After Holloway: Consultation with women affected by the criminal justice system

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About the author

Claire Cain is the Policy and Campaigns Manager at Women in Prison.

Women in Prison is a national charity that provides support to women affected by the criminal justice system and campaigns to prevent the harm caused to women, their families and our communities by imprisonment. Women in Prison runs three women’s centres in Woking, Manchester and Lambeth, London and is leading the 2020 Ambition to reduce the women’s prison population from around 4,000 to 2,020 by 2020.

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About this report

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About us

The Centre for Crime and Justice Studies is an independent educational charity that advances public understanding of crime, criminal justice and social harm. Through partnership and coalition-building, advocacy and research, we work to inspire social justice solutions to the problems society faces, so that many responses that criminalise and punish are no longer required.

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Picture courtesy of Erika, artist who was imprisoned in HMP Holloway for three years. www.recordedinart.com and twitter @ErikaPostcards
Foreword

Women in Prison and the Centre for Crime and Justice Studies are honoured to be able to help understand the perspective of women in prison on the closure of HMP Holloway and the potential use for the land that is due to be sold as a result.

Women in Prison was founded over 30 years ago by Chris Tchaikovsky who had spent time in Holloway and saw first-hand the plight of women imprisoned there. Thirty years on the charity continues to provide a platform for women’s voices, offer services in prisons and communities, and campaign for a profoundly different criminal justice system to the one we have now.

Through its Community Plan for Holloway programme, the Centre for Crime and Justice Studies has been working closely alongside members of the local community to ensure that their voice is heard in relation to any redevelopment plans for the now closed prison site.

Holloway was closed without consultation with either the women directly affected or charities delivering services there. Despite this we, and many others, hoped that the decision signalled a change in public policy to focus on radically reducing the prison population and moving away from prison to community alternatives. Sadly, the reality could not be further from the truth.

The speed of the closure was traumatic for many women, their families and children. This had a profound effect across the women’s prison estate with prisons not ready for the increase in the population and arrival of so many women with complex needs.

Like all prisons, Holloway has a sad history, including inadequate resources to help those with mental illness and other complex needs and a completely unsuitable environment within which to address these issues. We know that prison sentences cause a range of harm to individuals and families. Even a few weeks in prison is enough time to lose your home, job and children with problems often much worse than those that led to offending in the first place. But as this report shows, for some women conditions in the community are so bad, that they are forced to seek refuge in prison. The tragic reality of the use of prison is that Holloway housed some of the most disadvantaged and vulnerable women in our country.

Over the years the prison had become a national hub for services to help women tackle the complex root causes of offending including mental ill health and experience of trauma. Its closure has meant a substantial reduction in specialist services for women affected by the criminal justice system in London and beyond, as well as the loss of skilled and experienced staff. Sadly, since the closure, the women’s prison population and rates of women’s deaths in prison have both risen, and specialist services are under even more financial pressure than previously.

Holloway’s closure has so far proved to be a deeply harmful process with no positive outcomes. We write this report in the belief that this can change and could even now be a turning point that leads to a great social justice victory. The choice is ours. The land could be sold with cash directed to build more failing new prisons. Alternatively, we can choose justice, social change, innovation, collaboration and the empowerment of communities so that the site is used to demonstrate what a different system could look like: Where communities hold the answer to issues faced by women with complex needs and those who offend - not prisons.

As one woman in the consultation said, ‘Think outside the box!’ – good advice in more ways than one.

Kate Paradine, Chief Executive, Women in Prison
Richard Garside, Director, Centre for Crime and Justice Studies
1 Introduction

HMP Holloway - the largest women's prison in Western Europe, and the only women's prison in London, closed in the summer of 2016. The surprise announcement was made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the 2015 Autumn Spending Review.

By the end of 2015, the prison had begun a rapid process of closure with women immediately being relocated across the remaining estate in particular to HMP Bronzefield and HMP Downview. Around 200 women were moved to Downview, a prison which had been empty for two years and was not fully up and running when the women were moved in. More than a year after the closure, there are women who were once in Holloway now situated across the country, up to HMP Drake Hall in Staffordshire and HMP New Hall in Yorkshire.

Women in Prison (WIP) is working to understand and raise awareness of the impact that the closure has had, and continues to have, on women affected by the criminal justice system and across the prison estate. This report forms part of that work with the additional aim of formulating lessons learnt for any future restructuring of the estate.

