever government department is funding victims’ services, there should be requirements on commissioners for the minimum services they must provide, and this should include RJ.
- **National strategy or action plan for RJ** – An RJ action plan was in place from 2012 to 2018 but was subsequently withdrawn. This should be reinstated – and the action plan needs to be one that holistically views all services to victims, rather than just RJ in isolation. This will demonstrate the government’s commitment to RJ and see it embedded across the CJS.
- **National awareness and knowledge campaign about RJ** – These campaigns should be run by the government for public and criminal justice professionals to increase knowledge and understanding of RJ across the CJS and in wider society. The overarching objective would be to make RJ an integral part of the CJS.
- **Ministerial consistency** – We need ministers to stay in post for longer. This will enable them to understand their brief, engage with the sector on RJ’s many benefits, and to build relationships and understanding.

### If the Victims and Prisoners Bill<sup>24</sup> currently going through Parliament makes it to statute what would be your legislative priorities for a new government about victim rights, services, and restorative justice?

- **The Victims’ Code to be fully incorporated in statute** – This has been a consistent request from voluntary sector organisations for over a decade. It will shore up victims’ rights to RJ in primary legislation.
- **Right to be referred to RJ and access to high-quality RJ services** – Victims should be offered good information and access to RJ across England and Wales. Currently, the quality of RJ services is not consistent and varies across different localities. The levels of service on offer and the knowledge, understanding and commitment to effectively utilise RJ is too often reliant on the local situation.
- **Ringfence funding** – Funding pressures will continue across the CJS. But to embed RJ consistent investment is necessary and an understanding of the benefits including potential savings that could be achieved by utilising it more effectively.
- **Role of the police** – The police are key gatekeepers and often limit the number of RJ referrals because they are worried about levels of demand that cannot be met. Yet there is no evidence of this. Too often victims are denied the opportunity to access RJ because the police do not present it effectively as an option. The role of the police to promote RJ should be set out in statute. This would instigate better educating and training of the police on RJ which would lead to better-informed police services. It would enable access to RJ for victims as an integral part of victims’ services, working together with the police rather than in opposition to them.

- **A clear and consistent complaints process** – We need a transparent, victims-centred complaints process to ensure that victims can raise complaints and have confidence they will be effectively dealt with. The process needs to be consistent across the country to enable analysis and comparisons across different areas. Currently, each organisation, from police to the Crown Prosecution Service, has a different complaint process. A standardised complaints procedure across every criminal justice body will also raise standards and performance across different areas.

## How can a new government improve and widen access to restorative justice?

- **Change in attitudes** – We need statutory agencies (police, prison, probation) to give greater recognition to the professionalism of those who support victims. The sector is too often viewed and treated in a patronising manner.
- **Increase knowledge and understanding** – Policy decisions about RJ are too often taken by people who are unfamiliar with RJ. There needs to be more training and engagement regarding RJ amongst civil servants, and the criminal justice sector could help facilitate this.
- **Victims' right to be heard in court** – Victims to be guaranteed a right to read their victim impact statement in front of the person who committed the crime.
- **Acknowledge the evidence base** – RJ is one of the most evidence-based interventions,<sup>25,26</sup> yet its effectiveness remains an area of contention for the government and CJS bodies. The government must recognise well-established and researched evidence on RJ and support its integration across the CJS.
- **Ensure policy and legislative responses are victims-centred** – It took a year to appoint a new – interim – Victims Commissioner. The Victims Bill was subsequently diluted to the Victims and Prisoners Bill; now the Victims and Prisoners Act. The focus has shifted to people in prison rather than victims. The Victims' Code needs to be fully incorporated into statute.

## What needs to change within the culture of the criminal justice system to make it more effective, respectful, and welcoming for victims and how can a new government implement this change?

- **Culture change** – Changing the culture around a system must start from the top. Without that visible commitment from the senior management of organisations and with political leadership, the culture cannot be challenged. This requires more reflection, acceptance of the problems and that shifting the culture to be more accepting and welcoming of victims would contribute to improving the justice system overall.

- **Language** – The language used by policymakers about victims needs to be more inclusive. Victims must be involved in the process (through open dialogue and other means) in determining the language used.
- **His Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (HMPPS) policy framework for RJ** – One of the participants shared their frustrations with the process for the introduction of the new RJ policy framework for HMPPS. The current framework was introduced without any consultations, either within HMPPS, or with the sector, commissioners of RJ services, probation officers, and victim liaison officers. This has resulted in a gulf between policy and practice, and diminished trust.

## **How can the new government work more effectively with civil society organisations and have more productive, proactive engagement with victims that informs policy?**

- **Acknowledge and share evidence** – There was previously a shared understanding between government and the sector that RJ had a strong evidence base. This has diminished over recent years on the government side. Acknowledging and sharing the evidence base is a good basis for productive joint working.
- **Systemic change** – There was a sense that government policy has been piecemeal and lacked a vision for achieving a modern, effective victim-focused criminal justice system. Meaningful dialogue needs to take place between civil society and the government to adopt a shared vision for change.
- **A public health response** – The government should adopt a public health response rather than a punitive one for both victims and people who have committed crimes. This will deliver better and sustainable outcomes for society at large.
- **Respect** – The sector needs to see that it is treated in the same way as the private sector and have parity regarding resourcing, contract bids, and full cost recovery.
- **Leadership** – There is a sense of depreciating faith in political and CJS leadership to make a difference. The government needs to take bold leadership and demonstrate commitment to RJ. Civil society can make a significant contribution and the government should work in partnership with the sector, drawing on its expertise.



