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“FILE ON 4”

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Producer:

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CUFFE: Last week an Employment Tribunal awarded prison officer Carol Lingard the biggest public sector pay out ever for a whistleblower – almost £500,000. She reported her suspicions of wrongdoing by a fellow member of staff, but instead of investigating them properly, the prison treated her as the problem.

LINGARD: I did it because I felt it was the right thing to do and because I wasn't prepared to ignore it or to pretend I hadn't seen it. I find it unbelievable that not only was my plight not recognised and I had to resign, but ultimately to this day none of these allegations have ever been investigated properly.

CUFFE: File on 4 looks at the hidden world of Britain's prisons, where many staff and inmates fear that if they rock the boat by complaining, instead of getting a fair hearing, they'll be victimised and their lives made a misery.

SIGNATURE TUNE

## ACTUALITY OF CAROL READING RESIGNATION LETTER

LINGARD: It is with great regret that I write to inform you of my resignation with immediate effect. I am resigning because the actions of the Service have made it impossible for me to continue ...

CUFFE: Until her resignation in February last year, Carol Lingard was a dedicated prison officer with a sense of vocation.

LINGARD: ... it is the last straw and I have to leave, yours sincerely Carol Lingard. It was a job I'd started doing when I was twenty when I first went to Holloway. I worked with a lot of interesting prisoners, I worked with a lot of interesting staff. Every day was different. I found it very challenging and a very rewarding job as well. You know, I was hoping to proceed through the ranks, I had very good reports and I'm sure I would have done very well.

CUFFE: But after Carol moved to Wakefield Prison in West Yorkshire, her career prospects ended.

## ACTUALITY OUTSIDE WAKEFIELD JAIL

CUFFE: Wakefield is a high security jail, and behind this grim Victorian façade, there are some of the country's most notorious murderers and sex offenders. Names like Roy Whiting, who killed Sarah Payne; and Ian Huntley, the Soham killer. Two years ago, when the Prison's Inspector paid her last official visit, she described it as an over-controlled establishment with an atmosphere of disengagement amounting to disrespect. And she reported that 34% of all inmates and over half the elderly prisoners claimed to have been victimised by staff. It's what's known locally as "the Wakefield Way".

Carol Lingard's job as senior officer was to oversee the system, which rewards prisoners with privileges for good behaviour. In August 2002, she was thinking of reviewing the case of a prisoner on D wing and went to look at his history sheet – a daily record of his behaviour. She saw that on one occasion he'd been given a verbal warning, but nothing more serious.

LINGARD: About a week after I'd done these checks, I looked in his history sheet again and was quite amazed to find that there were some fresh entries that had been put in, in between existing entries and backdated to appear as if they had been previously written. They were all very negative and they were all written in the same handwriting, and I also noted that the verbal warning that I had previously read had now been changed to read that a written warning had been issued. The word verbal had been crossed out, almost scrubbed out so that you could not recognise it and 'written' had been written in above it. I was obviously very very concerned about this.

CUFFE: Now how serious an offence is that for a prison officer?

LINGARD: Well, extremely serious. That prisoner's record is supposed to be a genuine record of that prisoner in custody. It can be accessed by all staff in the prison and will be used by many staff who have to write reports on that prisoner, so it could affect their parole, it could affect their incentive level. It was very serious.

CUFFE: She recognised the handwriting in the notes as that of Principal Officer Kieran Ryan, who was in charge of D wing, and she took the matter to one of her managers, Gordon Forster, who said he would speak to Mr Ryan.

LINGARD: Later that day he called me to his office and, when I went, he said he had spoken to Principal Officer Ryan and challenged him about this part of the prisoner's record and that Principal Officer Ryan had admitted that he had put these entries in and backdated them and he also admitted that he had changed the entry. He seemed very surprised, Governor Forster, that PO Ryan had admitted it. His actual words were, "He's only admitted he's done it," and he seemed very agitated and very angry. He also told me that PO Ryan had said that it was all right, he could get rid of them, and that Governor Forster had told him he was to leave it exactly as it was.

