

PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

November 2017 No 234



Should the public be listening to prison radio programmes?

An exploration of prison radio in Sweden and North America

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Background

This article reviews a recent project completed by one of the authors. Tighe was successfully awarded a fellowship¹ to visit examples of prison radio across Sweden and North America. Tighe visited programmes that could be heard by the general public. This happened after her secondment at the National Offender Management Service (NOMS), as Head of Prison Radio in England and Wales.² It was her insight and admiration of National Prison Radio which inspired this exploration. Her objective was to find out how the listening public responds to the prisoner experience when they hear it on their normal radio at home or via a website or through social media platforms like Facebook and SoundCloud.

The aim of Tighe's project was to improve understanding of how prison radio in different jurisdictions is made. This could be by prisoners or ex-prisoners themselves or in collaboration with professional radio makers. In consolidating Tighe's evidence there are a number of important factors that shed light on the complexity of prison radio and the value it may have for the prisoner themselves, their families, the prison system and the wider society. This article argues that prison radio can make valuable contributions towards rehabilitative agendas as well as igniting routes to active citizenship and participation. It also highlights a range of responsibilities that broadcasters, small or large, might reflect on when dealing with prison-centred programmes for wider public consumption. We explore whether radio programmes made by prisoners have something to offer the wider public. We reflect on the impact of this.

When Tighe was Head of Prison Radio at NOMS, on secondment from the BBC, she was constantly impressed by the quality of the content of National

Prison Radio and how it put the audience at the heart of everything it does. National Prison Radio, which can be heard by the majority of prisoners in England and Wales, can be accessed by the majority of prisoners in England and Wales can only be heard via their in-cell television. It is important to note that it cannot be heard by anyone outside the prison. As a result of Tighe's fellowship and Knight's review of the existing research into prison radio, they have come to the conclusion that listening to radio programmes made by prisoners would have value outside the prison walls. They believe this for three main reasons. First, it would offer more information about prisons and how they operate, filling knowledge gaps amongst the general public. Second, it would give the community a more nuanced understanding of crime because they would hear the men and women taking part as 'humans' not just 'criminals'; something distanced and arbitrary. Third, a more informed general public may contribute towards a more successful re-entry into the community for prisoners, resulting in less re-offending. Moreover research indicates that prisoners, especially those who work side by side with professional radio producers, can develop essential skills which could enhance their employability and at the same time help them grown in confidence.³ Tighe's fellowship corroborates these findings.

What Prison Radio Research Tells Us

There is a discreet raft of research on prison radio. Although it is very niche it does give some insight into the ways in which prison radio has emerged, how it is managed and the ways it is produced. Heather Anderson discusses what she calls 'in-prison' radio. She identifies the different forms of prison radio. For example radio programmes created outside in the community, to be played inside prison compared to

1. Winston Churchill Memorial Fund- <http://www.wcmt.org.uk/users/siobhanntighe2015>.
2. National Prison Radio is broadcast in the majority of prisons in England and Wales via in-cell televisions, but it can only be heard inside the prison estate. It is a mix of music and speech, and is made by prisoners who are supported by a charity called The Prison Radio Association. It was initially set up to provide support when there was a number of suicides in Feltham Young Offenders Institute but it has grown into a professional, award-winning radio station which gives information about reducing rehabilitation and breaking the cycle of crime. Prisoners engagement with National Prison Radio could take place either through another radio station called Radio Wannu based in HMP Wandsworth, or through radio production courses supplied by the education provider.
3. Wilkinson, K., & Davidson, J. (2008). An Evaluation of the Prison Radio Association's Activity: The West Midlands Prison Radio Taster Project. *Unpublished internal evaluation report*.

radio programmes made by serving prisoners played on the inside and also on the outside. Our exploration builds on these different formats and considers the critical sensitivities related to producing and transmitting prison radio.

At this point it is useful to draw on the radio scholar, Nick Couldry⁴ who developed the idea of 'voice' as 'process and value'.⁵ He argues that organisations actively choose to exclude, ignore, undermine and silence certain voices and therefore in essence the organization denies 'a basic dimension of human life'.⁶ Couldry asserts the 'process' of effective communication is firstly the production of voice through broadcast media. Secondly this process requires the voice to be *spoken*, and crucially *heard* by a receiver, that is the audience. It is the listening aspect of Couldry's process which adds complexity and makes it challenging for anyone involved in prison radio, especially if it goes out on the public airwaves. If it is to be prepared for public consumption it is essential that producers need to address offence related risks, be sensitive to victims and witnesses of crime as well as abiding by legal broadcasting stipulations.⁷ To do this successfully making sure that prison radio requires additional resources, whether that is professional expertise or financial investment.

