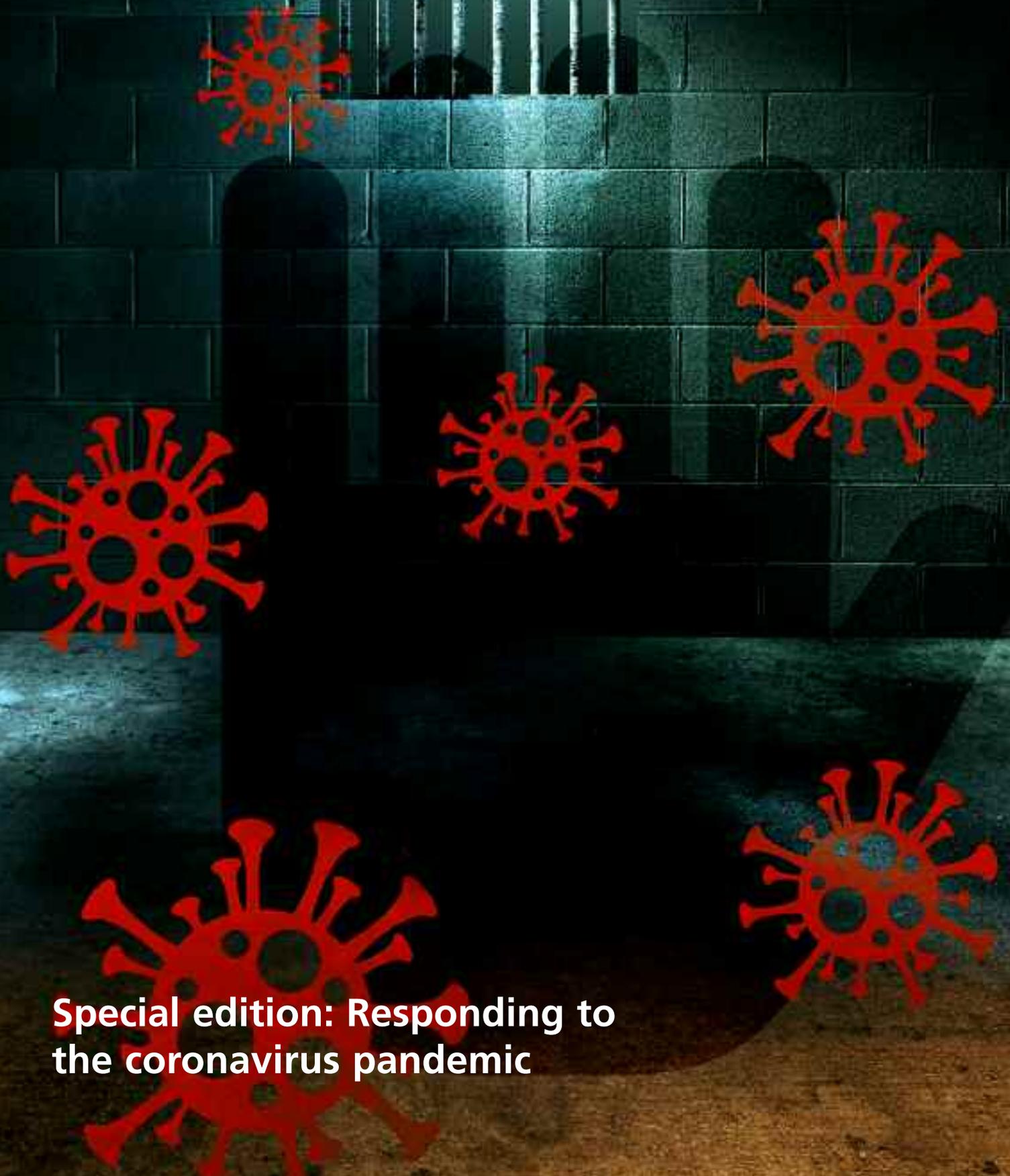


PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

March 2021 No 253



**Special edition: Responding to
the coronavirus pandemic**

Responding to the Coronavirus in Mexico City Prisons

Hazael Ruiz Ortega is the Head of the Mexico City Prison System, and Pedro Aguilar Cueto, the Director of a pre-release prison within the Mexico City Prison System. They are interviewed by Dr. Ruth Armstrong, Senior Research Associate at the Institute of Criminology at the University of Cambridge.

