

Slide 1



I'm Stephen Carr, the Safer Communities Programme lead for Welsh Government's Community Safety Division.

I am currently 'on loan' to Welsh Government until late July 2018, when I return to my substantive role within the National Assembly for Wales – having completed the Government's review of community safety partnership working in Wales and initiated the resulting Safer Communities Programme together with completing a review of the way Violence Against Women, Domestic Abuse & Sexual Violence (VAWDASV) services in Wales are planned, commissioned and funded.

Although I'll touch on the Safer Communities Programme and the work I'm doing for Welsh Government around the Justice Commission, it's important to stress the views expressed in this presentation are not necessarily those of Welsh Government but more reflect my own experience and thinking.

My involvement in community safety, crime and justice predates stems back to the early 1990s when, as a journalist, I became actively involved in crime prevention panels, police-community liaison panels and voluntary work around youth engagement and prevention of juvenile offending. In 2002, when I left journalism, I ran a third sector organisation in Merthyr Tydfil specialising in working with young people on the cusp of offending before becoming Blaenau Gwent County Borough Council's first community safety manager a year later.

Between 2006 and 2012 I was head of community safety for Cardiff Council, establishing a unique model for multi-agency neighbourhood management across the city. I have also been involved in a number of Home Office working groups, chair of the Wales Association of Community Safety Officers (WACSO), a director of the UK-wide National Community Safety Network (NCSN) with lead responsibility for learning and development, a specialist advisor for the Welsh Local Government Association (WLGA) and an advanced associate trainer working on behalf of the Home Office crime reduction college.

I spoke at last year's WCCSJ annual conference about the 2017 Welsh Government review into community safety partnership working in Wales and the early findings. I couldn't have been too bad as I've been invited back again. I'm delighted that this year's conference has adopted a focus on the Commission on Justice for Wales, or Thomas Commission, and has even returned to the concept of 'Dragonisation'.

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I first encountered the term 'dragonisation' after I became Head of Community Safety for Cardiff in 2006 and began working with criminologists Adam Edwards and Gordon Hughes at Cardiff University to develop a mutually beneficial partnership of evidence-based and evaluated practice and practice-based evaluative research.

I have no idea who first coined it, I like to think it was Adam and Gordon although I'm told Mark Drakeford had a hand in it, but in 2008, Adam and I used the term to highlight Welsh divergences in the policy approach to community safety partnership working when we presented a paper as part of the Economic & Social Research Council (ESRC) seminar series on governing anti social behaviour at Leeds University.

By the time we presented in Leeds, the Safer Capital partnership (Cardiff Community Safety Partnership) had already established the Cardiff YOT Triage programme designed to provide children and young people with early intervention support and divert them away from the criminal justice system and were in the advanced stages of establishing the Home Office Tilley Award winning Transforming Neighbourhoods programme of city-wide multi-agency neighbourhood management.

The paper explored the establishment of a different approach in Wales – one based on a 'high trust polity' (as Adam put it) and 'rights and entitlements', and on the use of an intelligence-led business approach to holistic neighbourhood management that focused on mitigating what we then termed 'causal factors' that can lead to offending behaviours. Today we call them ACEs – Adverse Childhood Experiences. I'll come back to ACEs shortly.

In 2009, Kevin Haines used the term for his contribution to the Youth Justice Handbook – The Dragonisation of Youth Justice – and the concept was well and truly established within Welsh academic parlance, if not elsewhere.

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So what did we mean by 'Dragonisation' back in 2008? And – more importantly – what does it mean for us as we consider the future of Justice in Wales in 2018?

As some of you may remember from my presentation to last year's conference, this year marks the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Crime & Disorder Act that enshrined the concept of statutory partnership working to address community safety issues and created a legal duty for local authorities, police forces and, ultimately, health, fire and probation services to work together to prevent and reduce 'crime and disorder' in their respective communities. Next year will be the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of devolved government in Wales – and the point Adam and I were making in Leeds a decade ago is that the destiny of policing and justice had already been fundamentally altered by the very act of devolution...even though responsibility was not devolved to Cardiff Bay and firmly remained reserved powers within Westminster.

It's worth noting that that some of those policy divergences were so stark that by 2002, all of Wales' 22 Crime & Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs) were re-branded Community Safety Partnerships (CSPs). It wasn't until several years later that English partnerships began to follow Wales' lead. The re-brand was to acknowledge Edwina Hart's mandated addition of substance misuse (not all of which is 'criminal' or 'disorderly') to the responsibilities of the statutory partnerships. The 2002 Police Reform Act paved the way for Drug Action Teams (DATs) or, in Wales, Drug & Alcohol Action Teams (DAATs) to be merged with the statutory partnerships and the Welsh Local Government Minister mandated these mergers and made newly branded CSPs responsible for tackling substance misuse.

The 1998 Act, in addition to creating multi-agency community safety partnerships and Youth Offending Teams, introduced us to the Anti Social Behaviour Order or ASBO...a non-criminal sanction for nuisance behaviour and low level criminality, breach of which was a criminal offence. The 2003 ASB Act went further, creating 'dispersal orders', 'parenting orders' and fixed penalty notices for truancy (although not in Wales at the time).

But while ASBOs were being liberally handed out across the border by English CDRPs – largely to young people who were effectively set up to fail, breach their ASBO and become 'criminals', sweeping swathes of first time entrants into the criminal justice system – in Wales we were already adopting a radically different approach thanks to the Welsh Assembly Government's 'Extending Entitlement' agenda that talked about rights and entitlements for children and young people.

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Edwina, who became Minister for Social Justice in the second Assembly, talked about ASBOs as being a tool of 'last resort' and Welsh CSPs were strongly encouraged to focus on prevention and early intervention, use of the 'three strikes' process and entering into (ABCs) contracts with young people that encouraged and supported them to behave in a more socially responsible way.

By 2005, when she made this statement, more than 1,500 ASBOs had been issued to children aged 10-17 across England and Wales and areas such as Greater Manchester seemed to be competing for the title of who could issue the most. Louise Casey, leading the Respect Task Force crusade after previously heading the Home Office's Anti Social Behaviour Unit, was demanding to know why our ASBO tally was so low.

Court figures from 2005 also show the ASBO breach rate at the time was around 75% - so three quarters of people issued with a non criminal sanction for nuisance behaviour were effectively becoming convicted criminals. In Wales, we concluded ASBOs were a sign of failure, not of success, and our devolved Government stood by us when Louise Casey and others criticised us for our 'divergent' approach.