## Key recommendations

### Standardise commissioning requirements

There should be requirements on Commissioners about the minimum services they must provide. The government department funding victim services should be provided with clear guidelines on enforcement.

### Adopt a national strategy or action plan for restorative justice

This was in place before 2018 and should be reinstated by the new government. The action plan needs to be one that holistically views all services to victims, rather than just RJ in isolation.

### Incorporate the Victims' Code into statute

With the legislation now in statute, the next government has an opportunity to review the current arrangements and address the shortcomings detailed in this report. A simple amendment to incorporate the full Victims' Code into the recently passed legislation would garner full support from the sector.

# Improving conditions and outcomes in prisons and probation

People come out of prison worse than they went in, the blame is put on the individual when the system is failing them.

There is an innate inability of the system to make an injustice right and to learn lessons from inspections and reviews and it's fuelling cynicism.

There is a lack of recognition of the contribution of the voluntary sector to prisons and probation.

## What should be the priorities for a new government to improve conditions in our prisons?

- **Regime** – People need comprehensive educational offerings and adequate time outside of cells for recreation. The Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (OFSTED) reports<sup>27</sup> show that prison education is not performing to an acceptable level.<sup>28</sup> This links to the broader problem with the regime, in that people are spending too much time in their cells. This has a negative effect on everybody in the prison system.
- **Rehabilitation over punishment** – The government needs to take the lead in shifting the use of prisons merely as a punitive measure to a rehabilitative environment. The current system focuses on punishment and there are not sufficient resources on rehabilitation and supporting people in prison. The blame is often placed on the individual rather than addressing the wider societal issues and the system which is failing them. As a result, people come out of prison worse than when they went in.
- **Better support for people leaving prison** – More advice, and attention to be given especially to people who have served long-term sentences and who are therefore vulnerable, preparing them to leave the system in a planned way and reduce the chances of them returning to prison. Prisons and probation must better integrate the voluntary sector into the release plans process for people leaving custody.
- **Staffing** – Staff shortages and an inability to retain experienced staff is a huge challenge for both prisons and probation. The government needs to ensure sufficient resources are allocated to train new prison officers, develop and implement frameworks for staff development, support, and improvement of skills and knowledge.



- **Voluntary sector** – Voluntary sector services are too often treated as amateurs. The system needs to enable the involvement of smaller voluntary organisations in delivering services in prisons. Collaboration between the voluntary and community sector and government has deteriorated over recent years and the COVID pandemic was often used as an excuse for this depletion. However, CJA members see the reduction of the voluntary sector within prisons as a trend that started before the COVID pandemic and accelerated through the pandemic. All voluntary sector organisations have been affected by this trend but smaller organisations more so. There is not enough recognition of the voluntary sector’s contribution to prisons and probation in delivering better rehabilitative outcomes. HMPPS need to map funding and service allocation to identify gaps in provision.
- **Prison capacity** – Prisons cannot operate effectively if the capacity crisis is not resolved. Sweeping reductions in the custodial remand population can bring down prison capacity in a relatively short period, given the population of some Category B prisons are now filled by up to 70% with people on custodial remand. Electronic monitoring and conditional bail can drastically decrease this number without compromising safety, as the House of Commons Justice Committee has set out.<sup>29</sup> The situation is acute in women’s prisons. There has been a 16% rise in women’s prison population despite government recognition that women can be rehabilitated in their communities. HMPPS’ Female Offender Strategy is however committed to reducing the women’s prison population. Too many women are remanded in custody and won’t go on to serve a custodial sentence. Custodial remand is being used too much and civil society organisations could help to deliver alternatives to keep people out of prison while they await trial.

## **What should be the priorities for a new government to improve the probation service?**

- **Build positive relationships** – The HMPPS needs to do more to build positive relations with people leaving prison. Feedback from the users of the probation service details poor engagement as people do not feel supported, and there is a lack of trust between probation officers and people leaving prison.

## **Both main political parties are committed to the multi-billion-pound prison-building programme. Is this initiative part of the solution? If not, what are the alternatives?**

There was a consensus that building more prisons is not an adequate solution to address the current prison capacity crisis as it is not a long-term solution. The alternatives that need to be explored are highlighted below:

- **Sex offenders** – There is no strategy to take people off the sex offender register. A strategy should be developed by the Ministry of Justice in consultation with the probation service and victim’s groups. The new strategy must balance the concerns of victims with the goal of societal rehabilitation for people on the register

- **Remand** – As of March 2024, the prison population is at 87,867, of which 16,458 people are on remand.<sup>30</sup> At HMP Pentonville, 70% of the prison population are on remand. Remand is often considered a public protection issue and prison has become the default position in the remand process. The current balance is weighed too heavily towards prison. This needs to change, and the sector should be a key partner in devising viable policies that keeps unsentenced people out of the prison estate.
- **Increase community-based services** – instead of building prisons, resources can be used to build secure accommodation in the community which keeps the public safe but is more rehabilitative and possibly cheaper than prison. Capacity in community services also needs to be increased, including probation, addiction support, mental health support, and other community-based preventative services. The voluntary sector could play a role in supporting people on remand in the community and reducing the numbers remanded in custody.
- **Impact of longer sentences** – The overall increase in length of sentences cannot be ignored.<sup>31</sup> This has a direct upward ratcheting effect on the prison population. Imposition of longer sentences is not conducive to creating an effective rehabilitative system. It is difficult to address that politically, but it is needed.

