

# Chapter 6

## Strategies and Tactics

This chapter sets out to examine campaign strategies and tactics used by participants against wrongful conviction. The chapter begins by considering the focus of campaigns against miscarriage of justice and examines the tactics used to achieve particular aims. Most campaigns identified specific goals during the course of the campaign and then sought to translate these into outcomes. The particular goals of campaign groups challenging wrongful conviction are usually determined by the appellant's progress through the appeals process, including progress with the CCRC. Some tactics are peculiar to an individual campaign whilst other tactics are employed by pressure groups supporting campaigners fighting miscarriage of justice. The chapter will include an examination of strategies of resistance and how the management of a campaign can lead to relational tensions. The chapter seeks to understand these tensions and the extent to which decisions made during the campaign can influence present and future relationships. The methods used to research these issues include participant observation, interviews and documentary evidence.

### **Campaign Focus**

The participants highlighted campaign priorities that became a focus at specific times during the course of the campaign. Other areas of activity remained constant both during the period of incarceration and after release. The primary target for most campaigns against wrongful conviction is to seek and achieve the quashing of the conviction by the CACD. Most participants had experienced dismissed first appeals and reprioritised their campaign focus towards working with the CCRC with

a view to being referred back to the CACD. Rock (1998: 247) suggests that the ‘...most important target for any criminal justice pressure group in England and Wales was the Home Office, the very centre of power of the criminal justice system.’ Although some participants in this study did target the Home Office, particularly in relation to police malfeasance and the issue of statutory compensation, the Home Office were not the primary target for most pressure groups campaigning against wrongful conviction. The ‘official’ targets were usually the CCRC and the Court of Appeal. One reason for this is that for participants challenging wrongful conviction it is the CCRC which has the power to order reinvestigations and refer cases back to the CACD. Similarly it is the Court of Appeal which hears the case and then decides whether the conviction is ‘safe’ or ‘unsafe’ (See Chapter 1). Some participants targeted the mass media as one means of seeking to influence the Commission and the Court of Appeal. In order to apply pressure to these bodies and to influence ‘the machineries of...criminal justice’ a variety of tactics were employed by campaigns against wrongful conviction (Savage *et al*, 2007: 6). Whilst some of these priorities were confined to individual campaigns, others were similarly promoted by the membership of other justice groups against miscarriage of justice.

Although participants suggested an extensive list of priorities for their own campaigns, common elements emerged including decisions relating to their legal team; emotional support; media influence; working with the CCRC; and, support for the appellant whilst in prison. The next section will examine these five ‘focus’ areas.

### *Legal Team*

The importance of an appellant’s legal team when fighting wrongful conviction was highlighted by all participants. The legal team usually involves a criminal solicitor and other supporting legal practitioners and, when the case is ready for appeal or retrial, a barrister. For complex or ‘high profile’ cases, the appellant sometimes has two barristers, including Queen’s Counsel (usually a senior barrister) and junior counsel. Although appellant’s can submit their own application to the CCRC (CCRC,

2011) the usual practice is for the appellant's solicitor to manage this aspect of the case. Should the CCRC appoint a caseworker to review the appellant's case (CCRC, 2011a) then the solicitor is their usual point of contact. Similarly the management and preparation of the case for appeal or retrial resides with the solicitor (Langbein, 2005). It is usual for the solicitor to brief a barrister to represent their client if the case is going to the higher court (Solicitors Regulation Authority, 2011). The barrister's primary responsibility is to present the case to the court. During court proceedings they are usually supported by the case solicitor. Although solicitors in England and Wales gained 'rights of audience' to the higher court in 1994 the practice is still not commonplace. Some solicitors, however, '...apply for rights of audience in the higher court to allow them to offer a complete service to their clients' (Solicitors Regulation Authority, 2011). All participants in this study who had submitted applications to the CCRC had instructed their solicitor to submit the application. The solicitor had similarly advised the appellant and family on possible barristers. The solicitor then briefed a barrister to represent their client in the higher court.

The participant's need to reassess their legal team and, specifically the role of the solicitor following conviction, was one of the first priorities following the decision to campaign against the conviction. This applied not just to participants involved with an appellant before conviction but also to those who joined the campaign at a later date. As one interviewee said:

When the trial was over and we started to think about the defence he'd had we knew the first thing was to get a new solicitor...I think that's when the campaign started (SV: participant 30).

One participant campaigning for a female appellant became concerned with the appellant's solicitor after a legal conference to discuss a proposed re-submission to the CCRC. The participant was sharing the appellant's progress with a group of activists during a political meeting of the Socialist Workers' Party. During the discussion the participant commented on the unwillingness of the solicitor to

consider the possibility of police corruption during the original investigation. The participant commented:

I don't understand why he won't act on it...well actually I do...he's not happy about taking on the police (SV: participant 5: Socialist Workers' Party political meeting: London, June 2009).

The participant concluded that it might be necessary to instruct another solicitor experienced in police malfeasance:

If we're going to get anywhere it's got to be someone who is tough enough to deal with these people and who doesn't mind ruffling a few feathers (SV: participant 5: Socialist Workers' Party: London, June 2009).

Even campaigners who had already joined campaigning organisations for support suggested that the process of a campaign moving beyond emotional support began with the decision to reassess the work and effectiveness of the trial solicitor. One interviewee commented:

I visited my dad in prison and we talked about a new team and a fresh pair of eyes looking at the case. The campaign seemed to get more focused after that...We felt at last we were really doing something to help (SV: participant 4).

The eight 'official' victims of miscarriage of justice indicated that the key decision made during the course of their successful campaign was in the selection of the 'right' solicitor. Some campaigns began immediately after the conviction and whilst waiting for the first appeal. For other appellants the process began following the dismissal of the first appeal. One appellant stated they kept the original trial solicitor for too long despite having become dissatisfied with his performance during the trial. The participant indicated that a sense of misguided loyalty had persuaded him to stick with the solicitor despite his failings whilst managing the case. The interviewee commented:

I changed the brief just before submitting the case to the CCRC and it was the biggest decision I made during the campaign...things seemed to come together and

the new solicitor worked with the campaign team rather than ignoring them like the first lot (PV: participant 9).

Most participants indicated that appointing a committed solicitor who understood the case and who was willing to work with campaigners was important to the effective running of the campaign. For other participants the first and most important decision made during the campaign was to terminate their existing relationship with their legal team and to appoint a new solicitor who, in turn, advised on which barristers to use for any forthcoming appeal or submission to the CCRC. In some cases the CCRC will refuse to accept evidence from an appellant if it was available at the first trial even though the decision not to use or investigate the evidence at trial was made by the defence solicitor (Green, 2010). Although some participants did not hold strong views on the effectiveness of their trial solicitor, most sought change in the composition of their legal team before submitting an application to the CCRC.