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Safer Communities Programme  
Rhaglen Cymunedau Mwy Diogel

**1998** – Crime & Disorder Act

**1999** – National Assembly

**2002** – Extending Entitlement

**2003** – Anti Social Behaviour Act

**2004** – All Wales Youth Offending Strategy

ALL WALES YOUTH OFFENDING STRATEGY

Our 2008 ‘Dragonisation’ seminar also pointed to the landmark publication in 2004 of the first ever joint Welsh Assembly Government and UK Government justice strategy – the All Wales Youth Offending Strategy.

In setting out a remarkably divergent youth justice strategy for Wales, it established the fundamental principle that children should be treated as ‘children first and offenders second’ and that they should be able to access their entitlements to services, irrespective of their offending behaviour and consequences, and that preventing offending is ‘better than cure’.

By 2004, in addition to the Home Office ‘crime reduction’ and ‘basic command unit funds’, Welsh CSPs were now benefitting from significant sums of Welsh Government funding aimed at preventing and reducing youth crime, arson and substance misuse.

Although, as chair of the Wales Association of Community Safety Officers (WACSO) in 2005 and 2006, I used to be critical of Welsh Ministers and civil servants for insisting that policing and justice was non-devolved and left to the Home Office, refusing to engage with us on community safety issues beyond youth justice, arson and substance misuse, in reality the broader community safety landscape in Wales was already becoming very different indeed.

The late Rhodri Morgan talked about ‘clear red water’ between Cardiff Bay and Westminster in his December 2002 speech at Swansea University when he proposed the creation of a Minister for Social Justice – remember, at a time when a Labour Government held power in Westminster – and we were certainly in those ‘uncharted’ reddish waters between non-devolved crime and justice policy and devolved social justice policy by 2006.

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Safer Communities Programme  
Rhaglen Cymunedau Mwy Diogel

1998 – Crime & Disorder Act

1999 – National Assembly

2002 – Extending Entitlement

2003 – Anti Social Behaviour Act

2004 – All Wales Youth Offending Strategy

2008 – Dragonisation and Transforming Neighbourhoods

Welsh Government

Cardiff: Transforming neighbourhoods in the Welsh capital

So in 2006, when I arrived in Cardiff to assume responsibility for community safety partnership working, I was faced with a number of very immediate challenges that provided me with the impetus to begin developing a ‘dragonised’ social justice approach to crime, disorder and anti social behaviour issues in the Welsh capital.

Cardiff CSP was well established and had been responsible for a number of trail-blazing initiatives – the development of the Multi Agency Risk Assessment Conference (MARAC) and integrated Women’s Safety Unit approach to domestic violence; the various elements of the Tackling Alcohol Related Street Crime (TASC) pathfinder such as the Traffic Light System to target violence hotspots within the city’s night time economy, taxi marshalls and city centre medical triage for minor injuries.

But despite these successes, the partnership was largely esoteric and conceptual...and far from operationalised. Effective practice was patchy, seen as ‘added value’ and far from mainstreamed into core public service delivery.

I arrived as Cardiff became the focus of Tony Blair’s Prime Minister’s Delivery Unit – designated as one of the 44 priority CDRPs to come in for special scrutiny to help the Home Office meet its 15% Public Service Agreement 1 volume crime reduction target by March 2008. Unlike 43 of the other priority CDRPs in the club we were on course to actually deliver an estimated 5% increase in volume crime. We were also the biggest of the 5 that were unlikely to deliver the 15% reduction.

South Wales Police had decided to roll out its neighbourhood policing model and the Police & Communities Together (PACT) approach to community engagement and consultation in 2006.

We had also been designated as a 101 Single Non Emergency Number pilot area – with a Home Office expectation that we would be somehow integrating our ‘front door’ service demand systems and, to some extent, our responses to calls. And in 2007 we volunteered to become a Welsh Government Local Service Board pilot area to explore the concept of integrating public service delivery.

So I began to design and develop an appropriate response to these various challenges and dilemmas – based on everything I’d learned about community safety, youth and community

development and the Welsh Assembly Government's distinct 'social justice' rights and entitlements agenda up to that point in time.

It started as my attempt to 'Dragonise' English models of neighbourhood management but became much, much more.

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**Safer Communities Programme**  
**Rhaglen Cymunedau Mwy Diogel**

**The objective was**  
To create a locality focused multi-agency public service delivery mechanism...to deliver:

- Environmental
- Social
- Economic

**Well being**

**Key ingredients:**

- ☑ Provide citizen focus
- ☑ Overcome organisational complexity & cultures
- ☑ Overcome organisational, thematic and geographic boundaries
- ☑ Provide leadership of place
- ☑ Achieve Innovation

**Cardiff Proud Capital**

"To reduce the gap between neighbourhoods as measured by key economic, social and environmental indicators and citizen experiences. This is to be achieved via increasing awareness and understanding between partners of their respective roles and activities, leading to more collaborative citizen-focused working; targeted and co-ordinated interventions and the alignment and prioritisation of resources to tackle the greatest needs."

I've dug out a slide from an old Transforming Neighbourhoods presentation from the days I had to explain my 'virtual' multi-agency neighbourhood management team model concept to all the relevant Local Service Board partners across the city which summarises my 'brief' – to create a locality focused multi-agency public service delivery mechanism that would allow the LSB to deliver the challenges of 'Making The Connections':

- Social, Economic and Environmental Well-Being
- Reduce the inequalities between different Cardiff 'neighbourhoods' (10 year life expectancy gap between north and south Cardiff was always quoted)
- Provide citizen focus and leadership of place
- Overcome organisational complexity and cultures and achieve public service 'innovation'

PLUS

- Operationalise Cardiff CSP (rebranded Safer Capital in 2008)
- Reduce volume crime by 15%
- Provide an appropriate tasking and demand management response to 101 calls and neighbourhood police PACT priorities
- Provide a place-based or neighbourhood focused prevention and early intervention approach to support the emerging Cardiff YOT Triage Project and Integrated Offender Management Team approaches



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Although we fell well short of our PSA 1 target by March 2008 we did manage to deliver a very small volume crime reduction (I think it was around 2%). But by March 2010 we were really starting to experience the benefits of 2 years of Transforming Neighbourhoods, as these figures show.

By March 2011, we were among the top 5 performing CDRPs in England and Wales, had delivered a 25-year low for Cardiff crime levels and with the backing of Chief Constable Peter Vaughan and SOLACE Wales chair Jo Farrar were beginning to spread the methodology to other Welsh local authority areas.