There is significant debate about the extent to which prisoners are silenced, not just in radio. Goffman described the prisoner experience as a 'civic death', whereby all opportunities to be an active citizen are taken away.⁸ An outcome of this civic death means that,

*... prisoners are dehumanized in the popular consciousness. They are rarely presented as individuals and when they are, it's only their crimes and scarred backgrounds which are brought to light.*⁹

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One vivid example of this 'dehumanization' is that many prisoners' around the world do not have the right to vote. However there are groups in society which recognize this and help prisoners become more active in society. Recent examples include helping prisoners make hand embroidered cushions and bags to sell, creating artwork including novels and poetry and producing food items for sale. All of this taps into the rehabilitative agenda to promote purposeful activity in prisons as well as encouraging more engagement with the outside world.¹⁰

Prison radio is distinct from the arts examples listed above. Whilst it also contributes to the rehabilitation of prisoners, but it less straightforward. In order for it to be produced correctly and without risks, important editorial issues need to be addressed. This is highlighted through Tighe's fellowship report which touched on themes like censorship, citizenship, support networks, resettlement, desistance and public opinion. We consider these issues here.

Enabling citizenship through radio participation

As described by Goffman we know that citizenship is compromised by imprisonment.

For example prisoners are unable to participate in public, democratic and liberal practices. However, prison radio researchers agree that participation in radio, as programme makers or as listeners, enhances citizenship¹¹ and democracy.¹² This is because radio, unlike other media, is relatively accessible. As Anderson says it relies entirely on sound, specifically the voice.¹³ Compared to television it is inexpensive to make. Radio programmes can be accessed in numerous and various ways and can reach audiences across large geographical areas.

Existing prison radio research suggests it is also very powerful especially when it comes to activism and the promotion of positive social values. One good example of this comes from Australia in a programme called the *Jailbreak Health Project*. This was created

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4. Couldry, N. (2015). Alternative Media and Voice. *The Routledge Companion to Alternative and Community Media*. In Atton, C. (Ed.). (2015). *The Routledge companion to alternative and community media*. Routledge. Couldry's (2015).
 5. *ibid.* (2015) p44.
 6. *ibid.* pg 45.
 7. McDonald, K. (2014). *Performance, power and production: a selective, critical and cultural history of the radio interview* (Doctoral dissertation, Bournemouth University).
 8. Goffman, E. (1991) *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* London, Penguin.
 9. Lumby, C. (2002). *Televising the invisible: prisoners, prison reform and the media*. Brown, D., & Wilkie, M. (Eds.). (2002). *Prisoners as citizens: Human rights in Australian prisons*. Federation Press.
 10. User Voice, Howard League, prison councils.
 11. Anderson, H. (2013). Facilitating Active Citizenship: Participating in Prisoners' Radio. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 30(4), 292–306. See also Bedford 2015, Wilkinson and Davidson 2008.
 12. Anderson, H. (2008). *Raising the civil dead: Prisoners' radio in Australia and Canada* (Doctoral dissertation, Griffith University).
 13. (2015:18).

with serving prisoners and was about blood borne diseases.¹⁴ It is this kind of participation in prison radio programmes which according to Bedford allows inmates to manage and cope with imprisonment.¹⁵ Furthermore, Fisher's research in Australia found that prison radio gave a voice to prisoners especially through requests shows and seasonal programmes like the ones at Christmas. Fisher said they focused 'on the voices of the incarcerated'¹⁶ and generated strong ties between prisoners especially within indigenous communities. He goes on to say that prison radio is an important bridge for softening the effects of imprisonment especially when it comes to the separation of the prisoner and their family. Fisher's observation supports other research which has found that other forms of media like television can strengthen the links between prisoners and their family back home.¹⁷ For example, by watching the same programme at the same time even though they are in separate places they have created a bond.

