REDUCING PRISON DISORDER THROUGH SITUATIONAL PREVENTION:

THE GLEN PARVA EXPERIENCE

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ABSTRACT

This chapter describes the use of situational strategies to reduce prison disorder at HMYOI Glen Parva. Three problem behaviours are described – bullying, shouting from cell windows, and scalding of staff with hot water. Interventions to reduce bullying included an anti-bullying strategy that increased identification of perpetrators, improved induction procedures, a PIN phone system that prevented stealing of phone cards, and the provision of television remote controls to reduce arguments among prisoners. The evidence shows a decline in bullying coinciding with these initiatives. Strategies to reduce shouting from windows included a noise monitor and the installation of in-cell televisions to reduce boredom. Complaints from residents about noise from cell windows ceased following the introduction of these strategies. The strategy to reduce staff scalding involved replacing the issue of open cans of hot water to prisoners with sealed thermoses. This has eliminated the problem. It is argued that situational crime prevention provides prison administrators with quick, inexpensive and effective strategies to address prison disorder problems.

Prison Disorder and Situational Prevention

While there is an extensive academic literature on the nature and causes of prison disorder, there are few published evaluations of attempts to reduce prison disorder. To the extent that researchers have considered the issue of preventing misbehaviour by prison inmates, for the most part suggested strategies simply involve extrapolations from epidemiological data. A correlation between prison population density and assault rates, for example, provides the usual basis for concluding that reducing overcrowding will help reduce prison violence (Cox et al, 1984; Gaes & McGuire, 1985). Conspicuously rare in the literature are pre-test/post-test studies that demonstrate the effectiveness of such manipulations. A broad aim of the current chapter is to add to the small collection of studies that provide outcome measures for disorder-reduction initiatives in prison.

More specifically, this chapter argues for the utility of adopting a situational approach to preventing violence and other forms of misconduct in prison. To date, interpretations of prison disorder have been dominated by systemic rationales. In the tradition of deprivation theorists such as Sykes (1958) and Goffman (1961), prison disorder is seen to arise from an oppositional prisoner subculture created to protect prisoners from the harsh realities of the prison regime. Prison disorder is viewed as normative and a surface symptom of a deeper structural malaise. Adopting this logic, at a minimum prevention of disorder can only be achieved through cultural change at an institutional level, and more likely requires fundamental changes to the very nature of imprisonment.

In contrast, situational prevention involves a micro-level focus and a problem-solving method. Rather than addressing prison disorder in global way, a situational analysis examines the relationship between specific kinds of behaviour and specific aspects of the immediate environment. It requires a detailed understanding of the what, where, when and why of the problem in question. In the first instance, different categories of disorder need to be distinguished. For example, it is likely that violence towards staff will have different situational dynamics and require different prevention strategies than will violence among prisoners, and that both of these behaviours in turn will comprise distinct sub-types. An examination of the geographic characteristics of the disorder provides further clues for prevention. Are there disorder hotspots that indicate problems in certain locations within the prison or at certain times of the day/week/year, and what is it about those locations and times that are problematic? And finally, what is the perpetrator hoping to achieve? Is an assault, for example, a spontaneous outburst – the result, say, of jostling in a queue – or is it premeditated and carefully planned – perhaps revenge for an unpaid gambling debt? The desired end-point of a situational analysis is an intervention that is tailor-made to respond to the particular circumstances. It is an incremental approach whereby overall reductions in problem behaviours are achieved through the accumulation of relatively small successes.

A small number of researchers have recognised the potential that the situational prevention model offers for the control of prison disorder (e.g. Atlas, 1982; 1983; Bottoms et al. 1995; Clarke, 1980; 1987; La Vigne, 1994; O'Donnell and Edgar, 1996; Sparks et al., 1996; Wortley, 2002, 2003). In particular, Wortley (2002, 2003) proposed a

two-stage model of situational prison control .He argued that there were two, sometimes opposing situational forces acting upon prisoners. First, the prison environment is the source of stresses and strains that may precipitate disorder. Overcrowding, dehumanizing living conditions, depressing architecture, monotonous routines, brutality of guards and fellow prisoners, lack of personal control over the environment and so forth produce frustration, boredom and fear that motivate prisoners to misbehave. Second, the prison environment provides opportunities for disorder. Lapses in security, inadequate surveillance and supervision, inconsistent discipline, access to contraband, and architectural blind-spots permit prisoners to carry out their intended transgressions. These two situational elements can suggest contradictory control solutions. To reduce prison stresses it may be necessary to soften the prison environment and ease restrictions on prisoners, while reducing opportunities may require target hardening and a tightening of security. Effective prison control requires a balance between soft and hard tactics, an approach that Clarke (1980) described as 'kind but strict' (p. 118).

Situational prevention offers prison administrators quick, practical and cost-effective interventions to control prison disorder. Moreover, since prisons are enclosed and highly controlled environments, prison administrators (in comparison to crime prevention practitioners in the community) have considerable scope in implementing whatever situational manipulations are deemed necessary. At the same time, the behaviour-specific focus means that prevention initiatives need not involve environmental changes on a grand scale, and nor need they necessarily result in harsher conditions for prisoners (they may in fact involve making conditions easier). In practice, however, the knee-jerk

reaction of many prison administrators to escalating disorder is to respond with broadly-applied and heavy-handed security crackdowns.