There is also the question of what happens now to the former prison site. How might the land best be redeveloped to benefit the community and might any redevelopment mitigate against the impact the closure has had on women? This report therefore also feeds into the Community Plan for Holloway, a project from the Centre for Crime and Justice Studies (the Centre) which places the community at the heart of redevelopment plans for the former prison site.

Both WIP and the Centre want to ensure that the women who were formerly imprisoned in HMP Holloway are considered as part of that community. So, this report aims to promote the needs and ideas of women affected by the criminal justice system.

Background and context

As WIP's report, State of the Estate, explains, Holloway had a capacity of around 590 women with at least 1,800 women received into the prison every year. The majority of women in prison are serving very short sentences and Holloway reflected this, with nearly 55 per cent of sentenced women serving less than a year and 26.3 per cent less than three months.

The majority of women in Holloway (64.2 per cent) were aged between 21 and 39 years old. Nearly a quarter of women in Holloway were black or black British.

Experience of domestic violence, abuse and mental ill-health is endemic in the women's prison estate. In 2016 women accounted for 21 per cent of all self-harm incidents despite representing 5 per cent of the total prison population. As reported in Islington: A local needs analysis, in the year before being imprisoned, about one in four women in Holloway prison had contact with mental health services and one in 20 had been admitted to psychiatric hospital.

2016 - the year of Holloway’s closure - saw a sharp spike in deaths in prison. 22 women died in prison that year with 12 taking their own lives - the highest number of deaths in the women’s prison estate on record. Sarah Reed was the last woman to die in Holloway - three months after the announcement of the prison’s closure. Sarah had been remanded into Holloway to undergo psychiatric evaluation to conclude whether she was fit to stand trial.

Evidence shows that around 19 per cent of women were not in permanent accommodation before arriving into prison (10 per cent sleeping rough). Around 60 per cent of women leave prison with no home to go to with some Local Authorities then
considering women released from prison as having made themselves ‘intentionally homeless’, consequently relinquishing any statutory duty to house.

Rona Epstein’s report, Mothers in Prison, shows that around 66 per cent of women in prison are mothers of children under the age of 18. Only 5 per cent of children of an imprisoned mother stay in their own home (less than one in ten will be cared for by a father), with the rest staying with relatives (e.g. grandparents), or going into care. A 2015 thematic report on resettlement provision by HM Inspectorate of Prisons found that ‘far too little attention has been given by prisons to the roles of families in the resettlement process’ and that overwhelmingly family and other support networks are of central importance for rehabilitation and the ‘most effective resettlement agency’.

Key findings

Between April and July 2017 WIP issued questionnaires and hosted discussion groups with women affected by the criminal justice system. We invited women to tell us about any impact the closure of the prison has had and their ideas for the future redevelopment of the site. Here are the key findings from this consultation:

1. The closure of Holloway had, and continues to have, a significant negative impact on women affected by the criminal justice system. The closure caused distress, anxiety, and in some cases significant harm to mental health and wellbeing. For women who were in Holloway up to its closure many felt frustrated, and even sad, about being moved from a prison where the support and facilities were praised and from which they were being so abruptly disconnected. The closure also appears to have had a knock on impact across the women’s prison estate by causing overcrowding and a great deal of movement for women between prisons in order to accommodate the 500+ Holloway residents. The majority of respondents to this consultation were from London and a reoccurring concern is that they are now in prison far from home meaning it is very costly and difficult (or in some cases impossible) for families to visit.

2. The redevelopment of the Holloway site should include specialist housing for women affected by the criminal justice system. Supported housing, domestic violence refuges and hostels were among the top suggestions. These models offer independent living alongside access to specialist support workers, advice sessions, group workshops and communal areas to facilitate peer support. They are often used for short-term tenancies or for emergency accommodation. The majority of participants called for council housing to be built on the site.

3. Support services for mental health and domestic violence were identified by participants as a key need to be developed on the site. The overwhelming majority of women supported by WIP have experience of sexual violence, domestic violence or childhood sexual abuse. It is a common driving factor behind women’s contact with the criminal justice system. Mental ill-health is endemic within the prison estate, both as a root cause of offending and as a consequence of prison causing and exacerbating existing health problems. Support, beds and refuge in the community are significantly under-resourced, and in many cases Holloway prison was used as an alternative.

