

Lighting the Flame

A report on the
impact of Make
Justice Work



Foreword

Make Justice Work (MJW) was launched in 2009 as a tightly focussed campaign and it was never intended that it should run on indefinitely.

The decision to draw the campaign to a close in 2013 reflected the judgement that we had succeeded in our two primary goals: to shine a bright light on the massively expensive and highly unproductive use of prison to deal with the many low-level offenders who pass through the courts each year, and to demonstrate that the best ‘community sentences’ were not only much cheaper, but more effective in helping to turn around the lives of offenders.



The last few years have been tumultuous ones in the criminal justice world. In a crowded market we have succeeded in making our presence felt, thanks to the inspirational leadership of our founder, Roma Hooper, and the powerful support of our many friends and supporters. Along the way we have learned a great deal, and we are particularly proud to have explored and highlighted the serious risks associated with the proposed widespread adoption of ‘payment by results’ methods in the criminal justice field. We are also glad to have brought to the attention of politicians here in the UK the progress in reducing prison populations in certain parts of the United States by the ‘Right on Crime’ movement.

Even as MJW is being wound up, we are taking steps to ensure that its legacy lives on and you can be sure that Roma will remain active in pressing home the messages that we have developed.

MJW has always been committed to the open-minded pursuit of hard evidence and in keeping with that principle we decided that it would be right to commission an independent assessment of our successes and failures. Patricia Lankester, who has been a help to us on many occasions, suggested that we invite Stephen Boyce to take on this task. We are very grateful to him for the incisive report he has produced and hope that the lessons that emerge from it may be of use to other campaigning organisations.

My thanks go to the many organisations and individuals who have supported MJW. All of their names are listed on page 32-33, but I would like to highlight the crucial generosity of our major funders – the Bowland Trust (through the Ruskin Foundation), the Monument Trust, and the Esmée Fairbairn Foundation. At the same time our thanks go to Champollion for their pro bono support and Shaftesbury plc who generously provided us with our office space. To the late Alasdair Liddell we also owe a debt for his crucial help in producing our report on ‘payment by results’: he is much missed by all who knew him.

Finally, I would like to thank my fellow board members, and our small but dedicated and hard-working staff and paid interns. Above all, however, I want to salute the energy, determination, resilience and flair of the person who launched MJW and who has throughout the campaign embodied the principles for which it stands - Roma Hooper.

David Barrie
Chair

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Introduction

The aims of this study were set out as:

- to assess the impact of Make Justice Work since its launch in 2009 in relation to the campaign messages, and to assess lessons learned by testing the views of a range of stakeholders on the effectiveness of MJW as a campaign
- to provide funders, key supporters and stakeholders with a fully rounded, independent and objective overview of the campaign, and
- to enable existing and future campaigns – both within the criminal justice sector and beyond – to benefit from MJW's experience.

The research included 28 interviews, face-to-face or by telephone, with a cross-section of stakeholders, and a widely circulated e-survey which received 83 responses. I was also given access to MJW publications, funders reports and other resources.

I should like to express my gratitude to all those who gave their time to share their views with me about MJW.

I'd also like to thank the MJW team for their administrative support in putting this report together, especially Roma Hooper, Peter Hand and Rebecca Daddow.

Stephen Boyce
May 2013

Executive Summary

“They set out to shift the agenda, and they’ve achieved that.”

The principal conclusion of this brief study is that, while it is virtually impossible to measure impact by attributing direct cause and effect, Make Justice Work is seen to have made a significant contribution to key debates in the criminal justice field in the last six years.

The nature of this contribution has been to draw particular attention to the value of effective community sentencing as a viable and cost effective alternative to short term custodial sentences. The campaign has also highlighted a number of related issues including the views of victims, the need for sound operating principles for sentencing programmes governed by payment by results, and new approaches being introduced in the US.

There is a high degree of recognition for MJW’s work and respect for its methods within the criminal justice field. In a crowded landscape MJW is acknowledged to have been astute, original in its methods and valued by the sector. The hallmarks of MJW’s approach include a strong evidence-based presentation of issues, the engagement in the debate of a range of different voices, as well as responsiveness and professionalism.

The organisation owes a considerable debt to its founder and Director, Roma Hooper, whose energy and determination are universally recognised and admired, as well as to a group of supporters who have brought strategic focus to the campaign and its activities.

Despite some growing pains and the dilemmas of becoming a funded body employing staff, MJW has remained agile and has been highly effective in achieving recognition as a respected and credible commentator. This is largely due to its independence and ability to foster open minded debate.

MJW has been exemplary in saying what works; what public expectations are; what people want, and in addressing gaps in knowledge about the effectiveness of different forms of punishment.

MJW is seen to have had influence within the sector by virtue of engaging with other players, highlighting good practice and being an energetic presence. Its direct impact on policy and on public opinion is difficult to judge and may in any case not be felt for some time, but as a catalyst and key contributor, MJW has helped to energise and focus debates in a timely and relevant manner.

The decision to wind up is greeted with regret but also with understanding and appreciation for the role MJW has played. There is a desire to maintain its legacy and to ensure that lessons are learned from the distinctive features of MJW’s campaign. Its lasting influence may well be on the methods adopted by other pressure groups and commentators in the future.

Origins & timeline

Roma Hooper has worked in and around the criminal justice system since 1992, when she was asked to help set up Britain's first prison radio station at Feltham Young Offenders' Institution. Her long involvement in and commitment to this area of work has brought her experience, knowledge and recognition in the sector.

Her desire to set up a campaigning organisation has its origins in her reaction to Labour Justice Secretary, Jack Straw's proposals to introduce 'Titan' prisons, first announced in 2007. A strong sense of fairness, her experience at Feltham and the knowledge that short term prisoners were "going out to nothing", combined to give her both the motivation and the context for a campaign that would support effective alternatives to custody that offered the prospect of reduced re-offending.

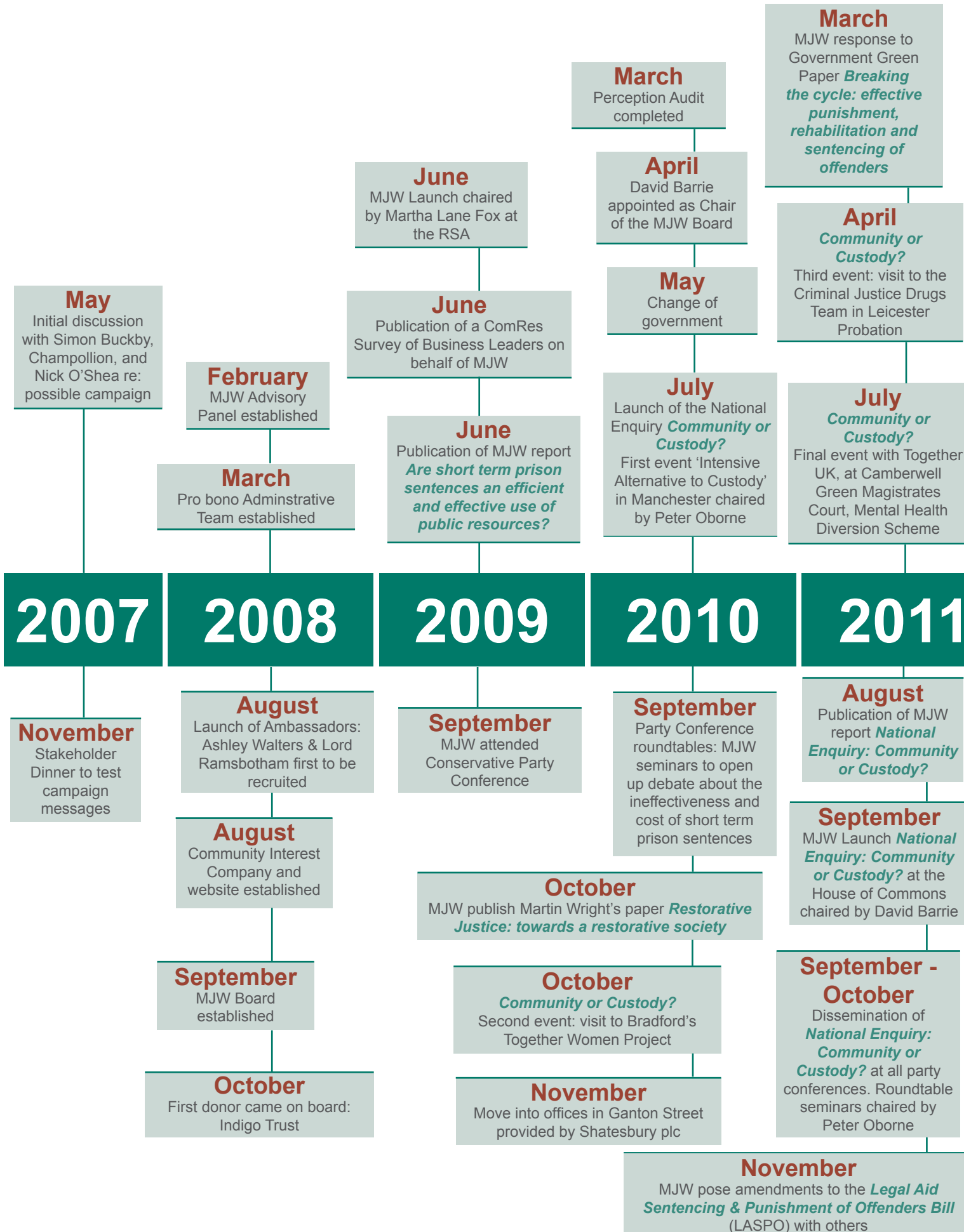
A chance meeting with Simon Buckby, who went on to set up Champollion PR consultancy, led eventually to the proposal to establish Make Justice Work. Recognising Roma's ability and determination, Buckby offered to help establish the campaign. Six years on the organisation has developed and matured, producing along the way a significant body of work – outlined in the timeline overleaf.

