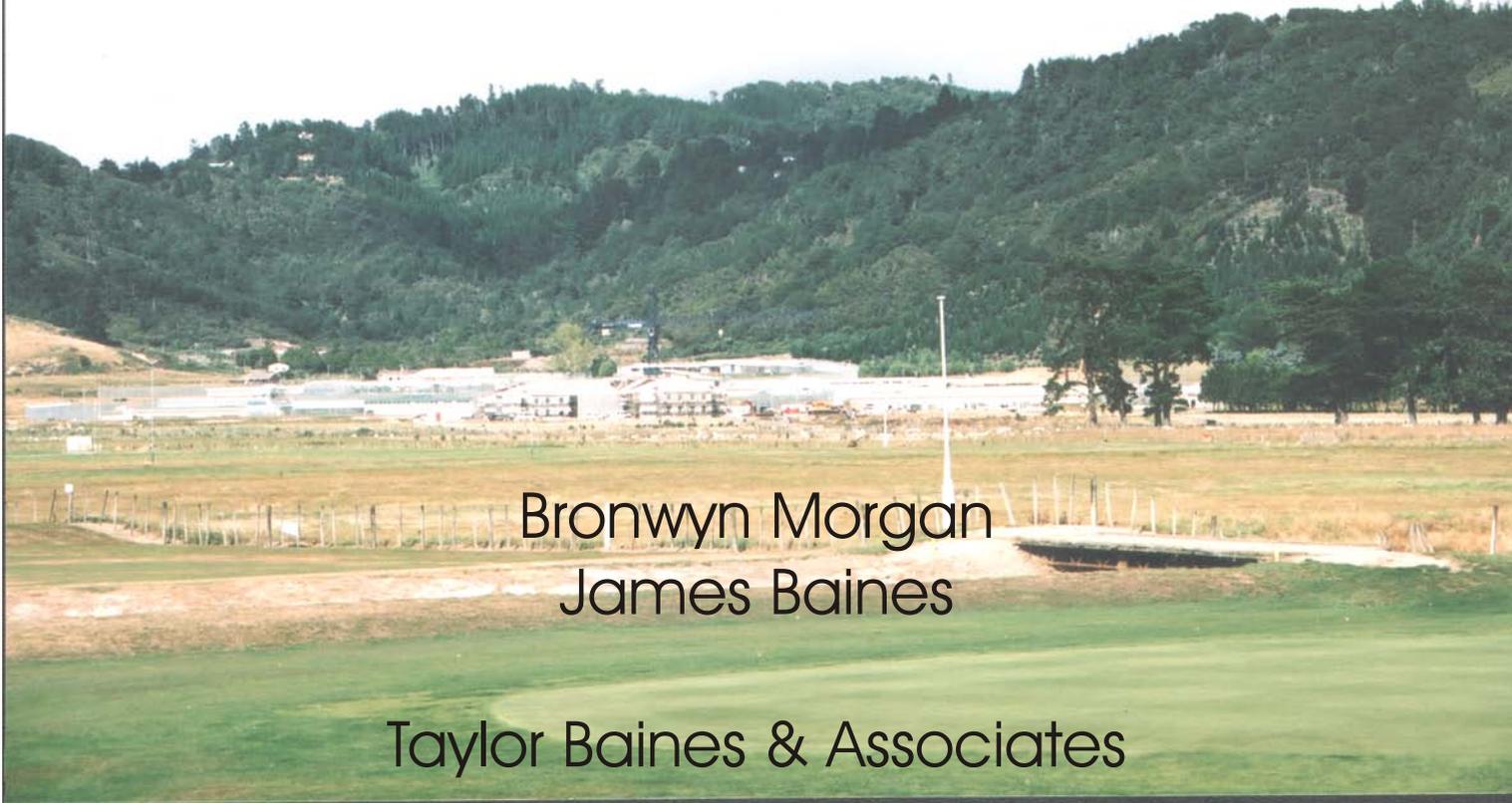# Host Communities:
siting and effects of facilities

A Sector Review of
New Zealand's Prison Facilities

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Acknowledgements

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A: Introduction

This report contributes to social research being undertaken by Taylor Baines & Associates on the siting and social impacts of various facility types on their host communities. This facility research has been contracted by the Foundation for Research Science and Technology, and is being funded out of the Public Good Science Fund.

The need for research into the siting and social impacts of various facility types is highlighted by the varied but often negative response from host communities to the siting of certain facilities. Examining siting issues and identifying the social impacts experienced by host communities will provide empirical information that is presently in short supply in New Zealand. This information can be used to encourage:

- thorough assessments of effects,
- greater community participation in the siting process,
- more equitable and better-informed planning decisions,
- the development of effective relationships between facility providers and host communities, and
- improved ongoing management of facilities.

This in turn will further develop the effects based approach to resource management and planning embodied in the Resource Management Act 1991.

This report sets the scene for research into the siting of prisons in New Zealand and the social impacts experienced by their host communities. Prison facilities have been included in Taylor Baines's facility research as prison sitings are often met with resistance and expressions of concern over the impact that they may have on their host communities[1]. Rising inmate numbers and a lack of accommodation in New Zealand also suggests a substantial growth in prison facilities in the near future. The aim of this research is therefore to assess the social impacts that existing New Zealand prisons have had on their host communities. Such an assessment will assist the Department of Corrections, host communities, territorial authorities, and other professionals involved in the siting of future prison facilities and the management of existing and future prison facilities.

There are three stages involved in this prison research:

1) a **Sector Review**
- summarises   - the Department of Correction's prisons policy,
              - New Zealand's national prison facilities,
              - the Department of Correction's prison siting policy,
- reviews   - national and international prison social impact literature

2) an *Historical Analysis*
- examines   - selected prison facilities and the changes to these over the last 15 years
              - their corresponding host communities and changes to these over the last 15 years

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[1]   The literature identifies this phenomenon as a NIMBY (not in my backyard) reaction to a LULU (locally unwanted land use) (Schichor 1992; Martin 2000).

3) and *Case Studies*
- examine   - the actual experiences of selected host communities, including the social and environmental effects associated with the siting of prisons.

The term '*host community*' employed throughout this prison facility research, refers to:

> the community resident in the geographic area most clearly associated with the prison facility. This geographic area may be defined by the prison facility's visibility, surrounding roads and access roads, and major topographical features. This community may be extended to include those who in a social sense feel affected in some way by the prison facility's presence. This connection may be acknowledged through associations such as community meetings with the prison facility and community warning systems, or evident in the prison facility's name, prison staff residences, or the location of the prison facility's goods and service providers.

Although the term 'host community' is not a new concept, it was recognised in this facility research that the nature and definition of a 'host community' would most probably vary with different facility types. An effort has therefore been made to identify any special factors that determine the nature of prison facility host communities. The above definition was developed after carrying out site visits to selected prison facilities and surrounding communities during the second stage of this prison facility research (*historical analysis*). The site visits involved interviews with prison facility staff and observation of surrounding communities, which provided an understanding of the physical and non-physical relationships that exist between the prison facilities and surrounding communities[2]. These relationships highlighted the nature of the 'host community' for each prison and provided a base to develop a generic definition of 'host community' that would be applicable to this prison facility research.

The information contained in this *sector review* has been sourced from Department of Correction's documents and from national and international literature on the social impacts of prison facilities on their host communities. Section B of this report summarises the Department of Correction's prisons policy, Section C provides an overview of New Zealand's prison facilities, Section D summarises the Department of Correction's prison siting policy, and Section E reviews the national and international literature on the social impacts of prison facilities on their host communities.

The primary objective of this sector review is to lay the foundation for stage two and three of this research. By identifying the nature and scale of New Zealand's prison sector and a range of potential social impacts, this document will assist with the development and focus of the following stages, the selection of prison facilities for research, and the identification of social impacts and siting issues that may need to be investigated and examined in the following stages.

This sector review is therefore primarily intended for internal Taylor Baines use, although it may also be utilised by fellow researchers or other interested groups.