### *Emotional Support*

Although several participants indicated that emotional support was not the only purpose of joining another pressure group, nevertheless this aspect of their campaign remained a constant for all participants. The issue of finding a capable solicitor whilst a focus at specific times was a decision that once made enabled the campaigner to re-prioritise other issues. A pressure group focus directed to offering emotional support and companionship, however, never ceased to be a priority particularly when the appellant was incarcerated and refusing to co-operate with the prison authorities. An interviewee commented:

I couldn't have done it without the support of other people from the group. They knew what it was like to be in this position...After visiting him I can't cope for a few days and need people who understand to help me through it (SV: participant 2).

One interviewee believed that emotional support was the most significant contribution made by her justice group:

He got really down in prison and he lived for news on visits or in letters. When he got depressed I went up to see him... the group were my life line because they were the ones I turned to for support (SV: participant 19).

The issue of emotional support was similarly identified by participants with political and anarchist groups. A participant suggested that his involvement with anarchist groups began during his incarceration when an activist from the Anarchist Black Cross (ABC) wrote to him and offered support. Despite being a 'social' prisoner the participant reflected that the support he received from his family and ABC contributed to providing him with the resilience to remain steadfast and campaign. The participant added:

When you're inside you can feel isolated so the campaign was helped by lots of people...the part taken by political friends was really important...it kept me emotionally intact (PV: participant 40: Anarchist Bookfair, 23 October 2010).

Whilst providing emotional and practical support most participants attempted to raise the profile of their campaign and to persuade other supporters to join. This was for a variety of reasons including the desire to influence public opinion through the media.

### *Media Influence*

The participants suggested a variety of reasons why they believed media involvement was important when waging a campaign against a wrongful conviction. The reasons included generating a ground-swell of opinion in the integrity of their cause and undermining criminal justice agencies, including the work and activities of the investigating police force.

### Public Opinion

Influencing public opinion was an important focus for many participants particularly as the wrongfully convicted had experienced hostility in the immediate aftermath

of their conviction. Savage *et al* (2007: 24) argue that ‘...the media can serve to give a voice to the powerless’ and provide a campaign with much needed ‘publicity’ which in turn might influence the authorities to reconsider a case of alleged miscarriage of justice. Some participants believed the media, despite their initial reservations, remained their best option when seeking to influence large numbers of people in order to gather support for the campaign. An interviewee still fighting for her released husband commented:

I hated them because of what they said after his conviction but we needed them to present the other side of the coin...We had a good article in the local paper but I still don’t trust them (SV: participant 24).

Some campaigns, however, found it difficult to interest the media. As one interviewee indicated:

I’ve been trying to get the media interested in his case but it’s difficult because his case isn’t very well known. The local press wrote about him...big papers don’t seem interested...I don’t want his case forgotten because it’s easier for the system to bury you (SV: participant 3).

A campaign focus of generating media interest was often complicated by the profile of the case and the nature of the offence. For those cases which had attracted appreciable media interest at the first trial, often because the offence concerned the issue of murder, the participants sometimes found the media approachable in terms of generating renewed interest. This supports Rock (1998) who comments on the role of the media in relation to murder and manslaughter. In terms of the interest shown by the media to these offences Rock suggests that:

The public salience of crime, violence, and death is proportionate to its extraordinary features, to its dramatic immediacy, sensationalism, sexual content, moral urgency, and ‘human interest’. It is hardly remarkable that murder and manslaughter should long have been a central preoccupation of the mass media (Rock, 1998: 83).

For participants whose cases were not reported extensively at the first trial, often because their cases did not feature murder or manslaughter, or where the offence

concerned sexual or financial impropriety, or where the appellant was a repeat offender, the media appeared less likely to engage with the campaign (See Chapter 1).

A participant who attempted to interest the local and national press commented that her partner's wrongful conviction concerned drug crime but because he had previous drug related offences the press were not interested in printing details of the case or the campaign to vindicate him. The interviewee commented:

The area was full of drug crime and (*name of appellant omitted*) had been part of that world...I went to a journalist who wrote about miscarriage of justice and he said he'd never ... persuade a paper to take it (SV: participant 23).

Some participants expressed the view that media attention would enable them to acquire political friends who might then offer practical support. Pressure groups campaigning against miscarriage of justice likewise sought media involvement as a means of promoting their aims and to generate interest in the personal campaigns of members. Their primary focus, however, was in trying to raise awareness of the extent of miscarriage of justice and particular features of the criminal justice system. A pressure group member commented:

We try to show the wrongs caused by some government legislation like bad character and evidence got by trawling...our aim isn't just to help our own case but to help change things for everyone (SV: participant 29).

Many participants appreciated the importance of influencing either local or national political figures. Most believed that contact with politicians was beneficial to their campaign and that one way of generating political influence was through an active campaign (Naughton, 2007; Savage *et al*, 2007). An interviewee who led a 'high profile' campaign said:

After three years of hard work and several hundred supporters later we finally got others interested...by the end we had eight MP's on board. I think it did make a difference and was one of the reasons why the judges were sympathetic (SV: participant 22).

Despite reservations by several participants to media engagement it is generally considered an important means of attracting political interest in the campaign and generating more widespread support.

### Undermining Criminal Justice Agencies

It is, perhaps, not surprising that most participants held deeply hostile views on the merits of the police investigation pertaining to their respective case. The participants believed that the police had, on occasion, manipulated the media in order to present their case in a favourable light and that they had similarly used the media following the conviction to undermine any subsequent appeal. This supports Mawby (2011) who examines the relationship between the media and the police particularly when information on crime and criminal cases is disseminated more widely. Some participants, however, saw media involvement as a means of 'fighting back' against the police and of undermining the prosecution case. As one interviewee commented:

When his trial was on the police used to meet with the press in the reception area to brief them... I thought it was disgusting...the press and police seemed to be working together to convict my dad, now I'm meeting with (*name of investigative journalist omitted*) to get his... story out (SV: participant 4).

As a consequence of their experiences some participants saw media involvement as an opportunity to undermine the police and to neutralize some of the negative information the police had provided the media (Mawby, 2011). An interviewee associated with ABC and other anarchist groups commented:

The press wrote stuff from witnesses that was lies...They got it from the police so we talked to a journalist and he wrote something... that tried to set things straight (PV: participant 15).

