

PAPARUA MEN'S PRISON: A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY

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ABSTRACT

Situated amidst farmland 18 kilometres from the centre of Christchurch is Paparua men's prison, one of New Zealand's oldest and largest penal institutions. Prisoners have been housed at the Paparua site since 1915 and when the prison buildings were completed in 1925, around 120 prisoners were incarcerated there. Still at the same location where the two original wings continue to accommodate inmates, Paparua has the capacity for nearly 1,000 low to high-security male prisoners.

Despite being almost a century old, very little has been recorded about Paparua, which is symptomatic of the paucity of published material on New Zealand prisons. This thesis seeks to address this shortfall in the literature by, for the first time, documenting the events which have taken place at Paparua and giving insight into life for prisoners there over the last 100 years. These events and the changes to prison life have been driven by the social conditions of the day and their intersection with a complex range of factors at the inmate, community and administrative levels. Paparua's evolution, therefore, has been the product of the changing socio-political climate and by contextualising the prison's history I will show how these dynamics have contributed to the development of Paparua.

The research undertaken to achieve such a task involved an historical analysis of 130 years of departmental reports, government reports, parliamentary debates and newspaper articles. This was accompanied by 13 comprehensive interviews with former and current staff and inmates of Paparua.

The reconstruction of Paparua's past is valuable not only in that it captures the details of an interesting feature of New Zealand history but because it offers insight into the complex range of forces that are likely to influence its development in the future.

INTRODUCTION

While various methods of confining malefactors have existed for centuries, prisons have only developed as the mainstay of Western criminal justice systems in the last 200 years (Spierenburg 1995, pg.64). The world's first organised penitentiary system was established in the American state of Pennsylvania at the end of the 18th century and a number of other states were quick to follow (Davies 2005, pg.695; Rothman 1995, pg.119). The comprehensive penal system evolving in the United States was watched abroad with keen interest and by 1839 England, along with most of Europe, had developed similar schemes (Grunhut 1972, pg.57-58). As a colony of Britain, New Zealand followed her lead.

Management of the lockups and jails scattered throughout New Zealand was somewhat disordered until prison administration was centralised in 1880. For the next three decades, New Zealand prisons echoed the punitive ideals and austere conditions of the English prison regime. England continued to influence correctional reform in New Zealand which has for the most part tended to emulate international developments. During the Reformatory era in the late 19th century penal ideologies shifted to the belief that offenders could be cured of their criminal ways. It was thus thought that prisons should be used to rehabilitate rather than simply punish inmates and America, particularly captivated by the reformism principle, established a dedicated 'reformatory' in New York in 1876 (Schmallegger 2001, pg.447-449). The perceived success of the reformatory approach trialled overseas generated hype and enthusiasm in New Zealand and was a leading influence in the beginning of an era of reformism in 1910. Reflecting the rural ethics of Charles Matthews who ran New Zealand prisons during this period, the reformation of prisoners was pursued through the 'gospel of hard work' which, where practicable, took place outdoors. Completed in 1925 on 1,000 acres of Canterbury farmland, Paparua prison exemplified these principles.

In the 70 years after Paparua was constructed, prisoners there engaged in employment and recreation in the open air and compared with today's standards, enjoyed some degree of laxity. Almost 100 years on, the medium-security Paparua prison is four times the size it was in the early 20th century and aside from a couple of original exterior walls is a completely different institution to that established by Charles Matthews.

To date, no published material exists on the history of this Christchurch prison; in fact there are very few dedicated works on individual prisons in New Zealand at all. Filling this gap in the literature was the rationale for this research. As I began piecing together Paparua's past, two chief objectives became apparent. Firstly, I wanted to put to paper, for the first time ever, Paparua's story right from the acquisition of its land in 1914 until today. As well as unfolding Paparua's history, an examination of the circumstances behind it is crucial to understanding how and why this prison has evolved the way it has. Thus, the second objective of this thesis is to illustrate the multiplicity of social and political forces which have steered the course of prisons in New Zealand. The impact of social conditions on the prison system was particularly evident during periods such as the two World Wars, the Great Depression and the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

Politics have equally contributed. Penal reforms have been contingent on the government of the day, its stance on justice and prisons and its agendas. The people given charge of our prisons have also had a lot to do with it. The question of what ought to be done with prisoners while they are incarcerated and how to stop them reoffending has resonated throughout the decades. Paparua has reflected the attempts of successive prison administrators in New Zealand to find the answer. Throughout Paparua's lifetime, periods of innovative experiment have vastly improved prison conditions and were often followed by an era of conservatism during which inmates were disenfranchised.

The interaction of these social and political influences along with other underlying forces such as economics, public opinion, changing attitudes and shifts in the characteristics of the prison population have significantly impacted on correctional developments in this country. By placing the events and changes at Paparua in the wider New Zealand and international context, this thesis illustrates how each of these factors has informed the evolution of Paparua.

While undertaking this research I encountered the confusing tendency of corrections administrations to change the names of institutions. From the day it was commissioned until the 1990s, Paparua is referred to in the departmental annual reports as Paparua prison. Since the late 1990s the Department has predominantly called the institution Christchurch prison or Christchurch Men's prison. On the Corrections website, the prison is listed as "Christchurch Men's Prison, also known as Paparua" (corrections.govt.nz). Given that for most of its life it

has been called Paparua and is popularly recognised by this name today, throughout this thesis I will call it Paparua prison.

Methodology

A variety of methods were employed to gain the information contained in this thesis. The first was a critical examination of the small body of literature on prisons and correctional policy in New Zealand. The key works in this area include Matthews (1923), Lingard (1936), Burton (1945), Mayhew (1959), Dallard (1980), Webb (1982), Robson (1987), Pratt (1992), Burnett (1995) and Newbold (1989; 2007). Both Matthews and Dallard served as Controller-Generals of New Zealand prisons and Mayhew was the Director of the Penal Division in Wellington from 1956 to 1960. Another book which documents penal reform initiatives between 1949 and 1970 was written by Dr John Robson (1987) who succeeded Sam Barnett as Secretary for Justice in 1960. Thus, a great deal of published material on corrections in New Zealand has been written by government officials. While such information is indeed vital to any research in this area, the most recent book by Greg Newbold (2007) which provides an independent, contextual and holistic account of correctional reform in New Zealand since 1840 has been most valuable.

The next step involved a thorough analysis of official government reports and inquiries dating back to 1861 along with 130 years of justice and prisons departmental annual reports. Due to my temporary relocation to Auckland (discussed in full in next section), 120 of these annual reports, comprising a total of around 2,000 pages, had to be photocopied to bring back to Christchurch. It was uncertain whether the copies in the University of Canterbury library would be available while I was conducting my research. This was followed by a perusal of the last 150 years of parliamentary debates and the gathering of statistical information from the New Zealand Official Yearbooks.

Aside from the Superintendents' annual reports, very little information about Paparua exists and news reports have offered useful clues about the institution. I have compiled more than 80 articles from New Zealand newspapers which entailed a rather lengthy process. The databases available through the University of Canterbury website provide access to New Zealand newspapers printed over the last 20 years. Any articles published earlier than this

had to be obtained from library storage. Article indexes for a number of newspapers are printed in date ranges on microfiche which are small, flat pieces of film that have to be viewed using the microform machine. After I had used the microfiche indexes to establish the dates of the articles I wanted, I then had to find them on reels of microfilm. The microfilm I used contained large numbers of full newspaper issues which I had to search through to find the issue date I needed and then the article within it I was looking for. From there, the articles were sent, sections at a time, to a computer and printed.

The information obtained from all of these sources, provided the framework within which I began piecing together the history of Paparua. It is the stories and vivid details from my interviews though, that have brought this thesis to life.

Because I intended to carry out interviews, my research first had to be approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, which it was. My intention to speak to staff and inmates at Paparua prison meant that I was also subject to the Department of Corrections' external research application process. A comprehensive application form requiring in depth information of all aspects of the proposed research had to be completed and sent to the department's Research Division in Wellington. Some weeks after submitting my initial application, the Department contacted me requesting an elaboration of some parts of my research. After making the necessary amendments and resubmitting my application, my research was approved. The Research Division then contacted the prison where a personal assistant coordinated the interviews. My first five interviewees were selected by the Department based on who had expressed an interest in participating and would likely have information helpful to my research. Further interviews were the result of recommendations from the first people I spoke to. Three of my interviews were with people who no longer work at the prison.

In total I conducted 13 formal qualitative interviews between December 2011 and April 2012. The interviewees which were able to provide information that dated back the furthest were Alex Cameron who was a prison officer at Paparua from 1972 to 1998, current Operations Support Manager Paul Rushton who started at the prison in 1977 and has spent more than 20 of the last 34 years there and Corrections Officer and Parole Board Coordinator Tom Maw who has worked at the prison since 1978. Roddy Watson who currently runs the prison laundry, former Prison Officer Mark Kilpatrick, current Principal Corrections Officer Al

Wood and Residential Manager Bill Moore, all started at Paparua between 1984 and 1988. I also interviewed one former chaplain who spent 15 years at the prison and another who has been there since 1992. Both wish to remain anonymous. I conducted interviews with three current inmates. The first (Inmate A) had spent 19 years incarcerated at the prison, the second (Inmate B) had been in and out of the institution since 1990 and was up to the 14th year of his current sentence and the third (Inmate C) has been there since 1995. Finally, I spoke with Paul Monk who was appointed the first ever Regional Manager Canterbury Prisons in 1996 (later Southern Regional Manager of Prisons) and remained in the role until 2011.

I interviewed the two chaplains together and I met with the remaining 11 people individually. My meeting with the chaplains and all of the interviews with current Paparua staff and inmates took place in offices at the prison. Mark Kilpatrick was interviewed at his place of work, I met with Alex Cameron at his home and spoke with Paul Monk at a café. The interviews usually began with a list of questions I had prepared to initiate the discussion. I allowed the interviewees to direct the course of the interview based on what they felt it was important to talk about and followed up with secondary questions to prompt elaboration. Each interview took between 45 and 90 minutes and eleven were recorded using a dictaphone. During the other two meetings I took detailed notes. Consequently, I have more than 70 pages of interview transcriptions.

The information I obtained in these interviews is based on first-hand experiences at Paparua and the different perspectives and anecdotes have helped to not just document the facts, but tell a story.

Finally, I made a visit to Paparua prison in April 2012 and was kindly shown around the entire complex by Residential Manager Bill Moore. A great deal of the information about Paparua's recent history and its current daily operations was collected during this visit.

Challenges

I experienced a number of challenges throughout the course of this research as a result of the Christchurch earthquake on 22 February, 2011. The closure of the University of Canterbury for some weeks and the unavailability of the central library for a number of months made the initial stages of my research difficult. Consequently, I was forced to relocate to Auckland for three months where I was kindly hosted by the University of Auckland. The wonderful people in the Sociology Department provided me with my own desk in the postgraduate office and assisted my access to all the facilities I needed. Without such generous assistance this thesis would not have been possible. During my time at Auckland University I was able to utilise the extensive range of resources in the library, some of which are not available at Canterbury University. In order to relocate I had to negotiate three months unpaid leave from my part-time job and having recently signed a lease for my home in Christchurch, I had to pay for accommodation there as well as where I was staying in Auckland. Thus, the move caused some financial strain.

The disruption to the University of Canterbury also caused a delay in my ethics application which in turn prolonged my application to the Department of Corrections. Therefore, my research did not gain the Department's approval until late in 2011 and my interviews took place after I had begun writing up. This meant significant reworking of some parts of the thesis that I had already written.

After returning to Christchurch I was still unable to acquire some material. I contacted the local Archives New Zealand regional office about viewing some potentially relevant files I had found on their website. While information on justice and prisons is predominantly kept in Wellington and access is strictly controlled, a small number of unrestricted records are housed in regional offices. When I phoned the Christchurch office, I was told the few archives that may have been helpful were currently unavailable due to the reorganisation in the aftermath of the earthquake. It is unlikely that these archives would have notably impacted on this thesis however, as so little has been documented about Paparua prison, any information is considered precious.

Despite these challenges, substantial research and analysis has reconstructed the history of one of this country's oldest institutions and consequently addressed a significant gap in the

literature on New Zealand prisons. The information in this thesis is extremely valuable because it divulges the details of an interesting fragment of New Zealand's past and demonstrates the complex driving forces behind a prison's development.

CHAPTER ONE:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PENAL SYSTEM IN NEW ZEALAND 1814- 1909

From the time that the first European settlers set foot on New Zealand soil, the British influence was apparent. Mainly whalers, traders, sealers and runaways from England and escaped convicts from the penal colonies in Australia, these first settlers began arriving in the late 18th century.

New Zealand's colonial connections were evident in penal developments right from the beginning. The development of correctional policy in New Zealand closely followed in the footsteps of English tradition, irrespective of the fact that New Zealand was distinctly different in its geography and population and British laws and policies were not necessarily suitable (Pratt 1992, pg.69). People came to New Zealand for a fresh start and the archaic English laws did not match expectations of modernity in the young colony.

The first missionaries landed in New Zealand in 1814 and by the 1830s, European settlement was on the rise with the number of Europeans growing from 300 to around 2,000 in the decade (Owens 1981, pg.50). The continuing stream of European migrants to the new colony intensified the need for a proper system of law and governance.

In 1833 James Busby, a representative of the Crown, was sent to New Zealand from Sydney. As British Resident, Busby was instructed to promote trade, apprehend escaped convicts and establish order among the people of New Zealand. Busby was destined to fail in his pursuits as the British Government, keen to remain uninvolved in the young colony's issues, bestowed on him no legal powers or military support to assist in fulfilling his duties (Sinclair 2000, pg.52). Essentially, communities in these early years governed themselves. In Kororareka in the Bay of Islands the Kororareka Vigilants' Association was established in 1838 as a protective body that could arrest, try and sentence those who manifested offensive behaviour toward people or property. Punishments imposed by the Association included tarring and feathering, fines and confinement in what is reputed to have been New Zealand's first jail: an old sea-chest with gimlet holes for air (Mayhew 1959, pg.1). Acts of malfeasance however,

remained largely unpunished and where they were dealt with, it was done so without legal mandate.

The booming import and export trade in New Zealand throughout the 1830s, price drops in New South Wales and reports of lawlessness, led to the British annexation of New Zealand in 1840 (Owens 1981, pg.50-51). That same year Captain William Hobson became the first Governor of New Zealand which immediately adopted the laws of New South Wales. On 25 April 1842, the Ordinance that extended the laws of New South Wales to New Zealand was repealed and a new Legislative Council was established (Lingard 1936, pg.8).

In 1852 the Imperial Parliament passed the New Zealand Constitution Act rendering New Zealand a self-governing nation. A notable element of this Act was the provision to divide New Zealand into six, which later became 10, provinces to be run by provincial governments (Aikman & Robson 1967, pg.6). This meant that the growing number of prisons and lockups were also managed provincially and penal policy is just one area which demonstrated the ineffectiveness of separately run regions.

The First Prisons

Prisons and lockups already existed in New Zealand prior to British Sovereignty although they tended to be uncomplicated and unsecure structures. Consequently, prisoners often had to be kept in irons and escapes were an effortless undertaking (Mayhew 1959, p.2). As the number of jails throughout the settlements grew, it became apparent that great disparities existed across the locally developed and administered prison procedures. Moreover, the legality of some of these procedures came into question. In answer to the calls for uniformity came the Ordinance for the Regulation of Prisons 1846. In an attempt to bring about administrative consistency throughout the jails, the Ordinance gave the Governor the authority to pronounce buildings to be jails and to establish regulations for the treatment and discipline of prisoners (Mayhew 1959, p.8). While well intentioned, the Ordinance was not exercised to its full potential. The Governor had the power to appoint Visiting Justices to inspect the local prisons and ensure that the regulations were being adhered to. Often no such assignments were made and the Governor's rules, which could have generated at least some much needed uniformity, were in many cases not put into practice (Mayhew 1959, p.9).

Prisoners in these early jails, which largely consisted of basic wooden structures, lived a relatively dismal existence. Overcrowding was common, food rations were often of poor quality and the conditions were unsanitary. Lack of classification was also a grave problem that meant the petty offender, the murderer and the lunatic were all confined in the same overcrowded space. Gaolers' reports from the 1840s indicate that even women and children were kept in the same jails as the other criminals (Mayhew 1959, pg.9-11). During the day, hard labour prisoners were sent to work, which mainly included toiling on public works such as roads and public institutions, and this was done under the rule of silence (Mayhew 1959, p.9; Pratt 1992, p.79). Inmates were not provided any form of education and by the 1850s unemployment was prevalent throughout most of the jails (Dallard 1980, pp.36-37).

The already desperate state of the prisons worsened when the New Zealand Parliament passed its first major piece of legislation relating to penal law. The system of transportation had meant that the more dangerous criminals in New Zealand could be sent to Van Diemen's Land, now known as Tasmania. By 1852, New Zealand was the only British colony still practicing transportation and it was at this time the British government urged it to cease this method of punishment (Burnett 1995, pg.34). The demand was ignored and authorities in New Zealand plotted to find a way around it. However, the New Zealand Parliament became subject to a decision of the Supreme Court that maintained it could not legislate for the deportation of criminals (Campbell 1967, pg.375-376). Faced with the unfamiliar problem of having to deal with serious offenders within its own borders, the New Zealand Parliament passed the Secondary Punishment Act 1854 which abolished transportation and replaced it with penal servitude. Inmates serving penal servitude were to be employed "on the roads or public works, or otherwise be kept to hard labour in such part of the Colony of New Zealand as the Governor shall in that behalf direct, and either in irons or under such other restraint" (s.9 Secondary Punishment Act 1854). Reprieved capital offenders were to be put to hard labour and separately confined for the rest of their lives, although this stipulation that they remain segregated was repealed in 1863 (Webb 1982, p.12).

By 1853, the provincial governments throughout New Zealand headed their own education, hospitals, immigration and land administration (Dalziel 1981, pg.99). They also assumed responsibility for their own prisons. Initially, the powers of the provincial governments were extensive however, the provinces often met financial troubles and by the late 1860s the

provincial economies fell into a recession (Aikman & Robson 1967, pg.7; Gardner 1981, pg.65). Consequently, prison affairs were neglected and the disorder that was becoming an inherent feature in the colony's jails, escalated.

Further cementing the provinces' authority over their prisons, the Gaoler's Act 1858 put the charge of each institution with the gaoler who was answerable to his provincial government (Mayhew 1959, pg.17). Nevertheless, concerns about the state of prisons persisted and were the topic of concern in a session of Parliament in 1858 (NZPD 1858-1860, p.154). These concerns were echoed by Chief Justice Arney and his colleagues of the Supreme Court in 1861 in a bold letter to the Governor. Justice Arney had visited both the Mt Eden Stockade and the jail in Auckland city prior to addressing the Governor, so he had witnessed first-hand the appalling conditions of which he spoke in the letter (AJHR 1861 D-2 A.6, pg.5). The final recommendation of the Supreme Court judges was that New Zealand's prisons should be brought under a centralised system and be controlled by the State (AJHR 1861 D-2 A.6, pg.13).

Finally, some action was taken in 1866 with the creation of the Penal Establishments Committee. The Committee was formed to investigate the feasibility of centralising New Zealand's prisons, as the judges had advised in 1861. However, the Committee asserted that doing so would incur a number of costs beyond those of running the prisons provincially and held that centralisation was economically unviable (AJHR 1866 F.14, pg.3). Yet again, initiatives to improve the disgraceful state of the prisons were to no avail.

The matter was raised again by the Royal Commission on Prisons in 1868. In its report, the Commission criticised the unnecessarily complex and confusing state of the law concerning prisons, the fact that efforts to classify prisoners were effectively non-existent and that none of the 11 jails around the country were designed or equipped to administer sentences of penal servitude or hard labour. The Commission's recommendations were explicit: penal law should be simplified, prisoners should be housed in separate cells and should no longer work in public. A primary penal institution for long serving penal servitude and hard labour prisoners should be established. Again, the centralisation of the prison system was advocated and the Commission proposed the appointment of an Inspector-General of Prisons to oversee the running of New Zealand's jails (AJHR 1868 A.12, pg.3-4). Moreover, the proposition underlying the Commission's report was that rather than serving as merely a means of safe

custody, prisons should facilitate the moral improvement of criminals (Pratt 1992, pg.123-129).

The government did little to give effect to the Commission's recommendations. In 1873 it passed the Prisons Act which amended and amalgamated the existing laws relating to prisons, however the conditions in the jails remained unimproved (Mayhew 1959, pg.29-30). An entire decade after the Royal Commission on Prisons, the Gaols Management Committee reintroduced the prisons issue and reported that virtually no changes had been made since the 1868 report (AJHR 1878 I.4, pg.i). Formed in 1878, the Gaols Management Committee had politics on their side. Provincial governments had been abolished in 1876 and central government now possessed all economic control. Affairs that had been managed provincially were now the administrative responsibility of central bodies such as education and hospital boards and city councils (Sinclair 2000, pg.160). Government departments were also established, including a Department of Justice (Pratt 1991, pg.130). Thus, it was inevitable that prisons, too, would eventually come under the control of central government and the decision was made to employ a government inspector who would be responsible for the management of the prison system (Pratt 1992, pg.130). The Gaols Management Committee had advised that the person so appointed "should be a man thoroughly trained in the soundest principles of prison management, and should not have been connected with any gaol heretofore established in New Zealand" (AJHR 1878 I.4, pg.i). Accordingly, the vacancy was advertised in England in 1878. Thirty-seven candidates answered the advertisement and on July 7, 1880, Captain Arthur Hume was appointed New Zealand's first Inspector-General of Prisons (Mayhew 1959, pg.39).

The First Inspector-General

Arthur Hume was born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1840 and in keeping with the times, was subject to rigid discipline from an early age. Hume was educated in the austere and unforgiving environment of an 1850s English boarding school and when he joined the army in 1859, discipline, authority and the importance of status would certainly have been reinforced (Mayhew 1959, pg.42). After College, Hume served in the 79th Regiment of Foot or Cameron Highlanders and in 1862 was promoted to lieutenant. Hume served a number of years in India before rising to the rank of Captain three years before his retirement from the army in 1874. It

was at this time Hume joined the prison service. Over the next six years he served as deputy governor of Millbank, Dartmoor, Portland and Wormwood Scrubs prisons under the instruction of Sir Edmund du Cane, the despotic and disciplinarian head of the English prison system (Crawford 2010, pg.1).

It is not surprising, then, that the newly appointed Inspector-General of New Zealand's prisons arrived with a strictly punitive approach to the punishment of criminals and instituted an autocratic regime not unlike that he had left behind in England. As had been the case with penal developments previously, New Zealand's first centrally run prison system had its roots firmly fixed in English tradition.

In his first Annual Report on the disordered prison situation in New Zealand, Hume was explicitly critical. He asserted that the jails were "neither deterrent nor reformatory" and he made a number of recommendations (AJHR 1881 H.4, pg.1). Emulating many aspects of the English system, these proposals included the abolition of education with emphasis instead on the teaching of trades, the prohibition of smoking and restricting communication between prisoners (AJHR 1881 H.4, pg.1-2). Smoking was banned under new Prison Regulations in 1883, although, from 1902 hard labour inmates serving three months or more had a weekly tobacco allowance which was extended to all inmates in 1925 (Webb 1982, pg.91).

Hume's English experience was further manifested in his development of a graduated privilege scheme in which prisoners exhibiting good conduct would advance into classes each involving more privileges. To increase the chances of reformation and avoid 'contamination' of redeemable inmates, Hume advocated the segregation of penal servitude and long-term hard labour prisoners. Consequently, in 1883 he designated the prisons at Auckland, Wellington, Lyttelton and Dunedin as first class prisons for the experienced and repeat offender and New Plymouth, Napier, Wanganui, Nelson, Addington, Westport, Timaru, Hokitika and Invercargill as second class prisons for all other inmates (Mayhew 1959, pg.57). Communication was strictly prohibited although constant overcrowding meant that Hume's rule of silence could never be fully implemented (Newbold 2007, pg.26).

New Zealand's jails at the time lacked the space to properly ensure the separation of repeat and inexperienced offenders and a solution in the form of a central prison was high on Hume's list of plans. Designed to be the main institution in New Zealand, Mt Cook prison in

Wellington was completed in 1897. However, apart from being badly constructed, local residents strongly opposed its location near the centre of town and it was subsequently shut down just three years later. Hume's attention turned to the enclosed lockup at Mt Eden known as The Stockade. Within the walls of The Stockade Hume had an English-style prison erected and it received its first prisoners in 1888. It was this prison at Mt Eden that served as the principal penal institution in New Zealand until it was destroyed in a riot in 1965 (Newbold 2007, pg.27-29).

Prison conditions in New Zealand while Hume was Inspector-General were undoubtedly tough. He believed that prisons had a huge role to play in the deterrence of crime and therefore, life in prison should be significantly worse than the lowest standard of living in the free community (Crawford 2010, pg.1). However, Hume's harsh disciplinarian attitude relaxed a little throughout his tenure and some substantial developments in correctional policy emerged as a result. Recognising that some offenders could be reformed, Hume fully supported the First Offenders Probation Act 1886 which established the first national probation system in the world (Newbold 2007, pg.29). He asserted that a probation system in New Zealand "would lead to the reclaiming of many, and be the means of their redeeming their characters" (AJHR 1885 H.6, pg.4). Hume also moderated his views on prisoner education explaining that he was not against an inmate furthering his education but objected to the mixing of inmates in a classroom situation. That is, he supported an inmate studying alone in his cell and thus did not get involved with the prison schools already in existence (Mayhew 1959, pg.44).

When he first arrived, Hume did not view prison labour favourably, perhaps never fully realising the benefits it could have for both the offender and the country. When he came to New Zealand in 1880, prisoners were mostly employed in menial, uninteresting tasks such as domestic duties about the prison, picking oakum and employed on public works projects, and Hume initially showed no interest in changing this (Mayhew 1959, pg.69). It is thus ironic that eventually Hume's most notable mark on early penal policy in New Zealand was in the area of inmate labour. In 1890, the Inspector-General tested the concept of an open prison by sending 45 prisoners and six officers to Milford Sound to build a carriageway through to Te Anau (Mayhew 1959, pg.83). Due to poor organisation and torrential rain, the Milford experiment failed, but the initiative led to the establishment of a second camp, a tree-planting enterprise at Waiotapu in 1901. This project was extremely successful and as a result, four

more camps were opened at Hanmer Springs in 1903, Dumgree and Waipa Valley in 1904 and at Kaingaroa in 1913. Selected prisoners were employed in tree-planting until 1920 when the last camp at Kaingaroa was passed on to the new Forestry Department. In its 19 years of operation, the tree-planting scheme, through prison labour, had planted nearly 41 million trees over almost 16,000 acres (Lingard 1936, pg.15, 22).

While Hume introduced the tree-planting camps more to remedy inmate unemployment than to assist in the reformation of prisoners, he clearly saw the benefits of an agrarian policy and his camps were a taste of the highly innovative era that came in the wake of his retirement in 1909.

CHAPTER TWO: THE NEW METHOD 1909-1924

While it was successful in bringing uniform and order to a chaotic prison system, Hume's appointment had not been a popular one. Many people involved with the running of the jails resented the appointment of someone outside the colony when in their view New Zealand possessed a number of competent men suitable for the job. Hume also faced constant criticism throughout his tenure for his tactlessness, rigidity and old-fashioned ideas (Mayhew 1959, pg.42). New Zealand was a young country and did not want to be hampered by old English ways. Hume's 29 years as head of New Zealand's prisons can be characterised as unimaginative and orthodox as he largely transplanted English policies and methods to the new system he took over. His retirement in 1909 was met with great relief and his replacement as head of prisons was Dr Frank Hay. However, it was the Minister of Justice, John Findlay who seized the reins on correctional reform and ushered in a complete shift in penal philosophy.

Findlay's New Method

Dr (later Sir) John Findlay was born and educated in New Zealand. A highly intelligent lawyer and scholar, Findlay was respected for his considerate and articulate nature (Hall 2010, pg.2). These qualities were unequivocally evident in his parliamentary addresses in which he fervently conveyed his plans for drastic penal reform in New Zealand. Findlay categorically rejected the previous approach to corrections in New Zealand, deeming it prejudiced, unnecessarily punitive and even a causative factor in the rates of recidivism (NZPD vol.150 1910, pg.346-348). The grim picture Findlay painted for his fellow parliamentarians of the former system was a clear manifestation of his humanitarian principles: "The old method of punishment looked only at the enormity of the offence; it cared nothing for the criminal [...] No attempt was made to go beyond the crime and look into the character of the prisoner" (NZPD vol.150 1910, pg.349).

Findlay's words demonstrate just how deeply influenced he was by the ideologies of the reformatory era which spanned the late 1870s and 1880s. During this time, reformatory style incarceration was developed based on the belief that offenders could be rehabilitated. To

ensure an inmate was not released until he was successfully reformed, his sentence was indeterminate. Alexander Maconochie employed the use of the indeterminate sentence at the prison on Norfolk Island during the 1840s through his mark system, whereby an inmate could earn an early release. Head of the Irish prison system, Sir Walter Crofton, liked the concept and integrated early release into his programme where prisoners received more comfortable conditions as they graduated through four stages. America was impressed with the correctional model in place in Irish prisons and after Crofton himself spoke at the National Prison Association conference in America in 1870, the country was set to establish its own reformatory institution (Schmallegger 2001, pg.447-449). Elmira Reformatory opened in Elmira, New York in 1876 and exemplified the principle of reformation rather than punishment. Elmira received only first offenders between the ages of 16 and 30, based on the notion that reformation was most likely in young offenders. Inmates at Elmira progressed through stages based on their behaviour and achievements in education and training (Stone 2005, pg.286-287).

However, Elmira was a failure, as rates of recidivism among released inmates were high and reformatory methods were seemingly no more successful in curbing reoffending than ordinary prisons. Consequently, the reformatory concept largely faded out in America and Europe by the turn of the century (Schmallegger 2001, pg.447-449). Clearly unaware that the reformatory model was unsuccessful, Findlay constantly sung the praises of Elmira in Parliament and spoke of the huge impact reformatory principles could have on recidivism. Findlay declared an emphasis on reformation to be a 'new method' of penal practice in New Zealand. This new method would:

“attempt to restore a measure of self-respect in the criminal, to find out his physical and mental state, the temperamental conditions, the environment, the circumstances which led to the crime; and, having got that information and that data, (sic) then to prescribe special treatment which will not only protect society, but effect or tend to effect the reformation of the offender” (NZPD vol.150 1910, pg.349).

Findlay's primary instrument in executing his reforms was the Crimes Amendment Act 1910. This law provided for a new sentence of reformatory detention to be served in prison, and the principal vehicle for reform was work. Release was to be determined by the Prisons Board, established under the Act, which would approve an offender's release once satisfied the inmate was 'sufficiently reformed' (s.12 Crimes Amendment Act 1910; Webb 1982, pg.25-

27). However, reformative detention did not operate as it was initially intended. Reformative detainees were often not housed in separate institutions and in 1917 it was made known to the Minister of Justice that they received treatment no different to prisoners serving sentences of hard labour (Mayhew 1959, pg.117). These glitches were never fully rectified and the sentence was abolished in 1954 (Newbold 2007, pg.285).

Findlay also implemented improvements to prison conditions which included changes to the monotonous diet and putting lights in the gloomy cells of Lyttelton prison where inmates were virtually in complete darkness for 11 or 12 hours a day (NZPD vol.150 1910, pg.355). His tenure was, however, short-lived. In the snap election in 1911, Findlay lost his seat when neither the Reform nor Liberal Party gained a majority. The Liberal Party continued to govern until they were overthrown in 1912 and the Reform Ministry took power (Richardson 1981, pg.210).

Led by William Massey, the Reform government shifted the responsibility of prison administration back to the public service. The man to assume the duty of Inspector of Prisons was Charles Matthews who succeeded Frank Hay in 1913 (Newbold 1989, pg.14). While more of a traditionalist than Findlay, Matthews shared similar ideas about the future of New Zealand's prison system (Newbold 2007, pg.36). Like Findlay, Matthews was highly critical of Hume's regime. He claimed that the perpetual discipline that drove Hume's system was repressive and caused the violent outbursts among inmates. Matthews firmly believed that if you treat a man as a brute he will respond like a brute. If, however, you treat a man like a responsible person, he will in turn act like one (Matthews 1923, pg.4). This ideology underpinned the prison system developed under Matthews where work was key. Given the dramatic growth in the farming industry in New Zealand and the fact that the seat of support for Massey's Reformists had largely been the North Island farmers, it is not surprising that Matthews put inmates to work on farmland. It was under this agricultural policy, which Findlay had envisioned and Matthews implemented, that land was acquired at Paparua near Christchurch for the erection of a new men's prison.

The Importance of Farming in New Zealand

To fully understand how farming became the mainstay of prison industry in New Zealand after 1912, the importance of farming at the time needs to be explained.

No detailed information exists on the type of work undertaken by the early settlers in New Zealand but subsistence farming was certainly central to survival in a fledgling colony. It is also known that the New Zealand Company¹ was primarily interested in attracting decent rural labour immigrants and the provinces located near prime agricultural and pastoral land sought farmers (King 2003, pg.173). However, the New Zealand Company was not altogether truthful in its advertising of the new colony, attracting settlers in droves with exaggerated claims of the prosperity to be gained from New Zealand's fruitful soil (King 2003, pg.172). In actual fact, until the later decades of the 19th century, the only farming in New Zealand likely to return a worthwhile profit was sheep farming. Even then the sheep farmer required substantial capital to get started, not so much for the land but for sheep (Sinclair 2000, pg.96). Initially, then, farming for profit in New Zealand was only open to the wealthy.

The growth of pastoralism throughout the 1840s saw great changes in the geographic location of settlers as the sweeping plains on the east coast of both of the country's islands became hubs of the national economy. This 'pastoral age' of the colony continued until the 1860s (Gardner 1981, pg.63-64). However, the more concentrated work of sheep farming was growing in prevalence and significance. By the middle of the 1870s wool had become the chief export. The number of sheep increased by more than threefold and the weight of wool exported shot up fivefold between 1861 and 1870. Thus, the New Zealand economy largely rested on the shoulders of the sheep runholder (Gardner 1981, pg.70).

The prominence of wool continued with the contribution of this primary export to the value of total exports soaring from 37 per cent in 1870 to more than 50 per cent in 1880 (Gardner 1981, pg.74). However, because it relied on exporting most of its goods to Britain and was hampered by debt, the New Zealand economy was fragile. Experiencing its first slump in 1869, the economy plummeted again in 1880. The effects of this second major decline were felt until 1895. Wages were low, unemployment was high, poverty was widespread and staple

¹ Originating in London, the New Zealand Company began as the New Zealand Association which applied Wakefield's theory of 'systematic colonisation' to New Zealand. Wakefield aimed to develop New Zealand into a new and better Britain of the southern hemisphere (King 2003, pg.171-172).

exports were fetching low prices which prevented the progress and growth of farming (Gardner 1981, pg.75). In spite of this, British settlers continued to make the journey to New Zealand and eagerly awaited the chance to move to the countryside and begin farming (Sinclair 2000, pg.174). However, economic conditions meant that many of the unemployed relied on subsistence farming to survive and it thus became increasingly common during the depression that spanned the 1880s and early 1890s (Gardner 1981, pg.81). The face of farming in New Zealand, however, was significantly altered with an innovation that allowed perishable foods to be transported and sold on overseas markets.

The development of refrigeration in the mid-nineteenth century had a considerable impact on farming in New Zealand because it meant meat could be shipped to Britain, essentially opening up a whole new market. New Zealand farmers anxiously awaited the result of the first shipments of frozen meat to leave Australia for England in 1880. The meat was delivered successfully and it was not long before New Zealand trialled the new technology. The first shipment of frozen meat left Port Chalmers in February 1882, bound for England. The cargo sold well and by 1892 New Zealand had 21 freezing works in operation (Gardner 1981, pg.80). Freezer technology provided the young colony with the opportunity to take greater advantage of its most valuable asset: the land. Along with sheep meat, it was now also possible to export dairy products such as butter and cheese. A small capital was sufficient to produce these goods which could be turned out at a fairly low cost. Thus, unlike the large-scale sheep business, the production of these new exports was open to the small farmer (Sinclair 2000, pg.174). As a consequence, the keenness to farm intensified and by 1890, of all the people working in New Zealand, more were employed in small farming than anything else. The number of small farmers continued to grow after 1900 and many of these were subsistence farmers who had struggled through the 1880s (Gardner 1981, pg.81). By the turn of the century, meat and dairy produce joined wool as leading products on the export market and with this the small-scale farmer took on an increasingly important position (Brooking 1981, pg.226).

Figures from the New Zealand Official Year Books illustrate the importance of the small farmer and the country's dependence at this time on its pastoral industry. Comprising frozen meat, wool, butter and cheese pastoral products accounted for 66 per cent of exported goods in 1900 and by 1910 this had risen to 79 per cent (NZ Dept of Stats 1918, pg.310). The value of frozen meat exported almost doubled between 1890 and 1900, rising from £1,087,617 to

£2, 123,881. By 1910, the figure had reached £3,850,777. The sizable contribution wool was making to the New Zealand economy ensured that sheep farmers also remained key players on the export market. The value of wool rose from £4,749,196 in 1900 to £8,308,410 in 1910 (NZ Dept of Stats 1918, pg.308).

A key feature of these early years of the 20th century is the growth of dairying. Refrigeration soon secured a prominent place on the export market for dairy produce. Accordingly, the desire to farm in this area grew. In 1891 the number of dairy farmers in New Zealand was insignificant. By 1901, however, there were almost 5,000 dairy farmers and by 1911 the number had increased threefold. In 1911, the proportion of farmers specifically in dairying was around 33 per cent (Brooking 1981, pg.229). The contribution of dairy produce to the economy grew correspondingly. The value of butter and cheese exported from New Zealand increased markedly from £207,687 in 1890 to £967,731 in 1900. In the next ten years its value more than tripled to £3,007,348 by 1910 (NZ Dept of Stats 1909, pg.354; 1918, pg.308).

The growth of dairy farming further highlighted the differences in land use between the North and South Islands. Huge stretches of land in the North Island became available for settlement from the 1880s and under the Liberal Government land could be subdivided into private sections. As a result, large areas of the North Island were converted into small dairy farms (Richardson 1981, pg.204). Thus, men whose fathers had farmed in the South Island were enticed by these new settlements and the profits to be had from dairy farming. The North Island was warmer and wetter with flat, lush pasture on the volcanic plains of Taranaki and the alluvial soils of the Waikato. Consequently, by the beginning of the new century, the North Island surpassed the South in both economic development and population (Brooking 1981, pg.230-231).

The influence of the farmers in New Zealand during the first decades of the 1900s is indisputable. The development of the Farmers' Union in 1899 gave farmers political clout and helped solidify their position. Some people believed that because New Zealand's prosperity largely depended on the export of primary produce, farmers therefore buttressed the economy and should be a priority to the Government. The Farmers' Union worked to ensure the Government took heed of this argument (Sinclair 2000, pg.212-213). While the Liberal Government had preserved its rural support by backing land subdivision in the North Island,

farmers' demands and grievances grew. Of particular concern to the Farmers' Union was that many farms were run on leased land. Many farmers felt that not even a 999 year lease provided the same security as owning the land privately, which ensured a farmer could work his land unimpeded by the reality another man owned it. Private ownership also meant a farmer was able to pass his land on to his heirs. Farmers were also concerned that if they relinquished their lease, they would forfeit the value of any improvements they had made to the land. So a primary objective of the Farmers' Union was to obtain the right for farmers occupying leased land the right to procure the freehold (Sinclair 2000, pg.213).

While the Liberals won the 1908 election, their dissention on the freehold issue lost them a number of seats and rural support. Subsequent to the election the Farmers' Union and its following of rural traditionalists continued to shift their support to a new group: the Reform Party (Richardson 1981, pg.206).

The views and demands of the Farmer's Union and its increased influence paved the way for a new political party. In 1902, a faction of the Opposition had considered the idea of forming a Country Party but the plan never came to fruition (Sinclair 2000, pg.215). The main voice of this initiative was William Massey so the group's ideas survived when Massey became leader of the Opposition² in 1903 (Sinclair 2000, pg.216). Massey was a farmer himself and when he received his first invitation in 1894 to run for an electorate, it had to be passed to him at the top of a haystack using a pitchfork (Gustafson 2010b, pg. 2). The fact Massey was a farmer, and therefore represented rural values, gained his Opposition Party considerable support in the rural community. The Party did not gain significant momentum until the 1908 election when the Liberals lost a number of predominantly rural seats to Massey's Opposition (Sinclair 2000, pg.217). Massey had firm views on Farmers' entitlements, claiming that because New Zealand was the British Empire's farm of the Southern hemisphere, farmers had the right to all they could get their hands on (Gardner 1969, pg.21; Sinclair 2000, pg.248). It is not surprising then that Massey's Opposition, which became the Reform Party in 1909, derived much of their support from the new generation of small farmers, chiefly the North Island dairy farmers (Sinclair 2000, pg.217).

