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Special Edition:
The prison crisis

Getting out of the crisis

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Tate Britain, a short walk from the Centre for Crime and Justice Studies offices, is one of the UK's finest art galleries. In the nineteenth century it was the site of Millbank Prison,[1] built on land purchased for £12,000 from the Marquis of Salisbury by the father of utilitarianism, Jeremy Bentham.[2] Completed between 1812 and 1822, Millbank was crisis-prone from the start:

> *[I]n the spring of 1816 cracks appeared in some of the pentagon walls, and putting these right brought the total cost of the jail to a staggering £458,000. Prisoners rioted about their food allowance in 1817, and between 1822 and 1824 30 prisoners died from diarrhoea, which resulted in the whole prison population being evacuated… [T]here were riots in September 1826 and again in March 1827; various warders were assaulted and in one incident the infirmary warder's cat was found hanged.*[3]

Pentonville Prison in North London, completed in the early 1840s, was built as a replacement for Millbank. Today it remains one of London's main prisons. It was conceived following an 1834 government report into the Philadelphian 'separate system'. As Walter Thornbury noted in 1878, citing the man of letters, William Dixon:

> *Many people,' says Mr. Dixon in his 'London Prisons,' published in 1850, 'were seduced by the report issued in 1834, into a favourable impression of the Philadelphian system; and, amongst these, Lord John Russell, who, being secretary for the Home Department, got an Act introduced into Parliament in 1839 (2 and 3 Vict. c. 56), containing a clause rendering separate confinement legal in this country. A model prison on this plan was resolved upon. Major Jebb was set to prepare a scheme of details. The first stone was laid on the 10th of April, 1840, and the works were completed in the autumn of 1842, at a cost of more than £90,000.*[4]

In the most recent inspection report on Pentonville, the Chief Inspector of Prisons, Peter Clarke, noted that '[g]ang behaviour is pervasive and brings significant challenges for stability and good order' and that 'one in five men was taking anti-psychotic drugs'. Clarke also raised concerns about high levels of violence and suicide, and drew attention to 'frailties in the case management and care for men vulnerable to suicide and self-harm'. The prison was also 'very overcrowded and the building had suffered from years of underinvestment and neglect'.[5]

The UK's largest prison, HMP Berwyn in North Wales, opened in 2017. Built on the site of a former tyre factory at a cost of £250 million, it has capacity for over 2,000 prisoners.[6] One former tyre builder who worked at the factory told a local history project in 2017 that he was now working for a joinery company involved in the construction of the prison.[7] In August 2018 the Governor of Berwyn was

1. Kennedy, J. (2013) 'Before Tate Britain, there was the dreaded Millbank prison'. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.tate.org.uk/context-comment/blogs/tate-britain-there-was-dreaded-millbank-prison. [Accessed 6 September 2018].
2. Thornbury, W. (1878) Old and New London: Volume 4. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol4/pp1-13. [Accessed 6 September 2018].
3. Wilson, D. (2014), Pain and Retribution: A Short History of British Prisons, 1066 to the Present. London: Reaktion Books, 50.
4. Thornbury, W. (1878) Old and New London: Volume 2. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol2/pp279-289. [Accessed 6 September 2018].
5. HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (2017) Report on an announced inspection of HMP Pentonville. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmiprisons/inspections/hmp-pentonville-2/. [Accessed 29 September 2018].
6. BBC News (2013) '£250m super-prison to be built on ex-Firestone factory land'. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-north-east-wales-23957373. [Accessed 6 September 2018].
7. Wrexham History (2017) 'Memories of Firestone Wrexham'. Comment by Phil Burden. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.wrexham-history.com/memories-firestone-wrexham/#comment-238. [Accessed 6 September 2018].

suspended, following allegations made against him.[8] A report from the prison's Independent Monitoring Board, a month earlier, had found that illicit drugs were 'readily available' in the prison. It also reported that one in five of the prisoners said that they felt unsafe.[9]

The largest women's prison in western Europe, Holloway in North London, was closed in 2016. A few years earlier, a study by the Centre for Crime and Justice Studies of housing and resettlement support for black and minority ethnic women leaving Holloway painted a disturbing picture of gaps and holes in provision. One former prisoner told the researchers about how she had survived following her release:

