TE WHANAKE

UNDERSTANDING PRISON VIOLENCE IN AOTEAROA II

A SYMPOSIUM
7 DECEMBER 2021

EDITOR: ARMON TAMATEA

NGA TŪMANAKOTANGA
Turning the tide on prison violence

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INTRODUCTION

ARMON TAMATEA

E kore te matau e rawe ki te moana takai ai, engari anō a uta.
(It is not proper to prepare the hook at sea, rather it should be done on shore)

Prisons are places where victimization of physical and psychological violence is an all-too common event. Recent events in Aotearoa New Zealand and abroad have reflected the high human, financial, and health costs of violence for the mauhere and kaimahi who live and work in these sites.

Nga Tūmanakotanga is an MBIE-funded project that seeks to understand and reduce prison violence in Aotearoa and has the expressed aim to (1) understand violence in the contexts in which it occurs, and (2) to develop localised, place-based interventions to reduce violence and improve safety for prisoners and staff in these settings. Nga Tūmanakotanga is the guiding principle of the research programme. Together with the logo, this tohu[1] reflects tidal movements and energies as an analogy of the nature of violence in New Zealand prisons – Periods of relative calm interspersed with moments of explosive aggression.

The nature of this research journey recognises the ebb and flow of people who live and work in prisons, examines the practices – visible and hidden – that contribute to the causes, the control, and the prevention of violence within these environments, and works in harmony with these elements – these ecosystems – to facilitate optimal conditions for the safety and wellbeing of mauhere and kaimahi.

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[1] Kindly gifted to the project by Mr Mate Webb.

These proceedings are a documentation of korero that occurred during an online symposium that was held in December 2021. *Te Whanake* was the theme of this event and emphasised the need to develop clarity about what happens and why – expanding upon what is currently known.

As before, we attempted to create a space to bring together voices that speak from different 'locations' in the *prison ecology*, to share their māramatanga – their insights and reflections – with us, and to inform and provoke our collective thinking about the issue of prison violence in Aotearoa.

The feedback from attendees at *Te Tūāpapa Whakaharatau*, our inaugural symposium in December 2020, revealed a high level of interest in the issues and more than enough encouragement to conduct a second event. This current symposium aspired to form a critical element of a public conversation about the important issue of real world violence – especially in places that are not visible to many New Zealanders. This year we were very fortunate to have Hon Kelvin Davis open the event and provide a state of the nation address about current priorities for safer prisons and the direction of travel for Corrections in this area. In keeping with our philosophy to canvass a wide number of perspectives from across the prison ecology, the invited speakers were drawn from Aotearoa as well as overseas. Neil Campbell's long-time advocacy for Māori-relevant services and practices within Ara Poutama provided a pragmatic view for how staff can recognise and navigate cultural tension that is an inherent element of the context for aggression in prisons; Beaming-in from Denmark, Sofie Østergaard Jaspers presented her research that addressed staff and management concerns as a point of entry on healthier custodial practices in a Danish prison; Lars Brabyn and Randy Grace (Nga Tūmanakotanga research team) shared their

insights on the patterns and points of interest within the Ara Poutama COBRA database; Emma Roebuck from the Office of the Ombudsman articulated the special role that the inspectors have in assessing and maintaining safety in prisons with a preventive approach; From across the ditch, we learned about the innovative approach and prison philosophy from Brad Peebles, the Governor of the Macquarie Correctional Centre in New South Wales, before yours truly invited the audience to consider the virtues of thinking ecologically about prison violence; Lastly, Timo Gardiner, Karl Goldsbury and 'Baldy' Kiriona delivered some real talk – that only those with lived-experience can – about the realities of prison life, the role of violence in prisons, the role of gangs in prison violence, and some pathways to prevent violence.

As the whakatauki reminds us, it is best to be prepared and not to do things in haste. One does not have to go very far to hear an opinion or perspective about the causes and control of prison violence in this country – the challenge is making sense of the many and varied korero.

Needless to say, this symposium is not the first or last word on the issue of prison violence, and should be seen as a continuing korero/dialogue with stakeholders from the criminal justice sector, academia, mauhere and their whānau (past and current), and the broader public. Everyone has a voice in this space, and it is incumbent upon Nga Tūmanakotanga to listen and take heed of the issues, priorities, constraints and possibilities that are offered and gratefully received.

Mauri ora.

OPENING ADDRESS

HON KELVIN DAVIS

Kia ora koutou. Thank you all for being here today.

Before I begin, I want to acknowledge the more than 4,000 custodial staff who show up to work in our prisons every day to keep New Zealanders safe, and support people to make meaningful change to their lives. Corrections staff do genuinely hard work that very few other New Zealanders would step forward and take on.

I would also like to acknowledge those of you here today who help shape the lives of those within the justice system in other ways – through policy making, healthcare, and supporting the people we manage in Aotearoa, and around the world.

I'm sure it is stating the obvious to say that Corrections manages some of New Zealand's most challenging people. Prisons are challenging spaces. Over 80% of the prison population have convictions for violence in their offending histories, and 35% have a gang affiliation, which is a risk factor for in-prison violence. People also often come into Corrections' management with significant learning, disability, mental health and addiction needs. When assaults occur, the impact effects everyone in prison – prisoners, staff, their families and colleagues – and cannot be downplayed.

Prisons regularly review assault incidents to determine whether similar occurrences can be prevented in future. Significant investment continues to be put into the health and safety of staff, and in training and tools to keep people safe, along with changes relating to prison environments, culture, staffing processes, and mental health and addictions assistance for people with serious and complex needs.

When I became Corrections Minister, we were facing an exploding prison population and an immediate decision on whether to build a new prison to accommodate for this. We chose not to, and instead, follow a different path of trying to safely reduce the prison population. Today, I am really proud to say that the population is under 8,000, down from 11,000-odd three years ago. In particular, there are 1,000 fewer Māori behind bars today than there was then.

With this, however, has come its own challenges. While many non-violent offenders are able to be kept out of prison, those who pose a serious threat are still being locked up. This has led to a concentration of prisoners with high needs and challenges, including violence, aggression, mental health and addiction needs. Essentially, there is a higher concentration of difficult prisoners to manage. Even so, the reality is the threat of violence is something that cannot be eliminated entirely, but Corrections is doing everything to provide the safest

environment possible for staff and people in prison. It is important that we identify the underlying causes of violence, which start in the community. We are working hard to solve well-documented problems with mental health, gangs, poverty, violence and crime. Corrections staff deal with New Zealand's most vulnerable and complex people – the same people who have been most directly affected by these issues.

Corrections has commissioned a special project to understand the psychological profile of people who commit serious assaults in prison. There has been minimal research completed internationally in this area. This project will look for common features or commonalities in those perpetrators to better understand how to prevent assaults from taking place.

Violence and Aggression Joint Action Plan
I have previously shared my concerns about assaults on corrections officers in New

Zealand prisons and I have zero tolerance for it. This is an issue I take extremely seriously and I have been regularly meeting with my officials to discuss this matter with them. Corrections is committed to reducing violence and enhancing the safety of prisons.

Earlier this year, Corrections, along with unions, the Corrections Association of New Zealand and the Public Service Association, worked together to develop a Violence and Aggression Joint Action Plan, focused on preventing and reducing the number of assaults on prison staff.

Corrections has focused on delivering on a number of small but tangible actions, while holding workshops with our union partners to scope out the larger pieces of work. While there have been some delays due to the resurgence of COVID-19, a number of actions have been achieved, including:

- Establishing the role of Principal Adviser Prosecutions and Adjudications and appointing a highly experienced and well regarded staff member into that position. This has already had a positive impact.
- Prosecutors and adjudicators at Auckland Prison, Auckland Region Women's Corrections Facility and Mt Eden Corrections Facility have received training from the Principal Custodial Adviser which has led to a significant increase in the number of successful prosecutions of prisoners. Another training session started this week at the National Learning Centre for Adjudicators across other sites.
- Work is underway with New Zealand Police to develop a nationally consistent approach to hold people to account for their actions.
- Investigation and scoping of replacement stab-resistant body armour, which is issued to all front-line prison-based staff has commenced.
- The two-year rollout of 2,500 new on-body cameras, with new cameras already rolled out to Hawkes Bay

and Rimutaka prisons, and underway at Christchurch Men's Prison, Otago Corrections Facility and Invercargill Prison to be completed by 31 December. The remaining prison sites will follow from next year.

- Facilitating a working group, which includes Union representatives, to discuss Personal Protective Equipment in regards to tactical options.
- Post Incident Response Team (PIRT) training continues to be rolled-out with five sites having received the new training (Spring Hill Corrections Facility and Waikeria, Rimutaka, Arohata and Whanganui prisons). Rolleston and Christchurch Women's prisons are scheduled to receive their training this month with the remaining sites around the country due to be rescheduled as a result of COVID-19.

Gang Affiliation in Prison
Over 75% of the prison population have convictions for

violence in their offending histories, and gang members are disproportionately identified as responsible for assaults in prison. Gang members are also known to incite other people in prison to carry out violent acts on behalf of the gangs. Corrections is actively working with people affiliated with gangs and their whānau to address their challenges, both in prison and after release. Corrections takes all reasonable steps to dis-courage people from gang membership by providing advice, support and programmes. The ability to access and participate in individually planned rehab-ilitation and reintegration pathways also provides opportunities for gang affiliated people who are motivated to change to access programmes to address their offending behaviours, and reintegration support to address the ongoing drivers that lead to and maintain gang membership.

Each of the 15 men's prisons now have a site-level Gang Management Plan which sets

out actions to mitigate the risks at each site, including the location and layout of the facility, and which gangs are represented in the prison or area. Work is being done with the three women's prisons to look at reintegration pathways for gang-affiliated women, acknowledging the complexities they face particularly when identifying reintegration pathways.

Mental Health Support
Factors contributing to violence in prison are complex and Corrections is addressing violence in a number of ways; one of which is improving support for people experiencing addictions, specifically methamphetamine, and mental distress. Corrections' research shows that people in prison have higher rates of personality disorder, mental health and addictions than the general population. Significant changes are being made to the current services to strengthen the response to addictions and mental distress, which includes:

- Establishing a 100-bed mental health unit at Waikeria Prison;
- Rolling-out Mental Health 101 and Alcohol and Other Drug 101 training to all prisons;
- Providing additional mental health training in the Intervention and Support Units;
- Increasing the number of intensive alcohol and other drug treatment programmes in prisons;
- Identifying sites for an additional 15 aftercare workers to support people who have completed drug treatment programmes in prison;
- Initiating a review of primary care mental health services;
- Providing additional training and support to frontline staff around detoxification; and,
- Corrections next Alcohol and Other Drug Strategy will shortly be finalised and published.

Addressing mental health issues is a critical part of *Hōkai Rangi* and Corrections' focus on humanising and healing. By

addressing underlying mental health issues and addiction issues people are better able to engage in rehabilitation and support the pathway to an offence-free life.

Corrections staff recognise the importance of knowing and understanding people in prison, and actively engage with them to reinforce positive behaviour. Staff anticipate and attempt to resolve problems through the active management of people in prison, and are trained in de-escalation techniques, and interpersonal and tactical communication skills. The goal is always to manage a potentially volatile situation in a manner that minimises the likelihood of violent behaviour. Last week, I read an article in the Otago Daily Times about a young man who was appearing in court via AVL to be sentenced for assaulting a staff member. He appeared before the judge – placid at first – talking to the corrections officers with him. Unfortunately, he escalated quickly, becoming very angry. The staff members who were escorting

him were quick to react, showing just how interpersonal and tactical communication skills are crucial to deescalating potentially volatile situations. "Let them do their jobs and see what happens," one of the officers repeated. "Breathe in through your nose, out through your mouth," the officers said. Their calm words and professional actions successfully defused what could have been a violent situation. A psychologist's report described the young man as having a "difficult upbringing" and cast light on what was behind the man's violence. I am told that staff have worked hard to get to know this young man, what his triggers are, and have put support in place for him – while at the same time maintaining zero tolerance to any violence threatened or used by him. This is just one example of the incredible work that Corrections staff are doing every day.

Many people who enter the justice system are victims themselves, who have been

subject to violence, neglect, mental health issues and substance abuse. A growing proportion of the prisoner population have extensive meth use/abuse habits. Meth abuse is associated with significant and lasting impacts on mental and emotional functioning, including issues such as anger control.

In recent years, Corrections' role has also expanded as we try to deliver the best possible results in supporting people to change their lives. When someone experiencing significant mental health issues comes into our care, we make every effort to ensure their mental wellbeing and physical safety during their time in custody, alongside ensuring our staff have the support they need to safely support these people. We have a range of work underway through our mental health strategy, which includes doing more to upskill our frontline staff in identifying and managing people's mental health needs.

Support for Staff and Prisoners
Staff who are the victim of an assault, or have been involved in an incident involving the assault of one of their colleagues, are supported in many ways. Corrections Staff Welfare Officers work to ensure the appropriate support and rehabilitation planning is in place for staff and their families if needed.

Corrections also has a Psychological Trauma Policy that is aimed at supporting staff who have been subjected to psychological harm. This includes access to the appropriate psychological assessments and support for all employees. Post Incident Response Teams provide peer support for staff and all staff have 24-hour access to the Employee Assistance Programme which provides a free and confidential counselling service. If staff are not able to attend work following an assault they retain all employment benefits. Corrections have also made sure Staff have tools to ensure their safety and to respond to

serious incidents quickly and appropriately, including stab resistant vests, body worn cameras and pepper spray. Corrections has significantly invested in initiatives to support staff wellbeing such as an Employee Assistance Programme, critical incident support after a high intensity event or series of events, staff welfare coordinators, and Post Incident Response Teams.

We also cannot ignore the impact that violence has on people in prison. It creates an environment that hurts not only the victim, but others too, including the perpetrator – by creating a culture of fear, retaliation, retribution, and reprisal. This culture can be pervasive and prevents people in prison from engaging in their rehabilitative, employment and education programmes.

Managing prisoners safely is a core function of Corrections, and a duty we take very seriously. We make sure that prisoners are aware of the many ways in which they can alert staff to any concerns for

their safety. This includes using their cell alarm when they are in their cell, or making a disclosure directly to staff via a family member or friend, or by contacting an Inspector, the Office of the Ombudsman or anonymous crime reporting line: Crime Stoppers.

In recent years, we have also put a strong focus on ensuring that all incidents of assault, no matter how minor, are recorded. We continue to encourage all staff to report any incident to ensure we have a full understanding of our prison environments and are able to respond where needed. We need our staff to recognise these incidents have a potential for escalating behaviour. If we record every single one of those, there is a greater chance that we can address the causes of that violent or aggressive action at an earlier stage, rather than seeing it amount to something much more serious in the long term.

Looking Ahead
So, where to from here? In 2020/21, Corrections

implemented further initiatives to improve safety in prisons. These include reinforcing the use of tactical communications, implementing rostering guidelines to ensure an appropriate mix of staff experience during shifts, improving how training data is recorded, and establishing staff safety plans. The Violence and Aggression Joint Action Plan is not a short term measure, but something we must continue to focus on to ensure the safety of corrections staff across the country. While Corrections has been able to achieve some immediate wins, there is still more to be done, and I'm encouraged by the partnership with our unions to ensure this work continues.

Ultimately, a prison system that keeps our staff, the people we manage, and the wider community safe is something that Corrections cannot do alone. It will take a collective effort that goes beyond government, and into our communities, community organisations, and our family structures, to really address the heart of why people offend, and provide them with the support to lead lives free from crime and violence.

I am proud of the progress that Corrections has made to reduce the violence in prisons and to increase the support for people with serious needs. Again, I want to thank the over 4,000 dedicated and hard-working staff in our prisons across Aotearoa and everyone working to reduce violence in prisons – your work is very much appreciated.

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS TO CULTURAL TENSION

NEIL CAMPBELL

Let's take the opportunity to look at this phenomenon known as cultural tension. What is it? What influences and contributes to it? How do we mitigate and manage it? In Aotearoa New Zealand there is a history of cringe and resistance to having discussions about "culture". Within Ara Poutama Aotearoa it is fair to say that this "cringe factor" is often exacerbated in our operating environments. This session will help people to understand the five contributing factors to cultural tension, that if unmanaged often lead to incidents of violence within those environments.

Whānau, it's a real privilege for me to join the symposium this morning. It's a hot topic. The session we are going to talk about right now is this phenomena known as 'cultural tension'. In particular, what I want to explore is to identify what it is in the first instance, and, probably more important-ly, what contributes to it? We hear a lot about cultural tension nowadays. I just wanted to remind people that cultural tensions are tensions associated with difference in cultural practice, values, beliefs, and settings. More importantly, it is that we understand that it can occur between any cultural systems. For example, gender tensions between male and female, between organisations or groups (even within organis-ations) or teams can experience cultural tension, ethnic groups and of course, generations – I often laugh to myself when I hear people of my generation speaking about boy racers in particular, because what I find in most instances is that the people that seem to have a problem with boy racers have forgotten their own youthful

past, pulling burnouts outside the milk bar on a Saturday night.

The bigger thing I want to point out about cultural tension and the way we are defining it here is it's an ever-present thing, and it doesn't always have to necessarily be negative in its experience. I'll explain that shortly, but it is really important to understand that it can occur between any cultural system.

Today, going around our facilities, I will still hear comments like, "But if it wasn't for all this Māori stuff, we wouldn't be experiencing cultural tension," or "If *Hōkai Rangi* wasn't placing this expectation on our practice, we wouldn't be experiencing any of this tension." Of course, that's a fairly naive way to look at the situation because even if we took away things to do with Māori, even if we replace *Hōkai Rangi*, people will still find areas to have tension about – even if we took away gangs. Whilst we should be looking to discourage gang membership

or violent behaviour amongst those communities, it's fair to say that even if you took that away, people would experience tension on different levels. For instance, you'd still have tension between those that support the Auckland Blues and those that support the Crusaders!

This discussion I'm sharing with you this morning is actually part of a bigger conversation that I have with all new staff as they enter Ara Poutama Aotearoa all through our Ara Tika programme at our National Learning Centre. It is also part of the conversation that I have with our prison negotiators as part of their training at our tactical training facility. As such, there's a couple of models that I would like to talk about just to set some context before I get to the main thrust of my discussion with you.

Comfort, Stretch and Breaking Zones
I want to talk about three zones that people often find themselves working in at any given

time, particularly within an operating environment like the custodial environments that many of our workers work in every day. Having said that, I just want to acknowledge and reinforce the Minister's acknowledgement and recognition of our staff that do work within this organisation. We're often not seen as a 'hero' organisation in the same light as the New Zealand Police or the New Zealand Fire Service, or indeed, the New Zealand Defence Forces, but I do really want to acknowledge the frontline and the work that they do within our custodial environments. You see, we don't have armies of people kicking down the door to come and do this work. Funnily enough, we have huge numbers of people that have an opinion either way of how we could be doing it better, which is great. It's a sign of a mature values-led organisation that can listen to that kind of feedback, but very few of those people choose to actually jump in the swimming pool and swim around in these environments, which has already been ment-

ioned once this morning, work with some very challenging and difficult citizens of Aotearoa New Zealand. So, at any time we can find ourselves working in any one of these three zones, the first of these zones being the *comfort zone* (Figure 1).

Figure 1
Three Zones
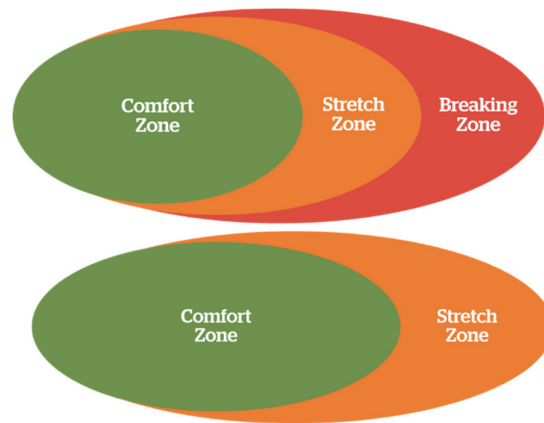
Some people might think the comfort zone is a great place to be. It's actually a great place to start out in, but for the people that work within Ara Poutama, and indeed those people in our care, we optimally want people working in the *stretch* zone. If you think about it, we often talk to the people in our care about their rehabilitation and all the rest of it and sometimes we need to remind ourselves that when we are doing our

jobs correctly, we're constantly putting those people in our care in the stretch zone. We want to challenge ways of thinking, any antisocial distortions that people might have, and any past behaviour that have been a danger to themselves, and indeed, have been a danger to victims of any offenses committed. The third zone is this area called the *break* zone. This invariably occurs when we overstretch people to the point of breaking. One thing we do know for sure, like any good athlete, is the more you stretch, the greater your comfort zone becomes. So if we look below this model and we can see that when we get into the habit of putting ourself into what many leadership forums will term the growth mindset, we get used to operating within that stretch zone, we ourselves become far more agile, manoeuvrable and strategic in the things that we do. In fact, when you become a really good practitioner in these three areas, you have the ability to actually eliminate the break zone from the equation. If I could use an example where

I first started to utilise this model of comfort–stretch–break, I would have to take you back around about 17 or 18 years ago to a fairly significant event that occurred in one of our service centres. Not within one of our custodial environments, but it happened within one of our service centres within the probation or community corrections environment. At the time, we had a large number of both men and women attending a rehabilitation programme. It was about a six week programme, and at that time, we had an event that was being organised that would see these participants graduate from the programme. The facilitators had given responsibility to these participants to run the graduation for themselves, and they had set up a programme which included a *pōwhiri*, a formal welcome to dignitaries for staff members and to family and friends that were coming along to support. They were then going to follow that up with a sharing of food, with all of the cuisines of the Pacific – Manukau City being the biggest

Polynesian city in the world – the vast majority of the participants were Polynesian[2]. There was going to be hāngī. There was going to be some sua fa'i, some pani popo, chop suey and all the rest of it. Everybody was going to enjoy this. The participants were going to stand up, and for want of a better word, give a testimony to the journey that they had been on, sharing all the skills they had learnt within the rehabilitation programme. Now, some of us here will remember what occurred that day. We had a fairly senior probation officer that took exception to some of the cultural activity and didn't want to participate, and then created a bit of a scene at the event, which led to a build-up of tension amongst the participants. One of the things I'll remind everyone of is these people had just been on a six and a half-week journey that stretched them, stretched some of them to their outer limits. So, when you had a staff member refusing to participate,

refusing to acknowledge the cultural content within the ceremony, it would be fair to say some tension entered the room.

One of the things that people were saying to me at the time as I was part of the investigation into that incident was, "Somebody needs to teach this person about tikanga Māori, needs to explain to this person that women aren't submissive or treated poorly within Māori or Pacific culture." At the time, what I had to explain to those other people was that we can teach this person all of this, and I don't think it would make one bit of difference. As part of the information I discovered in that investigation, this person was going to go in there and cause some tension regardless.

Now, a lot of people think that staff member had reached their breaking zone. The truth of the matter was that the attitude and the behaviour that was demonstrated on that day showed that the staff member

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[2] When I say 'Polynesian', I include Māori in there… I don't quite know when it became Polynesians *and* Māori. The last time I checked my whakapapa, I was still a Polynesian.

actually had an inability to get out of their *comfort* zone. In other words, they demonstrate an inability to be able to look at the world from somebody else's point of view, an inability to understand that not everybody shared their values, beliefs and practices, an inability to demonstrate open-mindedness and mindfulness. This was the problem. It wasn't that the staff member is in a breaking zone – They actually had an inability to get out of their comfort zone.

Whānau, one of the classic examples of poor practice is when the practitioner has an inability to get out of their comfort zone whilst placing all of the receivers of the practice in the breaking zone – This is what occurred that day. So, you had a staff member unwilling to get out of their comfort zone, see the world from somebody else's perspective, and you had participants that had now gone beyond the stretch and into the breaking zone. I'll describe to you in a second, how that

played-out. The irony of the staff member having an inability to get out of their comfort zone is that in that two and a half-minute exchange, that person unravelled six and a half-weeks of rehabilitation, because in that six and a half-weeks, all of those participants had spent that time learning how to look at the world from other people's points of view. They were taught skills and how to practice openminded-ness and being mindful. They were taken through sessions in understanding that not every-body shared their values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours. We knew partici-pants had reached the breaking zone because within that envi-ronment, a couple of them stood up, and this is where I should probably give a disclaimer[3], but the response from some of the participants was, "Who the fuck is this bitch? Who is she to come in here and do this?" So all of this tension started to escalate. That escalation was the sound of the rubber band going snap

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[3] I'll use the language that was demonstrated in the event and hopefully I don't get pinged for inappropriate material in this symposium!

and people transitioning from a high stretch zone situation into a breaking zone. Fortunately, it didn't result in any physical violence, but it did mean many members of that programme, once the rubber band snapped, retracted back into their comfort zone with many of the anti-social distortions starting to raise their head again amongst those participants. This is where this model becomes incredibly important.

Exploring Cultural Identity
To give some context, I want to share with you the cultural identity continuum. I often refer to this model (Figure 2). I found it in some writings by Professor Sir Mason Durie[4], where he talks about the four different identity states within any cultural context that an individual or a collective of individuals could find themselves at.

To start with, I want to go to the high end of the continuum and look at what Professor Durie describes as ***confirmed*** identity. Confirmed identity is quite a rare phenomenon in the world today, just because the world is ever-revolving and evolving. But if we look at how confirmed identity is defined, it talks about an identity that is of a first nature, where the person is completely immersed within cultural references. As such, this usually makes this individual a very secure person. It's their primary sense in whatever cultural context it's been defined against. They're steeped in it. So of course, this could apply in the ethnic cultural identity space if you were defining Māori cultural identity. Equally, it can be relevant when you're identifying, for instance, the culture of a corrections officer, the culture of a Probation officer, the culture of a father, of a mother, so on and so forth.

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[4] Durie, M. (1998). Te Oru Rangahau: Concluding remarks. *Te Oru Rangahau conference proceedings*, Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, Massey University, Palmerston North.

Figure 2
Durie's (1998) Cultural Identity Continuum

Confirmed Identity
- First nature
- Immersed in cultural references
- Secure
- Primary sense
- Steeped

Positive Identity
- Constructed
- Many cultural references
- Feel in rather than out
- Empowered to belong and participate
- Secure

Notional Identity
- Constructed
- Some cultural
- Informed
- Knows rather than feels belonging
- Identity is vulnerable and situational

Compromised Identity
- Few cultural references
- Feels "out" rather than "in"
- Fluid sense of belonging
- Confused and distorted cultural view
- Culturally vulnerable

If we look at the next part of the continuum, working our way down, you have this identity state known as ***positive*** identity. Positive identity is a constructed identity state, but these people have many cultural references to call upon. As such, these individuals often feel 'in' the culture rather than out of the culture. People that sit on this part of the continuum are actually empowered to belong and participate within that culture – much like people with confirmed identity, these individuals are very secure in themselves and their identity, and the culture in which that identity is being defined against.

The next part of the continuum is that of ***notional*** identity. This identity state is a constructed identity state. These individuals have some cultural references to call upon and as such, they are informed about the culture. They 'know' rather than *feel*

the belonging to that culture. With people that sit within this identity state, identity is somewhat vulnerable and situational. For example, although I'm Māori, my father was born and raised in the North West of Scotland in a place called Oban. So my Scottish identity is somewhat *notional* in that I support rugby teams in this order, East Coast Ngāti Porou, the All Blacks, and when either of those teams is not on the winning line, I'm supporting Scotland. I know that I have Scottish whakapapa. I know a lot about my identity from the Scottish culture, but I know it rather than *feel* it. As my father would often say to me, "Probably if you were born on the banks of Loch Cruachan and you were immersed in that context, even with a Māori mother, your identity, son, would probably be Scottish right down to your accent." So this is just one way of showing for you notional identity. The other thing, by the way, my father would constantly tell me is, "You're doubly cursed, Neil, in that you were twice colonised", and he would often

tell me stories of his own identity in being denied the Gaelic language, land confiscations, and all the rest of it within that history. He added that "the other curse is one side of you is forever going to want to get drunk, and the other half isn't going to want to pay for it." He never really defined for me which culture was which in regards to that example.

