'CRAFTING TIME': CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE STAFF-PRISONER RELATIONSHIP

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For those special people for whom time has run out…

Acknowledgements

One of the notable aspects of this thesis is the concept of 'doing time'. When I initially enrolled on the PhD in 2006, my expectation was to complete this in a relatively succinct period of time. But nearly ten years later I can reflect that I had perhaps underestimated the challenges of completing this course of study, qualifying as a practitioner psychologist, maintaining full-time employment and also trying to protect some 'me-time'. The completion of this thesis has been a great relief for so many people who have been there supporting me: we have got there together.

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that I can repay the contributions of so many people by making a positive contribution to prison life.

Special thanks go to my family for their endless support, love and belief. Words cannot express how grateful I am for the time they dedicate to me day-in and day-out in terms of their practical support, their guidance, and their encouragement for me to be the best that I can be both personally and professionally.

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Contents

List of abbreviations

ASBO	Anti-Social Behaviour Order
BCF	Barriers to Change Framework
BPS	British Psychological Society
ETS	Enhanced Thinking Skills
FDA	Foucaudian Discourse Analysis
IEP	Incentives and Earned Privileges
IPP	Imprisonment for Public Protection sentence
HCPC	Health and Care Professions Council
HMCIP	Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Prisons
HMIP	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons
HMP	Her Majesty's Prison
HMPS	Her Majesty's Prison Service
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
NICE	National Institute for Health and Care Excellence
NOMS	National Offender Management Service
NPS	National Probation Service
NVQ	National Vocational Qualification
Ofsted	The Office for Standards in Education
OBPs	Offending Behaviour Programmes
OSG	Operational Support Grade
PO	Principal Officer
POA	Prison Officer Association
RCF	Readiness for Change Framework
SO	Senior Officer
SOTP	Sex Offender Treatment Programme
YOI	Young Offender Institution

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Abstract

The broad aim of this research was to understand how prisoners and prison officers construct the staff-relationship, using positioning theory to explore these relationships within the prison context. Taking a more dramaturgical notion of prisons and the prison environment, this study was one of positioning and discourse, with particular consideration being given to the relationships that this discourse was either enabling or disenabling. Engaging with both prisoners and prison officers provided a sound understanding of the ways in which both parties were constructing the one relationship. The findings of this research suggest that prisoners and prison officers seek to find ways of 'crafting' time within prison in order to enable this time to be 'easy'. As such, this research leads us to a point of thinking whereby prisoners and prison officers are constructed as interdependent groups whereby one cannot exist without the other. Although the staff-prisoner relationship represents an imbalance of power, this research suggests that it is nonetheless an intimate relationship due to their collective and collaborative performances. According to this research, prisoners and prison officers have moved towards a process of collusion in their performance of 'easy time'. This seemingly undermines the aims of the Prison Service, with 'formal compliance' being favoured over 'substantive compliance' and rehabilitation. However, this is problematic in terms of criminal justice policy and practice. The research informs us that in order to address the shortcomings of the staff-prisoner relationship; as outlined through the participants' talk; more needs to be done to better articulate and understand the remit of the 'modern' Prison Service and the roles of the prison officer and the prisoner within this system. This involves challenging the notion of 'easy time', and supporting prisoners and prison officers to 'craft' prison in a productive way.

Keywords: Prisons; Prisoner; Prison Officer; Staff-Prisoner Relationships; Formal Compliance; Substantive Compliance; Rehabilitation; Positioning Theory

Chapter 1 - That's not his name: an introduction to prisons, power and staff-prisoner relationships

NG[1]:	(*Knocks on the wing office door*) Hiya. Is, er, Mr Smith on the wing?
Officers:	(*no response*)
NG:	Excuse me; sorry to interrupt, but is Mr Smith on the wing?
Officer:	There's no officer of that name on this wing (*Officers laugh*)
NG:	No, Mr Smith is a prisoner
Officer:	Well you can lose the Mr for a start

This was one of my first experiences of visiting a prison wing to meet with a prisoner in order to respond to an application he had submitted to be seen by a member of the Probation team that I was working in. Having secured prison-based employment after completing my undergraduate degree in 2003, I entered the prison system and when I joined I was positive about the rehabilitative ideal and my role in helping prisoners to lead *law abiding and useful lives* in the future (H.M. Prison Service, Statement of Purpose). However, one of my most striking initial observations was not about the prisoners, but about the staff. Here I observed a great degree of variability in the way in which individual officers interacted with prisoners. For me, this raised many questions about dignity and respect, and about power.

Johnsen, Granheim and Helgesen (2011) report that the manner in which prison officers perceive prisoners influences the experience of prison for prisoners. During my initial visit, it was seen as somewhat inappropriate

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[1] NG is Neil Gredecki, Researcher. The name Mr Smith is pseudonym.

that I had referred to a prisoner as 'Mr Smith', but what other terms could I have used to refer to him; maybe 'Smith', 'prisoner Smith' or simply by his prisoner number? This early experience seemed to reflect the hierarchies underpinning prisons, and it prompted me to think about why a name would be so important.

I was soon aware of the reality that, as Scott (2008a) informs us, the manner in which prisoners and prison officers refer to each other reflects the structures and hierarchies of the staff-prisoner relationship; and prisons more generally. The prison officer community has a range of 'legitimate' terms used to address prisoners. These include nicknames, surnames, prisoner numbers or terms such as '*dicks, dickheads, cunts, bollocks and wanker*' (Scott, 2008a: 8). This is in contrast, however, to what are considered 'legitimate' ways of talking about prison officers. These terms include '*Boss, Officer, Mr and Sir*' and '*Ms*' for female prison officers.

What was striking about my early exposure to the prison system was how names and titles reflected an imbalance of power; and an apparent divide between prisoners and prison officers; with names being one way of distinguishing hierarchies. According to Scott (2008a), for a prison officer to refer to a prisoner by their first name may undermine the perception of authority, and the title 'Mr' is reserved for those prisoners who earn the respect of officers.

Names were seemingly just one way through which prison officers could maintain certain kinds of power relations in prisons and a further indication of the importance of maintaining distinct identities amongst the two groups centred on notions of hierarchy. Reflecting on my early experience, it appeared that I would be expected to comply with this practice if I had wanted to fit in and be accepted by my colleagues. This suggested that perhaps what I was observing was something that other members of staff possibly came to see as 'normal practice' over time.

Nonetheless, I was mindful of the well-established view of early commentators such as Sykes (1958) and Goffman (1963) that respect from prisoners towards prison officers is essential if prison officers want to maintain control in prisons. Yet, I could not understand how the relationships between staff and prisoners could be built on respect when there were such clear attempts at dividing the groups.

In the main, my initial thoughts and expectations about the people working in prisons were correct. There were many prison officers working hard on the wings, in the workshops and delivering Offending Behaviour Programmes (OBPs) with the aim of addressing offending behaviour and the criminogenic needs of those individuals placed into their care. There were displays of mutual respect and there was a real sense of staff working collaboratively with prisoners and prisoners working well with staff. Some days I would be working alongside officers who were delivering psychologically based therapies to prisoners who spoke with passion about helping prisoners to lead law-abiding lives upon release. However, there were exceptions to this. For example, when I made optimistic comments about prisoners and their rehabilitation, I was told on numerous occasions that, "*you'll learn*" and I observed a pessimistic view around prisoners' ability to lead law-abiding lives amongst some staff.

The use of the term "*you'll learn*", suggested that this was a view that may develop over time. As such, the positioning of prisoners in this way encouraged me to consider that these prison officers may not have always held the views that they were currently expressing to me. If this was the case, perhaps they had themselves been optimistic about prisoners and their rehabilitation at some point in their career. On this premise, it was important to understanding how and why their positioning of prisoners had changed over time, if it had at all.

As such, my early experiences of prison life were mixed and left me with a number of questions; namely, '*Why are some officers motivated to work with prisoners?*' '*Why do some officers find it more difficult to work*

collaboratively with prisoners and demonstrate respect?' and, '*Why is power so important to prisoner and prison officers relations?'*

To make sense of what I was observing, I turned to the prison officer literature and as observed by Crawley (2004a; 2004b), I too found a dearth of research relating to the experiences of prison officers. This was despite a significant body of literature documenting the experiences of prisoners. Whilst researchers distinguished between prison officers and prisoners, it was not clear as to why the two groups would be singled out rather than exploring how these individuals interacted together and influenced the shared experiences of prison life. What was being observed in the literature was reflective of what was observed in practice on the prison wings: staff and prisoners were separated in to distinct groups.

Not only had I started to pick up on the negative attitudes from prison officers towards prisoners, there were clearly prisoners communicating equally negative views about prison officers. For example, it was not rare to hear a prison officer referred to as a "*screw*". As such, my observations about the quality of interactions and negativity amongst prison officers and prisoners did not centre solely on staff attitudes, but a combination of staff and prisoners and how they constructed each other within the context of the prison. Therefore, my literature search moved towards a more detailed analysis of staff-prisoner interactions where I came across academic literature regarding 'staff-prisoner relationships' which were considered to contribute to the achievement of the Prison Service aims. Liebling (2004: 236) defines the staff-prisoner relationship as, '*the manner in, and extent to which, staff and prisoners interact during rule enforcing and non-rule-enforcing transactions*'. According to Scott (2008b: 168) the staff prisoner relationship may not be able to remove the '*structural*' pains of imprisonment for prisoners, but they are able to either ease or intensify the extent of suffering for prisoners. They can be too close or distant, too flexible or oppressive (see King & McDermott, 1995; Scraton, Sim & Skidmore, 1991).

In terms of understanding staff-prisoner relationships, however, the main body of literature in the field has tended to focus on these relationships in the broader context of prison officers' work and their role (Liebling & Price, 2001; Crawley, 2004b). Such an approach has failed to better understand how staff and prisoners each contribute to the relationship and the mediating factors. Despite the literature suggesting that British prisons have a tradition of relatively good staff-prisoner relationships in the face of the inevitable frictions of prison life, in 1998 Liebling and Price began to question how this tradition might be maintained in the context of the modern prison system.

It is in this context that the current research began. This thesis does not set out to make judgements about what is right and wrong. It intends to understand the tensions and rewards in the relationships that occur amongst staff and prisoners within the prison setting. The purpose of this research has never been to demonstrate what negative or positive behaviours some prison officers and prisoners may engage in when compared to others. Rather, it intends to provide valuable insight in to the difficult work that prison officers do, and the challenges faced by offenders sentenced to imprisonment. The research aims to consider both staff and prisoners collectively rather than to continue to support the traditional dichotomy of staff and prisoners which has the potential to encourage 'in-group, out-group' thinking.

By understanding staff-prisoner relationships within the context of the 'modern' prison system, the thesis seeks to understand how staff and prisoners are constructed within the prison setting and how this impacts on their relationships and the manner in which they experience their time in the prison setting.

Chapter 2 - The context of the 'modern' prison

Staff-prisoner relationships are located at the heart of the prison-system in the UK and are fundamental to the effective management of prisons and prisoners (Home Office, 1984; Pilling, 1992; Trotter, 1993; Sparks, Bottoms & Hays, 1996; Gilbert, 1997). This thesis is focused solely on relationships in **male** prisons and in order to situate these relationships, this chapter will focus on outlining the structures and systems in which staff-prisoner relationships exist. This will provide the basis from which this thesis starts.

However, it is important to note from the outset that the Prison Service in England and Wales provides places for a complex and diverse group of prisoners. This includes male and female prisons, as well as young offender institutions (YOIs), each of which operate slightly differently and fall within separate directorates of the Prison Service. Each group of prisoners is noted to have different needs in relation to their imprisonment as well as their offending behaviour more generally. In terms of the latter, gender and age specific risk factors are identified in the literature and associated risk assessment frameworks (for example, the Structured Assessment of Violence Risk in Youth (SAVRY: Borum, Bartel & Forth, 2002), the Violence Risk Scale-Youth Version (VRS-YV; Wong, Lewis, Stockdale & Gordon, 2004-2011) and the Female Additional Manual (FAM: de Vogel, de Vries Robbe, van Kalmthout & Place, 2014)). Therefore, age and gender result in different groups of prisoners, and their needs, being constructed differently. Given the differences noted within these populations, and the ways in which these different prisons operate, as noted previously, the focus of this thesis is solely on staff-prisoner relationships in male prisons. This decision allows for a more detailed exploration of the staff-prisoner relationship in male prisons (as will be explored further in Chapter 3).

Despite the identified differences within the prison estate in terms of the different groups of prisoners, all prisons within the Prison Service in England and Wales operate within an overarching framework. Thus, it is important to understand the wider operating frameworks, and the challenges and rewards of the Prison Service as a whole in order to fully situate male prisons and the staff-prisoner relationships that exist in these prisons. Therefore, this chapter will commence by outlining the current prisoner population before examining the framework within which prisons currently operate. In doing so, the chapter will draw on data relating to the Prison Service as a whole. Therefore, when presenting data regarding prisons, this will include male and female prisoners, and adult and young-offender populations as opposed to data for male prisons alone. This is in part due to the data being reported collectively in the literature. However, it will also place male prisons within the wider Prison Service context.

The political framework for Criminal Justice Systems

It is well established that prisons are a representation of the wider society in which they exist (Bandyopadhay, 2006). Cavendar (2004) reports that criminal justice policy and practice has been impacted upon by political positions. This section of the chapter will place prisons in England and Wales within both a cultural and political framework, providing a basis upon which staff-prisoner relationships can be further explored.

A brief history of prisons and punishment

According to Garland (1990), historical methods of punishment have been strategically and ideologically crucial to the penal system in its modern form. The Prison Service at it stands in England and Wales has evolved over the years and as such, Liebling and Price (1998) propose that it is necessary to take into account the history and purpose of the Prison

Service over previous years in order to understand the 'modern' system. Along with broader penal policy, the aims and purpose of the 'modern' Prison Service have changed over the years with penal practice fluctuating between differing ideals. As outlined by Cavadino and Dignan (2002), this has included attempts to instil fear in those individuals engaging in offending behaviour in order to prevent them and others from re-offending (deterrence); to seek retribution by punishing the crime regardless of future consequences; or to reform offenders through rehabilitation.

Before the eighteenth century, prisons represented just one aspect of the system of punishment, and Morris and Rothman (1995) claim that prisons were not considered the most essential part of this system. Alternative methods of punishment included transportation, public punishment and execution. However, imprisonment became the predominant form of punishment between the end of the eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century. This followed a move to '*mete out punishment away from the public gaze and to find alternatives to the gallows*' (Morris & Rothman, 1995: *viii*).

When tracing the history of the prison system, McGowen (1995) identifies that disorder and neglect were the dominant features of eighteenth century prisons. The authority of the staff is claimed to have been near to non-existent and the experience of imprisonment for prisoners was reported to depend upon the economic status of the prisoner, with the wealthy prisoners experiencing a more comfortable prison experience. In contrast, the nineteenth century's '*quiet and orderly*' prison system (McGowen, 1995: 79) was reported by Cavadino and Dignan (2007: 193) to aim for '*the imposition of deterrent and retributive justice*'. Victorian prisons isolated prisoners in single cells and enforced total silence, and punishment was seemingly a central characteristic of imprisonment (see Morris & Rothman, 1995). According to McConville (1995: 145), imprisonment in the Victorian era was '*hard labour, hard board, and hard fare*' with prisoners experiencing physical suffering that was imposed by the system. This included poor diet together with enforced strenuous

physical exertion. By the mid 1950's, the prison system in England and Wales saw a departure from such overt bodily hardships, yet Sykes (1958) recognised the on-going psychological impact and pain that imprisonment continued to impose on prisoners; a view that continues to be supported in the twenty-first century prison literature (for example see Jewkes, 2005; de Viggiani, 2012).

Furthermore, changes within the Prison Service appear to have occurred against political backdrops. Thomas (1972) reported that between 1877 and 1965 the Prison Service's focus was one of security and he argued that this led to a clear task definition of detainment and a clear role structure for prison officers. However, following the formation of the Gladstone Committee; and the eventual publication of the Mountbatten Report in 1966 (Home Office, 1966); emphasis was placed on reformative goals for prisoners. Current research suggests that the prison system in England and Wales has perhaps returned to the earlier focus on security (for example see Liebling, 2013).

The politics of imprisonment

Garland (2001) and Young (1999) described how fundamental changes to penal policy and practice have occurred against changes in both economic and political contexts. For example, Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government of the early 1980's favoured a deterrence approach. Here punishments served to send short, sharp messages to the offender (see Cavadino & Dignan, 2002). However, the Labour government of the late 1990's explicitly called for an end to the '*just deserts*' philosophy of punishment and a need for the sentence to fit the offender rather than the offence (*The Guardian*, 1ˢᵗ February 2000). The Coalition Government then reported to support the rehabilitative ideal (for example see HMCIP, 2013). According to Hughes and Huby (2000), prisons therefore represent the cultural and normative character of the societies in which they are located.

As Hope and Sparks (2000) outline, social anxieties have led to abrupt

and sudden changes within penal politics, moving from one ideal to the next. They noted that changes have included increased evidence of punitive practice and longer sentences including the use of indeterminate sentences. For example, Strickland (2015) outlines how in order to ensure that dangerous violent and sexual offenders remained in custody until the Parole Board were satisfied that they no longer posed a risk to society, the Labour Government introduced sentences of imprisonment for public protection (IPPs) from 2005. These sentences were reserved for those offences that were not considered serious enough to warrant a life sentence. However, these sentences were later abolished for those offenders convicted on or after 3 December 2012. This was amid concerns around offenders being kept in prison long after their tariff expiry; the prison and parole systems being unable to meet the rehabilitative and resettlement need of prisoners in order to support their release; and an increase in the number of prisoners serving these sentences which contributed to overcrowding and problems in providing rehabilitation. Seemingly the IPP sentences were created in response to concerns about the risks of certain groups of offenders, yet abolished amongst concerns regarding increasing prison numbers and ineffective rehabilitation. However, the changes in policy do not appear to ameliorate the risks identified amongst the group of prisoners that these sentences were initially designed for.

Mobilisers of crime, punishment and prison policy and practice
It is proposed that the media acts to mobilise discourses around crime and punishment and communicate political agendas, with Edelman (1988) arguing that political news coverage translates personal concerns into beliefs about the world that in turn helps generate an agenda of public discourse. According to the claims of Cavender, Jurik and Cohen (1993), the media help to construct what society see as being social issues (and possible solutions for their management), with 'claims makers' mobilising the media to get their concerns onto the public agenda (see Cavender, 2004).

Regarding the Criminal Justice System, it is claimed that the media has acted as a mediating factor in terms of the macro-level changes in policy and how individuals have experienced them. This has been observed in a number of areas of penal practice including drugs (see Goode, 1989; Beckett & Sasson, 2000), fear of crime (Dowler, 2003), attitudes towards guns and gun control (Dowler, 2002) and intimate partner violence (Carlyle, Slater & Chakroff, 2008). Fiske (1987) argues that media narratives help us to make sense of the world and make the events that we experience understandable. In terms of the public perception of crime, Garland (2001: 339) has argued that the media's depiction of crime contributes to the '*salience of crime as an issue on the agenda of public discourse*'. According to Sparks (2000: 104), themes and images which are part of the media discourse '*give form to otherwise incoherent concerns*', generating discussion and action.

Politics and the prison experience

Ultimately, crime and sanctions for criminal behaviour have become political in that they are driven by agendas set by individual governments and impacted upon by societal views. As Ross, Diamond, Liebling & Saylor (2008: 454) explain, the prison climate occurs within:

> '*A more prevailing climatic system affected by the winds of political opportunism, popular sentiment, emotion, criminological research, the media, human rights and legal issues, and economic considerations.*'

Political changes over the past 30 to 40 years have been observed to influence the politics of crime and punishment. According to Garland (2001), as a result of these political influences over this period, societal processes have never been more important in the sphere of crime and punishment. Commenting on their observations within the high secure estate, Liebling and Arnold (2012: 414) reported that a '*political aversion to pampering long-term prisoners*' has impacted on prisoners' experience of imprisonment, whereby some of the activities and sense-making

opportunities previously available to prisoners throughout their prison sentence are no longer available. They suggest that the tone and ethos of long-term imprisonment in the UK has been impacted upon by fears and anxieties relating to terrorism, migration and the economy. In turn, this has reportedly led to low levels of trust that in turn has impacted on long-term imprisonment. Further, Liebling's (2013) recent examination of prison practices and staff-prisoner relationships in the high secure estate indicated an era characterised by more punitive and risk laden practices than in the previous decade. According to Day and Ward (2010), unsympathetic public attitudes and retributive ethics increase the negative experience of imprisonment for prisoners.

As such, political influences continue to impact on the prison experience. In February 2016, the Rt Hon David Cameron called for further prison reforms. These current reforms, and their impact on prisons and imprisonment, will be explored in detail later in this chapter. Yet, at this juncture, it is important to note Gilbert's (1997) assertion that the manner in which prison policy is implemented relies very much on the work of prison officers and the manner in which they undertake their role. They are required to respond to the varied expectations placed upon them and to negotiate how they conduct their role and deliver 'imprisonment'. As such, understanding the social and political discourses and the impact of these on prison-based roles and policy is necessary given the potential impact on the prison experience for staff and prisoners alike.

However, Liebling and Arnold (2012) and Liebling (2013) note that discrepancy continues to exist in terms of how crime policy is implemented in prisons. This is important to any understanding of staff-prisoner relationships given that effective staff-prisoner relationships rely on the performance of these predetermined roles, with role assignment[2] having the potential to impact on relationships within forensic settings (Haney, Banks & Zimbardo, 1973; Haslam & Reicher, 2005; Reicher & Haslam,

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[2] Role assignment refers to the taking of a specific role within a particular setting. Haney, Banks and Zimbardo (1973) discuss this in regards to forensic settings.

2006). Further consideration as to the nature of the current prison officer role will be given later in the chapter.

The 'modern' Prison Service

The 'modern' Prison Service is responsible for the management of 82% of the prisoners across England and Wales in 105 prisons[3]. The current section will commence by outlining the current prisoner population before examining the framework within which prisons currently operate. This will place the work of the Prison Service in context.

The current prisoner population

The words "prisoner" or "prisoners" in this thesis refer to those individuals held in custody by the Prison Service. According to figures published by the Prison Reform Trust (2015), between 1993 and 2014 the prison population in England and Wales increased by more than 40,000 people, representing a rise of 91%. An earlier report published by the Ministry of Justice (MoJ, 2013a) around the increases in prisoner numbers observed that the increases in the previous 14 years had occurred, for the most part, within two strands of the prisoner population. This included those prisoners sentenced to immediate custody, and those recalled to prison having been non-compliant and breached their licence conditions. The increase in the immediate custodial sentenced population occurred after 1995 due to a number of factors. This included an increase in the number of individuals sentenced by the courts between 1995 and 2002, and prisoners receiving longer sentences as a result of changes in sentencing guidelines (see Prison Reform Trust, 2015).

Further, the increase in the recall population was noted to reflect not only the higher recall rate, but again, longer time spent in custody on recall. This increase in the recall of prisoners was related to changes in the law that made the recall of prisoners easier. The implications of the Criminal

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[3] This is separate to the additional 14 private sector prisons operating under contracts.

Justice Act (2003) also made the period of licence longer for offenders. Thus, offenders are monitored for longer in the community and if recalled to custody, this can be for longer periods of time depending on the length of the licence period.

The prison population of England and Wales at the end of February 2016 was 87,029 (MoJ, 2016a). This figure represented an increase of approximately 0.45% when compared to the figure of 86,635 in February 2015 (MoJ, 2015a). In comparison to the figure of 85,206 prisoners five years previously in 2011 (MoJ, 2011a), the current figures represent an increase of approximately 2.15%. Despite the continued rise in the prisoner population, it has not reached the forecasted population of 100,000 by 2014 as previously outlined by the Sainsbury Centre for Mental Health (2008). The number of people serving sentences of four years or more, including indeterminate sentences, has increased and now accounts for almost one in four sentenced prisoners. The average prison sentence is now more than three months longer than in 2002 at 15.8 months (Prison Reform Trust, 2015).

Over the past decade, the prison population in England and Wales has increased from a rate of imprisonment at 142 per 100,000 of the population (Hek, 2006) to 149 per 100,000 (Prison Reform Trust, 2015). The rates of imprisonment in England and Wales continue to be the highest in Western Europe with rates ranging from 55 per 100,000 in Finland to 137 per 100,000 in Portugal. Scotland has a rate of 141 per 100,000 and Northern Ireland 93 per 100,000.

Prison officer provision
In relation to staffing, the average number of full time equivalent (FTE) persons employed in unified grades (including all officer grades, operational managers and operational support grades) for the employment year 2007-2008 was 34,008 (HMPS, 2008a). This figure increased at a rate of approximately 2.2% for the employment year 2008-2009 where figures published by the National Offender Management Service (NOMS)

indicated that the average number of full time equivalent staff employed in unified grades was 34,771 (NOMS, 2009a)[4]. The most recent figures published by the MoJ (2015b) reported that at the end of June 2015, there was a total of 24,100 operational staff working within prisons in England and Wales. This included 15,110 prison officers, 4,760 Operational Support Grades (OSGs), 1,940 Supervising Officers and 1,340 Custodial Managers[5]. Overall, the number of staff employed across all roles in the public prison estate has fallen by 29% in the last four years with there being 12,980 fewer staff in prisons (MoJ, 2015b).

At this stage it is important to note that the number of prison officers has decreased whilst the prisoner population has increased. This has implications for how prisons are managed and how individual prison officers may work towards the achievement of the aims and values of the Prison Service.

The operating framework of the 'modern' prison

Whilst the Prison Service was historically linked with the Home Office, following the riots at HMP Manchester (formerly Strangeways) in 1990, the reports of Lord Justice Woolf and others led to the Prison Service becoming an Executive Agency in 1993[6]. According to Lord Woolf, there was a need for the Prison Service to do more than '*pay lip service to its responsibilities to treat* [prisoners] *with humanity*' (Woolf, 1991; Para 14.18) and to developing staff-prisoner relationships. That is, there was a reported need for a cultural change throughout the Prison Service as a whole with Lord Justice Woolf calling for the purpose of the service to be re-launched to encourage staff-prisoner relationships that were built on positive interpersonal exchanges as part of its rehabilitative model.

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[4] The workforce figures for 2007 to 2009 have been presented here, as this was the period over which the majority of the data was collected for this thesis.
[5] The figures published here relate solely to staff employed in public sector prisons and the number of prison officers employed in private sector prisons is not included in the statistics.
[6] Executive Agencies are semi-independent organisations set up by the Government to carry out some of their responsibilities.

The decision for the Prison Service to become an Executive Agency resulted in the delegated authority for delivery of the service. However, the appointment of Martin Narey (former Director General of the Prison Service) to the newly created post of Commissioner of Correctional Services in 2003 brought custodial and community interventions under a single manager. This move sought to ensure a more seamless service between what was then the Prison Service and the National Probation Service. The underpinning principle was one of reducing re-offending through the creation of a National Offender Management Service (NOMS). In organisational terms this meant that the Prison Service no longer functioned as an Executive Agency but part of NOMS, and thus reverted to being an integral part of the Home Office.

The National Offender Management Service (NOMS)

NOMS is an Executive Agency of the Ministry of Justice and is responsible for the National Probation Service (NPS) and HM Prison Service (HMPS), managing 105 public sector prisons and young offender institutions within England and Wales. Their vision is to work collaboratively with providers and partners to achieve what NOMS (2014a) describe as being a transformed justice system that makes communities safer, prevents victims and cuts crime. NOMS is responsible for commissioning adult offender services in England and Wales both in custody and in the community, seeking to achieve value for money from public resources (NOMS, 2013a). In addition, NOMS is responsible for providing custodial services both directly, and under contract, to other government departments through the public sector Prison Service. With an annual budget of £3.4billion[7], the Agency is funded in respect of services provided on behalf of the Secretary of State as set out in the Offender Management Act (2007) and the Prisons Act (1952 – Amended).

As an agency, NOMS work to protect the public and reduce reoffending by delivering the punishment and Orders of the Courts, and supporting

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[7] This figure is based on the budget for 2013-14.

rehabilitation by helping offenders to change their lives (NOMS, 2014a). The latter is reportedly achieved through a transformed justice system where proper punishment goes hand in hand with effective rehabilitation (NOMS, 2013a). NOMS aims to keep the public safe by ensuring that offenders undertake, in safe and secure conditions, the punishment of the Courts through custodial (prison) or community sentences delivered by prisons and probation providers (NOMS, 2013a).