> *Nowhere to go, nowhere to go, and then like you got, you want somewhere to sleep, you have to go buy someone a smoke and then you can stay at their house for the night and then you just get back into, just get back into the drug side of it… I mean Broadwater Farm is a bad area around here, and I was staying in the crack house on Broadwater Farm, in a cupboard.*[10]

At the time of writing, a local campaign—Community Plan for Holloway—is mobilising support around a positive vision for the site, such as social housing, community buildings and spaces that foster human flourishing and respond to human needs.[11]

The British Government had hoped to build a new prison on a patch of land on an industrial estate in Port Talbot, South Wales. The Welsh Government, which originally supported the plans, came out in opposition. It called for dialogue with the British Government over criminal justice and public services policy, and on strategies to prevent criminalisation, recriminalisation and imprisonment[12]. The plans to build the prison have since been shelved. Other prisons are in the pipeline.

These pen portraits of four prisons, and one potential future prison, in the England and Wales criminal justice jurisdiction suggest at least two ways of thinking about the prisons crisis and about what it would mean to get out the crisis.

First, we can think about the prison crisis as a crisis in prisons. Millbank and Pentonville, Berwyn and Holloway have all been crisis-prone institutions in one shape or form. They are not alone. In 2018, the England and Wales prisons inspectorate has issued four Urgent Notifications following inspections of Bedford, Birmingham, Exeter and Nottingham prisons. Indeed, the inspectorate has 'documented some of the most disturbing prison conditions we have ever seen—conditions which have no place in an advanced nation in the 21st century'.[13]

> First, we can think about the prison crisis as a crisis of prisons…Second, we can think about the prison crisis as a crisis of imprisonment.

Within the England and Wales jurisdiction, some prisons are less crisis-prone than other prisons. Across the UK, some jurisdictions appear less crisis-prone than those in other jurisdictions. The Scottish prisons system, for example, appears to have been less crisis-prone than the England and Wales, and Northern Ireland, prison systems over recent years. But crises do appear to be a regular feature of many or most prisons, both over time and at any given point in time. Crises in prisons appear to be an inherent feature of many prisons, rather than an uncommon aberration.

Second, we can think about the prison crisis as a crisis of imprisonment. This crisis is our enduring

8. BBC News (2018) 'HMP Berwyn governor Russell Trent suspended amid allegations'. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-45262381. [Accessed 29 September 2018].
9. Independent Monitoring Boards (2018) Annual Report of the Independent Monitoring Board at HMP Berwyn. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.imb.org.uk/independent-monitoring-board-imb-hmp-berwyn-releases-first-annual-report/. [Accessed 29 September 2018].
10. Grimshaw, R., S. Harding, M Watkins and S Szydlowska (2013) Housing needs of women from minority ethnic groups leaving HMP Holloway. London: Centre for Crime and Justice Studies. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.crimeandjustice.org.uk/publications/housing-needs-women-minority-ethnic-groups-leaving-hmp-holloway. [Accessed 29 September 2018].
11. Community Plan for Holloway (2018) Unlocking Holloway for the Community. [ONLINE] Available at: https://acommunityplanforholloway.files.wordpress.com/2018/04/download_plan4holloway-pdf-for-web.pdf. [Accessed 6 September 2018].
12. Davies, A. (2018) 'Written Statement—Justice Policy in Wales'. [ONLINE] Available at: https://gov.wales/about/cabinet/cabinetstatements/2018/justicepolicyinwales/?lang=en. [Accessed 29 September 2018].
13. HM Inspector of Prisons (2018) Annual Report 2017–18. London: HM Stationery Office. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmiprisons/inspections/annual-report-2017-18/. [Accessed 29 September 2018].

attachment to prison and imprisonment as a social institution. It is about the apparent inevitability of our commitment to making and remaking the same institutions, again and again, some two hundred years after Millbank prison was built. It is about our taking for granted the ongoing existence of prison as a social institution, and our apparent inability to consider other options, different possibilities, in place of the monotonous making and remaking of the prison institution.