This chapter reports an exception to this rule. It describes and evaluates the efforts to reduce chronic levels of institutional misconduct at Glen Parva Young Offenders Institution. The administrators and staff who devised and introduced the initiatives at Glen Parva were not consciously working from situational theory. Nevertheless their practical strategies to reduce disorder display the problem-solving, behaviour-specific approach that characterises the situational model.

Glen Parva

Glen Parva is a young persons' (18-21 years) prison built in the early 1960s in the suburban outskirts of Leicester (UK). It is a large institution, comprising 13 units spread over a wide area. The certified normal accommodation is 664 (208 remands and 456 sentenced offenders) and on the 31st January 2004 the actual prison population was 781 (212 remands and 569 sentenced offenders).

The recent history of Glen Parva has been a troubled one. An unannounced inspection in December 1997 by the Chief Inspector of Prisons resulted in a damning report (Ramsbotham, 1998). That visit was itself prompted by two earlier unannounced visits in 1996 (for which published reports were not produced) that left the Inspector 'so dissatisfied' (p. 7) with what was found that the schedule of inspections was brought forward. The Inspector detailed numerous deficiencies in prisoner accommodation, health

care, programmes, relations between prisoners and staff, management, and staff morale. Specifically on the issue of good order, he found that many young prisoners 'did not feel safe and that there was a great deal of bullying, much stealing of each other's property, and a great deal of intimidatory shouting from cell windows to threaten young prisoners' (p. 16). There was an anti-bullying policy but 'it was having very little effect on the bullying culture', while 'control and restraint techniques were used far too frequently and were not justified in many cases' (p. 16).

From 1999, the situation at Glen Parva began to turn around. A subsequent unannounced visit in 1999 (Ramsbotham, 2000) reported improvements in the violence situation, noting that 'there was an impressive anti-bullying strategy in place with clear systems and procedures for identifying, recording, investigating and challenging bullying' (par. 1.19), although despite this, 'the debilitating and cruel bullying culture continued to corrupt and wreck the lives of young prisoners at Glen Parva' (par. 1.30). By 2002, substantial gains had been made. The report of the unannounced visit that year (Owers, 2002), while advising that a number of institutional deficits persisted – related principally to under-resourcing – concluded that 'there had been effective work on suicide, self-harm, and bullying, with a reduction in the number of assaults and a good induction system' (p. 3). Anti-bullying was an institutional priority with the Inspector noting that 'everywhere in Glen Parva there were posters advertising the anti-bullying strategy and giving advice to young prisoners on how to get help' (p. 11). At the same time, there was a significant reduction in the use of control and restraint techniques by staff as a method of maintaining order.

The improvements at Glen Parva were achieved through a variety of strategies. In keeping with the behaviour-specific focus of situational prevention, the following analyses examine the institutional responses to three problem behaviours – bullying, excessive noise from cell windows, and the scalding of staff.

Case Study 1: Bullying

The Problem

As detailed in the various inspection reports, Glen Parva experienced high levels of intimidatory behaviour and assaults among prisoners.

Interventions

i. Anti-Bullying Strategy

The current Anti-Bullying Strategy (ABS) policy was introduced in January 2001 (HMYOI Glen Parva, 2001), replacing earlier, less structured versions noted by the Inspectors. The ABS was designed to identify bullies then monitor them through a three-stage process. Once an allegation has been made against a prisoner, he is placed under observation for up to 14 days without being informed. During this period, any available evidence is gathered which might lead the prisoner to be moved onto Stage 2, at which point, he is informed that he has been placed on observation. In stage 2, some sanctions are applied and, if the prisoner shows improved behaviour after two weeks, he might be removed from the ABS system. If the prisoner fails to respond, he might stay in Stage 2 for an extended period of time or be moved on to Stage 3. In Stage 3, the prisoner is

transferred to a different unit and placed in a special bullying cell. Additional sanctions also apply. After two weeks, a review takes place where a decision is made about the prisoner. If he is considered as having responded to the intervention and the bullying behaviour has ceased, he may be transferred to a normal cell within the unit, then sent back to his original unit after another seven days. If his behaviour does not improve, however, he might stay in Stage 3 for an extended period of time, although he might be moved from unit to unit so that he cannot establish himself as a bully in any unit. In extreme cases, the prisoner may be transferred to a different, less desirable establishment.

The ABS is widely publicised among prisoners. In an example of 'rule setting' (Cornish and Clarke, 2003), new arrivals are told about the system as part of their induction. The 'Glen Parva Information Book' is put into escort vehicles for prisoners to read en route to the institution. Anti-bullying poster competitions have been held, and posters are displayed prominently throughout the institution. Prisoners can identify themselves as victims by discreetly putting a note in the unit box.

ii. Induction Packs

New arrivals to Glen Parva were a particular target of bullying. They were often approached by established prisoners who offered to give them things until they were settled. This then put the new arrival in debt to that prisoner, and would lead to exploitation and fights. An induction process was put in place that included providing new arrivals with a 'first night pack' on their arrival. The kit contained goods to get them through their first few days and reduce the need to borrow from other prisoners. This

'first night pack' was first introduced in October 2000. Each pack is worth £3.50 and there are two different versions, depending on whether the new inmate is a smoker or not. The contents of the pack are: £2 in phone credits; letter paper and a pen; a small amount of cigarette paper and tobacco (only for smokers); and sweets and chocolate (more quantity for non-smokers, to compensate).