It is claimed that the overarching principles of NOMS are achieved through the following values (NOMS, 2014a):

- be objective and take full account of public protection when assessing risk;
- be open, honest and transparent;
- incorporate equality and diversity in all we do;
- value, empower and support staff, and work collaboratively with others;
- treat offenders with decency and respect;
- embrace change, innovation and local empowerment; and
- use our resources in the most effective way, focusing on outcomes and delivering value for money for the taxpayer.

The philosophy of Her Majesty's Prison Service (HMPS)
Further consideration is given here as to how HMPS contributes to NOMS. HMPS for England and Wales operates under the following framework:

> *Her Majesty's Prison Service serves the public by keeping in custody those committed by the courts. Our duty is to look after them with humanity and help them lead law abiding and useful lives in custody and after release.* (HM Prison Service Mission Statement[8])

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[8] The current operating framework for HM Prison Service is outlined at https://www.justice.gov.uk/about/hmps (Accessed 20.07.2014)

The vision and objectives for HM Prison Service are taken directly from the current operating framework[8]. The **vision** of the Prison Service is:

- to provide the very best Prison Services so that we are the provider of choice; and
- to work towards this vision by securing the following key objectives.

The **objective** of the Prison Service is to protect the public and provide what commissioners want to purchase by:

- holding prisoners securely;
- reducing the risk of prisoners' re-offending; and
- providing safe and well-ordered establishments in which we treat prisoners humanely, decently and lawfully.

In delivering these objectives, the Prison Service seeks to adhere to the following principles as outlined alongside its operating framework[8]:

- work in close partnership with our commissioners and others in the Criminal Justice System to achieve common objectives;
- obtain best value from the resources available using research to ensure effective correctional practice;
- promote diversity, equality of opportunity and combat unlawful discrimination; and
- ensure staff have the right leadership, organisation, support and preparation to carry out their work effectively.

Based on this framework, the Prison Service has committed itself, at the official discourse level to '*treating prisoners with decency and with respect*' (HMPS, 2000: 25) with it being further noted that:

Staff must carry out their duties loyally, conscientiously, honestly and with integrity. They must take responsibility and be accountable for their actions. Staff must be courteous, reasonable and fair in their dealings with all prisoners, colleagues and members of the public. They must treat people with decency and respect. (NOMS, 2013b: 23)

The expectations of prison staff are clearly outlined within the policy documentation. Yet, the suggestion that staff 'must' engage in particular behaviours implies, to some degree, that they may not be doing this routinely. Therefore, an understanding of the routine ways in which prison staff interact with prisoners is important.

Reforms to offender management and prisons
The aim of the MoJ, as outlined in the *Transforming Rehabilitation* consultation is that offenders '*desist completely from committing crime*' (MoJ, 2013b: 17). This may be considered somewhat unrealistic given that authors such as Souza and Dhami (2010) inform us that prison may not be effective in addressing issues of crime.

The cost to the taxpayer of reoffending is estimated to be £9.5 to £13 billion per year (MoJ, 2013b) and it is proposed that reoffending remains too high despite significant government spending over the past decade. There has also been little change in reconviction rates with the latest proven reoffending tables published by the Ministry of Justice indicating that in the twelve months ending March 2014, 45.8% of offenders who had been released from custody reoffended within a year (MoJ, 2016b). This represented a slight increase of 0.7% from the previous year, but a decrease from the initial proven reoffending figures published in 2002 that reported a reoffending rate of 52.6%. However, the Government (see MoJ, 2013b) has continued to outline the need to further reduce reoffending in order to cut both the number of victims and the financial costs to the taxpayer. Thus, discourses of public safety and public

protection are set against political and economic discourses around cost saving.

The MoJ (2013b) recognises that the reasons why offenders turn to crime vary widely and as such they report that there is a need to be flexible in the delivery of rehabilitation by addressing the factors taking offenders closer to crime. This includes interventions both within the prison system and under the management of Probation Services in the community. NOMS (2013a) informs us that this will entail the public sector retaining direct responsibility for the delivery of core custodial functions and the provision of services as offenders move in to the community, with other ancillary services provided through market competition. It is suggested that this will diversify the provision of rehabilitation services to '*get the best out of the public, voluntary and private sectors at the local as well as national level*' (p. 7). The introduction of competition within commissioning systems sought to drive down costs and create the opportunity to expand the payment by results approach to improve rehabilitation outcomes, with prison forming one component of this process.

The aims of imprisonment

The aims of prison are both multifaceted and complex. In their 2010 response to the Justice Select Committee, the Government outlined that:

> '*Prison is first and foremost a punishment - it removes the liberty of offenders, forcing them to comply with a structured, disciplined and tough regime where everyday choices usually taken for granted are removed*' (Ministry of Justice, 2010a: 6).

Yet, at the same time, governments have consistently outlined the need for prison to have a rehabilitative focus in order to meet the needs of the prisoner population and to reduce rates of reoffending as outlined above.

Further, the Amended Prison Rules (1999)[9] note that the Prison Service should ensure that '*the purpose of the training and treatment of convicted prisoners shall be to encourage and assist them to lead a good and useful life*'[10]. Also, according to the Criminal Justice Act (2003), the statutory purpose of sentencing includes the '*reform and rehabilitation of prisoners*'. According to the Home Affairs Committee (2005), within the prison context this means the preparation of prisoners to enable them to re-join society and contribute in a meaningful way. Most recently in February 2016, commenting on reforms to the prison system, the Rt Hon David Cameron commented that,

> "*We must offer* [prisoners] *chances to change, that for those trying hard to turn themselves around, we should offer hope, that in a compassionate country, we should help those who've made mistakes to find their way back onto the right path. In short: we need a prison system that doesn't see prisoners as simply liabilities to be managed, but instead as potential assets to be harnessed.*"[11]

Thus, prisoners are politically positioned as individuals who are capable of change, and contributing positively to society as a whole. In order to achieve this, it is proposed that prisoners should be afforded opportunities for rehabilitation. Thus, in order to achieve the goal of reducing reoffending, the Ministry of Justice (2013b: 5) inform us that,

> '*We need a tough but intelligent Criminal Justice System that punishes people properly when they break the law, but also supports them so they don't commit crime in the future*'.

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[9] *The Prison Rules* (1999) is a Statutory Instrument that was approved by Parliament and which outlines the rules and regulations of the prison. Breach of any of the rules by prisoners is likely to lead to formal disciplinary action where following a disciplinary hearing, the governor can impose a range of possible punishments as set out in Rule 55. This may include forfeiture of privileges, confinement to their cell, stoppage or deduction from earnings etc.
[10] The Prison Rules 1999 (S.I. (1999) No. 728), consolidated September 2002, rule 3
[11] https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/prison-reform-prime-ministers-speech

Here, prison is constructed as a system of punishment *and* rehabilitation, removing the liberties of offenders and restricting the choices they make. Further, prison is about commencing a process of rehabilitation in preparation for release and avoiding the financial costs of reoffending. A question for policy makers is how does rehabilitation fit in the 'modern' prison system.

Rehabilitation in the 'modern' prison system

The term '*rehabilitation*' comes from the Latin '*rehabilitare*' meaning to 're-enable' or 'make fit again'. However, a challenge to the notion of rehabilitation is that many prisoners have arguably not been 'habilitated' in the first place (see Home Affairs Committee, 2005). On entering prison, prisoners have characteristically experienced high levels of social exclusion and according to the Social Exclusion Unit (2002),

- 27% of prisoners were taken into care as a child compared to 2% of the general population;
- 66% of prisoners are unemployed;
- 66% of male sentenced prisoners have used drugs in the last year;
- 52% of male sentenced prisoners have no qualifications as compared to 15% of the general population.
- 66% of prisoners have numeracy skills at or below the level expected of an 11 year old and 50% have a reading ability and 82% have a writing ability at or below this level.

A report by the Cabinet Office's Social Exclusion Unit (2002), suggests that imprisonment can further disadvantage prisoners; and possibly increase their chances of reoffending; due to the increased likelihood of them losing their home and employment whilst in prison, with others experiencing increased financial problems and losing contact with their family. This report identified nine key factors that influence re-offending: education; employment; drug and alcohol misuse; mental and physical health; attitudes and self control; institutional and life skills; housing;

financial support and debt; and family networks. As such, it is sensible to suggest that effective rehabilitation would address each of these needs.

However, the manner in which rehabilitation is delivered internationally differs to the extent that interventions provide purposeful activity, challenge offending behaviour and address education deficits in order to provide prisoners with necessary life and work skills. The Home Affairs Committee (2005) outlined the most common forms of interventions associated with rehabilitation as involving:

- an assessment of individual prisoner needs in order to use targeted interventions;
- the provision of education;
- interventions to challenge offending behaviour and to reduce associated risk factors;
- vocational training to address employability factors and the opportunity to engage in work experience in the prison; and
- resettlement work to address needs relating to securing accommodation and employment.

As such, rehabilitation within the 'modern' prison system is a complex phenomenon and as outlined above, requires a multi-agency approach that involves Government departments and private sector organisations and providers working collaboratively to meet the needs of a complex group of prisoners. Prisons play one part in the wider process of rehabilitation. However, perceived failures in rehabilitation are likely to be complex and the result of many aspects of the wider Criminal Justice System and Society, as opposed to being the result of prisons alone. Further consideration of the contribution of the Prison Service to rehabilitation and criminal justice reforms will be outlined below.

Delivering prison reforms in a climate of austerity
Given that the reasons that people turn to crime vary widely, reforms within the Criminal Justice System need to encourage and enable new

providers to better meet the needs of diverse groups of offenders (NOMS, 2013a). NOMS has a clear vision for future delivery of offender management both in the community and in custody. As set out in the NOMS 2013/14 Business Plan (NOMS, 2013b: 8), this supported a clear vision for Open Public Services[12]:

- There will remain a strong viable public sector provision both in probation and in prisons – to ensure robust and effective public protection is maintained;
- The public sector will be smaller and will work alongside a larger and more diverse provision of services by private, voluntary and third sector partners to drive innovation and transform rehabilitation outcomes (including 'through the gate' provision[13]); and
- Unit costs across all sectors will be reduced by implementing the most efficient operating models making effective use of the market and using 'payment by results', where appropriate, to incentivise a focus on outcomes.

The 2014-15 Business Plan (NOMS, 2014a) focussed on implementing this vision; namely improving services whilst reducing costs. In 2014/15, NOMS were expected to make savings of £149 million. This was in addition to £274 million in 2013-14, £246 million in 2012-13 and £229 million in 2011-12. These savings of nearly £900 million across a four-year period represent a reduction of spending of approximately 24% by the end of the 2014/15 financial year across NOMS. It was reported that the Prison Unit Cost Programme would seek to reshape the way in which prisons operate, achieving a saving of £306m per annum from 2015/16 and reducing overall unit cost by approximately £2,200 per place (NOMS, 2014a). Yet, at an average annual cost per prison place of £36,259 (MoJ, 2015e), the Prison Reform Trust (2015) suggest that the rise in the prison

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[12] www.openpublicservices.cabinetoffice.gov.uk
[13] 'Through the gate' provision refers to the delivery of rehabilitation services which commence in the prison setting and follow offenders through the prison gate and in to the community, thus providing continuity of services for offenders in custody and the community.

population is likely to represent an estimated additional cost of £1.22bn annually. At the same time, NOMS continue to report being focused on achieving these policy objectives and implementing rehabilitation reforms through a more effective and cost-efficient custodial system.

Cost savings have occurred against a period of reform and are reported to have been achieved through a combination of workforce restructuring; market testing and the privatisation of entire establishments and specific services; standardising costs and services; and reconfiguring the prison estate by closing some smaller, older prisons and increasing the size of a number of very large establishments. It is claimed that these savings are not being made by cutting services. Rather, it is by *fundamentally reforming the way we work*' (NOMS, 2014a: 3) and ensuring '*best value for money through payment by results mechanisms*' as outlined in the Transforming Rehabilitation reforms (p. 11).

However, according to Nick Hardwick (HM Chief Inspector of Prisons) in his 2012 annual report, '*Resources are now stretched very thinly...there is a pretty clear choice for politicians and policy makers - reduce prison populations or increase prison budgets*' (HMCIP, 2012: 8). Nonetheless, NOMS were still tasked with making cost savings whilst the prison population continues to rise. Again in 2013, Hardwick commented that these financial and organisational pressures create risks (HMCIP, 2013) with there being fewer officers working on prison wings with prisoners, fewer managers supervising staff and less support available to individual prison establishments. He warned that this raised concerns about prison managers becoming '*preoccupied with cost cutting, targets and processes*' resulting in a lack of focus on safety, security and rehabilitation (p.8). Despite apprehensions that overcrowding in the prison system has led to an emphasis on security at the expense of rehabilitation, the Government has previously indicated that, in their view, it is entirely appropriate for them to place an emphasis on the maintenance of safety, order and control in prison establishments. Whilst these functions are clearly fundamental to prison practices, focussing on these areas questions the

extent to which rehabilitation actually forms part of the operating framework of the 'modern' prison system.

Prison officers as a vehicle for prison reform

The National Offender Management Service's Commissioning Intentions (see Kenny & Webster, 2015) stresses the importance of a rehabilitative culture in prisons. Here, prison officers are seen as a vehicle of change in terms of helping to create an environment supportive of rehabilitation by adopting a positive attitude towards prisoners and optimism around rehabilitation that they in turn convey to prisoners.

However, within policy and procedures, the contribution of the prison officer role to the objectives of NOMS and the wider Criminal Justice System is seemingly focused on: holding prisoners securely; working with them to reduce the risk of re-offending; helping to provide safe, well-ordered establishments; and treating prisoners humanely, decently and lawfully (MoJ, 2010a). The Government recognises that the role is complex, demanding and varied. As such, it is reported that considerable effort has been invested in understanding, shaping and defining the role – including defining the key responsibilities, skills and competencies required, and how these differentiate between particular roles. The skills and competencies are set out in 'The Competency & Qualities Framework' (HMPS, 2008b).

Prison officer responsibilities

According to the NOMS overview of the prison officer role in England and Wales, a number of responsibilities, activities and duties are identified[14]. Typical tasks include:

- supervise, manage and control prisoners decently, lawfully, safely and securely whilst carrying out all activities. Exercise the power of a Constable;

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[14] These responsibilities, activities and duties are identified within the prison officer post vacancies outlined on the NOMS website

- conduct searches on prisoners, staff and visitors as required;

- undertake external escorts;

- undertake 'first on scene' incident response;

- maintain and update systems in-line with local agreements;

- prepare relevant documentation to managers for verification / quality checking purposes;

- attend and contribute to relevant meetings as required;

- complete and update Personal Emergency Evacuation Plan;

- establish, develop and maintain professional relationships with prisoners and staff; and

- understand and comply with national / local policies and legislation.

Regarding the typical tasks outlined here, they generally represent a security-focussed role. This further reflects the Mission Statement that starts by outlining the function of serving the public '*by keeping in custody those committed by the courts*' (HM Prison Service Mission Statement[15]) suggesting that security is the primary function of prisons and prison officers. The discourse here is one of containment, further demonstrating a power imbalance between staff and prisoners whereby staff supervise, manage and control prisoners. However, this positions prisoners as potentially being unruly and in need of containment. This focus on security and the power dynamics intrinsic to the role reflects what Liebling (2013) describes as a security-laden service. However, a security-orientated role has historically been reported to lead to a clear task definition of detainment and a clear role structure for prison officers (Thomas, 1972). At the same time, it is recognised that offenders are sent to closed prison conditions as a result of their immediate risks to the public. Therefore, preventing escape and ensuring containment is clearly a primary focus.

All of the competencies in the NOMS Competency and Qualities Framework (HMPS, 2008b) are relevant to the prison officer role. For the

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[15] http://www.justice.gov.uk/about/hmps/

purpose of prison officer selection, the following competencies are measured:

- Leading and Communicating
- Managing a Quality Service
- Achieving a Safe and Secure Environment
- Showing Drive and Resilience
- Caring
- Persuading and Influencing

The above tasks and core competencies call for a professional practitioner within the prison setting. They are required to care for prisoners, yet at the same time, the role is still centred on notions such as supervision, management and control. Furthermore, the structures observed within the Prison Service place prison officers at the core of delivering the mission statement and the aims and objectives of the service. This highlights the importance of the prison officer role in the achievement of the organisational standards and the political policies underpinning imprisonment.

Terms and conditions

Prison officers are required to work a 37-hour working week. However, the role requires working regular unsocial hours and a permanent 17% payment is paid in addition to the basic salary to recognise this. Unsocial hours are those hours outside 07:00 – 19:00hrs Monday to Friday and include working evenings, nights, weekends and Public holidays. Prison officers also have the option to commit to working between 1 to 4 additional committed hours at an enhanced rate of pay on top of their standard 37-hour working week. These hours are non-pensionable. The starting salary for a prison officer working 37 hours is £19,049. Depending on annual performance, affordability, public sector pay policy and the recommendations from the Prison Service Pay Review Body (2014), the salary may increase incrementally up to £22,487 over time. In

comparison, a newly qualified nurse would expect to start on a salary of £21,692 rising to £28,180[16] and the opportunity to progress on to a higher pay band.

Delivering prison reforms

As such, despite the relatively low level of remuneration for the prison officer post, they are required to provide a service for prisoners and take a role in delivering wider political reforms around reducing re-offending. As such, based on the hierarchical structure of the Prison Service, the lowest ranking uniformed staff (prison officers) have a great degree of responsibility for mobilising the vision and objectives of the Prison Service through the interpretation and implementation of policy (see Gilbert, 1997). As such, the use of discretion and the manner in which these prison officers perform their duties can impact on how individual prisoners experience imprisonment; an issue that will be returned to in Chapter 3.

The performance of the 'modern' Prison Service

Within the past decade, the Prison Service has been characterised by increased numbers of prisoners. According to Cavadino and Dignan (2007: 194) the Prison Service was a '*chronically failing institution*', '*teetering on the brink of a potentially devastating crisis*' (p.192). However, the 2007-08 Annual Report from Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Prisons (HMCIP) for England and Wales (2009: 7) argued that '*prisons are, in general, undoubtedly better-run, more effective and more humane places than they used to be*'. That is, HMCIP found that prisons were safer, more secure, and more likely to rehabilitate prisoners. However, and at the same time, HMCIP branded the system as being '*pressured…with record numbers in prison;* a concern previously outlined by Cavadino and Dignan (2007).

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[16] These figures are for 2015-16 and are taken from https://www.rcn.org.uk/employment-and-pay/nhs-pay-scales-2015-16

At the time, Dame Owers, Chief Inspector of Prisons, reported that, '*no-one should be in any doubt that this is still a system under sustained and chronic pressure*' (HMCIP: 2009: 5). This related to predications around the rise in the prison population, expected resource cuts and concerns regarding safety, unsuitable accommodation in many local prisons, low levels of activity and inadequate alcohol services.

Prison performance in 2013 and beyond

The third aggregated report on Offender Management in Prisons (2013) by HM Inspectorate of Probation and HM Inspectorate of Prisons outlined negative findings (HMIP, 2013). That is, in their 2012 report they outlined a wide variation in the role, importance and effectiveness of Offender Management Units in different prison establishments. Whilst prisons addressed the 'resettlement' issues of prisoners (i.e. personal and social circumstances), they seemingly did not pay enough attention to the 'offender management' functions; namely rehabilitation and public protection.

This report outlined limited progress and concerns about the Prison Service's capacity to implement the changes required under the 'Transforming Rehabilitation' reform and strategy. According to the report, there had been modest, yet inconsistent improvements in practice and prison officers who undertook the role of an offender supervisor reportedly lacked guidance and supervision themselves. There also continued to be few structured programmes within prisons designed to challenge offending behaviour and promote rehabilitation. It was concluded that the Offender Management Model was '*not working in prisons*' (HM Inspectorate of Probation, 2013: 4). As a result of the prison capacity and the pressures of implementing 'Transforming Rehabilitation' there are questions about the Prison Service's ability to deliver the National Offender Management Service expectations.

An average week in prisons in England and Wales

According to HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (2015), in the calendar year ending December 2014, an average week in the Prison Service involved:

- around 500 incidents of self-harm;
- in excess of 300 assaults which includes more than 40 serious assaults (blunt instruments or blades were the most common weapons);
- approximately 70 assaults on staff, including nine serious assaults; and
- four to five prisoner deaths[17], with one or two of those deaths being self-inflicted (most using a ligature fixed to a bed or window).

As such, the statistics present a somewhat bleak picture of prisons that appear to be characterised by high incidents of violence towards others, as well as high incident rates of self-harm and suicide. Thus, the statistics suggest a complex and challenging environment for prisoners to live, and for prison officers to work.

Key outcomes: the 'healthy prisons' test

Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Prisons Annual Report for 2014-15 (HMCIP, 2015) outlined outcomes for prisons during that period, as well as comparison data from the previous ten years; as assessed against the four 'healthy prison' tests – safety, respect, purposeful activity and resettlement; the findings are outlined in Table 1.

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[17] The figures for deaths are for the year up to March 2015.

Table 1: Percentage of establishments assessed as 'good' or 'reasonably good' in full inspections

	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
Safety	75	57	69	72	78	84	83	80	69	52
Respect	65	63	69	69	76	74	74	73	67	64
Purposeful Activity	48	53	65	71	68	69	72	50	61	36
Resettlement	68	62	75	75	76	71	85	64	75	57

[1] This table has been reproduced from HMCIP Report for 2014-2015.

In relation to the four 'healthy prison' tests, further consideration will be given to each aspect here based on the most recent findings (see HMCIP, 2015).

Safety

The figures outlined in Table 1 indicate that safety outcomes in prisons (e.g. assaults, self-harm and deaths) are the lowest they have been in ten years. It is proposed by HMCIP (2015) that declines in safety are seemingly linked to staff shortages, overcrowding and policy changes.

The latest report published by Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Prisons (HMCIP, 2015) outlined how since 2010 assault incidents in prisons have risen by 13% to 16,196 and there were 10% more assault incidents in 2014, than in 2013. The number of serious assaults has risen by 55% over the last five years, and 35% in the last year (HMCIP, 2015). Further, data published by the Ministry of Justice (2014a) indicates that the number of recorded sexual assaults in prisons in England and Wales has risen from 113 in 2012 to 169 in 2013 and is the highest number of annual recorded assaults since 2005[18]. The number of recorded prisoner on prisoner sexual assaults has increased by 54 per cent in one year.

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[18] A small proportion of the assaults recorded will refer to incidents that occurred out- side of prison custody and some will be unproven allegations (see Howard League for Penal Reform, 2014b).

According to the Howard League for Penal Reform (2014b) this included 107 recorded sexual assaults in male prisons in 2012 and 165 incidents in 2013. However, the same publication claims that the number of recorded sexual assaults in prison may not reveal the true scale of sexual abuse. That is, it is claimed that prison culture, particularly in male prisons, may be a significant factor in victims' reluctance to disclose they have been sexually assaulted.

There were 228 deaths in male prisons in England and Wales in 2014–15, representing an increase of 4% from the previous year. This figure included 74 self-inflicted deaths (a drop of 13% from the 85 recorded in 2013–14), 136 deaths from natural causes, four apparent homicides (up from three in 2013–14) and 14 other deaths, 10 of which had not been classified at the time of publication (see HMCIP, 2015). It is reported that 25 of the prisoners that took their own lives in 2014–15 were on an open Assessment, Care in Custody and Teamwork (ACCT) document[19]. Inspectors previously found (HMCIP, 2013) recurring concerns regarding the management of prisoners identified as being at risk of suicide or self-harm with many of these individuals being held in segregation. More generally it is reported that there was a lack of continuity of care and management due to staff deployment which in turn has impacted negatively on staff-prisoner relationships, as well as reducing safety due to ineffective management (HMCIP, 2015).

According to HMCIP (2014; 2015), increases in the use of new psychoactive substances was reportedly a factor in the increase of violence in prisons either through the effects of the substances or due to bullying in relation to drug debts. New commissioning arrangements for NHS England to provide substance misuse services in prisons had reportedly resulted in more recovery

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[19] ACCT is the case management process for prisoners identified as being at risk of suicide or self-harm

focussed services. Yet, low prison staff numbers often impacted on delivery of interventions.

Respect

Figures indicate that overcrowding continues to be a problem, affecting 63% of the prisons inspected in 2014-15 (HMCIP, 2015). As outlined in Table 1, figures indicate that outcomes for respect in prisons are also at their lowest in the past 10 years. However, HMCIP (2015) indicates that despite challenges within the prison system, 76% of prisoners surveyed said that staff treated them with respect. However, at the same time, there continued to be a lack of engagement between staff and prisoners in a high number of prisons. Prisoners from minority backgrounds have regularly reported negative experiences of prisons and their interactions with staff (see HMCIP, 2013). Where prisoners have needs that differ from the majority of the prison population, HMCIP (2015) reported concerns that these were not effectively met.

Purposeful activity

Again, Table 1 indicates that outcomes in relation to purposeful activity were at their lowest with only 36% of prisons assessed as 'good' or 'reasonably good' in 2014-15. As outlined in earlier publications by HMCIP (2013: 11), this is a cause for concern given that '*equipping prisoners with the skills, habits and attitudes they need to get and hold down a job is an essential part of the rehabilitation process*'.

There is an expectation by HMCIP that prisoners are out of cells for 10 hours per day. The introduction of a new core day across the Prison Service aimed to provide predictability for prisoners and increased time out of their cell, although this has not been the reality. Recent statistics by HMCIP (2015) indicate that one in five prisoners reported spending less than two hours a day out of their cells, with only one in seven prisoners indicating that they spent

over ten hours out of their cell. 50% of prisoners were locked in their cells during the working day, with exercise and fresh air being limited to 30 minutes a day. In the year 2014-15, only 16/42 men's prisons inspected had sufficient activity in place for the prisoners (HMCIP, 2015). Low staffing numbers and a lack of learning and skills places reportedly impacted upon these statistics.   This problem was prevalent in training prisons. Further, poor attendance and punctuality at activities by prisoners regularly went unchallenged by prison staff.

Resettlement

In terms of the 'transforming rehabilitation' reforms published in January 2013, practical support and addressing offending behaviour in order to manage risks are important for resettlement. However, in 2013, HMCIP found that the latter was often of little priority and seen as a specialist role and not integrated sufficiently into the prison regime (HMCIP, 2013).   Again, figures for resettlement outcomes were also at their lowest in the previous ten years for 2014-15 (see Table 1). According to HMCIP (2015), prisons struggled to offer resettlement opportunities for prisoners, with many prisoners having not had an assessment of their individual needs. Further, planning for resettlement was impacted upon by changes to the structures of the National Probation Service and uncertainties as to who would provide resettlement provision.

Further, in terms of education, between 20 to 30% of offenders are estimated to have learning disabilities or difficulties that interfere with their ability to cope with the Criminal Justice System (Loucks, 2007). A recent Criminal Justice Joint Inspection (2015) concluded that the system was failing to recognise these individuals. Further, Government reports indicate that 46% of people entering prison in 2014-15 had English literacy skills of broadly of a primary school leaver, compared to 15% in the general adult population (Skills Funding Agency, 2015; Ministry of Justice, 2015d).   However,

prison regimes did not give sufficient priority to education and training (Ofsted, 2015).

The delivery of Offending Behaviour Programmes (OBPs)[20] is noted to vary '*enormously*' between prisons (HMCIP, 2015: 62). According to the MoJ (2015c), NOMS has a range of accredited Offending Behaviour Programmes (OBPs) designed to target the risks and needs of different types of offending behaviour. These are available both in prison and through Probation in the community. The most recent prison statistics state that in 2014-15 there were 8,523 accredited programme starts[21], at a rate of 11.9 starts per 100 offenders. This saw a 56% reduction in delivery since 2009-10, and a 5% reduction from 2013-14. It is reported by the MoJ that these reductions represent changes in the manner in which substance misuse interventions are commissioned with starts reducing by 91% since 2009-10. Despite these figures suggesting a bleak picture in relation to the number of prisoners engaging in OBPs, the number of prisoners accessing programmes relating to domestic violence, violence and sexual violence has nearly doubled over this period. Changes in delivery numbers appear to be related to a shift from the delivery of OBPs for lower risk offenders to a focus on investing in the delivery of OBPs for higher risk offenders (MoJ, 2015c).