Of course, even though the 'dragonised' approach to community safety partnership working and multi agency neighbourhood management had been launched and was operational by the time Adam and I presented to the ESRC research seminar series in Leeds, we did not know just how successful it was to become, before finally falling victim to UK Government austerity measures in 2011/12.

But in 2008 we had justifiable faith in the principles...and the key ingredients of 'Dragonisation' as an approach to policing justice and community safety as a whole.

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Safer Communities Programme  
Rhaglen Cymunedau Mwy Diogel

**'Dragonisation?'**

**Governing Anti-Social Behaviour in Post-Devolution Wales**

Steve Carr (Cardiff Council) &  
Adam Edwards (Cardiff University)

**Key principles:**

- Rights and Entitlements
- Causal and Protective Factors

**Key ingredients:**

- Provide citizen focus
- Overcome organisational complexity & cultures
- Overcome organisational, thematic and geographic boundaries
- Provide leadership of place
- Achieve Innovation

So what were the key principles and key ingredients of 'Dragonisation' as we saw it back in 2008?

It was a social justice model based on the understanding that everyone – children/adults, male/female, victims/perpetrators – have rights and entitlements...their human rights...within the context of social responsibility. Fundamental to this concept is that we all share a right and an entitlement to equality and to social, economic and environmental well being.

We also know, based on the decades of evidence, that crime and criminality is largely driven by social, economic and environmental inequalities and that it disproportionately impacts on disadvantaged individuals and communities. These same inequalities are the drivers of other social issues such as: poor literacy, numeracy, educational attainment; poor health and emotional well-being; substance misuse; low self esteem...the list goes on.

If we start to see 'offenders' – whether young or old – as people whose rights and entitlements (including equality) have been compromised in some way then we start to see these compromises or failures as 'causal factors'. We talked about the fact that the presence of 'causal factors' was only a predictor, and that not everyone who experienced inequality or compromised rights and entitlements – such as the right not to be abused or neglected or the right to be nurtured and grow up in a safe environment – would become an 'offender'. We recognised that the presence of multiple 'causal factors' increased the likelihood...but also that the presence of positive 'protective factors' could mitigate against the negative.

Our 2008 seminar in Leeds talked about 'Dragonisation' as an approach that therefore worked to identify, understand and address these 'causal factors' – to redress the wrongs, the inequalities, the compromised rights and entitlements that resulted in anti social behaviour and, ultimately, criminality. It was also an approach that worked to identify, understand and promote the protective factors within individuals, groups, families and communities.

We talked about 'Dragonisation' as an intelligence-led, problem-solving approach, a fundamental and systematic change to the structure and shape of public services that overcame all the organisational barriers and excuses and worked to deliver person-centred, place-based services that tackled inequalities and enhanced social, economic and environmental well-being.

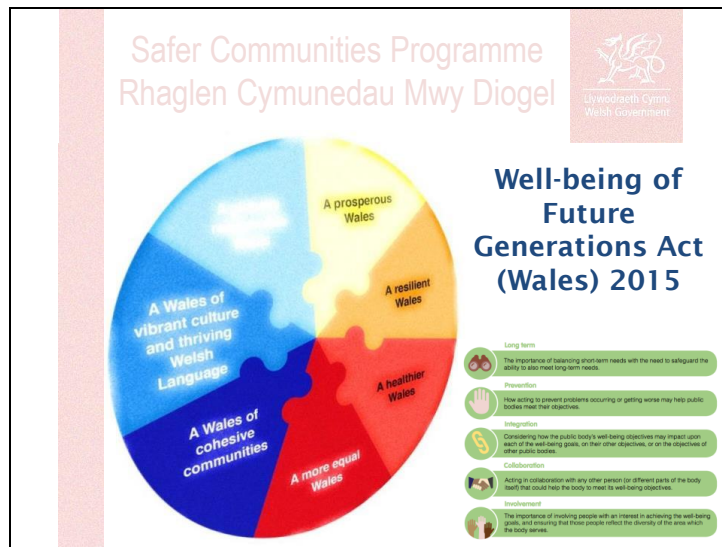


designed to home in on those symptoms and begin to understand the causal factors, and to address them...to also recognise the protective factors present and promote them.

The best example I can provide you is the one we faced in Cardiff at the time of PSA 1. Although we were a high crime city in terms of volume, unlike Manchester, Nottingham, Liverpool and the London Boroughs, the vast majority of our recorded crime was low level. Autocrime was our pandemic...theft from, of and damage to vehicles. The target driven fixation of meeting PSA 1 by driving down volume crime meant the police and, as a result, our CSP, focused too much on the classicist elements of the 25 techniques of crime reduction – target hardening, increasing the risks, reducing the rewards etc.

I remember arguing with the Home Office and the police at the time that we risked perverse consequences because all we were doing as a partnership was suppressing the symptoms, not treating the causes. We were all familiar with geographical displacement – moving crime around the city by concerted effort in one locality – but I warned of crime type displacement. Sure enough, if you look at Cardiff's stats for 2006/7 and 2007/8 you will see autocrime peak and reduce and volume crime starting to fall...but you'll also see an otherwise unexplained rise in lower volume but more serious crimes such as street robbery and domestic burglary.

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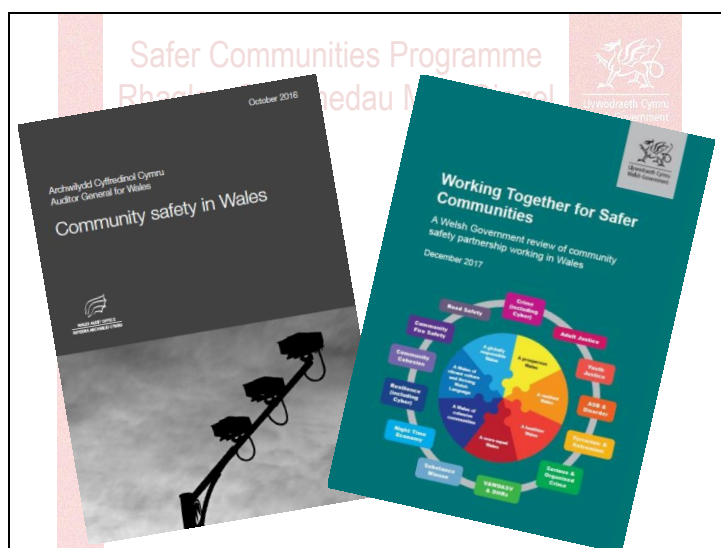


Not only has the world moved on in terms of our acceptance and understanding of what I called ‘causal’ and ‘protective’ factors, but the requirement for public service delivery to adopt the key ingredients we used to establish the Transforming Neighbourhoods programme are now written into Welsh legislation and are a statutory requirement for our Public Services Boards.

