

Members' briefing: What have the Conservatives proposed on law and order?

With a general election now expected on 6 May, the Conservative Party has begun to finalise its policy proposals on law and order.

They have published the chapter of their draft manifesto on *Mending our broken society*, which contains measures on crime and criminal justice. It refines and simplifies the proposals made previously in their policy document *Prisons with a Purpose*, in other policy papers and in speeches by the Shadow Home Secretary and Shadow Justice Secretary.

This briefing summarises the information available to date on the Conservatives' crime and criminal justice policy agenda.

Policy summary

This section summarises the Conservative Party's most significant policy proposals.

On **criminal justice**, their most significant proposals are:

- Increasing prison capacity more quickly than currently planned in the short term to allow for abolishing the end of custody licence scheme.
- Introducing min-max sentencing, so for certain offenders (as yet unspecified) the courts set a minimum and a maximum period. Having served the minimum, prisoners will only be released if and when they 'earn' it. Otherwise they will serve the maximum term.
- Introducing payment-by-results into commissioning services to cut reoffending, as part of a "rehabilitation revolution" that would also see a greater role for the voluntary and private sectors in supporting resettlement. *Prisons with a Purpose* stated that their "rehabilitation goal will be to reduce the two year re-conviction rate of prisoners by 20% over five years ... a 13 percentage point reduction".
- Extending the length of custodial sentences that can be awarded in a Magistrates' Court from six to twelve months (which was legislated for in the *Criminal Justice Act 2003* but never implemented).
- Enabling paid work in prisons, with deductions from prisoners' earnings to be paid into the Victims' Fund.

On **crime and policing**, their most significant proposals are:

- Introducing what Chris Grayling MP, Shadow Home Secretary, has called a "21st Century version of the clip around the ear" for young people - measures like grounding orders for under-18s which can be imposed without going through the full court process. Grayling has previously suggested confiscating mobile phones and bikes for short periods as other possible punishments.
- Toughening up licensing restrictions, and increasing tax on super-strength beers, ciders and alcopops.
- Reducing police paperwork, especially on stop and search, and increasing stop and search powers.
- Making the police accountable to a directly-elected individual who will set priorities for the policing of local communities.

David Cameron has also confirmed that the Conservatives are considering reintroducing **prison ships** as a quick and cheap way to achieve a short-term increase in capacity, to allow for the scrapping of the end of custody licence. This proposal is not contained in the draft manifesto and it has been reported that it was drawn up by Andy Coulson, the Conservatives' head of communications, and not by the shadow justice team.¹ However, a proposal contained in *Prisons with a Purpose* to build an additional 5,000 prison places over and above Labour's plans for an increase in capacity to 96,000 by 2014 has been dropped.²

¹ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/jan/24/prison-ship-row-splits-conservatives>

² <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/jan/07/tories-drop-5000-jail-plan>

The draft manifesto does not specifically mention **prison overcrowding**. However, *Prisons with a Purpose* prioritised tackling prison overcrowding, stating that “overcrowding is the key cause of failure in the current prison system” and pledging to end it by 2016. On **prison size**, David Cameron opposed the Titan prison proposals and has previously said that “the idea that big is beautiful with prisons is wrong”. He has also said that he would introduce league tables for prisons based on reoffending rates.³

Prisons with a Purpose also sets out plans to decentralise the management of prisons into local “**Prison and Rehabilitation Trusts**”, which would manage an offender throughout their sentence and take responsibility for reducing reoffending. The draft manifesto contains a proposal to pilot turning a group of public sector prisons into a Prison and Rehabilitation Trust, but more radical plans to reconfigure the entire estate appear to have been shelved, with Dominic Grieve telling the Howard League for Penal Reform’s AGM that they would take too long to implement to be practicable. The Conservatives have previously been critical of the National Offender Management Service, but the draft manifesto does not make any specific commitments to abolish or reform it.