The intention was to set up a campaign that would make people sit up and take notice by generating freshly branded arguments emphasising effective alternatives to custody. MJW would differentiate itself from others in the field, often seen as "broad brush" and working on a number of fronts, by maintaining a relatively narrow focus.

What emerged was "a good cocktail of strategic thinking and professional expertise"; a small organisation that is political but not partisan, collaborative rather than antagonistic.

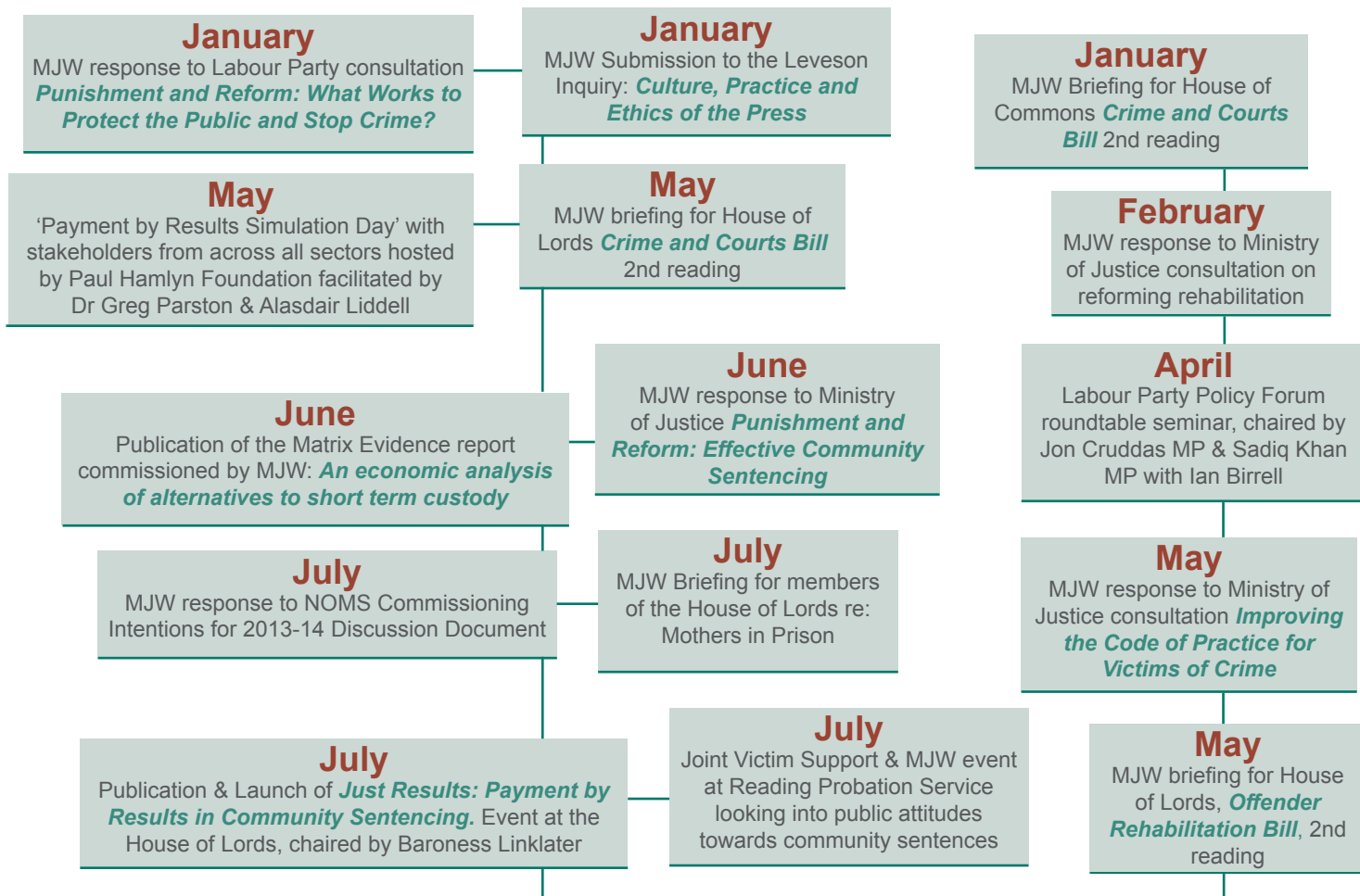


MJW Timeline



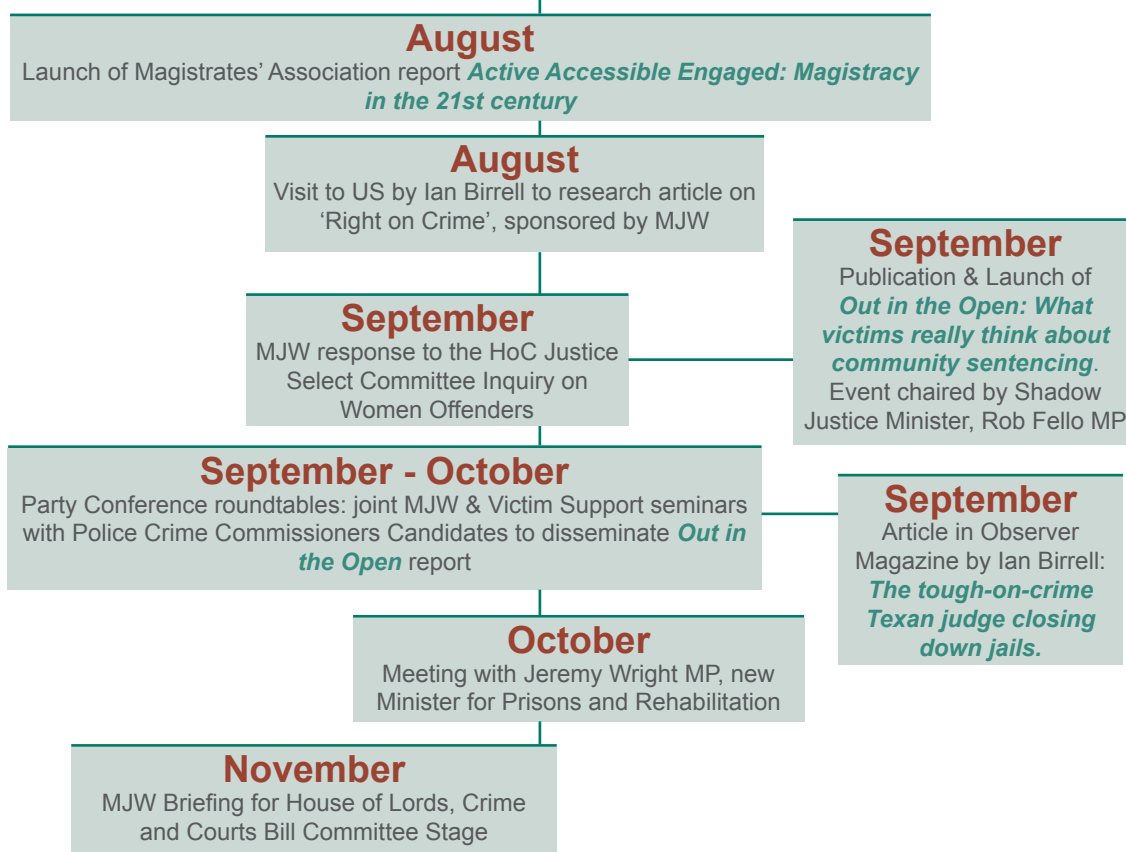
2011-2012

Roma Hooper on panel for year-long review of Magistracy in the 21st century by Magistrates Association



2012

2013



Timeliness & relevance

Timeliness is as much a matter of chance as good judgement, serendipity often playing a key part. MJW's arrival on the scene coincided broadly with a change of government and with a period when issues to do with community sentencing, which were by no means new, were being given a fresh airing, notably under Secretary of State, Ken Clarke. In particular the recession created pressure to cut expenditure on prisons by reducing the prison population; this in turn raised questions about alternatives to custody, the problem of re-offending and the need for support.

“Sometimes the timing emerges as being right”

It is clear that for the overwhelming majority of consultees the work of MJW is seen as both timely and relevant, reflecting the political direction of travel, i.e. the government's interest in cost effectiveness and the need for better public understanding of how community justice can operate.

“Coming at that time it was always going to be relevant.”

A key step in ensuring relevance was to begin by consulting others in the field; Roma used various advisers and, in particular her 'kitchen cabinet' to seek guidance on the issues and approaches which were likely to gain most traction. This process of verification was important in setting the direction and tone of the campaign at the outset, and a willingness to seek guidance from a variety of informed friends, colleagues and fellow travellers has remained a hallmark of MJW's work and helped to ensure its relevance and focus.

Simulation Day for *Just Results: Payment by Results in Community Sentencing*



The issue of short term sentences was one that had been talked about in the sector for some time, but with little or no apparent impact on Prison Service, Ministry of Justice or Home Office thinking. There was concern about the seemingly intractable problem of high levels of re-offending and the lack of statutory provision for those serving sentences of less than 12 months. It was decided that MJW would make the case for well resourced and properly structured community sentences.

Community or Custody?, MJW's 2010 'national enquiry', brought particular attention to Manchester's Intensive Alternatives to Custody (IAC) programme. Paul Pandolfo, Programme Manager says this was exactly what was needed at the time. Funding for the pilot project was coming to an end and he and his colleagues were arguing the case for continuation; the enquiry helped them publicise solid evidence from high-end community orders: "MJW gave us lots of support with a level-headed approach focusing not on political arguments but the economic case. Pilot schemes in the criminal justice field are often limited, they may start to get results but funding comes to an end and the initiative is lost. In this case there was a risk that would happen because of the convergence of the reform agenda, reducing budgets, a change of government. However, MJW highlighted the evidence using case studies; it was good to have an independent organisation, not the Probation Service, drawing attention to what we were doing."



The 'select committee' met staff and service users, several of whom gave evidence. The enquiry achieved buy-in for effective community sentencing from across the political spectrum and the media. When the IAC scheme had been launched there had been much scepticism about diverting people away from custodial sentences, it was seen as a soft option. However, the programme had good outcomes and the arguments they were able to make with MJW support resulted, in at least one case, in the continuation of funding.