² The Opposition Party was known as the 'Opposition' until it became the Reform Party in 1909.

By the snap election of 1911 the Reform Party was better organised and they gained a substantial number of votes. Support for the Liberals waned once again but neither party achieved a majority. The Liberal Party remained in government until it was ousted in 1912 when a few of its members gave their support to Massey, including some country Liberal members who backed the contentious freehold policy (Richardson 1981, pg.210). After 22 years in government, the Liberal Party had been defeated by Massey's conservative agrarian party, demonstrating the political influence of farmers and the sentiment of rural conservatism that prevailed in New Zealand at this time.

The "Gospel of Hard Work"

The approach of the new Inspector of Prisons under Massey was certainly indicative of the Government he served, whose values lay in rustic enterprise. Believing in the therapeutic qualities of the outdoors and the wholesomeness of rural life, Charles Matthews' views reflected the dominant ideologies of early 20th century New Zealand. It is not surprising then that work became the keynote of Matthews' system and that farming became the mainstay of prison industry. Aside from the reformatory value Matthews saw in outdoor work, it made sense that in a primary producing country with so much land available, inmate labour would be largely absorbed in agrarian enterprise (Lingard 1936, pg.19). In stark contrast to the monotonous, futile and often non-existent labour of the Hume regime, inmates under the new method would be employed in useful tasks under less rigid supervision (Lingard 1936, pg.15; Matthews 1923, pg.9). Consequently, through what Matthews termed "the gospel of hard work", inmates would become responsible and self-respecting individuals and thus be reformed (Matthews 1923, pg.9). A further benefit of Matthews' agricultural policy is that it gave inmates skills in a growing industry in New Zealand.

In pursuit of these principles, between 1910 and 1925 thousands of acres of land were purchased or reclaimed at Invercargill, Waikeria, Paparua and Wi Tako, where large prison farms were established (Lingard 1936, pg.19). Less permanent camps were also set up in Waikune, Hautu and Rangipo where inmates worked on roads and cleared and cultivated land for sale to settlers (Lingard 1936, pg.19; Mayhew 1959, pg.100).

Built in 1910, the prison at Invercargill was established as a reformatory for youth under 25 years of age and this concept was inspired by the Elmira experiment in the United States and also later developments in England. The idea of the borstal originates from the Gladstone Committee of England which in 1895 recommended the establishment of a 'penal reformatory' for offenders between the ages of 16 to 23. Consequently, the Chairman of the Prison Commission in England visited the reformatories at Elmira and Concord in Massachusetts two years later. It was the training and education system coupled with a gradation scheme at Elmira that made an impression on the English. As a result, a reformatory for young offenders was piloted in Bedford in 1900 and another in the town of Borstal in Kent in 1901. Two years later, the concept was inaugurated at Dartmoor. These institutions ran systems of hard work and discipline and the 'borstal' system was legislated in 1908 under the Prevention of Crime Act (Newbold 2007, pg.287).

These developments directly affected New Zealand where from 1910 the practice of separating young offenders from adults saw reformative detainees aged 25 and under housed at the new prison in Invercargill. As part of the new classification system under Matthews, Invercargill was gazetted as a 'borstal' in 1917. Under the Prevention of Crime Act 1924, the Magistrate's Court could award an offender aged 15 to 21 an indefinite term of one to three years' borstal detention and the Supreme Court could award two to five years (Newbold 2007, pg.38-39).

Also showing the influence Elmira had on New Zealand, Waikeria was gazetted a reformatory where reformable hard-labour prisoners and those serving sentences of reformative detention were sent (Mayhew 1959, pg.102). Prior to Matthews' tenure, the situation in the Canterbury jails was desperate as facilities were archaic and conditions were insanitary and overcrowded. To remedy the problem, a prison farm was commissioned to be built at Paparua and was designated the general prison for the South Island (AJHR 1918 H.20, pg.10).

The Need for a New Prison

When Matthews took over as head of prisons there was a tree-planting camp in Hanmer (closed in 1913) and two jails in Canterbury: Lyttelton and Addington. Lyttelton prison had

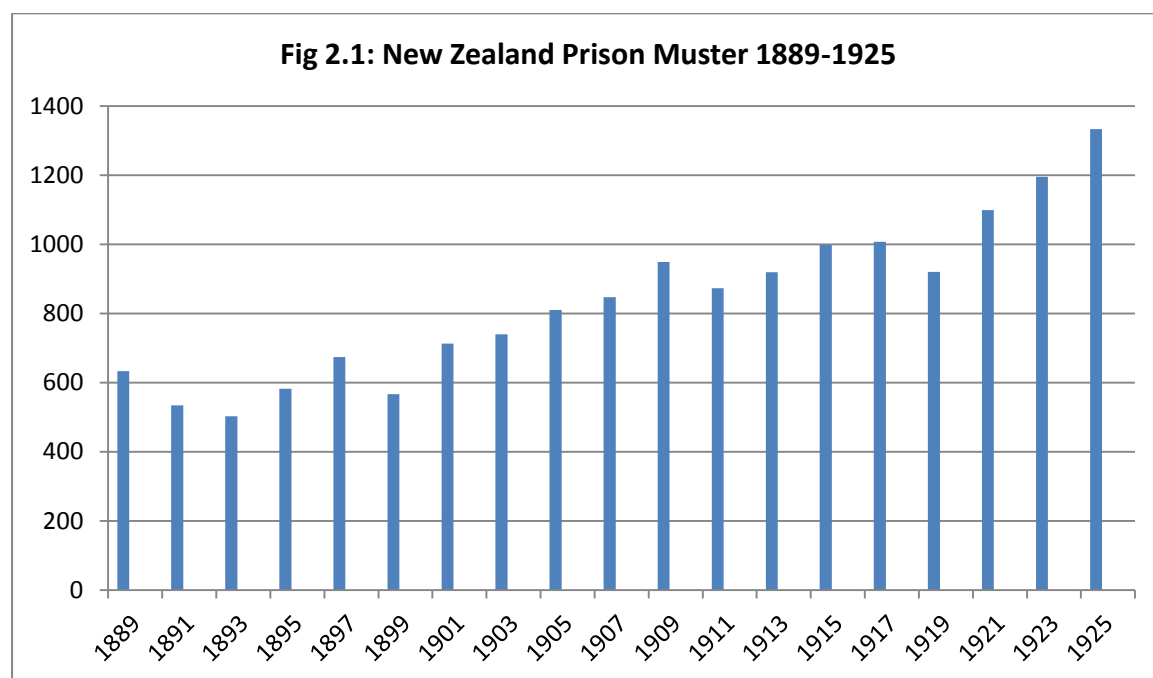
been completed around 1861 and life for a prisoner there was grim. Conditions were harsh and even in its early years, one inmate who had spent time in a number of prisons in England remarked that Lyttelton was the worst he had been in. The poor conditions can largely be attributed to the fact that from the day its doors opened, the gaol was almost always overcrowded. Only two years after receiving its first prisoner, a Supreme Court judge noted that the Lyttelton jail was housing almost double the number of inmates it was designed for. Despite the numerous additions to the original building over the 60 years the jail was in use, it was never big enough and could not keep up with the accelerating population in the Canterbury province (Gee 1975, pg.2-30).

Hoping to alleviate the situation, in 1863 the Provincial Government voted £5,000 to initiate the building of a new 80-bed prison for females at Addington. Building of the Addington prison commenced in the early 1870s and in 1874 a block was erected to house male inmates. The entire prison was not complete until 1876 (Andrews & van Zoggel 2001, pg.13-22). In 1889, Addington was converted into a 'Lunatic Asylum' and in 1896 it became a Samaritan Home for the needy (Newbold 2007, pg.327). In 1912 Addington was re-gazetted a prison and as part of the Department of Justice's new classification policy, Addington was designated an institution for females. As far as possible, female inmates were transferred to Addington from around the country (AJHR 1913 H.20, pg.6). While this was certainly a step in the right direction in terms of effective classification, it was not a solution to the issue of the growing national prison muster. Women comprised just 5.9 per cent of the prison population at the end of 1913, at which time Addington was housing only 19 of these 54 women (AJHR 1914 H.20, pg.18).

This left Lyttelton as the primary institution in the province and with the inauguration of Matthews' 'gospel of hard work' principle, the dilapidated jail's days were numbered. The first reason Lyttelton had to go was it was ill-equipped to implement his policies. The poor conditions at Lyttelton were a recurring theme of the reports of Frank Waldegrave, the Under-Secretary for Justice. In his three reports leading up to the appointment of Matthews, Waldegrave criticised the lack of suitable work for inmates at Lyttelton, attributing it mainly to the inadequate space in the prison. The confines of the jail also inhibited any proper classification and Waldegrave asserted that the prison was totally deficient in facilities needed to carry out reformatory treatment (AJHR 1910 H.20, pg.1; 1911 H.20, pg.1; 1912 H.20, pg.7). The Lyttelton prison was thus unsuitable for work and reformatory treatment,

both of which were paramount to Matthews' system. In his first Inspector's report in 1913, he wrote, "In pursuance of this [agricultural] policy it is proposed to obtain, if possible, an area of land in the Canterbury district to which the prisoners from Lyttelton Prison would be transferred" (AJHR 1913 H.20, pg.4).

Secondly, a new prison was not only needed if Matthews' agrarian program was going to be effectively implemented but also to deal with a prison population that had been increasing steadily since before the turn of the century. Driving the climbing prison population were rising crime rates. Police Reports show that the total reported offences rose from 16,865 in 1899 to 25,415 in 1913 (AJHR 1901 H.16, pg.10; 1914 H.16, pg.15). Consequently, the prison muster rose appreciably in this same period. In 1899, there were 566 people in New Zealand's prisons and by the time a prison farm in Christchurch was being contemplated in 1913, there were 919 (AJHR 1900 H.20, pg.5; 1914 H.20, pg.18).



Source: AJHR 1890-1926 H.20

Finally, it made sense that the small harbour township of Lyttelton would no longer be home to the province's main prison. When plans for the jail were developed, Lyttelton enjoyed the status of chief town in the province as the population was centred there and it was the

industrial hub. However, it was slowly being overshadowed as people began settling on the flatter lands of Christchurch which in the late 1850s was made the capital of Canterbury (Gee 1975, pg.10). By the end of the 1870s Christchurch was worthy of its 'capital' status as its population far surpassed that of Lyttelton (Rice 2008, pg.44). At the first census of the century in 1901, Christchurch boasted 57, 041 citizens against Lyttelton's 4,023, making it the second largest city in the country (NZ Dept of Stats 1902, pg.214; Rice 2008, pg.63). The picture was even clearer in 1911 when the census revealed that 30 per cent of the citizens in Canterbury lived in Christchurch and just two per cent lived in Lyttelton (NZ Dept of Stats 1911, pg.576-579). It made little sense to keep the province's main prison in the harbour town.

Moreover, a large plot was needed for the new prison for Matthews intended to establish a prison farm that would provide agricultural work for a large proportion of the prison population in the South Island (AJHR 1914 H.20, pg.3). Lyttelton simply did not have the space and Matthews' choice of location for the main institution for the South Island could not have been accidental. Canterbury had a lot to offer the agriculturalist with its flat clear lands, and farmers had worked the plains since provincial times (Brooking 1981, pg.231). Wool provided the first real source of income in Canterbury and the province was at the forefront of the pastoral age (Scotter 1971, pg.178). The new prison's location 18 kilometres from the city centre in Templeton, at that time quite a distance from Christchurch, was consistent with the government's desire to have prisons moved out of town centres (NZPD vol.191 1921, pg.817).

In 1914, the plans for a new prison in Canterbury came to fruition when approximately 1,000 acres of Crown land were secured about 12 miles west of Christchurch. The area, which had initially been set aside for other uses, was located near the Templeton Railway Station. The plot consisted of both poor and good quality land which it was hoped inmate labour would transform into a valuable government asset. In the 1915 prison report, Matthews wrote about the progress at the site where work had begun in January that year. Temporary buildings had been constructed to accommodate the inmates as they worked on the first stages of the prison and the staff supervising them (AJHR 1915 H.20, pg.1, 5).

In 1916 the first gaoler at Paparua wrote the first official report on the prison. Unfortunately, the prison reports do not identify who this person was and other relevant material from this

period also neglects to mention him. He stated that both farming and building were begun, using inmate labour, on 20 January, 1915. Official reports do not explicitly state where the first inmates of Paparua came from, but given the overcrowding and surplus of labour at Lyttelton, it is highly likely that many of them came from the local county. Throughout the year the prisoners erected a temporary cell-house, capable of accommodating 24 inmates and two officers, where they would live while working on the permanent prison buildings. Temporary facilities for bathing and cooking purposes were also erected. A carpenters' and smiths' shop were completed along with a large shed where the blocks to build the permanent prison buildings were going to be manufactured. A stable was also set up to house the six horses acquired for farm work (AJHR 1916 H.20, pg.9-10).



Temporary cell-houses made from wood

Source: AJHR 1920 H.20, no page

Despite the fact that almost all the buildings on the site were temporary and the erection of the entire prison, set to be designated the main institution in the South Island, lay ahead, farm work at Paparua commenced almost immediately. Throughout 1915, oats, mangels, potatoes, turnips and vegetables were sown across 111 acres, although, unfavourable weather conditions meant the crops did not do as well as anticipated. To ensure that the inmates were properly educated on the agricultural work they were undertaking, a Fields Instructor, A. Macpherson, visited the prison farm regularly to provide guidance and instructions (AJHR 1916 H.20, pg.9-10). At the end of 1915, the prison's first year of operation, 24 men were detained at Paparua (AJHR 1916 H.20, pg.12).

Paparua Prison- The Early Years

On 28 June, 1914, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian empire, was assassinated in Sarajevo (Ministry for Culture & Heritage 2011b, pg.1). The event triggered immediate alliances and military organisation throughout Europe with the Central Powers of Austria-Hungary and Germany on one side and the Franco-Russian alliance on the other. No sooner had mobilisation in Europe begun than Britain became involved. Following the German invasion of neutral Belgium, King George V declared on 4 August, 1914 that Britain and her Empire were at war with the Central Powers. As a colony of the Empire, New Zealand consequently was at war with Germany and on 5 August from the steps of Parliament a declaration of a state of war was read to an excited crowd (Dench 2005, pg.146). For such a small country, New Zealand's military contribution to World War I was huge. 100,000 soldiers, or 20 per cent of eligible men in New Zealand, were sent overseas at a time when the national population had barely crept over one million. Almost 17,000 of these men were killed and another 41,000 were injured (King 2003, pg.303).

The prisons service, like the rest of New Zealand, could not escape the impacts of the First World War. Firstly, the war had a considerable effect on staff, many of whom were drafted into war service. In his 1916 report, Matthews noted that the prisons branch was already finding it difficult to maintain adequate staffing levels at the tree-planting camps and prison farms. He was quite obviously concerned about the situation as he plainly stated that if all single men were called to serve, the Department of Justice would be left in a problematic position (AJHR 1916 H.20, pg.5). By 1917, more than 33 per cent of prison officers were serving in the war and the diminishing strength reached a point so dire that every time a prison officer was called in the National Service ballot, it was appealed by the Prisons Department (AJHR 1917 H.20, pg.8). Prison officers were not easily replaced and the men not enlisted who were willing to take on the role were often too old or unfit for the job. Soldiers who had returned home due to injury were also found to be unsuitable (Mayhew 1959, pg.111).

A further problem for prisons during the years of World War One was that, particularly from 1915, the delivery of materials required to proceed with building projects was significantly

delayed (AJHR 1916 H.20, pg.3). This, coupled with the reduction in prison officers, somewhat slowed down the progress of the new prison at Paparua. By the end of 1916, only the foundation and special blocks for the base of the prison were completed. Headway was also hampered by the arrival of military objectors into New Zealand's prisons. Not only did these protesters form a whole new class of prisoner that the authorities were totally unfamiliar with, but room had to be found to accommodate them (Mayhew 1959, pg.111). By 1918, there were 212 court-martialled soldiers and conscientious objectors in New Zealand prisons and they represented 21 per cent of the total prison muster. By August 1918, 57 of the 212 court-martialled soldiers in New Zealand were detained at Paparua prison. The large jump in the number of defaulters at Paparua from 1917 to 1918 (see fig 2.2 below) can be explained by the fact the prison was able to accommodate more prisoners due to the erection of two additional temporary cell-houses in 1918. Paparua's daily average of prisoners at this time was 95 so, more than half of the inmates at the prison were military defaulters and war resisters (AJHR 1918 H.20, pg.3). The Department's policy on military prisoners was that they were to be kept completely separate from other inmates. Adhering to this rule would have slowed down the work on the permanent buildings at Paparua prison because if the military prisoners could not associate with other prisoners, they could not work with them. Therefore, less than half of the men at the prison were working on the construction of the permanent buildings. In 1918, Matthews acknowledged this as a principal factor in the lack of progress on the permanent prison building at Paparua.

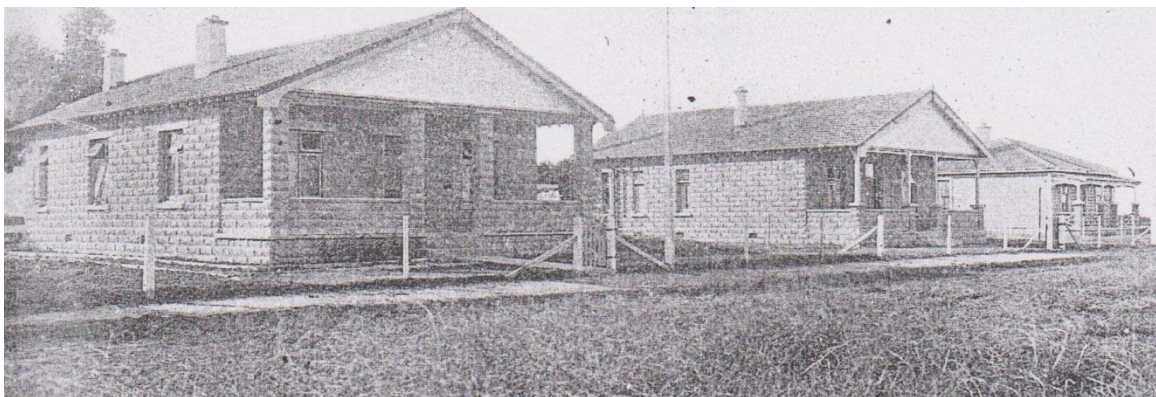
Fig 2.2: Daily Average Number of Court-Martialled Prisoners in Custody at Paparua Prison

1915	1916	1917	1918
0	1.980	2.229	44.256

Source: AJHR 1919 H.20

Inmate labour had, however, made a number of improvements to the temporary cell-houses in which the prisoners were currently being housed in, including the installation of hot water and electric lights. In 1916, the inmates built another temporary cell-house to accommodate 26 prisoners and they erected two punishment cells (AJHR 1917 H.20, pg.13). By 1917 the demolition of part of the old Lyttelton gaol had also begun and many of the materials extracted from the site were utilised in the building of these temporary structures at Paparua (AJHR 1918 H.20, pg.6).

Throughout 1918, inmates erected another two temporary cell-houses capable of holding 60 prisoners. The beds were filled almost immediately, a number with military defaulters. Eventually, all prisoners were to be housed in the permanent prison buildings and the temporary cell-houses would be done away with. As parts of the permanent prison were completed, inmates gradually vacated the cell-houses and moved into the new cell blocks. Also in 1918, the number one cell range of the Western block of the permanent concrete prison was virtually finished and the cells on the ground floor received their first prisoners. Two cottages to accommodate officers were completed and inmates were working on a third cottage and a Gaoler's residence (AJHR 1919 H.20, pg.10). The need for the prison at Paparua and the Prison Department's haste to make it the principal institution in the South Island is evident in the prison's statistics. As more cells became available they were immediately occupied. In 1918, Paparua received 138 inmates, 37 more than the previous year. The total number of men at the prison at the end of 1918 was 117, which was 54 more than it housed 12 months before (AJHR 1919 H.20, pg.25-26). In December 1919, the last of the remaining inmates at the Lyttelton jail were transferred to the cells of the new permanent prison at Paparua. For nearly 60 years criminals had passed through the doors of Lyttelton but by the end of 1919, its days as a prison were over. It was temporarily reduced to the status of a police jail before being demolished in 1922 (AJHR 1920 H.20, pg.7; Gee 1975, pg.87)

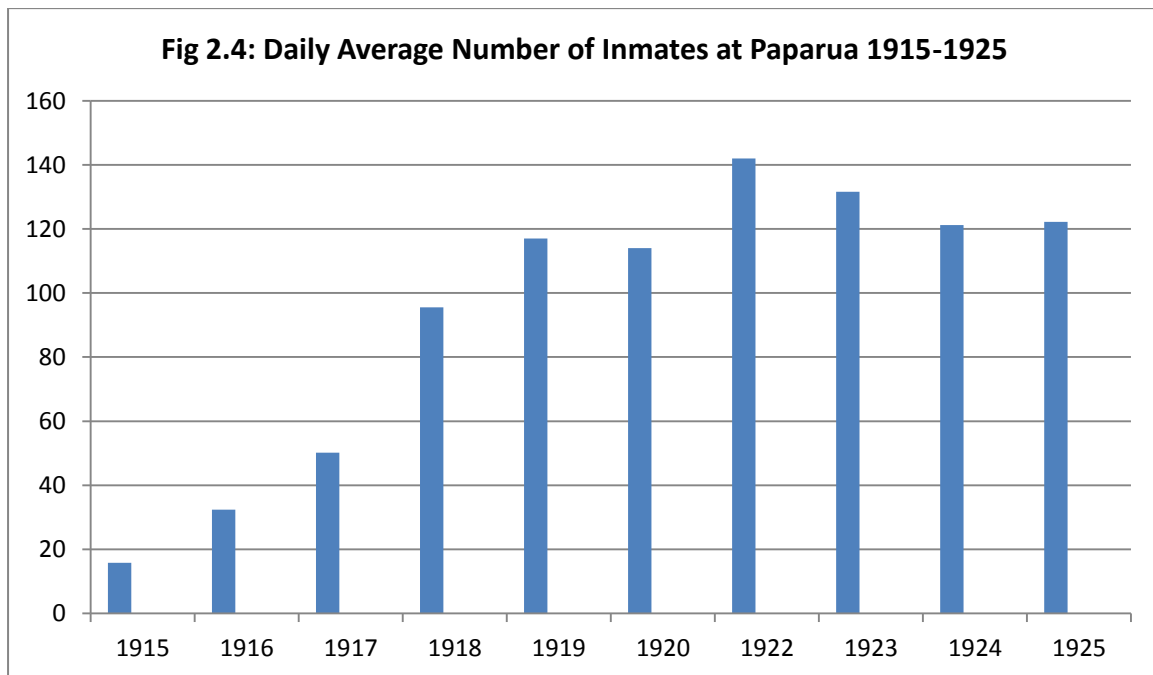


Three officers' cottages built with concrete blocks and roofed with concrete tiles
Source: AJHR 1920 H.20, no page

Fig 2.3: Paparua Prison Muster 1915-1925

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number at start of year</i>	<i>Received during year</i>	<i>Discharged/ transferred</i>	<i>Number at end of year</i>	<i>Daily average of prisoners</i>
1915		49	25	24	15.79
1916	24	81	64	41	32.43
1917	41	101	78	64	50.15
1918	64	138	85	117	95.5
1919	117	149	168	98	117.02
1920	98	335	284	149	114
1922	158	382	393	147	142
1923	147	441	457	131	131.58
1924	131	359	367	123	121.24
1925	123	494	484	133	122.18

Source: AJHR 1916-1926 H.20



Source: AJHR 1916-1926 H.20

Staff levels at Paparua were increased in 1919 to manage the growing muster. The department was probably able to do so due to the end of the First World War in 1918. Thus, on 31 March, 1919 the prison farm had a total of 24 staff: one gaoler, three principal warders, 12 warders, seven temporary warders and one medical officer (AJHR 1919 H.20, pg.7).

Building of the permanent prison at Paparua kept inmates busy until the mid-1920s. All of the concrete blocks and concrete roofing tiles required for the structure were manufactured by prisoners on the site. They also made parts of the fence that was erected around the prison in 1918 and constructed the road at the boundary of the prison property (AJHR 1919 H.20, pg.18). In 1920, the permanent kitchen block was finished and in 1922 the second cell range of the Western block was nearing completion (AJHR 1921 H.20, pg.12; 1923 H.20, pg.7). The prisoners even built their own exercise yards which were located between the East and West cell blocks (AJHR 1924 H.20, pg.12). The Eastern cell block was almost finished in 1925 and was occupied by prisoners throughout the year. The interior of the administrative block, which was located in front of the Eastern and Western cell blocks, was the last of the work left to be done at the end of 1925 when Paparua prison was all but completed (AJHR 1926 H.20, pg.14).

The available accommodation during the early 1920s was actually higher than when the permanent jail was finished because inmates were housed in temporary cell-houses as well as in the new concrete cell blocks. For example, in 1924, Paparua had accommodation for 196 prisoners (NZ Dept of Stats 1926, pg.254) However, as the permanent Western and Eastern cell blocks were completed, the temporary accommodation was gradually pulled down. Thus, from the end of 1925 Paparua could now hold up to 146 inmates (NZ Dept of Stats 1927, pg.273). Eventually, though, the two cell blocks at Paparua, each with 60 cells, could accommodate a total of 200-240 prisoners if the men were doubled up. This suggests that when the Eastern cell block was occupied in 1925, it may have only been the bottom floor and as the top level was completed the total capacity was increased from 146 to around 200.



Western cell range with the kitchen block and laundry at the back

Source: AJHR 1920 H.20, no page

Principal Industries

As well as working on the new prison, inmates at Paparua were increasingly employed in other areas. Notwithstanding the emphasis on agrarian work, the importance of industrial prison labour had not been forgotten (Lingard 1936, pg.22). In early 1919, the bootmakers' shop at Lyttelton prison was transferred to Paparua where all of the boots required for staff and inmates in South Island prisons were manufactured (AJHR 1919 H.20, pg.11). The production of concrete products was also a primary industry at the prison and was a valuable source of revenue for the Prisons Department. Inmates were employed in the making of concrete blocks and tiles (for the prison building and outside requirements), concrete flagstones and concrete telegraph poles (AJHR 1918 H.20, pg.7).

A large proportion of the inmates at Paparua were, of course, employed in farming. With its large farm that encompassed a broad range of cultivation work, Paparua epitomised Matthews' belief in the benefits of hard work and the fresh air of the countryside. The developments at the prison farm were recorded with great enthusiasm in the Annual Reports, which clearly confirmed the Department's faith and satisfaction in the agricultural policy. In his 1920 report to Matthews, M. Hawkins, Inspector of Prisons, wrote that Paparua prison, "serves to demonstrate that farming is the best possible employment for prisoners" (AJHR 1920 H.20, pg.12). The farm work at the prison included tending crops which provided for the inmates' rations with any surpluses being sent to the market for auction. In 1925, the farm at Paparua produced enough potatoes not only for its own inmates but also for all of the prisons in the North Island (AJHR 1926 H.20, pg.14). That same year, the value of the farm and garden produce from the prison used for institutional purposes was more than any other institution (AJHR 1926 H.20, pg.6). From 1918 the prison also had its own poultry farm.

The farming of livestock at the prison was extremely successful. 655 lambs and 43 pigs were bred on the Paparua prison farm in 1918, the sale of which contributed £455 to the Department's annual revenue credited to the prisons vote. In 1920, this figure had climbed to £967. The total cash received from all stock and produce at Paparua increased from £1,443 in 1918 to £1,756 in 1920. The value of the work at Paparua to the Prisons Department is particularly clear when compared with the total revenue generated by New Zealand prisons. In 1918, Paparua made £2,725 which was equivalent to 12.5 per cent of the total cash received and credited to the prisons vote by the Department. By 1920 this figure has

increased to £7,640 which now amounted to almost 20 per cent of the total revenue from prisons (AJHR 1919 H.20, pg.3; 1921 H.20, pg.4).



The flock of sheep at Paparua prison

Source: AJHR 1920 H.20, no page

Inmates at the prison took pride in their farm work which was apparent in the quality of the goods produced. The Gaoler at Paparua proudly reported that fat lambs from the prison farm won second prize in the Royal show in 1925, making them the best in the South Island (AJHR 1926 H.20, pg.14). From 1924 the main form of farming at Paparua changed from sheep-raising to dairying. This was possibly to help with the town milk supply of a rapidly expanding Christchurch. In the ten years between 1914 and 1924, the population of Christchurch city had jumped up by 43 per cent from 56,510 to 80,897 people. The growth of greater Christchurch was also substantial with the total population of the city, outer boroughs and suburbs increasing by 33 per cent from 86,410 to 115,360 (NZ Dept of Stats 1914, pg.104, 106; 1925, pg.98). Demand for milk also increased with the scheme that provided free milk in school, however this was not implemented until 1937 (Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2011a, pg.1). After the switch in focus to dairying in 1924, the farm at Paparua prison procured a dairy herd of 157 and it was felt that their maintenance provided a pleasant form of work for the inmates (AJHR 1924 H.20, pg.12).

From 1921 the prisoners at Paparua had more than just a successful farm to show for their work. Under new prison regulations effective from January 1921, inmates with dependents were able to earn a wage after serving the first three months of their sentence. The rate of pay

was 8s per day for general labour and 10s per day for skilled work. Half of their weekly earnings were put towards the cost of maintenance and supervision and the other half was given to his dependents (AJHR 1921 H.20, pg.5).

Life at Paparua Prison

Life for an inmate at the Paparua prison farm would certainly have been different from the monotonous and oppressive existence of Hume's time. The more humane approach taken by Matthews ensured that productive work was no longer a secondary consideration and where work was provided, it would not be of a degrading nature (Matthews 1923, pg.8). The various industries at Paparua ensured that all able-bodied men were employed in useful and interesting tasks in which they were able to see the results of their efforts (Mayhew 1959, pg.105). Inmates were not subject to the rigid discipline that preceded Matthews and instead served their sentences in more relaxed, open and healthy conditions.

Corresponding with his philosophy that if you treat a man as a responsible person he will act accordingly, Matthews abolished the carrying of firearms by officers in the reformatories and prison farms (Matthews 1923, pg.13). Although Paparua was the principal institution for the South Island and consequently received all classes of offenders, all officers including sentries on duty at Paparua were now unarmed. This more humane treatment of prisoners and the semi-free conditions no doubt cultivated a less stressful environment and fostered a better relationship between inmates and staff. Consequently, the overall conduct of prisoners across all the prisons improved and assaults on staff, once a daily occurrence, became rare (AJHR 1923, pg.6; Mayhew 1959, pg.105). Matthews also noted a marked reduction in the number of rule infringements, undoubtedly a result of the improved conditions (Matthews 1923, pg.14).

In spite of these less strict conditions, escapes from Paparua were rare. Escape figures were not consistently included in the annual prison statistics, but from the figures available, between 1918 and 1925 there were six recorded escapes from Paparua (AJHR 1919-1926 H.20). Between 1920 and 1923 there were none at all.

Essentially, during Matthews' time in office, the New Zealand prison system was completely transformed. The lighting in prisons was improved and lighting hours were extended. From 1913, the broad arrow markings were removed from prisoners clothing (Newbold 2007, pg.39). Education became a permanent feature of prisons and from 1920, evening classes were available at Paparua for those inmates who wished to improve their education (AJHR 1921 H.20, pg.8). From 1922, the classes were run by a qualified schoolmaster and the curriculum consisted of English, arithmetic, geography and reading and writing (AJHR 1923 H.20, pg.10). The report of the schoolmaster, attached to the annual report of the prison, consistently commended the behaviour and progress of the inmates partaking in the class. Fortnightly concerts from social workers and voluntary groups from Christchurch provided entertainment for the Paparua inmates from around the beginning of the 1920s. The men were also able to enjoy moving pictures regularly, the showing of which was eagerly awaited (AJHR 1923 H.20, pg.10).

When Charles Matthews died in 1924, the agrarian programme was fully operational. The number of prisoners employed in outdoor work projects had increased significantly from eight per cent in 1910 to 70 per cent in 1923 (Matthews 1923, pg.9). Matthews had succeeded in creating a more humane and peaceful prison system where attempts were made to help a prisoner change his ways before he was released back into the community. However, as it has tended to do in New Zealand, the arm of penal reform following the Matthews era swung from liberalism to conservatism and inertia which characterised the prison system for the next 24 years.

CHAPTER THREE: AN ERA OF PENAL CONSERVATISM 1925-1949

In the 14 years since Hume's retirement the prison system in New Zealand had been totally turned around, with a reformatory approach replacing that of punitive custody. However, tolerance for penal liberalism was diminishing and some thought Matthews' prison system was too soft. Furthermore, the post-World War One economy was shaky and a number of Matthews' experiments had been expensive and unsuccessful. It was thought a tighter fist on prison spending was needed and this was pivotal in the selection of the man to take Matthews' place (Dallard 1980, pg.47; Newbold 2007, pg.40).

Charles Matthews was briefly succeeded as head of prisons by Michael Hawkins, who had previously worked as the gaoler at Invercargill and later as Matthews' deputy (McKenzie 2004, pg.150). Under the Prisons Amendment Act 1919, the permanent head of the Prisons Department became known as the Controller-General of Prisons and his scope of power was broadened (AJHR 1920 H.20, pg.8). The man to assume the new role after Matthews' death was Berkeley Lionel Scudamore Dallard. It is not at all surprising that Dallard was an accountant and thus his appointment, at a time of growing conservatism, must have seemed a logical move.

Known among his friends as Bert, Dallard was born in Christchurch in 1889. He was educated at Waikari Public School and Rangiora High School and in 1906 he represented Canterbury in junior rugby. In 1907 he was successful in his junior civil service examination at which time he became a cadet in the Stamp Department in Wellington. Having studied at Victoria University College, Dallard became a qualified accountant and transferred to the Audit Department in 1913. He was later given control of the Imperial Government Supply Department and was made advisory accountant to the Board of Trade (Newbold 2010, pg.1). A dedicated public servant, Dallard was appointed Public Service Commission Inspector in 1924. Demonstrating his accounting proficiency in this role, Dallard caught the eye of the Commissioner who encouraged him to take the position as Controller-General of Prisons in 1925 (Newbold 1989, pg.5).

Bert Dallard Takes Over

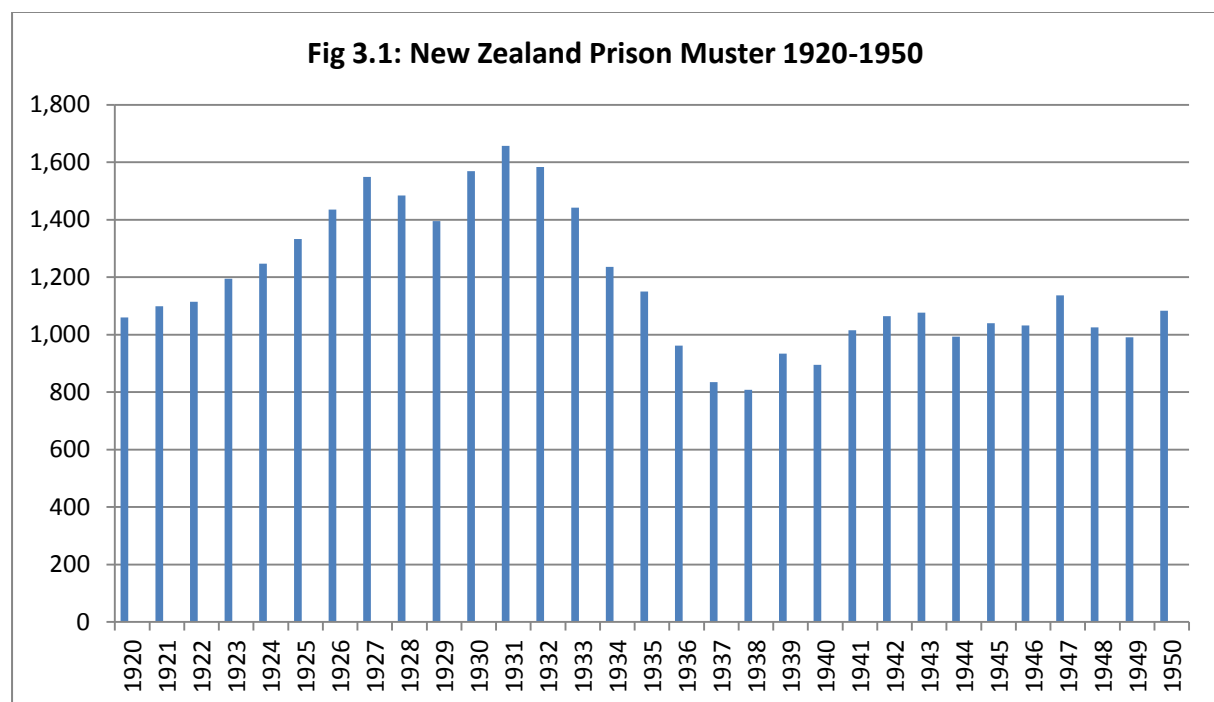
Dallard took a very conservative stance, reflecting the attitude of people in New Zealand in the mid-1920s. This is likely one reason why he was deemed a suitable head of the Prison Department following a very liberal era in penal policy. His personal beliefs unequivocally conveyed his deep conservatism: he believed in the sterilisation of mental defectives, avidly supported capital punishment for murderers, despised homosexuals and disapproved of pacifists (Newbold 2010, pg.1). However, the new Controller-General possessed little knowledge of penal philosophy and the New Zealand prison system. True to his assiduous and loyal character, upon his appointment, Dallard immediately began acquainting himself with the philosophy of his department and in 1925 he attended the International Penal and Penitentiary Congress in London (Newbold 1989, pg.6). He also made visits to every prison around New Zealand to see how they were running.

Dallard was less than impressed with what he saw. He believed that Matthews had left too much of the running of the jails to the Senior Warders who advocated “hard work, hard bed, hard fare” and that the conditions reflected this ideology (Dallard 1980, pg.54). In his book published in 1980, Dallard recollects his first visit to Mt Eden, “Even today I distinctly recall the revolting smell of unwashed bodies at Mt Eden prison” (Dallard 1980, pg.54). This also reflects the repugnance he felt for lock-up prisons and in his first Annual Report of 1926, Dallard made no effort to hide his dissatisfaction with the existing jails, including Paparua. Not surprisingly, Dallard’s first criticism was an economic one. He disapproved of the great cost of building the new prisons at Invercargill, Waikeria and Paparua, of which Paparua was by far the most costly. He felt that the erection of expensive permanent buildings on the prison farms was a mistake and that hutments were a more satisfactory form of accommodation. Not only were hutments cheaper to construct but, Dallard claimed, they were more conducive to reformation because inmates took more of an interest in them than they did in their cells (AJHR 1926 H.20, pg.10-11).

Secondly, despite the vast improvement to prisons since the time of Hume, Dallard was not satisfied that the prison system was operating according to modern ideas and standards. He asserted that while Paparua and the other new institutions had a less forbidding appearance than some of the older jails, their design was unsuitable for proper classification and a gradation scheme (AJHR 1926 H.20, pg.10-11). Separation of different classes of prisoners

would have been more difficult at Paparua because there were only two wings and they were built with two levels of cells running the length of each building, one after the other. Dallard believed strongly in both the deterrent and reformatory functions of prison, and penal institutions were run according to these two principles during his time in office (Newbold 2010, pg.2).

Finally, Dallard felt that the prison industries developed under Matthews were not operating to their full potential. Consequently, in his 1926 report, Dallard explained his plans to revive prison industry, the linchpin of which would continue to be primary production. He wrote, “New Zealand is essentially a primary producing country, consequently the greatest opportunity for rehabilitation exists in connection with farming-work” (AJHR 1926 H.20, pg.5). Dallard began expanding the agricultural programme already functioning in a number of prisons and he transformed the land development camps at Hautu and Rangipo into efficiently run farms (Newbold 2007, pg.40). Analysis of the Annual Prison Reports reveals that during the 24 years under Dallard, the farm at Paparua was run more efficiently than any other time in the history of the prison.