The draft manifesto also does not make any commitments on **community sentences**. But *Prisons with a Purpose* argues that the Conservatives will make community sentences “work” by: improving compliance through new sanctions for breaches; making community sentences more visible; introducing min-max community sentences; and paying a diversity of suppliers by results to raise performance in getting offenders off drugs and into long-term employment. They argue that this will reduce the prison population by more than 3,000 within three years of implementation.

In addition, the draft manifesto does not mention **restorative justice**. But at Clinks’ AGM in January 2010, Alan Duncan MP, Shadow Justice Minister, strongly endorsed restorative justice and said that under a Conservative government its use would be substantially increased. David Burrowes MP, who has been conducting a review of policy on victims of crime, has also said that the Conservatives “have to find ways within our criminal justice system to give more victims access to restorative justice”.⁴

The draft manifesto also does not contain any specific proposals on **women or young adults**. *Prisons with a Purpose* contains only a short paragraph specifically on women who offend, stating that the Conservatives “broadly accept the recommendations in the Corston Review”. However, no further details have been provided. On young adults (aged 18-24) Dominic Grieve broadly endorsed the findings of the Transition to Adulthood Alliance at the launch of their report on young adult offenders in November 2009.⁵ Again, no specific proposals have subsequently been published.

The Conservatives have not made any formal announcements of their policies on **youth justice**. A policy document on youth crime and youth justice was planned for January 2010 but has not yet been published and it may not be published now until after the election. However it was expected to include:

- Increasing the minimum length of the Detention and Training Order from six to twelve months.
- Reducing bureaucracy for Yots and streamlining their funding, and examining the potential of devolved budgets.
- Introducing a measure whereby young people who have only committed one, minor offence would have their criminal record wiped on their eighteenth birthday.

³ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2009/jan/06/cameron-conservatives-business-economy>

⁴ http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2009/11/David_Burrowes_We_need_fundamental_change_to_our_criminal_justice_system.aspx

⁵ <http://www.cypnow.co.uk/news/ByDiscipline/Youth-Justice/971209/Tory-MP-backs-call-overhaul-justice-young-adults/>

Draft manifesto commitments in full

The full list of proposals on crime and criminal justice contained in the chapter of the draft manifesto on ‘Mending our broken society’ are:

- *Reducing crime and antisocial behaviour*
 - Giving local authorities and the police much stronger powers over licensing, including the ability to remove licences from, or refuse to grant licences to, any premises which are causing problems.
 - Allowing councils to shut down permanently any shop or bar found selling alcohol to children.
 - Doubling the maximum fine for under-age alcohol sales to £20,000.
 - Increasing tax on super-strength beers, ciders and alcopops, but not the everyday pint.
 - Banning off-licences and supermarkets from selling alcohol below cost price.
 - Permitting local councils to charge more for late-night licences to pay for additional policing.
 - Strengthening stop and search powers.
 - Making it clear that anyone caught carrying a knife can expect to be prosecuted and face a prison sentence.
 - Extending the length of custodial sentences that can be awarded in a Magistrates’ Court from six to twelve months.
 - Introducing mobile knife scanners on streets and public transport.
 - Introducing a series of early intervention measures, like grounding orders, to allow the police to use instant sanctions to deal with antisocial behaviour.
 - Changing the rules so that anyone acting reasonably to stop a crime or apprehend a criminal is not arrested or prosecuted.
 - Giving householders greater protection if they have to defend themselves against intruders.⁶
 - Ending the confusion over criminals’ anonymity and giving police the power to identify offenders.
 - Implementing the *Prisoners’ Earnings Act 1996* to allow deductions from prisoners’ earnings to be paid into the Victims’ Fund.
 - Using the Victims’ Fund to deliver up to 15 new rape crisis centres - growing the network by more than a third - and give all existing rape crisis centres stable, long-term funding.
 - Ensuring that the school curriculum includes teaching young people about sexual consent.
- *Cutting paperwork to get more police out on the street*
 - Reducing the amount of paperwork that the police have to deal with, starting by cutting the stop form entirely and reducing the burden of stop and search procedures.
 - Returning charging discretion to the police for minor offences.
 - Processing criminals more quickly by video-linking custody cells and courts.
 - Reforming the *Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act*, which regulates police surveillance, so that authorisation is not needed in routine cases.
 - Taking steps to prevent the misuse of surveillance powers by local authorities.
 - Amending the health and safety laws that stand in the way of common sense policing.
- *Making the police accountable to the communities they serve*
 - Replacing police authorities and making the police accountable to a directly-elected individual who will set priorities for the policing of local communities.
 - Obliging the police to publish detailed local crime data statistics every month, in an open and standardised format, and ensuring police teams have regular neighbourhood beat meetings.