CUFFE: Another more senior governor was then told about the altered records, but the allegation wasn't taken any further. According to Prison Service rules, failure to report wrongdoing by others may itself be a disciplinary offence. The Employment Tribunal, which heard Carol Lingard's case for unfair dismissal, said her

CUFFE cont: disclosure tended to show that a criminal offence of forgery of the warning had occurred, which could lead to a miscarriage of justice. It said she was doing her duty and added:

READER IN STUDIO: It's a matter of considerable concern that other than the conversation Governor Forster had with Principal Officer Ryan, no inquiry and no action whatsoever was taken by the prison.

CUFFE: The treatment of another prisoner was also causing her concern. He was a paedophile serving a life sentence. During a review board, at which he was praised for improved behaviour, PO Ryan warned him that if he was ever found with pictures of children in his cell he might be "slashed", in other words attacked by other prisoners. It was the time of the Soham murders and the atmosphere in the jail was very tense. The prisoner was so frightened that it took a long time for another officer to calm him down. Carol Lingard was worried about his wellbeing.

LINGARD: The next thing that happened, shortly after this, it was within a matter of weeks, I had reports from two different officers that they had both heard another officer claiming that Principal Officer Ryan had asked him to plant child pornography on this prisoner. I was obviously deeply concerned at this, not least because of the comments that I had witnessed PO Ryan making to this prisoner, stating that he might get slashed if he was found with child pornography. I reported that to my line manager.

CUFFE: And again that is a very very serious allegation, so what did your line manager do about that?

LINGARD: I told them of these reports I had. I also pointed out that it was the same prisoner that had had the get slashed comment to and I raised the other issues that I had already raised about the other prisoner. They seemed very unsure what to do.

CUFFE: PO Ryan was approached about the allegation of trying to plant pornography in the cell and denied it. The Prison Service's rules on whistle-blowing make it clear that staff should not be stigmatised for approaching management with their concerns and they must be assured that they will be protected as necessary and may seek confidentiality. But in Carol's case, the rules were broken.

LINGARD: I was called a grass, I was having gates locked on me - so if I was walking up to a prison gate that someone had just gone through, normal procedure is that you let the other person come through it as well, they were being slammed and locked on me. People were turning their backs on me and it felt like a very unsafe environment. Wakefield is a high security prison and it is essential that all staff do work together and that you are all safe together, and it was quite clear to me that I was not safe. It just became an absolute nightmare. You know, I was feeling physically sick going to work in a morning. It is very hard to describe how bad it was.

CUFFE: Carol asked her managers for support, but none was forthcoming. In November, she wrote to the Governor of Wakefield, setting out her concerns. She got a reply from his deputy, Ian Blakeman, saying :

READER IN STUDIO: Sometimes it is important to realise that nothing further will be gained by inquiry and investigation. At times like these, everyone thinks their position will be vindicated by investigation. The reality is that the truth rarely emerges, and everyone's position is made more difficult.

CUFFE: Ian Blakeman made it clear to the Tribunal that he didn't think Carol should have made the allegations, or not in the way she did – evidence which they describe in their findings as 'startling and disturbing'. Carol also turned to the Prison Service's new investigation branch, the Professional Standards Unit – set up to deal with staff misconduct, particularly corruption. But after promising to take the case on, she heard nothing more from them. Increasingly desperate, she turned to her brother, John Sturzaker, a solicitor with a large firm specialising in employment cases.

STURZAKER: I think it is important that any public service is accountable, but perhaps particularly important in relation to the Prison Service because it goes on behind closed doors. It was clear from the outset that she became the problem, and that the concern and the focus was not on the allegations of serious wrongdoing which had been raised, but on dealing with the fact that management now had a problem because somebody had raised these allegations and, on the face of it, that was rather inconvenient. And she, I think, behaved in model fashion by going initially to her line managers and when she got no proper response she then cooperated with another investigation which just dragged on forever. What seems to me to have happened throughout really is a complete mismatch between what ought to have happened according to the policies and procedures and what really did happen.

CUFFE: Last week, the Employment Tribunal awarded Carol Lingard £477,000 and her legal costs. In a damning judgement it describes a collective failure by the Prison Service.

READER IN STUDIO: The respondents totally failed to accept that the claimant was honest and genuine in her disclosure and was seriously at risk – principally, we conclude, because they did not wish to face up to the unpleasant truths which were emerging.

CUFFE: The director general of the Prison Service, Phil Wheatley, admits they were in the wrong.

WHEATLEY: This is, from my point of view, a regrettable and indefensible incident and one I don't ever want to recur again at Wakefield or anywhere else.