If we look at the last part of the continuum, you've got this identity state called **compromised** identity. When we look at this identity state, we know that these people have very few cultural references to call upon. They feel 'out' of the culture rather than 'in' the culture. They have a very fluid sense of belonging. They often have quite confused and distorted cultural views. They're culturally vulnerable. What I would wager is that this doesn't only occur with people in care within our custodial environments. We are all susceptible to moving up and down this continuum at any given time on any given day,

dependent on incidents or experiences we are having at the time. We can easily go from a very positive identity state and propelled into a compromised identity state just through an action, a word or a situation that we might find ourselves in.
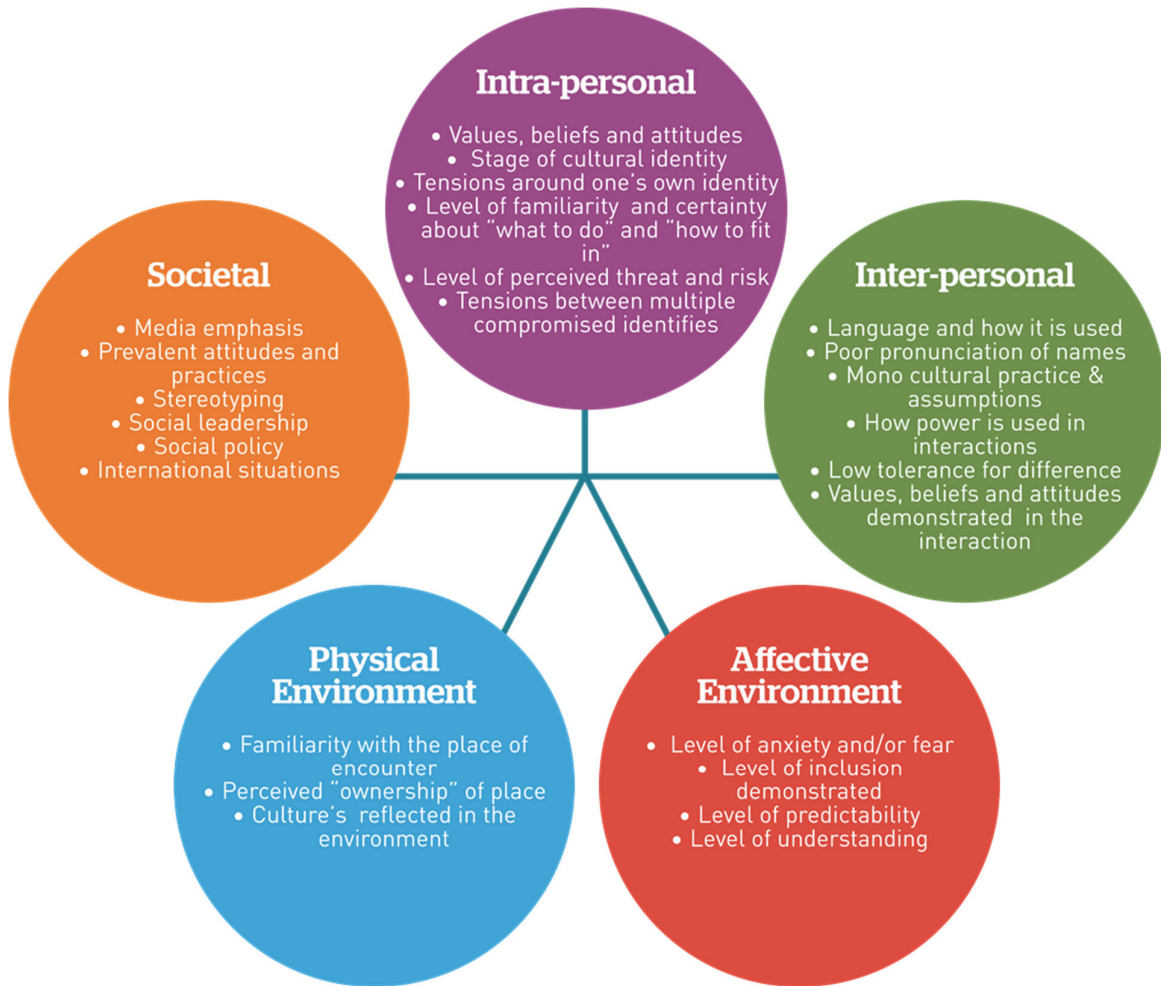
What's really important about understanding these identity states is that I can often mitigate when I feel my identity changing. I can remember day one at Paremoremo prison as a brand new prison officer when I started 28 years ago, and having to tell myself that it's actually okay to feel compromised. You don't know anything about this operating environment. Own what you don't know. I couldn't assume that coming from defence into corrections, everything would be the same. I understood when I felt compromised and ensured that I didn't behave in a compromised way. When you have an awareness of a model like this, it helps you move yourself back up the identity continuum to a more positive identity state.

Really good practice within a custodial environment ensures that we are looking for every opportunity to move people up the identity continuum to a more positive identity state. The last thing we want to do is compromise people who are already in a compromised identity state, and that's whether we are talking about colleagues, managers, associates, people in care, or people that we're managing – That covers what I call both sides of the Ara Poutama. One side of that Ara Poutama being the people in our care, those that we manage. The other side being our people, the people who care, our public, our partners. So this applies in our practice, whether we are working with people in care or our own people, and this in itself creates a really healthy culture.

Contributors to Cultural Tension
What I want to go into is the actual contributors to this phenomena known as cultural tension (Figure 3). The first thing I'd like us to look at is the

Figure 3
Contributors to Cultural Tension

Intra-personal
- Values, beliefs and attitudes
- Stage of cultural identity
- Tensions around one's own identity
- Level of familiarity and certainty about "what to do" and "how to fit in"
- Level of perceived threat and risk
- Tensions between multiple compromised identifies

Societal
- Media emphasis
- Prevalent attitudes and practices
- Stereotyping
- Social leadership
- Social policy
- International situations

Inter-personal
- Language and how it is used
- Poor pronunciation of names
- Mono cultural practice & assumptions
- How power is used in interactions
- Low tolerance for difference
- Values, beliefs and attitudes demonstrated in the interaction

Physical Environment
- Familiarity with the place of encounter
- Perceived "ownership" of place
- Culture's reflected in the environment

Affective Environment
- Level of anxiety and/or fear
- Level of inclusion demonstrated
- Level of predictability
- Level of understanding

contributing factor that we call *intrapersonal*. 'Intrapersonal' is to do with these tensions I actually already come with. So I come with some hardwired tensions, and they're not necessarily negative tensions, around things like my own personal values, beliefs and attitudes. To some degree, they've been hardwired into me through the formation of my own identity, through my upbringing, through my experiences and so on. What also comes with me in the intrapersonal space is the stage of cultural identity that I'm sitting at on that continuum, whether I'm coming in as quite a positive identity, a notional identity or a compromised identity.

This does have an impact on the level of tension I'm already

experiencing within myself. This is associated with tension around one's own identity. Again, I go back to that example of being a brand new prison officer and understanding that I was in a compromised identity state. I had to remind myself of that, so that I didn't overcompensate and try to swing to the other end of the continuum. Durie talks about this when describing the four identity states where he says one of the really dead giveaways of a compromised identity is they will often try to present themselves as being a confirmed identity, but remembering that in some cases, the viewpoints are very distorted and confused. The other thing that affects us within the intrapersonal space is the level of familiarity and certainty about what to do and how to fit in. This can play a major role because it can lead to the perceived threat and risk of being humiliated or undermined, or feeling embarrassed or ashamed of something. So these are things that we already bring with us when we enter certain environments.

Tensions between multiple compromised identities sit within that intrapersonal space, and if we think of those custodial environments, we are dealing with multiple levels of people that at any given time are sitting within quite a compromised identity state.

The second contributing factor that I want to look at is that of the *interpersonal* space. So now we add another person or a group of people into the mix and they, of course, will bring their values, beliefs, and attitudes and how those are demonstrated within any interaction. We have to be conscious of language and how it is used. This is one of the reasons why in my role as General Manager of Cultural Capability I was adamant that one of the things we needed to change first within our organisation to move us towards a culture shift was the fact that we needed to change language. So I still get a bit of a hard time from some of my old colleagues on the floor about using language like 'people in care', 'people under management',

'men', 'women', 'tāne', 'wahine', but language is a really important contributor or mitigator of tension or of this phenomena called cultural tension. Poor pronunciation of names, believe it or not, may seem benign to some people. It is in fact, quite a significant contributor to cultural tension. I, myself, was exposed to some fairly extreme violence in my career on the floor as a result of one incident that came about through, believe it or not, the continued poor pronunciation and unwilling-ness of one of my colleagues to pronounce an individual's name correctly. Is that a difficult thing for some people to do, to pronounce names that don't derive from the English language correctly? Yeah, it is difficult. That's one of those things where we need to stretch ourselves a bit, practice, apply ourselves and learn how to pronounce people's names correctly because for a lot of people within our operating environments, that's actually the last bit of dignity and mana that they may have intact – and if we are talking Māori and

Pasifika people in care, those names can often be ancestor names, tupuna names that have been handed down to them. They take that seriously and they will do anything to uphold sometimes what they consider to be the last thread of dignity they've got. I want to add to this that I'm not talking about this just solely when pronouncing the names of Māori and Pasifika. I'm talking about the pronunciation of anybody's name is a significant thing that we can do to mitigate and manage tension within our practice.

Monocultural practice and assumptions can be huge drivers of tension within the interpersonal, and this is usually demonstrated when people have an inability to get out of their cultural comfort zone and just want to remain static. Monocultural assump-tions are a contributor. There is a power dynamic at play within a custodial environ-ment. Not only between those of our staff and the people in care, but even within those groups. There are power

dynamics at play within the staff grouping. There are power dynamics at play within the grouping of those people that are in our care. We need to be conscious of those and we need to be really careful about how we use power responsibly and how we practice that in our interactions with others. A low tolerance to difference is a contributor to tension, and we'll often hear that people need to snap out of it: "People need to think more like this need to do more like that…"

First and foremost, we actually have to understand the difference. A whakataukī or a proverb I was given when I first joined the job went like this, kaua e whakapaetia te hē o te rawakore, kaua hoki e tautokotia, engari whaia ko te māramatanga. That's an ancient wisdom that's really reminding us in situations like this, we should seek never to blame the wrongdoer because blame gets us nowhere. We should seek *neither* to condone the wrongdoing. We should seek instead to understand what's driving the behaviour. In

a lot of ways today, this is what we are doing within this symposium.

If we look at the third contributor to cultural tension, this thing called **affective environment**, which is actually talking about cultures that are reflected within those environments. How are different cultures reflected within those environments? What is the perceived place of ownership within those environments? Those are two really big contributing factors. I remember a de-escalation I did one time during a cell search was when a common thing that our staff are confronted with is that one of the men had said to one of our staff members, "Hey, this is my fucking house," and, "Watch how you treat this house" and, "Get out of my house," and "Stop messing up all my stuff." One of the conversations I had with this individual was to say to him, "Remind me where it is that you come from again?" He looked at me and said, "What are you talking about?" I replied, "Kei hea koe, Where

are you from? Where do you come from? Remind me again." He said, "I come from Hokianga in the far North." Now I was able to say to this person, "While this is going on, I want you to think about Hokianga and I want you to think about being home, because that's your home. Never look at this place as being your home. This is a place at a point in time that you are at, that you are having to be staying in, but this isn't your home. This isn't your place. Let the staff do their job. You think of Hokianga and you think about getting home. Don't ever look at this environ-ment as being your home. That's a distortion. It is not your home. It's a place that you are merely spending time at with us at this point in time."

Next is the **physical environment**. What is the familiarity with the place of encounter? What is the level of inclusion that is demonstrated within that environment? Things like what cultures are reflected within it? These are all important elements that contribute to the tension within

those environments. It is a fine line when you're talking about things like what are the cultures that are reflected within that environment? Because you can go a little bit over the top with that. If you think that some of the people ethnically are culturally vulnerable, they're in quite compromised identity states. So, to overplay some of that material within the physical environment can actually contribute to tension. It is a great thing that our staff are learning how to mihi, how to pepeha and all the rest of it, but we have to be really careful about how we use that. We could be sitting with a person, say of Māori heritage that you're wanting to interview. You're wanting to do this in what you believe is a culturally appropriate way. You start the meeting off with a karakia, with a mihi, a new exchange in all these ways, but the person sitting across the table from you is in quite a compromised Māori cultural identity space. They don't have their reo. They don't have tikanga. They don't know their pepeha. This can

inadvertently create a physical environment that creates and contributes to tension rather than mitigates it.

The final contributing factor I wanted to look at is **_societal_**. This consists of things like what is the media emphasis of the day? We forget that within our custodial environments, men and women get access to TV. They watch the news. They watch topics of interest, and some of these media stories can actually bring tension into our operating environments. So we have to be conscious of what is going on out there in the media. What are the topics of hot debate? What's going on talk back? Those types of things can actually enter our custodial environments and create high levels of tension that result in violence being perpetrated. Prevalent attitudes and practices of the time can come into play. I'll never forget what happened after Don Brash's Orewa speech at the time when I was working at Mt Eden prison and how that flushed out a whole lot of attitudes. Prevalent behaviours started to

come out and people felt empowered to say some pretty outrageous things to their colleagues, to people that we were managing and even to members of the public that were there to visit our facility. We have to understand that prevalent attitudes and practices of the day can also be a major contributing factor. Stereotyping is another contributing factor to the type of tension that can result in violence, as can social leadership of the day and how that influences social policy and the effects that has within the operating environments, particularly within the custodial space.

Finally, even because of the diverse nature of people that we have in our care today, there are even international situations that can present and create major incidents of cultural tension within those operating environments that can result in violence.

In closing, I want to say that there are a number of things we can do to manage this. One

of them is if we truly look at the innovations and the insights that *Hōkai Rangi* is presenting us with, they are opportunities for us to change, lift and improve practice in a way that stretches us not to the point of breaking, but increases our comfort zone to work within these different operating environments, how to deal with all these different contributing factors of cultural tension. The other thing I wanted to say is that through the six outcome areas of *Hōkai Rangi* leadership and partnership, humanising and healing, whānau, whakapapa, incorporating a te ao Māori world view and foundations for participation are all the right ingredients to create a culture, a transformational shift that will mitigate cultural tension, which can ultimately lead to violence within those operating custodial environments.

No reira rau rangatira ma huri noa i te motu, tenei te mihi atu ki a koutou katoa, no reira tēnā tatou, tēnā tatou, tēnā tatou katoa.

INTEGRATED VIOLENCE PREVENTION: A METHOD TO IMPROVE THE COLLABORATION BETWEEN EMPLOYEES AND MANAGERS ON VIOLENCE PREVENTION

SOFIE ØSTERGAARD JASPERS

From a work environment perspective, violence at work is a risk factor with severe consequences for the mental and physical health of employees, for the organization, and for society. The aim of this research project was to test an integrated approach to violence prevention in 16 workplaces from two high-risk sectors (prisons and psychiatric hospitals) in a scientifically rigorous evaluation set-up. In this presentation, the intervention set-up is presented along with results on the action plans for violence prevention developed from participants in the intervention and identified violence prevention practices from line managers' perspective.

My name is Sofie Østergaard Jaspers and I am very happy today to be able to present findings from a project that I've been involved in during the last five years or so, on how to prevent violence in high-risk sectors, such as the prison and probation services. It is a very different cultural context than yours. I am sitting on the other side of the world, with 12 hours of difference, but I hope that some of the learnings from this project can still resonate and get us closer to the nature of violence prevention.

The project is called the Integrated Violence Prevention Study, and it is a method to improve the collaboration between employees and managers on violence prevention. The project was carried-out in Denmark as a collaboration project between researchers, including me, from

the National Research Centre for the Working Environment and colleagues from an occupational medicine clinic in Herning, and some colleagues from the University of Copenhagen, in the capital city of Denmark. It was funded by the Danish Work Environment Research Fund. It is a public research fund and ran from 2017 to 2020. During the last year, we've been wrapping-up the results, trying to communicate the results to both the prison and probation services in Denmark, the psychiatric units that were involved, and more broadly to the research community.

Background
The starting point here is to look at violence as a phenomenon happening in the work place. The perpetrator is the client and the victim is the employee. From this perspective, we know from research that workplace violence can be caused by a variety of factors, both individual, situational, organisational and societal – and just to get a little bit of a hold of this, I know a lot of you are practitioners, so you will sit with many examples in your head, but here, let's say that we have a high-risk situation. We have the admission of a person to detention. The person is highly agitated and under the influence of drugs, and of course, escorted by the police. This is a high-risk situation, but the final risk of this situation is influenced by a number of factors. It can depend on organisational factors, such as the violence prevention policies of the prison and probation services, the policies on the use of force, staffing (i.e., how many, who are together on a shift), the collaboration with the police (so what have the police already told the person?), what have they been told of expectations? It can be all the relations going on between colleagues, their competencies to de-escalate both verbally and physically or tactically, and then we have the more societal level factors that we also just heard about from Neil[5], that can influence on this situation.

[5] See chapter (Campbell), this volume.

It could also be the laws, the social policies, laws on drugs et cetera.

We can see here that violence as a phenomena, workplace violence, is influenced by a number of factors. There is a situation, however, where when we look at the research that's been conducted in the area and the interventions that have been tested, only very few of these factors are addressed in the majority of the studies. It is typically studies that try to test if sending single staff members on a training course in de-escalation techniques works better or not. We wanted, with this project, to try to address this complexity and look into more of these factors, with the assumption that, when you try to address more factors, your intervention should be more successful. Also, it becomes more complex, and that's the challenge that we took up.

The Integrated Violence Prevention Study is theory-based in that we took a theory from an adjacent field of

research, of accident prevention, where the theory is stating that managers and employees should work actively together. This is the integration between the management level and the employee level. They should work together systematically in this continuous process of problem-solving, and I will unfold that a little bit more. We conducted it as a cluster randomised control study, with 16 participating work sites. We looked into two high-risk sectors, so eight work sites from the prison and probation services, and eight from psychiatric hospitals. It was conducted in a stepped-wedge design, meaning that we introduced the intervention in clusters, in four clusters, during a period of two and a half years. Four work units at a time entered into the intervention. We had a long intervention period where they were introduced stepwise into the study.

What did we actually do? I was there on about half of the work sites, implementing this full

setup that lasted about six months in each work site.

The first phase that we had was a ***planning phase***. We know from a lot of work environment research about the prioritisation of work environment initiatives and special work place violence prevention initiatives that it is crucial to have the prioritisation from the top management and the management in general. They were present at the meeting, to ensure the resources needed, and to show their prioritisation of the topic. Then we had the work environment representatives present – a person that has been elected by the other staff members of the unit to work actively with the work environment together with the management. I don't know if you have the equivalent in New Zealand, but this is a very established function in Scandinavia. The line manager played a crucial role in the implementation of the rest of this intervention.

Once these things were established, we had a ***mapping phase***, where we looked at a questionnaire distributed to the employees as well as interviews with employees and the line manager about what kind of practices did they already have in place to prevent violence? What was working well? Which areas did they identify as challenging and in the need of further action?

What followed was a ***problem-solving phase*** where a steering group consisting of the work environment representative, the line manager and one to four employees from the department, had to work actively with ideas for changing the violence preventive practices. The mapping was also presented on an employee seminar, as you see in blue here (refer Figure 1), where as many as possible of the staff members from the work unit were present to brainstorm on ideas, tailored to their specific unit, for preventing violence. So we came with quite an open framework.

Figure 1

Project Plan and Intervention Activities
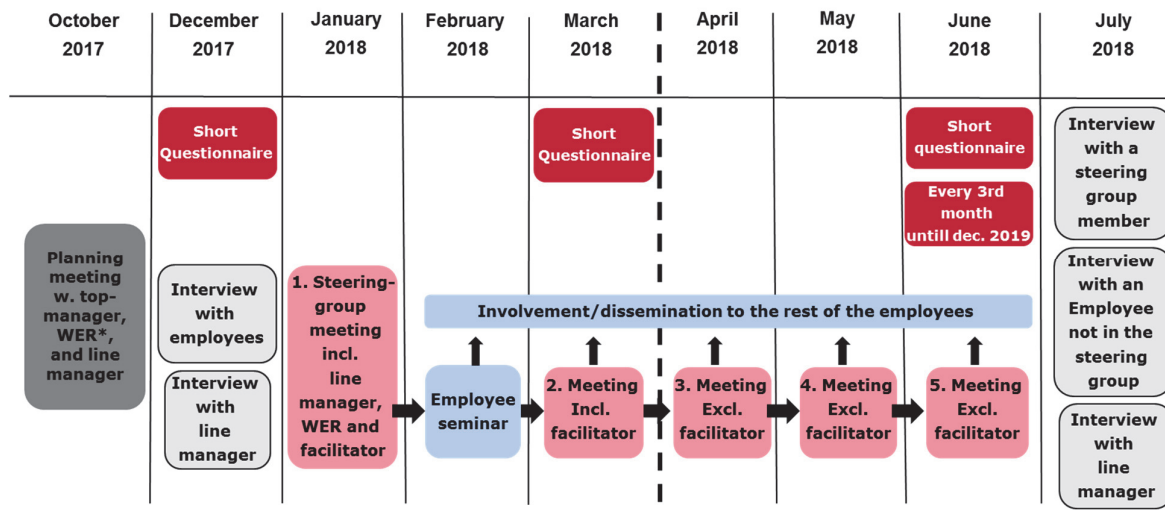
We had some themes that could inspire for ideas, but basically, they could come up with whatever tailored idea they saw fit to address the issue of violence and threats in their unit. The steering group sat down every month to create action plans on this catalogue of ideas that all the employees had developed, and each month, follow up on the action plans and being very systematic about this work, because this is a key feature generally when we look at work environment interventions. We had an assumption that that would be a very important aspect of the intervention, that they addressed violence in a more systematic way, and not

in this ad hoc interpretation of violence just arising out of the blue, something that you have to accept within that line of work. By working more systematically with it, we hoped also to make visible the possibility of prevention. Finally, there was an **evaluation phase** of the setup, since it was a research project.

Which topics do employees and line managers in two high-risk industries point to as central to their violence prevention work?

I'm going to unfold some of the results from this project. We gathered a lot of data, and all of the results have been

published[6] [7] [8] [9]. I will look specifically today into the action plans that were developed, that might be interesting when the aim is to work with it in practice also afterwards, and secondly, into the line manager's preventive practices.

Firstly, the action plans to prevent violence. From this study, we started out with 16 work sites. We ended up with 13, three of them dropped-out. From these 13 work sites, they came up with 293 suggestions on how to prevent workplace violence, and they developed 92 unique action plans. So, we had quite a large amount of material of very tangible actions for preventing violence.

We wanted to look into which topics the employees and the line managers in these two high-risk industries pointed to as essential to violence preventive work. We categorised all the action plans and found 11 categories (see Table 1). I will highlight the three most used categories that were used in more than 50% of the action plans (i.e., the first three). We have these specific approaches to violence prevention: communication between employees in written/oral reports between shifts, the introduction of new employees and temporary workers, action plans on the interdisciplinary cooperation, the communication and the relational work with the patients or inmates, and action plans on the organisation of work, how to structure the work day, on the staffing and the constellation of staff, and so on, down from here.

[6] Jaspers, S. Ø., et al. (2019). Design of a tailored and integrated violence prevention program in psychiatric wards and prisons. *Work, 62,* 525-541.

[7] Jaspers S. Ø., et al. (accepted for publication). Looking beyond violence prevention climate: Exploring line managers' violence preventive practices in two high-risk sectors. *International Journal of workplace health management.*

[8] Jaspers, S. Ø., et al. (under review). Contextualizing violence prevention: How contextual aspects influence the implementation of a violence prevention initiative in prisons and psychiatry. *Scandinavian Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*.

[9] Karlsen, I. L. et al. (under review). Workplace's development of activities and action plans to prevent violence from clients in high-risk sectors. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*.

Table 1

Prevention Categories as Derived from Action Plans

Topic	Psychiatric units	Prison and detention centers	Degree of application	Number of work units with action plans related to the topic	Number of action plans related to the topic
1. Specific approaches to violence prevention	√	√	High	12	30
2. Communication between employees and written/oral reports	√	√	High	7	15
3. Introduction of new employees and temporary workers	√	√	High	7	13
4. Interdisciplinary cooperation	√	√	Medium	5	6
5. Communication and relational work with patients/inmates	√	√	Medium	3	3
6. The organization of work	√	√	Medium	4	5
7. Staffing and the constellation of staff	√	√	Medium	3	9
8. Definition of violence and threats	√	√	Low	1	3
9. Policy and guidelines of violence prevention at the workplace	Low	1	1	1	1
10. Support from colleagues and management	Low*	0	0		
11. Engagement in violence prevention	-	-			

One important thing to notice is that, in the design of this research project, we did not have funding for contributing economically to these action plans. So, what they came up with, in these employee seminars of ideas for actions, were within the limits of what could be done in the current organisational contexts. They might have come up with other ideas of more structural actions, but this was not within the scope of this intervention, and I think that's important to keep in mind. It says something about what can be done rather locally. What could be done were quite a lot of different things that they thought could be adjusted for the better.

Let's take these three categories that more than 50% of these action plans were developed around, to unfold them a little bit. What was it that they were working with? The first one is this category of very specific methods for violence prevention. So it could be education and training, for example. In de-escalation, it could be risk assessment. It could be more physical, practical solutions, such as cameras or how to put the furniture in the room to be able to escape in case of danger, these kind of things. To take an example of an action plan that they developed was a unit from a detention that was highly secured, so they had prisoners with a high security level, and they had (as I can hear is also an issue in New Zealand) the sensation that some of the aggressions were maybe related to some mental illness of the inmates. They didn't feel capable enough of understanding these mental illness symptoms, maybe. So they decided to put up an action plan within the limits of what was possible there, and that was to increase their collaboration with the local psychiatrist. There was a psychiatrist in the prison as a whole that was not present all the days, but they could increase the supervision from this psychiatrist. They could get some supervision on specific inmates that were specifically challenging to handle for the staff.

The second category here is the communication between employees. This topic was very much around how to transfer knowledge from one shift to another, about agreements that had been done with the inmates or the patients, so that expectations could be held more or less from one shift to another, and thereby, avoiding conflict. Also, to structure the work better in the next shift to not have too much waiting time or to organise it in a way that everything could run smoothly, so they could prevent these conflicts from arising, and ultimately, avoid threats or violence that could arise from these conflicts. An example was a department in the Danish prison and probation service. They didn't have an overlap in the shift, so the only possibility to communicate from one shift to another was to have these written reports. One department introduced what they call the 'diary', it was a physical book that they used, and they found it easier to use to communicate these things more easily between the shifts.

The last category that I'm going to unfold a little bit was the topic of the introduction of new employees and temporary workers. In the prison and probation services, it was mainly the introduction of temporary workers, as they were facing major challenges in recruiting new people in that period, and they had high levels of sickness absence, partly due to their working environment. They had a lot of temporary workers coming in, and it was a challenge actually in both sectors. Of course, when new people come in on a shift, they don't know the inmates as well as more experienced staff. They don't know the structure of the day as well. So, to make them participate in a way that could also take a little bit of the pressure of the stable, or the permanent staff, was a challenge. They made up this list as a tangible example of an action plan that they developed, this list of to do tasks that a temporary staff could come in and take over easily. In that way, kind of just improving the corporation with the permanent staff.

To wrap-up these specific results, they were the most used topics that they developed action plans on were these very specific approaches to violence prevention, communication between employees between shifts and the introduction of new employees and temporary workers. It shows that the violence preventive activities are very tightly tied to the core task, to the everyday way of organising work. The implications of these results are that there was a huge variety in the things that they identified could be done, and it supports this initial assumption that it is a complex issue and things should be done on many levels to address this complexity. People are very much aware of that working with this in practice.

What types of prevention practices do line managers use for preventing violence in two high-risk sectors: Psychiatry and the prison and probation services?
The next results were the results about the line management's role in violence prevention. We know, both theoretically and empirically, that the management practices can affect the prevalence of violence and threats in the workplace, but this knowledge is very much based on questionnaire data. So, what is going on? What are they actually doing? We don't have much knowledge about that. We wanted, with the material from this intervention, to look at what types of prevention practices that the line managers in this study used for preventing violence. We had some interviews that were conducted pre-intervention in this mapping phase, so eight from each sector, and we had some field notes from leadership seminars (three from each sector), and coaching sessions (six from psychiatric facility and nine from prison and probation). I didn't mention this earlier, when I presented the intervention setup, but we started up with a larger intervention setup that turned out to be too resource-demanding for the workplaces to implement. In the initial setup, we had coaching sessions with the

line managers, and we had leadership seminars where the mapping was presented separately to the managers on a separate seminar from the employee seminar. We integrated this in the other activities, when we realised that it was not possible to implement this very big setup in practice. From the first two clusters, we had data.