The study will return to the role of the media in campaigns against miscarriage of justice later in the chapter. Interviews with participants revealed two other significant areas of campaign focus including working with the CCRC and supporting

the appellant against the prison authorities. These areas will be examined in the next two sections.

### *Working with the Criminal Cases Review Commission*

Following the dismissal of their first appeal several participants expressed the view that a constant focus was preparing for, or working with, the CCRC (See Introduction). Some participants met with their CCRC case worker and this provided a specific focus for the campaign. For those campaigning for an appellant, the CCRC application provided an important focus during campaign meetings and when visiting the appellant.

An interviewee described the importance of the CCRC as a campaign focus:

The campaign had different priorities but we always ended up talking about the CCRC and what we needed to do in response to what they'd said (SV: participant 1).

Earlier in 2009 participant 1 indicated during a campaign meeting that:

We've had a knock-back with the CCRC but at least they've let us know what needs to be done. I've found someone who might be able to help us on the internet so I'm hoping to see them next month when I've got more information (SV: participant 1: campaign meeting, February 2009).

For one participant hearing the news whilst in prison that his case had been referred back to the Court of Appeal was the culmination of three years of campaigning with his family:

I was in my cell and it came over the radio I'd been sent back to the Appeal Court...I cried when I heard...I thought about everyone who'd worked for me and campaigned (PV: participant 11: Miscarriage of Justice Conference, April 2008).

The decision by the CCRC to refer a case back to the CACD was a pivotal moment for many victims of miscarriage of justice and their families. For those still fighting their convictions, the campaign's relationship with the CCRC and particularly with

the caseworkers appeared to be their main priority. Many successful appellants spoke of their relationship with the caseworker as being pivotal to their being referred back to the CACD. Some spoke emotionally about their caseworker's dedication, diligence and resolve when reinvestigating their case. As one participant reflected:

It's all about your caseworker...if you want success then if they're with you you've got a chance...my caseworker was totally brilliant...she never gave up but kept fighting for me (PV participant 7: family barbeque, July 2010).

Even unsuccessful appellants spoke highly of their caseworker despite being refused by the CACD. One participant praised her first caseworker stating that she knew the case better than anyone including her legal team. The interviewee commented:

No-one knew the case like she did...she wasn't prepared to accept things or go along with the status-quo, she had to look for evidence...she turned things upside down to get me back in court (PV: participant 36)

The role of other pressure groups supporting the CCRC applications of its membership centred on providing accurate advice and information to those who requested it. An interviewee commented:

It's not possible to get involved in the actual applications of everyone, that's why we always advise people to get a good solicitor...we sometimes invite solicitors to give a talk and explain about the CCRC and applications (SV: participant 29).

Despite the importance of the relationship between a campaign group and the CCRC many participants operated on the basis that the Commission were going to 'prove the innocence' of the appellant. This, however, is unlikely as the primary aim of the Commission is to decide after reviewing a case whether the conviction is 'safe' in law or whether there is a 'real possibility' having reviewed the evidence the CACD might regard the conviction as 'unsafe' (Hungerford-Welch, 2009). Although this is a stated aim of the CCRC, this did not stop caseworkers sharing with appellants that they believed in the appellant's case and in some instances, in the factual innocence of the appellant. One participant commented:

When his caseworker said to me that he believed (*name of appellant omitted*) was innocent it was a massive thing for me...I hadn't heard anyone in authority saying that before...it was unbelievable (SV: participant 23: social drink with other campaigners, August 2010).

The participants spoke about their caseworkers in a similar vein to their current solicitors and wider legal team. Although some participants expressed their disappointment concerning the investigative work of their caseworker, most primary and secondary victims expressed the view that their progress in trying to prove their innocence was, in part, due to the diligence and concern of their CCRC caseworker. Although most participants stated they never saw their caseworker, others did meet with them before being referred back to the CACD as did some of the secondary victims of miscarriage of justice. These meetings appeared to be fruitful with no participant indicating that their meeting had been disappointing regardless of whether they had been successful or unsuccessful at the CACD.

### *Support whilst in Prison*

Although the issue of emotional support was discussed earlier in relation to the support provided to participants whilst campaigning, most alleged and actual victims of miscarriage of justice similarly indicated that psychological and emotional support was a key factor during their incarceration. The participants indicated that the anxiety of being incarcerated but 'innocent' was sometimes unbearable. One particular anomaly appeared to be the pressure applied by the prison service to prisoners protesting their innocence. Naughton (2005a, 2005b) examines this issue in relation to appellants being discriminated against by the parole board because they refuse to accept responsibility for the index offence.

One interviewee described how he depended on the support of his own campaign group to cope with the pressure from prison authorities to 'do the courses':

I wouldn't do the courses, but how could I talk about doing the offence when I hadn't done it. They were forever putting me on basic, I was locked up early, paid

less money so phone calls to my solicitor were harder to keep up...God knows...the campaign kept me going (PV: participant 10).

An alleged victim of miscarriage of justice who regularly found himself 'punished' because he 'protested his innocence' outlined to other campaigners during a miscarriage of justice conference some of the consequences to his campaign because he refused to complete offence focussed courses. The participant commented:

I couldn't get to the phone because unlock was at five for dinner and I was banged up by six...it wasn't just the visits and money though...it was them trying to mess with my head...they only did it because I was appealing (PV: participant 14: MOJ conference, Glasgow, April 2008).

Despite the pressure applied to appellants in terms of their daily routines, perhaps the most significant psychological pressure is the numbers who serve sentences beyond their tariff. The tariff is the minimum time a prisoner must serve as the punitive element of the sentence. A prisoner cannot be considered for release until they have served the tariff set by the judge. Once the tariff has been served the prisoner is then eligible for release or parole. Many official victims of miscarriage of justice were released before reaching their tariff as their convictions were quashed by the CACD. The account given by the unofficial victims of miscarriage is more pessimistic. All the participants had served sentences over and beyond their tariff as a direct consequence of campaigning against their conviction. This supports Naughton (2005a) who argues that prisoners protesting their factual innocence are more likely to be refused parole.

One interviewee described their plight and how it affected their primary campaign relationship:

It was my human right to fight my conviction but they've... punished me for challenging it... the extra years have fucked me...my wife left me because of it (PV: participant 40).

The stories told by many participants suggest that the pressure applied by the prison service to appellants during their incarceration did impact on their campaign

and on the psychological and emotional welfare of the victim of miscarriage of justice and their family. The strain of providing high levels of emotional support was, in some cases, traumatic with campaigners having to reorganise their lives so that they could visit the appellant regularly in prison. Perhaps the real cost on some alleged victims of miscarriage of justice released before seeing their convictions quashed were the additional years they spent over their tariff. This often disrupted their psychological and emotional equilibrium and undermined their ability to campaign against the wrongful conviction post release.