⁶ David Cameron has subsequently said that: “The moment a burglar steps over your threshold, and invades your property, with all the threat that gives to you, your family and your livelihood, I think they leave their human rights outside”, adding that under the Conservative proposals, householders would only face prosecution if they used “grossly disproportionate” force against a burglar (http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/8490090.stm).

- *Prisons with a purpose*
 - Redeveloping the prison estate and increasing prison capacity as necessary, enabling them to scrap the early release scheme.
 - Introducing a system where the courts can specify minimum and maximum sentences for certain offenders.
 - Extending early deportation of foreign national prisoners.
 - Creating a new offence of breach of bail and ending the presumption of bail for persistent offenders or those accused of serious crimes.
- *Our rehabilitation revolution*
 - Ensuring that when offenders leave prison, they are trained and rehabilitated by private and voluntary sector providers.
 - Using payment-by-results to cut reoffending.
 - Piloting a scheme to turn a group of public sector prisons into a Prison and Rehabilitation Trust.
 - Giving courts the power to use abstinence-based Drug Rehabilitation Orders.
 - Examining the case for banning currently legal narcotics.

The full document is available to download from:

http://www.conservatives.com/News/News_stories/2010/01/Mending_our_Broken_Society.aspx

Key individuals

Leading MPs in this policy area include:

- **Chris Grayling MP**, Shadow Home Secretary. Chris Grayling has previously been Shadow Leader of the House of Commons and Shadow Secretary of State for Transport. He became Shadow Work and Pensions Secretary in July 2007, and was appointed Shadow Home Secretary in January 2009.
- **Dominic Grieve QC MP**, Shadow Secretary of State for Justice. Dominic Grieve was appointed Shadow Attorney General in 2003. He became Shadow Home Secretary in June 2008, and in January 2009 became Shadow Secretary of State for Justice.
- **Edward Garnier QC MP**, Shadow Attorney General. Edward Garnier was appointed Shadow Home Affairs Minister in 2005 and the Shadow Minister for Justice, with responsibility for prison and probation, in 2007. In September 2009 he was appointed Shadow Attorney General.
- **Alan Duncan MP**, Shadow Justice Minister with responsibility for prisons and probation. Alan Duncan was Shadow Secretary for Trade and Industry from December 2005 to July 2007, Shadow Secretary of State for Business, Enterprise and Regulatory Reform from July 2007 to January 2009, and Shadow Leader of the Commons from January 2009 to September 2009. He was appointed Shadow Justice Minister in September 2009.
- **David Burrowes MP**, Shadow Justice Minister with responsibility for youth justice and with an interest in policy on victims of crime. David Burrowes was appointed Shadow Minister for Justice in July 2007 and has also spent eighteen months as Deputy Chairman of the Conservative Social Justice Policy Group's Addictions Working Party.
- **James Brokenshire MP**, Shadow Minister for Home Affairs. James Brokenshire was appointed Shadow Home Affairs Minister in November 2006. As Shadow Minister for Crime Reduction he is responsible for issues relating to gun and gang crime, knife crime, drug crime and antisocial behaviour. He is working with David Burrowes developing policy on youth crime and youth justice.
- **Rt Hon Oliver Letwin MP**, Chairman of the Policy Review and of the Conservative Research Department. Oliver Letwin is a former Shadow Home Secretary and is now responsible for developing the Conservatives' election manifesto.
- **Rt Hon Francis Maude MP**, Shadow Minister for the Cabinet Office. Francis Maude is leading, with Nick Boles (see below), the Conservatives' 'implementation unit', which is examining how to turn policy into delivery in government.
- **Rt Hon Iain Duncan Smith MP**, Chairman of the Centre for Social Justice. The Centre for Social Justice has carried out influential work on criminal justice reform, and Iain Duncan Smith is expected to take a leading role in Government on social justice issues if the Conservatives win the election, possibly at a new Department for Children and Social Justice.