Those of you attending and listening to me last year may remember me talking about placing the Sustainable Development Principle, of ‘five ways of working’ at the heart of my Working Together for Safer Communities Review:

- Looking to the long term so that we do not compromise the ability of future generations to meet their own needs;
- Taking an integrated approach so that public bodies look at all the well-being goals in deciding on their well-being objectives;
- Involving a diversity of the population in the decisions that affect them;
- Working with others in a collaborative way to find shared sustainable solutions;
- Understanding the root causes of issues to prevent them from occurring.

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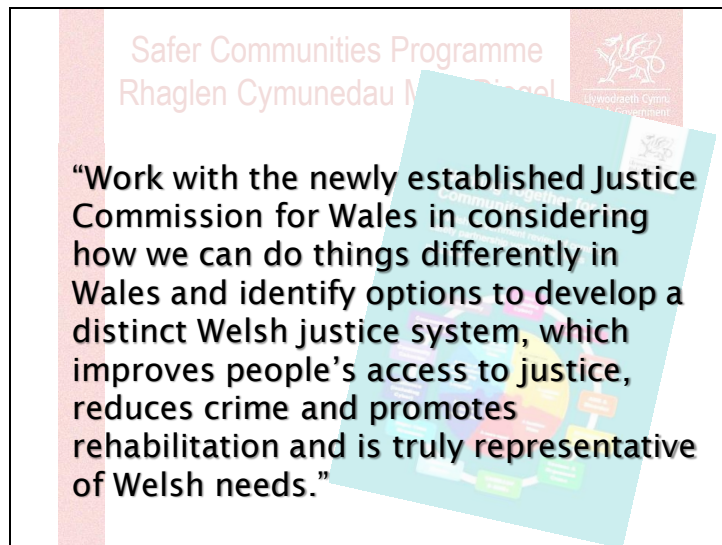
When I stood here last year I spoke about the Auditor General's 2016 Community Safety in Wales report and the Welsh Government's response, my Working Together for Safer Communities Review. I talked about the four 'lines of inquiry' we were using – based on the Sustainable Development Principle and the Hallmarks of Effective Partnership.

I also, unsurprisingly perhaps, talked about some of those key themes that formed the basis of that 2008 'Dragonisation' seminar in Leeds. I can't remember if I used the term here in Gregynog.

But I was delighted when Kate invited me back again this year to speak about my work since then...and even more delighted when she agreed to my suggestion to use this year's conference to focus on the theme of 'Justice in Wales' to reflect the establishment of the Commission on Justice in Wales last autumn, and to once again use the term 'Dragonisation'.

And precisely because the term 'Dragonisation' appears on today's programme – in the context of the justice system – I don't propose to dwell on the findings and conclusions of my review, or the 11 recommendations that you can all read for yourselves, if you haven't already. What I do want to focus on, however, is that the result of my work last year is the Welsh Government's commitment to establish the Safer Communities Programme which will take us up to the 2021 election (potentially the election of the first Welsh Parliament?).

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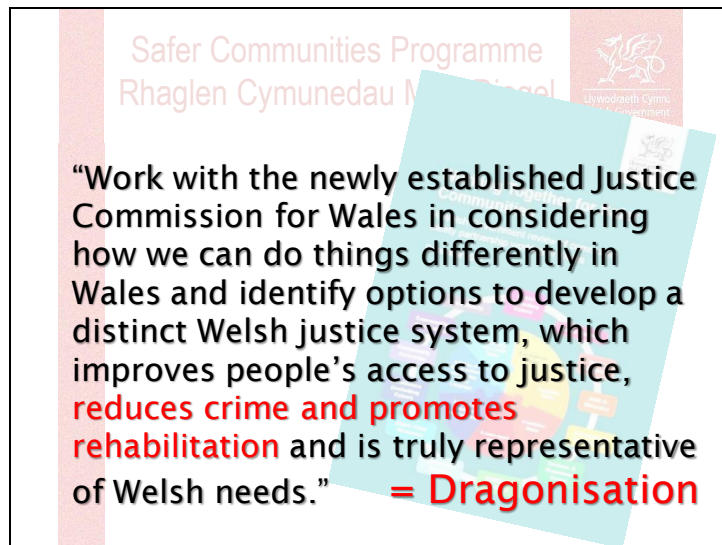
To save you flicking through your copies of my report...this is the very first line of the Safer Communities Programme it proposed establishing...the opening commitment of Welsh Government.

When I spoke here last year I was not aware of the First Minister's intention to establish the Justice Commission, or Thomas Commission, as it is now being referred to.

But even in autumn of last year, while in the final throes of drafting my review report, the internal Welsh Government discussion concerning the establishment of the Commission seemed centred around matters of jurisdiction and process...so this bold statement of intent was, to be frank, groundlessly optimistic and more hopeful than anything!

It was included because my review, like the Auditor General's report in 2016, had concluded that the mixed economy of devolved and non-devolved responsibilities was one of the most significant 'causal factors' behind the demise of effective community safety partnership working in Wales.

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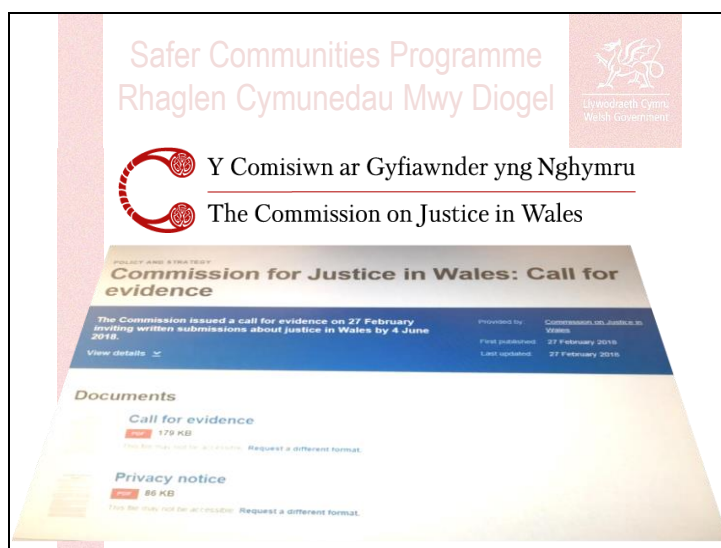


But while the majority of those around me were talking about the ‘administration of justice in Wales’, potential impacts on the Welsh legal sector, issues around training, fees and Welsh access to the courts in an age of austerity, I hoped that the Commission would provide our golden opportunity to revive the concept of Dragonisation...a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to rethink and redesign our fundamental approach to community safety and community well-being from a social justice standpoint...Rhodri’s ‘clear red water’, if you like.

