

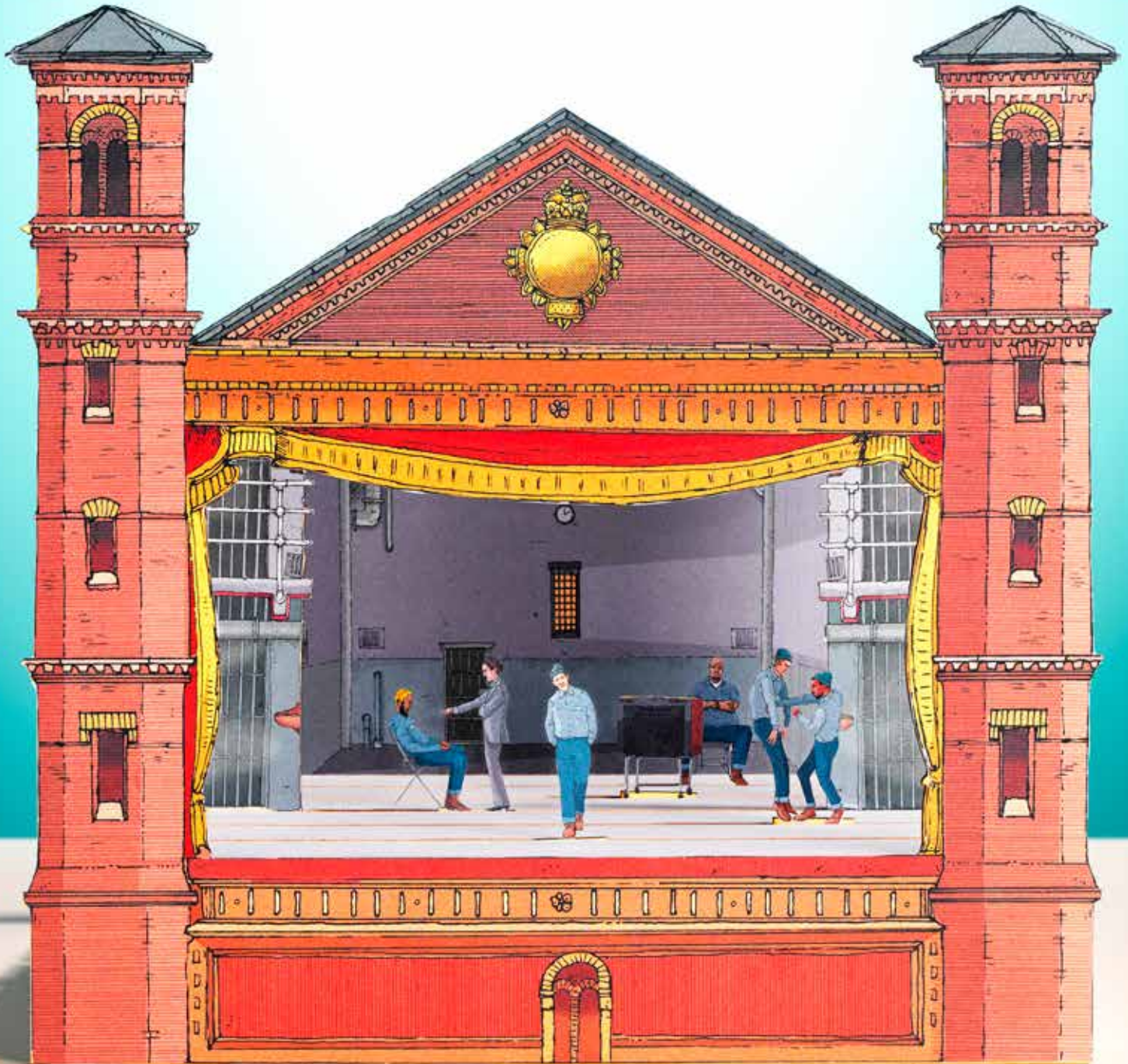
RSA

21st century enlightenment

Matters of conviction

Rachel O'Brien sets the stage for rethinking prisons

Journal Issue 2 2016



Sir Richard Branson talks drugs and second chances

Manuel Eisner on what we can learn from the history of violent crime

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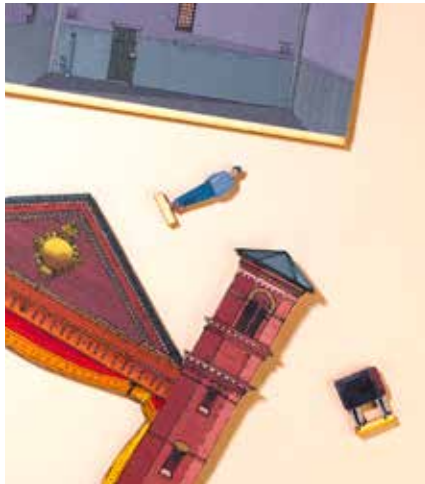
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“I WAS BROUGHT UP TO BELIEVE WE SHOULD NEVER JUDGE A PERSON’S LIFE BY THEIR WORST MOMENT. THERE IS SO MUCH MORE ABOUT MOST PEOPLE THAT IS POSITIVE”

SIR RICHARD BRANSON, PAGE 18

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“WITH THE RIGHT TO PUNISH COMES A GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY TO REHABILITATE INDIVIDUALS”



MATTHEW TAYLOR

In 2008 the RSA published The Learning Prison. Written pre-austerity and at a time when there was more money in the system, the report highlighted that – despite pockets of innovation – justice practitioners were extremely pessimistic about the potential for radical positive change. Fast-forward to 2016 and there are reasons to be cautiously optimistic about both the breadth of consensus on the need for change, in the UK and elsewhere, and deep concern about the impact of reduced investment in prisons and wider services.

As Rachel O'Brien outlines in this edition of *RSA Journal*, like much of the RSA's work on public services, our Future Prison project is based on the idea that success pivots on the attitudes and actions of communities. With the right to punish – and in particular remove people's freedom – comes a grave responsibility on government, and wider society, to both rehabilitate individuals and confront the drivers of crime.

Our right to punish others when they infringe society's rules has always raised philosophical questions about the nature of free will and responsibility. Gregg Caruso proposes that these concerns warrant a public health model of criminal justice, whereby incapacitation is justified by the right to self-protection, similar to the ethical justification for quarantine. This model allows for people to be restrained in proportion to the danger they represent to society, but suggests a greater concern for rehabilitation and a focus on the social factors responsible for crime.

A long-standing advocate of drug decriminalisation, Sir Richard Branson argues that in the case of people who use or misuse illegal drugs, the state should take a public health approach, not a punitive one. In this he is echoing the conclusion of the RSA's own *Commission on Illegal Drugs* published back in 2007.

At the heart of these issues are widely debated, deep-seated challenges, including inequality and exclusion. Less publicly debated is masculinity; an issue addressed powerfully by David McGuire. Anthony Painter explores the challenge of integration and collaboration between different arms of the state and communities, concluding that extraordinary leadership is needed.

Crime, punishment and justice require not just the right services and legal framework, but for us to be concerned for others, even when they break society's rules. Charles Handy, a former chairman of the RSA, argues that, in seeking 21st century enlightenment, we need to balance concern for others with self-fulfilment and a greater purpose.

Connecting all of these essays is the relationship between individuals and society as a whole. The UK has seen society divided by the recent EU referendum. In response, each of us has a responsibility to imagine a better future, as I discuss in detail later in this *Journal*. There are troubling parallels between the social divisions here in the UK and those growing in the US, where the startling ascendancy of Donald Trump has been fuelled by antipathy to demographic shifts. Enid Logan examines the forces at play in a country where anger and resentment at the loss of white male entitlement have been given a legitimising voice. ■



TRAINING

COMMUNITY BUSINESS BOOST

Power to change, an independent charitable trust set up to boost community business across England, has announced a six-month leadership development programme in partnership with the RSA, Real Ideas Organisation and the Sheffield University Management School. The partners selected 12 community business leaders from the south-west to develop their skills through face-to-face training days being held across the region this summer.

Among the local leaders are Petronella Tyson and Jon Newey from Coexist, who provide workspace for more than 400 artists, makers and entrepreneurs in Bristol; Jenny Coles from Plymouth Energy Community, which enables local people to decide how they buy, use and generate power; and Fiona Ollerhead, founder of the Pantry Partnership, which holds cook clubs and other events to help people out of food poverty and reduce social isolation. The 12 community business leaders will have the opportunity to visit existing community businesses to learn from peers and connect with the RSA's 28,000 Fellows.

■ For more information about the programme, visit www.thersa.org/action-and-research/rsa-projects/economy-enterprise-manufacturing-folder/community-business-leaders-programme



FELLOWSHIP

LOCAL IMPROVEMENTS

The RSA Trustee Board has supported changes that aim to significantly improve local RSA activity across the UK. The changes come in response to feedback from Fellows, and have been developed in partnership with the Fellowship Council, which acts as a bridge between the Fellowship, the Trustee Board and RSA staff.

Currently, the Fellowship Council consists of 40 volunteers who manage local activity across the country. There is a significant administrative element attached to the Fellowship Councillor role, from managing an events programme and running meetings, to reporting on local activity.

Under the new system, this administrative element will be removed from the role so that Fellowship Councillors can focus on helping other Fellows get activity off the ground, whether that is events, networks or projects. Alongside these changes, the RSA is also developing a framework to enable any Fellow to apply for funding for activity in their local community.

A new thematic Fellowship Councillor role has also been created. Selected based on their high-level expertise, the six thematic Fellowship Councillors will help drive the RSA's work, two in each of its key areas of focus: public services and communities, creative learning and development, and enterprise, economy and manufacturing.

Voting for the Fellowship Council will take place from 26 September to 21 October, with the results announced at the AGM on 27 October. Three Fellowship Councillors will be elected for each of five newly created administrative areas across England: North, Central, South West, South East and London. Two Fellowship Councillors will be elected for Scotland, Ireland and Wales respectively.

■ To find out more about the changes, visit www.thersa.org/fellowship/fellowship-news/localsupport



DEMOCRACY

ECONOMIC ENGAGEMENT

A series of informed conversations about the future of the UK's economy will be the centrepiece of the Citizens' Economic Council, which was launched by the RSA in June.

Following the EU referendum, which was characterised by a poor quality of debate and the disintegration of trust in experts, the Council will give the public a voice in national economic policy. It aims to improve economic literacy, transparency in economics, democratic economic debate, and to increase creativity in policy dialogue.

A group of 50-60 participants has been selected from the general public using random sampling to reflect the UK's demographics. This process is being overseen by the Citizens' Economic Council's Independent Advisory Group, which comprises academics, experts and leading thinkers in public engagement and economics.

Citizens will meet for the first time in September 2016 and on three subsequent occasions. They will then come together for a final Economic Summit in August 2017. The first workshop will address the different narratives and perspectives on the UK economy and ask citizens to explore what good economic outcomes are. Policymakers and economists will provide contextual information to the citizens throughout the engagement process.

The Council will: develop principles for the goals of the economy based on the values of citizens; co-produce practical recommendations; strengthen the transparency and accountability of economic policy; and consider how economic policy can be made to be inclusive. The deliberations of the Council will be complemented by broader engagement with economically excluded and minority groups through an Economic Inclusion Roadshow.

The Council concurrently aims to improve economic literacy and close the democratic deficit on economic policy that has huge impacts on people's lives. All of the materials from the deliberations will be made available online through a course, helping people to understand the basic principles of economics and express views about the economy.

Find out more about the Citizens' Economic Council and sign up to its mailing list at: www.rsa.org.uk/citizensconomy



HEALTH

CARE PIONEERS

The RSA is working with 50 'new models of care vanguards' appointed by the NHS to develop a new blueprint for the future healthcare system. The five-month programme aims to develop practical tools and techniques to help vanguards engage with communities and will be launched at a public event in September.

The NHS appointed the individual organisations and partnerships to drive the reforms set out in its *Five Year Forward View*. This report argues that large-scale transformation and new models of care are needed in the NHS, and highlights the potential of social movements to organise and lead change. The Health as a Social Movement programme was established in order to help vanguards better understand how local social movements can assist in delivering their shared objectives. The RSA is working closely on the programme with Nef and Nesta, which were also appointed as national learning partners.

The first event will discuss what characterises a social movement and how to start one, as well as debating whether the model will be rendered effective and efficient.

See the event preview on page 9 for more information



FELLOWSHIP

REACHING OUT

From the autumn, a tiered pricing structure will make Fellowship more affordable in low- and middle-income countries. The RSA has a growing community of Fellows outside the UK, who now number over 3,000 across 90 countries.

With the RSA's events, research and innovation programmes becoming increasingly global in outlook, its two affiliates in the US and Australia/New Zealand prospering, and with ambitions to establish more affiliates from 2017, now is a great time to nominate Fellows from across the world.

■ *If you have any friends, family or colleagues outside the UK whom you would like to nominate, please contact fellowship@rsa.org.uk*

INTERNATIONAL

NEW NETWORK FUND

The RSA has established a fund to support events led by its network of 40 Connectors, who act as RSA ambassadors around the world, from Berlin to Beirut, Uruguay to Uganda. We are always looking out for new Connectors anywhere in the world.

In addition to recruiting Fellows in their locations, the Connectors look for new ideas, promote social innovation and link ideas to action locally. They are at the forefront of social change and act as the RSA's eyes and ears on the ground.

The Network Fund will enable Connectors to organise events that engage existing and prospective Fellows in the work of the RSA.

■ *If you would like to get in touch with the Connector in your country, or become a new Connector, please visit www.thersa.org/global*



ACTION AND RESEARCH

INCLUSIVE GROWTH COMMISSION

A new independent Inclusive Growth Commission, launched by the RSA this April, will identify ways to make local economies across the UK more inclusive and prosperous.

A successor to the RSA's influential City Growth Commission, it is chaired by Stephanie Flanders, chief market strategist for JP Morgan Asset Management and former BBC economics editor.

The Commission will develop a practical plan that will enable more people to contribute to and benefit from the growth of their locality. It will examine how the state needs to change – centrally and locally – to enable different parts of the country to fully realise the potential of devolution. In particular, the Commission will focus on making sure that the benefits of the place-based approach to growth are widely shared.

Due to publish an interim report in September, the Commission comes at a time when inclusive growth is high on the agenda following the EU referendum, which highlighted inequality and social divisions across the UK.

The Commission is supported by Core Cities, the Local Government Association, London Councils, Key Cities, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and PwC.

■ *To submit evidence or engage with the Commission, please contact inclusivegrowth@rsa.org.uk*

NEWS IN BRIEF

2016 AGM

The next AGM will take place on Thursday 27 October at 5pm in the Great Room at John Adam Street.

PREVIEW



A BRIEF HISTORY OF TOMORROW

What is humanity's future? How will we protect this fragile world from our own powers? Yuval Harari, author of the international bestseller *Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind*, explores the forces that will shape the 21st century – from overcoming death to creating artificial life.

Where: RSA
When: Thursday
8 September at 1pm



CREATING A SOCIAL MOVEMENT FOR HEALTH

How can we mobilise communities and empower patients to better manage their own health? Can we harness social movements to help transform the NHS? Join us for an 'in conversation' discussion between Helen Bevan, chief transformation officer, NHS England; Jos de Blok, founder, Buurtzorg; Alan Higgins, director of public health, Oldham Council; and Halima Khan, executive director of the NESTA Health Lab.

Where: RSA
When: Tuesday
20 September at 6.15pm



ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE AND THE FUTURE

Demis Hassabis, co-founder and CEO of DeepMind, offers a unique insight from the frontiers of artificial intelligence research and considers its potential to help solve our biggest future challenges, from healthcare to climate change.

Where: RSA
When: Thursday
29 September at 6pm



MENTAL HEALTH MATTERS

How can we deliver on government commitments to improve mental health care for children and young people? To celebrate World Mental Health Day 2016, Sarah Brennan, chief executive of charity Young Minds, joins an expert panel alongside Lord Victor Adebawale, chief executive of social enterprise Turning Point and NHS England board member, and Jonny Benjamin, mental health campaigner and activist.

Where: RSA
When: Thursday
13 October at 1.30pm

Events and RSA Animate producer Abi Stephenson has selected the highlights above from a large number of public events in the RSA's programme. For full event listings and free audio and video downloads, please visit www.thersa.org/events

FOR HIGHLIGHTS OF RECENT EVENTS, SEE PAGE 49

REFORMING GOALS

A justice system that truly rehabilitates must reach beyond the prison walls to demand more of society

by Rachel O'Brien
 @racobrien

For every 694 citizens of the world, one is in prison, according to the International Centre for Prison Studies (ICPS). Since the turn of the millennium, the verifiable global prison population has expanded by almost 20%, faster than the rate of population growth. It now stands at over 10 million, and if we factor in countries where official figures are not available, that number rises to over 11 million. Amnesty International estimated in 2011 that in North Korea alone, 200,000 people are incarcerated, many in vast internment camps. If correct, this would mean a staggering one in every 123 North Korean citizens is behind bars, a larger proportion than the 'official' top three biggest incarcerators: the Seychelles, the US and St Kitts and Nevis.