Leading advisers in this area include:

- **Gavin Lockhart**, Criminal Justice and Health Policy Adviser in the Conservative Policy Unit. A former Head of the Crime and Justice Unit at the think-tank Policy Exchange, Gavin Lockhart primarily advises the shadow home affairs team.
- **Dominic Raab**, Chief of Staff for Dominic Grieve QC MP and candidate for the safe Tory seat of Esher and Walton. A former Chief of Staff to the then Shadow Home Secretary David Davis MP, Dominic Raab advises on prisons, criminal justice and constitutional reform. He is also the author of *The Assault on Liberty - What Went Wrong with Rights*.
- **Kate Steadman**, researcher for Alan Duncan MP and Edward Garnier QC MP.
- **Nick Boles**, Conservative Party adviser and candidate for the safe Tory seat of Grantham and Rutland. A former director of the think-tank Policy Exchange, Nick Boles now runs the 'implementation unit' with Francis Maude MP (see above).

Further reading

Publications

- 'Draft Manifesto 2010 - Mending our broken society' - http://www.conservatives.com/News/News_stories/2010/01/~ /media/Files/Draft%20Manifesto/DraftSocietyManifesto.ashx
- 'Prisons with a Purpose' - http://www.conservatives.com/~ /media/Files/Green%20Papers/Prisons_Policy_Paper.ashx?dl=true
- 'Public safety first: Reducing the risk of offending by suspects on bail' - <http://www.conservatives.com/~ /media/Files/Downloadable%20Files/Public%20Safety%20First.ashx?dl=true>
- 'Knife crime action plan' - <http://www.conservatives.com/~ /media/Files/Downloadable%20Files/Knife%20Crime%20Action%20Plan.ashx?dl=true>
- 'It's Time To Fight Back: How a Conservative government will tackle Britain's crime crisis' - <http://www.conservatives.com/pdf/britainscrimecrisis.pdf>
- 'Where's the justice in that? 12 years of criminal justice under Labour' - <http://conservativehome.blogs.com/files/wherethejustice.pdf>
- 'Reversing the rise of the surveillance state' - <http://conservativehome.blogs.com/files/surveillance-state.pdf>
- 'The Conveyor Belt to Crime' - http://www.dominicgrieve.org.uk/files/pdf_pdf_3.pdf
- 'Beyond the Causes of Crime' - http://www.cps.org.uk/cps_catalog/CPS_assets/73_ProductPreviewFile.pdf

Speeches

- *Rt Hon David Cameron MP (Leader of the Conservative Party) speeches:*
 - 'Mending our Broken Society' (22/1/10) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2010/01/David_Cameron_Mending_our_Broken_Society.aspx
 - 'Crime and our broken society' (24/8/07) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2007/08/David_Cameron_Crime_and_our_broken_society.aspx
 - 'Youth crime and measures to reduce it' (22/8/07) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2007/08/David_Cameron_Youth_crime_and_measures_to_reduce_it.aspx
 - 'David Cameron speech to the Police Federation' (17/5/07) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2007/05/David_Cameron_speech_to_the_Police_Federation.aspx
 - 'The Conservative approach to improving public services' (26/1/07) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2007/01/David_Cameron_The_Conservative_approach_to_improving_public_services.aspx