Practical resettlement opportunities were considered mixed. That is, according to the joint thematic inspection of HM Inspectorate of Prisons, HM Inspectorate of Probation and Ofsted (Criminal Justice Joint Inspection, 2014), support in finding accommodation and employment, and maintaining family contact and community support was mixed. The latter was seen as a privilege as opposed

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[20] Offending behaviour (or cognitive skills) programmes were introduced in the UK in the early 1990s with the aim of teaching offenders the process of consequential thinking in order to avoid patterns of thinking that may lead them to engaging in offending behaviour.
[21] A programme start is counted as attendance at the first session of the programme. This figure does not indicate that the prisoner successfully completed the intervention.

to a component of resettlement. Yet, according to HMCIP (2015), where prisons focussed on developing employment skills and links with employers, this opened up opportunities. Prisons were also noted to offer support to prisoners in terms of housing and financial needs.

As such, based on these outcome measures, the Prison Service appears to be failing to achieve the identified outcomes associated with 'healthy prisons'. This includes a decrease in safety and limited provision of the services directly linked to rehabilitation. This has implications for the delivery of the Prison Service aims and the experience of prison for prisoners and prison officers alike.

Delivering a 'modern' Prison Service

According to HMCIP (2015), there is a direct relationship between prisoner safety, living conditions, and staff availability on prisoners' subsequent engagement in purposeful activity. That is, without safety being in place, it is proposed that few prisoners are able to meaningfully engage. In order to achieve the desired outcomes of rehabilitation and lower rates of reoffending, the challenge is the delivery of services that meet the needs of those offenders passing through the prison gates. Based on the available figures, it would appear that the Prison Service, and NOMS more generally, have seen a steady decline in their outcomes over recent years. Thus, a challenge for the Prison Service is to deliver its aims within a period of austerity that challenges managers to deliver further cost savings. At the same time, frontline prison officers are being required to work with larger numbers of prisoners with fewer resources. As such, a challenge is how firstly standards may be maintained, and hopefully improved going forward. This is particularly salient in terms of staff-prisoner relationships contributing to safety and order in the prison system when staff are ultimately stretched in terms of personal and physical resources.

Chapter 3 - Contextualising staff-prisoner relationships; roles, identities and challenges

The Prison Service of England and Wales report the centrality of staff–prisoner relationships in maintaining decent and stable regimes, and in aiding the rehabilitative process (e.g. NOMS, 2008). Liebling and Arnold (2004) note that one of the most important things observed regarding the climate of a prison are the relationships between prison officers and managers, and between staff and prisoners. Liebling, Price and Elliott (1999) conclude that relationships potentially occur among individuals who would not normally choose to interact, being made up of both rule-enforcing and non-rule-enforcing encounters. According to Liebling (2004), security has become a key feature of the Prison Service in recent years, and it is against this backdrop of containment that staff-prisoner relationships are set. Shefer and Liebling (2008) advise that exploring the nature and quality of staff-prisoner relationships can provide insight into prison regimes and prison life.

This chapter focuses on contextualising staff-prisoner relationships in **male** prisons in England and Wales. It will explore the nature of the prison culture and the challenges and impact of this on the roles and identities of individuals living and working in the prison setting - prisoners and prison officers. The power imbalance of prison will also be explored in relation to the staff-prisoner relationship.

Acculturation

According to Harré and van Langenhove (1999), the rights, duties and obligations that are acquired, assumed or imposed upon individuals within everyday life restrict what they are able to do. Negotiating one's own

identity involves accepting or rejecting these. From a social constructionist perspective, Coulter (1981) argues that identity and a sense of selfhood are publically manifested in various discursive practices. When entering the prison system, prisoners and staff are given particular discursive positions that are defined based on the roles they are assigned - prisoner or prison officer.

Positioning theorists such as Harré and van Langenhove (1999) propose that the construction of self is achieved in several ways. This involves: one's personal identity and one's point of view over time; one's sense of personal agency whereby one acts from that same view point; and finally the publically presented self in episodes of interpersonal interaction. These 'personas' are presented discursively through the conversations occurring in the prison context. Goffman (1959) and others outline how the presentation of self ensures that public performances conform to the requirements of the person-types recognised by others. The public self is constructed by the way in which individuals see both themselves and others. Based on the outline of the prison officer role presented in Chapter 2, this may reflect a person-type characterised by dominance based on the role and responsibilities they are assigned through their employment, and the discourses surrounding their role. For prisoners, this may be the assignment of a subservient role.

Every community has its own repertoire of recognised and accepted person-types. According to Harré and van Langenhove (1999), any individual may manifest any one of their personas in the behaviours exhibited in the appropriate social context. For example, a prison officer may present as controlling and dominant in response to the person-type assigned to them by their employment. The ability of an individual to present their own persona is very much dependent on the individuals around them and their environment. If they do not reflect locally accepted behaviours, they are likely to be treated with suspicion, or they may potentially be rejected (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). For example, if a

prisoner is open in their interactions with prison officers, their peer group may reject them due to suspicions around their trustworthiness.

Where different cultures meet, acculturation explains the process of the cultural and psychological change that occurs. Here, individuals adopt the cultural traits or social patterns of another group. The acculturation process within the prison context has long been established (see Clemmer, 1940; Poole & Regoli, 1980; Hogan, 1971; Kercher & Martin, 1975) and continues to be noted in prison research (Worthington, 2012).

Prisoners and the total institution

According to Goffman (1961: 24), when entering the total institution (e.g. the prison system) prisoners begin '*a series of abasements, degradations, humiliations, and profanations of self*', where the prisoners' conception of self '*is systematically, if often unintentionally, mortified*'. These total institutions are often characterised by their exceedingly rigid authoritarian organisation and highly ritualised daily schedules that reflect the notion of punishment through the removal of choice and autonomy. In turn, Pratt (2002: 113) proposes that these '*everyday prison rituals confirm prisoners' sense of powerlessness*', seemingly causing demoralisation and the destruction of prisoners' self-respect. This mirrors the process of 'prisonisation', a term coined by Morris and Morris (1962: 169) to refer to the '*continuous and systematic destruction of the psyche in consequence of the experience of imprisonment*'.

Goffman (1961: 31) suggests that the process of admission to a total institution marks one of leaving behind one's identity and social world, and the taking on of '*activity whose symbolic implications are incompatible with his conceptions of self*'. Van Marle (2007) argues that Goffman's work remains relevant to contemporary prison life, with prisoners being required to assume prison identities. Further, despite rehabilitation ideals underpinning penal policy, Day and Ward (2010) report that prisons are still punishing for prisoners.

Lipsky (1980: 157) maintains that, '*Order in a prison is a function of adjustments made by guards in exchange for prisoners' general compliance with regulation'*. Social compliance underpins the prison regime and this is a result of the prison milieu that cues prisoners regarding behavioural expectations and the consequences of deviation. Further, the prisoner social system, as described by Sykes and Messinger (1960), comprises of a value system with explicit codes that guide prisoners' behaviour (e.g. be loyal to other prisoners). Indeed, the topic of the 'prisoner code' will be returned to later in this Chapter.

Prison officer acculturation

Within the prison environment, it is accepted that prison officers are socialised into the prison through their co-workers and managers. According to Crawley (2002) the prison officer role is one underpinned by a suspicious culture due to the security aspect of the role that is encouraged amongst newly recruited prison officers. The initial period of staff training orientates staff to the Prison Service as a whole, the ideology of the Prison Service vision, and working in a prison. However, as a result of acculturation, Worthington (2007; 2012) argues that prison officers become more focused on the prison hierarchy and the internal world of the prison rather than seeing this as part of the wider Prison Service and community. This occurs after a period of approximately one year. A focus on security over rehabilitation (Crawley, 2002) has implications for the way in which the prison officer role is determined and the experiences of prisoners.

As an occupational group, Ashforth and Kreiner's (2014) work outlines how prison officers are seen to engage in 'dirty work' that has low occupational prestige. Dirty work is the work seen by society as being '*distasteful, disgusting, dangerous, demeaning, immoral, or contemptible – as somehow tainted or dirty'* (p. 82). When the dirtiness is considered pervasive within the role, Kreiner, Ashforth and Sluss (2006) indicate that the occupation itself is seen as 'dirty work' and the employees constructed as 'dirty workers' (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Hughes, 1962). Thus, prison

officers, like other workers, compensate for the lack of social validation of their work by fostering group cohesion and a boundary around their occupational work, which Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) report can result in a strong workplace culture.

According to Worthington (2007), many prison officers' interpretation of their role is based on the prison culture in which they find themselves. Gilbert (1997) outlines that where the individual prison officer's values and presentation reflect those of their colleagues, they are more likely to be accepted even if these values do not reflect those of their managers. As such, the process of acculturation into the prison has the potential to have great influences on the work of prison officers and the way in which they negotiate their interactions with prisoners on a daily basis. According to Liebling (2007; 2013), prison staff cultures vary considerably and these variations impact significantly on the quality of life for prisoners. Given that prison officers each attend the same initial officer training, it may be argued that it is through the acculturation process that individuals develop their own interpretation of the prison officer role and an associated identity. Such variation has implications for how staff-prisoner relationships are formed and maintained.

Organisational cultures: prison privatisation
According to Sparks, Bottoms and Hay (1996), prison staff cultures are not static and are impacted upon by history and ethos of a particular prison. Notably, Arnold, Liebling and Tate (2007: 481) outlined how one of the aims of the privatisation of prisons in England and Wales was to address working practices observed in '*traditionally resistant, older prisons*' through the recruitment of prison staff that were new to the prison system. Harding (2001) indicated that the introduction of private sector prisons sought to develop positive staff cultures where prison officers were more positive and respectful towards prisoners. Initial findings from the National Audit Office (2003) indicated that in many cases the most significant difference between public and private sector prisons has been in the nature of the relationships between staff and prisoners. Liebling and Arnold (2004)

reported how staff in privately managed prisons treated prisoners significantly, more respectfully when compared to public sector prison staff.

Shefer and Liebling (2008) observed that in the early years of privatisation, private sector prisons out perform public sector prisons in other areas such as staff attitudes, levels of fairness and humanity towards prisoners. This was consistent with the earlier findings of James, Bottomley, Liebling and Clare (1997). Thus, findings within the private prison estate challenged views of the prison officer culture being one of cynicism, authoritarianism and distrust of prisoners as a direct result of the nature of prison work. The indication was that the challenges observed in prison officer cultures were perhaps related to traditional and entrenched cultures rather than prison work itself, with prison officers in the private sector fostering relationships based on fairness, respect and humanity.

However, Crewe, Liebling and Hulley (2011) noted problems within private prisons regarding an uneasy balance of power between prisoners and staff (this topic will be returned to later). Where prison officers have few boundaries and are too favourable towards prisoners; namely trusting prisoners excessively or the infrequent use of authority; this 'positive' staff ethos might lead to negative prisoner outcomes. Where 'good' staff-prisoner relationships are a result of negligence, inexperience and the insufficient enforcement of rules, Shefer and Liebling (2008) report that this can impact negatively on other aspects of prison life e.g. bullying, security breaches, order and control, drug abuse, self-harm and suicide, and staff satisfaction. James, Bottomley, Liebling and Clare (1997) also note that it can lead to some prisoners feeling unsafe. The findings of the Home Affairs Committee (1997) also detailed the high levels of assaults in some privately managed prisons, particularly within the initial years of privatisation.

Therefore, perhaps the benefits of a traditional culture should not be overlooked when this is professional in manner i.e. confident, boundaried,

clear, vigilant and knowledgeable. Crewe, Liebling and Hulley (2011) argue that this approach leads to positive prisoner outcomes as a result of the feelings of safety and fairness that are achieved. What is required is a balance between structure, security and experience, and respect and personalisation for prisoners. However, a challenge appears to be in getting the correct balance and ensuring the acculturation process is not one of cynicism, authoritarianism and disrespect for prisoners.

Communities of practice

According to Lave and Wenger (1991), learning does not rest with the individual. Rather, they argue that it is a social process that is situated in a cultural and historical context. As such, Farnsworth, Kleanthous and Wenger-Trayner (2016) inform us that learning takes place through the participation of individuals in multiple social practices. Prison officers as an occupational group share common interests, gaining knowledge about their role through their collective practice. Thus, based on the work of Wenger, McDermott and Snyder (2002), this would reflect a 'Community of Practice' (CoP) that Bardon and Borzillo (2016: 11) define as,

> *'Informal and self-organized networks of peers with diverse skills and experience in an area of practice or a profession. Members of these informal networks are bound by a desire to share and develop knowledge together'.*

A key premise of Wenger's (1998) work is that CoPs can arise in any domain of human endeavour. Lave and Wenger (1991) described this as a style of learning that incorporates components of active participation, identity and situation. Further, Wenger (1998) described three core characteristics of CoPs, namely mutual engagement in a shared practice, the creation of a common repertoire, and the negotiation of a joint enterprise.

Therefore, working in a prison is likely to represent a CoP whereby the prison officer network engages in shared practices in order to meet the

requirements of the post. This is perhaps the concept referred to by Liebling (cited by House of Commons Justice Committee, 2009) and colleagues as 'Jail Craft'. That is, the knowledge and experience of prison life that results in a set of skills for prison officers that allow them to develop working strategies. In turn, perhaps learning in the prison setting is a social process that might go some way to explaining the differences observed amongst different providers of custodial services and within individual prisons. Here, prison officers appear to be collectively learning and developing as a 'community' rather than as individuals; thus presenting a shared role identity - a notion that will be returned to later.

Summarising acculturation in prisons

The peer groups that prisoners and prison officers are assigned to underpin the process through which individuals embed themselves within the daily life of prison. Acculturation explains the process of the cultural and psychological change that occurs, whilst the concept of the CoP outlines one way in which individuals may establish their 'Jail Craft'. Within the prison context, acculturation is noted to impact on the day-to-day lives of prisoners and prison officers as the literature around private prisons suggests. To some degree these findings are positive in that they highlight the possibility of change and the development of positive staff-prisoner relationships. Yet, some of the more traditional aspects of prison life can also be advantageous in achieving positive outcomes for staff and prisoners alike.

Thus, staff-prisoner relationships are complex social interactions and they are often not solely the result of the interactions that occur within the prison amongst the staff and prisoners. They are impacted upon by the roles and obligations afforded to prisoners and prison officers by the positions they are assigned. These roles and obligations are further constructed through the process of acculturation for those individuals entering the prison system. There is a wealth of literature proposing that these positions are both culturally and environmentally determined (see Gredecki & Ireland, 2012; Liebling, Muir, Rose & Bottoms, 1997; Liebling

& Price, 1998, 2001; Crawley, 2004a, 2004b; Dewa, Ireland & Gredecki, 2011; Haslam & Reicher, 2005; Reicher & Haslam, 2006).   In turn identities are formed through the associated discourses.

Understanding the interconnection of prison roles

Prison literature often suggests that prisoners and prison officers are two independent groups. However, Liebling and Arnold (2004) and King and McDermott (1990) note that they often share similar goals and they demonstrate interdependency in achieving them. According to Grapendaal (1990), the majority of prison officers and prisoners want a relatively comfortable and predictable way of spending their working hours or their period of imprisonment. Grapendaal (1990: 351) argues that,

> '…*for the staff this means that conflicts need to be minimized; for prisoners, that they have responsibilities and enough opportunities to control their own environment to a limited extent*'.

The contact that prison officers have with prisoners is considered a source of conflict as a direct result of the fundamental roles adopted in prisons. Williamson (1990: 157) describes these as the 'captive' and 'captor'. It is well established that *role assignment* (the taking of a specific role within a particular setting) has the potential to impact on interpersonal relationships in forensic settings (see Haney, Banks & Zimbardo, 1973; Haslam & Reicher, 2005; Reicher & Haslam, 2006), particularly where these roles are intrinsically different and reflect varying degrees of power that in turn assigns different rights and responsibilities based on their given label (i.e. prisoner or prison officer).

Expectations around these roles can lead to the development of very distinct prisoner and prison officer identities. De Viggiani (2012) argues that prisoners take on a prison identity and perform roles that they adapt to socially align themselves with other prisoners. The same can also be said

for staff, as they are also required to adopt a specific role and identity when entering the prison. As outlined in Chapter 2, this reflects a security-orientated role focused on supervising, managing and controlling prisoners. However, Gredecki and Ireland (2012) have noted that when prison officers are less dominant in style, and are not aligned to the captor position, this can be a source of personal conflict, as can the experience of prisoners not surrendering to the captive position. Due to the conflict experienced within these assigned roles, Crawley (2004a) proposes that staff-prisoner relationships are emotionally charged and these emotions are exaggerated as a result of the amount of time that staff spend in close proximity to prisoners.

The prisoner role

As will be outlined later, the prison officer role has generally been well defined and outlined in the literature and policy (see Chapter 2). However, the prisoner role is perhaps less easy to define. Prisoners are not appointed to a role; rather, they are assigned a subservient 'captive' position as outlined by Williamson (1990). Here there is an expectation of compliance. Beyond this, there is little explicit reference to the prisoner role. In general, Prison Service Instruction 30/2013 (NOMS, 2015) outlines how,

> '*Prisoners are expected to demonstrate a commitment towards their rehabilitation, engage in purposeful activity (for example, attend work and/or education), reduce their risk of reoffending, behave well and help other prisoners/staff*' (NOMS, 2015: PSI 30/2013: 7)

Instead of outlining the behaviours expected of prisoners, *The Prison Rules 1999* (Home Office, 1999) outline 'offences against discipline'. These are the behaviours that prisoners might engage in that go against the rules of the Prison Service. These 'offences' are outlined in appendix A. In short, in the absence of explicit detail, the available documentation indicates that the expectation of the prisoner is to comply with the statutory requirements as set out in legislation, demonstrating a commitment to the

prison regime. Further, under the Offender Management framework, prisoners will have individual sentence plans outlining the targets for their period of imprisonment.

The above documents reflect an expectation of compliance amongst the prisoner group. Drawing on literature within community penalties, Robinson and McNeill (2008) outline the notions of 'substantive' and 'formal' compliance. The first form of compliance represents active engagement, as opposed to offenders simply meeting the minimum requirements (formal compliance). However, the official Prison Service documents outlined above are perhaps contradictory in their expectations of prisoners. That is, the Prison Rules (1999) require prisoners to be compliant with the explicit prison rules. However, PSI 30/2013 goes beyond this, requiring prisoners to engage in 'substantive' compliance through their engagement in rehabilitation efforts. That is, their engagement with the rehabilitation attempts of the Prison Service should demonstrate actual change in regards to rehabilitation outcomes.

As such, the expectations of prisoners appear somewhat unclear with there being conflicting messages around the requirement of 'formal' and 'substantive' compliance. A recent review of the Incentives and Earned Privileges Scheme[22] by HMCIP (2015) reported that in some prisons there was evidence that prisoners had to do little other than present reasonable behaviour to receive privileges afforded by the Scheme. However, at the same time, the policy documents call on prisoners to be actively engaged. Thus, perhaps prison officers themselves are unclear as to the expectations of prisoners.

The 'modern' prison officer role
The role and responsibilities of the 'modern' prison officer are of particular relevance to this thesis as they provide the platform upon which prison

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[22] The Incentives and Earned Privileges (IEP) scheme was introduced in 1995 with the expectation that prisoners would earn additional privileges through demonstrating responsible behaviour and participation in work or other constructive activity (see PSI 30/2013)

officers engage with prisoners. Chapter 2 provided an introduction to the prison officer role in relation to the structures and aims of the Prison Service. This section will further explore the 'modern' prison officer role in England and Wales and the impact of this on the positioning of prison officers.

Prison officer recruitment and selection

The selection and training of prison officers is important to understanding how prison officers undertake their role within the prison context. Until the 1950s prison officers were primarily recruited from former armed services personnel (House of Commons, 2009), although in subsequent decades the focus was on recruiting staff that were more representative of wider society. There was a further move to local selection with the aim of encouraging women and people with families to apply.

At present, the competencies identified for the prison officer role are: drive and commitment; a desire to help prisoners; and a sense of the wider social context of prison work. These are all represented in the Competencies and Qualities Framework (CQF: HMPS, 2008) and are tested through the prison officer selection process.   The prison officer assessment process is reportedly designed to give candidates insight into what the role of a prison officer is like. They are assessed on their numeracy, literacy and interpersonal skills and the assessment process consists of the following three stages (House of Commons, 2009):

> Stage 1 - Minimum Eligibility Questions: Here candidates are asked a series of minimum eligibility questions focusing on factors such as the candidate's age and length of time spent in the UK (minimum 3 years prior to the application). The decision to progress the application is based upon the responses.

> Stage 2 - Prison Officer Selection Test (POST): This stage involves the completion of an online numeracy test that comprises of a number of work sample exercises that do not require any prior

knowledge of prison work. Successful completion of this assessment results in an invite to attend a Recruitment Assessment Day.

Stage 3 - Recruitment Assessment Day (RAD): RADs are held at a variety of locations across England and Wales and have been designed to test several elements that are needed in the prison officer role. This includes a 20-minute numeracy test and a 45-minute language test, followed by four 10-minute role-plays. The latter are not prison-based, but NOMS states that they seek to assess the core skills required of effective prison officers. They also undergo a reflective interview and finally applicants undertake a medical examination and a fitness test. The latter comprises of five parts that test strength, agility, general fitness and ability to use protective equipment.

Prison officer training

Those candidates successful in their application will continue into the prison officer role if they pass all modules within the initial Prison Officer Entry Level Training (POELT)[23]. This is the pathway to becoming a fully competent prison officer. Failure to successfully complete and pass the in-service POELT course could result in a candidate's removal from the role and the termination of their employment. Following completion of the POELT course, all officers are subject to a 12-month probationary period.

However, according to Arnold (2008: 414) prison officer training promotes '*over caution, personal detachment and some aversion towards engaging with prisoners in more informal and proactive ways*' beyond what is required to meet their basic needs and maintain security. Notably, Crawley (2002) suggests that this leads to a suspicious culture amongst officers and maintains an occupational culture of machismo that reinforces more detached interactions with prisoners and a tendency not to

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[23] This is an eight-week initial training course. No details pertaining to the training modules are outlined on the Prison Service website and documentation.

demonstrate sensitivity and compassion (Crawley, 2004b). The Howard League for Penal Reform (memorandum cited in House of Commons Justice Committee Report, 2009: Ev 74) outlined how the only annual mandatory training for prison officers was that of control and restraint, thus focusing on enabling prison officers to manage prisoners through the use of force [24]. As such, the training focuses on security and fails to acknowledge the full extent of the role.

The realities of prison officer work

The Howard League for Penal Reform (memorandum cited in House of Commons Justice Committee Report, 2009: Ev 74) have commented that for prison officers, '*the majority spend most of their time doing menial, repetitive tasks relating primarily to a mundane view of security based on counting heads*'. As such, Crawley (2004b) outlines how the portrayal of the prison officer role as being risky and dangerous often serves to compensate for the ordinary nature of the role. Further, maintaining security often relies on dynamic security and the use of interpersonal skills. As outlined by Trotter (1993), the interactions that prison officers have with prisoners are fundamental to the effective management of prisons and prisoners, thus underpinning effective correctional practice. Here, prison officers must use their interpersonal exchanges with prisoners to develop and maintain order within the prison setting and develop a safe environment where personal growth is achieved through displays of dignity and respect. As such, Gilbert (1997) indicates that safety and control are recognised as a derivative of the staff-prisoner relationship.

Drawing similarities with the Police Service, Crawley (2002) acknowledges the diverse nature of the prison officer role. This can include, for example, negotiating the transition from restraining a prisoner, to conducting a cell search, to supporting a prisoner at risk of suicide, to delivering a psychological therapy intervention to a group of prisoners. According to

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[24] No literature has been identified regarding current mandatory and refresher training for prison officers.

Crewe (2011), there is a requirement for the 'modern' prison officer to go beyond housing prisoners and attempting to maintain order. They have a role in offender management and rehabilitation. However, for some prisoners, the dynamic nature of the prison officer role from one of perceived friendship to the maintainer of control and order can be challenging. Here prisoners have reported comfort in '*knowing your enemy*' rather than an unreliable and shallow display of support (Crewe, 2011: 458).

Both organisationally and politically, the prison officer role has, in recent years, moved towards being positioned as therapeutic. At the meeting of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Penal Affairs (17 March 2009), Phil Wheatley (NOMS Director General) commented that the one factor having the greatest impact on offenders is having prison officers working with them '*who genuinely care about them, and who can persuade them that they should do things differently*' (MoJ, 2010a: 10). He went on to say that the core skills for being a prison officer were the interpersonal skills that allowed staff to deal with difficult people, and to set boundaries in a non-abrasive way.

Whilst the function and purpose of imprisonment is often changing, prison officers need to negotiate and make sense of these changes in policies and practice in order to undertake their role. Prisoners also need to make sense of these changes and the expectations that the changes place on them. The work of Stohr, Lovrich and Wood (1996) details how the evolving concept of prisons, and the role of the prison officer in that social institution, dictates the need for some movement from a security to service emphasis.

According to Gilbert (1997), the lack of clarity over the purpose of the prison officer role and the function of prison, in addition to the autonomy given to individual prisoners, increases the extent to which prison officers use discretion in their role. The freedom for prison officers to use discretion is recognised as being wide-reaching and is impacted upon by

the individuals' personal values. This is considered further later; however, at this point it is important to outline that discretion and a lack of clarity around the prison officer role has the potential to impact on how the role is both perceived and undertaken.

Reflecting on prison roles

When attempting to understand the concept of the prisoner and prison officer, 'roles' may be too static in terms of understanding the work of prison officers and the requirements for prisoners to respond to the changes of the prison setting. Thus, understanding their 'positions' in different aspects of the prison environment may account for the fluidity of the 'roles'. For officers, this approach may provide an improved theoretical framework from which to understand what they do in prisons and how they see themselves as members of the professional group and wider organisation. Likewise, for prisoners, a better understanding of their positioning and prison identity may provide further insight in to their interactions with others. Prison identities will be considered further here.

Developing the role: constructing prison identities

Harré and van Langenhove (1999) claim that who people are to themselves and others is a product of their experience of interpersonal interactions across their lifespan. This section is concerned with understanding the positioning of prisoners and prison officers and their identities within the prison setting.

Prisoner identities

Jewkes (2005) suggests that male prisoners are generally from lower working class backgrounds and have a masculine ideology and commitment to a criminal subculture. Despite this being a broad assumption, it is suggested that their life experiences prepare them for life inside prison; although once in prison '*the intensity of the desirable male image is magnified further*' (p.51). Despite such identities being placed on

prisoners, Toyoki and Brown (2014) suggest that through their talk, prisoners are able to rebuke stereotyped identities. De Viggiani (2012) and Crewe, Warr, Bennett and Smith (2014) suggest that prisoners learn to 'survive' the prison experience by masking their fears and vulnerabilities and portraying a masculine self. Here, emotional management is a protective factor in prisoners' psychological needs to establish their sense of masculinity and mask vulnerabilities. Thus, Hochschild (1979) reports that prisoners often engage in 'fronting' (e.g. exaggerating their level of risk) and 'masking' (e.g. covering up feelings of vulnerability and fear) in the presence of others.

Goffman (1959: 2) explains that relationships in prisons are based around the performance of masculinities amongst the prisoner social group who perform their 'front-stage' self and conceal their private and more vulnerable features. They ensure that public performances conform to the requirements of the collective prisoner identity. His dramaturgical metaphor as life being a perpetual performance with roles and scripts that are socially determined and enacted also recognises the 'backstage' behaviours of prisoners: the private self away from the gaze of others. However, it may be argued that the dichotomy is not so clear with prisoners being required to portray certain facades even in the supposed private space of their cell due to them having to share cells. Yet, de Viggiani (2012) suggests that within prisons, social relations can serve to forge new, albeit temporary, prison identities for some individuals who separate their public and private facades. In turn this assists in the management of the anxieties caused by prison life (Jones & Scmid, 2000; Jewkes, 2002; Jewkes, 2005; Newton, 1994; Toch, 1992).

Emotional management is more necessary in certain locations within the prison context where prisoners are more visible to others such as in the wing environment. According to Crewe et al. (2014: 63), prisoners also note the requirement to remain outside of the *gaze of the institution*. Prisoners need to manage their presentation on a day-to-day basis,

ensuring that they do not encourage unwanted attention from the officers, whilst also maintaining their masculine identity.