These headline figures reveal and disguise fundamental issues about imprisonment. They indicate that the number of people incarcerated does not neatly reflect levels of global population or criminality. There has, for example, been a 2% increase in the proportion of the global prison population that is female. But this is not evenly spread; while figures stayed relatively stable in Africa and most of Europe, Brazil's female prison population increased by 146% between 2005 and 2012. Change can be rapid and ruthless: while Rwanda experienced a massive increase in its prison population following the genocide of 1994, this has decreased by nearly 65% in the past 15 years.

Conversely, shifts in policy can be glacially, and catastrophically, slow. The US incarcerates over 2 million people and accounts for around a fifth of the world's verified prison population. Decades of evidence-based campaigning about the systemic racial bias of the US justice system – from stop and search, to arrests, through to sentencing, including the use of the death penalty – looks set at last to see some meaningful gains in the form of legislation passed in 2015. This changed sentencing

RACHEL O'BRIEN IS LEADING THE RSA'S FUTURE PRISON PROJECT

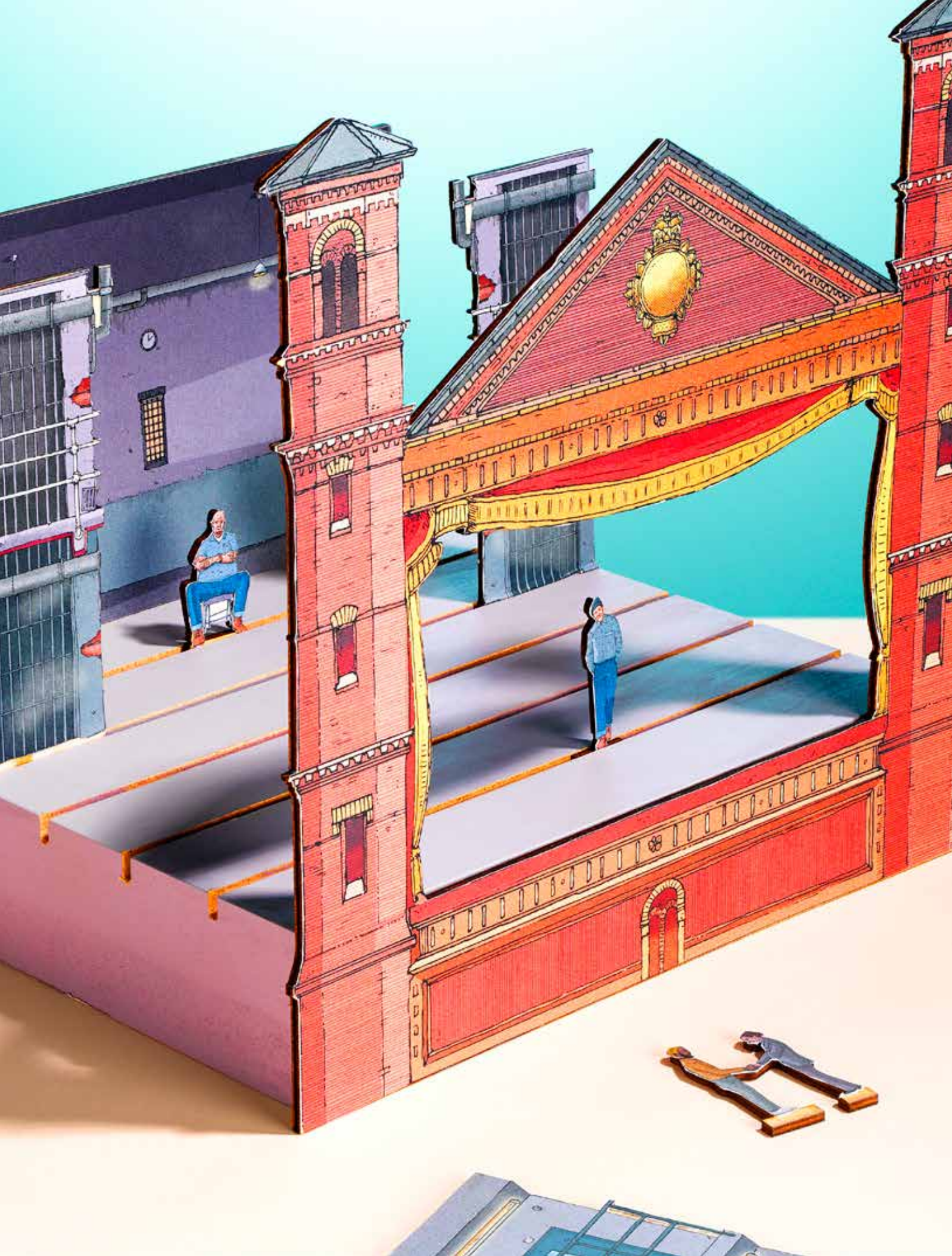
policy in relation to some drug-related offences, accorded judges discretion for lower-level drug crimes and is seeing some decreases in the use of incarceration.

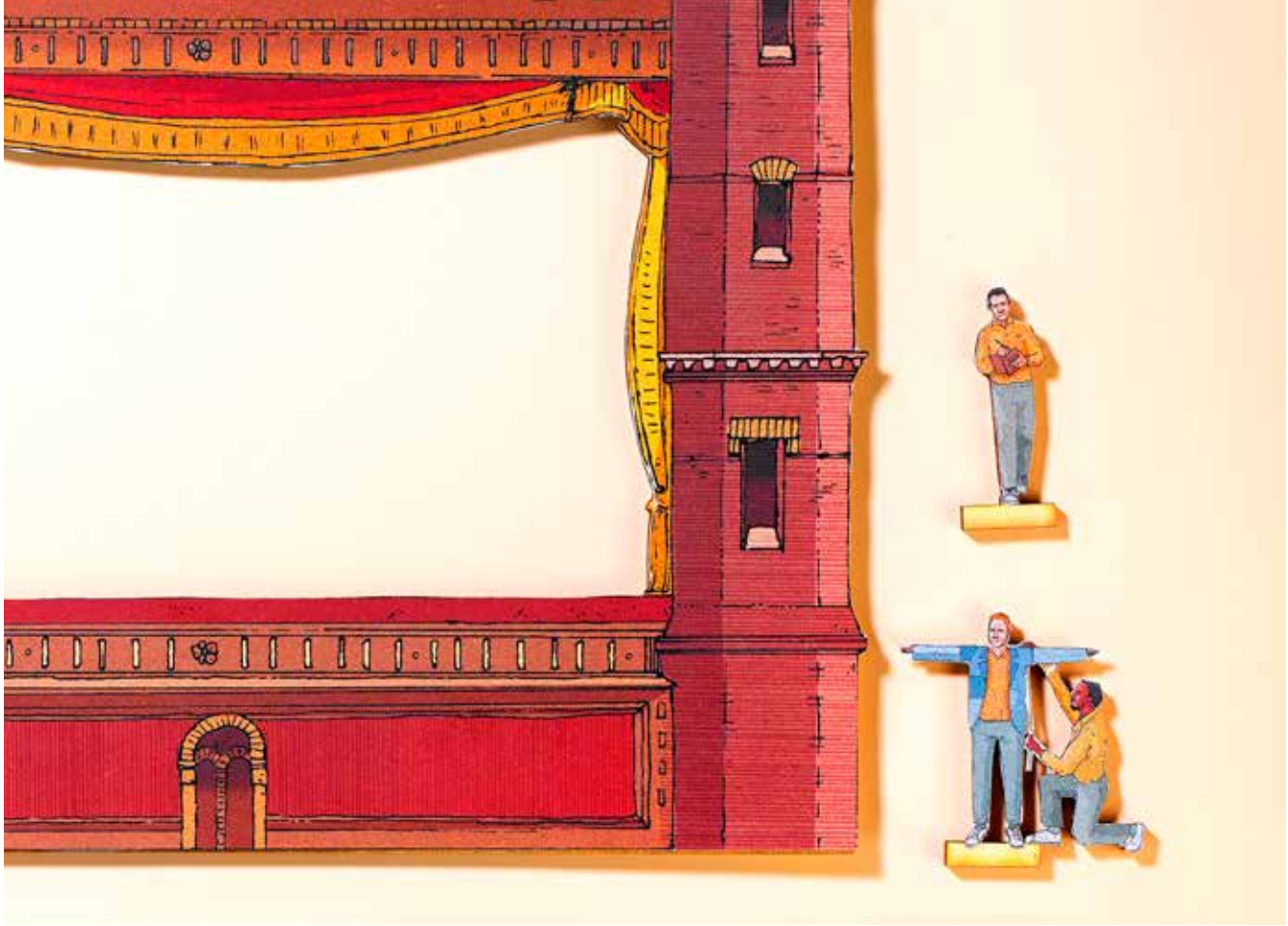
These figures do not reveal the degree of churn, the number of victims that result from repeat offending or the multiple needs (or capabilities) amongst incarcerated populations. National statistics vary, but since this piece will focus on prison reform in England and Wales, it is worth noting that, in these jurisdictions, there were over 85,000 people inside at the end of July 2016. Around a quarter will have been in care as a child, at least one in three will have a mental or physical disability, and half will have the literacy levels of an 11-year-old. In 2015, around 70,000 people were released from prison. Or to put it another way, most people leave prison and, on average, 190 people do so every day in England and Wales combined; their prospects will impact on communities now and in the future.

BEYOND BASIC

What are the implications of all this for the government's prison reform agenda and its renewed focus on rehabilitation? Of course, any sensible strategy will need to consider how many people are incarcerated and why, the impacts of this, and must address the conditions within which people live and prison staff work. At the very least, we should seek to create a system where prison leaders – alongside government – are held accountable for upholding basic standards of care. As closed institutions holding some of the most troubled and troubling individuals, prisons can be dangerous places, they lend themselves to abuse and corruption and must be open to independent rigorous inspection.

In his foreword for the 2015-16 annual report of Her Majesty's Inspector of Prisons for England and Wales, the Chief Inspector of Prisons, Peter Clark wrote: "There is a simple and unpalatable truth about far too many of our prisons. They have become unacceptably violent >>>





and dangerous places.” The report highlights a 27% increase in assaults (to 20,000 incidents), a 25% increase in incidents of both self-harm (to 32,000) and self-inflicted deaths, and accelerating deterioration in safety. It makes clear that a key contributor to this is the presence of novel psychoactive substances, and while these are having a very negative impact, the issue should not be overstated or mask underlying systemic challenges. It is undeniable that these trends have mostly gone in the wrong direction since 2013, when funding for the prison service was reduced, resulting in a 23% reduction in the number of frontline staff.

DEFINING JUSTICE

So, should prison reform ‘simply’ focus on making prisons safer, reducing the numbers in custody and reversing the cuts to the number of frontline staff? Yes and no. These changes are urgent and *necessary* to reform but they are not *sufficient* if the government is to succeed in its intention of creating a modern service that does more to reduce risk through rehabilitation. Safety is critical but needs to be seen as a constraint to meeting the overall purpose of the service, not as an objective in itself. But strictly speaking, rehabilitation means returning something to its original state, which in terms of the lives of the individuals outlined above, falls short of what prisons and their workforce are being asked to do. If people’s lives are chaotic, purposeless, amoral and miserable before prison, we need a higher goal; one that prisons cannot deliver alone. Incarceration forms part of a

journey, or repeated journeys, not the end of a process; this means prison reform can never just be about prisons.

A system that strives to go beyond the ‘very least’ needs to do more, not just to hold prison leaders to account for what happens in their leg of this journey, but also to be fair in doing so. As well as tackling failure and rewarding success, fairness requires the acknowledgement of the range of skills and time needed by the workforce if it is to boost rehabilitative outcomes. It requires an accountability framework that has more to say about leadership and management but that recognises that governors cannot control what happens post-custody and will often have people in their care for just a few months or weeks, and in some cases a matter of days. The system needs to incentivise integration and collaboration between prisons and those charged with placing people in custody in the first place and supporting their re-entry into society. It should further encourage leaders to reach out to employers, the families of those in custody and the neighbourhoods to which the vast majority of people will return.

Such approaches do exist. In 2013, four Swedish prisons closed; this decline has been linked to the amount of post-release support provided by Sweden’s state-run probation service and the 4,500 volunteer lay supervisors who support people in the community subject to supervision orders. In the US, prisons cost the taxpayer over \$80 billion a year (more than higher education). The state of Texas, not considered a hotbed of liberalism, has combined investment

in evidence-based programmes, including drug courts, with prison and sentencing reform; this has contributed to the closure of three prisons, a 25% reduction in reoffending and has saved nearly \$3 billion.

REFORM PRISONS

In November 2016, the central focus of the Queen's Speech was prison reform; hailed by the government as the most radical programme of change for a generation and welcomed by some, including this author, as having the *potential* to be transformative. The reform narrative is consistent with the government's focus on equalising people's life chances and its public service agenda, which emphasises transparency and accountability. There is a need to reduce the 'command and control' nature of the prison service, which alongside probation services, is overseen by the National Offender Management Service (NOMS), an executive agency sponsored by the Ministry of Justice. There seems to be some consensus, not least amongst some governors, staff, and people within NOMS, that excessive bureaucracy and opaque and complex measurements have arisen in part from successive ministers' demand for control and reactive leadership. This approach has encouraged episodic rather than strategic change, discouraged innovation and disempowered governors. It has not succeeded in shifting reoffending rates, which remain stubbornly static at almost 50% for those leaving prison, and higher for those serving short custodial sentences.

Most welcome is the government's emphasis on the role of rehabilitation and the growing recognition that we cannot expect prisons to successfully help people transition from custody to active citizenship without greater engagement of local businesses and communities and that this requires a more community-based approach. The reform package included the creation of six 'reform prisons', given greater freedoms in relation to budgets, staffing and testing new approaches. The idea was that these establishments would act as pioneers of wider reform, testing how local autonomy and accountability could better support rehabilitation in advance of legislation. As originally conceived, this would make way for prisons at the lower end of risk to be established as independent legal entities with local boards. The aim was to free governors from some of the worst excesses of large-scale centralised commissioning, enabling them to enter into contracts, generate and retain income, increase local partnerships, and adapt to the changing needs of their populations and local circumstances.

Since June, there have been changes in ministerial responsibilities in the wake of the EU referendum result and, it seems, less appetite for legislative reform. But the

“PRISONS HAVE THEIR ‘THREE RS’: REOFFENDING, RESETTLEMENT AND REHABILITATION”

central driver of change appears intact: namely to strengthen prison's rehabilitative purpose. Here lies the opportunity and the challenge.

Like schools, prisons have their 'three Rs': reoffending, resettlement and rehabilitation. Their relationship to one another is complex. A reduction in reoffending rates could mean effective work being done by prisons, their partner agencies and the individuals involved. But you can also reduce reoffending through changes in police action. You can resettle people back into their own communities but you can also 'tick box' your interventions regardless of impact. Resettlement often fails, and services frequently fall short of what good prison governors and officers would wish to see; people's return to the community as active citizens, capable of playing a full and positive part in the stuff of a good life, not exclusion and, in many cases, a return to custody.

The attraction of these first two Rs is that they seem to be easily understood and, with some difficulty, measured. Reoffending rates provide attractive hard data. Resettlement work can be measured by outcomes but is too often assessed – and funded – by outputs, which tell us little about what has been achieved. Effective rehabilitation does not just reduce reoffending, but also dependence on welfare and wider impacts on families and neighbourhoods; it both requires and drives local buy-in. It may be dependent on effective resettlement and may result in reductions in reoffending, but it is not a linear process that lends itself to easy measurement. Rehabilitation is often described by people as a profound change in themselves, their self-efficacy, hope, resilience and thinking, but achieving it may require micro-steps and relapse along the way. As leading criminologist, Alison Liebling, has suggested, a 'rehabilitative culture' cannot be measured effectively through dry processes, but through assessing the different components that support progress: staff and prisoner relationships, levels of responsibility and trust, people's ability to make choices and to access the supportive networks inside and out.