MJW's timing coincided with a climate in which smart alternatives (arguments that make economic sense) were being listened to and as Susanna Cheal, MJW Board Member, emphasises "with government, money talks". Up to that point there had been little examination of the economic arguments, little or no connection with the Magistrates, no mapping of community sentencing or explanation of what it could be. These were all things that MJW went on to address.

To remain timely and relevant requires the ability to respond quickly and credibly to new initiatives, directions and diktats. And it is evident from the various reports and responses that MJW has produced, and the responses of others in the sector, that the campaign has retained the ability to do this. The 'moving target' of policy requires campaigners to be steadfast and focused without being rigid. The recent changing political and economic climate has meant that Parliamentarians have been more susceptible to arguments based on financial effectiveness rather than principle or political interest. MJW are seen as having been smart and adaptable in this regard. The fact that similar arguments were gaining traction in the US was not entirely coincidental but MJW was alert enough to spot this and adventurous enough to take the initiative to encourage and fund the journalist Ian Birrell to investigate what was happening and write it up.

Payment by results (PbR) may have been a topic that was far from the original concerns of MJW but it was something which they recognised had to be discussed and not ignored. MJW helped make the case for caution in implementing this policy, linking it to their concern for effectiveness in community sentencing.

"MJW was a key ally at a critical time...their remit fitted very well with us"

Q: How timely has MJW's campaign been?	
Very timely	49.4%
Timely	33.7%
Neither timely nor untimely	7.2%
Not very timely	2.4%
Not at all timely	0.0%
Don't know	7.2%

Table 1: Results for question 2 of the 'Make Justice Work Legacy Survey' (May 2013)

Distinctiveness

What's new?

Despite what appears to be a crowded field of pressure groups of one kind or another in the criminal justice field, few people I have spoken to expressed the view that there wasn't room for another voice. Indeed some have suggested that MJW was filling a vacuum, that there was a need for a fresh immediate response related to people on the ground.

“It is often like an echo chamber – people violently agreeing, but not changing anyone's mind.”

Moreover, it is recognised that reinforcement is also of value. As one interviewee put it: “there is very little that's new, it's more of the same, but it's important that it's not just me speaking. Change may be difficult to achieve because, until the structure is sorted out, there is really no one there to pick up the good idea, but the 'converted' like to think there is someone fighting for them, it's a boost, otherwise they think they are shouting into the wind.”

Pressures groups can find themselves locked into a narrow way of working; they become predictable, talking to the same people in the same familiar language, which is unlikely to convert sceptics. MJW on the other hand is recognised as having brought fresh thinking, a more open, fleet of foot organisation and a reliable source of information. In particular the decision on more than one occasion to embrace unlikely allies and to draw into the debate figures such as Peter Osborne, Lord Blair, Javed Khan or Ian Birrell helped to subvert expectation and reinforce a sense of open-mindedness. There can be little doubt that this added significantly to MJW's credibility.

Some campaign groups play to the emotive or look at issues from a perspective of dogma – they have a position – whereas MJW focused on evidence, consulted with experts. This is largely regarded as a more influential approach. As one person put it “the debate has matured as a result of that.”

“I was impressed by their determination to get evidence into the debate.”

Because MJW was quick on its feet, it was able to respond swiftly to the proposal to introduce Police and Crime Commissioners and was very active (without being diverted entirely from the core campaign) in taking the opportunity to make the case in a new context. This kind of “staccato highlighting” – releasing seminal pieces of evidence and responding to shifts in policy debate – built credibility and prompted people to seek the views of MJW.