We used a framework to analyse these prevention practices that come from the prevention of mental illness in the workplace (see Figure 2). This theory states that you need to integrate three lines of preventive activities into one integrated approach. It's a little bit confusing, because it's also called an integrated approach, and it's not the same as the theoretical background we're using for the intervention. This one is the integration of three lines of prevention here, that is, if we start from the right, the management of episodes of violence. So here, it's everything going on after the

episode of violence. It could be diffusing, debriefing, return to work initiatives, these kind of things.

In the middle, we have the category of promoting the positive. Here, we're looking into resources in work that could be enhanced. It could be having a learning environment, having trustful relations between managers and employees, or between employees, positive aspects of work that could be promoted and that could be resourceful in the preventive work, and also maybe buffer some of the negative consequences of violence in the work environment.

In the last category, we have preventing violence, so preventive activities, such as, for example, de-escalation, the way you structure work. These were the three categories that were meaningful also when looking at the practices that the managers were describing.

Figure 2

Line Managers' Violence Prevention Practices
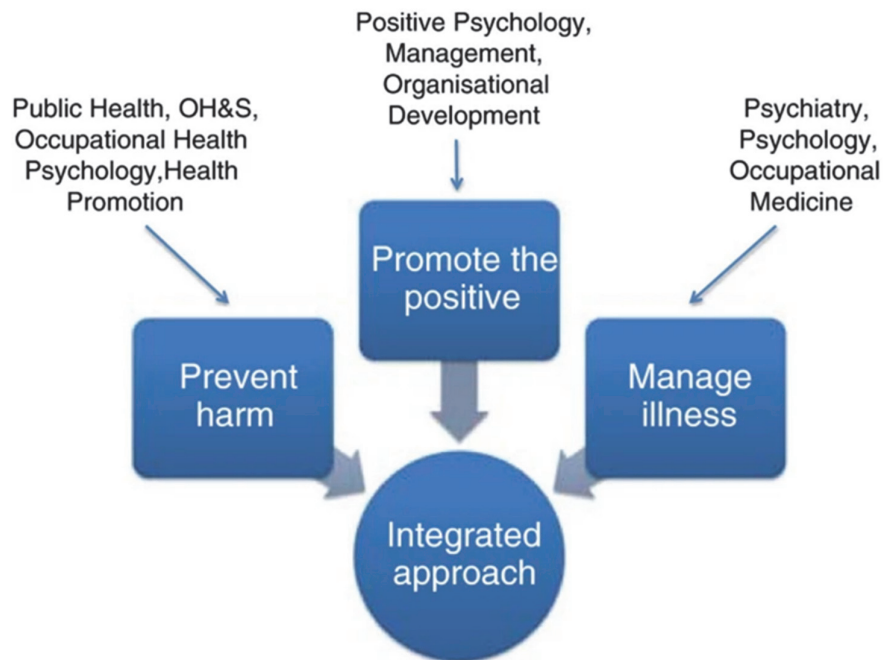
We categorised all of the practices into these three areas. What was interesting, and as shown in Table 2, is the preventive practices that managers described using in both sectors, so both in the psychiatric units and in the prisons and probations. I can't go through all of them, but just to take an example here, from this category of promoting the positive, the first one was called creating a learning environment. The example is from a psychiatric unit, but managers from the prison and probation units also spoke about, that they wanted to enhance this, but struggled on how to do it. They wanted to create a learning environment where you could also learn from episodes of violence. How could they have been handled differently? Could we approach the situation in another way, another time? To do that, you needed this environment of learning. One of the managers said, "We try to hold on to having different forums in the every day's life, where we focus on learning."

Table 2

Managers Violence Preventive Practices used in Both Sectors

Preventing violence	Promoting the positive	Managing episodes of violence
Facilitating a common approach to relational work within and between departments	Creating a learning environment *"we try to hold on to having different forums in the every day's life where we focus on learning"*	Providing support after an episode of violence or threats
Sparring with employees in situations involving difficult patients/inmates	Create a good frame for relational work	Adjustment of tasks after episodes of violence or threats
Distributing emotional demands between employees		Practice the workplace violence policies
Analyze episodes or near-episodes		

For example, with situations of forced medication, they would always meet afterwards in the personnel group to see if things could have been done differently, and not in a way of blaming the people that were involved. It can very easily end up in blaming the victim. You were finally responsible yourself for being exposed to violence. They wanted to do this in a very appreciative way, and having this environment for learning and not for blaming. By doing it very frequently, they normalised these evaluative situations and took out the element of blame, let's say. So that was a way of promoting an aspect in the work that was positive.

In Table 3, I have the practices that were described in only one of the two sectors, so practices that were not overlapping (psychiatry and prison and probation services) are marked out. One example here from the middle was that the managers worked to create trust between managers and employees because, in all of the units where we went, there was quite a high level of conflict between managers and employees in this kind of blame game that was going on, where one part blamed the other for the bad working environment. Employees felt that it was the responsibility of the managers to ensure a good working environment, and were frustrated about the lack of resources. The managers felt that employees were not always taking the responsibility to change the things that could be changed within the frame of the possibilities that they actually had, and that they were complaining a lot about the situation and not taking active action. Many of the managers spoke about how to improve the trust between the managers and employees, in order to better be able to work actively with the violence preventive initiatives and ensure that they felt that the other part had their best intentions. One manager worked with it very simply, and as a first step, by being more present out in the units, speaking more with the employees, being there, hearing more about their concerns, to try to get a better hold of their everyday life than what she felt sometimes was possible with other demands of documenting and all kind of other applications. To wrap-up this section, we found that preventing violence, managing episodes of violence and promoting the positive were identified as types of practices used.

Promoting the positive is often neglected in the violence preventive literature as something that is not seen as part of a violence preventive effort, but this was very much present in what the managers spoke about as part of how to manage violence.

Table 3

Managers Violence Preventive Practices used in only One Sector

Preventing violence	Promoting the positive	Managing episodes of violence
Making on-duty schedules balancing new/temporary and experienced staff (Psychiatry)	Change management of new efforts beneficial to the violence preventive work (Psychiatry)	
Matching employees and employee experience/relations with patients (Psychiatry)	Create trust between manager and employees (PPS)	
Correction of conflict-initiating behavior (PPS)	Create motivation and engagement in violence prevention activities (PPS)	
Protecting employees' mental resources (PPS)		

We found a substantial overlap in the practices described by line managers in the two sectors, suggesting that they might be generalizable to similar contexts. This was not a study where we looked into if the manager's practices involved these violence preventive practices, then their employees would experience less violence. This still needs to be tested. This can be seen as a first step that could inform later studies to confirm or disconfirm whether these practices can prevent violence.

Thank you very much.

PRISON VIOLENCE:
WHAT THE NEW ZEALAND DATA IS TELLING US

LARS BRABYN & RANDOLPH C. GRACE

This session discusses the New Zealand Department of Corrections COBRA database that keeps records of all prison incidents (violent and non-violent) as well as details of the prisoner population. The research provides an initial exploratory dive into how this information can be used for understanding prison violence and the social environment within prisons. An analysis of prison violence at the unit level is applied using machine learning (CatBoost and SHapley Additive exPlanations – SHAP) to provide a prediction model of prison violence as well as identify the important factors (positive and negative) associated with violence. Gang affiliation and security class are important predictors of violence in prison, but there are complex interactions with unit size and the lead offence of the prisoner.

[**Lars**[10]**:**] As Armon mentioned, the overall goal of Nga Tūmanakotanga is to understand violence in prison using an ecological approach – the ecology of prisons – and so this project involves many different perspectives. The perspective that I'm looking at are the social and physical environments, and seeing what the data can tell us. This presentation is more focused on the social environment with some insights on the physical environment. The Department of Corrections have been doing an amazing job keeping records of all the prison incidents – roughly 1.4 million records from the years 2011 to 2020. It is an amazing resource and it gives us a lot of insight into what is happening in prisons.

As a caveat, the statistics presented here are a work in progress.

About the Data

A bit of background on the data set, it is locally known as COBRA, or Corrections Business Reporting and Analysis. Each incident is categorised, and so not all incidents involve violence. We went through all the different incident categories and classified them as to whether or not they're 'violent', 'seriously violent', and also whether the violence involved staff. I won't go into the details about how we further classified the categories, but just to give you a feel for some of the data we've listed the five most frequent violent categories (see Table 1).

Table 1

Most Frequently Reported Categories of Violent Behaviour in COBRA

Violence	Serious violence
Prisoner verbally threatens staff	Serious physical assault on prisoner
Fighting	
Non-serious physical assault on prisoner	Fire/arson
Physical assault on staff with no injury	Serious physical assault on staff
	Apparent homicide
Physical assault on prisoner with no injury	Sexual physical assault on prisoner
Non-serious physical assault on staff	Apparent suicide
	Sexual physical assault on staff
Threatens self-harm	Hostage
Prisoner abuses/physically threatens prisoner	Bomb threat
	Sexual physical assault on other
Self-harm with no threat to life	
Prisoner abuses prisoner	

As you can see, verbal threats, fighting, and non-serious physical assaults are the most common violent incidences. With serious violence, we're seeing more serious physical assaults, fire and arson, and things like homicide as well. An incident may have multiple records and multiple categories and a separate record is kept for each category. There is also a separate record for each prisoner involved. An incident that is recorded can have multiple categories, so there can be an incident and it could be recorded as a fight, it could be also recorded as verbal threats and so on, and there's a separate record kept for each category of that incident. There's also a separate record for each prisoner involved in an incident, so an incident may have quite a few records associated with it. This is typical of the type of results we can get from the COBRA database, just looking at trends over time.

We've looked at the actual rate of violence, so we've taken into account the prisoner population level, so here you can see how the prisoner population has changed over time (Table 2). It hasn't changed a huge amount, but we get a snapshot for every month of the prison population, so from that we can work out the number of prisoner years there are. We can get the number of violent counts per prisoner year to give us a rate, so we get all these numbers. I've also graphed it (Figure 1) and you can see that violence has increased, and also violence against staff has been increasing too. When we look at serious violence, the trend isn't as clear, so we see in the 10-year period that it actually went down and then it's gone up and with serious violence against staff, it's been up and down a bit, and maybe there's a gradual increase in the later years.
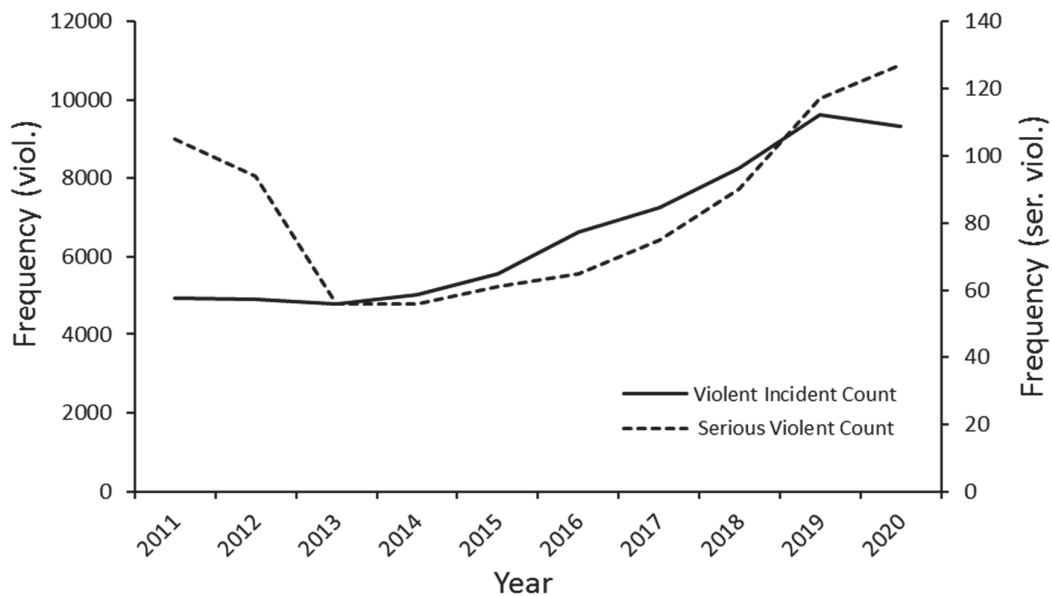
Table 2

Prisoner Numbers and Rates of Violence by Year

Year	Prisoner Years	Violence Count per Prisoner Year	Serious Violence Count per Prisoner Year	Violence Against Staff per Prisoner Year	Serious Violence Against Staff per Prisoner Year
2011	8493	0.583	0.013	0.251	0.0013
2012	8476	0.580	0.011	0.262	0.0024
2013	8368	0.573	0.008	0.269	0.0008
2014	8450	0.597	0.007	0.288	0.0009
2015	8782	0.634	0.009	0.303	0.0011
2016	9476	0.700	0.007	0.325	0.0019
2017	10167	0.712	0.008	0.336	0.0017
2018	10165	0.812	0.009	0.387	0.0024
2019	9868	0.974	0.012	0.486	0.0036
2020	9270	1.007	0.014	0.516	0.0037

Figure 1

Frequency of Recorded Violence and Serious Violence in New Zealand Prisons (2011-2020)

Recording Violence

What's really interesting is to start looking at the recording culture from this data. We have the number of records for each year (see Table 3). It's gone from 75,000 up to nearly 240,000, so the number of the records has increased, yet violence hasn't increased by that amount. I've put here the ratio of the number of records to the actual number of violent incidents, and you can see there are changes with the actual recording culture, which makes it difficult to say whether or not violence is actually increasing in prisons just because of the changes in the recording culture. Serious violence won't be as sensitive to the recording culture, because people are going to hospital and the police are involved. I have a lot of confidence in the serious violent trends. Looking at prison-level statistics (Table 4), there is a lot of variation between the prisons because the prison population itself also varies a lot.

Table 3

Rates of Reporting by Year

Year	Number of Incident Records	Ratio of Records to Violent Incidents	Ratio of Records to Seriously Violent Incidents
2011	74,741	15.1	661.4
2012	91,243	18.6	940.6
2013	99,767	20.8	1558.9
2014	85,793	17.0	1361.8
2015	101,126	18.2	1348.3
2016	125,610	18.9	1769.2
2017	156,501	21.6	1908.5
2018	176,123	21.3	1853.9
2019	210,012	21.9	1721.4
2020	239,666	25.7	1788.6

Table 4

Prisoner Numbers and Rates of Violence by Prison/Facility

Prison / Correction Facility (ordered North to South)	Gender	Prisoner Years	Violence Count per Prisoner Year	Serious Violence Count per Prisoner Year	Violence Against Staff per Prisoner Year	Serious Violence Against Staff per Prisoner Year
Northland (Ngawha)	Male	513.6	0.62	0.006	0.35	0.0019
Paremoremo	Male	577.2	0.80	0.017	0.45	0.0036
Mount Eden	Male	919.1	1.05	0.012	0.48	0.0027
Auckland Regional Women's	Female	385.1	0.87	0.005	0.40	0.0010
Auckland South	Male	855.2	0.54	0.010	0.28	0.0023
Spring Hill	Male	859.4	0.52	0.007	0.24	0.0014
Waikeria	Male	728.1	0.61	0.009	0.28	0.0021
Tongariro	Male	342.6	0.35	0.004	0.15	0.0006
Hawkes Bay	Male	630.3	0.90	0.012	0.42	0.0033
Whanganui	Male	501.9	0.62	0.008	0.29	0.0016
Manawatu	Male	275.4	1.04	0.018	0.60	0.0025
Rimutaka	Male	922.9	0.63	0.009	0.27	0.0020
Arohata	Female	112.5	1.23	0.007	0.66	0.0000
Christchurch Men's	Male	858.5	0.68	0.014	0.31	0.0019
Christchurch Women's	Female	100.2	1.37	0.007	0.54	0.0010
Rolleston	Male	261.5	0.15	0.002	0.07	0.0000
Otago	Male	427.2	0.75	0.011	0.36	0.0021
Invercargill	Male	160.5	1.28	0.013	0.63	0.0000
All NZ Prisons		**9430.9**	**0.78**	**0.009**	**0.38**	**0.0017**

We all know things like Auckland Prison has a maximum security unit, and so with these high security units there is a lot more violence. There's also a lot more violence associated with remand prisons, and Mount Eden prison is a remand prison so the levels of violence are higher, not necessarily with the serious violence, but with general violence. We know that places like Tongariro which is lower security, the violence level is also a lot lower. We can produce the statistics at the prison level, but the problem with prison level statistics is it averages out or provides averages that smooth out the considerable variation within a prison. A prison in New Zealand will have a number of prison units and they're actually separated, so in some prisons, the units have got their own fences around them, and in fact, the prison units are like their own sub-prisons within a prison. There is considerable variation among prison units,

so some of the units can be high security, some can be low, and most prisons in New Zealand have a mix of different types of unit. To illustrate that further, if you get the violent per prisoner year for each of the 18 prisons, you get an average violence rate of 1.03, and the standard deviation based on those 18 prisons will be .48. But if we get information at the unit level, the violence per prisoner year for each of the different prison units, we get a similar average to what you get at a prison level but the standard deviation is much higher, which shows us that there's a lot more variation between different prison units than there is between prisons.

Violent Prisoners
COBRA allows us to look at all the perpetrators of violence and their characteristics in terms of their age, ethnicity, gang affiliation and so on. We can count the population of these perpetrators and also the victims.

Table 5

Characteristics of Prisoners Involved in Violence

		Prisoner Population Throughput %(*n*)	Violent %(*n*)		
			Perpetrator	Victim	Unknown
Total		100 (18028)	26.7 (4819)	7.5 (1345)	2.7 (488)
Age Class	**Under 20**	1.7 (311)	51.5 (160)	10.9 (34)	8.0 (25)
	20 - 24	11.7 (2101)	42.9 (901)	11.2 (235)	4.2 (89)
	25 - 29	19.1 (3446)	34.2 (1178)	8.7 (299)	3.4 (117)
	30 - 39	35.1 (6334)	26.0 (1647)	7.6 (480)	2.7 (168)
	40 - 49	19.5 (3521)	18.2 (639)	5.3 (188)	1.8 (64)
	50 - 59	8.8 (1592)	14.8 (236)	4.9 (78)	1.1 (18)
	60+	4.0 (720)	8.1 (58)	4.3 (31)	1.0 (7)
Ethnicity	**European**	29.9 (5385)	20.4 (1096)	9.5 (511)	2.6 (140)
	Maori	54.8 (9803)	30.2 (2957)	6.7 (654)	2.6 (255)
	Pacific	10.8 (1940)	31.7 (614)	5.7 (111)	3.5 (68)
	Other	4.6 (831)	15.8 (131)	6.6 (55)	0.0 (0)
Gang	**Gang Affiliated**	33.6 (6049)	33.5 (2028)	6.2 (372)	2.8 (168)
	Not Gang Affiliated	66.5 (11979)	23.3 (2791)	8.1 (973)	2.7 (320)
Gender	**Female**	5.9 (1061)	33.1 (351)	11.0 (117)	4.0 (42)
	Male	94.1 (16967)	26.3 (4468)	7.2 (1228)	2.6 (446)

Table 5 shows the prisoner population throughput, so that's different to the actual prisoner years. Typically, a prison might have prisoners that just come in for a few months so there can be a high throughput. What's interesting is to look at the rates of violence. You can see that with age, the younger prisoners have a higher percentage rate of violence, with the under-20's

it's a bit misleading because it's changed a bit over the 10-year period. There actually aren't that many prisoners under 20 anymore, so this is based over the last 10 years. With ethnicity it is a little bit more complicated, because with Māori prisoners, there's a reasonably high rate of violence, but that could be because of the age structure of that group. We know that with Māori, the population is

Table 6

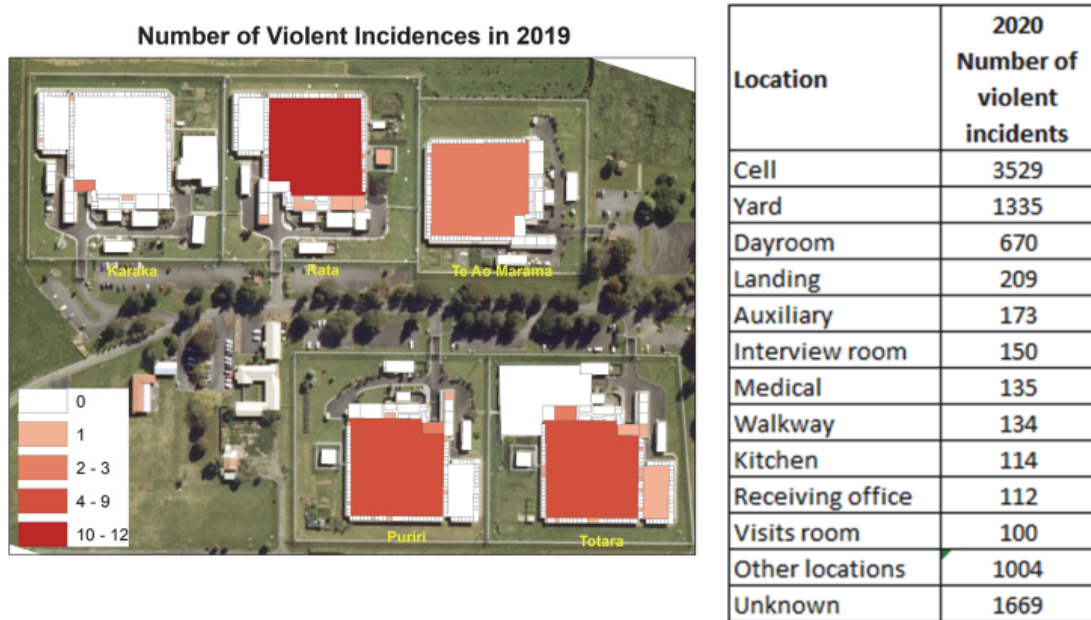*Repeat Perpetrators of Violence Within a Year*

	Viol.	Serious Viol.	Viol. on Staff	Serious Viol. on Staff
Total offences committed	8653	148	3850	28
Non Repeat Perpetrators	2258	132	1242	27
Repeat Perpetrators	6395	16	2608	1
Over 2 Repeat Perpetrators	4850	2	1875	0
Over 5 Repeat Perpetrators	2499	1	915	0
Over 10 Repeat Perpetrators	1280	0	461	0
Over 20 Repeat Perpetrators	776	0	286	0
Percent: Non Repeat Perpetrators	26	89	32	96
Percent: Repeat Perpetrators	74	11	68	4
Percent: Over 2 Repeat Perpetrators	56	1	49	0
Percent: Over 5 Repeat Perpetrators	29	0	24	0
Percent: Over 10 Repeat Perpetrators	15	0	12	0
Percent: Over 20 Repeat Perpetrators	9	0	7	0

younger, so it's likely that there will be a lot more younger prisoners compared to non-Māori.

Table 6 is a count of the number of offenses, I mean, only about a quarter of them are only doing one offense per year while there is 776 offenders that are doing more than 20 perpetrations of violence per year. So, repeat offending is a major problem in prisons. I've got the percentages here so you can see that 74% are repeat perpetrators and 9% are perpetrators committing more than 20 acts of violence per year. So, if prisons could reduce the repeat offending, then that would reduce a lot of violence in prisons, but obviously that's easier said than done. It's interesting if you look at the serious violence though, that's perhaps what they have done, because there isn't the same degree of repeat offending

Figure 2
Location of Violence (Waikeria Prison)

Number of Violent Incidences in 2019

Location	2020 Number of violent incidents
Cell	3529
Yard	1335
Dayroom	670
Landing	209
Auxiliary	173
Interview room	150
Medical	135
Walkway	134
Kitchen	114
Receiving office	112
Visits room	100
Other locations	1004
Unknown	1669

happening in the prisons. Clearly they're doing some management practices to try and prevent repeat offending in prison with serious violence, perhaps this will suggest they need to do this with more general violence as well.

Figure 2 shows where the violence is occurring within prison units at Waikeria. I was interested to see what locations within a prison most of the violence is occurring, so I actually mapped it out. Using geographic information systems, the initial idea of this was to link this data to where the video cameras are to see whether there's any link between the surveillance and rates of crime. These prison units we can actually map out, the thing that I've discovered though, was that the prisons generally have video surveillance over the whole units except for in the cells.

There isn't a lot of spatial variation in the video surveillance, so it was just experimental to see if this would be more informative. Another way of looking at this

is to actually get a summary by the different room types in prisons. We've gone through all the data and classified them into different room types, and you can see that the cell is the most common space for violence to occur in prison units, followed by the yard. There's quite a few that are unknown, and there's a lot of other locations as well, but this just gives you a general gist of where in the units the violence is occurring. I've done a lot of analysis at the prison unit level, because I like that sort of level because you can capture the social environment at a prison unit level.

One of the things I've done is look at the rates of violence at different security levels, and there's no surprises here that the units that have high security levels have more violence, and that's because generally the more challenging prisoners end up in the high security units. So yeah, there's no real new insights with this. I was looking at the unit size just to see whether there's any relationship with the size of a

unit and the levels of violence or the different rates in violence, there's no real clear pattern here. You may expect maybe with a larger unit, you mix more people together, then you might get more violence, but that's not generally the case. It's interesting, with the very small units, there's quite a high rate of violence. But this can be misleading, because we have small units that are minimum security, a lot of the prisoners that are in work release programs are in flats and they're quite small. There's not a lot of violence in those small units, in those small minimum security units, but there is a lot of violence in the high security small units. So really, to analyse the violence, you really need to look at all the variables together. What I've done is collected a whole lot of different variables or factors that describe all the different prison units throughout the country, I collected things like the size of the units, the number of prisoners, and their security class. COBRA also has information on what gang the

different prisoners belong to, if they belong to a gang, and so we can see whether there's a lot of diversity in the gang mix. We can use a diversity metric for that, or entropy, and so we can collect that for all the different units. We can look at the gang affiliation, what percentage of prisoners are gang affiliated. We can also look at lead offense, so the corrections store the lead offense, what put the prisoner in prison in the current sentence (i.e., percentage of prisoners that have been imprisoned for violence, the percentage that have been imprisoned for drugs, etc.), we can also look at the length of the term of the prisoners and the prisoner age. So there's a lot of different variables that

we can use, and these variables all interact. It can get quite complicated when you're dealing in a multivariate space, and what's proven really useful for this is machine learning. The reason being is the data doesn't have to be normalised, and also you don't have to worry about collinearity between the different variables. There are lots of different techniques of machine learning, but something that I've used is a tool called CatBoost. Basically, it builds a decision tree to model the violence, and it builds this decision tree through trial and error and makes improvements through multiple permutations of decision trees until finally it comes up with a decision tree with the highest performance.

Figure 3

SHapley Additive exPlanations (SHAP) Interpreting the Results of CatBoost

Model Performance

RMSE: 0.04
R²: 0.53

N = 2246
Units > 10 prisoners
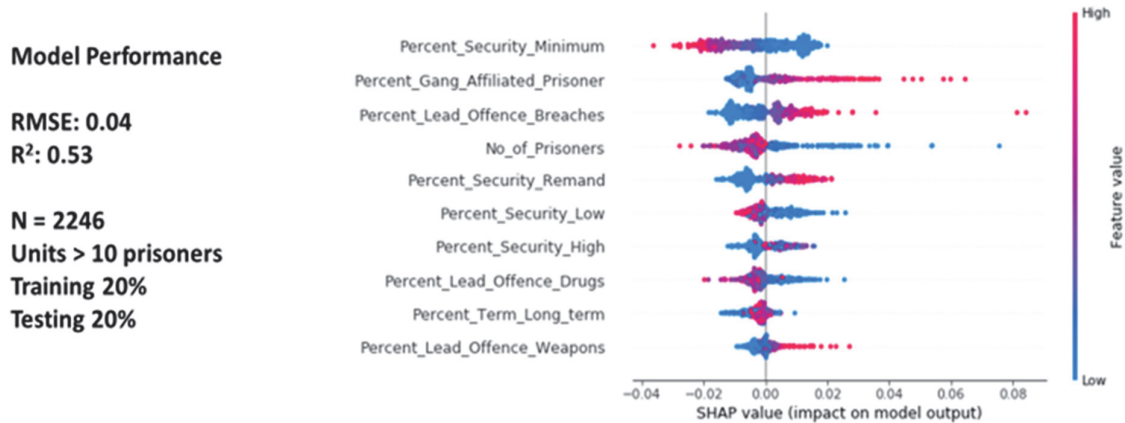Training 20%
Testing 20%

Figure 3 is a CatBoost model. The performance of the model is .53, the R-squared value is .53, which is reasonable, you're not going to be able to predict violence to a 100% level. What this figure shows is what factors were the most influential in the models what direction that influence was. What we see here is the percent of the prisoners that are minimum security. So, there'd be quite a few minimum security units and that they're 100% minimum security, and there's basically very little violence in those units. The dots represent all the different units throughout all the prisons. If it's red, then it's got a high value, that means it's got a high percentage. If it's blue, it's got a low value, and here we've got whether it has a negative influence or whether it has a positive influence on violence. So, in this particular case, the high values, the high percentage of minimum security is contributing to reducing violence in the model.