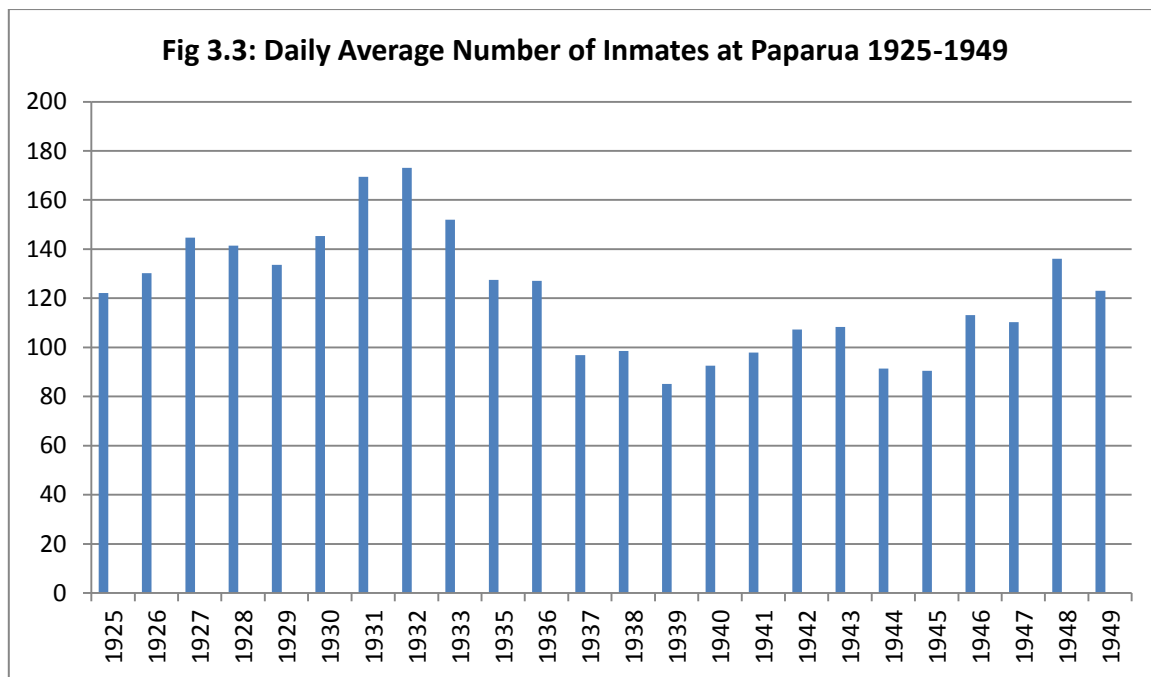
Source: AJHR 1921-1951 H.20

For most of his tenure, Dallard headed 12 prisons: Addington, Mt Eden, Hautu, Invercargill, Napier, New Plymouth, Paparua, Rangipo, Waikune, Wanganui, Wellington and Wi Tako; three reformatories: Addington Women's, Arohata Women's and Waikeria; and three borstals: Arohata, Invercargill and Waikeria. The prison population in Dallard's time peaked at 1,657 in 1931 during the Great Depression but musters dropped to 808 in 1938 and remained fairly steady for the rest of his term as Controller-General (AJHR 1932 H.20, pg.25; 1939 H.20, pg.24).

Fig 3.2: Paparua Prison Muster 1925-1949

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number at start of year</i>	<i>Received during year</i>	<i>Discharged/ transferred</i>	<i>Number at end of year</i>	<i>Daily average of prisoners</i>
1925	123	494	484	133	122.18
1926	133	498	485	146	130.27
1927	146	551	527	170	144.63
1928	174	560	600	134	141.37
1929	138	586	588	136	133.54
1930	136	470	622	165	145.32
1931	165	768	765	168	169.48
1932	168	794	806	156	173.14
1933	156	601	603	154	151.94
1935	134	437	443	128	127.51
1936	128	425	452	101	127.14
1937	101	473	486	88	96.8
1938	88	525	534	79	98.48
1939	79	491	486	84	85.11
1940	84	474	469	89	92.55
1941	89	475	450	114	97.88
1942	114	500	509	105	107.31
1943	105	422	429	98	108.36
1944	98	349	370	77	91.35
1945	77	390	360	107	90.43
1946	107	469	444	132	113.19
1947	132	529	532	129	110.21
1948	129	589	581	137	136.05
1949	137	466	478	125	123

Source: AJHR 1926-1950 H.20



Source: AJHR 1926-1950 H.20

The Paparua muster while Dallard was in charge of prisons was essentially a microcosm of the overall prison population. As seen in fig 3.3, numbers fluctuated slightly throughout the 1920s before peaking in the early 1930s during the Depression. The muster waned for the remainder of the 1930s and was relatively consistent the following decade up until Dallard's retirement. Obviously crime rates are a principal factor in muster changes and it is significant to note that the inter-war period and the following decade were considered a "policeman's paradise", particularly with regard to the maintenance of order (Dunstall 1999, pg.131). New Zealand society in the 1920s to the 1940s was uniquely stable and peaceful and the level of social cohesion saw an overall decrease in serious crimes (Dunstall 1999, pg.4). This goes some way toward explaining the relatively stable prison muster during Dallard's tenure.

Aside from his expanded agricultural programme, the Dallard era is remembered for its stiffness, frugality and stagnation. While this essentially comes down to the austere and orthodox personality of Dallard himself, his caution with spending fitted in with the prevailing sentiment during economic decline. To fully understand this, a word must be said about the economic context in which he ran New Zealand's prisons.

The Inter-War Economy

During the short 20 year respite between the two world wars, the economy fluctuated constantly. The people of New Zealand experienced both prosperity and crisis in the 1920s and 1930s and little room was left for financial recovery when once again a war was on the horizon. In corrections, this era is remembered for its inactivity which can largely be attributed to the erratic economy.

For two years after the end of World War One, New Zealand basked in the victory of war and thriving exports as the wartime prices for primary produce remained high. Riding on the back of the British credit boom, the Reform Government purchased large pieces of land to divide into settlements for returned Servicemen. This in itself was costly and veterans were also able to take out large mortgages, the sums of which they realistically were not in a position to pay back (Sinclair 2000, pg.253). The consequences of such high-scale debt began to show in 1920 when prices for primary exports began to drop rapidly but production costs had risen. By mid-1921, export prices had slumped further and a number of farmers and settled soldiers were unable to make repayments on their loans (King 2003, pg.317). Several farms were abandoned and there were numerous foreclosures (Burdon 1965, pg.41). Despite a slight improvement between 1923 and 1925, export prices decreased again and were unstable for the remainder of the decade (Sinclair 2000, pg.253). The country also faced a growing burden of debt.

The precarious financial position in New Zealand at the end of the 1920s was not cause for alarm on its own because while living standards had not greatly improved, neither had they worsened (Simpson 1990a, pg.37). However, the domestic economy needed little to lead it into crisis and this is exactly what happened in 1929 when stock prices in the United States began to fall and then crashed in October that year. New Zealand could not have been in a worse position to deal with the Depression and the effects were devastating. Under the Unemployment Act 1930, the United Government established the Unemployment Board which ran various relief schemes. However, poverty was still widespread and in 1933, at the height of the Depression in New Zealand, the number of males registered as unemployed peaked at 79,435 (NZ Dept of Stats 1940, pg.854). It is thought that the total number of unemployed males was actually more than 100,000, representing 40 per cent of the male workforce (King 2003, pg.347).

When an embittered New Zealand public went to the polls in 1935, memories of the Depression would not have been far away. This is likely what led to the defeat of the government and the victory of the first ever Labour Government that took power with Michael Joseph Savage as the Prime Minister (Baker 1965, pg.4). In 1938, the new Labour Government passed the Social Security Act which embodied their vision for protection for all New Zealanders from the cradle to the grave. The act provided for allowances and pensions and free health care services and thus, the welfare state was born (Burdon 1965, pg.236).

Throughout the rest of the 1930s, the economy began to recover but it was not long before New Zealand was once again dealing with war. After Germany invaded Poland on 1 September, 1939, New Zealand, independently of Great Britain, declared war on Germany two days later (King 2003, pg.392). Of the 194,000 men and 10,000 women who served in New Zealand's armed forces, 140,000 served overseas and 11,500 were killed (King 2003, pg.407).

Dallard's Contribution to Prisons

In light of the economic climate in which Dallard ran prisons, his modifications were necessarily small. He improved education and classification in prisons and in stark contrast to the administration that preceded him, only one institution, the women's borstal at Arohata, was built during his time (Dallard 1980, pg.55). In response to the smell of unwashed bodies at Mt Eden, which Dallard abhorred, he ordered the distribution of carbolic soap to all inmates, including those at Paparua. In prisons that did not have showers, he had them installed and he increased the number of baths allowed. Clearly not something they were used to, Dallard joked that some prisoners asked if the additional bath was included in their sentence. In addition, all inmates were issued with bed sheets, on account of both hygiene and economics, and Dallard had some cells fitted with air vents.

Paparua prison had barely been completed when Dallard took control of prisons, so many of these modifications were not needed there. A thoroughly modern institution at this time, Paparua had a septic tank, thus flushing toilets, however since these were not installed in cells, prisoners would have had to resort to their enamel chamber pots after lockup. The prison had a brand new drainage system, hot and cold water systems and the ablutions section

of the kitchen block had showers. The kitchen was fitted with electric cooking equipment and the prison was electrically lighted (AJHR 1920 H.20, pg.17).

Epitomising his own conservative nature, Dallard sought to make prisons self-sufficient, which suited the tone of the late 1920s well. His reorganisation of prison industries significantly increased the economic efficiency of the institutions and his expanded agricultural scheme was his most valuable contribution to corrections in New Zealand (Newbold 1989, pg.6). The success of this scheme is illustrated by the figures in the Annual Prison Reports. The total value of prison labour employed in the area of 'Farms and Gardens' at the end of Matthews' tenure was £11,974 (AJHR 1924 H.20, pg.4). By March 1929, Dallard had substantially increased the value of farm and garden work to £23,273 (AJHR 1930 H.20, pg.33). This was achieved through the large number of inmates at Paparua and other prison farms engaged in agrarian work. Fifty-four per cent of the male prison population in 1934 were working at prison farms and camps and 33.5 per cent of the total time worked by inmates was spent on agricultural work (Lingard 1936, pg.21).

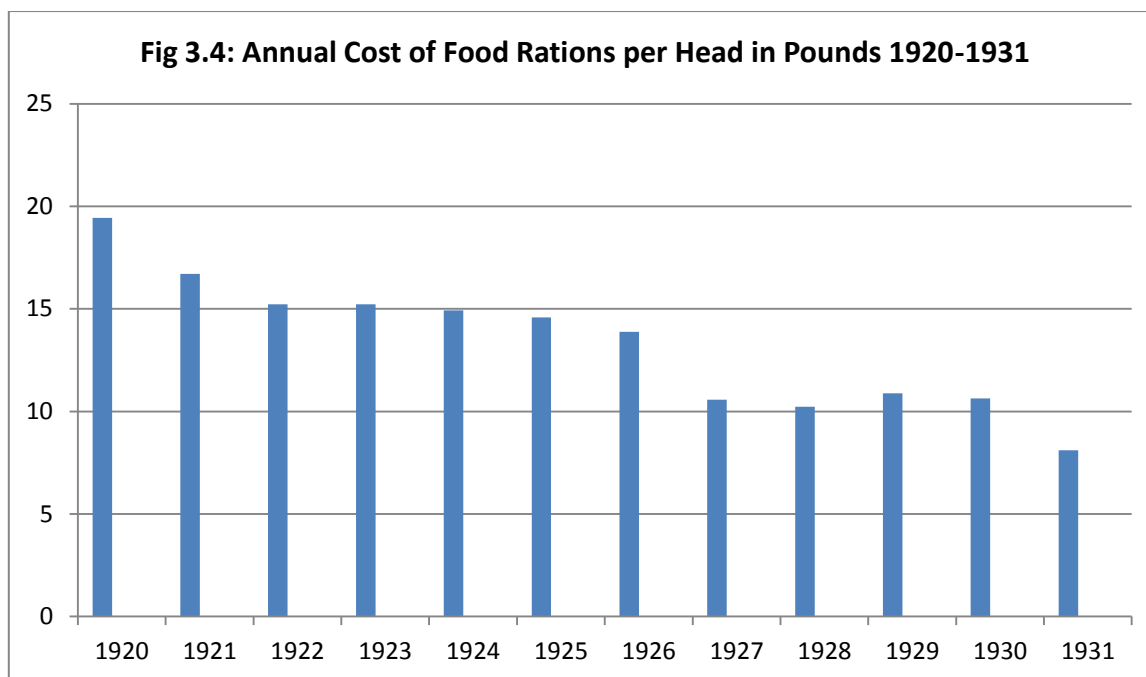
Until the gravel pit was established in 1930, most of the 130 to 140 inmates at Paparua worked on the farm. The prison played a huge part in Dallard's agricultural programme and also in his pursuit of self-sufficiency. In his 1928 report, Dallard boasted that the farm work at Paparua, along with Invercargill, Waikeria and Wi Tako, was the leading industry in the Department's enterprises (AJHR 1928 H.20, pg.4). Tasks on the farm at Paparua primarily focused on the cultivation of cereal and root crops and the rearing of sheep (AJHR 1938 H.20, pg.12). There was also plenty of work in the pig and poultry industries and the farm had a small herd of cows that produced the prison's milk supply (AJHR 1948, pg.17). Teams of horses and a tractor which inmates operated were used to assist the work (AJHR 1946 H.20, pg.19).

Ostensibly, prisoners at Paparua had the opportunity to gain experience across a broad range of farm work, which could potentially have helped them gain employment upon release. Farming in New Zealand in the 1930s and early 1940s was less mechanised and still relied on the one third of the labour force employed in agriculture (Hawke 1981, pg.378-379). For precisely this reason, Dallard attempted to keep the Department's farms as unspecialised as possible (AJHR 1948 H.20, pg.9). As this information is derived from the prison reports, it reflects the Department's optimistic perspective of how the farm was running. Having spent

time in three of New Zealand's prisons in the 1940s, pacifist Ormond Burton asserted that in reality, much inmate labour was wasted through archaic and uneconomic methods (Burton 1945, pg.56).

Even so, the farm at Paparua was still economically effective. The entire meat and vegetable component of inmates' rations came from the farm and Paparua supplied its own milk. In 1930 it was noted that the prison also made all of its own bread. Paparua provided large amounts of vegetables for other prisons and in 1930 the farm and garden produce used from Paparua was worth more than that produced by any other institution (AJHR 1930 H.20, pg.4, 15). Paparua frequently produced enough potatoes to supply every jail in the country.

Paparua and its prisoners, therefore, contributed significantly to Dallard's achievement of a considerable reduction in the cost of inmate food rations. The average annual cost of food per head during the last five years of Matthews (1920-1924) was £16.3. Through his policy of producing more meat and vegetables on the prison farms, in the first five years of Dallard's time in office (1925-1929), the annual average had dropped by 26 per cent to £12.03 per capita. By 1931, the cost per head had reduced further to £8.10, which was less than half what it had been ten years earlier (AJHR 1921-1932 H.20). The most impressive statistic Dallard achieved was in 1933 when 40 per cent of prisoners' rations, including those at Paparua, were supplied by the Department's farms and gardens (AJHR 1933 H.20, pg.6).



Source: AJHR 1926-1932 H.20

Productivity at Paparua was so high that it often met needs beyond those of prisons. In 1930, the Superintendent at Paparua, W. T. Leggett, noted that for the past year the farm fully supplied Queen Mary Hospital at Hanmer Springs with vegetables and eggs (AJHR 1930 H.20, pg.15). The following year the Health Department in Christchurch was also sufficiently provided with vegetables, eggs and poultry and in 1937 the vegetable requirements of Queen Mary Hospital and St. Helen Hospital in Sydenham, Christchurch were supplied by the Paparua prison garden (AJHR 1931 H.20, pg.8; 1937 H.20, pg.15).

Although Dallard never accomplished complete self-sufficiency, the prison farm industry had been substantially improved throughout his time in office. The success of his agricultural programme meant that the economy of the prisons during the economically erratic inter-war period fared better than it may have otherwise. In fact, in 1930, amidst the Great Depression, the revenue earned from prison industries was the most earned in any one year up to that point (AJHR 1930 H.20, pg.4). Thus, it could be deduced that conditions in some of the jails during the Depression were better than many areas of the free community. At Paparua in particular, the conditions were probably quite good. The institution was still fairly new and modern and the farm consistently produced fresh meat and vegetables for hot meals. The fact that inmates could count on daily meals was more than some citizens on the outside could

hope for (Simpson 1990b, pg.50-57). In 1944, the credits earned from the prison farms were the highest they had ever been at £56,500. In the 20 years since Dallard had assumed control of the Prisons Department, the revenue from farms had risen by a significant 267 per cent. Farms were also contributing a higher percentage to the total revenue increasing from 24 per cent in 1924 to 56 per cent in 1944 (AJHR 1925 H.20, pg.3; 1945 H.20, pg.4).

Reflecting on the success of his agrarian programme in his final report of 1949, Dallard noted that the scheme was “also [beneficial] from the point of view of the general health of the prisoners as it provides interesting work which helps them in their rehabilitation and assists the Dominion’s general economy” (AJHR 1949 H.20, pg.10). It is hard to believe though, that finance was not Dallard’s priority. He was an accountant after all. The Annual Reports written by Dallard almost always included a range of expenditure and revenue charts reflecting his parsimonious approach to spending and his principal aim of reducing the cost of prison maintenance, towards which he worked indefatigably. His efforts did not go unnoticed and in 1933, the peak of the depression, he was also put in charge of the Justice Department (Newbold 1989, pg.7).

While the development of farm work in prisons was at the front of Dallard’s endeavours, some prisoners would not have been physically able to work on the land and recruiting short-sentence inmates to the prison farms was expensive and unviable (Lingard 1936, pg.22-23). Industrial occupations were, therefore, also important and provided a way for prisoners who required more supervision, to engage in work. It was not long before it became feasible to establish industrial work at Paparua. Within Dallard’s first five years in office, the average number of prisoners at Paparua on any given day had increased by 23 to 145. To effectively employ the growing muster, Dallard established a quarry in which river gravel was crushed for road works (Dallard 1980, pg.67). Reports indicate that the quarry was probably opened in 1929 and it proved to be most profitable to the Department. Whereas the food from the farm was consumed by prisoners, the gravel from the quarry could be sold, thus generating money for the department. Quarrying was predominantly carried out at Paparua and Mt Eden and on a smaller scale at Napier and New Plymouth (AJHR 1936 H.20, pg.10). After just one year in operation, the work at the Paparua quarry accounted for 20 per cent of the value of labour from all four prison quarries (AJHR 1930 H.20, pg.5, 33). That same year, quarry work was the highest earning industry for the Prisons Department. In 1937, the quarry production at Paparua was worth more than that at any other institution and made up almost

40 per cent of the total national value of prison labour in that industry (AJHR 1937 H.20, pg.29).

However, the irony of prison work was that like industries in the free community, the quarry needed workers and while a decrease in musters was favourable, it was problematic when it came to maintaining production. The filling of quarry orders became increasingly difficult due to the steady decline in inmate numbers at Paparua following the Depression. At some point in 1937-1938 a mechanical loader was installed in the quarry and this overcame the problem somewhat (AJHR 1938 H.20, pg.6). Production in the industries was also slowed down by the utilisation of inmate labour in the construction of new prison buildings which began in 1915. The institution was almost complete when Dallard took charge of the department in 1925 but as prison staff, including the Superintendent, resided at the prison site, residence for them had to be erected too. In 1938, three new cottages for staff were built and another was under construction (AJHR 1939 H.20, pg.12).

Dallard's overall influence on the penal system in New Zealand, however, was minimal. The volatile economic environment provides the principal explanation why. The government's reflex to the Depression was to cut expenditure, thus money available for public works was scant (Simpson 1990a, pg.41). Prisons were far from a priority and even if he had wanted to, Dallard lacked the resources to make any major changes. However, his personality is also partially accountable for the inactivity of his period. The Controller-General harboured little compassion for prisoners, which married well with the mood of the day. Hence conditions in the jails remained unquestioned throughout most of Dallard's tenure (Newbold 1989, pg.6). Finally, politics had a part in the lack of penal developments too. When Labour won the election in 1935, Rex Mason was appointed Justice Minister and did not have a lot of time for prisons (Newbold 1989, pg.7). Thus, even with the tide of reform that came with Labour's Welfare State, prisoners received no attention. It would be a few more years before empathy swung their way as New Zealand was once again at war and the nation's focus was directed to more pressing concerns.

Paparua Prison- Life Inside

Painting a picture of life inside Paparua prison during the Dallard era is difficult. To date, no history of the prison has ever been written and any information specific to the institution is contained almost solely in the prison reports. Worthwhile details from these reports are intermittent and due to the need for economy during the war, in the Annual Reports of 1940 to 1943 the reports of the separate institutions are omitted³. Moreover, Dallard preferred to keep the affairs of his institutions under wraps and accordingly, formal publicity on prisons was minimal (Newbold 1989, pg.9). The only story the media were left to tell was that of the odd escape so the public's knowledge of what went on behind the prison walls was scant. There was little interest in prisons anyway as attention was drawn to the more serious matters of the Great Depression (1929-1935) and the Second World War (1939-1945). During the war, a number of military defaulters and conscientious objectors were imprisoned in New Zealand, one of whom was well known pacifist Ormond Burton. While Burton never spent time at Paparua, he served sentences at Napier and Wellington prisons and his book *In Prison* candidly reveals the conditions in Dallard's jails. It is from this book and the scattered details in the Annual Prison Reports that I will draw inferences about life at Paparua during the Dallard era.

In his 1936 report, Dallard outlined the general scheme of classification in his institutions. Accidental offenders and trustworthy prisoners were sent to Paparua and the prison camps such as Hautu, Rangipo and Waikune, where inmates could earn increased privileges through the honour system. Although Paparua was a medium security institution and accommodated prisoners of both minimum and medium security classification, the open conditions of the farm meant that the inmates sent there, like the camps, were considered more tractable and reliable (AJHR 1936 H.20, pg.8). Ten years later, Dallard reiterated the status of Paparua as an institution where "more or less trustworthy prisoners are detained" (AJHR 1946 H.20, pg.8). It was thought that accidental, first time or less experienced offenders could be reformed so they were sent to Paparua and the camps where the "healthy open-air life and the trust reposed develops self-respect and aids in rehabilitation" (AJHR 1936 H.20, pg.8). Thus, the typical prisoner at Paparua was someone Dallard felt could be transformed into a respectable citizen. It is unlikely that serious offenders would have been sent to Paparua as their association with the 'redeemable' prisoners would have been detrimental to the

³ Except for borstals which Dallard took a particular interest in.

reformatory purpose of the institution. Incurables and all maximum security prisoners were transferred to Mt Eden. Capital offenders were sent to either Mt Eden or Wellington.

However, transferring an inmate was costly, time-consuming and logistically difficult. Thus, for the most part, Paparua would have accommodated minimum to medium security prisoners from the South Island only. Aviation was still in the early phases and commercial airlines only began operating in New Zealand in the mid-1930s (Burdon 1965, pg.329). So until the 1950s, prisoners, accompanied by a prison officer, were transferred usually by train which took a great amount of time and required extra travel by the officer. Dallard would not have condoned the cost unless a transfer was absolutely necessary, indicating that the relocation of an inmate from the North Island or another institution to Paparua would have been rare.

Dallard's Classification Scheme in New Zealand Prisons 1946

Mt Eden (Auckland): reserved for maximum-security and long-sentence prisoners who cannot be trusted on the prison farms. Capital offenders also sent here.

Prison Farm Camps (Hautu, Rangipo and Waikane): low security prisoners that can be trusted in open conditions.

New Plymouth: sex offenders.

Wellington: trial and remand prison for holding prisoners in transit or for transfer upon classification to other suitable institutions.

Wi Tako: small mixed prison farm used to accommodate short-sentence prisoners from the southern end of the North Island.

Paparua: reformatory prison for trustworthy prisoners.

Addington: reformatory for women offenders.

Wanganui: aged and feeble prisoners

Napier: short-sentence prisoners from the east coast.

Waikeria: both a borstal and a reformatory.

Invercargill borstal: male offenders between 15 and 20 years of age.

Arohata borstal: young female offenders.

Daily Routine

Upon his arrival to Paparua prison, a prisoner would have traded his current outfit for his new uniform. The prison attire consisted of white underwear, white moleskin trousers with a black belt, a grey flannel shirt, grey waistcoat and coat, socks, slippers and a peaked moleskin cap. While warm, Burton claimed that the clothing was often worn and ill-fitting (Burton 1945, pg.39).

On Monday to Friday, the inmates of Paparua would rise around 6.30 a.m., although those responsible for preparing breakfast would have already been unlocked. Inmates would wash, probably from a container of water as the cells were not connected to running water, and then their doors would be unlocked so they could empty the contents of their chamber pots into a slops tin (Burton 1945, pg.46). Approximately 7.00 to 7.30 a.m. prisoners would have had their breakfast which generally consisted of porridge and tea. It is difficult to tell whether the prisoners at Paparua ate in their cells or in a communal dining area. The institution's kitchen block contained a kitchen, bathroom, laundry and bakehouse but reports are not clear on the dining arrangements for prisoners (AJHR 1919 H.20, pg.18). By the 1970s, the prisoners were taken to the kitchen block one wing at a time to have their meals so it is possible that the inmates also dined together in the 1930s and 1940s (Tom Maw int 2-2-12). But, given the conservatism that prevailed in prisons under Dallard, it is more likely inmates ate in their cells, as was the case in other jails at that time.

After breakfast, inmates would go on parade and this was overseen by the Superintendent (Burton 1945, pg.48). Inmates at Paparua prison were under the charge of Superintendent Mr W. T. Leggett, from at least 1927 until 1937 when he became the Superintendent at Mt Eden prison. Regrettably, the prison reports do not identify who managed Paparua prior to 1927 so it is possible Leggett's term at the prison was longer. In 1937, Leggett's position was taken over by Charles Edward Spittal who ran the jail until his retirement in 1946. For the last few years of the Dallard era Paparua was run by Mr C. E. Harrington. The Superintendent was the only member of staff who never wore a uniform (Burton 1954, pg.48).

Directly under the Superintendent was the Chief Warder who wore a braided navy-coloured tunic. At the end of the morning parade, the Chief Warder would bark out the day's orders (Burton 1945, pg.48). Once cooks and cleaners had been accounted for, the remainder of the

muster was divided into work gangs according to the tasks they were assigned to. At around 8.00 a.m., and under the supervision of warders, the gangs at Paparua were then marched to the workshops, the quarry or the farm. Marching was standard procedure in all of Dallard's prisons and along with saluting officers and visitors was intended to instil in prisoners a respect for authority. This approach was part of Dallard's system of reclamation in prisons rather than just custody (Newbold 2007, pg.41). Those prisoners working on the farm were under the direction of the prison's farm manager who was, for most of Dallard's time, Mr H.J.S. Wilson. The farm manager was a civilian who came into the prison to direct and educate the inmates in farm practices. Confinement in a small, dull, concrete cell at Paparua must have frayed an inmate's spirit but the farm represented an opportunity to retain some degree of liberty. After hours locked behind bars, one can easily imagine how invigorating it would be for a prisoner to feel the sun on his face, hear the birds chirping and smell the grass beneath his feet. Attuned to this appreciation Burton wrote, "If you have never been in captivity it is hard to understand what a tremendous thrill there is in a change of scenery" (Burton 1945, pg.57).

This is perhaps why, in spite of the freer environment, escapes at Paparua were rare. Escape statistics for Paparua are included in 17 of the 24 Annual Reports written by Dallard and the highest figure was in 1927, when five men absconded out of a daily average of about 144 prisoners (AJHR 1928 H.20, pg.19). More commonly though, the escape rate was one or two in a year and often it was another two years until an inmate made a dash from the prison. Arguably the prisoners at Paparua really were the more trustworthy type and open conditions were less likely to provoke a desire to escape. The geographical location of the prison is another probable explanation for the low incidence of escapes. Located on the outskirts of Christchurch in Templeton and nestled between farms on a flat plain, Paparua prison is 18 kilometres from the city. Moreover, conditions in Canterbury during the winter months can be harsh, sometimes only rising to five or six degrees Celsius. Most of the other prisons, such as Mt Eden, New Plymouth, Wanganui, Napier, Invercargill and Dunedin, were situated in town making it easier for an escapee to disappear and seek warmth in the winter.

After a morning of labour, Paparua prisoners would break around 12.00 p.m. and following a muster check they would have their lunch. Those inmates in the workshops and quarry would have returned to the prison for their midday meal, however, for the sake of convenience, gangs on the farm and those working at a distance from the jail buildings ate lunch wherever

they were working (Burton 1945, pg.52). The prison made its own bread and the garden grew fresh fruit and vegetables, so the farm gangs would have had a ration box with the materials to make sandwiches and a billy for warm tea. This procedure was still common at Paparua in the late 1980s (Al Wood int 22-12-11).

With an afternoon's toil awaiting them, prisoners who had returned to the prison for their meal were mustered after the noon lockup and marched back off to work. The day ended by 4.00 or 4.30 p.m. dependent on the season, with inmates working a little longer in the summer (Burton 1945, pg.52). Still bearing the sweat of their labour, the prisoners were probably not taken to shower. Notwithstanding Dallard's instruction to increase the number to two a week, Burton's experience reveals that men in the gangs were permitted only one shower a week which took place on Saturday (Burton 1945, pg.66). By around 5.00 p.m., the sound of keys would jangle through the concrete wings as the men returned to their cells and received their dinner. All of the cells in both the East and West cell blocks contained two beds so most inmates would have shared a cell (Paul Rushton int 18-1-12). So, with perhaps a book or two and possibly a cellmate for company, the men faced up to 17 hours of lockup. After trudging through this routine for five days, inmates reached the weekend which involved a whole different set of events.

The Weekend and Small Concessions

Most prisoners did not work in the weekend leaving them unoccupied for a sizeable portion of their sentence. The events of Saturday and Sunday therefore possessed some importance to inmates (Burton 1945, pg.65). Assuming Burton's account of the weekend is somewhat representative of jails around the country, inmates at Paparua were unlocked later on these two days and after breakfast they received some clean clothes and were able to take their one shower of the week. Dallard claimed that he increased the number of showers so that prisoners showered on a Wednesday too, but Burton asserted that the second shower was non-existent. A prisoner could also have his hair cut or face shaved by the barber, although amended prison regulations meant that the men were permitted to have a safety razor in their cell and could therefore shave more frequently (Burton 1945, pg.66). Prisoners looked forward to the luxury of a hot shower and Paparua had been built with brand new hot water systems so the weekend shower would have been quite an occasion. After washing, inmates

were returned to the yard to receive their next highly anticipated indulgence: the tobacco allowance. The exercise yards at Paparua were basically complete by 1929 and inmates would have spent a number of weekend hours here (AJHR 1929 H.20, pg.14). Burton claims that a great deal of time was passed wandering and talking and that no provision at all was made for constructive activity (Burton 1945, pg.69).

Another two aspects of the weekend routine particularly significant to inmates were the distribution of letters and visits on a Saturday afternoon, and church service on a Sunday (Burton 1945, pg.68-69). Prison Regulations gazetted in 1925 had statutorily recognised prison chaplains under the 1908 Prisons Act and those ministers of the various religious denominations that had been authorised by the Controller-General could conduct services inside prisons (Mansill 2008, pg.62). As part of the Prison Regulations, as much as was practical, Sunday was to be observed as a day of rest and every prisoner had to attend the service of his own religious denomination. The superintendent strictly enforced this at Paparua and after his own service, an inmate could voluntarily attend another service if he wished (AJHR 1950 H.20, pg.17).

Inmates serving time at Paparua enjoyed a few small concessions that undoubtedly helped to alleviate the monotony of prison life. In 1938, the institution received its first radio as a donation from the Salvation Army Men's Industrial Home (AJHR 1938 H.20, pg.12). The radio was probably out in the yard where inmates could listen to broadcasts that the Superintendent considered appropriate, although, private radio stations were controlled by the state under the 1932 Radio Regulations anyhow (NZ Dept of Stats 1933, pg.301). Monthly concerts were performed for the prisoners by various volunteer groups and during the winter months, the Workers' Educational Association gave lectures every Saturday night which were usually keenly attended by the inmates (AJHR 1932 H.20, pg.16). After enduring the same tedious routine week after week, prisoners must have thoroughly looked forward to these events where they could get out of their cells and enjoy a few hours of entertainment.

All of these concerts and lectures, as well as educational classes and divine service, were conducted in the assembly hall at the top of the administration block. The administration building was ready for use in 1927 and the offices of the Superintendent and the Chief Warder could be found in here along with a general staffroom (AJHR 1927 H.20, pg.15). This building was the administrative hub of Paparua prison until 1983, when it was converted

for use as a medical facility and a new administration building was erected (AJHR 1983 E.5, pg.26). The old administration block was commonly referred to after 1983 as the ‘old medical block’. The building has since been demolished due to damage caused by the Canterbury earthquake on 4 September, 2010. At the time of the earthquake, the historic building was mainly used for storing health records (Bill Moore int 23-12-11).

Capital Punishment

A major issue in penal justice in New Zealand during Dallard’s tenure as Controller-General was that of capital punishment. As a colony of the British Empire, New Zealand had inherited the death penalty for murder and the first hanging took place in 1842⁴ (Newbold 1989, pg.21). Prior to the 1920s, debate on the death penalty was virtually non-existent in New Zealand, however, the increase in leftist views after World War One saw public anti-death penalty petitions begin to pop up in Department of Justice files (Engel 1977, pg.11; Newbold 2007, pg.241). An item on the Labour Party manifesto leading into the 1935 general election was the abolition of the death penalty and after it came to power, Labour commuted all death sentences to life imprisonment. This practice of de facto abolition continued for six years until the passing of the Crimes Amendment Act 1941, which removed both corporal and capital punishment from the statute books (Engel 1977, pg.19-24). Dallard passionately disapproved and remained a supporter of capital punishment for murder throughout his life.

A hike in murder rates in the 1940s stirred the public and the issue of capital punishment was hot leading into the 1949 election. National had the restoration of capital punishment written into its platform and following a convincing win, passed the Capital Punishment Act in 1950. From 1 December 1950, New Zealand was once again a retentionist state. Consequently, there were eight hangings in New Zealand during the 1950s, all at Mt Eden prison (Young 1998, pg.282). When Labour won the 1957 general election, it immediately resurrected its previous policy of commuting death sentences to life imprisonment (Engel 1977, pg.74). The 1960 election saw National become government once more and by this time, support for the death penalty within the party had diminished. In the final vote on section 172 of the new Crimes Act, ten National members sided with the opposition and capital punishment was statutorily abolished for murder once and for all (Newbold 2007, pg.252). The passing of the

⁴ This was the case of Maketu, executed at Kororareka in February 1842.

Abolition of the Death Penalty Act in 1989, abolished the death penalty altogether in New Zealand.

Hangings never took place at Paparua but interestingly, the matter of capital punishment came up in my interviews with staff at the prison a number of times. When speaking with a current and a former chaplain of the prison, both mentioned in passing that they believed there had been gallows at Paparua (Chaplain A and B int 22-12-11). Two other current staff members explained that when they had started work at Paparua in 1977 and 1988 there were rumours that executions were conducted behind the west wing, which is now Matai unit (Bill Moore int 23-12-11; Paul Rushton int 18-1-12). Evidence shows that these are in fact tales. The first execution in the South Island took place in Picton in 1863. There were another 17 executions in the South Island throughout the rest of the 19th century: one in Picton, four in Nelson, two in Hokitika, four in Dunedin, two in Invercargill and four in Canterbury at Lyttelton. The three hangings that were carried out in the South Island after 1900 were all at Lyttelton, the last taking place in 1918. After 1918, all capital offenders were transferred to either Mt Eden or Wellington. Another 21 offenders were hanged, 15 of them at Mt Eden and five at Wellington (Young 1998, pg.282-282).

Prisons Come Under Scrutiny

Prior to the release of Ormond Burton's book in 1945, Dallard was generally successful in keeping prison activity the business of his department. The 1911 Official Secrets Act in the United Kingdom had effect here, giving Dallard the power to monopolise official information. The English statute ceased to have effect when New Zealand passed its own official secrets legislation in 1951, which was then replaced by the Official Information Act in 1982. Prisons were fairly quiet, as inmates expected little and incidents of any magnitude were rare (Newbold 2007, pg.42). Dallard's jails did come up in parliament, though, and interestingly the conditions at Paparua, in spite of being a new prison, were vehemently criticised by members of the House. In 1925, Mr Ted Howard, a member of Labour and the representative for the Christchurch South electorate, slammed the jail as being unhealthy for inmates on account of its leaky, cold and unheated concrete structure. He described the cells as concrete boxes injurious to a man's health and he called for a building inspection and

report by the Superintendent on these conditions in which two elderly had inmates died (NZPD vol. 207 1925, pg.630-631).

Two years later in a heated debate, the state of Paparua again came under fire. Mr Herbert Kyle of the National party and the member for Riccarton gave a glowing account of the jail, congratulating those responsible for its commission and management. Mr Howard, however, hotly contested Kyle's comments and asserts that the land on which the prison was built was so terrible that even squatters had not bothered to occupy it. The land under the prison used to be the Waimakariri riverbed so is full of gravel and stones. He again raised concerns about the cool conditions the inmates were expected to live in and called the cells "freezing chambers" that were much less comfortable than those in the old Lyttelton jail (NZPD vol.213 1927, pg.1007-1008). Inmates at Paparua would certainly have felt the cold. Confined in a concrete box during frosty Christchurch winters where the average temperature was between 5.7 and 6.6 in 1939, the icy southerly would have chilled them to their bones (NZ Dept of Stats 1940, pg.19). Finally, in 1944 Mr Jack Watts of National and the member for Riccarton expressed his concern about the unsatisfactory arrangements for sanitation in prisons noting that in particular, the sanitary provisions at Paparua were disgusting (NZPD vol.266 1944, pg.629). He was probably referring to the use of chamber pots which had to be 'slopped out' each morning, however, this was common procedure in most jails in New Zealand in the 1930s and 1940s. It would appear nothing came of these arguments but it was not long after Watts' comments that Dallard was facing heat from the public as well.

Prisons in the Spotlight

As the defeat of Germany in 1945 looked imminent, the military defaulters and conscientious objectors in New Zealand who had been detained in custody throughout the six years of the Second World War began to make noise about their release. During World War One defaulters were generally held in prisons around the country, although they were supposed to be kept separate from the other prisoners (Mayhew 1959, pg.112). However, during World War Two, to reduce association with regular prisoners, military defaulters were confined in defaulters' camps such as Rolleston and only those who broke the law or were too disorderly for the camps were housed at Paparua and other prisons. Dallard had no time for pacifists and was less than sympathetic of their imprisonment. He initially ignored their demands for

release and the defaulters staged a strike in response. With hostilities abroad drawing to a close, the media jumped on the story of the imprisoned pacifists, reigniting public interest in prisons. After World War Two ended in September 1945, the discharge of military defaulters was inevitable and with their release came insight into Dallard's prisons (Newbold 1989, pg.10).

One of these defaulters was Ormond Burton. Injured three times and awarded for bravery in the First World War, Burton had become a Methodist minister and a devoted war pacifist. When New Zealand went to war with Germany in 1939, Burton publicly condemned the war and ran a number of anti-war protests (Grant 2010, pg.2-3). He was subsequently imprisoned on five occasions between 1939 and 1945 for his anti-war activities and spent a total of almost two years in prison. Moved by the appalling conditions in the jails, Burton wrote his book *In Prison* which sardonically exposed the conditions of Dallard's prisons. Published in 1945, Burton's book was popular and effective and the public's attitude began shifting to the need to rectify grave deficiencies in prisons. Inmates got on the bandwagon with organised protests and the increased media coverage mounted the pressure for reform. Dallard stubbornly resisted the criticism but as a public servant he was to retire at 60 years of age. It came as a huge relief when after 24 years in charge of prisons Dallard tendered his resignation in 1949 (Newbold 2007, pg.43).

CHAPTER FOUR: THE SWING BACK TO REFORM 1949-1970

The year of 1949 signposted a change of government that largely reflected the desire of voters to have the economic issues that arose subsequent to World War Two, rectified. While it remained in government, the Labour Party lost seats in both the 1943 and 1946 elections and National was gaining in vigour and support. In the 1949 campaigning, National, led by Sidney Holland, promised to answer the calls for a return to free enterprise which stemmed from the stress of commodity scarcities and controls following the war. National's campaign slogan 'Make the Pound go Further' spoke to the anxieties around shortages and prices and in the 1949 election, National came to power in a decisive victory (Chapman 1981, pg.351-356).

When National took office, prevailing social and political sentiments were conservative, however, with regard to prisons, attitudes veered to the need for serious reforms. The issue of the prisons did not feature as a priority in National's election manifesto, although, a component of corrections that was high on the new government's list of changes was the death penalty. Not surprisingly, the man Holland appointed as his Minister of Justice was Thomas Clifton Webb, an ardent supporter of capital punishment. An intellectual and a qualified lawyer, Webb was a key member of the party and Holland's cabinet but aside from the death penalty which was restored under the Capital Punishment Act 1950, he lacked any passionate interest in penal reform (Newbold 1989, pg.17-18; Templeton 2010, pg.1-2). Instead it was Dallard's successor as Secretary for Justice and Controller- General of Prisons, Sam Barnett, who worked energetically in modernising the prison system.

The Barnett Era: 1949-1960

A career public servant and lawyer, Barnett knew the running and politics of government well. As well as a competent and efficient manager Barnett, in total contrast to Dallard, was an innovator who did not shy away from experimentation. Thus, after more than two decades of inertia in penal policy, Barnett was a timely replacement (Newbold 2007, pg.47). Barnett had been promoted to Deputy Under-Secretary and Deputy Controller-General of Prisons a year before he assumed his position as Secretary for Justice, a move which was probably

strategic in preparing him as Dallard's successor. Given Barnett's more than 30 years of service to the government, the Public Service commissioners must have had some idea of the influence he was going to have (Newbold 1989, pg.19).