Prisoner codes

It has long been proposed by authors such as Sykes (1958) that prison is a depriving environment. Newton (1994) and Grapendaal (1990) report that the exposure of prisoners' vulnerabilities and their shared experience of prison results in prisoners becoming a cohesive group in the same way that officers have been noted to do. This is underpinned by what Sykes had previously termed the 'prison code'. Early writers such as Irwin and Cressey (1962: 145) suggested that such codes reflect the general '*criminal code*' that exists within criminal fraternities outside of prisons. In prison, Toch (1998) tells us that such codes centre on the premise that prisoners conform to survive and conceal their individual vulnerabilities. They represent what Cohen and Taylor (1981) described as a consistent image across the prisoner population; although according to Newton (1994) there are different levels of compliance between prisoner groups and individual prisons. The 'modern' prisoner code reflects that initially outlined by Sykes and Messinger (1960: 8): *'Never rat on a con...be loyal to your class; don't lose your head...play it cool; don't exploit inmates; be tough...be a man; and don't be a sucker...be sharp'*.

Prisoner codes reinforce conformity and cohesiveness amongst the prisoner group, distinguishing prisoners and prison officers and thus reinforcing a 'them and us' culture. Compliance is perhaps required in its 'substantive' form here (see Robinson & McNeill, 2008) with prisoners actively engaging with the 'prisoner' identity which is noted in the literature to be based on masculinities and principles of 'toughness' and 'manliness'. Messerschmidt (1993) asserts that masculinities are indicative of identity and social status and are reproduced depending upon the social context. As such, hierarchies become important within the prisoner group, despite their group identity. That is, perhaps due to the prisoner label representing what Jewkes (2005) refers to as weakness, conformity, and the relinquishing of power. Thus, '*manliness becomes the primary means*

of adaptation and resistance' (p. 61) with prisoners being required to negotiate a position within the prison hierarchy whilst learning to maintain a private sense of self.

Prisoner hierarchies

According to Sykes (1958), prisons are unique environments, historically centred on daily expressions of violence. Further, and as outlined in Chapter 2, Lawrence and Andrews (2004) note that incidents of violence continue to represent a significant problem within the prison system. Here, masculine hegemony is the focus in terms of the winning and holding of power and the formation (and destruction) of particular groups in that process (see Donaldson, 1993). As such, it is proposed by Kupers (2005: 718) that prisons are places where occasionally '*terrible things go on'*. Here, de Viggiani (2012) reports that violence, victimisation, and bullying are reportedly routine and representative of an institutionalised, symbolic, and ritualistic prison life.

Prison codes reflect controlled and dependent environments where authors such as Sim (1994) and Sabo, Kupers and London (2001) note that individuality is suppressed and a *pecking order* sets out the social hierarchy of the prison. According to Wooden and Parker (1982), this is constructed through stereotypical masculine attitudes, behaviours and violence. Notably, threats of violence uphold this hierarchy. As such, maintaining one's own safety can become an important function in the life of prisoners who need to balance the challenges of meeting the demands and expectations of staff, maintaining their own personal presentation and complying with the prisoner codes. According to Ireland (2000), those at the bottom of the hierarchy often struggle to raise their status, although this may also reflect life outside of prison.

Hierarchies result in a culture of mistrust, fear and aggression. Therefore, de Viggiani (2012) claims that this compels prisoners to display physically and emotionally robust characters. In turn, it is claimed that this results in

them vying for positions of power and status, and engaging in impression management as a means of portraying a toughened masculine bravado. Yet, according to Wheatley (1981), prisoner sub-cultures and codes have historically been tolerated and seen as functional in the prison setting. It is against these normative prison codes that prisoners and staff identify and benchmark behaviour against. Grapendaal (1990) proposes that prisoner subcultures are an adaptive response for which community based strategies would not suffice.

In contrast, Liebling and Arnold (2012) propose that the move towards risk based decisions around parole and the IEP system for prisoners is linked to a decline in prisoner solidarity. Also, Crewe (2005a; 2005b) suggests that a greater interest in factors such as drugs and material gain amongst the prisoner group has also undermined solidarity. However, Jewkes (2005) maintains that the pressure to conform to the dominant culture within a prison remains strong and supports a move towards solidarity that can be protective against some of the challenges of imprisonment.

Prison officer identities

According to Crawley (2002), early literature tended to position prison officers negatively, constructing them as being brutal, aggressive, unintelligent and insensitive individuals. Such descriptions have resulted in increased feelings of distrust due to concerns around the extent to which officers may disproportionately use their power (Sparks, Bottoms & Hay, 1996). This is despite researchers such as Liebling, Price and Elliott (1999) outlining that prison officers often under use their 'power': a topic that will be returned to later in this chapter.

Gredecki and Ireland (2012) outlined challenges in measuring the interpersonal style of prison officers due to them potentially having unclear identities as they move between their home and work life. According to Crawley (2002: 285) '*a striking aspect of prison work is the strain of living in, and moving between, two worlds – only one of which is contained within high walls*'. Trying to define oneself can be a challenge for prison

officers given the different positions they undertake in order to meet occupational duties and obligations that they are assigned.

In response to these challenges, Crawley (2004a) outlines how prison officers often present themselves in a masculine manner, taking care to avoid demonstrating qualities that are considered 'feminine' in nature (e.g. sensitivity and compassion). This is despite much of the work of prison officers traditionally being seen as 'women's work' as a result of the 'housekeeping' component. Earlier commentators such as King and McDermott (1990) suggest that such tasks are normally seen in the context of a mother and child relationship and include serving meals, assisting with laundry and offering emotional support to prisoners. As such, many prison officers seek to communicate a masculine or toughened identity.

However, any reluctance to demonstrate 'feminine' qualities has the potential to negatively impact on the execution of the prison officer role. That is, qualities such as the ability to genuinely care for prisoners are fundamental to effective prison practice (MoJ, 2010). It is of further interest that Crawley (2002; 2004b) outlines how female prison officers often use sensitivity and compassion to effectively diffuse challenging situations and maintain respectful communications with prisoners. According to Ehrlich-Martin and Jurik (1996) this skills set has resulted in prisons being safer environments in which to live and work. However, for many prison officers, the masculine identity remains an important factor. As outlined in the work of Griffin, Armstrong and Hepburn (2005), the introduction of female prison officers appeared to undermine the masculine notion of the prison officer role. Further, Hemmens, Stohr, Schoeler and Miller (2002) outline how male in-groups questioned women undertaking the prison officer role.

Emotions for prison officers
According to Crawley (2004a: 414), staff-prisoner relationships are '*emotionally charged because the degree of intimacy involved in working*

with prisoners is great'. Prison officers spend protracted periods of time with prisoners who are likely to have experienced a number of difficulties prior to, and during, their imprisonment. Thus, working in prisons can be emotionally demanding, requiring prison officers to respond to their own emotions and those of prisoners. Despite prison work having the potential to be stressful for prison officers (Prison Service News, 1997), prison officers have tended to rarely access support services as a result of the perception that such support is as an indicator that the individual is unable to meet the demands of the role. However, when the needs of the prison officers are not met, it is recognised that they are then less able to meet the needs of the prisoners in terms of offering safety and containment (Bowen, Privitera & Bowie, 2011). Nonetheless, Crawley's (2004b) work suggests that staff often seek ways of self-managing their emotions. For example, newly recruited staff learn to express their emotions '*in clearly structured ways*' (p. 416) and in line with organisational norms. An error on an individual's part is considered to undermine the collective performance of the prison officer group.

Thus, prison officers are routinely required to engage in emotional labour (Mann, 2004) whereby they have to manage their private feelings associated with their work so that they are communicating the expected social and occupational norms of their professional role. For prison officers, this may be based around detachment and controlled interpersonal exchanges. As such, it is necessary for prison officers to create a defence in emotionally charged situations in the same way that other professionals (i.e. nurses, police officers and fire-fighters) do in order to convey a particular impression to colleagues and prisoners. Such defence systems in the prison context include humour and detachment, and de-personalisation whereby detaching oneself allows the individual to work in an emotionally charged environment. However, Scott (2008b) suggests that strategies such as humour can represent an abuse of power with humour disempowering prisoners and upholding personal authority and control for prison officers.

Despite emotions underpinning prison practice, they are not freely expressed on a day-to-day basis in the presence of prisoners and other staff. The role of the prison officer thus becomes one of a performer where they discursively, and behaviourally, perform the 'appropriate' emotion in the right context. When prison officers express or experience emotions beyond those routinely accepted by the prison culture, they risk being seen as unreliable, untrustworthy or unsuitable employees (Fineman, 1993; Bendelow & Williams, 1998).

Summarising prison identities

The prison environment assigns clear roles to prisoners and prison officers that reinforce difference based on Williamson's (1990) positions of the 'captive' and 'captor' that reflect an imbalance of power and status. These imbalances are evident between, and within, the prisoner and prison officer groups. Within the prisoner and prison officer 'roles', staff are positioned as the dominant party in their interactions with the implied submissive prisoner. Official discourses around prisons and policy further reinforce difference and a 'them and us' culture.

Difference underpins the day-to-day life of prison and is apparent in every interaction as a result of the rules, rituals and procedures of prison life. For example, prisoners do not have keys and prison officers do. Whilst the reasons for this are clear, namely to prevent prisoners from leaving the prison, it reflects the inequality that exists amongst prisoners and prison officers. As outlined by Douglas (1995), this leads to individuals identifying with their own peer group where the processes of 'fronting' and 'masking' assist in further attempts to maintain both power, and a masculine identity. For prisoners this is evident in their attempts to negotiate a position within the prisoner hierarchy. For prison officers they present a strong occupational 'front' and identity. According to Johnsen, Granheim and Helgesen (2011), prison officers' primary loyalties are towards their colleagues and as such this can lead to prisoners and managers being constructed through discourses of 'them and us'.

Thus, within the culture of machismo as outlined earlier (see Crawley, 2004a; King & McDermott, 1990), emotions are suppressed, leading to discursive and behavioural performances of masculinity. In turn, this can become a prominent feature in the interactions between staff and prisoners in terms of tasks such as maintaining the security of the prison and challenging prisoner attitudes (Smillie & Guthrie, 2013). Such tasks reinforce the prison officers' status within the prison context and an identity based on power. However, the reality of the prison system means that relationships are not equal in that one of the main tasks of prison officers is to detain prisoners against their will. Nonetheless, it is important to understand the ways in which prison identities, and the disparity of power, influence the prisoner and prison officer interactions.

Prisons and power

Relationships in prisons raise many questions about what people might do with their power and their lack of power; they also raise questions about security, leadership, establishment priorities and prison regimes. Staff-prisoner relationships can fluctuate in terms of the degree to which they are close/distant and flexible/restrictive (for example see Home Office, 1991, 1994, 1995; Liebling, Price & Elliott, 1999) with effective relationships falling along this continuum.

According to Liebling (2013), prisons reflect varying degrees and uses of power and authority. Thus, Hulley, Liebling and Crewe (2012) assert that power cannot be ignored in any understanding of staff-prisoner relationships given the inequalities that exist between prisoners and prison officers. It has long been recognised by Etzioni (1975, cited in Gilbert, 1997) that prisons use symbolic threat as a means of maintaining discipline within prisons. Yet, the Home Office (1984: Para 16), and more recent writers such as Johnsen, Granheim and Helgesen (2011), tell us that control and security are the product of effective staff-prisoner

relationships. Further consideration as to the use of power within prisons, and within staff-prisoner relationships, will be outlined here.

Power inequalities in prisons

When considering notions of power in prisons, Toch (2011) outlines how the very title of officer, and the wearing of uniforms, results in prison officers being positioned as police or military like. This constructs their role as one of enforcement and power over others. As evidenced by Zimbardo's prison experiment, the application of power in prisons can be the result of symbolism and the rights and obligations attached to wearing a uniform that asserts the power underpinning the role (see Haney, Banks & Zimbardo, 1973; Zimbardo, Maslach & Haney, 1999).

However, according to Gilbert (1997) and Crewe (2009; 2011), the idea of prison officers having absolute power within the prison is a myth and they no longer represent the embodiment of power. Authors such as Johnsen, Granheim and Helgesen (2011) see the work of prison officers as being relational and based on the creation of relationships. Further, Rimmer (2002: 154) argues that the management of prisons relies on the interpersonal skills that prison officers' use in their interactions with prisoners as opposed to '*hi-tech*' resources. According to Crewe (2009) the Prison Service in England and Wales is characterised by 'neo-paternalism', accomplished, in part, through staff–prisoner relationships. Such an approach offers a quasi autonomy to prisoners who are therefore able to make restricted decisions within the context of the prison environment, particularly around their own behaviour. However, power cannot be ignored as a dynamic in the staff-prisoner relationship.

Based on the reported inequalities in the prison setting, Tyler and Blader (2004) highlight how prisoners do not have the same 'voice' as members of the public; even regarding decisions made about them; and they have little opportunity to express themselves. Sparks and Bottoms (1995) suggest that in what they term *legitimate prisons*, prisoners should have a voice and this voice should be heard. But this is often not the case, with

prison officers often making decisions on behalf of prisoners that reinforce the prison hierarchies. Prison officers continue to represent and implement power from an institutional perspective. Beyond the overt maintenance of order and security, the prison officer role has developed to one whereby they participate in decision making regarding prisoner incentives and contribute to reports that determine the progression of prisoners through the system (e.g. parole reports, lifer hearings and re-categorisation reports).

According to Crewe (2011), prison officers have psychological power that is linked to the everyday experiences, hopes and frustrations of prisoners. This power operates in a more psychological than physical sense, seemingly assisting in the task of managing prisons with low staff to prisoner ratios. For example, Scott (2008a) describes the administration of the IEP scheme as a means of potentially imposing respect towards officers through the threat of the removal of privileges. However, it may be suggested that this is merely a means of control and forced compliance rather than respect per se. Crewe (2011: 456) also notes that this soft power '*grips tightly, constrains effectively and is highly intrusive*'. As such, there is perhaps some degree of benefit to prisoners developing relationships with prison officers as a tool through which to achieve privileges.

Thus, Liebling, Price and Elliott (1999) conclude that the nature of the prison system results in staff-prisoner interactions where the prison officers hold the greatest amount of power. Given the complexity of the relationships that exist between prison officers and prisoners, power can shift and change; even through the same interaction. Whilst this power is often not explicit, Layden (2004) argues that much of what happens in the prison setting is sensitive to the power that prison officers hold in these complex social organisations.

As a result of the distinctive nature of the prison context and the imbalance of power between prisoners and prison officers, 'relationship' is perhaps

the most difficult term to establish within this field of research. Shapria and Navon (1985) outline how traditionally relationships imply a state between two individuals where there is a sense of 'alliance' or 'association' and where the interaction is in both directions. Whilst this definition has been adopted in previous studies by authors such as Liebling and Price (1998), a challenge in prison-based research is that the prison environment challenges the notion of individuals engaging in 'equal' relationships. Adopting a definition that reflects equality may not be easy to reconcile given what is observed in terms of the roles that are created and experienced within the prison context.

Discretion and decision-making amongst prison officers

The manner in which power is exercised in prisons is dependent on the individual officers and the manner in which they use their discretion. This has clear implications for the development of staff-prisoner relationships and the prison experience for prisoners.

Policies seek to support prison officers by providing clear frameworks and tools within which to operate; but their success relies on the judgement, discretion and actions of the individual prison officers. As outlined by Kelly (2014) and Lerman and Page (2012), prison officers are powerful agents within the prison system, being able to use their discretion as a means of implementing penal policy. In terms of their direct interactions with prisoners they are able to use their discretion to implement a range of punishments in response to prisoners' behaviour (King & McDermott, 1990). Drake (2008) further notes that prison officers are instrumental in maintaining the ethos of a particular prison, with Kifer, Hemmens and Stohr (2003) suggesting that they are able to undermine policies if they do not support them. In contrast to other organisations, it is the lowest ranking individuals in the organisation that interpret and implement policy through their interactions with prisoners, with oversight from managers. Yet, according to Gilbert (1997), at the same time, prison managers need to accept that officers have to exercise discretion, especially in situations where policy is vague, or in some rare circumstances, absent. Whilst the

structured nature of the prison encourages prison officers to comply with, and follow, all prison rules, it is noted that this is not routinely possible.

Grapendaal (1990) argues that a lack of clarity regarding policy has been noted to lead to the development of prison officer groups who each translate policy into practice in different ways and this results in inconsistency of practice. There are differences of practices in individual establishments, which may be more evidence for the notion of individual prison establishments being Communities of Practice as outlined previously. Further, based on the notions of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), individuals do not take on roles uncritically, that is, they assume the roles only after they have internalised them as part of a social identity that is shared with others.

McLellan (2010) informs us that discretion by prison officers forms part of their interactions with prisoners. According to Gilbert (1997), the use of discretion amongst prison officers, and how the discretion is used in making exceptions to the rules, can reduce tensions between staff and prisoners. This is clearly important given the discrepancy in numbers between staff and prisoners. Smith (2008a) suggests that using discretion in the prison setting gives prison officers bargaining power. According to Liebling, Price and Elliott (1999), the 'peace-keeping' and 'discretion' aspects of the prison officer role are important in understanding staff-prisoner relationships. Both consistency and flexibility are important to the prison officer role. However, flexibility and discretion cause tensions amongst staff about how individual prisoners should be approached, with staff questioning where the boundaries lie (Liebling, Price & Elliott, 1999; Gredecki, 2005).

According to Useem and Piehl (2006), the manner in which discretion is used is important as when prisoners do not see the prison as being legitimate then they are less likely to comply. The frustrations that result from inconsistent decision-making and rule enforcement are not new and have been described for some time in the prison literature (for example

see Mathiesen, 1965; Sparks, Bottoms & Hay, 1996). For prisoners, frustrations often arise out of the fact that obedience does not necessarily achieve them the progression they desire. Prison officers are able to control the access that prisoners have to services (see Drake, 2011).

Tyler's empirical research (see Tyler, 1997, 1998, 2010; Tyler & Blader, 2000) has demonstrated that whether outcomes are favourable is less important in determining prisoners' acceptance of decisions. What is important is their perception of whether the processes and procedures used to reach them are fair. According to Bottoms (2003), when prisoners interpret the climate as being one that is unjust and arbitrary, the outcome is one of resentment and in turn this is counterproductive. Therefore, as Lin (2000) asserts, the manner in which prison officers use their discretion impacts on staff-prisoner relationships and prison life.

Power as a mechanism of control

Within prison settings, it is proposed that conflicts are avoided when prison officers maintain a stable prison community rather than being predominantly controlling and sanctioning. According to Sykes (1958), power must be reserved and only used where necessary if prisons are to run smoothly. Grapendaal (1990) indicates that in response to a non-controlling approach by prison officers, prisoners do not abuse the responsibilities given to them by their custodians. However, where prisoners do not conform to the rules and expectations of imprisonment, Crewe (2009) argues that the authorative and punitive nature of the prison system then presents itself. In turn this reinforces the power dynamic and clearly defines the roles and identities of the prisoners and prison officers within the prison context.

Van der Helm, Stams & van der Laan (2011) note that the balance between control and flexibility within a prison environment shapes the prison climate. Too much reliance on repressive control is noted to foster an environment underpinned by distrust that can damage therapeutic relationships amongst staff and prisoners (De Dreu, Giebels & Van der

Vliert, 1998; Liebling, Arnold & Straub, 2011). Useem and Piehl (2006) suggest that prisons cannot run on force alone. As such, the use of power as a means of controlling prisoners appears ineffective in the management of prisons and prisoners. In order to enhance the prison experience and for the prison to function effectively, it appears that there is a requirement for officers to use their power carefully. This involves shared responsibility for the prison environment amongst staff and prisoners, therefore seeking to flatten hierarchies as opposed to using these as a source of control. This may be challenging in some prisons (i.e. the high secure estate) where security becomes even more important given the risks presented by the prisoners. However, more generally when prison cultures centre on control this has the potential to undermine staff-prisoner relationships. According to Drake (2008: 164) these relationships become '*another mechanism of control*'.

In summary, the behaviours observed within the prison context by both staff and prisoners are noted to be within the context of relationships that '*transmit, or contain, degrees of power and authority, and degrees of trust and respect*' (Liebling, Price & Elliott, 1999: 72). These relationships are important because they influence action and they '*frame, inform, constrain and facilitate staff and prisoner behaviour*'. However, as Crewe (2011) outlines, there are always difficulties in sustaining positive staff–prisoner relationships in an environment that is ultimately coercive. This can particularly be the case, as outlined by Lerman and Page (2012), due to prison officers being the individuals tasked with enforcing the deprivations of imprisonment (i.e. the removal of liberties) that cause what Sykes (1958) has referred to as the pains of imprisonment.

Relinquishing power

Liebling, Price and Elliott (1999) note that different relationships occur within different parts of the prison establishment where the amount of power used, and the styles of interaction, are different. In terms of the prison environment, Crewe et al. (2014) note that the residential wings represent the reality of imprisonment whereas some off-wing activities

(e.g. the gym and workshops) provide a relief from this: albeit limited. That is, whilst prisoners may engage with different people and in less emotionally restricted ways in these settings, they provide only a brief relief from prison life as the prisoners are noted to return to more managed positions when they return to the prison wing. As such, whilst different places within a prison can allow prisoners to adopt a different kind of identity, the overall prison environment still limits the way in which their identity is shaped (Crewe, 2009).

Crewe et al. (2014: 69) outline how these off-wing environments require staff to cultivate the environment by seeing the prisoners as students, worshipers etc. They create '*places where the fundamentals of power, liberty and authority could, for brief periods, be put aside*'. Where prisoners engage with civilian staff, it has been reported that these members of staff are considered to have been brought in from the world which exists outside of the prison context which forms an 'ordinary discourse' that is often filtered out on the residential units where interactions with prison officers have been considered more superficial and characterised by a power imbalance. Whilst prisoners and staff may refer to each other on first name terms in these corners of the prison, back on the wing, more formal terms are often adopted.

Talk and power: having a laugh

According to Smith (2008a), and as outlined in Chapter 1, the simple matter of using names within prisons may be a further means of maintaining prison hierarchies and upholding the perceived superiority of prison officers. That is, the manner in which prison officers and prisoners refer to each other is indicative of a power dynamic, and is important to understanding the staff-prisoner relationship. These discursive performances reinforce status; or a lack of status; in the prison setting. They are just one reminder of who is in control.

Talk is ultimately a tool through which to maintain power relations in prisons, with prison humour being a potential means of undermining and

ridiculing prisoners. It is recognised that humour is used frequently in prisons (e.g. Crawley, 2004b; Goffman, 1961; Tracy, Meyers & Scott, 2006). Nielson (2011) states that humour occurs on a daily basis and is functional in terms of prison officers forming a prison officer identity, as well as a means of forming staff-prisoner relationships. It is suggested that it allows both parties to remove themselves from their formal 'roles' in what is considered to be a socially sanctioned manner. Yet, according to Scott (2008a: 9), '*officers* [are] *the jokers, whilst prisoners* [are] *their hapless stooges*'. Terrion and Ashforth (2002: 59) refer to this as '*put down*' humour where amusement is derived at the expense of others. Humour can therefore become a further means of prison officers upholding authority and control through their talk with prisoners. This perhaps reflects what Crewe (2011) describes as the psychological power held by prison officers. However, it is the view of Hulley, Liebling and Crewe (2012) that despite the innate inequalities in power between prison officers and prisoners, respect can be negotiated and relationships fostered.

Chapter summary

The experience of prison appears to be one characterised by the apparent stripping down of individual identity, resulting in prisoners and staff alike taking on particular roles. Seemingly, the nature of the prison environment and the removal of a sense of individualism; in addition to notions of masculinity amongst both prisoners and prison officers; results in the development of specific prison roles and identities that underpin prison life. This leads to hierarchical systems and practices where power and control appear to be at the core of day-to-day living. These dynamics thus lead to power imbalances whereby the prison officers imply power, in many ways, in order to effectively manage and 'control' the prison environment and prisoner population.

Much of what happens in the prison setting is determined by the manner in which individuals exercise their power, and the perceived inequalities amongst the staff and prisoner groups can lead to 'them and us' thinking. Here, discourses around prisoners being 'bad' and prison officers as being 'good' have led to disconnection in the staff and prisoner groups, leading to a culture that Shefer and Liebling (2008) suggest is difficult to change. Crawley (2004a: 118) claims that where prison officers have held views about prisoners being '*the enemy*' and prison being seen as a means of punishment, this has led to increased staff assaults. Therefore, understanding staff-prisoner relationships is important to modern penal policy and practice, with official and academic discourses outlining the importance of relationships between staff and prisoners (Crewe, 2011).

There is evidence of a growing body of research exploring factors associated with the development of staff-prisoner relationships. However, much of the staff-prisoner relationship research has been juxtaposed against research examining the broader context of the prison officer role and work (e.g. Crawley, 2004a). This has resulted in staff-prisoner relationships being a by-product of other fields of enquiry rather than the focus of sophisticated research questions. It was not until the late 1990s that the topic received much attention through the work of Liebling and colleagues, despite staff-prisoner relationships being considered fundamental to the effective management of prisons (see Liebling, Price & Elliott, 1999).

Research findings inform us that staff-prisoner relationships have changed for the better in recent decades. The most recent Annual Report from HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2015) outlined some positive aspects of staff-prisoner relationships. McHugh, Heavens and Baxter (2008) suggest that this has been impacted upon, in part, by changes in the recruitment of prison staff. Regulating the extent to which prison officers may exercise their power has undermined some of the more harsh aspects of prison life. Whilst Sim (2008) argues that the relationships between staff and prisoners continue to be based on fear and loathing, research suggests

that there are no longer impenetrable barriers between staff and prisoners, and prisoners no longer see officers as the enemy (Crewe, 2005b; 2009). However, Liebling (2013) continues to emphasise that prisons continue to reflect varying degrees and use of power and authority. Within the prison context, power relations are important features of day-to-day living. As such, relationships are built around dependency, interdependency and 'hegemonic differentiation' (de Viggiani, 2012).

Despite the inequalities in power between prison officers and prisoners, respect can be negotiated, and positive relationships created (Hulley, Liebling & Crewe, 2012). Yet, power, and the inequalities of power in prisons, appears to underpin everything that occurs within the prison setting. Whilst Liebling and Price (1998) have previously suggested that British prisons have a tradition of relatively good staff-prisoner relationships, a key question for the Prison Service is how this tradition might be maintained in the context of the 'modern' prison as outlined in Chapter 1.

Aims and objectives of the research

Given the reduced numbers of staff working on prison wings, and the increase in the prisoner population, it may be argued that staff-prisoner relationships have never been more fundamental in terms of ensuring the safe management of prisons given the limited resources and the subsequent reliance on prisoners to conform. In a period of 'transformation' around penal policy, staff-prisoner relationships are also considered a means of supporting the prisoner population to return to the community having been rehabilitated, as outlined in the Prison Service Mission Statement.

Both prison officers and prisoners spend extended periods of time working with each other, and as such, these relationships form part of their collective experience of imprisonment. These are complex interpersonal

relationships, and seemingly much depends on getting these relationships right; despite the fact that prison literature is more often linked to understanding when these relationships go wrong. According to the work of Harré and van Langenhove (1999), the rights, duties and obligations that are acquired, assumed or imposed upon individuals within everyday life restrict what they are able to do. Based on positioning theory (which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4), prisoner and prison officer 'personas' are presented discursively through the conversations occurring in the prison context. There is an absence of research examining how prisoners and prison officers position themselves and others, particularly within the framework of the staff-prisoner relationship. However, their discursive practices are likely to impact on prison-based practices and individuals' subjective experiences.

The aim of this thesis was to theoretically understand how prison officers and prisoners construct staff-prisoner relationships, paying particular attention to how prisoners position prison officers, and how prison officers position prisoners. Further, the intention was to understand the impact of these positions and identities on the experience of relationships and individuals' lived experiences within the prison setting **(Aim 1)**.

Additional research objectives were:
- to explore how staff-prisoner relationships are constructed within the prison setting **(Aim 2)**;
- to explore how power is experienced and negotiated within the prison setting by prisoners and prison officers **(Aim 3)**; and
- to explore how prisoners and prison officers discursively construct prison as an institution **(Aim 4)**.

Chapter 4 - Methodology and the research process

Adopting a research methodology

The current chapter is concerned with the methodological approaches underpinning the research and the associated research process. Specific consideration is given to conducting research within a prison setting.

