

Entering and leaving prison:

A co-constructed research study exploring the experiences of Beneficiaries



Authors:

Graham Bowpitt and Claire de Motte, Nottingham Trent University
With Peter Bathe, Lee Cross, Ursula Marcinkowska and Richard Powell, Peer Researchers, Opportunity Nottingham

July 2019

A tribute to Peter Bathe

Peter's death on 26th February 2019 was a great shock and sad loss to all involved not only in this piece of research but throughout the community of staff and Beneficiaries at Opportunity Nottingham.

The cliché that complex needs can happen to anyone may be questioned, but Peter was a classic example. With a degree and a professional qualification, he worked for many years as a nurse, specialising in trauma nursing. Unfortunately, his mental health became impaired, leading to spells in hospital over many years. Although reluctant to admit it, his subsequent battle with alcohol may have been the result.

His eventual word-of-mouth encounter with Opportunity Nottingham was key to progress in his recovery. It didn't happen overnight and there were relapses, but it led to his underlying mental health issues being addressed. Recovery for Peter meant more than just overcoming complex needs; it also involved a gradual rediscovery of a purpose in life through involvement with Expert Citizens and work as a Peer Researcher, where he was able to combine his lived experience with professional insight.

It is greatly regrettable that Peter never lived to see the fruits of his labour, but there is no doubt that the report that follows reflects his contribution in inspiring and delivering this piece of research.



Contents

Executive summary.....	PAGE 05
1. Introduction.....	PAGE 07
2. Data sources and methods.....	PAGE 09
2.1 Peer Researcher involvement.....	PAGE 09
2.2 Anonymous data from ON Datasets.....	PAGE 09
2.3 Interviews with Beneficiaries and a key informant.....	PAGE 10
3. Characteristics of Beneficiaries undergoing a prison sentence.....	PAGE 12
3.1 Demographic features.....	PAGE 12
3.2 Complex needs.....	PAGE 12
3.3 Measures of progress.....	PAGE 13
4. Beneficiaries journeys through prison.....	PAGE 15
4.1 Chaotic lifestyle and behaviour.....	PAGE 15
4.2 Prison provides a break from chaos.....	PAGE 16
4.3 The distinct experience of mothers.....	PAGE 16
4.4 Prison as a barrier to complex needs recovery.....	PAGE 18
5. Prison discharge.....	PAGE 20
5.1 The failure of offender rehabilitation.....	PAGE 20
5.2 The challenge of effective prisoner discharge.....	PAGE 21
6. Conclusions and recommendations.....	PAGE 24
7. References.....	PAGE 26

“ The focus on prison experience arose from Peer Researchers and Expert Citizens whose lived experiences have revealed the negative impact of prison on the recovery of people who face Multiple Disadvantage. ”

Executive summary

This report details the findings of the entering and leaving prison project carried out as part of the local evaluation of Opportunity Nottingham. The study was co-produced between Opportunity Nottingham's Peer Researchers, Expert Citizens and the internal evaluation team, and the Nottingham Trent University (NTU) external evaluators.

The focus on prison experience arose from Peer Researchers and Expert Citizens whose lived experiences have revealed the negative impact of prison on the recovery of people who face Multiple Disadvantage. Peer Researchers and Expert Citizens expressed a need to understand Beneficiaries prison journeys and the impact on their recovery with Opportunity Nottingham. Routinely collected data on Beneficiary characteristics, prison experience and progress were analysed for what they reveal about the impact of prison on progress measured by two assessment tools. A sample of male and female Beneficiaries with recent experience of prison were then interviewed jointly by academic and Peer Researchers using a co-produced interview schedule. Interviews explored circumstances at the time of imprisonment, the impact of the prison experience, events at the time of discharge and subsequent support. The key findings below are a product of joint data interpretation by members of the research team.

- **Gender differences.** Nearly all (88%) of Opportunity Nottingham Beneficiaries show evidence of offending behaviour with 33% experiencing prison during their support by Opportunity Nottingham, amounting to 14 nights or more in 12% of cases. Men experience prison more frequently than women, but both spend a similar number of nights in prison. Their experiences are similar, but women suffer the detrimental impact of losing the maternal identity when separated from their children during a prison stay. Recovering their sense of motherhood was a key motivator for change on release.

- **Chaotic lifestyle and behaviour.**

Beneficiaries who experience prison reveal a more chaotic lifestyle than those who do not, as reflected in substance misuse, petty crime and rough sleeping. However, interviews showed that, for some Beneficiaries, a prison stay offers a break from this chaotic lifestyle, protection from the risks rough sleeping poses, and the knowledge they will receive regular meals. Yet, when examining the ten key areas assessed by the Homelessness Outcome Star, Beneficiaries who have been in prison make less progress than those who have not.

“ Prison is a barrier to complex needs recovery. ”

- **Prison is a barrier to complex needs recovery.** Beneficiaries experience or witness traumatic events in prison (i.e. bullying, violence, suicide, self-harm, abuse). This exposure has a detrimental effect on mental health in many cases, either through exacerbating previous mental health illness or by triggering historical experiences of similar traumatic events. This results in self-harming behaviour, suicidal thoughts, or general low mood, potentially worsening mental health which remains largely

unsupported within the prison system. Some illegal substances, such as Mamba, are easily accessible and this exacerbates prior substance misuse, or exposes Beneficiaries to new substances.

- **Prison discharge is unsupported and disorganised.** In the study, Beneficiaries were inadequately prepared for prison release. Those who had served short sentences received no resettlement provision and were given too little time to prepare. Some were not informed of their release until the morning of their release day. Disorganised prison release left little time to organise accommodation and resulted in discharge to 'No fixed abode' (NFA), leaving the Beneficiary sleeping rough or resorting to whatever informal support they could procure. Instantaneous and unsupported release can trigger the re-emergence of multiple and complex needs.

- **Through the gate support is essential.** Opportunity Nottingham shows evidence of providing good support to Beneficiaries in prison. Beneficiaries received contact and communication from their Personal Development Coordinator (PDC) during their sentence, had accommodation pre-arranged, and were met at the prison gate on release to attend pre-arranged appointments. There was also evidence of Opportunity Nottingham liaising with

temporary accommodation services where Beneficiaries had been resident prior to sentence to enable beds to be kept during imprisonment. This confirms the findings of previous research (Bowpitt, 2015) which revealed the effectiveness of a particular model of support in preventing reoffending among short-term prisoners at risk of homelessness and a return to chaotic lifestyles.

“ Beneficiaries were inadequately prepared for prison release. Those who had served short sentences received no resettlement provision...” ”

This project shows that prison has a detrimental effect on Beneficiaries' recovery from multiple and complex needs. By witnessing, experiencing, or triggering trauma, coupled with a

lack of preparation and support for release, prison perpetuates a life of crime, homelessness, and continuing complex needs. However, the study provided further evidence for the effectiveness of a particular model of through-the-gate support and recommends its widespread adoption.



1. Introduction

For short-term prisoners (three -12 months), offending is seldom their only problem. Many live with the daily challenges of Multiple Disadvantage, including substance misuse, mental ill health and homelessness alongside offending behaviour. For instance, 39% of people released from prison have a mental illness (Brooker et al. 2011) and nearly half (49%) have a prior history of mental illness (ibid), with two thirds experiencing this as a dual diagnosis, managing a mental health problem alongside substance misuse (Offender Health Research Network, 2009).