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[2]   Physical relationships include things such as the proximity of neighbours' houses to the prison, non-physical relationships include things such as communications between prison facilities and local residents.

B: Department of Correction's Prisons Policy

Department of Correction's Strategic Focus

The Department of Correction's strategic focus from the period beginning January 2000 to December 2008 is to reduce re-offending (Department of Corrections 2000c, p. 9). The Department aims to reduce re-offending through its administration of prisons and a variety of community restraints. This report is particularly interested in the Department's administration of New Zealand's prison facilities. The development and management of these national prison facilities has been influenced by this focus on reducing re-offending. The Department believes that the development of 'Comprehensive Regional Prisons' will help achieve their aim to reduce re-offending.

Regional Prisons Policy

The Department of Correction's Regional Prisons Policy is based on principles accepted in the 'Report of the Penal Policy Review Committee 1981' and by the 1989 Ministerial Committee of Inquiry into the Prison System ('Te Ara Hou: The New Way')[3]. A Regional Prisons Policy recognises the need to accommodate inmates in their own region. This enables inmates to stay in close contact with family, friends, and future employment opportunities, therefore assisting re-integration into the community after release, and reducing the chance of re-offending (Department of Corrections 2000c, p. 12)[4].

The implementation of a Regional Prisons Policy in New Zealand has been particularly important for Maori for whom maintaining links with whanau can be an important part of rehabilitation, re-integration and reducing re-offending (Department of Corrections 2000c, p. 23). At present, prisons in New Zealand are poorly located in terms of the regional supply of inmates (Department of Corrections 1999). The central and west coast of the North Island have an excess of beds while South Auckland and Northland have no facilities to provide for growing inmate numbers in those regions[5]. Due to the over-representation of Maori in the prison population, a large proportion of Maori inmates are currently accommodated outside their home region (Department of Corrections 2000c, pp. 23-24)[6].

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[3]   Regional Prisons Policies have also been accepted in other jurisdictions, for example it was adopted by the British government in 1991 (Department of Corrections 2000c, p. 12).

[4]   Although the Regional Prisons Policy's first priority is to site prisons regionally, other factors such as the ability of potential regions to provide appropriate services and treatment programmes are considered (Appropriate services and treatment programmes are required in order to enable the development of comprehensive prisons and the reduction in rates of re-offending). (Refer to the discussion on siting policy in section D)(Department of Corrections 2000c, p. 13).

[5]   Note that a men's prison in Northland and a men's and a women's prison in South Auckland are in the process of site selection and construction.

[6]   Not all inmates will be able to be accommodated regionally due to: management issues (protection), a lack of maximum security accommodation, regions being too small to sustain the numbers for a viable regional prison, and the need for specialised treatment facilities (Department of Corrections 2000c, p. 13).

Comprehensive Prisons Policy

The Department of Corrections also advocates the use of 'comprehensive prisons' in order to reduce re-offending. Comprehensive prisons are prisons which include a range of security levels and facilities, therefore enabling the accommodation of a range of inmates. This in turn increases the likelihood that inmates can be accommodated regionally (Regional Prisons Policy). Not only can inmates maintain links with family, friends and future employment opportunities, they can also progressively move through levels of accommodation as the social skills they obtain through rehabilitation/treatment programmes develop. (Department of Corrections 2000c, p. 14). Existing and future prisons in New Zealand will therefore be modelled on this Comprehensive Prisons Policy.

Comprehensive Prisons provide:

- a range of security levels/accommodation types
- safe cells and segregated cells
- remand facilities
- units for special purposes, special needs, and youth inmates
- rehabilitation/treatment programmes
- health facilities and services
- recreation facilities
- inmate employment facilities
- visiting facilities
- catering, laundry, and often stand alone sewage and water facilities[7]
- physical and electronic security.

Security Levels/Accommodation Types

Currently there are four inmate security classifications but only three different security levels of accommodation within current facilities. This mismatch and the lack of comprehensive prisons has meant that some inmates have been held in inappropriate accommodation, while others have been accommodated outside their home region. Inmates may be classified as maximum, high-medium[8], low-medium, or minimum security. Currently there is maximum, medium and minimum security accommodation available. As at February 2001, the majority of male inmates were classified as medium security, while the majority of female inmates were classified as minimum security. The classifications were as follows:

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[7]   It is the Department of Correction's preference that prison sewage and water needs be met by local systems with expenses being paid by the Department when appropriate. Where this is not possible, prisons will have their own sewage and water facilities onsite.

[8]   High-medium security inmates include remand and unclassified inmates.

Figure 1: Security Classification of Male and Female Inmates as at February 2001
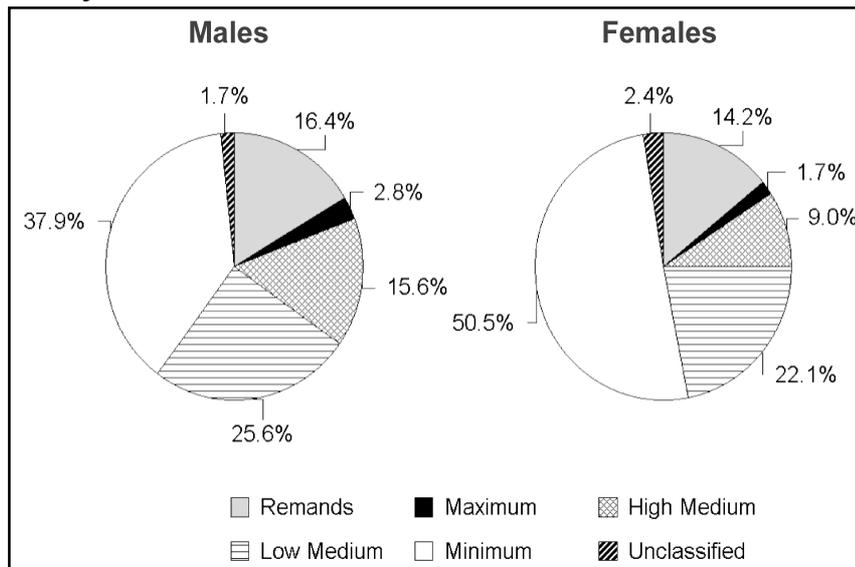
Source: Department of Correction 2001

Refer to Appendix A.1 for the security classification of inmates in tabular form.

Minimum security accommodation consists of lightly structured buildings, usually huts arranged in a compound or self-care units. Although the cell security may be low, the external security can be very high (eg: a fenced unit with a larger perimeter fence). Medium security accommodation is of more solid construction with higher security features such as enclosed exercise yards. Maximum security accommodation such as that at Auckland East has the highest level of security features (eg: construction and fences). There is presently some debate as to whether maximum security accommodation should be provided regionally or retained mainly at Auckland East (Department of Corrections 2000c, p. 19). In light of the Department of Correction's Regional Comprehensive Prisons Policy however, the development of more maximum security accommodation at the regional level is the preferred option. It is intended that the general mismatch between inmate security classifications and accommodation security levels will be addressed through the implementation of the Department's Regional Comprehensive Prisons Policy in existing prisons, and in the future development of prisons. It is estimated that excluding maximum security facilities, ideally prisons should provide for 50% minimum security accommodation and 50% medium security accommodation (Department of Corrections 2000c, p. 16).

Units for Special Purposes, Special Needs and Youth Inmates

In line with the Department of Correction's Comprehensive Prisons Policy, units for special purposes, special needs and youth inmates are to be incorporated, where possible, into existing and future prisons. This allows for movement between security levels and facilities, and increases the chance that inmates can be accommodated regionally. A number of inmates have special needs[9], or require special programmes such as those providing drug and alcohol treatment. Currently there are units for sex offenders at Rolleston Prison (Kia Marama) and at Auckland Prison (Te Piriti), a unit for violent offenders at Rimutaka Prison, and intensive substance abuse programmes at Arohata Prison. There are also Maori Focus Units at New Plymouth Prison, Hawkes Bay Regional Prison, Waikeria Prison, and Rimutaka Prison.

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[9]   For example, they may have behavioural disorders.