CUFFE: This wasn't just a little local problem though, I mean, she took her complaints to a higher level. The Deputy Director General of the Prison Service knew of these complaints, it went to the Professional Standards Unit, who then passed it back to the prison.

WHEATLEY: We've tried to learn the lessons from this, it is important we do learn the lessons from this. It is right that she has received her apology, it is right that she won her case. She was failed at every level in the organization. We have not seen anything else like this before, but that doesn't mean we should say, well this is a just one-off, it could never happen again. It may have happened somewhere else, it might happen somewhere else in the future. We need to learn the lessons and sharpen up our response to those sorts of complaints and be alert to the fact that when we receive complaints we must deal with them properly and not, as in this case, fail the complainant.

CUFFE: You have all the policies in place, I mean, at the very time that Carol Lingard was being told to shut up and go away, your own Professional Standards Unit was working, you had a Prison Services Order about how important it was to be able to complain about wrongdoing. I mean, how can there be this mismatch between your policies in the Prison Service and practice?

WHEATLEY: You can have all the wonderful policies in the world - it is actually doing them that is crucial, and I think most organisations are at risk of having policies which are not fully honoured. In this case those policies were not honoured. We are working hard to improve performance, not changing policies. The policies are right. You are correct, we have the policies. Actually it is making sure we action them and in this case we didn't.

CUFFE: The Prison Service is threatening to offer Wakefield to the private sector if it doesn't improve. There have been changes in the management and the new Governor is pursuing an agenda of decency to prisoners. Principal Officer Ryan, who was at the centre of Carol Lingard's allegations, is still in post. But although all eyes are now on the prison, File on 4 has spoken to a serving prison officer, who believes that nothing significant has changed. To protect his identity, we've asked someone to read the officer's words.

OFFICER: I've never known the morale in the prison be so low. I mean, in terms of what the management has learned from dealing with people who report wrongdoing, there is little to show that anything's been learned.

CUFFE: So prison officers who are concerned about the behaviour of a colleague, in this climate, would they be able to express their concerns?

OFFICER: I doubt it very much. I mean, I don't think that for those who wish to report wrongdoing that they have the confidence reporting it to the people who are charged with putting it right.

CUFFE: And you say you speak for others as well as yourself here?

OFFICER: I know I speak for others. They are the minority who are prepared to say what's wrong, but they don't have the confidence really to come forward and declare it for fear of it all being covered up, much as this has been.

CUFFE: Why did you decide to break prison rules? I think talking to us is a sackable offence, even if you are doing so anonymously. So why did you take that step?

OFFICER: I believe certain things need to be made known and the public need to be aware of certainly senior prison managers acting in a manner that doesn't necessarily always protect the person coming forward, and they tend to employ methods to save the face of the Prison Service, rather than expose the wrongdoers and to have a cleaner act depicted of the Prison Service.

CUFFE: Carol Lingard isn't the only member of prison staff who's been victimised for whistle-blowing. Her colleague, Emma Howie, who gave evidence on her behalf, is now waiting for transfer to another prison, because her life at Wakefield has been made untenable. It's the second time Ms Howie has been in this position. The Employment Tribunal heard that in her previous job at Full Sutton maximum security jail near York, police interviewed her during investigations into an assault on a prisoner. In a statement, she said:

READER IN STUDIO: I faced serious intimidation, having given evidence in a very serious discipline and criminal investigation. I had grass sent to me through the post and internal mail. My son, then aged two, was spat at by a prison officer.

CUFFE: Emma Howie's safety at Full Sutton become so compromised that a Governor had to escort her every time she went in or out of the jail until she was transferred to Wakefield. The deputy head of the Prison Service, Peter Atherton, told the Employment Tribunal that this type of victimisation was not uncommon. And two other officers at Full Sutton were still receiving similar intimidation five years after the police investigation. The Prison Service arranged for their transfer last year to a place where it was thought they'd be safer. Director General Phil Wheatley didn't want to talk to us about specific cases, but speaks with experience as a former prison officer.

Your own deputy says that cases of victimisation are not uncommon in the Prison Service, so, I mean, this is obviously a problem that goes right across the board and not just in Wakefield.

WHEATLEY: I know, because I've worked in the Prison Service for a long time, but because we've got small groups of staff working together, supporting each other in what often seems a hostile environment, and who have become very loyal to each other, because you have to rely on other members of staff, you rely on them for your own safety. But in those situations it is easy to understand how that can turn into a no informing culture and so we've got to work to prevent that happening.