Being able to cope with prison, and yet feel connected with home helps this notion of still being part of the community. In the same way then, listening to prison radio and making prison radio can also contribute to this sense of belonging. According to Bedford prison radio provides 'a service for a community, it operates as a means of expression of the community'.¹⁸ She goes on to say that this sense of belonging can help prisoners 'reshape their understanding of concepts such as community, responsibility and empathy'.¹⁹ Finally she argues that prison radio can widen or open up debates about our prisons to the listening public.²⁰

Protecting the public, the victims and prison organisations

Creating content made by serving prisoners is the core business of National Prison Radio (NPR) which is broadcast to most prisons across England and Wales. Bedford's analysis of NPR highlighted how it contributes to Prison Service targets, specifically 'purposeful activity'.²¹ The core staff of NPR are radio professionals

many with an established record at the BBC. This expertise means that NPR generates credible programmes which abide important editorial and security standards. Bedford argues that this marries with Reithian principles and thus extends principles of 'ethical engagement'.²² This blending of professional standards and serving the public is a distinctive quality of NPR according to Bedford.

One of the positive outcomes of this type of active participation in their own rehabilitation means that prisoners can learn radio production skills and also basic skills (such literacy and numeracy). Moreover, Bedford identified that that prisoners can learn about 'social responsibility'²³ for example creating a set of programmes about restorative justice. Not only were they about encouraging empathy in prisoners they also contributed to reducing recidivism according to Bedford. She claimed that these

programmes where prisoners honestly engaged with the harm they had inflicted helped to manage public opinion about NPR. She concluded that this helped to validate what NPR's serves to do as well as reassuring the public about their function which at its core is rehabilitation.

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14. Minc, A., Butler, T., & Gahan, G. (2007). The Jailbreak Health Project—incorporating a unique radio programme for prisoners. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 18(5), 444–446.

15. Bedford, C. (2015). *Making waves behind bars: the story of the Prison Radio Association* (Doctoral dissertation) p13.

16. Fisher, D. (2009). Mediating kinship: country, family, and radio in northern Australia. *Cultural Anthropology*, 24(2), 280–312. p289.

17. Knight, V. (2015). *Remote Control: Television in Prison* London, Palgrave Macmillan.

18. Bedford, C. (2015). *Making waves behind bars: the story of the Prison Radio Association* (Doctoral dissertation) p42.

19. *ibid.* 43 see also (Allan 2006).

20. *ibid.* p43.

21. Bedford, C. (2015). *Making waves behind bars: the story of the Prison Radio Association* (Doctoral dissertation) p150.

22. *ibid.* p156.

23. *ibid.* p197.

A different study conducted into NPR by McDonald explored the editorial process and highlighted a complex set of processes which ensured that its reputation was maintained. She highlighted that NPR and the Prison Service work closely together. For example prisoners taking part in NPR must satisfy security requirements based on established risk assessments. Moreover NPR staff teach prisoners essential editorial rules when it comes to making programmes. When she was researching NPR she observed that prisoners were taught to how to become sensible interviewers, which sometimes meant making sure the interviewee was treated correctly and fairly.²⁴ As we said in our introduction NPR can only be heard by serving prisoners and one of the reasons it cannot be heard outside is to protect victims of crime and to make sure they are not further harmed. Consideration for widening its reach to the community has been avoided. Driving this decision is to ensure rightful protection of victims of crime. In contrast to the well-honed relationship between NPR and NOMS in England and Wales the Australian researcher Anderson found an example which didn't comply with prison system rules. She identified a radio show called *Locked-In*, which took calls from low risk offenders at the end of their sentence. It contravenes Australian prison policy on protecting victims of crime.²⁵ This kind of example could weaken trust between important stakeholders and ultimately put a project like this at risk.

To overcome these risks, prison radio across the board puts in place mechanisms to mitigate risk. For instance in England and Wales NPR has strict conditions about which prisoners can participate and they need to be engaged in their rehabilitation. They do this in conjunction with offender managers and security departments within the prison. Within the prison, risks can be managed to some degree through prisoner selection and editorial guidelines. But on the outside this is harder to manage, and therefore publishing prisoner testimonies is avoided. Anderson argues there is a distinct 'absence of prisoners' own views and

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perspectives in the public sphere'.²⁶ But she also believes that prisoners themselves can plug that gap, helping to provide,

*... alternative discourses on law and order issues that speak through the voices of those experiencing ... the prison system ...*²⁷

She says that by denying their voice or restricting it, or heavily regulating it, the penal debate becomes limited, partial and selective. Moreover, prisoners are not just experts on the prison experience, they have other things to say about the world. Anderson's findings are supported by McDonald's research, who suggests that radio offers important opportunities for the prisoner 'to be heard and to be listened to'.²⁸ As we have mentioned earlier society reduces prisoners to one single issue which is incarceration. But the research indicates that prisoners' engagement in prison radio has the potential to normalize of the prison experience. It enables inmates to be recognised as individuals with their 'own' voices. We need to be very mindful that these voices have the potential to extend further harm to victims.

