

Ensuring a safe environment: a conflict centred strategy

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Ensuring a safe environment: A conflict-centred strategy

Someone in prison told me that they were placed in a cell with a person known to harm themselves often. For the three weeks they were together, the cellmate did not self-harm once. Then they were separated and that night, the other person cut her arm. My informant explained that when she first entered the cell, she warned her new cellmate: “If you try anything like that, I’ll batter you.”

Our interpretations of this story were diametrically opposed. She meant that preventing undesirable behaviour requires threats that are tough and real. I would have said that being forced to share a cell with someone threatening violence was very distressing and contributed to the eventual self harm.

This woman is not alone in her belief that threats are effective drivers of socially acceptable behaviour. I found the same set of values in young men who believed that if they disagreed with someone, the best solution was to fight about it. But the basic regime in prisons is also a threat: if you misbehave, you will lose visits, wages, your tv, and possibly delay your release.

The theme of this paper is that the most effective strategies to prevent prison violence are based on resolving conflicts among people in prison before they escalate.

I will draw on international standards and empirical evidence from England and Wales. I will contrast two models for violence reduction and try to show that one is unlikely to be effective and may well add to the risk of violence, while the other, though largely untested, has good empirical support.

Traditional strategies are based on security, discipline and control.

Traditional methods of reducing violence rely on:

- Treating violence as rule-breaking
- Punishing those who engage in fights and assaults
- Targeting prevention at those whom staff have identified as aggressive
- Separating perpetrators from victims.

All of these measures are reactive; therefore, we should be sceptical about claims that they provide the basis for effective prevention.

Traditional	Conflict-centred
Fighters/assailants punished	Conflicts analysed & causes identified
Staff identify aggressive prisoners	Staff use dynamic security in peacekeeping role
Perpetrators are separated from victims	Opportunities are provided to resolve differences
Prevention is targeted on identified aggressors	Managing conflicts is a shared responsibility
Intelligence is tightly controlled by security	Prisoners' perspectives are welcomed

Ross Homel and Carleen Thompson reviewed research on prison violence and concluded:

... the more coercive the prison environment the greater the potential for violence. This is especially so where the prison management and treatment of prisoners are perceived by prisoners

as illegitimate, as this strengthens prisoner solidarity in opposition to the authorities.

There are several reasons why over-reliance on punishment is unlikely to prevent violence:

1 A punitive system sets prisoners and staff in opposition.

Punishment is an expression of power, and – as the quote above illustrates – coercive methods tend to inspire resistance. A prison officer's professionalism is based on their people skills: getting to know the individuals on the wing, as well as modelling social behaviour.

As Sarah Tait described the officers' role, they:

“deployed their personal authority and legitimate power to maintain order, recognising that prisoners who felt safe felt cared for and that responding to prisoners' needs was integral to keeping the peace.”

Their role model function is currently being put at risk by a trial of arming officers with incapacitant spray. Providing officers with weapons is counter-productive to prison safety - but also to the personal safety of the officers themselves – because it aggravates tensions between officers and prisoners and undermines the fragile trust which is essential to a stable, well-ordered prison.

2. Punishment is arbitrary.

This is a strong statement, so here is some evidence. Shocking as they are, the statistics on assaults in prison are just the tip of the iceberg. They are only those incidents which have been detected by staff, taken to an adjudication, and resulted in a guilty finding. My research – and others – shows that these incidents represent approximately one in eight of the violent incidents that occur. Most people who have been found guilty for a violent incident know many others who have carried out an assault which was not detected. (This does not mean we should not punish violent behaviour when it is proven).

3. Prison discipline highlights a lack of knowledge about causes of violence.

I interviewed officers who responded to fights and assaults. Only about one in three could accurately describe the background circumstances. Less than one in five said that they had any security intelligence that could have helped them to predict that it would happen.

More recently, the prison service has developed a violence diagnostic tool, which records known evidence about fights and assaults. In 2015, the question ‘Was there an apparent reason for the assault?’ was answered for only 28%.

4. Security tends to label individuals, rather than manage behaviour. By traditional violence reduction methods, officers identify violent individuals and target measures on them. Labelling individuals has two serious flaws: First, it misses the majority of perpetrators. By the prison service’s own data, 80% of assaults are carried out by people who had not previously been violent in prison. This labelling inevitably leads to double standards in sanctioning harmful behaviour and undermines the credibility of prison staff.