## **Campaign Tactics**

In order to achieve specific campaign aims a variety of tactics were used by participants as leaders of their own campaigns and when promoting the general aims of other supportive pressure groups concerned with criminal justice issues (Savage, *et al*, 2007). Rock (1998) suggests that Victim Groups often employ a variety of campaign tactics including:

Petitioning, marching, demonstrating, questioning, heckling, lobbying Members of Parliament, attending party political conferences, and writing letters' (Rock, 1998: 221).

Whilst the number of tactics employed by participants in this study was far reaching, three areas of activity were identified as being significant and prevalent across most campaign and pressure groups: networking through writing letters, emails and contact through the internet; contact with the media and investigative journalists; and, the use of campaign websites.

### *Writing Letters, the Internet and Networking*

Most participants suggested they felt vulnerable and inexperienced when beginning the task of campaigning against wrongful conviction. Many felt unprepared for the roles they had to take. Despite this, several indicated that writing letters or emails;

attending meetings, conferences and other venues to network became a way of life. As one interviewee indicated:

I didn't know what I could do but I realised that I could write as his mother...I've written to everyone and write to someone every month. I wrote to the Lord Chief Justice a few months ago and got a reply. He couldn't help but at least they know I'm here (SV: participant 2).

Although some networking through attendance at meetings and conferences is in the hope of finding someone who might be able to help the appellant, many attend meetings and events to glean information and knowledge with a view to improving the effectiveness of their own campaign. One interviewee stated:

I used to attend a lot of group meetings because I knew so little about the system. I attended a couple of talks on the work of the CCRC and on the media... It opened my eyes and helped me plan what we needed to do (SV: participant 2).

The task of letter writing and networking was something that most campaigners believed they could do. The activity was to provide some campaigners with the confidence to engage in alternative campaign strategies. Despite the quashing of the conviction, some campaigners continued to contact politicians and others with influence and power in order to engage in alternative justice campaigns. This supports Savage *et al* (2007) who suggest that some campaigns move from '...single issue activity to broader justice campaigning'. When engaged in such networking activities the participants often promoted not only their own campaign but the work of other pressure groups against miscarriage of justice.

The internet, particularly, has provided campaigners against miscarriage of justice with opportunities to disseminate information and encourage participation. The internet is used by pressure groups supporting and advising campaigners fighting miscarriage of justice and by individual's seeking to strengthen their own campaign. Additionally the internet provides groups with opportunities to contact one another for the purposes of mutual support. Lomax (2011: 21) suggests that other benefits of the internet when fighting miscarriage of justice include '...identifying experts who can offer...professional experience' and that the internet further provides

members of the general public with opportunities to share ‘...information they were unwilling or unable to share at the time a crime was committed or at the time of a trial’. For some participants seeking new evidence for a CCRC application the internet has provided members of the general public with opportunities to supply evidence that the police had either withheld or ignored. As one interviewee commented:

The police didn’t bother with witnesses if they didn’t give them what they wanted...we were contacted by many witnesses who said they couldn’t understand why they weren’t called to the trial...so the website let them find us (SV: participant 22).

Another campaigner made contact with supporters of UAI on 10 June 2009 at 05.56 with a view to encouraging their membership to sign a petition protesting against the alleged wrongful conviction of Brendan Dixon and Patrick Docherty who were found guilty of the murder of Margaret Irvine on March 1 2005. The email read:

Hi, Could you please sign the below petition on injustice.

<http://www.gopetition.com/petitions/justice-4-brendan-dixon.html>.

A response was made by a member of LAI who then sent an email to supporters of the pressure group. The email stated:

We have been asked to distribute this petition regarding a miscarriage of justice case. If you could take the time to read and possibly sign the petition that would be great (email sent 10 June 2009 at 16.34).

Another growing trend in campaign tactics is the use of social networking sites like facebook, Myspace, twitter and videos on YouTube (Lomax, 2011). Individuals interested in miscarriage of justice issues who want to demonstrate support and solidarity for alleged victims of miscarriage of justice can now do so on the INNOCENT – United Against Injustice facebook site. In some cases members of an appellant’s campaign team manage their own facebook site which then permits supporters to communicate with the appellant. The appellant in these cases remains in regular contact with the site manager who becomes the channel through which the appellant responds to supporters. As one interviewee commented:

Facebook lets him talk to people on the outside and lets a bigger audience hear what he thinks about things (SV: participant 27).

An activist campaigning against the wrongful conviction of an appellant convicted of the murder of five individuals stated that one of her primary roles was to manage his facebook site. The campaigner commented:

I manage his facebook site for him...we're waiting for the CCRC to give their decision which shouldn't be long...facebook is a brilliant way for him to talk to his supporters (SV: Activist 2: Demonstration, 9 October 2010).

The ability of campaigners to network has been assisted by the internet which permits organisations and pressure groups to network each other and for appellants and their families managing personal campaigns to network others for assistance, support and advice.

#### *Contact with the Media and Investigative Journalists*

Several participants discussed involvement with the media in terms of highlighting the plight of an appellant. Some participants wanted to raise the profile of their campaign but became disillusioned following the conviction when the mass media presented highly biased and, often inaccurate reports. Some participants are suspicious of the media but others believe that working with journalists is one way of generating interest and support for the campaign. Savage *et al* (2007: 27) suggest that media interest can lead to journalists contributing to a campaign through the use of their investigative skills.

An interviewee indicated:

When we read the article that he was a miscarriage of justice it gave us real strength to carry on...reading all the facts for the first time made us realise...at last some people believed in us (SV: participant 26).

Despite some favourable responses many participants argued that it was difficult to interest journalists in miscarriage of justice unless the case was 'high profile'. An

alternative for some campaigners was to make contact with investigative journalists specialising in justice issues and specifically those interested in miscarriage of justice. An interviewee commented:

We've never found it difficult to interest the press because his case is well known but the best articles have been from investigative journalists...I don't trust any of the rest because half the time they add to what you've said and distort things (SV: participant 1).

Some participants expressed sadness at the demise of documentaries made for television which investigated specific cases of miscarriage of justice. One participant who had successfully campaigned against wrongful conviction and imprisonment stated that the success of the campaign was significantly helped by a 'Trial and Error' documentary shown at the time of the appeal. The interviewee commented:

I think it influenced people that matter. (*Name of appellant omitted*) told me at the time that the prison staff had watched it...it had changed their minds about his case (SV: participant 28).