Moreover, the Ministry of Justice has estimated 15% to be homeless at the point of sentencing (Ministry of Justice, 2012). This increases to 37% of people in prison who self-report as requiring accommodation on release. There is evidence to suggest that people experiencing homelessness before prison are more likely to reoffend within their first year of release (Ministry of Justice, 2012). Lee, an Opportunity Nottingham Expert Citizen, says that living with complex needs and experiencing prison contributes to the 'Hamster Wheel of Homelessness', where prison, homelessness, reoffending and return to prison is a predictable cycle for most adults in these circumstances. It is this oft-reported experience that triggered this piece of research.

It is well-known that the negative aspects of prison life, such as overcrowding, create barriers for people in prison in engagement with the prison regime and the support that is on offer (Brooker and Lewis 2014). For example, prison overcrowding can place huge demands on prison healthcare and make it difficult for prisoners to gain access to appropriate healthcare services (Condon et al., 2007). As a result, mental health can often go undetected and untreated, resulting in self-harm, suicidal ideation, or low mood (Dixey and Woodall 2011; Walker et al., 2014). Outcomes for women in custody are significantly worse than for men, with a rate of self-harm that is five times as high (Ministry of Justice, 2018). Nevertheless, a prison regime can be beneficial to people who experience chaotic lives prior to imprisonment, as it provides a sense of structure, routine and purpose to daily lives (Gately et al., 2006).

“ Outcomes for women in custody are significantly worse than for men... ”

Unsupported transitions between two accommodation settings, for example from a hostel to prison, or vice versa, increase the risk of homelessness. On the other hand, coordinated support to access basic needs such as housing, healthcare, and social support on release from prison can enhance successful resettlement in the community (Byng et al, 2012; Edgar, et al, 2012; Bowpitt, 2015).

Over half (63%) of adults serving a sentence of less than twelve months will reoffend within a year, rising to 71% where female offenders are concerned, reinforcing the argument that resettlement provision for people in prison is poor (Bain & Parkinson, 2010; Ministry of Justice, 2018). Short sentences give inadequate time to engage in any resettlement provision on offer (Lewis et al, 2003). However, resettlement success is evident in the lower reoffending rates among newly released prisoners who have received an empowering approach to their resettlement planning. When the

prison service involves a person in prison at each stage of release preparation, exploring personal budgets, mental and physical health, and access to voluntary services, testimonies from prisoners show that this involvement increases their confidence, self-esteem and an element of investment in their own future and makes them more likely to succeed in a non-offending future (Rosengard et al., 2007).

Recent years have seen the passing of the Offender Rehabilitation Act 2014, which is intended to address many of the issues highlighted here. All prisoners are released on license, not just those with long-term sentences, with the expectation that they engage with rehabilitation services as a condition of their license. Moreover, these services are commissioned from regional Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRCs) with the flexibility to commission imaginative services from the private and voluntary sectors, limiting the scope of the probation service to the more serious offenders.¹ Yet a recent review of the operation of CRCs (Comptroller and Auditor General, 2019) and the anecdotal experience of Opportunity Nottingham Beneficiaries suggest that, although we know what works, little of what was intended is happening in practice, with poor discharge preparation and prisoners released to homelessness, with little significant reduction in reoffending rates. However, for Beneficiaries already engaged with Opportunity Nottingham, while the intervention of a prison sentence can impair their progress, the damaging effects of prison might be mitigated by the support of an Opportunity Nottingham Personal Development Coordinator (PDC) during sentence and in discharge preparation.

“ ...although we know what works, little of what was intended is happening in practice...”

This study sought to test these contentions by exploring Beneficiaries experiences of prison prior to or during support from Opportunity Nottingham, and its impact on their journeys of recovery from multiple and complex needs, thereby contributing to debates around the Offender Rehabilitation Act and how to make it effective. The gender dimension in offender rehabilitation is also captured in the light of evidence that, despite their proportionately fewer numbers, women suffer greater harm from imprisonment than men, as a result of which the Government has published a distinct *Female Offender Strategy* (Ministry of Justice, 2018), including a commitment to providing comprehensive rehabilitative support.



¹ On 16th May, Justice Secretary, David Gauke, announced a commitment to ‘renationalise’ the probation service by 2021, bringing all offender management under the National Probation Service, but still providing £280m for innovative rehabilitation services provided by the voluntary and private sectors (<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/justice-secretary-announces-new-model-for-probation>).

2. Data sources and methods

To gain a thorough picture of the impact of prison on Beneficiaries, this study combined three elements:

1. Peer Researcher involvement;
2. Extracting anonymous data from Opportunity Nottingham datasets;
3. Conducting interviews with male and female Beneficiaries who have experience of prison.

2.1 Peer Researcher involvement

A crucial aspect of this report was the involvement of Peer Researchers. As part of the evaluation of Opportunity Nottingham, men and women with lived experience have been recruited as Peer Researchers, to aid, guide and participate in the design, collection and analysis of data. From the evaluation's infancy, Peer Researchers have been an integral part of the work delivered, and have effectively mediated the relationship between academic researchers and Beneficiaries as the subjects of research (Bowpitt et al., 2016; 2018).

This present study's focus on prisons was suggested by Peer Researchers and Expert Citizens whose lived experiences exposed the negative impact prison has on the recovery of people who face Multiple Disadvantage. Peer Researchers and Expert Citizens highlighted the need to understand more about Beneficiaries' prison journeys and the impact prison release may have on their recovery.

Peer Researchers, Expert Citizens and the evaluation team agreed interviews would be the most effective data collection method of capturing Beneficiaries' experiences of prison. It was crucial that the Peer Researchers felt confident with the questions they would be asking, firstly, to ensure they felt comfortable asking, at times, personal enquires into Beneficiaries life experiences, and secondly, to ensure the questions made Beneficiaries feel comfortable and confident disclosing their life experiences to the Peer Researcher. Therefore, Peer Researchers developed a set of questions to ask Beneficiaries who were to take part in an interview. Having lived experiences meant the Peer Researchers could construct thoughtful and appropriate questions, which demonstrated their personal understanding of the Beneficiary's current circumstances and empathy with the challenges and barriers of living with multiple and complex needs. Debriefing was an important part of the process, both for Beneficiaries and Peer Researchers, for whom the interviews might have aroused uncomfortable memories. So, Beneficiaries were encouraged to contact their Personal Development Coordinators, while Peer Researchers were directed to Services for Empowerment and Advocacy (SEA), a local social enterprise.

2.2 Anonymous data from ON Datasets

The second aspect was evidence gained from routinely gathered data on Beneficiaries. It was the analysis of this data that first highlighted the negative impact of prison on Beneficiaries progress.

Opportunity Nottingham is part of The National Lottery Community Fund's *Fulfilling Lives: Supporting People with Multiple Needs* programme, and for the past four and a half years, the project has been working with over 300 adults facing combinations of homelessness, mental ill health, substance misuse and criminal involvement in ways that have entrenched them in damaging lifestyles. This study used anonymous data routinely collected by Opportunity Nottingham for the Fulfilling Lives Programme national evaluation, to show demographic and characteristic information for Opportunity Nottingham Beneficiaries who experience prison. Not all of the Beneficiaries who receive support from Opportunity Nottingham have previous or current experience of prison, but some do, and this present study focuses on a cohort (33%) of Beneficiaries who have experienced prison whilst being supported by Opportunity Nottingham.