With gang affiliation, which was the second most influential factor, we see that when it is high (i.e., red), it's got a high value, and it's on the positive side so we can see that it's a positive contribution to violence. With the different types of lead offenses,

breaches stood out as an important factor. So if you've got a prison unit that's got a high percentage of prisoners that are in prison for breaches, then you've got a high value, and it's going to contribute positively to violence. From here, we can get an understanding of what the main factors are that contribute to violence at the prison unit level.

In concluding this part, Corrections have done a fantastic job in collecting quite high-quality data on all the incidents and also the prison population, and this is providing some amazing opportunities for analysing and understanding prison violence. When we're looking at prison violence, we really need to think about the different scales of analysis, I've demonstrated that in this presentation, and you got to be careful with the prison level because it smooths out a lot of the variability. While at the prison unit level, it captures much more of the variation in the social environ-ment, and it is this variation

that helps us to understand what's going on in terms of predicting violence. So that's it from me, so now I'll hand it over to Randy.

[*Randy:*] As Lars mentioned, we have both been working with the administrative database for Ara Poutama – Department of Corrections. I'm going to take a different approach with the data, but the conclusions that we reach in the end are very similar. Our different ways of analysing the data reflect the contrast in our approaches: Lars takes the perspective of a geographer, and is interested in characteristics of the physical environment and how it affects violence, whereas as a forensic psychologist I'm interested in the individual-level factors that predict violence but also taking into account characteristics of units might also contribute independently to violence, and ultimately combining both individual- and unit-level factors in a predictive model.

To give you a brief overview, there have been two major theoretical perspectives that

have been very influential in research in prison violence, importation theory and deprivation theory. According to importation theory, prisoners have antisocial personalities and tendencies that they bring into prison, which explains why prisons are violent places. By contrast, deprivation theory says that prisons are harsh environments that may even require that prisoners use violence to meet their basic needs in some situations. These two theories have really been the two major perspectives that research has looked at.

To briefly summarise decades of research, both of these theories have been supported empirically, because many studies have found that both individual and institutional factors are linked with violence in prisons. Consequently, more recent research, within the last five to ten years, has tried to bridge these perspectives, looking at both individual and institutional factors. A good example is the multilevel social control-opportunity framework of Steiner and Wooldredge[11], which considers the individual within the unit, the effect of management policies, and institutional factors – this framework fits well with the ecological approach of Nga Tūmanakotanga.

A good example of how administrative data can be used to ask questions about how violence depends on individual-versus institutional-level factors comes from a very recent study from Australia where in New South Wales, researchers studied 10,000 prisoners over 43 correctional sites[12]. Using the administrative database, they showed that about 40% of the variance in victimisation rates was accounted for by facility-level factors, such as security level, the amount of

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[11] Steiner, B., & Wooldredge, J. (2020). *Understanding and reducing prison violence: An integrated social control-opportunity perspective*. New York, NY: Routledge.

[12] Howard, M. V. A., Corben, S. P., Raudino, A., & Galouzis, J. J. (2020). Maintaining Safety in the Prison Environment: A Multilevel Analysis of Inmate Victimisation in Assaults. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 64*(10-11)*, 1091–1113.

time that prisoners were able to spend outside their cells, crowding and turnover, and employment opportunities.

For the New Zealand data, our eventual goal is to combine both individual- and unit-level factors in a predictive model for violence. As a first step, here we wanted to study units within prisons and to understand how they vary. As Lars has shown, within a single prison (Waikeria), units can have very different rates of violence, but units might differ in other ways – for example in rates of non-violent incidents or different types of violence with prisoner-on-prisoner, prisoner-on-staff, or self-harm. So, the question that we wanted to ask was whether there were different kinds of units, in terms of the rates of violent incidents which occurred in them. Imagine that you were a botanist who had just discovered a new island with many unknown plant species. You might start by trying to classify the different plants, sort them into categories, that is, create a

taxonomy. We can take the same approach and ask if prison units can be classified into clusters or subgroups based on the rates of incidence that we find associated with those units. The kinds of questions that our analysis will try to answer are, "How many clusters? What's the optimal number of clusters that we can use to describe the units and how they vary? What do those clusters look like in terms of offender and unit-level variables? Do these clusters, once we have these clusters, do they provide any useful information about predicting violence, say, beyond just simple security classification? And how well do the clusters predict our measure of overall violence that we've developed for the Nga Tūmanakotanga project?"

I'll briefly describe the methodology. We had the COBRA data from 2011 through 2020, but based our analysis on the 2016 through 2020 data because there was an increase in reporting rate. From 2016 to 2020 there was a total of

131,000 unique incidents that were recorded across prisons. Each incident could have one or more category codes associated with it, and was recorded as occurring within a unit. Although there were over 900 different units listed in the database, only 232 had at least 10 prisoners that were resident, on average about 23% of the units. Approximately 80% of the incidents were recorded as occurring within these units that housed at least 10 prisoners. Each incident included one or more codes, and each code was specified with a primary, secondary, and tertiary category. For example, if two prisoners assaulted a staff member, and in response were handcuffed and placed into isolation cells, there would be six codes that would be linked with that incident: Prisoner Assaults Staff, Mechanical Restraints Used, and Segregation for each of the prisoners. Thus we calculated the overall rates of secondary category codes, because pre-

liminary analyses showed that there were 23 such codes that accounted for over 99% of the incidents.

Table 7 shows the incidence rates for each of the 23 category codes, calculated as the average number of occurrences of the code per 100 prisoners on average per year. As the table shows, the incidence rates varied widely. Next, we conducted a latent profile analysis (LPA) of the incidence rates. An LPA is a model-based cluster analysis that takes the incidence rates (standardised) and uses model comparison criteria to find the optimal number of clusters that describe the variation in the data. Specifically, for each possible number of clusters in the data, the LPA fits models that assume different covariance structures, and calculates a model comparison statistic (here, the Bayesian Information Criterion, or BiC) which measures the overall goodness of fit (using the 'mclust' package in R[13]).

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[13] Scrucca, L., Fop, M., Murphy, T. B., & Raftery, A. E. (2016). mclust 5: Clustering, Classification and Density Estimation Using Gaussian Finite Mixture Models. *R Journal 8*(1)*,* 289-317.

Table 7

Descriptive Statistics for Category Code Incidence Rates Across Units

Category Code	*M*	*SD*	*min*	*max*
Accident to a Prisoner	6.47	6.47	0	81.16
After Hours Unlock	27.23	35.04	0	328.99
Alcohol	2.52	2.93	0	17.84
At Risk Assessment	59.08	50.70	1.05	324.66
Communications Device	2.19	3.57	0	24.08
Drugs	7.14	8.85	0	65.10
Drugs Paraphernalia	2.08	2.95	0	21.87
Hospitalisation	8.63	8.44	0	72.14
Mechanical Restraints	13.40	19.44	0	174.34
Non Lethal Weapons	4.81	7.03	0	53.79
Other	28.62	20.05	0	117.17
Other Prisoner Behaviour	95.71	75.19	0.26	545.29
Prisoner Abuse/Threat on Prisoner	6.25	6.15	0	38.27
Prisoner Abuse/Threat on Staff	38.91	49.88	0	415.46
Prisoner Physical Assault on Prisone	13.46	10.09	0	51.97
Prisoner Physical Assault on Staff	7.27	12.50	0	127.98
Segregation	14.75	16.93	0	102.83
Self Harm	4.96	16.41	0	205.80
Shared Cells	24.74	30.35	0	152.08
Tattoo Equipment	11.81	12.78	0	68.39
Use of Force	15.67	23.51	0	207.73
Weapons	5.83	9.33	0	70.48
Wilful Damage	34.46	52.40	0	512.41

*Number of distinct occurrences per 100 offenders per year

Figure 4

Average Standardized Incidence Rates for Each Category Code for the Six Clusters
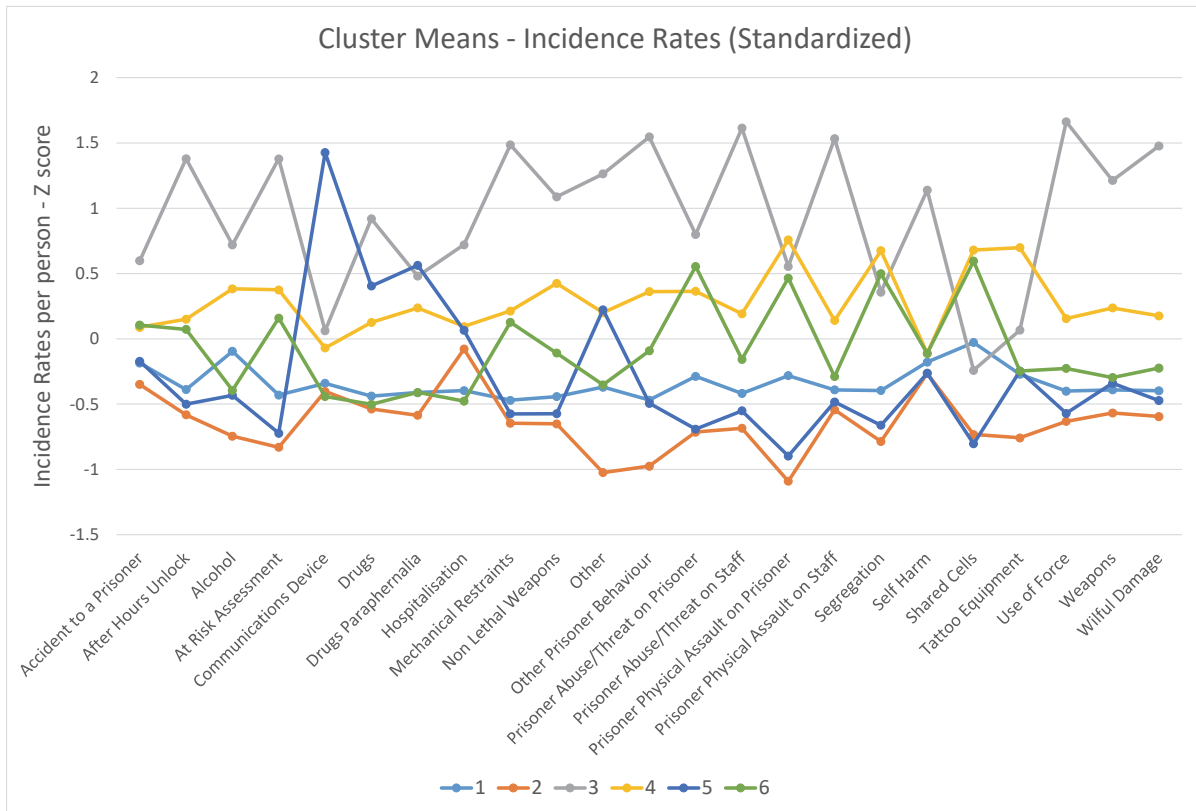
Results showed that the best fit to the data was achieved with six clusters.

Figure 4 shows the average standardized incidence rates for each cluster. Cluster 3 (marked in grey), consisting of 31 units that housed 7.5% of prisoners, had the highest incidence rates overall, especially for prisoner-on-staff violence and responses to that violence. Cluster 4 (yellow) had the next highest overall rates

and was the largest cluster, with 70 units and 27.8% of prisoners, and had the highest rates of prisoner-on-prisoner violence. Cluster 6 (green) had very high rates of incidents in shared cells, but overall lower violence rates than clusters 3 and 4.

The remaining clusters had generally had below-average rates of violence and other incidents, although Cluster 5

(blue) had the highest rates of contraband. Because Clusters 3 and 4 had the overall highest rates of violence, it is important to examine them more closely to understand how they differed. Figure 5 shows pairwise scatterplots for a selection of variables, including prisoner abuse/threat on prisoner, prisoner abuse/threat on staff, physical assault on prisoner, physical assault on staff, self-harm, and shared cells. Cluster 3 (green triangles) has all the outliers in terms of high rates of self-harm and high rates of physical assaults on staff.

Figure 5

Paired Scatterplots for Category Codes Relating to Violence*, Self-harm and Incidents Occurring in Shared Cells**
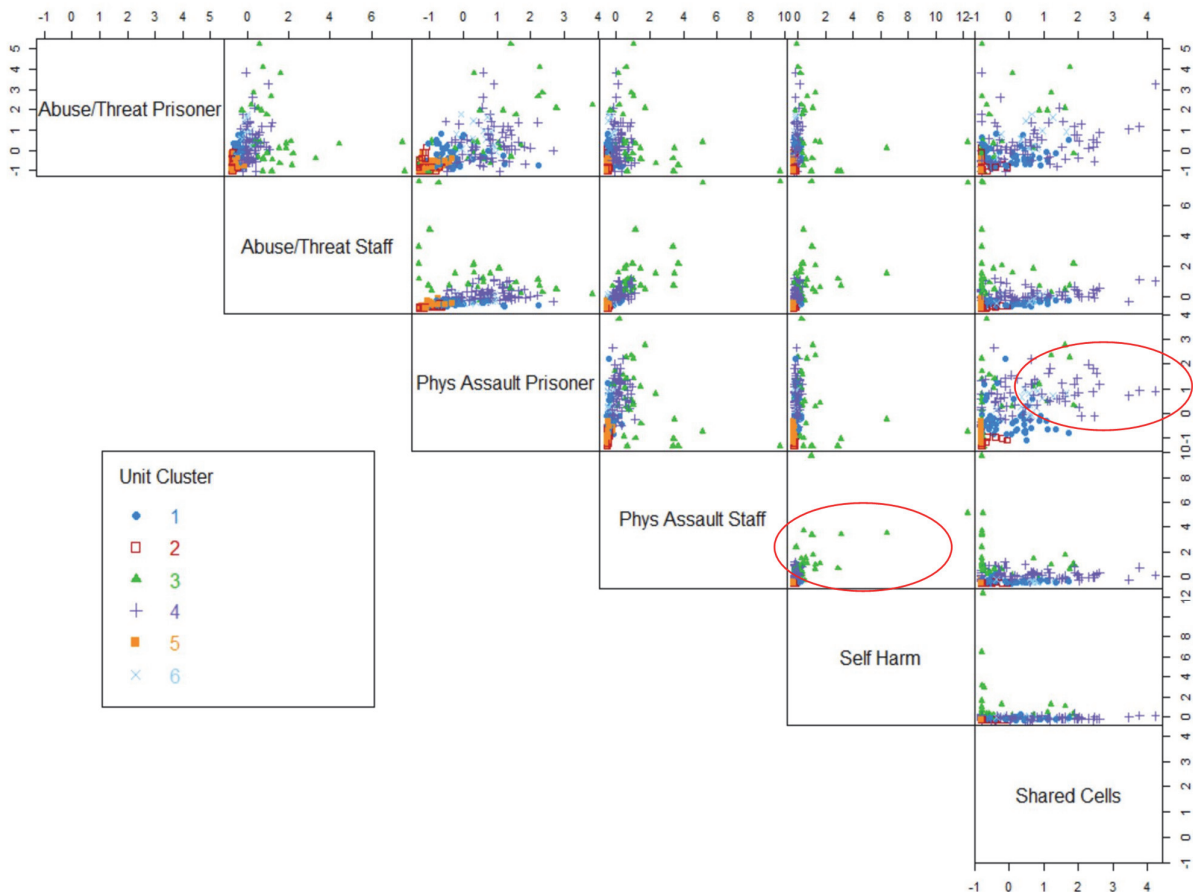
* Prisoner Abuse/Threat on Prisoner, Prisoner Abuse/Threat on Staff, Prisoner Physical Assault on Prisoner, Prisoner Physical Assault on Staff

** Each data point represents a single unit, and clusters are identified as noted in the legend

By contrast, Cluster 4 (purple crosses) had outliers in terms of high rates of incidents occurring in shared cells and physical assault on prisoner.

To provide further validation for the clusters, we compare them on variables not used in the LPA. First, we looked at how the clusters differed in terms of characteristics of the prisoners that were resident there. Table 8 shows odds ratios for each cluster in terms of whether offenders were on remand, sharing cells, ethnicity, gang membership status and offense type. As Table 8 shows, the high risk Clusters 3 and 4 were more likely to be on remand, but whereas prisoners in Cluster 4 were more likely to be sharing a cell, those in Cluster 3 were less likely. Prisoners in Clusters 3 and 4 were also more likely to be gang members and to have a violent offense.

Table 8

Odds ratios for offender-related binary variables by cluster*

			Cluster					
		Overall%	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Remand	32.50%	**0.32**	**0.01**	**3.14**	**6.16**	**0.12**	**7.02**
	Sharing Cell	41.82%	**3.05**	**0.25**	**0.38**	**2.55**	**0.002**	**4.05**
	Male	93.48%	**0.73**	**1.72**	0.34	**0.53**		
Ethnicity	Maori	52.33%	**0.89**	**0.52**	**1.24**	**1.53**	**1.25**	**0.74**
Ethnicity	Pacific	11.31%	1.01	1.02	1.10	1.01	**0.71**	**1.44**
Ethnicity	European	31.77%	1.01	**1.94**	0.79	**0.65**	0.99	1.04
Ethnicity	Other	4.59%	**1.71**	1.09	0.67	0.68	0.52	**1.61**
	Gang Member	27.37%	**0.69**	**0.39**	**1.65**	**1.96**	1.00	0.91
Offence	Sex	21.30%	**1.21**	**3.71**	**0.45**	**0.40**	0.85	0.66
Offence	Child Sex	13.77%	**1.27**	**4.26**	**0.31**	**0.32**	0.70	0.69
Offence	Violence	54.54%	**0.82**	**0.65**	**1.46**	**1.30**	**1.20**	0.91
Offence	Drugs	19.82%	1.06	0.91	0.83	1.06	1.02	1.01
Offence	Family Harm	29.70%	1.02	0.97	**0.80**	1.06	0.97	1.12

**Odds ratios in bold were statistically significant (*p* < .05). The overall percentage for each variable across clusters is also shown. Note: an odds ratio for Male – Cluster 5 is not shown because all offenders in Cluster 5 units were male.

Table 9

Upper: Average Values of Offender and Unit Variables and ANOVA Results for each Cluster*

	Cluster						$F(5, 226)$	η_p^2
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
Age	36.44	42.47	31.96	33.11	39.26	34.76	24.86	0.36
RoC*RoI	0.44	0.42	0.54	0.53	0.47	0.50	14.95	0.25
Offenders/year	44.60	43.72	22.33	36.43	50.15	42.16	8.54	0.16
Turnover	0.25	0.14	0.38	0.38	0.18	0.42	33.31	0.42
Gang Entropy	1.11	0.89	1.11	1.25	1.20	1.44	4.30	0.09

| Cluster | Security Classification | | | | | Unit Type | | |
	minimum	low-medium	high	maximum		GP	Special	High Risk
1	0	29 (60.4%)	19 (39.6%)	0		46 (88.5%)	4 (7.7%)	0
2	7 (21.2%)	23 (69.7%)	3 (9.1%)	0		13 (38.2%)	20 (58.8%)	0
3	0	0	15 (71.4%)	6 (28.6%)		18 (58.1%)	0	6 (19.4%)
4	0	2 (3.2%)	61 (96.8%)	0		64 (91.4%)	0	0
5	4 (14.8%)	20 (74.1%)	3 (11.1%)	0		17 (58.6%)	10 (34.5%)	0
6	0	0	13 (100%)	0		13 (81.3%)	0	0

* All *F*-ratios were significant (*p* < .001). Lower: Percentages of Units in each Cluster by Security Classification (Minimum, Low-medium, High and Maximum) and Unit Type (General Population [GP], Special and High-risk)

Table 9 shows a comparison of additional variables across clusters. High-risk Clusters 3 and 4 had prisoners that on average were younger and with higher ROC*ROI scores than other clusters. Units in Clusters 3 and 4 also tended to be smaller in terms of the number of offenders resident per year. Cluster 3 also included all of the maximum security units, while units in Cluster 4 were predominantly high security. Six of the units in Cluster 3, approximately 20%, were from women's prisons, which might be surprising but we have found that the rates of violence in women's prisons are actually very high. Cluster 3 also included some management and remand units. By contrast, all units in Cluster 4 were general population. Cluster 4 had the most number of number of prisoners who were resident overall, more than 27% of all prisoners. By contrast, Cluster 2 had the lowest risk, and included mostly low and medium

security units, and the special treatment units: Te Piriti, Kia Marama, and Tai Aroha. Cluster 2 included about 16.2% of prisoners, and they were more likely to be sex offenders or child sex offenders, and less likely to be gang members.

So, to summarise briefly so far: We've identified clusters of units that vary widely in terms of rates of violence and other incidents, and also differ in terms of the characteristics of the prisoners who are resident in those units. In the next section, we will try to under-stand what the classification of units represented by the clusters can tell us in terms of incidence rates. Does it provide information beyond simple security classification? To address these questions we used a modelling analysis – specifically, linear mixed effects modelling – similar to the Australian study noted earlier. Specifically, we looked at how much variance in incidence rates were explained by the clusters, and how it compared with security classification.

Table 10 shows the results of the linear mixed effects analyses. Overall, the clusters accounted for on average 32% of the variance in rates of incidence By contrast, security classification explains 19.2% of the variance in incidence rates. Our unit clusters include much of the variance that is related to security classification, but go beyond that in terms of predicting variance in incidence rates.

Table 10

Results of Linear Mixed Effects Analyses*

Category Code	ICC	Marginal R² Cluster	Marginal R² Sec_Class	Conditional R² Cluster	Conditional R² Sec_Class
Accident to a Prisoner	0.20	0.09	0.02	0.34	0.20
After Hours Unlock	0.19	0.35	0.16	0.50	0.32
Alcohol	0.12	0.22	0.16	0.33	0.24
At Risk Assessment	0.16	0.49	0.31	0.68	0.50
Communications Device	0.12	0.31	0.06	0.40	0.21
Drugs	0.52	0.14	0.04	0.55	0.54
Drugs Paraphernalia	0.32	0.13	0.04	0.37	0.35
Hospitalisation	0.35	0.09	0.04	0.38	0.44
Mechanical Restraints	0.14	0.44	0.30	0.56	0.37
Non Lethal Weapons	0.05	0.39	0.30	0.48	0.32
Other	0.34	0.36	0.12	0.54	0.51
Other Prisoner Behaviour	0.19	0.55	0.27	0.63	0.46
Prisoner Abuse/Threat on Prisoner	0.52	0.19	0.13	0.62	0.67
Prisoner Abuse/Threat on Staff	0.07	0.50	0.25	0.50	0.28
Prisoner Physical Assault on Prisoner	0.12	0.51	0.46	0.55	0.56
Prisoner Physical Assault on Staff	0.07	0.42	0.26	0.45	0.28
Segregation	0.31	0.29	0.22	0.57	0.49
Self Harm	0.02	0.20	0.06	0.20	0.07
Shared Cells	0.38	0.26	0.17	0.58	0.48
Tattoo Equipment	0.13	0.25	0.14	0.36	0.25
Use of Force	0.05	0.51	0.29	0.53	0.29
Weapons	0.21	0.29	0.40	0.47	0.44
Wilful Damage	0.03	0.42	0.23	0.45	0.25
Average	0.200	0.321	0.192	0.480	0.368
SD	0.143	0.140	0.119	0.113	0.141

* For each category code, the intra-class correlation, marginal R^2 and conditional R^2 are listed for both unit cluster and security class (minimum, low-medium, high and maximum) as fixed-effects. Note that conditional R² could not be estimated for Prisoner Abuse/Threat on Staff and Self Harm for clusters because of low variance across unit clusters in some prisons

We also looked at how well the clusters predicted overall violence. This analysis used the violence measure that was developed specifically for our project (which Lars mentioned earlier). The measure was based on the World Health Organization (WHO) definition of violence as, "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group". Using the

WHO definition, each of the 243 unique category codes was scored as violent or not by each researcher on the Nga Tūmanakotanga project, and codes that had 50% or more positive ratings were included as our overall measure of violence.

The overall violence measure comprised 45 of the 243 codes, which included not only codes related to physical violence, but also standovers, intimidation, taxing, written threats to prisoners and staff, self-harm, among others.

Based on this measure, we calculated a rate of violence for each unit (per capita), and logarithmically transformed this rate because the distribution was positively skewed. We conducted a linear mixed effects analysis to ask how well the clusters explained differences in rates of overall violence. Results are shown in Table 11. Clusters predicted overall violence strongly, accounting for 81.7% of the variance in (log) overall violence rate across units. When prisons were added as a second-level predictor, the proportion of variance explained increased to only 82%. The rate of violence in Cluster 3 was 2.33 times the overall average, and was 1.68 times the overall average for Cluster 4. We ran a similar analysis with security classification, and found that it accounted for 64.8% of the variance, substantially less than the clusters. These results show that the classification of units by clusters provides useful information about where the violent places are within New Zealand prisons.

Table 11

*Results of Linear Mixed Effects Analysis of Overall Violence Measure (Log Transformed)*

	LN_viol100		
Predictors	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*
(Intercept)	3.04	2.87 – 3.21	**<0.001**
cluster_id [four]	1.68	1.48 – 1.88	**<0.001**
cluster_id [one]	0.81	0.60 – 1.02	**<0.001**
cluster_id [six]	1.43	1.15 – 1.72	**<0.001**
cluster_id [three]	2.33	2.09 – 2.56	**<0.001**
cluster_id [two]	-0.69	-0.92 – -0.46	**<0.001**
Random Effects			
σ^2	0.21		
$\tau_{00\ prison\_id}$	0.00		
ICC	0.01		
N_{prison_id}	18		
Observations	232		
Marginal R^2 / Conditional R^2	0.817 / 0.820		
AIC	326.293		

Figure 6 shows the overall rate of violence (number of violent incidents per 100 offenders per year) for each unit. Clusters are indicated by different colours Cluster 3 (grey dots) has the highest rate of violence, Cluster 2 (orange) the lowest. The separation of the clusters in Figure 6 provides a visual representation of the high percentage (82%) of variance explained by the clusters.