iii. TV Remote controls

By April 2003, all cells had their own televisions (see case study 2). However, many prisoners would fall asleep and leave their television on all night, a practice that caused arguments among the inmates. In February 2003, remote controls were given to prisoners to allow them to turn off their sets without getting out of bed.

iv. Phone PINS

The PIN Phone system was first introduced in March 2003 and was aimed at reducing bullying consisting of stealing or forcing other prisoners to hand over their phone cards. With the new system, each prisoner is given an individual account and is asked to declare a list of telephone numbers, so that only these numbers can be dialled when using this account. The prisoner is also given a PIN number, for added security. If a prisoner is found to have used someone else's account or an unauthorised telephone number is dialled, the service for this particular prisoner is discontinued and disciplinary action may follow. With a few exceptions, all calls are recorded for security purposes. This measure, together with the fact that the numbers have to be declared in advance, also prevents offenders from calling their victims.

Evaluation

There are four available sources of data – adjudication reports[1], ABS statistics, unit observation books and prisoner surveys – that monitor levels of bullying at Glen Parva. Taken together, these data indicate that a reduction in bullying at Glen Parva coincided with the combined introduction of the anti-bullying initiatives, although it is not possible using these data to tease out the contributions of individual prevention strategies.

Figure 1 shows proven adjudications for violence among prisoners ('fighting' and 'assault on inmate') between 1995-2001. It can be seen that adjudications peaked in 1998 and have fallen steadily since, particularly for remand prisoners. Because the prison population was relatively stable over this period, adjusting for prisoner numbers makes little difference to the shape of the trend lines.

Figure 1 about here

Figure 2 shows the number of prisoners on each stage of the ABS from January 2001 to September 2003 (excluding June-July 2003, when the anti-bullying co-ordinator position was unfilled and data are not available). The overall trend in the figures is downward, that is, there are now fewer prisoners being identified as bullies. Within this trend there is moderate resurgence in the number of prisoners on the ABS in mid-2002. It is unclear whether this indicates anti-bullying initiatives faltered in 2002, or whether it simply

[1] Source: Home Office

reflects a seasonal variation in which more bullies are identified in the summer months (as occurred in the previous year and also in 2003).

Figure 2 about here

From January 2000, officers recorded incidents of bullying in the unit observation books. These data are to some extent subjective. They include incidents where an officer observed bullying as well as their suspicions that other incidents (eg fighting, self-harm, an application to move to another unit etc) were motivated by bullying. Unfortunately, due to problems with data collation and storage, reliable data are only available from June 2001, with another gap between January and July 2003 (see Figure 3). There was an initial drop in the number of observed bullying incidents in 2001 followed by a rise in mid-2002 (mirroring the increase in the number of prisoners on the ABS at the same time). The gap in the data makes recent trends difficult to determine but based on the most recent figures, there appears to have been a drop in bullying in 2003.

Figure 3 about here

Figure 4 shows results from bullying surveys administered to prisoners in November 1999, March 2002 and December 2003[2]. Among other questions, prisoners were asked how many times in the last month they had been called names, been asked to give another

[2] These surveys were carried out by the Psychology Department at Glen Parva. See Burrows & Laurenti (1999), Bradshaw (2002) and Copson & Grennan (2003) for full descriptions of the surveys.

prisoner their canteen buy-up, been threatened by another prisoner, and been assaulted by another prisoner[3]. Results reveal a significant downward trend on all bullying dimensions between 1999 and 2003 (called names, $X^2(6)=21.03$, $p<.01$; canteen taken, $X^2(6)=18.53$, $p<.01$; threatened, $X^2(6)=26.65$, $p<.001$; assaulted, $X^2(6)=18.41$, $p<.01$). As Figure 4 reveals, however, there was little improvement between 1999 and 2002, and in fact there are slight increases on two dimensions. The biggest change occurred between 2002 and 2003.

Figure 4 about here

While the various measures of bullying cover different time frames, where they overlap there is a consistency in the picture they paint. Results show that bullying peaked in 1998, dropping thereafter despite a slight rise again in mid 2002. All measures indicate that by 2003 the situation had improved significantly. It is unclear why problems began to recur, albeit on a smaller scale, in 2002, but seasonal variations associated with increased bullying in summer appear to have contributed to the finding. Several initiatives were introduced after mid-2002 – phone PINS, television remote controls – and these may have helped restore the momentum. When interpreting the ABS data, unit observation books and prisoner surveys, it needs to be kept in mind that the time spans involved exclude the peak problem period of 1998. That is, they are measuring bullying after the worst was over.

[3] Prisoners were given the response choices of 'never', 'once or twice', occasionally', or 'regularly'. To simplify graphical representation, Figure 4 shows the percentage of prisoners who experienced at least one case of bullying.

Case Study 2: Noise from Cell Windows

The problem

When locked in their cells in the evening, prisoners would shout out of their windows to other prisoners. As the Chief Inspector of Prisons noted in his report (Ramsbotham, 1998), the shouting was often associated with intimidation of other prisoners and contributed to the overall atmosphere of violence that permeated the institution. The problem was concentrated in units 14 and 15. These are the remand and induction units, and house prisoners who often proved troublesome[4]. In addition, they are also closest to the prison boundary and occupy the highest ground. The noise from these two units in particular caused numerous complaints to be made from neighbours about the noise, and significant fines were threatened by the local council for noise pollution.