The value of the Opportunity Nottingham database for present purposes lies in gathering extensive quarterly data on the characteristics, personal circumstances and patterns of service use of all Beneficiaries. It also charts their progress using two tools, the New Directions Team (NDT) or 'Chaos' Index² which is a negative measure of the level of 'chaos' in the lives of Beneficiaries, and the Homeless Outcomes Star² which is a positive measure of progress towards outcomes.

The quantitative part of the analysis derives from four measures that might potentially reveal patterns of behaviour, experience or lifestyle in Beneficiaries who experience prison whilst being supported by Opportunity Nottingham. The four measures are:

1. The proportion of Beneficiaries who have or have not experienced prison whilst being supported by ON;
2. The difference in complex needs between Beneficiaries who have been in prison and those who have not;
3. Beneficiaries changing NDT scores and their relationship to prison stays;
4. Beneficiaries changing Homeless Outcome Star scores and their relationship to prison stays.

The purpose of the analysis of anonymous data has been to explore patterns of offending behaviour in relation to other complex needs, to identify the need of this cohort of Beneficiaries and the daily challenges they face. The addition of qualitative analysis from interviews carried out by Peer Researchers with Beneficiaries will illuminate the challenges this cohort face when managing their existing needs with the additional challenge of prison and prison release.

2.3 Interviews with Beneficiaries and a key informant

Added to this quantitative data, was evidence from a set of interviews with Beneficiaries and one key informant undertaken jointly by academic and Peer Researchers, guided by the schedule designed by Peer Researchers and Expert Citizens.

The external evaluation team at NTU partnered with Opportunity Nottingham Peer Researchers and held a research day at Nottingham's Wellbeing Hub. This day facilitated interviews with Beneficiaries who had experience of prison to capture their personal stories of prison and prison release. A total of 12 Beneficiaries with experience of prison, seven men and five women, were interviewed by a Peer Researcher alongside a member of the NTU evaluation team. Sentences varied in duration between a few weeks and many years, and offences ranged from petty theft, fraud and deception to violence, burglary, arson and selling Class A drugs. Three respondents only encountered Opportunity Nottingham after leaving prison, but the others joined either between sentences or during their most recent sentence. It should also be noted that some would have experienced prison before the implementation of the 2014 Act, but sentences would still have been long enough to warrant release on license. The key informant whom we interviewed was a Prison Rehabilitation Officer seconded from a major housing charity in Nottingham. The interview schedule covered a range of topics on the prison experience, which included: circumstances at time of sentencing; prison life; release day and life after release; the impact of prison when Opportunity Nottingham support is in place; and making progress.

Following the interviews, Peer Researchers took part in a qualitative analysis workshop run by the NTU evaluation team on research skills. The first half of the day consisted of sharing with

² South West London and St. George's Mental Health NHS Trust (2008), The New Directions Team Assessment (Chaos Index). Available at <http://www.meam.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/NDT-Assessment-process-summary-April-2008.pdf>

³ Triangle Consulting (n.d.), Homelessness Star: The Outcomes Star for people with housing and other needs. Available at <http://www.outcomesstar.org.uk/using-the-star/see-the-stars/homelessness-star/>

Peer Researchers topics that included why researchers may choose qualitative analysis, different types of analyses, and the method of the chosen analysis. In the second half of the session, Peer Researchers were encouraged to adopt Thematic Analysis (Braun and Clark 2006), a simple form of qualitative analysis which consists of a six-step process to extract naturally recurring themes of conversation across several interviews. Peer Researchers were provided with handouts and a step-by-step guide to aid them in beginning to consider similar areas of discussion or themes from Beneficiaries narratives of their experience of prison and release.

Following this shared learning experience, Peer Researchers fed back their initial thoughts on the Beneficiaries experiences of prison and a natural discussion on the interpretation of the findings ensued. Peer Researchers suggested there were 12 areas or themes discussed by Beneficiaries within the interviews: lack of individuality, homelessness, abuse, addiction, location and travel, inappropriateness and unpredictability of support, mental health, lack of preparation for release, impact of release on complex needs, trauma, and system failure.

The NTU evaluation team collated these themes, plus any notes made by the Peer Researchers for further examination. Once the findings were collated, considered, and condensed to a digestible format, Peer Researchers attended a further workshop to explore the preliminary findings. The NTU evaluation team asked the Peer Researchers to provide confirmation, corroboration and clarification on the final interpretation. This was a vital step in the Peer Researcher involvement process to ensure the interpretation of the interviews and Peer Researcher analysis was accurate. This final stage relied on the Peer Researchers own lived experiences and life narratives to enable a thorough and accurate understanding of the Beneficiaries prison experiences.



3. Characteristics of Beneficiaries undergoing a prison sentence

3.1 Peer Researcher involvement

At the time of writing, a total of 388 Beneficiaries had received support from Opportunity Nottingham since 2014. From these, **127 (33%)** had stayed in prison for at least one night whilst receiving Opportunity Nottingham support. Between 2014 and 2018, Beneficiaries had a total of 304 recorded prison stays, equating to a total of 1,796 nights in prison.

Of the 388 total 26% were women. Opportunity Nottingham Beneficiaries with prison experience are disproportionately male in two senses.

- 1) Women are less likely to experience prison (16% of the Opportunity Nottingham prisoner cohort, but this should be contrasted with the mere 5% of overall prisoner population who are women).
- 2) Their average prison sentences are shorter (5.5 nights, compared with 15.8 for men).

Their average age also tends to be slightly younger (39, against 42 for men).

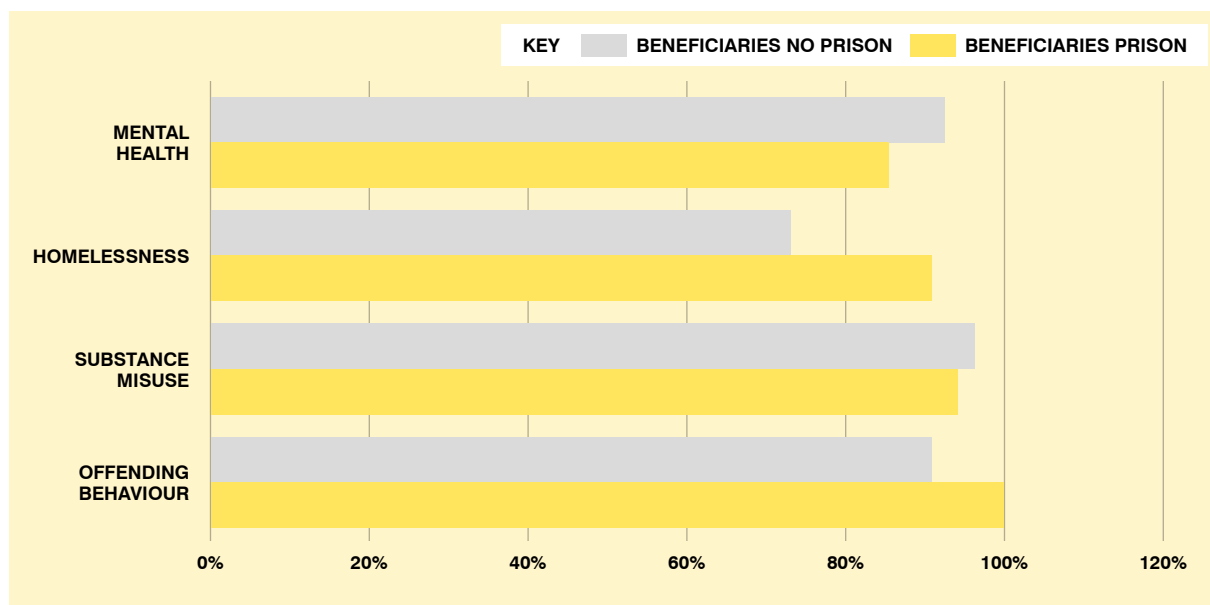
Other characteristics of those who have spent at least one night in prison include:

- 78% are recorded as of White British ethnicity
- 29% of Beneficiaries who spent time in prison have a disability.