CUFFE: We understand that the culture at Wakefield remains one of hostility to whistleblowing and people still don't feel confident that they could complain and that their complaints would be properly heard and investigated.

WHEATLEY: I would be disappointed if that was the case. I don't think it is ever possible to change the culture of a prison instantly. The governor of the prison and his senior managers are giving a very clear steer to staff at Wakefield that they do want people to say when things aren't right and they are prepared to follow through on that. We will have to keep on saying that to convince everybody that that is the case, and my information is that Wakefield is an improving prison, but we're on a long path to



CUFFE: A twenty minute drive away from Wakefield and you come to Leeds Prison, another Victorian building perched above the city. It's one of the country's largest local jails – holding more than 1,200 inmates – most of them doubling up in cells designed for one. An inquiry into what happened here last April to an Asian prisoner called Shahid Aziz has put the prison under the spotlight and highlighted concerns about racism and discrimination. It also raises questions about how serious complaints are investigated.

#### ACTUALITY IN AZIZ FAMILY HOME

CUFFE: Early last year, when Shahid Aziz was in Leeds on drug charges, waiting to be sentenced, his family grew increasingly worried about his welfare. He had been involved in getting up a secret petition with 65 signatures, complaining about racism and discrimination against ethnic minority prisoners. As a result, his wife, Parveen, thinks he was singled out by prison officers.

PARVEEN: You could tell in his face that it was getting to him. He would deny it - oh I'm fine, nothing. He just didn't want everybody to know really that he was having a hard time in there.

CUFFE: So what made you suspect that he might be?

PARVEEN: There were a couple of occasions when I went to see him he been bruised and had injuries.

CUFFE: And how did he explain those?

PARVEEN: I asked him and all he said that he'd had a fight with one of the officers and he goes, I'm fine, I'll be okay. But then I came back and I told his solicitor what had happened. Then after that they just made his life hell. Every time I went to visit him he'd complain of something. His mail was going missing, his clothes were going missing, he wasn't getting meals on time, they weren't allowing him to pray, making his life generally hell. It was particularly him, because he spoke for others as well as himself. Every time he'd settle into one cell with somebody, they would just say,

PARVEEN cont: 'Right, you're moving to another cell,' for no particular reason. Apparently he was moved at least twelve to thirteen times. He told me that they'd deliberately put him in a cell with someone bigger than him or, you know, more aggressive or whatever, just to cause an argument. One of the officers actually said that he would not get out of there alive.

CUFFE: On April 2<sup>nd</sup> Shahid Aziz was moved into a new cell with Peter McCann, a prisoner who had been arrested at his bail hostel in possession of a knife. For Parveen and his sister, Qalsoom Khalil, it was just a normal day.

QALSOOM: We're just carrying on as normal, doing our normal duty things, picking up our kids from school, and we start getting phone calls – there's been a fight. Other prisoners had had access to telephones and they'd rung home. Small community, everybody knows one another, they'd rung home and told their families. So there's word around the neighbourhood that Shahid's died, and then we started phoning the prison and finding out what had happened.

PARVEEN: It was after three o'clock, about half past three, that Imam and some other guy came to the door to tell me that he had been in a fight and he'd died. His cellmate had killed him.

CUFFE: Within hours of Shahid Aziz being moved into the cell, he was subjected to a frenzied beating and his throat was cut with a razor. The jury which sentenced McCann for murder heard that he had a history of violence and an interest in bladed weapons, and on at least two previous occasions he'd attacked other prisoners. Yet when he was brought into the prison he was assessed as 'low risk'. He later explained that he'd been angry when hearing Shahid Aziz talking in Urdu. The case has echoes of the murder in 2000 of Zahid Mubarek, an Asian teenager put in a cell at Feltham with a known racist. Since April last year all deaths in prisons in England and Wales have to be investigated by the Prisons and Probation Ombudsman, who is supposed to provide an independent oversight. The Aziz family has now received a copy of his unpublished report. But according to their solicitor, Daniel Machover, they are not satisfied with the way the investigation was carried out.