As with special needs inmates, it is preferred that youth inmates are accommodated within existing and future prisons albeit segregated. At present approximately 9% of the prison population is classified as youth inmates[10]. The Penal Institutions Act and Regulations requires that so far as practicable, inmates under twenty are kept separate from older inmates, although the Chief Executive can order inmates to be mixed. At present mixing is widespread in New Zealand prisons (Department of Corrections 2000c, pp. 17-18). Although it may be considered appropriate for some youth inmates between seventeen and twenty years old to be accommodated within the adult prison population, the Department's Regional Comprehensive Prisons Policy envisages less mixing and the development of more youth units within prisons. These youth units are to provide for the special needs of youth inmates. They should consist of living units, rooms for education, rehabilitative programmes, and vocational training, visiting facilities, interview and counselling rooms, and tailored recreational facilities. At present there are youth units at Hawkes Bay Regional Prison, Rimutaka Prison, and Waikeria Prison. A youth unit is also under construction at Christchurch Prison and will be operational in 2001.

Prison Size

There is a minimum size for prisons, to ensure that they are economic to run and able to provide adequate programmes and facilities. Overseas experience suggests that the minimum prison size is around 250 beds. Smaller prisons may be justifiable in New Zealand due to the Regional Prisons Policy, low inmate numbers, and the geographic spread of New Zealand's population. The Department of Corrections has stated that the optimum size of prisons will be 650 beds (Department of Corrections 2000c, pp. 15-16). However, Waikeria Prison and Christchurch Prison presently exceed this number.

Health Facilities and Services

Prisons need to provide a basic level of health care and to be sited in regions that can provide more extensive health care outside the prison. This is particularly important for female inmates who generally have greater physical and mental health needs, including special health needs such as maternity care. (Department of Corrections 2000c, pp. 21-22). Current policy development envisages the use of 'mother and baby' units in the future.

Recreation Facilities

Inmates need a minimum level of exercise, provided through recreational, fitness and sporting facilities such as gymnasiums, recreation rooms, playing fields, and local sports competitions. Inmates also require access to other recreation facilities such as libraries. (Department of Corrections 2000c, p. 23).

Inmate Employment Facilities

It is recognised that a key component of rehabilitation and therefore reducing the rate of re-offending is the participation of inmates in employment activities (Department of Corrections 1997; Department of Corrections 2000c, pp. 21-22). Participation in employment is said to assist inmates to develop habits, a work ethic and skills that will enable them to function effectively in the labour force after release (Department of Corrections 2000c, p. 22). The objective of inmate employment policy is not only to assist with reducing re-offending, but also to assist with the management of inmates by

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[10]   Department of Corrections 2000a.

reducing idleness and tension, and to ensure that employment activities are sustainable by using a cost-benefit analysis (Department of Corrections 1997). Inmate employment activities may either be commercial, self-sufficient, or community service based[11]. In order to provide inmate employment, land and buildings are needed. Although a number of rural prisons have adequate land, a number of prisons have inadequate buildings available for inmate employment. Future prison development will incorporate facilities for extensive inmate employment with a focus on a cost-benefit analysis. Corrlands (forests and farms) is presently expanding its operations and will eventually (mid 2001) be responsible for the development and management of most inmate employment activities.

Visiting Facilities

Visiting facilities are seen to play an important role in assisting inmates to maintain links with family, friends and employers, therefore increasing the chance of effective reintegration after release and reducing the chance of re-offending. The Department of Corrections is aware of the potential to extend present and future facilities to allow for expanded and more wide ranging visiting opportunities. Facilities overseas have experimented with overnight, weekend, and longer term visits (Department of Corrections 2000c, p. 20).

Physical and Electronic Security

New Zealand prisons generally have a low level of prison perimeter security and high levels of internal management of inmates. This has been implemented in New Zealand because of the high proportion of gang members in the prison population which require high levels of internal management[12] (Department of Corrections 2000c, pp. 19-20). Present systems are however being reviewed due to the increase in violent and serious offenders, the increased use of home detention for less serious offenders, and the entry of contraband such as weapons and drugs into prisons. For example, an $11 million fencing programme has been implemented[13] to help restrict the availability of contraband within prisons. The management of inmates working outside prison facilities (eg: on surrounding farmland) has also been modified to restrict the availability of contraband.

Escapes from prisons are classified as either 'breakouts' (a breach of security), 'walkaways' (by low security inmates), 'non-returns from temporary release', or 'other' (escape from escorts). Research into the reasons for inmate escapes has identified family reasons, external issues[14], and problems accepting sentences and the prison environment (Department of Corrections 2000d). Escapes from New Zealand prisons have declined over the past few years from 1.8% of the average daily muster in 1996/97 to 1.3% in 1998/99[15]. Funding was however allocated in 1998 to review all security (Department of Corrections 2000d).

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[11]   Commercial employment activities provide goods and services for sale and are operated by the prison or with the cooperation of the private sector. Self-sufficient employment activities involve internal prison work, for example: cooking and cleaning (there is limited room for expansion within these activities). Community service is carried out by the prison or with local bodies/community groups (not all inmates are suitable).

[12]   This is in contrast to other jurisdictions, which have generally implemented high levels of prison perimeter security and low levels of internal management. Having low levels of internal management encourages the 'normalisation' of the prison environment which assists reintegration and therefore lessens the chance of re-offending.

[13]   This fencing programme targets five of New Zealand's public prisons.

[14]   The nature of these 'external issues' is discussed in the Department of Corrections & Ministry of Justice. 1996, *Escape Pressures – Inside Views of the Reasons for Prison Escapes*, p. 13.

[15]   1996/97: (breakouts 27, total 79), 1997/98: (breakouts 31, total 84), 1998/99: (breakouts 6, total 74) (Department of Corrections 2000d).

C: National Prison Facilities

Overview of the National Prison Facilities

Currently there are eighteen prisons in New Zealand, seventeen of which are public prisons, one of which is owned by the crown but privately operated. Thirteen are situated in the North Island, the remaining five are in the South Island. There are fifteen men's prisons, two women's prisons, and one prison which separately accommodates men and women.

North Island: Men's Prisons -	Auckland
	Mt Eden
	Auckland Central Remand (Private)
	Waikeria
	Ohura
	Tongariro/Rongipo
	Hawkes Bay
	New Plymouth
	Wanganui
	Manawatu
	Wellington
	Rimutaka
North Island: Women's Prisons -	Mt Eden
	Arohata
South Island: Men's Prisons -	Christchurch
	Rolleston
	Dunedin
	Invercargill
South Island: Women's Prisons -	Christchurch Women's

The following time line highlights the main periods of development of New Zealand prisons. Between 1862 and 1925 ten prisons were established, followed by one in the 1940s, four in the 1960s, and four in the 1970s. In 1989 the first of the Department of Correction's 'Regional Prisons' was established in Hawkes Bay. Only one new prison, Auckland Central Remand, has been established since then on Department of Correction's land adjacent to Mt Eden Prison. The main prison closures have been the closure of Napier Prison in 1993, and Addington (in Christchurch) and Wanganui City Prisons in 1999. Currently the Department of Corrections is considering the closure of Mt Eden, Tongariro/Rangipo, Ohura, Wellington, Dunedin, and Invercargill. The planning and construction of new prisons in Northland and South Auckland is also underway, while the development of new prisons in Otago, Bay of Plenty, and Nelson is being considered.