3.2 Multiple Disadvantage

Opportunity Nottingham Beneficiaries are recruited to the programme because they are assessed as having at least three of the following four complex needs: homelessness, substance misuse, mental ill-health and offending. This combination of needs is also referred to as Multiple Disadvantage. When exploring the four needs, there are some differences in a population of Beneficiaries who have experienced prison compared with those who have not.

Figure 1: Comparison of the proportion of complex needs faced by Beneficiaries who have experienced prison vs. those who have not



Unsurprisingly all of the Beneficiaries who experience prison (100%) are recorded as having offending behaviour as a complex need that requires support. For the non-prison population this is only true for 92.4% of the population. A larger proportion (89.5%) of Beneficiaries who experience prison whilst with Opportunity Nottingham are recorded as needing support with homelessness compared to non-prison (71%).

The two main needs of offending and homelessness shown for prison Beneficiaries may infer that there is a relationship between going to prison and difficulties with homelessness on release. This is explored further below.

3.3 Measures of progress

The NDT (New Directions Team) Assessment is used to assess Beneficiary need across a total of ten indicators sometimes seen as a measure of 'chaos' in their lives. All but two are scored out of four, generating a maximum score of 48. A Beneficiary may be at risk of engaging in offending or criminal behaviour if they score four for the measure 'Risk to Others'.

Beneficiary data was explored to see if there is a relationship between NDT score and prison stay. Beneficiaries who had experienced prison whilst with Opportunity Nottingham were compared with those who had not. Analysis shows that the former have significantly higher current NDT scores than the latter. This suggests that Beneficiaries who spend a period in prison during their contact with Opportunity Nottingham display more chaotic behaviour than those who do not.

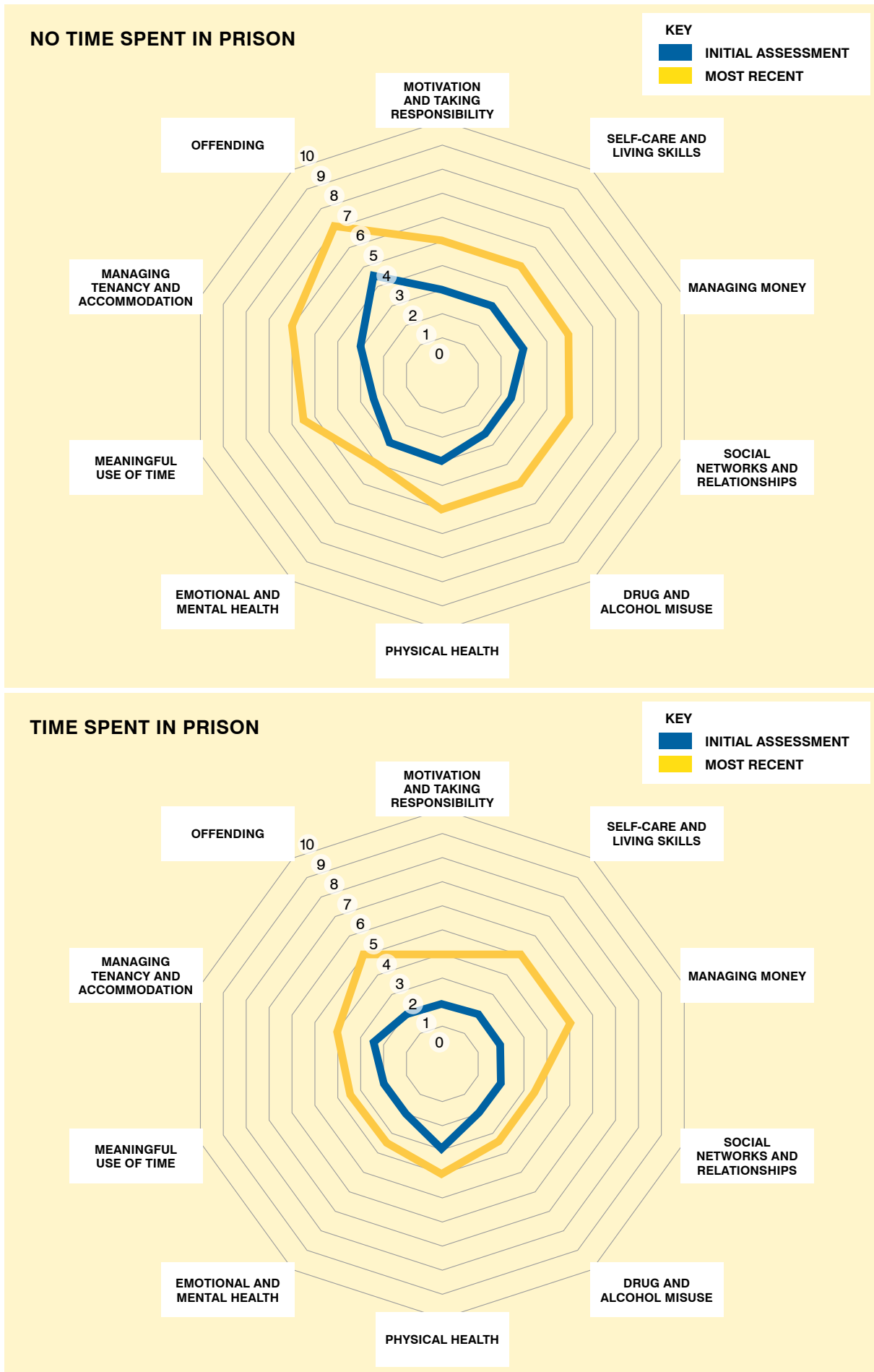
Comparing first and last NDT scores of Beneficiaries who have experienced prison with those who have not, shows a significant difference in progress. Beneficiaries who have not experienced prison have an average opening NDT score of 30, which has reduced to their most recent average of 22, a reduction in eight points. However, Beneficiaries who have experienced prison whilst receiving support from Opportunity Nottingham began with an average NDT score of 31, which reduces to a most recent average of 25, a reduction of only six points. Thus, Beneficiaries who experience prison begin the Opportunity Nottingham programme with a slightly higher average NDT score and make slower progress than those whose experience with Opportunity Nottingham is not interrupted by time in prison.

Similarly, when examining the ten key outcome areas assessed by the Homelessness Outcomes Star, Beneficiaries who have been

in prison show less progress than those who have not, as illustrated in Figure 2 (below). The latter begin the programme with an average score of 31, which increases to their most recent average score of 41, an average increase of 10 points. However, Beneficiaries who experience prison whilst receiving support from Opportunity Nottingham begin working with the project with an average Homeless Outcomes Star score of 26, which increases to a most recent average score of 30, showing an average increase of only four points, demonstrating slower progress than Beneficiaries whose support is not interrupted by a spell in prison.