When this research began it was apparent that it would be methodologically testing and would require data collection that was sensitive to meaning and agreeable to theoretical reflection. Within prison research, the question of methodology has historically been highly significant. It is a process that is made complex by the human nature of the researchers and the researched. According to Liebling (1999), it is through engagement and interaction with the prison world, structuring one's exploration of it, and reflecting on this, that understanding can be achieved.

A theory of scientific knowledge

As outlined by Liebling and Price (1998), research approaches imply assumptions about the nature of the social world and about routes toward understanding. According to Harré and van Langenhove (1999), social phenomena are generated through conversation and conversational like activities, with discursive processes being the place where most psychology and social phenomena are created. Based on the principles of social constructionism, social phenomena are generated in and through conversation. As such, if everything is socially constructed and relative to local contexts, then it follows that it is not possible to come to an objective and universal human science (see Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). That is, there may be more than one description and as such, the place of the researcher must be taken into account.

Positioning theory (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999) focuses on understanding how psychological phenomena are produced through talk. The term 'position' has been used in many ways in social and psychological writing. Here it refers to a

> 'complex cluster of generic personal attributes, structured in various ways, which impinges on the possibilities of interpersonal, intergroup and even intrapersonal action through some assignment of such rights, duties and obligations' (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999: 1).

These positions are relational; thus to be positioned as powerful, others must be positioned as powerless. As Shotter (1983) outlines, personhood is created through certain types of discourses; namely declarations from the individual's point of view; narrations whereby there are storylines.

In order to understand how social phenomena are 'constructed', Harré and van Langenhove (1999) assert that it is necessary to address a number of basic features of the interaction: the moral positions of the participants; the rights and duties they have to say certain things; the conversational history; and the actual sayings with their power to shape certain aspects of the social world. They propose that interactions exist at different levels: the interpersonal, the institutional, and the cultural. This reflects staff-prisoner relationships that occur amongst individuals who are part of the prison as an institution, which in turn is part of a wider cultural framework.

Hollway (1984) informs us that individuals present themselves and others as actors within a drama creating discursive positions. It is through the constant recognition of one's own, and the other's position, that the public self is constructed in a manner that is appropriate to the situation (see Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). A further important consideration is the individuals' self-concept and the restrictions that may be placed on this by the situation they find themselves in. Within the prison setting, Goffman's (1959) work around total institutions highlights how prisons restrict

prisoners and their individual identities. As such, the current thesis aims to explore how power is experienced and negotiated within the prison setting by prison officers and prisoners through their positioning of others.

Everyday life is impacted upon by episodes of discourse that constitute our biographies and social world. This is the same within the prison setting where staff and prisoners negotiate their positions and construct others and their roles in a multitude of ways through their interactions with others. According to social constructionist thinking (see Harré & Secord, 1972), the discursive skills that social psychology should focus on are the sequences (episodes) through which human beings engage. It is not just the protagonists themselves that define the nature and experience of interactions; at the same time they are influenced by the episode. That is, prisoners and prison officers interact, using their discursive performances to achieve certain outcomes. This may include, for example, a prisoner's performance of their commitment to the prisoner code, or the maintenance of their place in the prisoner hierarchy. For prison officers, their performance may seek to reinforce their power and status within the prison system. The process of acculturation in prisons as outlined in Chapter 3 (for example see Clemmer, 1940; Poole & Regoli, 1980; Worthington, 2012), offers some insight in to the manner in which episodes of interaction may be used to demonstrate a commitment to occupational values and expectations.

Prisons involve what positioning theorists would term formal and informal episodes: Parole Board hearings, adjudications and interactions on the prison wing. In the former, explicit rules shape the interaction although according to Harré and van Langenhove (1999), it is the assumptions that people make about the others in the episode that influence what people say and do. In the informal episodes, it is not just the rules that direct the episode but also the biographical backgrounds of the individuals and the history of what has gone before. Hence, attempts to understand the research arena of the prison need to account for the different perspectives

as according to Liebling (1999: 161), *'people have prejudices, images, impressions, far removed from the lived reality of the prison environment'*.

It may be questioned how representative any prison, prisoner or member of staff is of the Prison Service and the individuals operating within it. However, it is necessary to question whether this in fact matters given that depth can only be achieved through a detailed involvement in the particular life: *'Without the particular, there is little understanding'* (Liebling, 1999: 163). To understand how psychological phenomena are created, one needs to understand the dynamics of the social episodes. However, these episodes cannot be understood solely by referring to general rules and roles, understanding of past and current conversations are also required (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). It is this viewpoint upon which the thesis is based: Understanding the *prison experience* and the foundations on which the 'episodes' that constitute staff prisoner relationships exist.

A methodology for understanding staff-prisoner relationships
From the outset there was an intention to follow a broadly qualitative approach because of the exploratory, inductive and theory generating nature of the research topic. Here the preference was for what Glaser and Strauus (1967) refer to as inductive, hypothesis generating research rather than hypothesis testing.

Previous research studies of a similar nature (e.g. Liebling & Price, 1998; Crawley, 2004a) have concluded that a qualitative approach is suited to what Liebling (1999: 7) suggested is a *'complex, under explored setting, where multiple realities are likely to be found and no clear language exists to describe the field of interest'*. There is a certain degree of difficulty in finding language through which staff-prisoner relationships can be communicated and this has parallels in other areas of social research. This type of research is characterised by long exposure to the social world of interest and close contact between the researcher and the researched with a focus on the development of meaning and engagement with the

subject. As a result, Creswell (1994) proposes that themes emerge from the research process rather than being imposed in advance by the researcher. Research is a co-constructed phenomenon involving the researcher and the researched.

The paradigm debate: qualitative or quantitative methodologies?
Carrera-Fernández, Guàrdia-Olmos, Peró-Cebollero (2014: 22) define qualitative research as that in which,

> '*the researcher trusts textual data more than numerical data and analyses this data in its textual form instead of transforming it into numbers for analysis, with the objective of understanding the meaning of human action*'.

Thus, adopting a qualitative approach allows the research to explore the concept of staff-prisoner relationships through an exploration of human action and the discursive performances through which staff-prisoner relationships and interactions occur. However, in recent years, writers such as Thomas and Pring (2004) and Trinder with Reynolds (2000) have engaged in discussion about the evidence that research can supply, and its capacity to make policymaking and occupational practices more 'evidence-based'. In an era focused on evidence-based practice, the subjective nature of qualitative methodologies may be open to further criticism. According to Hammersley (2010: 553), '*concern has been expressed about the quality of the evidence used by social researchers in some fields, with particular doubts being raised about the rigour of qualitative methods*'. As such there have been many on-going debates about the benefits of both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies, with certain methodologies being favoured by certain individuals.

As outlined by Harré (2004), within psychological research there have been historical debates over the 'paradigm' that should govern research and what constitutes 'scientific' investigation. Positivist research has been

based largely around the natural and physical sciences whereby the method of evaluation has involved careful observation and accurate measurement. Using quantitative approaches, hypotheses are tested by the use of inferential statistics, allowing replication within research with reliability across settings and populations. Kline (1993) also argues that the positivist approach allows for increased internal consistency and further allows for objectivity in research by creating distance between the researcher and the researched. They argue that statistical analyses reduce the likelihood of emotional interference in the interpretation of data and its meaning. Tabachnick & Fidell (2001) suggest that the benefits of well-designed and thorough statistical procedures allows for generalisability of both findings and tools.

Although positivist models have been important to understanding many historical aspects of imprisonment, Schlosser (2008) notes that they can be somewhat limiting to contemporary research and narrative forms, with the process of reducing and abstracting data resulting in a loss of contextual information and integrity. Others (e.g. Coolican, 1990) have emphasised what they consider to be limitations of the positivist approach. Here is it suggested that the exact quantification of variables provides only '*narrow and often artificial, useless knowledge of human behaviour*' (p. 120). This research seeks to achieve the richness, depth and understanding that is often lost in quantitative approaches (for example, see Geertz, 1973).

However, both styles of research, in so far as they can be characterised as discrete styles, have their costs and benefits. Whilst arguments for, or against, specific methodologies continue to be evident in academic discussions, it is recognised that there is much more respect for the different approaches to research. There is recognition that both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies both seek to contribute to knowledge, albeit in different manners (e.g. Biggerstaff, 2012). The methodologies allow for the achievement of distinct outcomes - it is not an issue of which offers the 'best' outcomes, it is about selecting a

methodology that addresses the research questions.

Selecting a qualitative methodology for staff-prisoner relationships

Prison research brings about tensions in approaching the prison world in terms of quantitative and qualitative methodology. Liebling and colleagues were collectively responsible for the completion of a high proportion of prison-based research in the 1990s and beyond, and it is this research that has led the way in terms of early understandings of staff-prisoner relationships and the work of prison officers (see Liebling, Muir, Rose & Bottoms, 1997; Liebling, 1992, 1994; McAllister, Bottomley & Liebling, 1992). Reflecting on this research, and the methodologies employed, Liebling (1999) suggests that some combination of approach is desirable and necessary. That is, whilst it is important to explore meaning through an engagement with research participants, she suggests that these findings *'need to be reconciled with quantitative findings about the apparent ordinariness of prison for generalised groups of prisoners'*. The danger of this argument is the risk of advocating only a realist approach to prison research.

An alternative approach here would have been to adopt a quantitative methodology, with such approaches having been successful in generating theories and informing policies, with some investigations completed to the highest levels of rigour. However, there are a number of downfalls of such methods within the current research. Although quantitative research attempts to make the research fit the real world there can be a lack of 'ecological validity'. Attempts to quantitatively measure aspects of staff-prisoner relationships have proved challenging. Based on my own experiences of researching this topic (Gredecki & Ireland, 2012) the research has done little more than attempt to identify statistical representations of detailed and complex interactions.

Rather than adopting a positivist approach to enhancing validity through randomisation and controls, the qualitative approach adopted for this thesis focuses on understanding particulars and meaning rather than

generalising findings. According to Wolcott (1990), one's understanding of the phenomena as a researcher and the context in which the study exists is a more fundamental concept and brings validity to the research. Within the current research the focus is not on the reliability of the data but the ability to reveal the local practices through which staff-prisoner relationships are assembled (see Silverman, 2006). Quantitative methods may remove depth from the research and compromise the researchers ability to reflect on the participants' experiences. Yet, according to Silverman (2006), quantitative data can be used to establish the background to the findings and this data is outlined in Chapter 6 where the fieldwork and participants are situated.

The focus of the thesis is on understanding the constructions of staff-prisoner relationships and the positioning of individuals within these interactions. To do so requires exploration of the prison as a research arena, and the embedded emotions and experiences of those individual within it. This research attempts to document the world from the point-of-view of the participants (see Hammersley, 1992), focusing on meaning rather than behaviour. Whilst quantitative methods such as questionnaires would provide a standardised data collection tool (Coolican, 1990), they would remove depth of expression. There is also the issue of poor literacy levels amongst prisoners (see Skills Funding Agency, 2015) that may have resulted in some prisoners being unable to be involved. Thus, a qualitative methodology allows for contextual sensitivity to look at how an apparently stable phenomenon is actually put together by participants. Thus, a qualitative methodology is favoured.

'Turmoil' in prison research: a source of data?
Liebling and Stanko (2001) outline that when conducting research within complex environments such as prisons, a challenge arises out of the expectation of objectivity, and for the turmoil evident in such research being seen as a barrier to the research process. However, in her earlier work, Liebling (1999) proposed that this apparent 'turmoil' constitutes data and as such there should be more dialogue around these issues. Whilst

researchers often aim for research that is neutral, Becker (1967) argued that such research is often shallow and useless if it does not have a commitment to a particular value position. He argued that it is impossible to be neutral with research being influenced by personal and political sympathies. Even though researchers may attempt to separate out their professional and personal lives and their research and associated emotions, it may be argued that these can never be separated.

As Agar (1980: 246) concluded, '*It would be tragic to lose what some converts call 'soft', 'unscientific' or 'fuzzy' research. Much of the world we seek to understand has just those characteristics*'. The feelings experienced amongst staff, prisoners and researchers can be a significant guide to, or even source of, valuable data. The question facing many researchers is to what degree these feelings can help guide and develop the research; to ignore them would alter the research process. For example, Garland (1990) argues that prisons are constructed around emotions and the pains felt particularly by prisoners, suggesting that these are underestimated by conventional methodological approaches to prison life. This position is somewhat supported by Crawley (2004a) who highlights the role of emotion in prison life. Yet, Garland (1990) argues that this emotional component of imprisonment is invisible in most empirical research. At the same time, however, Liebling (2001) draws our attention to the danger of becoming too sympathetic and involved with the research process. As such, the challenge is that of managing the tensions between objectivity and authentic participation with the researched and the social world.

The researcher as a co-constructor of knowledge
Given the nature of psychological research it is apparent that both the researcher and the research participants will bring their life experiences to the research; in scientific terms, they are not a clean test-tube but one that has already been contaminated. An alternative view is that that the researcher and the research participants are enriched by life experiences. Research cannot be conducted in an environment where all extraneous

variables can be controlled. Earlier writers such as Hall (1975) outline that the positivist approach is also limited as a result of the distance that the researcher specifically seeks in order to maintain some sort of objectivity. That is, this objectivity is considered to be false due to the researcher often being blind to their influence. Within the current research, the role of the researcher is of central importance to this research and its analysis. As outlined by Foster and Parker (1995), there is no suggestion here that the researcher has no prior assumptions. Flick (1998: 6) suggests that the subjective influences '*should not be excluded as an intervening variable*'.

Accessing data

As discussed previously, based on the principles of social constructionism, social phenomena are generated in and through conversation (see Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). Here, social phenomena; in this case staff-prisoner relationships; are generated through conversation and conversational like activities. Consideration is given here to the methodological choices made in terms of accessing data.

Methods of data collection: observation and interviews

Observation of the naturally occurring episodes and talk within the prison setting would allow for the gathering of information about the social process of staff-prisoner relationships in the prison context. However, this would focus on what they did, rather than what they thought they did and the construction of this through discourse. Furthermore, there are additional challenges around consent and the ability to record and capture naturally occurring talk within the context of the prison setting given the size of the prisons and the number of possible participants. That is not to say that this is not possible, and it has been used as a method of supplementing interview data in earlier studies (for example see Crawley 2004b). However, interviews provide a platform on which to access the required level of data from research participants. Within qualitative research, authenticity is the issue rather than sample size and its reliability and representativeness of the wider population. The focus is on gathering

an authentic understanding of people's experiences and open-ended questions are the most effective route towards this end (Silverman, 2006).

As such, semi-structured interviews were identified as the tool through which to gather the data as they award the possibility of the emergence of new theories and constructing meaning rather than truth. Open-ended questions function as a springboard from which issues and meaning can be explored, allowing the interviewer to respond to the interviewee and acknowledge and explore issues that are important to them rather than having a pre-empted script. The open-ended nature of the interview process allows the researcher to further explore issues that they might have misunderstood or that have particular meaning to the research (Coolican, 1994; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Furthermore, the flexibility of the method allows for the complexities and contradictions of the individual's perceptions to be explored in depth. Silverman (2001) proposes that the interview is a social setting in which data are co-constructed by the interviewer and the interviewee in order to generate possible ways of talking about research topics that are situated. In the context of the current research, this provides particular versions of staff-prisoner relationships and prison life on specific occasions. Baker (2002) explains that if interviews are treated as accounts rather than reports that relate to issues outside the interview, then we can investigate the manner in which individuals engage in positioning and social construction.

The research process

Given the commitment to this qualitative approach, it was expected that the research strategies would be developed as the research progressed, thus avoiding the research arena where thoughts and methodological instruments are in place from the outset. This was particularly important, as will become clearer in later sections, when the semi-structured interview was adapted and modified to encompass the emerging data and themes raised through the participants' talk. This allowed the research

tool to develop, and for the researcher to engage in that process as this previously under-researched topic took root (see Rubin & Rubin, 1995). The research process is outlined here in chronological order.

Negotiating access

The research was initially due to be conducted in two prisons in England and Wales that were matched in terms of security category and prisoner numbers. However, within one of the establishments (known throughout the thesis as HMP2), no officers agreed to take part and as such, the third establishment (HMP3) was identified in order to ensure a broader range of officer participants (access to the participants is discussed below). Thus, as the research was conducted across three prisons, a centralised process was followed as opposed to gaining approval from individual establishments. Having met with the identified representative from HMPS, the research was supported upon the condition that a reciprocal arrangement was established; namely that I deliver training in the area of theories of violence to psychology staff. This was considered recompense for the support that the individual establishments would offer in terms of providing support during the data collection period.

The research setting

Adult male prisoners may be held in one of four security categories: A, B, C or D. Definitions for each category as outlined within Prison Service Instruction 40/2011 (MoJ, 2011b), are as follows:

> Category A: Those prisoners '*whose escape would be highly dangerous to the public or the police or the security of the State and for whom the aim must be to make escape impossible*'.
>
> Category B: prisoners '*for whom the very highest conditions of security are not necessary but for whom escape must be made very difficult*'.
>
> Category C: prisoners that '*cannot be trusted in open conditions but who do not have the resources and will to make a determined escape attempt*'.

Category D: prisoners '*who present a low risk; can reasonably be trusted in open conditions and for whom open conditions are appropriate*'.

At the point of the fieldwork, male category B and category C prison establishments represented 70% of all prison places in England and Wales (HMPS, 2008c). In turn they accounted for 85% of the male prison places nationally. As such, in selecting prisons for the fieldwork, the aim was to have a sample that represented the largest cross section of male prisoners in England and Wales. Category B and C establishments were therefore selected.

The fieldwork was conducted across three public sector prisons in England and Wales between November 2007 and October 2008. The decision to conduct the research in public sector prisons was in part based on convenience tactics in that the HMPS ethics process provided access solely to public sector prisons. However, and in addition, given the reported differences noted between public and private sector prisons in terms of operating frameworks, and some performance outcomes (see Chapter 3 for a discussion), the thesis did not want to introduce a further variable at this stage - private prisons. However, further exploration of staff-prisoner relationships in the private sector estate would be of interest for future research.

Each of the prisons was a closed male establishment and classed as being a 'training' prison. According to NOMS (2013a), closed training prisons provide a range of facilities for Category B and Category C adult male prisoners who are serving medium to long-term sentences. The definition of a 'training' prison recognises that it is intended for prisoners to be engaged in a variety of activities such as prison workshops, gardens and education, as well as engaging in OBPs. Two of the prison establishments (HMP1 and HMP2 as they are referred to in this thesis) were Category C prisons, and HMP3 was a Category B prison. The individual establishments are outlined in further detail in Chapter 6.

Developing the research materials

In preparation for the fieldwork, a range of research materials were developed including the introductory letters to participants and the research consent forms (see Appendices B and C respectively). The latter were based on the ethical guidelines of the British Psychological Society (2000)[25]. Of particular interest, are the interview schedules as they guided the data collection. The process of developing the interview schedules will be outlined here.

The interview schedules

In developing the interview schedules, the focus was on providing a basis from which the aims of the research could be addressed. As outlined previously, the use of open-ended questions sought to provide a 'spring board' from which to explore the prisoners' and prison officers' constructions of staff-prisoner relationships. Both prisoner and prison officer interview schedules covered a number of core areas that sought to firstly explore their constructions of prison and the manner in which their talk positioned themselves and others within this framework. Copies of the interview schedules are included in Appendices D and E.

The interviews sought to provide an opportunity to explore interactions that they considered to have been important with the other party. In doing so, the interview schedules sought to strike a balance between what worked well and what was less helpful in the prison context. The participants were not directed as to whether they should focus on a positive or less helpful interaction. Rather, they were asked to think of a recent critical incident (see Flanagan, 1954). This approach appreciated that both positive and less helpful interactions ocurr within the prison context. Whilst it may be surprising to some critics of prisons, the majority of interviewees; staff and prisoners alike; reported a positive interaction in the first instance. As with

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[25] Since designing the research it is recognised that the British Psychological Society has published updates to their ethical standards (2009; 2014). The Health & Care Professions Council (2016) has also published ethical guidelines. However, none of these documents were available at the time and as such, throughout the thesis reference will be made to how the BPS guidelines published in 2000 were followed.

the appreciative approach (see Vickers, 1968; Liebling, Price & Elliott, 1999), the focus was on memory and imagination in the narrative form, with participants being encouraged to tell their stories. All participants were then given the opportunity to explore their constructions of relationships with others, reflecting on the aspects of those interactions that were either barriers or enablers to meaningful interactions. Finally, there was an opportunity to consider the manner in which the participants constructed and experienced staff-prisoner relationships in their individual prison establishment.

Trialling the interview schedules

According to the BPS (2000), '*The best judge of whether an investigation will cause offence may be members of the population from which the participants in the research are to be drawn*'. According to Patenaude (2004), the selection of language is an important concept in prison research. For example, terms such as 'warden' may be acceptable to prisoners and members of society, yet this may be a source of conflict if used in the presence of officers. Thus, based on the work of Briggs (1986), and in order to achieve methodological rigour in the design of the interview schedules, time was taken to learn how to ask questions in ways that would likely be understood by participants. This involved conducting preliminary fieldwork to understand the cultural and linguistic norms used in the prison community. Initially discussions were also held with a member of the Prison Officer Association (POA) prior to conducting interviews in order to gain their support and to seek to legitimise the research amongst the prison officer group. Subsequently two focus groups were conducted at HMP1: one with prisoners and one with prison officers. These focus groups explored the interview schedules and possible issues around engagement, focussing on how best to engage the participants in the research process. Finally a pilot interview was conducted with a member of prison staff to further explore the extent to which the schedule may address the research aims. Due to prison management issues, the pilot interview with a prisoner was cancelled and as such was not completed prior to the interviews being conducted.

Making contact with the participants

Given the aims of the research, small numbers of participants were required at each data collection site as the focus remained on understanding subjective experience rather than being driven by quantitative and positivist principles around reliability and the ability to replicate findings due to large sample sizes. To access participants I made links with the Psychology Research Lead in the three prisons. Each establishment offered a broadly similar approach to contacting potential research participants and this sampling will be discussed here.

Contacting prisoners

As a method of selecting prisoners in each establishment, a cell number was randomly selected and then the psychology representatives in each of the prisons were asked to send a copy of the research invitation and consent form (see Appendix B) to the prisoner residing in that cell number on each wing[26]. The prisoner was then invited to return the completed consent form to me in a stamped addressed envelope via the University[27]. Table 2 provides an overview of the number of individuals invited to participate in the research by establishment, and those who consented and participated.

Table 2: Summary of participants invited and participating in research

	Number of prisoners		Number of Officers	
	Invited	Attended	Invited	Attended
HMP 1	7	4	7	5
HMP 2	7	3	14	0
HMP 3	4	2	6	4
TOTAL	**18**	**9**	**27**	**9**

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[26] For example, if I had selected cell 2:23, an invite would be sent to the prisoner residing in cell 23 on the second floor/landing of each wing in the establishment.
[27] Approval was sought in the first instance from the prison establishments due to protocols regarding incoming and outgoing mail.

Contacting prison officers

Access was more challenging with the prison officer sample given that each officer did not have a number or location through which I could contact/identify them. Further, the prison establishments could not share any details that may enable me to contact the staff due to data protection. Therefore, the individual establishments 'hand picked' an officer from each wing within the prison. The intention was for a member of staff to be randomly selected from the staff working on a particular wing; however it was not possible to confirm that this had been the case. This method was not without its problems and on reflection other strategies may have been to use epaulette numbers or to advertise the research via posters in the prisons. However, the focus was not on generating a representative sample, it was about understanding the subjective experience of the individual participants and the manner in which their role, prisoners and prisons were constructed.

As was done with the prisoners, prison officers were also sent an invitation letter and a consent form (see Appendix C) that they were invited to return to me in a stamped addressed envelope via the University. Once the officer had consented to engage, they were then contacted directly to arrange an interview. Again, their ability to engage in the interview in a confidential manner was restricted as each officer needed to be released from their duties for the duration of the interview. This meant that they had to seek permission from their line-manager in order to attend an interview in work hours. An opportunity was given to meet outside of their normal working hours to overcome this challenge, although no prison officers accepted this offer. Within HMP2, invites were sent out on two separate occasions; however, there were no individual officers who consented to engage in the research. It was at this point that the decision was made to add a third establishment to the research.

The challenges of accessing participants

It is well established that the physical security of the prison system (the walls and the gates) exist to prevent prisoners from leaving; although they

clearly assist in managing entry to prisons too. Throughout the research one of the challenges was that of accessing the research participants, with my ability to make contact with participants being dependent on contacts within the prison system. Despite having received approval to conduct the research as outlined previously, this did not in itself secure access to the participants and throughout the research process I was unable to recruit prison officer participants at HMP2. It was not clear as to why no prison officers agreed to participate in this particular prison. That is, having reviewed the Inspectorate reports for this establishment both prior to, and following, my research, there was no indication that the prison was functioning at a level below that of the other prisons across the broad range of outcomes. As such, it was assumed that the prison had 'nothing to hide'. In turn, this again made the question of why it was not possible to access prison officer participants more difficult to answer.

Given the manner in which participants were contacted, I relied on others' reports that they had in fact sent letters to the prison officers. I was told that prison officers had been contacted and I had to accept this. The prisoners had been contacted in this establishment and as such, I could see no reason as to why the prison officers had not been contacted too. This then raises the question as to whether they had possibly been discouraged from participation. That is, I was aware that following walkouts by prison officers nationally around the time of the fieldwork, some establishments had 'boycotted' research due to perceptions that some non-uniformed staff (including psychologist) had undermined the strikes by undertaking some prison officer tasks such as unlocking and feeding prisoners. However, prison officers participated in HMP1 and HMP3 and therefore, it is again unclear as to why HMP2 would be any different. I have to accept, however, that those individuals contacted may have just decided that they did not wish to participate in the research; particularly given the well established sensitivities amongst prison officers about participating in research (Crawley, 2002).

The non-engagement of prison officers in HMP2 is an anomaly and I am unable to provide a reason for this occurring. Perhaps I could have advertised the research via posters in the prison as an alternative means of recruiting participants; however, I could not physically access the prison to do this. As such, accessing the participants had to be through the agreed structures. On reflection, it is clear that gaining access to prisons is as challenging for researchers. Therefore the development of relationships within the individual establishments is perhaps more fundamental to conducting research in prisons than other settings. That is, these individual people will ultimately act as the 'gatekeepers' in a setting whereby one is unable to make direct contact with participants.

Knowledge of participants

Having worked as a Forensic Psychologist In-Training in HMP1 prior to conducting the research, once participants were identified, I ensured that I had no history of professional contact with the individuals.

The research participants

Table 2 outlines the participant numbers. All participants who consented to participate in the research were interviewed for the purposes of the research. Demographic data was not collected as part of the fieldwork; although some generalised information was gathered through the interview process and this is summarised in Chapter 6 when the participants are introduced. The individual data collection sites were unable to provide any demographic information on the participants as this did not form part of the consent procedures and would ultimately breach data protection.

However, the prisoner participants were all sentenced male prisoners with some having spent previous periods in custody. They were all serving sentences of different lengths and for a range of offences. The prison officer sample consisted of both males (n=8) and females (n=1). Different grades of officers participated in the research. Within HMP1, the sample included newly appointed prison officers who were in their probationary

period (n=2), prison officers (n=2) and a senior officer (n=1). No prison officers participated from HMP2. The prison officer participants from HMP3 were all prison officer grades (n=4).

Introducing the researcher

As outlined by Pope and Mays (1996), it is imperative that the position of the researcher is made clear in order for the research to be placed into context. Knowledge is created through the individual's experiences of the world, with researchers thus bringing their own stories to the research process that have the potential to impact on how the respondents' accounts are interpreted. James (2013) and others note that there is a requirement for reflexivity in interviewing and qualitative research. This enables oneself to be located as part of the data that one has generated, further examining one's own biases, opinions and expectations; all of which guide the development of research. Yet, when engaging in the skill of reflexivity it is necessary to ensure that ones own voice is not privileged above that of the participants, whilst at the same time acknowledging the researcher as an active participant in the co-construction of the research and its outcomes.