These two ways of thinking about the prison crisis are distinct. One is about the crises in individual prisons, the other, about the crisis of our continued remaking of the social institution of imprisonment. The two crises feed off, and sustain, each other. Our commitment to the social institution of imprisonment compels us perennially to build, maintain and rebuild prisons. By building, maintaining and rebuilding individual prisons, we also reaffirm and revalidate the social institution of imprisonment. So it is that the twentieth century, the century of prison reform, was also the century of dramatic prison growth. As policy makers sought to address the crisis of prisons, the crisis of imprisonment deepened.

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Attempts to escape these two prison crises—the crisis in prisons and the crisis of imprisonment—prompt different responses. The crisis in prisons calls forth reform attempts: infrastructural investment, staff training, regime improvements, for instance. The crisis of imprisonment, by contrast, calls forth a variety of demands and proposals: from relatively modest 'reformist' proposals to more avowedly abolitionist demands. Attempts to address the crisis in prisons tend towards reaffirming the apparent validity of the social institution of imprisonment, so displacing and deferring any serious attempts to address the crisis of imprisonment.

In the rest of this article, I explore these distinct, but related, responses to the two, intertwined prison crises. The perspective is largely informed by the United Kingdom experience, and by the England and Wales experience in particular. I hope that the conceptual framework might also have relevance for those considering prison crises in other jurisdictions.

Getting out of the crisis in prisons

Addressing the crisis in individual prison institutions makes up the stock in trade of government-led reforms, tweaks and changes. In their classic form, they might be traced back to the 1895 Gladstone Committee report on prisons. As David Faulkner, a former senior civil servant in the Home Office, claimed, the Gladstone Committee report, and the legislation it inspired, 'laid the foundation for a, broadly speaking, liberal set of criminal justice and penal policies, most of which were not seriously challenged for another 60 years'.[14] This consensus, Faulkner argued, came increasingly under pressure during the 1990s, with the rise of populist and punitive politics that first wrong-footed, then marginalised, liberal penal policies and politics.

Those looking for evidence of this 'broadly… liberal' approach might find it expressed in the 1964 Prison Rules for England and Wales, the first rule of which stated that the 'purpose of the training and treatment of convicted prisoners shall be to encourage and assist them to lead a good and useful life'.[15] Other rules covered appropriately liberal expectations over matters such as nutrition, accommodation, clothing, visits, medical attention, prison work and prison pay, and so on. Yet as Joe Sim has argued, lofty expressions from above have often sat in tension with the grim realities of prison life and operations on the ground. The supposedly liberal period of penal policies climaxed in the 1990 Strangeways prison riot. As Sim notes, the riot was anything but an aleatory irruption into an otherwise stable order:

The 25-day long occupation of the prison by prisoners, the effective destruction of most of the institution's infrastructure and the apparent powerlessness, disorganization and conflict within,

14. Faulkner, D. (2006) Crime, State and Citizen: A Field Full of Folk. Winchester: Waterside Press, 93.
15. The Prison Rules 1964, SI 1964/388. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/1964/388/made. [Accessed 1 October 2018].

and between, state servants, provided a salutary reminder to the governing Conservative Party that the tensions, which had been apparent since the 1970s… had not been alleviated.[16]

The current Prison Rules, agreed in 1999, contain a similar set of liberal expectations.[17] They include, word-for-word, the rule quoted above. Whatever their merits, the current rules have not acted as an effective protection against the crisis conditions in numerous prisons across England and Wales.

The widely-held view that the austerity-driven squeeze on prison budgets since 2010 has been the main cause of the current crisis in prisons[18] carries some explanatory weight. It is also the case that prison budgets in England and Wales were being squeezed in the decade up to 2010.[19] Yet such explanations tend to assume what needs to be explained: why it was that successive governments have sought to squeeze prison budgets while simultaneously maintaining, or indeed expanding, the already high prison population. It was, at least in principle, possible for governments of recent years to seek to shrink the size of the prison estate in line with shrinking budgets. That they chose not to do so relates to the wider crisis of imprisonment, which is explored in more detail below.