“ Beneficiaries who experience prison make slower progress. ”

Figure 2: Comparing progress between Beneficiaries with and without prison experience



4. Beneficiaries journeys through prison

4.1 Chaotic lifestyle and behaviour

Narratives from the Beneficiaries interviewed revealed the chaotic lives they lived across their prison journeys, before, during and after sentence. Beneficiary accounts show that substance misuse, petty crime, and homelessness, are common lifestyle features.

Many men had experience of homelessness prior to prison and were often released to 'no fixed abode' (NFA). They described how they sofa-surfed at friends houses or lived with girlfriends rather than securing their own accommodation. Crime and offending behaviour featured in the lives of this sample of men, ranging from anti-social behaviour to possession of a firearm.

The constant battle with addiction to drugs and alcohol before, during and after prison evidences the prominent hold this need had over the men. Addiction recurred throughout their prison narratives and represents the most consistent element of their chaotic lifestyles. They discussed their drug and alcohol use before their prison sentence, the access to drugs in prison, and the lure of alcohol and drugs within hostel accommodation on release.

Geoff* described how drugs were a lifestyle choice within his family and becoming a drug dealer was a natural progression for him, considering himself an expert in weed as a teenager.

I didn't change my life but went the wrong way about my life, but basically my grandma was a drug dealer and my granddad was a drug dealer, so I got involved in the drug dealing business through my family. By the time I was in Newcastle when I was 16 I was at the peak years I was a drug dealer. I knew everything about weed, I knew everything to do with weed [Geoff]

Others told similar stories of how prison came on the back of already chaotic lives.

A lot of it was kind of anti-social behaviour and drinking in public places. I didn't have anything... at the time. So, I was kind of staying between, certain parties I was staying with I shouldn't have been staying with. So, it got complicated. Really it came down to drinking. My issue was because I was homeless they said I was put in a position where I kept doing things to go back to prison, so I wasn't on the streets [Ian]

This carried on during prison in Eric's case

I got sent to Lincoln and they left us on 23-hour lock-up even after induction process. Hardly getting out of my cell. They said they moving me to Ranby which is my local prison, but they didn't. They moved me to Humber which is like four hours away from where my family live. I was getting quite het up because my family couldn't come to visit me. I ended up getting quite violent in there, smashing up cells. I had a fight with a Prison Officer. They sent me back down to Nottingham and they sent me to Ranby and in there I got into smoking spice and selling spice and stuff like that [Eric]

Meanwhile, by the time he came out of prison, Geoff had developed a chaotic disregard for his own life.

You are playing a game. It's a vicious circle. You keep wanting to put us back in jail. Released again. Had my mental health again. Had my medication took off us. Had my medication took off us because I went to take my own life because probation chose not to help us. Go and sleep back in your tent, we promise to help next week. I took all my

medication and my morphine and said, fuck you, watch this. They just laughed at us and said, go on, see you later, bye. I could have ended up dead. I wouldn't have had anybody at my funeral. Where's my family. There's no one [Geoff]

4.2 Prison provides a break from chaos

However, for some, a prison stay offered a break from a chaotic lifestyle. Prison can provide protection from the risks rough sleeping poses. Prison can also relieve the daily stress of the unknown, such as where they are going to sleep tonight, and where their next meal is going to come from. At least prison provides regular meals, a roof over their heads, and a bed for the night. Alan admitted that prison provides a break from his chaotic lifestyle and respite from the demands and troubles of street life. He discussed how a break from his chaotic life on the streets, which often led him to drink to forget his troubles, provided him with regular meals.

My life was just a mess outside. For someone to lock me away in a room with three meals a day and a television and no shit I loved it [...] When you are on the outside you're struggling for food, struggling for everything, manage to find drink everywhere to get off your face to forget all the other troubles. When I went in I was like I'd had enough [Alan]

Other respondents also described their prison experiences in positive terms, and all but one had something positive to say. For Ian, prison was his only option of accommodation and was “better than being homeless”, and three respondents were glad of the chance to be occupied in various workshops. Furthermore, John acquired basic literacy skills, Fiona was helped to overcome her cocaine addiction, and two others got the benefit of some medication for their mental health problems.

Mark was able to gain a new identity through his work in the prison workshops. Acquiring this new skill gave him some hope for the future as he may be able to use this experience as leverage for some work when he leaves prison.

The good thing about going to prison was I worked in the tea packing shop, they gave me a job... get me outside and that might help and whatever. I quite enjoyed doing that [Mark]

Ian, spoke about the prison workshops as giving him a sense of freedom from his cell walls, as well as the opportunity to focus his mind on another topic: “The only real thing I can say that I can truly say was about prison was the workshops. It got you out of the cells a little bit [...] got you into something to keep your mind occupied” [Ian]

4.3 The distinct experience of mothers

Narratives of male and female Beneficiaries' experience of prison show some similarities. For example, both men and women Beneficiaries recalled traumatic events in their life-course prior to engagement with Opportunity Nottingham. When discussing their life stories with Peer Researchers, both Colin and Jill described episodes of experiencing sexual and violent abuse from others: “He attacked me and I had all metal plates in my face [Jill]; “I was sexually assaulted by a violent partner who was a lot older than me when I was 15” [Colin]. Men and women Beneficiaries also shared similar experiences of being victims of extreme violence from others whilst in prison, as Geoff and Lisa recall: “When I last went to prison I was attacked by three girls” [Lisa]; “I've been stabbed in my ribs. I got my face smashed up in jail, got my arm broke in jail” [Geoff].

Although there are similarities in men's and women's experiences of traumatic events throughout their life course, including during their prison sentences, Peer Researchers elicited one key gender

difference, specifically identifying how women experience the detrimental impact of losing their maternal identity when separated from their child during a prison stay. When prison separates a woman from her child, the mother mourns the loss. Women expressed feelings of guilt and remorse for this separation as a direct consequence of their offending behaviour. Male Beneficiaries did not express similar feelings of guilt and shame.

Lisa confessed feelings of shame and guilt when she lost contact and care of her young daughter when sentenced to prison: "It was very upsetting at first [...] my daughter was really young, and I was full of guilt". Jill, another Beneficiary who is a mother, experienced similar feelings of shame when she lost custody of her baby. She recalled how these feelings made her suicidal: "I felt suicidal. Shameful as it is I lost my kid". The feelings of guilt and shame reflected the women's understanding of their children's emotional needs. Lisa shared how her feelings of guilt stemmed from knowing she was not able to be there for her daughter when she needed her:

The guilt was awful because I wasn't with my child. My child wanted to be with me, all she wanted was her mum and I wasn't with her, I was in prison and she had to go to live with her dad [Lisa]

This sense of guilt continued following release from prison and her daughter's desire for her mum to regain a sense of control of her life, so that her daughter could regain her mother. Yet Lisa found navigating her recovery from complex needs a challenge: "All my daughter has ever wanted is her mum back. She's angry with me for not being able to turn my back on drugs, things like that over the years. But my reality has been really painful".