**MACHOVER:** The concern that the family has is that it'll be one of the most important cases that the Ombudsman has looked at since he has taken over the role of investigating these cases, and rather than having the staff there ready within his office to do it, it's been prison officers. That leaves the family feeling very distressed really, that prison officers have had their cases discussed or the issues discussed with their own peers, and they feel that's just entirely wrong. The whole ethos is that there will be an interview at which the person involved will basically be given free rein to give their account and there won't be a situation in that interview when they are challenged in any way on that evidence. For example, showing someone a form they completed and asking them, well you've told me what you remember you had and why you did this and that, now let's look at the form and let me take you through it and to ask them robust questions. The idea, it seems to be anathema. You could and I could just as well go into a room, leave a tape recorder and say, 'Tell me everything you know about this incident. I'll come back later and collect the tape recorder.' In my view, the Ombudsman interviews, I'm afraid, are not very far off. And the one example that we've got that's an exception to that is a prisoner witness who is challenged – very aggressively, in my view – about how he did or didn't know Shahid Aziz very well, because he didn't know one piece of information about his background. It's not as if the people conducting the interview don't know how to ask rather more challenging questions, it's just they've reserved it for one extremely minor point, where they're addressing a prisoner, which again confirms the very fears that the family's got. They do see some rather robust questioning, but it's completely off the point and to a prisoner.

**CUFFE:** The Prisoners Ombudsman, Stephen Shaw, says he can't discuss the details of his report. He agrees that when he started the investigation he didn't have enough trained staff to gather the evidence, but he's satisfied with the result.

**SHAW:** I did rely upon Prison Service trained investigators reporting to me, but the whole of the report has been written by my staff, the whole of the evidence has been reviewed by my staff. It is as independent as we were able to make it, but it is perfectly true that I am much happier with the situation which is obtained since December 1<sup>st</sup> whereby all parts of an investigation are conducted independently by members of this office.

CUFFE: Because you can understand, can't you, that the family don't feel that it's been a proper investigation, because it hasn't been independent and because it was prison staff carrying out those interviews?

SHAW: Well I do not accept that the investigation was not independent. We have conducted the most thorough investigation of any death that has occurred ever in a prison in England and Wales. I'm very proud of the way in which we conducted the investigation. It took well over a year. It engaged the bereaved family to a degree, I think, which is unprecedented, and we have made very clear that if at any point there is fresh information that the family wishes to look at, we will do so.

CUFFE: The solicitors representing the Aziz family compiled a dossier of complaints about discrimination and racism from twenty current or former prisoners at Leeds. Complaints ranged from the quality of halal food to racial abuse and assault by prison officers. The report, which was sent to the Commission for Racial Equality, says that prison officers acted deeply improperly without fear of being caught or punished, or complaints about them ever being taken seriously. But the National Chairman of the Prison Officers Association, Colin Moses, says it's too easy to accuse staff of wrongdoing.

MOSES: I've visited Leeds Prison on many occasions, and I believe the staff at Leeds Prison are professional and do their job in a very difficult and one of the most overcrowded prisons in the United Kingdom. I think it's wrong to use a broad brush against staff and say that there's widespread racism when that hasn't been proven. The system that is in place deals with those complaints in a thorough fashion. You must also understand that there are those who do make countless groundless complaints. They are in the system, there are people who have done that, and as you can well see I'm a black man myself so I know about racism, I've been subjected to prisoners making groundless complaints. There always tries to be clear investigation, but if somebody is continually complaining, that must be fully investigated. There should never ever be the belief that a complaint ends up in the bin. My experience is that that is not the case, that complaint goes through a procedure. What we want to see is prisons that are run professionally and correctly. There shouldn't be any hiding place for racists in prison.

CUFFE: Allegations of assault at Leeds were passed to West Yorkshire Police, but no charges were brought. And a Prison Service investigation into the other complaints concluded that most of them were unfounded and that there was no direct evidence of racism. But Kate Maynard, the solicitor now pursuing civil action on behalf of eighteen prisoners, thinks that that Prison Service inquiry was also flawed.

MAYNARD: Where my clients had made allegations of direct racial abuse, the prison officer's word was automatically accepted over the prisoner's word and because the prison officer didn't admit to being racially abusive, my clients' complaints were unfounded. Again prisoner witnesses weren't spoken to and there was no correlation between some prisoners who were interviewed making the same complaints about the same officer but these weren't tied together in the report. So it was an unsatisfactory report. We're sufficiently confident in the allegations and the substance of the complaints by our clients to advise them and to continue pushing ahead with litigation and eventually ultimately a court will decide whether their complaints are founded, and we're confident at this stage that many of them - if not all of them - will be.