More recently, the UK Government's 2016 White Paper, Prison Safety and Reform, made a number of proposals to achieve 'a transformation away from offender warehouses to disciplined and purposeful centres of reform where all prisoners get a second chance at leading a good life'.[20] Among its proposals were improving regime standards, recruiting new staff and investing in prison leadership. It also reaffirmed previous commitments 'to build up to 10,000 new adult prison places' at the cost of £1.3 billion, and to close 'prisons that are in poor condition and those that do not have a long-term future in the estate'.[21]

This current commitment to renewing and rebuilding the prison estate, and improving outcomes for staff and prisoners, has several parallels with past policies. Pentonville was conceived as the successor to the crisis-prone Millbank. The reforms that followed the Gladstone Committee report were intended to improve the way prisons operated. It is important to understand these 19th and 20th century innovations in their own context, rather than present them as but so many instances of an ahistoric narrative of circularity and failure. It is also striking that successive governments have, over time, sought to respond to contemporary crises in prisons with historically distinct approaches that, by embedding and entrenching the crisis in prisons, have tended to reinforce the crisis of imprisonment.

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In responding to the current crisis in prisons, the UK Government is working in the shadow cast by the decisions of previous generations. In rebuilding and expanding the prison estate, it is repeating the decisions of these past generations. It is also building future crises in prisons, even as it is seeking to address the current crises in prisons. These future crises will be the inheritance of the generations to come, who will make policy on prisons in the shadow cast by the present one. And so the cycle of prison building, prison maintenance, prison building repeats itself, compelled by a commitment to the social institution of imprisonment as an immutable fixture of this and future societies.

Getting out of the crisis of imprisonment

Berwyn and Millbank: where now there is a prison, once there was factory; where once there was a prison, now there is an art gallery. Holloway and Pentonville: one closed, one destined for closure at some point. What will replace them? Another prison,

16. Sim, J. (2009) Punishment and Prisons: Power and the Carceral State. London: Sage, 56.
17. The Prison Rules 1999, SI 1999/728. [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/1999/728/contents/made. [Accessed 1 October 2018].
18. See e.g. The Guardian (2018) 'The Guardian view on Birmingham prison: the root problem is austerity'. The Guardian, 20 August. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/aug/20/the-guardian-view-on-birmingham-prison-the-root-problem-is-austerity. [Accessed 1 October 2018].
19. See Mills, H., A. Silvestri, R. Grimshaw, F. Silberhorn-Armantrading (2010) Prison and probation expenditure, 1999—2009. London: Centre for Crime and Justice Studies. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.crimeandjustice.org.uk/publications/prison-and-probation-expenditure-1999-2009. [Accessed 1 October 2018].
20. Ministry of Justice (2016) Prison Safety and Reform. Cm 9350. London: HM Stationery Office. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/prison-safety-and-reform. [Accessed 29 September 2018], 3.
21. Ibid, 58.

or other buildings and developments that may better serve the interests of those living in their shadow?

When we think about how to get out of the crisis of imprisonment, it helps to remind ourselves that every prison that has ever existed was built by people, at given points in time, to imprison people, for given periods of time. Some, such as Millbank, were built and demolished by previous generations. Others, such as Holloway, were built by a previous generation and closed by the current generation. Still others, such as Pentonville, were built by a previous generation, were inherited by, and are maintained by the present generation. Others still, like Berwyn, were built by the present generation, on land that a previous generation had used for a very different purpose.

Every prison that has ever existed, or will ever exist, has a beginning and an end. Every prison that exists today will one day not exist. What our and future generations chose to do — to build new prisons, or do something else — is a political and historical question. It is political because the decision to build and maintain prisons, or to do something else, is wrapped up in broader questions about how the collective wealth and resources of a given society might best be deployed for the common good. It is an historical question because it relates to the human capacity to shape human societies, for better or for worse, drawing on the accumulated ideological and material resources handed down by previous generations.