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**We need a regime that prioritises education, positive engagement and physical activity.**

## **What needs to change within the culture of prisons and probation to address violence reduction, and discrimination, and to improve rehabilitative outcomes and living conditions? How can a new government implement this change?**

- **Mission** – The guiding principles of an effective justice system need to be identified and reinforced – a system that protects human rights, dignity, respect, and a commitment to give people a second opportunity.
- **Lived experience** – Currently, the system is weighted against the involvement of people with lived experience. The current practices within government agencies/institutions are contradictory. For example, HMPPS has a lived experience advisory board and encourages initiatives involving people with lived experience, yet at the same time, the recruitment process routinely blocks people from trusted providers (such as St Giles Trust) from working in prisons. The vetting criteria is preventing committed people with direct lived experience from working in the criminal justice system. This sends a message that the system does not value the positive impact that people with lived experience can make.

## How can the new government work more effectively with civil society organisations and have more productive, proactive engagement with people with lived experience of the prison and probation system?

- **A commitment to rehabilitate** – If the government promoted rehabilitation rather than the stigma of punishment in prisons, the voluntary sector would be more supportive.
- **Recognition and valuing smaller organisations** – Dealing with bigger organisations is easier for the government (control), but we need to engender a culture of trust for smaller organisations that are closer to the issue and are working on the frontlines.



### Key recommendations

#### Regime

We need a regime that prioritises education, positive engagement and physical activity. OFSTED reports show that prison education is not performing to an acceptable level. This links to the broader problem with the regime, in that people are spending too much time in their cells.

#### Rehabilitation over punishment

We need a greater focus on creating environments that are conducive to rehabilitation. People come out of prison worse than when they went in. The blame is put on the individual when the system is failing them.

#### Positive relationships

Relationships between staff and people within prison and probation services need to support rehabilitation. When individuals enter the system, they need to build their sense of self-worth. Too often this isn't the case and as a result, this has a direct impact on the engagement of people in prison with the system. Engagement decreases because they do not feel supported and have no trust in the system.

# Addressing institutional racism and creating a criminal justice system that achieves fair, just and equitable outcomes for all communities

HMICFRS should have statutory powers to implement their recommendations, so they aren't ignored.

Implement measures to retain and support Black and racially minoritised staff within the police force, including addressing the disparities in disciplinary processes, retention, and promotion.

The government needs to address the disproportionality of Black and racially minoritised children entering the CJS and the over-policing of these communities.

**What should be the priorities for a new government in making sustained progress in achieving fair, just, and equitable outcomes for all communities?**

- **Strengthen the Equality Act and the accountability framework for policing** – We need better monitoring and auditing of adherence to the Public Sector Equality Duty (PSED). The 2010 Equality Act should be amended to ensure that police forces who do not treat people with protected characteristics fairly face stiffer repercussions. HMICFRS should have statutory powers, so their recommendations are implemented.
- **Invest in youth and community services** – The government needs to address the disproportionality of Black and racially minoritised children entering the CJS and the over-policing of these communities. Investing in youth and community services should be a key aspect of preventing entry into the CJS and safeguarding children particularly from overrepresented groups.
- **Invest in diversion services** – This requires a multi-agency and cross-departmental response to address issues that may include education, health, wellbeing and support for families. Diversion away from the CJS and meeting the needs of the child and those supporting them should be paramount.

**The 2017 Lammy Review<sup>32</sup> detailed the depth and ingrained nature of race disparities across the CJS. Progress has been marginal and, in some cases, has deteriorated. What can the government do to change this?**

- **Race equality work needs to be better resourced** – HMPPS's Race Action Programme ended in March 2024, and the number of civil servants working in the new Race Disparity Unit is far lower. Race equality work needs to be prioritised and properly resourced.
- **Use more observational data** – There is not enough recognition of the impact of racism on the individuals and communities that are affected. There is also a lack of trust in data and recording particularly in relation to the use of force by the police. The expertise of people with lived experience must be incorporated and integrated into policymaking.
- **Greater accountability** – Targets to reduce racial disparities over the next five years of government should be set. Agencies, including HMPPS, need to be held to account for the lack of progress in implementing the recommendations from the Lammy Review.
- **Address racial disparities in sentencing as a priority** – Racial disparities in sentencing are accepted as a reality. Little appears to be happening in addressing the problem. We need to see Judicial College training for sentencers, and an action plan developed with all parties.