I’m delighted to say that the situation...and indeed, the debate...has moved on significantly since my report was published in December.



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The Commission is now established, has set up five workstreams – one of which is ‘Criminal justice, including policing, probation and prisons’ – and has published its call for evidence with an initial deadline for written submissions of June 4<sup>th</sup>. I’ve spent much of the last few months lobbying the great, the good and most certainly the influential to present/provide evidence and the reason I was so keen to speak to you today is to encourage you to do the same. More on that in a moment...

What else has been happening?

Our Cabinet Secretary – Alun Davies – has converted the review Oversight Group we established last year into the Safer Communities Programme Board, which met for the first time earlier this month to agree a programme implementation plan.

The primary focus of my remaining time on secondment is in drafting the ‘offender management’ aspect of the Welsh Government’s submission to the Commission – setting out the outcomes we’d like to see, identifying the problems with current arrangements and asking the Commission to examine how to achieve a more integrated and preventative approach to justice that accords with our Prosperity for All ambitions.

We’ve also had an Assembly debate on the failings of the current penal system and an overwhelming vote in favour of “developing a distinct Welsh penal policy based on the evidence of what works” and calling for “the eventual devolution of criminal justice, along with the resources to deliver a preventative, restorative rehabilitation of offenders that puts an end to the revolving door between prison and re-offending.”

It was interesting that all Welsh Government Cabinet Members present for the debate voted in favour of these motions, and there is clearly cross-portfolio support for doing things differently.

But most excitingly...our Cabinet Secretary has now presented a number of papers to Cabinet and has met with his Westminster counterparts and senior UK Government officials and, for the first time, we now have the green light to actually begin developing that distinct approach with the support of the Ministry of Justice and non-devolved agencies such as HMPPS and the YJB.

As we speak, consideration is already under way for what a “distinct justice delivery system” for both youth justice and women offenders should look like – blueprints for a radical change of approach to be initiated even before the conclusions of the Thomas Commission are aired in late 2019.

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So...how can you help? How can you engage and contribute?

Does anyone remember the old Zanussi ads?

**Slide 17**



And their catchy slogan...the appliance of science.

I firmly believe the reason Transforming Neighbourhoods worked so effectively was that it was evidence-based practice.

It was the culmination of everything I'd learned at the time about community safety, youth and community development, intelligence-led business approaches, problem-solving methodologies, public service planning and commissioning, performance management and, of course, the lessons of research and evaluation conducted by social scientists like Mike Maguire, Gordon Hughes, Adam Edwards, Martin Innes et al.

Dragonisation of community safety partnership working and neighbourhood management was the 'appliance of science'.

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Last year I stood here and urged you social scientists and practitioners to contribute evidence to support the Working Together for Safer Communities Review.

This year I'm urging you to do the same to support the Commission on Justice in Wales.

If the Commission is to deliver recommendations that will achieve “better outcomes in terms of access to justice, reducing crime and promoting rehabilitation” (as per its terms of reference) then it will only be able to do so thanks to the appliance of social science.

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**DRAGONISATION =**

**2008** **2018**

**Key principles:**

- Rights and Entitlements
- Causal and Protective Factors

**Key ingredients:**

- Provide citizen focus
- Overcome organisational complexity & cultures
- Overcome organisational, thematic and geographic boundaries
- Provide leadership of place
- Achieve Innovation

**ZANUSSI**  
The appliance of science.

Llywodraeth Cymru  
Welsh Government

I started by talking about what Adam and I meant by ‘Dragonisation’ of community safety in 2008 and I’d like to conclude by posing some thoughts and challenges about what we might mean by ‘Dragonisation’ of policing and justice in 2018.

So, just to remind you of the key principles and ingredients to achieving our goal of social, economic and environmental well-being for communities across Cardiff in 2008. Do these transpose across to the challenge of developing a distinct Welsh (Social) Justice system today? And what is the (social) science behind the changes we want to see?

**Slide 20**



Back in 2008 we talked about a different approach to justice based on rights and on entitlements.

The right to be safe, the right to be nurtured rather than neglected, to be protected rather than sexually exploited. The right not to be abused, mistreated or suffer degrading treatment.

We talked about entitlements such as education, training, work experience...basic skills, high quality, responsive and accessible services, guidance and support, counselling services. We promised to provide recreational and social opportunities in safe, accessible environments.

We also promised that children and young people would have the right to be consulted, to participate in decision making, and to be heard, on all matters which concern them or have an impact on their lives...and let's not forget that Extending Entitlement did not stop at the age of 'majority' but applied to the age of 25.

Statistically, the majority of 'offenders' have commenced their offending behaviour well before 25 and the peak age-crime involvement – as evidenced by analysis of arrests – is under 25.

Back in 2008 we'd begun to understand that people became 'offenders' largely because their rights and entitlements had been compromised. And that even though they were labelled 'offenders' we should not remove their rights or entitlements...other than their right to 'liberty' where it was deemed incarceration was required.

And we shouldn't forget that – when we talk about a justice approach founded on rights and entitlements – we still need to consider the rights of victims of crime and society as a whole to be protected from criminality. I am not advocating the abolition of the secure estate, just a reform of its purpose and approach.

We know the current rate of recidivism among people leaving UK prisons and youth custody centres is almost 50% but rates in the Netherlands and some of the Scandinavian countries are between 20% and 30%. What are they doing differently? The appliance of science, we need to consider and understand the differences between their systems and ours and why they are having more success at reducing re-offending levels. A cursory examination of

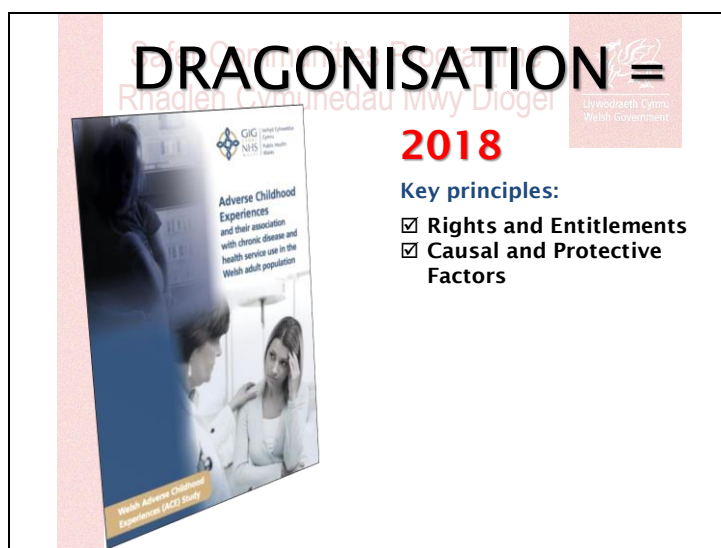
those systems shows that the rights and entitlements of prisoners are given a high priority. Prisoners in Holland and Denmark are encouraged to retain links with their families and communities while serving custodial sentences, and there is a focus on the dual aspect of rights directly linked to responsibilities...social responsibilities.