4. The Holloway site should be used to support and empower women. The majority of respondents called for the land to be used in part as a safe and empowering space specifically for women. The closure of Holloway prison was the loss of a space which focused specifically
on women. That focus was often not positive for women and their families, but in moving forward the respondents to this consultation have made a very clear call that this site presents an opportunity. As one respondent states ‘this land could be used for so much good, helping women, supporting women, making them feel secure’. The call for a ‘Women’s Centre’ or ‘Women’s Building’ as a hub for a mixture of services and facilities for women features strongly in respondents’ suggestions.

5. The redevelopment should acknowledge that the site was a prison of historical significance. The idea that the redevelopment recognises and remembers all that happened on that site as a prison emerged as a factor to be considered. Respondents suggested this could be achieved by using the space to offer women affected by the criminal justice system support and services to move forward in a positive way. Through this consultation WIP wanted to question whether women who had been imprisoned in Holloway would find it appropriate to, in the future, live freely and access services on the site where they may have been imprisoned. The overwhelming response to this was that to have your own key to your own front door on the site where you were once held would be a liberating and empowering experience. Also the sense of creating something communal and of benefit to the whole community was regularly mentioned in the consultation. Life in prison is about community, solidarity and peer support among those held inside and bringing those values into this site would be a fitting legacy.
2 About the Consultation

The main method of consultation was a questionnaire (Appendix C) for women to complete. For some participants this was in their own time and for others as part of a group meeting where there was also a facilitated discussion. Feedback from these discussions is incorporated into the summary of results.

The questionnaire was completed by 50 women from across the women’s prison estate and in the community. Participants completed the questionnaire in HMP Downview, HMP Bronzefield, HMP East Sutton Park, HMP Foston Hall, HMP Drake Hall, as well as in the community via WIP’s women’s centre - the Beth Centre in Lambeth, London.

The age range of participants is a fairly even spread between age 20 (20-24 age bracket) and 65 (60-65 age bracket). Although there are more participants in the younger age bracket of 20-44 year olds (23) compared with 45-65 year olds (15). The majority of this upper age group fall within the 45-49 age bracket. There were 13 participants who did not state their age.

Twenty-two participants stated their ethnicity as White British or White Irish, European or Other. Thirteen participants marked their ethnicity as Black, Black British or Black Other. There are seven who marked Asian, Asian British or Asian Other and three Dual Heritage. There were five participants who did not declare their ethnicity.

A full outline of the demographic breakdown can be found in Appendix B.

The questionnaire had two sections. Section 1 asks about the participant’s experience in relation to Holloway both as a prison and the site now. This section asks whether participants were imprisoned in Holloway and/or whether they have a connection to its locality. Participants are also asked about their feelings towards the site and whether or how they were affected by its closure.

Section 2 asks participants for their vision and ideas for the future development of the site – what they hope to see built and what they do not want to see. Participants are asked to rank proposed ideas related to the development in order of preference, and then to elaborate on how the site could be shaped, or to propose other ideas for facilities on the site. The final question gave the participant the opportunity to share their vision in a creative way by either writing a poem, picking out key words or sketching a plan. Examples of the creative output from this question can be seen on pages 12 and 13.

The following report provides a summary and analysis for each question in the consultation and includes key quotes to illustrate the findings. All written responses to the questionnaire are collated in Appendix A.
3 Findings

Section 1: Women’s experiences

Questions 1, 2 and 3 sought to find out participants’ relationship to the site, whether as a prison, or in connection to its locality and potential redevelopment. The questionnaire asked whether the participants had ever been imprisoned in Holloway, whether they are from London, and whether from Islington.

The prison:

Twenty-five out of the 50 total responses had been imprisoned in Holloway at some point (19 participants had not). There were three N/A responses and the remainder left this question blank choosing just to outline their vision for the site.

Only a few participants chose to disclose when they were in Holloway and/or for how long. From these results the majority were imprisoned close to, or up to, its closure – during 2015/2016. One participant was one of six women who were the last to leave Holloway at the time of its closure. One participant was held there several times throughout the 1980s and another participant was held 28 years ago.

Sentence lengths (or at least time spent in Holloway of that sentence) ranged from a few weeks to three and a half years.

The site:

The majority of respondents consider themselves from London (34 out of 49 respondents, one left this question blank) but very few actually lived in or are returning to Islington (9 out of the 48 to answer this question).

Question 4 sought to learn more about any emotional connection to the site, thoughts on its closure as a women’s prison (the only women’s prison in London), and whether or not they feel they were directly affected by its closure.