- 'I want to see real change in the youth justice system' (2/11/06) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2006/11/David_Cameron_I_want_to_see_real_change_in_the_youth_justice_system.aspx
- 'Restoring public confidence in our criminal justice system' (10/7/06) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2006/07/Cameron_Restoring_public_confidence_in_our_criminal_justice_system.aspx
- 'Setting out an agenda on police reform' (16/1/06) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2006/01/Cameron_Setting_out_an_agenda_on_police_reform.aspx
- *Chris Grayling MP (Shadow Home Secretary) speeches:*
 - 'Our plans for elected police commissioners' (26/11/09) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2009/11/Chris_Grayling_Our_plans_for_elected_police_commissioners.aspx
 - 'Our approach to law and order' (17/11/09) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2009/11/Chris_Grayling_Our_approach_to_law_and_order.aspx
 - 'A no-nonsense approach to crime and disorder' (7/10/09) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2009/10/Chris_Grayling_A_no-nonsense_approach_to_crime_and_disorder.aspx
 - 'Labour have failed to deal with Britain's social challenges' (25/8/09) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2009/08/Chris_Grayling_Labour_have_failed_to_deal_with_Britains_social_challenges.aspx
 - 'Not enough being done to tackle anti-social behaviour' (14/7/09) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2009/07/Chris_Grayling_Not_enough_being_done_to_tackle_anti-social_behaviour.aspx
 - 'Tackling antisocial behaviour' (9/4/09) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2009/04/Chris_Grayling_Tackling_anti-social_behaviour.aspx
 - 'Labour is soft on crime and soft on the causes of crime' (23/2/09) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2009/02/Chris_Grayling_Labour_is_soft_on_crime_and_soft_on_the_causes_of_crime.aspx
- *Dominic Grieve QC MP (Shadow Secretary of State for Justice) speeches:*
 - 'Protecting the public, not criminals' privacy' (7/10/09) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2009/10/Dominic_Grieve_Protecting_the_public_not_criminals_privacy.aspx
 - 'British Justice' (15/12/08) - <http://www.dominicgrieve.org.uk/record.jsp?type=speech&ID=71>
 - 'Labour has lost sight of whose side it is on' (30/9/08) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2008/09/Dominic_Grieve_Labour_has_lost_sight_of_whose_side_it_is_on.aspx
- *David Burrowes MP (Shadow Justice Minister) speeches:*
 - 'An accountable youth justice system' (12/11/09) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2009/11/David_Burrowes_An_accountable_youth_justice_system.aspx
 - 'We need fundamental change to our criminal justice system' (3/11/09) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2009/11/David_Burrowes_We_need_fundamental_change_to_our_criminal_justice_system.aspx
 - 'We must provide the leadership to reduce youth crime' (2/9/09) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2009/04/David_Burrowes_We_must_provide_the_leadership_to_reduce_youth_crime.aspx
 - 'Speech to National Victims Association' (11/7/09) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2009/07/David_Burrowes_Speech_to_National_Victims_Association.aspx
 - 'Dealing with diversity in Youth Justice' (4/4/08) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2008/04/David_Burrowes_Dealing_with_diversity_in_Youth_Justice.aspx

- *Nick Herbert MP (former Shadow Secretary of State for Justice) speeches:*
 - ‘Speech to Prison Governors’ Association Conference’ (8/10/08) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2008/10/Nick_Herbert_Speech_to_Prison_Governors_Association_Conference.aspx
 - ‘Prison reform is a great Conservative cause’ (30/9/08) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2008/09/Prison_reform_is_a_great_Conervative_cause.aspx
 - ‘Labour’s giving criminals a break’ (26/11/07) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2007/11/Nick_Herbert_Labours_giving_criminals_a_break.aspx