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To make more concrete these rather abstract observations we might start by mapping the current boundaries placed around our human capacity to address the crisis of imprisonment. When, in November 2016, the then Justice Secretary, Liz Truss, published the Prison Safety and Reform White Paper, referred to above, one of her predecessors in that role, Ken Clarke, laid down a challenge:

'Does she agree… that her overriding aim of protecting the public by reducing reoffending and preventing prisoners from committing crimes in future is almost impossible to achieve so long as prisons are overcrowded slums? Will she make the courageous decision to start addressing some of the sentencing policies of the 1990s and the 2000s, which accidentally doubled the prison population in those overcrowded slums? Will she ensure that our prisons are reserved for serious criminals who need to be punished, and find better ways of dealing with problems of mental health and drug abuse and with irritating, trivial offenders?'[22]

A month later, Clarke was one of three signatories to a letter in The Times (the other two being the former Deputy Prime Minister, Nick Clegg, and the former Home Secretary, Jacqui Smith), which called for the prison population in England and Wales to be halved. If this was not done, the authors wrote, 'the prisons crisis will do untold damage to wider society'.[23] More recently still, the Justice Secretary for England and Wales, David Gauke, remarked to The Times that 'Twenty five years ago the [prison] population was 44,000. Today it's 84,000. I would like it to fall'.[24]

Finally, speaking to the House of Commons Justice Committee in June 2018, the prisons minister, Rory Stewart, set out two policy choices:

'We can do one of two things: we either go for the Ken Clarke model, which is that you… gamble everything on being able to reduce the prison population; or we can… say that… even though ideally the prison population will go down, that… is [not] very likely to happen, because I am not sure that there is the will among the public or Parliament to take… measures to reduce that population'.[25]

These exchanges illustrate the consensus, but also the inertia, at the heart of current attempts to

22. HC Deb (3 November 2016) vol. 616, col. 1071. [ONLINE] Available at: https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2016-11-03/debates/DE8B3392-280F-4512-93FF-6F82699383BB/PrisonSafetyAndReform#contribution-CAEB7B11-BDD9-423C-8574-8AAC2EF42DEA. [Accessed: 1 October 2018].
23. Clegg, N., K Clarke and J. Smith (2016) 'Call to halve the prison population'. The Times 22 December. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/turkey-russia-and-a-call-for-action-on-syria-sc95fclfq. [Accessed 1 October 2018]
24. Sylvester, R. (2018) 'David Gauke interview: 'It's the carrot and stick: prisoners need to have a sense of purpose'. The Times, 25 May. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/david-gauke-interview-it-s-the-carrot-and-stick-prisoners-need-to-have-a-sense-of-purpose-2mp5qt0kx. [Accessed 1 October 2018]
25. Justice Committee (2018) 'Oral evidence: Prison population 2022: planning for the future'. [ONLINE] Available at: http://data.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/committeeevidence.svc/evidencedocument/justice-committee/prison-population-2022/oral/86114.html. [Accessed 1 October 2018], Q56.

address the crisis of imprisonment. Widespread agreement that the prison population should be reduced is matched by a shoulder-shrugging resignation about the possibility of any meaningful action. The crisis of imprisonment, it seems, is an unchanging reality for this generation, and for future ones. The interventions by Clarke and Stewart do, though, hold out the possibility of getting out of the crisis of imprisonment: in Clarke's case, the question tends more towards the technocratic (changes to sentencing policy); in Stewart's case, the question is more of a political one.

These themes—the technocratic and political—are explored in some depth by A Presumption Against Imprisonment, published by the British Academy in 2014.[26] The authors of this report take for granted that reducing the prison population has an irreducibly political dimension, one characterised by an 'inevitably slow and arduous process of changing public and political thinking about the use of imprisonment'.[27] They also offer a number of technocratic proposals. These include changes to sentencing practices, a review of existing sentence lengths, and developing alternative provision for those with mental health problems, learning disabilities, and those with drug and alcohol problems. The necessary changes, however, are 'unlikely to be brought about solely by changes to the sentencing system'.[28] Prisons policy in particular, and criminal justice policy more broadly should be depoliticised, through 'the creation of a Penal Policy Committee… [to] free penal policy from some of the pressures of short-term party politics'.[29] This argument sits in some tension with the authors' earlier commitment to a long-term process of engaging with, and changing, public and political opinion. Others would argue that too little democratic engagement, rather than too much, has contributed to the current crisis of imprisonment.[30]

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Widening their gaze from a narrow focus on prison and penality, the authors also position the question of imprisonment within a wider context. '[T]he criminal justice system', they note, 'is a realm of social policy that is, and should be linked to others, such as health… employment, education and supporting social services'.[31] While not exploring this wider context in any detail, the authors list crime prevention, education and employment, family policy, diversion from prosecution and restorative justice as examples.