For some pressure group coordinators the benefit of 'miscarriage of justice' documentaries was that by highlighting specific cases the public's consciousness of justice in error was raised. An interviewee associated with various justice campaigns stated:

The old programmes gave a lift and got people talking about wrongful conviction and people who were innocent...I don't know but people seemed more interested ten years ago (SV: participant 32).

Certainly it appears as if the public's interest in miscarriage of justice has waned since high profile cases like the Birmingham Six, Guildford Four and Bridgewater Four raised public perceptions about the possibility of wrongful conviction. One argument is that the investigative role taken by the CCRC has contributed to the media not supporting the work of investigative journalists because they believe the Commission now takes this role and has the powers and authority to do so (Naughton, 2010).

Another tactic used to raise awareness of a case or the activities of a pressure group is the use of websites. This method of approach is used for a variety of reasons including gathering public support and challenging the prosecution case. The website is also a means whereby supporters and interested parties can access information and updates. As such they become a major resource tool for campaigners and their support groups. Individual cases are sometimes linked to websites managed by Justice Groups (INNOCENT, 2010) or by campaigners who set up and manage their own websites.

### *Websites*

Justice websites are increasingly used by campaigners to present their case and to encourage other supporters to join a campaign against wrongful conviction. John Taft was convicted for the murder of Cynthia Bolshaw at Liverpool Crown Court in November 1999. Since then Taft's wife and sister have campaigned for his release arguing that he is a victim of miscarriage of justice. Following the conviction the family set up *The Justice for John Taft* website which aims to '...demonstrate through looking at the evidence presented in the trial, that John did not commit the murder and that he has been wrongfully convicted' (Justice for John Taft, 2009). The representative website presents a series of reports and concludes with Susan Hogan-Taft stating that:

My husband is innocent and should not be in prison. Please, do whatever you can to help us achieve justice (Justice for John Taft, 2009).

Most participants in this study had set up a justice website within the last ten years or following the alleged wrongful conviction. Many saw the website as integral to their campaign and as an important means of disseminating information about their case and persuading others to join the campaign. One interviewee describes the importance of their website to the campaign:

We started off sending out information packs and then news letters to supporters but the website meant we could respond immediately to anything that happened

about the case. It also gave supporters an opportunity to speak with the campaign (SV: participant 19).

For other campaigns the website provided an opportunity for the campaign to criticise the police investigation and specific police officers who they believed were responsible for the alleged miscarriage of justice. An interviewee stated:

We didn't know how to voice our anger at the police and then a friend helped us set up our own website. We began describing what they'd done...It was our only way of getting the truth out (SV: participant 21).

The use of websites has now become a familiar campaign tactic used by pressure groups and other individual campaigns against miscarriage of justice. The sites provide information to interested parties, challenge the prosecution case and encourage others to join the campaign. As one interviewee commented:

At the start it was friends and family but when the website went out we had others who sent in messages of support...before one of his hearings we got everyone who'd made contact with the campaign to send him a letter of support (SV: participant 23).

For some campaigners and appellants still campaigning post release, the website provides the campaign with opportunities to disseminate information and engage with other campaigners challenging wrongful conviction. The difficulties of campaigning against conviction post-release when the appellant remains legally guilty are significant. Some participants stated they were 'tired' and 'exhausted' of fighting their conviction and that it was difficult to persuade others to continue with the campaign. The website provided the participants with opportunities to further their campaign when members of the original campaign team had either left the group or where their enthusiasm had diminished. One participant commented:

It's hard to keep campaigning because most people who've helped me are doing other things...my website lets me continue with the campaign...new people make contact and that keeps the campaign alive (PV: participant 18: evening social after Marxist conference, October 2009).

For other campaigners the website was a symbolic statement of their continued resistance against 'the system' which had convicted them and which now refused to overturn the conviction. Some participants were estranged from their lead campaigner and their personal circumstances were such that they were often living on their own with limited support and resources. In these circumstances a website provided some participants with opportunities to continue with the campaign.

The focus of a campaign and the tactics used will be influenced by the particular circumstances of the appellant and whether they are an 'official' miscarriage of justice or whether they have been released having served their sentence but remain legally guilty. The 'official' victims of miscarriage of justice prioritised three areas of focus: persuading the police to reopen the case; the issue of statutory compensation; and, where appropriate taking legal action against investigating police officers accused of police malfeasance. For the 'unofficial' victims of wrongful conviction their desire for justice remained unabated. Their priority was to continue working with the CCRC in the hope of being referred back to the CACD.

### **'Official' Victims of Miscarriage and Campaigns for Justice**

Despite the quashing of their convictions five participants expressed the view that the campaign went on until such time that the person responsible for the crime was brought to justice. Since their release three victims of miscarriage of justice are assisted in their 'new' campaign by the original lead campaigner. The participants indicated that although released from incarceration and legally innocent they could not move on until the case was brought to a just conclusion. For some participants this meant that the person responsible for the offence is convicted or that police officers involved in malfeasance during the police investigation regarding their specific case are brought to justice. Most participants stated that whilst successful at the CACD their relationships with those around them had suffered and particularly with those who had campaigned for them whilst incarcerated. One

interviewee stated they were not prepared to rest until the person responsible for the crime was brought to justice:

Things were good for the first couple of months but I haven't been able to get the campaign going... I want the police to reopen the case but they're doing nothing...I use the website and write but getting the police to do something is hard (PV: participant 40).

For one participant the strain of continuing to campaign despite 'their' appellant being legally innocent and free was significant. The interviewee commented:

I've campaigned for over ten years but he can't move on until the police reopen the case and fully exonerate him...I can't move on until that happens...It has put a strain on our marriage, and he knows it, but I'm caught in it (SV: participant 20).

For other participants the on-going campaign involves seeking justice against police officers who they believe have fabricated evidence against them and manipulated witnesses. An interviewee commented:

They've kept me behind bars and ruined my life...it's right the police who made up lies about me pay for it...then I can get on with my life...I can't while they're still enjoying life (PV: participant 10).

Another participant stated that the decision by the CPS not to prosecute a police officer who had fabricated a witness statement was the single most distressing aspect concerning his release and recovery from wrongful conviction. The participant indicated:

Nothing was harder for me than knowing this copper had got away with it...it was disgusting but I'm not giving up which is why the campaign to get justice goes on (PV: participant 11; social drink, Horse and Groom, May 2010).