Figure 2: Time Line of Prison Development in New Zealand

Source: Department of Correction's Head Office
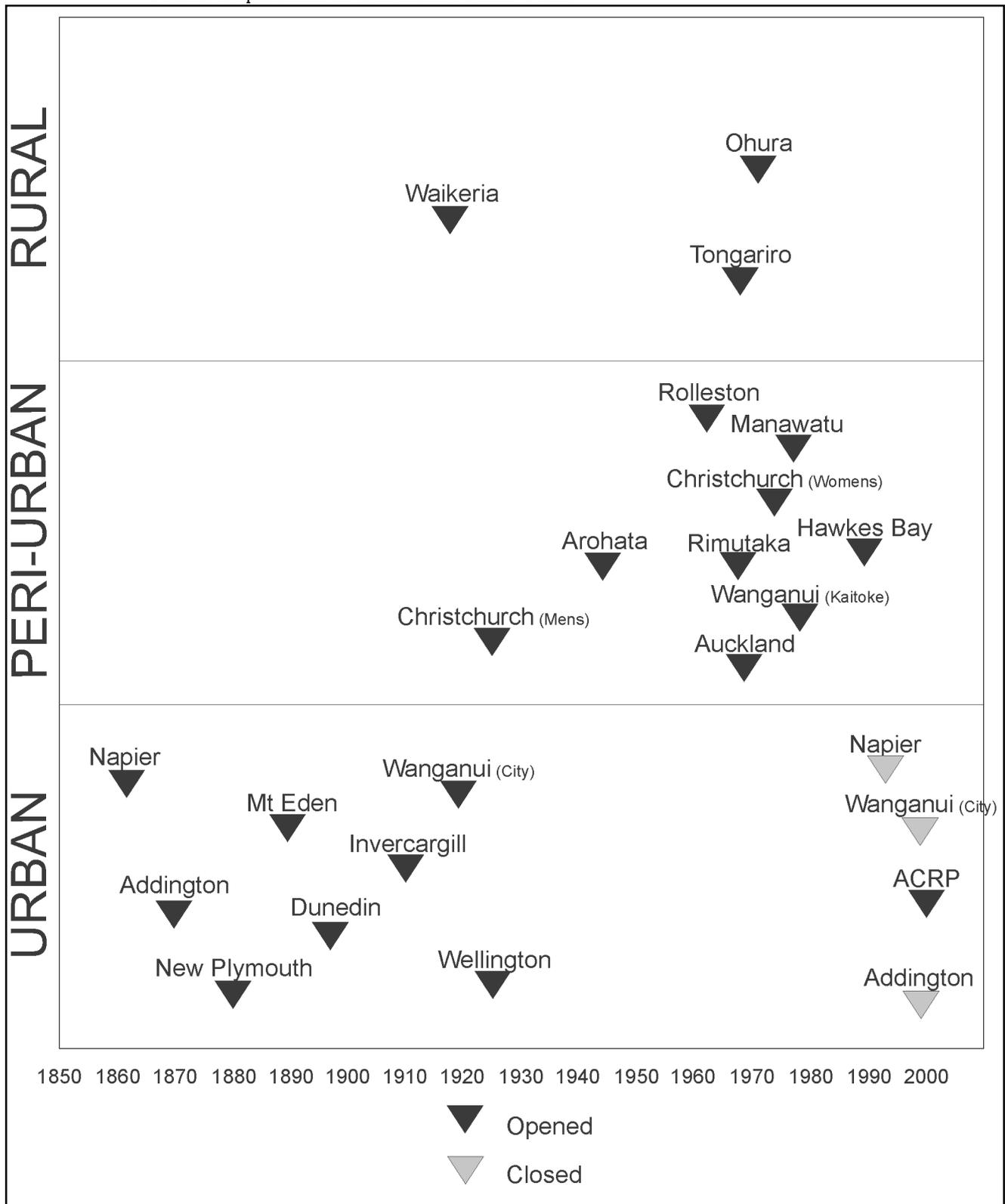
As the exact opening dates for some of these prisons are difficult to access, the opening dates used here best reflect the current buildings on each prison site.
ACRP = Auckland Central Remand Prison
Refer to Appendix A.2 for a list of actual opening and closing dates.

This time line highlights the move away from the construction of prisons in urban locations to the construction of prisons in peri-urban locations as prison musters have increased. The urban prisons which are older, less secure, and unable to provide adequate facilities and services are now either being closed or their closures are being considered. Auckland Central Remand Prison has been an exception to this trend as it was built in an urban location in 2000. This location was chosen because of the availability of prison land adjacent to Mt Eden Prison, and because it accommodates remand inmates for whom proximity to court facilities and visitors is particularly important. Although this time line highlights the construction of new prisons it does not show the numerous additions made to these prisons after their initial construction. Due to an increasing muster many new additions to existing prisons have occurred in the late 1980s-early 1990s and late 1990s.

Prison Population

As at February 2001 there was a total of 5,904 prison inmates in New Zealand. Of these, 5,615 were male inmates, 289 were female. Both male and female inmate numbers have steadily increased over the last fifteen years. Male inmate numbers have nearly doubled, while female inmate numbers have nearly tripled. The following graphs represent the changes in the male and female prison population over the last fifteen years:

Figure 3: Prison Muster: 1985-2001
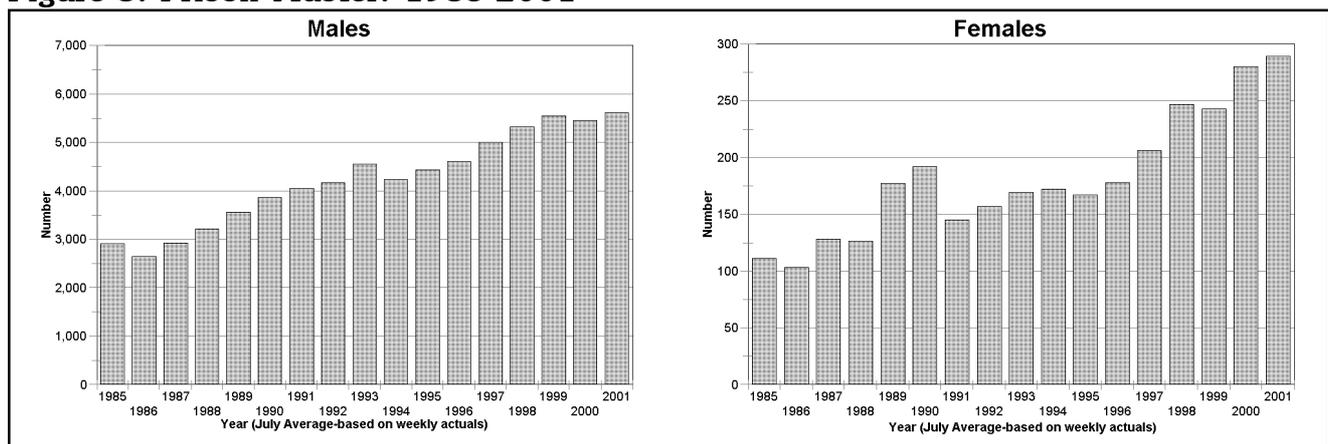
Source: Department of Corrections 2000b
Refer to Appendix A.3 for male and female muster figures: 1985-2001.

The Ministry of Justice's predictions on the changes in the prison population over the next eight years are represented in the following graphs. It is predicted that there will be a steady increase in both male and female inmate populations over the next eight years. Note that muster levels as at January 2001 have already exceeded Ministry of Justice predictions for 2001[16].

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[16]   Note that new Ministry of Justice predictions are due out mid 2001.

Figure 4: Predicted Prison Muster: 2001-2008
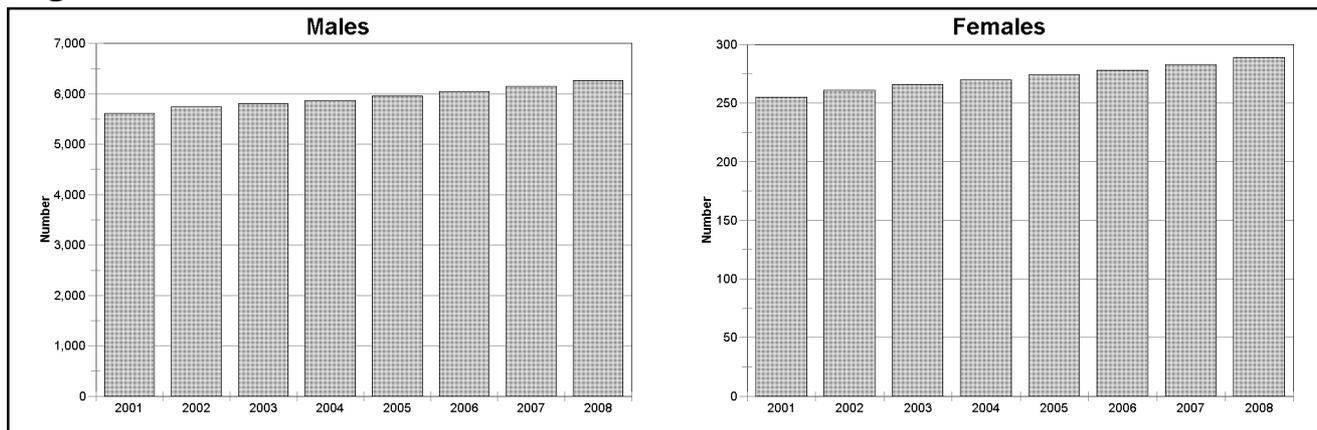
Source: Ministry of Justice Forecasts in Department of Corrections 2000c, p. 33.
Refer to Appendix A.4 for predicted male and female muster figures: 2001-2008.