**The Equality Act of 2010 and the Public Sector Equality Duty are often cited in policy discussions and developments regarding race disparities and the CJS. However, the perception amongst civil society is that they are ineffective. What can a new government do to make them more effective?**

- **Improve data management and provision** – Government must implement mechanisms for the collection, storage, management, and provision of equality data to ensure an auditable evidence base for policymaking and evaluation.
- **Enhance enforcement mechanisms, especially super-complaints** – Enforcement mechanisms for equality rights should be strengthened, including empowering bodies like the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) with greater independence, adequate funding, and enforcement powers to hold public bodies accountable for failures in safeguarding and enforcing rights.
- **Use legislation effectively** – Identify areas where the current legislation has been deemed ineffective and explore ways to use the existing legislation more effectively to address race disparities and promote equality. Piloting initiatives across the CJS that could be reviewed by EHRC and inspectorate bodies would be helpful.
- **Community engagement** – Ensure that discussions on issues such as stop and search policies involve communities directly impacted by these practices, highlighting disparities and advocating for fair treatment. Engaging with the community will also bring CJS bodies in direct contact with those who have been impacted and will bring a greater understanding and empathy on the traumatic experiences they have encountered.

The Casey Review<sup>33</sup> found that the Metropolitan Police was institutionally racist. The MacPherson Report<sup>34</sup> into the murder of Stephen Lawrence, came to the same conclusion 23 years earlier. What should the next government do to address this and reform policing to tackle the culture that Baroness Casey's review exposed?

- **Acknowledgment and commitment to address institutional racism** – Recognise and acknowledge that institutional racism exists within the Metropolitan Police and commit to a culture of zero tolerance towards racism and discrimination within the police force.
- **Retention and support of Black and racially minoritised staff** – Implement measures to retain and support Black and racially minoritised staff within the police force, including addressing the disparities in the disciplinary processes, retention, and promotion of these communities.
- **Establish independent reviewing and implementing bodies** – Implement institutional changes and recommendations from recent reviews<sup>35,36</sup> within the Metropolitan Police and the Home Office to address institutional racism. Senior leaders must be held accountable for addressing institutional racism within the police force and the government should ensure that there are consequences for failure to address these issues effectively.
- **Conduct a follow-up review on the Metropolitan Police** – There was a generally held view that the current governance arrangements were impeding reform of the Metropolitan Police. Baroness Casey should be commissioned to conduct a follow-up review, and the government must ensure that it is conducted without fear or favour and that its recommendations are implemented effectively. Baroness Casey's terms of reference should include a review of the current governance arrangements for the Metropolitan Police.



## Key recommendations

### **Strengthen the Equality Act and accountability framework for policing**

There is a need for effective monitoring and auditing of adherence to the PSED. The 2010 Equality Act should be amended to ensure that police forces who do not treat people with protected characteristics fairly face stiffer repercussions.

### **Invest in youth and community services**

The government needs to address the disproportionality of Black and racially minoritised children entering the CJS and the over-policing of these communities.

### **Conduct a follow-up review of the Metropolitan Police**

Recommission Baroness Casey to conduct a follow-up review of the Metropolitan Police, ensuring that it is conducted without fear or favour and that its recommendations are implemented effectively. The terms of reference should include a review of the current governance arrangements for the Metropolitan Police.

## Improving services for women, reducing the numbers of women in prison, and addressing violence against women and girls

Address the criminalisation of survivors of domestic abuse and misogyny within the justice system.

Police officers are still marking their own homework.

HMPPS commits to reduce the number of women entering the CJS. But the figures are going in the opposite direction. Without courts and policing making the same commitments and addressing the practices that push vulnerable women into prison we won't stop the flow.

What should the new government's priorities be for making the criminal justice system more supportive, empathetic, less punitive, and anti-misogynistic for women?

- **Expand holistic diversion and early intervention services** – Expand diversion programmes and early intervention services tailored to the specific needs of women and girls, addressing the root causes that bring women into the CJS such as trauma and substance misuse. These programmes and services must have a holistic understanding of women's needs and address the complexity of their lives, including housing, childcare, and educational support. Sentencers should also be provided with sufficient information and evidence on the benefits of diversion and early intervention, so they feel confident in imposing community sentences rather than custodial sentences.
- **Improve funding and resources** – Funding models need to adequately support the sector, reduce underfunding and end grants with short turnaround times. The system must address resource constraints at the police investigation and court stages. This would enable better support for survivors of sexual violence and domestic abuse.
- **Address bias and criminalisation** – Tackle systemic issues such as the criminalisation of survivors of domestic abuse and biases within the justice system. Mandatory training on implicit bias and gender-specific discrimination needs to be introduced to police forces.

- **Engage in public messaging and advocacy** – Prison should not be perceived as a place of safety or a solution for women who suffer from domestic abuse. Public messaging campaigns will shift perceptions and challenge populist views. These campaigns should involve multiple organisations and prioritise the voices of experts and women with lived experience.
- **Increase representation** – Increase the representation of women with lived experience in the justice system and prioritise intersectional approaches to address the unique challenges faced by marginalised women.

