

LEEDS METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY

**INSTITUTE FOR HEALTH
AND WELLBEING**



An Evaluation of Jigsaw Visitors' Centre



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Executive Summary

The Jigsaw Visitors' Centre based at HMP Leeds commissioned the Centre for Health Promotion Research at Leeds Metropolitan University to conduct an evaluation of its services. Data for this evaluation was generated using a combination of methods with a range of groups, including prisoners' families, prisoners, prison staff, Jigsaw staff and key stakeholders within HMP Leeds. Access to the various participants was negotiated and facilitated by Jigsaw and HMP Leeds.

The major finding from the evaluation is that Jigsaw makes the process of visiting less-stressful for families (including children) and contributes to the consolidation of family bonds. The data suggests that Jigsaw are contributing to improving and maintaining the family ties of prisoners at HMP Leeds and through doing this are contributing to reduced re-offending.

The findings from the evaluation reiterates the recent inspection report by HMIP in that Jigsaw provides excellent family support work and this remains, and should continue to be, the *raison d'être* of the Centre and its staff. This family support work happening both inside the Jigsaw centre and also within the visits hall (through the play facilities) are excellent examples of this work.

There remains a series of issues that inhibit the visiting experience both from the perspective of prisoners and prison visitors. We would emphasise, however, that much of this is outside of Jigsaw's immediate control. The visits room within HMP Leeds remains uninviting and the evaluation team welcome the proposals for a newly designed visiting space. Also, there were concerns raised about the distribution of visiting orders and the booking line for visits. Whilst acknowledging that the on-line system has alleviated some of the problems, there remain significant challenges with the current processes.

Jigsaw has grown and developed as an organisation. Our evaluation shows that this development has occurred both in terms of personnel and its strategic outlook. We suggest that the organisational changes made within Jigsaw have been overwhelmingly positive and has enabled them to meet their organisational objectives. The working relationship between HMP Leeds and Jigsaw has perhaps never been better, and there seems to have been a natural convergence of the distinctive cultures of each organisation. The evaluation does recommend, however, that Jigsaw continues to maintain its independent status.

Our data would support Jigsaw's plans to extend their service provision to other centres across the region. If this is done, however, it is important that Jigsaw stay focussed on what they do best and remain locally responsive and flexible. In conclusion, Jigsaw contributes toward improving and maintaining family ties at HMP Leeds and does so in a cost-effective way. Jigsaw is well-positioned to meet the challenges of current and future demands.

1. Context and background

There would appear to be little debate about the *need* for prison visitors' centres. It is well recognised that they provide a potentially supportive space for families, friends and relatives of offenders. How best to provide such centres does, however, remain a subject of debate. As the organisation 'Families Outside' note:

"Prison Visitors' Centres are a valuable means of supporting isolated and vulnerable families. People experience a range of deprivations as a direct result of their family member's imprisonment, but the stigma of that experience often prevents them from seeking help. Visitors' Centres therefore have the potential to provide a crucial link for families to community-based supports, to the prison, and ultimately to their family members in custody. Debate persists about the best model to provide support – but it is a debate that must be resolved." (Families Outside, 2010, p.4)

Visitors' centres range from very basic premises affording visitors shelter before a visit, to more elaborate places which provide a welcome – in the form of a place to sit comfortably and have a hot drink – and a range of services. Some visitors' centres manage the visits process, reducing the need for the prison to do this. In addition to the role of providing a humane service for this vulnerable group, it can be argued that centres play a wider role in terms of bridging the divide between 'outside' and 'inside', producing a more human face to the penal institution. Visits are significant and essential to families and to prisoners, involving high emotion on behalf of visitors and the visited, as our work has shown (Dixey and Woodall, 2012). Whereas visitors' centres might initially have been set up in response to the felt needs of families, the maintenance of family ties has been shown to affect re-offending. There is thus renewed interest in the role of visitors' centres, as they are effective in supporting and facilitating the maintenance of such ties. As well as providing a charitable service to a needy group, policy makers and the criminal justice system more generally, have now appreciated the wider contribution such centres can make to the need to reform criminal justice.

Reducing re-offending has always been of significant political importance, but perhaps never more so than during this period of austerity where penal reform is taking centre stage. Commentators suggest that we are in a period of mass incarceration, demonstrated by recent figures which show that the prison population in England and Wales now stands at around 87,000. The recent Green Paper – 'Breaking the Cycle: Effective Punishment, Rehabilitation and Sentencing of Offenders' (Ministry of Justice, 2010a, p.1) states that prisons are expensive to run and that a greater focus on reducing the likelihood of prisoners re-offending is urgently needed:

"The criminal justice system cannot remain an expensive way of giving the public a break from offenders, before they return to commit more crimes."

The Government have therefore proposed a new approach to pay providers to reduce reoffending ('payment by results') although some critics argue that this may only focus on the 'easy' prisoners. This will be funded by the savings this will generate for the criminal justice system.

Supporting prisoners' relationships with their families has always been backed by the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) and the National Offender Management Service (NOMS). Crucial to this is the quality of services provided to those visiting prisons establishments, like family and friends of prisoners (Action for Prisoners' Families et al., 2011). Maintaining this contact is critical to successful prisoner rehabilitation and it has long been argued that prison visits are an essential component of prisoner resettlement and reducing re-offending (Shafer, 1994).

The Government has recognised the benefits of maintaining prisoners' family ties. The recent Green Paper (Ministry of Justice, 2010a) mentions the importance of family

relationships in reducing re-offending. It also noted the importance of interrupting the cycle of intergenerational crime, given that 48% of boys who experience parental incarceration in their first decade of life are convicted as adults (Murray and Farrington, 2005). More specifically, the Government's framework for reducing re-offending through supporting families strongly emphasises the important role of prison visits for improving the chances of successful resettlement. Indeed, the framework acknowledges that family links are at the heart of offender management (Ministry of Justice and Department for Children Schools and Families, 2008). This is reflected at HMP Leeds, where maintaining positive family ties is seen as one of seven core components in creating a reduction in re-offending rates of those leaving the prison. This commitment was emphasised in the document 'Breaking the Cycle. The 7 outcomes' (HMP Leeds, 2011).

NOMS and HM Prison Service, like other public body organisations, are being increasingly scrutinised for the services they provide. NOMS (Yorkshire and Humberside) make this point:

"It is clear that a key driver for commissioning will be the need for a relentless focus on efficiency and effectiveness in order to maintain service delivery and manage demand. This will require us to ensure that all regional commissioning and decommissioning is guided by the best available evidence on what works" (Ministry of Justice, 2010b, p.5)

The provision of visitors' services within prisons will not be exempt from this 'efficiency and effectiveness' examination, as guidance has been produced by NOMS which highlights requirements for prison visitor services (Ministry of Justice, 2011). This guidance is particularly useful given that visitors' centres across the country have historically varied in terms of their services, structure and staffing (Loucks, 2002). New regulations outline the standards for prison visitor services (including decent, indoor facilities with toilets; seating and baby changing facilities; the availability of basic information on support services for families and signposting to specialist services), but beyond this basic provision extra services (e.g. Family Support Workers) may be seen as expendable and will be judged on whether the services provide value for money for the tax payer (Ministry of Justice, 2011).

Aims of the evaluation

The Centre for Health Promotion Research (CHPR) has been asked to undertake an independent evaluation of the Jigsaw Visitors' Centre. The evaluation has the following broad aims:

1. To evaluate the impact that the Jigsaw Visitors' Centre has had on the contribution to reducing re-offending rates for prisoners at HMP Leeds.
2. To report and document any organisational changes at Jigsaw.
3. To highlight good practice and to comment on the transferability of this to other visitors' centres both locally and nationally.
4. To comment on the cost effectiveness of Jigsaw.
5. To make recommendations for future delivery and to locate Jigsaw's work to current policy drivers.

The Jigsaw Visitors' Centre, HMP Leeds

Whilst there is now a mandate for all prisons to provide a purpose built prison facility (Ministry of Justice, 2011), the Jigsaw Visitors' Centre at HMP Leeds has for many years been ahead of its time providing dedicated, high-quality services for visitors and prisoners (see Box 1). Jigsaw's vision is that it is "here to provide friendly, independent, support, information and advice and healthy living activities for all communities associated with the Visitors Centre – families of prisoners, prisoners and ex-prisoners, prison staff and the local community. We aim to empower people and their families to make positive choices about their lives and life style." Jigsaw also has clear organisational values which include:

- Putting people first, providing a personal and quality service accessible to all our service users.
- Maintaining an independent, democratic organisation that empowers its stakeholders to get involved in the planning and direction of the organisation.
- Valuing diversity amongst staff, volunteers, service users, and the Management Committee and encouraging the different skills, backgrounds and experiences they can contribute.
- Following a clear strategic direction from the Management Committee and Manager, owned by staff and volunteers and informed by service users.
- Innovative and creative ways of working with partners to effectively make a difference to our client groups.
- Working to clear and transparent agreements with service providers and funders.
- Being reflective and critical, able to learn from experience and share good practice.
- Maintaining a healthy and supportive team, where everyone's contribution is valued.

There are twenty-eight visits sessions per week at HMP Leeds comprising of between three and five sessions each day (seven days per week). Each visits session can hold a maximum of twenty-seven prisoners and three adult visitors per prisoner. Except for two evening visits and the 8:30am visits during Monday to Friday, all social visitors arrive at Jigsaw to be registered and have the opportunity to relax and unwind before entering the main prison gate to visit their relative. Jigsaw is a separate building to HMP Leeds, however, the distance between the two is only a very short walk. Approximately thirty minutes before a visit session, visitors within Jigsaw are invited to walk over to the main prison gate where they are processed before being escorted to the visits hall.

Box 1. A summary of services available at Jigsaw

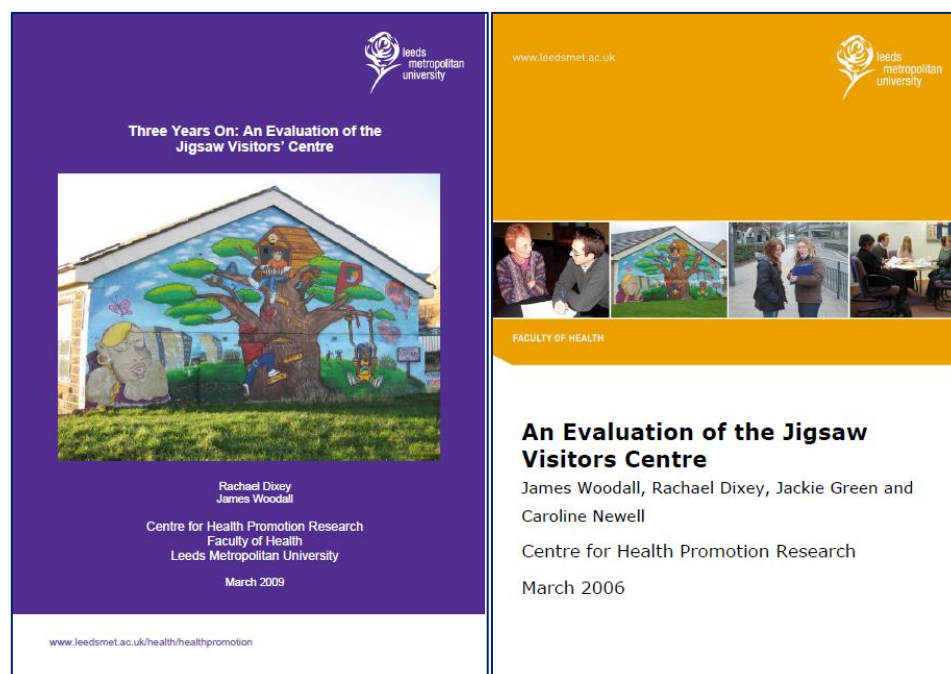
- Apart from 8.30am and evening visits, all visitors are booked onto their visits at Jigsaw. Every visitor that comes to HMP Leeds is booked in using a biometric system.
- Jigsaw deals with issues, concerns and problems of families via telephone and on a face-to-face basis. Information is also available on Jigsaw's website and through the range of information booklets, designed by Jigsaw staff, within the centre.
- All first time visitors receive an information booklet which details the services offered by Jigsaw and about other processes within the prison. A member of Jigsaw staff will take time with the visitors to explain the way in which visits operate to help prepare them for their visit.
- There are five family reception support workers within the Jigsaw team who offer advice and guidance to families visiting the prison. Family reception support workers are available seven days a week.
- Jigsaw run and manage the play area within the visits room at HMP Leeds.
- Jigsaw organise various family days which allow the family to spend an extended amount of time together. These have included gym visits, circus skills, story-telling, craft activities, baby massage and cooking days.
- Deliver healthy relationship course and domestic violence courses for prisoners on the resettlement wing in partnership with the resettlement team.
- Jigsaw runs the tea bar in the social visits room with all profit made re-invested back into the Centre. The tea bar is run by one member of staff, who is assisted by a serving prisoner.