Furthermore the potential risks are also exacerbated by the established argument that prisoners are less eligible. Because of their crimes prisoners are not considered undeserving when it comes to access to full rights, active citizenship and access to goods and services. And it is these kinds of restrictions which can be played with. Bottoms, describes this is a form of 'manipulation of perceived public opinion in order to serve political interests'.²⁹ We know that if political parties appear to be tough on crime, they believe that is more attractive to the electorate. However the recent Prison Reform agenda set out by the previous Secretary of State, Michael Gove in 2016 gave some indication that restrictions would be loosened in order to reduce re-offending, curb prison violence and save money. His vision for the Prison Service could now be put on hold, especially in the light of Brexit. What we do know is keeping in contact with family is one

24. McDonald, K. (2014). *Performance, power and production: a selective, critical and cultural history of the radio interview* (Doctoral dissertation, Bournemouth University) p 166.

25. Anderson, H. (2013). Facilitating Active Citizenship: Participating in Prisoners' Radio. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 30(4), 292–306.

26. Anderson, H. (2015). Prisoners' Radio. *The Routledge Companion to Alternative and Community Media*. Anderson (2015).

27. *ibid.* p432).

28. McDonald, K. (2014). *Performance, power and production: a selective, critical and cultural history of the radio interview* (Doctoral dissertation, Bournemouth University) (Curtis Blanc interview in McDonald 2014).

29. Bottoms (2015:222)????

established route to successful resettlement. As described below this is also one of the major findings in Tighe's project. She visited prison radio projects in Sweden and North America and witnessed prisoners and ex-prisoners using radio to maintain important links with their family, community, their identity. It and also helped them make sense of their prison experience, which for some is disorientating and painful as Sykes³⁰ famously documented in his sociological study of an American prison.

Sweden

Radio Fri is a radio programme in Stockholm and broadcast on a community radio station. It features young offenders, many of them vulnerable with complex needs. These young people are assisted by professional programme makers. This is helpful because initially many may struggle to present the programme and speak on air, as Nadia one of the professional programme producers explains,

The people who like presenting radio programmes, stay ... One person has been doing it for three years. He's totally fluent when he's speaking now, and he really connects with the audio. The people we work with are encouraged to reflect on the material that we've recorded. That's how they're practicing empathy. Our big aim is to help people work better in a group, to practice empathy skills and self-reflection, enhance their language and communication skills, and strengthen their self-esteem. (Nadia—professional programme producer)

Tighe also met two young men called Gabriel and Jasber. They were hopeful that their work with Radio Fri would help them find employment although not necessarily in the highly competitive media industry. Gabriel said that before Radio Fri he was shy, but he is now able to talk in front of people and even give presentations,

Everyone needs to challenge their fears. (Gabriel — young person).

At one of the Young Offenders Institutions outside Stockholm which Radio Fri visits the young prisoners that Tighe spoke to explained that participation in radio allowed them to express themselves in creative ways. One teenage girl said,

It's important for us living here to speak out, and people need to listen because I'm just as much of a human as anyone else is. People say they understand me, but they've never had an addiction, so they can't really understand me. I think it's important for people to understand that drugs and criminality are big problems for teenagers. (Anon—young person under 18)

The value of the voice within this context is as McDonald described in her research is a valuable route to carving out autonomy and self-worth³¹ This was also reiterated by another young person who Tighe spoke to,

I get the chance to express myself and tell my story. By listening to me, people might recognise themselves in me, relate to me, and not feel alone. If I tell my story people may say: 'Hey! I've been through that, and I'm also in that place. I know what you feel and I know what you're thinking'. (Anon—young person under 18)

The young people in Stockholm were using radio to paint a broader, more nuanced and complex picture of themselves than the ones society creates.

Sharing her story was therapeutic for her. Since it was heard by the public, outside the prison on a normal radio and via the internet she felt she was helping others. That empowered her and gave her a purpose.

The young people themselves could see prison had not only removed them physically from society but had also taken away their voice and their ability to participate in civic life. The young people in Stockholm were using radio to paint a broader, more nuanced and complex picture of themselves than the ones society creates. As mentioned earlier radio does have the power to get involved and challenge public perception of criminals. Radio Fri is doing precisely this. It provides a platform to inform the public and possible counter dominant discourses around criminality.