Media articles

- ‘A Tory government would seek to protect the rights of the victim’ by Chris Grayling (19/12/09) - <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstoppers/politics/lawandorder/6844244/Chris-Grayling-A-Tory-government-would-seek-to-protect-the-rights-of-the-victim.html>
- ‘Safeguarding the public’s privacy’ by Dominic Grieve (16/9/09) - <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/libertycentral/2009/sep/16/conservatives-privacy-surveillance>
- ‘Vetting must be combined with common sense’ by Chris Grayling (11/9/09) - <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/chris-grayling-vetting-must-be-combined-with-common-sense-1785883.html>
- ‘It’s the Conservatives who offer the solution to tackling “Broken Britain”’ by Chris Grayling (26/8/09) - <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/chris-grayling-its-the-conservatives-who-offer-the-solution-to-tackling-broken-britain-1777158.html>
- ‘We need fresh ideas on knife crime’ by Chris Grayling (16/7/09) - <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/jul/16/knife-crime>
- ‘Keeping DNA data is illegal. So stop’ by Chris Grayling (6/4/09) - <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/apr/05/dna-database-law>
- ‘End caution culture and get tough on crime’ by Chris Grayling (21/2/09) - <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstoppers/politics/lawandorder/4741813/End-caution-culture-and-get-tough-on-crime.html>
- ‘Fiddling statistics is no way to restore public confidence’ by Dominic Grieve (8/1/09) - <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/personal-view/4177738/Fiddling-statistics-is-no-way-to-restore-public-confidence.html>
- ‘The abolitionists’ criminal conspiracy’ by Nick Herbert (27/7/08) - <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/jul/27/prisonsandprobation.youthjustice>
- ‘In good nick’ by David Cameron (17/8/05) - <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/aug/17/davidcameron.politicalcolumnists>

External reports

Particularly influential external policy reports include:

- ‘Order in the Courts: Restoring faith through local justice’ by the Centre for Social Justice (2/11/09) - <http://www.centreforsocialjustice.org.uk/client/downloads/CSJ%20courts%20WEB.pdf>
- ‘Locked Up Potential: A Strategy for reforming prisons and rehabilitating prisoners’ by the Centre for Social Justice (23/3/09) - <http://www.centreforsocialjustice.org.uk/client/downloads/CSJLockedUpPotentialFULLREPORT.pdf>
- ‘You’re Hired!’ by Policy Exchange (4/9/08) - <http://www.policyexchange.org.uk/publications/publication.cgi?id=82>
- ‘The Lawful Society’ by Reform (2/9/08) - <http://www.reform.co.uk/Research/CriminalJustice/CriminalJusticeArticles/tabid/113/smId/378/ArticleID/635/refTab/74/t/The%20lawful%20society/Default.aspx>
- ‘Unlocking the Prison Estate: Modernising the prison system in England and Wales’ by Policy Exchange (22/11/07) - <http://www.policyexchange.org.uk/publications/publication.cgi?id=63>

Analysis

- 'Tories locked in a jail-focused mindset' by Jon Collins (13/1/10) - <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/libertycentral/2010/jan/13/conservative-prison-building-proposals>
- 'New year, same old threats to legal system' by Marcel Berlins (3/1/10) - <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/jan/03/marcel-berlins-writ-large-2010-predictions%20>
- 'The trouble with Grieve: Cameron may regret leaving the law to a lawyer' by James Forsyth (11/11/09) - <http://www.spectator.co.uk/spectator/thisweek/5530308/the-trouble-with-grieve-cameron-may-regret-leaving-the-law-to-a-lawyer.shtml>
- 'What would the Conservatives do for law and order?' by Alan Travis (8/10/09) - <http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2009/oct/08/conservatives-law-order-crime>
- 'Tell us David Cameron - what sort of Britain do you want to lead?' by Mary Riddell (5/10/09) - <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopics/politics/conservative/6263231/Conservative-party-conference-Tell-us-David-Cameron---what-sort-of-Britain-do-you-want-to-lead.html>
- 'Real work in prison should find support from progressives on both sides of the political aisle' by Frances Crook (11/9/09) - <http://www.progressonline.org.uk/Magazine/article.asp?a=4696>
- 'Let's see what goes on behind bars' by Eric Allison (7/1/09) - <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/jan/07/david-cameron-prison-league-tables>
- 'They Hug Hoodies, Don't They? Responsibility, Irresponsibility and Responsibilisation in Conservative Crime Policy' by Jamie Bennett (22/9/08) - <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/121415641/abstract>
- 'The cruellest wait' by Juliet Lyon (11/8/08) - <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/aug/11/justice.conservatives>

Criminal Justice Alliance
February 2010

For more information please contact Susanna Siddiqui, Policy and Campaigns Officer at the Criminal Justice Alliance, on susanna.siddiqui@criminaljusticealliance.org or 020 7840 1204.