Use of evidence

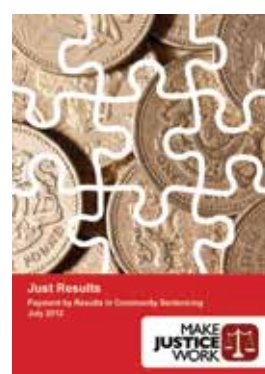
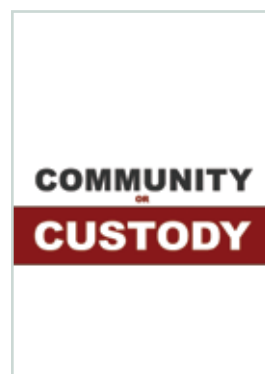
The effective use of evidence is one of the characteristics of MJW's work most often cited by those I spoke to for this report – what Mark Woodruff of the Monument Trust refers to as “obedience to the truth and submitting to the discipline of evidence”. Rather than representing the interests of a particular group MJW chose to look at what works.

This was not an easy approach because generally policies are not evidence based, they are driven by short term political considerations and gut feeling. MJW's objective is not seen as being to guide Ministers down a particular path but to ensure people have evidence they can use. In an environment that is often seen as “evidence starved” there was a welcome for an organisation trying to get hard facts across, to consider matters of practicality, and it was seen by many as refreshing. Getting facts and case studies into the narrative is acknowledged to be powerful and MJW has been consistently effective in doing so.

The tone was set with the first report commissioned from Matrix: *Are short term prison sentences an efficient and effective use of public resources?* which analysed the costs and benefits of sentencing low-level, non-violent offenders to community based alternatives to prison.

The decision to pursue the *Community or Custody?* initiative was based on the key idea that seeing is believing. It was considered essential to take people to see at first hand examples of good community sentencing in practice, to invite those involved to give evidence to a panel comprising senior figures from across the criminal justice sector under an independent chair, the journalist Peter Osborne.

Communicating a complicated idea in a straightforward way is hard. With payment by results, for example, MJW didn't just rubbish the idea, it chose to point out the risks, to say that it is unproven, that people take time to change and you cannot expect instant results. MJW also spelt out what it would take for the policy to be successful. The approach was not just to report, not simply to criticise, but to use solid research-based commentary.



MJW report covers (2009-2012)

Whose voice?

A number of those I spoke to described MJW's voice as distinct from other campaigning groups, partly by virtue of not representing the interests of a particular group, but also because it was seen as fresh and having the passion that is often lacking in the criminal justice world. The field is littered with organisations providing a voice for particular interests but MJW has been more balanced; its concerns are seen to have been more to do with society as a whole – how we make the country a safer place and how we deal with offenders in a way that protects victims. This ability to look at issues in the round is seen as different to other groups in the field.

MJW has never been narrow about who it would work with, it saw the value of bringing in people with potentially divergent views.

The fact that it was able to draw in people who weren't the usual suspects, meant that its voice was interesting, informed, not confrontational. MJW came with no history or baggage and took a rational, middle ground approach. Some may say that it was less challenging of orthodoxy, but it meant that people were more willing to listen and allowed officials to think more freely about solutions. Perhaps it was characterising itself more as an informed commentator rather than a pressure group?

“Make Justice Work has not been anyone's stooge.”

For some it was refreshing that MJW did not simply comprise academics, policy makers or researchers. The ability to reflect the point of view of a wide range of practitioners was important and including the views of the Probation Service, police, prison governors, offenders, victims and others in the debates and discussions, helped ensure “the people at the front end” were taken seriously. It was important for the sector as a whole to feel represented – “it sent a message of encouragement to the Probation Service which Roma probably didn't realise. MJW is always mentioned with appreciation.”

Paul McDowell, NACRO's Chief Executive, says MJW's voice fitted well with what NACRO was trying to achieve. The *Community or Custody?* enquiry gave a voice to prison governors as well as police chiefs and others. For many people this was the first time they had the experience of hearing from a former prison governor and, for those

governors who participated, it helped them to think through the issues and to speak more freely about these problems in a way they hadn't been able to before.

Community or Custody? was also important for Victim Support in that it factored in the voice of the victim which in turn helped to give more weight to the findings. The mental health charity, Together UK, whose work was highlighted through the enquiry's focus on case studies, gained exposure and the chance to be heard.

For some, MJW is seen as having judged the political climate really well. Roma knew she couldn't be as critical or antagonistic as others in the field if she wanted to be welcomed into the political discourse.

And the use of advocates – in particular MJW's 'Ambassadors', prominent and respected figures from across the sector – on the *Community or Custody?* panel and elsewhere meant that such people were both influenced and influencing, speaking in their own right in support of the messages of MJW's campaign. There is a strong consensus that this undoubtedly added weight and credibility to MJW's work and made people listen.

The ability to use different interlocutors, to equip them with the arguments, give them a voice or a platform, was especially effective when it included first hand experience. Getting out and about – visiting community projects, having public debates – had impact especially when events took place outside London. It brought new voices into the debate and provided a showcase for initiatives that otherwise might have gone unnoticed. This was a welcome intervention.

“She and David steered a good course; being more challenging wouldn't necessarily have got them further in terms of the debate.”

“One of the keys to success was their ability to network with a wide range of political thinkers, to get them involved and start providing different sorts of messages to people.”

“The way Roma and the campaign went about their business drew people in from both sides [of the argument].”

Achievements & effectiveness

“It’s difficult to find evidence of anyone influencing [government thinking]”

“Changing thinking – it’s not a flash of lightning, it comes from a series of different things, it happens slowly.”

If MJW’s ambitions were sweeping – to bring about a sea change in public attitudes, resulting in a shift in government thinking – its aims were practical and clear, from visiting robust alternatives to custody, to carrying out research and briefings, to engaging with policy decision makers.

Views on MJW’s impact are inevitably mixed. If anything there is a feeling that, while MJW has been effective in what it set out to do in terms of widening debate and throwing light on evidence, it is almost impossible to detect direct impact on government thinking. This is understandable, given how difficult it is to attribute cause and effect, the extent to which policy is influenced by short term considerations and the number of other voices in the arena. Not to mention the fact that Ministers rarely acknowledge outsiders who may have influenced policy thinking.

Nonetheless, most observers recognise that initiatives such as *Community or Custody?*, *Just Results* and *Out in the Open* have been of considerable value in their own terms.

Influence

By common acclaim *Community or Custody?* was a notable success and established MJW’s credibility in a big way. The ‘select committee’ of key figures was “absolutely critical”, they were a force and a resource which put the debate about community sentencing firmly on the map and “raised the bar” for Intensive Alternatives to Custody.

Not only did the project influence the outcome of the pilot IAC community sentencing programme in Manchester, but in the view of Dr Greg Parston it also caused others to realise the importance of looking at the whole subject of sentencing so that community sentencing can be given its rightful place.

With few exceptions the people I spoke to consider that *Community or Custody?* raised awareness around good quality community sentencing and believe that it has had some influence on political thinking as well as encouraging others in the field.

The Magistrates’ Association acknowledge that their way of thinking has changed because of the work of MJW and are keen to disseminate information and examples of good practice to ensure sentencers are familiar with all the options open to them.



Roma Hooper presenting the *Community or Custody?* report to Downing Street

Without prompting, prison service practitioners talk freely about MJW and Roma Hooper and about how to go about the practical application of effective community sentences.

The fact that MJW could orchestrate a discussion such as *Just Results* meant it was portrayed as more than just an advocacy group. MJW became what Parston calls “an orchestrator of dialogue and spreading the learning”. And their credibility is evidenced by the fact that they could get busy chief executives and other public figures to turn up for a day or more to take part in debate.

Ways of working

MJW’s way of working was risky; in evidence gathering sessions they let discussion run without attempting to over-control it. This gave people the space to open up debate – a contrast to events in which one is invited along essentially to agree with what has already been decided.

This awareness raising – putting ideas in the back of people’s minds so they can comment from an informed point of view – may have had its effect mainly within the sector, but practitioners and others valued the initiative. However receptive politicians are to particular arguments at particular times, campaigners are familiar with the political “wall” that goes up when people revert to default positions in response to media opinion.