30. Sykes, G. (1957?) *The Society of the Captives*.

31. McDonald, K. (2014). *Performance, power and production: a selective, critical and cultural history of the radio interview* (Doctoral dissertation, Bournemouth University).

In Oregon, North America, a prison tutor Lauren was compelled to create a radio community programme called *Concertina Wire*. She felt that this would provide a valuable space to humanise the female prisoners she was teaching creative writing to.

The idea was originally to get incarcerated and formerly incarcerated women to write non-fiction memoir pieces, or something about their hopes, or what they wanted to do when they got out, and to broadcast it, so that the community could see them as humans. We used, with permission, written pieces from Coffee Creek Correctional Facility in Wilsonville and we read those out on the air. The response was really positive and people were excited to hear this original content. Then we started to use formerly incarcerated women talking 'live' on air, having a discussion about who they were, their struggles and where they hope to go from here. So it was powerful for the audience, but also powerful and transformative for the women taking part. (Lauren—Concertina Wire)

One unanticipated outcome of *Concertina Wire* was that it became a support network for people who had just left prison. Lauren explained how ex-prisoners listened and even participated because they wanted to remain connected to both the prison and the ex-prisoner community. This was also echoed by another weekly radio programme called *The Prison Show*, made in Houston, Texas. Presented and produced by two ex-prisoners the show's core objectives were to provide friendship to prisoners inside, including those on Death Row, remaining connected to families on the outside, and providing a community for those who had been released from prison. One way of doing this was via its *Shout-Out* section. This is where families and friends could phone into the show and have a few minutes to say hello to their loved-ones inside prison.

The show's producer, David, described how emotional these shout-outs were,

*No one ever called in to give me a call-out [whilst in prison]. I'd lay up in my little bunk with my headphones on and listen to all the people calling in to The Prison Show and they became my family. It was really neat to hear them say to other inmates: 'We love you. We miss you. We won't be able to come to see you, but just know that you're in our thoughts'. And I'd get all choked up... If your loved-ones care enough about you to call out on the radio, telling you how much they love you, that's just awesome, man, and I don't care how big and bad a convict you are: you're going sit there and cry about it. (David—producer *The Prison Show*)*

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The established view is that prison experience is painful because of enforced isolation. The producer David believes his show helps soften the distance between prisoners and separated family members. Moreover, anyone tuning in but detached from the situation, had the rare opportunity to hear prisoners not just as offenders, but as a brother, father, son and boyfriend. This chimes with Rex Bloomstein's catalogue of prison documentary films. His work are an illustration of how prisoners shown on screen can

help increase the public's knowledge of prison life and fill an information gap. Bennett's analysis of Bloomstein films argues,

Bloomstein's contribution has been to maintain a space in popular culture for more measured reflection and empathy. The polemics and stereotypes, that so often characterize public discourse about crime and punishment, fall away as the viewer is exposed to a fuller expression of human experiences.³²

If and when prisoners are allowed to contribute to film or radio, if they choose to see or hear it the public are exposed to a way of life they normally don't experience.

32. Bennett, J. (2015). Rex Bloomstein's films of reflection and empathy. *Criminal Justice Matters*, 100(1), 30–30.

Broadcasting Standards

All of the radio stations and programmes visited for Tighe's project were independently funded. They all shared the view that prisoners and offenders and of course their families, should be represented and heard on community radio. However McDonald has indicated, broadcasting the prisoners voice is sensitive is often met with trepidation and anxiety from the authorities and the wider society.³³ One radio producer who Tighe met in Portland, Oregon believed that the audience who listened to her programme were much more sophisticated,

People who listen to KWVA [the station that broadcasts The Concertina Wire] are going to be more savvy to alternative media outlets. These aren't the same people who turn to Fox News, right? ... We are reaching listeners who are already interested in finding unique and varied programmes that you can't hear anywhere else (Lauren—Concertina Wire)

They felt they were justified in being more relaxed when it came to their type of radio because they knew it would reach the audience they were trying to engage with, their desire to give a voice to this marginalised groups often meant they took editorial risks.

Emphasising this point, the producer described attempts that were made to secure a slot for *Concertina Wire* on a mainstream radio station affiliated with to the powerful and influential National Public Radio network in North America but these were unsuccessful.