This is not a question of semantics. A clear and relentless narrative – capable of mobilising public support and forging political consensus – on what is meant by rehabilitation will be critical to achieving the government's aspiration of transforming the prison service. This needs to drive >>

“IT MAY BE THE INVISIBILITY AND DIFFERENT TRAJECTORIES OF THE LIVES OF OTHERS THAT MAKE PRISONS SO HARD TO UNDERSTAND”

system change and broader and deeper integration of the key services involved. But the statistics included here show that shifts in national prison populations reflect a complex set of trends that may include crime levels as well as shifts in population, sentencing, prejudice, economics, culture, and even the public ‘mood’. While legal systems may seek to bring evidence, objectivity and rationality to the criminal justice process, implementation of the law still depends on fallible and subjective human beings; the law can be subjected to bias, set aside or used as an instrument of overbearing states and demagogues.

While criminal justice policy gets buffeted in the winds of media, scandal and fear like almost no other (immigration being an exception), reductions in levels of crime and public concern about crime provide an opportunity for change. At the same time, the government is responding to the challenges around extremism in prison and the implications of recent events in France. Yet, with little short-term political capital to be gained by improving prison policy, an unsympathetic client group and a largely invisible and undervalued workforce, the lure of piecemeal change and risk-aversion is tempting, even where a system may be broken. In this context, political leadership is critical.

INCARCERATION AND CITIZENSHIP

Prison reformers have a favourite trope; we can judge a nation’s character by the way it treats its prisoners. This is often an amalgamation of two quotes – one dating back to the 1860s from Fyodor Dostoyevsky, and the other, some 50 years later from Winston Churchill – which are used so ubiquitously as to risk cliché. Nonetheless, they are worth revisiting because they give power to the argument that those with direct experience of prison, as these men both had, often become the most persuasive advocates of change, and because each gives distinct insights into notions of citizenship, the role of the state and our own responsibilities in relation to prisons.

In his largely autobiographical 1862 novel, *The House of the Dead*, Dostoyevsky portrays life inside a Siberian prison, including the cruelty of the guards, the apparent brutality and ease with which some men’s crimes were committed, but also the decency, vulnerability and goodness of people in the mix. The narrator asserts that: “The degree of civilisation in a society can be judged by entering its prisons.” Dostoyevsky

understood the extent to which the inequities and social norms of the outside world were reflected in the incarcerated as well as how imprisonment could shape pathologies and lead men to self-destruction, suicide, madness and violence. His is not so much a call to action as an expression of deep empathy arising from an acknowledgement that imprisonment is, for some citizens, an almost inevitable side effect of wider societal injustices.

This is as important, as it is obvious, as it is neglected. When crime and punishment are articulated, the incarcerated tend to be cast as critically, inherently and inevitably different from ‘us’. The line between many of those who end up inside and the rest of us is more etched by the brute luck of birth and circumstance than innate moral character. And as David Maguire powerfully shows in this *Journal*, it may be the invisibility and different trajectories of the lives of others that make prisons so hard to understand. Despite, or maybe because of, our fears about crime, this makes it easier for us to treat the prison service as residual (unlike the schools or hospitals) and as an end to a process. As former prison governor and writer, John Podmore claims, it enables us to place prisons out of sight and out of mind, without the wider public engagement that is needed. None of this requires us to surrender justice being served; Dostoyevsky and others have

MAPPING THE FUTURE PRISON

The RSA began work on its Future Prison project in January, building on its work in this area undertaken over the past decade. This has included testing how unused land adjacent to prisons could be used to develop more community-based approaches to rehabilitation and co-designing peer-to-peer interventions that support active citizenship. Later this year, we will set out a blueprint for the future prison and identify the policy framework needed for such approaches to flourish and be sustained. Our work has focused on the practical implications of bringing greater autonomy and a stronger focus on rehabilitation to prisons and what this could mean for leadership and governance, commissioning, employment and education, the role of service users, health services and how we approach risk.



articulated how, for those who have committed the most heinous crimes, prison can signify the opportunity to address their conscience and restart their lives. Rather, it reminds us that the nature of our prisons, and those who reside in them, is a barometer against which to judge our national character, from levels of inequality (there is a correlation between the most unequal societies and high levels of imprisonment), to particular forms of exclusion and discrimination. As such, responsibility is shared by all.

In his now famous speech to the House of Commons, made during his short spell as Home Secretary in 1910-11, Winston Churchill concluded: “The mood and temper of the public in regard to the treatment of crime and criminals is one of the most unfailing tests of the civilisation of any country. A calm and dispassionate recognition of the rights of the accused against the state, and even of convicted criminals against the state, a constant heart-searching by all charged with the duty of punishment, a desire and eagerness to rehabilitate in the world of industry all those who have paid their dues in the hard coinage of punishment, tireless efforts towards the discovery of curative and regenerating processes, and an unfaltering faith that there is a treasure, if you can only find it, in the heart of every man. These are the symbols which in the treatment of crime and criminals mark and measure the stored-up strength of a nation, and are the sign and proof of the living virtue in it.”

Churchill’s name looms large in prison reform for a number of reasons. Not just because of his oratory power, or because he embarked on an ambitious programme to reform the English prison system. Or because he reminds us that prison reform is not the preoccupation of either the left or right of politics (too often it is neither). It is also because of his argument that the gravity of responsibility given to the

state in removing people’s liberty needs to be matched with equal gravity in supporting their return to full citizenship. The test of all of our civility is the extent to which the public and the agencies of civil society take up that challenge and give consent to that task.

Listen to those inside and, amongst the jargon of criminal justice speak, you will hear talk about: the value of trust and mutual respect; the importance of being listened to; the need for opportunities to exercise choice, decision-making and responsibility; and the desire for purpose and meaning. What floats to the surface are people’s aspirations about being ‘back in society’, ‘part of a community’, of being an active citizen.

In delivering the good prison service to which it aspires, the government will need to invest in the workforce that can make this happen. It will need to match governor empowerment and outcome-based accountability with an equal onus on the services on which they depend. And it will need to maintain courage in the face of bad news, and consistently articulate that our safety is dependent on investing more in the citizens who, while not amongst us, are of us. And as for us, we do not need to have bleeding liberal hearts or blind faith to support change; we can mine the evidence, compare the costs of incarceration (at over £36,000 per person) with outcomes for community safety. We can look at why the Netherlands has just been able to close 19 prisons. We can even participate in change. Or we can just think about what we want our prisons to say about our country and give our consent. ■

■ For further information visit www.thersa.org/action-and-research/rsa-projects/public-services-and-communities-folder/future-prison or contact Jack Robson on Jack.Robson@rsa.org.uk or Rachel on racobrien@googlemail.com

ON LEAVE

Disillusionment with the political class and anger at the reality of life in the UK led millions to vote 'leave' in June. Now we must imagine a better future

by Matthew Taylor
 @RSAMatthew

The day after the UK voted to leave the European Union, an angry woman from Hartlepool rang the BBC: “We voted out but I’ve turned up at my hospital and there’s no sign of any extra money.”

Seventeen million people, many of whom were already disillusioned and angry, have probably realised by now that there will be no more money for the NHS and that most migrants have no intention of ‘going home’.

When my friend Adrian Chiles toured the West Midlands talking to Leave voters for *BBC Panorama*, he found people with few economic prospects, little sense of political agency, growing frustration at declining public services and a tendency to lump all their discontent together under the banner of hostility to immigration. The likelihood for those people now is that things, at least in the short and medium term, will get worse.

A vote inspired by the dream of British people having more power will, for the foreseeable future, leave our country and its people with less control over our destiny. Even if Brexit is somehow negotiated, over which of the following forces will a newly independent Britain exercise the most sovereignty: global capitalism, climate change, international crime, conflict, terrorism?

Yet, put almost any cross-section of British people in a room together and ask them what kind of future they want for themselves and their children and a remarkably similar list will emerge: a country that offers opportunity for the ambitious but also decency for all; a country that combines tolerance with a strong sense of belonging and shared purpose; a

country where leaders in all sectors earn and receive trust; a country that is a force for good in the world; a country where the quality of our lives and relationships matters more than the quantity of stuff we consume; and, most of all, a country where everyone has a chance to become the best person they can be.

CARPE DIEM

At the RSA we talk about ‘The Power to Create’, by which we mean harnessing the opportunities provided by the modern world – most obviously technology – to enable people to live a full and creative life. It runs through all our work. On government and public services, how can we best support citizens to develop their own solutions and initiatives? These questions permeate our work, from our recent report on the relationship – and the conversation – between citizens and the state, to our work on education that explores how teachers and schools can be supported to enable every child to grow up a confident and creative learner.

Perhaps most pertinent to not just the current post-referendum debate but the austerity policies we have experienced since the financial crisis post-2008, is how can we ensure that citizens feel the economy is something that can serve us, not a system beyond our understanding or control, and deliver work that is meaningful?

Symbolising this approach, a few weeks ago the RSA launched its Citizens’ Economic Council, a two-year national initiative that will show how, given the opportunity, ordinary, thoughtful citizens can understand economic ideas, enter into informed debate and explore urgently needed new ideas. After the 2015 general election we concluded that the low level of

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 CHIEF EXECUTIVE
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economic debate and awareness had become a major barrier to citizens making informed political choices; something grimly confirmed by the referendum debate. We spent a year designing an initiative aimed at addressing this issue in a fresh and powerful way. While the Council starts by engaging a diverse and randomly chosen group of 50 to 60 citizens, our aim is that hundreds of thousands of people will follow its work and become more confident economic citizens. You can find out more about the Council's work on page 40 of this *Journal*.

When the gap between what is happening around us and what most of us want for our country is huge, and getting wider every day, there is a burning question: how can we make change happen? This question rumbles like a drumbeat through all of the RSA's work. As an independent agent of change, we have a unique collection of assets. Our online content and major social media presence give us a rapid and global reach. Our research and on-the-ground innovation enable us to develop new ideas and test them out with our partners. And, best of all, our 28,000-strong Fellowship of like-minded, creative, committed people are working with us to be change makers themselves.

Almost every day I hear examples of RSA Fellows using our content to start conversations and inspire local initiatives. Just as often I see imaginative ways in which our research teams are building Fellowship engagement and mobilisation into project design. Recently, I was asked to help select the first director for a civic think tank hosted by Nottingham Trent University. The design of the think tank drew on our research and expertise and on the insight of local Fellows, who will

“ASK ANY CROSS-SECTION OF BRITISH PEOPLE WHAT KIND OF FUTURE THEY WANT AND A REMARKABLY SIMILAR LIST WILL EMERGE”

now be integrally involved in shaping its agenda. Initiatives like this are powerful exemplars of the difference the RSA and its Fellows can make. We have come a long way since our strategic review in 2014 signalled the intent to develop a distinctive RSA model of change, but we have only started to see its potential unfold.

In the face of the abject failure of our political establishment, people's yearning for control can lead to delusion and rage. We have to believe that some of this yearning can be channelled positively. Across the country and around the world, RSA Fellows and staff are getting together, imagining a better future and developing the practical next steps we need to take. Our belief is simple: it is not hope that leads to action, but action that leads to hope. The RSA aims to be the kind of organisation the 21st century needs.

We could not do any of this without you, so thank you and feel free to share these ideas with anyone else you think would like the opportunity to be an RSA change maker. ■

■ For more on the relationship between citizens and the state, see the RSA's report *Changing the Narrative*



PHOTOGRAPHY: OWEN BILLCLIFFE

CHAMPIONING SECOND CHANCES

Sir Richard Branson is a high-profile advocate of changing the way states respond to illegal drug use, of ending the death penalty and, increasingly, of prison reform. Commissioning editor Rachel O'Brien asked him about where these agendas seem to be heading

🐦 @richardbranson, 🐦 @racobrien

RACHEL O'BRIEN: You have been vocal about the need to rethink the way in which we respond to illegal drug use, arguing for a more health-based approach. Can you say a bit more about this?

RICHARD BRANSON: The so-called war on drugs, the idea that you can curb supply of and demand for illegal drugs through tough law enforcement and zero tolerance policies, has been a disaster of epic proportions. It has created a global criminal market turning over roughly \$320bn a year, contributed to crowded prisons and clogged criminal justice systems, and has done absolutely nothing to make societies safer. Drugs are still everywhere, and people are still dying of overdoses. This will not change until governments take control, decriminalise drug possession and personal use and really focus on public health interventions, not on needlessly criminalising millions.

O'BRIEN: You sit on the Global Commission on Drug Policy and were outspoken when the UN declined to publish a draft statement last year that seemed to signal a change in approach. What is your sense of the direction of travel now?

BRANSON: I think all of us hoping to end the global war on drugs were quite disappointed when the UN General Assembly's Special Session in April didn't confirm what so many UN agencies and UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon had already said: that governments need to explore new routes, particularly decriminalisation and harm reduction. Given the lack of progress at the global level, where hard-line governments without a shred of supporting evidence control the debate, more and more governments will go ahead and start implementing

SIR RICHARD BRANSON IS AN ENTREPRENEUR, PHILANTHROPIST AND FOUNDER OF VIRGIN GROUP. HE ALSO SITS ON THE GLOBAL COMMISSION ON DRUG POLICY

reforms of their own. I think the next years will see a multitude of such policy experiments. National developments, from Canada to Ireland, are very encouraging.

O'BRIEN: Should we also be looking to Portugal as a pioneer in this respect?

BRANSON: There is a lot to be learned from Portugal. When the country decriminalised drug use in 2001, drugs were an issue that was very much at the top of the public agenda. Deaths from drug overdoses were high and thousands of intravenous drug users had been infected with HIV or hepatitis. In the years since, things have changed dramatically. Between 2000 and 2013, new HIV cases among people who use drugs declined from 1,575 to 78. The number of new AIDS cases declined from 626 to 74.

And drug-related deaths dropped from 80 in 2001 to just 16 in 2012. That's just three drug-related deaths for every million citizens – one of the lowest figures in Europe, especially compared with 44.6 per million in the UK.

O'BRIEN: You have a global perspective on the issue of drug laws and have talked about the link between the so-called 'war on drugs' and the wider impacts of criminalisation. Do you sense that the policymakers are behind the public on this issue in some nations? Or do the policymakers fear the public? Or are there other legitimate fears involved here?

BRANSON: Many people understand that current drug policies have failed and that it is time to change course. But much depends on how we speak about the issue. For decades, policymakers have framed drugs as an issue of law enforcement. Those who pursued repressive policies were seen as 'tough on crime'. Those who called for change were seen as weak. Only in recent years, perhaps beginning >>

with modest policy shifts in Europe, did people realise that the evidence did not support prohibition. As a consequence, the narrative has shifted, and people are beginning to look at drugs through a public health lens. The idea that drug use shouldn't be a crime, but a health issue, has been catching on. I think that policymakers are beginning to be a little bolder. In some US states, but also in Latin American countries and in Europe, public opinion is now backing those who favour harm reduction over criminalisation.

O'BRIEN: You have said that the death penalty is always "cruel, barbaric and inhumane". In the UK this issue has largely subsided as a public debate. To what extent has your passion in this area been driven by your interest in drugs laws? Or does this speak to a deeper sense that everyone, no matter what they have done, deserves a second chance?

BRANSON: There is, of course, a strong link between drug prohibition and the death penalty. At least 32 countries still impose the death penalty for drug offences, most notably Iran, where up to 80% of more than 1,000 people executed in 2015 were said to be convicted on drug charges.

The reality is that the death penalty has no effect on the global drug trade. Drug supply and demand remain remarkably unaffected by the threat of execution. So, aside from my strong moral opposition to capital punishment, it has been a complete failure as a deterrent. That, in turn, is reflective of the complete failure of the broader war on drugs. But because the death penalty is final and irreversible, it deserves special attention. It's barbaric, it's expensive, it doesn't deter crime, and as the US record of more than 150 exonerations shows, it is full of potentially deadly flaws. It needs to be abolished.

O'BRIEN: On a more domestic theme, you recently welcomed the proposed changes to prisons policy announced by the former Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State for Justice Michael Gove. I wonder whether you sense that these signal a broader change to criminal justice issues in the UK?

BRANSON: I should hope so. There appears to be a growing understanding across all political parties that the criminal justice system needs reform. And prisons may just be the right place to start, not least because reoffending rates close to 50% (and in some prisons much higher) are simply unacceptable, especially considering the sums that have been invested into the prison system year after year.

"IF WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT REDUCING REOFFENDING, WE MUST FOCUS ON EMPOWERING PEOPLE"

But criminal justice reform has to be a holistic project. We must also take a closer look at what brings people into prisons. One part of the solution is early social intervention in disadvantaged communities and more effective responses to drug misuse. But we cannot talk about reform without addressing sentencing reform. The UK prison population has more than doubled since 1994, and I'd argue that a vast number of people currently serving jail time should have never been sentenced to a prison term in the first place.