Barnett was a complex person with traits at each end of the scale. He could be both rude and charming, confrontational and encouraging and he had a strong personality (Robson 1987, pg.100). The Labour Minister of Justice, Rex Mason, opposed the assignment of Barnett and the two strongly disagreed in the area of penal reform. Barnett had no better luck when the government changed three months after his appointment, for the new Minister of Justice, Cliff Webb, also resisted the choice of Barnett as the permanent head (Newbold 2007, pg.47). When Webb took office, Barnett wrote to his new Minister specifying the areas most in need of the Department's attention. However, Webb immediately made it clear that he would not endorse major changes in corrections. The pair also sat at opposite ends of the death penalty spectrum and as a result of their disagreements, Barnett and Webb worked under an often strained relationship and Barnett's vivid aspirations were subjugated (Newbold 1989, pg.20).

Barnett's Changes

In spite of the difficult relationship between the Secretary and his Minister, Barnett was successful in bringing about huge changes to prisons and ultimately lifted the gloom that had hung over New Zealand's jails for 24 years. Following Dallard's retirement, the Prisons Department was filled with renewed enthusiasm and Barnett wasted no time in making some much needed changes to modernise the system. In fact, the first innovations took place during the eight months in 1950 that Barnett was visiting prisons overseas and E. J. Gifford was his acting Controller-General. Conditions for prison staff, including those at Paparua, were improved, beginning with their uniform. The old khaki kit, including the navy 'bandsmen's tunic', was replaced with a navy open-fronted jacket, navy pants, shirt and tie. Along with a fresh look, custodial staff were retitled and now known as 'officers' rather than 'warders'. Barnett also established a training school which all new recruits had to attend for four weeks and in 1951, pay rates were modified (Newbold 1989, pg.29; Newbold 2007, pg.48).

When summarising the improvements to prisoners' conditions in his first report in 1951, Barnett needed two whole pages. At Paparua, and in prisons across the country, canteens

were established where inmates could spend up to 40 per cent of their earnings on goods such as tobacco, sweets and toiletries. Prisoners were now permitted to buy a daily newspaper which, Barnett noted, left the inmates feeling less cut off from the world. All trustworthy prisoners were allowed unsupervised visits, which in lower security institutions such as Paparua, could be conducted in the open air. Barnett's innovations also facilitated more association among inmates such as communal dining in prisons that had the space, reduced lockup hours and discussion groups. Recreation was improved and the Department urged institutions to set up their own committees to organise activities which began to include sporting teams. Sporting equipment and even coaches were provided by the government. Education was expanded and encouraged and all major institutions, including Paparua, had a part-time or full-time teacher. Accordingly, prison libraries were reorganised and the National Library Service made a number of books available on loan to many institutions (AJHR 1951 H.20, pg.12-14). For 24 years, prisoners had been locked up for around 14 hours a day and had little to look forward to other than church service and visits once a week. So it is easy to imagine that Barnett's initiatives would have been enthusiastically welcomed by prisoners who now had more constructive and enjoyable ways to spend the hours of their day.

Barnett's innovations, which cultivated more humane and free conditions, and his rationale behind them, are reminiscent of those of Charles Matthews who, like Barnett, had inherited the prison system after an era of austerity. Barnett's logic that, "the inmate body tend to maintain propriety of conduct if a decent measure of trust is given them" can be likened to Matthews' philosophy that if you treat an inmate as a responsible person, he will respond like one (AJHR 1951 H.20, pg.13; Matthews 1923, pg.4). The zeal and imagination Matthews had in penal developments ended with the appointment of Dallard but were resurrected under Barnett's administration.

Also like Matthews, Barnett strongly believed that many prisoners could be rehabilitated and he worked tirelessly throughout his tenure to implement a reformatory approach to penal policy. Barnett believed that in order to be reformed, an inmate had to be appropriately classified so, in 1952, the first Classification Committee was established at Auckland prison (Robson 1987, pg.51). The Committee comprised a probation officer, a psychologist, a vocational advisor and a prison officer, and their duty was to assess an inmate on his entry to prison and advise which institution would best suit his rehabilitative needs (AJHR 1952 H.20, pg.10-11). By 1953, a Classification Committee was also in existence at Paparua prison

(AJHR 1953 H.20, pg.7). Psychologists became permanent faces in Barnett's prisons and the first full-time psychologist at Paparua was appointed in 1957. The Permanent Head was not afraid to experiment with more radical methods and in 1957 he also established the first occupational therapy classes at Auckland prison and at Arohata Women's Borstal (AJHR 1957 H.20, pg.13-14). The following year, prisoners at Paparua had both occupational therapy and art therapy as part of their routine and by 1960, the institution had its own psychiatrist (AJHR 1958 H.20, pg.23; 1960 H.20, pg.19).

Barnett also inaugurated a centralised chaplaincy service for New Zealand prisons. Addressing the National Council of Churches in July 1951, Barnett acknowledged the need for religious work in prisons and asserted that each jail should have its own official chaplain. The first appointed part-time chaplain was Methodist minister, Reverend L. Clements who began at Invercargill Borstal and later went to Paparua (Mansill 2008, pg.71-72). By 1958 all institutions, with the exception of the prison camps, had part-time or full-time chaplains as well as visiting priests from the Catholic Church (AJHR 1958 H.20, pg.24).

Alongside their rehabilitative and spiritual requirements, Barnett believed that education was also instrumental in a prisoner's reformation. Under Barnett, the purpose of prison education became to instil in inmates skills to enable them to make a living upon their release, interests that would allow them to become more involved in the community and to adopt a sense of sound responsibility (AJHR 1951 H.20, pg.14). To accomplish this, Barnett put a lot of energy into trade training and he worked to provide instruction in as many primary industries as possible. While he acknowledged the importance of employment in prison, Barnett advocated the value of learning rather than merely working, so that a released prisoner is better prepared for employment (AJHR 1951 H.20, pg.11). In 1954, concrete block and post-making began at Paparua and Mt Eden prisons and the rate of production increased steadily (AJHR 1955 H.20, pg.15). The following year the machinery in the gravel pit at Paparua was updated and in 1957, Barnett noted that quarrying was being carried out at Paparua prison on a large scale (AJHR 1956 H.20, pg.20; 1957 H.20, pg.19). Production would no doubt have increased after the Mt Eden quarry was closed in 1961.

Barnett's efforts in this area were endless and in 1958 he proposed to build a large workshop at Paparua for a furniture factory and tailoring industry. Although this workshop does not

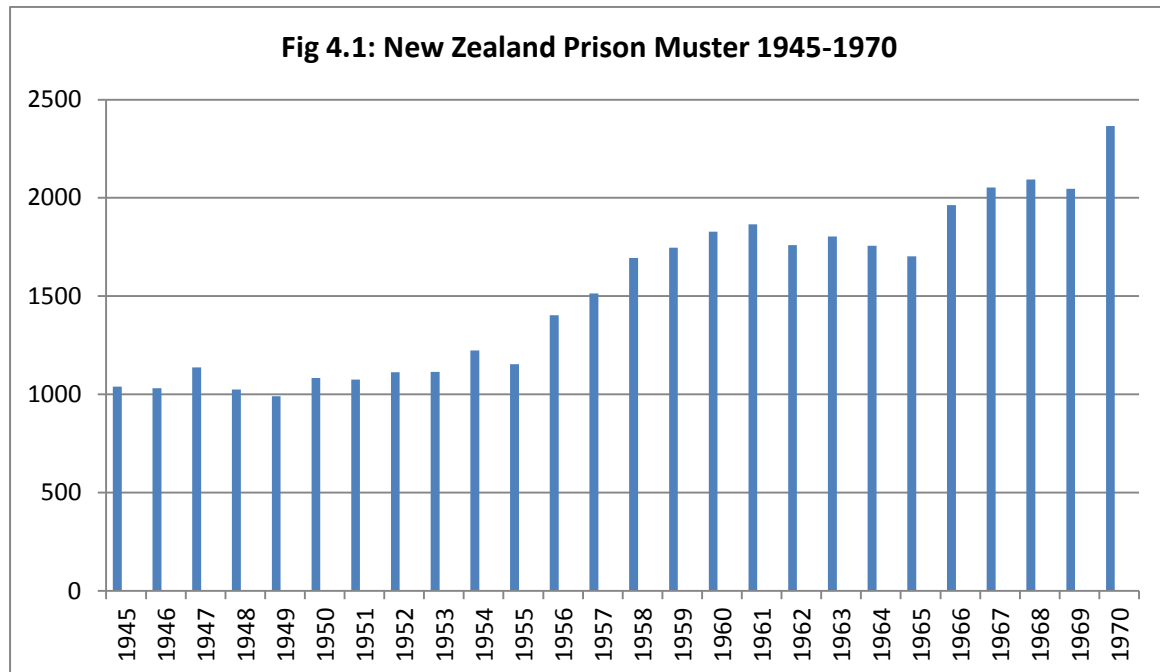
appear to have eventuated, by 1960 there were welding classes at Paparua, as well as at Invercargill and Wi Tako, and Paparua had a new craft room (AJHR 1960 H.20, pg.19).

Notwithstanding Barnett's endorsement and implementation of a trade training policy, prisoners at Paparua continued to be employed on the farm, which by the mid-1950s spanned an area of 1,380 acres (AJHR 1957 H.20, pg.17). Supervisory staff were provided by the Land Development Branch of the Lands and Survey Department so that inmates at Paparua and the other prison farms were instructed on the latest farming methods (AJHR 1951 H.20, pg.7). In 1956, the poultry unit at Paparua was completely rebuilt according to modern standards. The farm had around 1,300 sheep, a small herd of cows that provided the institution's milk supply and a piggery where pigs were bred and valued by farmers for breeding purposes. Inmates at Paparua also worked on the cultivation of a large number of crops (AJHR 1956 H.20, pg.20; 1957 H.20, pg.17).

A Climbing Muster

The prison population, which had remained fairly steady at around 1,000 throughout the 1940s crept up 23 per cent between 1949 and 1954 and in 1954 exceeded 1,200 for the first time since the Great Depression. As a result of this burst in prison musters in the 1950s, overcrowding was fast becoming a permanent feature of the prison system. The tone of Barnett's annual report in 1954 was solemn as he remarked on these "disturbing figures" and mentioning overcrowding for the first time he plainly states, "We are on the verge of an accommodation crisis" (AJHR 1954 H.20, pg.5-6). Musters began to climb more sharply from the mid-1950s and showed no signs of abating. In just six years between 1953 and 1959, the prison muster had risen 57 per cent from 1,115 to 1,746 (AJHR 1954 H.20, pg.13; 1960 H.20, pg.31). Between 1950 and 1958 receptions into Paparua prison had increased by 32 per cent and on any given day in 1958, there were 50 more inmates than in 1950. A principal factor in these rises was a surge in crime. Reported offences had remained relatively constant throughout the 1940s but between 1950 and 1960, they tripled (AJHR 1951 H.16, pg.9; 1961 H.16, pg.23). Statistics also show a hike in youth offending. Like the general prison population, the number of inmates received into prison under the age of 20 had also been stable until the mid-1950s but youth receptions more than doubled from 200 in 1950 to 420 in

1959 (AJHR 1951 H.20, pg.4; 1960 H.20, pg.30). Offenders were also receiving longer sentences (Newbold 2007, pg.54).



Source: AJHR 1946-1971 H.20

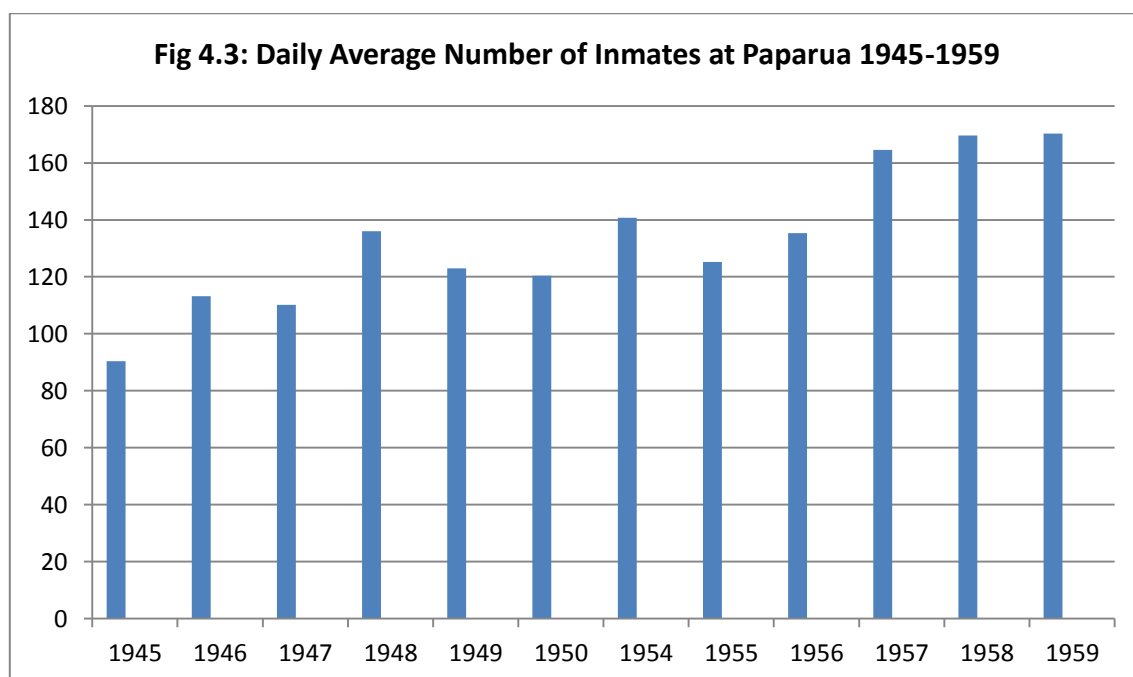
In his reports for the remainder of his tenure Barnett anxiously commented on the dilemma of overcrowding and in 1957, Paparua prison, along with every other jail in the country, was full. Though wholly undesirable, improvisations such as putting up to three men to a cell and converting dining halls and common rooms into dormitories were simply unavoidable. In May 1958, Superintendents of all prisons were asked to report on possible additional space they could generate to cope with more predicted muster increases. They suggested using areas such as common rooms, classrooms, laundries, chapels and store rooms which meant the national accommodation availability could be increased to 1,783 (Newbold 1989, pg.65-66). By 1959, the prison population had soared well beyond 1,700 and a number of institutions were forced to take these measures. It is unlikely that this was the case at Paparua, however, the rising prison population would have put pressure on the institution to place more men in association whether this was satisfactory or not. The East and West wings at Paparua each had around 60 cells so when the daily average number of prisoners peaked at 170 in 1959, many of the inmates would have been sharing cells. As most of the cells had two

beds, men could be doubled up if it was deemed suitable, however, rising musters probably meant Paparua was forced to place men who would not normally be housed in association in a cell with another inmate. This can be potentially dangerous for prisoners and staff.

Fig 4.2: Paparua Prison Muster 1949-1959

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number at start of year</i>	<i>Received during year</i>	<i>Discharged/ Transferred</i>	<i>Number at end of year</i>	<i>Daily average of prisoners</i>
1949	137	466	478	125	123
1950	125	530	524	131	120.36
1954	157	586	605	138	140.70
1955	138	558	590	106	125.22
1956	106	708	657	157	135.35
1957	157	758	755	160	164.57
1958	160	700	681	179	169.65
1959	179	502	524	157	170.26

Source: AJHR 1950-1960



Source: AJHR 1946-1960 H.20

Note: Figures for separate institutions are not included in the Annual Reports of 1952, 1953 and 1954. From the 1961 report, figures for Paparua are added to Addington and Rolleston to become 'Christchurch Prisons'.

Soaring prison musters also impacted on the department's policy on inmate employment. In his final report, Barnett asserted that farming should no longer be the principal industry in prisons: "With the increasing number of inmates, mostly of a low work calibre, there must be a swing from farming as our main industry to industrial production, particularly as the great majority of prisoners will return to urban life" (AJHR 1959 H.20, pg.16). While this seems to be a bold statement, Barnett was seemingly aware of the changing dynamics in the New Zealand community. From around the late 1930s, when about one third of the labour force was employed in agriculture, farming steadily became more mechanised and farmers were replacing labour with modern machinery and equipment. As a result, farming was becoming more difficult and expensive for people to get into unless they were lucky enough to inherit a farm (Hawke 1981, pg.379).

Consequently, the population in New Zealand from the late 1930s and early 1940s had become more concentrated in the urban centres. Between 1926 and 1936, the percentage of the population living in urban and rural areas remained fairly constant but a shift is evident after 1936 when in the 20 years to 1956, the urban population increased by 52 per cent and the rural by just 19 per cent. At the 1956 census, urban centres and surrounding boroughs were home to 63 per cent of the New Zealand population and 37 per cent lived in rural areas (NZ Dept of Stats 1960, pg.45).

Expanding manufacturing industries were providing a large proportion of the employment for city dwellers (Hawke 1981, pg.379). Between 1936 and 1956, the number of people engaged in manufacturing industries doubled from 78,701 to 158,148. At the time Barnett proposed a switch from farming to industrial production as the cornerstone of prison industry, one quarter of the New Zealand labour force was employed in manufacturing industries (NZ Dept of Stats 1960, pg.597-599). Thus, Barnett was probably right in saying that prisoners would most likely return to urban areas and as the primary form of employment in the urban districts was in manufacturing, a shift in focus to industrial production in prisons would have been benefitted inmates more.

The 1954 Legislation

As noted earlier, when Webb took over the Justice Department in 1949, Barnett wrote to his new Minister describing the changes he felt were needed. Barnett criticised the lack of distinction between imprisonment with or without hard labour and he claimed that reformatory detainees were treated no different from other prisoners. He argued, therefore, that legislative reform was essential. On this Webb agreed and the two worked together in drafting the new laws which were somewhat modelled on the English Criminal Justice Act 1948 (Newbold 2007, pg.49). In the House of Representatives, the New Zealand Criminal Justice Bill was met with a “general chorus of approval” and the subsequent Act made a number of significant changes to custodial sentences (NZPD vol.304 1954, pg.1935). The Criminal Justice Act 1954 abolished the distinction between imprisonment with and without hard labour and replaced the sentence of reformatory detention with a new sentence called corrective training.

Under the new Act the habitual criminal declaration was replaced with an indeterminate sentence called preventive detention which could be imposed on offenders aged 25 and over. Under the new act borstal detention became borstal training and the provisions of the sentence were changed. The sentence of detention in a detention centre for young offenders was introduced and was designed to serve as a deterrent to future offending. The Prisons Board was renamed the Parole Board and the release of a prisoner serving a finite sentence was no longer subject to Parole Board discretion but to fixed remission of 25 per cent for good conduct. In addition, the practices in place for the after-care of released offenders were improved (Webb 1982, pg.47).

The companion statute to the Criminal Justice Act was the Penal Institutions Act 1954. This Act amalgamated the various pieces of legislation that had amended the Prisons Act since 1908, introduced fixed remission and statutorily recognised classification committees. Particularly noteworthy is that fact that the Penal Institutions Act provided for the release of inmates on parole for special reasons. This provision paved the way for later developments of this kind such as home leave (Newbold 2007, pg.51).

Having helped Barnett modernise a prison system that was in desperate need of change, Webb retired as Minister of Justice in 1954 and went to London as New Zealand High

Commissioner. The Prisons and Justice departments were officially unified in 1954 and Webb's portfolio was taken over by Jack Marshall. A conservative, orthodox and cultured man, Marshall, known as 'Gentleman Jack', essentially did little more than oversee the running of the new legislation and the application of capital punishment, which he supported. Consequently, Barnett was left to continue putting his liberal mark on prisons but his initiatives were often poorly planned and regulated. It was in this context that the department was faced with a series of embarrassing episodes (Newbold 2007, pg.52).

Just as Barnett was left to run his own show in the Department of Justice, the superintendents of the country's prisons, including Paparua, were afforded great leeway in the running of their institutions. As part of a 'reformative recreation' programme, one evening in December 1955, 17 inmates, including 12 lifers, were escorted from Mt Eden prison to participate in a bowls tournament. Among the inmates were a number of serious and dangerous criminals, one of which was serial rapist Edward Horton who was serving a life sentence for a brutal sex-murder committed in 1948. Horton sneaked out of the bowls tournament totally unnoticed and his disappearance prompted a huge manhunt. While Horton was recaptured two days later, the Department of Justice was shaken by the affair. The reformative recreation programme was tightened and the Minister of Justice, Jack Marshall, declared that in future, direct authority would need to be obtained from his office for the temporary release of an inmate serving a life sentence for murder (Morris 1975, pg.3-4). In addition, prison management procedures were tweaked in 1957. It is likely that as a result of the Horton affair, inmates at Paparua would have lost some of the freedoms they had in recreational activities and they were probably left with a more restrictive programme.

In spite of the crackdown on prison administration, it was not long before the Justice department was once again faced with the grave repercussions of laid-back management. The second Labour Government had taken power after defeating National in the 1957 elections and Rex Mason became Minister of Justice once more. Just six months after regaining the portfolio, Mason was forced to deal with the discovery that inmates had been escaping from Mt Eden prison by night, perpetrating crimes, including a serious rape, and then returning to their cells by morning. The cunning prisoners were members of the prison band and due to their special privileges had managed to cut the bars of their cell and hide a ladder under the floorboards. Four men on five occasions escaped from the shared cell and committed crimes around Auckland city. A large range of stolen items were concealed under the cell floor.

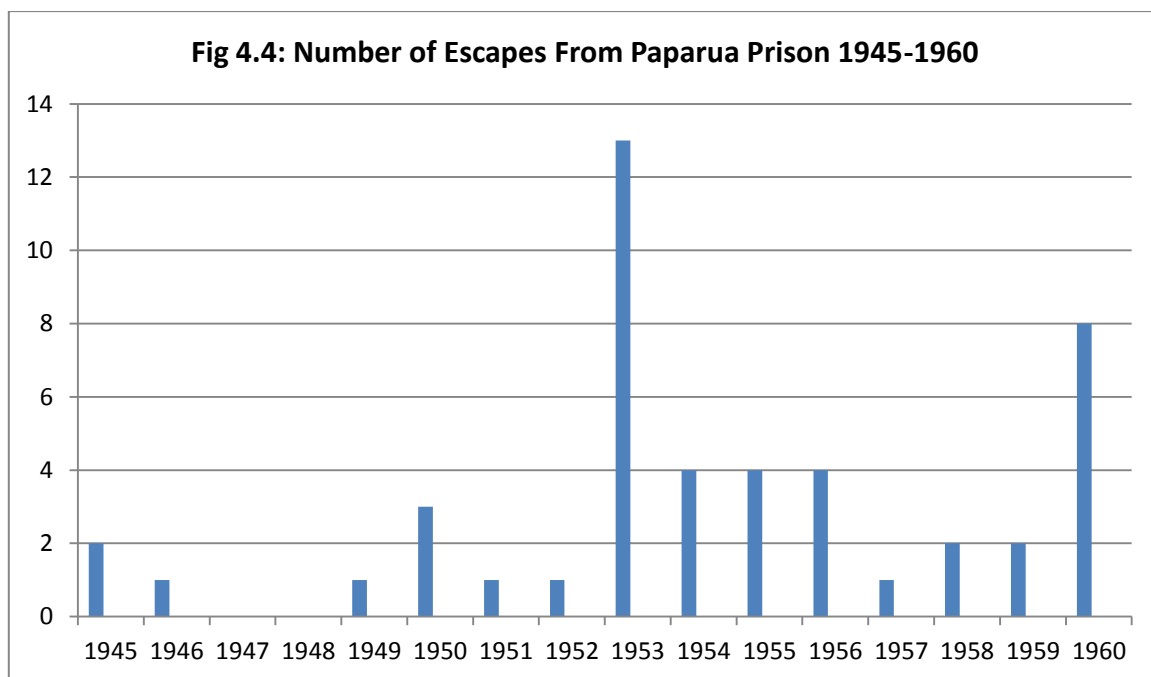
When the conspiracy was discovered it was hastily covered up and the Mt Eden Superintendent Horace Haywood kept his job. While Barnett remained Secretary for Justice, he lost his post as Police Commissioner. The band, however, was no more and management and security practices at Mt Eden were investigated and tightened yet again (Newbold 2007, pg.53-54).

Soaring musters and the resultant overcrowding were thought to be behind the incidents that had taken place at Mt Eden. In his final report, Barnett acknowledged that in light of the overcrowding conditions in the country's jails, which were also understaffed, mass disturbances were inevitable (AJHR 1960 H.20, pg.8, 12). Barnett's pessimism was justified as research has continually demonstrated that overcrowding and the resulting tension are key factors in prisoner rebellion (MacCormick 1954, pg.20). Moreover, it is likely that due to increased inmate numbers, staff shortages and the use of classrooms and chapels to house some inmates, routines and programmes would have been interrupted. This can also place pressure on prisoners and create chaos in an institution (Rison & Wittenberg 1994, pg.45). It is easy to imagine the frustration of an inmate who was crammed in a cell with two other men or sleeping on the floor of the prison classroom. The routine he had known throughout his sentence would probably have been altered and a decrease in staff often means more lockup hours. As a consequence of these conditions, a mutiny occurred at Invercargill in 1959 and there was an outbreak at Mt Eden in early 1960 (AJHR 1960 H.20, pg.12). Undoubtedly there would have been tensions among inmates at Paparua prison too, which at the end of 1958, was housing around 40 per cent of prisoners in the South Island (AJHR 1959 H.20, pg.38).

Another implication of overcrowding was an increase in escapes. The average number of escapes per year had risen from 49.4 in the 1940s to 53.1 in the 1950s and the unrelenting figures concerned Barnett. Given that prisons were bursting at the seams, he was not surprised when the total number of prison escapes (excluding borstals) jumped from 16 in 1957 to 27 in 1958 (AJHR 1960 H.20, pg.14). He conceded that a rise in escapes was inevitable, writing, "As I foreshadowed in last year's report, the pressure of overcrowding was compelling us to take greater risks than we would otherwise have been willing to take" (AJHR 1959 H.20, pg.12). The pressure overcrowding was placing on the department made escaping easier and this would have been especially true in the open institutions such as Paparua. There was no perimeter fence at Paparua until 2000 so prisoners working outside or who broke out of the wings, had a free run. As Barnett pointed out, one quarter of inmates

were working in conditions that allowed them to escape if they made “no more than a reasonably determined effort” (AJHR 1955 H.20, pg.14).

Prisoners at Paparua were certainly more inclined to make the effort as the annual number of escapes, which prior to the 1950s had often been zero, increased. At least one prisoner absconded from the prison every year throughout the decade and there were a staggering 13 in 1953 and 8 in 1960 (AJHR 1960 H.20, pg.14; 1962 H.20, pg.14). New Zealand research has established that inmates escape from prison mainly due to pressures inside or outside the prison (McLellan *et al* 1996). While the reasons for an escape can be complex, the internal pressure created by overcrowding and inmate dissatisfaction with the administration would likely have contributed to the growth in escapes (McLellan *et al* 1996, pg.5; Useem & Kimball 1989, pg.218-230).



Source: AJHR 1946-1961

Battling the Problem

The Secretary for Justice desperately sought answers to the overcrowding problem as it was clear that crime rates, and therefore prison musters, were not going to ease. Barnett described the situation as a race to provide sufficient accommodation for an ever-increasing prison

population. A new prison would take at least two years to build so was not a feasible solution in the short-term and if the musters continued their current trend, when a new prison was completed, another would be needed immediately. The department turned to more readily available space. Pressure on Paparua was relieved in 1957 when the army released the Rolleston Detention Barracks south of Christchurch which with minimal alteration would provide 30 minimum-security cells. Construction of a 60-bed dormitory at Waikeria was also underway and in 1959 Addington prison, which had been used by the army for ten years, was re-commissioned for use as a prison (AJHR 1958 H.20, pg.12; Andrews & van Zoggel 2001, pg.109). For the first time in history, there were three jails in operation in Canterbury, although Paparua was still the largest.

In his final report, Barnett included a description of the proposed changes to existing institutions which included extensions to Waikune, Tongariro, Wi Tako, Wellington and Arohata Women's Borstal. In the past, Paparua had not been included in any planned alterations but it was no longer a new prison. The prison's buildings were more than 30 years old and plans were being prepared for two new cell blocks (AJHR 1960 H.20, pg.15-16). However, only one cell block was erected and was completed in 1972 (AJHR 1972 H.20, pg.30). Plans were also being drawn for a new maximum-security prison at Auckland and a women's prison in Christchurch.

A Women's Prison at Paparua

Like the general prison population, the number of women in New Zealand prisons grew throughout Barnett's time in office, sparking an accommodation predicament of their own. Ironically, Addington Reformatory for Women was temporarily closed in 1949 due to declining receptions. A small building was erected at Paparua prison to house remand and short-sentence female inmates from the South Island and the rest were sent to Arohata Borstal or the wing set aside for women at Mt Eden (AJHR 1950 H.20, pg.9). However, between 1950 and 1960, the number of women serving time in prison doubled so Barnett was forced to address the accommodation of female prisoners, something he had not previously displayed much interest in (McKenzie 2004, pg.260). The problem was exacerbated when the women's wing at Mt Eden was converted back into male accommodation in 1958. Consequently, Dunedin prison was transformed into a female institution and received its first

five inmates in August 1959 (Martin 1998, pg.164-165). The small women's facility at Paparua, which was poorly planned and deemed inadequate from the day it was built, was extended in 1951 and could now receive women serving up to three months imprisonment rather than just those sentenced to less than a month (McKenzie 2004, pg.235-238).

In his 1959 report, Barnett clearly opposed the use of Dunedin as a women's prison and declared that a new institution for females should be built at Paparua (AJHR 1959 H.20, pg.11). Considering that the bulk of the population was located in the North Island, it seems strange that the main prison for women would be erected in the South Island. However, when the project was finally approved in 1964, it was on the basis that the new women's facility was built at the more economical site of Paparua in Templeton, near Christchurch (McKenzie 2004, pg.275). Its remoteness was probably less of an issue to the department than it would have been in Dallard's time, for prisoners could now be transported by aircraft which was obviously quicker than previous means of transferring prisoners such as by train. Christchurch Women's Prison finally opened in June 1974 and the prisoners from Dunedin were transferred to the new institution, helping to alleviate the overcrowding in female prisons. Christchurch Women's Prison continues to operate today as one of the country's three women's prisons and accommodates 138 female prisoners from minimum to high security classification (Dept of Corrections 2012, pg.1).

In his final year before retirement, Barnett was cynical about where corrections had gone in the last ten years and he was not optimistic about the future. In his penultimate report he wrote:

“In truth, we have no national policy. We are imitators. We have to be convinced by experiment and experience in other countries before we will venture. New Zealand has a reputation for independent thought and courageous initiative in the social field. That is certainly not true in the penal field, although we have singular opportunities to develop our own practices and policy.

We do not command international attention in the penal field. Few nations would come to learn from us. True, we have made some advances in recent years, but few could be said to be characteristic of a young country exercising independent thought, and expressing its own national attitude toward criminal offenders.” (AJHR 1959 H.20, pg.5).

To his credit though, Barnett inherited the prison system at a time of rapid social change. Throughout the 1950s, attitudes and values were shifting and New Zealand was recovering from the effects of the Second World War (Baker 1965, pg.532). Barnett steered prisons through some of the steepest muster increases the country had experienced, he inaugurated major changes with the 1954 legislation and he was faced with the grave catastrophes of the Horton affair and the Mt Eden escapes. Barnett was also responsible for improving and liberating conditions inside jails. According to his successor, Barnett was the perfect candidate to lift prisons out of the orthodoxy that had drowned them for two and a half decades (Robson 1987, pg.100).

The Hanan and Robson Era- A perfect Relationship 1960-1970

The spiralling crime levels that disheartened Barnett toward the end of the 1950s were a key element in the National Party's campaign leading into the 1960 general election. The emergence and growth of youth delinquency, previously a fairly unfamiliar phenomenon to New Zealand society, was of particular concern to the public here and around the world (Robson 1973, pg.12). National seized the opportunity to gain favour and pledged to try and restore control. The most critical factor leading into the election, though, was widespread discontent over the 'Black Budget'. The second Labour Government, which came to power in 1957, was faced with the worst collapse in export prices since the Depression. Reluctant to renege on expensive election promises, such as housing and welfare improvements, or cut government expenditure, Prime Minister Walter Nash and his Finance Minister Arnold Nordmeyer raised taxes on petrol, tobacco and beer. The immensely unpopular measures became known as the 'Black Budget' and are believed to have cost Labour the 1960 election (Chapman 1981, pg.363-364). In a landslide victory, National gained 46 seats to Labour's 34 (Sinclair 2000, pg.304). Earlier in 1960, Sam Barnett had been replaced as Secretary for Justice by John Robson and with the change of government, Rex Mason lost his role as Minister of Justice and Ralph Hanan was sworn in.

Born in New Zealand in 1909, John Robson was a career public servant with a PhD in law which he obtained in 1939. He was appointed to the Department of Justice in 1951 and served as Assistant and Deputy Secretary for Justice before becoming the Permanent Head in 1960. Robson was a pragmatic man and valued the importance of duty and responsibility. He

was more friendly and compromising than Barnett and Robson had a good rapport with his staff (Cameron 2010, pg.1-2). Upon his appointment as Secretary for Justice, Robson was eager to get started on administrative and penal reform and saw his role as being the initiator and his Minister's role as communicator, letting him know what the public would tolerate (Robson 1987, pg.131).

Ralph Hanan was indeed able to do this as he was in touch with, and responsive to, public opinion. Like Robson, he was also enthusiastic about law reform and as a powerful and respected figure in Parliament he had a strong mandate for change. Hanan had an impressive résumé: he had practiced law, served as mayor of Invercargill, fought with the 20th (Canterbury-Otago) battalion in the Middle East and in Italy in World War Two after which he attained the military rank of captain. Hanan was elected to Parliament in 1946 and when National took office in 1960, he became Attorney General, Minister of Maori Affairs and Minister of Justice. Described as lovable and not afraid to express his own independent thought, it is in his capacity as Minister of Justice that Hanan is most remembered (Barton 2010, pg.1-2).

Hanan and Robson were both liberal and imaginative thinkers with humanitarian principles and it has been said that they epitomised the ideal partnership between a senior public servant and a politician (AJHR 1970 H.20, pg.3). This relationship saw the 1960s take a place in history as the most innovative and progressive decade ever in correctional reform in New Zealand (Newbold 2007, pg.57).

Prisons in New Zealand in 1960

INSTITUTION	SECURITY
<i>North Island</i>	
Auckland (Mt Eden)	Maximum
Napier	Minimum
New Plymouth	Medium
Tongariro Prison Farm (Hautu & Rangipo)	Minimum
Waikune	Minimum
Wanganui	Minimum
Wellington (Mt Crawford)	Medium
Wi Tako (Trentham)	Minimum
<i>South Island</i>	
Addington	Minimum
Dunedin Women's	Medium
Invercargill	Medium
Paparua	Medium
Rolleston	Minimum

Source: Robson 1987, pg.189

A Decade of Impetus and Modernisation

As noted, Barnett's changes were largely administrative, however, Hanan and Robson were able to institute a number of legislative reforms, partly due to the power and respect Hanan had in Parliament. Hanan passionately opposed the death penalty and was the only National member who voted against the Capital Punishment Bill in 1950. Thus, when Hanan took office in 1960, he wasted no time drafting a section to abolish the death penalty for murder in the Crimes Act 1961. While many National members once again voted against its abolition, 10 members crossed the floor and voted with Labour and thus, the penalty was struck out under section 172 of the act (Engel 1977, pg.97). The Crimes Act 1961 also amended the Crimes Act 1908 and integrated any other relevant legislation.

At the centre of much of the development in criminal justice in the Hanan-Robson era was the issue of juvenile delinquency. Of the 1960s Robson later wrote, "If we were to achieve worthwhile results in the penal field, then we had to concentrate on young offenders" (Robson 1987, pg.142). He asserted that the problem must be confronted with "vigour and imagination" and he believed imprisonment of young offenders should be avoided where possible (Robson 1987, pg.144-145). From this approach came the innovative non-custodial initiative of periodic detention. Created in 1962 under an amendment to the Criminal Justice

Act, and initially for first offenders aged 15-21, periodic detention (PD) required a detainee to report to a PD centre on Friday night and work all day Saturday before being released on Sunday. Periodic detainees were also required to attend a lecture on Wednesday evenings (Webb 1982, pg.184-185). In 1966, PD became available to adult offenders and the sentence was extremely successful. The benefits were multifaceted: young offenders were not unnecessarily exposed to the harsh conditions of jail and it helped to ease musters.

Another measure directed at juvenile lawbreakers was the detention centre which had been legislated in 1954 but not put into effect. National immediately launched the scheme the boot camp style of which was designed to drill the rebellion out of offenders aged 16 to 21. The first detention centre was opened at Waikeria in 1961 (Newbold 2007, pg.58). Still optimistic about the effectiveness of borstals, Waipiata Borstal was opened in Central Otago in 1961 as a more open institution for 'reformable' young first offenders. However, Waipiata proved just as unsuccessful as the other borstals and closed two years before borstal training was abolished in 1981 (AJHR 1981 E.5, pg.23).

Changes for Prisoners

There were also a number of reforms of the 1960s that affected the prisoners at Paparua and the 12 other prisons throughout New Zealand. In 1961 the Penal Institutions Regulations were modified and abolished the bread and water punishment diet. In its place were two grades of restricted diet which were probably no more effective and were scotched in 1981 (Newbold 1989, pg.126). In 1964 came another opportunity for earlier release from prison. An amendment to the Penal Institutions Act legislated for an extra one-twelfth remission for commendable behaviour increasing the total possible remission from a quarter to a third (AJHR 1966 H.20, pg.13). In 1975 this remission became available to all minimum security inmates and to other prisoners on application to the Secretary for Justice.

Another amendment had been made to the Penal Institutions Act in 1961 which allowed for the day release of inmates to work in the community. To be eligible for work parole an inmate had to be trustworthy and nearing the end of their sentence and it was not available to preventive detainees or prisoners with a high security classification (AJHR 1962 H.20, pg.12). To begin with, inmates went on work parole from prison but in April 1965 a pre-

release hostel was established in Christchurch where inmates would reside while working in the community (AJHR 1965 H.20, pg.5). Another bold initiative allowing prisoners to relieve the tedium of their cell was home leave. Home leave was originally introduced for married first offenders in 1965 and allowed an inmate to travel home and spend 72 hours with their family every four weeks (AJHR 1966 H.20, pg.13; Robson 1987, pg.151). The availability of this concession was extended to all minimum security prisoners in 1974.

These privileges, however, probably had a minimal impact on prisoners at Paparua. Firstly, only a very small number of inmates were granted work parole. In 1965, seven per cent of the prison population were recommended for parole to work in the community (AJHR 1966 H.20, pg.12). Secondly, work parole and home leave were generally only available to minimum-security prisoners and since Addington and Rolleston accommodated only inmates of this classification, the Paparua muster would largely have been made up of medium-security prisoners.

Within the prison gates, there was still plenty to keep the inmates at Paparua busy. The prison still occasionally gained recognition for exhibits in agricultural shows, as farming and gardening work was continued throughout the 1960s, albeit not to the same degree as before. In fact, farm work at Paparua prison was never again as important and successful as it was during Dallard's time. From the 1950s, Paparua was no longer referred to in reports as a 'prison farm' and the omission of detailed figures on farm production show the Department's declining emphasis on agricultural work. This essentially reflected the changes in society at large where between 1936 and 1966, the proportion of the labour force in primary industry fell from 27 to 13 per cent (Sinclair 2000, pg.308). New Zealand was also becoming increasingly urbanised. In 1959 Barnett advocated a focus on industrial production in prisons rather than farming and at least in the case of Paparua, it appears that Robson agreed (AJHR 1959 H.20, pg.16). A cabinetmaking shop was introduced at Paparua in 1961 and the following year a new workshop opened and began manufacturing tubular steel furniture (AJHR 1962 H.20, pg.14; 1963 H.20, pg.13). These two industries, along with domestic duties such as cooking and cleaning, probably employed the majority of inmates after the quarry at Paparua was closed in 1966. The plant in the quarry needed replacing and the government could not justify the cost of doing so (AJHR 1967 H.20, pg.10).