Within recent prison inspection reports of HMP Leeds, Jigsaw has been consistently seen as an area of excellent practice within the institution. Indeed, in the 2010 inspection report Jigsaw was recognised as providing “excellent support and services to visitors and families” (p.16) and its staff described as “caring, approachable and supportive” (p.92). Jigsaw’s work with prisoners, in terms of delivering parenting and relationship courses, was also acknowledged (HM Chief Inspectorate of Prisons, 2010).

Box 2. HMP Leeds: a snapshot

- Leeds is a local prison holding prisoners remanded or sentenced by the courts in West Yorkshire.
- Approximate population – 1100
- Around 65% of the population at HMP Leeds are sentenced prisoners.
- 32% are serving 2 years to less than 4 years in the prison. Almost 7% are serving life sentences.
- 44% of prisoners are aged between 21-29 years.
- 98% of those in HMP Leeds live within 50 miles of the institution.

Jigsaw has been independently evaluated by us on two separate occasions. Both evaluations highlighted that Jigsaw’s work surpasses not only what is normally found in the Yorkshire and Humberside region, but also in other areas across the country. The evaluations demonstrated that Jigsaw plays a role in both the smooth running of the prison, keeping families together and consequently reducing the likelihood of prisoners re-offending (Woodall et al., 2006, Dixey and Woodall, 2009).



Organisation of the evaluation report

A brief overview of the methodological approach to the evaluation follows; this outlines the process by which evidence was gathered and how the data was analysed. The findings from the evaluation are then presented in separate sections. Section three reports findings

from the monitoring data routinely collected by Jigsaw. Then the views of Jigsaw employees and the Jigsaw Management Committee are presented in section four. This is followed by findings from prisoners' families, prisoners and prison staff. Next, the key findings are synthesised and discussed in section eight and finally the conclusions and recommendations for Jigsaw are outlined in section nine.

2. Methodology

There has been a recognition that evaluating prison visitors' centres is challenging and that attributing their work with reductions in re-offending rates is methodologically complex (de Las Casas et al., 2011, Mears et al., 2011). This is because it is difficult to disentangle the impact that specific services have toward re-offending. The MoJ Reducing Reoffending Third Sector Advisory Group acknowledges this complexity. They argue that improved family ties or improved confidence and self-esteem should be considered an acceptable intermediate outcome that indicates possible reductions in re-offending (Reducing Reoffending Third Sector Advisory Group, 2011). Furthermore, NOMS state that strengthening family ties, improving family and intimate relationships, improving parenting behaviours, and increasing acceptance into communities and social networks are intermediate outcomes that are likely to be important in reducing re-offending outcomes (NOMS, 2011). This resonates with a 'theory of change' approach to evaluation (Judge and Bauld, 2001) where evaluators seek to understand and make explicit how processes of working contribute to longer term outcomes. In the context of this evaluation, how Jigsaw and their ways of working contribute to longer term impacts for NOMS and the criminal justice system (i.e. reduced re-offending rates). This approach to evaluation is becoming increasingly accepted in research on prison visitors' centres (de Las Casas et al., 2011).

Approach

It is generally agreed that when evaluating complex programmes, such as Jigsaw, a number of strands of activity are required to capture the range of programme outcomes. The use of triangulation has been proposed as a means of achieving validity in evaluation (Green and Tones, 1999) and is particularly relevant to this evaluation. Data triangulation involves "using diverse sources of data, so that one seeks out instances of a phenomena in several different settings, at different points in time or space" (Seale, 2004, p.77). Triangulation was achieved by comparing the findings derived from the use of different methods (focus groups, interviews, monitoring data) and from different stakeholder groups (prison visitors, prisoners, prison staff etc.). Ethical approval for these strands of activity were approved by the Faculty of Health and Social Sciences at Leeds Metropolitan University. Table 1 provides an overview of data collected during the evaluation.

Table 1. **An overview of data collection activities**

Group	Data collection activity
All	Gathering documentary data including annual reports, finance data, project bids and promotional material.
Prison visitors (including prisoners' families)	Semi-structured interviews with 28 prison visitors.
Prisoners	Two focus groups with a total of 17 serving prisoners at HMP Leeds.
Prison staff	Two focus groups with a total of 15 members of prison staff.
Jigsaw staff	An interactive workshop with seven operational staff from Jigsaw. In addition, interviews with volunteers working at Jigsaw were conducted.
Jigsaw management committee	A focus group with seven members of the management committee.
Other key stakeholders	Interviews with senior decision-makers within HMP Leeds.

Monitoring data

Routinely collected monitoring data was provided by Jigsaw for analysis. This included data relating to the number of service users and the number of telephone calls received and addressed by Jigsaw staff. Financial reports and accounts were also supplied.

Prison visitors (including prisoners' families)

Understanding the visitors' perspective of Jigsaw and its services was a central strand of the evaluation. Qualitative interviewing was used as a method to elicit visitor experiences and is recognised as being a valuable approach to understanding the process of prison visits (Mears et al., 2011). During the data collection period of the evaluation (November-December, 2011), prison visitors were approached by a member of the evaluation team prior to their visit and were invited to participate in a short semi-structured interview¹. To capture the views of a broad range of visitors, interviews were conducted (where possible) on different days and during morning and afternoon visiting sessions. The independence of the evaluation team was stressed in order to make clear that participants could be as open and honest about Jigsaw. The interviews focussed broadly on:

- Their experience of using Jigsaw;
- Benefits of Jigsaw, both for them personally and their children (where appropriate);
- Their access to information and services;
- Views about what is working well/not well in the Centre;
- Their recommendations for the future.

A total of 28 prison visitors were interviewed inside the Jigsaw centre; these interviews varied in length and were often contingent on the amount of time people had to wait prior to their visit. In the majority of cases (n=18), the interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis but on some occasions interviews were conducted with more than one participant at the same time (e.g. parents visiting their son). Most interviewees were female visitors (n=20) often visiting their husband, boyfriend or son; only eight male visitors were interviewed. Though it is acknowledged that this may not be fully representative of the profile of family visitors at HMP Leeds, the high female representation was to be expected as prison visitors' centres have traditionally been seen as 'female spaces' (Condry, 2007).

Where permission was granted by participants the interviews were audio recorded.

Prison staff

Prison staff working within HMP Leeds were invited to participate in focus group discussions by members of the Jigsaw team. The authors were aware of the limitations of the Jigsaw team recruiting staff; nonetheless, this was the most suitable approach given the timeframe of the research. Two focus groups comprising of a total of 15 participants were conducted with uniformed staff. The first focus group, which lasted approximately 50 minutes, was conducted with a group that worked exclusively in the security and visits area at HMP Leeds (n=12). The second focus group was conducted with staff working on the resettlement wing at HMP Leeds and lasted approximately 40 minutes. Jigsaw had been delivering several courses to prisoners based on this wing and therefore it was deemed suitable to speak to those staff members who had been involved in organising and liaising with Jigsaw. Three members of prison staff from the resettlement wing took part in these discussions. The content of the discussion was generally the same for each focus group and broadly included:

- Communication dynamics between Jigsaw and HMP Leeds;
- Perspectives on the contribution Jigsaw make to HMP Leeds and to reducing re-offending;
- Areas for Jigsaw to consider for further improvement.

¹Written information regarding the evaluation, including the aims and purpose of the work had been distributed within the Centre up to a week prior to the data collection period.

The governor of the prison allowed an audio recorder into the prison to accurately capture the views of staff. After permission was obtained from all participants in the focus groups each session was audio recorded. Two researchers guided the discussion.

In addition, the perspectives of key stakeholders, predominantly senior figures within HMP Leeds, were also sought using semi-structured interviews.

Prisoners

The general purpose of the focus groups with prisoners was to explore their perspectives on visiting time and Jigsaw's contribution within the prison. More specifically the evaluation team focussed on the following issues:

- Prisoners' perspectives on visits and visiting time;
- Whether family relationships have been maintained during their time in prison and, if so, how this has been done;
- Prisoners' understanding of Jigsaw and the services it provides both for themselves and their families;
- Their views on resettlement and reintegration and the role that their family may play in this;
- Recommendations for Jigsaw or the visits process more generally.

Focus groups were selected as they are particularly appropriate when the research intends to explore phenomena using a series of open ended questions. It enables research participants to explore the issues of importance to them, in their own vocabulary, generating their own questions and pursuing their own priorities (Kitzinger, 1995).

Two focus groups were conducted with prisoners and a total of 17 individuals participated in these. The first focus group comprised of six prisoners who were based on the resettlement wing at HMP Leeds². These prisoners were selected by prison staff working on the wing. All participants received regular visits from their family and friends and a proportion of the men had also recently participated in Jigsaw delivered programmes within the prison (i.e. the healthy relationship course). During this focus group, two researchers were present to guide the discussion. One member of wing staff was also present in the room but did not contribute in any way to the focus group.

Eleven men based on A-wing at HMP Leeds were involved in the second focus group. A-wing is the segregated wing within the prison that holds vulnerable prisoners. One member of the evaluation team guided the focus group discussion; two members of staff (one from Jigsaw and one from HMP Leeds) were also present. Prisoners in both focus groups were encouraged to share viewpoints and although personal details were not asked for, many men provided reflections on their life, their pre-prison circumstances and their criminal activities.

Jigsaw centre staff

A workshop was carried out with seven operational staff from the Jigsaw Visitors' Centre. Due to staff working rotas, not all members of the Jigsaw team were present. The basis of this exercise was to explore the ways of working within the Centre and to discuss organisational changes and developments that had taken place since the previous evaluations. The workshop was conducted by two researchers and sections of the workshop were audio recorded after receiving permission from all participants. In addition, opportunity was taken to informally interview volunteers at Jigsaw, including current serving prisoners from HMP Leeds and HMP Askham Grange and an ex-offender currently providing support for prison visitors in the centre.

² These men had less than one year to serve of their sentence.

Jigsaw management committee

A focus group was carried out with the management committee of Jigsaw. Whilst not all members were present for this discussion, seven committee members took part in a one-hour discussion. This was facilitated by two researchers and these conversations were audio recorded.

Data analysis

The analysis was conducted over a number of stages. After all data (interview and workshop recordings) had been transcribed verbatim, members of the evaluation team read and familiarised themselves with the content of the transcripts. Based on this, a coding framework was developed. This framework was derived from thematic areas of interest within the data itself. The coding framework was refined and agreed amongst the evaluation team and applied to the original transcripts to extract major themes. Descriptive statistics were conducted on Jigsaw's monitoring data and this was facilitated through Excel.

The Leeds Met team

The fact that Leeds Met has now evaluated the Jigsaw Centre three times has meant that we can see the development of the organisation, have gained a good working knowledge of it and of the challenges facing it. We are also aware however, of becoming *too* close. As professional researchers we have thought about how to maintain independence and an objective perspective. To assist in regard to both objectivity and consistency, we have involved new members in each evaluation team, whilst two core members have been present for all three evaluations.

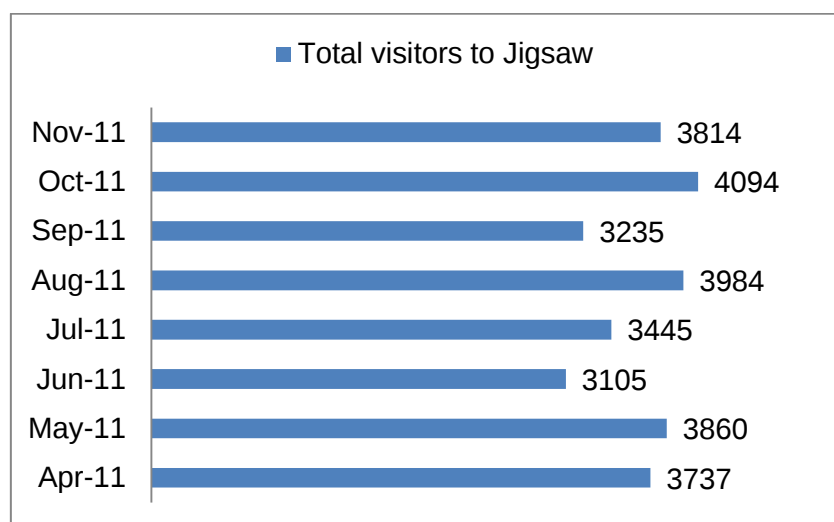
3. Monitoring data

This section reports the analysis conducted on Jigsaw's routinely collected monitoring data. This data demonstrates the number of visitors to Jigsaw, the number of first-time visitors that are supported and the volume of calls that are dealt with by staff.

Visitors to Jigsaw

The scale of Jigsaw's work should not be understated. Recent figures show that on average Jigsaw manage and support 3659 visitors to HMP Leeds each month³. Figure 1 shows the latest data on the number of visitors processed. In all cases, visitors will have been booked into the visit using the biometric system. Many of these visitors will have also had queries or anxieties addressed by Jigsaw staff.