How useful is this for getting out of the crisis of imprisonment? The twentieth century was characterised by a toxic combination of the crisis in prisons and the crisis of imprisonment, resulting in the expansion of the prison estate and a deepening of both crises. Were the perspectives outlined by Clarke and Stewart, and the prescriptions in A Presumption Against Imprisonment, to be successfully enacted, they may go some way towards lessening both crises. That said, all the approaches so far considered take as read that imprisonment has an ongoing validity as a social institution.

Those approaching the crisis of imprisonment from an abolitionist standpoint take a different view. For abolitionists, it is precisely the reliance on imprisonment—the assumption that imprisonment is and should be a timeless, fixed presence in any imaginable society—that is the crisis. The harmfulness of such thinking, at a material level, is clear in the suicides, self-harm, broken dreams and wrecked families and communities that form the collateral damage of imprisonment. But imprisonment also performs an ideological role, not least of all in mystifying the social processes that give rise to the problems to which prison is presented as the answer. As Angela Davis puts it:

> *'The prison… functions ideologically as an abstract site into which undesirables are*

26. Allen, R., A. Ashworth, R Cotterrell, A. Coyle, A. Duff, N Lacey, A. Leibling, R. Morgan (2014) A Presumption Against Imprisonment: Social Order and Social Values. London: British Academy. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/publications/presumption-against-imprisonment-social-order-and-social-values. [Accessed 1 October 2018].
27. Ibid, 23.
28. Ibid, 87.
29. Ibid, 89.
30. See e.g. Dzur, A., I. Loader and R. Sparks (Eds) (2016) Democratic Theory and Mass Incarceration. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
31. Allen et al above, 89.

deposited, relieving us of the responsibility of thinking about the real issues afflicting those communities from which prisoners are drawn in such disproportionate numbers'.[32]

Her own prescriptions for how a future without prisons might be achieved are relatively brief, in what is, to be fair, a short book. We should not, she argues, look for 'prison like substitutes for prison', such as house arrest and electronic monitoring. Rather, we should 'envision a continuum of alternatives to imprisonment—demilitarization of schools, revitalization of education at all levels, a health system that provides free physical and mental care to all, and a justice system based on reparation and reconciliation rather than retribution and vengeance'.[33] A not dissimilar set of proposals are made by Joe Sim,[34] while David Scott proposes nine 'interlinked strategic objectives', including tackling inequality, fostering democratic engagement and promoting alternatives that might credibly displace the punishment reflex.[35]

That said, given the broad focus of the abolitionist stance, consensus among abolitionists has, unsurprisingly, been conspicuous by its absence. As Vincenzo Ruggiero has noted, 'abolitionism does not possess one single theoretical or political source of inspiration, but a composite backdrop from which, wittingly or otherwise, it draws its arguments and proposals for action'.[36] This heterogeneous mix of influences and inspirations has inevitably resulted in a wide range of abolitionist perspectives and prescriptions, some more persuasive than others.

This lack of clarity is as much a resource to draw on as a problem to overcome. For if we are to get out of the crisis of imprisonment, and stop reproducing fresh crises in prisons, a recognition that the future is open, rather than already determined, and that new solutions to old problems, while not easy to come by are in principle possible to find, are the essential first steps.

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32. Davis, A. (2003) Are Prisons Obsolete?. New York: Seven Stories Press, 16.
33. Ibid, 107.
34. See Sim, Punishment and Prisons above.
35. Scott, D. (2018) Against Imprisonment: An Anthology of Abolitionist Essays. Winchester: Waterside Press, 218ff.
36. Ruggiero, V. (2013) Penal Abolitionism. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 9.