This inability to provide for young children as a result of prison, is one example of how prison can strip a person of their identity and sense of autonomy: "They tell you what they want to tell you and treat you how they want to treat you. You forget who you are." [Lisa] This could extend to the loss of female and maternal identity and have a negative effect on recovery, even following release from prison:

It's awful because this situation with my housing has affected me being a mother. It's affected me being a woman. It's affected everything about me. And I've deteriorated rapidly over the last however many years [Lisa]

Following her release from prison, Lisa experienced periods of homelessness and unstable accommodation which resulted in her daughter being unable to live with her, emphasising the loss of motherhood and heightening the sense of guilt for not being able to provide a secure environment for her daughter:

And guilt because I've not been able to fix some of that and get back into that position to be a mother and have a safe environment for my daughter to come and live with me. All she's wanted for years is to come back and live with her mum [Lisa]

Reflecting on life before prison, maternal identity gave Lisa purpose as a provider, nurturer and carer. The use of phrases such as 'once upon a time' suggests that Lisa reflected on this period of life as a fairy-tale when life was picturesque. Unfortunately, Lisa's repeated prison sentences immediately removed her housing and sense of motherhood and she described this experience as a catastrophic period of her life:

I was a mum once upon a time, I had a life and then all of a sudden everything has gone. Had no home. Didn't have my daughter. Didn't have things that meant anything. You feel really empty [Lisa]

This maternal identity was a key motivator for change. An inward need to provide a safe and

nurturing environment for their children was built on an innate bond arising from the child's young age - "You know what our bond was built when she was a child" [Lisa] - and this bond gave mothers a sense of hope that they could rebuild a life for themselves and their children". Jill corroborated this and recounted how becoming a mum was a motivator for her to change and demand support from the prison service to help her to care for her children on release:

I put my foot down and I said, look I've had a baby now and before things get serious, before I'm released this time in order for me to be a productive mum and all the rest of it I'll need support [Jill]

4.4 Prison as a barrier to complex needs recovery

Beneficiaries experienced or witnessed traumatic events in prison (i.e. bullying, violence, suicide, self-harm, abuse). This exposure had a detrimental effect on their mental health, either through exacerbating previous mental illness or by reviving historic experiences of similar traumatic events. This could manifest in self-harming behaviour, suicidal thoughts, or general low mood, potentially worsening mental health, which appears to be largely unsupported within the prison system. Some illegal substances, such as mamba, are easily accessible which can exacerbate prior substance misuse or expose Beneficiaries to new substances.

Experiences of bullying and violence featured prominently in many accounts. Geoff described how, because of an aspect of his identity he was repeatedly victimised:

They kept on coming up to me, 'you're not coming out your cell today'. Every day, I came out my cell, I got poked in my belly, I've been stabbed in my ribs. I got my face smashed up in jail, got my arm broke in jail.

Mark experienced a particularly traumatic event in prison, which resulted in him being moved to another prison for his own protection from other prisoners:

This place isn't for me. They put me in a cell with another person. I thought what are they going to do, are they going to beat me up, are they going to rob me? Abuse me? That was all going through my head. I had a really bad experience in there. They moved me to a single cell and that's when it started getting really, really worse. But [it] was tried in the shower and I wouldn't shower again. I got moved off the wing, it was really frightening [Mark]

The experience of violence and/or intimidating behaviour in prison often worsened existing mental health problems, triggering self-harm and suicidal thoughts. Geoff recalled how each of the six times he was in prison, another prisoner committed suicide: "I've been in prison six times. Why is it every time I've been in prison men killed themselves. This last time I came out of prison six men hung themselves". He also disclosed how his own challenges with mental health in prison resulted in him engaging in self-harming and suicidal behaviour: "Then I tried to take my own life in jail" [Geoff]

The combination of bullying and the mental health problems that many brought with them resulted in self-harm and suicidal thoughts in at least three cases. The prison response extended no further than patching up, as David explained;

When I started self-harming, they come and seen me, got the nurse and said, he needs stitching, we'll take him to the hospital and that was it. I didn't get a mental health worker to talk to me or nothing. [David]



“The system didn't help me. I tried to get help from the system, tried to get support. I had mental health problems.”

Mark recounts similar experiences when managing his complex needs in prison: “I never got no support”. A sense of isolation in prison in managing their needs came over strongly throughout Beneficiaries accounts.

*I had to manage it in there because I never got no support. You have to manage it yourself. You have to cope with it while you are in there. It's hard when you are in there to cope with things that like **[Mark]***

Geoff recalled how his mental health needs in prison were only addressed the day before he was due to be released, highlighting the lack of organised support for prison discharge.

*The system didn't help me. I tried to get help from the system, tried to get support. I had mental health problems. So, what happened to my mental health problems, they said I had to go and see a doctor. When I seen the doctor it was the last day of my release, the day before I was getting my release I seen the mental health team **[Geoff]***



5. Prison discharge

5.1 The failure of offender rehabilitation

Although some Beneficiaries' experiences predated the implementation of the Offender Rehabilitation Act, there was little evidence that the Act has made any difference. Many Beneficiary narratives illustrate a release day that was instantaneous, haphazard and overwhelming. Beneficiaries who served short sentences recounted how they received no resettlement provision and were given too little time to prepare, often warned of their release on the same morning. Mark explained his experience.

They come one morning, you're going to be released, you've got discharge money, put me out the gate and that was it. Put me out the door. No support from there [Mark]

This instant release from prison prevented adequate preparation for life outside, and its instant nature was often a trigger for complex needs to recur. Such instant release gave Beneficiaries immediate independence in a world in which they did not necessarily know how to function. The gravity of this independence, with no adequate support outside, could be overwhelming in the first days following release, and ordinary tasks could seem impossible.

When I came out, a lot of things were different. So, I couldn't do a lot of things. I couldn't use a computer, that was one thing I struggled on. When I come out of prison I couldn't cross a road properly. I nearly got run over by a double decker bus. And then a prison officer had to escort us across the road, tell us how to use the bus [Geoff]

I can remember finding it difficult going to the shop when I came out because I asked for local release and went to Nottingham. I went to ask for cigarettes from the shop. Like you plan on buying them cigarettes when you get out, not the rolling tobacco. You stand there looking at the shelf and you're like, you know what, I'll take the rolling tobacco because I can't think what I want [Alan]

Unsurprisingly, such disorganised prison release left little time to organise accommodation leaving Beneficiaries with 'no fixed abode' on release and at least four respondents reported being discharged in this way, ending up rough sleeping. Moreover, any attempt to report their homelessness was greeted with the objection that their incarceration in a local prison did not earn them a 'local connection' to the City, as Geoff encountered:

I went down to Housing Aid. Housing Aid refused us, said I had no local connection to the area. ... What do you mean I've got no local connection? ... You've got to be on the road for three days and then we'll try to help you. So, then they seen me on road for three days. They said go back in your sleeping bag, we'll come tomorrow. For a whole month I went to Housing Aid. From the day I got released I ended up at Housing Aid every day. ... I was sleeping rough [Geoff]

Eric's experience was particularly poignant. He was moved to Nottingham Prison when he was about to be released in 2017 following a conviction for drug dealing, leaving no time to prepare for discharge. On release, he went straight to his Probation Officer, who was unable to help with accommodation at short notice. So, his only option was bed and breakfast where he stayed for two weeks, paying for it by reverting to his former lifestyle. He explained the dilemma:

I have thought about this. Resettlement teams, if you have got to move that close towards the end of your sentence, they should be communicating with each other, what you've

already done, who you have already spoken to, and ringing up Nottingham Prison where I was to say, look this guy is moving up, we've phoned these people for applications, can you follow it through. Rather than just, here's £40, probation is going to help you. It don't work like that, it really don't. I'm not saying it made me go and start my old life style again, but it didn't give me any choice. When I'm in for dealing and I get out with no roof over my head what am I going to do, know what I mean? My family didn't want me at the family home and all that stuff. ... I was saying this to the Prison Officers in Wolverhampton, if you move me now, resettlement ain't going to help me get somewhere in Nottingham; there isn't time. He just said, 'that's your problem to deal with in Nottingham.' ... Then they wonder why people keep coming back through the system [Eric]

Often Beneficiaries found accommodation in a hostel following release from prison. They found that, while it provided a roof, it was ill-suited to their recovery due to the ready availability of drugs and alcohol in hostels, as Billy explained;

Any recovering in hostels is zero. They are saying it's not impossible. No, it's not impossible but it's as close as impossible as you are going to get. Here's a thought for you. You're not drinking, and they are knocking on your door continually offering you alcohol. This is continuous. You're poorly, you are detoxing off the alcohol. You try asking for a can and they give you a can [Billy]

Alan felt that the combination of complex needs and a hostel environment was cruel and obstructive, and wasn't surprised people with these needs don't fare well, often resulting in eviction, making a return to a criminal lifestyle inevitable:

That's a bit barbaric. You are picking people up in the first place knowing that they have got complex needs, knowing they have drug issues, alcohol issues, you put them in a big hostel with 50 men it's a ticking time bomb [Alan].

5.2 The challenge of effective prisoner discharge

Opportunity Nottingham provides further evidence of what has been shown to work in preventing reoffending among short-term prisoners at risk of homelessness at the point of release. Previous research (Bowpitt, 2015) evaluated the New Keys project, a small-scale rehabilitation project based at a homeless people's day centre. Several features were crucial to its effectiveness:

- Working with prisoners before release to arrange housing and other services essential to effective functioning;
- Meeting prisoners at the point of discharge and escorting them to pre-arranged accommodation;
- Negotiating access to all services necessary to immediate resettlement, with accompaniment to appointments if necessary;
- Effective brokering and advocacy with service providers and even the criminal justice system;
- Delivering the above through a holistic relationship of trust between the offender and their support worker;
- Securing access to alternative occupations and social networks to prevent a return to former harmful lifestyles.

This pattern was mirrored for Beneficiaries in the current research where they received contact and communication from their Opportunity Nottingham Personal Development Coordinator (PDC) during their sentence, had accommodation pre-arranged, and were met at the prison gate on release day to attend pre-arranged appointments. There was also evidence of Opportunity Nottingham liaising with temporary accommodation services where Beneficiaries were resident to enable beds to be kept during a short prison sentence.

In situations where Beneficiaries had been recruited to Opportunity Nottingham before or during their sentence, the preparatory work which prison staff are unable to provide became possible, as Ian explains.

Mainly it was support workers from Opportunity Nottingham engaging with the prison services. I would say a lot of it is down to Opportunity Nottingham. That was it. What I really found the officers are all right, but they haven't got time for all that stuff [Ian]

One result might be pre-arranged accommodation.

That was already in place. I met up with the support worker and we went directly wherever. Got into supported housing same day. [I felt] a lot better in myself because I'd already had that kind of up and down feeling that I had nowhere. I was getting frustrated with it. If I'm going to be quite honest that was my intention. I made up in my mind that I wasn't going to go on the streets and if that was the last resort I was going to go back to prison anyway. It was as simple as that. That was my last resort. I was faced with no option [Ian]

Critically, it involved meeting at the prison gate.

[Did anyone come to meet you when you were released?] Yes. Support Worker from Opportunity Nottingham. [Where did you go?] Straight for a coffee. That was the first thing. [What about after that, what did you do after that?] We had to kind of get on the train and come back from Ranby [Ian]

There were further excellent examples of how the system is meant to work. Fiona's hostel bed was kept for her until she had completed an admittedly short sentence.

A hostel that I was in, they kept my room open for me, which really, they are not supposed to. ... But no, they kept my room open for me, tidied it all up. ... They emptied my fridge, scrubbed it all out, refilled it the day before I was due to come out, which I thought was good. I come out of jail went to bed in my own bed. [Fiona]

She was also met at the prison gate on release, this time by her POW Worker (POW is a PEER founded charity supporting the rights of sex workers). Moreover, significantly, she had been accepted onto Opportunity Nottingham before being sentenced, which meant that her Personal Development Coordinator visited her in prison. Ian also recounted the benefits of being referred to Opportunity Nottingham six to eight weeks before the end of his most recent sentence. His Personal Development Coordinator arranged everything.

They were brilliant really. Things were in place. When I was first released to be honest it was a little bit up and down. They had tried to make arrangements, but unfortunately that fell through. ... Everything was in place and I was really pleased with it. Unfortunately, I had to go back to prison ... When I came out the second time, everything was fully in place for me. ... Mainly it was support workers from Opportunity Nottingham engaging with the prison services. I would say a lot of it is down to Opportunity Nottingham. [Ian]

The key informant provided further insights into how the system is meant to work in light of the

Offender Rehabilitation Act and the setting up of Community Rehabilitation Companies. There are many similarities to the New Keys project (Bowpitt, 2015). Her perspective provided valuable evidence to corroborate Beneficiaries accounts. Her rehabilitation work was undertaken partly in prison, and partly in the community. She would receive referrals in prison from various sources, including the CRC, especially when a prisoner was at risk of being discharged to 'no fixed abode'. She would arrange a meeting with the prisoner, which was entirely voluntary. If accepted, she would discuss housing and other support needs and arrange appointments for the prisoner on discharge.

However, importantly, she explained that there were limits to what she could do, which may be about timing, availability of accommodation or sheer volume of work.

That's about being realistic and saying to CRC, I'm not going to be able to work with this person. It may be not enough time prior to release or I've got too many people I'm working with. ... What was not possible was meeting the prisoner at the gate at the point of discharge. ... That just would not have been possible with one person, like you say, to meet everybody from the prison gates. Every effort would be made to arrange a manageable sequence of priority appointments on release, and to accompany the prisoner if appropriate, but once again this was not always possible or appropriate. So as much as possible you would accompany them to those appointments. But again, it's when something is realistic. When you know somebody is vulnerable, you would make sure they were contacted. ... What I would say is, is it possible to do it within these times, because I know they've got probation and I know they've got that. I can meet them at probation and I can accompany them to the appointment. ... And some people don't want you to accompany them for whatever reason. I think some people think, I don't need my hand holding. Moreover, there is no guarantee of success, even when appointments are attended, and the outcome of failure might be a return to the streets. ... You're not going to get everyone accommodated. There might not be the room, they might not be suitable, they might have been turned down for that service. ... I'm not going to pretend that you can get everybody housed.

Furthermore, in keeping with Geoff's testimony, this key informant pointed out that having no local connection to Nottingham was a further barrier to securing accommodation. This person's post recently came to an end, and there is no guarantee that it will be picked up elsewhere. Moreover, her work with each prisoner was time-limited, and she was just one worker for potentially hundreds of released prisoners in any one year. Furthermore, she had no control over accommodation shortages and other barriers to rehousing and had limited hope in the Homelessness Reduction Act 2017.