Yet most people I’ve spoken to acknowledge that, despite the lack of change in overall policy direction, MJW’s

“The economic arguments were spot on and have contributed to the way the debate is framed. The argument against short term prison sentences is embedded in both government and opposition parties’ thinking.”

“The real impact on policy or practice is difficult to ascertain.”

“Things have shifted, they are different to five or six years ago.”

Images taken from MJW events (2009-2012)



<p>Q: In your view how effective has MJW been as a campaigning body in working collaboratively with others across the criminal justice sector?</p>	
Very effective	27.3%
Effective	53.0%
Not sure	12.1%
Not very effective	4.5%
Not at all effective	3.0%

Table 2: Results for question 13 of the 'Make Justice Work Legacy Survey' (May 2013)

“None of us really know what we have achieved around PbR”

“We are moving to a position where there is a focus on custody as a last resort and community penalties as best practice based on clear evidence of efficacy.”

contribution to these debates has been significant and that it has fostered a more open public discussion around issues to do with community sentencing. There is a view that MJW helped to change attitudes; across the board people are now more comfortable discussing alternatives to custodial sentences.

Just Results was effective by virtue of bringing together a group of people from across the sector to discuss what would be the requirements for successfully implementing PbR. While some would argue that the policy should have been resisted as a matter of principle, MJW’s approach undoubtedly struck a chord with others. Reflecting the views of practitioners and insiders, those who are going to be responsible down the line for implementing the policy on the ground, ensures that the key ingredients of practical success can be set out from the start.

Bringing Magistrates and others together and giving them a voice was effective. This non-confrontational approach “got us in the door”, and while it took a year to formulate the best approach, the timing became more appropriate as political thinking on the issue shifted.

There is a view that MJW could have done more to address the way PbR has undermined effective community sentencing, but it is also acknowledged that MJW chose to be constructive and did not address questions of principle or ethics which may be of concern to others.

While some see the *Just Results* report as influential, with the Ministry of Justice pausing its programme apparently as a result of the debate around this issue, others take the view that this may have as much to do with the market as with campaigning by groups like MJW.

For key figures like Paul McDowell of NACRO it is thanks to the debate engendered by MJW and others that the current contracting arrangements, which are at an advanced stage, include provision for the under 12 month sentence cohort.

MJW’s work has helped NACRO adjust its position and think about more effective ways of working.

As for Victim Support, they found synergy with MJW and the two organisations worked productively together on *Out in the Open*, providing powerful evidence of victims’ views on sentencing and rehabilitation and dispelling the myth that victims are only interested in retribution. Adam Pemberton

says Victim Support was inspired to do that particular piece of work by MJW.

This helped to foster a more balanced attitude to protecting the public and reducing re-offending and Victim Support have come to understand that they can engage with bodies working with offenders.

MJW has been widely commended for its decision to fund Ian Birrell's trip to investigate the revolution in the US criminal justice system – 'Right on Crime' – which places the emphasis on rehabilitation and reducing the prison population. This was an instinctive response to an opportunity but also a risky decision since MJW could not be certain what Birrell would conclude.

Andrew Neilson of the Howard League sees the decision to commission Birrell as the most influential aspect of MJW's work. He acknowledges a debt to MJW as well as a consonance of thinking, when he says that these ideas are gaining traction in Parliament as the Howard League takes forward the initiative. And it is certainly true that Birrell's article has ricocheted around Westminster with the ideas now being considered by Shadow Justice Secretary, Sadiq Khan.

Ian Birrell himself recounts how MJW have led the way in recognising the transformative potential of the Texan approach for the UK. They were smarter and more fleet of foot than other campaigning groups. He says that, although the issue was slow to take off in this country, it is now very much part of the political discourse.

As far as media attention is concerned several people take the view that MJW has "punched above its weight" getting onto the Today programme and other key channels. Roma herself is acknowledged to be a good interviewee and has to some extent become part of the ongoing discussion, building recognition and credibility.

The use of the website is seen by many as particularly effective. They commend the "professional" presentation, first rate video material, newsletters, and other information resources as well as a fresh, accessible no-nonsense style. The use of Facebook and especially Twitter have kept MJW relevant and in the public eye.

"MJW breathed life into a perennial issue"

"They have impacted by virtue of being invited to sit round the table at key meetings."

"In that lexicon of things they discuss people now talk about MJW; it's a standard part of the language."

"MJW have clearly hit home"

“Nobody expects overnight change, but things are moving in the right direction”

“The impression I get is that politicians are more open to discussing alternatives”

“If there’s been a shift it has been good value for money”

But perhaps the most effective tactic was to get around the country, holding open meetings – “like ‘old school’ public meetings” as one interviewee put it.

There is certainly a view among some of those surveyed that attitudes towards community sentencing have changed; whereas public opinion a few years ago tended to dismiss community sentences as ineffective, there is now a greater willingness to contemplate alternatives to custody. This is attributed to a number of factors including the evidence based approach adopted by MJW.

One observer referred to “a gentle, incremental shift” – citing the recent announcement about 12 months supervision for all prisoners on release as something which wouldn’t have happened ten years ago.

Q: In your view how effective & influential has MJW been as a campaigning body?	
Very effective & influential	16.7%
Effective & influential	51.5%
Not sure	25.8%
Not very effective & influential	3.0%
Not at all effective & influential	3.0%

Table 3: Results for question 12 of the ‘Make Justice Work Legacy Survey’ (May 2013)

Organisation & leadership

Getting started

It is notable that MJW ‘launched’ a good two years after the idea was first mooted. Simon Buckby insisted on thorough preparation, specifically he advised that the campaign needed a basis of solid research to support the key messages and that Roma should have professional media training. “Simon was careful not to throw me into the lion’s den until I was really ready”, Roma says. “One of the biggest things I’ve learned is how to keep on message and not get rattled.”

And the ground was being prepared in other ways, through networking and developing alliances. The next step was to create a strategy for profile and credibility. This included setting up an advisory panel of senior professionals and sympathisers in the field.

The panel was able to act as a sounding board to ensure that the direction the campaign was proposing to take was what was needed. Although there was “brilliant research” from sources such as the Esmée Fairbairn funded Rethinking Crime and Punishment, it had yet to find a direct channel through the media.

Positioning is a key issue for any new organisation and finding a distinctive, if not discrete, role alongside other bodies in the same field can be challenging. In the case of MJW, the campaign whose work it most closely resembled was the Prison Reform Trust’s Smart Justice for Women. This caused some initial tension, but MJW wanted to focus on higher level community sentences, about which there was minimal understanding, rather than on prison, and it also wanted to address the economic arguments.

While it may have been naïve to assume that a project with such close similarities to MJW’s interests would not feel put out at the arrival of a new voice threatening to draw attention away from its work, relations with PRT have been very positive. By the time Smart Justice came to a conclusion the distinct approach of MJW had become clear; the campaign had tightened the focus of its messages, choosing to avoid topics which it felt were adequately covered by others.

A number of people I have spoken to in the course of this research – including funders and supporters – have admitted being openly sceptical at the time as to whether the campaign would succeed or to being unsure of MJW’s



Roma Hooper

motives and intentions. Some were concerned about duplication of effort. However, these doubts were quickly dispelled by experience of working with MJW.

Two important decisions at this stage were to recruit Ambassadors – starting with Ashley Walters and Lord Ramsbotham – and to focus on research as an essential underpinning for the launch of the campaign. Using Matrix, who had undertaken research for the Monument Trust, MJW commissioned a report focussing on the costs and benefits of community sentences.

By June 2009 Roma felt comfortable that they had identified the right arguments and confident that they had good people behind them.

Growing pains

“You’ve got to have a story to tell; it’s not enough to say this is what we think.”

At about this time a private donation enabled the campaign to begin to pay some of its supporters who up to that time had been operating on a pro bono basis. The next step was to slowly build the reputation of MJW by responding in the media. The economic research gave them a story to tell and evidence that allowed them to respond to what was going on in the media.