Remaining small and independent may well provide radio stations the freedom to give a voice to groups like prisoners who are normally silent. Another community radio station based in Oregon had a prison radio programme called *Prison Pipeline*. They enjoyed surprising audiences with prison radio content that they wouldn't come across elsewhere, or would not have chosen to tune into,

Our show is on at a pretty prime driving time. So I always feel there are some people tuning in who aren't necessarily expecting the information they're getting from us, and then they're touched by what they hear. (Amy—Prison Pipeline)

Like other producers Amy felt that this kind of programming did increase people's understanding of prisons and what happens to prisoners. These community radio stations may enjoy more freedom

than established media companies, but this comes at a price. Tighe noticed a lack of professionalism and expertise. They rely heavily on untrained volunteers, who are driven by a strong sense of social justice and may have a general awareness of broadcasting rules and regulations, but do not have a strong grasp of journalistic principles. Best practice is not always evident.

In contrasts, one of most successful working models was the Radio Fri radio programme in Sweden. This is because it had paid professionals who are there to support and guide the young people with their programme making. This meant that programmes were safe, compliant with broadcast regulations as well as young offender institution rules The charity which producers Radio Fri adheres to their own editorial guidelines which as based on the National Prison Radio model. This helped the programme survive and flourish. To highlight this one young female at the prison in Stockholm explained to Tighe how she wanted to broadcast information about perceived malpractice and corruption inside the prison. Producers at Radio Fri described this as 'trash talk' and said they heard this kind of thing regularly. They were keen to eliminate anything libellous from the programmes. Furthermore the producers had a procedure to deal with complaints which involved alerting services accordingly. In addition, the professional producers actively edited out inappropriate language or content (including crime being spoken about in a glamorous or boastful way). They were keen to maintain expected broadcasting standards making sure content was not offensive, not damaging to the reputation and did not put the survival of their organisation at risk.

Broadcasting Voices from Prison

Although the programmes Tighe visited in Sweden and North America were making significant in-roads into broadcasting the prison experience to the public, the lack of serving prisoner voices was very apparent. *Concertina Wire* and *Prison Pipeline* were allowed permission to record inside prison but very rarely. Crossroads in Washington DC had plans to record inside a prison but to date this had been unsuccessful. However, unusually serving prisoners could telephone into the show and make comments on what they have heard about the show, raise concerns about prison life and sometimes talk about their conviction/sentence. Similarly *The Prison Show* based in Texas encouraged messages from prisoners' families and friends which were broadcast on their *Shout-Out* section. Serving prisoners could then enjoy

33. McDonald, K. (2014). Performance, power and production: a selective, critical and cultural history of the radio interview (Doctoral dissertation, Bournemouth University).

hearing family and friends but were unable to respond.

As Bedford and McDonald have highlighted there are significant challenges and sensitivities around bringing the prisoner's voice to radio. Due to the difficulty of recording inside prison programme makers rely heavily on ex-prisoners and also find³⁴ creative ways to amplify the voice of serving prisoners which they can't access. For instance, *Concertina Wire* dramatized essays written by serving female prisoners in attempts to try and breath life into the rich content of their essays. These essays speak frankly and emotionally about their lives and their feelings.

Sweden has overcome the issue of accessing prisons but only because they target a less risky group. They have no success accessing the adult prison estate, but instead they focus on young offenders.. However, Radio Fri's long term ambition is to establish their own National Prison Radio across Swedish prisons. With this goal in mind Tighe was asked to address Swedish prison authorities about how NPR worked in England and Wales and how it is seen to contribute to reducing reoffending.

Conclusion

Tighe's observations from her project alongside the secondary evidence presented tells us that prison radio has a lot to offer a range of stakeholders. If prison radio is to be prepared for public consumption it is essential that producers need to address offence related risks, be sensitive to victims and witnesses of crime as well as abiding by legal broadcasting stipulations. Giving voice is powerful and can help those incarcerated address and consider their rehabilitation. There is sensitivity about releasing radio programmes for the general public to consume. However the quality and diversity of programming does have much to offer the wider public. Silencing the prison only exacerbates distorted views of prison life and this in turn compounds wider prejudice directed at prisoners and those trying to resettle. At the same time a prisoner's community can become further distanced and harder to reach if their ability to speak, listen and hear is disrupted. Public broadcasters could benefit from this form of community radio and partner with them to transport and broadcast hidden voices to a wider public. Is anybody listening? With editorial care and careful consideration they could be.

34. Anderson, H. (2012). *Raising the civil dead: prisoners and community radio*. Peter Lang.