An inspection report summarised that prison’s violence reduction policy:

Adjudications, downgrading prisoners to the basic regime, referrals to the police and separating those in conflict were the main responses to violence.”

Second, mutual victimisation is very common prior to fights or assaults. In a study of prison fights and assaults, 78% described mutual victimisation – including verbal abuse and mutual threats - prior to the use of force. The

high overlap between victims and perpetrators means that the identification of perpetrators is often inaccurate.

Violence seen as the culmination of conflict

A conflict-centred strategy provides a fresh alternative to the dependence on security and discipline to reduce violence. Prison violence - fights and assaults - is the culmination of conflicts arising between prisoners. Thus, to prevent violence, the strategy must focus on recognising conflicts, understanding how they escalate, changing the structural contributors, and knowing how to intervene.

Penny was sitting alone on the landing. Behind her were Kay and a mate. Penny heard Kay make a rude remark about Penny's cellmate. She stood up and told Kay to shut up. Kay denied she had said anything rude. She told Penny to shut up. Penny became verbally abusive. They stood facing each other, two inches apart. Penny was furious. She saw Kay's hands, about to grab her.

This sequence illustrates how interactions between prisoners escalate into fights or assaults.

Building on what is known about conflict in prisons, four themes help to explain where violence comes from:

- Structure: environmental factors
- Relationships
- Tactics
- Purposes

Structure –

Limited access to goods and services in prisons creates competition among prisoners. When the Prison Reform Trust were asked to consult prisoners about violence, one group observed that when shop prices increase by 10% but wages stay the same you should expect more fights

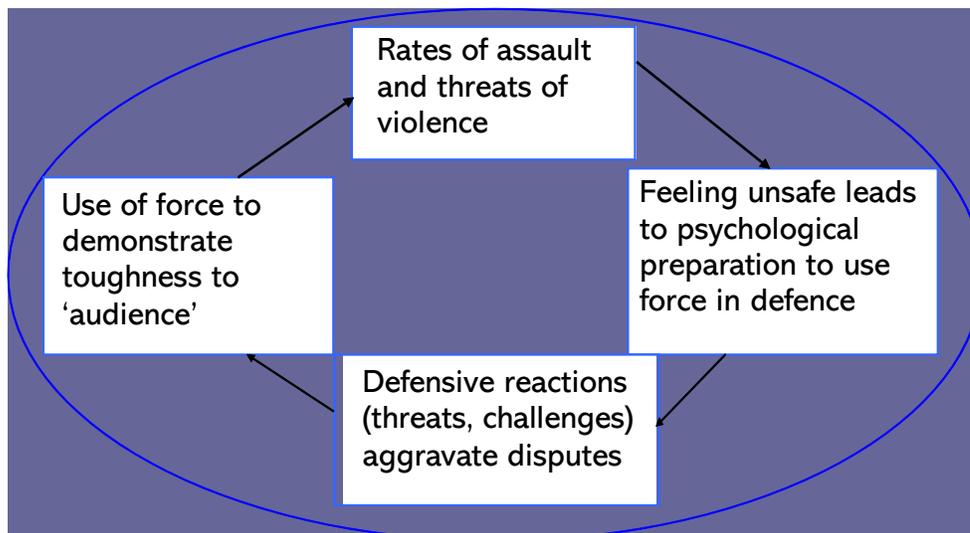
and assaults. Similarly, if a phone is out of order on a wing, it's likely that disputes will arise.

Symbols can enhance or undermine safety. For example, a poster warning people about weapons can give the impression that most others are armed and encourage some to obtain a weapon. Similarly, when officers use force in reaction to non-compliance, some prisoners will take away a lesson that force is a legitimate response when someone is being unreasonable.

The environment also shapes responses to conflict. The risk of being exploited by someone taking advantage is a widespread concern.

Cycles of violence: danger

How prisoners deal with their fears for their personal safety increases the likelihood that fights and assaults will result



The 2004 version of the violence reduction prison service order (2750) stated:

“The risk of being victimised, for example by theft of property, verbal/racist abuse, fraud, creates the conditions in which prisoners might be tempted to use violence to defend their interests.”

Kate Gooch’s research describes how victimisation escalates into violence. If officers do not protect people from extortion, intimidation, and robbery, many people will conclude that they need to use force for their own protection.