Figure 6

Overall Violence for Units in Prisons Rate*
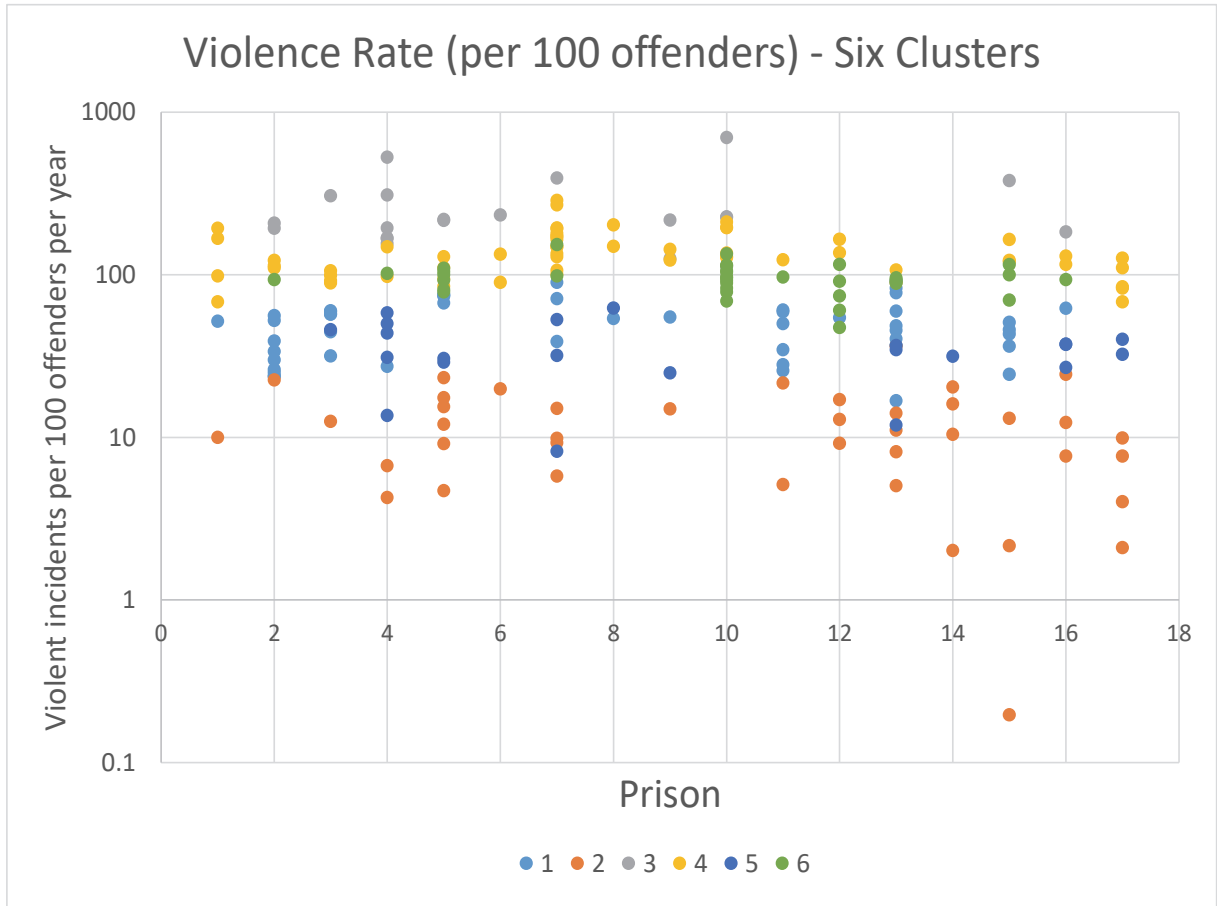
*Number of violent incidents per 100 offenders per year. [Each unit is indicated as a separate data point, and clusters are indicated by colour according to the legend. The scale for the y-axis is logarithmic]

In summary, these results provide strong support for the view that units are an important level of analysis for understanding prison violence. Units are heterogeneous places, they vary widely in terms of rates of violent and non-violent incidents, and can be grouped meaningfully into clusters or subtypes. For prisons in Aotearoa New Zealand, six clusters appear to be optimal for describing this heterogeneity, with the two most violent clusters (3 and 4) housing about 35% of the prisoners. The clusters account for substantial variance in overall violence rates across

units, and convey information beyond just the security classification.

These results have important implications for the Nga Tūmanakotanga project, because our goal is to develop interventions to mitigate violence at the unit level. The heterogeneity described by the cluster analysis provides a platform for modeling violence at the unit level, along with the machine learning results that Lars was also presenting. Developing these models will help us to assess the effectiveness of interventions to mitigate violence.

The next steps in this work will be to develop those models for predicting violence, both at the unit and at the individual level, and models for specific types of violence, for example, prisoner-on-prisoner or prisoner-on-staff, self-harm. The question we plan to ask is, "how does violence depend on individual-level factors and how does it depend on unit-level factors?" taking into account the ecological approach of the Nga Tūmanakotanga project.

SAFETY IN PRISONS: TAKING A PREVENTIVE APPROACH

EMMA ROEBUCK

Under OPCAT, Inspectors are authorised by the Chief Ombudsman to inspect and monitor places of detention. Although the title of OPCAT refers to "torture", it deals with all the human rights that apply to people in detention. It is aimed at strengthening protections and improving conditions as a way of preventing ill-treatment from occurring. OPCAT Inspectors are able to visit every part of a prison; they can speak with anyone at the facility and can visit unannounced day or night. This mandate provides the Ombudsman with a unique perspective on prison safety. This presentation will talk to how this mandate is operationalised in Aotearoa prisons.

Mauri ora ki a tātou katoa
Ko te mihi o ahiahi pai hai wānanga tahi
Puta atu nga aroha o te Tari o te Kaitiaki Mana Tangata

Thank you for inviting me to talk about the Ombudsman's role in prison inspections, in particular his findings on violence and safety in prisons.

First, I'd like to give you a bit of background about myself. I have worked as a probation officer in the UK, worked as a senior policy adviser at the Ministry of Justice here in New Zealand. I've also worked in operational policy at Corrections and in Cambodia improving prison programmes. I've been an inspector with the Ombudsman for six years.

Secondly, I would also like to warn you that my presentation will be packed with survey data. It's important to include because the Office of the Ombudsman is the only agency in New Zealand that comprehensively surveys prisoners.

The Ombudsman's Role as a National Preventive Mechanism (NPM)

The Ombudsman holds this inspection role under OPCAT, the Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture, an international human rights agreement, which New Zealand joined in 2007. The purpose of OPCAT is to prevent torture or cruel, degrading or inhuman treatment in places of detention like prisons and health and disability facilities. OPCAT sets up a system of national monitoring and reporting in each country, through what are called NPMs—National Preventive Mechanisms. NPMs operate in more than 50 countries.

By way of background, the Ombudsman is the designated National Preventive Mechanism for a number of different types of places of detention in New Zealand, including prisons, court facilities, health and disability facilities (which include mental health facilities, secure intellectual disability facilities and residences), managed isolation and quarantine facilities, secure aged care facilities, and immigration detention facilities. The total number of facilities the Chief Ombudsman is currently responsible for inspecting is significant – our latest count sits at more than 450, all around the country, with detainee populations ranging from one to over 1,000.

What OPCAT means in practice is that the Ombudsman's inspectors turn up at an institution including prisons, often unannounced. The Chief Ombudsman looks at how the facility is treating detainees within the facility over a period of time, he reports his findings and if necessary makes recommendations for improvement. Then he monitors progress with follow-up visits. In light of Covid, in recent months, the Chief Ombudsman has been announcing visits to facilities and undertaking shorter targeted inspections. Although recent inspections are shorter and more targeted, prisoner safety continues to be a critical area of focus.

The Chief Ombudsman has clear expectations with regard to prisoner safety. He expects that people in custody are regularly consulted about their safety, and action is taken to address their concerns. He expects people in custody are safe at all times, including in the prison, transport to-and-from the prison, and overnight. He also expects people in custody are not subjected to discrimination, coercion, harassment, bullying, or any form of exploitation. He expects all concerns, including potential concerns or indications, regarding exploitation, violence, abuse or neglect are promptly documented and investigated, or referred to the appropriate authority for investigation.

Under OPCAT, Inspectors are authorised by the Chief Ombudsman to inspect and monitor places of detention. Although the title of OPCAT refers to 'torture', it deals with all the human rights that apply to people in detention. It is aimed at strengthening protections and improving conditions as a way of preventing ill-treatment from occurring. OPCAT Inspectors are able to visit every part of a prison; they can speak with anyone at the facility and can visit unannounced day or night. This mandate provides the Ombudsman with a unique perspective on prison safety.

Today I am going to talk about how this mandate operates on a practical level and refer to past findings and observations about prisoner safety from inspections conducted at Auckland (Paremoremo) Prison and Waikeria Prison. I will also discuss the role of the Ombudsman as a preventive mechanism and how this can help reduce violence in prisons.

During the course of my work, I frequently consider what it must be like to feel unsafe in an environment you cannot leave. A colleague recently described prisons as 'closed, complete and compulsory', in that they are entirely **closed** environ-ments and not accessible to the public; they are **complete** in that the facility operates 24-

hours a day, 7 days a week, 365 days a year and that they are **compulsory** in that those that are held there are compulsorily detained.

OPCAT Prison Inspections

Prison inspections can ordinarily last for up to 10 days including weekends and evenings, although, as I have mentioned, the Chief Ombudsman has temporarily adjusted his current inspection approach in light of Covid-19. The inspection team leader assembles a team based on the size and the type of prison. We speak to as many prisoners and staff, at all levels, as possible. As an example, for the 2020 Auckland Prison inspection there were 11 inspectors, including four specialist contractors. Inspectors have a broad skill base with backgrounds in health and disability, prisons, the social sector and law.

The Ombudsman is currently developing a new set of expectations for the conditions and treatment of prisoners. Until now, the Chief

Ombudsman has been using the following six criteria to provide the current structure for prison inspections, each of which describes the standards of treatment and conditions in prison. These criteria are underpinned by a series of indicators that describe evidence Inspectors look for to determine whether the treatment and conditions are conducive to preventing torture, or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, or impact adversely on detainees. Although prisoner safety is explicitly addressed under Criteria 1 – Treatment, each of the six criteria clearly link to prisoner safety:

1. *Treatment.* The Chief Ombudsman's inspectors examine safety including assaults, use of force (restraint), segregation, suicide, self-harm and vulnerable prisoners, and approaches to gang management. Inspectors examine CCTV and On Body Camera Footage to review incidents and Use of Force.

2. ***Reception into prison.*** Inspectors look at initial reception processes including induction, information for prisoners and early support. This criteria links to safety in terms of how the Prison identifies and protects vulnerable prisoners, as well as how double-bunking assessments are undertaken.

3. ***Decency, dignity and respect.*** Inspectors look at accommodation, clothing and bedding, food and meal times, staff-prisoner relationships, how the prison supports prisoners with disabilities and cultural provision and support. This criteria links to safety with particular regard to accommodation. Many will know that the physical environment can mitigate or exacerbate the risk of violence. For example, the design of units that do not provide clear lines of sight and the use of double bunking can intensify the risk of violence. Good staff-prisoner relationships are essential for dynamic security. Dynamic security[14] depends on an alert group of staff who interact with, and who know, their prisoners; it depends on staff developing positive staff-prisoner relationships; staff who have an awareness of what is going on in the prison; fair treatment and a sense of "well-being" among prisoners; and staff who make sure that prisoners are kept busy doing constructive and purposeful activities that contribute to their future reintegration into society.

4. ***Healthcare.*** Inspectors also look at health care services and systems, dental services, medication, mental health support (including forensic care). The provision of comprehensive mental health support and intervention increases safety within Prison. Timely assessment and targeted treatment creates for a more stable prison environment. It

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[14] United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2015). *Handbook on Dynamic Security and Prison Intelligence* (Criminal Justice Handbook Series). New York: United Nations.

is also an unfortunate fact that prisoners who have been subject to violent assaults will require timely and adequate healthcare.

5. ***Protective measures.*** Inspectors examine the complaints system, mail, telephones, legal visits and legal access, as well as the management of remand prisoners. Effective and functioning protective measures are essential. Prisoners who feel at risk or have been subject to violence in the prison must always have the unrestricted ability to raise concerns regarding their safety and have these concerns acted on promptly.

6. ***Purposeful activity and rehabilitation.*** Inspectors examine purposeful and rehabilitative activity, such as time out of cell, outdoor exercise, religious support, library services, visits, training and employment, education, programmes and case management. The importance of constructive and meaningful activities for

prisoners cannot be over-emphasised. Prisoners subject to a basic yard-to-cell regime can have long periods of unstructured time whereby the risk of incidents occurring is increased.

Surveys

On each full prison inspection, Inspectors distribute surveys to all prisoners at the facility. These surveys are anonymous and confidential. Prisoners are asked questions about their day-to-day life in the prison. The sequence of survey questions correlates with the inspection criteria. Prisoners also have the opportunity to write about any issues they want to alert us to. The distribution of surveys on Day 1 of inspection and the collection of them is a bit of a logistical feat for the inspection team, but the information provided is absolutely invaluable. Prisoners have previously alerted us to issues of violence and bullying. The surveys provide each prisoner in the facility the opportunity to have their voice heard by an independent arms-length body.

The survey contains specific questions about prisoners' safety. We ask:

- Have you ever felt unsafe in this prison?
- Do you feel unsafe in this prison at the moment?
- Have you been victimised in this prison? If yes, was it another prisoner, was it a group of prisoners? Was it a member of staff? Was it both staff and prisoners?
- Have you ever been assaulted in this prison? Did you report the incident?
- Have you been sexually assaulted while in prison? If yes, did it happen in this prison?
- Did you report the incident?

Survey response rates across prisons have varied from about 50% to approximately 90%. Response rates vary significantly from prison to prison and unit to unit depending on the dynamics within the facility.

Ombudsman's Findings and Observations on Safety from Two Full Inspections

I will now talk to the findings of the Ombudsman's Auckland and Waikeria full inspections. These illustrate how the survey findings provide a voice for the people in custody and help the Ombudsman formulate his findings and subsequent recommendations.

Recommendations are a fundamental part of the inspection process. They define and prioritise the actions considered necessary to enhance human rights in situations of deprivation of liberty. They are a key preventative tool as their implementation by Ara Poutama and/or the facilities are intended to improve conditions and treatment of detainees. The NPM's reports and recommendations are usually published for transparency and accountability.

Waikeria Prison

A full inspection of Waikeria Prison involving nine Inspectors and lasting nine days was

conducted at the end of 2019. At that time, the top jail was still operating. The Chief Ombudsman found that levels of violence in the prison were high. Prison data confirmed that, on average, violence-related incidents accounted for 22% of all incidents over a 12-month period. Inspectors also noted increases in threats to staff, use of weapons, and an increase in female staff being targeted. For the period 1 April to 30 September 2019, there were 173 incident reports related to violence, 97 in the top jail -the High Security Complex (HSC), and 76 in the Low Security Complex. Nine assaults were referred to Police. In the six months to 30 September 2019, 231 requests for voluntary segregation were made. Forty-nine percent of tāne who completed the Ombudsman's survey reported having felt unsafe at some point while in the Prison, with 24% reporting feeling unsafe at the time of the inspection. Thirty-three percent of survey respondents (121 tāne) said they had been assaulted while in the Prison, while only 36 said

they had reported the incident. Tāne on voluntary segregation spoke of feeling relatively safe from intimidation, but said that even in the segregation environment, they experienced bullying from other tāne. These tāne spoke of the difficulty of identifying the perpetrators within the segregation environment to custodial staff, and the likely consequences of being labelled an 'informer'.

According to figures provided by the Prison, at the time of inspection, 44% of the Prison population identified as gang members or affiliates. The Prison had the second highest gang population in the country. The influence of gangs was most obvious in the High Security Complex. The Prison's strategy for gang management in the HSC was one of containment and separation. It managed gang related risk by closing off communal areas and separating rival gangs. As a consequence, tāne in the high security complex had limited opportunities to take part in constructive activities.

The Prison operated a harmony regime in a unit in the low security complex, where tāne undertook to put aside gang rivalries and adhere to a set of agreed behaviours. Induction into the 'harmony unit' included the prohibition of gang-related activities. However, at the time of inspection, tāne and staff whom Inspectors spoke with felt the unit had lost its focus and, rather than its intended purpose, was becoming a Unit for those tāne who were difficult to place.

Inspectors were given a copy of the Prison's 'Gang Management Plan' which identified areas of focus by all operational and support staff to help reduce gang-related activity in the Prison. Monthly Safer Custody Panel meetings highlighted a number of security-related issues and concerns, including a recognition of increased levels of violence and abuse at the Prison, particularly towards female staff. The HSC ran a basic yard-to-cell regime, which afforded little opportunity for staff and tāne interactions. Tāne who may be at risk of harm, or concerned about their safety, had little to no opportunities to raise any concerns with staff, particularly tāne who were double-bunked.

Auckland Prison
Inspectors conducted a full inspection of Auckland Prison in February 2020. In July 2018, a new maximum security facility was opened at the site and the Auckland East maximum security division was decommissioned. The new facility was intended to help move from an operating model based on 'containment' of difficult prisoners to a modern, therapeutic facility. At the time of the inspection, this new operating model had not been realised. In relation to safety at the facility, the Prison held monthly Safer Custody Panel meetings. Inspectors noted that these were well attended by a range of staff and meeting minutes showed a comprehensive approach to managing safety issues.

Inspectors undertook an analysis of incidents by units over the last quarter of 2019. A total of 422 incidents were logged throughout this period.[15] Nearly 70% of all incidents occurred in four units – the Maximum Security Units. Violent incidents[16] made up around 16% of all incidents. Thirty-five percent of survey respondents (90 tāne) said they had been assaulted while in the Prison. Only a quarter of those prisoners said they reported the incident. Thirty-two survey respondents reported that they had been sexually assaulted while in the Prison.

As at 29 January 2020, there were 320 voluntary segregated prisoners across the Prison (approximately 60% of the Prison population) with 120 beds allocated for low security voluntary segregated prisoners. However, numbers of voluntary segregation prisoners across the site were high. Reasons given by prisoners for wanting voluntary segregation varied but common themes were gang issues, bullying, stand-overs and a fear for personal safety. Voluntary segregated prisoners were accommodated across seven of the Prison's 10 units[17]. Unit 13, a maximum security unit, held a particularly high number (64) of voluntary segregated prisoners. The Unit was running mixed regimes, whereby voluntary segregated prisoners were managed on separate regimes to mainstream prisoners.

Managers identified staff shortages as a significant safety issue. At the time of inspection, the Prison had 26 vacancies for rostered staff[18]. Managers explained that vacancies, coupled with significant levels of unplanned absences, meant that both prisoner and staff safety could be compromised. Of particular concern was that the highest level of unplanned

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[15] Data taken from the Department's Integrated Offender Management System (IOMS).

[16] Prisoner on prisoner assault, prisoner on staff assault, and use of force.

[17] Numbers provided by the Prison indicated the following number of voluntary prisoners in each unit: Unit 2 (47), Unit 5 (47), Unit 6 (49), Unit 8 (58), Unit 10 (3), Unit 11 (44) and Unit 13 (64). Off Site Transfers (8).

[18] Rostered vacancies are allocated shifts that cannot be filled due to staff shortages.

staff absences was in two maximum security units housing the most challenging prisoners who require consistency and specialist expertise. The significant issue of staffing pressures and the associated consequences had a visible impact during the inspection.

Staffing

At the time of inspection, staff shortages were having a significant impact on numerous aspects of custodial operation, impacting on day-to-day life for prisoners. On the first day of inspection, one unit was operating without the designated staff to prisoner ratio[19]. Staff reported they were, on occasion, breaching unlock rules and relying on prisoner co-operation in these circumstances. At the time of inspection, 9% of staff were not working or were unavailable due to secondments, leave without pay, ACC or other sickness, parental or maternity leave. Information provided by the Prison also detailed that 55

staff were either seconded to the Prison, seconded to another area within the Prison, or in an acting position. Just over 30% of staff at the Prison had less than two years' experience and almost 53% had less than five years' experience.

Staff Prisoner Relationships

Inspectors observed generally relaxed and courteous relationships between staff and prisoners in low security units but interactions observed between staff and prisoners in the Maximum Security Units were primarily transactional. Relationships were generally not well established. This was compounded by a lack of continuity in staff deployment in those units and the limited time available to staff to carry out their duties. The absence of established relationships in the maximum security units undermined the quality of dynamic security and led to an over-reliance on the physical security arrangements of the facility.

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[19] Unit 5 – Roster PCO and four Custodial Officers' rostered but only two staff were on the Unit at the time of inspection. No contingency was in place.

A total of 176 survey respondents (69%) said there was a staff member they could turn to for help Seventy-five% of survey respondents reported that most staff treated them with respect. However, only 41% of survey respondents from one maximum security unit said there was a staff member they could turn to for help.

Additional comments in several prisoner surveys detailed accounts of bullying and intimidation by staff. These accounts appeared to centre on several of the same custodial staff. Thirty-eight percent of survey respondents stated that they had been victimised by staff in the Prison, while around 20% stated they had been victimised by both staff and other prisoners. Inspectors also reviewed CCTV footage of an incident involving the unwarranted use of pepper spray on a prisoner. The associated incident report did not reflect what Inspectors saw in the footage. Staff had failed to accurately report the incident.

What are OPCAT inspections telling us and Ara Poutama about safety and violence in Prisons?

What were the findings from these past inspections telling us about violence and safety at Auckland and Waikeria Prison? What were they telling Ara Poutama? While Ara Poutama has extensive reporting tools whereby they can, and do, undertake trend analysis, they are only as good as the information contained within them.

The Ombudsman's use of surveys provide prisoners with an anonymous reporting system to an independent watchdog. Survey results clearly tell us that violence, including sexual violence is significantly under-reported by prisoners and that this under-reporting needs to be taken into account when assessing safety and levels of violence.

A stark finding from the majority of our surveys is that a significant proportion of prisoners in these prisons don't feel safe. These are not just

prisoners on voluntary segregation, but prisoners in high security units who could be described and perceived as 'staunch'. Prisoners who some may expect to have become inured to violence through ongoing and regular exposure throughout their lifetimes, but this appears to not be the case. Even those who perpetrate violence within the Prison environment want to feel safe themselves.

More opportunities for prisoners to take part in constructive and meaningful activities need to be provided, particularly in high-security settings. Adequate, experienced and professional staffing is integral to safe prisons. Opportunities for prisoners to raise concerns with staff within their day-to-day regime need to exist, as do safe staffing ratios.

Where Use of Force is used on a Prisoner, reviews of the incident need to be transparent, robust and conducted in a timely manner and overseen by the Prison

Director. These findings are from reports that are not the most recent. The OPCAT team has undertaken five short targeted prison inspections in recent months. Inspectors are observing some positive developments. The significant reduction in the prison population since March 2018 has seen a considerable reduction in double-bunking. Some facilities inspected had no double bunking at the time of our visits. The risk of in-cell violence including sexual assault will consequently reduce.

The Office of the Inspector of Corrections is undertaking a comprehensive review of Ara Poutama complaints function. This review and the subsequent findings should provide prisoners with a system whereby they can raise issues and concerns and know that they will be effectively dealt with.

At the time of the Auckland and Waikeria Inspections the implementation of the *Hōkai Rangi* strategy was in its

infancy; recent short targeted inspections are showing that some distance has been travelled and we beginning to see the strategy become embedded in day-to-day operations at some facilities. Inspectors have also recently observed the provision of 'Māori-designed, developed and delivered' programmes provided to prisoners from a high-security setting. The increased provision of mental health support across prisons has been evident to Inspectors. The recruitment of Clinical Nurse Specialists is a welcome addition to prisons and Inspectors have observed comprehensive Multi-disciplinary teams. Mental Health Practitioners and custodial staff are working closely together. Custodial Staff are demonstrating an understanding of the people in their care and supporting them with their mental health. It is hoped that these positive developments contribute to prison safety. It is the role of the Ombudsman to continue to monitor prisons, improve

conditions and ensure that practices within them are safe. Where they are not, the Ombudsman will shine a light.

In closing, it is a privilege and a significant responsibility to have unfettered access to prisons – these unique closed, complete and compulsory environments. Over the years, The Ombudsman has seen where progress has been made and distance has been travelled. However, as a National Preventive Mechanism we must always alert Ara Poutama to any practices that do not align, or that may be contrary to international obligations in respect of human rights. By doing this we strengthen the treatment of, and improve conditions for, detainees. By shining a light on prisons and the complex and varying dynamics within them it is hoped we can increase safety for both staff and prisoners.

Nō reira, i o koutou aroha i whakarongo mai ana
Tenei te mihia, tenei te manākitanga, tenei te aroha e.

DRIVING A PRO-SOCIAL INMATE CULTURE IN PRISON: THE MACQUARIE EXPERIENCE

BRAD PEEBLES

Macquarie Correctional Centre is a maximum security, 400-bed male prison that houses inmates in dormitory style accommodation and has no individual cellular accommodation. Macquarie is located in central Western NSW about 350 km west of Sydney. During commissioning, the absence of cellular accommodation forced the management team to develop methods of ensuring inmate compliance that are outside the means used in traditionally managed centres in Australia. In short, the centres management model is based on very high level of privilege and desirable activity being afforded to inmates. Inmates are in turn acutely aware that this privilege is based on them returning positive and prosocial behaviour and participation in the centres work, programs and life skill activities. The behavioural expectations placed on the inmates are high. The model has been extremely successful. Although the centre houses a similar cohort of maximum-security inmates to other centres in NSW, the rates of violence and inmate misconduct are at about 10% of the average experienced elsewhere. Participation in employment, programs and desistance-based activities are nearly 100%. Early studies indicate both the staff and inmate groups feel safer and less stressed than those working in comparable centres. Willingness levels of inmates and staff to engage with each other are also noted to be higher than in other comparable centres.

The centre is currently the subject of a major study being conducted by Professor Andrew Day of Swinburne University and Professor Mark Halsey of Melbourne University. Professor Halsey and Day have identified the management model at Macquarie as being highly consistent with that espoused by Assisted Desistance Theory.

Thank you for a very kind introduction Armon, and good afternoon to all the audience. It is quite a privilege to have been asked to present here today and. I have a short video to share with you also[20].

Macquarie Correctional Centre (Figure 1) is within the New South Wales prison system in Australia. As you are probably all aware, Australia has a state system, so there's a number of jurisdictions within the one country, and just from listening to some of the other presenters today, our problems in terms of violence are actually quite similar. Interestingly enough, Macquarie was never actually designed around that particular problem. Macquarie was designed during a serious bed crisis that the state experienced and that progressively got worse between 2016 and about 2020, so the name of the game when Macquarie was designed was to get beds online very quickly. The government was able to do that by designing a couple of jails. There's Macquarie and a sister center, Hunter, up at Cessnock, just north of Sydney. They are maximum security jails, but they're actually built without cells. The centres themselves consist of 16 dormitory accommodation units (see Figure 2). Even though they're dormitories, there is quite a good sense of privacy for the inmates. They're very similar to first class airline accommodation if you like. However, it became very clear to us as we were commissioning the center that the ordinary run of the mill methods of inmate management in a maximum security jail weren't going to be available to us here because essentially we aren't able to lock inmates up. With that in mind, the management team worked towards creating a new method of inmate management that was based mostly on non-punitive methods.

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[20] New South Wales Corrections (Organisation). *Macquarie Correctional Centre: The world's first rapid build gaol* [Film; educational video]. NSW Government.

Figure 1

Macquarie Correctional Centre, Wellington, New South Wales

Figure 2

Accommodation Unit, Macquarie Correctional Centre[21]

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[21] Source: https://www.triplem.com.au/story/nsw-set-to-get-communal-prison-73462

We set the centre up basically along the lines of a privileged center with a very high level of privilege. The other side of the coin was that the inmates were well aware that there had to be a very strong return in their behaviour and participation in the structured or purposeful day activities that we were offering.

We started with a maximum-security jail that had in effect 15 hours out of cells. Even when the inmates were technically in cells, there were dormitory accommodation areas with full access to all the amenities that they share. We also created 15 hours a day of full activity; half the center actually works in paid employment – and its high value employment – we've got two large metal fabrication industries, a cabinet industry, we've got laundry, kitchen, hospitality, horticulture, essentially a range of industries that reflect what's available in the community, in their real world things. The inmates participate in those for half a day and they're paid. In the second half of day, all inmates are expected to participate in either our criminogenic programmes, if appropriate for the individuals, or in education and life skill programmes. The programmes that we offer in that respect are themselves considered to be quite a privilege. They are programmes that the inmates value, and they've got a large degree of choice into what they actually do. Similar to the community, we all have our hobbies, our strong points, we've been very careful to recreate that in the center.

Prisoner Participation

Another aspect that has been part of the success is that the inmates at Macquarie get a genuine seat at the table. We have what we call an 'inmate delegate committee' meeting, which happens once a month, that has all the inmates leaders and a member from each one of the 16 pods. The entire management team, including myself attends that. We discuss things such as centre routines, centre rules, server regulation, timings, etc. but we do it

genuinely and, where we can, we amend things to meet the inmates requirements and what they want to do as a group within that pro-social climate.

Fundraising

Behind the scenes, we have quite a significant fundraising set of activities, such as selling eggs to the inmates with a markup, but all the profits go to a fund that the inmates have access to. That fund raises us about AUD$120,000 a year, which is a significant amount of money for inmates to determine what they're going to spend it on and they generally make quite sensible decisions with that. A lot of the amenities that are available to the inmates in the center have in fact, been purchased by the inmates, which again, adds a certain psychological advantage in terms of them respecting the equipment and valuing it as their own. The other thing that we do in a very big way is we partner with community organisations. That can be anything from Toastmasters International, one of the

international chess federations, and universities. We've got three main universities in Australia that we partner with, and the inmates actually present to their schools of forensic psychology and criminology, and in the case of the Law school in Sydney, those seminars are done by video conferencing.

We use MS Teams, and that creates a sense that inmates are themselves having some input into the future policies by talking with future policy-makers and having their concerns dealt with in quite an interesting way in academia.