Not too long ago, I met with a young man who was sentenced to a 28-month sentence for comparatively small-scale drug dealing; his first-ever conflict with the law. He served nearly 10 months and is out on licence. While he has made the most of the experience, and said being in prison taught him much, I have to wonder what societal interest is served by handing lengthy sentences to first-time offenders, especially if the application of sentencing guidelines is so uneven and arbitrary as it appears. I couldn't think of a more urgent case for reform.

O'BRIEN: While it compares well with some of the regimes you will have seen, the UK's system has been under a lot of scrutiny in recent months, not least the prevalence of drugs inside. My sense is this could either engender public support for change or harden attitudes. What is the role of political leadership here and the role of people like yourself?

BRANSON: We have to look reality in the eye. Drugs are everywhere. And many of the people we send into the prison system have already been struggling with some form of drug misuse for much of their lives. Drugs proliferate in prison and have such devastating impact because the system currently fails to offer the support and encouragement that people need to escape the vicious cycle many are caught in. And so drug misuse becomes the result of people's misery, not the cause. This is where leadership of all sorts can make a difference; let's give people in prison a sense of worth and confidence. Let's create opportunities. Someone described the need for prisons to be greenhouses, not warehouses, and I fully agree



with that. Thankfully, the UK government's reform agenda seems to seek to accomplish just that.

O'BRIEN: You have supported measures that stress how important employment is to breaking the cycle of reoffending. Could we see the enterprise prison emerge?

BRANSON: I am supportive of any reform that takes our prisons out of isolation and allows prisoners to become productive members of society again. There is an enormous amount of talent, skill and entrepreneurial spirit in prison. And it's a real shame that we are allowing it to go to waste. What we need is a comprehensive effort to involve businesses, large and small, in prison reform. We need British businesses to follow the examples set by long-time rehabilitation champions like Timpson and Halfords and make a stronger commitment to hiring ex-offenders. We also need more enterprises to go into prison and offer training and skill-building that connects the real needs of the labour market with what prisons can offer. All of this sounds easier than it may be, and much will depend on the degree of devolution of budgets and administrative authority that can be given to individual prisons. But this is the time to encourage experimentation and new models.

I've always encouraged our businesses not to close the door on ex-offenders and to put in place policies and practices

that welcome job applications from people with convictions and others from disadvantaged backgrounds. Of all Virgin companies, Virgin Trains West Coast is probably the most advanced in this regard. Their programme has employed 25 ex-offenders, and none have reoffended. We are currently exploring whether the Virgin Trains experience could become a blueprint for other businesses across the group, and the interest is great. My hope is that we'll be able to employ at least 100 ex-offenders in our companies, hopefully setting a good example for others to follow.

O'BRIEN: What has shaped your particular take on these issues? They are hardly popular.

BRANSON: I was brought up to believe we should never judge a person's life by their worst moment. There is so much more about most people that is positive. I feel strongly that everyone deserves a second chance, so that their missteps don't come to define them for the rest of their lives. If we are serious about rehabilitation, about bringing those who struggle back into society, about reducing reoffending, we must focus on empowering people to be the best they can be, to believe in themselves. It's worked in business, and there's growing evidence that it will work in the prison system, too. ■



VIOLENT TENDENCIES

What can nearly 1,000 years of data tell us about why humans commit murder?

by Manuel Eisner

In 1981, political scientist Ted Robert Gurr published a paper with a captivating figure. The graph is simple enough. The horizontal axis shows a timeline from the year 1200 to 2000; while the vertical axis represents the number of homicides per 100,000 people. The graph is populated by about 20 dots, each representing an estimated homicide rate, produced by experts on English history on the basis of medieval and early modern judicial records. Gurr linked this information with an elegant wave-like declining line. It starts at about 20 per 100,000 people in the middle ages and ends with levels of less than one per 100,000 in the present. It showed, Gurr argued, a long-term decline in murder, robbery and assault in English society, brought about by an increasing sensitisation to violence over the centuries.

I was fascinated by that graph. Was Gurr right about this long-term decline? Were there periods of increasing homicide? Did it also exist in other European societies? Were men and

women affected equally? And, most importantly, what could possibly explain it? I began to collect more data, relying on work published in English, German, French, Dutch, Italian or Spanish by historians of crime. The project continues and has been expanded to include historical data on things such as weapons used, sex of perpetrator and victim, capital punishments, or perpetrator-victim relationship. As a result, we now have much more detailed information about the long-term trend in homicide across Europe since the middle ages than Gurr could see in the early 1980s.

His main conclusion was right: everywhere in Europe, murder and manslaughter were a lot more frequent in the middle ages than they are today. But thanks to the additional data, it became possible to say much more about what had happened. The timing of the decline differed across regions. It began earlier in the north west of Europe – the Low Countries, England, France – and spread to the south and east of Europe substantially later. It also affected male and female victims differently. As in all high-homicide societies, around 90% of the murder victims in medieval Europe were male, usually killed in public spaces through fights involving swords, knives or long staffs over frictions and insults. As overall levels declined, the relative proportion of female victims increased. The decline was also not uniform. It was a bumpy ride, with major periods of increasing homicide, one possibly in the late middle ages, and more following in the late 16th to early 17th century, the late 18th to early 19th century, and the decades between the 1950s and the 1990s.

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As we can describe the characteristics of the decline better, it becomes increasingly possible to understand the influencing factors. It seems that declines in murder rates occurred when three factors came together.

First, they declined where states established a monopoly of power based on a more effective rule of law. This meant curbing the corruption of state officials, gaining control over other organised providers of protection (for example, members of the nobility and organised crime groups), and providing a judicial system that was seen as bringing offenders to justice. This was an important pre-condition for the transition from an ethos of masculine honour, where slights had to be avenged in acts of self-justice, to an ethos of respectability, where social standing depended on education, civility and economic success rather than on the ability to fight with a sword.

Second, homicide declines regularly appear to be linked with the spread of new social control technologies, such as the monitoring and management of daily behaviours and increased control over disorderly conduct and substance use, especially alcohol. They often aim – as is probably best visible in the protestant reform movements – at the inner self, trying to promote virtues such as self-control, introspection, compliance and respect.

Third, historical homicide declines appear to have been catalysed by an increasing sensitivity to violence and intentional harm of others. Historically, such change can be observed, for example, in growing repugnance towards public executions and torture, disgust at blood revenge and duels, or the sensitisation to child maltreatment and neglect. Often, such value change is triggered by political or religious leaders,

philanthropists or social movements, which change societal beliefs about the wrongfulness of doing harm to others. In many parts of the western world, for example, bullying is no longer regarded as a normal part of going to school, corporal punishment has ceased to be considered acceptable, sexual abuse by people in power has become stigmatised, and tolerance of racially and sexually abusive language and behaviour has diminished.

THE MURDER OF KINGS

Criminal justice records shed light on the crimes of common people, but they are inadequate to capture violence at the very top of the social hierarchy. They do not tell us when kings are assassinated, members of parliament are hanged or bishops are stabbed. Such violence of the elites is important. Especially since sociological theorists such as Norbert Elias have long expected a link between the extent of infighting among the powerful and the levels of violence in the wider population.

Some years ago, I started to examine the murder of kings. At first sight, a study of regicide would seem more suitable for a Shakespearean drama than for serious social science, but I speculated that it would yield important insight into violence at the very top of the power pyramid of pre-industrial societies. Using a variety of sources, I put together lists of all monarchs who had ruled one of 45 European monarchies between AD600 and AD1800. I then coded whether each of the 1,513 kings and queens had reportedly died in a battle, from an accident or as a result of an assassination.

Results published in the *British Journal of Criminology* in 2011 revealed that ‘monarch’ was a most dangerous >>



occupation, carrying a higher risk of being murdered than a drug dealer or unemployed male minority youth in a US inner-city neighbourhood. I estimated that the murder rate for monarchs amounted to about 1,000 per 100,000 ruler years. This is – to give an impression – almost 2,000 times the risk of being killed by a criminal act in contemporary England and Wales. Most cases were strategic acts. They were attempts to transfer power not through elections but by murder on behalf of a disgruntled part of the nobility, a cousin with claims to the throne, or a foreign power that preferred a cheap murder to an expensive war.

Most importantly, the data confirmed the long-term trend that I had expected. Over the 1,200 years, the chance that members of the elite would kill their monarchs gradually receded, and this decline preceded the falling trend in homicide among their subjects, documented in justice records, by centuries. By 1500, it had become highly unusual to organise power transfer by murder. If it happened, it usually required extensive legal justification, such as in the criminal trial of Charles I of England (1649).

One major conclusion from this work was that the pacification of the elites by subjecting them to laws that organise power transition and the right to rule was a major precondition for the decline in homicide across Europe.

LEGITIMACY OF THE STATE

But is there any evidence in contemporary societies that states seen as legitimate by their citizens enjoy fewer murders, robberies and assaults? The answer is yes. In a recent study, for example, a PhD student of mine, Nicolas Trajtenberg, and

I compared risk factors for youth violence in Montevideo and Zurich. In both cities we administered identical questionnaires to large samples of 15-year-olds. One question we tried to answer was why Montevideo has a homicide rate that is 10 times higher than that of Zurich, and a rate five times higher for street robberies. Could this be because young people in Montevideo experience, on average, more maltreatment by parents? Would they be more likely to lack self-control? Did they hang out and get drunk or smoke cannabis more often?

The findings were a bit of a surprise: nothing suggests that parenting differs between the two cities. Nor could we find major differences in levels of self-control, moral beliefs or leisure time activities – none of the conventional risk factors could explain why Montevideo has more violence than Zurich. So what did explain the difference? We have no definitive answer, but there is one remarkable finding that bears on the importance of the legitimacy of the state and its representatives. Far more young people in Zurich, including those involved in delinquency, believe that the police treat people respectfully, that one can trust the police, and that the police apply the law equally to everybody.

In Montevideo, in contrast, most young people deeply distrust the police, probably meaning that young men are more likely to see violence as a justifiable way to get what they want, and to retaliate if they feel threatened. We don't have conclusive evidence that this 'explains' the difference in youth violence between the two cities. However, the findings suggest that political socialisation during adolescence may be important. If young people believe that the law is not applied equally to everybody, and if they experience unfair treatment



by the police or teachers, they will become cynical about the rule of law and be more likely to see violence as justified.

CRIME REDUCTION STRATEGIES

In 2015, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), a set of ambitious targets that aim to drive better living conditions across global society. For the first time, they have put the reduction of crime and violence at the heart of global efforts to create sustainable societies. In particular, goal 16 is entirely devoted to the promotion of peaceful societies and the rule of law: target 16.1 aims to substantially reduce all forms of violence, while target 16.2 sets the goal of ending all forms of violence against children including abuse, exploitation and trafficking, and targets 16.4 and 16.5 request measures to significantly reduce organised crime and corruption.

These targets have led international organisations such as WHO, UNICEF, UNODC and the World Bank to think more intensively about the best strategies to achieve these goals in the coming 15 years. Many of the emerging recommendations focus on what is known as evidence-based prevention rooted in a public health approach: prevention strategies and programmes that have been found to have desirable effects in well-designed randomised controlled trials. Thanks to growing research on evidence-based prevention, we increasingly understand which prevention strategies are effective in reducing bullying, dating violence or child maltreatment. This includes, for example, access to professional health services for parents, including parenting support; effective protection and victim support services

for abused children and victims of domestic violence; and well-run schools that support productive learning while addressing bullying in a non-exclusionary way. However, in order to have population-level effects such strategies must be embedded in the daily functioning of the health system, child protection services, childcare provision, primary and secondary education, or urban planning and transport.

I believe that the macro-level historical and comparative research described provides important lessons in the kind of policies that are needed to effectively reduce violence. For example, rampant impunity for offenders, ineffective and corrupt policing, suspects who spend years in pre-trial detention with convicted criminals, overpopulated prisons that are controlled by organised criminals, and the lack of rehabilitation for those released from prison are endemic problems in societies plagued by high levels of interpersonal violence, organised crime and lacking the rule of law. In Latin American societies with the highest homicide rates, for example, the chances of a killer being convicted are generally around 5%. With an impunity rate for murder of around 95%, the potential costs of punishment by the state become negligible in comparison with the risks that a young gang member incurs if he fails to retaliate when threatened.

These are situations comparable with those found in medieval societies with much violence. It therefore seems important to emphasise that an effective rule of law, based on professional and legitimate law enforcement, effective victim protection, swift and fair adjudication, moderate punishment and humane prisons, is one of the essential pillars in achieving a sustained reduction in the levels of violence in global hotspots. ■



PHOTOGRAPHY: CHARLIE SURBEY

ANGER MANAGEMENT

Donald Trump is channelling a brand of right-wing masculinity that feels aggrieved by the loss of racial and gendered entitlement

by Enid Logan
 @Enid_Logan

As I wrote in my 2011 book, *At this Defining Moment*, the dominant narrative to emerge from the American media concerning the 2008 presidential election was that with Barack Obama's electoral victory, the US had finally turned the page on its dark history of racial strife, and was well on its way to definitively vanquishing the problem of race. However, the clear evidence of the past eight years is that this sentiment was woefully premature. The US is a deeply polarised nation with regard to issues of race and social justice, and nothing demonstrates this more clearly than the startling and disturbing presidential candidacy of Donald Trump.

Trump's rise and fervent populist appeal initially astounded and flummoxed observers from all sides of the political spectrum. For months, he grabbed headline after headline with his noxious, racially tinged rhetoric, flagrant anti-immigrant nativism, masculine bravado, general aura of crudeness and total disregard for the accepted rules of political discourse. Surely, it was at first believed, Trump's campaign would be a short-lived farce?

A real-estate tycoon and reality television show star, Trump had never held political office and demonstrated very little knowledge of foreign or domestic policy. In response to the major challenges facing the US, he offered only a string of exceedingly vague, boastful proposals, to include ending illegal immigration by building a "big, fat, beautiful wall" along the entire US/Mexico border, and turning the country around by having "so much winning if I get elected that you may get bored with the winning".

Trump has largely built his 2016 presidential bid around a series of inflammatory statements articulated around the axes of race, nation and

ENID LOGAN IS A PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA AND AUTHOR OF *AT THIS DEFINING MOMENT*

immigration. He has advocated establishing a database to register American Muslims, killing family members of terrorists, torturing military enemies and overturning the 14th amendment to end birthright citizenship. Following the 2016 mass shooting in Orlando, Florida, he went as far as to propose "a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States".

In June 2015, Trump kicked off his presidential campaign with a speech in which he said of Mexican immigrants: "They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people." A year later, he caused an uproar with his repeated insistence that a US-born federal judge was unfit to preside over a lawsuit against him because the judge's parents had immigrated from Mexico.

Trump is particularly prone to broadcast his own superiority while dismissing his critics as "losers", "liars", "eggheads", and "dummies". In one notable tweet from May 2013, for example, he wrote: "Sorry losers and haters, but my IQ is one of the highest – and you all know it! Please don't feel so stupid or insecure, it's not your fault." Patriarchal masculinity is a core element of the Trump persona as well. In a 1991 interview with *Esquire* magazine he said of the media: "You know, it doesn't really matter what they write as long as you've got a young and beautiful piece of ass."

THE CLEAR CHOICE

The Trump campaign was not a farce, however. In the Republican primary, Trump easily defeated more than 15 declared rivals, including nine state governors and five US senators. Desperate, organised efforts on the part of GOP (Republican) leaders to thwart Trump's pursuit of the nomination met with utter failure. And his campaign boasted, accurately, in June 2016 that Trump had won more primary votes than any other Republican candidate in history. >>



Trump is reviled by the American left, and perhaps equally reviled by much of the conservative intellectual class. Or as one conservative journalist put it: “Donald Trump has risen to become the Republican Party’s presumptive nominee over the strenuous objections of just about every rightist who’s ever lifted a pen.” The Republican establishment, for its part, has been bitterly divided over the candidate. For most Republican elected officials, Trump appears to be an albatross around their necks; the clear, if inexplicable, choice of their base, and a man that they hold their noses to accept and endorse through gritted teeth.

MAKING AMERICA GREAT AGAIN

Trump’s ascendancy, therefore, cannot be explained on the basis of conventional political allegiances or the normal workings of the two-party system. The key to his success lies, instead, in his ability to appeal directly to the rage and aggrievement of a powerful key demographic: working- and middle-class white American men.

There are clear parallels between Obama’s first race for the White House and Trump’s current bid. In the 2008 campaign, Obama figured as a kind of ‘black messiah’, among white liberals; a man endowed with superhuman powers to redeem white Americans and heal the nation’s racial wounds.