Translation by Rolando Carmona Aldunate.

Mexico is a federal republic made up of 31 distinct states and one federal district, Mexico City. In the country as a whole there are 284 prisons, designed to hold over 220,000 people, but with an official population of just below 214,000 in August 2020. Mexico's imprisonment rate is 165 per 100,000 (based on a national population of just under 130 million in August 2020). In comparison to the two other main jurisdictions in Northern America, it is much lower than the USA, at 639 per 100,000, but somewhat higher than Canada at 107 per 100,000. Just over 5% of people in prison in Mexico are women and just under 5% are children. Mexico City has 13 prisons, with capacity to hold 27,549 people. Nearly 22 million people live in the Mexico City metropolitan area, and in his interview below Hazael Ruiz puts the prison population in October 2020 as 26,953. This means the imprisonment rate in Mexico City is about 123 per 100,000.¹ The budget per person per day in Mexico City prisons is \$130 Mexican pesos, which is equivalent to about \$6.50 US dollars (£4.85 GB pounds or €5.31 euros) per day. For an idea of the comparable cost of imprisonment, the minimum salary per day in Mexico City is less than the cost of keeping someone in prison, at \$123.22 Mexican pesos per day.

As a country, Mexico has been badly hit by the coronavirus pandemic. At the time of writing (first week of Dec 2020) there have been nearly 1,300,000 cases identified across Mexico and just over 115,000 coronavirus related deaths.² This makes it one of the worst effected countries globally, but with notably lower infection and mortality rates than its northern

neighbour, the USA, with over 16,000,000 confirmed cases and over 300,000 coronavirus related deaths.³ In Mexican prisons, as of 8 December 2020, the National Human Rights Commission reported 2,838 confirmed cases and 242 confirmed coronavirus related deaths in custody, and three prison riots related to responses to the pandemic.⁴ In a report prepared by the Secretaría de Gobierno (Home Office – 'SdG') and seen in preparation for this paper, within Mexico City prisons as of 6 December 2020, 15,149 coronavirus tests had been taken, 1552 of which were positive and 12,639 of which were negative.⁵ Of those identified with coronavirus, 1444 had recovered completely, 50 people had been released, one person had been moved to a prison in another jurisdiction and 21 people had died. There had been a further 38 deaths suspected to be coronavirus related but without the test evidence, so 59 suspected coronavirus related deaths in total. The Mexico City prison system was dealing with 36 other confirmed cases at the time of writing, while Mexico City beyond the prison estate had been declared a red zone due to a high number of infections and only essential travel was allowed.⁶

The backgrounds of both interviewees illuminate different professional trajectories into prisons work in Mexico. Hazael Ruiz Ortega comes from a legal background with post-graduate qualifications in penitentiary law (studied in Argentina) and criminology (studied in Spain). He also has a master's degree in educational planning and management⁷ and has been a visiting professor in several Mexican universities. He has over 20 years' experience in the prison system. He began his career as a criminologist⁸ in the Reclusorio

1. Source: <https://www.prisonstudies.org/world-prison-brief-data>

2. Source: <https://covid19.who.int/table>

3. Source: <https://covid19.who.int>

4. Source: https://www.cndh.org.mx/sites/default/files/documentos/2020-07/IE_COVID19_Penitenciarios.pdf and information tweeted by @CNDH on 14 December 2020.

5. 319 results were pending and 638 were repeated tests.

6. <https://covid19.cdmx.gob.mx/comunicacion>

7. His previous publications include a chapter on Mexico in the book *Trends in corrections: Interviews with correction leaders around the world* published by Routledge in October 2012 (2019).

8. In Mexican prisons the Criminology Department is made up of different professions including psychology, education and social work, all of whom interact to support prisoners during their sentence. Criminologists conduct life interviews of people deprived of their liberty on arrival so that individual and social factors contributing to offending can be understood and appropriate courses and support options can be offered. Criminologists will also design and run these courses. For example, in the pre-release prison we discuss in this paper, courses on offer include intra-family violence, crime prevention and parenting courses. Mexican prisons also have a Legal Department, supporting prisoners with the legal progression of their cases and managing their sentences. The Criminology Department will complete interviews and reports so their colleagues in the Legal Department can submit these to the judges.