The characteristics of the prison population have changed since the mid-1980s. Generally, there has been an increase in violent offenders, an increase in average sentence length and time served, and the emergence of an aging prison population (Department of Corrections 2000c, p.15). A large proportion of these inmates are Maori (44.4% of male inmates identify as Maori, 6.9% as part Maori, while 38.0% of female inmates identify as Maori, 20.5% as part Maori) (Department of Corrections 2000a).

Figure 5: Ethnicity of Male and Female Inmates as at 1999
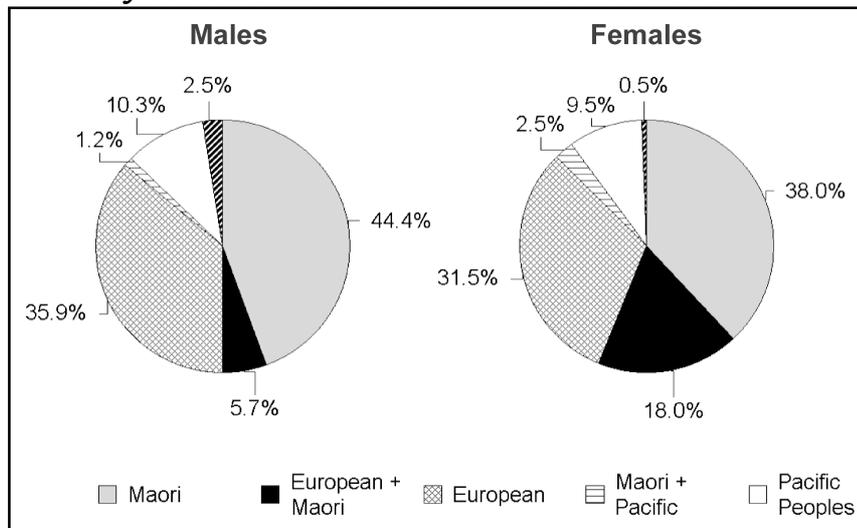
Source: Department of Corrections 2000a
Refer to Appendix A.5 for a breakdown of male and female inmate ethnicity as at 1999.

Men's Prisons

Currently New Zealand has an excess of beds in the central and west coast of the North Island. The highest percentage of male inmates is currently coming from South Auckland and Northland where there are no prisons. The development of prisons in these regions is therefore underway. The Northland Prison will provide over 300 beds. The South Auckland Men's Prison will provide up to 650 beds. The majority of mens prisons in the North and South Island have minimum and/or medium security accommodation facilities. Only two have facilities for maximum security inmates.

Table 1: **North Island Men's Prisons: Capacity and Security Levels**

Prison	Capacity	Security levels			
		Minimum	**Medium**	**Maximum**	**Remand**
Auckland	645	*	*	*	*
Mt Eden	381	-	*	-	*
ACRP	272	-	*	-	*
Waikeria	877	*	*	-	*
Ohura	100	*	-	-	-
Tongariro/Rangipo	442	*	-	-	-
Hawkes Bay	557	*	*	-	*
New Plymouth	108	*	*	-	*
Wanganui	370	*	*	-	*
Manawatu	278	*	*	-	*
Wellington	120	-	*	-	-
Rimutaka	446	*	*	-	*

Source: Department of Corrections 2001
ACRP=Auckland Central Remand Prison.

Table 2: **South Island Men's Prisons: Capacity and Security Levels**

Prison	Capacity	Security levels			
		Minimum	**Medium**	**Maximum**	**Remand**
Christchurch	664	*	*	*	*
Rolleston	320	*	-	-	-
Dunedin	59	-	*	-	*
Invercargill	172	*	-	-	*

Source: Department of Corrections 2001

Women's Prisons

Women's prisons are difficult to regionalise without losing their comprehensiveness because of the small numbers of female inmates. Having three comprehensive prisons in the three main centres is currently the best option. The beds that Mt Eden provides is however failing to cater for growing inmate numbers in Auckland, in particular South Auckland. The women's section at Mt Eden will therefore be closed and made available to men and a new prison will built in South Auckland. This prison will provide 150 beds.

Table 3:   **North Island Women's Prisons: Capacity and Security Levels**

Prison	Capacity	Security levels			
		Minimum	Medium	Maximum	Remand
Mt Eden	94	*	*	-	*
Arohata	127	*	*	-	*

Source: Department of Corrections 2001

Table 4:   **South Island Women's Prisons: Capacity and Security Levels**

Prison	Capacity	Security levels			
		Minimum	Medium	Maximum	Remand
Christchurch Womens	98	*	*	*	*

Source: Department of Corrections 2001

D: Department of Correction's Prison Siting Policy

Procedural

There are three stages involved in the siting of a prison facility in New Zealand:

1)   site selection process

      - the Department of Corrections looks for potential prison sites, while consulting with local communities, Maori, and any other interested groups,

2)   seek to designate chosen site as a prison

      - for a prison facility to be sited and operated, the prison site first has to be *designated* for prison use. Designation is a special regime under the *Resource Management Act 1991* which allows for the operation and use of certain public works and network utilities. A 'requiring authority'[17], in this case the Minister of Corrections, has to give notice of requirement to a territorial authority for land to be designated[18]. This process is similar to a resource consent process. Applications have to be notified, submissions can be made, hearings can be held, and a right of appeal is available to the Environment Court[19].

      The notice of requirement must include:
      * reasons for which the designation is needed,
      * a description of the site, the nature of the proposed public work, project, or work, and any proposed restrictions,
      * the effects that it may have on the environment, and the ways in which adverse effects may be mitigated, and the extent to which alternative sites, routes, and methods have been considered,
      * any information to be included in the notice by a plan or regulations,
      * a statement of consultation, if any, that has been undertaken with those likely to be affected, and
      * a statement listing all the resource consents that may be needed, and whether or not these have been applied for[20].

      A territorial authority may recommend to the Minister of Corrections (the requiring authority) that the notice of requirement be altered, accepted, or rejected. In deciding on an application for a site to be designated, a territorial authority must consider:

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17   Ministers of the Crown, local authorities, and network utility operators. Ministers of the Crown and local authorities are requiring authorities under the RMA (s. 166). Network utility operators have to apply to be requiring authorities (s.166, s. 167).
18   s. 168.
19   s. 169, s. 179.
20   s.168.

- whether the designation is reasonably necessary for achieving the objective of the public work, project or work,
- whether adequate consideration has been given to alternative sites, routes, or methods,
- whether the nature of the public work, project, or work is such that it would be unreasonable to expect the requiring authority to use an alternative site, route or method, and
- all relevant provisions of national policy statements, New Zealand coastal policy statements, regional policy statements, regional plans, and district plans[21].

If the Minister of Corrections decides to designate a site for prison use despite a recommendation by a territorial authority that the designation be altered or rejected, a territorial authority (or any of the submitters) may appeal to the Environment Court. If a notice of requirement for a designation is approved by the Minister of Corrections and the territorial authority, then this designation must be included in the district plan as if it were a rule[22].