Trump occupies a similar role in this presidential race among his supporters on the right. He figures in the election as a populist superhero, a crusader and champion of the cause of a right-wing white masculinity that perceives itself to be profoundly imperiled and deeply aggrieved. Brash, braggadocious and unapologetic, Trump’s racialised, patriarchal rhetoric articulates a rage that is rooted in a deeply felt loss of racial and gendered entitlement. For an angry, dying brand of white American masculinity, he stands as validation, spokesman and belligerent defender.

Trump’s candidacy can be described as a response to Obama’s presidencies (race) and to Hillary Clinton’s rise (gender); both made him more possible and more likely at this time. But the anger and aggrievement fuelling his rise have much deeper roots as well; grounded in a decades-long resentment of ‘those – non-whites, immigrants, feminists, gays and liberals – who have usurped ‘our’ country and taken away ‘our’ freedoms’. Trump promises to Make America Great Again, thus restoring to prominence the powerful triumvirate of whiteness, masculinity and American global dominance.

THE ANGER, POLITICS AND OBAMA

Social scientists in the US have been documenting the rise of the angry white male for some time now. The anger has its roots in the late 1960s and early 1970s, as the black civil rights and feminist movements ushered in major social and legislative changes. The Republican Party’s Southern Strategy, hatched in the late 1960s, subtly but deliberately played into anti-black antipathies in order to convince Southern whites to ally themselves with the GOP in the wake of civil rights legislation signed by a Democratic president. This wildly successful tactic, scholars claim, made white racial resentment a cornerstone of the modern Republican Party.

For the past several decades, writers and television and radio personalities on the far right have issued a series of urgent warnings to white America as well. Some, such as former GOP presidential contender Patrick J Buchanan and *Fox News* commentator Bill O’Reilly, have argued that, if left unchecked, changing racial demographics and broader cultural shifts would spell the doom of American civilisation.

Obama’s election as president sparked a racist backlash across the US, as expressions of bigotry have become bolder and more overt. At rallies held in 2009 and 2010, for example, members of the so-called Tea Party held signs with phrases such as

‘Obama’s plan: white slavery’, and ‘Obamanomics: monkey see monkey spend’. And in the run up to the 2012 race, legislatures in 41 states introduced restrictive voter identification laws and proof of citizenship tests, in a thinly veiled effort to curtail the size of the non-white electorate.

Racial and ethnic turmoil has roiled the US outside of the electoral sphere as well. Polls reveal that the portion of Americans with strong anti-black, anti-Latino and anti-immigrant biases has sharply increased since 2008, as has the number of white supremacist organisations and anti-government militia groups. Tensions flamed in 2012-13 over the killing of unarmed black teen Trayvon Martin by self-anointed neighbourhood watchman George Zimmerman, who was acquitted of second-degree murder and set free.

In the last several years, scholars and activists have increasingly called attention to the heavily racialised system of mass incarceration in the US, a regime that scholar Michelle Alexander has characterised as “the new Jim Crow”. Outrage has arisen as well over the increasingly visible epidemic of police killing unarmed black men and women. The outcry has led to massive protests in major American cities, and the genesis of the Black Lives Matter movement, which some prominent whites have decried as racist.

There have been nearly 40 mass shootings in the US since Obama took office, several of which have been motivated by racial antipathy. In December 2015, self-identified white supremacist Dylann Roof killed nine black congregants gathered at a South Carolina church for bible study, saying: “You rape our women, and you’re taking over our country,” to his victims as he shot them. And recent murderous rampages by US-born men pledging allegiance to Islamic jihad have led to urgent calls for limits on Muslim immigration and the banning of all Syrian refugees.

THE FURY ERUPTS

Given these realities, the US was perhaps primed for a Trump candidacy. He has come to channel the anger of certain segments of the white American male population, and to reflect the racialised turmoil of the US at large. At Trump campaign events, supporters cheer on the insults he hurls at his opponents and the rambling, nationalist, anti-immigrant screeds he is prone to deliver. Many of his rallies have been characterised as having an undercurrent of violence, which Trump has been seen to encourage. Ten minutes into one event, as a black protester was removed by security guards, an attendee yelled: “Light the motherfucker on fire!” Others shouted, “kick his ass”, “shoot him”, and the Nazi slogan, “siege heil!”.

In the end, Trump will not win the presidency. The most important reason, by far, why Trump will lose is that demographics are firmly against him. Non-white voters, who clearly perceive themselves to be the targets of Trump’s ire, are

“OUTRAGE HAS ARISEN OVER THE EPIDEMIC OF POLICE KILLING UNARMED BLACK MEN AND WOMEN”

expected to comprise almost a third of the electorate in 2016, and polls indicate that nearly all can be expected to vote against him. Trump is also tremendously unpopular among women. Polls conducted earlier this year found that upwards of 75% of women surveyed had negative or very negative views of the candidate, and this number has continued to climb.

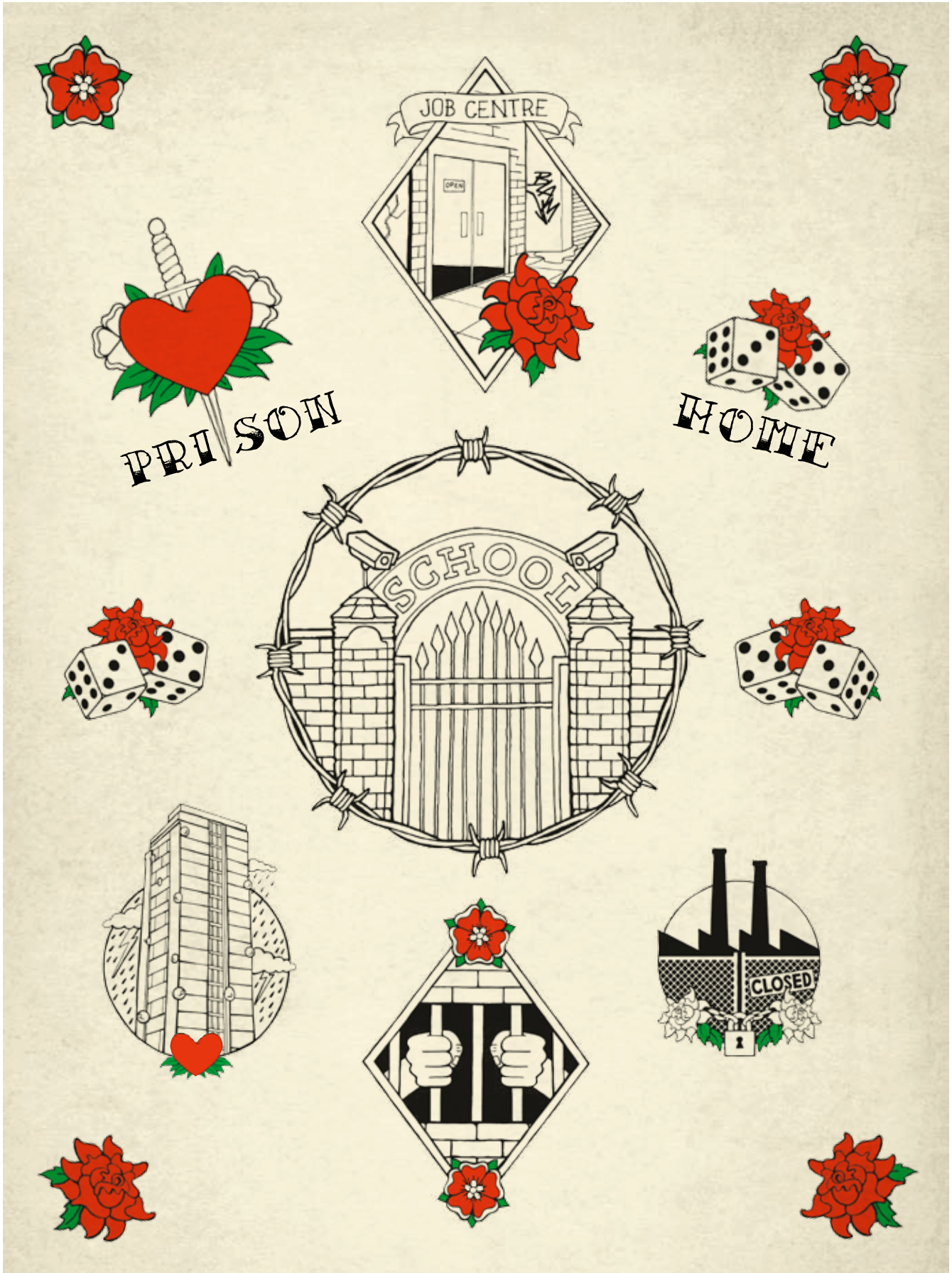
Scholars and pundits will spill much ink in the coming months, and years, making sense of the Trump phenomenon. Though we are very much still in the heated, angry midst of it all, there are several things that we can say Trump’s ascent tells us, at present.

First, the Trump phenomenon is profoundly revealing of the state of the Republican Party. He has exposed a deep and currently irreconcilable divide between the establishment and intellectual class on the one hand, and the mass of Republican voters on the other. Despite the strenuous objections and overt denunciations of members of the first two groups, Trump was by far the runaway choice of the Republican electorate.

Where the Republican Party and its intellectuals go from here is far from clear. After the GOP lost an astounding 80% of the non-white vote in the 2012 general election, the received wisdom was that the party must cease alienating voters of colour (along with women and gays), or else ensure its own demise. Donald Trump, however, has clearly blown this plan out of the water, forcing the party down the very path it was advised to avoid at all costs.

The Trump phenomenon also reveals that the anger and resentment found among many white American men is much deeper and more widespread than had been assumed. It has also become abundantly clear that the outrage is inextricably tied to a perceived loss of racial, gendered and international dominance. Whereas the years leading up to the 2016 race saw a proliferation of anti-black, immigrant, gay and Muslim hate groups and anti-Obama Tea Partiers, now a much greater segment of the white, mostly male population is in full, organised revolt. Railing against the cultural and demographic shifts taking place in the US, they have pledged allegiance to the demagogue and authoritarian that gives voice to their rage.

Trump now elevates and legitimises the most base instincts and overt bigotry of certain portions of the electorate. Thus it is assured that, even given his likely electoral defeat, there are many more years of ugliness and conflict around race, nation and immigration to come. ■



TROUBLED SPACES

When masculinity is forged in certain places, men are set on a path towards prison

by Dr David Maguire
 @Dee0871

Criminal justice systems are predominantly male arenas. The World Prison Brief estimated that there were around 11 million people held in penal institutions in 2015 and 93% of them were men. The statistics for England and Wales are typical of wider global trends: men overwhelmingly commit serious crimes.

Since the 1990s, academic interest in boys and men has grown at a remarkable rate; in particular, the study of how masculinities are constructed within the context of profound structural disadvantages. Central to this burgeoning scholarship is the research of Australian sociologist Raewyn Connell, who, through her concept of hegemonic masculinity, challenges the idea of a singular overarching masculinity and proposes instead a plurality or hierarchy of multiple masculinities.

For Connell, masculinities are not created equal. She differentiates between the hegemonic masculine ideal of the economically successful and visibly heterosexual white male at the top and, at the bottom, the subordinated or marginalised masculinities of homosexual, ethnic minority and working-class men. In her work with men from impoverished urban environments, Connell explores the contradictions between men's perceived power in general and the sense of powerlessness among some; a contradiction expressed through what she terms 'protest masculinities'. Trapped in spaces with no real legitimate resources for 'doing' masculinity, many men in this protest milieu make claims to power through crime and violence.

In recent decades, incarceration rates across the UK have almost doubled to around 85,000 (men account for more than 90%). The vast majority come from deprived working-class neighbourhoods and have often grown up together on the same housing estates. Despite the overwhelming representation of men in official crime statistics, there is little scholarship exploring the links between masculinity

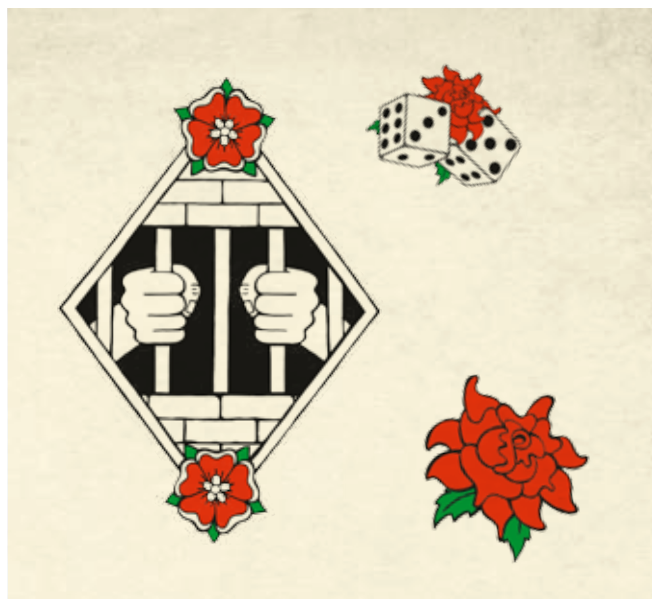
and crime, and a dearth of ethnographic enquiry into the social construction of masculinities and incarceration.

In response to this, I conducted a study that explored the classed and gendered trajectories that lead to the revolving-door incarceration of men from these poor neighbourhoods. Working with male prisoners housed in an East Yorkshire prison, the research examined the cyclical interrelations between cultural representations of masculinity, place, schooling, employment, crime and incarceration. The main aim of this project was to examine if, and to what extent, significant cultural and institutional sites were complicit in the construction and maintenance of protest masculinities. Despite the broad age spectrum (21 to 44), participants shared strikingly similar experiences of profound structural poverty, exclusion and marginalisation, which contributed to the start of their criminal careers, within which most remained trapped many years later.

This insight speaks to wider trends in the UK, but is also specific to the experiences of these men, from this particular place, Hull. As Michael Ulyatt's 1985 book *Trawlermen of Hull* suggests, local ideals of masculinity were in part forged by the risks associated with the city's fishing industry. Once the UK's third largest port, Hull's prosperity was dealt a huge blow by automation and the Cod Wars, which killed off this industry. It later suffered disproportionately in the recessions of the 1980s and 1990s, at the time of my research, when it languished at the bottom of almost every UK indicator of wealth. Nearly all the men I interviewed grew up on one of the city's poorest council estates; their early identities were formed through the values and culture of their deprived streets.

The study confirmed that men with little economic and cultural capital will draw on whatever resources are available for 'doing masculinity'. Lacking the financial resources to pursue conventional leisure activities or the social capital to venture far from their neighbourhood, the men talked of just being on the estate "fucking about", avoiding or abandoned by adult supervision, with many recalling small, all-male gangs >>

DAVID MAGUIRE RECENTLY COMPLETED HIS DPHIL AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY. HIS RESEARCH INTERESTS ARE DRIVEN BY HIS EXPERIENCES AND TWO DECADES WORKING WITH 'HARD TO REACH' YOUNG PEOPLE



formed through common identity. In classic sociological work on family, protest masculinity is mainly attributed to the absence of a father figure from whom to learn appropriate gender roles; for these men, it was older male peers whom they emulated. In their neighbourhood, the value system they chose to live by in order to be respected rejected dealings with ‘the authorities’, particularly the police, the local authority and outsiders.

THE ROAD WELL TRAVELLED

Exploring the narratives of these men offered valuable insight into the troubling statistics that show state ‘care’ as an all too familiar pathway to incarceration. One third had spent prolonged periods in ‘care’ (where some experienced abuse); all said this was due to their own behaviour, with several describing their young selves as being “out of control”. They described ‘care’ as a space where they could pursue their identities without sanctions; where engaging in drinking, crime, violence and sexual conquest generated highly valued masculine currency. Far from a controlling influence, ‘care’ placed them on the fringes of their communities, further diminished their respect for authority and proved a fertile space for the development and performance of protest masculinities. While the men talked about having the freedom to do what they wanted, for some this came at a high emotional cost. Many recalled wanting to be back in their neighbourhood and with their families, with some stealing cars or absconding to be back with their mothers.

Another notable site contributing to pathways to prison were failing schools. Protest masculinities constructed on the streets of impoverished neighbourhoods were imported into under-resourced schools that were unable to cope, challenge or undo troubling gender performances. What is notable about the men in this study is the high rate of early exit from schooling, their

failure in most cases to achieve any educational accreditation at all, and the high rate of exclusion from mainstream learning for placements in alternative learning institutions. With a curriculum that involved boxing, gym and outdoor activities such as rock climbing or canoeing, ‘boarding school for bad lads’ had some positive aspects, according to some. However, upon return to their impoverished neighbourhoods, there were not the resources to develop their gendered identities through these more positive activities. Arguably, these boarding schools with their alternative curriculum, time away from loved ones, sharing space with people with similar difficulties, fighting and challenging institutional authority better prepared them for serving time than for more positive transitions to the workplace, further education or training.