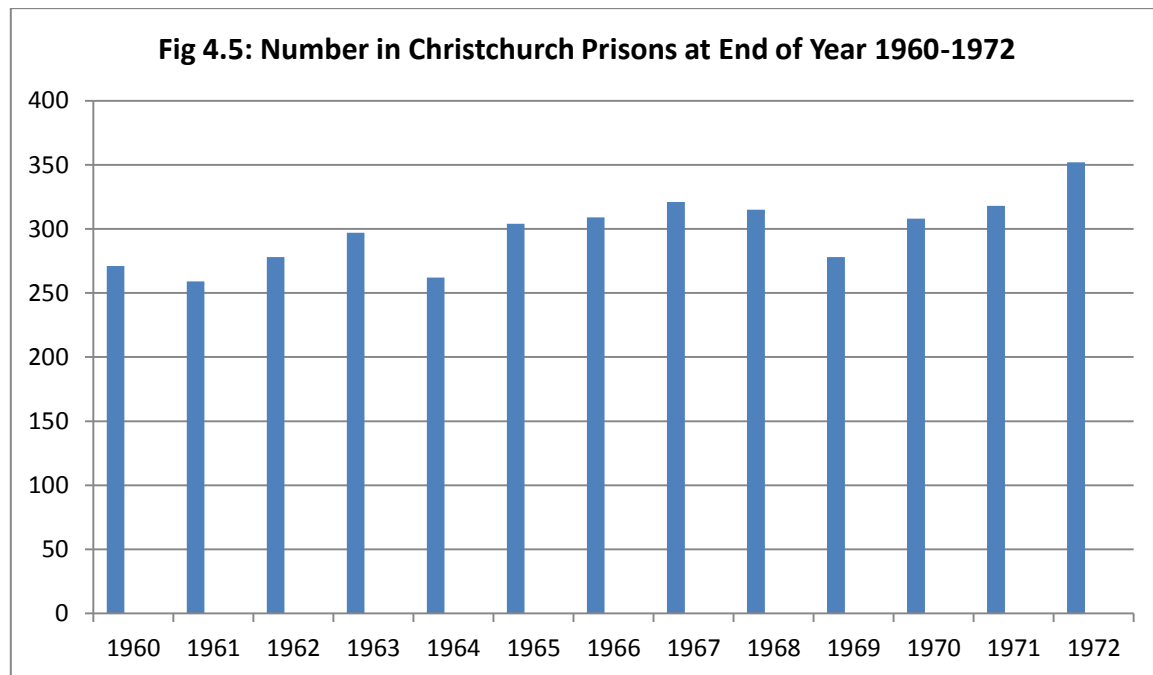
Trouble Looming

Prison musters leapt considerably in the second half of the 1950s and in his final reports, Barnett sounded panicked and discomfited about the dire measures employed in a bid to manage the numbers. Essentially, the prison population in New Zealand was rapidly outgrowing the existing institutions, so Robson must have been uneasy about the fate of inmate musters when he inherited the justice department in 1960. After 1961, however, numbers levelled out at a daily average of around 1,900 and overcrowding eased. This was possibly a result of Hanan and Robson's creation of non-custodial measures, such as periodic detention, which were designed to provide an alternative to short-term imprisonment for non-serious offenders. By the middle of the decade however, musters had resumed their upward trend, and they surpassed 2,000 for the first time in history in 1967 (AJHR 1968 H.20, pg.25). While it did not increase at the same speed as the 1950s, the prison population grew another 39 per cent between 1965 and 1970 (AJHR 1966 H.20, pg.27; 1971 H.20, pg.28).

An important factor in rising musters is, of course, crime rates. Although not to the same magnitude as they did in the 1950s, police reported offences still rocketed throughout the 1960s, increasing by 61 per cent between 1960 and 1970 (AJHR 1961 H.16, pg.23; 1971 H.16, pg.24). Indeed, the New Zealand population was growing also and this may seem a reasonable explanation for increased crime. Between 1951 and 1970 the number of people in New Zealand grew by 47 per cent from 1,947,529 to 2,857,862 (NZ Dept of Stats 1951-52, pg.22; 1971, pg.61). However, crime was not only increasing in actual numbers but also relative to the population. In 1940, there were 274 reported offences per 10,000 of the population and by 1970 this had doubled to 580 per 10,000 (AJHR 1941 H.16, pg.17; 1971 H.16, pg.24).

Urbanisation has been identified as a key factor in rising crime rates during this period, particularly that of Maori who, from the 1950s, have continuously been disproportionately represented in the prison population (Dept of Justice 1968, pg.398). After 1945, large numbers of Maori began migrating to urban areas and in just ten years between 1961 and 1971, the proportion of the Maori population living in cities rose from 40 to 68 per cent (Metge 1976, pg.77-78). The social, economic and cultural pressures associated with migration to an urban metropolis were to a large extent, likely behind the increases in Maori crime (O'Malley 1973, pg.386-395). By 1970, Maori made up only eight per cent of the

population in New Zealand but accounted for 37 per cent of the people in prison (AJHR 1971 H.20, pg.27). Thus, Maori crime rates, along with general increases in crime, were significantly impacting the rising prison musters.



Source: AJHR 1961-1973 H.20

It is difficult to analyse the Paparua prison muster at this point because, from the 1961 annual report, the figures for Paparua are combined with Addington and Rolleston as ‘Christchurch’ (see fig 4.3). The New Zealand Official Yearbooks do not have individual prison statistics and upon inquiry I found that such information is also not kept at New Zealand Archives in Christchurch. I also discovered that as a result of the Canterbury earthquake on February 22, 2011, a few archives that may have been of some relevance, along with many more archives, are now unavailable. Finally, I queried whether muster figures for this period were available from the prison itself and have been informed that they are not.

Notwithstanding this setback, inferences about the number of inmates at Paparua can be made. As figures from the Annual Reports indicate, the muster for Christchurch prisons generally trended upward in the second half of the 1960s, denoting that Paparua prison would have been running out of empty beds. Receptions into Christchurch prisons hovered around 1,000 until 1966 when there were 1,300 (AJHR 1967 H.20, pg.25). The muster for Paparua,

Addington and Rolleston peaked at 321 in 1967, a figure that suggests just how crammed the 120 cells at Paparua must have been. Addington was able to accommodate 35 inmates and Rolleston could hold 30. It was disclosed in September 1967, that Paparua could comfortably accommodate 144 prisoners, 120 in single cells and 24 in association, and this could be stretched to an absolute maximum of 215 (Penal Group Minutes 25-9-1967). If 65 of the 321 Christchurch inmates were housed at Addington and Rolleston in 1967, 256 prisoners were left to be accommodated at Paparua where the limit was 215. Each of the two wings had around 60 cells, most with two beds, but even if two men were put in every cell, that is still only enough room for 240 prisoners. Certainly Addington and Rolleston were probably pushed beyond their maximum capacity where possible, but even so, Paparua had to have been holding far more prisoners than it was designed for.

Once again, prisons were overflowing and on the brink of chaos. Of the nine annual justice reports written by Robson, four feature dedicated sections on the grave issue of overcrowding and in seven of them the Permanent Head includes a discussion of his deep concerns about on-going staff shortages. Robson was frank about the consequences of these conditions and virtually predicted problems, “Overcrowding and out-dated institutions offer a good breeding ground for disturbances and it is inevitable that there will be such unrest” (AJHR 1963 H.20, pg.12). It was only a matter of time until the consequences of these conditions played out in the jails. Just as it was in the 1950s, Mt Eden was at the fore of inmate disorder and from 1964, due to overcrowding and poor administration, assaults on staff escalated and general inmate violence intensified (Newbold 1989, pg. 137). Robson was particularly concerned about the escapes occurring all around the country, a number of which were rather serious (AJHR 1968 H.20, pg.5). The infamous George Wilder escaped from New Plymouth prison in May 1962 and enjoyed 65 days at large. He was subsequently moved to Mt Eden where in January 1963 he chiselled his way out of his cell and with three others, injured an officer, stole his keys and escaped. The others were promptly recaptured but Wilder evaded arrest for 173 days (Morris 1975, pg.24-30).

Perhaps the worst incident was the escape of Wilder and two other inmates, Len Evans and John Gillies, from Mt Eden on the afternoon of February 4, 1965. The three prisoners escaped from the jail confines with an officer held at gunpoint and drove off in a prison truck out into the streets of Mt Eden. After taking two people hostage in their own home, along with the prison officer, the prisoners gave themselves up later that evening (Morris 1975, pg.33-37).

The purchase of land at Paremoremo in 1962 for a new maximum-security prison to replace Mt Eden was not soon enough (AJHR 1963 H.20, pg.25). In March 1964, female prisoners at Dunedin prison rioted by throwing clothes from the windows and attempting to set them alight (Martin 1998, pg.167). Yet another illustration of the need for updated institutions, the Dunedin riot also reiterated the widespread discontent throughout New Zealand's jails. These violent reactions to overcrowding and poor conditions were just a warm up to the most serious prison episode of the decade and this time, Paparua prison would be in the spotlight too.

The 1965 Riots

The worst prison riot in New Zealand history began on the evening of 19 July, 1965 at Mt Eden prison (Newbold 1989, pg.149). After the hostage incident in February, the rigid and orthodox superintendent at Mt Eden had clamped down even harder on security and discipline and the oppressive regime was the perfect milieu to trigger a riot (Fox 1971, pg.12). On the night of 19 July, Jon Sadaraka, armed with a semi-automatic pistol that had been smuggled into the prison, and fellow inmate Daniel McMillan, used homemade keys to open the locks of their cells and attempted to escape. They struck an officer and took three more as hostages before an officer in charge of the morning shift discovered the commotion and notified police. Aware that their escape plan had failed, Sadaraka and McMillan fled to the security division of the prison where they went about unlocking prisoners with their key. Of the first to be released were Wilder, Evans and Gillies who for five months had been locked up in morbid solitude for 22 hours a day (Newbold 1989, pg.148-149).

Destruction of the prison began immediately. Gillies obliterated the administrative core of the jail with an iron bar, killing all the lights across the institution and set fire to the chapel. All the while, more inmates were being unlocked and the prison was set on fire. Prison officers were allowed in to free trapped inmates from their cells but members of the fire brigade were attacked and forced to withdraw (Newbold 1989, pg.150). The prisoners completely wrecked and burned Mt Eden jail. By nightfall on 20 July, 65 men had given themselves up and the remaining 228 camped around bonfires in the smouldering rubble or in their burnt cells (Christchurch Press 21-7-65). Hungry and disheartened, the rest of the prisoners surrendered the following morning and 33 hours after the riot had commenced, all 293 prisoners were

accounted for. Amazingly, not one prisoner escaped and there were no fatalities. The next conundrum, however, lay in what to do with 293 maximum security prisoners.

Some of the Mt Eden inmates were nearing their scheduled release so were discharged straight away. Eighty-nine of the most serious criminals were sent to the converted east wing at Waikeria, 37 were sent to the prison camps, 31 went to the newly finished psychiatric hospital at Lake Alice, 40 short-termers remained at Mt Eden and helped with the clean-up, 30 were transferred to Mt Crawford in Wellington and 30 were sent to Paparua prison in Christchurch (AJHR 1966 H.20, pg.9; Newbold 1989, pg.153).

Although the department was left with little choice, sending the Mt Eden prisoners to institutions unfamiliar with dealing with maximum-security criminals naturally carried its risks. Within days of their arrival at Mt Crawford, two of the Mt Eden transfers attempted to set fire to their cell but they were caught before the incident could turn into anything more serious (NZPD vol.343 1965, pg.1417). Paparua Superintendent Miles Carew, who took over the prison when Edward Buckley was promoted to Superintendent of Mt Eden in April 1963, was not so fortunate. On the evening of Sunday July 25, 73 prisoners of Paparua's current muster of 169 were attending a church service in the recreation hall upstairs in the administration block. The disturbance began at 5.30 p.m. when a prisoner switched off the lights in the recreation hall and 43 inmates began throwing furniture and assaulting staff. Six unarmed officers forced the 43 rioters from the recreation hall and administration block into a muster yard which was between the administration block entrance and East wing. Meanwhile, the remaining 30 prisoners in the recreation hall shielded the female choir who had been attending the service.

A violent battle ensued in the muster yard as the rioters used furniture and iron bars to resist staff. Twenty prison officers managed to herd the violent group, who were attempting to break back into the administration block, into the East wing where 23 of the mutineers lit at least 20 fires causing extensive damage to the cell block. The armed offenders squad threw four tear-gas grenades and fired two tear-gas bombs into the East wing to drive the prisoners out. At 10.30 p.m., eyes burning from tear-gas fumes, the last 23 rioters surrendered. The roof of the East wing was still smoking and part of the structure was smouldering. During the insurrection, 12 prison officers, including the superintendent Miles Carew, had been injured and six officers were taken to hospital (Christchurch Press 26-7-65).

The 23 rioters who had destroyed Paparua's East wing were kept locked in their cells pending an investigation (Christchurch Press 27-7-65). Leader of the Opposition, Arnold Nordmeyer, contended that the public were horrified and "had never been more deeply shocked and alarmed about the prisons system" (Christchurch Press 28-7-65). Indeed, Nordmeyer's comment was politically fuelled but he was probably right. The public had heard of escapes and minor disturbances, but never had they had to come to terms with prisoners destroying an entire prison, as they did at Mt Eden. And what is more, the rioters were transferred and continued their unruly behaviour at other institutions such as Paparua. The media made sure everyone knew about the riots- the outbreak at Paparua was the lead story on the front page of the Christchurch Press newspaper for three consecutive days and the articles revelled in vivid details of the horrendous events and the dangerous men that had caused them.

While every institution is different, research on prison rioting has firmly established a set of circumstances, some or all of which tend to be present in a prison where unrest occurs. Not surprisingly, Mt Eden exhibited most of them. One of the most fundamental of these circumstances, as already noted, is overcrowding which is a major factor behind prison recalcitrance. More specifically, it is through the impact overcrowding has on separate elements of prison life that the seed of trouble is planted. In his 1962 report, Robson wrote that all of the facilities in the male prisons, including Paparua, for training, education and recreation had been exhausted (AJHR 1962 H.20, pg.11). As musters climbed, many prisoners at Paparua and other male institutions would have missed out on employment and recreational activities. This disruption to the daily routine and subsequent idleness probably contributed to the disorder in prisons (MacCormick 1954, pg.20; Rison & Wittenberg 1994, pg.47).

Overcrowding would also have meant that more prisoners were sharing cells, potentially in very cramped circumstances. In analyses of prison riots in the United States and United Kingdom, inadequate housing and increased inmate association were found to be contributing factors in prisoner disturbances (Hartung & Floch 1965, pg.51; Thomas 1972, pg.159). Looking at the history of British prisoners' protests, Mike Fitzgerald found that a reduction in staff was also a key ingredient in the recipe for disaster (Fitzgerald 1977, pg.127). Robson continuously reported staff shortages, particularly at Mt Eden, so it is highly likely that this played a part in the riots.

Furthermore, riots have an epidemic character in that the way in which riot behaviour spreads can be likened to that of classical epidemics such as disease (Burbeck *et al* 1978, pg.1). This epidemiological element is clearly evident in the case of the 1965 prison riots and partly explains the occurrence of a riot at Paparua: the riotous behaviour spread from Mt Eden to Paparua. Similarly, Ohlin, in addressing the state of prison revolts in the United States in the early 1950s, suggests that prison riots are contagious and that this is illustrative of the existence of a 'prisoner community'. The maintenance of this community is done through inmates moving from one institution to another and this relates directly to the New Zealand prison riots (Ohlin 1956, pg.23). Prisoners from Mt Eden were transferred to Paparua where they reignited the excitement of the riot and were joined by local prisoners in staging another outbreak. This excitement is one reason why Paparua inmates were recruited into the rebellion easily. Prisoners also join riots based on their individual grievances or sometimes their involvement is to avoid retaliation from the ringleaders (MacCormick 1954, pg.19). The possible reasons behind the riots discussed here are equally applicable to the various other incidents that took place throughout New Zealand's prisons in the 1960s.

Members of Parliament wanted somebody to take responsibility for the chaos that had possessed the prison system and Minister of Justice Ralph Hanan was directly in the line of fire. In a session of Parliament on Tuesday July 27, 1965, the Opposition fired scathing accusations at Hanan across debating chamber. One resounding question was why Hanan had let the prisons reach the point of explosion when year after year the Annual Reports had revealed the increasingly overcrowded conditions and desperate staff shortages inside the jails (NZPD vol.343 1965, pg.1407-1450).

The End of an Era

Throughout their effective partnership, Hanan and Robson had instituted a number of ground-breaking penal reforms but had failed to alleviate the severe overcrowding that had plagued the prison system for the best part of 15 years. The desire to replace the archaic Mt Eden facility had been expressed as early as 1950 but plans to do so were never realised. If it had been replaced, the Mt Eden riot and its sequels would probably never have happened. After the 1965 riots, the government could not wait any longer to commission the construction of a

new male institution, which was required urgently. Accordingly, much of the department's focus was for the remainder of the 1960s, on a new maximum-security facility at Paremoremo, 20 kilometres north of Auckland. Paremoremo prison opened in March 1969 and brought long awaited and much needed relief to male institutions throughout the country (AJHR 1970 H.20, pg.11).

The fact the prison administration's attention was directed to the immediate need for a new men's prison is probably the main reason why expansion at Paparua was hindered. In a *Schedule of New and Enlarged Institutions Needed*, appended to the 1959 Department of Justice report, the erection of additional buildings at Paparua prison was proposed (AJHR 1959 H.20, pg.23). In 1961, plans for the new cell block capable of housing 86 inmates were still being sketched, and in 1965 were practically ready to go ahead (AJHR 1961 H.20, pg.13; 1965 H.20, pg.22). However, following the riot, the project at Paparua appears to have been shelved until 1970, the year after Paremoremo opened, when working drawings for the new wing were finally completed. The Department of Justice now declared the new building to be part of a redevelopment plan aimed at updating and improving the facilities at Paparua prison (AJHR 1970 H.20, pg.24).

No sooner had Paremoremo received its first inmates and these institution upgrades begun, than Ralph Hanan died suddenly on July 24, 1969 (Barton 2010, pg.2). In March the following year John Robson retired, signalling the end of the Hanan-Robson era. The 1960s went down in history as a decade of energetic penal reform, unequalled in New Zealand to this day (Cameron 2010, pg.1). As New Zealand entered the 1970s and those at the head of the Justice Department changed, the difficulties that had concerned the two previous administrations travelled through to the new decade, and were manifested in a period of transition.

CHAPTER FIVE: CHANGING DYNAMICS 1970-1990

After 20 years of vigorous penal reform, by 1970 New Zealand prisons had been substantially modernised. Sam Barnett and his successor John Robson recognised the cracks in the prison framework and as a result, conditions for staff and prisoners were improved, prison industries were expanded and provisions for education, psychological services and chaplaincy in prisons were broadened. All the while, and in the face of efforts to control it, the prison population climbed relentlessly. Increases in crime, particularly violent offending, throughout the 1970s and 1980s and the legislative attempts to subdue it, ensured that musters continued to rise until they commenced a rapid ascent in the mid-1980s. Thus, while the charge of prisons changed hands, the problems associated with overcrowding still bedevilled the Justice Department. From the 1970s, though, other major issues began to emerge. International events were having a bearing on New Zealand prisons and along with drugs, gangs and violence were shifting the culture within prisons, including Paparua.

The 1970s

The zealous and innovative pursuits of the 1960s came to an abrupt halt when, after the death of Ralph Hanan in 1969, the Justice portfolio was given to Dan Riddiford. A man of traditional values, Riddiford announced shortly after his appointment that penal developments had reached their limit and there would be no substantial reforms under the new Ministry (Newbold 1989, pg.199). Due to illness, Riddiford was replaced in 1972 by another lawyer, Sir Roy Jack. Neither Riddiford nor Jack had any particular qualification or interest in the post and certainly not in the management of prisons. Consequently, the only major change to prisons in the early part of the decade was an increase in accommodation to try and keep up with the inmate population. Having been comparatively steady throughout the early 1960s, numbers began to rise again in the second half of the decade and between 1965 and 1970, the national muster grew by more than 600, to 2,365. As previously noted, the Annual Reports combine Paparua's figures with Addington and Rolleston, so it is difficult to say exactly how much the muster increased over this period. What can be said is that the annual receptions for Christchurch prisons had increased 26 per cent in the five years to 1970 to 1,378 (AJHR 1966 H.20, pg.27; 1971 H.20, pg.28). Given that Addington had the capacity to hold around 30 prisoners and Rolleston could accommodate 35, which increased to 70 by

the 1972 prison census, most of these receptions would have been into Paparua where on any given day there would have been approximately 240 inmates.

In order to cope with such a rapid growth in numbers it was decided in 1969 to build a medium-security facility next door to Paremoremo maximum, although it was not until 1981 that it began receiving prisoners. In 1971, old wings of Mt Eden that had been abandoned after the 1965 riot were renovated and reroofed providing another 143 beds (AJHR 1970 H.20, pg.24; 1972 H.20, pg.3). The first part of the redevelopment plan at Paparua that had been announced in 1970 was completed in 1972. The new cell block capable of housing 84 inmates was ready for use and due to its easternmost position on the prison site it became the new East Wing. The old Eastern cell block which was occupied in 1925 was now known as the Centre Wing and the West Wing remained the same (Paul Rushton int 18-1-12).

Despite the provision of more beds and the improvement of facilities, resources at Paparua and the other penal institutions in New Zealand were strained. Between 1970 and 1971 alone, the total national muster increased another 11 per cent and the daily average number of men in Christchurch prisons rose by 32 (AJHR 1972 H.20, pg.33). The increase of 34 in the end of year muster for Christchurch prisons was absorbed by the new East wing at Paparua which was filled immediately. Prior to the erection of its new East wing, the comfortable maximum muster at Paparua was 144 (Penal Group Minutes 25-9-1967). The completion of the 84-bed wing raised this to 228. However, by the time of the 1972 penal census, Paparua was housing 233 inmates (Dept of Justice 1975, pg.35). This reveals that even with the addition of an entire cell block, the prison's muster was surpassing the number of prisoners it could securely accommodate without resorting to the undesirable measures it had been forced to adopt in the past. As already seen, exploding musters put immense pressure on an institution and the resulting conditions in New Zealand's jails in the early 1970s roused prisoner discontent and once more, trouble was brewing.

Familiar Problems in a New Context

The disturbances that began to ripple through New Zealand prisons in the early 1970s formed part of a global phenomenon that transpired with the wakening of political consciousness in the free community, and therefore need to be understood in this context. During the 1960s

numerous human rights issues were brought to the fore through movements that advocated the rights of ethnic minorities, women, workers, gays and indigenous peoples. As a result of this increased political participation, people were also protesting about international events and a particularly prominent issue in the late 1960s and early 1970s was the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War (Farrell 1997, pg.171-201). All around the world people debated and protested about the conflict in Vietnam and sentiment against the war grew in New Zealand between 1964 and 1972 during which time around 3,500 New Zealand military personnel were dispatched to the South-East Asian nation (Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2011c, pg.1).

The increasing political awareness in the free community was transmitted into prisons where the politicisation of prisoner movements saw inmates questioning their own oppression (Adams 1992, pg.211; Mitford 1974, pg.228-247). Prisoners in America, many of them black, began to identify with the plight of those fighting for their rights on the outside and they joined the cause. An epidemic of disturbances tore across the United States and the number of prison riots leapt from five in 1968 to 37 in 1971. That same year 39 prisoners and hostages were shot during a riot at Attica in New York. The 48 riots that occurred in 1972 were the most ever in United States history (Useem & Kimball 1991, pg.9-18). The United Kingdom experienced widespread rebellion too. During just five months in 1972 there were around 50 inmate demonstrations and a national prisoners' union incited strikes at more than 30 institutions throughout England. Mutinies also took place at Albany, Dartmoor, Parkhurst and Peterhead prisons (Fitzgerald 1977, pg.136-158).

The unsettled tone abroad had an impact on inmates in New Zealand. In particular, many of the men at Paremoremo prison were empowered by American leftist ideas (Newbold 1989, pg.218-219). Among Paremoremo's population was a deeply resentful group of men who were detained in deprived conditions following the Mt Eden riot in 1965. Trouble was inevitable. Between 1969 and 1972, Paremoremo had a number of serious assaults on staff, strikes, floods, fires and damaging of prison property. Violent outbursts also occurred at the overflowing Mt Eden prison where there were a number of attacks and in 1971 the prisoners rioted (Newbold 2007, pg.71).

It was not long until the clouds of turmoil gathered over Paparua prison and the period of upheaval that ensued, which included a major strike later in the decade, was unprecedented in

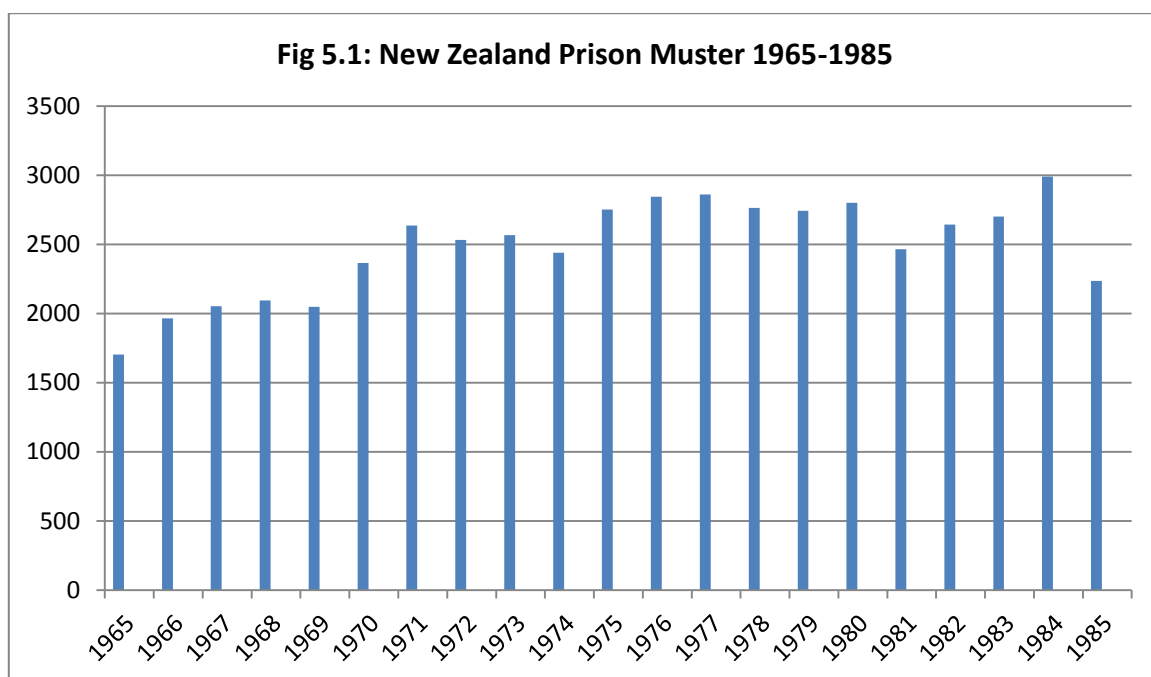
the institution's history. Superintendent Miles Carew, who had dealt with the riot in 1965 and himself been injured, had since transferred to Waikeria Youth Centre in November 1969 (Christchurch Press 15-11-69). The man to take over the position was Jim Cruise who had charge of the prison barely a year before, like his predecessor, he would be faced with serious recalcitrance. At around 3.15 p.m. on October 8, 1970, two prisoners of the gang working in the shingle pit attacked their supervisor, Third Officer G. de Wagt with a shovel, inflicting a bloody head injury. The prisoners fled immediately but were tracked by a police dog to a building within just yards of the shingle pit and two hours after the incident started, the men were back in custody. Officer de Wagt was treated at Christchurch hospital and later discharged (Christchurch Press 9-10-70).

At 10.15 a.m. the very next morning, however, police were alerted to another incident. Two prisoners working at the prison grain mill brutally assaulted a prison officer and absconded through the prison grounds and out into surrounding farmland. Five minutes after their disappearance the police were notified by a woman in Barkers Road that two men in prison garb had stolen her white jaguar car. All available police, including dog handlers and their dogs, immediately headed to organised posts in Templeton and off duty officers were called in. The Royal New Zealand Air Force helicopter was deployed to search for the escaped prisoners from the air. On the ground, roads to the West Coast and across the Waimakariri and Rakaia rivers were blocked and police began hunting neighbouring properties. The situation became more serious as hours went by and nothing was heard of the prisoners or the Jaguar. At 4.40 p.m. the police received the call they were hoping for when a Tai Tapu resident reported sighting the jaguar parked among bush in Taumutu. After locating the vehicle, two officers and their dogs caught the escapees. The first man surrendered without fuss but the second had to be stopped by a police dog. Fortunately, once again, the assaulted officer was discharged from hospital without serious injury (Christchurch Press 10-10-70).

Two attempted escapes within 24 hours at a prison that often went one or two years without any at all, illustrates the pressure a bursting muster places on an institution and possibly also the strength of the wave of aggression that swept through prisons around the world in the 1970s. Eric Missen, permanent head of Justice from 1969 to 1974, admitted that overcrowding was having a detrimental impact on effective supervision and control in prisons and this was partially responsible for the episodes that had occurred. He also blamed

increased militancy among inmates that paralleled the attitudes of many protesters in the free community (AJHR 1971 H.20, pg.12).

The national muster levelled out throughout the rest of the 1970s, increasing slowly and intermittently over the next 15 years. Receptions into Christchurch prisons averaged 1,300 until the 1980s where they began to increase steeply. An abrupt jump in New Zealand's prison population would not come until 1986. In spite of numbers stabilising, discontent predominated at Paparua prison and things would finally come to a head in 1974.



Source: AJHR 1966-1972 H.20; 1973-1986 E.5

A More Liberal Approach to Prisons

As the decade progressed and the administration changed, the pace of prison reform was accelerated. National had been in government for 12 years but in the general election in November 1972, the party was ousted in a convincing Labour victory (Sinclair 2000, pg.318). The new Prime Minister was Norman Kirk and he appointed Dr Martyn Finlay as his Minister of Justice. Far more liberal than the two foregoing ministers (Riddiford and Jack), Finlay sympathised with the underdog (Newbold 2007, pg.72).

In 1973, Finlay abolished the youth sentences of borstal training and detention in a detention centre, both of which had been proven ineffective and had high rates of recidivism (AJHR 1968 H.20, pg.9; Little 1963, pg.270; Walker & Brown 1983, pg.40). Although, the 1975 amendment to the Criminal Justice Act scratching these two sentences, did not come into effect until 1981. Finlay extended the home leave scheme so that from February 1974 it would no longer be limited to first offenders and all minimum and some medium-security inmates would now be eligible for the privilege. Consequently, the seven per cent of prisoners released on home leave in 1973 increased to 27 per cent in 1975 (AJHR 1974 E.5, pg.14; 1976 E.5, pg.11). From 1975, prisoners with a security classification higher than minimum, could now apply to the Secretary for Justice for the extra one-twelfth remission. The expanded criteria of these two schemes would have made them available to eligible medium-security prisoners at Paparua.

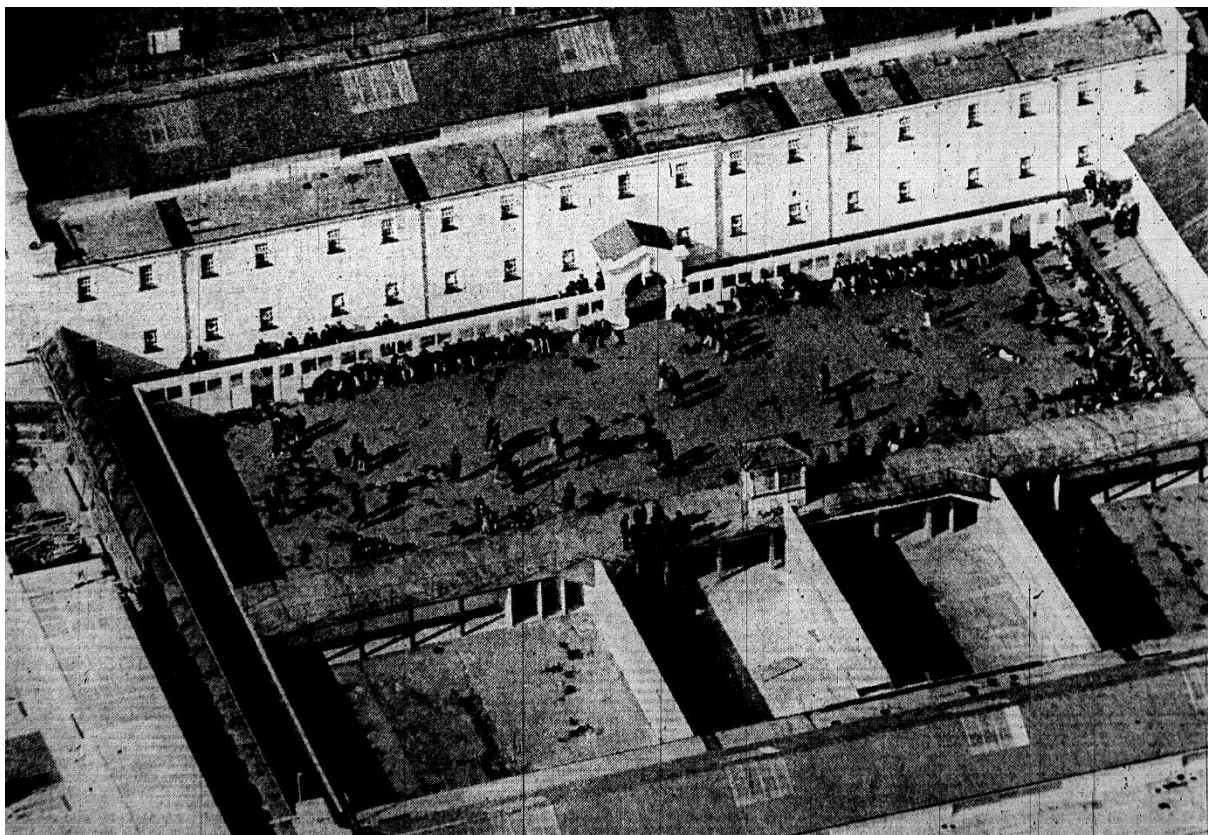
Television, which was a common feature of New Zealand society from the early 1960s, was introduced into prisons in 1972 (AJHR 1972 H.20, pg.10; Dunstall 1981, pg.424). At some institutions, the television sets were donated by private organisations and at others, such as Paparua, sets were lent for special events. By the 1980s, each of the three wings at Paparua had a television and those prisoners who had privileges would gather to watch it in the evenings (Bill Moore int 23-12-11).

In September 1973 came one of Finlay's most contentious moves. He decided to allow prisoners to write letters to him, the content of which would not be monitored. Finally, in 1975, Finlay amended the Electoral Act giving prisoners the right to vote (Robins 2006, pg.168). While prisoners embraced these concessions, Finlay's dishing out of liberties made him immensely unpopular among prison staff and ultimately his own executive. Finlay's controversial policies also provided the National Party with ammunition leading into the 1975 general election in which Labour was sorely defeated (Chapman 1981, pg.368). Thus, the same year Paparua had its 50th birthday, the progressive term of Martyn Finlay was brought to an end.

Major Strike at Paparua

The conditions at Paparua were placed under the spotlight when 181 prisoners went on strike on Monday August 19, 1974. After breakfast at about 8.00 a.m. the 181 prisoners, which represented three quarters of the muster, assembled in the main exercise yard and refused to parade for work or return to their cells. The prisoners presented a list of grievances to the Superintendent Humphrey Stroud and declared that they would remain in the yard until the Secretary for Justice Gordon Orr arrived to discuss their complaints. The prisoners did not exhibit any violence or aggression and under the watchful eye of the warders, spent the day in the yard talking amongst themselves. Obviously aware of the fact their protest was in vain, all 181 inmates returned to their cells voluntarily by 4.00 p.m. (Christchurch Press 20-8-1974).

The annual figures for Christchurch prisons in 1974 include only Paparua and Addington as Rolleston is listed separately. Addington could accommodate around 30 inmates so of the daily average of 270 men in Addington and Paparua prisons, around 240 had to have been housed at Paparua (AJHR 1975 E.5, pg.27). Therefore, 75 per cent of the muster took part in the strike.



Striking prisoners in main exercise yard between East and West cell blocks around 3.00 p.m.

Source: Christchurch Press 20-8-1974, Front Page

The issues that triggered the strike were inadequate medical care, tampering of inmate mail, poor clothing and perceived provocation by staff. While prisoners at Paparua asserted that medical treatment at the prison had been deficient for some time, two particular cases had contributed to their unrest. Just weeks before the strike, an inmate at Christchurch Women's prison had died after an asthma attack and a man at Paparua, accused by a doctor of malingering, was subsequently admitted to hospital with pneumonia a couple of days later. A Mr Donaldson, spokesperson for the prison visiting group Project Paparua, revealed that a mentally ill inmate was found hanged in his cell earlier in 1974. It was also confirmed by Mr Donaldson that despite the rules in place for mail censorship, warders had been reading letters and some mail had gone missing. Finally, the prisoners claimed that antagonism from prison officers was a real problem and an inmate had in fact laid a charge of assault against an officer three days prior to the strike (Christchurch Press 20-8-74).

The prisoners' protest and behaviour was completely passive but they were nonetheless charged with disobedience under the Penal Institutions Act (section 32(1)(a)). The day after the strike, Superintendent Humphrey Stroud confirmed that none of the 181 men had been released from their cells and would remain locked up until "the feeling in the place changes" (Christchurch Press 20-8-74). Other than disciplinary action, it appears little was done in addressing the incident. Very often, authorities disassociate prisoner rebellion from meaningful behaviour and ostensibly this is what occurred after the strike at Paparua (Scruton *et al* 1991, pg.63). Secretary for Justice, Gordon Orr, was quick to rebut the prisoners' claims of insufficient medical treatment arguing that Paparua had two fully qualified medical officers and the prison was regularly visited by two private practitioners. While he admitted that the clothing was of poor quality, Orr justified it saying that this was necessary to limit the cost to taxpayers (Christchurch Press 20-8-74). Having visited Paparua in October 1974, Orr wrote in his 1975 Annual Report that the investigation into the strike had proven that the complaint of poor medical care was unsubstantiated (AJHR 1975 E.5, pg.15). He made no mention of foul play in relation to inmate mail or of complaints regarding staff provoking the prisoners.



Police reinforcements arriving at the prison
Source: Christchurch Press 20-8-1974, Front Page

Analysis of the Protest

One possible explanation for the strike is that it was the result of raised expectations following a period of vigorous reform. Martyn Finlay's liberal changes such as allowing prisoners to write uncensored letters to him may have given them hope that the state would listen to their grievances and that they would be further enfranchised. The promise or implementation of reform raises prisoners' expectations for even better treatment and this has been used to explain the series of prison riots in America in the early 1950s (Flynn 1980, pg.754). So, Finlay's reforms had raised prisoners' expectations and while they were content with the improvements, their dissatisfaction for other conditions grew, causing the strike. It has been noted that as more liberties are given to prisoners, the less likely they are to tolerate any constraints still in place (Thomas 1972, pg.159).

Related to this is relative deprivation, a concept which describes a person's or group's discontent with the chasm between expectations or perceived entitlements and what they actually have (Runciman 1966, pg.10). The feeling of deprivation is relative because it is caused through the comparison with social 'norms' and what other people within the same group, such as a city or social class, have. The discrepancies that are realised by making this comparison cause frustration which might explain social movements or uprisings. The theory can be used to explain unrest in prisons where feelings of deprivation among prisoners and the view that they are entitled to more increases the likelihood of violence or rebellion (Flynn 1980, pg.754). Applied to Paparua, the relative deprivation theory would suggest that the prisoners were feeling deprived due to the perceived gap between theirs and the community's quality of medical care, clothing and privacy and the strike was a manifestation of their frustration.

However, prisons by their very nature are always going to breed vexation for they are caging men deprived of their freedom in a very basic and sometimes austere environment. But, prisoners do not continuously mutiny and the 1974 strike therefore, is predominantly about the broader context. As noted earlier in this chapter, there was widespread rebellion in New Zealand prisons in the early 1970s which included a number of highly publicised strikes at Paremoremo and a riot at Mt Eden in 1971, during which an inmate was shot in the thigh by an officer (Newbold 1989, pg.212-213). There was also a strike at Mt Crawford prison in Wellington that same year. Public awareness of the disturbances in prisons, particularly Paremoremo, was increased through groups such as the New Zealand Student Christian Movement and the Citizens' Association for Racial Equality who raised concerns about prison conditions and especially the treatment of prisoners in Paremoremo's notorious "D" block where the most dangerous and difficult inmates were housed. Together with testimony from recently released D. block prisoner Dean Wickliffe these groups, along with the Maori Women's Welfare League, ex-inmates and other voluntary organisations, took action. The result was the formation of a committee called 'Project Paremoremo' in November 1971, the purpose of which was to reveal to the public the appalling details of "D" block and the rest of the institution (Newbold 1989, pg.225).