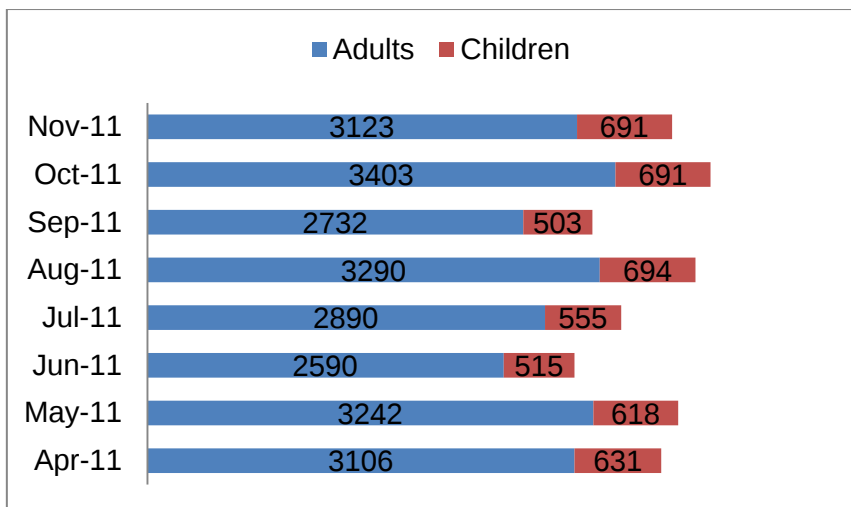
Figure 1. Number of visitors accessing Jigsaw between April and November, 2011



As Figure 2 demonstrates, the majority of those using Jigsaw are adults; however, during an average month, Jigsaw also deal with over 600 children.

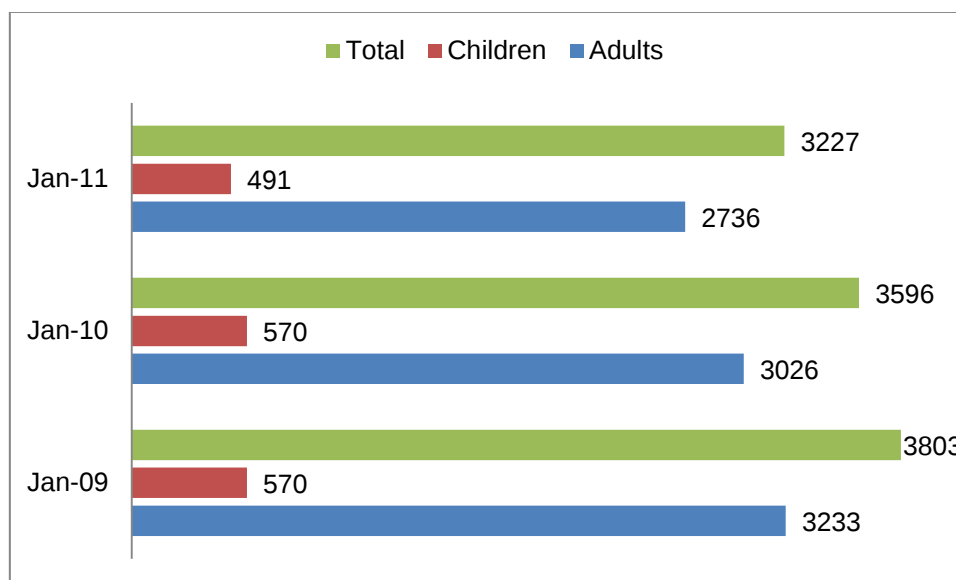
³Jigsaw is unable to specify how many of these are new and how many are repeat users.

Figure 2.Number of adults and children accessing Jigsaw between April and November, 2011



These patterns in visitor numbers have been relatively stable year-on-year. Only minor variations are observed perhaps reflecting broader population shifts in HMP Leeds and a programme of building work that took place within the prison during this period which slightly reduced the number of visits taking place. For example, figures from January 2009, 2010 and 2011 are presented below in Figure 3.

Figure 3.Number of adults and children accessing Jigsaw year-on-year (January)



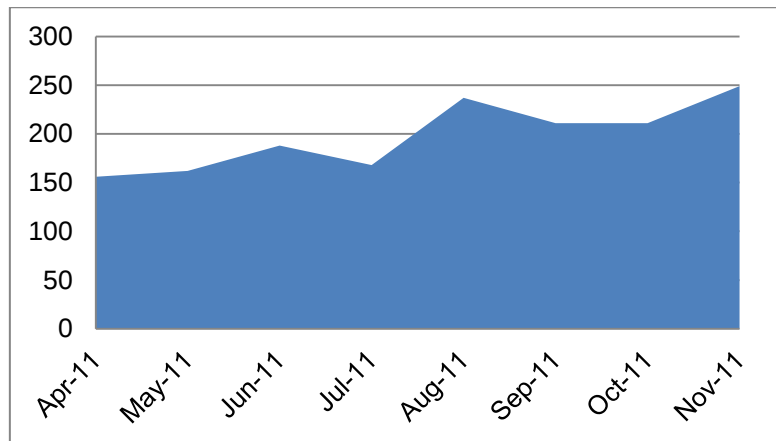
First-time visitors

Each month Jigsaw assist and support around 220 first-time visitors to HMP Leeds ensuring that they have all the information and support that they need.

Telephone calls

As well as processing and supporting visitors in person, Jigsaw staff members also deal with a large quantity of telephone calls. The nature of these calls vary from month-to-month, but often include: issues regarding prisoners' property, complaints about the booking line and visiting orders and issues regarding postal orders. From April to November 2011, Jigsaw responded to 1582 calls addressing 1832 issues.

Figure 4. Number of telephone calls responded to by Jigsaw staff between April and November, 2011



Summary points

- On average, Jigsaw manage and support 3659 visitors to HMP Leeds each month.
- Approximately 600 children per month use Jigsaw.
- Each month Jigsaw assists and supports around 220 first-time visitors.
- Jigsaw responds to a high volume of telephone enquiries, from April to November 2011, Jigsaw answered 1582 calls addressing 1832 issues.

4. Organisational developments at Jigsaw

“All of us are still passionate...that’s not declining that’s getting stronger!”
(Jigsaw staff member)

Since the previous evaluation (published in March 2009) there have been a number of organisational changes that have occurred within Jigsaw, but what has remained constant is the staff’s commitment to Jigsaw and the work it does (as exemplified by the quotation above). The changes that have been made within the organisation will be reported here using data derived from document analysis and the workshop conducted with Jigsaw staff and Jigsaw’s management committee.

Streamlining and refocusing priorities

Since the earlier evaluation in 2009, Jigsaw has reconsidered their core work and, to some extent, has streamlined the services they deliver. Whilst the focus of Jigsaw’s work was previously on four distinct communities (prisoners’ families, prisoners, prison staff and the wider community), Jigsaw has conceded the difficulties in truly engaging the wider community and now focus their resources on prisoners’ families, prisoners and prison staff. This change also followed the conclusion of BIG Lottery funding. Whilst the building itself is still available for community groups to use and hire, recent attempts to advertise this have proved unsuccessful with parking and the close association to the prison being inhibitory factors.

Personnel profile

The organisational profile of Jigsaw has altered considerably over the past six years. This is clearly shown in Box 4. Despite personnel changes and an organisational refocus, the management vision and leadership has been a constant. Indeed, Jigsaw has been led throughout the past three years by the same manager. It is clear that he continues to have strong relationships with Jigsaw staff members, as there was a general consensus that the manager’s support and encouragement enables staff to grow and develop:

“I have found [the manager] excellent to work with...I’m trusted to do the job.”
(Jigsaw staff member)

“[The manager] gives you that support and encouragement” (Jigsaw staff member)

Outside of the immediate team, the manager also has a good working relationship with the management committee. This was reiterated by members who praised his commitment, innovation and leadership approach.

Since the previous evaluation one noticeable difference has been the introduction of a team dedicated to managing the play facilities within the visits hall. This, to some extent, is a direct consequence of recommendations highlighted in the previous evaluation and the subsequent funding received by Jigsaw from the previous Prison Service Area Manager of the Yorkshire and Humberside region. Another noticeable difference is that Jigsaw does not now host Health Trainers. This is a result of Jigsaw streamlining their service delivery and due to wider organisational re-structuring in the local Primary Care Trust. Furthermore, Jigsaw now has a number of volunteer workers who support visitors within the centre (see Box 3). These volunteers comprise of category-D prisoners who are preparing to resettle back into the community after their sentence.

Box 3. The ‘added value’ of volunteers at Jigsaw

Jigsaw has a number of volunteer workers. All of these volunteers are currently serving a sentence at HMP Leeds or HMP Askham Grange or have previously served a prison sentence. The role of volunteering serves two distinct purposes at Jigsaw.

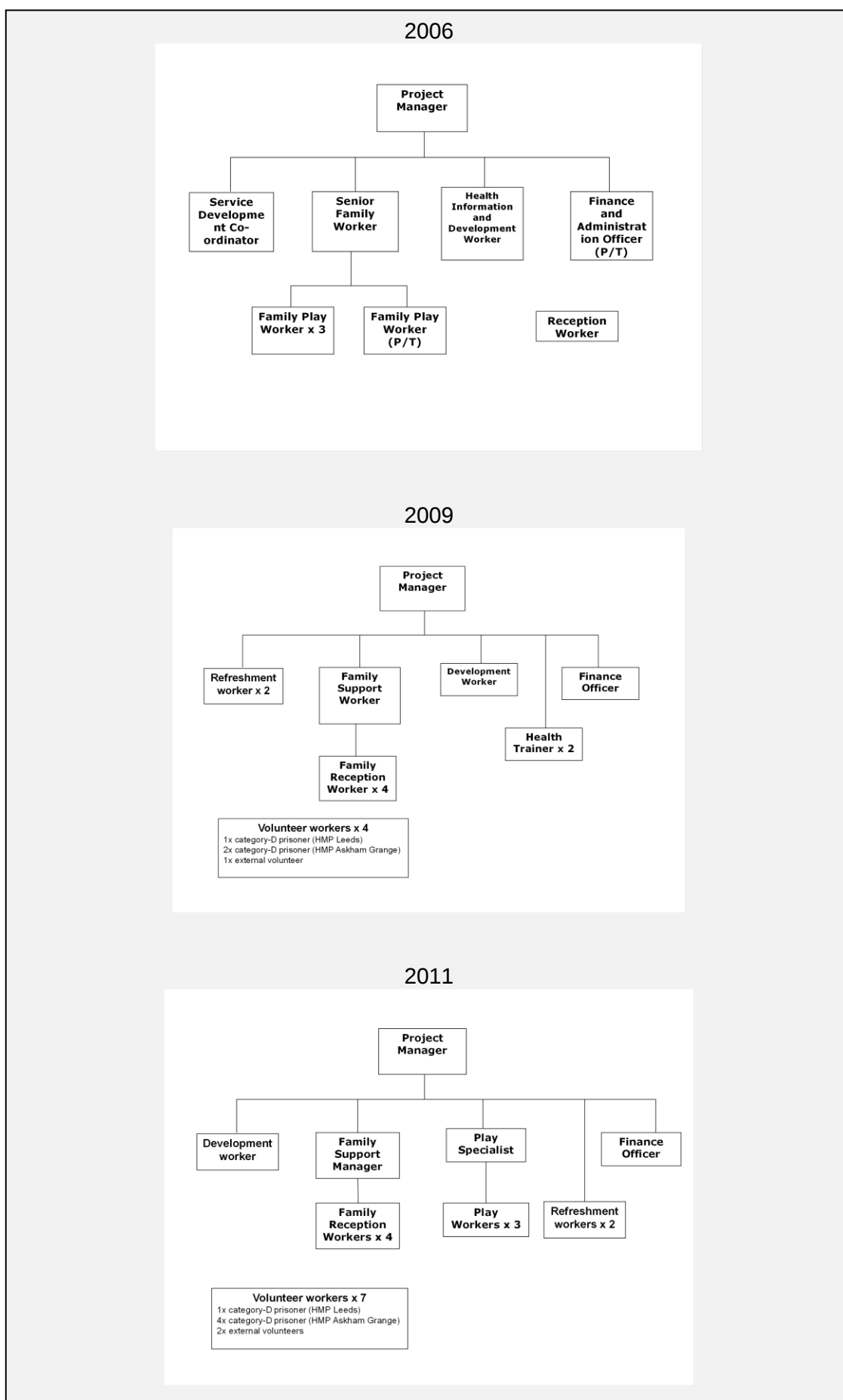
1. The volunteers provide practical advice and support to visitors. This includes running the refreshment facilities, but perhaps more significantly explaining the procedures and processes that visitors will go through during the visit. One volunteer, for example, noted:

“As well as running the tea bar, I meet first timers and explain to them what is expected of them, as in what they can take in. I go through the procedures, try to put them at ease because they can be very nervous.” (Volunteer at Jigsaw)

Having an understanding of the prison system itself was also useful to share with prison visitors. The rules and regulations concerning prisoners’ property entitlements and how they will occupy their time in prison were shared by volunteers with visitors:

“From my experience in there [HMP Leeds] I can give some insight.” (Volunteer at Jigsaw)

2. Through working in a voluntary capacity, prison volunteers are preparing for release and are contributing to their stage 1 resettlement programme. This effectively enables prisoners to reintegrate more effectively back into the community after release.