**The 2007 Corston Report<sup>37</sup> proposed a radical shift and a compelling evidence-based case for reducing the use of prison for vulnerable women. Successive governments have failed to take the report’s recommendations and vision forward. Can a new government change this? If yes, what should they do?**

- **Mapping of the impact on the use of prison for vulnerable women** – This exercise should be accompanied by the establishment of a centralised database for this information. Particular attention should be given to the effects on children who are impacted by the imprisonment of a carer.
- **A cross-departmental response** – Women’s needs must be addressed by all areas of government not just the Home Office and the Ministry of Justice. These include social care, housing, children, health, education and skills training, and benefits.
- **A pan-CJS approach** – HMPPS has committed to reducing the number of women entering the CJS through its Female Offender Strategy,<sup>38</sup> published in 2018. But the figures are going in the opposite direction.<sup>39</sup> Without courts and policing making the same commitments and addressing the practices that push vulnerable women into the CJS, the current upward trend will not cease.
- **An informed public** – A greater understanding needs to be built amongst the public and media that the majority of women in prison pose no threat to the public. Any term of incarceration worsens the position for most women and their dependents. Politicians need to promote this message.

**Addressing VAWG is a priority in the party manifestos. What needs to be done to make the criminal justice system work better for victims of VAWG? What needs to happen with regards to prevention and education and is there enough focus in these areas?**

- **Representation and advocacy** – Our society needs more women in politics, especially more women with direct experience of VAWG. Initiatives such as the 50/50 Parliament Campaign<sup>40</sup> and Elect Her<sup>41</sup> need to be replicated and supported to encourage more women to stand for positions in local government and parliament.

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**Expand diversion programmes and early intervention services tailored to the specific needs of women and girls, addressing the root causes that bring women into the CJS.**



- **Education and training** – Within the CJS, more investment needs to be made towards education and training programs for police officers, courts, and other relevant bodies to better understand the dynamics of VAWG. This training should address siloing responses to VAWG by adopting a holistic view that considers the broader societal context. The training should also highlight the link between experiencing abuse and potential offending behaviour, emphasising the importance of understanding and addressing trauma in victims. Outside of the CJS, support organisations that work with men to educate them about domestic abuse and their roles in relationships, without detracting from funding for women’s services are also required. Schools should introduce more comprehensive education about healthy relationships and boundaries, including concepts like self-love and consent.
- **VAWG language and policy** – The limitations of VAWG language and policy need to be addressed by recognising the diverse experiences of trauma and harm that women routinely face. Different governmental departments need to be connected in their work to ensure a holistic approach to addressing VAWG issues beyond the CJS.
- **Access to legal support** – There needs to be a recognition of the importance of legal advice for VAWG survivors and access to independent legal advice ensured for those who report incidents of sexual or domestic violence. The government must provide necessary legal support for survivors.

**The Casey Review stated the Metropolitan Police was institutionally misogynistic. The treatment of women as victims but also as employees was brought into focus. Is the issue of institutional misogyny and the corporate cultures that can ingrain it being seriously addressed across the criminal justice system? What should a new government do to initiate sustainable change?**

- **Recognition that institutional misogyny and racism exist within the police** – These challenges are not being adequately addressed. Issues persist in addressing police-perpetrated abuse, with police culture and defensive responses undermining accountability efforts.
- **Specific, systemic reforms needed** – The independence in disciplinary systems must be increased, community policing strengthened, and representation improved. The government needs to engage in proper resource allocation, specialised training, and intersectional considerations, to address VAWG, particularly in marginalised communities.
- **Invite Baroness Casey to conduct a follow-up review of the Metropolitan Police** – The inspectorate bodies should also have their recommendations made mandatory.

## How can we ensure that the needs of Black and racially minoritised and migrant women are prioritised met and their voices heard in the development and delivery of policy?

- **Meaningful, co-production** – Expand efforts to engage lived experience in the development of policy affecting Black and racially minoritised and migrant women.
- **Training** – Better training for frontline staff to improve understanding and increase empathy.
- **Voluntary Sector role** – Enhancing the role of voluntary sector organisations as advocates and deliverers of services.
- **Cross-departmental working** – Resolving the tension created when the position of migrant women is determined by immigration status and not as victims.



### Key recommendations

#### **Expand holistic diversion and early intervention services**

Expand diversion programs and early intervention services tailored to the specific needs of women and girls, addressing the root causes such as trauma and substance misuse. Raise confidence in community sentences.

#### **Address bias and criminalisation**

Tackle systemic issues such as the criminalisation of survivors of domestic abuse and biases within the justice system. Introduce mandatory training on implicit bias and gender-specific issues.

#### **Conduct a follow-up review of the Metropolitan Police**

Recommission Baroness Casey to conduct a follow-up review of the Metropolitan Police.

# Achieving respect, increasing understanding, and delivering active, valued engagement in the development of criminal justice policy for people with lived experience

Take on board people's whole stories and see how that leads, rather than shoehorning it in – take things more holistically.

Foster an environment where the opinions and insights of individuals with lived experience are valued and systematically integrated into policy and practice. Encourage openness to criticism and feedback from individuals with lived experience, recognising their unique insights as valuable contributions to improving the prison system.

The right to be forgotten is much harder now than 50 years ago.

What should the new government's priorities be regarding involving people with lived experience in the development of policy?

- **Introduction of lived experience councils across CJS institutions, facilitated by lived experience** – Prioritise consultation with individuals with lived experience (including people in prison) in policy development through lived experience councils to ensure direct input from affected communities at all stages of decision-making. Any consultation must ensure diverse representation, independence, and meaningful engagement to avoid tokenistic consultation practices.
- **Accountability mechanisms** – Establish clear lines of accountability and mechanisms for feedback to ensure that lived experience perspectives are valued and integrated into policy making effectively.