There is a general sense from the responses of frustration at the closure. This mainly comes from being relocated or due to then being situated (in prison) outside of London (which as question 2 shows is considered home for the majority of participants) and a long way for visits. There is also a general sense that Holloway, when compared with the rest of the women’s prison estate was one of the preferred prisons to be in, with some respondents praising the facilities and staff. Many respondents stated that they believed the closure to be unjust. Other respondents were also impacted upon by the closure because it caused other prisons to become overcrowded. In some cases the closure caused significant distress.

Despite the praise for Holloway this is still within the context of it being a prison and a place of pain for so many. The consultation sought to get a sense of whether women with a connection to the site felt it was important, or crucially whether it was appropriate, that the redevelopment contains some form of living legacy to its past.

How do women who were imprisoned in Holloway feel about having a house, for example, on the same site, or how would they feel about going back to the same site to attend a support service? The feedback for this comes via some of the responses in the questionnaire, such as a call for something significant to be built on the site to ‘empower and strengthen women to remain on the outside’, and the hope that something good can come from its potential.

In discussion this was further explored, and whilst one woman was distressed by her experience and memories associated with Holloway that she wouldn’t want to go back there, the overwhelming majority were strongly in favour of the use of the site as a type of living legacy, or to be able to access community services and facilities there. One
Question 4: ‘How did you feel about the closure of HMP Holloway? Has the closure had an impact on you?’

- I moved to Downview, where nothing was up and running, then I tried killing myself twice, because all the help and support was taken away from me. I moved to Drake Hall, no better here. I have been in prison since 2014, been to five prisons, Holloway was the only prison where I saw progress, within myself and life. All that was taken away from me for no reason. It was not my first time in Holloway, my first time was in the 1990s. Holloway was good then, and I feel the same about Holloway. I truly believe the government made a wrong move by closing Holloway.

- People whom are not in prison will have to pay out a lot more money to visit their loved ones. Money is tight as it is and not having a London-based prison will cause a lot of heartache; as some prisoners will not get visits and that has a knock on effect for the family and prisoners.

- As I live in London, for my visitors it is a long journey of 1hr and 45 mins depending on traffic.

- I believe Holloway should be brought up to standard, liveable conditions. Prisoners need to be as close to home as possible. Even though I wasn’t in Holloway, I was in Peterborough, this had a direct impact on me and others, as our wing went from a quietish wing to manic. This affects your mental wellbeing. A lot of single rooms were made into double rooms, to accommodate the spill over. This meant more people on a wing – overcrowded. Ones like me were shipped out, I was shipped out to Styal near Manchester. This meant I was miles away from home, no visits. Contact with outside visitors is very important.

- In my opinion, Holloway needed refurbishment not closure. Saw closing process and it caused a great deal of distress to many women and staff.

- I think that this was a totally unjust decision. Holloway was a very successful prison needed in inner London.

- I was upset, I was from King’s Cross and all my friends and community was from that area, then I was moved out of London where it is difficult for friends to visit and getting back into work for ROTL’s.

- It was long coming and to be honest, it was falling apart. I feel it was a big part of the women’s estate and it suited a lot of prisoners, family members etc., some women felt a loss in a sense of their home and were very sad. It is not a good thing as we are over populated now and Holloway in general was a good jail just in need of a refurb. Visits are a lot more difficult for family in London.

- I was in Holloway when it was closed. The jail I’m in now isn’t a real difficulty for visits. I was upset to hear that Holloway was closing down as the jail on the whole had a lot for us no matter what type of sentence you had. Now it seems courses that are needed are in jails out of London meaning visits are harder too now and there’s no stability.

- I don’t have any good feeling. Am out now and I don’t even pray for imprisonment for my enemy.

- I was upset about the closure of Holloway. I was moved to another prison and this prison is good for visits but it is the overall atmosphere of Holloway that I miss. Staff were approachable and cared for the prisoners, there were more interesting jobs and activities there, the prison was well run. I personally liked that you could see beyond the prison walls from the top floor, it was well located and you didn’t feel so closed off, you could see and hear the outside world.

- Not a direct impact. However this prison had to transfer prisoners up North (further from their family/loved ones) in order to accommodate girls coming from down South due to the closure of Holloway. Many did not want to be transferred due to distance from loved ones, likelihood of visits etc.
Section 2: Vision

Question 5 outlined 15 ideas for possible facilities or housing models to be built on the site. Participants were asked to rank in order of preference (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th etc.) but did not need to put a number next to every idea. Table 1 below shows the full results.