The early dependence on Champollion was clearly of significant value in terms of political awareness, the organisational approach to campaigning and ensuring that MJW was not set up to fail. But as time went on it became an expensive option and arguably some fresh thinking was required. In Susanna Cheal’s view the transition to in-house support seemed absolutely right; it would have been difficult to sustain funding for an outside PR company.

The next phase of development occurred when Roma was introduced to social philanthropist Tony Cann and to David Barrie. Tony saw the need for strategic support and was willing to commit generous funding, but bringing in David as chair caused perhaps inevitable friction with some existing supporters. Although the wounds have since been healed, it is evident that at the time loyalties were challenged. This was understandable, given the extent to which everyone wanted to rally round Roma whose commitment and ability they admired.

Could the disruption have been avoided? It was likely that there was always going to be some tension or discord in

bringing about structural change, given the nature of the personalities, their passion and concern for what they were doing. As Roma puts it: “I get on well with lots of people; it doesn’t always mean they are going to get on with each other.”

And the change itself was clearly beneficial in terms of the financial stability it brought, together with the guidance, strategic understanding, rigour and contacts that David Barrie has contributed as chair.

While no-one has suggested that MJW could have got to that point without the invaluable support of Simon Buckby and Champollion, most would acknowledge that Roma needed her own team and that it was appropriate for MJW to become more self reliant. Setting up a small office and bringing in other staff – Dr Roma Walker, Lulu Cane, Sarah Pollard and finally Peter Hand as deputy – has strengthened MJW’s capacity. A small number of dedicated interns have also provided support at the same time as benefitting from practical experience.

Inevitably though, organisations have their own inherent momentum and a constant need for resource. As the organisation has grown so have the sometimes irritating and time-consuming management tasks. However generous the funding, ‘feeding the machine’ becomes a constant concern.

Leading the way

Roma Hooper’s personal influence and leadership cannot be overstated. It is the quality most often referred to by everyone to whom I have spoken in the course of this study. With characteristic modesty Roma Hooper describes herself as a “reluctant campaigner”, although in the same breath she says: “I’m not very good at turning down challenges.”

She is seen to be “excellent value”, a “great networker” – talking to key people, putting in enormous effort to ensure MJW’s voice has been heard. Her “electric energy” is constantly mentioned, but also her political nous, her ability to persuade by being on top of the issues and not coming across as hectoring, as well as her willingness to form alliances. Roma is seen as a conciliatory figure good at forging constructive relationships.

“MJW has been 80% personality driven without a shadow of a doubt.”

“You need someone like that at the head of a campaign otherwise it won’t work”

“He focused the direction, he trimmed the flame”

“An astute, knowledgeable and effective partnership”

“Given the resources, they have overachieved; they produced good outcomes others could only dream of”

“On a budget of zero they did extremely well”

Roma has been extremely important to the success of MJW with her enthusiasm, interest and tenacity – but it has not all been about one person. She also acknowledges a debt to both Simon and David through whose influence, she says, she has raised her own standards. Over the last three years the combination of Roma and David Barrie is acknowledged to have been very effective both tactically and strategically. The relationship is seen as a strong one “a visible double act, very engaging.”

Cost

For those most concerned with MJW’s financial and organisational value, the campaign is seen as being “abstemious”, “a low cost organisation”. There is recognition that much has been achieved on limited resources and that you don’t have to be big to be effective. Keeping the core team small and remaining agile and responsive has undoubtedly paid off as has the decision to work alongside others and to harness a wide range of key figures to the debates.

Legacy

Could have done better?

When asked what MJW could have done differently or better, Roma wishes she had been more courageous and less concerned about trying to keep everybody happy at a time when that was “tricky”. She is referring to the decision to end the relationship with Champollion and move to an in-house arrangement, which David Barrie believes could have happened earlier. Judgements about when, how far and how quickly to develop are perennially difficult for voluntary organisations; balancing ambition, opportunity and loyalty can be particularly stressful.

For most observers though, these internal issues, are of little consequence – which suggests they were kept largely ‘within the family’.

There are some who feel that “the jury’s out” on the impact of MJW’s work. They feel it has not been as strong as those originally involved might have wished and that, while there may be more debate about issues such as community sentencing, this has not grabbed the attention of policy makers as they would have liked.

Specific suggestions from the e-survey for things which MJW might have done better include getting the ‘right wing’ press more on side; gaining greater media exposure, and reaching out to the public.

One interviewee suggested that MJW has been “good form with the wrong content”. This may be a reflection of a very different stance with regard to MJW’s message or a preference for campaigning based on asserting issues of fundamental principle rather than providing evidence of efficacy. Either approach may be valid but the choice MJW made was to avoid a stand-off and to take an open-minded and evidential attitude to debate.

While it is acknowledged that it takes a long time to change political opinion – and maybe change is yet to come – some take the view that MJW’s visibility wasn’t as high as it could have been given the topicality of the debate. While MJW has been influential within the industry, could it have been more prominent on TV and radio?

Another suggestion is that more stories – e.g. case studies based around issues to do with mental health in prisons or

Q: To what extent have your own views been influenced by MJW’s arguments?

Substantially 26.2%

Somewhat 46.2%

Not sure 4.6%

Not much 15.4%

Not at all 7.7%

Table 4: Results for question 15 of the ‘Make Justice Work Legacy Survey’ (May 2013)

young offenders – would have enabled the public to engage more with the cause.

One commentator thought that MJW didn't do enough to find out what the thinking was in the Ministry of Justice and that it would have benefited from better contacts within the department.

The decision to wind up

“The decision to wind up is brave and probably right. You hope the flame will continue. You run with the baton for the first lap and hopefully others will take it up and keep running.”

For some the decision to wind up is “sad” or “disappointing”, though many regard it as a “brave” decision. Some have suggested that MJW could have joined forces with another organisation rather than wind up altogether. Others are keen to see the learning passed on and the issues MJW has championed taken up by others.

There is some concern that MJW will leave a vacuum. One interviewee thought it was a worry but was interested to see what others would do. “If PRT are clever they can fill that gap, they would be the obvious organisation to do that.”

There is widespread acceptance that, if it is to close, it is right for MJW to quit at the top of its game, to draw to a natural conclusion rather than tailing off in a negative way, being taken for granted or falling into disrepute, as can happen.

“MJW will stand the test of time. People will say it was there for a defined time, focussed on the issues and influenced some outcomes, which is a really neat place to be”

Those who regret that MJW is ceasing tend to do so because they recognise that there will always be a place for an independent body able to ask questions and prompt debate with no obligations or vested interest. Ian Birrell believes the issues will continue to be discussed and are likely to be taken up by others “though it may not be in the same original and successful manner”.

“MJW has laid the foundations for a more thoughtful approach.”

Experienced campaigners recognise that you have to repeat the same message again and again before it gets through, and the more voices saying the same thing, the more likely you are to reach a tipping point. If the work lives on through others, one interviewee suggested, in years to come, this will be seen as the time when the thinking about alternatives to prison began to develop.

What's next?

There is a high level of recognition for the value of MJW's website and publications and these resources are seen as a key part of the legacy.

This is an important point and underlines the value of effective archiving so that reports, responses, press coverage and other information can continue to be accessed in the future. The account of the campaign needs to be visibly maintained and made available. The point is not lost on MJW which is already in discussion with other parties, including the Criminal Justice Alliance, about future access to the information resources it has built up.

Other issues raised by those I spoke to include:

- Could MJW have a watchdog role to ensure PbR operates in accordance with best principles and to monitor the quality of outcomes?
- What happens to the network of Ambassadors, public figures who have shown their support for the issues on which MJW has campaigned? Can the commitment of those individuals continue to be harnessed?
- Will Roma continue to have a voice given the level of recognition and credibility she has built up and the valuable networks she has? Can she continue to be an advocate for community sentencing as a productive alternative?
- Should there be a collective discussion about legacy opportunities involving other key players in the field?
- Is it too early for a cool assessment of impact? Should there be a follow up review in, say, two or three years time?