Preventivo Varonil Oriente (a remand prison in the east of Mexico City for men). He progressed to direct that department and others in the prison, and then to direct (govern) both male and female prisons within the Mexico City prison system. He moved on from this to lead different areas of the whole prison system for Mexico City, including as the Director for Crime Prevention and Social Rehabilitation, and as the Director of the Youth Treatment System, until, on 1 November 2013, he became the Subsecretary (Director) of the whole Mexico City prison system. In this role, he is responsible for the management of all 13 prisons in the country's capital (11 male, 2 female) imprisoning up to 27,000 people, 95% of whom are men, and 5% of whom are women.

Pedro Aguilar Cueto comes from a background in communication sciences and psychology and holds a master's in communication and culture studies. He has been a public servant for 28 years, 18 of which he's spent in the prison system where he has worked with both young people and adults. He is a qualified therapeutic counsellor for drug addiction and engages practically and academically with cross cutting psychological and criminological matters. He has been a visiting professor at the Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Mexico, sharing his work on psychopathology and the prison system in several national and international forums. He has also been a visiting guest lecturer as part of a panel on Latin American prisons for our Masters of Studies students in Applied Penology, Criminology and Management at the University of Cambridge. He currently directs a pre-release prison, annexed to a very large male prison for sentenced prisoners in Mexico City (El Centro de Ejecución de Sanciones Penales Varonil Norte – Anexo Norte). In January 2019 his leading work in this prison was recognised through accreditation for compliance with the American Correctional Association standards and in June 2020 he was awarded a certificate from the Instituto Nacional de Ciencias Penales (INACIPE) for compliance with the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (the Nelson

Mandela Rules). In the transcription the Spanish names of the prisons have not been translated – 'Reclusorio' is prison, and in Mexico City the prisons are named according to their location in the north (norte), south (sur), and east (oriente).

RA: What are the aims, vision, and mission of your prison system or the prison you direct?

HR: The aim of our prisons for people who are held both on remand and under a sentence, is organised on the basis of respect for human rights, work, training, education, health and physical activity

Our vision is to be a prison system that respects the human rights of those deprived of their liberty, giving them access to the tools they need to effectively engage in the psychological, criminological and sociological support

as ways to support successful reintegration back into society and prevent recidivism.⁹ Our vision is to be a prison system that respects the human rights of those deprived of their liberty, giving them access to the tools they need to effectively engage in the psychological, criminological and sociological support we can offer, in order to change or neutralize the factors that have influenced their offending behaviour, helping them to understand their actions, the effect on their victims and to be successfully reintegrated into society. Our mission is to safeguard people deprived of their liberty within the prisons of Mexico City through providing a safe and ordered prison system with effective security that

guarantees human rights and provides access to technical programmes that strengthen the process of reintegration, while ensuring coordination and verification of all legal processes in order to avoid any action that would contravene the law.¹⁰ Our official values include always working in ways that are recognised as appropriate to maintain security and discipline for all people deprived of their liberty in our prisons.

RA: Can you describe the day-to-day realities of running a prison in Mexico City?

HR: Mexico City's prison system consists of 13 Prison Centers (11 for males, and 2 for females), as well as an Administrative Sanctions and Social Integration Center. As of 25 September 2020, it can hold 27,549

9. In accordance with National Penal Law.

10. As mentioned above, and discussed below in relation to Mexico City particularly, there is a very high remand population in Mexican prisons. Within prisons there is a legal department dedicated to overseeing the movement of cases through the conviction and appeals process. Some of the challenges of this system are depicted in the brilliant film *Presunto Culpable*, from 2011 detailing the case of an innocent man held in prison for many years in Mexico https://www.imdb.com/video/vi1309016601?ref_=tt_pv_vi_aiv_1.

people across all 13 Centers. There are currently 26,953 people in prison (25,434 of which are men, and 1,519 women). Of these, 24,326 are sentenced for local offences (Fuero común) and 2,627 for a federal offences (Fuero Federal). Of this population 18,504 are already sentenced, while 8,449 are awaiting sentence on remand. Of those incarcerated, the most common crimes are theft (41%), homicide (19%), kidnapping (13%), sexual offenses (8%), crimes against health (6%) and carrying a firearm (6%). In terms of age groups, 25% of our population are between 18 and 29 years old, 36% are between 30 and 39 years old, 25% between 40 and 49, and the rest are 60 or above.