For the respondents, the first prison sentence was one of their most memorable and significant life-changing experiences. Many were in their mid or late teens when they started their prison journey, and almost all had experienced prison by the time they had turned 21 or reached maturity. All recalled their prison debut in graphic detail and almost unanimously admitted to a profound fear of incarceration before the actual experience. However, what was striking was that they all described how this anxiety quickly subsided when they reached the wing, a “home from home” as one put it. Identities refined in all-male spaces were imported with relative ease into impoverished penal regimes, with most men quickly adapting to the more extreme culture of prison masculinities. What many deemed easy was in reality just familiar. Their claims of an initial easy adaptation to imprisonment are not to challenge research that shows prison is a brutally violent, psychologically harmful and depriving space. Rather, they suggest the respondents were able to adapt to the deprivation or pains of imprisonment as, to a large extent, it

paralleled their earlier lives. These men were born into regions with some of highest suicide and mortality rates in the UK. The areas where they grew up also had significantly higher-than-average deaths from overdoses and alcohol abuse, as well as a high propensity for violence. Many men in prison, including the men to whom I talked, had either been a victim of, and/or had previous offences for, violence.

The men's narratives exposed further pains of imprisonment and vulnerabilities, articulated through their perceived failings as fathers, partners, brothers and sons. With the majority having spent more time inside than 'on the out', there was painful recognition, by some, of their failure to live up to the respectable protector and provider masculinity of previous generations. Indeed, after some time inside several struggled to live up to extreme prison masculine performances, built on a readiness for violence and the ability to handle oneself. Some even moved to the vulnerable prisoner units (alongside convicted sex offenders: a space considered to be at the bottom of the prison hierarchy, but where they felt safer and where protest masculinities were easier to sustain).

This was a bleak study and words of optimism are difficult to find. The life stories of the men in the study are all too typical of those who constitute our prison system's revolving-door inhabitants. The spaces they have lived in have done more to prepare them for prolonged prison journeys than for the current labour market or for the version of breadwinner masculinity that they so aspired to. Of course, as other research will attest, the majority of people who grow up in the same environments as these men do not end up in the local prison. However, it is indisputable that undereducated and underemployed men from deprived neighbourhoods are the ones who fill our prisons.

A PERSONAL ACCOUNT

Irrespective of the study's findings, my own experiences leave me less pessimistic. Like many of the respondents, I was born and raised on a council estate in a part of the north-west struggling with the onset of rapid de-industrialisation. The household mainly survived on welfare, occasionally topped up with cash-in-hand work. Having been expelled from school and involved in low-level criminality, I accumulated several convictions by my early teens before seeking out legitimate employment. With no qualifications and a criminal record, I moved between exploitive, and sometimes abusive, employment and sporadic crime. Growing disillusionment about my legitimate work prospects and a deepening immersion in local drug and criminal cultures, led to crime becoming my main activity and source of income. Periods of incarceration followed. In the late 1990s, I was released from what turned out to be my last prison

“TROUBLING STATISTICS SHOW STATE ‘CARE’ AS AN ALL TOO FAMILIAR PATHWAY TO INCARCERATION”

sentence, and the start of my journey in higher education. Had I been interviewed before release, my narrative would have echoed many of the respondents' experiences. I could never have imagined the way in which feminist-inspired theory and research would shape my future career.

Sociologists claim that sometimes individuals identify critical moments that have had important consequences for their lives and identities. A year before leaving prison, I was moved from HMP Strangeways to a prison in Norfolk, which housed a specialist therapeutic unit that addressed drug-related offending behaviour. Prior to this, the poor provision of prison education had never appealed. However, in the unit it was compulsory and, unusually, was remunerated at the same rate as the paid employment in the prison. A retired teacher, Margaret, ran the classes as a volunteer; unconstrained by the challenges commonly associated with contracting, her sole purpose was to convince us of the rewards of learning. Tailoring classes to our interests and needs, Margaret, although I cannot quite explain how, specialised in persuading those with low self-belief and negative schooling experiences that they were teachable and had something of value to say. I left with hope and an aspiration. I am neither the first nor the last to have found in her classroom a gateway to an alternative way of doing masculinity.

So, what does this mean for prison reform, or wider policy surrounding working-class men? At the very least, it suggests that we must focus our attention on understanding the economic, social and gender contexts within which these men operate. How are we to expect community workers, educators, carers and prison leaders to provide alternative avenues for doing masculinity if we do not fully understand how these spaces are part of the process of maintaining and reproducing the masculinities that are so damaging to the men, their families and communities?

The men's voices throughout my research speak to profound structural inequality and show the long-term cost of protest masculinities constructed in response to deprived neighbourhoods, failing schools, inadequate residential 'care' and impoverished prison regimes. In revealing how these sites interconnect to trap men in these troubling masculinities, I show the need for greater consideration of the role of gender in the processes behind exclusion and revolving-door incarceration. ■

LIVING THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Individuals must strike a balance between sympathy, self-fulfilment and a purpose beyond themselves

by Charles Handy

The RSA's proud strapline, '21st century enlightenment', infuses the Society's mission, values and work. Yet, if it is to have a proper impact on wider society, the principles behind it should also influence how we live our own lives. The new enlightenment is a challenge to us to be the change we want to see in society. However, to be useful at the personal level, its core elements need some interpretation.

In his inaugural lecture in 2007, Matthew Taylor based his description of the new enlightenment on the ideas of the philosopher Tzvetan Todorov, who suggested that autonomy, universalism and humanism were the guiding principles of this new philosophy. That would make our humanity and its potential the key feature of a new world, one in which the three key elements of the old world, science, the market and institutions, became our servants rather than our masters.

Some early signs of that new world are already here. The new organisations of the emerging cognitive capitalism – Google, Facebook, Twitter and their commercial equivalents, eBay, Uber, Airbnb and many more – are different from the organisations we became used to in the past. They have few staff and no customers. Instead they have users. They are enabling organisations and individuals to have access, through their platforms, to other individuals or organisations. Individuals can and will use this unprecedented freedom of access for entertainment, business, their social life or for advancing political agendas. As the idea of enabling rather than producing begins to spread, the old organisations will start to wither, augmented or even

replaced by platforms that allow and encourage individuals to manage their own work and lives.

Todorov is right, therefore: autonomy will be central to the new world. But autonomy does not only mean the freedom to choose. It also means the responsibility to design and manage our own lives, recognising our own frailties as well as our hopes, desires and talents. No longer will the institutions of the state or business feel responsible for us, other than for providing access to their services. Many will find this new autonomy an unexpected challenge. Choices without clear criteria for deciding between them can be puzzling and intimidating rather than liberating.

UNDERSTANDING OTHERS

Self-responsibility can also, when in doubt, degenerate into a crude selfishness, which is why Todorov's second element, which he calls universalism – a recognition of the rights of others – is crucial. It is akin to what Adam Smith called sympathy, which, he argued, was the redeeming feature that would make the self-interest of the market acceptable to the wider community. Matthew Taylor emphasises, too, the need for empathy, something increasingly important in an interracial society. Without empathy for those who are different from ourselves, society can become increasingly intolerant. Without empathy, friendship is hard to maintain and can easily result in the loneliness that is all too evident in modern society.

However, if the concern for others is too narrowly focused on the family, or on like-minded people, the result can be self-interested cliques or ghettos and a divided, unequal society. To prevent that, we need Todorov's third feature of 21st century enlightenment: that of humanism. He defines this as the human end-purpose of our actions. Put more

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FELLOWSHIP IN ACTION ARTFUL LEARNING

“Many people aren’t clear what creative learning is,” says musician and composer Juwon Ogungbe, who is part of the RSA Performing Arts Network. “The World Under Pressure is a good example of the sort of things that can be achieved.”

The multimedia project at Torriano Primary School in London engaged children with the UN’s Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) through visual art, music and dance. This appealed to ‘multiple intelligences’, making science more attractive to children who learn better when they are not just presented with facts and figures. “They were using creative skills to learn about the actual issues at stake,” says Juwon.

The World Under Pressure homed in on the environmental issues raised by the SDGs, dealing with air pollution and global warming. The music was performed through instruments the children made from found objects. “This was inspired by the work of Harry Partch, an American avant-garde composer who was interested in the lives of hobos,” adds Juwon. The instruments also formed the basis of an art installation.

simply, it is the search for a better society, one in which everyone has the opportunity to develop their particular talents, interests or passions, where success has many faces. Life has to be about more than survival. Surveys suggest that we all want to make a difference of some sort and leave our footprints in the sands of time.

Living the 21st century enlightenment properly requires all three elements to be present: autonomy or self-fulfilment and sympathy or a concern for others, combined with a purpose beyond oneself. A properly balanced life does not distinguish work from life because work of some sort is a necessary part of life; our way of contributing to the world around us. Instead, the properly balanced life should aim to have all three elements present at the same time, although the pressures of life make that difficult for many.

A longer life can help. There is now more time for many in the later stages of life to re-examine themselves, reconnect with friends and pursue causes and passions for which there was too little time in earlier years. That, however, should not be an excuse for postponement.

Twenty-first century enlightenment has to be lived in full and in the present. Its values will not make living easier or more comfortable, but its principles will give meaning to that living. ■



AGENTS OF COLLABORATION

With the police facing increasing demands on their time, collective approaches to crime are essential

by Anthony Painter
 @anthonypainter

There is a heavy price to be paid for fragmentation of the criminal justice system. It is a price paid by communities, victims, witnesses, professionals and, yes, perpetrators themselves. When a system is fragmented, it struggles to innovate. When it pulls together, then innovation becomes possible.

In Brooklyn, New York, the power of such focused innovation has been demonstrated at the Red Hook Center for Court Innovation. In the words of its director, Greg Berman, the Center for Court Innovation “exists to work with defence attorneys, probation officials, prosecutors, clerks, police officers and community groups [to] test new approaches to the delivery of justice”. Without the buy-in of all these players in the process, innovation becomes impossible. The centre describes its approach as “rigorous, collaborative planning and an emphasis on using data to document results”. It operates across a range of activities, from reintegration of

offender programmes to interventions that focus on mental health, domestic violence, and juvenile crime and anti-social behaviour. The results have been clear.

Adult defendants handled at the centre were 10% less likely to commit new crimes than people who were processed in a traditional courthouse; juvenile defendants were 20% less likely to reoffend. Further analysis indicated that these differences were sustained well beyond the primary two-year follow-up period. In a comprehensive evaluation, savings have been found to outweigh costs by a factor of two to one.

The point is that systemic change, from which all benefit, requires innovation and that requires tight collaboration between different elements of the system. Unfortunately, fragmentation is still evident in the community safety arena.

Recently, the RSA outlined a vision for the future of policing for London, entitled *Safer Together*. When looking at current work, we discovered a whole range of great coordinated services where the police, local authorities, the voluntary sector and London’s communities were working very effectively together. For example, they collaborated to address challenges such as mental health in Newham and Camden, anti-social behaviour in Sutton, domestic violence in west London, gangs in Hackney and community engagement in Haringey. What was too often absent, though, was the joining up of disparate leadership to accelerate and scale impacts across London. What applies to London applies equally to other parts of the country.

Too often in UK governance there is not simply fragmentation between services, but between levels of leadership too. Police leadership often covers a

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 RESEARCH CENTRE
 AT THE RSA



different patch from leadership in the NHS, in education or in local government. Moreover, services are funded with radically different objectives in mind. In a tight funding situation, this can mean even more distance between overlapping missions, and it usually does.

EXPANDING REQUIREMENTS

Meanwhile, crime is evolving and in the process placing additional demands on the police. There is an increase in both crimes of proximity and those initiated and even perpetrated at distance. Dealing with the latter category requires access to new global networks, highly specialist skills and a new understanding among the public of the risks that they face. The former category is just as demanding, if not more so. A well-documented example is that of demands placed on police to respond to incidents involving a member of the public with mental health needs creating a disturbance and placing either themselves or another at risk. In London, such incidents now occupy up to 20% of police time. The police service on its own does not have the power or capacity to manage these demands. Reducing crime and increasing safety is a coordination-heavy endeavour, but the police often find themselves without the powers or capacity necessary to have the maximum impact.

Innovation and coordination are difficult and require leaders of different levels to enable greater collaboration and better use of resources. In London's case, it is the mayor who has the ability to unlock city-wide impacts. In other city-regions it may be the leader of a combined authority. Our report supported the establishment of a local and London-wide community safety index to broaden the focus of a range of agencies

and communities so that they work together on improving community safety. The work done within the mayor's office to build evidence on 'what works' should be widened. Resources should also follow the evidence of need and impact, even if that means resources flowing out of some boroughs.

Most importantly, London's new mayor Sadiq Khan (and his counterparts in other devolved administrations) will need to convene, persuade and publicly challenge all of London's leaders in the boroughs, health service, police, voluntary and private sectors, and London's communities, to work together to deal with deep-seated social issues. What goes for community safety applies equally to skills, healthcare, housing and work. And as the RSA's work on future prisons makes clear, prison and probation services also need to be included on the list of those collaborating.

Across the country, there is a demand for system-level insights, leadership, seamless cooperation, innovation and focus. Instead, services remain locked in organisational cultures with resourcing constraints opening gaps of provision without significantly minimising duplication of energy and resource.

Major public services are facing the same variety of challenges: how can demand be properly managed when the powers, resources and capabilities to manage it effectively are held across agencies, localities and, indeed, Whitehall departments? What challenges does the lack of geographical 'match' present to more integrated approaches? And how can those who depend on the services themselves be part of the process of better managing and meeting needs?

The criminal justice system faces constantly shifting demands, whether that is through our changing >>



expectations or convictions as a society, including our laws. For example, we are seeing an increasing, and rightful, willingness of rape victims or victims of domestic violence to speak out. We are also witnessing the rapid spread of crime and disorder through the internet, encompassing fraud, harassment, child exploitation and global crime networks.

The capacity of the system to provide consistent support for victims and witnesses remains too weak. In 2015, Baroness Newlove published a report into treatment of victims in the

criminal justice system. It pointed out that: “Cases were cited where rape victims, having waited six months to go to court and who have been supported in preparing for their court visit, are then told at the last minute that the case had been adjourned whilst the defence gather more information or issues with incomplete case files are resolved. The same is also said of the general level of information and updates given by court services on the progress and delays in courts.”

Criminal justice needs a reappraisal. This is a responsibility for the Ministry of Justice, the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), the courts, voluntary groups and the police. In major cities, there have been calls for devolution of the criminal justice budget (covering courts, the CPS, probation and prisons) so that oversight and commissioning responsibility for end-to-end criminal justice is clear. This would allow for more co-commissioning and the joint investment needed to speed up the system. It would also facilitate more innovation of the type seen in Brooklyn.

FELLOWSHIP IN ACTION CONTACTLESS FRAUD PREVENTION

The advent of contactless payment technology has brought with it a new type of fraud. “Thieves can lift the data from credit or debit cards because the chips on them don’t have much protection,” says James Dunlop, founder of protective wallet brand *imossi*. “You could be walking up the escalators and, without making any contact, someone could lift your card data. As designers, we thought, let’s create a solution to this issue.”

James and his business partner Sean Magowan, who are based in London, designed an aluminium wallet that shields credit and debit cards from criminals’ scanners. They brought it to market with the help of a Kickstarter campaign supported by the RSA. “In addition to raising £14,000, the Kickstarter enabled us to test the market viability of our product,” says James.

■ For more information, visit www.imossi.london

KNOWLEDGE POOLING

Extending its current work on policing in the capital, the RSA proposed a London Policing Impact Unit, housed in the Mayor’s Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC), to combine operational, academic and strategic knowledge. This could be extended to a wider focus on the criminal justice system. The Impact Unit would analyse data and learn from on-the-ground experience of ‘what works’. These lessons would then be applied in the Metropolitan Police and beyond. A representative citizens’ panel would inform its work from an ethical and community relations standpoint. These structures



are very common in the NHS and could become more common in policing and criminal justice too.

More widely, we need collective impact approaches that focus on particular challenges. These would broaden the Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hub or Youth Offending Team approach, whereby agencies work in close cooperation. This means permanent engagement on shared issues of concern, such as domestic violence, mental health, anti-social behaviour, gang-related violence, irresponsible licensing of premises, vandalism, threats to particular communities, management of public space, drug addiction and more besides.

MOBILISING THE COMMUNITY

Collective impact approaches require continuous and ongoing collective working with others in the public, commercial and voluntary sectors. Governance structures over each initiative need to be permanent and resources pooled where necessary. Prisons and probation would have to be more closely allied with other services if these approaches were to work.