Box 4. The changing organisational profile of Jigsaw 2006-2011

How Jigsaw have developed as an organisation

As has been highlighted in previous accounts, Jigsaw are a 'learning organisation'. By this, they 'tune into the environment', challenge prevailing organisational wisdom, communicate a compelling aspiration, build coalitions, learn to persevere, reward staff, are willing to take risks and are receptive to new ideas (Kotter, 1996, Worren et al., 1999). To demonstrate how far Jigsaw have developed, Table 2 demonstrates the ways in which the organisation has acted on the recommendations made by prisoners' families, prisoners and prison staff since the previous evaluation in 2009. This is not an exhaustive account; rather it highlights some of the key actions that have been taken.

Table 2. How Jigsaw have responded to recommendations made by their key stakeholders

Recommendations made by their key stakeholders ⁴	Action taken by Jigsaw
The extended family visits produce a series of benefits and these should continue to be a prominent feature of the work delivered by Jigsaw.	This visit provision has grown considerably over the past three years (There were 18 extended family visits in 2011).
Play facilities within the visits hall would improve the overall visits experience for children and visitors in general.	- A play facility is now provided within the visits hall. - A play specialist and play team are now also in post.
Jigsaw's role within the prison and the visits process should be made clear to prison staff to limit confusion and tensions.	This is an on-going piece of work, but communication between Jigsaw and the prison is constantly improving.
Jigsaw may consider strengthening links with the resettlement team within HMP Leeds.	This area of work has strengthened significantly with the introduction of courses, delivered by Jigsaw staff, addressing resettlement issues in partnership with the resettlement team.
Opportunities should continue to be made available to facilitate positive interactions between prison staff and prisoners' families, breaking down the 'them and us' attitudes.	- Again, this is perceived as an on-going project for Jigsaw but it was felt that the current leadership within HMP Leeds is having a positive impact here. - Jigsaw have increased their 'presence' within HMP Leeds. The introduction of playworkers, for example, has heightened Jigsaw's 'visibility' and role with prison staff. - Also, the Manger regularly attends a number of prison meetings.
Jigsaw should continue to develop and expand their tea and refreshment facility within the visits hall.	The refreshment facility had moved forward with a wider range of products being provided and prisoners working in the tea bar to meet demand.
Jigsaw may consider longer term follow up and evaluation of families and prisoners that have used their services. This could provide stronger evidence of the Centre's success and may attract further or sustained funding. The use of specific case studies could also be considered.	The collation of key data from interactions with visitors and families are now closely monitored, recorded and analysed at regular intervals.

⁴ Reported in Jigsaw's evaluation in 2009 (see Dixey and Woodall, 2009)

Moving to a more ‘business-like’ approach

There was some acknowledgement within the Jigsaw team that the organisation had a more ‘business-like’ approach to their work. Whilst remaining a not-for-profit organisation, there was a suggestion from some that Jigsaw had become more aware of issues around monitoring success and taking account of the wider political landscape. One member of staff described their work as a “double-edged sword” – by this, what was inferred, was that in practice and in delivering services the clear values of voluntary sector working were apparent, but behind the scenes a tightly-run business model was operationalised.

Organisational successes

Jigsaw staff reported a number of successes over the past few years. This included:

- The expansion of the play facilities within HMP Leeds’ visits hall.
- Family centred visits, where extended time is permitted for the prisoner to spend with his children and partner, have grown significantly since the previous evaluation⁵.
- The delivery of Open College Network (OCN) accredited courses within HMP Leeds.
- The continued success and profitability of the tea bar facilities both within Jigsaw and the visits hall.

Two other prominent themes that emerged included the improved relationships that Jigsaw had developed with prison staff within HMP Leeds and Jigsaw’s sustainability as a viable organisation. On the first point, Jigsaw staff were clear that relationships with prison staff had strengthened as a result of Jigsaw’s growing presence within the prison (i.e. through delivering OCN courses and expanding the play work facilities). Jigsaw staff felt that Jigsaw’s credibility had increased and they were now perceived as an integral part of HMP Leeds:

“Our relationships with the prison have improved...we’ve built good relationships with prison staff.” (Jigsaw staff member)

With regard to sustainability, one major achievement has been Jigsaw’s ability to navigate through the turbulent political landscape. Finding funds within the voluntary sector was reported to be difficult in recent times, but Jigsaw had managed to be self-sustaining (through, amongst other things, the tea bar within HMP Leeds) and less reliant on grant funding. This was an issue raised in both the workshop with Jigsaw staff and the focus group discussion with the management committee. This has meant that Jigsaw has not made any redundancies and has managed to retain its core staff. One member of Jigsaw encapsulated this succinctly commenting on the organisation’s growth:

“I think one of our biggest achievements is we’ve sustained what we had but we’ve also grown and planned in the current climate. That takes some doing.” (Jigsaw staff member)

Moving forward as an organisation

Despite political uncertainties and other external variables that could potentially impact on Jigsaw’s work, the staff and management committee still had a clear (and shared) vision of the future. Part of that plan included the expansion of courses and programmes being delivered by Jigsaw staff within HMP Leeds. This would also include more Jigsaw staff being trained to deliver these programmes. A caveat on this was the need to monitor the relationship between Jigsaw and HMP Leeds; members of the management committee, for instance, were keen to stress that Jigsaw would remain ‘independent’ from the prison and would remain in control of their strategic direction.

⁵ Jigsaw deliver around 18 extended visits each year.

Both the management committee and Jigsaw staff also had a vision of managing other centres across the region; this was an idea discussed in the previous evaluation in 2009 and was still on the agenda for the future. However, it was clear that the policy environment was now more favourable (in terms of competitive tendering processes) for Jigsaw to submit plans to take control of other regional facilities.

Summary points

- Jigsaw has streamlined their work priorities to focus more specifically on the needs of prisoners' families and prisoners.
- The organisational profile of Jigsaw has altered since 2009, with particular growth in the number of play workers.
- The organisation has actively worked toward the recommendations made by prisoners' families, prisoners and prison staff since the previous evaluation in 2009.
- A 'business-like' approach to their work was now in operation with, amongst other things, monitoring data being collected systematically.
- There have been many organisational successes over the past three-years. This includes the fact that Jigsaw are a self-sustaining organisation that are less reliant on grant funding.
- There is a clear strategic vision for Jigsaw moving forward. This includes the potential for Jigsaw to manage other facilities in the region.

5. Findings from visitors and prisoners' families

This section reports findings from interviews with 28 prison visitors to HMP Leeds. The following are the salient themes which emerged from these interviews.

First experiences of visiting HMP Leeds

Visiting a family member in prison for the first time could be an upsetting and frightening experience. Preparing for the first visit was reported to be particularly stressful and worrying. Many visitors suggested feeling scared and apprehensive prior to their visit and this was a symptom of not knowing what would happen during the visit itself. Examples of these feelings are presented in Box 5.

Box 5. Visiting HMP Leeds: apprehensions and anxieties

"I'd never visited anybody in prison before and I didn't know what to expect."
(Prison Visitor, 11)

"We've never been to one [a prison] before; we were totally lost and bewildered last week. It's very hard." (Prison Visitor, 11)

"[It's] traumatising, the whole aspect of it, everything about it. It's degrading in a way ain't it, all the searching but they have to do it, I understand that. It's also very frightening, not a nice experience." (Prison Visitor, 1)

Relieving the anxiety of the prison visit

Most reported that Jigsaw staff had a crucial role in providing support and assistance to prison visitors. Jigsaw staff, through their personal contact with each first-time visitor, helped to put people at ease and relieved some of their stress and anxiety. They were praised for their ability to greet visitors with a smile and their personal attributes of warmth, approachability and politeness. Although perhaps trivial, the manner in which Jigsaw staff addressed visitors was seen as a crucial factor:

"They just treated me like a normal person...I expected them to be quite abrupt and quite serious about things but they weren't. They were very laid back and very accommodating." (Prison Visitor, 10)

Nearly all visitors reported that the staff had been helpful and provided a valuable service, dedicating time to help them prepare for their visit. Several visitors commented on the information booklet they were provided with on their first visit that gave details about the services offered by Jigsaw. Various visitors explained how they found the booklet 'really helpful' as 'it explained everything'. Visitors credited the staff for taking the time to talk them through what would happen, helping them to understand what to expect:

"They explained stuff to you...they tell you where to go and they are helpful." (Prison Visitor, 4)

"[Jigsaw] make it easier. They talk to you first and put your mind at rest." (Prison Visitor, 5)

After speaking to the Jigsaw staff, the majority of visitors reported feeling more relaxed because they had a more informed idea of what would happen during their visit and a better understanding of the security procedures that they would have to go through:

"If you just walked straight into there and the guards were there with their keys and stuff, you would be terrified." (Prison Visitor, 18)

Some visitors made comparisons between Jigsaw staff and prison staff working within HMP Leeds. Several interviewees suggested that the prison staff were sometimes abrupt with them and did not provide visitors with the information they needed. In contrast Jigsaw staff were praised for being non-judgmental and sensitive to people's needs:

"They are very considerate, very aware of your needs. They don't judge you or anything. They are very good." (Prison Visitor, 9)

"Nobody comes forward with anything especially those within the prison. There's only the people at Jigsaw who are very helpful or who enlighten you." (Prison Visitor, 1)

Jigsaw as an intermediary to the prison

Visitors suggested that they used Jigsaw for an array of purposes. The most common were: to access advice/information, to obtain help from staff, to wait to go into the prison, to access refreshments (including the free fruit provided on each table) and to use the storage lockers or toilet facilities. The friendly and welcoming environment of the Centre was appreciated by most visitors.

Many valued the opportunity to have an area to be able to relax in and prepare for their visit. One partially sighted visitor stated that for people who are disabled it is important to have somewhere to sit down and rest before their visit. Some visitors who travel a long distance to attend a visit also explained that Jigsaw was a fantastic place for them to 'de-stress' after a long drive:

"I'm not wound up and pent up. Whereas if I was getting straight out of the car from travelling and going straight in, I would be wound up." (Prison Visitor, 11)

"I think it's having that ten, fifteen minutes to sit in here and organise yourself. Calm yourself down, so by the time I'm over there I don't have to think about anything other than sitting and visiting him." (Prison Visitor, 18)

Some visitors thought that being able to use the Centre had an indirect impact on their relative in prison. They explained that by relaxing before the visit it meant that they could focus on their relative and their issues. One visitor described the Centre as invaluable as she worried that if she attended a visit in a stressed state her partner might worry and tell her not to visit in the future:

"If I'm stressed, it stresses him out, then he's worrying why am I stressed...he might think don't bother visiting." (Prison Visitor, 18)

"Being able to come here first and then go up there makes it more enjoyable in a way. It means I can come and calm down before I've gone in." (Prison Visitor, 22)

Several visitors described the Centre as a 'bridge' between the outside world and the prison. Some quotes about the Centre are captured in the following box:

"Coming here first, it's breaking it in another step and it's a bit more friendly."

"It's like that step between being out, to here and then in, it makes it easier."

"It takes the edge off what it is you're doing really. It's somewhere to sit, especially if it's not nice outside."

"It is important to have this intermediate... This is like a half-way house this place, rather than just going into the prison."

"I think you need this Centre particularly for people with families. I think it's really important. For people who are disabled, it's a good place just to have as a first stop, go to the loos and things like that before you get up to the main section. I think it is essential."

"When you go to visit someone in prison, not that I've ever done it before, you think it's going to be simply quite terrifying. This softens it before you get in there."

Other services provided by Jigsaw

Some visitors spoke about the extended visits, arranged by Jigsaw, which allowed time to be spent between a prisoner and his family. Other visitors reported that through using the Centre they had found out about family support groups and the healthy relationship course that Jigsaw run. One visitor who had been on the relationship course, explained that she valued the time she was able to spend with her partner and the opportunity to talk about issues that they would not otherwise have been able to address (see Box 6).

Box 6. Healthy relationship course

Jigsaw delivers an OCN accredited 3 day course on healthy relationships. This course is delivered for prisoners and their partners before release with the aim of enabling better communication between couples, new skills for relating to each other, and increasing chances for a happier outcome for families after release. Those involved both receive a Level 1 qualification in family relationships (Open College Network) and support from Jigsaw staff. This is a chance for couples to get together to talk over real issues that are specific for them in a controlled and supported environment. This course is run in partnership with HMP Leeds' resettlement department.

All of the female participants involved in the course (delivered during the Autumn of 2011) were interviewed (n=3) about Jigsaw more generally, but also discussed the relationship course they had been involved in. There was an overwhelming sense that the course was 'a good thing', primarily because an extended amount of time could be spent together as a couple. However, the challenging nature of the course also allowed issues to be discussed openly which many felt would be useful for developing more positive relationships both during the sentence and after release:

"It's been really interesting...it makes you talk about stuff you don't want to talk about"

The partners interviewed suggested that the course had fostered empathy and understanding between couples:

"It's been good, it's helped us to understand each other better...he knows what it's been like for me to live on my own. He understands better, I just think it's good."