Interventions

i. Noise monitors

In October 1999, a rugged outdoor microphone was installed in the south corner of site between units 14 and 15, following a court case about noise disturbance. This was done so that staff could be alerted within the unit's office of any noise occurring at the time, so that immediate action could be taken (prior to this, they might only find out after a resident has phoned the prison complaining about the noise). The installation was accompanied by formal disciplinary procedures aimed directly at shouting from windows.

ii. In-cell Televisions

From July 2000, there was a progressive rollout of in-cell televisions across the institution, a process that was completed in April 2003. The principal rationale for introducing the televisions was the belief that they would reduce boredom among prisoners when they were locked in their cells, and hence the level of shouting. The two most problematic units, 14 and 15, each had 13 televisions installed in the initial round (equating to 20% of cells), with the remaining cells (47 in each case) fitted in September 2002. Generally, three months were spent preparing each unit prior to these dates. This involved getting electricity to the units when required, installing the DVD electrical system, putting up shelves, and so forth. This DVD system was first introduced in March 2002, and enables films to be broadcast within the prison. It is planned to adapt the system so that an information channel and an individual messaging system can be set up.

Evaluation

Data on residents' complaints are available from early 1996 to November 2003. Out of the 162 complaint calls, 136 (83.9%) were from residents living in the road closest to units 14 and 15. The number of complaints by quarter is displayed in Figure 5. As can be seen, there are peaks in the summer months of 1998, 1999 and 2000, with the peaks becoming smaller every year. There are no complaints in the summer of 2001 and a small number in the summer of 2002. Given the more agreeable weather conditions provided during these months, it is unsurprising that most of the calls were reported at this time of

[4] Unit 15 was a residential remand unit for juveniles until September 2001, after which it became

year. With extended daylight and warmer evenings, not only are inmates more likely to remain active for longer but also local residents are prone to spending more time outside and leaving their windows open, thus increasing exposure to any noise made from the institution.

Figure 5 about here

Figure 5 shows a downward trend in complaints coincided with the introduction of the noise monitor. The mean number of complaints per quarter for the 15 quarters prior to the installation of the noise monitor was 7.9, and for the 15 quarters after its installation was 1.8 ($t(28)=-2.18$, $p=.038$). It should be noted, however, that, due to technical difficulties the noise meter was not as effective as anticipated, and was often activated by noises other than those coming from the residential units. It seems that the mere threat posed by the presence of the monitor, and the tougher penalties that accompanied its installation, were sufficient to prompt behaviour change. Further reductions in complaints followed the rollout of televisions across the institution. A drop in complaints immediately followed the initial installation. Complaints continued sporadically while the institution was only partially serviced, then ceased altogether when the rollout was completed.

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a dedicated induction unit.

Because the noise problem was concentrated in units 14 and 15, adjudication data for those units were examined[5]. If televisions helped reduce boredom, then there may have been general behavioural improvements in addition to a reduction in shouting. It can be seen in Figure 6 that there was a dramatic drop in adjudications for unit 15 in the same month that the televisions were first installed, and this improvement has been maintained. In the 18 months (January 1999 to June 2000, inclusive) preceding the introduction of the televisions, the average number of adjudications per month was 33.3 (SD=11.1); in the 25 months that followed the introduction of the televisions in 22% of the cells (August 2000 to August 2002, inclusive), the monthly average adjudications had fallen to 5.7 (SD=3.3); and in the 13 months after all cells were fitted with a TV set (October 2002 to October 2003, inclusive), the monthly average number of adjudications was 5.5 (SD=2.9). A one-way ANOVA showed an overall significant difference between these three periods ($F(2,53)=256.56$, $p=<.001$), with simple contrasts showing significant differences between 0% installation and 22% installation ($p<.001$), between 0% installation and 100% installation ($p<.001$), but not between 22% installation and 100% installation.

The improvement is less pronounced for unit 14, although, apart from peaks in the first half of 2002, the trend is also generally downward. The monthly average adjudications in the 18 months prior to the installation of television (i.e. January 1999 to June 2000, inclusive) was 31.7 (SD=6.3); the average number in the 25 months after TV sets were

[5] Unlike the Home Office adjudication data reported earlier, which did not show adjudications by unit, these data are drawn from the local Glen Parva records. However they do not distinguish between proven and unproven cases.

installed in 22% of the cells (i.e. August 2000 to August 2002, inclusive) was 27.0 (SD=9.8); in the 13 months after all cells were fitted with TV sets (i.e. October 2002 to October 2003, inclusive), the average monthly number of adjudications was 23.9 (SD=5.0). A one-way ANOVA showed a significant difference between these three periods ($F(2,53)=3.95$, $p=.025<.05$), with simple contrasts showing a marginal significant difference between 0% installation and 22% installation ($p=.057$), a significant difference between 0% installation and 100% installation ($p<.01$), but not between 22% installation and 100% installation..

Figure 6 about here

Of course, it is difficult to disentangle the effects of television installation and the anti-bullying strategies described earlier on the improvement in behaviour. For example, it may be that the introduction of more effective induction procedures and first night packs, which particularly affected prisoners in unit 15 (especially after September 2001 when it became a dedicated induction unit), helps explain why the improvement in this unit was so pronounced.

Case Study 3: Staff Scalding

The Problem

Before being locked up at night, prisoners were issued with a can of hot water with which to make tea or coffee while in their cells. When receiving this hot water, some prisoners would throw the water over the officer, causing serious scalding.