I know the populist press (and populist politicians) get up in arms when we talk about prisoners rights and entitlements...and we end up with headlines about taxpayer-funded safari trips for young offenders, rewards for bad behaviour. But if we understand the concept that offending behaviour is largely rooted in the lack of rights and entitlements through systematic failings, and that individuals will only get to grips with concepts such as social responsibility and the rights of wider society by seeing their own rights and entitlements restored, then we need to have a different approach.

Throughout my involvement with community safety over the years I've had numerous conversations with the victims of crime and anti social behaviour and, yes, many speak about punishment and the offender getting 'what they deserve'...but almost every victim has prioritised a desire to see the offender 'mend their ways', to stop offending, for nobody else to become a victim in the way they have. Rehabilitation almost always comes out higher than retribution in my experience.



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And even talk about offenders ‘getting what they deserve’ takes on a new light when we really begin to understand those ‘causal’ and ‘protective’ factors that influence our decisions and behaviours. If we truly understand that most offenders have probably reached that point precisely because they didn’t get what they deserve – those rights and entitlements we take for granted, systematic failings or just sheer bad luck in being born to the wrong family, the wrong neighbourhood, attending the wrong school, being the wrong colour, the wrong sex.

I mentioned earlier, we’re now talking about crime more in the language of health and medicine, gun crime epidemic...sexual violence pandemic.

For instance, there is a growing body of evidence that the majority of terrorists – particularly lone wolf actors – were radicalised by extremism and led toward their acts of unspeakable violence simply because they were vulnerable and suffering from mental health issues. Exeter bomber Nicky Reilly, Oslo mass killer Anders Breivik, Lee Rigby murderer Michael Adebowale, Orlando night club mass shooter Omar Mateen and Nice attack truck driver Mohammed Bouhlel all had documented mental health issues. In many cases these terrorists had described their desire to commit atrocities to family, friends and co-workers who simply dismissed this, until it became a reality, as a symptom of their ill health.

Are we finally starting to truly understand that offending behaviour is really a matter of individual and societal health? If so, should we therefore be thinking more in terms of treatment and or vaccination as part of Justice Dragonisation, applying the science to identifying and understanding the social, economic and environmental ‘pathogens’ that infect society then tackling them with antibiotics, antivirals and, where possible, vaccines...immunology?

As part of the work to develop a ‘distinct youth justice’ blueprint, YJB Cymru hosted a recent one-day workshop and I was reminded that in the early days it was the department of health that led on youth justice. Youth ‘justice’ workers were predominantly social workers and programmes for rehabilitation and support came under the DHSS – NACRO being sponsored by the department, for instance.

Should ‘dragonisation’ of justice be considering returning to that pre Crime & Disorder Act, pre Home Office ethos?

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**DRAGONISATION =**

**2018**

**Key principles:**

- ☑ Rights and Entitlements
- ☑ Causal and Protective Factors

**Key ingredients:**

- ☑ Provide citizen focus

*(Small portrait of a man in a suit and glasses)*

Going back to Rhodri's 'clear red water' speech in 2002, spelling out his aspirations for the second Assembly that would begin the following year, the First Minister spoke about 'citizen focus' for public services. He described the Westminster rhetoric of people being 'consumers' of public services with a focus on consumer choices, marketisation and profiteering from public services...in contrast to people in Wales being 'citizens', but citizens who could influence and shape their public services in a way that best met their needs.

By the time we reach the third Assembly in 2007, we've had the introduction of new legislative powers under the Government of Wales Act 2006 and the findings and recommendations of Sir Jeremy Beecham's 'Making The Connections' report and Sue Essex as Minister for Finance, Local Government and Public Services talking about 'putting the citizen first'.

Making the connections talked about reforming Welsh public services to make them more responsive to citizens needs, overcoming systematic weaknesses such as organisational complexity, cultures, silos and boundaries. There was a concept that citizens would be clearer about the level and standards of public services they can expect, and that access would be easier.

Unfortunately one of the eventual by-products of this well intentioned report was 'partnership rationalisation' with the wholesale meltdown of partnership activity around the community safety, extending entitlement and health, social care & well-being agendas. Making the Connections spawned 'Local Service Boards' intended to integrate and reshape public service delivery...but instead they became multi-themed locality-focused super partnerships in which the individual public services ignored the fundamental 'reform' challenge and tinker around the edges by seeking common ground for 'added value' service delivery which disappeared with 2010/11 austerity.

The 2015 Well-being of Future Generations Act – which arguably is a second attempt to succeed where Making The Connections failed – goes even further on citizen focus, requiring public services to 'involve' the diversity of the population in the decisions around public service provision that affects them.

So how will a Dragonised Justice system provide citizen focus? How will it consult, engage and involve both victims and perpetrators?

Will offenders voices be heard in the design and commissioning of appropriate and accessible rehabilitative services? Will it give priority to the housing, clothing and feeding of released prisoners to ensure they are not immediately faced with the challenge of basic survival, never mind reintegrating with society?

Will communities finally be given the ‘tell us once’ ‘single front door’ they were promised with 101 – the concept that if I’m suffering from crime or anti social behaviour I call a number and it doesn’t matter whether it’s a police responsibility or a local authority responsibility, Welsh public services will join up behind the scenes and provide a truly integrated, collaborative response that works.

Will public services focus on the outcomes that matter most to citizens – such as the absence of crime and disorder rather than the level of activity dedicated to responding to it?

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Which all leads nicely onto the next few ‘key ingredients’ I would hope to see from a Dragonised Justice system.

One of the 25 techniques of crime reduction is to consider ‘removing the excuses’ – the principle that where ‘offending behaviour’ is influenced by rational choice, we sometimes give people an opportunity to rationalise or excuse their behaviour – “he/she deserved it”, “it’s what everyone else does”. Quite often we’re talking about cultural excuses – “it’s always been like this”...the Weinstein casting couch that, until now, has excused sexual assault in Hollywood.