Relationships –

The most common situations resulting in violence are power contests, conflicts where two people feel threatened by the other. Each one tries to hurt the other through verbal abuse and intimidation to try to force the other to back down. Both parties are sensitive to the risk of being dominated and the basis of the conflict becomes this contest for power over the opponent. A key feature of power contests is that victimisation is always mutual. Each side insults, threatens, challenges, verbally abuses or physically intimidates the other.

A high turnover of people inevitably means that when disputes arise, those involved are less familiar with each other, less able to spot triggers of aggression, and less likely to be motivated to maintain respectful relations.

Tactics –

Tactics used in prison disputes tend to escalate rather than resolve conflicts. Behaviour such as threats or accusations frequently precede the use of force and is often reciprocal. A Prison Service study in 2003 found:

Of those who reported being victims of negative behaviours, considerably more were likely to have used these behaviours against others compared with those who had never been a victim.

Purposes –

Some of the main motivations to resort to physical force are: to demonstrate toughness, to punish the other, or to resolve a conflict.

Prisoners who use force to demonstrate their toughness fear that others will consider them weak and vulnerable. Their aim is to establish a reputation that might protect them from harms like extortion or robbery. Their violence is intended to be public. One young man explained:

If it wasn't for the other inmates, we wouldn't have fought. Most prison fights aren't about being angry. They're about what other inmates will think of you if you don't fight.

Among young offenders, a common purpose was to settle their differences. One young offender said of the conflict leading up to a fight:

Talking, talking – I was getting tired of this. We had to settle this, we had to have a fight.

Fights to settle differences were often scheduled by prior agreement.

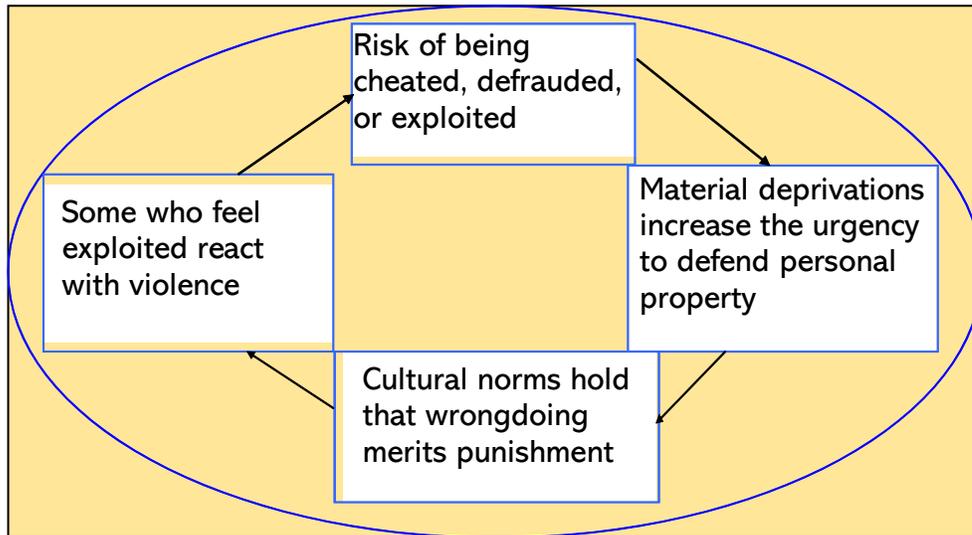
Some prisoners used force as punishment, for example, in reaction to 'grassing', cell theft, or defaulting on a debt. The use of force to punish a prisoner who had broken a code of behaviour was most common among women prisoners.

Sara and Kate learned that Mary had informed on them. Sara threatened her; then, later, Kate assaulted Mary. Sara explained:

She'd grassed people up. She broke the worst rule ever. If you let someone get away with it, it is telling others it is no problem. You got to be seen doing something. She has got to pay for it.

Cycles of violence: private justice

The risk of assault is increased by the belief that violence is the expected response to being wronged or exploited



Current examples of conflict resolution

From this foundation in understanding the causes of violence, an effective strategy can be devised, and the standard practices prisons rely on can change. The prison service can begin by building on the pioneering work, already underway, to apply conflict resolution in prison.

Luke Roberts is working with Young Offender Institutions and Secure Training Centres to develop their resources for resolving conflicts with young people. Approximately 20 designated conflict resolution prison officers have been trained in conflict resolution teams across the Youth Estate. Officers on the wings are empowered to deal with immediate situations. But they can refer disputes that are more intense, or longer in development, to the conflict resolution teams.