## How could the experiences of people who have previously served time in prison be utilised to improve the prison system? What could the new government do to make this happen?

- **Utilise procurement processes to create opportunities for individuals with lived experience** – Incorporate individuals with lived experience into the tendering and procurement processes for prison services.
- **Establish lived experience councils in every prison** – Mandate senior staff within the prison system to actively integrate the perspectives of individuals with lived experience into consultative and decision-making processes.
- **Change the culture** – Foster an environment where the opinions and insights of individuals with lived experience are valued and systematically integrated into policy and practice. Encourage openness to criticism and feedback from individuals with lived experience, recognising their unique insights as valuable contributions to improving the prison system.

## What could the government do to make employment opportunities more accessible to people with criminal records?

- **Overhaul the DBS system** – There is a need to ensure checks are relevant and prevent unnecessary barriers to entering the workforce. This is particularly significant with it being 50 years since the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act this year. Contextual information for the crime should be added to each person's record. These proposed changes should involve participation and consultation from relevant voluntary and community organisations who are experienced in this field.
- **Recognition of digital footprint** – The DBS system should also consider how digital traces of crimes impact people with criminal records: news reports and social media posts remain accessible even when crimes are spent and continue to detrimentally impact on people long after the convictions are spent.
- **Public campaigns** – Increase and support implementation of campaigns such as Ban the Box to remove criminal record checkboxes from initial job applications, and FairChecks.<sup>42</sup>
- **Led by example** – Ensure government employment schemes are monitored for best practices and incentives are provided for employers to support applicants with criminal records.
- **Change the narrative** – The majority of people with criminal records have neither been to prison nor been convicted of a violent offence. The government should shift the narrative around individuals with criminal records, emphasising rehabilitation and skill sets to combat negative stigma. We must end the conflation of all convictions that impede people from moving forward with their lives.

## What more could civil society organisations do to involve and support people with lived experience?

- **Promote a positive discourse** – The punitive driven public discourse needs to be challenged more assertively by civil society. Educating the public is key, civil society alone cannot change the structure of the narrative, but it should provide a positive challenge to the established conventions that punitive measures are the only options and that they work well.
- **Combat tokenism** – The CJA's ELEVATE CJS<sup>43</sup> programme is a great example of combating tokenism. It provides a platform for people with lived experience to grow and develop, support one another and contribute to making the justice system better.
- **Increased resources** – Engaging, involving, and nurturing lived experience at all levels is a valuable investment and must be appropriately resourced. .



### Key recommendations

#### **Government leading by example**

Ensure government employment schemes are monitored for best practices and incentives are provided for employers to support applicants with criminal records.

#### **Introduction of lived experience councils across CJS institutions facilitated by lived experience-run organisations**

Prioritise consultations with individuals with lived experience (including people in prison) in policy development through lived experience councils to ensure direct input from affected communities at all stages of decision-making. Any consultation must ensure diverse representation and meaningful engagement to avoid tokenistic consultation practices.

#### **Accountability mechanisms**

Establish clear lines of accountability and mechanisms for feedback to ensure that lived experience perspectives are valued and integrated effectively into policy making.

## Views from academia: how to bring about systemic change across our criminal justice system

Reviews have been carried out, and recommendations have been made, but nothing has been done. Material progress needs to be made to counter the increasing weariness felt towards the police.

The government cannot keep up the damaging 'tough on crime' rhetoric and must frame rehabilitative reforms in terms of crime prevention and fiscal cost. There has been progress made with diversion and cutting shorter sentences based on the harnessing of this narrative.

There needs to be more cross-sector dialogues. The government and academia need to work more together, for example, facilitate work placements.

### What should be the criminal justice system priorities for a new government?

- **Investment in probation** – Probation services are chronically understaffed with some areas only staffed at 40% of full staffing levels.
- **Liaison divergence schemes** – Build on and celebrate the success of these schemes. CJA members felt that at times there is almost a sense that the government does not want to highlight the positives of these schemes perhaps because they are focused on prevention and not punishment.
- **Make criminal defence careers more attractive** – There is a crisis in criminal defence recruitment linked to reductions in legal aid. Better legal aid funding can help maintain criminal defence as a financially viable sector for lawyers and maintain coverage of solicitors and barristers across the country.
- **Make a fiscal argument central to the benefits of a more progressive criminal justice policy** – The fiscal arguments regarding the financial benefits of a system geared towards prevention and rehabilitation are strong. They must be at the centre of the case for a more progressive criminal justice policy.

Policing is going through a very challenging period. The CJA recently responded to a Home Office consultation on police Community Scrutiny frameworks.<sup>44</sup> What can the new government do to improve trust and confidence systemically and sustainably in policing?