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<tr>
<th>Table 1. What would you like to see on the Holloway prison site? (ranked in order of preference)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
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<tr>
<td>Supported Housing</td>
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<td>Domestic Violence Refuge</td>
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<tr>
<td>Council Housing</td>
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<td>Mental Health Support</td>
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<td>Women’s Centre</td>
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<td>Hostel</td>
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<td>Community Centre</td>
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<td>Private Housing for Sale</td>
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<td>School</td>
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<tr>
<td>Art Centre</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Some respondents chose just to tick (not rank) facilities or housing that they would like to see. Table 2 shows the results - see overleaf.

Table 1 shows a clear call for housing models which include access to support and are often used as emergency or short-term forms of accommodation (supported housing and domestic violence refuges). This is alongside a clear desire to see investment in council housing.

In looking at both tables we can see a clear call for services that offer holistic support – one-stop-shop models through the supported housing and Women’s Centre options (although the questionnaire does not offer a definition of how these models operate and what services would be on offer).

Following this, two specific types of support feature strongly - that of Mental Health and Domestic Violence.

Facilities that offer communal space feature in the top half of preferences when looking at both tables - with the idea of a community centre featuring strongly in the ticked not ranked table (Table 2).

Private Housing for Sale and School were the least popular options for the redevelopment of the site.
Once again, housing continues to dominate these responses, but more detail is offered with a preference for this housing to have a specialised remit for women who have left prison and where support is also available. There is a very strong desire for specialist services and facilities specifically for women.

In the discussion groups the idea of facilities or support services for women were explored as to what these could look like. It was commonly cited that it shouldn’t be about one particular support area or organisation, and that the space is big enough for a community approach, or a hub could be developed for many different types of activities and organisations for women. One group also suggested that this was a chance for innovation and something new, and not just something which picks up the pieces (i.e. a homeless drop-in or a domestic violence refuge), but a space that actively works to prevent and reduce these problems in the first place using debate, creating policy and campaigning. It was also important for the space to be community inclusive and a chance to bring together people from different backgrounds. This was raised as a reaction to prison where the lives and experiences of those inside are so hidden and closed off from the community. It was suggested that the community could be involved in shaping the housing offer or even creating a women’s self-build project.

Finally it must be noted that a small number suggested that the prison should reopen albeit in a modernised and reimagined approach suitable for ‘this millennia’.

Question 6 asked participants to offer their ideas for the site or to expand further on their vision for the redevelopment.

Other suggestions include:

- Shipping containers adapted into homes
- A centre offering arts and crafts and an on-site cafe
- A gym
- An environmental centre to grow fruit and vegetables and to educate on sustainability
- Animal rescue
- Eco-housing community
- Women’s education institution
- Business hub
- Soup kitchen/Social supermarket

Table 2. What would you like to see on the Holloway prison site? (just ticked, not ranked in order of preference)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community Centre</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mental Health Support</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Council Housing</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Supported Housing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Domestic Violence Refuge</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>Art Centre</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>Hostel</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>Museum</td>
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<td>Private Rental Housing</td>
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<td>Green Space</td>
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<td>School</td>
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<td>Children’s Playground</td>
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<tr>
<td>Park</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Housing for Sale</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question 6: ‘Please write any other ideas you have that are not listed above or tell us more about what you would like to see’

- Supported housing and the surrounding area that has, domestic violence, mental health, community centre, women’s centre, all in one, as the area, I believe is big enough. Or reopen Holloway as a prison.

- Housing for ex-offenders.

- Specialist supported housing that reflects the complexity of women’s lives. Specifically for women with experience of, or at risk of experiencing, the criminal justice system. Services for young people in care. Therapy service for women experiencing trauma/dv etc.

- Everything for women. Women’s centre would be my top priority and the site should recognise the history of the prison with stories from inmates and photos.

- I sincerely think that the prison should be modernised and re-opened as a flagship of how the government sees women’s incarceration and rehabilitation in this millennia.

- A community centre, with child’s playground and on-site museum, a domestic violence refuge and women’s centre offering arts and crafts and an on-site café. This land could be used for so much good, helping women, supporting women, making them feel secure, supported housing.

- I think the site should be used for women and any women’s services. I think women in prison have all gone through abuse of some kind, and a domestic violence refuge would make an amazing addition.

- I would like to see the site dedicated to women, helping women in some way, whether this is a women’s centre, a refuge etc.

