

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

With a general election now called for 6 May 2010, this briefing summarises the information available to date on the Conservative Party's crime and criminal justice policies, ahead of the publication of their manifesto. It includes proposals published in the chapter of their draft manifesto on *Mending our broken society*, which contains measures on crime and criminal justice and refines and simplifies the proposals made previously in their policy document *Prisons with a Purpose* and in other policy papers, and measures that have subsequently been announced.

Policy summary

This section summarises the Conservative Party's 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 (this scheme has since been cancelled by the Government¹).
- 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,² as part of a "rehabilitation revolution" that would also see a greater role for the voluntary and private sectors in supporting resettlement.³ *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.⁴

¹ Dominic Grieve has subsequently said: "We campaigned relentlessly for this reckless scheme to be scrapped and if elected we will provide the new prison capacity we need to ensure it is not reintroduced"

(http://www.conservatives.com/News/News_stories/2010/03/Eighty_thousand_prisoners_released_early_by_Labour.aspx).

² In a speech to the Social Market Foundation on 18 March 2010, Alan Duncan MP, Shadow Justice Minister, strongly endorsed payment-by-results but acknowledged the barriers to making the concept a reality, saying "I do not underestimate the problems or the challenge of turning what is a brilliant idea into a practical and operational contract."

³ See also http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/9b05a9ae-1999-11df-af3e-00144feab49a.html?ftcamp=rss&nclink_check=1

⁴ Chris Grayling has said that the first elections will take place half way through the first Conservative parliament (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/election-2010/7554292/Chris-Grayling-on-Conservative-plans-for-return-to-traditional-style-policing.html>).

On **prison numbers**, Chris Grayling has said that he expects prison numbers to rise in the first years of a new Conservative administration as new policies on sentencing, including scrapping early release and tougher terms for knife crime, come into force.⁵ 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.⁶ 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.⁷

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.⁸

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 QC MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Justice, 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. However in a recent article Alan Duncan MP, Shadow Justice Minister with responsibility for prisons and probation, has said that "we are going to need something leaner, less bureaucratic, and more effective than the leviathan that is the current NOMS", adding that "the system cries out for the local control of offenders, supporting their rehabilitation along the path from conviction to post-release."⁹

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 in a recent speech to the Restorative Justice Consortium, Alan Duncan strongly endorsed an enhanced role for restorative justice, saying that restorative justice "should take place as much as possible, for as many different crimes as possible, and at whatever stage of the criminal justice system that is most appropriate for the particular case. In my view, instead of being the exception, it should be the norm."¹⁰ David Burrowes MP, who has been conducting a review of policy on victims of crime,

⁵ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/election-2010/7554119/Conservatives-call-for-in-your-face-policing.html>

⁶ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/jan/24/prison-ship-row-splits-conservatives>

⁷ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/jan/07/tories-drop-5000-jail-plan>

⁸ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2009/jan/06/cameron-conservatives-business-economy>

⁹ <http://conservativehome.blogs.com/platform/2010/03/alan-duncan-mp-my-vision-for-prison-reform.html>

¹⁰

<http://www.restorativejustice.org.uk/Events/2010/RJLAW/Alan%20Duncan%20MP%20RJ%20Thursday%2004%20February%202010.pdf>

has also said that the Conservatives “have to find ways within our criminal justice system to give more victims access to restorative justice”.¹¹

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”. In answer to the question ‘How will you reduce the number of women being sent to prison?’, posed by the Fawcett Society, the Conservatives said: “We support the principle that only women who have committed serious or violent offences, or pose a threat to the public, should receive a custodial sentence. We should look at alternatives to custody, including community sentences where appropriate. We also need to tackle the causes of women’s offending, recognising that women prisoners are more likely than male prisoners to be homeless, addicted to drugs, or to have suffered from domestic or sexual abuse. Across a range of areas we will take action to tackle drug and alcohol addictions, homelessness and violence against women.”¹² 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 2009.¹³ 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 will not be published now until after the election (although a shorter document, setting out key proposals on youth crime, may be published during the election campaign). 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.

It has also been reported that the Conservatives are considering bringing in private companies to run all young offender institutions, having been impressed by Ashfield YOI, run by Serco.¹⁴

Since the publication of the draft manifesto, Dominic Grieve has said that the Conservatives would introduce a levy of £200 that defendants convicted in a criminal court would have to pay, if they were granted **legal aid**. This could raise £80 million a year. The Legal Services Commission, which manages the legal aid scheme in England and Wales and costs £125 million to run, may also be abolished.¹⁵

On **policing**, Chris Grayling has said: “I want to see more ‘in yer face’ policing. I want to see the trouble-makers being stopped, getting harassed, getting challenged and being dealt with immediately”, adding “I want our police officers to be out there catching criminals not to be social workers.” He also said: “I want inspectors and sergeants out on the Saturday night with the constables helping them deal with the problems.”¹⁶ A leaked briefing note from Conservative campaign headquarters has reportedly criticised the **Association of Chief Police Officers** (saying that it gives “political cover to the Labour Government repeatedly and consistently” and claiming it has “publicly and privately lobbied against a number of key Conservative issues, going far beyond its role”), suggesting that it may be under threat, at least in its current format.¹⁷ Chris

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

¹² <http://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/index.asp?PageID=1072>

¹³ <http://www.cypnow.co.uk/news/ByDiscipline/Youth-Justice/971209/Tory-MP-backs-call-overhaul-justice-young-adults/>

¹⁴ http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/443ea2c8-19d1-11df-af3e-00144feab49a.html?nclick_check=1