Facilities for children

Many visitors who were interviewed did not have any children. Nonetheless, those respondents that did have children generally provided a positive response about the facilities within Jigsaw and the visits hall for children. The majority of parents were satisfied with the current facilities; one woman explained how Jigsaw staff had arranged activities for their children, like face painting and making Halloween hats during an extended visit. Another interviewee explained that if it was not for the facilities Jigsaw provides for children inside the visits hall, she would not be able to attend her visits:

"If they didn't have the kids bit I would struggle to find someone to look after the kids so I probably couldn't come on the visits." (Prison Visitor, 14)

Others stated that inside Jigsaw centre more books and toys could be provided. One visitor, who had children over the age of ten, recommended that more entertainment for older children both within Jigsaw and the visits hall (such as a range of computer games), should be provided.

One visitor who had young children argued that the Centre encouraged prisoners to bond with their children. The visitor stated that staff within the Centre had helped her partner access extra visits with his children and this was crucial in helping to build the relationship between her partner and his son:

"It helps him remember him because [name of child] did forget him and he wouldn't go to him or anything. I think it helps the kids remember their dads." (Prison Visitor, 2)

Fostering peer support

Some visitors expressed that using the Centre provides an opportunity to meet and speak with people in a similar situation. One woman explained that the first time she used the Centre she met two visitors who showed her where the lockers were and explained what the services the Centre offers and what she should expect to happen during her visit.

"You get talking to people and you tell each other stuff, it's nice." (Prison Visitor, 4)

Improvements

Only a handful of visitors had used other visitors' centres. They suggested that Jigsaw provided the same amount and type of information as other centres, although it was generally more modern looking and had the added advantage of providing internet access. One family had been informed that their relative was being moved from HMP Leeds and they expressed worry that they would not find a visitors' centre that provided the same facilities and level of support:

"Our son is going to be moved and we are a bit apprehensive that we're not going to find similar facilities as what they provide in Leeds, but we won't know until we know where he is going." (Prison Visitor, 22)

Some visitors stated that there is a problem with the lack of space in the car park and nearly all of the visitors complained about the difficulty in making a booking for their visit. Many, however, acknowledged that this was not an issue directly controlled by Jigsaw. Overall, however, visitors were extremely satisfied with the service that Jigsaw provides:

"The service is absolutely wonderful. I couldn't fault it at all." (Prison Visitor, 7)

Summary points

- Visiting HMP Leeds could be a traumatic and upsetting experience.
- Jigsaw staff were credited for their communication skills, empathy and ability to reduce the stressful and emotional nature of prison visiting.
- Taking time to explain processes and procedures was welcomed by those visiting the prison for the first time.
- Visitors were impressed with the level of information the Centre provided.
- Play facilities for children within Jigsaw could be improved upon, but the facilities inside the visits hall were generally praised.
- In the vast majority of cases, Jigsaw made the visiting process considerably easier.

6. Findings from prisoners at HMP Leeds

This section reports the findings from two prisoner focus groups with sentenced prisoners within HMP Leeds. The 17 men that participated in the evaluation had been at HMP Leeds for varying lengths of time, ranging from 28 days to 15 months.

The 'lifeline' to the outside world

For the majority of prisoners, visiting time and re-connecting with family, children and friends was the most important aspect of prison life. Several men described this as their "lifeline" with the outside world which provided the impetus to endure imprisonment:

"It's the only thing that keeps us going, looking forward to the visits." (Prisoner, focus group 2)

"It's one thing that helps keep me ticking in here. I look forward to seeing them." (Prisoner, focus group 2)

Visits functioned as important markers within the prisoner's sentence which allowed time during the sentence to pass more quickly:

"...it makes my week go quicker, because I usually have a visit every Wednesday. So once I've got my visit done then I've got like gym on a Thursday, I've got gym on a Saturday. Then you're aiming for something; then by the time you know it, Wednesday's here again." (Prisoner, focus group 2)

Visits also enabled prisoners to remain in 'good spirits' and helped mental well-being:

"They keep your focus and your head straight; do you know what I mean?" (Prisoner, focus group 1)

The number of visits permitted to prisoners varied depending on their status as an enhanced or standard prisoner. This was also reflected in this sample, as some men were entitled to five visits (enhanced prisoners) and others to three visits (standard prisoners). Regardless of this, most prisoners ensured that they used all of their authorised allocation:

"I'm an enhanced prisoner so I get five visits, same as every enhanced prisoner, and I use them all. I get family visits five times a month." (Prisoner, focus group 2)

A few men, however, had been "ghosted" whereby they had arranged a visit with their family and they had not arrived. For one man, this experience, which had happened on several occasions, had been upsetting and as a result he had chosen to temporarily stop visits with his family and friends:

"I've been ghosted quite a bit and I just decided not to have visits and I've had a period of like seven weeks with no visits...you end up getting really angry. It only happened the first three times, do you know what I mean. After that I thought well [laughs]." (Prisoner, focus group 2)

Another prisoner also had no face-to-face contact with his family due to his sons living overseas; this was, however, mediated by telephone contact and by the prison providing him with five minutes of additional calls in exchange for having no visits. Nonetheless, this was generally seen as an inadequate substitute.

The need for post-visit support

The visit from family and friends was clearly the highlight of many prisoners' regime. However, having to return back to the wing after seeing children, parents or partners was particularly difficult, as it became a sharp reminder of the outside world that they were missing. Several prisoners made reference to requiring to some kind of support immediately after the visit had ended:

"I go back to the cell and I feel sad sometimes" (Prisoner, focus group 2)

"You can end up coming back [to the wing] and I carry sometimes what I know I'm now missing for at least a week. It can be it can be a real downer sometimes."

(Prisoner, focus group 2)

Jigsaw going 'above and beyond' for prisoners and their families

Whilst some prisoners were local to West Yorkshire and had few difficulties remaining in touch, some men discussed the difficulties that their visitors often faced when visiting HMP Leeds. The financial implications and the distance travelled by visitors were salient issues that have been summarised in Box 7.

Box 7. Prisoners' perspectives on the barriers their family and friends face when visiting HMP Leeds

Financial implications of visiting:

"Our lass has got three kids and she spends, every time she comes here and goes home, she spends £26. And that's quite a lot when you've got three kids on your own."

(Prisoner, focus group 1)

"My wife's got hardly any income now and so the cost of a visit is something that, although like everyone who gets visits thinks it's fantastic, I also feel guilty because I know how much she's having to spend to get herself here for an hour."

(Prisoner, focus group 2)

Distance:

"It's nearly a hundred miles away to come so they only come twice a month. So, you know, it's so far to come...it's a bit of a difficult situation really that they want to come but it's difficult."

(Prisoner, focus group 2)

"It's alright for me, because my lass just lives over the wall. But for some lads in Armley their families are miles away and, you know what I mean, it's impossible for them."

(Prisoner, focus group 1)

Despite the difficulties in getting to HMP Leeds, many prisoners recognised how supportive Jigsaw had been to their visitors, especially on their first visit. Several prisoners were impressed by the welcome and the information that their visitors had received:

"I've got to say to be honest the visitors' centre for my wife has been really, really good...she [name of Jigsaw staff member] was the first one she met when she came in. She was really polite and showed her where to go, what to do, things like that. So she did find it a big, big help." (Prisoner, focus group 2)

Many suggested that as Jigsaw were independent of the prison there was a different approach to dealing with visitors to HMP Leeds:

"I think that's what my wife was saying you can tell when you go to the gate they're officers. Some of them are quite rude...then you go to like to the Jigsaw and it's completely different...they're just at ease with you." (Prisoner, focus group 2)

A number of prisoners discussed examples where they had felt that Jigsaw had in some way gone 'above and beyond' in either supporting them as prisoners or their families. To 'outside' observers these may seem like trivial matters, but prisoners explained how often

small issues can become magnified whilst in prison. Two short examples demonstrating this are in Box 8.

Box 8. Examples of Jigsaw going ‘above and beyond’

“I’ve never really had any dealings with Jigsaw but I agree with what some of the lads have said. My dad not long back slipped on some ice and hurt his hip and I had the visit on the Tuesday. He couldn’t come to see me and he was panicking...he spoke to someone at the Jigsaw and they rung straight up to the visits room. You know, no problems, no questions. I went for my visit and they said ‘I’m sorry. It’s been cancelled’. And I said ‘well I don’t understand why it’s been cancelled’. ‘Well apparently your dad’s alright, he’s fine, you know, he just had a slip on ice’. And that put my mind at ease then because I kind of sat back and thought ‘right I understand now’. You know, whereas if nobody had have got back you’re kind of thinking all kinds of things.”

“I’ve got a pair of glasses and it took four attempts trying to get these glasses into the prison and every time property officer would come up with another reason why they wouldn’t accept them and it was a different reason every time and in the end my wife went to Jigsaw and they ‘put their foot down’ and the glasses appeared the next day.”

Keeping in touch with children (...or not)

Those prisoners that spoke about maintaining contact with their children whilst in prison had differing opinions. Several men spoke about ‘needing’ to see their children on a regular basis and that having the play facilities within the visits room enabled their children to feel more relaxed and at ease whilst in the prison:

“Don’t know about anybody else, but I think that I need my kids just as much as they need me, do you know what I mean?” (Prisoner, focus group 1)

However, these men resented having to book the play facilities and would have instead preferred a more informal, spontaneous approach to the process.

Conversely, several men had decided not to see their children during their sentence. Whilst these men acknowledged the emotional strain this placed on themselves and their children, they suggested that this was to protect their children from the vulnerable prisoners located on A-wing, particularly “sex offenders and paedophiles”, which shared the visits hall. One man described this as a ‘sacrifice’:

“Sometimes you’re making sacrifices for your family and your kids.” (Prisoner, focus group 1)

One prisoner explained his personal situation and the resentment he felt to some of the other prisoners sharing the visits room:

“I’ve got four kids and I don’t have any of them on visits. I won’t have them on visits for a simple reason. There’s people in here like paedophiles and stuff getting put on the same visit...So the way I see it they’re not allowed near kids outside so why are they allowed near them in here? You’ve got your kids with you for one hour a week and there’s paedophiles sat all around looking at your kids. I won’t have them in. I won’t agree with it. I won’t have them in for that reason.” (Prisoner, focus group 1)

Another prisoner commented:

“I would see them [his children] every week. But I haven’t seen them since I’ve been in for that for that reason.” (Prisoner, focus group 1)

One solution proposed by one prisoner was to have a different visiting times, or a segregated area for those prisoners on A-wing:

“Obviously they have a separate wing for them as it is, so why can’t they have a separate visitors’ area?” (Prisoner, focus group 1)

Problems with the visits experience: trying to arrange a visit

Although an issue that is not controlled by Jigsaw, prisoners unanimously complained about the procedures associated with visiting orders (VOs) and the booking line their friends and families had to use to arrange a prison visit.

In terms of VOs, prisoners were often baffled by the rules and regulations surrounding the distribution and authorisation of these. In many cases, these procedures were frustrating from the prisoners’ perspective but they also suggested that this had an impact on their visitors. Two major themes reoccurred throughout the focus group discussions:

- **Naming people on the VO**— prisoners suggested that having to name their visitors in advance could be difficult and did not allow for flexibility:
“I have a large family and sometimes it’s a nightmare, you know, phoning my dad saying ‘who can come in?’ Sometimes you’d have to wait until he got in touch with them to get back to you and you know what I mean? If there were some way of sending a blank visit form out and let my parent’s sort the names out it would be a help.” (Prisoner, focus group 2)
- **The expiry date of the VO** – VOs have a start date and expiry by which they have to be used. This is usually a 28 day period. Prisoners often reported that they received their VOs after the start date:
“Quite often you get a VO and the first date on it is maybe is like a week ago.” (Prisoner, focus group 2)

Similarly, prisoners reported that the booking line caused much frustration for their visitors. They claimed that telephone lines were constantly engaged and that their visitors often spent a large proportion of their time trying to speak to someone:

“They [visitors] say the same thing; it’s very awkward to get through sometimes. Constantly engaged!”

The electronic system of booking visits did, however, seem to be working well:

“It seems far easier to book a visit via email than it does to phone up, because the phone’s constantly engaged.” (Prisoner, focus group 1)

Problems with the visits experience: movement to and from the wing

Another frequent theme to emerge from the discussions with prisoners was their movements to and from the visits hall and the logistics associated with this. On several occasions prisoners claimed that they had received less than the one-hour permitted visit time and, in some instances, prisoners only received around forty-minutes. Prisoners, whilst recognising the difficulties of moving individuals around the prison, generally felt frustrated that they were losing time with their family as a result of inefficiencies within the prison system:

“Twenty minutes is a long time to lose on a visit especially when you get an hour.” (Prisoner, focus group 1)

Problems with the visits experience: the visits hall

Most prisoners recognised the difference between Jigsaw’s contribution to the visits experience and HMP Leeds’ contribution. This was perhaps summarised succinctly by one prisoner who commented:

“Jigsaw’s a good part. But visits are shit basically if I’m being honest.” (Prisoner, focus group 1)

The visits hall itself was not deemed to be conducive to maintaining family bonds. Prisoners suggested that the fixed seating arrangements were one example of this where close contact and intimacy was almost impossible.