I make no attempt to divert the reader away from the fact that the transcripts and research findings are open to re-interpretation. Thus, as authors such as Humberman and Miles (2002), Mason (2002) and Bott (2010) inform us, one of the key issues in qualitative research is how the different positions the researcher brings to the research throw new light on key issues. As outlined by Bosworth et al. (2005), self-reflection is recognised as being important not only to qualitative research, but specifically to research conducted in prisons. Central to maintaining reflexivity is the requirement for researchers to constantly locate and relocate themselves within their work, and to remain in dialogue with research practice, participants and methodologies. According to Richardson (1994: 523), this allows the researcher to emerge '*as a material body through whom a narrative structure unfolds*'. The following

sections situate myself as the principle researcher and the impetus for the research.

Situating the researcher

I am a Forensic Psychologist, regulated by the Health and Care Professions Council, and a Chartered Psychologist of the British Psychological Society. I hold an MSc in Forensic Psychology, a diploma in Forensic Psychology, and a Practising Certificate as a HCPC Registered Psychologist.

Throughout my career, I have worked with individuals who present with a range of presentations and needs. In short, following the completion of my undergraduate degree, and prior to commencing this research project, I was employed as both a Probation Service Officer and a Forensic Psychologist in Training within HMP 1 where I was predominantly involved in the delivery of the Sex Offender Treatment Programme (SOTP). During the course of my employment within the establishment, I was involved in the staff-prisoner relationships committee and this required me to develop a research project exploring barriers and enablers to meaningful staff-prisoner relationships. This later became my MSc Forensic Psychology dissertation.

Through this employment within the Prison Service I was able to increase my awareness of prison policies and procedures, further developing what Newbold, Ross, Jones, Richards and Lenza (2014) may refer to as 'insider' knowledge about how prisons are run and managed. Specifically, I had the opportunity to work with a range of prison officers and prisoners and began to understand, albeit to a limited degree, the world in which these individuals worked and lived. I observed those interactions that have become known as staff-prisoner relationships.

I have subsequently worked in forensic mental health settings, initially working for five years in a NHS high secure forensic mental health hospital for males detained under the Mental Health Act 1983 (Amended 2007). It

was through this role that I was awarded the Chartered Psychologist and Forensic Psychologist status. I have since been employed for five years within an independent psychiatric hospital group as a practitioner psychologist and later as a senior manager for the therapies interventions within the adolescent directory. I have also worked as a practitioner-lecturer in forensic psychology and I am employed in private practice, providing assessments of forensic clients for matters relating to criminal and family court. I am currently the Chief Supervisor and Registrar for the Diploma in Forensic Psychology overseeing the British Psychological Society's qualification/training of forensic psychologists in training in the UK.

Whilst I have not been formally linked with the Prison Service as an employee during the completion of this research, I continue to be employed within the forensic arena, having frequent contact with prison-based staff and clients (offenders). I have been able to continue to understand some of the on-going demands and developments in prison policy and procedure. This is through the professional relationships that I have developed with other prison-based psychologists: specifically through my role on the Committee of the Division of Forensic Psychology between 2007 and 2015.

Impetus for the research
As a Forensic Psychologist, I position myself as being a 'scientist-practitioner'. That is, an individual who uses psychological theory and research to inform clinical practice, and I believe that this is the unique contribution that forensic psychology brings to forensic settings. Here, research outcomes can directly influence practice within forensic settings. According to Crighton (2006: 7), such research can provide an opportunity to increase evidence-based practice, ensuring that practitioners work is grounded in scientific research and, reciprocally, that practice concerns have a great influence on research. The research seeks to address concerns in the literature regarding the use of 'common-sense thinking' to replace scientific enquiry within forensic practice. According to Patenaude

(2004), prison research needs to be pragmatic and policy orientated if it is to be useful for practitioners. This research goes beyond understanding the individual participants and their experiences within the prisons that they either work or are detained; it seeks to contribute to the wider research field in terms of understanding staff-prisoner relationships in UK prisons.

From an ethical viewpoint, this research aims to do more than further my career; it seeks to understand, and to at least make recommendations that seek to have a positive effect on the researched (see Crighton, 2006). I see social psychology as a means of improving the quality of life for individuals and groups of people. Therefore, as outlined in Chapter 1, the rationale for this study has always been about exploring staff-prisoner relationships within the context of the 'modern' prison system, seeking to understand how staff and prisoners are constructed within the prison setting and how this impacts on their relationships and the manner in which they experience their time in the prison setting. Ultimately the research is about understanding these processes in order to contribute to theory and practice within this aspect of practice.

Fieldwork

Whilst the interview process and interview materials can be approached with rigour, it was my own judgment, intuition and creativity that helped navigate me through the research process. That is, the interviews were designed, prepared, and introduced in such a way as to encourage open and meaningful engagement from both staff and prisoners throughout, particularly given the sensitive nature of the interview content. Depth mattered, and as Wolcott (1995) describes, the process was about doing fieldwork as opposed to merely collecting data. The focus was on the co-construction of meaning and data. As Roulston (2010) argues, achieving quality in qualitative interviewing is fundamental to effective research practice. Consideration is given here to the interview process and the achievement of quality data from a qualitative perspective.

Relationship building

Patenaude (2004) suggests that the credibility of qualitative researchers is often tested when they enter the prison setting. Also, Schlosser (2008) suggests that researchers are constructed and positioned from the point that they enter the prison, often seen as an outsider with power (Marzano, 2007). Thus, as outlined by Silverman (2006), understanding the qualitative interview as a social interaction is important for any sole qualitative researcher. A challenge in conducting the interviews with the participants was the limited opportunities to begin developing trust with them; particularly given the relevance of trust as a feature of prison life (for example see Bennett & Shuker, 2010). The earlier use of focus groups highlighted possible sensitivities around participants feeling judged and the material being treated with confidentiality:

> "*As I sat and listened to both staff and prisoners in the focus groups, what soon became apparent was that the participants were happy with the content of the questions. However, trust was an issue as I picked up on the suspicion with which some participants approached both the session and the research more generally. Some participants saw me as an outsider who may be critical, particularly as they questioned my ability to understand their experiences of prison life in an empathic manner. For others, I was a psychologist who had been connected to the prison and therefore, suspicions were evident in terms of my impartial role as an interviewer. What was clear for both groups was the importance of engagement being confidential and their participation not being shared with others. The question 'Whose side is he on' bubbled under the surface in the sessions.*" (Field notes)

Therefore, within the interview context, it was necessary to demonstrate empathy and respect as a means of establishing trust. The guidance of Taylor (1994) was followed in the fieldwork and this involved i) being aware of issues effecting the participant populations; ii) being an active listener; iii) suspending bias and judgment; and iv) demonstrating a

willingness to reciprocate. Engagement with key-stakeholders prior to conducting the research also supported adherence to these aims.

Taking sides

The notion of taking sides was important as both groups of participants seemed to desire me as the researcher to take, and champion, their cause. It is acknowledged that there has traditionally been a relative lack of academic interest in the prison officer role, although there have clearly been some exceptions (e.g. Liebling & Price, 2001; Crawley, 2004b). Yet, Crawley (2002) outlined how this has resulted in prison officers not being familiar with talking to researchers and hence considering prison-based research as being uninterested in them. However, Liebling (2001) has argued that prison-based research has often been disproportionally biased towards officials.

Jewkes (2012) outlines how the process of the researcher positioning oneself (physically and ideologically) somewhere between officers and prisoners can undermine the concepts of trust and rapport with both parties. As such, Liebling (2001) concludes that it is possible to take more than one side in research and to understand the merits of each. As observed by Nielson (2010), I would not claim impartiality as a researcher, as I recognised the requirement to move between 'sides', thus taking up different positions that resulted in engagement with the participants. Reflecting on the observations of Liebling (1999), when conducting interviews with both staff and prisoners, attempts were made to ensure that the interviews were conducted in tandem to ensure that any sensitivity to research the process (i.e. prioritising prisoner interviews over prison officer interviews) were lessened.

Given Cassell's (2005) and Rubin and Rubin's (2005) notion that the researcher *is* the instrument for data collection in semi-structured interviews, unique researcher attributes have the potential to influence the collection of empirical materials (Pezalla, Pettigrew & Miller-Day, 2012). Within prison research, Liebling (1999) has outlined how age, gender,

background and interests have each been noted to impact on the research process. Liebling discussed how staff and prisoners take different members of the team into their confidence, or adopt different styles with each researcher and relate different stories in markedly different ways during the research process.

Safety protocols

Safety protocols are important to any research in order to protect both the participants and the researcher. As outlined on subsequent pages, the ethical principles of the British Psychological Society (BPS, 2000) were attended to in order to protect the participants and to ensure that the research was conducted ethically. To maintain my safety as a researcher, I drew on my knowledge of the policies and procedures of the prison system. That is, the research was conducted with the benefit of my prior knowledge of prisons as I had worked in prisons and secure-services during the four-year period prior to the fieldwork. Therefore, I drew on this knowledge and experience in the developmental stages of the research (and the research materials), as well as during the fieldwork. For example, in setting up the interviews I considered confidentiality from a prison perspective. Here I used prison policies to outline the procedure for dealing with matters that may have arisen during the fieldwork. This included prisoners reporting crimes for which they had not been convicted, and participants' possible disclosures relating to the potential for harm to be caused to the participant and/or others. The procedure was outlined in the invite letters/consent forms (see appendices B and C) and the standardised instructions (see appendix F).

During the fieldwork I did not have my own set of keys when I was moving around the prisons. As such, I was always escorted around the prison and my location within the prisons was known at each stage of the fieldwork. I conducted all interviews in dedicated interview rooms either in the psychology department (HMP1 and HMP3) or on the prison wings (HMP2). In conducting the interviews I drew on my knowledge of the procedures for raising an alarm if needed. I ensured that there was an

alarm call button in each of the interview rooms, and I positioned myself nearest to the door and beside the alarm call button. In doing so I used my own 'jail craft', drawing on what I had considered to be 'common sense knowledge' to maintain my own safety.   However, on reflection, I recognise that this was specialist knowledge achieved from my extensive knowledge and exposure to prison life.

Conducting the interviews

As Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) suggest, the researcher is an active respondent in the research process. Further, Owens (2006) informs us that it is through the researcher's facilitative interaction that a conversational space is created and participants feel safe to share stories on their experiences. As Wolcott (1995: 98) argues:

> *"Interviewing is not all that difficult, but interviewing in which people tell you how they really think about things you are interested in learning, or how they think about the things that are important to them, is a delicate art."*

Therefore, meaning was co-constructed through the interview process and the discursive performances that ensued. The research participants acted as agents, making choices, drawing me in to relationships with them and involving me in their social world. They positioned me in the interview and they used their talk to achieve certain ends. The aim was to conduct the interviews in such a way that those individuals who participated felt that they had been heard, that the experience had been worthwhile, and to some degree that they had been understood through the process. It is not possible to say whether these aims were achieved for the participants, however they actively engaged in the interviews, acting as agents in the process.   However, as noted in other studies of a similar nature (e.g. Liebling, Price & Elliott, 1999), the participants often had to be drawn back to their own story rather than generalised accounts. As such, the research gathered stories and generalisations and there is ultimately a subjective component in the interpretation of the data gathered; in the end, one has

to construct ones own reality of staff-prisoner relationships which is the case in other social research (for example see Scott & Christensen, 1995).

Within the research process was the challenge of refraining from participation and action in the research setting. At certain points within the fieldwork I recognised a desire to interject and respond as a psychologist, particularly when I felt that my input could potentially be beneficial to the participants and other people living or working in the prison setting:

> "*Being a psychologist is part of who I am and how I approach the world. However, as a researcher, I have to put this aside and focus on the job at hand. This is hard to do though when I can see that some level of input could be beneficial to the individuals involved*" (Extract from Field notes).

Ultimately, the interview schedule was used flexibly throughout the research process to not only guide the direction of the interview, but as Smith (2008) suggests, to allow for exploration of novel areas introduced by the participant during the interview. This allowed the research tool to develop, and for the researcher to engage in that process as this previously under-researched topic took root (see Rubin & Rubin, 1995).

Each semi-structured interview was carried out as though they were 'conversations'. 18 participants were interviewed and the interviews were tape-recorded using a portable recording device that acted as my 'memory', unobtrusively absorbing thoughts, words, tone and meaning. The duration of the prisoner interviews (n=9) ranged from 36 to 87 minutes. The average length of the prisoner interviews was 63 minutes. The duration of the prison officer interviews (n=9) ranged from 55 to 87 minutes.   The average length of the prison officer interviews was 68 minutes.

The 'observer paradox'
Labov's (1972) notion of the 'observer's paradox' suggests that machine

recording fundamentally affects, and maybe even damages, interaction. Gordon (2013) notes that the presence of a researcher or recording equipment can inhibit researchers from exploring that which they seek to study. For ethical reasons, all research participants must be informed that their interview is being recorded and therefore, the paradox is unavoidable when studying human interactions. Johnstone (2000: 104) indicates that researchers seek to acquire '*relatively "naturalistic" discourse that is as close as possible to what it would have been like if it was not being taped*'. Thus, the presence of a recorder is seen as a limitation, as inhibiting the collection of 'natural' speech. Yet, as Erickson (2004: 196) indicates, the work of conversation and discourse analysts depends on recording technology. That is,

> '*the behavioural phenomena of the real-time conduct of talk and listening [is] so complex and fleeting, it [is] necessary to capture them for purposes of analysis by means of machine recording*'.

According to Hammersley (2010), the use of recorded interviews is often regarded as more rigorous than relying on field notes. Here, it is suggested that these recordings provide '*a fuller and more accurate representation*' of what occurred within the process of collecting the data (p. 554). Indeed, some researchers have seen reliance upon electronic recordings and transcription as finally enabling human social interaction to be studied scientifically, since the data is preserved and can be reproduced. This means that they are open to repeated analysis, and furthermore can be made available to readers of research reports so that analyses can be checked and, in effect, replicated by others. Thus, there is recognition as to the benefits of recording interviews, whilst perhaps considering the impact of recording equipment on the discursive performances.

To address the 'observer paradox', Labov (1972) outlined how eliciting highly involved stories seemed to cause speakers to forget that they were talking in an audio-recorder's presence. Further, Speer (2002: 511)

remarks that researchers can seek to minimise the observer's paradox, reduce 'observer effects,' and avoid 'tape-affected speech' by discarding the first minutes of the recording or by focusing analysis on the conversational moments in which the recorder is not in focus. Such measures attempt to gather data that are as naturalistic as possible with Speer (2002) arguing that the potential usefulness of various kinds of data needs to be considered (whether considered natural or contrived), keeping in mind the various ways that the researcher, the observer or the recorder has affected the data.

Transcribing the interview transcripts

The principle researcher transcribed each interview verbatim, being guided by the conventions outlined by Silverman (2006). According to Riessman (1993) this process provides the opportunity for familiarisation with the data. Further, authors such as Bird (2005: 227) claim that it should form a '*key phase of data analysis within interpretative qualitative methodology*'. Lapadat and Lindsay (1999) argue that the process is itself an interpretative act where meaning is created. It is more than the task of transferring the spoken word on to paper. Therefore, as scholars such as Kitzinger (1998) and Poland (1995) outline, care is needed in transcription as it is easy for errors to occur, and these can lead to false inferences. According to Hammersley (2010), in transcription we need to try to ensure that we are identifying the words, and/or phonetic characteristics, accurately, and in any description there is a need to be clear in terms of the decision-making in deciding what to describe and how this is described.

Yet, Hammersley (2010: 565) further outlines the requirement to recognise that transcripts are not '*sacred and infallible texts*' as even a strict transcription of the words spoken does not guarantee to tell us what someone was meaning to say or what they were doing. We have to interpret the words, and in doing so we will, and should, draw on our experience of observing the events concerned. At the same time, it is imperative that we do not over-interpret what people say. An accurate

strict transcript, whether based on repeated listening to audio-recordings or produced 'live', preserves some of the evidence in a relatively concrete form that may be necessary for us to assess, and re-assess, our inferences: '*it can do no more, and should do no less, than this*' (Hammersley, 2010: 565).

Ensuring anonymity in the transcripts

As outlined by Tilley and Woodthorpe (2011), anonymity is important in qualitative research and this is supported by methodological texts (see Bryman, 2004; Darlington & Scott, 2002; Silverman, 2005). Thus, anonymity was ensured in the transcription of the interviews. This included removing the names of participants and research sites (giving each participant a pseudonym) and not including information that might lead participants or research sites to be identified (see Walford, 2005). Whilst, it is acknowledged that the principle of anonymity can feel distinctly at odds with the demands and expectations of practitioners wanting 'real-life' examples, in a research arena focused on seeking transparent and transferable analysis, this was required to ensure the engagement of the participants and meet the conditions outlined in the consent form.

Ethics: maintaining safety and demonstrating respect

As with all psychological research, ethical considerations were of the utmost priority, particularly given the sensitive nature of the current research and the vulnerability of the sample. The ethical implications and psychological consequences of the research for the participants were considered from the outset, with the design and implementation of the research being considered from the viewpoint of all participants. The Manchester Metropolitan University ethics process was followed and approval was also sought, and granted, from HM Prison Service. The ethical guidelines of the British Psychological Society (2000) were complied with and further reflections on the ethical considerations are

presented here based around the ethical principles set out by the British Psychological Society (2000).

General ethical issues

Given the diversity of the research population, the design of the research materials was sensitive to demographic details with the interview schedule seeking to be inclusive of all participants. Considering the potential implications of the research for the participants was important; namely reducing any potential implications of engagement. I thus sought to build protective factors into the research such as not listing the reasons for the interview on the prisoners' appointment letters. Given establishment cultures (for example see Sparks, Bottoms & Hay, 1996), I was mindful of how some prison officers may have constructed participation in the research. Being unable to provide an avenue for officers to participate in the research without their managers being aware was a further consideration.

Consent and withdrawal

Consent was a necessary part of the research process and all participants were contacted by means of an introductory letter and consent form (see Appendices B and C) that outlined the objectives of the investigation, the research procedure and information about how the interview data would be used. Prior to interview, participants were read standardised instructions (see Appendix F) and provided with the opportunity to ask any further questions and to disengage from the research, therefore supporting them to make an informed decision around participation.

Given that the prisoners were detained, consideration as to their ability to give free informed consent was fundamental. That is, prisoners might have considered participation compulsory, even though their choice to not engage was explicitly noted. That is, based on my experience of working within forensic settings, prisoners are often given 'choices' in their day-to-day life, however, there are clear consequences based on their decisions. For example, whilst prisoners may go through a consent process to

engage in psychological interventions, any decision not to engage may hinder their parole application due to 'non-engagement'. As such, informed consent remained an ethical consideration in this research and attempts were made to address this by explicitly noting their right not to engage in the research and outlining how any decision not to engage would not be reported to any prison staff. Similar concerns existed with the prison officer participants, as they may have felt obliged to engage in the research, despite messages to the contrary. As such, I adopted the same principles as with prisoners and provided several opportunities for them to opt out or withdraw part way through. Across the three prisons, 50% of prisoners and 66% of prison officers declined to engage, indicating that they had confidence in choosing not to engage in the research.

Debriefing

The aims of the research were explicitly disclosed to the participants prior to the interviews and therefore there was no requirement for a full de-brief. However, to support good practice, immediately following the interviews participants were afforded an opportunity to ask questions regarding the nature of the research and their participation. They all had the lead researcher's contact details, although no participants made further contact.

Confidentiality

As noted in the BPS guidance, subject to the requirements of legislation, including the Data Protection Act, information obtained about a participant during an investigation is confidential unless otherwise agreed in advance. Given the nature of completing research in the prison setting, and as per HMPS guidelines, confidentiality is routinely noted to be limited within forensic services (for example see Kalmbach & Lyons, 2006). That is, staff and prisoners are often reminded of the limitations of confidentiality and the importance of maintaining security with the prison context. As such, based on the requirements of HMPS, I was explicit about my obligation to report any information that may have put others, including the participant, at risk. The introductory letters and consent forms were

explicit about the limitations of confidentiality (see Appendices B and C). Further, all participants were advised that transcripts would be produced but that their name, or any other identifiable details, would be removed.

Protection of participants and provision of advice

It was accepted that participation in the research should not put the participants in any greater risk than should be experienced in their ordinary life. However, to account for the potential for any adverse reaction to the interview content and process, all participants were provided with contact details for the lead researcher whom they could contact after the interview had been completed. However, I was mindful of my role throughout the research process being that of a researcher and not a psychologist. As such, I ensured that I did not offer advice and I was mindful of directing participants to use support mechanisms within the establishment such as the 'Listeners' (the prison based Samaritans scheme) or the staff welfare team should they request advice.

Summarising the methodology and the research process

The methodological choices and framework outlined for this research focussed on the collection of qualitative interview data in order to address the research aims of understanding how prisoners and prison officers constructed the staff-prisoner relationship and prisons more generally. Within this framework, the focus was on the interviewer and the participants co-constructing meaning rather than truth, in turn gathering data that would support the possible emergence of new theories.

Chapter 5 - Development of an analytical strategy

The current chapter builds on the methodological approach outlined in Chapter 4. Based on the principles of social constructionism, it is concluded that social phenomena are generated in, and through, conversation. Harré and van Langenhove (1999) report that discursive processes are the place where most of psychology and social phenomena are created. This chapter will outline the development of the analytical strategies for analysing the prisoner and prison officer data.

Analysis of the prisoner interviews

When this thesis began, it was my intention to draw on qualitative data, using interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) to explore how prisoners and prison officers were making sense of the staff-prisoner relationship. As an approach, IPA would allow for an understanding of the participants' lived experiences in order to describe staff-prisoner relationships for them within the specific context of the prison (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2008; Smith, 2004). That is, IPA research has tended to focus on the exploration of participants experience, understandings, perceptions and views (Reid, Flowers & Larkin, 2005). As described by Smith and Osborn (2008), this approach to data analysis would focus on the meanings that particular experiences held for prisoners and prison officers through a detailed examination of their lived experiences. However, the broad aim of the thesis was to theoretically understand how prison officers and prisoners constructed staff-prisoner relationships, with a particular focus on how both groups positioned each other. Additional aims were to explore how prisoners and prison officers' talk constructed both the staff-prisoner relationship, and prisons as an institution.

As such, the focus of the thesis became one of language with an emphasis on the productive nature of talk. In turn, when engaging with both the data, and the wider literature outlined in Chapter 4, the focus of the thesis moved to one of discourse, and latterly narrative. The development of the analytical approach therefore focussed on constructions rather than experiences in line with the specific research aims, also seeking to present the prisoners' data in a meaningful way. Therefore, as an approach, IPA was far more interpretative and systematic than was intended in order to address the research aims.

This section of the chapter will provide the overview of the development of the analytical strategy for the prisoner data by presenting a linear account that provides an explanation for the shift from the initial focus on IPA to language based approaches and narrative.

Language based approaches

The methodology section makes clear the theoretical position upon which the research was conducted. From a social constructionist perspective, positioning theorists (e.g. Harré & van Langenhove, 1999) outline how psychological phenomena are produced in discourse. According to social constructionist thinking (Harré & Secord, 1972), the discursive skills that social psychology should focus on are the sequences (episodes) through which human beings engage. Here, prisoners and prison officers interact, using their discursive performances to achieve certain outcomes. Through the constant recognition of one's own, and the other's position, the public self is constructed in a manner that is appropriate to the situation (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). Episodes of discourse constitute our biographies and social world, impacting on everyday life. According to Shotter (1983), personhood is created through certain types of discourses and narrations whereby there are storylines. As already said, Hollway (1984) explains that individuals present themselves and others as actors within a drama creating discursive positions. Therefore, within this framework, prisoner and prison officer 'personas' are presented discursively through the conversations occurring in the prison context.

Moreover, Willig (2008) proposes that language is *productive* in that it constructs versions of social reality and achieves social objectives rather than being *representative*. The world can be 'read' and made sense of in an unlimited number of ways. As such, objects and events are constructed through language and therefore there is no objective construction of reality. Willig (2008: 162) argues that '*it is discourse and conversation which should be the focus of study, because that is where meanings are created and negotiated*'. As such, in the analysis of the prisoner transcripts, focus initially turned to discourse analysis as a means of addressing the research aims around the constructions of prisoners and prison officers and the staff-prisoner relationship more generally.

Discourse analysis: understanding constructions and positions
According to Billig (1997: 43), discursive analysis is more than a method as '*it involves a theoretical way of understanding the nature of discourse and the nature of psychological phenomena*'. Discourse analysis has thus been described as a way of reading a text whereby the reader focuses on '*the internal organization of the discourse in order to find out what the discourse is doing*' (Willig, 2008: 165). There is a move beyond understanding the content and tracing the action orientation. Thus in discourse analysis, emphasis is placed on the ways in which social categories are constructed and with what consequences they are deployed in conversation. People's accounts and stories; including the views they express and the explanations they provide; are dependent on the discursive context in which they are produced. As such, in order to make sense of what people say, we need to account for the social context in which they speak, with people's expressed attitudes not being necessarily consistent across social contexts.

According to Potter and Heburn (2005) discourse analysis should ideally be used to analyse naturally occurring talk, with tape recordings of naturally occurring conversations in real-world settings constituting suitable data for discourse analysis. However, as noted by Willig (2008),

there are ethical and practical difficulties in obtaining such data that has resulted in discourse analysts carrying out semi-structured interviews. Discourse analysis works with text, most of which are generated by transcribing recordings of some form of conversation. Therefore, this analytical method was suited to the data collected within the current research.

Within discourse analysis (e.g., Burman & Parker, 1993; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Willig, 2008) there are different manifestations of the method based within the broad theoretical framework. Wetherell (2001) identifies as many as six different ways of doing discourse analysis. As such, Willig (2008) proposes that it is not a method of analysis in any simple sense, but a way of thinking about the role of discourse in the construction of social and psychological realities. What is common amongst the approaches is their concern with the role of language in the construction of social reality. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to present each approach to discourse analysis, and the focus will be on a consideration of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) as an initial method of analysis for the prisoner data.

FDA is a method of discourse analysis derived from post-structuralism. In particular it stems from Foucault's conceptions of power relations and subjectivity. From a social constructionist perspective, FDA provides a means of exploring how 'objects' and 'subjects' are constructed in discourse. Parker (1992) argues that discourses enable and limit what individuals can say and where and when they may say these things. Parker (1994: 245) therefore defines discourses as '*sets of statements that construct objects and an array of subject positions*'. It is these constructions that therefore provide ways of seeing and being in the world. Institutional and social practices (e.g. the expectation that prison officers are formally addressed by prisoners) make way for, and restrict particular *subject positions* (Frost et al., 2010).

Further, FDA is concerned with the role of discourse in the processes of legitimation and power and as such, as an approach FDA fit with the research aim of understanding the concept of power within the prison setting. According to Willig (2008), as discourses make available ways of seeing and being, they are strongly associated with the exercise of power. Therefore, '*dominant discourses privilege those versions of social reality which legitimate existing power relations and social structures*' (p.172). In addition, Rose (1999) outlines how FDA takes a historical perspective, exploring the ways in which discourses have changed over time and how this may have shaped historical subjectivities. Whilst it is recognised that some discourses can become very entrenched and seen as being difficult to change, language can result in alternative constructions. This aspect of FDA allows for a better understanding of the way in which the Prison Service, and approaches to crime and punishment, have changed over time and the impact of these changes on the construction of prisoners and prison officer positions.

The notion of the prison as an institution is also relevant in FDA's recognition of the relationship between discourses and institutions. According to Parker (1992), discourses are tied up with institutional practices and they are much more than ways of speaking or writing; they are bound up with institutional practices. This includes ways of organising, regulating and administering social life. It is therefore proposed that whilst discourses can legitimise and reinforce existing social and institutional structures, these structures can also support and validate discourses (Willig, 2008). As such, this provides a helpful framework for understanding institutional practices and the way in which interactions exist at the interpersonal, institutional and the cultural level as discussed by Harré and van Langenhove (1999).

What FDA offers is an analysis of language that takes it beyond the immediate context in which individuals speak it. Whilst discursive psychology is concerned with interpersonal communication, Willig (2008) outlines how FDA asks questions about the association between

discourses and how people think or feel (subjectivity), what they may do (practices) and the material conditions within which such experiences may take place.