Due to the work of these groups which the media took great interest in, information about prisons, which the Justice department had previously been able to filter, was now becoming more public. Consequently, the prisoners at Paparua in 1974 would have been aware of the insurrections in the North Island prisons and the attention it was gaining in the community. Wilsnack identified publicity from outside the prison as a key contributing factor in prison riots and Fox asserts that the connection between media coverage and the occurrence of disturbances is one reason why prison mutinies tend to bunch together (Fox 1971, pg.11; Wilsnack 1976, pg.72). It is likely therefore that the inmates at Paparua were imitating the rebellion in the North Island and were cashing in on the publicity surrounding prisons in the early 1970s. This imitation is also evident in the development of the group 'Project Paparua' which copied the 'Project Paremoremo' committee and gave the Christchurch prisoners the confidence of a voice on the outside. Furthermore, one of the Paparua strikers in 1974 had spent a few of his eight years in prison at Paremoremo so had probably witnessed the violent disorder (Christchurch Press 20-8-74). Just like the Mt Eden rioters who incited further insurrection at Paparua in 1965, this inmate may have been a leader in the 1974 strike.

One final point on the significance of the wider New Zealand context in the Paparua strike is the considerable difference between prisoners in the early 1970s and prisoners today. During my interview with Paul Rushton he said that in his time at Paparua, if there was ever going to be trouble on a large scale it would have been in the 1970s. There was a steadfast camaraderie among inmates and they were inclined to collude and stand together as one (Paul Rushton int 18-1-12). This is exemplified by the fact three quarters of the muster participated in the strike. According to Rushton and the three inmates I interviewed, that solidarity just does not exist now.

The End of the Seventies

If prisoners were hopeful of an improvement in conditions, it would not be under the next Justice administration. In the 1975 general election Labour lost in a landslide and the man to take over from Finlay was David Thomson. Thomson was far less indulgent than his predecessor and did not believe in the ‘mollycoddling’ of prisoners. Prisoners at Paparua would barely have noticed Thomson’s coming or going, for his three years as Minister of Justice were uneventful. Minor administrative changes such as allowing prisoners to make phone calls to their friends and families would have meant little to the inmates at Paparua as the policy was only established in minimum-security institutions (AJHR 1978 E.5, pg.11). If anything at all, inmates would probably have remembered Thomson for disenfranchising them. The instant he took on the portfolio he scratched the right of prisoners to write to him and in 1977 prisoners lost the right to vote (Robins 2006, pg.169). In 1978, cabinet was reorganised and Thomson lost his post to the much younger and more liberal Jim McLay (Lambert 1991, pg.401, 632). McLay, who was Minister of Justice until 1985, instituted a number of legislative changes primarily concerning youth institutions and in 1980 he developed the sentence of community service as another non-custodial option.

The state of prisons was finally highlighted when the New Zealand prison system was decried in the Ombudsman’s 1977 report. It stated that prisons were “over-ripe for reform” and that “a thorough revision of philosophy as well as practice is required” (AJHR 1977 A.3, pg.8-9). As a result, in 1981 Minister of Justice Jim McLay established the Penal Policy Review Committee who examined New Zealand’s penal institutions and produced the largest report on prisons to that time (Newbold 2007, pg.78). The report contained 73 major

recommendations relating to correctional policy and prisons but as has been the case time and time again in New Zealand, the government neglected to act on many of the committee's proposals and prison procedure remained essentially unchanged. (Report of the Penal Policy Review Committee 1981).

By the end of the 1970s, the half century old prison on the Canterbury plains was clearly starting to show its age. In 1976, the Justice department confessed that Paparua was in dire need of updating (AJHR 1976 E.5, pg.12). The new East wing, completed in 1972, was the first step in a redevelopment plan at Paparua and was built to modern standards. It was made up of all single cells which were fitted with washbasins and toilets. The cells in the two original wings occupied in 1918 and 1925, however, were a little more antiquated. Once locked up, as was common in prisons in that era, prisoners did not have access to running water and at a time when 97 per cent of private dwellings in New Zealand had flushing toilets, the men in these cells still used pots (NZ Dept of Stats 1977, pg.479). If this was not degrading enough, all of the cells in the old wings contained bunks so most of the men shared with at least one other inmate. One can only imagine the unpleasantness of using a pot in the company of another person. Basins and flushing toilets were finally installed in these two wings, as well as the cells at Rolleston prison, in 1987 (AJHR 1987 E.5, pg.8).

The other buildings on the Paparua site were also in need of improvement so in 1978 construction began on a new administration and visiting block (AJHR 1978 E.5, pg.24). The new administrative centre was completed in 1983 and the vacated administration building, with some alterations, became a medical block. These new medical facilities offered better space and equipment for the care of inmates on an everyday and long-term basis (AJHR 1983 E.5, pg.26).

Inside Paparua Prison

As part of my research I was able to interview a small number of current and former staff of Paparua Prison. It is the information from four people in particular that forms the basis of this section on life inside the prison in the 1970s and 1980s. Now working for the Salvation Army in Christchurch, Alex Cameron, fondly referred to among his prison colleagues as 'blinky', was an officer at Paparua from 1972 to 1998. Paul Rushton, who is the current Operations

Support Manager at Paparua, started at the prison as a Corrections Officer in 1977. Corrections Officer and Parole Board Coordinator Tom Maw, has worked at the prison for the last 34 of his 42 years in corrections. Principal Corrections Officer Al Wood has been at Paparua since 1988. These men were able to give detailed accounts of various aspects of the prison at that time.

From 1925 to 1972, Paparua consisted of two main wings, East and West. After the completion of a third cell block in 1972, the prison had an East, Centre and West Wing and during the 1970s and 1980s accommodated around 280 inmates (Paul Rushton int 18-1-12). When a prisoner first arrived at Paparua, he would be taken to the West wing where he would share a room with at least one other inmate. Upon arrival a new prisoner received the “111” which was his tobacco, papers and matches and he was also given a toothbrush and razor (Tom Maw interview 2-2-12). All of the cells in West and Centre wings had one set of bunks and at the end of the wing was a cell with four beds (Paul Rushton int 18-1-12). Throughout the duration of their sentence, the men could progress from West wing to Centre wing and then finally with good behaviour they could transfer to the East wing which was all single cells. East was known as the “full privs” wing, where inmates had full privileges including recreation time in the evening and participation in sports teams and clubs. For those inmates who were recalcitrant there was a dedicated section in the West wing known as “off privs” where inmates were given no freedom (Tom Maw int 2-2-12).

In the 1970s classification and running of the prison was very basic. There were very few men serving life sentences at Paparua and in 1977, there were only 12 lifers in the whole of New Zealand (AJHR 1978 E.5, pg.27). Supervision of the lifers at Paparua was maintained through the use of his ‘tag’. For each man who arrived at Paparua on a life sentence a metal tag, approximately six by two centimetres, was made with his surname engraved on it. The tag system was designed to ensure the prisoner was being supervised at all times and made it clear who had the responsibility for monitoring his movements. Whoever had a lifer in his custody or within his view, had to have his tag. For example, while a lifer was in the upholstery workshop, the instructor would have his tag and when he was taken back to the wing at the end of the day, the tag would be given to the prison officer (Tom Maw int 2-2-12).

There was no provision made for protection or voluntary segregation like there is today. All prisoners had to mix in the general population at Paparua, whether this jeopardised their safety or not. If a prisoner was a known sex offender he would generally receive a beating from the other inmates and then was left to 'get on with his lag' (Paul Rushton int 18-1-12). At best the prisoner could get a wing change and in more serious cases a transfer to another prison. However, in the early 1980s, one particular Paparua inmate refused to associate with any other prisoner as he felt his life was at risk. As a result, the staff designated a portion of the West wing for inmates who wished to be isolated from the rest of the population. Within just one year there were 40 to 50 prisoners on protection (Paul Rushton int 18-1-12). In 1983, 117 prisoners or four per cent of the national prison population were in protective custody and by 1987 this had risen to 244, which represented nine per cent of the national muster (Dept of Justice 1988, pg.98). 'Protection inmates', just as they are now, were unlocked separately for recreation and had their own work space in the workshop. Known as Matai unit, the West wing still stands today and solely houses around 90 inmates on voluntary segregation. In 2003, 19 per cent of all inmates in New Zealand were segregated, the majority of which requested this option (Dept of Corrections 2003).

The man in charge of Paparua for a great part of this era was Humphrey Stroud. Stroud began his prison career in 1956 as an officer at Mt Eden. He was one of the officers who ran into the burning prison in the 1965 riot that destroyed the entire jail and rescued trapped inmates. Stroud then served at Mt Crawford prison in Wellington and became the youngest Superintendent in the country when he took charge of Waipiata Borstal at the age of 33 (Christchurch Press 19-2-11). In 1973, Stroud took over from Jim Cruise as Superintendent at Paparua and remained there until 1984. He was awarded the Queen's Service Medal for his exemplary work in the prisons service before he returned to Mt Eden, this time as Superintendent, in 1984. Stroud retired in 1993 and died in 2010. The newspaper article published after his death described Stroud as a man of humanitarian principles who was firm but compassionate. Alex Cameron, who worked under Stroud for his whole term as Superintendent at Paparua, said that he was as harsh on the staff as he was on prisoners and thus fell out of favour with a number of the men he worked with (Alex Cameron int 27-4-12). Stroud was succeeded at Paparua by Charlie Hood who served as Superintendent for just one year before being replaced by Mitch Leimon in 1985.

A Day in the Wing

In the 30 years since Bert Dallard had been head of New Zealand prisons, much of the routine at Paparua had remained unchanged. The first task of a prison officer working the 6.00 a.m. to 2.00 p.m. shift was to unlock all of the cooks and kitchen workers, most of whom were housed in the East wing. At around 7.00 a.m. there was a general unlock and inmates would go and empty the contents of their pots and have a wash. The men never showered in the mornings because the murkiness of the communal ablution facilities presented too much of a risk of assault, so instead prisoners showered in daylight hours after work. After washing, prisoners returned to their cells and at around 7.30 a.m. and the prison officers would call “stand by your doors” (Paul Rushton int 18-1-12). Inmates were then taken in groups to the kitchen for breakfast. On any given day at Paparua in the 1970s, the muster was at least 200, so meals were conducted in two sittings. Following breakfast, the men were taken back to their cells to don their work uniforms which consisted of blue denim jeans, a blue shirt and jersey and sneakers. If an inmate was employed on the farm he would be issued a pair of boots which he picked up from a locker in the morning (Tom Maw int 2-2-12).

In keeping with the military approach that still predominated in prisons, all staff went on parade at 8.00 a.m. and their uniforms were checked. Excluding the Superintendent and his deputy who wore their own clothes, all staff had two uniforms. The gang and night shift uniform was a khaki and olive green outfit and at all other times, a dress uniform of navy blue was worn. The parade took place in the corridor of the West wing. They were then issued with instructions for the day and those officers taking gangs out to work had to carry a large radio which was in a wooden box with a sling so it could be worn over the shoulder. According to Al Wood, once the radio was more than 100 yards from the prison it failed to work and it was overly cumbersome compared with the small radios officers wear on their belts today (Al Wood int 22-12-11). The prisoners would have their own parade in the main exercise yard between Centre and East wings after which they would then break into groups according to the work they were allocated (Paul Rushton int 18-1-2012).

In March 1978 there were 73 prison industries operating in 19 institutions throughout New Zealand (AJHR 1978 E.5, pg.14). Prisoners at Paparua were employed in carpentry, painting, cleaning, laundry, metal work, joinery and upholstery. Farming was still carried out on a large scale. The prison’s farm, spanning 3,000 acres, held 5,700 sheep, 100 cattle, 420 pigs

and 6,500 poultry (AJHR 1971 H.20, pg.15). As prisoners assembled in their gangs, they were marked off a deposition sheet which also served as a muster tally (Tom Maw int 2-2-12). Organising everyone was the Supervision Officer who would assign each gang to an officer and advise them of any inmates attending school classes or seeing the doctor. During the 1970s there were approximately 14 work gangs of eight to ten prisoners each. Paul Rushton explained that a great deal of the work was rather mundane. His gang, for example, worked on the prison's fences and dug drains. However, it also served the fundamental purpose of getting the prisoners out working (Paul Rushton int 18-1-12).

Hierarchy of Staff at Paparua Prison in the 1970s

SUPERINTENDENT- In charge of the whole prison
DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT- Second in charge after the Superintendent
CHIEF OFFICER- In charge of prison operations
DIVISIONAL OFFICER- One in charge of each wing
SECOND OFFICER- Second in charge of a wing after the divisional officer
THIRD OFFICER- Third in charge of a wing and in charge overnight (from 10pm)
PRISON OFFICER- Responsible for carrying out the daily routine

Source: Paul Rushton interview 18-1-2012; Tom Maw interview 2-2-2012

Shortly after 8.00 a.m. the gangs would leave the prison and commence their day's work. For those inmates who required closer supervision or whose health restricted their work capability, there was bootmaking and tailoring. Along with Auckland, New Plymouth, Wanganui and Dunedin, Paparua had a clothing workshop that manufactured prison boots and uniforms. To meet the requirements of a steadily increasing muster, the workshops were expanded in 1972 and more inmates were employed in this work (AJHR 1972 H.20, pg.13). Around 4.00 p.m. the prisoners were escorted back to the prison to have their daily shower and dress for dinner. Occasionally though, not all of the inmates would return to the wing. Alex Cameron recalled a moment of confusion one evening in the 1970s when it was discovered the prisoner who drove the farm tractor was missing. The mystery was solved when the officers received a call from the barman at the Yaldhurst pub who said "We've got one of your fellas down here". The prisoner had driven the tractor from the Paparua farm to the pub where he became too intoxicated to return and had to be collected by the prison

officers. This exemplifies the lax supervision at the prison in the 1970s which clearly did not improve following the incident because the inmate got away with it again (Alex Cameron int 27-4-12).

It was mandatory for an inmate to wear his rec (recreation) uniform in the evening, which consisted of a blue shirt and thick grey woollen trousers. Prisoners had to keep their uniform neat and tidy at all times and failing to do so risked disciplinary action. Mealtimes, seemingly, would have been something to look forward to. Dinner was always a cooked meal with meat and potatoes and prisoners were treated to sausages at least three days a week. Dinner was always followed by pudding. Lunch was almost always a hot meal which would have been gladly devoured in the chilly Christchurch winters. Perhaps the most anticipated meal of the week though, was bacon and egg which the prisoners at Paparua were given for breakfast every weekend (Paul Rushton int 18-1-12).

Recreation

After their evening meal, those prisoners on “full-privs” were taken back to the wing and had recreation time until lockup at 8.30 p.m. In complete contrast to the procedures for recreation today, all of the cell doors would be unlocked during recreation and up to 100 prisoners would be wandering around the wing with just three staff on duty (Paul Rushton int 18-1-12). Inmates did not have television sets in their cells so during recreation time they would congregate below the one television on the wall at the end of the wing. They also played pool, table tennis, cards and darts was especially popular. Many of the men at Paparua also took part in organised debating, chess and bridge clubs and in the 1970s outside teams would come and compete with the prison groups (Tom Maw int 2-2-12).

Many prisoners love to gamble. Thus, at leisure time groups of men would bring their packets of tobacco, known among inmates at “dubs” (short for two ounce packets called ‘doubles’) or “figs”, and stores of chocolate for the evening’s gambling. A prisoner was employed in the packaging of tobacco, a two ounce bag of which could be purchased for 14 cents. Remarkably, a block of chocolate was almost three times the cost of tobacco, at 40 cents. These items were subsidised by the Department of Justice because the average pay was just 30 cents a day. Inmates were only permitted to spend money they had earned in the prison on

these items and during times such as Christmas, the prisoners would accumulate as much tobacco and chocolate as possible. Paul Rushton recalls that the men would sit around a table with blocks of chocolate piled high and what seemed like hundreds of tobacco bags as they gambled their goods (Paul Rushton int 18-1-12).

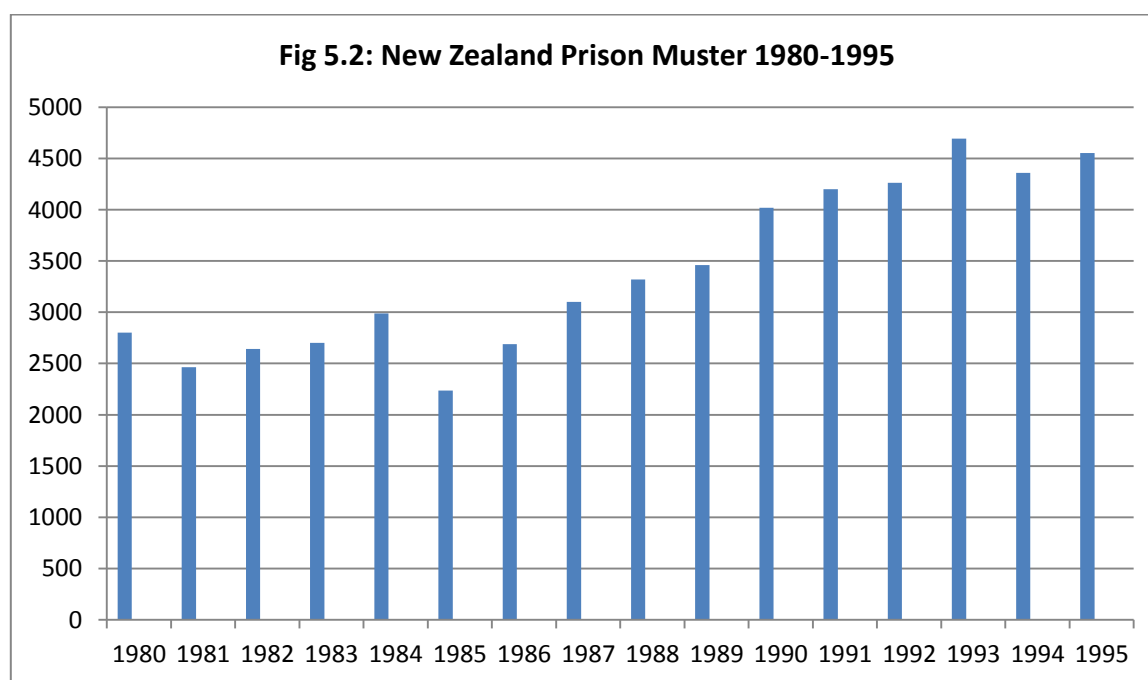
At around 8.10 p.m. the prison officers would call 'lockup', giving inmates the opportunity to get their jugs of water before all doors were locked at 8.30 p.m. The men were allowed a radio in their cell as well as books, newspapers, hobby material, paintings and magazines. Prisoners sometimes had copies of Playboy or Penthouse magazine, which is certainly not permitted in New Zealand prisons today (Tom Maw int 2-2-12).

On a Friday, all the prisoners on full-privs at Paparua would finish work at 11.00 a.m. and recreation time would commence at 1.00 p.m. Those inmates who had sport privileges could join one of the many teams at the prison which included rugby league, cricket, soccer and softball. On a Friday afternoon the teams would practise on a large open field beside the jail and there would be anywhere up to 150 prisoners out there every week (Paul Rushton interview 18-1-12). The field was situated on what is the space between the administration building and Paparua Remand Centre (PRC) today. The league team also trained on a Tuesday and Thursday afternoon with an outside coach and competed in the local competition (Tom Maw int 2-2-2012).

Overall, the conditions at Paparua in the 1970s were comparatively lax and interestingly, the prison was still very much the open institution Charles Matthews had envisioned 50 years before. A considerable proportion of the prisoners worked and had recreation outside the prison, often with a small staff-to-inmate ratio. Entire wings of the jail were unlocked at once and prisoners of all offending backgrounds and ethnicities mixed together relatively harmoniously. Consequently, trouble was rare (Paul Rushton int 18-1-12). However, with a new decade came new problems for penal institutions, including Paparua, and namely the Justice Department. In 1981, New Zealand had one maximum-security institution, seven medium-security including Paparua, seven minimum, two female institutions and three youth facilities (Report of the Penal Policy Review Committee 1981, pg.177-180).

The 1980s- New Problems

In June 1984, after Parliament had convened for just nine days of that year, Prime Minister Robert Muldoon made the unusual decision to dissolve Parliament and called a snap election. There was doubt surrounding Muldoon's reasoning for such haste indicating that it was a response to dwindling support for National in the polls and the surprise element was designed to disadvantage the opposition. The move proved to be a great failure and National was sorely defeated by Labour who came to power with a majority of 17 seats (Jackson 1985, pg.75-77). The new Prime Minister was David Lange who had practised as a criminal lawyer before entering Parliament in 1977. A liberal and compassionate man, Lange sympathised with those less fortunate than himself and often represented clients free of charge (Gustafson 2010a, pg.1). Not surprisingly, Lange awarded the justice portfolio to a man also of liberal conviction, law professor Geoffrey Palmer (Newbold 2007, pg.84).



Source: AJHR 1981-1996 E.5

Palmer was taking on an uneasy and tumultuous department. Prison musters were continuously rising reaching the highest number ever in New Zealand of 3,196 on 10 December, 1984. Secretary for Justice Jim Callahan worriedly declared that overcrowding in prisons was at a highly critical level (AJHR 1985 E.5, pg.3). This would suggest that Paparua

was probably pushed to its capacity of 285. Incidents of inmate on inmate violence were becoming increasingly common and suicides in custody escalated. Prior to 1980, prison suicides occurred infrequently but after a Committee of Inquiry into malpractice at Oakley Hospital in 1983 ceased the usual procedure of transferring psychiatrically disturbed prisoners to mental hospitals, suicides soared. Disturbed prisoners now had to remain in prisons, hardly equipped with the facilities to treat them, and between 1980 and 1990 there were 47 prison suicides (Newbold 2007, pg.81, 84). The violent milieu prevailing in institutions could only have aided the increasing suicide rate and also contributed to a growing number of inmates in protective custody. Segregation was first introduced at Paparua in the early 1980s and within just one year, almost 20 per cent of the prison's muster was in protective custody. This trend was evident throughout other prisons and by 1995, 791 or 20 per cent of the male prison population in New Zealand were in protective custody (Lash 1996, pg.33).

This surge in prison violence can largely be attributed to the increase in violent crime and gang activity in the 1980s which saw the emergence of a new kind of prisoner and a transformation of prison culture.

Violence

The increasing level of violent crime, much of it gang related, became a serious problem in prisons. Between 1970 and 1980 convictions for violent offences jumped up by 89 per cent and by 1985 had increased another 30 per cent (Dept of Justice 1986, pg.48). In the ten years to 1987, the number of proven murder cases leapt by 115 per cent, proven charges of rape by 55 per cent and proven serious assaults by 29 per cent (Committee of Inquiry into Violence 1987, pg.151-152). Less serious violent crimes such as minor assaults did not increase as notably demonstrating the emergence of a different kind of violence in the 1980s that was more severe and explosive (Newbold 2007, pg.80). The growth in serious violence inevitably effected the prison population, half of which was serving time for violence in November 1989 (Braybrook 1990, pg.41).

Contributing to the rapid growth of violent offending was the proliferation of gang membership and gang involvement in criminal behaviour. In 1981, police estimated there

were around 2,300 gang members in New Zealand. By 1988 this figure had risen to 6,500 and there were thought to be between 45 and 50 gangs around the country (Dennehy & Newbold 2001, pg.180). Submissions from the Police Department in 1986 to the Committee of Inquiry into Violence affirmed that while gangs had been a problem over the last two decades, the 1980s had seen a change in their attitude toward authority and they were increasingly responsible for criminal activity (Committee of Inquiry into Violence 1987, pg.89). Consequently, a number of gang members were imprisoned and by 1987 they accounted for 15 per cent of the inmate population (Braybrook & O'Neill 1988, pg.62). By the 1995 census of prison inmates, 16 per cent of males in prison were either patched gang members or affiliates and one quarter of females were associated with a gang. Furthermore, 70 per cent of the gang members in prison were serving time for violent offences (Lash 1996, pg.43-44).

As more of these violent offenders were sentenced to prison, the culture in prisons naturally began to change. In 1972, 17 per cent of inmates had been imprisoned for a violent offence but by the second prison census in 1987, 42 per cent of the 3,100 inmates were serving time for violence (Dept of Justice 1975, pg.7; Braybrook & O'Neill 1988, pg.41). As a result, hostilities in penal institutions escalated. At Paremoremo in 1979, an inmate's throat was cut in what was New Zealand's first recorded prison homicide. Between 1978 and 1984 inmate-on-inmate assaults at Paremoremo tripled alongside the growing incidence of gang violence and prisoner suicides. In 1983, prisoners staged a three day strike at Waikune, prison officers were stabbed during a riot at Invercargill and an inmate suffered two broken legs in a gang-related brawl at Mt Eden. Two years later, the second prison homicide occurred at Mt Eden (Newbold 2007, pg.80-81). On Labour weekend 1988 there was a major riot at Addington prison in Christchurch (Andrews & van Zoggel 2001, pg.109).

Paparua prison experienced its fair share of violence too. In particular, the phenomenon of white supremacist gangs and their brutal crimes that resulted in prison terms had an impact on the culture at Paparua. In the early 1980s, white gangs known as skinheads, bootboys and punk rockers had only recently emerged and much of their activity was focused in the South Island. The Road Knights white supremacist gang was formed in Timaru in 1979 and the two racist gangs known as Christchurch Skinheads and United Skinheads remained in Christchurch between 1982 and 1987. Only the United Skinheads existed after 1990 (Dennehy & Newbold 2001, pg.182). Due to their ruthless violence, a number of men associated with these white gangs wound up in jail and at the end of 1987, there were 22

skinheads in New Zealand prisons (Braybrook and O'Neill 1988, p.62). Four years later, there were 15 skinheads and at least another 20 of their affiliates behind bars (Braybrook & Southey 1992, pg.70). As the white supremacist gangs were predominantly located in the South Island, many were incarcerated at Paparua. In my interview with Al Wood who has been at the prison since August 1988, he recalled the period of the late 1980s and early 1990s as being particularly violent. He said it felt as though a stabbing occurred every other day and that skinheads were frequently responsible (Al Wood int 22-12-11).

The Criminal Justice Act 1985

The increase in violent crime roused major public concern and in a bid to crack down on the problem, Minister of Justice Geoffrey Palmer replaced the Criminal Justice Act 1954 with a completely new piece of legislation. Effective from 1 October, 1985, the new Criminal Justice Act mandated imprisonment for offenders convicted of violent crimes punishable by at least five years' imprisonment. In 1975, in an amendment to the 1954 act, offenders serving five years or more became parole-eligible after serving half of their sentence or seven years, whichever was the shorter. Inmates serving life sentences and preventive detainees had to serve a minimum of seven years. Palmer's 1985 act made parole available to all offenders serving finite terms at the point in their sentence that came first: either half sentence or seven years. Offenders paroled from finite terms were supervised for six months following their release.

An immediate result of the new Criminal Justice Act was that prisons experienced a great outflow of inmates as parole boards ordered the release of prisoners who had served half of their sentence or more. Within the first six months of the 1985 act coming into effect, more than 1,000 prisoners were released (Newbold 2007, pg.86). Consequently, the national prison population dropped by 10 per cent between 1984 and 1986, to 2,690 (AJHR 1987 E.5, pg.40). The overcrowding problem in prisons was temporarily relieved but as the factors behind criminal offending had not been addressed, the incidence of crime continued to grow. Between 1984 and 1987 convictions for violence increased 18 per cent with the largest jumps in the more serious violent crimes. Convictions for threatening to kill or causing grievous bodily harm grew 35 per cent, indecent assault by 73 per cent, aggravated robbery by 26 per cent and homicide convictions doubled (Spier 1994, pg.22, 28). The problem of rising levels

of violent crime provoked serious public concern which was exacerbated by the generous media coverage the issue was receiving.

With the 1987 election looming and public fears escalating, Minister of Justice Geoffrey Palmer was forced to respond. A number of sex-related murders, such as those of Christchurch schoolgirl Louisa Damodran in 1986 and six year old Teresa Cormack in Napier in 1987, emphasised the need for further action. Thus, in 1987 Palmer made amendments to the Criminal Justice Act 1985 which made the punishment for violence even tougher. Automatic parole eligibility was now not available to certain violent criminals serving finite terms and the non-parole period for lifers and preventive detainees was extended (Asher 1988, pg.59-61). These measures were designed to ensure more violent criminals were sent to prison and that they remained there longer. While the average custodial sentence length for violent crime overall increased by just 10 per cent between 1987 and 1993, offences of serious violence had attracted longer sentences. For example, the sentence length for manslaughter in these years increased by 16 per cent, as did that for injuring or wounding and the average sentence length for aggravated robbery increased by 24 per cent (Spier 1997, pg.68).

Once again, however, the legislation did little to curb violent crime. Convictions for violence jumped 50 per cent between 1987 and 1993 and just like before, the most notable increases were in the more serious offences. Convictions for grievous bodily harm increased by 86 per cent and those for robbery grew by 66 per cent (Spier 1997, pg.33). Anxiety in the community intensified as well and in 1989, people were more concerned about violence than any other type of crime (NZ Herald 13-12-89). As a result of these rising crime rates and the legislative attempts to control them, the prison population commenced a sharp incline after 1985. Between 1986 and 1988, the prison population jumped 23 per cent to 3,318 and increased a further 21 per cent to 4,018 by 1990 (AJHR 1987 E.5, pg.40; 1989 E.5, pg.66; 1991 E5, pg.67). By the 1991 prison census, half of all inmates in New Zealand were serving time for a violent offence (Braybrook & Southey 1992, pg.49). Paparua reflected national trends with its muster leaping from 314 in 1987 to 446 in 1991. While this 42 per cent increase can be explained by the availability of newly completed accommodation at the prison, the 1987 and 1991 inmate censuses show that Paparua was operating right on its manageable level and had almost no spare beds (Braybrook & O'Neill 1988, pg.28; Braybrook and Southey 1992, pg.26).

Drugs

Drugs were first considered a serious problem in New Zealand in the late 1960s. The existence of drugs and crime related to them escalated rapidly with police reported drug offences leaping from 408 in 1970 to 9,916 in 1980 (Newbold 2000, pg.173). The drug issue attracted a lot of attention and many offenders received hefty prison terms. In 1972, just 37, or 1.4 per cent, of the 2,531 prisoners in New Zealand were serving time for drugs. By 1987, 241 drug offenders were in prison which represented around nine per cent of the prison population (Braybrook & O'Neill 1988, pg.41). Inevitably, as drug offenders entered prison, drugs followed closely behind, thus introducing a new problem into the penal institutions. John Robertson, permanent head of Justice between 1978 and 1982, declared in 1979 that there was serious cause for concern about the presence of drugs in New Zealand prisons (AJHR 1980 E.5, pg.23).

Initially, drugs at Paparua were not prevalent. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, drug incidences were rare and the main concerns were beer being brought in through visitors during rugby matches and the "odd whiff of cannabis" (Paul Rushton int 18-1-12). The situation, though, was more serious in other institutions. For example, in 1978 it was revealed that an offender was able to feed his opiate habit while imprisoned at Paremoremo prison (NZ Herald 26-5-78). In an attempt to clamp down on drug use in prisons, amendments were made to the Penal Institutions Regulations 1961 and Penal Institutions Act 1954 placing restrictions on the items in which an inmate could receive from outside the prison. Instead of bringing food or hobby materials, relatives now had to leave money for a prisoner to purchase their own. In addition, superintendents were given the right to order finger swabs and urine samples if they suspected an inmate was under the influence of drugs (AJHR 1980 E.5, pg.23). In the face of these steps, drugs continued to trickle into prisons and from the mid-1980s had established a permanent place at Paparua. Current Laundry Instructor Roddy Watson began as a Prison Officer at Paparua in 1984. He claims that drugs were prominent at Paparua from the day he started and a lot of it came in to the institution through the farm workers (Roddy Watson int 18-1-12).

The First Female Prison Officer

A significant development at Paparua and prisons throughout New Zealand in the 1980s was the appointment of the first female officers in male institutions. Based on global tendencies, New Zealand was comparatively slow in opening all avenues of corrections to female employees (Newbold 2005, pg.105). By the mid-1970s, Britain, Canada, the United States and Australia had begun employing female officers in men's prisons but it was not until 1985, following a wave of legislation throughout the Western world that endorsed gender equity in employment, that New Zealand announced its intention to do the same (Lashlie 2002, pg.29; Newbold 2005, pg.106).

In a press release in February 1985, Minister of Justice Geoffrey Palmer revealed that the department would shortly begin employing women as officers in male institutions (NZ Herald 22-2-85). As a departmental working party researched the implications of such a move, the Justice department proved its intention to fully integrate male and female staff when in December 1985, Celia Lashlie became the first woman officer in a men's prison in New Zealand (AJHR 1985 E.5, pg.34; Lashlie 2002, pg.28). After Lashlie assumed her position as an officer at Wi Tako minimum security prison, a woman was hired as an officer at Rolleston prison in 1986 and in August that year there were five female officers working in male institutions (Lashlie 2002, pg.33). The following year, two women became the first female officers ever to hold the position at Paparua and by March 1987, there were 37 women working in 12 male institutions around New Zealand as prison officers and instructors (AJHR 1987 E.5, pg.34; Paul Rushton int 18-1-12).

Almost immediately, there was opposition to the placement of women in men's prisons founded inter alia, on arguments that females are physically and mentally weaker, that they may become emotionally involved with inmates and that male staff would be put at risk protecting them from assault. However, these apprehensions proved largely unsubstantiated and female officers encountered more problems with their male colleagues than the prisoners (Newbold 2005, pg.107-111). Paul Rushton, who was an officer at Paparua when the first two women were hired there, told me that the females were expected to act like 'blokes' (Paul Rushton int 18-1-12). This kind of attitude epitomises the mentality of some male correctional staff in the 1980s, that only men could handle male inmates. A Prison Officer at Paparua between 1987 and 1991, Mark Kilpatrick explained that the inmates accepted the

arrival of female officers really well and that the uneasiness lay with the male staff. Kilpatrick said that the foremost concern was that the male officers would have to spend all their time protecting the women, however he does not recall this ever being the case (Mark Kilpatrick int 24-11-11).

Paul Rushton and Roddy Watson both assert that the employment of female officers was, in fact, advantageous to the prison environment. Watson claims that women helped to “put confrontational issues away” and Rushton argues that they “played a huge part in changing the culture in a positive way” (Paul Rushton & Roddy Watson ints 18-1-12).

That is not to say that the introduction of female officers has gone without incident. Between mid-1989 and mid-1990, four female prison officers resigned from Auckland prison after falling in love with prisoners (Newbold 2005, pg.112). The issue of correctional staff having affairs with prisoners resurfaced in the media as a serious problem in 2002. That year the Corrections Association claimed that at least five female officers had resigned due to having improper relationships with male inmates over the last two years (Christchurch Press 8-7-02). In March 2003, a rapist serving 11 years for stupefying and raping two young girls, fathered a child to a junior Corrections Officer at Paparua prison. The woman resigned before the baby was born and continued to have contact with the baby’s father (Christchurch Press 7-3-03; New Zealand Herald 7-3-03).

Looking to the 1990s

As a new decade dawned the New Zealand prison population was rising and it was rising fast. Looking at the prison population over time really illustrates the magnitude of the significant hike in numbers that began after 1985. By the end of the 1940s, the prison population sat at around 1,000. At the end of the 1960s, the muster only just surpassed 2,000. It was another 20 years before numbers reached 3,100 in 1987. However, it took just three more years for the figure to exceed 4,000 when it reached 4,018 in 1990. In fact, between 1985 and 1990, the prison population grew by 80 per cent (AJHR 1986 E.5, pg.42; 1991 E.5, pg.67). From 1915 when the first prisoners were housed on the Paparua prison site to 1960, the prison’s muster for the most part echoed the pattern of the national prison population. Muster figures for Paparua are only available in the annual prison and justice reports until 1960, after which

time they are combined with Addington and Rolleston. Upon discovering this I inquired at the prison to see if such information was kept at the site but I have not been able to obtain anything. Figures are available for Paparua in the first prison census in 1972 and the biennial censuses conducted between 1987 and 2003. Paparua's numbers continued to reflect the national trend and in 1987 when the country's prison muster had increased 39 per cent in just two years, Paparua was accommodating 314 prisoners, leaving just five spare beds (Braybrook and O'Neill 1988, pg.28).

To cope with the rapidly multiplying number of inmates in New Zealand prisons, the Justice department required additional accommodation immediately so long term projects would have been futile. In 1988 the department proposed to erect an additional 48-bed cell block at the Auckland medium security facility and five 60-bed cell complexes at Auckland medium, Tongariro, Wanganui, Rolleston and Paparua prisons (AJHR 1988 E.5, pg.47). These '60-bedders' were relatively inexpensive and uncomplicated so could be built quickly. By March 1989, Tongariro had one of these new 60-bed units plus 30 additional cells, Mt Eden had 40 extra cells and a 60-cell unit had been completed at Wanganui. Paparua also now had its first 60-man unit called Tirohanga Paeroa Unit (TPU). Tirohanga Paeroa was the first of five 60-bed units to be erected at Paparua and was the first low-security open facility at the prison. Rather than cell doors opening out to the general wing as they did in the East, Centre and West wings, the cells of TPU run around the perimeter of and open out to a quadrangle yard area. Along with the new TPU in 1989, new kitchen, laundry and store building facilities were completed at Paparua along with the exercise yard adjacent to the West wing (AJHR 1989 E.5, pg.49). The TPU was followed by four more 60-bedders at Paparua as well as a self-care unit, a new remand centre and a Youth facility. These will be explained in the next chapter.

As details from the interview have illustrated, the conditions at Paparua were relatively lax and security procedures were haphazard. This, along with a defective management structure and escalating prison violence, led Paparua into a decade of turmoil that involved a number of serious incidents.

CHAPTER SIX: A DECADE OF TURMOIL 1990-2000

The 1990s started with a change in administration. In the general election of 1990, Labour suffered a crippling defeat, sinking from 56 seats to 29 (McRobie 1991, pg.158). The new Minister of Justice under the National government was Doug Graham who retained the portfolio for the rest of the decade. Like the two ministers who preceded him (Jim McLay and Geoffrey Palmer), Graham was a compassionate and liberal man and assumed the post with great fervour to make a difference (Newbold 2007, pg.98). Also like the administrations that had gone before him, Graham's time in office was constantly beset by prison overcrowding which had virtually become an inherent feature of the prison system since first being mentioned by Sam Barnett in 1954 (AJHR 1954 H.20, pg.6). Thus, the Justice Ministry and later the Department of Corrections spent much of the decade preoccupied by constant accommodation shortages and the resulting tension in prisons.

In 1995 the Department of Justice was split into three new departments: Ministry of Justice, Department of Courts and Department of Corrections which from 1 October, took over the responsibility of prisons. It was under the new Department of Corrections that some of the decade's most significant changes took place in prisons. A major revamp in prison security toward the end of the 1990s responded to the increasing levels of unrest throughout the country's prisons and Paparua was a site of particular concern. In fact, due to a string of serious incidents that highlighted grave flaws in the security and management at Paparua, the institution, which had rarely been the focus of media attention over its 65 year history, spent most of the 1990s in the headlines.

Accommodation Crisis

The Justice department had spent around \$150 million between 1986 and 1990 in increasing prison accommodation and updating older institutions such as Paparua. Even so, they were struggling to keep up as the national prison population broke 4,000 for the first time ever in 1990. General population increases inevitably contribute to crime levels but even the number of offenders in prison relative to the population had increased. Between 1981 and 1991 the proportion of the New Zealand population behind bars grew from 7.71 to 12.0 people per

10,000 of the population (Braybrook & Southey 1992, pg.26; NZ Dept of Stats 1999). In December 1991, Justice Minister Doug Graham conceded that it was likely another 1,000 cells would be required over the next three years and would come at a cost of \$75 million (NZ Herald 7-12-91). His prognosis was not far off for in his nine years as minister, musters shot up another 40 per cent reaching 5,622 in 1999 (Rich 2000, pg.11).