The pricing of the tea bar was an issue to emerge in one of the focus groups, but this did not seem to be a unanimous consensus by all of the prisoners present. A few prisoners, however, suggested that the products were overpriced:

“It’s just expensive. More expensive than what it would be going to your local newsagents and places to buy a, you know, Mars Bar, Snickers and a bag of Haribos or whatever. You’re paying more for it in here than what you would do out there. Why?” (Prisoner, focus group 1)

Jigsaw’s ‘patchy’ coverage within HMP Leeds

There were prisoners who were acutely aware of Jigsaw and the support they provided for their families. These prisoners were conscious of the work that Jigsaw were doing inside the prison, especially programmes such as the healthy relationships course. One prisoner who had attended the healthy relationships course commented:

“Yeah that’s been a good step for us [himself and his partner]...I can’t knock Jigsaw. They’re good. They’re reliable. They come and see you on time. They come and tell you what’s going on...they [Jigsaw] gave us a good start to be with our partners.” (Prisoner, focus group 1)

There were, however, men within HMP Leeds who had no idea of the work that Jigsaw were doing with prisoners. This was evident during a short exchange between three prisoners in one of the focus groups:

Prisoner 1: *Jigsaw are brilliant.*

Prisoner 2: *Jigsaw’s the best thing in this place.*

Prisoner 3: *What do Jigsaw actually do?*

It was also evident by another prisoner:

“I don’t even know what the Jigsaw centre’s about. I mean it’s just a visiting centre isn’t it? They’re there to support the visitors. So I don’t know what Jigsaw centre’s about.” (Prisoner, focus group 1)

Several prisoners suggested that Jigsaw could work harder within the prison at publicising what they do more openly, through posters and leaflets.

The role of the family in reducing the likelihood of re-offending

All prisoners involved in the focus group discussions were invited to comment on the role that family ties made on reducing re-offending. Universally, prisoners suggested that maintaining family ties within prison made a significant contribution to reducing the likelihood of returning back to prison. Three salient themes emerged in relation to this discussion:

- **Families acting as a supportive influence to engage positively with the prison regime** – regular visits from family members allowed many prisoners to retain their sense of well-being during their sentence. This frequently enabled prisoners to participate productively in prison rehabilitation programmes. In essence, their family became a motivating factor.
- **Visits from family acting as a deterrent** – Several prisoners suggested that having to see their families whilst in prison and observing how emotionally traumatic the experience is for them, was enough to prevent re-offending after release. Seeing the impact that the prison sentence had made to close family

members, like parents, partners and children, was reported to be a strong deterrent:

“When I see my dad and my sister on visits and stuff, I start to understand where they’re coming from about the impact it has on them.” (Prisoner, focus group 2)

“The fact that you actually you look in their eyes, they’re crying that you’re in here and it you see what it’s doing to them. You understand what you’ve put them through and it makes you think I’m never going to make my mum cry like that again. I’m not ever going to go in that visits hall where I were and have her come in and worrying all the time before she comes to see me. ‘What’s he going to look like? What state’s he going to be in?’” (Prisoner, focus group 2)

- **Feeling a sense of belonging and having firm foundations on release** – Having a family to return to on release from prison was important for practical as well as emotional support. This was regarded as a platform with which to reintegrate successfully back into the community.

Summary points

- Visits are extremely significant for prisoners and are the highlight of prison life.
- Returning back to the wing after a visit is difficult and prisoners often find this aspect of visiting problematic.
- Many prisoners recognised the work that Jigsaw did for their families and several commented that they would go ‘above and beyond’ their role.
- However, some men were unaware of Jigsaw and the services they provided for prisoners and visitors.
- Processes regarding VOs, the booking line and seating within the visits hall were consistently raised as barriers to a positive visits experience.
- Some prisoners refused to see their children whilst serving their sentence. These men had strong viewpoints of sharing visiting time with prisoners from A-wing.
- Families were seen as being absolutely integral to positive resettlement on release.

7. Findings from prison staff at HMP Leeds

This section reports the findings from two focus groups with prison staff from HMP Leeds. The following key themes emerged from these discussions.

“They’re just our non-uniform colleagues”: Jigsaw’s growing integration within HMP Leeds

Most of the prison staff that participated in the focus groups recognised the work that Jigsaw were doing within HMP Leeds and how this portfolio of work had expanded over recent times. This ranged from staff being aware that Jigsaw managed the play facilities within the visits hall, to Jigsaw delivering courses for prisoners coming towards the end of their sentence:

“Yeah they’re getting more involved with the prisoners than they ever have done before I think.” (Prison staff, focus group 2)

There was a strong sense that Jigsaw was now integral to HMP Leeds. This was summed up by one member of prison staff:

“They’re just our non-uniform colleagues. They’re as much part of Leeds prison as the others are as much part of Leeds prison... So there’s no real distinction apart from they’ve no uniform.” (Prison staff, focus group 1)

The ‘added value’ that Jigsaw brings to HMP Leeds

Prison staff were aware of the benefits that Jigsaw and its services bring to HMP Leeds. These benefits have been categorised in Box 9. Key figures within the prison also implied that Jigsaw were adding value in a cost effective way, given the investment provided by HMP Leeds.

Box 9. Jigsaw's 'added value' to HMP Leeds

Booking-in visitors

Jigsaw was seen as being integral to the process of booking visitors into HMP Leeds. This included processing visitors' details on arrival and taking photographs and fingerprints as needed. Staff working in the visits and security area regarded this as 'taking the pressure' off their work.

Supporting first-time visitors

Staff working in the visits room acknowledged the way that Jigsaw supports first time visitors to HMP Leeds. By informing visitors about what to anticipate prior to the prison gate, this was beneficial to visits and security staff:

"Also they're quite, you know, with people that have never been to the prison before it's quite daunting. So, you know, they give them all the information they need to make it, you know, a more easy flow for them to come into the prison."
(Prison staff, focus group 1)

The 'knock-on' effect

Most staff recognised the central role that visits played in the prisoner's routine. Moreover, staff were also aware of the importance of prisoners receiving a good visit (i.e. where they had spent quality time with their family) rather than a bad visit (perhaps when an argument had occurred) and the 'knock-on' effect this would have back on the wing. Through dealing with visitors' queries and problems before they went into the visits room, Jigsaw were seen by prison staff to enable the 'good visit' to happen more frequently for prisoners and their family.

'First-line of defence'

Interestingly, gate staff and those working in the visits room also perceived Jigsaw as an 'intelligence agency' who could prevent illegal items (e.g. drugs, mobile telephones etc.) being brought into the prison. Staff claimed that if Jigsaw had any suspicions about a visitor they would contact the security team immediately where they would be searched. One member of staff described Jigsaw as the prison's "first line of defence" against illegal items being brought into HMP Leeds.

Public relations

Several members of staff implied that Jigsaw was, for many people, their first contact with HMP Leeds and the criminal justice system. Therefore, Jigsaw had an important role in being the 'public face' of the institution. Most staff agreed that this was a positive thing:

"I think they're an important part of the prison. They're the first port of call aren't they for, you know, for the visitors coming in." (Prison staff, focus group 1)

Linked to this, prison staff suggested that Jigsaw's position, as an independent service from the prison, was beneficial. Prison staff implied that they could be seen as 'the enemy'; whereas Jigsaw staff, as non-uniformed workers, were often perceived to be more approachable.

Delivering accredited courses

Finally, prison staff working on the resettlement wing (C-wing), were very familiar with the accredited courses being delivered by Jigsaw to men coming toward the end of their sentence. Despite this, prison staff still believed that Jigsaw could do more to publicise their work on the wings.

Clear communication channels

A clear theme to emerge with discussions with prison staff, were the open and clear communication channels between Jigsaw and HMP Leeds. Many saw Jigsaw staff members as having a wealth of information on visits, property allowance etc. that they could 'tap into' and ask for clarification on behalf of prisoners on their wing. This was, however, a reciprocal relationship as prison staff also recognised that staff within Jigsaw were happy to contact staff within HMP Leeds to gain information around prison processes for prisoners' families. This mutual relationship was explained by one officer:

"If they don't know something they'll give us a ring. If they're not sure about something we're always at end of the phone for them to contact us. And same for us, if we need to know something they're always at end of the phone." (Prison staff, focus group 2)

Prison staff particularly appreciated being contacted by Jigsaw on these matters, rather than visitors being misinformed about prison processes or rules. Prison staff claimed that Jigsaw were aware of their 'boundaries' as an organisation which had not always happened in the past:

"They don't take anything on that's beyond their remit so to speak. Always ask, seek advice and clarify things before they do it...and a while back that wasn't happening all the time" (Prison staff, focus group 1)

Jigsaw's strong leadership and management

Prison staff recognised the leadership and management of Jigsaw and hailed the current manager as someone who communicated well with all staff inside the prison. Prison staff recognised that Jigsaw's manager was good at networking within HMP Leeds, both with senior figures (like governors) and with prison officers on the wing. His approachability coupled with his professionalism (particularly in relation to understanding prison processes) and his likeability on a personal level, was seen as beneficial to Jigsaw as a whole:

"When they [Jigsaw] do the events and all that, all the wing managers and gym managers are all included, all the staff are aware of what's happening and Lee does that well. He attends the morning meeting every morning as well, so he's in there with all the wing managers and all the prison managers. He's good at networking and he does get about and makes sure everybody's aware of what's going on. I think that's improved their ties with the prison." (Prison staff, focus group 1)

The play facilities: the need for better access

Staff members working in the visits hall were generally positive in regard to the play facilities, but did suggest ways in which the service could be improved. The first issue was in relation to children having greater levels of access to the facilities. Staff suggested that the play facilities were not open often enough and only allowed a few children playing in the facilities at one time:

"We've had up to 15 children in this room and only one child can access it on that visit and it's a bit of a pain." (Prison staff, focus group 1)

Prison staff suggested that ideally, from their perspective, they would like to see fairer access to the facilities.

The second issue concerned the introduction of facilities for older children visiting the prison. Prison staff were generally adamant that this facility was not needed, with one officer claiming:

"It's not a playschool is it? It's a prison. Would you have a PlayStation in here? You wouldn't do that would you? You can only go so far, can't you?" (Prison staff, focus group 1)

Rather than encouraging older children to play, staff suggested that greater focus should be placed on children sitting down at the table and actually talking with their father, thereby fostering positive family bonds.

The role of the family in reducing re-offending

Staff highlighted the complexity of reducing re-offending, arguing that prisoners require a multitude of support on leaving prison, including accommodation, employment and access to drug and alcohol agencies. Amongst this, however, the family was seen as being critical to the resettlement process. Staff suggested that having a family unit to return to was important to enable practical issues to be dealt with (i.e. housing) and that prison visits were the vehicle to ensure that this was the case. Most staff, therefore, endorsed Jigsaw's role in maintaining the family unit whilst a prisoner was serving his sentence:

"...if you got some kind of supportive structure to go back to, we loosely think of that as a family unit, then you are much less likely to reoffend." (Prison management)

Summary points

- Staff recognised Jigsaw's growing presence within the prison and embraced them as colleagues, not as 'outsiders' to HMP Leeds.
- The 'added value' that Jigsaw brings to HMP Leeds is hugely beneficial.
- The communication links between Jigsaw and HMP Leeds' staff is clear and working well. Jigsaw are aware of their 'boundaries' as an organisation and are willing to seek advice, where needed, from prison staff.
- Jigsaw's leadership was seen as being one of the main reasons why the organisation had been so successful in recent times.
- The play facilities were seen as a welcome addition to the visits room, but staff did raise concerns regarding fair access to these.
- Staff recognised the complexity of reducing re-offending, but maintaining the family unit was seen as a critical element of this process.

8. Discussion

The impact that Jigsaw has had on the contribution to reducing re-offending rates for prisoners at HMP Leeds

A persistent problem, which has been highlighted in previous evaluations of Jigsaw (Woodall et al., 2006, Dixey and Woodall, 2009), is that the process of visiting someone at HMP Leeds is a stressful and frightening experience for the vast majority of people. This issue, however, is not exclusive to HMP Leeds as these accounts are consistently reported at other institutions (Codd, 2008). Indeed, during the evaluation most visitors articulated the emotional strains that are placed upon them. Jigsaw does, however, mediate these effects through the family-centred, professional and high-quality service it provides.