We also share celebrations with both staff and inmates, because we've found that in reducing violence the biggest tool we've got is the sense of having a relationship between staff and inmates, all the security concerns covered, but it's an important dynamic. So, things like Anzac Day, which we shared with our New Zealand colleagues, are done as a team with the inmates and it's quite a moving ceremony here.

Employment and Education

I mentioned a structured day or a purposeful day earlier, and that's just a little bit of a sample of what we do. Half of the center goes to work in the morning, half goes to programs and education, and they swap over in the middle of the day and vice versa. As part of the privilege regime, every inmate's expected to participate in that – no exceptions – and they're quite happy to do so. That's an example of some of the industries that we provide, and this is important. I think the last speaker actually touched on it[22]. The provision of a very full structured day of meaningful activities is essential in the success that we've experienced here, and we've ensured that the industry portfolio is actually of very high value and involves skills that the inmates really personally value in learning.

There's a very large menu of educational programmes. We roll those over on a yearly basis because a lot of the inmates that we do have here are very serious offenders serving long periods of time, so we have to renew what's on the menu as often as we can so that people who are in prison can look forward to having an ongoing program of learning and activity. We found that there is a very strong desire, even in inmates with previously poor behaviour, to stay at the center, purely because the level of privilege that they have here is so great. They know what side of their bread the butter is on, so to speak. We found that inmates themselves exert a lot of pressure on others to conform and play the game, so to speak, which has been quite a powerful factor in what we are achieving here.

There is a two-way aspect to this contract though, and part of that is the culture of the staff. The staff themselves understand the basis of what we are doing here. They understand that this is based on desistance theory and they understand that it actually works and it is far more attractive to them in their careers and their own mental

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[22] See chapter (Roebuck), this volume.

health at work, to operate in this way, because it does actually bring the results in terms of reductions in violence and stress at work.

Managing Violent Behaviour
There's a couple of rules that the inmates are very well aware of. One of those is no violence – we don't normalise violence in any way at the centre. No violence is tolerated whatsoever. We don't assign violence to a normal part of jail culture at all. We label it as a deviant behaviour and there's an immediate consequence for anyone who engages in it.

The other thing too, is that we don't allow gangs. So to be at this center, you have to renounce your colours. There are a couple of strategies that we use for that, the most successful being that we accept inmates from various gangs, from other centers as segregation placements, and then we integrate those inmates out of segregation into the main jail using other inmates who are ex-gang members that have a lot of

street cred to exalt the virtues of this method of operation; that has been very successful. We've got some very heavy ex-gang members in the center, but they do all participate in the community and we don't separate them in any way.

Prison Culture
We also are very careful to ensure that there's a strong focus on the cultural aspects in Australia. Our Indigenous people, the Aboriginal people, are well and truly over-represented in the prison system. We have a range of programmes that they have participated in, helping us create that we make sure is part of the feature of the day.

Another thing we rely on is a lot of inmate-led programmes, so inmates themselves teach our music, TV studio, and fitness programs. It is very cheap to the taxpayer, but also there is a lot of skill that actually comes about when you poll the inmate population as to what skills they have, and even if those skills aren't developed, we found it's far cheaper to

spend money on developing the skills than it is to outsource them.

We have internet protocol (IP) TVs in every inmate accommodation cubicle that allow inmates to access online learning. The IP TVs also allow inmates to be self-sufficient with a lot of the things that they do, which are just routine, and free-up staff to participate more in a programme focus than just the day-to-day servicing of needs.

Security and Surveillance
One thing that has to be mentioned, and it is one of the most important factors, is the security system that we operate in this center. There are over 600 cameras, and unlike most maximum security prisons, we enjoy the fact that we can surveil the inmates 24 hours a day, including in bed. Part of that security system involves a Bosch model of camera, which is a 360 degree camera that looks a lot like a fire detector, it is very unobtrusive. We have got hundreds of those throughout the centre

and in all the accommodation pods. If you look at them in real time, the actual picture looks very warped, but the software on our service has the capacity to de-warp that signal from the camera, and means that we can record 30 days-worth of video in every one of those cameras, which we can then pan-tilt-zoom on. If you take that back to the base level, it means if we find an inmate that has a black eye, we can track that inmate back for 30 days, 24 hours a day, til we come to the point where he's being assaulted – we've had a 100% detection rate. No one gets away with an assault and the inmates are aware of that.

Does it work? There is a study being conducted by Flinders University (Adelaide) and Melbourne University into a number of aspects of the centre. Initial results have indicated a huge reduction in violence, misconducts, and all the incidents that you don't want in the centre to ruin the statistics that you're having. We are fairly happy with how it's going, and hopefully we'll

be able to improve on the model and move a few of its major aspects across to other centers.

* Response to questions
What is the Indigenous incarceration level at Macquarie?
Of 400 inmates, we've got approximately 100 that identify as Aboriginal, and probably another 30 or so who are Aboriginal but choose not to identify. It's not quite as high as the general population, but we are working on that. It's big enough that we've got quite a good level of diversity to deal with, though.

Are there any State-level or even national requirements about cultural input, cultural inclusion, power sharing with Aboriginal stakeholders in the correctional estate?
Australia, unlike New Zealand, never entered into a Treaty with our Indigenous people that were affected by white colonization, and it has been a very big problem and a detriment to the country in

general, to be quite honest. We don't do enough for Aboriginal people, and I don't think there's any dispute in that. In fact, Macquarie, when it was established, was quite unattractive to Aboriginal people. It was a criticism of one of the professors[23] who is doing a study. We are approaching Aboriginal issues progressively – and it still remains on the list of things to do.

We have a number of Aboriginal staff that are absolutely excellent, and they're in the process now of working with the inmates to design programs by Aboriginal people for Aboriginal people, and that's been really well-received. The Aboriginal guys, as a group, are very happy to be here and our numbers are increasing all the time, which is very gratifying for me.

In your opinion, why is this model of prison care not widely known in the other states of Australia?
A couple of things... there is a little bit of serendipity involved

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[23] Professor Andrew Day, University of Melbourne

here. As I mentioned at the start, Macquarie was designed as a warehouse to get some beds online very quickly, and it is only the fact that we didn't have cells that we were permitted to do some really radical stuff for the New South Wales system. Because it wasn't celebrated as a planned experiment, I guess, we're starting from the back and we are now attempting to extol the virtues of the management model, which again is partly accidental, and we are catching up. It is chats like these with various people that are very welcome for us. There are a lot things that we do in here that are transferable to a traditional system – readily-transferable, as a matter of fact.

Given Macquarie is open plan and has cubicles (rather than cells) for maximum security level prisoners, it sounds like there's been an interesting trade off of sorts between promoting community, but minimal privacy. How has that tension been navigated by staff and prisoners?

I noticed a few of the questions involved privacy, and that was certainly criticisms that we received from the Ombudsman's Office and human rights groups when the center was being designed and commissioned. But you actually have to *see* it to understand. The inmates don't report a lack of privacy at all. There's rules that they have developed themselves which ensure each other's privacy, as happens in any jail. As you know, things tend to find their own level. The dormitories themselves are separated into cubicles, and when you sit down there you do have a sense of privacy. You can't actually see the surveillance cameras, so there's not a sense that you're under surveillance all the time. We've got 16 units and we pretty much allow the inmates to choose where they want to live – so the inmates tend to find people that they get on with, and what we've found is we've got 16 therapeutic communities where the inmates mutually support each other. Here, you can't bash someone and then go and be

locked in a cell where you're all safe with your own group. Here, if you bash someone in your group, you've got to sleep with them for 24 hours a day, and that's very well-known and valued. If you speak to any of the inmates here, they'll tell you that they really value the fact that there is no escaping with violence, because it means they don't have to play the role of a gangster. They don't have to play the role of a tough guy. They can essentially pull their head in and get involved in the pro-social stuff.

What do we know about the recidivism rates for men who have come through and been released? Has anyone actually been released?
No, we don't enough about that, and that's subject to a study at the moment. The problem is this is just one centre in the system and it is maximum security. So between us and freedom, there's a whole level of minimum security progression, and that's in the traditional system. One thing that we're working on with the new Commissioner is

basically a minimum security pathway, a minimum security chapter based on the same model – that's part of the end game.

What happens to those people who are evicted from the prison after an act of violence? What is their pathway and can they return to your site at a later stage?
Yes. Anyone that's booted-out for violence goes to a tradition-ally managed maximum security jail, and they are welcome to come back after six months. Most of them do, as a matter of fact, and they're generally very sorry, and they don't want to play in the 'violent pool' again when they get here. Pretty much everyone comes back. When I'm talking about acts of violence, we experience around six or seven such incidents a year. That's it.

Is there a plan for a woman's prison based on Macquarie? A "sister" site maybe?
It's early days and I'd love nothing more. The fact of the matter is, Macquarie is a bit of a shock to the government and

to corrective services of New South Wales. So we are all still stumbling around trying to figure out what it is that we are doing here that works so well. Hopefully, a women's chapter of the model will be on the cards.

BETWEEN A ROCK AND A SOFT PLACE: UNPACKING COMPLEXITY AND THE ECOLOGY OF PRISON VIOLENCE

ARMON TAMATEA

Prisons are complex spaces that involve an intersection of social, legal, moral, cultural, emotional and political factors and processes. Additionally, interpersonal violence is a widely recognised reality in prisons across the world, which means that it is a ready-made 'problem' that demands 'solving'. However, violence in prisons has multiple drivers that relate to its causes, control, and prevention, which means that simple solutions at one level (e.g., policy) or another (e.g., individual treatment) are likely to be ineffective in and of themselves. Indeed, the pervasiveness and seeming inevitability of violent incidents in prison spaces suggests that prison violence constitutes a 'wicked problem'. In this presentation, we argue that this is not necessarily the case, but that one-size-fits-all, imported, simple solutions are unlikely to work in the long-term and that we need to develop approaches that recognise the ecological nature of violence in carceral spaces to inform prevention strategies.

If a social issue is a problem that affects a number of people within a society, then prison violence is, if nothing else, a social issue. The consequences of aggression in prison spaces reverberates in the lives of mauhere and staff, their families, and other people in the community. Like other social issues, such as poverty, health, and inequality, prison violence is marked by both a multitude of drivers and an intractable nature. As such, understanding prison violence requires an approach that recognises the range of factors that can come into play and

contribute to preventative thinking and planning.

Community development guru, Jim Ife[24], offers a number of frames for thinking about the nature of complex social issues and implied responses to address them. For instance, a focus on the **individual** positions the person as the 'victim' where individual pathology or psychological, biological or moral defects become the focus. Therapy (behavioural, medical, moral) forms the basis of a solution and is a favoured approach to correctional systems worldwide. Widening the lens, another perspective is to examine **institutions** – those services and agencies that have been set up to deal with specific society-level issues (e.g., hospitals for treating illness and injury, schools for delivering education, courts for administering justice, etc.). Ironically, these very systems that have been developed to address problems can also inadvertently contribute to

them by disadvantaging parts of the populace due to rigid business rules, under-resourcing, or even access issues for service users. Solutions at this level involve reforming institutional policies, practices, or even the foundational philosophy, such as *Hōkai Rangi*, to facilitate improved resources, training and service delivery. A third approach is to address the **system** itself – to target those spaces where structural disadvantage or oppression occur and respond to the basis of oppression. The efforts of abolitionist groups and social justice organisations would apply here as attempts to tackle harm in our prisons. A fourth way is to challenge the **discourse**, or the language we use, to tackle the way in which knowledge is formed and accumulated, and how understandings are shared. The solution at this level is to analyse and understand discourse, access under-standings and challenge the 'rules'. We've already seen

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[24] Ife, J. (2013). *Community development in an uncertain world: Vision, analysis and practice*. Melbourne, VIC: Cambridge University Press.

examples in this symposium of how people in prison are named and described: 'inmate', 'prisoner', and 'people in our care'. Each of these terms carries connotations that are shaped by historical and political baggage, imply moral standing, and facilitate meaning.

Defining 'Violence': What is the Problem Exactly?!

For our definition of 'violence', we can take guidance from Hamby's[25] commentary. She distinguishes violence from aggression by way of four criteria. Namely, that 'violence' is **non-essential** (i.e., indiscriminate or unnecessarily harsh acts that do not serve a legitimate function – bullying and standovers), **unwanted** (i.e., recognised by the recipients of harmful behaviour as being non-consenting and reluctant – compare with invasive medical procedures, contact sports), **intentional** (i.e., involves a degree of

malicious intent, so rules out accidents and self-defense), and **harmful** – (i.e., emotionally, physically, culturally). It is necessary but not sufficient as a criterion in and of itself (i.e., bruises can be inflicted and bones can be broken in a wide array of activities that are not violent).

Nga Tūmanakotanga has adopted the World Health Organisation definition, where violence is the *"intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation."*[26] This definition recognises that violence is more than physical behaviour and has a number of negative outcomes that can reflect direct injury as well as include subtle, long-range abuse.

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[25] Hamby, S. (2017). On Defining Violence, and Why It Matters. *Psychology of Violence, 7*(2), 167-180.

[26] Krug E. G., Dahlberg, L. L., Mercy, J. A., Zwi, A. B., & Lozano, R. (2002). *World report on violence and health*. Geneva: World Health Organization. (p.5).

What *Kind* of Problem is Prison Violence?

Once defined, the next task is to develop an understanding of the nature of the problem of prison violence – and not all problems are created equally. From here, the challenge is to uncover the factors, forces and influences that will help to control, reduce and prevent future violence.

Much empirical research has identified a number of factors that relate to the incidence and prevalence of violent behaviours in prison. However, these drivers are many and varied and don't all apply to every situation or context. Indeed, prisons, much like hospitals, are dynamic spaces - often unstable, sometimes volatile – not least because of the ever-changing flow of service users who move through these institutions – not to speak of the complex mental health, criminogenic, rehabilitative, social, and cultural needs that each person presents with. In this sense, single-factor and linear ways of studying and addressing violence can be inadequate if the problem is not adequately conceptualised. In considering a different understanding of the problem of violence in prisons, a number of broad issues need to be acknowledged. Firstly, the *spectrum* of behaviours that would qualify as violent range from contact behaviour such as assaults, fights, and sexual assault to non-contact behaviour such as threats and abuse. Secondly, the *scale* of violence may range from a single person who sends a threatening letter or damages their cell to a large number of participants in a riot. And thirdly, the contributing factors that facilitate prevailing conditions for violence will to some extent reflect histories (e.g., unit reputation), restrictions (e.g., whānau visits), provision of needs (e.g., living conditions, access to culture), and social dynamics (e.g., tensions in the yard) that can be located in the person's *setting*. Variations across each of these dimensions (and there are others – this is only a simplified list) can inform how

violence is perceived, the level of priority, and the actions required. Whilst routinisation of procedures is a common approach to managing challenging situations as they arise, not all elements that contribute to violence are readily apparent in the moment (e.g., external causes like problems at home or a relationship break-up) or can be hidden from assessment (e.g., a botched contraband drop), so comparisons between incidents are not easily made, nor are go-to manualised solutions always appriopriate.

Rittel and Webber's[27] seminal article on 'Tame' and 'Wicked' problems provides a typology to categorise challenging situations by whether or not they are considered to be reasonably solvable under current knowledge and practices. Put another way, the distinction between these classes of problem could be seen as a matter of certainty and uncertainty (see Table 1).

Tame problems are not necessarily simple, but can be resolved through routinised actions due to the likelihood of the situation having occured before (i.e., limited uncertainty). In a sense, tame problems are like puzzles for which there is always a (usually elegant) answer. Wherever the phrase 'standard operating procedure' can be found suggests the presence of a tame problem. In these cases, the task is to deploy an appropriate process to solve the problem. A prison example of a tame problem would be the protocol for managing contraband upon detection. *Critical problems*[28], by contrast, require immediate action not least because of the high stakes involved if a resolution is slow in coming or not at all. Time for decision-making and action is minimal and may even come down to an individual to manage. In any case, swift actions that solve the problem are the priority. In prisons, fire-setting and structural damage,

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[27] Rittel, H., & Webber, M. (1973). Dilemmas in a general theory of planning. *Policy Sciences, 4*(2)*, 155–169.

[28] Grint, K. (2014). The Hedgehog and the Fox: Leadership lessons from D-Day. *Leadership, 10*(2)*, 240-260.

Table 1

Typology of Problems and Implied Solutions (adapted from Rittel & Webber, 1973; Grint, 2014).

Problem type	Features	Broad example	Prison example	Nature of solution
Tame	Known causes and processes, predictable, routine, time to manage	Fixing a broken leg	Contraband detected on-site	Operational (rational), organise processes
Critical	Self-evident, short term, decisive action needed, minimal time for analysis	IT systems outage	Fire, structural damage	Tactical (coercive), provide answers
Wicked	Complex, messy, multiple causes, can't be *entirely* solved	Climate change, poverty, gender/ racial inequality	Violence, rioting	Strategic/ experiment, ask questions

not to mention downstream issues such as risk of burns and asphixiation by smoke, present as hazards that need to be managed quickly and decisively.

Wicked Problems, however, are complex. They cannot be disentangled from their environment, nor can they be solved without impacting on their environment. Further, there is no clearly discernible

relationship between cause and effect. Consequently, such problems are *troublesome*. For instance, trying to 'fix' poverty on the basis of a scientific approach (assuming it was a tame problem) would suggest providing everyone with all the services and resources they required based only on economic indicators and existing financial expertise. However, associated issues such as education, health, and crime demands an increasing need to intervene to facilitate economically autonomous lifestyles, but decreasing resources to fund it, so there cannot be a tame solution to address the wicked problem of poverty. It is the tension between finite resources against infinite demand that characterises the inherently contested arenas that are typical of a wicked problem.

Additionally, many of the problems that prisons deal with – overcrowding, funding gaps, staff retention, mental health of staff and prisoners,

contraband, and drug abuse – are not simply problems of incarceration, they often obscure deeply complex social problems that have relevance for different government departments and institutions, as well as the community (which may have competing interests), so attempts to treat them through a single institutional framework are unlikely to be successful.

Further, because wicked problems often have no completion point at which the problem is solved (e.g., 'there will be no more violence in prisons because we have solved it') – it is not hard to see why these problems evade being solvable. We often end up having to admit that we cannot solve wicked problems. The pressure for prison management to act decisively (e.g., during a riot) implies efforts to try to solve the problem as if it was a tame problem.

In 1993, a Ministerial Inquiry[29]

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[29] Logan, B. (1993) *Ministerial Inquiry into management practices at Mangaroa Prison arising from alleged incidents of staff misconduct*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Justice.

reported on systematic violence towards prisoners at Mangaroa Prison. The report attributed the use of illicit force applied by some of the staff as due to lack of preparation for the commissioning of the then-new prison, deficienecies in recruitment, induction, training, procedures, and supervision. The recommendations from the report to reduce the risk of further staff violence and misconduct towards prisoners emphasised alignment with the revised objectives of the Prison Service, constant vigilance and intolerance by prison management and reliable systems for monitoring behaviour and demonstrably fair procedures for managing complaints. The recommendations concentrated on conceptualising the problem at the level of the organisation, so management practices, organisation and systems as well as human resourcing issues were the primary focus. The solutions, then were similarly aimed at the level of the organisation such as emphasising ideological alignment with the then-new penal reforms and implementation of procedures (a tame response). Arguably, important elements that were not in the frame included individual (e.g., distress), social (e.g., a gang-informed perspective), or even a spatial dimension to assist with conceptualising prisoner-centric challenges. However, each of the proposed solutions (i.e., training, staff support, implementation of new systems, and shifting professional cultural values) are largely procedural, required time, and needed to be achievable within available budgets. To some extent, the category of problems is determined by where you are and what you already know.

Two points to consider here, (1) conceptualisation of the problem(s), and (2) conceptualisation of the solution(s). Problem conceptualisation is important, because misdiagnosis of a situation can result in mismanagement. That being said, there is no definitive formulation of a wicked

problem, but whatever conceptualisation one has of the problem (e.g., 'violence') will inform points of entry with which to address the issue – and obscure others. Simplistic formulations (i.e., 'violence is caused by difficult prisoners' or 'violence is caused by punitive staff members') permits simplistic solutions (e.g., deprivation of privileges for prisoners; staff discipline), none of which would address the drivers for violence at other levels of the system. In this sense, thinking about problems *ecologically* gives permission to accept and even embrace complexity as an inherent part of the problem.

Exploring Prison Ecologies
The following sections are only intended to be illustrative and are presented here to give an idea of the range of considerations needed to assess violence in sites where aggressive behaviour is problematic.

Individual Factors
A recent rapid review[30] identified a number of person-level factors that contribute to violence in prisons and included younger age (i.e., ≤ 21 years), a pre-existing record of violence in prison, a versatile history of offending – including violence, shorter sentence length, drug abuse history, gang membership, impulsive personality pattern.

Social Factors
The imposed separation of people from families, communities and the freedoms of the outside world can contribute to social deprivation due to removal from the normal mechanisms of coping with harshness of prison life, social interaction, and rumination, uncertainty, anxiety, and paranoia[31]. Furthermore, the presence of peers – especially those who pose a threat or have an

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[30] McGuire, J. (2018). *Understanding prison violence: A rapid evidence assessment* (Analytical Summary 2018). HM Prison & Probation Service, UK

[31] Wener, R. E. (2012). *The environmental psychology of prisons and jails*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

antisocial influence[32]. Context, culture, and history contribute to how violence is perceived. For instance, gang-heavy units will have codes about violence that are understood by others in those spaces.

Spatial Factors

Prisons are highly relational spaces, places where people live, often in close proximity, and amongst people who could be hazardous to your health. The environment is important. Prisons are permeable and transactional – institutional knowledge develops on the floor, spectral knowledge exists within the structure, and culture passes through the walls. In this sense, the environment is not a container – it is a *process*. Features and contours of the built environment that can exert a multiplicity of stressors that impact on resilience as well as afford opportunities for violence to occur include, time of day and day of the week (especially during reduced activities), location where there is a low presence of security, density and crowding, reduced or lack of control of privacy, noise (i.e., intermittent, unpredictable, and uncontrollable), and too little light which impacts circadian rhythms and subsequent quality of sleep (staff shifts can be affected by this)[33].

Institutional/Organisational Factors

Organisational variables that have a known relationship with violence in prisons includes[34] little or no supervision OR too much supervision (facilitating instrumental violence in the former and explosive aggression in the latter), high security level, poor prison management (i.e., a coercive management style), poor staffing levels, inadequate staff training, punitive staff attitudes, oppressive culture and climate, lack of

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[32] Farrington, D. (2012). Contextual influences on violence. In J. A. Dvoskin, J. L. Skeem, R. W. Novaco, & K. S. Douglas (Eds.), *Using social science to reduce violent offending* (pp.53-82). New York: Oxford University Press.

[33] Wener (2012).

[34] Gadon, L., Johnstone, L., & Cooke, D. (2006). Situational variables and institutional violence: A systematic review of the literature. *Clinical Psychology Review, 26,* 515-534.

workplace support and/or employee assistance, and complaints procedure (i.e., non-existant or ineffective). In this sense, *Hōkai Rangi* can be seen as an organisational-level intervention to redirect the risk-centric approach of correctional practices to one of healing.

Societal Factors

Echoing what Neil Campbell[35] mentioned earlier, prison administration and the people who live and work in prison are influenced by what's going on in the world. This includes social attitudes and tolerances to violence in the home and community (including the drug economy, socioeconomic challenges, multi-stressed families, disorder, and historical issues such as colonization) as well as responses to these in the form of legislation, law enforcement, social mobilisation, iwi and community support, and social policy.

An Ecological Perspective of Prison Violence

An ecological perspective recognises connectedness. So, wicked problems can be considered to be a symptom of another problem. Further, an intended solution can pose additional problems. For example, a blanket response (e.g., prolonged lockdown, removal of recreational resources) can control disruptive and dangerous behaviour in the short-term, but also reduce the general quality of life in the longer-term, not to mention punishing those who were not involved in the offending incident.

Drawing this all together, I will use a popcorn metaphor[36] where the pan represents the institution itself, the oil denotes organisational policies and institutional procedures, the heat applied to the pan reflects pressures (external) and stressors (internal) as they apply to staff and prisoners,

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[35] See chapter (Campbell), this volume.

[36] I thank Prof. David Cooke for introducing this to me. The actual reference is: Folger, R., & Skarlicki, D. P. (1998). A popcorn metaphor for employee aggression. In R. W. Griffin, A. O'Leary-Kelly, & J. M. Collins (Eds.), *Dysfunctional behavior in organizations: Violent and deviant behavior* (pp. 43–81). Stamford, CT: JAI Press.

and the kernels symbolize the staff and prisoners themselves. For anyone who has made popcorn in this way will know that the kernels do not 'pop' simultaneously – some pop early and others not at all, so the time it takes to 'pop' can reflect individual resiliency as well as susceptibility to stress or situational factors that contribute to aggression. In this way, violence is seen as a 'product' of an interaction of elements, rather than the sole preserve of prisoners, staff or even the prison itself. It also recognises that drivers to prison violence are many and varied – our ecological approach takes a different stance than the dichotomous importation/deprivation scheme – and means that no criteria exist to prove that all solutions have been identified and considered. For instance, the impact of changes to the law – a societal layer of the ecosystem – are not necessarily featured in formulations of violence, but can exert

unintended consequences. Recently, one of our research interviewees[37] shared their view that changes to the law (societal/organisational factor) mean that release on bail is harder to achieve, so now lots of men are in prison on remand for relatively 'small' offences that would typically warrant short sentences. The high volume of remandees is symptomatic of an increased back-log in the courts (institutional factor), remandees spend long periods in remand units that are designed for short stays (environmental factor) with other prisoners who present with a mix of risk issues (social factor), and many remandees (on advice from their legal counsel) opt for a guilty plea because they get processed faster and spend a shorter amount of time in custody than if they held fast (organisational factor). Consequently, many of these individuals who plead guilty – especially if unnecessary – now have a 'strike' on their record,

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[37] Due to confidentiality reasons, I cannot identify the source personally, but I am grateful to this gentleman's insights and elegant korero that joined a number of ecological dots together for us and consequently elevated our thinking.

so trust and confidence in the law and the system is impaired, and they see themselves as disempowered throughout their experiences in the system (individual factor), which increases anger/stress and impaired coping, etc. To adequately address violence and aggression in this context – as well as prodromal issues such as tension in the yard – would require a number of interventions. An ecological approach, as articulated by this prisoner, yielded a number of potential points of entry.

What's Happening in these Ecologies?
Let's look at a couple more examples where an ecological perspective can assist…

Identifying System Constraints
In some prisons, gang activity that promotes territory/power, recruitment (especially vulnerable young prisoners who are otherwise unsupp-orted and powerless), and intimidation can result in

assaults. The presence and activities of gangs (social factor) coupled with a lack of a clear co-ordinated strategy to mitigate recruitment, drug/contraband loops, and conflict (system factor) can amount to an uneven response. Figure 2 depicts (albeit in a simplified way) predictable pathways and decision points. Using cell-allocation (organis-ation/spatial factor) as an entry point, basic strategies[38] can involve separation of prisoners by gang or pepper-potting throughout the unit. However, remand units – which are particularly problematic sites – often operate on a 'hospital bed' model (institutional/ spatial factor), so have to perform rough assessments (organisational factor) of prisoner risk to minimise violence when the vulnerable are forced to cohabitate amongst the predatory (social factor). A full appraisal of allocation practices can have multiple outcomes and may not be appreciably known because

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[38] Assuming, of course, that custodial staff have the capacity to implement these.