Another campaign focus for all the official victims of miscarriage was the issue of claiming compensation. Seven of the eight victims of miscarriage of justice had not received any compensation from the Home Office despite being advised by their solicitors that they met the criteria for statutory compensation set out in section 133(1) of the Criminal Justice Act 1988 and in Home Office (2003) compensation

guidelines (See Appendix 2). Many participants and their campaigning friends and family had suffered financial hardship whilst campaigning prior to release from the CACD. This supports Murray (2005) who examined the effects of imprisonment on families and children of prisoners and detailed the financial burden that can accompany imprisonment. Jamieson and Grounds (2005) have likewise examined the financial hardship that the family can experience as a consequence of wrongful imprisonment. Some of the resources and focus of the campaign were therefore now directed to achieving compensation. Whilst most accepted there was little likelihood of persuading the Ministry of Justice to change their position the participants indicated they were not prepared to stop fighting for what they believed was their just entitlement. One interviewee commented:

I've lost everything fighting my case. What chance have I got of rebuilding my life without compo and they owe me for nine years...I'm on benefits...my mum helps a bit but I haven't worked since, can't get work...they've taken everything from me (PV: participant 9).

The refusal by the Ministry of Justice to offer compensation had consequences on the equilibrium of victims of miscarriage of justice and on their ability to move on. The situation was exacerbated by their belief that the police who had led the investigation against them were not prepared to re-open the case or allocate resources to bring the case to a successful conclusion. An important factor identified by some participants when pressurising the investigating police force to re-open their case was the role of the media. In some cases a media campaign, even by a local newspaper, might contribute to the aims of a campaign when seeking to persuade the police to investigate new leads. An interviewee commented:

We're using the local press...they're interested in the case...so we've done a few interviews and we're trying to put pressure on the police to get off their back-sides (PV: participant 7).

For other campaigners mobilising the media to apply pressure to the investigating police force was difficult. Some cases had not received media attention during the

first trial and this continued following the successful appeal. This was often because the case was not considered sufficiently newsworthy (See Chapter 1). As one interviewee indicated:

You look at the cases that get media interest, its murder with bits added so they can sell the papers...my case was nothing like that (PV: participant 11).

Other victims of miscarriage of justice had been convicted of serious offences including murder but their previous 'bad character' and past criminal activity meant that the media appeared less inclined to report their case or assist with any subsequent campaign to re-open the case. An interviewee commented:

We didn't get the press interested, what with my drug convictions but at least I had the CCRC...now I'm out I've got no-one to make the police get on with it...we need the media but the case doesn't do it for them (PV: participant 10).

The situation was more traumatic for the 'unofficial' victims of miscarriage of justice. The difficulty faced by these participants was that they were still counted as legally guilty.

### **'Unofficial' Victims of Miscarriage and Campaigns for Justice**

The 'alleged' victims of miscarriage of justice stated that their relationships with those campaigning for them had been strained following release. After release from prison six of the seven unofficial victims of miscarriage of justice became estranged from their spouse or partner within two years. Four participants blamed the break-up of their primary relationship on the pressure of having to cope with conviction and the fact that they were still viewed by criminal justice agencies as being legally guilty. Some also suggested that campaign decisions and the pressure of campaigning with their spouse contributed to their estrangement. This subject will be discussed in the next section.

The primary focus for the unofficial victims of miscarriage of justice campaign following release was fighting the conviction and returning to the CACD. The

appellants stated, however, that they were tired and emotionally exhausted and that this affected their ability to campaign effectively. One interviewee described their current predicament:

It's hard to keep on going but...I'll never stop. My campaign isn't what it was. I don't have my wife anymore as she couldn't cope....anyway how do you run a campaign from a hostel? (PV: participant 16).

The difficulties experienced by some released appellants campaigning against conviction appear to be compounded by their 'legal guilt' which aggravates feelings of paranoia and helplessness. Some participants experienced difficulty simply coping with life outside prison so that managing a campaign against their conviction or working with the CCRC became even more demanding on them emotionally and psychologically. A website, however, permitted some campaigners coping with personal and domestic problems to continue with the campaign as it provided an outlet for their arguments and views. As one participant commented:

I can't get myself fighting them like I used to campaign...(name of sister omitted) has done enough for me...I've still got my website...I can't cope with the meetings and phoning them all the time but my blog is still there (PV: participant 15: social drink at miscarriages of justice conference, April 2008).

The views of participants suggest that campaigns focus on different priorities and tactics during the course of the campaign. Whilst the appellant is incarcerated the campaign focus is always on challenging the conviction. After release from imprisonment the campaign focus of official and alleged victims of miscarriage of justice differ significantly. For those successful at the CACD the priority was to ensure their case was re-opened and additionally to seek compensation. For some victims of miscarriage of justice and their families where the case involved police malfeasance the priority was also to seek to persuade the CPS to prosecute those police officers involved in any wrongdoing. The situation for those still counted as legally guilty was more problematic. The police were not prepared to re-investigate because without the quashing of the conviction an appellant remains an 'offender' and legally guilty. This has consequences on the ability of 'convicted' appellants to

campaign and specifically to stimulate public interest through the media and other channels. If the 'legal' victims of miscarriage found it difficult to garner media support the problem was exacerbated for the convicted appellants. In most cases the media are not prepared to assist or publicise a campaign when the released appellant remains legally guilty. Some recent cases of alleged miscarriage of justice, however, have received significant media reporting following the appellants release from prison. The case of Susan May convicted for the murder of her aunt in 1993 (See Introduction) and that of Eddie Gilfoyle convicted for the murder of his wife in 1992 have continued to generate media interest (Allison and Cooksey, 2005; Kennedy, 2011). Both cases were reported widely at the time of their first arrest and their respective campaigns continued to work with journalists during their years of incarceration to keep their cases in the public and political domain. Many participants, including both official and unofficial victims of miscarriage of justice, similarly sought to extend their protest to other areas of injustice. Some who believed the criminal justice system had ignored their protestations of innocence then went on to protest with other pressure groups, many of whom employed direct action strategies. This subject will be discussed further in Chapter 7. Although most primary and secondary victims of miscarriage of justice acknowledged areas of general agreement regarding campaign focus and the tactics used during the campaign, the participants similarly registered areas of disagreement. Some campaign disagreements involved the victim of miscarriage of justice and those campaigning for them. It is to this subject we now turn.