Intervention

Thermos flasks were issued to prisoners instead of open cans of water. This intervention was first piloted in Unit 14 in September 1999. Based on lessons learned in the pilot (for example, that the thermoses needed to be securely sealed before handing them to the prisoners), the intervention was fully rolled out to all units in April-May 2000. The flasks were constructed from a material that was strong to ensure durability but not too tough so that it could not be used as a substantive weapon. The material was also difficult to break, to minimise the risk for self-harming or creating cutting instruments (although if there was judged to be a risk that a prisoner would self-harm or harm others, he was not handed out a flask).

Evaluation

Unfortunately no records were available prior to 1999 to indicate the number of officers scalded prior to the introduction of the flasks, although informal discussions with staff suggest it was a serious if relatively infrequent method of assault, and the policy document covering the issue of flasks invokes past incidents of scalding as the rationale for their introduction. In May 1999 (prior to the introduction of the flasks in Unit 14) there is one recorded incident in unit 14, in which an officer received scalding to the face and had 5 days off work. After the introduction of the flasks throughout the institution, there was one further recorded incident of scalding (in September 2000). This involved a prisoner kicking a plastic flask of hot water along a landing towards a prison officer. The flask broke spraying hot water over the officer's legs. No time off work was recorded. As

a result of this incident, a risk assessment was conducted on various flask designs, and a different type of plastic flask was introduced. There have been no further incidents of staff scalding since.

Discussion

By 1998, Glen Parva was experiencing a serious breakdown of order. The staff responded with a variety of situational strategies directed at different aspects of the disorder problem and substantial improvements in prisoner behaviour followed. However, the staff was not concerned with conducting a controlled piece of social scientific research but rather with fixing a problem. It is the nature of applied social research that the link between an intervention and an observed change is notoriously difficult to establish conclusively. There is always the possibility of alternative explanations and we are left to draw inferences about most likely causes. Nevertheless, within these limitations, on the basis of the available data it seems reasonable to conclude that the interventions described above were responsible for improved behaviour of prisoners at Glen Parva.

In the current case, the matter is complicated by the fact that numerous interventions were introduced around the same time making it difficult to isolate individual prevention effects. However, even if this were not so, in some cases one might reasonably expect an intervention to produce a diffusion of benefits. For example, shouting from windows not only created annoying and expensive noise pollution, it generated conflict among prisoners. Thus, the provision of televisions and the associated reductions in shouting probably also contributed to reductions in violence. In other cases the side benefits may

be less obvious. For example, the installation of televisions necessitated the conversion of cells to mains power (completed by June 2002). Prior to this prisoners were issued with batteries, which were also placed in socks and used as weapons in many assaults. The installation of televisions, then, has incidentally resulted in an additional crime prevention strategy (Cornish and Clarke's, 2003, 'control tools/weapons').

The strategies employed at Glen Parva help dispel the common criticism that situational prevention is a draconian approach to behaviour control. In fact, as one inspector noted (Owers, 2002), reliance on physical control and restraint by staff actually decreased at the same time that levels of misbehaviour also decreased. The interventions employed involve a combination of controlling precipitators of disorder and reducing opportunities for misbehaviour. The provision of television sets was directed at reducing the boredom that prompted prisoners to shout from windows and resulted in an improvement in prison living conditions. Even the strategies designed to reduce opportunities – first night packs, phone PINS, television remote controls, and thermos flasks – cannot be said to have significantly hardened the environment. The ABS certainly resulted in some prisoners becoming the focus of additional discipline, but to the undoubted relief of most prisoners. Glen Parva is a better place now to serve a sentence than it was five years ago.

The interventions devised for Glen Parva display a problem-solving methodology but also have a common-sense quality to them. None of the interventions involve a complicated logic or depend upon esoteric theory. Replacing open cans of hot water with sealed thermoses, for example, seems an obvious thing to do and the finding that this

resulted in fewer scaldings may be too easily dismissed as trivial. Yet the apparent simplicity of these strategies belies the potential potency of their impact. The fact that significant reductions in disorder can be achieved through relatively minor changes to the environment in some ways makes situational prevention all the more profound. One may speculate that the intuitive character of such interventions partly explains the lack of published accounts of attempts to reduce prison disorder. It may be that the efforts are judged (perhaps even by their implementors and wrongly so in our view) to be prosaic and of little interest to others. There are undoubtedly many innovative responses to the prison disorder problems devised by prison administrators that are never publicised.

This is not to say that situational prevention can offer a cookbook of ready-made solutions to disorder problems. The experience of situational prevention in community setting is that what works in one location may be ineffective in another. It is not suggested, therefore, that the indiscriminate provision of televisions to prisoners will necessarily reduce problem behaviour in other institutions. What situational prevention offers is a coherent framework within which to address control problems. The lesson of situational prevention is that interventions must be designed to take account of local conditions and the specifics of the problem in question.