Luke's work takes a systems approach which focuses on resolving conflict, in part because officers immediately understand that they manage conflict every day and that preventing fights draws on their skills in managing conflict. He was asked to be the Subject Matter Specialist on Conflict Resolution at the MOJ to advise six prisons for adults on diagnosing their systems which contribute to violence. He is developing a model with two adult prisons where staff and prisoners co-facilitate conflict resolution.

HMP Durham has trained over 50 officers in conflict resolution and restorative justice practice. Michael Hogg, the co-lead for safety, said their approach has "provided the Violence Reduction Team with an intervention that we can and have used to resolve conflict, and in most cases to prevent incidents from reoccurring or even escalating - which is primarily what most prisoners desire too."

However, he added that a recent safer custody audit scored the prison's violence reduction efforts quite low and did not see a decrease in violence levels. This could be because training needs time to bed in and influence the culture on the wings. Further the audit was unlikely to take into account the impact on violence levels of a change of function, to a remand prison. However, it means that there is no guarantee the efforts invested in conflict management will be sustained.

In HMP Dartmoor, a voluntary sector specialising in non-violent communication has trained prisoners and staff in conflict resolution. To date, they have mediated in over 10 disputes.

In HMYOI Brinsford, LEAP Confronting Conflict runs a Peaceful Prisons Project, providing training in managing conflict to both officers and young men. LEAP has worked in over a dozen prisons.

At HMP Hewell, there is a wing run on restorative justice principles. Clifford Grimason, the lead, has developed a peer mediation scheme – trained peers who work on conflicts both between prisoners and between them and officers.

In Humberside, Styal, Lowdham Grange and others, Remedi is applying lessons from its restorative justice work in communities to prison conflicts.

However, these are piecemeal examples against the backdrop of a system where the norm is to rely on punishment, separation, targeting, and security. Conflict management must play a central, more established role.

Principles for resolving conflicts in prison settings

The groundwork for a policy to place conflict management at the centre of prison governance already exists in various forms, including international instruments and the prisons inspectorate. The main international source is the Nelson Mandela Rules – or the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisons. I will try to bring some of these together.

1. Analyse the prison as a conflict-generating environment.

Safe prisons meet the basic human needs of prison staff and prisoners, which include a measure of privacy, a structure to the day, support and emotional feedback, activity and the freedom to make real choices. When people feel that their basic human needs are being met, destructive conflicts are less likely to happen.

The Inter-American Commission for Human Rights, in its Resolution 1/08 records that:

“ . . . for the State to be able to effectively ensure prisoners’ rights it must exercise effective control over the prisons. In other words, the State should take charge of . . . maintaining security inside and outside the prison; providing the basic goods and services necessary for the prisoners’ lives; and preventing crime from being committed in or from prisons.”

2. The officers' peacekeeping roles are vital.

Officers play two main roles: dynamic security, which enables them to recognise conflicts before they escalate; and enforcing prison rules, challenging the anti-social behaviour that fuels violence. Dynamic security was described in a House of Commons Justice Select Committee report as follows:

“The main foundation of a safe prison is dynamic security, established through consistent personal contact between officers and prisoners, enabling staff to understand individual prisoners and therefore anticipate risky situations and prevent violence.”

In the Nelson Mandela Rules, number 76 sets out a programme for officer training which recommends that such training should include:

“Security and safety, including the concept of dynamic security, the use of force and instruments of restraint, and the management of violent offenders, with due consideration of preventive and defusing techniques, such as negotiation and mediation;”

The prison service can nurture officers' peacekeeping skills by providing training that helps them to recognise potentially volatile situations as they arise; to know the circumstances in which it would be helpful to intervene; and to deal with conflict so that their input is not counter-productive. But the prison service also needs to ensure that staff are present in sufficient numbers and with enough consistency to allow them to intervene.

Officers' peacekeeping skills include:

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- early intervention to manage inmates' disputes by focusing on the interests, values and needs at stake
 - improving communication between the parties
 - searching for options for win-win outcomes
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As for challenging anti-social behaviour, early intervention by officers, before harmful behaviour escalates into violence, is far more likely to reduce the costs of running prisons than staff reacting with force to violent incidents after they occur. A good test of how safe a prison is, is the extent to which all staff understand that their duty is to confront unacceptable behaviour consistently.