In terms of education, 23% of the people in our prisons have only completed primary school, 48% secondary school, 18% secondary school with job training (bachillerato) and 6% have tertiary studies. The remaining 5% includes those who are illiterate, those who only know how to read, and those with graduate studies. Before coming to prison 38% were in skilled employment (white collar workers), 28% worked in commerce and informal sales, 16% were employees, 4% worked as construction workers, 2% stayed at home, and the rest worked in other areas.¹¹

As a system, we have to look after a portion of the imprisoned population that belong to diverse vulnerable groups: of the current population 853 people are over 65 years old, 403 have a recognized form of physical disability, 528 have documented psycho-social disabilities, 181 have HIV-AIDS, 419 are indigenous,¹² 212 are members of the LGBTQI+ community, 287 are foreigners, 4 are pregnant women and 52 minors (20 girls and 32 boys) live with their imprisoned mothers within our prisons.¹³ Until all of the contingencies as a result of coronavirus, around 110,000 people visited the city's 13 prisons each month to see imprisoned family members. This number has dropped so much that during September there were only 38,000 visits recorded.

PA: In my prison, the daily budget per prisoner is exactly the same as in other prisons in Mexico City, at

130 pesos per day. This year our population is below capacity. As of 31 October 2020, we have a population of 102, which is less than half of the capacity of the prison, which is 250. This means there is no overcrowding in my prison, which has many benefits for the population – because we are not currently overpopulated conditions are optimal, dignified and clean, everyone sleeps in a bunk and has access to communal areas and spaces specifically designated for eating. Just like other prisons in Mexico City, we have a selection criteria in my prison. We only hold people who have been sentenced, and do not hold people still on remand (not yet sentenced). Most people serving their sentence are sent here by the 'juez de ejecución' (sentencing judge). The average stay in Anexo Norte is 8 months, but people can stay a maximum of two years. Due to the nature of the regime and what we can offer here,

which includes compliance with planned activities, good behaviour, and the potential to make plans for life post release, which we understand as part of the right to a future, 80% of those who serve time here are granted parole and released early. During their time with us people deprived of their liberty are offered the chance to begin or resume their studies, from learning to read and write to completing their secondary education. We currently have one person learning to read and

write, eight in primary level education, 30 in secondary level education, a further 54 in 'preparatoria' (preparing for a career in work or university) and nine people who have completed their undergraduate degree.

Coronavirus has impacted our links with the community. Because of the general restrictions on movement across Mexico City, people in prison are now only permitted visits once per week. From March 2020 we brought in video calls or 'virtual' visits, which can be from 15 minutes to one hour long. Now we have installed specially equipped booths so these visits are more comfortable and have better audio and visual quality, and prisoners can choose their preferred platform: Skype, Google Duo, Facetime, Zoom and

Because of the general restrictions on movement across Mexico City, people in prison are now only permitted visits once per week.

11. There isn't really a concept of 'unemployed' in this answer, there is formal and informal employment, self-employment (e.g. in commerce) or being 'employed' (working for someone else), is white collar 'skilled employment' and blue collar 'construction workers'. There are very few people who 'stay at home' (are unemployed).
12. Mexico has the largest indigenous population in Latin American countries at over 15% (nearly 17 million people) of the population. Indigenous people are included in this section as 'vulnerable' because there are many ways in which they are marginalised. Indigenous people often don't speak Spanish, the dominant language, but speak one of the other 364 dialects related to the 64 languages spoken across Mexico. Indigenous people's life chances and expectancy are low, with high infant and maternal mortality and malnutrition rates. Many high profile assassinations and disappearances have related to those campaigning for the rights of indigenous people in Mexico. Source: <https://www.iwgia.org/en/mexico.html>.
13. Children live with their mothers in Mexico City prisons until they are 5 years and 11 months old.

WhatsApp. Prisoners can have one in-person visit and several 'virtual' visits per week, which can be arranged according to their family's schedule. People in prison who have coronavirus can still continue to have virtual visits. Conjugal visits¹⁴ were paused for six weeks at the height of the pandemic. Before the pandemic prisoners were entitled to four conjugal visits per month. They have now resumed, but are restricted to once a month.