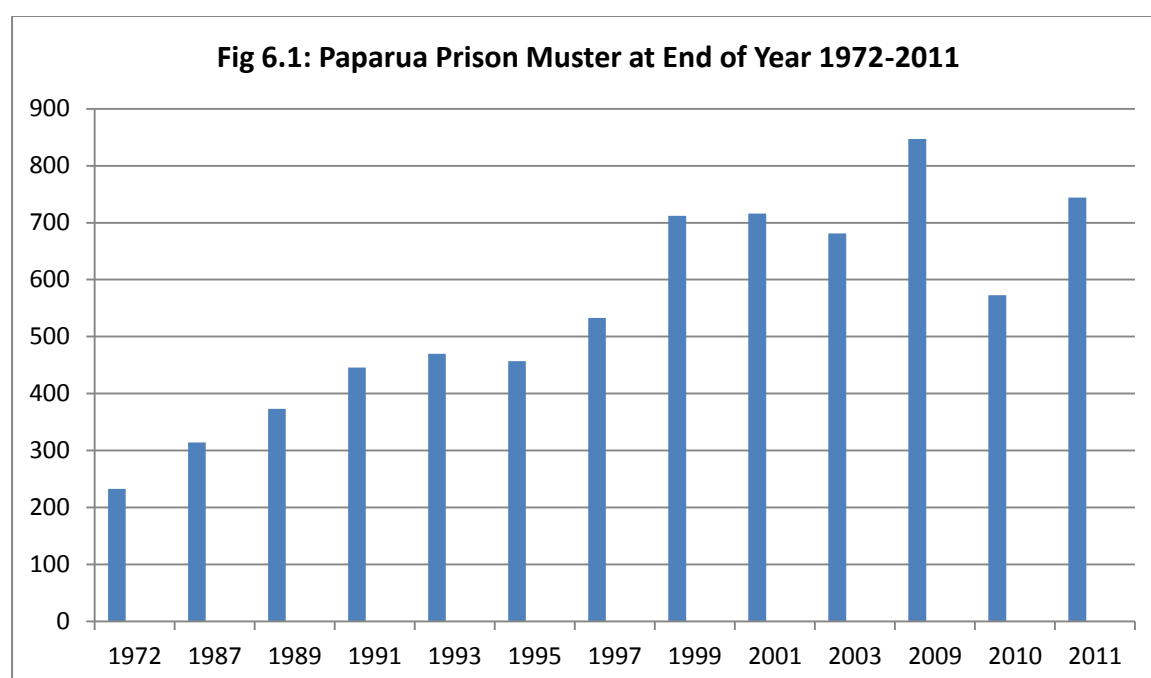
In an attempt to battle the swelling prison population and alleviate crowded conditions, accommodation was a primary focus of the Justice Ministry and the Department of Corrections in the 1990s. Consequently, between 1991 and 2001 the size of Paparua increased by more than half, from a capacity of 456 to around 720. As new beds became available they were filled instantly and Paparua was operating close to its maximum capacity. Curiously, the stated capacity was often increased despite there being no additional accommodation suggesting that perhaps the manageable level was altered based on the need for beds rather than the maximum number of prisoners Paparua could safely and securely house.

Between the 1987 and 1989 prison censuses, the manageable level at Paparua was increased from 319 to 433 (Braybrook & O'Neill 1988, pg.28; Braybrook 1990, pg.26). Accordingly, the muster for these years rose from 314 to 373. Interestingly though, the only additional accommodation that came into use during this time was the 60-bed Tirohanga Paeroa Unit (TPU) in 1989, yet the prison's manageable capacity was lifted by 114. This would suggest that most of the men in the 60 or so cells in each of the Centre and West wings (completed by 1925) would have been doubled up. By mid-1990, the Centre wing was housing 120 of the prison's most violent offenders, including gang members, in just 63 cells and the prison as a whole was operating with 35 per cent overcrowding (NZ Herald 6-6-90). Given the heightened degree of prison violence and gang-related trouble since the 1980s, such cramped living arrangements were potentially dangerous for the inmates and the staff.

In June 1990, prison officers at Paparua confronted the superintendent Denis Pashley, who had managed the prison since 1987, demanding that the number of inmates in the Centre wing be halved. Officers said that as a result of the overcrowding and mounting tension, they felt unsafe and the risk of escapes was high. If their requests were not answered, the staff warned that they would consider industrial action (NZ Herald 6-6-90). Consequently, the number of available places at Paparua was reduced by 65 as part of an agreement between the

Department of Justice and Public Service Association. Thus, the increase of 60 low-security beds with the opening of Paparua South (now known as the Paparua unit) in May 1991 was offset by the decrease in the manageable level (AJHR 1991 E.5, pg.68).

Additional accommodation was also established at Mangaroa, New Plymouth, Rimutaka, Rolleston, Waikeria and Wanganui prisons so that between August 1990 and May 1991 an extra 425 cells, including the 60-bed Paparua South unit, were ready for use (AJHR 1991 E.5, pg.68). Even so, prisons remained under pressure. The national muster jumped 12 per cent between 1991 and 1993 to 4,694 (Southey *et al* 1995, pg.26). Ten per cent of New Zealand's inmates were imprisoned at Paparua, where additional beds were filled immediately. As a result of the grave shortage in male prison accommodation, in the first half of the 1990s, some men were held in sequestered sections of women's prisons. Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, the female prison population had remained fairly steady at between 130 and 150. In 1991, female institutions were only 68 per cent full so between five and 17 male inmates were held at Christchurch Women's prison and approximately 30 at Arohata in the North Island (AJHR 1992 E.5, pg.60).



Sources: Department of Justice 1975; Braybrook 1990; Braybrook & O'Neill 1988; Braybrook & Southey 1992; Harpham 2004; Lash 1996; Lash 1998; Rich 1999; Southey *et al* 1995; Policy Development 2003; corrections.govt.nz

Between 1995 and 1997 the number of prisoners in New Zealand leapt by 1,000 to 5,464. This probably explains the increase in Paparua's muster from 457 to 533 in the same period, despite already being full and needing to utilise vacant beds at Christchurch Women's prison (Lash 1996, pg.21; 1998, pg.21). It is also likely that as a result of this increase at Paparua, even more men than before were sharing cells. In June 1998, much needed additional accommodation was completed and Kotuku, a 60-cell low to medium-security unit, opened at Paparua as part of a \$38.2 million dollar plan to increase the prison's accommodation by 260 in one year (Christchurch Press 12-6-98). Kotuku had its own alarm system and razor wire around the perimeter so that higher security prisoners could be housed in a low-security unit (Al Wood int 22-12-11). Also as part of the plan, the 280-cell Paparua Remand Centre (PRC) was opened on the site in 1999. The PRC cost the department around \$22.5 million and was erected to replace the 123 year-old Addington prison which had been serving as Canterbury's principal remand facility (Christchurch Press 9-11-99). The historic prison at Addington closed its doors on 29 November, 1999 and all of the inmates were transferred to the PRC (Andrews & van Zoggel 2001, pg.110).

The PRC was followed by the establishment a self-care unit in 2000, designed to assist with the reintegration of offenders into the community. The country's first prison self-care unit was opened at Christchurch Women's in 1998 and today there are eight self-care facilities in operation, three of them in women's prisons (corrections.govt.nz). Each of the four 'huts' in the self-care unit at Paparua, named the Leimon Villas after Mitch Leimon who managed the prison from 1985 to 1987, can house up to four low-security prisoners. The flatting-type living arrangements teach the inmates independent living skills as they are given control of their daily living needs such as cooking, budgeting and weekly grocery shopping.

Determined in their race against musters, between 1995 and 2003 the Department of Corrections built 1,500 new cells (AJHR E.61 2003, pg.21). Included in these was a new Youth Unit at Paparua which opened in May 2001 as part of an initiative to prevent the bullying of young prisoners and reduce the number of youth suicides in custody (Bill Moore int 23-12-11; Christchurch Press 30-5-01). Hawkes Bay Regional Prison and Waikeria also have Young Offender Units. The Youth Unit at Paparua houses up to 40 inmates aged 14 to 18 years including remand accused, remand convicted and sentenced youths from low to high-security classification (Bill Moore int 23-12-11). With the completion of the Youth Unit, as well as Paparua South, Kotuku, the PRC and the Leimon Villas, the capacity at

Paparua increased from 456 in 1991 to around 720 in 2001. Accordingly, in these same years the muster grew from 446 to 716 (Braybrook & Southey 1992, pg.26; Policy Development 2003, pg.7).

Further Measures Against Violence

Violent crime, which became a particularly prominent concern for the New Zealand public and Justice Department in the 1980s, was revisited in the early 1990s. The Criminal Justice Act 1985 which had introduced a presumption of imprisonment for all violent offenders was followed by an amendment in 1987 which broadened the applicability of the presumption, tightened parole eligibility for violent criminals and strengthened the scope of preventive detention. In response to prison overcrowding and procedural issues relating to the recall of paroled offenders to prison, Justice Minister Doug Graham decided in 1992 to create another amendment to the Criminal Justice Act (Newbold 2007, pg.99). The resultant legislation was the Criminal Justice Amendment Act 1993. Under the amendment, the recall process was simplified and in a bid to reduce the pressure on custodial services, some offenders became parole eligible at one third rather than one half of sentence. Other provisions though, cracked down even harder on violence than the previous criminal justice legislation by essentially affording the judiciary more power to impose longer sentences for serious sexual or violent crimes.

Sentencing statistics illustrate that indeed after 1993 the courts were awarding heftier sentences which was a continuation of a trend evident from the 1980s. Between 1991 and 2000 the average sentence length for aggravated burglary increased by 145 per cent, manslaughter by 38 per cent, grievous assault by 36 per cent and rape by 37 per cent (Spier 2001, pg.43). Predictably, this placed further strain on already crowded prisons and between 1991 and 2000 the national prison muster leapt 35 per cent reaching 5,661 in 2000. Naturally, longer sentences meant that the number of inmates serving time for violence grew too. The 51 per cent of the prison population behind bars for a violent offence in 1991 increased to 2,995 or 61 per cent in 1999 (Braybrook & Southey 1992, pg.49; Rich 2000, pg.18). Gangs still had a notable presence in prisons too and in 1999, 805 or 16 per cent of inmates were patched gang members or affiliates. Moreover, 72 per cent of patched members and 61 per cent of gang associates were in prison for violence (Rich 2000, pg.27-28).

These trends inevitably transformed the character of the prison population and along with high musters saw violence and tension increase in prisons generally in the 1990s. While these factors form the backdrop to the malaise at Paparua, grave lapses in security and management at the institution also contributed significantly to the serious trouble that transpired.

Violence and Escapes

Paparua's two oldest wings, Centre and West, have been housing prisoners since at least 1925. Up to the 1990s, the old wings had undergone little in the way of security improvements over their seventy year life and aside from the installation of toilets in the cells, the Centre and West wings stood very much in their original condition. The problem with this is that the prisoner locked behind the cell door in the 1990s was considerably different to the prisoner of the 1920s. He was now more violent and likely to be serving a longer sentence, and thus posed a greater security threat than ever before. It was this new profile of prisoner that would expose the profound inadequacies in both Paparua's security and management.

The series of serious incidents began in 1996. Just on dusk one summer evening in February, 28 year old skinhead Carl Rolander, who was serving seven years for kidnapping and assault, cut through the fence surrounding the unit in which he was housed. At this time Paparua had no perimeter fence which allowed Rolander's associates on the outside to approach his unit and assist in his escape. However, two weeks after his breakout in a Christchurch house surrounded by police, Rolander shot himself (Sunday Star Times 26-1-97). On 3 December that same year, 16 year old Joel Sutton, serving a nine and a half year sentence for rape, and 28 year old Barry Johansen doing nine years for aggravated robbery, stabbed three prison officers with a bayonet, took one officer hostage and then escaped from the high-security wing where they were housed. The two men were caught in a house in Christchurch the next day after robbing a bank of \$13,000 (Sunday Star Times 26-1-97).

One of the inmates I interviewed has been at Paparua since 1995 and recalled the Sutton/Johansen incident well. Unsure of what the commotion in the wing was about, this inmate remembers anxiously peering from his cell window and seeing the bayonet being thrust into an officer's stomach. A first-timer to prison, he explained that the event brought

home to him the realities of jail. Within weeks of the hostage episode, my informant was eating his breakfast in the West wing dining room when the prisoner in front of him used a shard of glass to stab another prisoner in the side of the eye. He told me that blood splattered right across his bowl of porridge which he pushed aside. He claimed that violence of this magnitude was commonplace at Paparua in the 1990s and as a cleaner in the medical unit he witnessed numerous serious injuries. Looking me in the eye and with a serious tone in his voice he told me, “I don’t think I’ve ever seen so much blood in all the time that I’ve been in jail as in those four to five years of first being in prison” (Inmate C int 23-12-11).

As the escapes and violence continued to draw attention to Paparua, other details of the lax and insufficient security at the institution seeped into the media. Leading up to Christmas 1996, in the same month Sutton and Johansen broke out of Paparua, it was discovered that two night-shift prison officers, a male and a female, had spent almost an entire shift sleeping. The officers turned off the alarms in the unit they were guarding, dragged a mattress into a room and were discovered asleep the following morning by officers arriving for the next shift (Christchurch Press 29-1-97). After an investigation into the incident the two staff members were dismissed (Paul Monk int 12-4-12). The incident only added to Paparua’s security problems and was followed by more escapes. Later in December, Bevan Spiers walked away from a work party and on New Year’s Day in 1997, two prisoners escaped from the medical wing by breaking a window and removing the security bars. In an attempt to fool officers, the two men filled their beds with clothing to make it look as though they were sleeping (Christchurch Press 29-1-97). The two inmates were on the run for a couple of weeks before being recaptured.

Many of these escapes can in part be attributed to the structure of Paparua. Firstly, since the completion of the East wing in 1972, additional facilities and units have been added onto and around existing buildings consequently creating a perplexing layout. This raises problems in the implementation of effective security and Professor Greg Newbold has asserted that it is a difficult institution to keep secure because, “It’s full of holes like gruyere cheese” (Dominion 28-1-97). Secondly, until 2000, the prison had no perimeter fence. Thus, if an inmate was successful in getting out of East, West or Centre wings he had a free run. The fences around the low-security units built in 1989 (Tirohanga Paeroa Unit) and 1991 (Paparua South Unit) were not electrified and did not have razor wire so if a prisoner could escape from his unit, all he had to do was cut through the fence and he was free.

The absence of boundary fencing also made it easy for people on the outside to approach the units. According to an officer at Paparua in the 1990s, visitors could communicate with prisoners through a cell window in the West wing and cars were able to cruise the prison compound at night (Christchurch Press 29-1-97). So, a getaway vehicle could await a prisoner's escape right outside his unit. This was exactly what happened on 16 January 1997 when a dangerous prisoner serving time for manslaughter broke out of Paparua and escaped in a vehicle driven by a friend. He was later returned to prison (Christchurch Press 29-1-97).

As well as flawed security procedures, understaffing was also thought to have contributed in the disorder. Brian Davies, a representative of the Public Service Association claimed that procedures and security at the prison had deteriorated since prison officers had taken new contracts in 1993. Davies said that the prison was often understaffed and that on occasion, one officer had been left in charge of 35 prisoners (Sunday Star Times 26-1-97). Insufficient custodial staff has been identified as a likely factor in prisoner revolts because they are necessary for the maintenance of discipline and order (Fitzgerald 1977, pg.127). Inadequate staff levels at Paparua impeded the officers' chief role of supervision and undoubtedly made the escapes easier.

The escape of three more dangerous prisoners in January 1997 exemplified the repercussions of insufficient supervision. Bringing the tally of escapes from Paparua to nine in less than eight weeks, on the evening of Friday January 24, Sean Broderick (29), who had been transferred to Paparua after escaping from Invercargill prison and taking a woman hostage, Jason Parish (23) who was serving two and a half years for injuring with intent and Glen Jack-Kino (24) who was serving preventive detention for rape and other sex crimes, broke out of the prison's low-security gymnasium. The three absconders were among 20 prisoners in the gymnasium under the watch of one officer (Christchurch Press 26-1-97). The men used weight lifting equipment to break through an iron grille and due to the lack of staff they were able to disappear from the gym unnoticed. Broderick, Parish and Jack-Kino were on the run for almost 30 hours before the armed offenders squad surrounded a house in Kaiapoi and they were taken back into custody. Two people were charged with harbouring the escapees (Christchurch Press 27-1-97).

A former inmate of Paparua said that he was not surprised about the January breakouts as staff appeared to care little about their responsibility, "They [staff] play cards, chess and

backgammon. They sit around drinking coffee and talking and that's about it" (The Dominion 28-1-97). While such a comment must be approached with caution as it is only one perspective, such behaviour from officers could perhaps have been indicative of a dispirited personnel. Low staff morale, along with overcrowding and lax security, contributed to the explosive violence at Mt Eden prison in the mid-1960s and the riot in 1965 which remains the most destructive prison uprising in New Zealand's history (Newbold 1989, pg.131-143). A negative mood also existed among staff at Paremoremo prison between 1969 and 1972 when assaults, fires, floods and insurrections were regular occurrences (Newbold 1989, pg.211). It could thus be argued that low staff morale at Paparua, which according to the inmate's comment above impacted on the performance of duties, was a factor in the exceptional disorder that erupted in the second half of the 1990s.

The inmate's observation of unenthusiastic behaviour from officers may also have reflected unrest among staff and discontent with their work which has been asserted as a principal cause of rebellion in prisons (Rison & Wittenberg 1994, pg.47). In 1990 the officers at Paparua had been so disgruntled with the crowded conditions they threatened to walk off the job if the situation was not improved. While the manageable level was reduced in the short term, the prison censuses show that from 1993 the Paparua muster continued to increase suggesting that by 1996 when the trouble began, the prison was probably crowded.

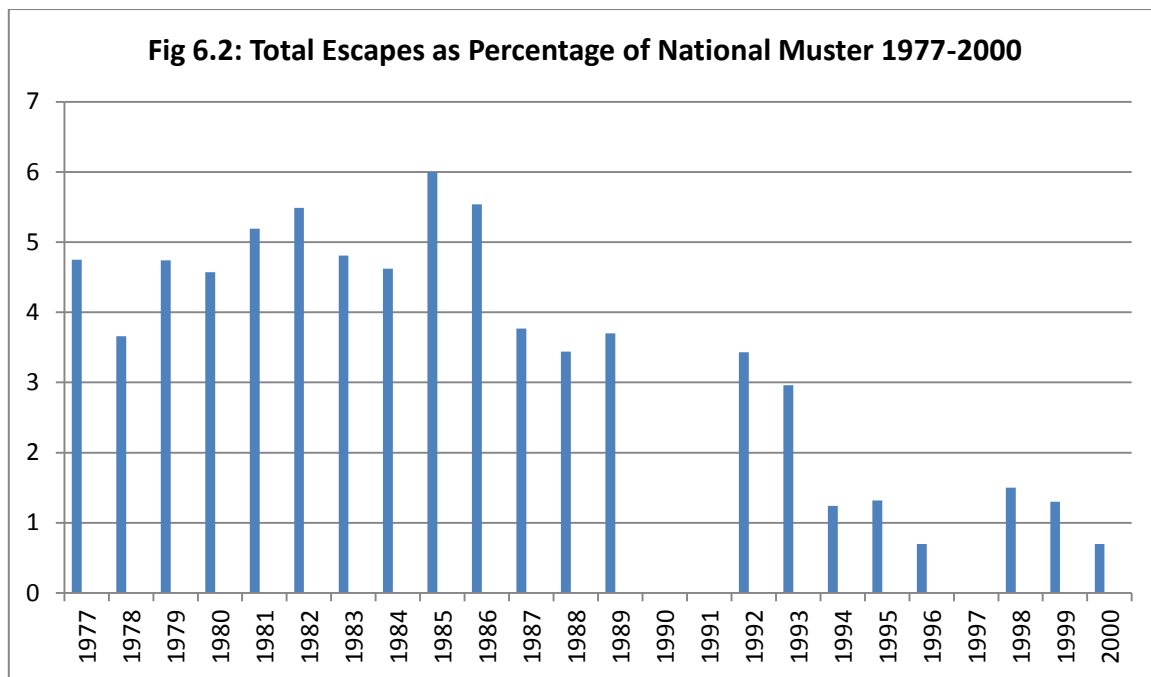
Following the spate of escapes over December 1996 and January 1997, it was revealed that Chubb Security had conducted a review at Paparua in 1994 and found 159 locks to be faulty. Phil Goff, Labour's spokesperson on prisons from 1996 to 1999, visited Paparua in February 1997 and claimed that partly due to the substandard locks which had not been remedied, the prison was ill-equipped to stop dangerous and disruptive inmates from escaping (Christchurch Press 12-2-97). I contacted Chubb Security's head office in Auckland and inquired about viewing the results of the review but I was told that it was not available for public use. Goff claimed that Chubb Security graded locking devices in key security areas "D" which meant that they required urgent work (NZPD vol. 558 1996-1997, pg.443). In a session of Parliament on February 27, 1997, acting Minister of Corrections Doug Graham confirmed that the Chubb Security review found inadequacies in the locks at Paparua. Graham asserted that while a copy of the report was provided to both Paparua prison and the Department of Justice (in charge of prison at the time of the report in 1994), it was considered an operational matter and thus the government was unaware of the problem (NZPD vol.558

1996-1997, pg.443). In neither the parliamentary debates or media reports, was anyone able to explain why in 1997, three years after the Chubb Security report, the locks at Paparua had received no attention.

Generally, security at Paparua in the 1990s was very lax and escapes and violence were not the only consequences. As a result of the low-key approach to visits at Paparua, a large amount of drugs and contraband made their way into the prison. According to Canterbury University Professor Greg Newbold who visited Paparua on a number of occasions at this time, friends and family arrived in a communal area and asked for the inmate they wished to see (Pers. Conv. Greg Newbold). Visits took place under limited uniformed presence and searches were haphazard.

The other major factor behind the turmoil was poor management. Rises in escape rates have been closely linked with administrative instability (Eskridge & Newbold 1993; Hartung & Floch 1956-1957; Rison & Wittenberg 1994) as has the occurrence of riots or the increase in prison violence (Useem & Kimball 1991; Wilsnack 1976).

Interestingly, national escapes as a percentage of the total prison muster, which had remained around four to six per cent from the late 1970s to the mid-1980s, began to decline in 1987 and by 1994 had dropped to around one per cent. The spate of breakouts from Paparua at a time when national escapes were trending downwards signalled deep-seated problems specific to that institution. While security throughout all New Zealand prisons was in need of revision, with great laxity in its security procedures and apparent staff issues, Paparua was certainly an example of an institution that had gone too far. Something had to be done and the modifications would need to be great in order to restore order at the men's prison in Christchurch.



Source: AJHR 1978-1995 E.5, 1996-2000 E.61

Major Reforms

A Management Shakeup

In May 1996, three months after Carl Rolander escaped from Paparua, a national review of prisons was launched (Evening Post 25-3-97). As part of the review, the management structure was reorganised and Paul Monk was recruited from Canterbury Health to undertake the newly created position of Regional Manager Canterbury Prisons. Prior to Monk's appointment in September 1996, the four Canterbury prisons were run under two very separate administrations: Paparua and Addington under one and Christchurch Women's and Rolleston under the other (Paul Monk int 12-4-12). However, from 1996 Monk was responsible for overseeing the running of all four institutions and in 1998 all of the country's prisons were divided into nine regions, each under the watch of a regional manager (Newbold 2007, pg.115).

DiIulio asserts that, "It is the government of keepers, not the society of captives, that is of primary importance" (DiIulio 1987, pg.47). In other words, the level of order and the quality of life in a prison is dependent on how well it is managed (DiIulio 1987, pg.95). This

relationship between stability and management is paramount in explaining the events at Paparua for there were a number of administrative weaknesses. Paul Monk asserts that when he became regional manager, the administration at Paparua lacked any proper leadership or structure. Monk described walking into a wing and it being completely unclear who was in charge and he felt that some of the people in key positions were not proficient in their role (Paul Monk int 12-4-12). Furthermore, after the Prison Manager went home at night nobody was left with overall responsibility of the jail (Christchurch Press 12-2-97).

DiIulio also contends that the success of an organisation, including a prison, is contingent upon the combination of “good workers with sufficient resources under the right conditions” (DiIulio 1987, pg.236). In my interview with Paul Monk he could not emphasise enough that on the whole, the staff at Paparua were kind and dedicated people simply in need of the right tools to carry out their responsibilities. Monk explained that the officers lacked the most basic things such as radios which only lasted half of an eight-hour shift due to poor batteries. He could see that the staff were eager to do their jobs well but had not been properly led. For example, Monk explained, not having been told otherwise the officers were allowing prisoners from different units to mix together during services in the prison chapel (Paul Monk int 12-4-12). This enables inmates to pass on drugs or contraband and the association of different prisoners in such a big group could lead to confrontation.

Monk immediately began addressing Paparua’s leadership drawbacks. An investigation into the escape of Parish, Broderick and Jack-Kino in January 1997 revealed that prison management had been warned of the inmates’ escape plan, including where they planned to break out but had failed to act on the information. Consequently, later that month, Tony Spencer was replaced by Paul Rushton as the prison manager at Paparua (Christchurch Press 29-1-97). At the time of his appointment in 1997, Rushton had been in the prison service for 20 years and had served as manager of Mt Eden, Rimutaka and Rolleston prisons (Paul Rushton int 18-1-12). Resources at the prison were improved and staff training was increased. In 1999, the entire administrative framework at Paparua was altered establishing a clear line of authority and responsibility. Corrections Officers and Senior Corrections Officers reported to the Principal Corrections Officer who was in charge of a unit in the absence of the Unit Manager. The Unit Manager was directly answerable to the Prison Manager (Paul Monk int 12-4-12). Unit Managers’ roles were gradually expanded so that they had responsibility of two or three units and in 2010 they became Residential Managers.

There are five Residential Managers at Paparua, two who run the high-security units, two for the low-security units and one who oversees the remand facilities. Each unit is under the watch of a Principal Corrections Officer who reports to their Residential Manager (See Appendix 2).

Security Improvements

On March 18, 1997 the Department of Corrections released the findings of a scathing review of Paparua's security which was prompted by the January escapes. Later that month Regional Manager Canterbury Prisons Paul Monk announced that Paparua would undergo a security upgrade worth \$200,000. The revamp included new locks and keys, strengthening of the West wing, updating the control room and medical block, installation of security cameras and new grilles with magnetic locks, the building of non-contact visiting booths and the provision of a hydraulic jack to open cells in emergencies (Christchurch Press 26-3-97). In July that same year, Monk announced a further \$250,000 security package that would help with the issue of drugs and contraband entering the prison through visitors. The main reception and visiting areas were going to be fitted with security cameras, electronic door locks, metal detectors and separate entrances and exits (Christchurch Press 19-7-97).

Procedurally, security was tweaked too. Visiting hours were tightened making it harder for people to come and go from the prison and visitors were now subject to searches. Night-shift personnel were increased and the temporary release of inmates for sports matches and home leave was under review (Christchurch Press 26-3-97). Use of the gymnasium and weight room (where Parish, Broderick and Jack-Kino escaped from in January 1997) was discontinued.

Following the overhaul in security and management at Paparua, the tide of escapes ceased and there were no breakouts until late July 1997, when a prisoner scaled the fence of a low-security unit (Dominion 20-10-97). It looked as though the remainder of the year might pass without incident until September when a prison officer found a stick of gelignite outside one of the prison blocks where it had been left for an inmate to collect. To be effective, such major security reforms and administrative changes take time to implement and before they could be fully executed, the embers of trouble were burning at Paparua once more.

The 1997 Hostage Incident

Early in October 1997, the prisoners in Paparua's East Wing had resisted officers' orders in a sit-down protest and refused to comply until management came to the wing and heard their grievances. One of their complaints was that some of their visitors had been strip-searched as part of the prison's security overhaul. Ironically, 17 of the searches the inmates were protesting about had resulted in arrests for possession of contraband or drugs (Waikato Times 21-10-97). A sudden tightening of security like the one that was taking place at Paparua can contribute to rebellion which is a manifestation of the inmates' disapproval of the new rules (Thomas 1972, pg.160).

Moreover, the inmate population functions as its own society and has its own peculiar value system and hierarchy (Grosser 1960, pg.132; Sykes & Messinger 1960, pg.5). An established hierarchy allows a degree of self-governance where a group of prisoners at the top of the hierarchy assist officers in maintaining control in return for extra privileges or preferential treatment (Cressey & Krassowski 1957-1958, pg.218; Hartung & Floch 1956, pg.57; Sykes 1958, pg.122). One of the inmates I interviewed, who had spent more than 19 of the last 22 years at Paparua, explained that during the 1990s, inmates, to an extent, policed themselves. Longer serving prisoners or 'long-laggers' at the top of the hierarchy were respected by the other prisoners while enjoying a few concessions and a little leniency from the officers. If a prisoner thieved or otherwise disturbed the peace, he would be punished by the 'long-laggers' and the officers would turn a blind eye allowing them to govern their own society (Inmate A int 22-12-11). If this prisoner elite-system is thwarted, which I was told it was during the 1997 security overhaul at Paparua, it can have a destabilising effect (Inmate A int 22-12-11; Newbold 1992, pg.54). This possibly explains the unrest in the East Wing and the disorder that persisted at the prison throughout the rest of the 1990s.

This degree of unified action in a wing housing some of the prison's most dangerous criminals should have been a warning to management that more serious recalcitrance could follow. And indeed it did.

Early in the evening of Saturday October 18, convicted murderers Michael October (29), Dean Parata (45) and Nigel Johnstone were led by lifer Rex Haig in taking six prison officers

in the East wing at Paparua hostage. The prisoners staged the insurrection in protest at the murder convictions of Rex Haig, sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of a fisherman at Jackson Bay in 1993, and Michael October who was one of three men jailed for the rape and murder of a Christchurch woman in 1994 (Dominion 20-10-97). Both Haig and October maintained their innocence and claimed that corrupt investigative practices had resulted in their wrongful convictions. During his time in prison Haig had written at least 50 letters to the detective who headed the investigation of the murder he was serving life for and now Haig was determined to draw attention to the alleged corruption, whatever the cost. The 80 inmates in the East wing when the siege began were divided over Haig's actions which had been in the making for some weeks (Southland Times 20-10-97).

Roddy Watson was the officer in charge of the wing on October 18 and remembers the events that unfolded that night well. It all began when the East wing officers called lockup and inmate Dean Parata approached Watson and requested to speak with him in the upstairs office. Once alone in the office, Parata produced what Watson believed to be a stick of gelignite which was brandished threateningly to compel his cooperation. The officer was ordered to get the other five wing staff into the office on the second level of the wing and it progressed into a "full-blown hostage incident from there" (Roddy Watson interview 18-1-12). Parata and Haig demanded the officers' keys and Watson said that while the staff initially refused, threats of violence from the prisoners left them no choice but to surrender some of the keys. The hostages remained barricaded in the office overnight and by the early hours of the morning Watson said tensions among the hostages and inmates not involved in Haig's scheme were running high. Parata asked the prison officers to relinquish any confiscated cannabis in the office safe to help settle the prisoners but there was none.

According to media reports, Haig made a number of phone calls to journalists and lawyers and the prisoners ordered takeaway pizzas (Waikato Times 21-10-97). Two officers were released before successful negotiations directed by one of the prison's chaplains Reverend Steve Fergusson lead to the prisoners surrender at around 7.00 p.m. Sunday evening (The Waikato Times 21-10-97). At the conclusion of the 26-hour episode, the remaining four hostages were freed unharmed. As part of the lengthy negotiations, the Department of Corrections agreed to organise a lawyer and detective to look into the convictions of Haig and October, however, neither case was reopened (Christchurch Press 20-10-97). A week after they had taken six prison officers captive in the East wing Haig, Parata and October

apologised to the officers and in July 1998, they all received seven year prison terms for their role in the siege to be served concurrently with their existing life sentences (Christchurch Press 3-7-98).

It was clear in my interview with Roddy Watson that the night of October 18 had been a harrowing experience and talking about it was very difficult. He explained that the ordeal was especially traumatic for his family. Looking at me pensively he stated, “it was one of the scariest friggin’ moments of my life. I felt ten foot tall and bullet proof till then” (Roddy Watson int 18-1-12).

Indeed the disorder at Paparua was especially unsettling for the Corrections Department but it occurred as part of an overall escalation in tension throughout prisons in the 1990s. New Zealand’s third prison homicide occurred at Paremoremo in 1993 and before the decade came to a close there were two more: one at Manawatu prison in 1997 and another the following year at Tongariro prison. In 1997 a prisoner at Paremoremo maximum-security prison was hospitalised after being stabbed and in a separate incident, an officer at the institution was stabbed by an inmate (Newbold 2007, pg.116). Also in 1997, in the same month the six officers were taken hostage at Paparua, a group of prisoners at Rimutaka prison were involved in a drunken riot during which equipment was destroyed and an officer injured (AJHR 1998 E.61, pg.11). When a new minister inherited the Corrections portfolio in 1997, it is not surprising that prison security was foremost in his priorities.

Nick Smith’s Security Crackdown

Following the November 1996 general election, the National-led government in coalition with New Zealand First reorganised its Cabinet. Consequently, Paul East was replaced by Nick Smith as Minister of Corrections. A conservative man, Smith advocated a no-nonsense approach to prison discipline and did not believe in pandering to prisoners (Newbold 2007, pg.116). Smith held the portfolio until 1999 and a principal focus throughout his two year tenure was prison security. Part of Smith’s rationale for the security emphasis was escapes. Central to the function of prisons is the deprivation of freedom so by their very nature they are susceptible to breakouts. Even so, and despite escape rates dropping to a nadir in 1994, escapes were considered more of a problem under Smith than they had been by previous

prison administrations. The vast transformations implemented by Smith throughout institutions are therefore a good example of politics, as they so often have in New Zealand correctional history, influencing prison reform.

The hostage incident at Paparua in October 1997 prompted the prison's second security review of the year and the Department of Corrections pledged further improvements. Meanwhile, a national review of physical security in all New Zealand prisons was completed and resulted in the allowance of \$22.5 million in the 1998 budget for security upgrades (AJHR 1998 E.61, pg.2). The lack of inadequate boundary security at a number of prison sites was one of the first things to be addressed under Smith. Four million dollars was spent on erecting a high razor wire-topped fence around the entire Paparua complex. The fence was completed in 2000. In an \$11 million project, 7.5 kilometres of fencing components were made at Manawatu prison for the construction of the perimeter fence at Paparua as well as those at Manawatu, Waikeria and Arohata prisons. The fences at Auckland, Rimutaka and Christchurch Women's prisons were also upgraded (Christchurch Press 9-2-99). Reinforcing the need for the changes, during Nick Smith's visit to Paparua in April 1998 to announce the planned security measures, a gang fight erupted between 11 members of Highway 61 and Black Power. One prisoner received medical attention for minor injuries (Christchurch Press 24-4-98).

While the security revisions were taking place, escapes at Paparua and around the nation persisted. In January 1998, Scott Barry failed to return to Paparua following Christmas leave and later that year in June, four dangerous criminals broke out of Paremoremo medium-security prison and were at large for 11 days (Christchurch Press 15-1-98). Also in June, Zane Sutton (brother and co-offender of Joel Sutton who escaped from Paparua with Johansen in 1996), who was serving nine years for rape, escaped from Rolleston prison and was on the run for a number of days (Newbold 2007, pg.120). In November 1999, three prisoners escaped from Paparua together by burrowing under the temporary fence which was in place until the completion of the permanent perimeter fence (Christchurch Press 17-11-99). One of the inmates was caught by police a few days later but the other two were not recaptured for some weeks (Christchurch Press 21-11-99). In the meantime, another Paparua prisoner walked away from a work party on December 3 but was back in custody later that evening (Christchurch Press 3-12-99). Between 1998 and 2000 though, the national level of

annual escapes dropped by more than half to 40, which was likely a sign of Nick Smith's security blitz beginning to take effect (AJHR 2000 E.61, pg.31).

It should be noted though, that security lapses and management problems certainly make escaping from prison easier but they are not reasons for escapes on their own. Generally, there are deep-rooted factors that motivate a prisoner to abscond. A New Zealand study conducted in 1996 found that most prisoners escape due to internal pressures such as bullying or dissatisfaction with prison life, or external pressures which often include family problems (McLellan *et al* 1996, pg.11-13). Moreover, it often said that escapes are not only an inevitable phenomenon associated with custodial sentences but are necessary to relieve stress in prisons that could develop into something more dangerous (Thomas 1972, pg.160).

Nick Smith was also responsible for the inauguration of new national cell standards which strictly limited the materials prisoners were permitted to have in their cells (AJHR 1998 E.61, pg.2). The initiative was designed to make it more difficult for inmates to conceal contraband like weapons and drugs. Smith then tackled the drug problem in prisons which had been a major concern for the Justice Ministry since the end of the 1970s and continued to humiliate the Corrections Department who took over the running of prisons in 1995. In 1996, an inmate revealed that drug use was rife in prison and that the officers most often turned a blind eye (Christchurch Press 6-7-96). An amendment to the Penal Institutions Act in 1997 introduced random drug testing in prisons and came into force in February 1998, a short while after Smith's appointment as Corrections Minister. The testing policy was a primary tool in Smith's tougher drug control strategy and since the scheme began each institution in New Zealand has to regularly carry out urine tests on a certain number of its inmates. At Paparua, where the existence of drugs became an issue in the mid-1980s, 15 to 20 per cent of the inmates (which in December 2011 was between 110 and 150 prisoners) are randomly selected from the computer system each week to submit a urine sample for testing (Paul Rushton interview 18-1-12). Inmates found in possession of drugs or whose sample tests positive to drugs could receive penalties such as loss of privileges, cell confinement and non-contact visits (Bill Moore int 23-12-11).

Cabinet was reorganised again early in 1999 and Nick Smith lost his position as Corrections Minister. Although short, his time in office was eventful and his extensive reforms had returned some order to the prison system. Shortly after Smith was relieved though, a full-time

Canterbury Emergency Response Unit (CERU) was created at Paparua. The purpose of the unit was to have a response team ready to deal with any catastrophe that might arise. However, the questionable activities of the unit over its 12 month existence meant that the era of trouble for Paparua was not over quite yet.

The Canterbury Emergency Response Unit

In early 1999, the Department of Corrections commissioned the 280-bed Paparua Remand Centre (PRC) at Paparua prison. An immediate obstacle in its establishment was a disagreement between Paparua and officers and the Corrections Department over staffing levels for the new PRC. The PRC's design is based on a unit at the Silverwater Correctional Centre in Sydney Australia which staff from the New Zealand Corrections Department and Public Service Association visited prior to the erection of the PRC. During their visit, the New Zealand representatives were particularly impressed with Silverwater's specialised emergency response unit and felt that replicating the unit would be an effective solution to the issue over staffing levels at the PRC. The Corrections Department could employ a smaller contingent of officers at the PRC without compromising staff safety because an emergency response team would be on stand-by to deal with any prisoner disturbances (Duffy 2004, pg.8). Consequently, in June 1999, the Canterbury Emergency Response Unit (CERU) was formed.

The CERU, referred to locally as the 'Goon Squad', was the first group of its kind established in New Zealand. However, its haphazard formation resulted in the self-evolution of the CERU from a temporary support unit for the PRC to a specialised crime prevention and emergency response unit. Furthermore, the absence of a clear line of management, and therefore a clear line of accountability, insufficient training and a lack of financial answerability lead to the squad's involvement in activities that explicitly violated department protocols and conduct codes. A Corrections Department investigation in 2001 revealed that, among other things, the unit had tampered with timesheets, inappropriately obtained and used funds and had failed to sufficiently record and secure confiscated contraband (Newbold 2007, pg.120). Amid the global Y2K (year 2000) hype that computer systems would crash at the turn of the Millennium and in anticipation of resultant disturbances on New Year's Eve 1999/2000, the CERU conducted loud training sessions deliberately in earshot of the

prisoners and stormed through units after lockup. One of the inmates I interviewed recalls the squad provoking prisoners by marching and banging its shields outside the units and even inciting inmates in their cells. He claimed that while quietly watching television at around 10.15 p.m. one evening, five members of the CERU entered his cell with shields and full riot equipment and performed control and restraint procedures when he reacted to their aggressive and unexplained entry to his cell. According to the inmate he was then strip searched, again without explanation (Inmate A int 22-12-11).

One particular CERU incident was fatal. On 30 November 1999, 43 year old inmate David Haimona became irritated in his low-security cell and began causing a disturbance. Dressed in full riot gear, members of the CERU broke into Haimona's cell to relocate him to a more secure area of the prison at which point a violent scuffle took place and the prisoner died (Christchurch Press 16-8-00). The staff members involved were cleared of any responsibility in Haimona's death, however, a Christchurch coroner's inquest concluded that the inmate probably would not have died if the violent struggle had not occurred (Christchurch Press 27-11-02). In June 2000, the one year old CERU was disbanded.

The 'Goon Squad' debacle occasioned two Department of Corrections reports which suggested that the unit's activities regularly and knowingly departed from official procedures and in December 2004 a humiliating report written by Ailsa Duffy QC for the State Services Commissioner was released. The findings of the Duffy report could be summarised as follows:

- The CERU's intended purpose was to resolve officers' demands for additional support in the Paparua Remand Centre. The unit's establishment was not appropriate for this purpose and its formation was not documented.
- Whether the unit was temporary or permanent was unclear leading to confusion among staff who joined it.
- Seemingly, the unit on its own accord transformed into a highly specialised emergency response unit and no-one from Corrections, including regional staff, have been able to explain how or why the unit changed.
- There was no clear line of management or accountability.

- There was no financial accountability and the unit's excessive spending went undetected.
- At times, the unit breached the department's code of conduct and probably the law.
- The unit's poor establishment was symptomatic of management failures within the Department of Corrections and Paparua prison management should have known about the unit's activities.
- The Department's responses to allegations of inappropriate behaviour in the CERU were inadequate.

A number of inmates' complaints regarding treatment by the CERU were upheld by the Ombudsmen's Office (Christchurch Press 22-10-03). Nonetheless, all staff involved with the unit continued to work for the Department of Corrections and the Prison Manager Paul Rushton along with Regional Manager Canterbury Prisons Paul Monk retained their positions (NZ Press Assoc 3-11-03).