I think it's going to be very difficult. I think it's going to be a lot of work... In all honesty, I don't know how it's going to work with the new Homelessness Reduction Act and the licencing laws. I think it's going to be an awful lot of work and maybe the prison will need to employ further staff to implement it.



6. Conclusions and recommendations

This co-constructed study illustrates that prison has a detrimental effect on Beneficiaries recovery from complex needs. By witnessing, experiencing, or triggering trauma, coupled with a lack of preparation and support for release, prison perpetuates a life of crime, homelessness, and continuing complex needs.

However, Opportunity Nottingham has demonstrated the effectiveness of support for Beneficiaries undergoing short sentences, especially where PDCs are able to maintain regular contact during imprisonment, prepare Beneficiaries for release, meet them at the point of discharge, and accompany them to pre-arranged appointments for accommodation, welfare benefit claims and other sources of support. Yet this pattern of support is rarely available elsewhere due to lack of resources, reflecting a failure in the Offender Rehabilitation Act to deliver its promises.

“ Opportunity Nottingham has demonstrated the effectiveness of support for Beneficiaries undergoing short sentences...”

We therefore recommend the widespread adoption of a model of support that involves:

- Working with prisoners before release to arrange housing and other services essential to effective functioning;
- Meeting prisoners at the point of discharge and escorting them to pre-arranged accommodation;
- Negotiating access to all services necessary to immediate resettlement, with accompaniment to appointments if necessary;
- Effective brokering and advocacy with service providers and even the criminal justice system;
- Delivering the above through a holistic relationship of trust between the offender and a support worker;
- Securing access to alternative occupations and social networks to prevent a return to former harmful lifestyles;
- Exploring the delivery of the above through a system of volunteer or peer mentoring;
- Recognising specific issues faced by women, thereby ensuring a gendered approach to support, including increasing access to specialist support.



“ By witnessing, experiencing, or triggering trauma, coupled with a lack of preparation and support for release, prison perpetuates a life of crime, homelessness, and continuing complex needs.”

7. References

- Bain, A., and Parkinson, G. (2010). 'Resettlement and social rehabilitation: are we supporting success?', *Probation Journal*, 57(1), 63-74.
- Bowpitt, G. (2015), 'New keys for old doors: breaking the vicious circle connecting homelessness and re-offending', in Irving, Z., Fenger, M. and Hudson, J., eds., *Social Policy Review 27*, Bristol: Policy Press.
- Bowpitt, G., de Motte, C., Mutale, G., Everitt, G. and Mukuka, H. (2016). *Changing lives, changing systems: a report evaluating opportunity nottingham in its first two years of project delivery, 2014-16*. Nottingham: Opportunity Nottingham. Available at http://www.opportunitynottingham.co.uk/uploadedfiles/documents/22-1475681933-on_year_two_report._oct_16..pdf [Accessed 15/11/2017].
- Bowpitt, G., de Motte, C., Ledgister, C., Spours, J., Walsh, R., Everitt, G. and Kaur, K. (2018). *Multiple needs: meeting the challenge. Opportunity nottingham year four (midway) report 2014-2022*. Nottingham: Opportunity Nottingham. Available at http://www.opportunitynottingham.co.uk/uploadedfiles/documents/37-1542795128-opportunity_nottingham_year_four_report_2.pdf [Accessed 12/02/19]
- Brooker, C., Sirdifield, C., Blizard, R., Harrison, D., Tetley, D., Moran, P., Pluck, G., Chafer, A., Denney, D. and Turner, M. (2011). *An Investigation into the Prevalence of Mental Health Disorder and Patterns of Health Service Access in a Probation Population*, Lincoln: University of Lincoln.
- Bying, R., Quinn, C., Sheaff, R., Samele, C., Duggan, S., Harrison, D., Owens, C., Smithson, P., Wright, C., Annison, J., Brown, C., Taylor, R., Henley, W., Qureshi, A., Shenton, D., Porter, I., Warrington, C. and Campbell, J. (2012). *COCOA: Care for Offenders Continuity of Access*. London: National Institute for Health Research. Available at: http://www.netscc.ac.uk/hsdr/files/project/SDO_FR_08-1713-210_V01.pdf [Accessed 02/03/19]
- Comptroller and Auditor General (2019). *Transforming Rehabilitation: Progress review*. London: National Audit Office. Available at: <https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Transforming-Rehabilitation-Progress-review.pdf> [Accessed 20/05/19]
- Condon, L., Hek, G., Harris, F., Powell, J., Kemple, T. and Price, S. (2007). 'Users' views of prison health services: a qualitative study', *Journal of Advance Nursing*, 58(3), 216-26.
- Dixey, R. and Woodall, J. (2011). 'Prison staff and the health promoting prison. *International Journal of Prisoner Health*', 7(4), 8-16.
- Edgar, K., Aresti, A. and Cornish, N. (2012). *Out for good: taking responsibility for resettlement*. London: Prison Reform Trust. Available at: <http://www.prisonreformtrust.org.uk/Portals/0/Documents/OutforGood.pdf>. Accessed [06/2/19]
- Gately, C., Bowen, A., Kennedy, A., MacDonald, W. and Rogers, A. (2006). 'Prisoner perspectives on managing long term conditions: A qualitative study', *International Journal of Prisoner Health*, 2(2), 91-99.
- Great Britain. *Offender Rehabilitation Act 2014: Elizabeth II*. Chapter 11. (2014) London: The Stationery Office.
- Lewis, S., Vennard, J., Maguire, M., Raynor, P., Vanstone, M., Raybould, S. and Rix, A. (2003). *The Resettlement of Short-Term Prisoners: An evaluation of seven pathfinders*. London: Home Office. Available at: <https://lemosandcrane.co.uk/resources/Home%20Office%20-%20Resettlement%20of%20short-term%20prisoners.pdf> [Accessed 5/2/19]
- Meek, R. and Lewis, G. (2014). 'Promoting Well-Being and Desistance Through Sport and Physical Activity: The Opportunities and Barriers Experienced by Women in English Prisons', *Women and Criminal Justice*, 24(2), 151-172.
- Ministry of Justice (2012). *Accommodation, Homelessness and Reoffending of Prisoners: Results from the Surveying Prisoner Crime Reduction (SPCR) Survey*, London: Ministry of Justice. Available

at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/217397/accommodation-homelessness-reoffending-prisoners.pdf [Accessed 14/2/2019]

Ministry of Justice (2018). *Female Offender Strategy*, Cm 9642, London: Ministry of Justice. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/719819/female-offender-strategy.pdf [Accessed 3/6/2019]

Offender Health Research Network (2009), *A National Evaluation of Prison Mental Health In- Reach Services: A report to the National Institute of Health Research*, London: The Offender Health Research Network

Rosengard, A., Laing, I., Ridley, J., Hunter, S. (2007). *A Literature Review on Multiple and Complex Needs. Scottish Executive Social Research*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Social Research. Available at: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/163153/0044343.pdf> [Accessed 24/2/19].

Walker, J., Illingworth, C., Canning, A., Garner, E., Wooley, J., Taylor, P. and Amos, T. (2014). 'Changes in mental state associated with prison environments: a systematic review', *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*, 129(6), 426-436.