RA: Have you previously had to manage outbreaks of infectious diseases? What has been the nature and scale of this?

HR: In 2009 there was a pandemic generated by the influenza virus (A/H1N1). Extraordinary measures were taken within the prisons in Mexico City which included closing them to external visits. Although this contingency only lasted for a few weeks, this decision led to a series of violent riots across prisons.

Although this Covid pandemic has been the worst episode of a public health issue faced by Mexico City's prisons, it has not been the only one. In 2007, 2008 and 2009 there were also scabies outbreaks on the Reclusorios Sur, Oriente y Norte, which were swiftly controlled.^{15 16}

Most recently, in early March 2020 there was an outbreak of measles in the Reclusorio Norte, which generated a vaccination campaign including the whole population of the prison, staff and visitors, to control the spread.^{17 18}

RA: How prepared were you for the coronavirus outbreak? Did you have contingency plans in place?

HR: Because of our prior experience referenced above, when news started to circulate about the appearance of coronavirus, we immediately began to prepare to face this threat and contain the impact within prisons, thinking about the health and wellbeing of the staff who work here, as well as those deprived of their liberty and all those who enter the premises, whether as a visitor or as a supplier of goods and services.

On 28 February 2020, well before the first positive case was confirmed, under the direction of the Chief of Government, Dr. Claudia Sheinbaum and the then Government Secretary, Rosa Icela Rodríguez, the Protocol of Action in Penitentiary Centers of México City for SARS-COV-2 was drafted, with the guidance and supervision of the local Secretary of Health and the

local Commission for Human Rights. This protocol was enacted on 16 March 2020, after an exhaustive analysis in coordination with the individual prison directors and across the prison system.

PA: Honestly, we were not prepared. We built the new measures and the contingency plan on a daily basis, following guidelines and procedures that were established by the City Government and the Health Secretariat. Happily, today we have a plan to address the contingency, which runs from Monday to Sunday, 24 hours a day.

RA: When did you start to consider that this may be a significant issue for you? How did you feel at that time?

HR: In Mexico City's prison system, we got busy preparing to face this new illness from the beginning of 2020. This period allowed us to have a clearer view of what was to come and what to expect. This is why it was important to seek advice from sanitation experts and to lean on Mexico City's Department of Health, who established the parameters within which we had to act to successfully face this challenge.

PA: The moment I saw the significant increase in the number of people who were bedridden and relying on ventilators, I thought that this was going to be a big problem, and that it would go on for months. I felt worried and concerned because the virus was advancing quickly, and we did not have enough clarity regarding the protocols and contingency plans for both staff and prisoners.

RA: What actions did you take in order to manage the risk of infection spreading?

HR: The Protocol for Attention to face coronavirus was enacted on 16 March 2020, and a series of measures came into force across prisons in Mexico City. I will try to detail them, in rough chronological order, below.

Initially health and hygiene measures were put in place to ensure regular temperature checks and use of anti-bacterial gel. Cleaning and property sanitization initiatives were also started. Information flyers were distributed in three versions: one for people deprived of their liberty, one for their visitors, and one for staff working inside the prisons. All three provided information about measures that had to be taken in order to prevent the spread of coronavirus.

14. This is called a 'visita íntima'.

15. Yáñez G, Israel, «Nuevo brote de sarna en el Reclusorio Norte», La Crónica, 13 de febrero de 2008, disponible en: [<http://www.cronica.com.mx/notas/2008/347280.html>], consultada en: 2020-07-25.

16. Bolaños, Claudia, «Reportan brote de sarna en reclusorio», El Universal, 02 de abril de 2009, disponible en: [<https://archivo.eluniversal.com.mx/ciudad/94755.html>], consultada en: 2020-07-25.

17. Foro TV, «Brote de sarampión en CDMX pudo haber surgido en Reclusorio Norte», Televisa News, 5 de marzo de 2020, disponible en: [<https://noticieros.televisa.com/ultimas-noticias/brote-sarampion-cdmx-reclusorio-norte/>], consultada en: 2020-07-25.