An apparent factor behind the Emergency Response Unit affair was flawed governance, something Paul Monk identified as a major problem at Paparua when he began overseeing Canterbury prisons in 1996. The lack of a proper leadership structure meant there was ambiguity around who was in charge of key operations at the prison and allowed the CERU to virtually run itself with its own rules. Oppressive regimes or punitive discipline are common causes of prison violence, so if the Emergency Response Unit had been allowed to continue its aggressive tactics, a riot would have been likely (Newbold 1992, pg.55). As a result of Monk's reorganisation of Paparua's management in 1999 and 2010 which established clear lines of authority and accountability, an incident as devastating and serious as the CERU disaster is very unlikely today. In addition, tight security ensures that disorder among the prisoners is also rare. However, the firm emphasis on security since the late 1990s has changed life for a prisoner doing time at Paparua and this 'change' is a theme of the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN: PAPARUA PRISON TODAY

Prisoners have been housed at the Paparua prison site for almost 100 years. Born under the administration of Charles Matthews, whose ideals lay in rustic enterprise, the men's institution built upon the Templeton farmland came to exemplify Matthews' 'gospel of hard work' philosophy and the reformatory agrarian programme of the 1910s and early 1920s. The agricultural programme was significantly expanded under Bert Dallard throughout the 1930s and 1940s and almost all of the prisoners at Paparua spent the weekdays toiling on the farm. Hints of Matthews' vision for the prison as an open institution were, as interviews have illustrated, still evident in the 1970s and 1980s. Arguably, it is during these years that conditions for inmates were the best. Most of the men worked, either on the farm or in the industrial occupations and a large portion of the muster were permitted evening recreation time until 8.30 p.m. They also had the option to join a variety of sports teams which practiced on an unfenced field and they were only locked in their cells for around ten hours a day. Today, though, and as will be illustrated throughout this chapter, the inmates' lives at Paparua are entirely different to those of the inmates in decades past. The men do not venture onto the farm itself and only some engage in outdoor work. Most inmates never step beyond the wire and in some units the prisoners are unlocked for just a few hours each day.

The changing face of the prison population has to some extent steered this transformation. Crime in New Zealand began to increase from the mid-twentieth century and from the 1980s has further intensified and become more violent. In the ten years to 1980 convictions for violent offences jumped up by 89 per cent and by 1985 had increased another 30 per cent (Dept. of Justice 1986, pg.48). Between 2001 and 2011, recorded violent crimes leapt up 30 per cent (stats.govt.nz). Correspondingly, the typical prisoner, particularly from the 1980s, has become more violent and capricious. The emergence of this new kind of prisoner along with the introduction of drugs, has forced institutions, including Paparua, to adopt a heavier emphasis on security and supervision.

However, a more dominant force behind the security-focused regime is politics. Security upgrades introduced under former Corrections Minister Nick Smith (1997-1999), who took a hard-nosed approach to prisons, have certainly left their mark on Paparua. Employment and

recreation are far more limited than they were in the 20th century and the conditions are stricter.

As part of my research I was shown around the entire Paparua complex, including almost all of the units, by Residential Manager Bill Moore. Some of the details to come in this chapter are, therefore, based on what I saw for myself and the information Bill Moore provided.

New Zealand Prisons Today

The Prison Services, a division of the Department of Corrections, operates 19 prisons around the country with a total capacity of more than 9,600 beds (corrections.govt.nz). Fourteen prisons are in the North Island and three are dedicated female institutions. The prisons are divided into three regions - Northern, Central and Southern – each with a regional manager. The regional manager reports to the General Manager Prison Services who in turn reports to the Chief Executive of the Department of Corrections.

Northern Region: Auckland Prison (Paremoremo), Auckland Region Women's Corrections Facility (ARWCF), Mt Eden Corrections Facility, Northland Region Corrections Facility, Spring Hill Corrections Facility.

Central Region: Hawkes Bay Prison, Manawatu Prison, New Plymouth Prison, Tongariro/Rangipo, Waikeria Prison, Whanganui Prison.

Southern Region: Arohata Prison, Paparua Prison, Christchurch Women's Prison, Invercargill Prison, Otago Corrections Facility, Rimutaka Prison, Rolleston Prison, Wellington Prison.

At the time this thesis was printed in May 2012, the structure of regional management along with the current division of prisons into three zones was being reviewed by the Department of Corrections. Thus, it is possible that in the near future the organisation of institutions as listed above will change. Furthermore, in March 2012, Chief Executive for the Department of Corrections Ray Smith announced proposed major changes to New Zealand prisons which included the closure of Wellington and New Plymouth. The department also intends to close some units at Rolleston, Arohata and Tongariro/Rangipo prisons (Christchurch Press 23-3-12). These modifications are expected to be implemented throughout 2012.

Within prisons there are four main security classifications that prisoners fall under: minimum, low medium, high medium and maximum. Auckland prison (Paremoremo) can accommodate men of all security levels and is the only maximum-security facility in New Zealand. In December 2011, 1.6 per cent of sentenced prisoners were classified maximum-security (corrections.govt.nz). Some prisons cater for only one classification of prisoner however Paparua houses inmates from minimum to high medium security in different areas of the prison. It also has a limited number of cells equipped to hold maximum-security prisoners who may be in Christchurch for their trial.



Sources: AJHR 1896-1971 H.20, 1975-1995 E.5; NZ Department of Statistics 2001-2006;
www.corrections.govt.nz

The Prison Population

As fig 7.1 above illustrates, the national prison population remained fairly stable at around 1,000, for the first half of the 20th century. The first major leap came in 1956 and musters continued to grow for the next two decades. Exactly 30 years later in 1986, numbers increased sharply once more and have been climbing rapidly ever since. In the 25 years to 1986, the national muster increased 44 per cent but in the 25 years since 1986, it has soared another 213 per cent so that the total number of people in prison in December 2011 was 8,433

(corrections.govt.nz). Paparua's muster has largely emulated national trends and as can be seen from fig 7.2, the prison has had a considerable increase in numbers since the mid-1990s. As explained in the last chapter, this has been due to the addition of new units: Paparua Unit (1991), Kotuku Unit (1998), the Paparua Remand Centre (1999) and the Youth Unit (2001). These were constructed in part to address the accommodation crisis of the 1990s.

Additional accommodation brought little relief however, as national musters exploded once again during the first decade of the new century rising by almost 2,000 prisoners between 2000 and 2005 (NZ Dept of Stats 2006, pg.212). These unparalleled increases in the New Zealand prison population since 2000 can partially be attributed to the Sentencing and Parole Acts of 2002. These laws were a response to a number of particularly brutal crimes in the late 1990s and a referendum question at the 1999 general election in which 92 per cent of voters were in favour of reform of the justice system and harsher penalties for violent criminals (Ministry of Justice 2002). The 2002 legislation repealed large portions of the Criminal Justice Act 1985 and addressed weaknesses in the way sentences were being administered (Hall & O'Driscoll 2002, pg.3-9).

The Sentencing Act strengthened the power of the courts to award lengthy prison terms for particularly serious acts of violence or sexual predation. The judiciary had shown a propensity to impose longer sentences and this trend continued subsequent to the 2002 acts. For instance, an amendment to the Criminal Justice Act in 1993 gave judges the power to impose non-parole periods longer than the statutory minimum of ten years on preventive detention and life sentences. In 2006, 68 per cent of the non-parole periods imposed on life imprisonment sentences were longer than the statutory ten year minimum. The average non-parole period given was 14 years. This is more than three years longer than the average non-parole period imposed on a life sentence recorded before the Sentencing Act 2002 came into force (Morrison *et al* 2008, pg.112). Conviction and sentencing statistics show that while overall sentence lengths remained stable between 1997 and 2003, the sentence length imposed for rape increased 23 per cent and the sentence lengths for aggravated robbery and grievous assault grew nine per cent (Morrison *et al* 2008, pg.73).

The Parole Act abolished district prison boards and in their place established the New Zealand Parole Board. The hardened attitude taken by the new parole board saw a diminution in the number of paroles granted. In 2002-2003, 51 per cent of parole hearings were

unsuccessful but by 2004-2005, this had risen to 68 per cent (Christchurch Press 10-8-06). So, not only were violent offenders receiving hefty prison terms, they were serving more of their sentence before being released.

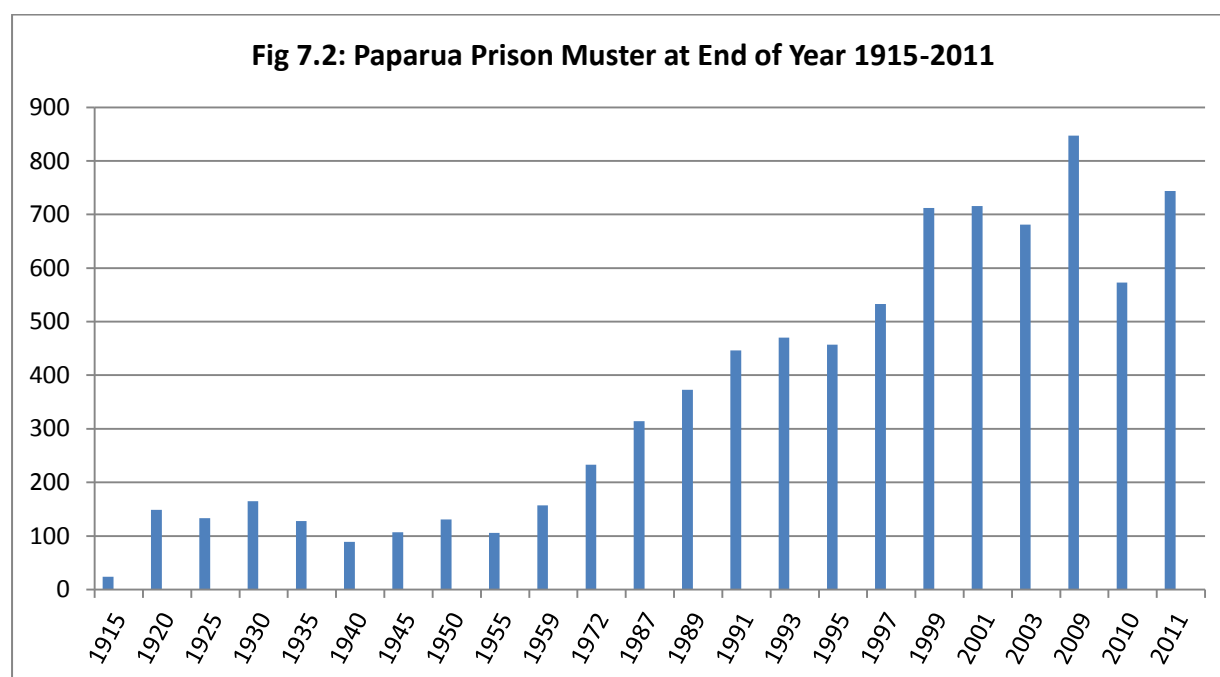
Inevitably this impacted on the prison population and by 2005 it was the same old story: prisons were full. Paparua was no exception. The depletion of available space forced the accommodation of low-security inmates in areas usually reserved for high-security prisoners. In September that year, due to overcrowding in South Island prisons, 45 inmates (many on remand) were being detained in cells at the Christchurch central police station and district court (Christchurch Press 24-9-05). The Corrections department expanded facilities once more and Te Ahuhu and Matapuna, both low-security 60-bed units, were established at Paparua in 2005 and 2006 bringing the prison's capacity to the current figure of 926 (Bill Moore int 23-12-11). Under the department's Regional Prisons Development Project four new prisons were erected around the country. The first was Northland Region Corrections Facility at Ngawha which opened in March 2005 with a capacity of 366. In June the following year, the Auckland Region Women's Corrections Facility (ARWCF) opened with a capacity of 456. Finally, in 2007 the 485-bed Otago Corrections Facility was opened followed by a 650-bed prison at Spring Hill (corrections.govt.nz).

Between 2005 and 2011 the national prison muster increased another 22 per cent. Numbers rocketed past 8,000 for the first time in 2009 and this likely explains the significant jump in the number of inmates at Paparua that year to 847 (corrections.govt.nz). The notable decrease in the Paparua muster at the end of 2010 can be explained by the temporary transfer of around 400 prisoners to North Island facilities following the 7.1 magnitude earthquake on September 4 that year. Notwithstanding the unremitting growth of the national prison population during the first decade of the millennium prisons, including Paparua, have shown no discernible signs of unrest. This can probably be attributed to the security and management revisions. Since the establishment of the two new units in 2005 and 2006, Paparua is yet to be pushed to its capacity of 926.

As discussed in chapter six, violent crime on the whole plateaued from the mid-1990s and figures for recorded homicides even dropped. However, rates of violence appear to have resumed an upward trend in 2005. Recorded assaults, which stabilised at around 30,000 in the ten years after 1995, increased 26 per cent between 2005 and 2011. Recorded robberies leapt

25 per cent in just one year after 2005 and although they have since decreased slightly, the figure for 2011 is still 30 per cent more than the number of robberies ten years prior (stats.govt.nz). Arguably, if crime rates continue this way, Corrections is unlikely to see a respite in climbing musters.

In yet another attempt to reduce serious violent offending, the National-Act coalition government passed the Sentencing and Parole Reform Act 2010. The law amended parts of the Sentencing and Parole Acts 2002 and incorporates a three stage system of increasing consequences akin to the “three strikes” laws in the United States. Upon a third conviction for one of the 40 offences specified under the 2010 act, a judge must impose the maximum sentence available for that offence without the possibility for parole, unless doing so would be manifestly unjust (s.86D(3)). As offenders begin to reach their third conviction over the coming years, the number of inmates serving hefty terms without parole eligibility will increase and the prison population will increase accordingly.



Sources: AJHR 1916-1960 H.20; Braybrook 1990; Braybrook & O’Neill 1988; Braybrook & Southey 1992; Department of Justice 1975; Harpham 2004; Lash 1996; Lash 1998; Rich 1999; Southey *et al* 1995; Policy Development 2003; www.corrections.govt.nz

Canterbury Earthquakes

Alongside the rest of Canterbury, of particular importance to the recent history of Paparua prison are the Canterbury earthquakes. A magnitude 7.1 earthquake struck Christchurch on September 4, 2010 and although there was extensive damage to buildings and homes throughout the wider Canterbury region, there were no fatalities. However, this was followed by a magnitude 6.3 earthquake on February 22, 2011 in which 185 people were tragically killed. Between September 4, 2010 and May 26, 2012 there had been more than 10,000 aftershocks in Christchurch (christchurchquakemap.co.nz).

Paparua has suffered no injuries as a result of the quakes but sustained some damage. During the September 4 earthquake part of the old medical block, with its completion date “1925” mounted across the façade, collapsed. The block, which was one of three original buildings on the site, served as the prison’s administrative centre until 1983 when it was converted into a medical facility. In recent years it has primarily been used to store health records and was unoccupied when part of it came down (Bill Moore int 23-12-11). The building was demolished in March 2012 (Prison visit 4-4-2012).

Matai and Kauri (formerly called West and Centre Wings) were built at the same time as the medical block but had undergone strengthening just a few years prior to these major earthquakes. In 1998, Opus International Consultants were commissioned by the Corrections Department to survey the buildings at Paparua. The Opus reports released in October and the following May, stated that the unreinforced concrete-block work of Matai and Kauri left the structures vulnerable to earthquakes and were therefore an injury risk (Christchurch Press 29-1-02). Strengthening the two units was estimated to cost around \$1 million and was commenced at the end of 2002.

In the days immediately after the September 2010 earthquake, around 400 of the 800 inmates from Paparua were transferred by air force aircraft and bus to other institutions around the country (Christchurch Press 8-9-10). Removing a large portion of the muster made repairs easier and reduced pressure on staff and emergency services should another disaster occur. During the nine months following the quake, most of the prisoners were returned to Paparua with remands and those due to be released coming back first (Bill Moore int 23-12-11). Consequently, not all of the men had been transferred back to Paparua by the time of the

earthquake on February 22, 2011 and the extra space was used to house Rolleston inmates so that Rolleston prison could be used to accommodate emergency service teams and volunteers (NZ Press Assoc 23-2-11). In addition, from March 2011, some court services were transferred to Paparua, namely court appearances for offenders on remand, due to the inaccessibility of the Christchurch courthouse inside the red-zone cordon. The courthouse began gradually reopening in December 2011 and the last court session for offenders remanded in custody was held at the prison in March 2012 (Christchurch Press 9-2-12).

In March 2012, 140 pieces of artwork produced by around 70 prisoners from Rolleston, Paparua and Christchurch Women's prisons were auctioned to raise money for the Canterbury earthquake relief effort (corrections.govt.nz).

Inside Paparua Prison

As part of my research I was shown around the entire Paparua complex, including most of the units, by Residential Manager Bill Moore. It is the information from this visit that forms the basis of this section.

One of my first observations as a visitor coming into the prison was that the layout in some areas is rather confusing. The prison's two original wings, now known as Matai and Kauri, were completed by 1925. A third wing, now called Rawhiti, opened in 1972 and since then buildings and sections have been added onto and around these three wings. The inside of this section of the prison feels very much like a rabbit warren and it is very easy to get disoriented. One of the other notable features is how vastly the conditions vary across the complex.

Arrival

Under Nick Smith, Corrections Minister between 1997 and 1999, there was a renewed emphasis on security and the impact this has had on Paparua is immediately evident upon arrival at the prison.

Prior to the 1990s, visitors walked straight onto the prison complex and entered the main buildings. Today though, the gatehouse erected in 2000 serves as a single point of entry and anyone coming into the prison, including staff, must pass through here. A razor wire-topped perimeter fence was also established in 2000 and has built-in sensors which if touched, activate an alarm. Visitors have to sign a logbook before they are permitted entry and this is used to monitor the coming and going of all visitors. Any person entering the prison must first pass through a metal detector and any items being carried in, as well as shoes, are scanned through an x-ray machine. At times during this screening stage, I have also been requested by an officer to lift the legs of my trousers or pull out my pockets to show that I was not carrying prohibited items. Cellular phones and any other electronic devices are not permitted.

Offenders enter the prison through a vehicle entrance attached to the gatehouse in either a police or prison escort van. The rear section of the prison vans is partitioned so that the offenders being transported are kept physically segregated. The stipulation that offenders are kept in separate cubicles during transportation was introduced following the murder of 17 year old Liam Ashley who, in August 2006, was strangled and stomped to death by a remand prisoner in a Chubb escort van en route to Auckland Central Remand Prison in Mt Eden (Sunday Star Times 27-8-06).

After the van has driven into Paparua, offenders are taken from the vehicle to the holding cells in the Receiving Office (RO) where they await processing. The interior of a holding cell is white and the only things adorning the walls are the entry door from the van car-park and a window that looks into the receiving office. There is a bench for offenders to sit on. For some of those men who have never been to prison before, the starkness of these holding cells must be daunting and perhaps even a harsh awakening to the reality of jail.

All incoming inmates receive a full medical check and risk assessment before being sent to a unit and issued with prison clothing. Remandees can opt to wear their own clothing but all sentenced prisoners are required to wear prison garb. They are issued with a track-suit, T-shirts, optional denim jeans, underwear, socks and shoes if they do not have their own. Prisoners also have separate visiting attire. Prior to each visit, prisoners are given a pair of bright orange overalls which they must switch into and wear for the duration of the visit.

Summary of Units at Paparua Prison as at April 2012

UNIT	YEAR OF COMPLETION	CAPACITY	PRISONERS HOUSED THERE
Matai (former West Wing)	1918	90	High-security prisoners on voluntary segregation
Kauri (former Centre Wing)	1925	72	Remand convicted & newly sentenced prisoners undergoing initial assessment
Rawhiti (former East Wing)	1972	84	High-security prisoners
Tirohanga Paeroa	1989	60	Low-security prisoners
Paparua Unit (also known as Drug Treatment Unit)	1991	60	Prisoners undergoing the Drug Treatment Programme
Kotuku	1998	60	Low-security prisoners
Paparua Remand Centre (PRC)	1999	280	
<i>Alpha</i>		56	High-security prisoners on 'harmony agreement
<i>Bravo</i>		56	Remand convicted and sentenced prisoners
<i>Charlie</i>		56	Remand convicted
<i>Delta</i>		56	Remand accused
<i>Echo</i>		56	Remand accused
Leimon Villas	2000	16	Low-security prisoners
Youth Unit	2001	40	Remand accused, remand convicted & sentenced youths 18 and under
Te Ahuhu	2005	60	Low-security prisoners
Matapuna	2006	60	Low-security prisoners
Disaster Recovery Unit (DRU)	Approx 2006	20	Low-security prisoners on voluntary segregation

Remand

If an inmate is sent to Paparua on remand he is housed in the Paparua Remand Centre (PRC). The PRC comprises five consecutive almost identical 'pods' or separate units called Alpha, Bravo, Charlie, Delta and Echo. The pods each have a capacity of 56 (total capacity of the PRC is 280) and have a mixture of single and double cells. The units are a triangular shape with cells along two sides, the control room at the base and a common area in the centre. Adjoined to each unit is a small enclosed exercise yard. Bravo, Charlie and Delta all have a wall down the centre that splits the unit in two and allows for further classification of the inmates. Alpha is reserved for high-security sentenced prisoners but the remaining four units in the PRC are used to accommodate remand inmates. The configuration of prisoners in the four remand units is altered depending on requirements. At the time of my visit in April 2012, Bravo was housing inmates who have been convicted but are awaiting sentencing, known as remand convicted, and sentenced inmates. Remand convicted prisoners are also held in Charlie. The remand inmates who are awaiting a hearing or trial, also known as remand accused, cannot associate with remand convicted or sentenced prisoners and are therefore housed completely separately in Delta and Echo.

Remand prisoners are not offered any formal work and a selected few may have the opportunity to complete internal services such as wing cleaning. They do not have access to education or programmes and it is estimated that around 14,000 inmates each year are excluded from literacy and drug and alcohol programmes because they are on remand (Dominion 2-5-12). It should be noted that a large proportion of prisoners are on remand for a very short period so their inclusion in programmes is unfeasible. Furthermore, some remand prisoners may not require assistance with reading and writing or have drug and alcohol needs. However, some do require help in these areas and given that half of all prison releases are remands (either because once sentenced they receive a prison term which they have already served while on remand or they are given a community sentence), some offenders are returned to the community without receiving any education, work training or help for possible drug and alcohol problems. However, this may be about to change.

Early in May 2012, Corrections Minister Anne Tolley announced that the department was altering its approach so that an inmate's needs are addressed as soon as they enter prison rather than waiting until they are sentenced (Dominion 2-5-12). The department was

reviewing how best to implement a scheme that would extend rehabilitative programmes and education to inmates on remand and tenders were being accepted from education providers. Also in May 2012, as part of an initiative to increase the chances of remand prisoners gaining employment once they are released, four groups of between nine and 12 prisoners at Waikeria prison completed the Workplace First Aid course (corrections.govt.nz). The course is open to any remand prisoner at Waikeria and six more groups are expected to complete it before the end of the 2011/2012 financial year.

In 2011, 22 per cent of New Zealand prisoners were remands and in December that year remandees accounted for one quarter of Paparua's muster (AJHR 2011 E.61, pg.34; corrections.govt.nz).

High-Security

In 1914 the Prisons Department secured 1,000 acres of Templeton farmland for the erection of a new men's prison. The following year, Paparua received its first prisoners who lived in temporary wooden cell-houses while they spent their days working on the construction of the permanent concrete cell blocks and administration building. The first building to be completed was the Western cell block in 1918 and was followed by the Eastern cell block in 1925. The Western and Eastern cell blocks later became known as the West and East Wings. These two wings functioned as the entire jail for almost 50 years. In 1972, a third wing was constructed and on account of its easternmost position on the prison complex, this new facility was called the East Wing and the original East Wing was renamed Centre. West Wing remained the same. These three original wings are still fully operational today and are more commonly referred to as 'units'. Their names have also changed again. The West Wing is known as Matai, Centre is called Kauri and East is now Rawhiti.

Reflecting the era in which they were built, Matai and Kauri are basic rectangular buildings with a door at one end and external cell construction (cells along the two long exterior walls). In each of the units a dividing wall and control room split the unit into two completely separate sections, each the mirror image of the other. Matai is a high-security voluntary segregation unit housing around 90 men who feel their safety would be jeopardised if they were accommodated among mainstream prisoners. Kauri has a capacity of 72 and while

housing some remand convicted, principally serves as an assessment unit for newly sentenced prisoners. Inmates remain in Kauri while undergoing an initial security classification and their first interviews with their case manager in order to formulate their 'offender plan'. It is at this time that the offender's risk of reconviction/risk of imprisonment (RoC/RoI) is calculated and all of their information goes into the Integrated Offender Management System (IOMS). IOMS is a system which is used to record an offender's information, such as their crime, risk of reoffending and their rehabilitative needs which have been identified by their Case Manager (Newbold 2007, pg.110). Once assessment is complete, the inmate is placed in the appropriate unit according to his security classification and needs.

The antiquity of these old wings is visibly apparent on the outside and only a little less so on the inside. Their concrete block exterior contrasts starkly with the newer units surrounding them and the lack of space and natural light add to the archaic feel of these units. Accordingly, the conditions here are poorer than those in the more modern facilities. As Matai and Kauri have both single and double cells, many of the men have to share with another inmate. While the cells are fitted with toilets, the showers are located separately on the second level. Until the late 1980s, the men in these units enjoyed recreation time until 8.30 p.m. in the evening, whereas today the prisoners are unlocked from around 8.00 a.m. to 5.00 p.m. and spend 15 hours of every day in their cells (Al Wood int 22-12-11).

Employment in Matai is necessarily limited due to the fact the inmates are on protection and cannot associate with other prisoners. Some of Matai's inmates work in the prison laundry and rotated on morning and afternoon shifts (Roddy Watson int 18-1-12). As Kauri is an assessment unit, the inmates there do not work. Foundation Skills, a programme which teaches basic literacy and numeracy, is the only programme available. Unlike the inmates of the 1970s and 1980s who played in various sports teams on an open field next to the prison or took part in debating and chess clubs, recreation for Matai and Kauri prisoners today consists of a few hours each day in the small, bare concrete exercise yards adjacent to the units.

Compared with Matai and Kauri, the routine is even more stringent in the notorious Rawhiti unit, where in 1997 Rex Haig took six prison officers hostage. Rawhiti's 84 single cells are divided by a control room into 'Rawhiti one' which houses high-security inmates, some of which work in the prison kitchen, and 'Rawhiti two' which is predominantly made up of more dangerous prisoners and high-security gang members. All sentenced prisoners receive

an allowance, even if they are unemployed, and kitchen workers could earn around \$35 each week (Paul Rushton int 18-1-12). Rawhiti prisoners can also take part in a study group run by the prison's chaplains on a Wednesday morning (Chaplain A int 22-12-11). The only other opportunity the inmates have to break up their day is time in the yard which, according to an officer working in the unit, the inmates are offered for two hours in the morning and in the afternoon. Otherwise, they remain locked up.

The monotonous regime in place in these high-security units is reminiscent of the prison routine under the conservative Controller-General Bert Dallard in the 1930s and 1940s. Although, even then, the inmates could pass the days working on the farm in the fresh air so the conditions today are in fact worse. In the 1950s Secretary for Justice Sam Barnett encouraged increased association among prisoners and lockup hours were reduced as long hours of confinement, he said, "sours the spirit" (AJHR 1951 H.20, pg.13). Today, prisoners in Rawhiti could spend up to 20 hours confined in their cells.

Barnett also introduced unsupervised visits for all prisoners other than a small number who could not be trusted. As late as the 1990s, the visiting procedure was still fairly relaxed and inmates met with their friends and families under the watch of few officers. Today visits involve a rigorous routine to ensure contraband is not brought into the prison. Inmates must conduct all visits in a visiting room under the strict supervision of Corrections Officers. High and low-security inmates have their visits in separate areas and particularly problematic prisoners or those on an internal drug charges see their visitors in non-contact booths. All prisoners must change into brightly coloured overalls for visits and are strip-searched afterwards. Visitors are also subject to searches (Prison visit 4-4-12).

The last of the freer conditions and the more lax environment disappeared with Nick Smith's emphasis on security that began transforming prisons from 1997. Arguably, the focus on security was needed to contain a completely different prison population. In 1950, 14 per cent of offenders sent to prison had committed sexual, violent or other crimes against the person and only three prisoners in the country were serving non-finite or life sentences (AJHR 1951 H.20, pg.2-3). By 1980 this had risen only slightly to 17 per cent and just seven prisoners were serving life (AJHR 1981 E.5, pg.29-32). In December 2011 however, 40 per cent of prisoners were serving time for violence, 21.6 per cent for sexual offences and 733 or 11 per

cent of sentenced prisoners were serving terms of preventive detention (an indeterminate sentence with a 5 year non-parole minimum) or life imprisonment (corrections.govt.nz).

The bleakest conditions for a high-security inmate at Paparua are arguably those in the Security Block. The Security Block is a high-security unit which holds prisoners on cell-confinement or directed segregation. A prisoner might face cell-confinement if he is found guilty of an internal charge such as drug possession and directed segregation is where it is deemed necessary to remove a prisoner from association with others. While Paparua is not a maximum-security institution, the Security Block has some cells equipped to house maximum-security prisoners who may be in transit or in Christchurch for a trial. The inmates in the Security Block do not mix with any other inmates and are released into a very small individual yard attached to their cell for one to two hours each day. For the remaining 22 hours they are confined to their cell.

Prisoners with a high-security classification who for safety reasons cannot or request not to be housed with the general prison population are held in the fifth pod of the Paparua Remand Centre, known as Alpha block. In order to enter the unit, inmates must sign a 'harmony' agreement which they have to abide by.

Low-Security

The differences in the environment of the high and low-security areas of Paparua complex are striking. Tirohanga Paeroa, Paparua Unit, Kotuku, Te Ahuhu and Matapuna are all low-security 60-bedders where the cells form a square around a central outdoor area. These 60-bedders are economic to build and can be constructed relatively quickly. The Corrections Department erected a number of them throughout New Zealand prisons in response to the accommodation crisis in the 1990s. Each prisoner has his own cell and the men spend a great deal of the day unlocked, sometimes till as late as 8.30 p.m. (Al Wood int 22-12-11). If a newly sentenced prisoner receives a low-security classification he may commence his sentence in one of these units and inmates in the high-security areas can be transferred to these lower security facilities provided their classification drops and their behaviour warrants it. Former Southern Regional Manager of Prisons Paul Monk recalled occasions where men

who had spent a long period of time in the high-security units were overwhelmed by the open space and freer conditions in the low-security areas (Paul Monk int 12-4-12).

Another smaller low-security unit is the Disaster Recovery Unit (DRU) which essentially acts as an extension of Matai. The 20-bed DRU was built around 2006 in response to the potential threat posed by the H151 influenza or ‘bird-flu’ breakout in Asia in 2004 and enables isolation of infected prisoners if needed. However, when I visited Paparua, the DRU was being used to accommodate low-security voluntary segregation inmates and work is limited to garbage removal and a vegetable garden which employs five men.

The most relaxed conditions at Paparua are probably those in the Leimon Villas. The Leimon Villas are four house-like units that accommodate four low-security prisoners in a flatting-type situation. These arrangements are intended to teach the men independent living skills by letting them organise their own cooking, cleaning and weekly food budgets (corrections.govt.nz). Principal Corrections Officer Al Wood, who has been at Paparua for more than 23 years, was one of the first staff members to work in the Leimon Villas when they were established in 2000. In my interview with Wood he explained that at the time, the idea of prisoners living in ‘flats’ rather than cells seemed ludicrous and “was so foreign from what we’d been doing”. As part of the prisoners’ reintegration, the men in the villas are taken grocery shopping and Wood recalled one particular supermarket excursion that went horribly wrong. On this occasion, Wood escorted five inmates from the villas to Countdown in Church Corner, Christchurch to do their weekly shopping. As four of them went about filling the trolley with groceries, one prisoner, who had not laid eyes on anything but the inside of Paparua for the last ten years, panicked and with fists clenched over the trolley handle, he froze in the middle of the aisle. Wood coaxed the frightened prisoner back to the van and the shopping trip was aborted (Al Wood int 22-12-11). Arguably, Wood’s story emphasises the importance of assisting prisoners back into the community and demonstrates how daunting release can be for offenders who have known nothing but jail for a large portion of their lives.

Low-security inmates have a lot more choice of work than the prisoners in high-security units and are not limited to domestic duties. In November 2011, three purpose-built workshops were completed to offer inmates training that could be used in the rebuild of Christchurch (Christchurch Press 16-11-11). The workshops have six 17-week courses and three seven-week courses in plumbing, roofing, drain-laying, painting and decorating and automotive

engineering, all of which are run by the Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology (CPIT). The courses can each take 16 inmates which primarily come from Tirohanga Paeroa and Kotuku units. Some prisoners from Kotuku also work in the prison's engineering workshop which at the time of my visit involved the refurbishing of metal skips. Some men from Kotuku and the Leimon Villas carry out grounds maintenance which includes lawn mowing around the complex and down the prison's entrance road.

Low-security prisoners also have far better access to programmes. For example, some inmates in Te Ahuhu are housed in the unit simply because they have a low security status however most undergo a therapeutic programme called the Medium Intensity Rehabilitation Programme (MIRP). The MIRP is a programme for male offenders with rehabilitative needs, excluding sex-offenders, and a medium risk of reoffending. The programme is run in groups for 10 hours a week over 13 weeks and is designed to help inmates alter the attitudes and behaviour that lead to their offending and look at ways to make positive changes (Bill Moore int 23-12-11).

Those low-security prisoners serving longer terms and eligible for the rehabilitation programmes are in Matapuna which is connected to Te Ahuhu. Matapuna became a dedicated Special Treatment Unit (STU) in March 2010 and is the only STU in the South Island. Men in other southern region institutions who become eligible may be transferred to Matapuna. The two programmes run are the Adult Sex Offender Treatment Programme (ASOTP) and Special Treatment Unit Rehabilitation Programme (STURP). STURP is a high-intensity nine month programme but with the initial assessment process it can take more than 12 months to complete. The prisoners take part in group sessions and are worked with individually by a team of dedicated staff that includes five psychologists and three therapists. One of the staff members I spoke with in Matapuna said that STURP has a fairly high completion rate.

Paparua Unit is also known as the Drug Treatment Unit (DTU) and runs a 6 month group-based therapeutic programme for prisoners who need help with drug and alcohol related issues. Throughout the programme, inmates learn about addiction and the impacts their behaviour is having on other people (corrections.govt.nz).

The Youth Unit

Paparua has a dedicated unit for young offenders which is one of three around the country. Youth Units were first established by the Department of Corrections in 1999 in an attempt to prevent the bullying of young offenders (Bill Moore int 23-12-11). Paparua's Youth Unit opened in 2001 with 30 high and 10 low-security beds. Any offender under the age of 18 sentenced to Paparua will be automatically housed in the Youth Unit. Once the inmate turns 18 or 19, a Prison Youth Vulnerability Scale (PYVS) is used to assess their susceptibility to bullying. If the PYVS shows that the prisoner's safety might be at risk if they are moved to an adult unit, he may remain in the Youth Unit.

The Youth Unit has a full-time education tutor and the New Zealand Career College administer an automotive training course which has its own full-time instructor. There is also a woodwork shop, so the prisoners can choose between automotive and carpentry training.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has chronicled the almost 100 years of developments and events at Paparua prison, an undertaking neglected until now. Consequently, a significant gap in the literature on New Zealand corrections has been attended to.

What is clear from this research is that Paparua is a good example of a prison responding to the social conditions of the day. That the land designated for its construction was 1,000 acres of farmland, signals the importance of the agricultural industry in New Zealand at that time. More importantly, it illustrates the rural ethic of early 20th century New Zealand, that was founded on the perceived therapeutic merits of hearty outdoor work. As the country descended into economic crisis in the 1930s, prisons remained largely untouched until a zealous penal reformer took charge of the prison system in the 1950s. International events such as the social movements of the 1960s, the proliferation of New Zealand gangs and the increase in and changing profile of crime have shifted the culture at Paparua and motivated some of the changes to the prison. The prison environment is also subject to a measure of politics. Major physical and operational modifications at Paparua at the turn of the millennium were a reflex to heightened inmate rebellion but also reflected the ideas of the person at the head of New Zealand corrections and how he thought prisons ought to be run.

Evidently, there is no one set of factors that have informed this evolution of Paparua. It is the complex relationship between a number of social and political forces which are sensitive to other factors such as public opinion, shifts in attitudes toward prisoners, the economic climate and offending patterns and international developments.

While it is difficult to predict Paparua's course for the future, this thesis has shown the range of factors operating at the inmate, community and political levels likely to be behind the way in which it is developing.

Appendix 1

Superintendents and Managers of Paparua Prison

Superintendents

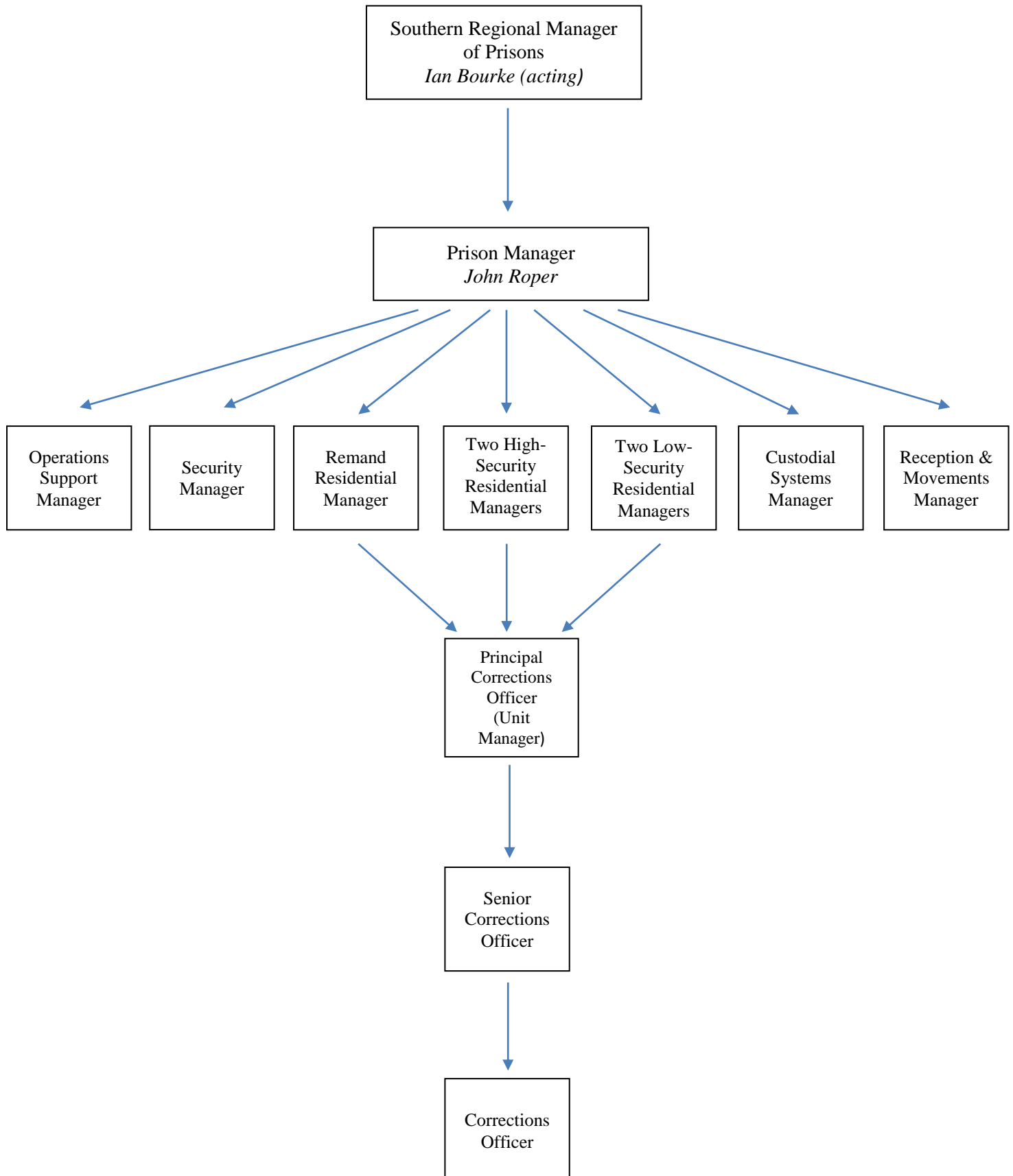
J. Dwyer	1915 - Unknown
William Thomas Leggett	Unknown - 1937
Charles Edward Spittal	1937 - 1946
C. E. Harrington	1946 - Unknown
R. Pearson	Tenure Unknown
Edward Buckley	1956 - 1963
Miles C. Carew	1963 - 1969
Jim Cruse	1969 - 1973
Humphrey Stroud	1973 - 1984
Charlie Hood	1984 - 1985
Mitch Leimon	1985 - 1987
Denis Pashley	1987 - Unknown
John Kirton	Tenure Unknown

Managers

Tony Spencer	Unknown - 1997
Paul Rushton	1997 - 2008
John Roper	2008 - Current

Appendix 2

Organisational Hierarchy at Paparua Prison



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