CUFFE: A common theme among inmates who came forward was the prison's attitude to complaints. Some felt too intimidated to complain for fear of reprisals. One said he'd seen complaints being thrown in the bin by an officer and several claimed they'd been victimised after making complaints.

#### ACTUALITY WITH SHABIR AHMED

AHMED: They're all in here actually. This is a complaint form. This is one of them that was answered.

CUFFE: What were you complaining about?

AHMED: That's just one of them. And there's all these. You could be here for a while.

CUFFE: Shabir Ahmed has a thick folder of documents chronicling his attempt to get his complaints answered. Last year he was serving his first jail sentence for benefit fraud and was punished with a loss of privileges for complaining that an officer was racist. Altogether he put in about a dozen complaints.

AHMED: Every time you complained, it never got anywhere. I only got a reply back to three, which they've got on my record. And the rest, they don't know where they've gone. They've actually admitted that I put in two complaints at once, and one were answered, and they said, 'Tell this prisoner not to put in two complaints at once.' I even wrote a letter to the Prison Ombudsman, right, and they wrote me a letter back saying, 'Well, you have to write to internal prison investigation,' and you're just banging your head against a wall. I just wanted the system to work as it's set up to work, you know, not for them to brush things under the table.

CUFFE: The Ombudsman has since reviewed Mr Ahmed's complaint and he's received an apology from the Governor of Leeds, Ian Blakeman – who has been promoted from his job at Wakefield. He told Mr Ahmed that he would have lost any confidence that his complaint would be taken seriously. Since the death of Zahid Mubarek, the Commission for Racial Equality has worked closely with the Prison Service to ensure that prisoners get a proper hearing when they complain about discriminatory treatment. Six months ago, the CRE visited Leeds Prison and expressed grave concern. It found that procedures for making race complaints were complex and off-putting, some staff discouraged or prevented prisoners from complaining, and recording and monitoring of race complaints was poor or non-existent. Mohammed Aziz, the Commissioner on Prisons, says it was frustrating that so little progress had been made.

AZIZ: We visited Leeds earlier this year and we were disappointed to see what we saw. We saw that the systems that should have been in place were not in place or operating effectively. We were also concerned about other areas of discrimination. Also concerns around racism amongst prison officers, particularly we were concerned that there was very little confidence by prisoners in the complaints system. They felt that if they made complaints, then their complaints got nowhere. We went on a landing and we saw no complaint forms on display as they should be, so that prisoners have ready access to them. So we asked one of the prison officers where they were kept,

AZIZ cont: and he said that they were kept in a drawer in the prison officers' admin room. So we asked if we could see a copy. He went into the room and looked for a copy and could not find a copy, and came out and said they'd run out of them. Obviously that's very concerning to us that prisoners should, one, have to ask for a complaints form and, two, if they were to ask for a complaints form, they may not get a complaints form. I have asked the Prison Service to do a thorough review of the complaints system and they have agreed to carry out the review of the complaints system over the next year.

CUFFE: Doesn't it depress you that you're having to say that five years after the death of Zahid Mubarek?

AZIZ: Yes, it's depressing, it's frustrating. My experience is that there is commitment at the top to change. There is a gap between the leadership and the senior management in terms of implementation, and we need to find a way of working with area managers, with governors to ensure that the good work we've done at the headquarters level is translated into good work at the institution level, at the grass roots level.

CUFFE: The Director General of the Prison Service, Phil Wheatley, acknowledges that there was poor treatment of prisoners at Leeds, though says it was regardless of race. He says the governor is working hard to make an overcrowded prison work better.

The Prison Service's investigation found no evidence of direct racism, and yet the Commission for Racial Equality has carried out its own investigation at Leeds and says that there are serious concerns here, and that many of the proper reporting procedures are not in place, and that a lot of the things that they would expect to have happened as a result of previous reports by the CRE have not happened.

WHEATLEY: That's largely right. The CRE have not carried out an investigation, they have visited the prison. It falls short of being an investigation. It wasn't, for instance, anywhere near as comprehensive as the investigation that we carried out, and they found that some things that should have been in place were not in place. They did not find indications, as far as I am aware, of direct racism, but they found