- I would like to see a park for people to unwind in, children to play and community to grow fruit and veg and learn about the environment and sustainability. It would be nice to see a community centre there to hold courses and resources for the community. A museum is a wonderful idea to remember all the lives and times that women lost. A memorial or drop in centre for women to go to for help, support and community.

- I think it should be homes for people that don’t have anywhere to go on release from prison.

- A resource centre for women where office space and other activities can be available for all women!

- It was a women’s prison where women were kept far from their family and children. I would like to see on this place council housing or anything where women can get help and support.

- I think because the prison was so historical that should not be forgotten but because of how the prison helped so many women there should be something there to help the community. It is a large piece of land and does not have to have one thing built there, there could be a mixture of the above built there.

- I strongly think the site should be used to offer support and/or services that can help women move forward from any difficulties they may have in a positive way.

Question 7 asked whether there was anything the participant did NOT want to see the site used for. There was an overwhelming response of not wanting to see private housing for sale due to the unaffordability. This was followed by some objections also to private rental.
4. Your Voice. Sometimes it’s hard to start your thoughts clearly. Please use this page to get creative and share your ideas for the future of Holloway!


Brighten your future.
Work together.
To make something special!

Help those denied.
Surf assessed and in fear.
Announce a new domestic ecuosc.
By the end of this year.

A Place of:
- positivity
- achievement
- strength
- love
- laughter
- joy
- women
- producing
- more
- support
- light
- goals
- faith
- happiness
- respect
- success
- joy
- food
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Support services for mental health and domestic violence was a key ask. This is not surprising when you understand that both these issues are experienced by the overwhelming majority of women affected by the criminal justice system. A common theme to emerge from respondents was for the need for a mixture of women’s specialist services or facilities to provide a safe-space, which can help empower women to form part of the redevelopment. We also wanted to question whether anyone felt it was inappropriate to access services or live on the former prison site. Would someone who was imprisoned there find it too painful to revisit that location albeit in a different capacity? The consultation found that this wasn’t the case, and showed that the majority of respondents would welcome any investment in housing that they can afford, or support services, and accessing those on the former prison site would actually be an empowering experience and symbolic of progress.

4 Conclusion

This consultation has shown the extent to which women affected by the criminal justice system have been greatly impacted upon by the closure of Holloway. The findings show that the closure caused distress and frustration and continues to have a negative impact on those in prison. In particular the difficulty in receiving visits was mentioned several times. Several women even asked for the site to reopen as a prison showing the extent of the negative impact the closure has had for them. Support services for mental health and domestic violence was a key ask. This is not surprising when you understand that both these issues are experienced by the overwhelming majority of women affected by the criminal justice system.

A common theme to emerge from respondents was for the need for a mixture of women’s specialist services or facilities to provide a safe-space, which can help empower women to form part of the redevelopment.

The need for housing was strongly expressed throughout the consultation and clearly it is an issue impacting upon respondents. There is strong opposition to private housing and a call for innovation around housing models. Supported housing schemes were a preferred model. This type of accommodation tends to have a community feel with some shared social space as well as a private room. These schemes often offer support work – a space to meet with key workers, counsellors or take part in support groups or workshops. We also wanted to question whether anyone felt it was inappropriate to access services or live on the former prison site. Would someone who was imprisoned there find it too painful to revisit that location albeit in a different capacity? The consultation found that this wasn’t the case, and showed that the majority of respondents would welcome any investment in housing that they can afford, or support services, and accessing those on the former prison site would actually be an empowering experience and symbolic of progress.

Question 7: ‘Is there anything that you do NOT want to see be built on the site?’

- Private housing as this is too expensive.
- Private housing for sale because it would be unaffordable for people to buy or rent.
- Private homes not affordable for the masses!
- Anything that is not going to support young people, especially ex-offenders. There’s a lot of issues with housing more now than ever along with a lot of other things. Help the younger generation.
- Park or school, there are plenty of schools and parks around.
- Private rental housing, dead space i.e.: green space, museum, private housing for sale, art centre.
- Schools, green space, shops, museums, parks, hostels.
- 1. Private housing 2. All green space. 3. Another prison
5 Appendices

These are available at our website:
www.crimeandjustice.org.uk/publications

The Centre for Crime and Justice Studies is an independent educational charity that advances public understanding of crime, criminal justice and social harm. Through partnership and coalition-building, advocacy and research, we work to inspire social justice solutions to the problems society faces, so that many responses that criminalise and punish are no longer required.