- **Improve recruitment and training** – Vetting new recruits effectively is only part of what is required and there is a danger of focussing solely on that process. Recruitment of police officers need to also focus on the traits that people can bring to ensure policing attracts talent and leaders who are committed to improvement, and those with strong values; rather than commitment to protection of the institution.
- **Lived experience/community involvement** – Meaningfully and proactively incorporate the voices of those with lived experience of the system and the communities most impacted by policing failures and ruptured relationships.
- **Reform fatigue** – Reviews have been carried out, and recommendations have been made, but nothing has been done. Material progress needs to be made to counter the increasing weariness felt towards police reform.
- **Reality checks** – To achieve genuine reform, the government needs to acknowledge where they are at in relation to gender and race inequities. Failure to do so risks further alienation, mistrust and another missed opportunity which will incur costs, both financial and societal.

The CJA is committed to systemic change across the criminal justice system. Evidence-based policy-making and strategic involvement of those individuals and communities with lived experience are essential components of our model for systemic change. However, in a context where the media/political discourse and consensus place an overriding emphasis on punitive, enforcement-led approaches, what can a new government do to alter a perceived predisposition that is resistant to systemic change?

- **Ensure independence of accountability and scrutiny mechanisms** – At its heart, the separation of such mechanisms needs to be seen to be entirely impartial. This is seen to have been eroded over recent years.<sup>45</sup>
- **A commitment to evidence-based solutions** – Reaffirming this commitment will help to bring people and sectors together. The success of youth justice reform has placed agreed evidence bases as a key reference. We need to see more reform processes making an agreed evidence base a central foundation on which to deliver successful change.

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**Evidence-based policy-making and strategic involvement of those individuals and communities with lived experience are essential components of our model for systemic change.**

- **Public awareness campaigns** – The government cannot keep up the damaging ‘tough on crime’ rhetoric and must frame rehabilitative reforms in terms of crime prevention and fiscal cost. There has been some progress made with diversion and cutting shorter sentences based on the harnessing of this narrative, but we must go further.

## **In an era of fake news, populism, culture wars, and the denigration of experts, what should a new government do to build effective relationships with academia in addressing the systemic challenges across the criminal justice system?**

- **Increase opportunities for mobility between academia and civil sector** – The government should offer more policy fellowships, and funded research projects to broker greater exchange between the sectors. All universities should have knowledge exchange units. The development of an intermediary organisation to support the relationship between policymakers and academics would be welcomed.



## **Key recommendations**

### **Investment in probation**

Probation services are chronically understaffed with some areas only staffed at 40% of full staffing levels.

### **Make a fiscal argument central to the benefits of a more progressive criminal justice policy**

The fiscal arguments regarding the financial benefits of a system geared towards prevention and rehabilitation are strong. They must be at the centre of the case for a more progressive criminal justice policy.

### **Ensuring independence of accountability/scrutiny mechanisms**

At its heart, the separation of accountability and scrutiny mechanisms needs to be seen to be entirely impartial. Over recent years, this perception of independence has been eroded.



# 6. Conclusion

**This report has placed rebuilding the relationship between government and civil society at the centre of reforming the CJS.**

A fair, proportionate, rehabilitative CJS must be at the heart of any new government's programme of renewal for the country. What our members have articulated in this report is that CJA members as part of wider civil society working across the CJS will be a great strategic partner for any government that can acknowledge the severity of the current situation and has the desire to deliver the systemic change the CJS desperately needs.

We are not naive to the current context and predilection towards punitive interventions to make society safer. The scales of justice demonstrate the process of deciding innocence and guilt. But they could also symbolise the philosophical struggle of the CJS and society: between punishment and rehabilitation. In our view, the scales have tilted too far toward punishment, some may say irrevocably so. But we would challenge this view.

The public/media/political discourse has been a key feature in this report. Pushing forward an agenda based on evidence from academics, the knowledge of practitioners and the experiences of those most impacted by the CJS is not, in our opinion, naivety. On the contrary, it is an approach grounded in what works and driven by principles. This will inevitably challenge the conventional wisdom and internal culture of the CJS; indeed, our consultations have highlighted that such culture needs to be challenged, for any meaningful and systemic change to happen and for our CJS to be reformed.

Our consultations have confirmed that our members are undoubtedly part of the solution to remedying the problems and challenges facing the CJS. Their commitment and optimism to continue to support the people and communities they serve, campaigning for change, facilitating the voice of those with lived experience of the CJS, and producing the evidence of what works remains undiminished, in the face of financial and other challenges. The justice system as a whole must be viewed as part of wider society, and the people who enter the system must be supported along their paths to learn from mistakes, make positive contributions to their families, to their communities and to society at large. These are essential elements to facilitating systemic change and reform, for a fair and effective CJS.

Utilising the talent, energy, knowledge, commitment, and optimism of the civil society organisations working across the justice system as a strategic partner in a values-driven programme is critical. We hope the next government will take on this constructive approach.

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**The justice system as a whole must be viewed as part of wider society**

# Appendix 1 – List of CJA members who attended the consultations

42 members attended the consultations.

## CJA MEMBERS REPRESENTED AT CONSULTATIONS

### **Improving victim services and access to restorative justice**

Anawim

Belong

Calm Mediation

Restorative Solutions

Restorative Justice Council

The Corbett Network

Why Me?