Many discourse analysts have outlined 'worked examples' (e.g. Gill, 2000; Wood & Kroger, 2000) as well as a series of 'steps' (e.g. Parker, 1992; Willig, 2008) to structure the analytic process. These range from Parker's twenty-step process, to alternative guides such as that outlined by Kendall and Wickham (1999) that rely on fewer steps which, according to Willig (2008), assumes a more advanced conceptual understanding of Foucault's method. Willig (2008) outlines six stages of analysis namely: Stage 1 - Discursive Constructions; Stage 2 – Discourses; Stage 3 - Action Orientation; Stage 4 – Positionings; Stage 5 – Practice; and Stage 6: Subjectivity. These stages allow the researcher to chart some of the discursive resources in the text and the subject positions they contain. In turn, this seeks to provide a platform from which to explore their implications for subjectivity and practice. However, it is recognised that this does not constitute a full analysis in the Foucauldian sense.

Within the analysis of the prisoner data, there was a developing sense of the analytical approach as one engaged with the data. Having approached the prisoner data using Willig's (2008) six steps, it was clear that whilst there were similarities in their constructions and experiences of prison life, the prisoners were all individual men. Each of the prisoners told their own stories drawing on life and prison narratives to describe their experiences and define themselves. Again, each of the prisoners were individual men and their individual stories brought a different insight to the understanding of prisons and staff-prisoner relationships. As such, it was important not to lose the subject within the analysis, understanding how they constructed themselves and others within the prison setting.   Therefore a more narrative approach was considered.

A move to narrative: keeping the subject and their storied experiences

As has been outlined already, the broad aim of this research was to theoretically understand how prisoners and prison officers construct staff-prisoner relationships. Further, it sought to understand the impact of the associated positions and identities on the experience of relationships and individuals' lived experiences within the prison setting. As noted in the previous section, each of the participants presented their own narrative accounts of the prison and the staff-prisoner relationship that became important to understanding their own identities and the staff-prisoner relationship.

According to narrative theory (e.g. Murray, 1999; Sarbin, 1986), we are born in to a 'storied world' and humans live their lives through the creation and exchange of narratives. Murray (2015: 86) notes that,

> *'Narratives are not just ways of seeing the world; we actively construct the world through narratives and we also live through the stories told by others and by ourselves.'*

Here, Murray (2015: 87) defines a narrative as an,

> *'…organized interpretation of a sequence of events. This involves attributing agency to the characteristics in the narrative and inferring causal links between the events'*

Thus, narratives offer an integrated account of an event and according to Ricoeur (1984, cited in Smith, 2008) we need to create narratives in order to bring order and meaning to the ever-changing world. Humans provide narrative accounts of their experiences that imply their role or lack of a role in shaping these events. Through their storied accounts, individuals define themselves and convey this to others, with narrative being central to how individuals comprehend themselves and their own identity (McAdams, 1985). Thus, it is through narrative that individuals connect with their actions, define themselves and distinguish themselves from

others. As narratives are social constructions that are developed through everyday interactions (Gergen & Gergen, 1986), individuals often hold a number of narrative identities connected to different social relationships, these narratives provide individuals with '*a sense of localized coherence*' Murray, 2015: 89). Within the current research, it was through their narratives that the prisoners were able to describe their experiences and define their varied identities across time and setting.

Narrative psychology postulates that the narrator is an active agent in their social world and through narrative analysis it is possible to begin to understand the narrator and their social world. Yet, whilst individuals narrate their own story, the structure of the story is shaped by social and psychological factors (Holloway & Jefferson, 2000b). How participants narrate their stories depends on whom the story is being told to, the relationships between the narrator and the audience and the broader social and cultural context (Murray, 1997).

In addition to considering the manner in which individuals narrate their own stories, the selection of particular stories to be told is also of interest. Drawing on the notion of 'tellability', Smith and Sparkes (2008) inform us that some stories are more tellable than others depending upon the situation and the audience. Norrick (2011) claims that the degree of tellability accorded to a story within a particular interaction is not only based on the content of the story, but also on the significance of the story for the participants involved. According to Shuman (2012), what makes a story tellable is always a matter of both the content of the story and the context of the storytelling occasion. In turn, the narrative's worthiness depends on the relationship between the topic and the context, as well as the relationships between the narrator and the listener(s) in that particular situation. Thus, for Ochs and Capps (2001) tellability is something negotiated by the teller and listener in particular local contexts. Therefore, narratives are likely to draw on stories that are more tellable within the context of the interaction. For the purposes of the current research, this is

important when considering the stories told (and those that have perhaps not been told) by the prisoners and prison officers.

Returning to the principles of narrative psychology, the narrator is an active agent in their social world and through narrative analysis it is possible to begin to understand both the individual and their social world. It is also possible to consider group, community and social narratives - social narratives are those that can define the group and make it distinct from other groups. According to Murray (2015), these collective group narratives overlap with personal narratives resulting in individuals defining themselves as part of the group.

As outlined previously, within the current research, prisoners presented their own narrative accounts of the staff-prisoner relationship and their experience of prison. Within the theoretical framework of this research, language is considered productive in constructing versions of social reality and in achieving certain objectives (see Willig, 2008). Discursive psychology conceptualises phenomena such as memory, attribution and identity as being discursive actions rather than cognitive processes. The focus here is on how participants use discursive resources and with what effects, focusing on the ways in which speakers manage issues of 'stake' and 'interest'. Talk is considered purposeful and the analysis of the interviews was focussed on how the participants used their talk to position others and to achieve certain outcomes, drawing on their stories to understand this.

Within this research, prisoners offered narrative accounts of their experiences of prisons and staff-prisoner relationships. Based on the theoretical approach outlined already, the analysis of the prisoner interviews sought to analyse their narrative accounts. This involved identifying their storied experiences and ensuring that the individuals were not lost within the analysis. Drawing on the stories contained within the narratives, the analysis aimed to focus on their discourse and conversation, connecting the narrative with the broader theoretical

literature being used to interpret the stories. According to Willig (2008), it is through discourse and conversation where the constructions and positioning of others are achieved. As such, using a narrative framework to analyse the prisoner data allows for the individual prisoner stories to be captured within a social context, presenting an in-depth analysis of their experiences and identities alongside the theoretical literature. Further, adopting a narrative approach allows for everyday interpretations of the prisoners' worlds to be organised in to a storied form without losing the subject in this process. In turn, this addresses the shortfalls of a purely FDA approach to the prisoner data.

Summary: the analysis of the prisoner interviews

Chapter 3 outlines how there is repeatedly little clarity over the prisoner role due to it often being poorly defined. As already noted, Goffman (1961: 31) suggests that the process of admission to prison marks one of leaving behind one's identity and social world, and the taking on of '*activity whose symbolic implications are incompatible with his conceptions of self*'. Van Marle (2007) argues that Goffman's work remains relevant to contemporary prison life, with prisoners being required to assume prison identities. Prisoners are not inducted in to their role in the same way that prison officers are. Rather they are perhaps expected to 'learn' and 'develop' their prisoner identity at an individual level, whilst also being mindful of the expectations of the wider prisoner codes (see Sykes, 1958). Therefore, within the current research, a focus was on theoretically understanding how prisoners individually embarked on the process of constructing and positioning themselves as prisoners within the prison and the staff-prisoner relationship, drawing on their narratives. Therefore, the aim for the prisoner analysis was to draw on the notion and process of FDA, drawing on themes of discourse around roles and relationships, but approaching the analysis with a more narrative approach to the data in order to provide individual depth within the individual stories. The focus was on the narrative accounts of the prisoners, and how their talk and stories constructed prisons and the staff-prisoner relationship, as well as positioning subjects within this.

A note on metaphors

Public discourse about crime is saturated with metaphor (Thibodeau & Boroditsky, 2011), as are portrayals of the prison system that draw on Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical prison metaphor. The metaphor of individuals engaging in a theatrical performance, and therefore performing a 'role' when interacting with others, has become part of everyday thinking (Alcock, Carment & Sadava, 1998). Goffman (1959) uses this same metaphor to account for the prisoner 'role' and the concepts of prisoners engaging in 'front-staging' and 'back-staging' performances.

According to Ricoeur (1975/2003: 1) '*metaphor constitutes a displacement and extension of the meaning of words; it's explanation is grounded in a theory of substitution*'. Metaphors are more than linguistic devices, and it is proposed that they structure human thought and understanding of experience (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Grey (2000) states that they are so embedded in language that their influence often goes unrecognised.

In the same way that metaphors are used in talk, Miles and Huberman (1994) report that they can be used in qualitative analysis to portray complex realities, drawing attention to experiences that may have previously gone unnoticed. Carpenter (2008) outlines how metaphors can be used as a mechanism to structure data and create coherence amongst concepts, with overarching metaphors providing a central theme to the text. Drawing on the well-established dramaturgical metaphor in prison writings, the current analysis will use metaphor to provide structure to the data. This will further seek to provide an alternative lens through which to understand the concept of the staff-prisoner relationship.

Analysis of the prison officer interviews

At this juncture, it is important to reflect on the organic nature of the analysis and the manner in which the method of analysis employed for the prison officer data was directly impacted upon by the analysis of the prisoner interviews. That is, the analysis of the prisoner interviews (as

presented in Chapters 7, 8 and 9) raised a number of questions about the staff-prisoner relationship and how prisoners and prison officers constructed the relationship, and the prison system more generally. The prisoners' talk positioned prison officers in certain ways, assigning them with particular roles and responsibilities within the prison setting. Prison officers were constructed as being an occupational group and the prisoners' conversations made further claims about the manner in which prison officers positioned prisoners and how they undertook their role. As such, in order to better consider the claims of the prisoners within the theoretical framework of the research, consideration was given to analysing and representing the prison officer data as a group. The aim was not to support or disprove what the prisoners said, but to allow for further exploration of these constructions of prison and the possible impact of these on the staff-prisoner relationship and the wider aims of imprisonment.

Prison officers as individuals within an occupational group

Despite prison officers being individuals that defend different visions and versions of the prison officer role (see Crawley, 2004b), they work to a specific job role, operating within policies and procedures, and generally subscribing to the expectations of the role as outlined in Chapter 2 (and again in Chapters 10 and 11 where the analysis of the prison officer interviews is presented). Ultimately, prison officers are required to subscribe to the expectations of the organisation and based on the notion of acculturation as outlined in Chapter 3, they are also likely to subscribe to the occupational norms of their profession. As an organisational group, prison officers are presumed to reflect what was outlined in Chapter 3 as being a Community of Practice (Wenger, 1998; Wenger, McDermott & Snyder, 2002). Based on Bardon and Borzillo's (2016) definition, prison officers use their individual skills and experiences to collectively share and develop knowledge about being 'a prison officer' within their peer group. As described by Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998), this involves active participation in mutual shared practices, the creation of a common repertoire, and the negotiation of a joint enterprise.

According to Nylander, Lindberg and Bruhn (2011), prison officers are often described as a homogeneous group, each tasked with a common set of tasks. In contrast to the prisoner community, Chapter 3 outlines how prison officers have a much clearer role definition, and in turn possibly experiencing more cohesion in how they undertake their role. This is not to ignore, however, that there are also differences and nuances in how they undertake their role. Yet, given the relative homogeneous nature of the prison officer group, and based on the above theoretical assumptions of the prison officer role, it was proposed that prison officers were more likely to demonstrate consistency in their portrayal of their assigned role. As such, the decision was made to conduct the prison officer analysis in such a way as to reflect them as an occupational group, or as Wenger (1998) describes, a Community of Practice.

Within the current research, the prison officer data was approached to address the specific research question: *how do prison officers construct and position their role, prisoners and the prison system?* As such, a thematic analysis was undertaken of the prison officer interviews, providing a method of identifying, analysing, and reporting themes and patterns across the entire prison officer data set[28].

Thematic analysis: representing the prison officers as an occupational group

Although authors such as Roulston (2001) have suggested that thematic analysis is often implicitly framed as a realist/experiential method, Braun and Clark (2006) argue that it is compatible with both essentialist and constructionist paradigms in psychology. They argue,

> '*What is important is that the theoretical framework and methods match what the researcher wants to know, and that they*

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[28] Chapter 10 provides further reflections on the decision to conduct the analysis in such a way as to represent prison officers as an occupation group as opposed to individual participants.

acknowledge these decisions, and recognise them as decisions' (p. 80).

The theoretical framework for this research was guided by social constructionism, and more specifically, positioning theory (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). The focus was on how the staff-prisoner relationship and the prison experience were constructed by participants through their talk. The focus on addressing a specific research question within the prison officer data represented what Braun and Clarke (2006) termed a 'theoretical' thematic analysis whereby the researcher's theoretical and analytical interests drove the analysis. By adopting this approach, it was acknowledged that the analysis may have provided a less rich description of the data overall, yet, it allowed for a more detailed analysis of the relevant aspects of the data as outlined here.

Approaching the thematic analysis
According to Tuckett (2005), engagement with the literature can enhance the analysis by sensitising the analyst to the more subtle features of the data. The application of a 'theoretical' approach to the analysis required engagement with the literature prior to analysis. When approaching the data, the decision was made to identify the themes at the 'latent' rather than the 'semantic' level (see Boyatzis, 1998). A 'semantic' approach involves identifying themes at the surface meanings of the data based on what the participant has said or written. The 'latent' approach seeks to examine underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations rather than simply working with what was being said. Language is *productive* and constructs versions of social reality (Willig, 2008) with talk being capable of directing practice. Having, engaged with the data at a 'semantic' level, a 'latent' approach was undertaken.

According to Burr (1995), analysis at a 'latent' level tends to be situated within a constructionist paradigm. The belief is that meaning and experience are socially produced and reproduced, rather than inherent within individuals. Therefore, thematic analysis conducted within a

constructionist framework cannot focus, or seek to focus on, motivation or individual psychologies. Instead, it seeks to theorise the sociocultural context, and structural conditions, that enable the individual accounts that are provided. Thus, within this form, Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that thematic analysis overlaps with some forms of discourse where broader assumptions, structures, and/or meanings are theoretically constructed as being the foundations for what is actually articulated in the data. Themes were generated through interpretative work, but they were theorised.

The approach to the prison officer data thus mapped on to the social-constructionist framework outlined in the previous chapter, and it overlapped with discourse analysis. The approach represents what Singer and Hunter (1999) and Taylor and Ussher (2001) refers to as a 'thematic discourse analysis'.

The process of the thematic analysis

The thematic analysis of the prison officer interviews was based on the framework outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). This approach follows what the authors term six 'phases' of analysis. It is recognised that the approach to the data is not a linear process, but a self-repeating process involving moving backwards and forwards through the phases. According to Ely, Vinz, Downing and Anzul (1997), it is a process that develops over time. The broad framework for conducting the thematic analysis is outlined here.

> *Phase 1 – Familiarisation with the data*: This phase involved immersing oneself with the data, initially through the act of transcription[29], recognising ones own prior knowledge of the data and with some analytical interests given the 'theoretical' nature of the thematic analysis adopted. The data was read in an active manner, searching for meanings and patterns. Ideas for coding

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[29] The process of transcription is outlined in Chapter 4.

were marked down so that they could be returned to in the subsequent phases.

Phase 2 - Generating initial codes: This phase involved manually generating initial codes by identifying interesting features of the data at a semantic and latent level. The data was approached from the viewpoint of the research question outlined previously. Codes were initially identified and then matched with data extracts that demonstrated the code. Accounts that deviated from the dominant stories of the analysis were retained for the analysis.

Phase 3 – Searching for themes: The focus here was on focussing the analysis at the broader level of the themes. The codes were organised in to potential themes and the coded data extracts were collated for each theme. Consideration was given to the relationships between codes, themes, and different levels of themes.   This phase was concluded when the themes and subthemes were identified and the extracts of data were coded in relation to them.

Phase 4 – Reviewing themes: The focus here was on the refinement of the themes from phase 3.   Some themes were recognised as not being themes in themselves, and others were collapsed into each other.   The first stage of this phase involved reading the extracts for each theme to establish whether they formed a 'coherent pattern'. Where this was not the case, themes were re-worked.   The second stage involved re-reading the entire data set to establish if the themes made sense in relation to the data, and also to code for any additional data that had been missed in the earlier coding. A thematic map was generated.

Phase 5 - Defining and naming themes: The themes for the analysis were defined and further refined in order to identify what the theme was about, and a decision was made regarding what

aspect of the data each theme captured. A detailed analysis was conducted and written for each theme, considering the story that each theme told and how that fit with the overall story of the data and in relation to the identified research question. Sub-themes were identified.

Phase 6 – Producing the report: This phase involved the writing of the analysis chapters (see Chapters 10 and 11), drawing on the extracts from the data set and relating back to the research question and literature.

As noted previously, in applying the above framework to the prison officer data, the basic precepts were applied flexibly, recognising that these were guidelines and not rules. As suggested by Patton (1990), it is necessary to apply the guidelines flexibly in order to fit the research questions and data.

Summarising the analytical approach

The aim for the prisoner analysis was to use FDA but with a more narrative approach to the data which provided individual depth within their individual stories. As noted previously, this sought to better understand how prisoners constructed the staff-prisoner relationship, and prisons more generally, at a theoretical level. However, within the prison officer analysis, undertaking a thematic analysis acknowledged the stringent regulatory framework within which they operate, therefore working across the breadth of the data.

Chapter 6 - Contextually situating the fieldwork and participants

Before outlining the structure and presentation of the analysis chapters, this chapter will commence by providing a context for the fieldwork. Chapter 2 provides details of the current provision regarding prison officers against prisoner numbers. However, this is a somewhat different picture to that observed at the time of the data collection in 2007/8 when there were higher numbers of prison officers and less prisoners. As such, this chapter aims to situate the fieldwork and the participants in the Prison Service at the time of the data collection in comparison to the current data.

Three prisons participated in data collection and each of these form part of the wider structures and frameworks of the Prison Service. As such, before introducing the individual establishments, consideration will be given to the context of the wider prison system at the time of the fieldwork. Each of the establishments and the individual research participants will also be introduced in order to ensure that the participants' own contextual frameworks and stories are represented as part of the wider analysis.

The national context during the fieldwork

The historical and current operating framework of the Prison Service in England and Wales has been outlined in earlier chapters. As detailed in Chapter 2, it is the view of writers such as Bandyopadhay (2006) and others that the Prison Service in its 'modern' form represents a microcosm of the society in which it exists. According to Cavender (2004), criminal justice policy and practice is impacted upon by political positions. Within the period prior to the fieldwork, the prison population was noted to increase against changes in sentencing policy (e.g. the introduction of the IPP sentence) and political responses to crime as outlined in Chapter 2. It is against this backdrop that the fieldwork took place.

The prison estate at time of the fieldwork

At the end point of the fieldwork in October 2008 (see HMPS, 2008d), the Prison Service in England and Wales provided approximately 83,638 places across 142 prison sites, each accommodating different groups and categories of prisoners. The different categories of prisoner are presented in Chapter 4 and will not be repeated here. A breakdown of the prison places is presented in table 3.

Table 3: Summary of prison places by prison type/category

Prison Type	Number of prisons	Approximate number of places[1]
Category A (male)	8	5900
Category B (male)[2]	42	34600
Category C (male)	36	24200
Category D – open (male)	11	4600
Young Offender's Institutes/ Juvenile prisons (male)[3]	25	10000
Closed prisons (female)[4, 5]	11	3300
Open prisons (female)[5]	4	800
Immigration Centres	2	400

[1] These figures are approximate and based on the Prison Service Monthly Bulletin produced in October 2008 (HMPS, 2008d). All figures have been rounded to the nearest hundred.

[2] This figure includes those prisons designated as local prisons.

[3] This figure represents those establishments that are wholly designated to young offender and/or juvenile care. It does not include those establishments where there are also adult male offenders as these establishments have been included in the Category B, C and D figures above.

[4] This figure includes those prisons designated as local prisons.

[5] This figure includes establishments for female young offenders.

The prisoner population at time of the fieldwork

The prisoner population in England and Wales at the start of the data collection period in November 2007 was 81,455 (see HMPS, 2007). This

included 177 prisoners being held under Operation Safeguard[30]. In comparison, the prisoner population in England and Wales at the end of the data collection period was 82,487 (MoJ, 2009), representing an increase in the prisoner population of approximately 1.25% over 15 months[31]. These figures are in comparison to the most recently published census outlined in Chapter 2 which indicated that at the end February 2016 there were 87,029 prisoners in England and Wales (MoJ, 2016a). This represented a further increase in the prisoner population of approximately 6.9% from the commencement of the fieldwork, and 5.5% from the completion of the fieldwork.

A detailed breakdown of the characteristics of the prison population at the start and end of the fieldwork is presented in Appendix G where figures relating to the overall prisoner population, the adult population and the juvenile (age 15 to 17) and young offender populations are presented for information purposes.

Staffing provision at time of the fieldwork

The average number of fulltime equivalent (FTE) persons employed in unified grades (including all officer grades, operational managers and operational support grades) for the employment year 2007-2008 was 34,008 (HMPS, 2008a). This figure had increased at a rate of approximately 2.2% for the employment year 2008-2009 where the average number of whole time equivalent staff employed in unified grades was 34,771 (NOMS, 2009a). As outlined in Chapter 2, the most recent figures published by the MoJ (2015b) reported that at the end of June 2015, there was a total of 24,100 operational staff working within prisons in England and Wales. This represented a further decrease in the number of uniformed staff employed in England and Wales of approximately 29% from the commencement of the fieldwork, and 31% from the completion of the fieldwork.

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[30] This is a contingency plan to deal with prison overcrowding in the UK; it involves using cells at police stations as accommodation for prisoners when the number of cells in prisons becomes critically low.
[31] Data has been presented for January 2009 as the population

The individual prison contexts (participating prisons)

A detailed breakdown of the characteristics of the individual participating prisons is presented in Table 4[32]. Each of the prisons was a 'training' prison at the point of the fieldwork. The focus here is on presenting an overview of the function and structure of the individual prison establishments, in addition to providing additional details pertaining to the staff and prisoner populations at each site. In terms of staff-prisoner relationships, details of the findings of Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons in the inspection prior to the fieldwork will be presented.

In order to protect the anonymity of both the establishments, and the participants, the full references for the Inspection reports will not be included as part of this thesis as doing so would be likely to make the individual sites identifiable. However, these references are available to my Director of Studies.

Summarising the prison contexts

Each of the identified prison sites was designated as a 'training' prison. As such, there were expectations by NOMS (2013a) that prisoners engaged in activities such as prison workshops, gardens, education and OBPs. There was also an expectation that the prisons provided these opportunities. The prisons were each relatively large prison sites holding between approximately 800 and 1000 prisoners across a number of residential units. From the statistics provided, it is observed that the prison officers working in the prisons were predominantly male and represented 20 – 25% of the workforce. Each prison offered a range of therapeutic input to prisoners in the form of specialised psychological interventions. Two establishments offered therapeutic communities for prisoners. According to HMCIP inspections, staff-prisoner relationships were variable across the three prison sites.

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[32] The information presented here is correct at the time of the fieldwork. This historical information has been presented in order to situate the current analysis.

Table 4: Summary of data collection sites (prisons)

Key Characteristics	Uniformed Staff Numbers	Prisoner Numbers	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (HMIP) findings regarding Staff-prisoner Relationships
HMP 1 • Category C male training prison. • History of various functions including remand, allocation and female roles. • History of a major disturbance in the prison. • Integrated Vulnerable prisoner regime with access to Sex Offender Treatment Programme. • Seven wings including six three-tiered wings that offered single cell accommodation across two spurs. • Three of the units offered normal location to approximately 40% of the population, in addition to an induction wing and wings offering specialised interventions e.g. SOTP and substance misuse interventions. • Fieldwork: November 2007 to February 2008	248 (193 male, 55 female)[1]	1,087 in November 2007.	Prior to the completion of the fieldwork there were reported weaknesses in staff-prisoner relationships with relationships being described as poor and there being little evidence of interaction between staff and prisoners during association. An unannounced follow up inspection in April 2008 (following the fieldwork) noted that staff-prisoner relationships were generally poor. The personal officer provision was criticised and said to have regressed. Prisoners lacked confidence in staff, perceiving them as being lazy, unreliable and unresponsive to the prisoners' needs. Prisoners saw engaging with staff negatively due to concerns about being labelled a "grass" for interacting. Inspectors noted that the prisoners outlined how there were a number of individual officers whom they trusted and would seek support from. Prisoners reported inconsistencies in the adjudication and punishment processes.

Key Characteristics	Uniformed Staff Numbers	Prisoner Numbers	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (HMIP) findings regarding Staff-prisoner Relationships
HMP 2 • Category C male training prison. • Previous major disturbance in the prison. • Accommodation allocated for vulnerable prisoners, elderly prisoners and medium to long-term category C prisoners. • There was a 64 bed therapeutic community although that unit was not involved in the research. • Eight two-tiered residential wings (although some residential buildings house two wings) • Fieldwork took place in this establishment in March 2008.	203.72 officers (154.55 male, 49.17 female)[2]	1,057 in February 2008[3]	Prior to the completion of the fieldwork staff-prisoner relationships were described as being variable and they were noted to have been impacted upon by 'out-dated working arrangements' and 'antiquated attitudes held by a few staff' that were actively communicated in the presence of inspectors. Aspects of staff–prisoner relationships were considered outmoded, evidenced by 'inappropriate interactions with prisoners' and little evidence of proactive interaction between staff and prisoners during association. However, a follow up inspection conducted seven months after the fieldwork described 'reasonable' relationships between staff and prisoners: particularly in the vulnerable prisoner units; although there were less positive perceptions of staff-prisoner relationships in the general population. Prisoners communicated that there were some officers who were unwilling to help them. Female officers were considered to be more helpful. Interactions observed by inspectors amongst staff and prisoners were considered positive and friendly.

Key Characteristics	Uniformed Staff Numbers	Prisoner Numbers	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (HMIP) findings regarding Staff-prisoner Relationships
HMP 3 • Category B male training prison for long-term and life-sentenced prisoners. • The prison held men who had committed 'serious and violent offences'[4] serving long or indeterminate sentences[4]. • Almost all prisoners had the opportunity to engage in education or work, most of it reportedly providing high quality skills and some training related to employability. • There were seven wings in the prison including an induction wing, a therapeutic community[5] and a voluntary drug-testing unit. • Fieldwork took place in this establishment in October 2008.	Prison reported being unable to provide figures	833 in September 2008	An inspection (prior to the fieldwork) concluded that staff engaged positively and openly with prisoners and there were good interactions in private exchanges. Staff were noted to spend time talking to prisoners on the landings during association. They were described as courteous, fair and respectful in their interactions and contact with prisoners. Nearly all staff were observed to address prisoners by their first names or titles. Inspectors also observed staff demonstrating skills in managing low-level conflict between prisoners. Prison officers encouraged prisoners to participate in activities and routines. An inspection conducted following the fieldwork again reflected on the good relationships that existed between staff and prisoners. These were considered to be a key component of safety and decency within this prison. Prisoners reported feeling respected by staff and felt that there were staff members they could approach if they needed support. Prisoners communicated that the majority of relationships with prison officers were positive, relaxed and respectful.

Table 4 Notes

[1] Data provided by the prison administration. There was no indication as to whether this was a head count or FTE figure. It is assumed to be the former due to staff-prisoner ration discrepancy when compared to HMP2 which was a similar prison and likely to have a budget for a similar staffing ratio. The prison was unable to provide any further information relating to the age or length of service of the officers.

[2] Data provided by the prison administration. The prison was unable to provide any further information relating to the age or length of service of the officers.

[3] Figures for the months of March and April 2008 were not published on www.hmprisonservice.gov.uk and as such, the figures for February 2008 have been used here.

[4] At the time of the fieldwork, it was reported that the prison was required to manage an influx of prisoners, often relatively young men serving IPP sentences. This represented a six-fold increase in the number of indeterminate sentenced prisoners since March 2007.

[5] Three wings in the prison had developed a 'community living approach' that prisoners could apply to be part of. This regime focused on developing a pro-social model of prisoners living together. Whilst there are reported to have been few significant material benefits, the approach was noted to offer a lifestyle choice or ethos for prisoners who could meet certain criteria. This included being on the enhanced level of privileges; or working towards this; being employed or actively seeking work, or engaged in activity. Prisoners also agreed to voluntary drug testing, which inspectors reported was more accurately described as 'compliance' testing. Community living reportedly offered a more relaxed, cleaner and quieter environment without the pressures of illicit drug use.

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The research participants

The participants have each been given a pseudonym that will allow them to be identified throughout the thesis and the analysis. However, as outlined in Chapter 3, and based on the work of Scott (2014), names and titles within the prison setting are important sources of power and hierarchy. The manner in which people refer to each other is important to understanding prison-based interactions. For the prisoner population, it is reported that they are often referred to either by nicknames, second names, their prisoner number, or more derogatory terms. Within this thesis, they have each been given a forename that constructs them as a person and not just a prisoner. Names are considered an indication of respect within the prison setting and as such, referring to prisoners by first names seeks to reflect the respect that this thesis has for all participants.