In the same way, we need to remove the excuses that both UK and Welsh Governments – and all the key stakeholders who fall on one side of devolution or the other – currently hide behind for the systematic failures that let us all down...failures that were clearly identified in both the Auditor General’s 2016 report and my review: too complex and confusing; no overall leadership; lack of clarity over responsibilities, etc.

Of course, even with the devolution of policing and justice, there will still be some flies in the social justice ointment – such as Barnett formula-based budget settlements, primary taxation, the inability to decriminalise the misuse of certain substances and control over our social security system and aspects such as bedroom tax and universal credit full.

But our aim, and the consideration of the Justice Commission, should be to achieve evidence-based root-and-branch reform of public services...not just justice services...to ensure that everything works and that we achieve the removal of many of the current systematic failings – or excuses – that prevent us from seeing a more effective holistic approach to crime and justice.

It won’t be easy. Some immediate mountains to climb, for instance include policing’s legitimate concerns that the current NHS in Wales predicted funding gap of £2.5billion by 2025 will erase any Welsh Government aspiration to re-invest in policing to pre 2010 levels. Equally, there are economies of scale that can be achieved by super prisons that will be impossible to achieve by breaking down the current Welsh prison estate into smaller more community-based and focused secure centres – even if there are longer term savings to be gained by closing the ‘revolving door’ as a result.

But – by simply adopting and transposing (shoe-horning) the current UK Government structures and mechanisms into a devolved framework of Welsh Government – we are likely to end up with the worst of both worlds and gain very little. For instance, do we need a Welsh ‘Ministry of Justice and Policing’? Would we be better giving portfolio responsibility for offender prevention and rehabilitation to the Minister for Health? Or maybe reconfiguring all the portfolios and having a Minister for Prevention & Early Intervention covering the multiple strands of health, education, crime, homelessness, substance misuse etc.

This opportunity is about overcoming the current shortfalls of silo thinking – not just within organisations but within Government itself. Civil servants who behave and think in silos, who do not see the connectivity or cross-cutting nature of local government services, health services, policing services, fire and rescue services, offender management services. This is an opportunity to rid ourselves of silo-based public service planning and commissioning – to become more focused on well-being outcomes and on shifting the balance of public service expenditure from crisis management toward prevention and early intervention.

The vision of Beecham’s ‘Making The Connections’ – single integrated collaborative citizen-focused place-based public services that delivery across boundaries and embed the Sustainable Development Principle.

With ‘one government to rule them all’ (to misquote Tolkien) and we had the choice to invest in more youth work or more cops...would we default to the automatic local authority statutory youth services approach or would we be more creative...employ more police youth workers with the appropriate skills and knowledge, make the police estate more welcoming to children and young people by making it suitable for youth activities? What could we gain? Stronger ties between policing and communities? Better intelligence on emerging threats and vulnerabilities? A police force that looks more like Peel’s original policing by consent by citizens? What is the evidence base for making these types of decisions?

Of course we’d need a Welsh force, or forces, that looks similar enough to English policing that it could support cross-border policing (e.g., serious and organised crime, terrorism, financial crime, mutual aid) but could it also be different enough to build stronger community ties, to prioritise the proper training and development of neighbourhood-focused problem-solvers instead of force or BCU-wide ‘detection’.

We’d have no excuse for the present gulf between devolved ‘Safeguarding’ arrangements, focused on regional collaborative footprints, and localised community safety partnership arrangements to tackle radicalisation, extremism, violence against women etc., and what would stop us having an ACEs educated, trauma informed workforce across the whole of the Welsh public sector – in schools, pre-schools, youth clubs, GP surgeries, police stations, probation offices?

Slide 24

**DRAGONISATION =**

**2018**

**Key principles:**

- ☑ Rights and Entitlements
- ☑ Causal and Protective Factors

**Key ingredients:**

- ☑ Provide citizen focus
- ☑ Overcome organisational complexity & cultures
- ☑ Overcome organisational, thematic and geographic boundaries

The slide features a map of Wales on the left, divided into various colored regions. The title 'DRAGONISATION = 2018' is prominently displayed at the top. Below the title, there are two sections: 'Key principles' and 'Key ingredients', each with a list of items marked with a checkmark in a box. The Welsh Government logo is visible in the top right corner.

With 'one government to rule them all' there'd be no excuse for the continuation of non coterminous organisational boundaries.

Welsh Government could determine the optimum 'footprint' for the division of public service delivery and, although it would still be an artificial construct in the same way as the present footprints because we humans don't live our lives in the grouped, aggregated delineated way that we almost arbitrarily draw boundaries onto a map, it would at least be more rational and simpler to understand and negotiate for the average citizen.

It would also, importantly, provide the stepping stone to providing...

Slide 25

**DRAGONISATION =**

**2018**

**Key principles:**

- ☑ Rights and Entitlements
- ☑ Causal and Protective Factors

**Key ingredients:**

- ☑ Provide citizen focus
- ☑ Overcome organisational complexity & cultures
- ☑ Overcome organisational, thematic and geographic boundaries
- ☑ Provide leadership of place

The slide also features a book cover for 'Birmingham Total Place Pilot' with the subtitle 'Final Report | February 2010' and a logo for 'Llewodraeth Cymru Welsh Government'.

...a much greater sense of 'leadership of place' that is required by the Well-being of Future Generations Act, having the earlier failure of 'Making The Connections to achieve this with LSBs.

Public Services Boards providing integrated 'leadership of place' on whatever eventual footprint emerges from 'one government to rule them all' will hold the key to all of the principles and ingredients listed here:

I remember in Cardiff in 2007/8 we talked about a 'Total Place, Total Budget' approach – as was being piloted in England at the time – and even looked at the emerging lessons from 'Counting Cumbria' and other trailblazers. But nowhere in Wales has yet managed to truly apply this radical thinking – scooping up all the joint intelligence we have on our 'place', understanding the issues we need to address and the services our citizens need and want, then pooling together the entire public services budget for that 'place' and rethinking, redesigning, re-commissioning the public service delivery landscape to ensure it is integrated, collaborative, preventative, sustainable for the long term and involves the citizens it serves.

It's particularly important to consider 'place-based' approaches within offender management. You can't build a prison, like Berwyn in Wrexham, or Parc in Bridgend, and not expect it to have some significant impact on your place. Equally, evidence suggests that ensuring offenders retain close links with their families, friends, communities and support structures have a better chance of rehabilitation, except where those support structures are part of the problem (such as abusive home situations, substance misusing family or social networks or organised crime and county lines links).