The prisons inspectorate's expectations recognise that victimisation can lead to fights or assaults, as two indicators show:

Staff supervise prisoners, confront unacceptable behaviour and are consistent in challenging these behaviours; and:

Staff have the necessary training and skills to promote positive and supportive relationships, and to consistently identify and challenge problematic behaviour.

This shows that discipline can make a crucial contribution to conflict management. Viewed through this lens, the role of discipline is to enhance safety by setting the boundaries of acceptable behaviour.

For example, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights includes in its checklist for safety that prisons must:

“Effectively prevent the presence of weapons, drugs, alcohol, and other substances and objects forbidden by law, by means of regular searches and inspections, and by using technological and other appropriate methods, including searches to personnel;”

The Nelson Mandela Rules provide clear guidance about maintaining discipline in Rule 36:

“Discipline and order shall be maintained with no more restriction than is necessary to ensure safe custody, the secure operation of the prison and a well-ordered community life.”

Hidden in this is the lesson that the purpose of prison discipline is to ensure safety.

3. Prisoners' interests in a safe prison can be encouraged.

In HMP Oakwood a Basic Intervention Group negotiates with men on basic or in segregation, many of whom have been involved with violence. They agree on a plan to reintegrate the person, often involving reparation to the community of prisoners. The scheme was set up by serving prisoners.

In 2016, PRT facilitated working groups of prisoners to analyse the causes of violence and provide managers with recommendations. Our report, *A Different Lens* described how these active citizens panels worked. One suggested that the prison could set aside a 'time-out room', where people could get help to resolve disputes. The other provided ideas about how to reduce debt, and proposed a monthly meeting with safety reps.

'You get anger in other prisons. You walk past another con and you feel the anger welling up. Soon you feel that with every other prisoner. You feel the tension all of the time. Here, you bring it up in the wing meeting, and settle it.'

In principle, conflict resolution is inclusive – peace which is imposed by might is inherently fragile. Engaging prisoners in managing conflict is difficult, but essential, as prisoners have privileged knowledge of many of the underlying causes of violence.

Working with prisoners requires:

Mechanisms for resolving conflicts among prisoners are a standard resource across the estate, permanently funded, and easily accessed by all.

Non-violent responses by prisoners are rewarded.

Prisoners' skills in responding to conflict are developed.

4. Rebuild trust.

Prisoners want to be safe; officers want to be safe; governors want a safe environment. Given this shared interest, why is there not more cooperation in making it happen?

A basic requirement of working together is trust. Exploring the role that trust and distrust play in prisons is currently the subject of research by Alison Liebling and colleagues, so the following thoughts are tentative:

A lack of trust hinders progress on resolving conflict. Trust (and distrust) are reciprocal: where one group expresses distrust, it raises suspicions in the other.

When staff don't trust prisoners, they control information (prisoners are denied explanations for reasons of 'security'); officers over-use punishment; and prisoners become less willing to confide in them. As a result, officers rarely hear about a conflict until it is too late.

In parallel, prisoners often deliberately withhold information about a conflict. This can be because of the stigma of 'grassing'. But some fights and assaults (the proportion varies among prisons) arise from criminal or illicit activity. Examples include trading at extortionate interest rates, drug dealing, putting pressure on others to bring in contraband, and cell theft. These provide staff with good reason to distrust prisoners, but they also increase levels of distrust among prisoners.

What can governors do to build trust?

Trustworthy motives –

One principle of procedural justice is 'trustworthy motives'. The prison service needs to show prisoners that its aims respect prisoners' legitimate interests. When it is clear that the primary purpose of discipline is to ensure that all prisoners are safe, more prisoners will feel confident that their treatment is fair and legitimate.

Traditional strategies undermine this trust when they are based on threats, labelling, disproportionate use of force, and failing to recognise the role that neglect for people's basic human needs plays in causing conflict. A preliminary finding of Alison Liebling's research in two prisons is that, "Both approached internal security as an end in itself rather than as a means to social order." Conversely, officers could show 'intelligent trust':

"The best forms of trust were used as a way to connect with an individual or facilitate growth. They included getting to know prisoners, finding their talents and strengths, encouraging them to explore new avenues, and giving them (often creatively found) opportunities to demonstrate trustworthiness."