18. Siete24TV, «Controlan brote de sarampión en el Reclusorio Norte», 9 de marzo 2020, Siete24TV, disponible en: [<https://siete24.mx/mexico/cdmx/controlan-brote-de-sarampion-en-el-reclusorio-norte/>], consultada en: 2020-07-25.

People over 60 years of age, pregnant women and minors below the age of 18 were prohibited from entering the premises, and family visits were scaled back, with the aim of reducing visiting numbers by 50%.¹⁹ Visits were later suspended entirely.

Testing was introduced for those who were new to the prison and isolation units established for those who were infected. Eight tents were installed in six prisons, to be used as additional lodgings in case the number of people infected with coronavirus increased. Fortunately, to date they remain unused. To protect and care for those who were healthy but vulnerable to infection, 115 prisoners were transferred from the Reclusorio Preventivo Varonil Oriente (eastern male remand prison) to the Centro de Ejecución de Sanciones Penales Varonil Oriente (eastern male sentenced prison).

The use of facemasks was made compulsory for every person deprived of their liberty, and reusable masks were handed out on two occasions to every person in prison in Mexico City. During this time, protective gear was also given to security and custody staff, and all other staff working inside prisons in Mexico City including face shields, facemasks, and gloves.

PA: In so far as it is possible, we have endeavored to make our response to the pandemic one of shared ownership, highlighting the need for us all to work together. The Director and his staff kept prisoners informed on a daily basis, communicating information in a truthful, timely and transparent manner. Information was shared every day at 18.00 hours in the biggest courtyard in the prison, while complying with social distancing and using facemasks.

As discussed above, visitation was reduced from four days per week to only one day on a weekend. Prior to the pandemic most people in my prison worked or studied during the week, so they would have visitors all day on Saturday and Sundays, and up to five people visiting each day. Now they can have only one visitor on one day. We have also significantly reduced activities within the prison involving prisoners and staff in closed spaces. In this prison the rooms and dormitories are unlocked at 06.00. They close again at 19.00 but if prisoners want to stay out past this time, they can watch the communal television in the dining area. This closes at 22.00 and everyone must be in their room at this point. Breakfast is served at 08.00, lunch at 14.00 and dinner at 18.00. This routine has not changed during the pandemic. Face to face education provision has stopped, but students are continuing their studies remotely, with materials delivered by officials, who now only come into the prison for scheduled exams.

We work with industrial partners that produce paper bags and sandpaper, and with the Prison Art

project to produce high end leather goods.²⁰ These workshops closed for one month while we established the necessary safety protocols but have reopened and continue to operate following the agreed safety protocols. Similarly, cultural, sport and other recreational activities have not stopped, on the contrary they have increased in order to provide meaningful distraction from the pressures of the pandemic. In this prison we have continued to offer football, volleyball, basketball, boxing and weights, all with safety protocols in place. We also participated in the recent Day of the Dead celebrations by making our 'ofrenda'. This was especially important this year as it was a way to come together to remember friends and family members we have lost, including five colleagues whom we have lost to Covid.

In addition, I made the personal and voluntary decision to move into the prison and live here without leaving for four months, in order that I could keep an eye on any need or situation that may arise and put the health of my staff or those in my care in jeopardy.

RA: What was the reaction of prisoners to these measures? Did you face resistance, or increased distress? How did you monitor this? Did you change anything as a result?

PA: In el Anexo Norte, people deprived of their liberty and staff both underwent a process of adaptation to living in this 'new reality'. The reactions have been good because all of the actions have been aimed at the common good. Every time el subsecretario, Hazael Ruíz Ortega has visited, he has publicly endorsed our phrase "tu me cuidas, yo te cuido" ("you take care of me, and I'll take care of you"), with reference to the use of facemasks, constant hand washing, regular cleaning and sanitizing and each person's commitment to reporting any illness or symptoms immediately.

There has been constant monitoring. The authorities have not only come to the prison to visit, they have been present in the prison every day engaging with everyone. Together we have been a whole team working towards the same goal: to prevent infections and keep everyone in good health amidst this pandemic. The stressful nature of the pandemic cannot be denied because the responsibilities are real and lives are on the line, but we have not faced resistance. At the end of the day, this is an unprecedented situation for everyone, and we have faced it together in a professional and sensible manner. The psychology department has also continued to work in order to provide therapeutic support to people in prison during the pandemic, especially to those who have lost loved ones.