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**DRAGONISATION =**

Partneriaeth Cweithredu Adferol Cymru  
Wales Restorative Approaches Partnership

Wales Co-operative Centre  
Canolfan Cydweithredol Cymru

2018

**Key principles:**

- ☑ Rights and Entitlements
- ☑ Causal and Protective Factors

**Key ingredients:**

- ☑ Provide citizen focus
- ☑ Overcome organisational complexity & cultures
- ☑ Overcome organisational, thematic and geographic boundaries
- ☑ Provide leadership of place
- ☑ Achieve Innovation

Place-based, person-centred thinking within public service planning and delivery – without the complexity and confusion of devolved vs. non-devolved responsibilities – also provides greater scope for innovation, doing things differently...like policing, like trauma-informed teachers in schools and trauma-informed GPs in local surgeries.

But quite often, when we look for innovative practice, we have to look beyond the statutory public sector to find it. Often, innovation is to be found in the third sector or in the private sector.

Although the 'Big Society' concept was ultimately discredited as David Cameron's thinly disguised veil for massive public sector austerity, rather than the true concept of community-based action, I think we'd be foolish to throw out the 'baby with the bathwater' if we had the opportunity to 're-nationalise' justice provision and dispose of profiteering and marketisation of justice services...the 'payment-by-results' type thinking.

Justice...social justice...must be community-based, with a real, living sense of community ownership and involvement. Justice needs to be restorative as well as rehabilitative.

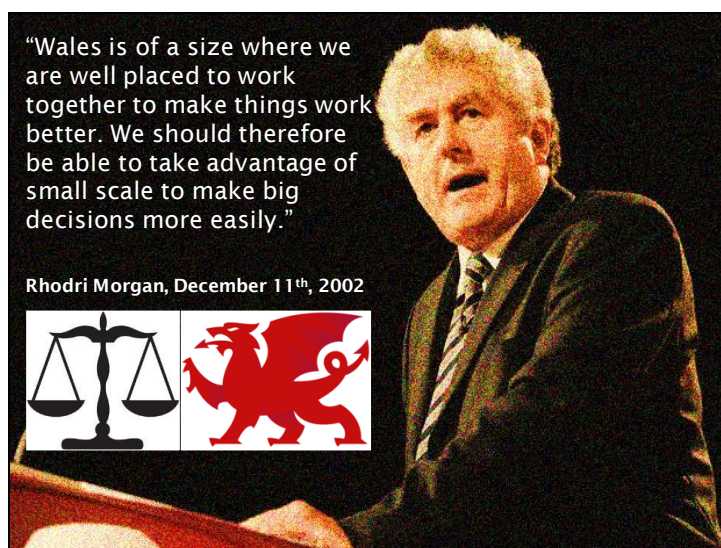
So, instead of just re-nationalising the Community Rehabilitation Company and incorporating it back into the Welsh probation service, why not consider the options for a mixed economy of public, third and private sector that harnesses the power of social enterprises, not-for-profit companies, rehabilitation co-operatives and even the corporate social responsibility agendas of Wales' major private sector employers.

How about partnerships that see ex-offender employment and training schemes hosted by communities, generating profits for reinvestment in better community facilities? Or companies in Wales committing to host or fund effective offender rehabilitation schemes or crime prevention and early intervention schemes?

And again, what is the evidence base for innovative practice that really works? Where is the 'appliance of science' to inform our dragonisation?



**Slide 27**



I'd like to conclude by returning to Rhodri Morgan's now famous 'clear red water' speech. In looking ahead to the Second Assembly election the following year, and proposing it should include a Cabinet position titled 'Minister for Social Justice', he made the following comments:

"How are we to create the enhanced capacity for social policy-making which we need in a devolved Wales? A great deal has been achieved, I think, in turning the machine of the former Welsh Office from an engine of administration into one which analyses and develops policy choices.

"Looking ahead, however, I think we have to find ways of building on this still further. We need to invent a new form of public service in Wales, in which individuals are able to move far more easily than now between one form of organisation and another.

"Local government employees, Assembly civil servants, health service administrators, (Assembly Sponsored Public Bodies) staff should all be able to map out career paths which move between these bodies, developing expertise and cross-fertilising from one place to another.

"It is completely consistent with the principle of innovation rather than imitation. We need a Welsh public service, rather than a Welsh civil service.

"The small scale of the Assembly, and of Wales itself, is surely a major advantage to us in this regard. Wales is of a size where we are well placed to work together to make things work better. We know where the problems lie, and we know each other pretty well – both institutionally and – very often – individually. We should therefore be able to take advantage of small scale to make big decisions more easily."

I believe that the Commission on Justice in Wales is our BIG opportunity to prepare for making those BIG decisions.

Slide 28



And that's why I urge you to get involved, to engage in the debate, contribute to making the right policy choices through the 'appliance of science'.

In summary – based on my professional and voluntary experience working within the fields of community safety, community development, policing, crime and justice – I believe that if we are to achieve our aspiration of '*promoting better outcomes in terms of access to justice, reducing crime and promoting rehabilitation*' we need a wider focus than justice services and jurisdiction issues.

We need to reform Wales' public services approach, based on a 'social justice' ethos that incorporates:

- Rights-based thinking (e.g. Extending Entitlement) that recognises causal factors as largely a rights/entitlements failure, but also recognises victim/wider community rights to be safe and the balance to be struck – hence 'secure estate' still needed but in a more rehabilitative format;
- An end to disparate service planning and commissioning arrangements and processes, usually driven by chasing grants, focused on inputs/outputs rather than outcomes and based on incomplete data analysis/evidence/research and lacking in service user involvement = ineffective, inefficient services and silo responses;
- A different approach to dealing with offending behaviour that better recognises the established link with Adverse Childhood Experiences (causal and protective factors), shifts thinking to criminality as a public health issue rather than purely criminal justice/enforcement/punishment thereby providing focus on 'treatment' and 'immunology' (not just chasing the pathogens);
- A 'one public service' ethos – allowing the long overdue join-up of data, analysis, research to inform truly integrated public service planning and commissioning that is person-centred and place-based (neighbourhood level – total place budget);
- Real community involvement in 'justice' – opportunities for social enterprise and community co-operative approaches, corporate social responsibility agenda – not just statutory service provision;
- The 'appliance of social science' to ensure a robust 'what works, what doesn't' evidence base: e.g., involvement of academics in designing the distinct justice delivery blueprints as well as development of future Welsh justice policy.