In Rotterdam, a collective impact approach has been driven by a 'community safety index'. Whereas in the UK it is usually the police who have targets to reduce crime and increase safety, Rotterdam takes a different approach. Each district within the city has signed up to collectively bring the community together to ensure that the city has a minimum standard of safety in each district and to continuously improve the overall safety of the city. The safety index does not just comprise traditional objective measures of recorded (or surveyed) levels of crime. Two-thirds of the measures in the index are subjective, so are concerned with an individual sense of safety and security.

At the area level, this means that community safety becomes a shared endeavour. It is expected that all neighbourhoods will own their own plans – for physical, social, economic and individual safety – and work with partners. These partners are usually the municipality, the police, other services, the voluntary sector and the general public. All share the expectation of reaching minimum standards of safety in the area with regard to particular types of crime and disorder, and with the aim of targeting particular behaviours. Overall, this approach of shared goals, community collaboration, shared planning and a wide sense of ownership has resulted in an improved sense of safety in Rotterdam – beyond crime statistics alone – over the past decade or so.

Returning to Brooklyn, Red Hook has effectively pulled the city's leadership, the academic community, the police forces and a wide range of community groups behind its cause. The result has been crime declining in areas of the city where Red Hook is active in a way it has not in adjacent areas. Fewer young men are ending up in prison, and in an environment where incarceration is racially charged, that could engender community benefits.

What the UK now requires is similarly robust, community-engaged, data- and evidence-led, system-aware innovation. To do that it will need to solder together a heavily fragmented system of professional interests, incentives and governance. Achieving that requires extraordinary leadership. Devolved government at least opens up the possibility for that leadership to emerge. Failing that, success in creating safer communities will be initiative-by-initiative and rarely at scale. In other words, it will be marginal. ■

ECONOMICS FOR EVERYONE

Inclusive debate is essential if we are to heal the divisions left by Brexit and deal with the economic marginalisation that it has thrown into stark relief

by Tony Greenham
 @TonyGreenham

Six days after the UK voted to leave the EU, the RSA launched the Citizens' Economic Council, a new initiative in democratic engagement. A year earlier, we had come to the view that the quality of political debate in the UK about the economy fails to match its importance. The debate before and after the EU referendum suggests that this analysis was right.

The referendum campaign – and to some extent, the rise of Donald Trump in the US – has led commentators to describe a 'post-truth' age of political debate. In the UK, not only have many people lost trust in their political leaders, but they also doubt the opinions and motives of a string of establishment figures, from assorted media celebrities to the Governor of the Bank of England.

Following the referendum, the process of political analysis has begun and will doubtless keep researchers and social commentators in business for many years. One central theme to emerge is the scale of disaffection and economic marginalisation of many communities, mostly far away from the centres of political and economic control in London. The question is, why should this have come as a surprise?

But consider a different question. How often do you engage in well-informed, respectful, deep conversation with a cross-section of society, including those with whom you profoundly disagree and have very little in common? It has always been the case that we tend to mix in social circles of people with similar lifestyles and world views, but the dynamics of social media and the ability to choose your news seems to amplify this effect. We are at risk of ever more bitter divisions – between north and south, city and rural, rich and poor, London and the rest – which our adversarial and remote system of parliamentary democracy seems ill equipped to heal.

How will the Citizens' Economic Council help? At the core of the project

is a group of 50-60 people, selected from a cross-section of the diverse communities living in the UK using well-established and statistically robust methods. We will bring these people together for five days between autumn 2016 and 2017 to deliberate key questions, such as, what are the goals of an economy? Whom should the economy serve? What are the trade-offs necessary between different priorities? What new policies might help deliver our goals?

Economics is often presented as an objective science, in which policy answers can be derived from evidence. But, fundamentally, answers to these questions will also be about values, assumptions and judgements. This deliberative process seeks to engage a group of individuals in discussions that are informed, and that promote the sharing of diverse perspectives and values. Participants consider the implications of, including the arguments for and against, decisions or policies.

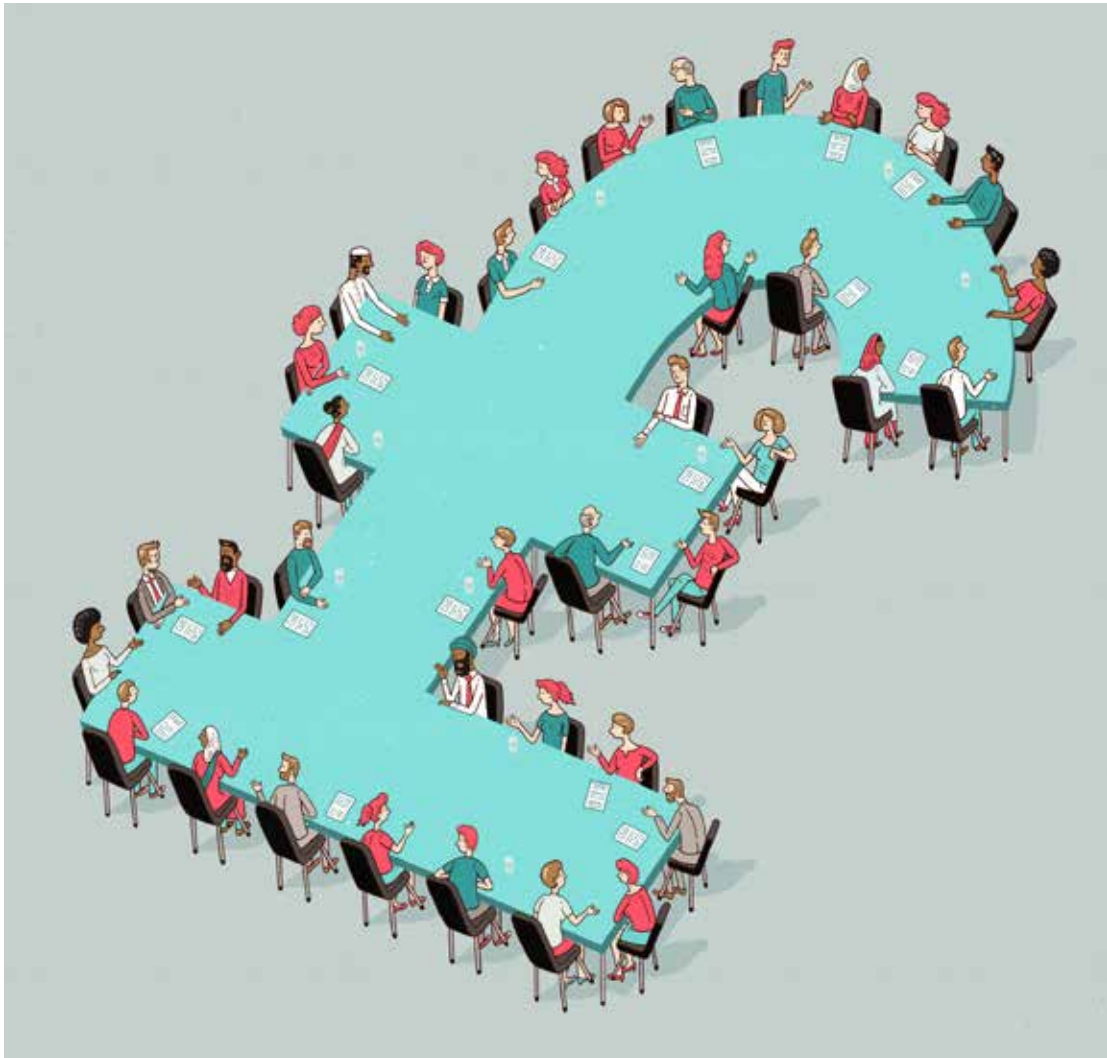
Sometimes deliberation will lead to consensus, but it is equally valuable to capture points of difference and areas where individuals can hold quite contradictory views. Perhaps one of the most important qualities of this style of engagement, given the fractious fall-out from the EU referendum, is that it promotes empathy and understanding.

Spending time in conversation in a safe space, where differences of opinion can be discussed in depth, is essential to break down misunderstanding and prejudice, and to rebuild solidarity, especially when no consensus emerges. A diversity of views remain, but in an atmosphere of understanding and mutual respect.

WIDENING PARTICIPATION

The Citizens' Economic Council meetings will culminate in the citizens presenting their preferred economic goals and policies to political leaders, but opportunities for engagement will extend way beyond our core councillors. We are planning a series of economic inclusion workshops around the UK

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that will focus on groups that face barriers to having their voices heard in mainstream political debate. Through specific engagement with, for example, people on low incomes, without permanent housing, minority ethnic communities or LGBTIQA groups, the Council will hear diverse policy proposals and gain insight into barriers to economic inclusion.

As well as these targeted interventions, the RSA will use its digital platforms to ensure wide and open access to curated content on the economy, and to encourage the public to contribute policy ideas and engage in the debate. A toolkit will be produced to help groups host their own deliberative conversations around the country, not just on the UK's economic policy but the specific agenda in their area.

Hosting high-quality dialogues is a skill. To help us we have formed an Independent Advisory Group of 10 distinguished experts in economic journalism and education, deliberative and participatory processes and community engagement, combining both academic experts and active practitioners. This will ensure that we are able to effectively mediate exchanges of strongly held and contradictory views and beliefs, carefully facilitating and planning discussions. This

expertise will ensure that materials about economics and related policy are both balanced and delivered in plain English via media that are inclusive.

We will engage with policymakers throughout the process, inviting them to the workshops and an event at the RSA where the findings of the Council will be pitched and presented.

WHERE NEXT?

The Citizens' Economic Council will provide new insights into people's values and their aspirations for the economy. It seeks to build momentum for new economic thinking to tackle some of society's long-standing issues, as well as the new challenges of the 21st century. It will bring the idea and practice of deliberative dialogue to new audiences, including policymakers, helping to stimulate new and more effective types of public engagement in the management of the economy.

Above all, the Citizens' Economic Council's ambition is to demonstrate how citizens brought together from all walks of life can bring qualities of thoughtfulness, truth and respect to our national political debate at a time when our politicians have fallen woefully short. ■

ARRESTED DEVELOPMENT

Approaching criminal justice with a model rooted in public health ethics rather than retribution could prevent crime and breed rehabilitation

by Gregg D Caruso
@GreggDCaruso

Within criminal justice systems, incarceration is often seen as justified by the ‘desert’ of people who have committed crime; because they are guilty (morally, and not merely legally, guilty), we can impose significant sanctions on them. This retributivist justification for punishment maintains that punishment of a wrongdoer is justified for the reason that she deserves something bad to happen to her just because she has knowingly done wrong; this could include pain, deprivation or, in some systems, death. For the retributivist, it is the basic desert attached to the criminal’s immoral action that provides the justification for punishment. This means that the retributivist position is not reducible to consequentialist considerations nor in justifying punishment does it appeal to wider goods such as the safety of society or the moral improvement of those being punished.

While retributivism is one of the (if not the) main sources of justification for punishment within the criminal justice system, I contend that there are at least two good reasons for rejecting it. This first is that retributive punishment is often practically ineffective. Several studies, for example, now show that retributivism often leads to excessively punitive forms of punishment and that such punitiveness is often counterproductive from the perspective of public safety. Of course, there are many reasonable retributivists who acknowledge that we imprison far too many people, in far too harsh conditions, but the problem is that retributivism remains committed to the core belief that criminals >>

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deserve to be punished and suffer for the harms they have caused. This retributive impulse in actual practice – despite theoretical appeals to proportionality by its proponents – often leads to practices and policies that try to make life in prison as unpleasant as possible. It was this retributive impulse, for instance, that lay behind 2014 changes to the incentives and earned privileges (IEP) scheme in England and Wales and which resulted in an effective blanket ban on sending books to prisoners. Luckily, the high court declared the ban unlawful, reasoning that books are often essential to the rehabilitation of people in prison. It is also this retributive impulse that has led, at least in part, to the mass incarceration crisis in the US.

By now most people know the numbers. With only 5% of the world's population, the US imprisons 25% of the world's prisoners – far more than any other nation in the world. The US has more than 700 prisoners for every 100,000 people, whereas Scandinavian countries such as Sweden, Finland and Norway hover around 70 per 100,000. And not only does the US imprison at a much higher rate, it also imprisons in notoriously harsh conditions. American supermax prisons are often cruel places, using a number of harsh forms of

punishment, including extended solitary confinement. The watchdog organisation Solitary Watch estimates that up to 80,000 people in the US are currently in some form of solitary confinement. These prisoners are isolated in windowless, soundproof cubicles for 23 to 24 hours each day, sometimes for decades.

A DOWNWARD SPIRAL

Such excessively punitive punishment not only causes severe suffering and serious psychological problems, it does nothing to rehabilitate prisoners, nor does it reduce the rate of recidivism. In fact, the US has one of the highest rates of recidivism in the world, with 76.6% of prisoners being rearrested within five years of release. Norway, by contrast, averages around 20%. Looked at empirically, then, it seems nigh on impossible to defend the claim that commitment to just deserts and retributivism ensures proportional and humane punishment. In fact, the opposite seems to be the case – the problem of disproportionate punishment seems to grow more out of a desire for retribution and the belief that people justly deserve what they get.

In addition to these practical concerns, there is a further reason for rejecting retributivism. While there have always been those who have questioned the underlying justification for retributive punishment, there is now a growing number of prominent philosophers, scientists and lawyers who doubt or outright deny the existence of free will and moral responsibility. Such views are often referred to as sceptical views, or simply free will scepticism.

Some of the main arguments for free will scepticism can be found in my book *Free Will and Consciousness*, as well as in my edited collection *Exploring the Illusion of Free Will and Moral Responsibility*. Free will scepticism maintains that what we do and the way we are is ultimately the result of factors beyond our control and because of this we are never morally responsible for our actions in the basic desert sense; the sense that would make us truly deserving of praise and blame in a backward-looking, non-consequentialist sense. If free will scepticism is correct, as I believe it is, retributivism would be undermined, since if agents do not deserve blame just because they have knowingly done wrong, neither do they deserve punishment just because they have knowingly done wrong. Furthermore, even if one is not convinced by the arguments for free will scepticism, it is still unclear whether retributive punishment is justified. Punishment inflicts harm on individuals and the justification for such harm must meet a high epistemic standard. If it is significantly probable that one's justification for harming another is unsound, then, prima facie, that behaviour is seriously wrong. Yet the justification for retributive harm provided by both libertarians and compatibilists (who think that free will and determinism are compatible ideas) faces powerful and unresolved objections and as a result falls far short of the high epistemic bar needed to justify such harms.

Let us assume for the moment that free will scepticism is correct and retributive punishment is unjustified. Would adopting such a view leave us unable to deal with criminal behaviour? I contend that it would not. My proposed alternative to retributive punishment is the public health quarantine model. The model takes as its starting point an analogy with quarantine first proposed by Derk Pereboom, a philosopher at Cornell University, in his book *Living Without Free Will*. Simplifying a bit, the argument runs as follows. First, the free will sceptic claims that criminals are not morally responsible for their actions in the basic desert sense. Second, plainly, many carriers of dangerous diseases are not responsible for having contracted these diseases.

“MY ALTERNATIVE TO RETRIBUTIVE PUNISHMENT IS THE PUBLIC HEALTH QUARANTINE MODEL”

Third, yet, we generally agree that it is sometimes permissible to quarantine them, and the justification for doing so is the right to self-protection and the prevention of harm to others. And fourth, for similar reasons, even if a dangerous criminal is not morally responsible for his crimes in the basic desert sense (perhaps because no one is ever in this way morally responsible) it could be as legitimate to preventatively detain him as to quarantine the non-responsible carrier of a serious communicable disease. The resulting model is an incapacitation account built on the right to self-protection analogous to the justification for quarantine.

DUTY OF CARE

It is important to note that this approach places several important constraints on the treatment of those who break the law. First, as less dangerous diseases justify only preventative measures less restrictive than quarantine, so less dangerous criminal tendencies justify only more moderate restraints. In fact, for certain minor crimes perhaps only some degree of monitoring could be defended. Secondly, the incapacitation account that results from this analogy demands a degree of concern for the rehabilitation and well-being of the individual that would alter much of current practice. Just as fairness recommends that we seek to cure the diseased we quarantine, so fairness would counsel that we attempt to rehabilitate the criminals we detain. Finally, if a person cannot be rehabilitated, and our safety requires his indefinite confinement, this account provides no justification for making his life more miserable than would be required to guard against the danger he poses.