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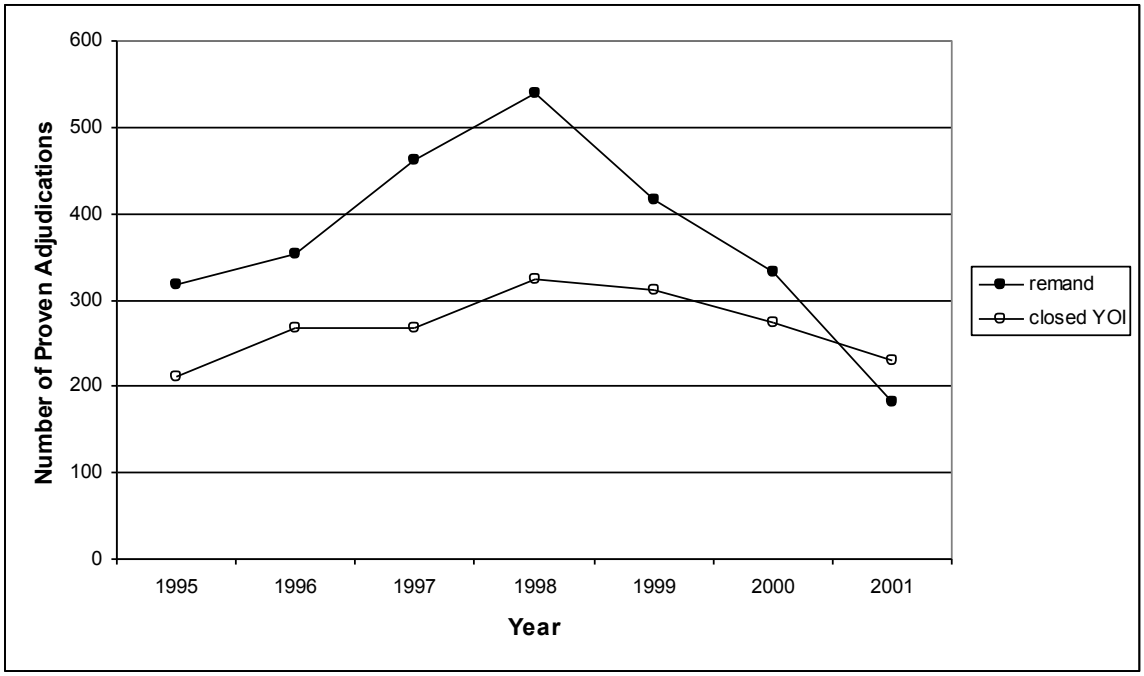

Figure 1. Proven adjudication for violence among prisoners.

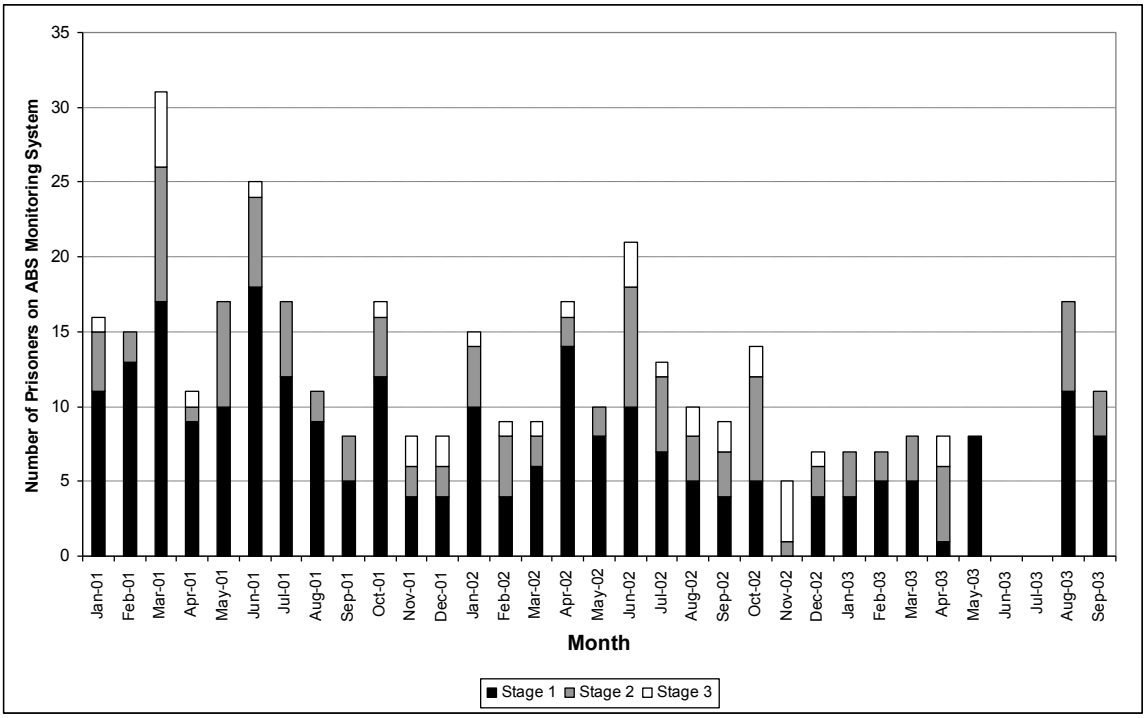

Figure 2. Number of prisoners on the Anti-Bullying Strategy (ABS) system by stage and month.