Voice –

A second principle of procedural justice, hearing the voice of staff and prisoners, is another important tool for inspiring trust and achieving safety.

Saferworld, a UK charity, works in countries in conflict to rebuild and strengthen civil society. While these situations are not an exact match of unsafe prisons, the wall of mutual distrust can be similar. Saferworld focuses on the needs of marginalised people for personal security. For example, in Bangladesh, they consulted young people, who explained the links between widespread unemployment and social unrest.

By listening to the voice of people on the receiving end of authorities' activities, the organisation encourages increased trust between communities and authorities. Saferworld advocates a three-way collaboration among authorities ('security providers') and the communities they serve facilitated by the third sector.

“Relationship(s) of trust must be built up where security providers feel that civil society inputs are constructive and useful, allowing civil society organisations to make careful critiques of the way security providers and authorities operate without fear of endangering the overall relationship. Empowering communities to articulate their security concerns and supporting appropriate security responses is a critical and often overlooked part of promoting security and access to justice.”

(My emphasis).

5. Conflict resolution should be embedded in prison governance.

A safe prison is not one in which there are no disagreements but one in which people feel they can trust each other to work out their disagreements without needing to use force.

Most prisons lack options for prisoners who seek non-violent ways of resolving differences. Where a prison fails to provide wing forums, trained, impartial mediators, violence reduction reps, or formal opportunities to negotiate conflict resolution, disputes among prisoners are more likely to result in a fight or assault.

Ron Weibe, a former prison governor in Canada, described a shift in management:

‘In the old models under the authority structure, conflicts were usually generated by persons who resisted the authority, for whatever reason. You had to use all kinds of disciplinary measures to ensure that people adhered to authority. Now, the skill is to manage conflict in a way that people can actually get together, agree and bring things to a middle ground. Of course, this involves a wholly different set of skills.’

Nelson Mandela Rule 38(1) states that:

Prison administrations are encouraged to use, to the extent possible, conflict prevention, mediation or any other alternative dispute resolution mechanism to prevent disciplinary offences or to resolve conflicts.

The prisons inspectorate looks for:

Interventions ... aimed at achieving sustained and agreed changes in behaviour and include mediation and conflict resolution.

Conclusion

The prison service should ensure that conflict resolution guides its violence prevention strategy and is standard operational practice.

Embedding conflict resolution means establishing structures that enable management and staff to bring conflicts to light and working with prisoners to try to find solutions. Governors need to be resourceful in trying to learn from prisoners what their main concerns are about. For example, they might use a prisoner council to raise and resolve some of the basic, structural conflicts in the prison.

Safety is an essential requirement of an effective and humane penal system. Reducing violence is a huge and complex challenge. Analysing conflict reveals the underlying causes of fights and assaults and provides dynamic and effective tools for managing prisons. Conflict resolution can refine violence reduction strategies and empower governors, officers and prisoners in their efforts to make prisons safer.

Thanks for contributions from: Peter Dawson, Clifford Grimason, Mick Hogg, and Luke Roberts.

Appendix – stories of conflict

Power contest

Brad	Tommy
<p>I'm in the food queue. I get a smashed ice cream.</p>	<p>I'm on the servery. A new guy, Brad, comes in; takes a lolly.</p>
<p>I ask the servery lad, 'Could you change this for me please, bro?' He just stares. I look for a reply.</p>	<p>He comes back, demands to change it. I say no. The officer says no.</p>
<p>Servery lad shouts 'No!' still staring at me.</p>	<p>The new guy turns to other servery bloke & says, 'You better tell him to do what I tell him.'</p>
<p>I say, 'I ain't no dickhead.' I walk away to overnight bang-up.</p>	<p>Evening bang-up – Brad goes back to Induction. I think about it over night.</p>
<p>I come out for breakfast, go to the servery. The lad is in front of the servery, looking for trouble.</p>	<p>In the morning, I am at the hot plate. Brad comes in, looks at me, a dirty look.</p>
<p>He is staring at me. I look at him and laugh.</p>	<p>I say, 'Why you running up your mouth?'</p>
<p>I walk away. He hits me in the back of the head.</p>	<p>He is mouthy back.</p>
<p>I turn round and we start rucking.</p>	<p>I go to walk away, but I walk back and hit him.</p>
<p>A screw steps in and stops fight.</p>	<p>Officers come and break it up.</p>