Figure 2

Hypothetical Relationship Between Cell Allocation Strategy and Gang Tension
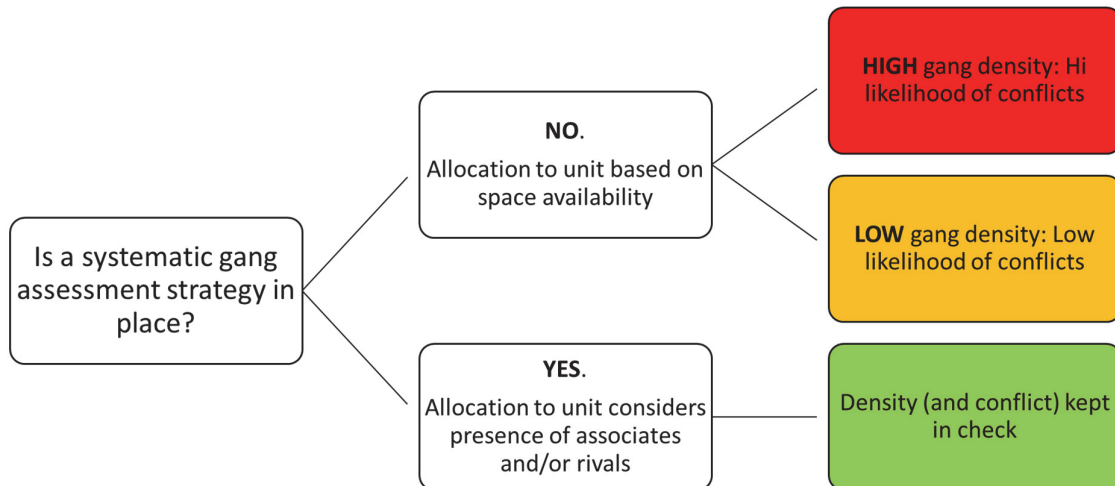
of the high throughput in those sites. Regarding interventions, to date, there is no systematic approach to assessing gang membership/affiliation in New Zealand other than self-report or conspicuous signifiers (e.g., tattoos, etc.). Indeed, there is no formal theory of gang violence in prisons, as such the development of gang-informed interventions in prisons has been a less-than-exact science, and until clearer thinking on the role of gangs in prison violence (and reductions thereof) emerges, prisoner management practices will be necessarily parochial, relying

almost solely on the experience of staff.

While efficacious approaches to managing prisoners where gang membership is a risk factor for violence in a way that promotes rehabilitation have still to be convincingly developed and evaluated, tracking prisoner movements can allow for measures of density of gang members in specific locations and time while being able to relate this to incidents of violence. The integration of heat maps may offer greater scope for strategizing prisoner allocation, especially during periods when density of

problematic gang members is highly concentrated. Developing a research capacity to assess this aspect of prisoner activity would offer longer-term benefits as the complexities of the relationship between gang characteristics and institutional violence is more fully explored. The more that is known about these relationships, how they transpire, and also what is happening when they *don't* transpire would greatly inform gang management in prisons – especially where there is high levels of movement, and hence greater opportunity for recruitment and assaults.

Identifying Points of Entry

Low staff numbers coupled with a high rate of absenteeism adds extra work onto staff that may increase stress and compromise their ability to attend to prisoners who may exert escalating demands (see Figure 3). A further consequence is that decreased unlocks may further aggravate prisoner tensions (individual/ social factor) through fewer opportunities to obtain exercise and fresh air, etc. (spatial factor).

Figure 3
Impact of Staff Absenteeism on Site Tension in a High-Throughput Unit
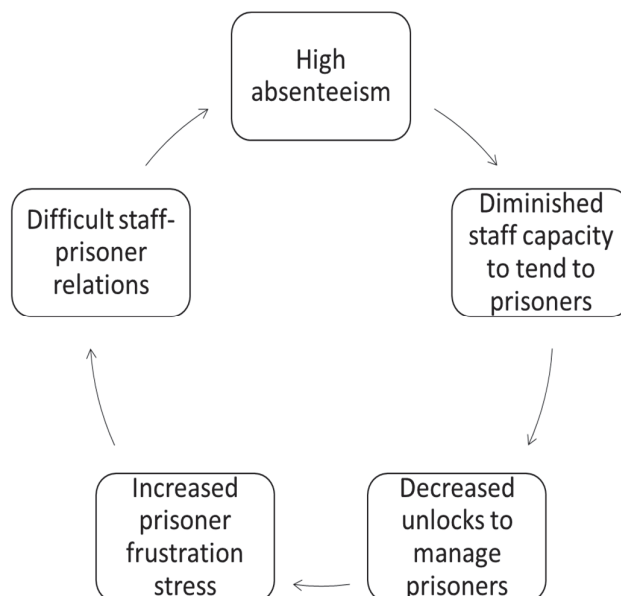
The reasons for staff absentee-ism will not typically be disclosed to prisoners (organisational factor), let alone other staff (social factor), and the lack of information may add to prisoner distress, especially for those who do not typically trust figures in authority (individual factor).

On the face of it, a 'perfect world' solution would involve hiring more staff. Having more people on the ground can make staff feel more comfortable, confident, and supported in their work. However, hiring of adequate numbers of staff, especially in risky locations, may be cost-prohibitive and unsustainable. A short-term solution? In this instance, staff report an apparent lack of consequences for repeat absentees, suggesting that there is an inconsistent response on handling this issue. One reason for this could be due to managers seeing this behaviour as less-than-desirable due to the increased strain on others, but also may be seen as preferable to recruiting and training new

staff – all of which costs time and money. In any case, increased centralised monitoring of this behaviour and firm consistent outcomes for those who may be either chronically unwell, exploiting the system, or otherwise feel disenfranchised and unsupported in their role. Each motivation 'pathway' requires a differential response. A second point of entry is for manage-ment to revise their actual policy on absenteeism, especially if there is a discernible pattern amongst some staff, and deploy human resources to monitor and determine the causes. In some instances, the causes may be related to stress and can involve a host of issues from work-life imbalance, poor emotional boundaries where residual negative emotions 'spill over' into the work place, or a prolonged experience of feeling under-supported (even bullied) in the workplace and having little recourse other than to avoid a situation that has become aversive. On the other hand, the reasons may be culturally-informed and/or

innocuous in themselves. For instance, the roster may clash for some staff who may have community commitments or religious observances to tend to despite being rostered on. In any case, addressing staff support in the first instance would be one strategy (at an organisational level) to set good foundations for reducing job dissatisfaction and needless absenteeism.

Closing Thoughts

To wrap-up, here are two thoughts for consumption. Firstly, prisons are *complex* – prisons are places of physical, emotional, lateral, structural, and cultural violence. Each of these kinds of violence reflects the varying challenges and demands that exist – often in high intensity – in prison spaces. To understand prison violence, conceptualising the problem appropriately and adequately, beyond single suspect variables, provides opportunities to consider a wider spectrum of drivers that contribute to violence and disorder. Secondly, prisons are *ecologies*. In this sense, an all-encompasing, albeit permeable, environment that shapes – and is shaped by – ongoing transactions between those spaces as well as those who work and reside within them. An understanding of prison violence means confronting complexity. Complexity reflects the real world on it's own terms.

BAY OF PLENTY GANG HARM REDUCTION MODEL

EDWARD 'TIMO' GARDINER, KARL GOLDSBURY
&
COLIN 'BALDY' KIRIONA

The occurrence of violence in prisons can have wider implications than the behaviour of the individuals directly involved and can reflect origins and reverberations in the wider community. This is especially true when gang whānau are involved. The experiences, insights, and priorities of these communities are important to understand some of the contextual drivers for violence and victimization in prison spaces, and ultimately inform ways to reduce harm. However, these communities are not readily-understood, easily-accessed, or even invited in discussions that impact on the issues that affect their members. In recent years, the NZ Police have piloted a gang harm reduction initiative across the Bay of Plenty where a small team of Police have been working closely with leaders and senior members of prominent gang communities in the region, some of whom have previously been incarcerated for serious violence. In this panel discussion, Timo, Baldy and Karl will share a gang-informed view about the importance of understanding the gang community in reducing harm in prisons.

Please note that much of the language here is raw, but it's real.

Timo on *Te Tuinga Whānau* and what it means for Police to engage with gangs
Firstly, thanks for having us here to speak at your symposium today. From me, I'll just talk a little bit about the Police, and the mahi that we're doing there with the gang harm reduction team just briefly. Then after that, I'll pass it over to the boys here to talk about their experiences going into the prison system, and also some

of the mahi they're doing now with Te Tuinga Whānau and how we're collaborating together with my team in the Police to make that work.

From a Police perspective, we've policed gangs very tough and hard over the last 60-70-odd years, and we're getting to the point now where we need to start taking a bit of a different approach, so that's how the gang harm reduction team was created.

Our team basically works exclusively in a prevention and positive engagement space with our gang members and their whānau as opposed to an intel-gathering and enforce-ment space, which is obviously a new concept to the Police and something that we're trying to navigate our way through now to make it work, and I'll briefly touch on that sort of stuff in a minute.

The purpose of our team is to build trust and confidence in our communities and our gang members and their whānau and families in our communities, so that includes them as well. We can't put them in that category as in 'they're not part of our community', because they are, and if we continue to marginalise gangs and their families, then we're going to get blowback. That's where we're trying to create that positive engagement, which is what we're doing there.

Another part of what we do is we obviously aim to create better outcomes for gang members, so through positive communication and engage-ment, cooperation with gang members and support services and other government agencies as well to influence that positive change within the gangs. As you can see, we've got the two boys here who we work alongside of as part of our *champions*. That's what we call them, we call them a 'champion' in their respective rōpu – or their gang – and they're the guys we've been working with to try to help create some of that positive change – within the Mongrel

Mob especially – which is rōpu they represent.

Why are we doing what we're doing with the Police? Like I said, since gangs have been around, the smashing-the-gangs approach hasn't exactly worked. Gangs have been around for a long time, and they'll continue to be around for the next 60-70 years and longer than that, so instead of pushing them into a corner, we need to start working with them a bit better and creating more positive engagement in that space, and in turn while doing that, we can help reduce harm associated with that. That's part of what we're doing, and obviously in the Police, we have targeted enforcement, we've got all the enforcement in the world, all the intel-gathering in the world in the Police, but we've never really had anything on the prevention side. That's exactly what my team is doing in the Police now, we're going to that prevention and relationship building side. I'll talk a little bit about what we're trying to do in that space, and supporting

intergenerational change, which a couple of the boys here will talk about a little bit as well.

As you all know, to get any-where in life, no matter what agency you're with, you need to get to the influential people or the people who can make things happen in their respect-ive rōpu or their group, agency, whatever that may be. With these guys, they're obviously influential in their area and their rōpu, so with their help, we might be able to help change some perceptions, help get them access to certain services, et cetera, like driver's licensing for example, or work or anything like that. Because we are working with these guys, it's a bit easier to engage with the other members as well, so that's part of the stuff that we're doing. How well are we doing it? It's all down to that positive engagement. For example, back in the Tauranga police station for instance, if a gang member is arrested and held in custody overnight, when they get in the next morning, I look at who's all in

the system, the gang members that are inside our cells, I'll go in there and I will actually engage with them. Now, they might think that I'm going there to try to get them to speak about why they're there or get intel off them or things like that, because at the end of day, I'm a Police officer, but that's not my role. My role is to actually go in there and go "Look, hey bro, I can't help you with what you're here for at the moment, but I have some things in place that might be able to help you when you get bailed or if you end up going to prison, when you come out, et cetera, et cetera." These guys play a big role in that, as well as being able to engage with those guys when they do get out, so that's one of the things we do.

Another thing that we do is we hold gang hui, and Armon might be able to touch on that a little bit later because he's actually been to one and seen it first-hand. Basically, it's just a platform for us to get all our gang leaders together, but especially with our ethnic gangs, with our Black Power,

Mongrel Mob, and the Greasy Dogs here in Tauranga, and obviously all the chapters associated with those respective rōpu, we get them along. It's a platform for us to be able to link them firstly to each other. As you know, rival gangs and such like that, just getting them to the table, and then they can actually mitigate any tension, but the main kaupapa is actually to get them linked to the leaders, linked to support services around the Bay of Plenty, especially around licensing, mental health, anything you can think of that the boys or the gangs want to talk about, COVID vaccinations, all that sort of stuff. We get experts in those particular fields to come and actually speak to the gang leaders, and just not try to talk them into doing something they don't want to do, but just give them the information to make their own informed decisions around things, and know that with our police support, we can actually link them with those services, without the fear of not being wanted, if I can put it that way.

At the moment, there's only three of us in the country and we're all in the Bay of Plenty. It's a new concept, and to an extent, we're a bit hopeful for more of these roles to come out across the country, because they're definitely needed, we definitely need that more positive prevention and engagement with our gang members and their families all over the country, not just in the Bay. We really want to make this work so that we can branch out later on.

We've got Baldy and Karl here – I won't steal any of their thunder – but I'll get them to just have a quick korero about their experiences. Obviously, with the kaupapa today being surrounded around prison violence, they can talk about some of their experience in prison, and then also some of the stuff that they're doing now working with Te Tuinga Whānau.

Karl on adjusting to prison life and what it means to be a gang member in prison
Tēnā koutou. Yeah, just like the bro's saying, so I've been an active Mongrel Mob member out here at Maketu for over 20 years anyway – still am to this day. Like the bro said, we both work with Te Tuinga Whānau, so I'm one of the managers there now, we've got like 140 staff. I'm still on parole, I'm on parole until 2024.

I've been watching some of the things here about jail… Sorry too, whānau, but we swear a little bit, so it's no disrespect to anyone listening, it's not angled at anyone or anything in particular, it's just fuck it, that's just how it is.

Like I say, I come from a really good background, but I'm an only child and all that, but I still managed to end up in the shit for no other reason than because I wanted to be and I chose to be. Out of the last 21 years, I probably spent probably 13-14 of those in jail, so I've been to jail quite a few times. The last time, I got 11

and a half years, so most of my jail things are around meth, my last one was for cooking meth and all that. I've been to jail for firearms, a little bit of violence and that, but if yous want to know a little bit about jail… fucking jail is shit, really.

The violence, all the things I was looking at before that were coming up on the screen, every day is different in there, especially if you're a gang member. Depending on your mood is depending on how that day will go, and depends, like I saw some things up there about arguing over the phone, arguing over this. That's right, fuck, if you have a bad conversation with your missus in the morning, well fucking someone's going to get it. That's just how it is, it's a pecking order in jail. If you're with a gang or if you're whatnot, and there's more of that gang in that little yard of 20 or 30 of yous, you can pretty much do what you like. They used to separate the gangs up a little bit, our bros, just depending on your history and who you are, some of the bros, like

some Mob members can go into a yard full of fucking heaps of Black Power members and they'll be all right because they've just got their track record of it, and vice-versa.

Karl on disruptions and frustrations in prison
I think at the start of jail, when you first go, because everyone's coming down off fucking drugs and doing all that sort of stuff, so everyone's a little bit unsure. When you've got court dates coming up or they're fucking moving you away from your family and all that sort of shit, that's the stuff that fucks with you, and so you end up in a strange place. If you like your visits with your wife and your kids, next thing they're moving you to fucking Auckland, if you're in Waikeria and your family can't get up there, that fucks with you, and for no real reason other than to do exactly that. That's bullshit, so you get moved around a lot when you're on remand, awaiting sentences or all that sort of stuff. That's the bit in prison that really mucks with you, and I saw some stuff up there

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before about the staff and if the staff are wankers, fuck it really turns to shit.

It's the little things that matter in there, like if a prison officer says, "Oh yeah, bro, I'll give you a phone call in five minutes," for example, and you'll wait right to the fifth minute and then you'll start kicking doors or you'll start playing up. They don't realise that's a really big thing, because it's what you've got to look forward to, especially if you've got no TV or if you've got nothing and you're stressing out. A lot of the bros in there think that their missus is out there fucking around and things, so they sit there and all they want to do is ring their missus to see if she answers, or a fella answers and, "Who the fuck's that in the background? What the fuck's that noise?" All that sort of shit. So, you've got all that sort of thing, and especially if you've been a rat bag yourself, if you've been a piece of shit and been doing that to your missus the whole time and you get locked up, you instantly think, "Fuck, Mumsie's going to be doing the

same as what I was doing…", so all that sort of shit. Through all my fucking jail things, I was always good at getting drugs and things so I always had drugs, I always had fucking this and that, so I would always be that guy, I suppose. All my lags, I was well looked after. My biggest thing was meds, so fucking you've got a phone, you get whatever you like in there. This was way back, this is like in the early 2000s, when it was really...you know it's not so bad these days. Back then, fucking you'd get whatever you liked in jail, didn't need crooked prison officers or anything like that. You just had a phone, you could fucking do it, people will just show up and throw things over the fence and all that sort of stuff. I saw some things in the yards and that area.

When you're in jail, it's a real mind thing there, if you've got a strong mind … The other thing too is that, fuck, if you deserve to be there, well you fucking deserve to be there, and you just fucking suck it up and you just put it in your mind, "Fuck, I'm here for this long or

that long," or whenever it is, so then you do what you have to do and whatnot.

Karl on the challenges of change

My first few times in jail, I didn't give a fuck, I really couldn't care less what happened. I had drugs, phones, doing whatever I could, and I had to do my whole length of my whole sentences each and every time. It wasn't 'til I decided to change, which was on the last one when I got 11 and a half years. I ended up getting out after five and a half because, for once, I fucking behaved myself. I wanted to change, and I was in a good place which was in a Māori Focus Unit[39], which took me back to whakapapa and learning who I was and who I am and who I should be, and my parents, my tupuna and all that. Fuck, that really woke me up, and I just decided to change my life from then. It comes back down to, like I said, to the staff in that unit. Fuck, they

were amazing, call you by your first name. They were Māori's too, so you know everything was in there was a process of Tikanga and Kawa and that, so it was done properly, and it was just beautiful because you could feel it. It wasn't just fucking shit talk from people that don't understand you, it was all in Tikanga. That's what really changes a person, because if you don't give a fuck about yourself, why should anyone else? If people can see you start caring for yourself, then they'll start caring too, and if you're genuine, you've got to want to make change. Otherwise, fuck, you're not even worth helping, why would anyone? I wouldn't fucking help someone that didn't show me anything. Why, what's the point? When you're a fried piece of shit, I guess like I was for 20-odd years, you just expect it and you just think, "Fuck these bastards, they can just get fucked, that's their job." That's this kind of attitude we have, "Fuck, who the fuck

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[39] Now known as Te Tirohanga units, the first (of five) Māori Focus Units was established in the late 1990s and reflected a pioneering approach of managing a prison unit according to kaupapa Māori philosophy. For more info, refer to Campbell, N. (2018). A brief history of Te Tirohanga units. *Practice, 6*(1)*, 62-64. Available at www.corrections.govt.nz.

are they? They get paid for this shit." That's the mindset you have when you're a fucking idiot, I suppose, or when you're whatever you want to call that. I call myself a fucking idiot, just blinded by drugs, entitlement issues, all that sort of shit. It's just whatever you want to call that, different stages in your life, it's just you go through the money thing, the drug thing, the being cool thing, thinking it's cool, all that shit. Fuck, it's not, it's shit...

Karl on relating with the police
Fuck, I used to hate pigs – Police, sorry [*got the bro here, you know*] – and we're sitting in my house right now too! This is the bros and me, like the third time they've come to my house and we haven't been arrested. His boss and their big boss, they've all been to my house. It's funny having police cars come down my driveway to visit me now and they're the bros, you actually call them bros, and before it was balaclavas and fucking guns and leaving in a police car, but all

good now. That's where the first cop that ever wanted to help me came, but I'd been writing to the police. I wrote to the fulla that arrested me from prison to say I wanted to change and all this, and sent them all these things to show him that I had changed and whatnot. Then he sent in Phil Taikato[40], he's a big, high-up policeman in Rotorua, the area commander, police inspector, and he sent me Timo's boss, Damo[41]. He came and visited me in jail, which fuck, I didn't like that, but... Phil had come to meet me in jail a couple of times, and then fuck, when he asked me if there was anything he could do to help me get out of prison and that he would support me, fuck, I fell off the seat. I thought he was full of shit, why the fuck would you help me? I'm not only a gang member, I'm a fucking drug dealer, a meth cook, all these things. Fuck, I've never seen someone in their eyes be so genuine, and then he came to a probation hui and set out all these things and actually

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[40] Inspector Phillip Taikato – Manager, NZ Police.
[41] Sgt Damian 'Damo' White – Police gang harm reduction co-ordinator.

started sticking up for me. Fuck, it was out of it, and then I got my first parole because of my behaviour and all that stuff in jail just because of what I did. I was walking the talk, and I had the most beautiful support network when I got out, which was the police, probation, my mahi, Te Tuinga Whānau, which I walked straight into, all these things.

I wanted to work with youth. It's not until when you change, you realise all the fucking shit that you've and all the people that you've affected. I never thought for one minute all the communities I fucking ruined with all the drugs that I've put out on the streets, I didn't give a flying fuck. It wasn't until I started doing my courses on this last time, and it hit me in the face, "Fuck," and I just thought, "You piece of shit," because you could never, ever take that back. Sorry is full of shit, you can't be fucking sorry because I did it, but how do I make up for that? That's all I can do, and that's part of what drives me now, is that I can't be fucking saying sorry, because I

wasn't sorry at the time. I did that, and I did it for a reason, so I'm not sorry. I'm sort of sorry that it happened like that, but I can't be sorry for what I did because I've done it, but it's embarrassing and it's fucking shit, but hey, it is what it is and I'm making up for it now. All you do is you just do good things, and then hopefully it should equal out by the time I fucking leave this place.

Damo came along with this gang harm reduction thing then, and it was like, "Fucking, out of it." Then I went back to jail with Damian to go and talk to another gang member, to come and help. Then I was thinking, "Fuck, when I went there with the bro, I had to go in his police car", and fuck, that was real. Fuck, I was sweating. I was shaking, I was, "What the fuck is this?" I didn't want to be seen with him, but then on our way over, the korero, he was such a good bugger, when I got there, it would've been real rude of me to fucking not go in with him. Pretty much from then, this is going back two and a half years, I called him 'bro' or

'brother' when we text each other, and my wife doesn't even know I'm talking to a cop. She's, "Who the fuck's this?" she thinks it's one of my gang member bros, like, "Who the fuck is the 'bro'?" She goes, "Fuck, he's a cop." I don't give a fuck, I don't see it like that. The way I see it is, the bro is whānau to me because what he gives and what he brings to the table is what I take, so we're the same at the end of the day. He has his limits, I have mine, I can't tell on myself with him because I'm only just doing what I do because I've got nothing to hide anymore, so it's a bit different. It's fucking strange, to be honest, being a bro, we're being called fucking statement dogs and fucking all sorts of shit from some of our bro too, but our rangitira, he's a champion. He fully supports this, and he's known me since I was a boy, so there's no trust issues there. There's nothing to hide, and then it's for the right reason because it's for our people and it's for our whānau.

Karl on gang members helping gang members
Who better than to help? We will only listen to us – all our bros in jail, all our Mongrel Mob whānau, even all our Blacks, we've got bros in all different gangs since we've done that much jail. We go to Tokoroa and have lunch with some Black Power members, we go there and all that, so we've made connections since we've been in there because that's what putting us in jail does. Fuck I've never made such good connections to do fucking drugs and whatnot with all my lags, that's how I made all my fucking connections. Stupid, because we all go to the same areas to do courses from all different places in New Zealand, all different gangs, and when you spend that much time together, you become fucking bros, closer than your own bros in your chapter. Fuck, when you get out, you just do the meanest deals ever, and because you know each other and you trust each other from jail, fuck, it's all sweet.

I've worked with Damo a few times, and now we can go in all the time. We go and see influential Mongrel Mob members, because we want to use them back out in the community to help their members with ours. How we do that is, because like I was out of jail one year nearly to the day, and I was lucky enough that my mum helped me to buy a house. One year out of jail, I was paying my first mortgage, I've got a couple of houses and all that. My thing is, that if someone like me a person that's been through what I've been through, still an active gang member, all these things, bad history, still on fucking parole, if I can get out and get a mean-arse job and now I've become a manager, like I said, in the last year, I can legit buy a house, pay off a house, I can legit own a truck, I can legit own a Harley-Davidson that are in my names – first time in my whole fucking life I've had vehicles in my names.

All I do is save (money). I don't drink, I don't take drugs, I don't do anything, so all I do is just work, save, and spend time with my kids, and then fucking heaps of time with cops and our mahi, which it makes me happy. It's out of it, because we had a thing the other week where me and the bro had to go to Rotorua at fucking two in the morning to give some Black Power patches back, to get some Mongrel Mob patches in. Fuck, our backup was the bro Timo's boss, at fucking three in the morning, it was just me involved here in the middle of the Black Power area, and there was like 30 of them half-pissed. We showed up, and it was the bro that had our back over and fucking out of it, we didn't even know until when we left and he rang us and told us, "Oh, I could hear yous talking." He was curled up in his fucking gears and his gun and all sorts, fuck, they fucking freaked us right out.

Karl on community-building
It's like those are the relation-ships you can make all from being just tika and pono, all from walking the walk and all for the kaupapa. Fuck, you can do anything together. So it's

like I can ring up the prisons now, or two anyway to try and help people in there. They'll ring us back, they ring us and ask for help – me and the bro – they just let us go in and have talks, because we know because we used to do it. We used to fucking talk shit when someone was there, and as soon you see someone that can help, that's your ticket out of there, "Fuck, I want that." The thing with us is that we can see right through it, so we tell them that. "Well, what's this?" we asked to see whānau's, we want to see whānau's, we want to see this, don't just fucking tell us, "Sorry, my bros," but we know you're fucking full of shit, because we've been doing the same thing.

It's like we've built this thing up over the last two and a half years, me and Bald's in the community where we're working, but it's real important. It's ratshit, because especially a lot of the bros' work colleagues – not a lot, but quite a few of them still – you can see it, they hold grudges, they're just looking at us and you can just

tell. I was telling them briefly, we still see cops, cops still pull us up just for the sake of it, and that's alright. Before, we would've told them straight to fuck off, but now we just, "Afternoon, officer, how can we help?" Then when they're doing their shit, I just smile at them and go, "Oh yeah, you're still a dickhead" Then, "Sweet, here's my license, you want to play this game?" but we always ring Damian. Bro you're mates, we're always telling them, because we don't do anything wrong. It's just like, fuck, we even offer? "Do you want to check the car, bro?" "Oh no, what are you getting defensive for?" All that shit, but that's our fault for earlier on in life, our choices and who we are, it comes up, who we are, what we're doing. Fair enough that we might be that on the computer, but fuck yeah, you can still treat us like humans, like what the bro's saying, still treat us like that. Because no matter what, we've been brought up by our elders and we're always respectful, so we'll always use our manners. We'll always treat people how

they treat us, I don't care who it is, even cops, that's sweet.

Karl on motivation for change
Back to the prison thing, it's fucking shit, and relationships, open and honest communication, it's the best remedy for anything. You can't change someone until they want to change, you can't force anyone to do anything they don't want to do that's good, that's bad, that it's whatever aye, it is what it is. You can only get us when we are ready to change, because if we're not, we'll just fucking manipulate you, bullshit you, trick you, fucking tell you what you want to hear, all of that sort of shit like what was getting talked about before. There's lots of things we could talk about, but I'm really, really happy with my life at the moment, I'm really, really happy in our mahi.

Me and the bro, we just bought a big as building, our organisation over in The Strand in Tauranga, just right down the road from the police station, just straight down, it's within a stone's throw, and that's going to be a youth hub for helping youth that have lost their way a little bit. We've just been over there today, we are the project managers for that, so we are doing all that. We've got a three-year lease at a gym straight across the road, we're putting a big kai hub down there so we can just grab all the youth in Tauranga and start working with them to help them just make better choices. Because one thing you'll never do, like Timo said, you will never, ever close down gangs, you'll never, ever steer people out of gangs unless they really want to. What we can do is make our bros better gang members, which are whānau members, we can make them a better quality of person so that they aren't fucking miserable and what society think a lot of us are.

Don't get me wrong, a lot of our bros are fucking terrible, and hopefully some of them don't get out of jail because you don't really want them out around your fucking families and whatnot. What's really helped me is that people have

given me chances, it's probation, it's mahi, like we've got some of the richest people in Tauranga, and like I said, we're just, "Fuck, do they want to talk to *us*?" It's real out of it, we get real anxious, people just want to talk to us, and fuck, I don't know if they've just never heard anything like it or they just expect us to be something else, they didn't think that gang members say 'please', 'thank you', show up with kai, help them do firewood, lift things, move things for them. It's like we've been put over in a category, and when they see us, they're, "Fuck," and they can't believe it, it's fucking out of it.

Karl's summing-up
I'll let the bro have a yarn now, just thank you for listening. If there's any advice, it's just always be open, always be honest, and you might not always understand what we have to say, but you don't have to. At the end of the day, you don't have to understand it, you've just got to take it for what it is. It is what it is, and that's really all I can say – and

just don't judge. Because no matter who you are or what you are or what you might think you are, none of us are perfect, we've all done things wrong. You might not have been caught for it, some of us have been, some of us haven't been, all those sort of things, you can't judge anyone because you've got to first look at yourself and judge yourself. I don't know anyone that's fucking perfect, but thank you very much for listening, and I wish yous all well on whatever yous are doing. Take care, thank you very much, kia ora koutou.