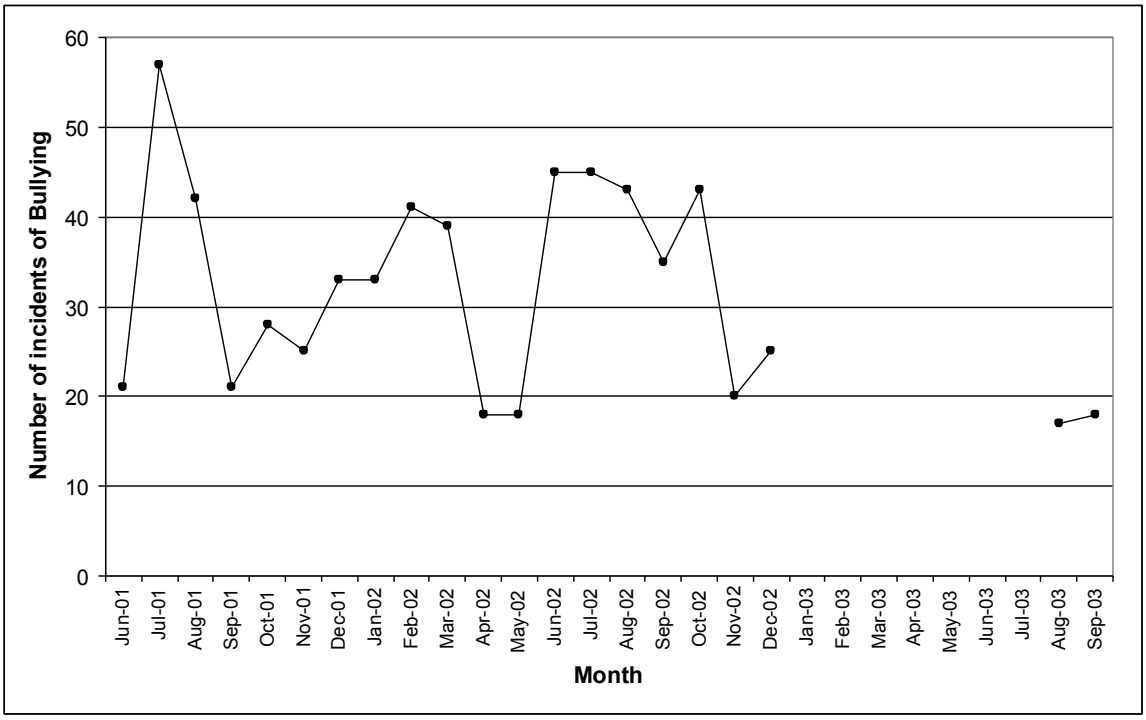

Figure 3. Recorded incidents of bullying from unit observation books.

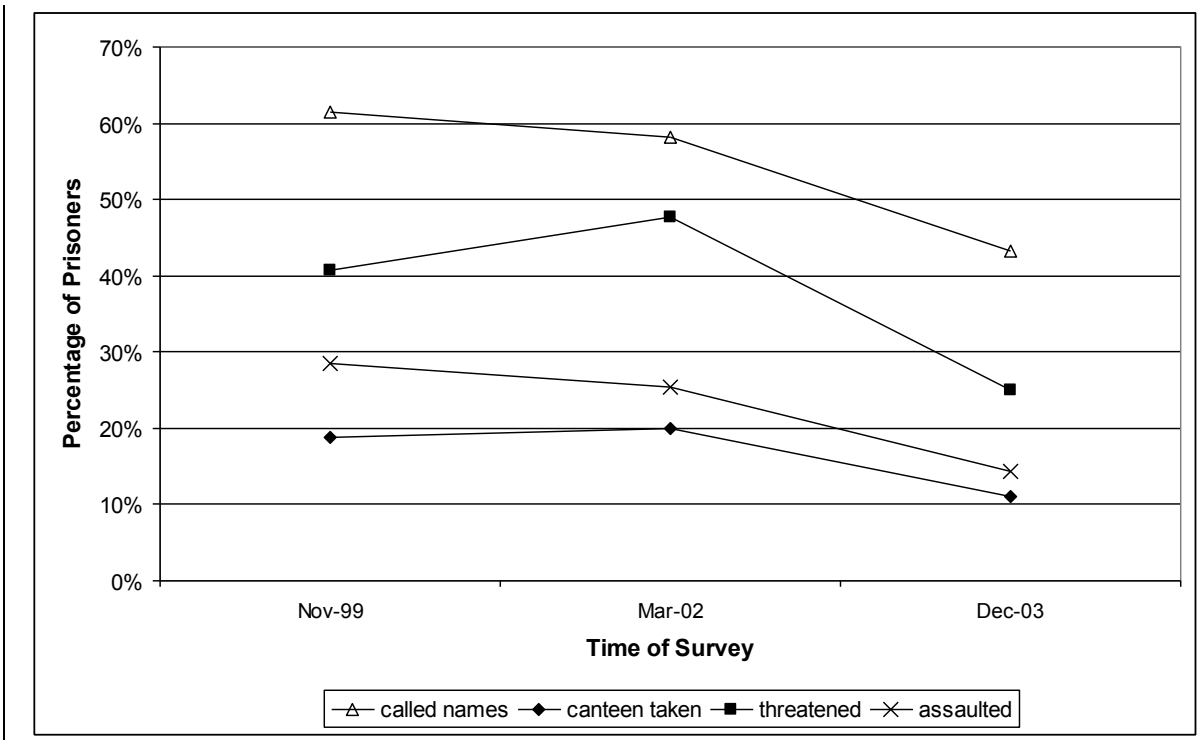

Figure 4. Percentage of prisoners reporting at least one experience of being bullied in the previous month.