19. To achieve this the number of visitors per visit was reduced, and the number of visits permitted per week was also reduced.

20. <https://www.prisonart.com.mx>

RA: What was the reaction of staff to these measures? How did you monitor this? Did you change anything as a result?

HR: In Mexico City, like everywhere else, everyone whose work commitments did not require their physical presence was instructed to work from home. However, most public sector workers in the prison system, particularly security staff, play a vital role within prisons and they need to be physically present.

I have to acknowledge the effort and commitment that was put into this undertaking, day after day. For more than the half a year of this pandemic, prison staff have kept working hard to make sure all of the new measures are well implemented. They have not dropped their guard and have kept their spirits high. Thanks to everyone's commitment, from cleaning staff to the directors, and especially the security and custody staff, we have produced good results.

PA: Each person is their own universe of reactions and emotions. The impacts of this pandemic have been sudden and have impacted everyone's routines. In my prison we have faced some people who are incredulous, others who are distrustful, have not taken the changes well or others who have resisted new protocols. Some have fled.

In different moments, communication has been a key element among those who have stayed and worked. It has been important to make space for people to be able to express their feelings about how we can face this situation, losing people that are close to us, incorporating uncertainty into our daily lives, accepting that our everyday activities have been altered in terms of families, social lives, and work. It has certainly not been easy because of the stress, annoyances, general bad moods and uncomfortable situations which we are learning to adapt to as time goes on. Our mission, undoubtedly, is to fulfill and carry out all the guidelines given by the competent authorities, including the health sector, not simply to comply, but also to incorporate them into our daily routines and learn how to live in new ways.

RA: How were prisoners' families impacted by the measures put in place?

PA: First, we have to consider that for most people it is not pleasant to visit a loved one in prison. Families gradually transform this activity into a "necessary obligation". Over years families adapt their lives to fit in with the prison system, modifying their schedules, priorities, and activities in order to spend time with those in prison. Evidence from the pandemic in this prison makes us certain that families have benefitted from only being able to visit once a week, and actually most are only visiting once or twice a month. As a result, visits have become something positive, rather than an obligation. It feels more like family time, allows visitors to also take care of other family members, they

save money on transportation, and minimize the chance of infection, protecting both their wider families and their incarcerated loved ones.

RA: How did you try to mitigate the impact of the measures put in place? Did you develop any new processes or use new technologies?

HR: Across all prisons in Mexico City we continued to allow family members to bring personal hygiene items, food, clothes, utensils and other personal items for people deprived of their liberty any day of the week, and we also enabled video calls. We always announced any restrictive measures before they were applied and made sure that all people deprived of their liberty were kept informed.

PA: Without doubt the implementation of "virtual visits" has been a valuable and useful communication tool between people deprived of their liberty and their families in my prison. It has encouraged many people to re-establish ties with those who have not been able to visit them in prison for a long time due to illness or physical distance. Virtual visits have meant people in prison have been able to be part of special family reunions, some have even begun helping their children with their homework. It is a way to mitigate the negative effects of the pandemic and it makes perfect sense to keep it and have it available for people deprived of their liberty for as long as they are in prison.

RA: How did you start to plan to move on from the initial response and start the process of recovery?

HR: The health authorities are in charge of dictating the general guidelines that determine the 'new normal'. A 'sanitary traffic light' was put in place for the country: in Mexico City we advanced from red to orange, but have since returned to red. This 'traffic light' will establish the framework through which we will gradually restart activities, as well as reestablishing the appropriate restrictions.

Activities inside prisons in Mexico City were never completely suspended, only limited to the extent necessary so that they could be executed while ensuring social distancing. Once the 'sanitary traffic light' is back to green in Mexico City, we will resume our general activity inside prisons.

RA: What are you most proud of in the response to the pandemic?

PA: I am most proud of the commitment and union shown by of all the staff. It has been truly special to lead all the efforts from March, without letting our guard down at any moment. I feel happy with the collective effort because despite the fear of coronavirus, I have always seen their disposition to do their best, whether it is an eight-hour shift, 12-hour shift, or 24-hour plus 48 rest hours shift. They have all reflected the highest standard of public service in our prisons.