Baldy on what prison violence means to a gang member and the role of reputation and gang identity in prison
Kia ora koutou, Baldy's the name. Sometimes we go to these talks and that, and sometimes the topics don't really fucking connect with me even, but prison violence... I'm an *addict* of violence. Been an addict of violence my whole life. It's the only way I could cut my teeth and fit in to where I was going.

I'm a third-generation Mongrel Mob member, so my grandfather was a Mongrel Mob member, my dad's a founding member of Whanganui Mongrel Mob, my brothers are Mongrel Mob members, and my sisters married gang members. Our Sunday dinner, it was hardcore growing up, but I just ended up being a product of my environment, we didn't have any other choice what we wanted to be. That was the goal for our father when I was growing up, my old man got life (imprisonment), and we used to live off the accolades of the violence he used to do in jail on the outside. No matter where he was, we used to hear other people on the outside tell stories about how violent and vicious our dad was, so we had nothing else to look up to apart from the myth of my old man being Superman, when all along he was full of shit. He was Clark Kent, just a fucking Peter Pan that wouldn't grow up.

As for us, I was 16 when I started violent offending. There was nothing really around for youth, so I suppose they wanted to teach me a lesson for the first time and threw me into jail – 17, going into Waikeria Prison, the top jail, and that was a fair jail. I walked in there, introduced myself as a Mongrel Mob supporter the first day, and got smashed over. Why? Because there's a pecking order aye, it's a pecking order straight away. If you're Mob-affiliated, first thing you have to do is you have to train every day with the other supporters, the prospects, you've got to be fit, you need to be sharp, you have to be ready to stab upon command, you've got to have the lunches prepped. You go last in the showers, all of this carry on, so there's a pecking order and you've got to go through that process for a couple of years, no matter if you're a 'hierarchy son' or what. Jail has its own rules, and violence is just a part of it, so you've got to do you, you are on borrowed time in there.

All you're doing is training for the system in New Zealand that sits you on remand, so if I'd been to court today, they'd give me a fucking remand date for

July next year just for an assault and that, so you end up doing more time on remand, but it's shit because there's no programs, nothing for us to do in there while we're doing that time, apart from train.

The remand system in New Zealand is fucked. You're transferring us from Waikeria Prison to Spring Hill to Mount Eden. We were part of all those fights on those videos that you've seen earlier. I was part of that, that was fucking hardcore. It was different, all those ABC gangs up in Auckland. When you get transferred from Waikeria Prison, everyone had a bone in their arse about Waikeria Prison because that was a hardcore fucking jail. That top jail that got burned down, we bummed out at all those 501's, because that's where we would fucking cut our teeth, and that's where heaps of us fucking grew up. That was like home to heaps of us. We didn't have anywhere else. Every time we got out of jail, we wanted to go back, that was fucking home.

All those things, like I was saying to the bro earlier, I remember walking into Mount Eden, tattooed face, had a box of gears[42] with me, walked in, I had this big Tongan boy just walk up to me and say, "Cell three." You've got 50 other inmates on the top landings and shit like that, depending on your answer you give back is depending how the rest of your lag is going to be. It's all about standing on your own two feet, so you have a lot of people walking in there, as soon as someone says, "Oh, that's us, one outs[43]" people go, "Oh, what's that for cuz?" Straight away you're shit to the whole unit, you'll be picked on, you're shit. Best thing to do, fuck it, sweet, put your gears down, walk over to cell three, punch it out, win or lose, you come out. That's just the way New Zealand fucking jail is. As we're trying to help out stopping it, remand is fucking absolute shit because you don't have no set

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[42] Kiwi slang: Personal possessions (e.g., clothing).
[43] Prison slang: To fight, hand-to-hand, one-on-one.

time of when you're getting out, you've got no hope. Heaps of the bros that actually commit their crimes against their partners straight away are blocked from communicating with them, and that's for good reason. But you know there's some things that can be sorted out to get a calmer inmate in there, if there was able to be a mediation. I understand that the police have got to do their job, but there's other people that can help you communicate with family members while you're on remand to create a calmer inmate, so to speak.

If you're well-known in the jail system, you get in there, you get a smooth run. Just like when I was young, these other young bros that have got to come in, they've got to cut their teeth, they ain't got to get it down. It's entertaining, not in a smart way, but to the bros in there that have their own fucking sickness and shit like that, it's entertaining to them, and it's fucking rat shit. I was always in that mind state of being that 17-year-old that used to get his fucking face smashed in at everyone else's expense. Fuck, it used to cut me up, fucking to the point where the more violent things you do, the more beef that comes to you the first five years of it. The second five years, people are learning to leave you alone, and the only way I could get fucking left alone is the violence had to get more and more extreme. Then you get a different calibre of man that will fuck with you, 'til you get to a point where it's all murderers and shit like that. Sometimes you have to do what you have to do to survive in that place, its fucking shit.

I didn't go to jail with no facial tattoos, no nothing, straight up, all these are done with fucking pen springs and burnt plastic all in the jail system, all institution-alised, and it was all just jail violence. See, I've been out two years now, and I have fucking problems adapting with bullshit situations. Fuck, it's hard. Straight up it's the biggest addiction I've had to beat… it's bigger than P. For me, I lose sleep over it, all because I think if I had got some kind of help in

the remand system going through, even having someone to talk to ... Everyone's got a story to tell, but fuck, there's some people on the mental side of things, fuck, I over-analyse everything, I think too much, I think about the worst case situation that's not even fucking happening, but it's overplaying in my fucking head 100 different fucking ways, and I can't calm myself down and there's no fucking drug that can chill it out, because the bros have moulded you to be fucking violent – Attack first… who cares about the consequences? Everything's for the top dog in the Mongrel Mob, it's not until you get on a little bit later on, you realise it's fucking shit, and that's where we're at now.

So, we're going back into the jails and helping those same bros. I fucking always relate to the bros, their fetishes for violence, losing their families. We've lost all our families, I've just managed to get all my kids back, been through all my court cases, drug and alcohol-free, but I can't get that fucking

fetish of violence out of my head unless I have someone just as violent as me to talk to. That's why I get on so well with the bro, our conversations in the truck, they're therapeutic for me, they're sick as fuck, but you know they're therapeutic. You have to have someone to relate to, so when we go into jails, you see the bros that are apprehensive as, but they have to give us the benefit of the doubt. Why? Their father's done jail with my father, while I've done jail with them, we've done violent things together. They have to give us the fucking benefit of the doubt, and that's how we're managing to break that ice with them. Those influential members, as we were growing up, they've gone out, they're presidents of their own chapters. Fuck, I buzzed right out, sticking with them that whole time too, working with them six months before releasing, six months after, and being able to get through to those influential members so they can feed their process down to their members.

Baldy on growing up with violence and the impact of drugs on Mob whānau

The '80s was all alcoholism and shit like that – I'm an '80s baby, and the fucking '90s was all the same thing. Gangs were established well before then, five generations ago. Like I said, I'm third generation. Soon as the 2000s kicked-in and the P pandemic kicked-in, crack fucked our country, Mongrel Mob got the worst. All the legendary bros you see in those Jono Rotman[44] portraits and shit? Most of them are dead, all our legends. We used to go be those little kids in that fucking house, and those legends used to be at home, and they turned into fucking crackheads, they'd just be down. Now, 2021, everyone's in that recovery phase, so we're actually in a good position to put forward ideas.

A lot of crews are coming up with the old 'no crack' policy. I've got my older brother, he's a crack addict trying to get off it, his crew thought bashing him would be the only way to get him off fucking drugs, but it's not. He comes over to talk to me as little as two days ago. I feel sorry for my older brother, he's exactly like me. I can't talk to my fucking old man, he's still tattooed face, he's still that alcoholic, but he is what he is.

A lot of gang violence happens in jail. If something happens on the outside. Like that thing with my cousin in Whanganui, he got shot straight away, fuck it, just blows up through the jails. That's just the way it is – same as the Black Power members, so you can never control what's going to fucking happen. You've just got to rely on strong relationships that other bros have.

There's always an alpha Mongrel Mob member in every unit you get to. You've got other ones that play up, and it's better to punch them together, not for a power struggle. The system ain't going to have no fucking problems with it, with the big laggers, they know what

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[44] New Zealand photographic artist, notable for his solo exhibition *Mongrel Mob Portraits* (2014-2016).

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the system is, they know all about fucking consequences. I bet you most dramas you will have will be in remand and shit like that, everyone's predictably unpredictable. They all tell yous they've all got shit going on, they're still coming down off fucking drugs, can't contact their family members. Like the bro said with that phone call, that's all you've got to hold onto is that five-minute phone call. Then just before they sign out too, you're banging on the door, "Mister, mister, can I have that phone call?" "Oh, sorry bro, I'll do it in the morning." "You fucking c**t!" You sit there all night just wanting to ... You need some kind of fucking comfort in there.

Fuck, this is the longest I've been out of fucking jail since I was 17, so it'll be three years in March. I'm wrapped! That's only because of the supports we had in place. When they released me from prison in Christchurch, I'd never been to Christchurch before I got transferred down there in jail, and then probation said I

wasn't allowed to go north of Christchurch. I've got no family supports down there, or my partner, my parents, everyone lived up here, and I was trying to get back home to Maketu. So, I really had to talk to my probation officer on why it was good for me to come back.

Baldy on what works (and what doesn't) for Mongrel Mob members in prison
Mongrel Mob ain't going to listen to anyone but Mongrel Mob. So in order for me to beat my crack addictions, my violent addictions, things like that, I had come back here – home – to be around people I respect and that have put their invested love into me, that I won't want to let down. There's a pride in the consequences in jail and shit, but fuck, that's not a punishment, the only punishment's taking away your fucking family. Fuck, we've had fights over chickens, protein! You get people that are not gang-related coming to the unit, straight-up we're standing in the corner going, "Fuck, that's my chicken," and the other bro goes, "No, that's *my*

fucking chicken". In Waikeria, they stopped dishing us out chickens because the bros were having fights over fucking chickens, or you'd get big hua's that had fucking eight chickens on their plate, and those crews are going, "What the fuck's going on there?" It's a fucking system, it's a pecking order and fucking straight-up, everyone thinks they're fucking tough until they go to fucking jail – and Pare[45]... that's a whole different ball game! You can talk to someone else about that – that's vicious! The bros used to gamble on the Crusaders versus the Hurricanes: "If I lose by five points to your team in the morning, you've got to stab someone for every fucking point that I lost by", and they used to gamble like that. Sick, fucked individuals that I hope never get out.

I've seen that analogy of fucking popcorn[46], and I don't know who come up with that, my bro, but fucking cool, if it works, it works, but fuck, I ain't never fucking seen myself as a little popcorn! If you've got good supports out here and a good solid whānau, maybe ... That's why we're trying to reach out to you, you've got an upset inmate in jail, they've all got a fucking whānau, maybe if we reached out to the whānau, talked to the lady, see how she can help there. Because every time we get out of jail, my partner and kids, they've always been stable, they've always done it right. They're in a routine, they're going to school, Mumsie, she's healthy and clean, she's paying her bills.

I get out of fucking jail, I used to fuck it up every time. We went into Te Ao Marama[47] and we'd ask the bros, "What's the thing why everything fucks up when you get out?" and the bros were saying the same thing – getting released with $300, you're working with a case manager and things like that on how to get out, things like having a license when you

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[45] Paremoremo Prison, Auckland.
[46] See chapter (Tamatea), this volume.
[47] Māori Focus Unit, Waikeria Prison.

get out and getting out to employment. With the six months before they get released, we're trying to find them employment and things like that, so the brothers have a bit of mana and dignity to get out and help provide and chip in at their household, steer them away from the drugs.

The only thing we said to the bros in the unit is "How many of yous got employment upon release?" and they all fucking laugh. No one put their hands up, and we asked them, "How many of yous could access half a kilo of crack or less upon getting out within the first 24 hours?" Every single one of them put their fucking hands up, ex-gang members and non-gang members. We're asking them, "Why is that the easiest to go back to?" "Well, it's the only way we can get money back to Mumsie and the kids, to try and pay Mumsie back for the aroha[48] she's been giving." Next thing, they're using the drug, and the cycle's always the same, I could relate to that.

Fucking finding them employment and things like that. For me, it's helped me get on top of that, that violent thing, I always think negative of a situation because jail has always put us in the fucking worst place possible. I always think of being that 17-year-old kid, and you threw me into a fucking yard full of murderers and rapists, and told me, "Fucking adapt to it." If you can't handle it and end up running away out of that fucking environment, there's more than my own mana and fucking dignity on the line, I might as well commit fucking suicide. That's my father's name, that's my grandfather's name that walks out of that with me. There's an embarrassing fucking side to it.

Just like kids, we stand there and we fucking handle everything that gets given to us, the beatings, the punishments, the loss of fucking food... I'll tell you, the fucking mental and verbal abuse that they give you is way worse, getting called a fucking piece of shit every fucking day, "you useless

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[48] Love, emotional support.

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c**ts", out in the fucking rain doing thousands of burpees until you're fucking buckling and spewing up, and the first one of you to not be able to do it, the other ones we have to attack. You've got a good mate that I was on remand with, been through everything together, and because he can't keep up with me at the last one, the dog would tell me, "Just waste him." Fuck, it's off the cuff, you have to fucking do it.

There's a whole lot of bros fucking straight-up fucking going into the yard with a bro or go into a unit with a bro and you look at these crims, you'll see it written all over their face, what ones need what and it'll be really good to try and help people understand the system. Bros won't open up to much people, if they do, it's fucked. They're trying to communicate with a woman walking around with a set of keys. Having a lady in a fucking jail cell or in a yard, that's all good, but a lady being in remand – for a lot of the bros that were in there looking at

life – fucked with them mentally, because that lady gave that bro hope that there was something there when she's just doing her job. All along, bros are thinking it's fucked, they've lost everything else, next thing they think there's a special connection. I've seen bros attack other dogs over the way the prisoner talks to this fucking lady with keys. Fucking Jesus, this is the fucked thing about it.

What's going to work for our people is identity – Māori. For me, my father never let us get into Māoridom, never let us get into Christianity, anything. My dad's way of way of living was *Mongrelism*. Everything had to be Mongrelism, and it was fucking sickening. I didn't know my whakapapa, I've recited my pepeha twice since I've been working with Te Tuinga Whānau, and I feel real out of place doing it. I had to contact my aunty to find out where I was from and things like that. I'm not even from Maketu. Maketu whangai'd[49] me in 2010. Being a little psychopath,

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[49] Adopted within an extended family.

I used to walk around with a big bag of meth – no shit – a 9mm, and a pair of league shorts and bare feet, and that was the world.

I fucking thought I'd be dead by the time I was 30. A big part of my fucking life has been that New Zealand jail violence – this is why I look the way I look, this is why I identify the way I am. I wouldn't change it for the fucking world. Getting there on the daily, I had a meltdown at the last fucking hui. We were talking about everything, what we're talking about re-jogs the fucking memory, and we never got to deal with it in that situation, that environment, so bottled it up all the way to 36 years old, and then hui like this, where you want to talk about prison violence and things. Real privilege to be talking to whoever the fuck...

Thank yous very much your time, whānau. Fuck, we could go on forever! So if there's anything yous want to get at, just ask the bros.

Armon: Ae, too much Baldy, too much Karl, and thank you too, Timo. I've been involved in the industry for 20 years, and I tell you, there's few things that are more humbling than hearing this kind of korero, as far as I'm concerned. I want to thank you firstly for your authenticity, for being real, and for being *you*, quite frankly. I actually have a thousand questions, but I don't want to take anything away from the korero that you've shared with us. However, if I can just ask *one* question – and this is an open question to the three of you – it would be "What can *we* do?" For those of us who aren't affiliated but have our roles in other parts of the system, other parts of the community, what can we do to help?

Baldy: Just being genuine in your fulla's korero, like the bro said. If you're prepared and committed to work with an individual, see him through. In remand, if you're lucky enough to talk to a pastor, that pastor will come and build a bond with you. I think it's about fucking building bonds and that, rather

than just shipping us off to the next person. All of us come from broken homes and having that parent that was there – but not there – not saying yous have to wipe our arses or be our parents or whatever, but once the bros make a connection to someone that can actually help make change, it'd be cool if yous could actually follow their progress. Even if they got moved to another prison, even if the bros can't reply back, but just send them an email or something asking them how they're doing on their journey really means a lot to some of the bros, I know it means a lot to me.

Karl: It's exactly like the bro said, one thing that's really, really hard is, because all of us are human and that we are really different, and different things go on with all of us each day differently. But like Timo or the bro Damian, I'll be straight-up… and they're fucking cops! Fuck, I didn't like cops at all, but you come to the bro Timo or you come to Damian: fucking champions. Like I say, the bro's in my house right now, he's

fucking welcome to my house and it's cool, but that hasn't just come from like this. That's come from Phil Taikato to Damian, and I trust Phil, which Phil told me Damian's a champion, which Damian tells us the bro's a champion. Because of our relationship, I just believe Damian, I believe that the bro's good.

Now, you look at it on the other side when you were asking how do you fullas help, what Bald's is saying is true. When we're getting better, there are stages. So for instance, you might be able to help me with this stage, but then you also will need to have someone that you 100% trust in the next stage that's needed. Then you can go, "Karl, brother, one of my good bros, he will help you with this part," and that person has to help me with that part. Otherwise, I'll go, "Fuck you, I think you're full of shit, you dickhead, you're a fucking idiot," just for an example, and we'll lose it right there and we won't go any further. If what you said is true, and if you go to Timo, I'll go, "Fuck, that Armon's a good

c**t, mean". Now, Timo's a champion, I'm just giving you an example. Then Timo goes, "Bro, I can help you with this, my bro, but to get a job, you need to go to Baldy," and as long as I'm keeping to what I've said ... That's how we believe, man, that's how we see. Because, especially Māoris, we are the old touching, feeling, actions thing, and we believe what we are doing, ain't not someone fucking talking shit to us on a fucking computer or on a paper, going "dah, dah, dah"… get fucked! But if someone's walking beside us and walking it through with us and actually showing us that they care, fuck, you'll get out of us what you put in, and if you put in a good effort, you'll get one from us.

That's what we are, and that's what the bros are doing. It's just like we're fucking lazy, yeah, that's the honest answer, is we are lazy and we're opportunists and we're manipulators. So the easier you can make it for us, the better. I know that fucking probably doesn't sound the best, but if

you want results, you nearly have to fucking walk us and hold our heads into the water just to get that run. It's the honest truth, a lot of the bros will sit back and go, "What the fuck should we do this for? What's this going to get?" Until they get that feeling inside of them which goes, "Fuck, this does feel good," once we get there, fuck, we're off! Until you get that thing that clicks, whatever that moment is in each of us that actually wants us to do it, fuck, we're away then, and that's where I am to where I am now. Bro, since I started this good journey, which would've been about two and a half years into my jail term 'til right now, fuck, I've never failed at anything, I've never been let down by anyone. Everything I've asked for and done and said I would do, I've done it, and it's been the same back to me. Fuck, I'm one of those people that can't wait for something to fail so I can go say, "I fucking told you, you're a bullshitter." I can't do it, haven't done it in five years, and it's like fuck, so it's the effort you put in is what you

get out, and having amazing people around you that do care, not just someone going, "I care, bro." Because most people are full of fucking shit, and that's the honest truth, most people just are full of shit.

Timo: Just quickly from me, just to follow on from that, I'll just say as a police officer and working in this space now, to the other agencies that have been on here, be prepared to take a risk on someone that you believe is worth taking a risk for. In this space, we're still navigating our way through it, but we're taking risks and it's paying off. Now obviously, there's another side to that as well, but I think the positives far outweigh the negatives. Like these guys said, we could speak for another few hours, but we've already gone over time, so I guess that's all I can say.

Armon: On behalf of the audience, thank you once again for your powerful korero. Ngā mihi nui ki a koutou.

CONTRIBUTORS

HON. KELVIN DAVIS

MINISTER FOR CORRECTIONS

Hon Kelvin Davis is a successful former teacher and school principal who turned a struggling Northland school around, and enabled the students to achieve beyond their potential. In the 2020 Labour Government, Kelvin was appointed Minister for Māori Crown Relations: Te Arawhiti, Minister for Children with responsibility for Oranga Tamariki, Minister of Corrections and Associate Minister of Education. In the 2017 Labour-led Government he was Minister of Corrections, Māori Crown Relations: Te Arawhiti, and Tourism, and Associate Minister of Education. He has held roles on a number of Select Committees including Māori Affairs (Deputy Chair), Law and Order, Local Government and Environment, Education and Science and Transport and Industrial Relations. Kelvin has also held the spokesperson roles in Corrections, Biosecurity, Education (including Special Education and Māori Education), Māori Affairs, Tourism, Regional Affairs and Justice (Sexual and Domestic Violence). Kelvin visited Australia, including Christmas Island in 2015 to advocate for the rights of New Zealanders living in Australia, particularly those in detention centres. Born and bred in the Bay of Islands but now living in Kaitaia, Kelvin is a man of the north who brings skills in education and Māori issues to the Cabinet table to improve outcomes for all New Zealanders educationally, financially, culturally and socially.

He is a person with common sense and pragmatism who is able to relate across all sectors of society, but is most at home either fishing or up in the bush of his beloved Karetu Valley.

NEIL CAMPBELL

ARA POUTAMA AOTEAROA

Neil Campbell (*Ngāti Porou; Te Whānau-ā-Apanui*) has worked for Ara Poutama Aotearoa, Department of Corrections, for the past 27 years and held many operational positions and has been the former Director Māori, and General Manager Cultural Capability. Neil currently holds the National position of General Manager Rautaki Māori. Neil is driven by culture in its many contexts and works closely with other jurisdictions on matters of cultural identity and effective ways of working with indigenous peoples within the Criminal Justice system.

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Sofie is a postdoc at the Danish National Research Center for the Working environment in the department of the psychosocial work environment. She received her PhD from the same research center on the topic of violence prevention in prisons and psychiatric hospitals. She has a background in psychology and her main areas of research covers workplace violence prevention, intervention research and process evaluation.

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Lars is a senior lecturer in the Geography Programme at the University of Waikato where he has worked since 1998. He specializes in the application of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) and quantitative data analysis, especially big datasets that require automated analysis using scripts, online python libraries, and machine learning. Initially Lars trained as a forest ecologist but has since broadened his interest in human geography. In particular, he has a number of journal publications that link GIS and quantitative data analysis to a range of applications including health, crime, migration, demography, landscape and ecology. There is considerable overlap in the analysis techniques used between subjects, such as data visualization and machine learning, and he has been able to apply his lateral thinking skills to utilize these technologies across a wide range of data sets and applications.

PROF. RANDY GRACE

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Randolph 'Randy' Grace is Professor of psychology and has taught at the University of Canterbury since 1998. He has published over 150 articles and book chapters in academic journals in a variety of areas including forensic psychology, experimental psychology, comparative cognition, behavioural economics, mathematical psychology and cognitive neuropsychology. He is past President of the Society for the Quantitative Analyses of Behaviour, a Fellow of the American Psychological Association, and a board member of EndSmokingNZ. In addition, he has over 20 years' experience providing advice to Ara Poutama/Department of Corrections and other government departments on programme evaluation, risk assessment, and research methodology.

EMMA ROEBUCK

OMBUDSMAN NEW ZEALAND

Emma Roebuck is a Senior Inspector appointed by the New Zealand Ombudsman. The Ombudsman is an Officer of Parliament – an institution that has been part of this country's constitutional framework for almost 60 years. The Ombudsman handles complaints about public sector agencies, undertakes investigations and inspections of places of detention, and encourages good administration. Among the Ombudsman's roles is to monitor and inspect places of detention such as prisons to ensure people are treated decently and humanely.

BRAD PEEBLES

MACQUARIE CORRECTIONAL CENTRE

Brad Peebles commenced his career with the NSW Corrective Service in 1988 and has worked in custodial corrections in numerous centres within NSW over the past 33 years. Brad was promoted to the rank of Governor in 2015 and was assigned the commissioning role at Macquarie in 2017. He has managed the centre since that time. Brad has a Bachelor's degree in Psychology and Criminology and holds several Diploma level qualifications in Corrections Change Management and Leadership.

EDWARD 'TIMO' GARDINER

NEW ZEALAND POLICE

Timo is a member of the Prison Reintegration and Gang Harm Reduction team and has been Policing in the Tauranga area for over 7 years. He has held various roles during that time and is an active member of the community as well as the club captain for Rangataua Rugby Club.

Timo works as part of a wider team to drive prevention activity in Western Bay of Plenty to create safer and more resilient communities.

KARL GOLDSBURY

KORURU

Karl is part of the prison reintegration and gang harm reduction team in Te Tuinga Whānau. He uses his lived experience and knowledge to support gang members back into society. Following a successful background in semi-professional rugby league, security work and forestry, he became involved with methamphetamine. His journey, within and outside of prison continued for several rounds before, on his final release, he had earned qualifications in NCEA, business studies and Manāki tangata (care for the land) and bi-cultural social services. Karl's currently has a role as Te Tuinga's kaitiaki (guardian) of change for gang members. That relationship starts while men are still in prison and coordinated with the Police Harm Reduction team, while Karl and his team work toward reintegration 'wholly' into society. Included in his role in the Harm Reduction field, Karl and his team co-ordinate the movement and repurposing of donated furniture to households that are under the TTW umbrella.

COLIN 'BALDY' KIRIONA

KORURU

Baldy is an active gang member who has been through the New Zealand Criminal Justice System. He has come full circle and is now working with Karl and Te Tuinga Whānau to create better outcomes for his community. His role within the Prison Reintegration and Gang Harm Reduction team allows him to use his lived experience to support others who are working to create more positive outcomes within their lives.

ARMON TAMATEA

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Armon (*Rongowhakāta; Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki*) is a clinical psychologist who served as a clinician and senior research advisor for Ara Poutama/ Dept of Corrections (New Zealand) before being appointed senior lecturer in psychology at the University of Waikato. He has worked extensively in the assessment and treatment of violent and sexual offenders, and contributed to the design and implementation of an experimental prison-based violence prevention programme for high-risk offenders diagnosed with psychopathy. Armon is the research lead for Nga Tūmanakotanga and teaches in the post-graduate clinical psychology programme in the School of Psychology. His research interests include institutional violence, psychopathy, New Zealand gang communities, and exploring culturally-informed approaches to offender management. Armon currently divides his professional time between research, teaching, supervision, and clinical practice in the criminal justice arena.

ABOUT NGA TŪMANAKOTANGA

Nga Tūmanakotanga is a multi-year applied research project funded by the Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment (MBIE) and led by Dr Armon Tamatea. The aims of Nga Tūmanakotanga are to develop a holistic and integrated approach to understanding and addressing the causes and control of violence in carceral spaces.

A central assumption of Nga Tūmanakotanga is that prisons are *ecologies* – spaces where people, resources, and the built environment are interrelated – and that violence is a *product* of a complex of interpersonal and environmental factors that increase the likelihood of assault – but also suggest opportunities for possible solutions.

The project draws together a range of perspectives from across the 'prison ecology' and includes viewpoints from within these sites as well as those who interact from outside.

Please visit us at www.waikato.ac.nz/turning-the-tide

ABOUT *TE WHANAKE*

Tidal imagery is central to Nga Tūmanakotanga and reflects how we navigate currents, heavy seas, and even tranquil waters.

"Te Whanake" speaks to examining the nutrients in the tide. In particular, developing clarity and an understanding of what is happening, exploring and moving about, to use current sources of information and prepare for closer examination.

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Once again, we unreservedly acknowledge the kaimahi of Ara Poutama, the mauhere, and their whānau – past and present. Since *Te Tūāpapa Whakaharatau*, we have been the recipients of the generosity expressed by many within and outside the system in contributing to our understanding of their realities of prison violence and the contexts in which it occurs.

We also thank the many practitioners, researchers, and supporters who supported this work from the earliest days.

We would like to express our gratitude to the University of Waikato for supporting and promoting this event.

Last and certainly not least, we want to express our appreciation for YOU… those delegates who attended the symposium and the readers of these proceedings. We have already benefitted from the enthusiastic feedback following *Te Tūāpapa Whakaharatau* and have organized this wānanga accordingly. It is our hope that these korero continue to stimulate thought and provoke constructive action in your space in the 'prison ecology' and help make our prisons – and communities – safer.

Ngā mihi,

Armon Tamatea & Renae Dixon
Project Lead   Project Manager