Intentions: Brad

Q. Why do you think he was staring?

A. Testing me. He was trying to intimidate me.

Q. Why did you laugh?

A. It was to show him that his looks do not scare me at all.

Intentions: Tommy

Q. Why do you think he appealed to the other worker?

A. He was trying to put me down, like he's higher than me.

Q. In the morning, what did you want to achieve?

A. Show him I'm not an idiot.

Demonstration of toughness

<p>Darren</p> <p>I come down to kit change and asked for two towels because I'd left one in the shower the day before. Bloke on kit change says no, only one towel, one for one. I explain that the officer said ok, you can have one, but kit change still argues.</p> <p>He then threw the towel over and the other kit change bloke leans over towards me – I knew he was going to say something – swear or something.</p> <p>I don't know where it came from but I just smacked him on the side of the face with my open hand. That's not like me and I was surprised that I did it.</p> <p>The officer told me to go back to my cell.</p>	<p>Ben</p> <p>I'm doing kit change with Johnny. An inmate comes up who I don't know and asks for an extra towel.</p> <p>He and Johnny have an argument about the towel. I'm handing out the clean kit and I intervened on Johnny's behalf. I asked the officer if he could have another one and he said no.</p> <p>I leaned forward to tell the inmate to bugger off and as I did he slapped me and took me completely by surprise. Then he ran off and the officer ran after him and grabbed him and took him down the block.</p>
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Intentions and consequences: Darren

Q. What did you expect the kit change guy to do when he leaned forward?

A. *I was intimidated by the way he leant towards me – I knew he was going to say something smart – it was nerves, too. It happened so quick.*

Q. What were you trying to stop by slapping him?

A. *Being a big man and embarrassing me. I didn't want him to put me down. I don't like that. You can't allow it in here – you really can't. It causes bullying and everything.*

Intentions and consequences: Ben

Q. What do you think he wanted to achieve by slapping you?

A. *Nothing. It got him nicked. Maybe the way Johnny talked to him wound him up.*

Q. What might you have done to prevent the slap?

A. *Give him another towel.*

Punishment

Charlene

Dana stole something from my friend (drugs) – she was clucking. A couple of days go by. Then she got me put on closed visits. She and I were talking and something I told her, officers got to know about and only she knew.

I made my mind up – I was going to get her. I saw her the next day at dinner, but I held it down and everything. It seemed to me she knew what she'd done but at the time officers were with her and I knew I couldn't get to her to hit her enough.

At association I saw her – I hadn't thought about it again till I saw her. She was sitting by the tv. I stayed for about an hour. I walked over to where she was and I hit her. I punched her about five times – hard, on the face. Officers rang the bell. They came over to me and tried to twist me up.

Dana

Monday morning: I didn't pass on something I was supposed to. The woman that gave it to me, I told her what I'd done. She said, 'That's it – you've made an enemy out of me now'.

Then the girl that hit me called me a grass in front of the wing. I shit myself – I was really scared.

Nothing happened for about two weeks – except for a few jibes to other people, 'Don't talk to her, she's a grass' - that sort of thing.

Then on association she walked past me and pointed to me and said, 'Because of her I'm on closed visits and I'm going to smash her face in'. I was sitting watching tv. She just came up to me and hit me a few times in the face.

<u>Intentions and consequences: Charlene</u>	<u>Intentions and consequences: Dana</u>
<p>Q. What were you trying to achieve by doing this? A. <i>Teach her a lesson.</i></p>	<p>Q. What do you think she was trying to achieve? A. <i>Status.</i></p>
<p>Q. What did it actually do? A. <i>She hasn't done it since.</i></p>	<p>Q. What did it actually do? A. <i>Nothing. I apologised for taking the drugs in the first place. What more can I do?</i></p>
<p>Q. At what point do you think the situation actually became violent? A. <i>In the association room.</i></p>	<p>Q. What could you have done that might have prevented the violence? A. <i>I couldn't have done nothing.</i></p>
<p>Q. At what point could you have done something that might have prevented the violence? A. <i>I could have threatened her at any time.</i></p>	<p>Q. At what point could she have done something that might have prevented the violence? A. <i>She wouldn't. I think that's what she wanted anyway.</i></p>
<p>Q. Could she have done something that might have prevented the violence? A. <i>Not done it at all. But, after that, there was nothing she could have done.</i></p>	<p>A. When did violence become inevitable? A. <i>It didn't have to happen.</i></p>

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