¹⁵ http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/election_2010/article7018478.ece

¹⁶ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/election-2010/7554292/Chris-Grayling-on-Conservative-plans-for-return-to-traditional-style-policing.html>

¹⁷ <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article7053182.ece>

Grayling has also said that he would alter the structure of the **Metropolitan Police** to give greater discretion to the Commissioner to pick his own senior team. Currently, a panel from the Metropolitan Police Authority chooses the top 40 officers, down to commander level.¹⁸

The Conservatives have also opposed the extent of the **National DNA Database**. They have proposed that no DNA samples or profiles should be retained from adults not convicted of a crime, except for those charged with certain crimes of violence and serious sexual offences. In these cases, DNA on the National DNA Database or the Counter-Terrorism DNA Database may be retained for a period of three years, which could be extended to a maximum of five years, if approved by a Crown Court Judge. The DNA of adults convicted of a recordable offence should be retained indefinitely. No DNA samples or profiles should be retained on children under the age of 10. When a child under the age of 18 is convicted of serious violence or a serious sexual offence, their DNA should be retained indefinitely. In the case of conviction for any other recordable offences DNA should only be retained for a period of five years.¹⁹

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.²⁰
 - Ending the confusion over criminals’ anonymity and giving police the power to identify offenders.

¹⁸ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstoppers/politics/lawandorder/7250288/Metropolitan-Police-chief-set-to-pick-own-team-under-Tories.html>

¹⁹

<http://www.conservatives.com/-/media/Files/Policy%20Documents/Surveillance%20State.ashx?dl=true>

²⁰ 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). Chris Grayling has also said that local businesspeople should “not have to worry that they will face prosecution if they defend themselves against people who break into their shops and threaten their business, their property and their families” (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstoppers/politics/lawandorder/7386654/Tories-offer-shopkeepers-the-right-to-defend-themselves.html>).

- 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.
- *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. There has been speculation that he will not be appointed Home Secretary if the Conservatives win the election.²¹
- **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.

²¹ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/wintour-and-watt/2010/apr/01/chrisgrayling-davidcameron>

- **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.
- **Rt Hon David Davis MP**, former Shadow Home Secretary. David Davis has a particular interest in civil liberties and remains an influential figure on this agenda.

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.
- **Christine Dykes**, Chief of Staff for Dominic Grieve QC MP.
- **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 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://www.conservatives.com/~ /media/Files/Policy%20Documents/Surveillance%20State.aspx?dl=true>
- '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:*
 - 'Our "Big Society" plan' (31/3/10) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2010/03/David_Cameron_Our_Big_Society_plan.aspx
 - '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:*
 - 'Early Release announcement is a poison pill policy' (22/2/10) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2010/02/Dominic_Grieve_Early_Release_announcement_is_a_poison_pill_policy.aspx
 - '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
 - 'Reversing the rise of the surveillance state' (16/9/09) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2009/09/Dominic_Grieve_Reversing_the_rise_of_the_surveillance_state.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_Conservative_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
- *Rt Hon David Davis MP (former Shadow Home Secretary) speeches:*
 - 'Flanagan Review a shocking indictment of Labour failure' (7/2/08) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2008/02/David_Davis_Flanagan_Review_a_shocking_indictment_of_Labour_failure.aspx
 - 'There are better ways to protect our security than giving away our freedoms' (7/11/07) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2007/11/David_Davis_There_are_better_ways_to_protect_our_security_than_giving_away_our_freedoms.aspx
 - 'It is time to start mending our broken society' (2/10/07) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2007/10/David_Davis_It_is_time_to_start_mending_our_broken_society.aspx
 - 'Prisons with a purpose' (2/10/06) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2008/10/Nick_Herbert_Speech_to_Prison_Governors_Association_Conference.aspx
 - 'The Walk On By Society' (7/4/06) - http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2006/04/David_Davis_The_Walk_On_By_Society.aspx

Media articles

- ‘How a Conservative Government would not only reform prisons but also address the underlying causes of our broken society which lead people to offend in the first place’ by Alan Duncan (10/3/10) - <http://conservativehome.blogs.com/platform/2010/03/alan-duncan-my-vision-for-prison-reform.html>
- ‘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:

- ‘Waiting on the Wings: A review of the costs and benefits of secure psychiatric hospital care for people in the criminal justice system with severe mental health problems’ by Dr Judy Renshaw - http://www.marketreporthealthcare.co.uk/documents/Waiting_on_the_Wings.pdf
- ‘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>

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- ‘Chris Grayling on Conservative plans for return to traditional-style policing’ (Interview) by Andrew Porter (5/4/10) - <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/election-2010/7554292/Chris-Grayling-on-Conservative-plans-for-return-to-traditional-style-policing.html>

- 'Conservative campaign: right on re-offenders & wealth gap?' by FactCheck with Cathy Newman (1/4/10) - <http://blogs.channel4.com/factcheck/2010/04/01/conservative-campaign-right-on-re-offenders-wealth-gap/>
- 'Are the Tories too tough on drugs?' by Jeremy Sare (3/2/10) - <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/feb/03/conservatives-drugs-iain-duncan-smith>
- 'Prisoner Learning: The Conservative Approach - an interview with Alan Duncan MP, Shadow Minister for Prisons' (1/2/10) - <http://www.prisonerseducation.org.uk/index.php?id=359>
- 'Can prison ships help to cut overcrowding?' by Max Chambers and Juliet Lyon (28/1/10) - http://business.timesonline.co.uk/tol/business/industry_sectors/public_sector/article7006820.ece
- '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>

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