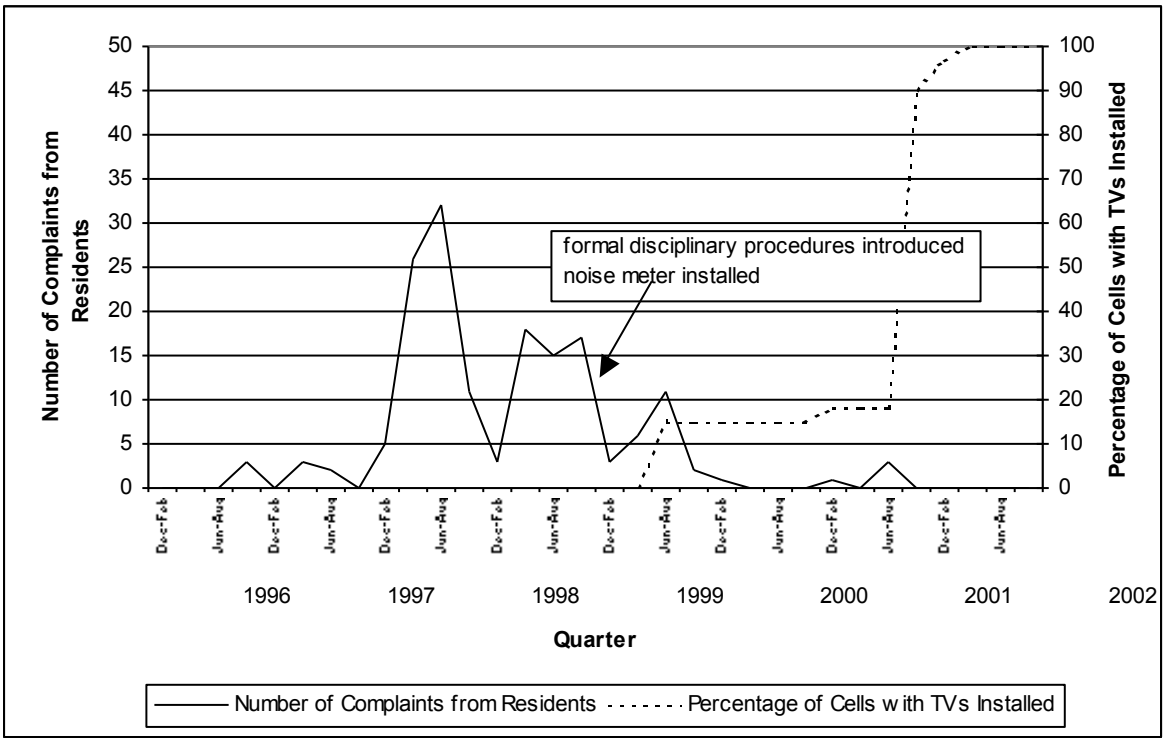

Figure 5. Number of complaints from residents by quarter by year and percentage of cells where TV sets had been installed.

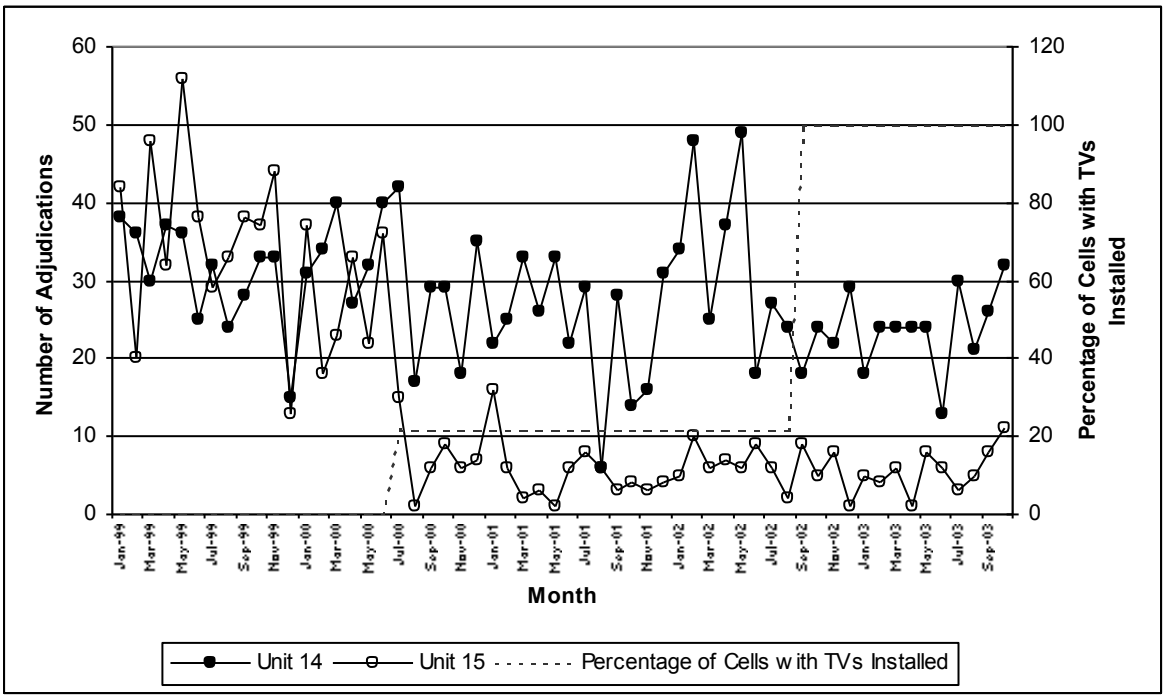

Figure 6 All adjudications for units 14 and 15 between January 1999 and September 2003.