Once a site is designated for prison use, the requiring authority can do anything on the site as long as it is in accordance with the designation[23]. In essence the facility can operate and expand without complying with normal resource consent procedures. If an expansion is proposed, the facility can opt to apply for a resource consent, but would usually just submit an outline plan which specifies the expansion or activity which is proposed[24]. This tends to be a formality, as a territorial local authority can not 'decline' an outline plan, but may only recommend changes to the plan. If a territorial authority objects to an outline plan, or its recommended changes are not made by the requiring authority, the territorial authority can only resort to court action.

Note:

During the second stage of this research (*Historical Analysis*), it became clear that the designation of prison sites was an issue of concern for some territorial authorities. In particular, it was noted that because a designation allows a requiring authority to *do anything that is in accordance with the designation*[25], activities may occur which have not been subjected to the degree of assessment normally required under resource consent procedures. This may as a result, expose communities to adverse effects for which no attempts to avoid, remedy, or mitigate have been made.

3)   complete prison design and seek resource consents

- further consultation with those affected is undertaken.(Department of Corrections 2000d).

Consultation with interested and affected parties plays an important role in the Department of Correction's site selection process. The Department of Correction's *Regional Prisons Programme* (2000) states that consultation involves informing, listening, the consideration of issues, an open

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[21]   s. 171.
[22]   s. 175. Note: the First Schedule does not apply to any designation in a district plan.
[23]   No other person, without the consent of the requiring authority, can do anything on the designated site (s. 176).
[24]   Note that the resource consent process allows for public input through submissions. Other than through territorial authority consultation, no such public input/submissions are made when an outline plan is being considered.
[25]   s. 176.

mind, good faith, and the balancing of different ideas, factors and interests. This is necessary to encourage participation and ultimately better planning decisions. Methods of consultation utilised by the Department of Corrections include, meetings, hui, information packs, community liaison advisers, free phone, mail outs, public submissions, local advertising, open days and displays.

Substantive

The Department of Correction's siting policy is embodied in the Department's *Regional Prisons Policy*. This policy requires that prisons be sited in regions where there is a supply of inmates, so that inmates can be accommodated in their home region. This enables inmates to stay in close contact with family, friends, and future employment opportunities, which therefore assists with their re-integration into the community after release and reduces the chance of re-offending (Department of Corrections 2000c, pp. 12-14).

Although priority is given to this Regional Prisons Policy, a number of other factors have been incorporated into the Department's siting policy. These considerations are evident in the Minister of Correction's objectives for the designation of prison sites as required under the Resource Management Act 1991. Such considerations include:

- *national and regional demand for beds* - prisons are sited to meet national and regional bed shortages and foreseeable demands for beds in the future (Department of Corrections 2000f)

- *site, technical requirements* - the site should be able to be built on, and technical requirements such as access to drinking water, electricity, telecommunications, sewage systems should be able to be met (Department of Corrections 2000d; Department of Corrections 2000f)

- *site access* - the prison site should be within a reasonable traveling distance for staff, visitors, programme and service providers, courts, and the wider region that the prison serves (Department of Corrections 2000f)

- *nearest populated centre* - the prison site should be near to a populated centre that can provide staff, programme and service providers, and courts (Department of Corrections 2000f)

- *economic, social, environmental and cultural impact* - consideration is given to the impact that a prison will have on the host community and region, and the ability to avoid, remedy, and mitigate these effects (Department of Corrections 2000d; Department of Corrections 2000f).

E: The Social Impacts of Prisons on Host Communities

This section identifies a number of potential social impacts that may be experienced by the host communities of prison facilities. These impacts have been identified through an examination of Department of Correction's documents, the evidence of a registered public valuer, a socio-economic assessment of the impact of the Department of Correction's activities on Turangi in New Zealand, social and economic impact reports commissioned for the siting of new prisons in Northland and South Auckland, and a number of overseas discussions and case studies on the social impacts of prisons on their host communities.

Traditionally, the siting of prisons has been a difficult task due to the opposition often expressed by potential host communities (Maxim & Plecas 1983, p. 39; Carlson 1991, p. 212; Farrington & Parcells 1991, p. 19). It appears that this opposition is often based on stereotypes, distorted facts, fear, and media hysteria, rather than evidence that supports fears that prisons have a negative impact on host communities (Daly, Thies 2000, Young 1998). There is however a growing number of communities that want prisons and actively campaign for them overseas (Gibbons & Pierce 1995; Thies 2000; Young 1998; Carlson 1991, pp. 212-213). Carlson notes that this competition for the siting of prison facilities is driven by what they (prisons) can give, not by what they are (1991, pp. 212-213). Carlson argues that the desire to host a prison arises when the employment and payroll that a prison offers becomes attractive to small rural communities that have lost traditional industries and have limited opportunities for alternative economic growth (1991, pp. 212-213).

There are a number of factors that may influence the response received from existing or potential host communities. The size and characteristics of a proposed prison and host community, an individual's past victimisation, proximity to the prison, and the host community's social characteristics may affect the response to a proposed or existing prison siting (Carlson 1991, p. 221; Connell Wagner Limited 2000; Maxim & Plecas 1983; Schichor 1992, p. 83). Research carried out by Maxim and Plecas (1983) concluded that individuals who had been victimised in the past, lived in close proximity to the prison, or were young and well educated, were more likely to have a negative perception of a prison or oppose the siting of a prison. Maxim and Plecas (1983) also noted that those living in close proximity to a prison were more concerned about property values than personal safety, and that those who had visual contact with the prison were more likely to oppose the prison. Carlson states that the circumstances of the prison siting, the expectations held by community members, the operation and management of the prison, the relationship between the community and the prison, and any recent events are also significant factors of influence (1991, pp. 214-232). It is important to note that the 'factors' that community members consider during the assessment of a proposed siting or an existing siting can be subjective (attitudes, beliefs, opinions) or objective (crime, property values). Objective factors can be argued or refuted, subjective factors however, usually have more influence and are harder to refute (Schichor 1992, pp. 72-79).

When assessing the impact that an existing prison has had on its host community it is important to be aware of the length of time the prison has existed, and 'selective migration'. The longer a prison has existed in a community, the greater the chance that members of the community will have had their fears abated and accepted its presence (Connell Wagner Limited 2000; Carlson 1991, p. 222). Maxim and Plecas (1983) also warn of the phenomenon of 'selective migration' and the effect it has

on community responses. Selective migration is a process by which those who oppose a prison leave the community. This means that any research into the experiences of host communities has to be aware that results may be skewed by the fact that a significant impact of the prison, represented by those who have left as a result of the prison's presence, may not have been accessed by the researcher.

Employment and the Local Economy

The perception that a prison will create employment and stimulate local economies is often the main reason communities support a prison siting (Carlson 1991, p. 214; Gibbons & Pierce 1995; Martin 2000, p. 287; Schichor 1992, p. 72; Thies 2000; Young 1998). This is especially true for rural communities that have suffered the loss of agricultural, mining and other natural resource industries (Thies 2000).

The presence of a prison, which will often become the host community's largest employer, can reduce unemployment, and create job stability. Job stability is created due to the absence of local and foreign competition, and the unlikelihood of downsizing or closure (Carlson 1991, p. 223; Gibbons & Pierce 1995; Thies 2000). Jobs are created directly through prison staffing and support services, and indirectly through the stimulation of other community businesses (Carlson 1991, p. 214; Schichor 1992, pp. 72-77). The income generated by this job creation in turn provides a boost to the local economy through increased consumer spending. Purchases will also be made by inmates, ex inmates, relocated inmate families and visitors. The housing market may be affected by the increased demand for accommodation. Carlson notes that the presence of a prison will not usually deter the investment of other industries in these communities (1991, p. 215).