In addition to these restrictions, my public health quarantine model advocates for a broader approach to criminal behaviour that moves beyond the narrow focus on sanctions and prioritises prevention and social justice. By placing the quarantine analogy within the broad justificatory framework of public health ethics, my model not only justifies quarantining carriers of infectious diseases on the grounds that it is necessary to protect public health, it also requires that we take active steps to prevent such outbreaks from occurring in >>

“IT IS HARD TO SEE HOW WE CAN ADEQUATELY DEAL WITH CRIMINAL JUSTICE WITHOUT ADDRESSING ISSUES OF DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE”

the first place. In the US, for instance, public health agencies such as the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the Food and Drug Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency and the Consumer Protection Agency focus heavily on this preventive task. The primary function of these agencies is to prevent disease, food-borne illnesses, environmental destruction, injuries and the like. A non-retributive approach to criminal justice modelled on public health ethics would similarly focus on prevention. In a sense, quarantine is only needed when the public health system fails in its primary function. The same is true for incapacitation. Taking a public health approach to criminal behaviour would therefore allow us to justify the incapacitation of dangerous criminals when needed, but it would also make prevention a primary function of the criminal justice system.

Furthermore, a public health ethics framework sees social justice as a foundational cornerstone to public health and safety. In public health ethics, a failure on the part of public health institutions to ensure the social conditions necessary

to achieve a sufficient level of health is considered a grave injustice. An important task of public health ethics, then, is to identify which inequalities in health are the most egregious and thus which should be given priority in public health policy and practice. The public health approach to criminal behaviour likewise maintains that a core moral function of the criminal justice system is to identify and remedy social and economic inequalities responsible for crime. Just as public health is negatively affected by poverty, racism and systemic inequality, so too is public safety. This broader approach to criminal justice places issues of social justice at the forefront. It sees racism, sexism, poverty and systemic disadvantage as threats to public safety and it prioritises their reduction.

By placing social justice at the foundation of the public health approach, the realms of criminal justice and distributive justice are brought closer together. I see this as a virtue of the theory since it is hard to see how we can adequately deal with criminal justice without addressing issues of distributive justice. Retributivists tend to disagree since they approach criminal justice as an issue of individual responsibility and desert, not as an issue of collective responsibility. I believe it is a mistake to hold that the criteria of individual accountability can be settled apart from considerations of distributive justice. Making social justice foundational, as the public health quarantine model does, places on us a collective responsibility – which is forward-looking and perfectly consistent with free will scepticism – to redress unjust inequalities and to advance collective aims and priorities such as public health and safety.

To conclude, my public health quarantine model maintains that the right to harm in self-defence and defence of others justifies incapacitating the criminally dangerous with the minimum harm required for adequate protection. Since it would not justify the death penalty or confinement in the most common kinds of prisons in our society, major reform of the current system would be called for. Furthermore, my account would demand a certain level of care and attention to the well-being of those in prison, including a focus on rehabilitating those we incapacitate. Lastly, my model would prioritise prevention, address issues of social justice, and aim at altering the various social determinants of crime – for example, poverty, education inequity, lack of opportunities and the like. This combined approach to dealing with criminal behaviour is sufficient for dealing with dangerous individuals, leads to a more humane and effective social policy, and is preferable to the harsh and often excessively punitive forms of punishment that come with retributivism. ■

FELLOWSHIP IN ACTION COFFEE-POWERED ENTERPRISE

We Walk the Line helps ex-offenders, disadvantaged youth and rough sleepers in the UK to become entrepreneurs. By coaching them in how to run coffee carts, the social enterprise hopes to create self-sufficient businesspeople.

“To be an entrepreneur you have to take calculated risks. And this is something you’ve got to nurture in people,” says co-founder Mat Corbett. “I’d worked in community development all my life. You’d meet people who wanted to do things with their lives, but the goal was to just get them a job as quickly as possible because that’s how you were funded.” From this experience sprung We Walk the Line’s model.

The enterprise received £2,000 in Catalyst funding from the RSA, which it used to produce a Kickstarter video. “They also put us in touch with other Fellows who supported us. Eventually we raised just over £20,000 from nearly 200 people,” says Mat. Since then, the mayor of Colchester has invited them to open a café in the city and they have received interest in their model from as far afield as North Carolina.

■ For more information, visit www.wewalktheline.org

NEW FELLOWS

COLIN MCCONNELL



Positivity and hope are not words commonly associated with incarceration, but Colin McConnell, chief executive of the

Scottish Prison Service (SPS), is trying to change perceptions: "We've always got to look at the human capacity to change."

The SPS aims to build a safer Scotland by unlocking the potential of prisoners and transforming lives. "I see criminal justice as part of an overall journey towards a more socially just, fairer, more equitable, more prosperous society," says Colin.

Since becoming chief executive in 2012, he has been reconfiguring the SPS so that it connects with communities, helping those who feel socially disadvantaged to be part of the wealth of society. Colin and the SPS have also been reimagining the role of the prison officer. "We're moving away from the custodian role of the past towards a transformational, empowering role for the future," says Colin. This means growing and nurturing a cadre of staff skilled and confident to work as agents of positive change.

"We've also worked hard to create an organisation that looks outward, is permeable, and sees joint outcomes as the way forward," he adds.

Colin is using his Fellowship to develop his network. He is also encouraging the SPS to be more aware of the RSA's work.

ANGELO SEDACCA



As a sergeant in the NYPD, Angelo Sedacca is on the front line of US law enforcement at a time when it is under increasing scrutiny.

"Often there's an 'us and them' mentality, but it's important to remember that we're both part of the same whole. The police force gets its authority from the people, so we have to work together as equals." The NYPD is refining ways to do just that, fostering mutual trust and respect.

After initially training as a teacher, Angelo moved into law enforcement in 1998, working his first beat in the South Bronx. Since then, he has risen through the ranks to become a supervisory investigator in the Internal Affairs Bureau. "We investigate allegations of serious misconduct or corruption." Angelo uses the experience he has gained in his 12 years as a sergeant to teach newly assigned investigators and supervisors how to conduct interviews and investigations, as well as write reports.

Last year, Angelo was awarded an Honorary Research Professorship by Universidad Complutense de Madrid, receiving the courtesy title of Doctor. He has MAs in French and Religious Studies, and a BA in Italian.

Angelo joined the RSA in order to meet like-minded individuals interested in bettering society.

IN BRIEF

Here are a few more Fellows who are working to drive social progress:

Joanne Thomas is innovative practice manager at the Centre for Justice Innovation. She has worked for many years with people experiencing extreme social exclusion and disadvantages. Joanne has a particular interest in making sure good ideas for social change are shared and put into practice.

Deval Desai is governance specialist at the World Bank. He works on legal institution building in fragile states. He is also a UN expert on the rule of law and was the inaugural International Fellow at the Bingham Center for the Rule of Law.

Paul Ekblom is professor of design against crime at Central Saint Martins, University of the Arts London. He is also visiting professor of security and crime science at University College London, and of applied criminology at Huddersfield University. Paul addresses the secure design of products, places, procedures and systems.

Chris Bath is passionate about encouraging social change by closing the gaps between practice, policymaking and academia. He is currently chief executive of the National Appropriate Adult Network, a charity that supports children and vulnerable adults detained or interviewed by the police.

YOUR FELLOWSHIP: ENGAGE WITH THE RSA IN FOUR MAIN WAYS

1 Connect online:

Search for Fellows online at our new website. Visit www.thersa.org/new-website for details of how to log in. You can also follow us on Twitter @theRSAorg, join the Fellows' LinkedIn group and follow our blog at www.thersa.org/blogs.

2 Meet other Fellows:

Fellowship events and network meetings take place across the UK and are an excellent way to meet other Fellows. Visit our website to find an event in your area.

3 Share your skills:

Log in to the website to update your Fellowship profile and let other Fellows know about your skills, interests, expertise and availability.

4 Grow your idea:

RSA Catalyst offers grants and crowdfunding support for Fellow-led new and early-stage projects that aim to tackle a social challenge. Visit the Project Support page on our website.

Explore these and further ways to get involved at www.thersa.org

THE STATE OF THE SHARING ECONOMY

19 May 2016



Rachel Botsman
on how collaboration
is changing the
way we live, work
and consume

I keep a list of all the ideas and names the sharing economy is given: the ‘collaborative economy’, the ‘mesh economy’, the ‘network economy’, the ‘rental economy’, the ‘access economy’, ‘hiponomics’. This thing has many names and these ideas are connected in some way.

Let me give you my view of what the sharing economy is and why it is full of so much potential. It’s complicated, because it represents such a broad range of ideas, so I’m going to give you two examples that sit at the extremes of what it represents.

The first is Love Home Swap. It’s Airbnb’s main competitor, but a different experience. You literally swap homes with someone. Home swapping feels different from Airbnb because you create an interesting social contract with the person with whom you’re swapping homes. You go through many email exchanges over small and big things. Are you going to clear out all your wardrobes? Are you going to leave photos of you and your husband in the bedroom? Things that are important to making real, genuine sharing work.

Love Home Swap represents one of the core principles that has got slightly lost around the sharing economy: the idea of idling capacity, which represents the untapped social, economic and environmental value of underused assets. They tend to fall into three categories. Physical stuff – homes, cars, dresses, kids’ toys; labour assets – people’s time, skills, human potential; and capital assets – anything from crowdfunding to crowd equity, all the way through to peer-to-peer lending platforms.

The smartphone removed the friction from these platforms, but it also created all these tremendous trust tools to bring down the barriers that stopped strangers trusting one another. These two principles – idling capacity and the ability of technology to match supply and demand through efficiency and trust – are the basis of this and my next example.

“COHEALO TAKES UNUSED HEALTH EQUIPMENT AND REDISTRIBUTES IT AMONG DIFFERENT HOSPITALS”



At the other end of the sharing economy spectrum is one of the many wonderful entrepreneurs I’ve met in the sharing economy space. His name is Mark Slaughter. Mark used to sell medical equipment to hospitals. What he started doing was taking photographs of piles of medical equipment left in strange places of the hospital – in storage cupboards and in hallways – and going to other hospitals that couldn’t even afford to buy, for example, one incubator.

WASTE NOT, WANT NOT

What Mark saw was a classic broken system of supply and demand. He said what many entrepreneurs in the sharing economy space say: how can we extract more value from these existing assets? As he started to dig into this problem he found an example of how profound idling capacity can be. What Mark discovered was that the average piece of equipment sits idle for 58% of its lifecycle. As a result, a third of all surgeries cannot be performed. So he created a platform called Cohealo. It’s now just been named one of the most innovative health companies in the US. It takes the unused capacity of expensive health equipment and redistributes it among different hospitals. It’s managed to take the capacity of hospital equipment from 48% to 70% in 18 months.

Both home swapping and getting hospitals to share equipment are great examples of this thing that we call the sharing economy. I think of it as an economic system that unlocks the unused capacity of assets by matching ‘needs’ and ‘haves’ in ways that create greater efficiency and access. There is a very clear distinction between those on-demand apps that are brilliant at efficiently matching supply and demand to give you things when you need them, and true sharing.

One of the things that I think is really interesting that might emerge over the next five years is the idea of network equity. So how you can actually give providers on platforms, who create the value and make these entrepreneurs incredibly wealthy, a share of the value that they create.

I could talk about many other things, but this tension between platforms and providers, and the heated debate between innovation and regulation – I think these two themes will get a lot bigger. ■

CONNECTIVITY IS DESTINY

1 June 2016



Parag Khanna

explains how connectivity is the organising principle of the 21st century

We all are familiar with maps of natural geography – those that are coloured brown and blue and green – and we're familiar with political maps, which simply show legal borders. What we don't have are maps of functional geography, mapping global infrastructure. Those infrastructures basically fall into three categories: transportation, energy and communications.

We are a coastal, urban civilisation that is increasingly building. In 20 years, most people in the world will be living in megacities in tropical, coastal areas. Mainly in Latin America, Africa or, predominantly, Asia.

These megacities will be very economically stratified. They will have industrial areas, a services cluster and they all want to have their own mini tech hub. There will also be lots of slums and there will be huge residential areas and enclaves. If you've been to São Paulo or Jakarta, you may have found yourself trying to figure out 'How come it's so different? It feels like different cities'. That's because they are.

A megacity in the 21st century is at least six cities in one, and these cities have to attempt – though they may never succeed – to stitch themselves together and have a sense of holism or equality to them. That only comes through greater investments in infrastructure such as transportation systems and affordable housing.

Countries are reorganising themselves around this urbanisation phenomenon. They want to have viable urban hubs as their economic anchors. China is doing it with about two dozen megacity clusters; each of these is one core city, a number of satellite cities around it, good transportation within the cluster and now the most extensive high-speed rail network in the world connecting the cities. I think of China as an empire of megacities as much as I think of it as a vertically integrated superpower.

In Great Britain you are in the midst of rethinking your political structure to have a three-pillared economy around Scotland, the Northern Powerhouse and London. You don't want to be one of the countries that is dependent only on one economic anchor – that's not a good thing, so I endorse the whole Northern Powerhouse strategy.



If you want to build a competitive economy in the 21st century, you need to ask yourself: what are our urban hubs? Where are the centres of industry and talent and capital? What are our organic economic geographies of agriculture, of energy, of transportation, of manufacturing and of services? And how can we better connect them to each other so that our internal economic transactions are more efficient?

You should be drawing a map that shows developed urban areas, strong railways and internet cables. Then improve the infrastructure throughout. It's not about favouring people in cities, it's about empowering all of the people and the neglected areas that most need this infrastructure. ■

MORE FROM THE EVENTS PROGRAMME

Adair Turner and **John Kay** went head-to-head to exchange ideas about the purpose and value of the financial sector; filmmaker **Terry Jones** presented his new documentary on the boom-bust cycle; and activist **Christian Felber** argued for a new 'common good' approach to economics. In the run-up to the referendum, **Matthew Taylor** asked MPs **Nick Clegg** and **Andrea Leadsom** to agree to differ on the EU and surveyed Europe's economic and political landscape with former Greek finance minister **Yanis Varoufakis**. In collaboration with the 92Y 7 Days of Genius Festival, author **Adam Grant** spoke about driving change by encouraging creativity and originality. And at the launch of the RSA's Inclusive Growth Commission, chair **Stephanie Flanders** discussed the aims of the inquiry with economist **Jim O'Neill**, academic **Tony Travers** and council leader **Claire Kober**.

For upcoming events, 'like' RSA Events on Facebook or see [page 9](#)

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In prison, you search for your own version of 'funny'

by Paul Tye

In prison, we are told to keep a positive outlook. This is harder than, say, being a Remainer struggling to shake off the Brexit blues. And there are some similarities; when you wake each morning, things are OK for a nanosecond. But, wait for it, yup, it is still true. In the Remainer's case, the UK is still leaving the EU. In my case, I was still not going anywhere.

I would not recommend prison on Tripadvisor, but the alcohol is thick, full-bodied and has notes of stolen yeast and undertones of budget bleach. And there can be golden moments of comedy, despite the sadness; the misery that many inside have meted out and experienced; the overstretched and under-trained staff; and the boredom punctuated by tragedy.

SLIPPERY CHARACTERS

The food itself is not funny. If we really are what we eat, then we are cheap, tasteless and lack choice. But even this can be the source of dark laughs.

Someone, somewhere, decided that little plastic tubs of margarine would be healthier to eat than butter, even though they taste like plastic in plastic. But in prison we found a better use for the stuff. One night a fellow resident confided that he and three others were going to get "buttered up". The four of them were

going to rub it all over themselves so that when the officers came to restrain them, bingo, they would slip out of their grip.

In total, they had eight very small tubs between the four of them. I felt it was my duty to explain that there was not enough marge and that this may complicate things. A quick-thinking officer and a bucket of sand may result in human sandpaper and a very abrasive night down the block. The plot was over before it started. I helped them to process their various, and legitimate, complaints and get their points across to management.

With all that margarine – and far too many hours in your cell – time spent in the prison yard is important, even if this means walking anti-clockwise in circles for less than an hour a day. Hot weather brings out the madness. Despite the lack of shade and the self-inflicted sunburn, I remember my last summer on the yard with fondness, largely due to our action hero 'Jason Statham Lookalike Game'. If we looked long and hard enough, we would find Stathams in all shapes and sizes.

Off the yard, grafting is the lifeblood of prison life. Grafting is the art of obtaining resources when you have no power and no money. Anything can be grafted – tobacco, Rizla, tea, coffee. Sugar is big. It goes like this: you get a visitor to your cell, "Got a fag?" Nope. "Got sugar?" Nope. "Spice?" (the 'legal' high flooding our prisons and killing people). No! But the grafter cannot leave; once he comes to visit, he has a mission that he cannot be diverted from. "Toilet paper? Two sheets?" "Well, OK. But you owe me." Happy days. ■

PAUL TYE HAS WORKED IN THE SUBSTANCE MISUSE AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE FIELD FOR 12 YEARS. HE ALSO SPENT SIX YEARS IN PRISON. PAUL IS NOW AN ADVISER ON PRISON REFORM

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