The findings from the evaluation clearly demonstrate that Jigsaw makes the process of visiting less-stressful for families and contributes to the consolidation of family bonds. This contribution is particularly significant as evidence shows that maintaining family ties can not only benefit prisoners and their families, but also benefits HMP Leeds and wider society through reductions in re-offending and savings for the tax payer (Sheehy, 2010). Based on the data collected, we are therefore arguing that the impact that Jigsaw makes on prison visitors and prisoners does lead to reductions in re-offending. This is based on the specific responses from prisoners and prison visitors at HMP Leeds and the clear indications in the literature that prison visits do reduce reoffending outcomes (Bales and Mears, 2008, Duwe and Clark, 2011, Mears et al., 2011). Further research, however, is needed to determine and disentangle Jigsaw's actual contribution to reducing re-offending in quantitative terms. In addition, whether the extended family visits that are run by Jigsaw produce more favourable outcomes needs to be analysed, given that some research indicates that prisoners that take part in these longer visits have less likelihood of re-offending than those that have shorter, more restricted contact (Derkzen et al., 2009). This will require longitudinal examination of released prisoners from HMP Leeds.

Our evaluation would wholly support the recent inspection report by HMIP in that Jigsaw provides excellent family support work (HM Chief Inspectorate of Prisons, 2010) and this remains the *raison d'être* of the Centre and its staff. This family support work happens inside the Jigsaw centre and also within the visits hall. The latter developments within the visits hall have been particularly important to creating a more 'child-friendly' prison visiting environment, especially since the introduction of a fully staffed play area. Whilst these facilities were also criticised, the majority of visitors and prisoners welcomed the service. It is important that the role of Jigsaw in making visits easier is not overlooked in the midst of the focus on reducing re-offending; the latter is future-focused, whereas it is important and humane to ensure that family members, who usually are in their situation not by choice, are helped to deal with an uncomfortable situation *in the present*.

There remains a series of issues that still inhibit the visiting experience both from the perspective of prisoners and prison visitors. We would emphasise, however, that much of this is outside of Jigsaw's immediate control. First, the visits room within HMP Leeds is not fit for purpose and the evaluation team welcome the proposals for a newly designed visiting space. We suggest that this should, where possible, be designed in conjunction with the constituents of 'the visit' (i.e. prisoners' families, prisoners and prison staff). Second, there were concerns raised about the distribution of VOs and the booking line for visits. Whilst acknowledging that the on-line system has alleviated some of the problems, there remain significant challenges with the current processes. Third, the movement of prisoners to the visits hall remains problematic and was raised as an issue in the previous evaluation (Dixey and Woodall, 2009). Prisoners still raise concerns that they are not receiving their full allocation of visit time as a result of this. Finally, many prisoners are not allowing their children to visit them and this particular issue is discussed in greater detail below.

Many prisoners still forego maintaining contact with their children whilst they are serving their sentence. This appears to be a personal choice that many prisoners have made to either prevent the sadness of having to say goodbye to their children after the visit has ended, or to protect them from the perceived threat of 'sex offenders and paedophiles' from A-wing⁶ that share the visits room. Where children remain in contact with their imprisoned father, studies show that the well-being of these children is often higher than those children who do not visit. This may be because, amongst other things, visiting allows children to comprehend the context of their father's imprisonment (Johnston, 1995). Jigsaw may wish to consider specific interventions to address this situation. This may include, for example, communicating with prisoners the impact of not maintaining contact with children during their sentence, establishing some kind of 'video messaging service' so that fathers can communicate with their children or making better information available to children about what to expect when entering HMP Leeds. This move may enable Jigsaw to be well-placed to address the Government's commitment to reducing intergenerational crime (Ministry of Justice, 2010a).

Organisational changes at Jigsaw: the landscape of the third sector

Jigsaw has grown and developed as an organisation. Our evaluation shows that this development has occurred both in terms of personnel and its strategic outlook. We suggest that the organisational changes made within Jigsaw have been overwhelmingly positive and has enabled them to meet their organisational objectives.

In this new era, it is no longer the case that a 'charity' or third sector agency will be given funding simply for doing what it does well. The new landscape of delivering services is outcomes-driven and 'payment by results' (PBR) is now a common concept (indeed, HMP Leeds is the first public sector prison piloting PBR). It might seem simple to specify what the outcomes should be and for agencies to be paid on the basis of their ability to deliver these. However, there may be a need for a caveat or two. Firstly it may be difficult or impossible to demonstrate the chief and most important 'outcomes' and the emphasis may become overly focussed on certain outputs rather than on the breadth of the agency's mission. Secondly, the skills required for competing for contracts and developing the associated quality assurance and monitoring processes to demonstrate impact, may be lacking in an organisation, and also take resource away from the core functions of the agency. Smaller organisations might be less well equipped to cope with the risk of the new environment compared with larger organisations; in turn those larger organisations might not be as locally responsive or flexible, thus stifling innovation. A number of providers of visitors' centres for example, (such as Choices Consulting Services, Spurgeons or NEPACS) run a number of centres across larger geographical areas, and are rather larger organisations than Jigsaw.

The need to adopt methods derived from the business sector perhaps sits uneasily with the idea of values-based and values-driven organisations in the third sector. That sector asserts that there is more to it than 'being not for profit'; the values of the third sector are distinctive, have meaning to the sector, and have been encapsulated as:

- Empowering people
- Pursuing equality
- Making voices heard
- Transforming lives
- Being responsible
- Finding fulfilment
- Doing a good job

⁶ Not all prisoners on A-wing have been convicted of sexual offences; however, prisoners did perceive that the majority of A-wing were 'sex offenders and paedophiles'.

(Blake et al., 2006)

Jigsaw was established to provide a service for the ‘forgotten victims’ of crime, the families and friends of those convicted, in an attempt to contribute to the dignity and respect of this group, and to afford them a voice. It was not established to create income. Thus the task of scaling up and continuing to thrive in this age of economic austerity, of keeping an eye on the core values whilst also becoming more business-minded is a key task for the forthcoming period. This task faces all ‘charities’, social enterprises and other third sector agencies, whose main goal is to achieve social goals. These social goals are impossible to measure accurately with currently available economic models; a ‘social good’ is priced according to how much a society is prepared to pay for it, and how much political will there is to pay for it. It is possible to ‘guesstimate’ how much stopping one ex-prisoner from re-offending will save, but there are wider benefits of the ‘social good’ of stopping re-offending than the monetary value represents. The problem with the drive to measuring impact can be that this gets reduced to mere monetary values. Rickey et al. (2011) and Lumley et al. (2011) provide two examples of how charities can develop more robust impact measures which do not compromise their core social goals (see Figure X and Y).

Figure 5. Ideal impact cycle

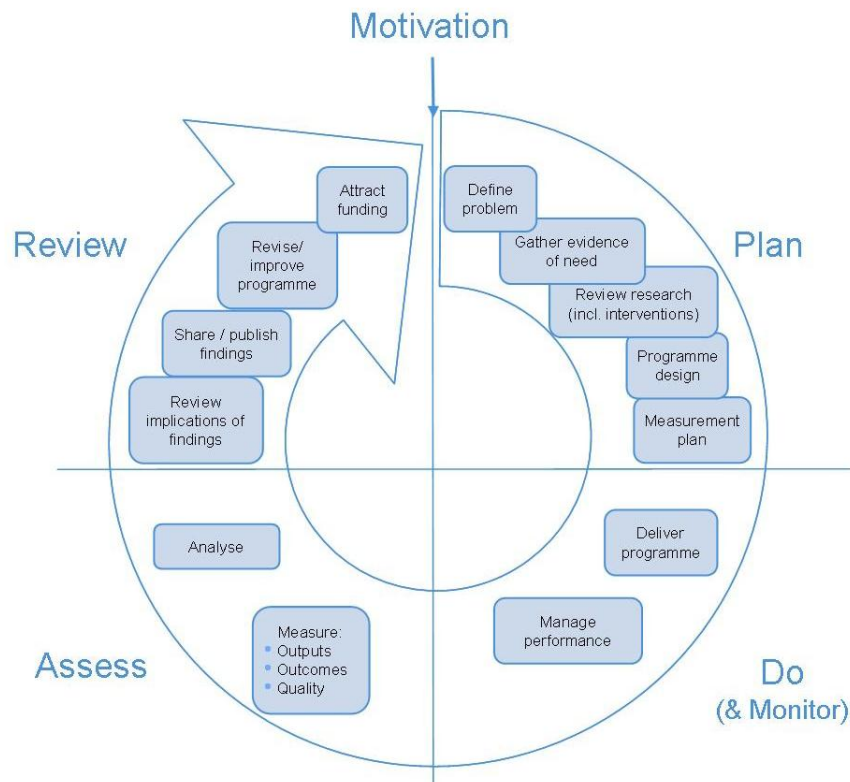


Figure 6. Developing impact measurement

The evaluation clearly showed that Jigsaw had become more ‘business-like’, and was now doing what it did in a more streamlined fashion and with more efficient use of resources. Measuring impact remains a challenge, as it does for much of the sector. In our view, Jigsaw is well placed to meet these challenges, with its current staff, leadership, motivation and outlook.

Some have argued the need for new ways of assessing value – rather than the ‘added value’ approach (of a service being provided by a voluntary sector organisation such as Jigsaw), a ‘full value’ approach has been suggested by Eliot and Piper (2008), who offer four aspects of full value:

- appreciating the full range of benefits that are created by organisations of all types;
- helping government, the third sector and citizens think afresh about what matters: the priorities and needs that should be valued in our public services;
- giving third sector organisations and commissioners a broader menu of issues and potential priorities from which to choose the ones that matter the most;
- recognising that third sector organisations may need support to help them demonstrate their value.

Arguably, the new landscape also requires new ways of doing things, including new ways of thinking about leadership. As Attwood et al. (2003, p.17) comment: “The new leadership ‘game’ is engagement and involvement, not hierarchical domination, and effective leadership involves the many rather than the few.” In opposition to the traditional ‘heroic form of leadership’, Attwood et al. (2003) argue that leaders should provide coherent frameworks within which others have space to think, to decide things for themselves, and to decide what needs changing and what does not.

The current leadership style exhibited by the current manager is appreciated by the core Jigsaw staff, and there is a greater sense of excitement, motivation and commitment than seen previously among the staff (these were already high, as noted in other evaluations). In addition, the management committee, together with the manager enable the ‘holding framework’ within which the organisation can work out its strategy, and make sure it does ‘stay on track’. In our previous evaluation, we felt that Jigsaw was already a ‘learning organisation’. Learning organisations are defined as those which facilitate the learning of all their members and continually transform themselves (Pedlar et al., 1991). In short, a learning organisation is one where “people continually expand to create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continuously learning how to learn together” (Senge, 1994, p.3). This is in contrast to many organisations which rely on historical ways of doing things, are resistant to change, rely on hierarchies where most do not have to think

about strategic direction and where people are not seen as intellectual capital to be harnessed for the development of the organisation.

A key dimension of a learning organisation is that it can develop whole systems thinking, and see where its work fits with that of others in a synergistic relationship. Jigsaw has clearly become more integrated into the prison, has consolidated its role within the prison's mission and is a much more respected and more equal partner than hitherto. The value of Jigsaw to the prison has perhaps never been greater, moving from initially being seen as a minor irritation or worse, by some of the prison establishment. Its contribution to the reducing re-offending agenda is crucial. Whilst this additional recognition is obviously to be welcomed, it is also important, and was voiced as such by the key respondents, that Jigsaw maintains its independence and is not 'hijacked' by the prison's need to demonstrate clear outcomes given the PBR imperative.

In previous evaluations, the institutional cultures of the respective organisation appeared to clash rather than cohere. Peterson and Spencer have defined institutional culture as "the deeply embedded patterns of organizational behaviour and the shared values, assumptions, beliefs, or ideologies that members have about their organization or its work" (Peterson and Spencer, 1991, p.142), or more simply, "what is done, how it is done, and who is doing it" (Farmer, 1990, p.8). The resistance within the prison to institutional change was lacking in this evaluation, whereas it had been evident in 2009. Although Farmer (1990) was not talking about prisons, he argued that overcoming such resistance, depends on "making decisions in a way that reflects a clear and sensitive understanding of the culture" of the organization (Farmer, 1990, p.10). Prison staff appeared more buoyant, confident in the leadership of the prison, and were tuned in to what the new institutional culture required of them. Prison staff had a renewed sense of mission, were clear about what the role of the prison is, and were well informed about the aims introduced by the Governor.

The working relationship between HMP Leeds and Jigsaw has perhaps never been better, and there seems to have been a natural convergence of the distinctive cultures of each organisation. Both have adopted the terminology of the new corporate world. Both have become more entrepreneurial. The rather harsh institutional culture of the prison has softened, and the restructuring of the wings mirrors the real commitment to rehabilitation. This was evident from our interviews with prison officers. The researchers picked up a much-reduced sense of staff being disgruntled; staff appeared to be in the right positions to carry out their roles. Meanwhile, Jigsaw has lost some of its 'charity mind-set', which is much talked about in third sector circles in the drive to become social entrepreneurs. By definition, charities were set up to help the 'needy', and Jigsaw has not lost sight of its charitable mission. However, it comes over as a social enterprise or not-for-profit organisation rather than as a 'charity'. In other words, it has kept up with the times and is, as was pointed out above, a learning organisation, having learnt the rules of the new landscape. It does fundraise in the traditional sense (such as through running its café inside the prison and in the Centre) but it does this in order to supplement its financial viability and thus to 'finance social change'. In line with the values of the third sector, the staff did feel that they were doing a good job and had a sense of fulfilment. All felt that they were contributing to society in a way that they would not be if they were employed in the commercial sector. Being a third sector organisation was important to the management committee members, who in giving their time, also felt that they were making a valuable contribution to wider societal goals.