A socio-economic assessment of the impact that the Department of Corrections activities had on Turangi in New Zealand revealed a positive impact in the form of stimulus to the housing market, employment, and the injection of $5-$7 million into the Turangi economy (Connell Wagner Limited 2000). The Department of Corrections also predicts a positive impact from proposed prisons in the Northland and South Auckland regions. It is estimated that the Northland prison will inject $40 million into the local economy during the construction phase and $10 million into the local economy thereafter (Simich 1999). The establishment of these prisons will also create jobs directly (staffing) and indirectly (provision of services and programmes) (Brown, Copeland & Co Limited 1999; Brown, Copeland & Co Limited 2000a; Brown, Copeland & Co Limited 2000b; Department of Corrections September 2000e; Simich 1999). The Department of Corrections notes that in Wanganui, as a result of collaboration between inmate employment ventures and the private sector, thirteen private sector jobs were created (Department of Corrections 2000d)[26].

Although there is a perception that the presence of a prison will benefit a community through its contributions to employment and the local economy, there are some factors that may reduce the benefit received by the host community. Many staff may be drawn from surrounding communities therefore dispersing and reducing the benefit received by the host community (Carlson 1991, p. 223). Host communities may also not have enough specialised workers (construction, health, custodial, management) for the prison to employ, and be inadequately reimbursed for the use of local services (police, health, courts) (Schichor 1992, pp. 76-77). The size of the host community may also be an important factor. Smaller communities generally tend to receive a greater benefit than larger

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[26]   Thirteen private sector jobs in the shoe industry.

communities for whom employment and the local economy may not be such a problem (Carlson 1991, p. 224; Schichor 1992, p. 76). It may also be that if a community has been depressed for a long period of time, the reduction in unemployment and other 'economic benefits' may not reduce poverty or have the estimated positive impact on the host community (Thies 2000). Connell Wagner Limited (2000) noted that business in Turangi often failed to compete with prison contracts offered by larger businesses outside the region. The Department of Corrections also notes the potential for negative impact of inmate employment on competing industries in host communities if not appropriately selected. The Department however claims that prisons will not establish industries that may compete with host community industries (Department of Corrections 1999).

It is also possible that the jobs created as a result of a prison siting may not always be the 'type' of jobs wanted by the host community (Gibbons & Pierce 1995). Gibbons and Pierce (1995) note that the siting of a prison does not always fit in with the communities 'growth plan', and does not produce the 'right' type of economic growth.

Personal Safety and Crime

There is a fear that the siting of a prison will jeopardise the personal safety of the members of the host community (Gibbons & Pierce 1995; Young 1998; Schichor 1992, p. 72). The source of this threat to personal safety comes from the belief that escapes will occur, that ex inmates will remain in the host community after release, and that inmates' families will relocate to the host community to be close to their relative in prison (Gibbons & Pierce 1995; Young 1998).

However, Carlson (1991, p. 215) notes that escapes seldom occur, and Young (1998) discovered that members of host communities generally felt safer with the presence of a prison. Thies (2000) also challenges the stereotypes associated with inmate families. Thies (2000) points out that often inmate families do not have the resources to relocate and are reluctant to do so as there is a degree of uncertainty as to how long their relative will be accommodated in a particular prison. In addressing this concern, the Department of Corrections has pointed out that numerous prisons around New Zealand are located near to schools and that they have never experienced problems or felt unsafe (Department of Corrections 1999). The Department also notes that most host communities have a 'community warning system' in place in the event of an escape or other security problem (Department of Corrections 1999). A study commissioned by the Department of Corrections in 1999 concluded that families of inmates in Rimutaka and Wanganui Prisons generally did not relocate to the prison's host community, and inmates from outside the region usually did not decide to stay in the host community after release (Waldegrave 1999).

Linked to the fear that personal safety will be jeopardised by the siting of a prison is the fear that there will be an increase in crime. Overseas research shows mixed results as to the impact prisons have on crime rates (Thies 2000). Some communities experience an increase in crime while many experience no impact or a reduction in crime (Carlson 1991, p. 215; Schichor 1992, pp. 73-74). As with the concern over personal safety, there is the belief that crime will increase as a result of inmate escapes, the influx of inmate families into the community, and the presence of ex inmates who decide to remain in the community after release (Thies 2000; Young 1998). Farrington and Parcells (1991) also discuss the effect that reporting, police activities, offences within prisons, inmates on temporary release, parolees, visitors, and staff may have on crime rates. Thies (2000) notes that where communities show an increase in crime, caution has to be given to any interpretations as increases may be due to changes in reporting, law enforcement, and population.

In Turangi, New Zealand, Connell Wagner Limited (2000) note that locals were usually responsible for crime, and that the slight increase in crime recorded since the prison's siting was due to a change in reporting methods and the police approach to cannabis related crime. Connell Wagner Limited (2000) also note that it can take only one person in a small community to have a huge impact on crime rates. The Department of Corrections claims that the siting of a prison is more likely to have a positive impact on its host community's crime rates. The Paremoremo community for example has the lowest crime rate in the country (Department of Corrections 1999).

Property Values

Another common fear expressed by residents of potential prison communities is that property values will fall (Carlson 1991, p. 215; Maxim & Plecas 1983; Schichor 1992, p. 72; Thies 2000; Young 1998). It may be however that property values increase due to the increased demand for accommodation. Overseas experience has shown that generally there is little impact on property values (Carlson 1991, p. 215). Daly's review of property value changes surrounding numerous institutions in New Zealand and Australia also challenges this fear. Daly reviewed the values and changes to values of properties surrounding Mt Eden Prison, Paremoremo Prison, Rimutaka Prison, Wellington Prison, Arohata Prison, and Manawatu Prison, concluding that no significant changes were noticeable. It seems that if any negative impact does occur, it is restricted to immediate neighbours and is temporary (Daly, Department of Corrections 1999). Although static or increased property values are usually viewed as positive impacts, some residents or new residents may view this as a negative impact as purchasing new properties becomes more expensive (Thies 2000).

Community Resources and Services

There is some evidence that population increases due to the influx of inmates' families, ex inmates, and prison staff and their families result in an increased demand for community resources and services such as education, welfare, health, public utilities (sewage and water), fire department, roads, refuse, and police (Carlson 1991, pp. 215-219; Schichor 1992, p. 72; Thies 2000). It is possible however that this increased demand will result in the improved delivery and availability of such community resources and services.

Community Improvement

Various community facilities may benefit from prison contributions and inmate work in the community. Prison involvement in its host community can range from cleaning up after floods, crafting carvings for community facilities, refurbishing desks for schools, to working with community groups and local councils on beautification projects (Department of Corrections 1999). The Turangi community appreciated the prison's involvement in the community, and felt its loss as activities such as the donation of free firewood for raffles has ceased (Connell Wagner Limited 2000).

Aesthetic Values

Maxim and Plecas (1983) demonstrated that the visibility of a prison can have an impact on residents' opinions of prisons in their communities. Young's research (1998) however found that 89.1% of local residents were not concerned with the appearance of the prison. The Department of Corrections in New Zealand has recognised the potential visual impact of prisons on their host communities and

has implemented policy to reduce any impact. New Regional Prisons are to be low rise and able to be screened from local residents and passing traffic.

Environment/Conservation

The construction of a prison and the increase in traffic associated with its construction and operation may pose a risk to a host community's environment (Thies 2000). The degree to which this impact is felt or viewed may depend on measures taken during planning and by prison management. The Department of Corrections has recognised this impact and attempted to manage it by giving visitors appointment times rather than visiting days, and by subjecting visitors to security checks. The implementation of the Regional Prisons Policy also addresses concerns over traffic, as visitors should no longer have to make long journeys which may require refreshment stops or overnight stays, but shorter trips within the region. The Department of Correction's policy regarding the construction of prisons recognises the potential for prisons to have a negative impact on surrounding environments and conservation. Planning for example, therefore takes into account the effect that the construction of a prison (earthworks, waste water effluents) will have on local rivers and wild life.

Community Prestige

Schichor examines the connection between prison facilities and the prestige of their host communities (1992, pp. 79-80). Schichor argues that status and prestige are important social indicators and that status is linked to the community in which you live (1992, p. 80). The status of a community is determined by land uses and other social and environmental factors. The status of community in which a prison is sited is therefore affected by the presence of a prison, and the potential increase of other associated undesirable effects such as crime and pollution. Schichor argues that prisons are usually sited in low prestige communities because high prestige communities have the resources to prevent the siting of a prison, or because prisons sited in an undeveloped community fail to then develop into high prestige communities.