### **Campaign Priorities and Tactics: Relational Disharmony and Conflict**

Most participants expressed the view that during their campaign disagreements emerged regarding which tactics should be used to achieve the primary objective, namely the quashing of the conviction at appeal. The disagreements were sometimes between family members or between individuals who were members of the same campaign group. Perhaps the most significant disagreements were between the imprisoned appellant and those campaigning for them. The tensions

created from this period of disharmony appeared to extend beyond the period of incarceration. An important area highlighted by most campaigners following the release of the appellant was that the victim of wrongful conviction was unable to settle emotionally and that their life post-release centred on their need to campaign regardless of whether they were official or unofficial victims of miscarriage of justice. Some participants talked of the appellant being 'consumed' or 'obsessed' with fighting criminal justice agencies and that their lives, in some respects, differed little from when the appellant was still in prison. An interviewee who campaigned for her husband for over thirteen years reflected:

He's obsessed with fighting his case...you know he can't stop...I can see him going on with it even if they do overturn his conviction...I'd not leave him but the strain on both of us can get a bit much sometimes (SV: participant 24: private conversation during data collection).

Many participants acknowledged that despite release from imprisonment the appellant's desire to campaign continued to be an important focus of their lives. Although some campaigners sought to distance themselves from their case, most participants continued with a campaign either focusing on their own case or 'broader' political issues (Savage *et al*, 2007: 17). This impacted on their relationships with their campaign team and particularly with their lead campaigner. A victim of miscarriage of justice reflected that his desire to continue with his campaigning agenda contributed to relational problems experienced between him and his wife:

When I got out I couldn't stop the fight...I started meeting up with other groups and it got me into political resistance...We campaigned together at the start but it was still my life when I got out...she couldn't go along with it (PV: participant 14).

Most participants suggested that in relation to their campaign against wrongful conviction, specific campaign issues appeared to place additional strain on their primary relationships. Some of these related to campaign tactics used by the campaign group during the appellant's incarceration. Participants indicated that issues which stimulated discord between the lead campaigner (often the wife, sister

or mother of the appellant) and the alleged victim of miscarriage of justice included tactical decisions relating to the media; the subject of visiting orders and who should receive them; decisions relating to the solicitor and the frequency of legal visits; missed phone calls and issues concerning the appellant's children. The participants suggested that most arguments were 'niggles' and that any disagreements were usually settled soon after. Whilst the factors leading to conflict were numerous, one area emerged as being significant, namely the issue of campaign leadership and who, ultimately, was actually responsible for the campaign. This issue appeared to linger in the memories of participants and for some participants contributed to relational problems post-release. This is the subject of the next section.

### *Campaign Leadership*

An area of discord between campaigners and also, significantly, between the victim of miscarriage and those campaigning for them was the issue of who, ultimately, was 'in charge' of the campaign? This was an issue acknowledged by campaigner and victim of miscarriage of justice and which continued to percolate following release from imprisonment. Whilst accepting that their ability to initiate and work through some campaign strategies was restricted because of their incarceration, some appellants believed that their campaign was sometimes unwittingly undermined by those closest to them. Campaigners recognised the signs of vulnerability and frustration in their appellant and suggested that feelings of 'powerlessness' meant that the alleged victim of miscarriage of justice sometimes felt the need to reassert their authority despite all efforts by the lead campaigner to involve them. Rock (1988) argues that the issue is sometimes not only one of campaign leadership but also of ownership of the campaign.

Several victims of miscarriage of justice and appellants indicated that when the campaign was organised in isolation to their wishes and involvement this sometimes led to campaign disharmony. The participants indicated they did not believe that other campaigners and supporters knowingly employed this strategy

but that the restrictions placed upon them, because of their incarceration, meant that short-cuts to consensus were sometimes taken by those able to meet with other supporters and the legal team on a regular basis. Both 'official' and 'unofficial' victims of miscarriage of justice expressed sadness that relationships were strained following their release and that on reflection, the power differential felt by the imprisoned during incarceration, contributed to their later bouts of frustration. An interviewee indicated:

It was hard inside because I couldn't be at the meetings but all the talk was about my life but I wasn't there... I could be difficult but I felt...things were running away from me...everyone else was making the decisions (PV: participant 9).

The difficulties experienced by those still counted as legally guilty were more pronounced. In some circumstances the losses suffered by the appellant coupled with the anxiety felt by appellant and campaigner following release sometimes contributed to their estrangement. An interviewee commented:

I put up with the disagreements because of the campaign but when I got out we weren't comfortable with each other and we split. Maybe I needed someone to blame but I couldn't handle what had happened to me (PV: participant 16).

The victims of wrongful conviction and appellants highlighted the complexities of managing a campaign with those intimately involved with the appellant. Some of these problems were managed during the period of incarceration only to re-emerge, however, when the appellant was released. One interviewee suggested:

We kept it together for about a year but then we couldn't stop arguing about the case and all the shit that happened...it might have been better if I'd taken a bigger part in the campaign but I let her get on with it (PV: participant 11).

The victims of miscarriage of justice and appellants appeared to tolerate their feelings of powerlessness whilst in prison for the sake of campaign unity but following release from prison, suppressed feelings harboured during the campaign sometimes erupted in response to renewed feelings of vulnerability. One interviewee indicated:

It went wrong when I got out because I'd put up with everyone deciding what had to happen with the campaign but I couldn't handle that anymore (PV: participant 15).

Several participants indicated that the social dynamic between the lead campaigner and the appellant was often fraught during the period of incarceration but that tensions caused by disagreements in relation to the campaign sometimes continued to find expression when the appellant was released. One interviewee who had successfully campaigned for her husband suggested that arguments over earlier campaign decisions continued despite her husband's release:

I didn't understand what was happening because he was free but it didn't seem to be enough...he was angry at the way we'd dropped things from the appeal but it was our legal team who'd done that, not me (SV: participant 19).

The tensions between victims of miscarriage of justice, appellants and lead campaigners extended to other relationships including those between brother and sister and between appellants and campaigning parents. Whilst campaigners suggested there were a number of reasons for the relational disharmony some suggested the problems lay in how the campaign was managed and the perceived power differential between some campaigners and the appellant. One interviewee who campaigned for her partner commented on the estrangement between her partner and his parents:

They've been really good but when he got out they treated him like he was still a child. They made his decisions for him or tried to when he was inside but he couldn't deal with it when he got out (SV: participant 23).

Another area identified by some actual and alleged victims of miscarriage of justice was their desire to be separate from those who reminded them of their campaign experiences following release. Although individuals were prepared to meet with members of the miscarriage of justice community, some participants sought friendships and to be with people who had little or no connection with their previous campaign. An interviewee said:

I needed space when I got out from the people who'd campaigned for me...it was my wife who'd campaigned...they were bad times when I got out but a lot of it was about me and coming to terms with everything (PV: participant 14).