### **Improving conditions in prisons and probation**

Change Grow Live

Children Heard and Seen

Community Chaplaincy Association

DWRM Consultants

Professor Harry Annison, University of Southampton

Prisoner Support Services

Prisoners' Education Trust

The Corbett Network

Women in Prison

### **Improving services for women, reducing the numbers of women in prison, and addressing VAWG**

Advance

AGENDA

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[Anawim](#)

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[Centre for Women's Justice](#)

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[Hibiscus](#)

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[RIFT Social Enterprise](#)

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[Women in Prison](#)

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**Addressing institutional racism and creating a CJS that achieves fair, just and equitable outcomes for all communities.**

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[Action for Race Equality](#)

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[Clinks](#)

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[Hibiscus](#)

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[JUSTICE](#)

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[Race on the Agenda](#)

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**Achieving respect, increasing understanding, and delivering active, valued engagement in the development of criminal justice policy for people with lived experience.**

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[Responsible Business Initiative for Justice](#)

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[User Voice](#)

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[Unlock](#)

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[Switchback](#)

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[Social Interest Group](#)

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**The role of academia in bringing about systemic change across our criminal justice system**

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Dr David Gilbert, University of Salford

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Tania Goddard, University of Salford

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Dr Rebecca Helm, University of Exeter

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Dr Katie Maras, University of Bath

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Dr Gemma Morgan, Swansea University

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Professor Harry Annison, University of Southampton

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Dr Madeline Petrillo, University of Bath

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Professor Alex Stevens, University of Kent

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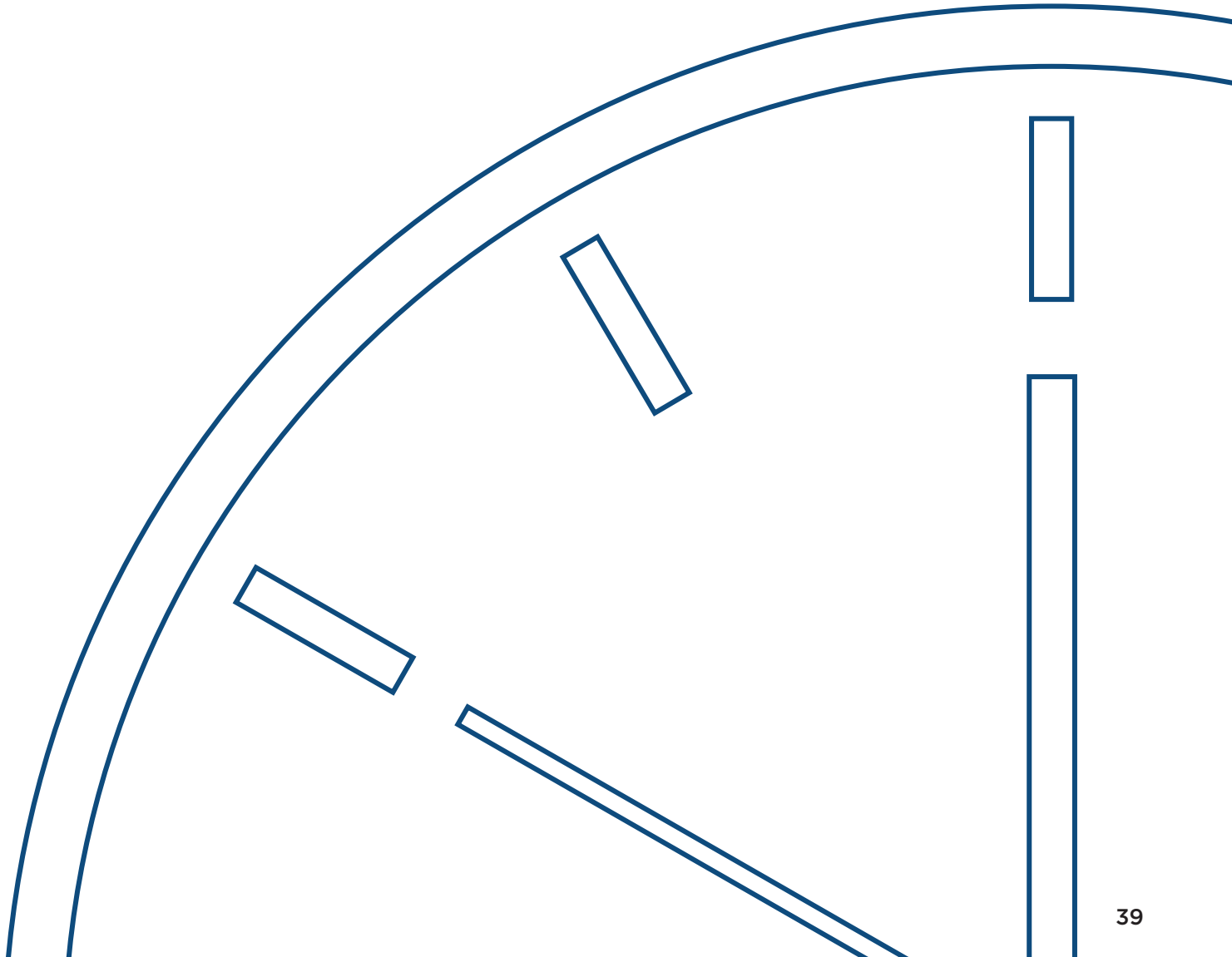
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