Quality of Life

Some residents fear that the presence of a prison in their community will affect their general quality of life (Schichor 1992). The presence of a prison or a prison siting may cause disharmony between residents (supporters and opponents), increase urban growth, and bring about significant population change. These consequences may be undesirable to residents who are often retirees or migrants from the 'city' who have made a 'lifestyle' choice to live in a 'rural' environment.

F: Summary

This sector review has summarised the Department of Correction's prisons policy and prison siting policy, provided an overview of New Zealand's prison facilities, and reviewed national and international literature on the social impacts of prison facilities on their host communities.

In summary:

Department of Correction's Prison Policy

The Department of Corrections aims to reduce re-offending through its *Comprehensive Regional Prisons Policy*:

- **Regional Prisons** - this policy aims to accommodate as many inmates as possible in their home region so that they can maintain links with family, friends and future employment opportunities, therefore assisting re-integration after release, and reducing the chance of re-offending. At present a large number of inmates are not accommodated regionally because of an excess of beds in the central and west coast of the North Island and a lack of beds in Auckland and Northland.
- **Comprehensive Prisons** - this policy aims to ensure that prisons provide a wide range of accommodation security levels and facilities in order to increase the chance that inmates can be accommodated regionally.

New Zealand's Prisons

- New Zealand has eighteen prisons, seventeen of which are public prisons, one of which is owned by the crown but privately operated.
- Of the eighteen prisons, thirteen are in the North Island, five are in the South Island.
- Of the eighteen prisons, fifteen are men's prisons, two are women's prisons, and one accommodates men and women.
- Over half of New Zealand's prisons were constructed between 1862 and 1925. All of these prisons are located in an urban area.
- Prisons constructed since 1925 have been located in a peri-urban or rural area.
- Only two new prisons have been constructed since the 1970s.
- Over half of the eighteen prisons in New Zealand have minimum security, medium security, and remand facilities. Only three have maximum security facilities.

New Zealand's Prison Population

- At present there are 5,904 inmates in New Zealand prisons. Of these 5,904 inmates, 5,615 are male, 289 are female.
- Over half of the male inmates are classified as medium security, while over half of the female inmates are classified as minimum security.
- A large proportion of the male and female inmates are Maori.
- The nature of the prison population has changed significantly over the last 15 years. There has been an increase of violent offenders, increased sentences and time served, and the emergence of an aging inmate population.

Prison Siting Policy

- When the Department of Corrections selects a site for a new prison, it considers: the need for regional prisons, national and regional demand for beds, site requirements, technical requirements, access, the nature of the nearest populated centre, and potential social, economic, environmental and cultural impacts.
- After a site is selected, it has to be **designated** for prison use. The designation process is similar to the resource consent process. Once a site is designated however, normal resource consent procedures do not have to apply to the ongoing operation or any expansion onsite.

Potential Social Impacts on Host Communities

- Generally, the siting of a prison evokes concern and opposition from the potential host community, due to a fear that the prison will have a negative impact on the community.
- Studies that have looked at the social impacts experienced by host communities tend to show that these fears are usually not realised. However, these fears are still real and are significant for potential host communities.
- Overseas, some communities now actively campaign to have a prison sited in their community. This is usually due to the perceived economic benefits that a prison will bring.
- There are numerous factors that influence opinions relating to an existing prison or the reaction to a proposed prison siting.

- **Employment and the Local Economy** - A prison may bring a significant economic benefit to a community through employment, goods and service provision, and stimulus to local business. The degree to which this benefit is experienced depends on the size and nature of the facility and the host community. Whether or not this type of economic benefit or growth is desired by the host community may also be a consideration.

- **Personal Safety and Crime** - Communities may fear that their personal safety and community crime rates will be jeopardised by the presence of a prison. Studies indicate that generally there are few escapes, few inmates who remain in the host community after release, and few inmate families who relocate to the host community. There have been mixed results from studies that have investigated crime rates in prison host communities. Some community crime rates have remained static, some have increased, while others have reduced.

- **Property Values** - Communities may fear that the presence of a prison will have an adverse effect on property values. Studies indicate that little impact on property values occur. Property values may in fact rise as there is an increased demand for housing. If property values do fall it is usually limited to immediate neighbours and is temporary.

- **Community Resources and Services** - The impact that a prison has on community resources and services depends on the size, nature, and location of the host community. Community resources and services may be stretched because of increased demand, may be improved because of increased demand, or may experience no impact at all.

- **Community Improvement** - Host communities may receive benefit from prison and inmate involvement and service in the host community.

- **Aesthetic Values** - Potential host communities may be fearful of the significant visual impact, and related impacts on property, community prestige, and quality of life. Attempts can be made to minimise this visual impact.

- **Environment/Conservation** - A community may experience some degree of negative impact on their environment as a result of the construction and operation of a prison. The degree to which this impact is experienced depends on the nature of the community and the facility, planning, and management. A community may however experience a positive benefit to their environment from prison and inmate work in the community.

- **Community Prestige** - The prestige or status associated with a community may be affected by the presence of a prison.

- **Quality of Life** - The numerous impacts that may be experienced by a host community may result in a change to the residents' quality of life. This change may be especially undesirable if it affects the 'lifestyle' choice made by residents.

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Appendix

Table A.1: Security Classification of Male and Female Inmates as at February 2001
Source: Department of Corrections 2001.

Classifications	Male Inmates	% of Male Inmates	Female Inmates	% of Female Inmates
Remands	919	16.4%	41	14.2%
Maximum	157	2.8%	5	1.7%
High Medium	877	15.6%	26	9.0%
Low Medium	1,437	25.6%	64	22.1%
Minimum	2,130	37.9%	146	50.5%
Unclassified	95	1.7%	7	2.4%
TOTAL	5,615		289	

Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Table A.2: Time Line of Prison Development in New Zealand
Source: Department of Correction's Head Office

Prison	Opened	Closed
Napier	1862	1993
Addington	1870	1999
New Plymouth	1880	
Mt Eden	1889	
Dunedin	1896	
Invercargill	1910	
Waikeria	1918	
Wanganui City	1919	1999
Christchurch	1925	
Wellington	1925	
Arohata	1944	
Rolleston	1962	
Rimutaka	1967	
Auckland	1968	
Tongiriro/Rangipo	1968	
Ohura	1971	
Christchurch Womens	1974	
Manawatu	1977	
Wanganui	1978	
Hawkes Bay Regional	1989	
Auckland Remand	2000	

As the exact opening dates for some of these prisons are difficult to access, the opening dates used here best reflect the current buildings on each prison site.

Table A.3: Male and Female Musters: 1985-2001

Source: Department of Corrections 2000b

Year (July Average-based on weekly actuals)	Male Inmates	Female Inmates
1985	2,904	111
1986	2,641	103
1987	2,921	128
1988	3,212	126
1989	3,557	177
1990	3,864	192
1991	4,047	145
1992	4,170	157
1993	4,545	169
1994	4,232	172
1995	4,429	167
1996	4,599	178
1997	4,999	206
1998	5,314	247
1999	5,545	243
2000	5,455	280
2001[a]	5,615	289

[a] As at 28 February 2001

Table A.4: Predicted Male and Female Musters: 2001-2008

Source: Ministry of Justice Forecasts in Department of Corrections 2000c, p. 33.

Year	Male Inmates	Female Inmates
2001	5,617	255
2002	5,743	261
2003	5,805	266
2004	5,868	270
2005	5,956	274
2006	6,050	278
2007	6,154	283
2008	6,271	289

Table A.5: Ethnicity of Male and Female Inmates as at 1999

Source: Department of Corrections 2000a

	Maori	European	Pacific Peoples	Asians	Other	Total
Males	2,279	1,591	454	39	69	4,432
Females	117	63	19	0	1	200

Excludes 6 females and 327 males where 'Ethnicity' was not available.