Another experienced campaigner campaigned for her husband and she describes a similar situation. After fifteen years in prison her husband had difficulty coping with relationships and particularly with those who had been closest to him during the campaign. He went through a period where he refused to talk about anything regarding his wrongful conviction or prison experiences and then started to distance himself from those who had led the campaign. The interviewee commented:

I saw it coming before he left because he started to close down with people who'd been his main campaign team... It lasted about a year and then we got together again and he came home (SV: participant 22).

Whilst the limited number of participants makes generalisation problematic it is possible to observe patterns of disharmony between the victims of miscarriage of justice and those who have campaigned for them. The participants indicated that during the campaign a number of issues percolated to the surface and created tensions within the relationship including disagreements over campaign strategy and tactics. It is accepted that many relational problems between campaigners are probably caused or exacerbated by the negative consequences of wrongful conviction and imprisonment and by earlier conflicts within their relationships regardless of the wrongful conviction or imprisonment. Despite this, some participants indicated they believed it was sometimes campaign decisions made during the appellant's incarceration, and feelings of marginalisation felt by the appellant in relation to the campaign, that contributed to them now questioning key relationships. It is significant that of the fifteen actual and alleged victims of wrongful conviction interviewed, eight had become estranged from their campaigning partner or spouse since their release from prison. Whilst other participants indicated they were still in contact with their campaign team many expressed the view that tensions created during the campaign continued to affect their key relationships.

The psychological and emotional strain on victims of miscarriage of justice and on those campaigning for them cannot be underestimated. When the lead campaigner is in a close or intimate relationship with the appellant, tensions caused by wrongful imprisonment can lead to strains in the relationship and the on-going campaign. One issue appears to be the roles taken by the campaigner and whether these can become so blurred during the campaign that the familial relationship falters. A wife campaigning for her husband, or a parent their son might be seen more as the appellant's lead campaigner and less as the wife, parent or sister of the appellant. This dynamic can evolve during the appellant's incarceration or post-release.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has sought to examine strategies of resistance employed by participants campaigning against miscarriage of justice. This includes an examination of the tactics used by participants as they campaign to achieve particular objectives during the campaign against wrongful conviction. Most participants indicated that their campaign group had a varied focus and that at specific times a particular issue would be prioritised. The chapter concluded that the primary areas identified by participants were appointing a new legal team; providing emotional support; working with the mass media; submitting applications to and working with the CCRC; and, supporting the appellant emotionally whilst in prison. This was sometimes due to the prison service pressurising appellants to take responsibility for the index offence. As such some appellants had experienced significant psychological pressure from the prison service to admit guilt rather than continue to protest their innocence (Naughton, 2005b). In order to achieve campaign objectives the participants identified a number of campaign tactics which were used regularly and throughout the campaign. Some of these were used by individual pressure groups campaigning against the wrongful conviction of an individual appellant. Others were more the preserve of pressure groups campaigning against miscarriage of justice in general rather than for a specific case. Despite differences in approach and focus three tactical areas were identified by

most participants. These included networking through letters, the internet and through attendance at meetings and conferences; working with the media and with investigative journalists specialising in miscarriage of justice; and, the use of campaign websites. A recent tactic used by some participants is the use of social networking sites including the use of facebook, Myspace and twitter.

An important conclusion is that most victims of miscarriage of justice and appellants continued to campaign post-release. This was for a variety of reasons although the campaign focus for participants whose convictions have been quashed by the CACD differ markedly from those who remain legally guilty. For those who are counted as 'official' victims of miscarriage of justice the focus is usually on seeking to persuade the investigating police force to re-open the case; and, secondly to seek and campaign for compensation. Seven of the eight successful victims of miscarriage of justice stated they had not received any compensation despite meeting the criteria for statutory compensation. For other participants successful at the CACD their priority was to persuade the CPS to prosecute any police officer involved in police malfeasance during the investigation of their case.

The situation for those who had not succeeded in getting their convictions quashed was very different. These participants continued to work with the CCRC but faced many obstacles including coping with post-traumatic stress aggravated by their continued legal guilt; media apathy towards their case; and, relational problems due to the strain of having to cope with legal guilt.

A significant conclusion is that most participants stated they had experienced relational problems during the course of the campaign and afterwards when the appellant was released from imprisonment. Many of these tensions were between the appellant and their lead campaigner. This was often the partner or wife of the appellant although some relational problems concerned siblings of the appellant. What was significant was that some participants believed that it was sometimes campaign decisions that stimulated relational disharmony. Although an extensive list of factors were suggested by participants as contributing to relational stress and estrangement, the chapter concluded that one factor was particularly significant:

namely who, ultimately, was primarily responsible for managing the campaign? Whilst some issues were resolved during the period of incarceration, others percolated post-release and were identified by some participants as being a contributory factor to their estrangement. Fifteen victims/alleged victims of miscarriage of justice were interviewed and of those eight had become estranged from their campaigning partner or spouse following release. Although the reasons for their estrangement are complex, it is significant that some participants identified earlier campaign decisions as being a contributory factor.

The central message of the chapter is that campaign and pressure groups against miscarriage of justice employ a variety of strategies and tactics to achieve campaign aims and objectives. Although the tactics used are varied and numerous, most campaigners prioritise tactics aimed at achieving specific outcomes which facilitate the key objective, namely the quashing of the conviction. The chapter concluded that most participants continued to campaign post-release. The focus of these campaigns differed, however, depending on whether the appellant's conviction had been successfully quashed by the CACD. Despite appellants and their campaign teams being committed to fighting the conviction, the study concluded that some campaign decisions relating to strategy and tactics, stimulated arguments between the lead campaigner and the appellant. Most of these were resolved soon after. Some participants, however, indicated that the issue of campaign leadership and the respective roles of the appellant and lead campaigner were contributory factors to relational disharmony and that this sometimes affected the relationship post-release.

Most campaigners managed their own campaigns as well as being affiliated to other pressure groups. The strategies and tactics used in their 'personal' campaigns were often supported by other pressure groups who they viewed as a loose collection of individuals who understood, through experience, what they were going through. Some of the activities of participants were targeted to achieving personal campaign aims, albeit with the approval of other pressure groups they might attend. Other activities, however, were centred on the general aims of other pressure groups and not on their own specific campaign. Several participants spoke

of their dual roles as campaigners. Firstly, they were managing their own campaigns against wrongful conviction. Their primary activities were directed to securing the release from prison of someone they were related to, or who they knew very well. The participants, however, sometimes had another role as members of other pressure groups. This role involved working with other campaigners operating through 'protest' groups whose focus was often to challenge government laws and legislation. The next chapter will explore pressure group politics and how participants manage contrasting ideas and values whilst campaigning against wrongful conviction.