All in all, the researchers present for all three evaluations could see real changes over the period since the last evaluation. Jigsaw seems to be in a healthy place from which to launch its next 5-year plan.

From what we have discussed so far, we can see that there are new challenges for organisational leadership in the current climate, especially where there are cross-sector

partnerships. Jigsaw appears at present to have a particularly harmonious and productive staff team and it would be invidious to single out individuals. However, the current manager does emerge from the evaluation data as an essential ingredient to Jigsaw's success. It is apparent that the two organisations (Jigsaw and the prison) have moved further out of their respective, separate organisations, and given the new leadership within the prison too, there are two leaders who are able to make purposeful connections with the full range of stakeholders, and who have worked hard to share their vision. The role of personality and personal attributes tends to be under-theorised in the literature, but 'common-sense' tells us that these are important. Williams (2010, p.9) notes "the importance of interpersonal relationships being superimposed over a formal structure, and being able to expedite communication, conflict resolution and learning, build trust, speed decision making, and uncover new possibilities for partnership working. Communication is seen to be especially influential because it helps to produce a shared interpretation of goals and agreement on roles and norms." Excellent inter-personal relations between the manager and the most senior prison staff have fostered and enabled effective inter-organisational relations, and organisational theorists consider it to be inter-organisational trust which most helps to drive performance (Williams, 2010). Whilst remaining clear where the boundaries are, and with each organisation having a different mission, governance procedures and cultures, the two organisations have developed a fruitful and effective partnership.

Jigsaw's current manager has the attributes of a 'boundary spanner', those people in organisations who manage the interface between the organisation and the outside environment and who span the boundaries between organisations, thus managing threats, handling information flows and monitoring communication. Effective boundary spanners in leadership roles create the frameworks within which shared meaning can be developed and trust can develop. They also tend to be good at assessing problems, and orchestrating people, resources and know-how to address those problems. As persuasive and likeable communicators, they can connect diverse people and cultures, because they understand both, or all, the agencies and sectors they work across. As such they not only work to 'span boundaries', they also understand the cultures and attributes of the separate components. As such, boundary spanners tend to be 'big picture' people, can think intellectually, strategically and long-term, are enthusiastic and energetic, tend to be modest and to operate more 'in the background'. Moreover, they can identify internal senior 'champions' (Ansett, 2010) who help to support their cause. These attributes fit the current manager who is now moving into a new role as the lead for the Children & Families pathway. He has been vital to the process of drawing together the organisational cultures of the prison and Jigsaw, and is trusted and seen as credible within the prison.

Value for money

The consensus from key stakeholders interviewed as part of this evaluation is that Jigsaw does provide a value for money service. Indeed, research shows that well-managed centres do offer a cost-effective facility through helping prisoners maintain ties (Families Outside, 2010). We know through prior research that maintaining these ties, through visits, impacts on a reduction in re-offending (Bales and Mears, 2008, Duwe and Clark, 2011, Mears et al., 2011).

If only one prisoner desists from crime as a result of stronger family ties which have been facilitated by Jigsaw then this would be an excellent financial investment. Based on calculations made by Brookes (2005), using data from the Social Exclusion Unit (2002), the average sentenced re-offender costs the taxpayer £111,300 through criminal justice costs. This amount is far less than Jigsaw's income from HMP Leeds. Moreover, recent calculations (de Las Casas et al., 2011) estimate that compared to a non-visited prisoner, each visited prisoner will save the tax payer an average of £638. This has been calculated

based on the research evidence which shows that visited prisoners are more likely to gain employment on release and therefore pay tax and not claim Jobseekers' Allowance.

Our evaluation would therefore argue that HMP Leeds is benefitting significantly from the modest investment they are making in Jigsaw.

Jigsaw: a model of good practice

We have commented previously that Jigsaw is a sustainable organisation that surpasses the service provision offered in the majority of prison establishments. Our understanding of the current landscape is that this notion remains true and that Jigsaw's work with prisoners' families surpasses what is normally found in the Yorkshire and Humberside region (Curry, 2008), but also in other areas across the country (Hartworth and Hartworth, 2005). Given the positive outcomes for prisoners' families in particular, we feel that Jigsaw's model and ways of working should be replicated across the prison estate. Our data would also support Jigsaw's plans to extend their service provision to other centres across the region. If this is done, however, it is important that Jigsaw stay focussed on what they do best and remain locally responsive and flexible.

9. Conclusions and recommendations

It is clear that Jigsaw has an effective (and cost-effective) role in both the smooth running of the prison and keeping families together. Research suggests that by doing this they are consequently reducing the likelihood of prisoners re-offending. Jigsaw must continue to do what they do best, i.e. family support, as through doing that they are well placed to deliver HMP Leeds' strategy for reducing re-offending (HMP Leeds, 2011).

Jigsaw has evolved since the last evaluation. Its work is more streamlined and focussed. It carries out its core business in the present and is also keyed into the policy drivers shaping the future. Its staff is enthusiastic, well-led and enterprising, supported too by the management committee, which is itself populated by volunteers who remain dedicated and knowledgeable. In short, Jigsaw contributes toward improving and maintaining family ties at HMP Leeds. The findings from this evaluation suggest that Jigsaw seems well-positioned to meet the challenges of current and future demands.

Despite these positive findings, a number of issues for consideration have arisen. These considerations have been divided into those for immediate and future consideration.

Issues for immediate consideration

- The policy environment seems highly favourable (in terms of competitive tendering processes) for Jigsaw to submit plans to take control of other regional facilities.
- Given the continual issues surrounding the telephone booking line and the distribution of VOs, the possibility of Jigsaw having greater management of this process is recommended.
- Jigsaw staff and management should consider access arrangements to the play facilities within HMP Leeds and assess the feasibility of more children being able to use the resource at one time.
- The movement of prisoners to-and-from their wing to the prison visits hall remained an issue, with some prisoners claiming that they were not receiving their full visit allocation.
- Too many prisoners were unaware of Jigsaw's services and the courses that were being delivered within HMP Leeds. Better awareness and publicity is, therefore, required.
- The feasibility of post-visit support services for prisoners is recommended. The immediate period after a visit was often described as being difficult to manage.
- Jigsaw, in conjunction with HMP Leeds, should assess whether a formal strategy is required to manage those prisoners who have been 'ghosted' (where a prisoner had arranged a visit with a family member and they had not arrived) during a visit.
- Jigsaw should continue to monitor their routine work and collect data from their service users regularly to continuously assess the quality of their service delivery. They may wish to consider using monitoring tools that are already in existence; for example those produced by the New Philanthropy Capital (de Las Casas et al., 2011) or those produced by other organisations like Action for Prisoners' Families and Pact (Action for Prisoners' Families et al., 2011). Jigsaw may wish to consider conducting a routine satisfaction survey and on a bi-annual basis administer a survey to

measure key performance outcomes. Examples of the available tools can be found in Appendix 1 and 2.

Issues for future consideration

- The visits room within HMP Leeds is not fit for purpose and the evaluation team welcome the proposals for a newly designed visiting space. We suggest that this should, where possible, be designed in conjunction with the constituents of 'the visit' (i.e. prisoners' families, prisoners and prison staff).
- Jigsaw management should constantly monitor the 'closeness' of Jigsaw to HMP Leeds. The independence of Jigsaw was seen by prisoners and prisoners' families as being crucial in delivering effective services.
- Jigsaw staff and management should weigh-up the expansion of play facilities for older children. Families visiting the prison felt that these additional facilities would be a positive addition to the visits experience, but prison staff cautioned against this.
- Given the importance of prisoners staying in close contact with their children, Jigsaw and HMP Leeds need to assess in greater depth whether some prisoners are refusing to maintain contact because of sharing the visits hall with perceived paedophiles and sex offenders from A-wing. If this is the case, solutions (for example, video/audio messages sent from the prisoner to his children) should be considered.

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Appendix 1. An example of a visitor satisfaction questionnaire
Taken from Action for Prisoners' Families et al. (2011)

Example: Visitor satisfaction and outcome questionnaire

The questionnaire can be adapted to meet the needs of your centre. It can be either given to visitors to complete themselves or filled in by a staff member or volunteer through a one-to-one interview.

CONFIDENTIAL

We want to find out more about how satisfied you are with the Visitors' Centre and how it has helped you. Please complete the different sections and return it to a member of staff.

Please tell us more about you

- 1 Are you Male ☐ Female ☐
- 2 How long have you been visiting this prison?
- a) Less than two months ☐
- b) Between two months and six months ☐
- c) Between seven months and one year ☐
- d) Between one and two years ☐
- e) Between two and five years ☐
- d) More than five years ☐
- 3 Is the person you visit:
- a) Your husband/wife/partner ☐
- b) Your child ☐
- c) Other family member ☐
- d) A friend ☐
- e) Other ☐
- 4 Do you bring children with you when you visit?
- Yes, often ☐ Yes, sometimes ☐ No, never ☐

If yes, please go to question 5

If no, please go to question 8

The play area

5 How satisfied are you with the play area?

Very satisfied ☐ quite satisfied ☐ dissatisfied ☐ very dissatisfied ☐

Please explain why you have given this answer

6 What difference does the play area make to the children?

7 What difference does the play area make to you?

The Information in the Centre

8 Have you read any of the Information leaflets available in the Centre?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know/can't remember ☐

If yes, please answer Question 9.

If no, please go to question 10.

If don't know, please go to question 11.

9 Have you been able to use or follow up any of the information given?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know/can't remember ☐

If yes, please provide details.

10 You answered no to question 8. Please tick any of these statements about the information leaflets if you agree with them.

- a) I was not interested in them ☐
- b) I did not know about them ☐
- c) I had seen them before ☐
- d) I could not read them ☐
- e) Other (please state) ☐

11 Would you like the leaflets to be available in:

- | | Yes | No | Don't know |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a) Some other format, for example, audiotape | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| b) Another language | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

If yes, please provide details of other formats, and languages.

Support

12 Have you been given any support from people in the Centre, apart from the written information?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know/can't remember ☐

If yes, please provide details of how that support helped you?

13 Please state how far you agree with the following statements. You may tick more than one answer.

The Centre helped me:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Not relevant
a) find help from another service?					
b) obtain welfare benefits or other financial assistance					
c) understand the regulations for prison visiting better					
d) feel more relaxed and at ease during visits					
e) feel more welcomed into the prison					

14 Please add any further comments here.

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Please return it to a member of staff.
All responses will be confidential.

Appendix 2. An example of a questionnaire to measure key performance outcomes of a prison visitors' centre
 Taken from Action for Prisoners' Families et al. (2011)

Example: Telephone interview with visitors: outcomes

You can ask visitors with whom you have had support sessions if they would be happy for you to telephone them in the future to find out how useful the Centre has been.

Thank you for agreeing to talk to us. This interview will take approximately 15 minutes. Nothing you say will be linked with your name and all your comments will be kept confidential.

1 Are you still visiting the prison? Yes ☐ No ☐

If no, when did you last visit?.....

Information and support

2a) Please say how far you agree with the following statement:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Not relevant
The Centre has provided me with useful Information					

2b) If you disagreed or strongly disagreed, please explain:

2c) If you agreed or strongly agreed, please explain how the Information was useful (Prompt: did you go to another agency? take up APVU funding?)

3a) Please say how far you agree with the following statement:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Not relevant
The Centre staff have listened to me and provided me with support.					

3b) If you disagreed or strongly disagreed, please explain.

3c) If you agreed or strongly agreed, please explain:

(i) how the support was useful

(ii) anything you did differently as a result of the support

4a) Please say how far you agree with the following statement:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Not relevant
The Centre has helped me take up difficulties with the prison.					

4b) If you disagreed or strongly disagreed, please explain

4c) If you agreed or strongly agreed, please explain how the Centre helped you.

Children visiting

5 Do you bring any children with when you are you visiting?

Yes, often ☐ Yes, sometimes ☐ No, never ☐

6 If the answer to Question 5 is yes, do they attend the play area?

Yes ☐ No ☐

7 If the answer to question 6 is yes, has the 'Visitors' Centre and / or the play area helped them?

	Yes	No	Don't know
a) During the visit times	☐	☐	☐
b) At home	☐	☐	☐
c) At school	☐	☐	☐

Please explain how it has helped them.

After release

8 Has /will the information and support you have received from the 'Visitors' Centre help the prisoner to resettle after release?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know/not sure ☐

Please explain your answer.

9 Is there anything else you would like to say about how the 'Visitors' Centre has helped you?

Thank you very much for helping us with these questions. All the information will be treated in confidence.