It was also pointed out that those who have worked closely with Roma will have picked up some of her personal style and skills as well as the campaigning tactics adopted by MJW and that will have benefit for other campaigns.

There is evident enthusiasm for learning lessons from MJW's experience to ensure that other civil society organisations take from this the need for building alliances, shaping and influencing the debate rather than holding to dogmatic positions.

“There is a body of work; it will be there, it's useful for others to take on and build upon.”

“There's always going to be unfinished business whenever you draw the stumps.”

“We are a better organisation for having worked with them.”

Lessons for others

For some MJW is a one-off and it's difficult to see how it could be replicable. They point to the fact that it is not so much an organisational venture, as an individual's activism – with the support structure designed around that.

Nonetheless, some of the hallmarks of MJW's approach apply to any effective campaigning body. Among the characteristics evinced by the people I interviewed are:

- being astute – knowing when to get in and when to get out
- being alert – spotting the cracks that need healing or opening up and letting the light in
- being adroit – maintaining the strategic focus
- being adaptable – finding the tactics that get your message across clearly and succinctly in the right quarters.

Roma Hooper's important lessons are:

- to maintain the quality of the work, not to become random
- to build a network of allies
- to focus on the core messages
- to forget about empire building; small is beautiful
- to avoid wasting energy on things that are not important
- to avoid being drawn into hysterical debate, you're not going to win. Pick your fights
- to be fleet of foot, alert and responsive
- to keep talking to people in a language that doesn't alienate them.

Of course with hindsight things might have been done differently in some respects. Would that have made the organisation more effective? It's hard to say.

Should MJW, as Simon Buckby suggests, have refused the injection of funds from the Ruskin Foundation and remained smaller and more nimble? Was it a mistake for this one-woman-band to become an established organisation?

Many would suggest that MJW succeeded in retaining those characteristics and specifically the attributes of energy, charm and determination that Roma brought, and that funding simply made the wheels turn a little more smoothly. To judge by the overwhelmingly positive reaction, among those I interviewed, to the issues MJW has taken up since 2009 and the way they were addressed, it would seem there is little sense that the level of funding it received made MJW any less punchy or effective.

On the other hand it is true that once you begin to employ people you take on a responsibility for feeding the machine and it would be surprising if the need to continue to raise funds were not a contributory factor in the decision to call a halt now.

And finally...

In the course of this research I have met some very committed and dedicated people in various walks of life, all striving to bring about a fairer, more effective form of justice. I have seen their admiration for the work of MJW and have had the distinct feeling that they have been strengthened and given heart by what MJW has done. They have felt supported, encouraged, even inspired. I hope they will keep faith with the leadership which MJW has shown during its brief life, learn the lessons of its approach to campaigning and go forward with a renewed sense of resolve.

If you're a person of conviction you work on instinct and dogged determination, you may not have the time or the patience to prepare the perfect strategic plan, you may not have the inclination to build your support gradually, or pull together the perfect team. Things don't happen like that, you use your networks and you go with the best opportunity that will get you where you want to be as quickly as possible.

What MJW shows is that a combination of sound strategic sense and tactical intelligence can get you noticed. What difference you make to policy or to public opinion will be determined largely by factors beyond your control. But credibility and recognition are the factors that will ensure that people take you seriously and give you the chance to light the flame around which others can rally.

“We wouldn't have got where we are now without taking risks.”

“It must have been an extraordinarily hard and lonely task...a lot of people would just have walked away.”

“We have given a big nudge in the direction we wanted. Was it worth it? Yes!”

Appendices

Those interviewed for this study:

David Barrie CBE	Chair, Make Justice Work
Ian Birrell	Journalist
Lord Blair	Former Chief of the Metropolitan Police
Lucy Bogue	Interim head of Commercial Development Group, MoJ
Linda Bryant	Operations & Development Manager: Forensic Mental Health Practitioner Service, Together UK
Simon Buckby	Managing Director, Champollion
Tony Cann CBE	Founder of Promethean, Trustee of the Ruskin Foundation, Funder
Susanna Cheal OBE	Company Director, Make Justice Work
Lord Dholakia OBE	President of NACRO
Mark Easton	Home Editor, BBC News
John Fassenfelt	Chairman, the Magistrates' Association
Richard Garside	Director, the Centre for Crime & Justice Studies
Roma Hooper	Founder & Director, Make Justice Work
Javed Khan	Chief Executive, Victim Support
Baroness Linklater	Liberal Democrat Peer, House of Lords
Juliet Lyon CBE	Director, The Prison Reform Trust
Jacquie Mallender	Founder and Director of Matrix
Clive Martin	Director, Clinks
Paul McDowell	Chief Executive, NACRO
Andrew Neilson	Director of Campaigns, Howard League for Penal Reform
Nick O'Shea	Director of Operations
Paul Pandolfo	Business Manager, Greater Manchester Probation
Dr Greg Parston	Director of Accenture's Institute for Health & Public Service Value
Sarah Payne	Chief Executive, Wales Probation Trust
Adam Pemberton	Assistant Chief Executive, Victim Support
Lord Ramsbotham	Former Chief Inspector of Prisons
Harvey Redgrave	Adviser to Ed Milliband
Mark Woodruff	Monument Trust

Funders:

The Ruskin Foundation
Esmee Fairbairn Foundation
The Monument Trust
The Indigo Trust
The LankellyChase Foundation
Allen Lane Foundation

Other supporters:

Champollion: probono support
Shaftesbury plc: offices & support
Paul Hamlyn Foundation: premises (Just Results)
City Bridge Trust: premises (Community or Custody)

Advisory Panel:

Roma Hooper
Champollion
Clive Martin, Director, Clinks
Sir Martin Narey, Ministerial advisor on Adoption
Nick O'Shea, Shaftesbury Partnership
Fran Sainsbury, Indigo Trust
Rob Allen, Justice and Prisons
Mike Trace, Executive Director, RaPT
Bob Reitemeier, Chief Executive, Essex Community Foundation
Enver Solomon, Director of Evidence & Impact at the National Children's Bureau
Neal Lawson, Chair, Compass
Baroness Kennedy QC
Paul McDowell, Chief Executive, NACRO

MJW Board Members:

David Barrie, CBE, Chair
Roma Hooper
Susanna Cheal OBE
Jon Furnston
Linda McDonald
David Defty (resigned 2010)

Pro bono Administrative Team:

Nick O'Shea (Company Secretary),
Dr. Roma Walker (Research Assistant)
Tom Lawson (Media Advisor)
Rose Grimond (Economic Advisor)
Sarah Hamilton-Fairley
Supported by Simon Buckby of Champollion & various members of his team

Staff:

Roma Hooper
Peter Hand (April 2012 - June 2013)
Dr Roma Walker (October 2010 - February 2012)
Rebecca Daddow (March 2013 - June 2013)
Lulu Cane (October 2010 - April 2012)
Sarah Pollard (April 2012 - January 2013, previously Paid Intern)

Paid Interns:

Naomi Crofton
Natasha Jones
Sarah Pollard
Lydia McMillan
Isobel Thomas
Olivia Woodward
Martin Evans (photographer)

Ambassadors:

David Ahern	Chief Executive Officer, Shannon Trust
Yasmin Alibhai-Brown	Columnist, Independent
Rob Allen	Director, Justice & Prisons
Jessica Asato	Councillor, Islington Council
Imran Awan	Senior Lecturer, Birmingham City University
Martin Barnes	Chief Executive, DrugScope
Rachel Billington	Author
Lord Blair	Former Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police
Sir Louis Blom-Cooper QC	Leading Barrister and Campaigner
Ruth Bond	Chair, National Federation of Women's Institute
Helen Boothman	Secretary, AMIMB
Professor Ben Bowling	Professor of Criminology & Criminal Justice, King's College London
Sir Stephen Bubb	Chief Executive, ACEVO
Frances Cairncross	Rector, Exeter College, Oxford University
Angela Camber	JP Chair & Magistrate, The Griffins Society
Tony Cann CBE	Founder of Promethean, Trustee of the Ruskin Foundation, Funder
Marina Cantacuzino	Director, Forgiveness Project
Lord Carlile of Berriew QC	Barrister, House of Lords
Clive Chatterton	Former Governor of Styal
Deborah Cowley	Director, Action for Prisoners' Families
Paul Cowley	Executive Director, Alpha for Prisons, Caring for Ex-Offenders & Alpha for Forces
Professor Andrew Coyle	Professor of Prison Studies, King's College London
Rowenna Davis	Journalist
Lord Dear	Former Inspector of Constabulary, House of Lords
Tim Desmond	Director, NCCL Galleries of Justice
Lord Dholakia	Liberal Democrat Peer, House of Lords
Dexter Dias QC	Barrister, Garden Court Chambers
Joy Doal	Anawim Project
Ray and Vi Donovan	Founders, Chris Donovan Trust
Professor David Downes	Professor Emeritus of Social Administration, LSE
Lord Dubs	Peer, House of Lords
Cathy Eastburn	Founder and Director, Good Vibrations
Simon Fanshawe OBE	Broadcaster, writer & comedian
Harry Fletcher	Assistant General Secretary, NAPO
Professor Chris Fox	Policy Evaluation & Research Unit, Manchester Metropolitan University
Peter Francis	Principal Lecturer in Criminology, Northumbria University
Charles Fraser CBE	Chief Executive, St Mungo's
Simon Fulford	Khulisa
Baroness Gibson	Peer, House of Lords
Stephen Gilbert MP	MP for St Austell, House of Commons
Roger Graef	Film Producer
Annabel Harris	Chief Executive Officer, Network for Africa
Lord Harris	Labour Peer, House of Lords
Lord Hastings	Global Head of Citizenship & Diversity, KPMG, House of Lords
Jonathan Heawood	Sigrid Rausing Trust
Professor Carol Hedderman	Professor of Criminology, University of Leicester
Vicki Helyar-Cardwell	Director, Criminal Justice Alliance
Saul Hewish	Co-Director, Rideout
Will Higham	Head of Policy, Intellect

Clive Hopwood	Director, Writers in Prison Network
Stephen Howard	Chief Executive, Business in the Community
David Howarth	Former Liberal Democrat MP for Cambridge
Simon Hughes MP	MP for Bermondsey & Old Southwark, House of Commons
Rupa Huq	Sociologist, Kingston University
Linda Jack	Former Youth Policy Advisor, The Money Advice Service
Marion Janner	Director, Bright
Bishop James Jones	Bishop of Liverpool
Pat Jones	Former Director, Prisoner's Education Trust
Lord Judd	Labour Peer, House of Lords
Andy Keen-Downs	Chief Executive, Prison Advice & Care Trust
Baroness Kennedy QC	Labour Peer, House of Lords
Amir Khan	Boxer
Javed Khan	Chief Executive, Victim Support
Baroness Lane Fox	Entrepreneur, Peer, House of Lords
Gary Lashko	Community Services Director, CHS Group
Neal Lawson	Chair, Compass
Thomas Lawson	Chief Executive, Leap Conflicting Conflict
John Leech MP	MP for Manchester Withington
Baroness Linklater	Liberal Democrat Peer, House of Lords
Professor Ian Loader	Professor of Criminology, Oxford University
Barry Loveday	Criminologist, Institute of Criminal Justice Studies, University of Portsmouth
Humfrey Malins CBE	Former Conservative MP for Woking
Clive Martin	Director, CLINKS
Michael May	Chief Executive, Blue Sky
Paul McDowell	Chief Executive, Nacro
Kevin McGrath	Chairman, M&M Asset Management
Eion McLennan-Murray	President, Prison Governors Association
Professor Rod Morgan	Former Head, Youth Justice Board
Andrew Morley	Independent Public Policy Professional
Leslie Morphy	Chief Executive, Crisis
Joyce Moseley OBE	Chair, T2A Alliance
Geoff Mulgan	Chief Executive, NESTA
Jonathan Myerson	Novelist, Playwright, Screenwriter & Magistrate
Sir Martin Narey	Ministerial advisor on Adoption
Baroness Neuberger	Liberal Democrat Peer, House of Lords
Professor Tim Newburn	Professor of Criminology & Social Policy, LSE
Reverend Nims Obunge	Chief Executive, The Peace Alliance
Rob Owen	Director, St Giles' Trust
Keith Palmer	Director, Comedy School
Biddy Passmore	Educational Journalist
Sarah Payne	Chief Executive, Wales Probation Trust
David Peacock	Founder, Cumbria Reduce Reoffending Partnership
Lucy Perman MBE	Chief Executive, Clean Break
Lord Phillips OBE	Liberal Democrat Peer, House of Lords
Trevor Philpott OBE	Co-Founder and Director, Life Change UK
Dr Laura Piacenti	Criminologist, Strathclyde University
John Plummer	Director, Audax Ventures Ltd
Sir Charles Pollard QPM	Former Chief Constable, Thames Valley Police

Alex Proud	Founder and CEO, Proud Galleries
Dr Katherine Rake	Chief Executive, Family & Parenting Institute
Lord Ramsbotham GCB CBE	Former Chief Inspector of Prisons, House of Lords
Bob Reitemeier	Chief Executive, The Essex Community Foundation
Tim Robertson	Chief Executive, The Koestler Trust
Professor Paul Rock	Professor of Social Institutions, LSE
Gordon Roddick	Social Activist & Social Entrepreneur
Professor Mick Ryan	Professor of Penal Politics, University of Greenwich
John Samuels QC	Chairman, Criminal Justice Alliance
Sebastian Saville	Former Executive Director, Release
Dr David Scott	Criminologist, University of Central Lancashire
Baroness Stedman-Scott OBE	Chief Executive, Tomorrow's People; Conservative Peer, House of Lords
James Scudamore	Novelist
Fay Selvan	Chief Executive, The Big Life Group
Uanu Seshmi MBE	Founder and Director, From Boyhood to Manhood Foundation
Professor Lawrence Sherman	Wolfson Professor of Criminology, University of Cambridge
Tim Smit CBE	Co-Founder & Chief Executive, The Eden Project
Enver Solomon	Director of Evidence & Impact, National Childrens Bureau
Dr Basia Spalek	Criminologist, Birmingham University
Peter Stanford	Writer and Chair, Lord Longford Trust
Professor Kevin Stenson	Criminologist, University of Kent
Peter Tatchell	Human Rights Campaigner
Lord Thomas	Shadow Attorney General
John Thornhill	Former Chair, Magistrates' Association
Paul Tidball	Ex-President, Prison Governors Association
James Timpson	Managing Director, Timpsons
Henry Tinsley	Former Chairman, Green & Blacks
Polly Toynbee	Columnist, The Guardian
Mike Trace	Chief Executive, Rapt
Bob Turney	Writer and Probation Officer
Iqbal Wahhab OBE	Founder, Roast
Professor David Wall	Criminologist, Centre for Criminal Justice Studies, University of Leeds
Ashley Walters	Actor & Musician
Claudia Webbe	Chair, Trident Independent Advisory Group
Sian West	Freelance Justice Consultant
Dominic Williamson	Chief Executive, Revolving Doors
Dr Howard Williamson CBE	Professor of European Youth Policy, University of Glamorgan
Simon Woodroffe OBE	Entrepreneur Yo! Company
Peter Woolf	Forgiveness Project
Neil Wragg MBE	Chief Executive, Youth at Risk
Martin Wright	Board Member, Restorative Justice Consortium
Benjamin Zephaniah	Poet

MJW website, publications & resources

Make Justice Work's website (www.makejusticework.org.uk) will continue to be online following the end of the campaign to enable access to the multiple publications and resources it has generated over the last 4 years.

About the author

Stephen Boyce is an independent consultant working principally in the cultural sector. He has held senior positions in three major funding bodies and has wide experience of working with voluntary organisations. www.stephenboyce.co.uk

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info@makejusticework.org.uk
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