According to Scott (2014: 8), the legitimate terms for prisoners to use when referring to prison officers include 'Boss', 'Officer', 'Mr' 'Ms' and 'Sir'. Reflecting the culture of the prison system and the explicit hierarchy amongst prisoners and prison officers, all staff participants will have a prefix of 'Mr' or 'Ms' to their surname. The surnames selected for the prison officers were based on details published by the Scottish Government (2014) regarding the most common surnames in Scotland[33]. This information was not officially published in England and Wales.

Each of the individual research participants is presented in alphabetical order in Tables 5 and 6. Again, for reasons of anonymity, the prisons in which the individual prisoners were located, or where the individual prison officers worked, will not be identified. The information outlined here is based on the information that was gathered during the fieldwork and as outlined in the research transcripts.

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[33] http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/files//statistics/common-surnames/common-surnames-2014.pdf Accessed, 01.02.2016

Table 5: Summary of prisoner participants

Name	Age range	Circumstances leading to imprisonment	Expectations of imprisonment	Additional factors
Adam	35 - 40	Adam had previously been released from prison having served eight years and eight months of a prison sentence. Five years later he was convicted for his index offence (through DNA evidence). This related to an offence that had occurred about 15 years earlier, and prior to his previous prison sentence.	Adam reported finding prison to be 'easy nowadays' when compared to his first prison sentence.	Adam was serving his fourth prison sentence having previously served sentences in around 16 or 17 prison establishments in the UK. His previous offences have been for aggression.
David	30 - 35	David was convicted for an offence of Death by Dangerous Driving.	Based on TV portrayals of prison, David had expected prison to be characterised by prisoners being aggressive and exploitative towards each other. He said he had not found this to be the case.	David had previously served a twelve-week prison sentence at the age of twenty for threatening behaviour.
Fred	35 - 40	Fred was convicted for an offence of conspiracy to supply Class A drugs.	Fred's anxieties when being sent to prison were more for his wife and children in the community.	Fred's wife passed away during his sentence. He progressed to open conditions during his sentence but was recalled to closed conditions (reasons unknown).

Name	Age range	Circumstances leading to imprisonment	Expectations of imprisonment	Additional factors
Gary	30 - 35	Gary was convicted for an offence of supplying drugs. He reported that this was a means of achieving "*better things in life*".	Gary had been to prison previously and considered it to be part of a criminal lifestyle.	Gary was serving a 6-year sentence.
Hamid	30 - 35	Hamid had been convicted for drug related offences that he considered to be linked to living in a deprived area. He was released from prison on license and broke his parole conditions by moving abroad and not returning for approximately five years. He was in prison serving his recall.	Based on his previous experience of prison, Hamid had expected to be unsupported by prison officers who he thought would be unresponsive to his needs. However, he said that this had not been the case following his recall.	Hamid was released on license and described himself as being a "*drug addict*" in the community. He was the race relations representative in his prison establishment.
John	40 - 45	John was convicted for conspiracy to evade tax payments in the UK that related to his business. This amounted to multi-million pound tax evasion.	John described having no expectations about prison and being numb to the notion of being sent to prison. He described being more concerned about his family and everything that he was leaving behind in the community.	John was on bail in the community for several years prior to his trial.

Name	Age range	Circumstances leading to imprisonment	Expectations of imprisonment	Additional factors
Liam	20 - 25	Liam described hanging around with the wrong people and 'going through a bad phase'. He described how his index offence involved him doing a 'favour' for a friend, although he 'didn't realise that they were going to do what they did'. He reported that he was not guilty for the violence that occurred. No specific details were provided.	Liam expected prison to be a "shit hole" and for him to be locked in a room and left to "get on with [my] sentence". However, he had been surprised as to the variety of opportunities and activities available to him.	Liam was due to apply for his re-categorisation to enable him to transfer to lower secure conditions within the three months following the fieldwork.
Martin	40 - 45	Martin's index offence involved violence and the use of firearms. It followed disclosures by his son that he had been involved in sexually inappropriate behaviour with another adult.	Based on his previous sentences Martin expected prison to be a 'dog-eat-dog' world. However, he found the 'modern' prison system to be a 'holiday camp' in comparison.	Martin's last reported prison sentence was 25 years prior to his index offence. However, he described being violent in the community during this period of time.
Simon	20 - 25	Two days after his release from prison Simon went out drinking with his brothers and cousins and engaged in aggression resulting in his recall to prison and a later conviction for Section 18 Robbery.	Simon expected prison to be centred on "routine".	Simon had served a total of four prison sentences, although this was his first sentence in an adult prison.

Table 6: Summary of prison officer participants

Name	Age range	Motivations for joining the Prison Service	Experience as a prison officer	Additional factors
Mr Anderson	40 - 45	Mr Anderson joined the Prison Service having moved from working in industry and wanting to work with people. At that time he applied to the fire service, however he later saw the Prison Service as being all of the emergency services rolled in to one.	Mr Anderson was employed in a Senior Officer grade, having been employed in uniform grades in different prisons across the country for 17 years.	Financial security was an important factor when joining the job, but Mr Anderson felt that his friends and family had surpassed him in their careers and earnings. If his mortgage had been paid off he would possibly look for alternative employment.
Mr Brown	45 - 50	Throughout his working life, Mr Brown had wanted to work as a police officer. He applied on two occasions but was unsuccessful and later applied to be a prison officer. A friend introduced him to the Prison Service.	Mr Brown had worked in an Officer Support Grade post (OSG) for four years prior to applying to be a prison officer.	Mr Brown worked as a painter and decorator for 20-years and had previously applied for a similar role in the Prison Service but had been unsuccessful.
Mr Campbell	40 - 45	Mr Campbell joined the Prison Service due to a preference for working with people. He became bored in his previous employment where he managed a team of 16 to 18 mechanics.	Mr Campbell joined the Prison Service as a prison officer twelve months prior to the fieldwork and was working through his probation period.	Mr Campbell's wife worked in a civilian role[1] within the Prison Service and her discussion of prison life had been of interest to him prior to applying for employment as a prison officer.

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Name	Age range	Motivations for joining the Prison Service	Experience as a prison officer	Additional factors
Mr Reid	25 - 30	Prior to joining the Prison Service Mr Reid had been working in a call-centre and had wanted to establish a career. He initially thought about joining the Police or Fire services. Being a prison officer had not been a career he had considered before working as a prison escort in the two years prior to applying for the prison officer role.	Mr Reid had been employed as a prison officer for two years and had worked in the same prison establishment throughout this time.	Mr Reid described enjoying his job and had career aspirations within the Prison Service.
Mr Robertson	40 - 45	Mr Robertson joined the army when he left school at 18 and remained in this role until his early thirties. When he left the army he did not want a nine-to-five role and wanted a job that was varied. The structure of the Prison Service Was reported to be one aspect of the role that he was familiar with, and which he favoured when applying.	Having worked as a prison officer for over 16 years, Mr Robertson had worked with male and female offenders and also within adult and juvenile/ young offender prisons.	Mr Robertson reported that he did not like the way in which he perceived the Prison Service to be evolving as he felt that *'things are going too pink and fluffy'*.
Mr Smith	30 - 35	Mr Smith applied for a role in the Prison Service having come from a family of long serving prison officers who worked in senior grades within the Prison Service.	Mr Smith had worked as an OSG prior to training as a prison officer and he had experience of working in category C and B prisons through these two roles.	Prior to joining the Prison Service, Mr Smith described how he '*sailed so close to the edge*' and that his father had told him that he had been close to ending up being a prisoner.

Name	Age range	Motivations for joining the Prison Service	Experience as a prison officer	Additional factors
Ms Stewart	40 – 45	Ms Stewart had worked for Court escort services for a number of years and when her children were grown up she applied to be a prison officer as she liked working with the prisoners in her previous role.	Ms Stewart had six months experience as a prison officer in one prison establishment.	Ms Stewart reported how she liked to help people and would get satisfaction from helping people by being a carer as opposed to a custodian. She felt that helping prisoners was part of her *'mother's instinct'*.
Mr Thomson	40 – 45	Mr Thomson joined the Prison Service having been made redundant and also experiencing a breakdown in his relationship. He wanted some stability in his life and he considered the Prison Service to be similar to the Police force.	Mr Thomson had been a prison officer for 18 years and worked in a number of prison establishments.	At the time of the fieldwork, Mr Thomson worked on a Therapeutic Community wing and reported finding this to be a positive experience.
Mr Wilson	40 – 45	When Mr Wilson was twenty-one he applied for the Police and the Prison Service and *"the Prison Service one come up first"*. He took the job having little knowledge of the role.	Mr Wilson had been a prison officer for 21 years and had worked in a number of prison establishments.	At the time of the fieldwork, Mr Wilson was employed as an officer in the gym. He thought that the gym environment helped him to foster more positive relationships with prisoners.

Table 6 Notes:

[1]'Civilian Roles' is the terms used for non-operational/non-uniform roles within the Prison Service.

Summarising the prisoner participants

There were nine prisoner participants. They were all convicted male prisoners falling within the approximate age range of 20 to 50. Approximately 66% of the prisoners (n=6) had served a previous prison sentence. As a group they reported having had a variety of expectations regarding prison life that were based on either their previous prison sentences, or their observations from the television and media. Their expectations around prison included it being 'easy' through to prison being a 'violent' and 'exploitative' place. The prisoners were serving sentences for a range of offences including aggression against the person (assaults and robbery), death by dangerous driving, drugs offences (supplying) and tax evasion. The most frequently reported offences involved aggression against the person, followed by drugs related offences. No prisoners were serving indeterminate or life sentences.

Summarising the prison officer participants

There were nine prison officer participants who were predominantly male (n=8). They fell in the approximate range of 25 to 50 years of age, with 78% being in the range of 40-50 years of age. The level of experience in the role ranged from 6 months to 21 years, with four prison officers reporting having over 16 years experience in the role. They had varied past employment experiences from working in call-centres, through to serving in the Army. Within the prison setting, the prison officers had experience of undertaking a range of duties from being wing officers to working on specialist projects and within departments such as the gym.

The structure of the analysis

It is argued by Bosworth et al. (2005: 259) that traditionally research has presented the prison in a manner that has become '*cold, calculated, surgical, and polished steel*'. The analysis chapters seek to embed the human nature of prisons and imprisonment, paying particular attention to the individual construction of this and the emotions of prison life. The

analysis will be presented in two parts. The first part of the analysis will consist of three chapters (Chapters 7, 8 and 9) that in turn present three prisoner narratives.

The prisoners engaging in the research were all different men, yet some aspects of their constructions and experiences of prison life were similar in terms of the ways in which they engaged with and constructed their prison sentences. Rather than try to present an overview of all the prisoner data, the analysis of the prisoner transcripts presents three distinct narratives of prison life from the perspectives of prisoners. These narratives aim to amalgamate the wider corpus of the data when appropriate, and in some respect they are 'narrative composites' based on the interviews with Gary, Adam and Martin. They have been selected as representations of different prisoners and prisons but this is not to suggest that they are representative of all prisoners. What are presented here are facsimiles of the prisoner narratives, and they have been selected here to inform research and theory relating to imprisonment.

The second part of the analysis will consist of two chapters (Chapters 10 and 11) that present the discursive thematic analysis of the prison officer interviews. The analysis represents the prison officers as an occupational group and a Community of Practice (see Wenger, 1998; Wenger, McDermott & Snyder, 2002; Bardon & Borzillo, 2016), whilst also reflecting the nuances of their individual constructions of the role, prisons and prisoners.

Chapter 7 - '*Resisting time*'

This chapter presents a narrative account of Gary's interview. When participating in the research, Gary was in his mid-thirties and serving a six-year prison sentence for his index offence of supplying drugs. He had previously been in prison, and although his talk was not explicit, his interview suggested that he considered prison to be part of the criminal lifestyle of drugs: a cycle of selling drugs, getting caught and being sent to prison. According to Gary, "*I've sold drugs since the age of thirteen and I've never worked a day in my life*". He said that his index offence "*was a result of wantin' money and better things in life*".

However, for Gary, being in prison also meant separation from his girlfriend and family. Indeed, during this particular sentence, his girlfriend had given birth to their child. Thus, Gary talked about his future goals of "*being a dad*" and being released from prison at the earliest opportunity: "*I want to go home and I want to go home early man*". His focus was on release from prison.

Doing 'smooth time'

One of the notable aspects of Gary's analysis was about 'doing time'. His expectation of imprisonment was about "*doin' me jail lad, the six years I got*" and then being released. His construction of prison focused on the 'marking of time' until his release date. According to Gary,

> "*...the thing that'll help me get released is, if people leave me alone to do me jail, d' y' know what I mean?*"

Gary's words suggested that based on "*what I know from my past experience*", his approach to imprisonment was to "*do me jail*" and ultimately be released in to the community. According to Gary, "*what you do like, is keep your head down and you get on an enhanced wing*". As

such Gary's approach to prison was seemingly about remaining 'under the radar' as a means of progression to an enhanced wing where he would be afforded more privileges and where life would be "*more easy going*". According to Gary,

> "*I've gone through this jail system now without a nicking* [34] *. Obviously, this gives me the type of right to go to there and have that chance.*"

Thus Gary's talk equated a reported absence of "*nicking*[s]" to his "*right*" to progress through the prison system. In other interviews, David also referred to how "*I've had no nickings, no nothing. You know, twenty-five months and I've not had one IEP, not one*" adding "*So, obviously I'm being good in the jail*". Thus, prisoners' discursive performances seem to link an absence of formal records of rule breaking as being an indication of appropriate behaviour. Yet, within Gary and David's talk there is little reference to engagement in rehabilitation. Offenders are sent to prison as punishment (MoJ, 2010a) and there is an expectation for them to demonstrate a commitment towards their rehabilitation by engaging in purposeful activity that prepares them for release, whilst also reducing their risk of offending (NOMS, 2015: PSI 30/2013). As outlined in Chapter 2, the Home Affairs Committee (2005) outlined the most common forms of interventions associated with rehabilitation as involving: an assessment of prisoner needs, education provision, offending behaviour interventions, vocational and employment training and resettlement. As outlined in Chapter 1, the Prison Service has perhaps failed to provide prisoners with these opportunities. However, and at the same time, it is clear that rehabilitation requires active participation on the part of the prisoner.

Gary's conversation reflected a discourse of entitlement with regard to how <u>he</u> might expect to spend <u>his</u> time in prison. At the time of the interview Gary was one of over 83,000 prisoners in England and Wales,

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[34] A 'nicking' is a colloquial term used to describe the process of recording, and dealing with, prisoners' non-compliance with prison rules.

yet he appeared to see imprisonment as 'doing time' on <u>his terms</u>. This section explores Gary's construction and expectations of 'doing time'.

Jail is hard enough as it is

Further developing his talk around "*do*[ing] *me jail*", Gary said,

> "*I don't need any officers trying to make it any harder than what it already is.*"

His story seemed to suggest that prison was 'hard' for him, and he saw this as being the result of the manner in which prison officers conducted their role. However, the prison system has not been established to make prison 'easy', it is there to punish and rehabilitate offenders (MoJ, 2010a). Whilst Gary's expectation was "*to just be left alone*", the Criminal Justice System devolves power to the Prison Service, and ultimately prison officers, to deliver the sentence of the Court, ensuring that prisoners comply with these requirements. The role of the prison officer is about engaging with prisoners to ensure that the security and safety of the system are upheld whilst also supporting rehabilitation. However, Gary's conversation makes very little reference to rehabilitation, constructing imprisonment as 'doing time'.   As such, there was an apparent discrepancy between Gary's positioning of prison officers as purveyors of 'doing time' and the expectations of the system, seemingly resulting in Gary constructing prison officers as an unnecessary source of 'hardship',

> "[Prison officers] *just go out of their way to make y' jail hard mate. They just don't like to see y' jail going like (.) how can I put it, smooth. They just don't like to see you do y' jail smooth mate. In a way mate, they just like to see you suffer.*"

Again making reference to 'doing time' on '<u>his terms</u>', Gary's talk outlined his expectation to be put in prison to do '***smooth time***', ostensibly passing his time in prison in relative comfort, free from challenges and interference from others. Input from officers was constructed as 'suffering' as his

words outlined his expectation to be left to "*go behind y'door and that's it mate*". The focus for Gary was apparently about removing himself from the prison community in order to do 'smooth time', with his words implying that prison officers undermined this by facilitating 'hard time' and causing suffering. Yet, based on his story there is no evidence of his 'suffering' being anything other than him not being permitted to do 'smooth time'. Further, whilst Gary implied that prison officers made prison 'hard' for him, this did not appear to have impacted on his offending behaviour with him having served several custodial sentences prior to the age of thirty. As such, the question exists as to whether prison was in fact 'hard' for Gary or whether he merely experienced others to be an inconvenience to his attempts at 'doing time'.

A punishing prison, or a source of inconvenience?

According to Gary, a further challenging aspect of his prison sentence was being separated from his family,

> "*Obviously things are hard enough in here for y'. Y're away from the outside world, the partner, the people y' love, d' y' know what I mean?*"

Here Gary provided more insight as to the possible challenges of being separated from his family and loved ones, although this does not seem to have impacted on his decisions to reoffend. Perhaps this suggests that fundamentally prison does not act as a deterrent; and at the same time, it appears to be failing to rehabilitate offenders as outlined in Chapter 2.

Gary's construction of 'hardship' seems to be discursively presented as the responsibility of the prison system. His words suggest that it is the system that prevents access to his family, with there being little recognition as to the reality that he is in prison because of <u>his</u> offending behaviour and <u>his</u> lifestyle choices; namely opting to sell drugs over legal employment. Whilst it could be argued that his subsequent offending was a result of failings in the system, he ultimately made choices as he outlined

previously around the benefits of a criminal lifestyle. Whilst his talk did not appear to assume any responsibility for the choices he made that led him to being in prison, the extent to which this may have been a conscious or unconscious 'defence' (see Hollway & Jefferson, 2000a; 2000b) is less clear. It is possible that Gary was investing in particular discourses in order to protect more vulnerable aspects of the self. The notion of the 'defended subject' was evident throughout the corpus of the data and is explored further in the following Chapter within Adam's analysis. Elsewhere, Gary noted,

> *"Well me girlfriend has just had a child recently, well not recently like, but y' know what I mean like. Me girlfriend had a child why I was in jail so it means a lot to me this time round."*

By positioning himself as a 'father', Gary drew on discourses of the family and responsibility; suggesting that in his role as a 'father', prison "*means a lot to me this time round*". Despite his discursive performance being one of experiencing hardship through his imprisonment and being disconnected from his family, his general talk undermined this with him outlining how he continued to engage in acts of aggression and sought to disengage and do little more than 'smooth time'. Such an approach to 'doing time' was unlikely to address Gary's criminogenic needs and support his resettlement in to the community. He demonstrated little recognition of what he may need to do in order to achieve this which in turn raises the question as to whether prisoners actually know what is expected of them by the prison system, and whether the prison system actually encourages this.

Prisons: facilitators of 'smooth time'?
The Ministry of Justice (2010a) is clear that prison is about punishment by removing choices, with prisoners being '*forced*' to comply with '*a structured, disciplined and tough regime*' (p.6), and also engage with rehabilitation (see Ministry of Justice and Home Office, 2013). According to Gary,

> *"For me, I just think the punishment is that y're in prison. Yeah, now you don't have to be punished in prison as well."*

At a policy level, prisoners are sent to prison as punishment, but the removal of choice and liberty within the system is also recognised as part of this punishment process. Based on his construction of doing 'smooth time', Gary's words resisted any notion of the period of imprisonment being punishing. This was evident elsewhere when Fred commented that he did not expect punishment in prison but for prison officers,

> *"…to sort of look after me while I'm here do you know. If I need something I can ask for it so I just sort of got it into my head that this is like a hotel and they're the hotel workers and I just kept that in my mind."* (Fred)

Again, as with Gary's talk, there was little recognition that being in prison should <u>not</u> be 'easy' for prisoners, and is definitely not there to provide a 'hotel' service to prisoners. Ultimately prison is designed to be challenging by controlling the rights and privileges of prisoners through the power afforded to the prison officers. This is not to say that prison officers should punish prisoners throughout their sentence, but at the same time, they are ultimately required to uphold the regime and support compliance. When talking about the maintenance of discipline in prisons, Gary continued that this might be acceptable,

> *"…if you do something wrong when y're in jail. But y' know, these officers, like I said, they deliberately go out of their way to try to make it hard for you mate."*

In the first instance Gary's conversation suggests that rules should be upheld and digression from rules should be punishable. However, when prison officers uphold these rules, he again positions them as being abusive and facilitators of 'hard time' despite them simply undertaking the

duties that they are appointed to do. This was echoed in Fred's talk where he also perceived officers upholding rules as being abusive, regardless of the fact that prisoners had chosen to disobey the rules. More generally, where prisoners favoured 'smooth time', any divergence from these expectations seemingly resulted in a perpetual cycle of disagreement over the purpose of prison.

Clarifying expectations

Within Gary's story he clearly outlined a number of expectations relating to the prison system and the individuals involved in this system. Reflecting on his expectations of prisoners, Gary commented that in his view, the "*ideal prisoner*" was someone that,

> "*...you know, maybe abides by the rules, doesn't take drugs, doesn't fight, doesn't get nicked, doesn't make huge (.) Do you know, doesn't fuck around with fucking selling drugs, phones and all that you know, just actually does the' jail. Do you know what I mean?*"

Gary's talk suggested that the 'ideal' prisoner was someone who "*maybe*" abides by rules, who "*maybe*" refrains from drug use or "*maybe*" avoids fighting. His words implied that there was "*maybe*" an alternative to merely not engaging in anti-social behaviours, although he never articulated this. There was no commitment to the notion that prisoners should not engage in any of these behaviours. The 'ideal' prisoner was constructed as someone who "*does the' jail*" and little more, seemingly remaining 'under the radar'. Yet, merely avoiding the behaviours outlined in this talk is not ideal in its self. The Prison Service formally constructs 'ideal' as engaging with rehabilitation and the prison regime as outlined in Prison Service Instruction 30/2013. This is at odds with Gary's construction that appeared focussed on presenting a positive façade in order to evade any unwanted attention from the prison system to facilitate 'smooth time'. An absence of disciplinary problems appears to be enough for prisoners like Gary to progress through the system. That is, historically

this approach appears to have facilitated 'time' for Gary and secured his release from prison.

The future's bright: who needs rehabilitation?
When asked about his expectations for the future, Gary indicated, "*I'm looking forward to getting released and goin' being a dad*", adding that he had no concerns about the future as,

> "*The future's bright for me. It is mate, the future's positive.*"

Gary's dialogue outlined his *expectation* to succeed in achieving a "*positive future*"; although there was little indication of how he would achieve this, or the personal commitment required to remain offence free and in the community. History indicates that he had been unsuccessful in maintaining community living upon his previous release from prison thus punishment alone does not appear to be a deterrent. Thus, there appears to be a need for him to engage with rehabilitation in order to achieve his 'bright future', but if the system had previously allowed him to do 'smooth time', this might have explained his reluctance to engage. Also, at the same time, Gary's talk suggested that he perceived there to be little that he needed to change about himself,

> "*The reason I'm not good is that I sell drugs, I upset people and that, that's where I'm wrong. Other than that, I have got my good side of me, you know me good points.*"

Thus, Gary's words implied that he had little self-awareness. He was a young man who had served several prison sentences yet there was little indication as to the extent of his difficulties. Further, his conversation reflected little understanding of the extent to which his offending behaviour may have impacted on others. His talk failed to acknowledge the impact of selling drugs on other people and there was seemingly no empathy for the victims of his offending. This may suggest that there was little, to no, rehabilitation occurring for Gary who was not accepting of why he was in

prison. However, if prisoners were not using their 'time' in prison to reflect on their needs, and having their needs assessed as the first stage of rehabilitation, then perhaps it is unlikely those prisoners would identify any need to change.

Who says that change is a good thing?

Regardless of the wider discourses around the purpose of imprisonment, Gary's talk indicated that he was focussed on 'marking time' until release. Against this backdrop, he discursively presented the benefits of offending behaviour in terms of improving his quality of life. In short, perhaps Gary, like other prisoners, favoured this lifestyle and merely wanted to expedite his ability to be in the community to re-engage in this lifestyle. Thus, engaging in rehabilitation may undermine a number of his life goals and lead to him avoiding rehabilitation. That is, people are goal directed and where the individual has conflicting goals (i.e. being 'a father' in the community versus getting "*better things in life*"), then this is likely to be a key barrier to effective engagement (Ward & Stewart, 2003).   In this instance does prison become a source of punishment or inconvenience for prisoners like Gary? Either way, prison appears to have little evidence of rehabilitation. Elsewhere, John reflected that,

> "*If you don't have a quality of life to miss, what are you leaving, what are you losing? You might say that you're losing your liberty, but you might end up in a cell that's better than what you're living in on the outside. You get fed and watered here, whereas you might not get fed and watered on the outside.*" (John)

As such, it cannot be ignored that prison may also be perceived as a better option for some people and as such, rehabilitation may not be the goal of all prisoners. Using both Gary and John's stories, it should not be assumed that prisoners would want to engage in rehabilitation and that rehabilitation would meet their individual needs. In terms of meeting the aims of the Criminal Justice System, perhaps further consideration needs

to be given as to how the Prison Service might best engage with those prisoners who do not wish to change.

Are prisons facilitators of rehabilitation?

When considering the notion of rehabilitation, Gary argued that, "*I actually think the system is responsible for* [rehabilitation]". He explicitly positioned the prison system as being responsible for change. There was, however, little recognition as to his responsibility for change, with him adding that the Prison Service should "*make sure that every inmate's given the chance to prove themselves*" and to demonstrate their suitability to progress through their sentence. He generally equated 'proving oneself' as being an absence of adjudications and seemingly 'remaining under the radar', positioning himself as a passive agent of change. His talk suggested that he saw rehabilitation as something that was 'done to him' as opposed to being a collaborative venture that he invested in. Despite his apparent disengagement, he went on to say,

> "*I think there should be more for prisoners in this jail as well. More opportunities for prisoners that want to better themselves.*"

The official statistics in Chapter 2 outline the dearth of provision regarding resettlement and purposeful activity as outlined by HMCIP (2015). Zamble and Porporino (1988) outlined that the optimum point for engaging prisoners in rehabilitation is within the early stages of their sentences. The manner in which prisoners adapt to, and engage with, prison life is noted to impact on their success on release (for example see Gendreau, Little & Goggin, 1996; Hairston, 1991). Dhami, Mandel, Loewenstein and Ayton (2006) report that prisoners become less optimistic about desistence over time, especially those prisoners returning to prison. However, it is known that those offenders who desist from crime construct a new personal identity and self-narrative that does not conform to offending both cognitively and emotionally (see Maruna, 2001; Stevens, 2012).

Whilst Gary's words recognised that some prisoners may "*want to better*

themselves", there was little indication of his commitment to this: he seemingly preferred not to engage. Therefore the challenge facing the Prison Service is how to support the rehabilitation of prisoners like Gary who rebuke notions of rehabilitation. However, as outlined previously, there are fewer opportunities now available for prisoners and as such, a lack of engagement may be positive in that it means that interventions are not over-subscribed. At the same time, non-engagement is problematic as change, and ultimately rehabilitation, require commitment from the individual as outlined in Burrowes and Needs' (2009) *Readiness for Change Framework* (RCF). However, this framework also notes the requirement for the context of change (i.e. the prison setting) to overcome any barriers to change (see the *Barriers to Change Framework*: BCF) and the lack of specialist provision for resettlement and rehabilitation as already discussed in Chapter 2 would seem to undermine this. In a system of increasingly limited resources, it may be argued that the likelihood of the Prison Service being able to meet the needs of prisoners like Gary is limited either as a result of limited purposeful activity, or their ability to work individually with prisoners like Gary to address these areas in a seemingly stretched and under-resourced system.

So what is the function of prison?

As a composite, is Gary in prison to do "*me jail*" or is he there to be rehabilitated? For Gary, his focus appeared to go beyond 'doing time' with him specifically seeking 'smooth time': a construct that runs contrary to the expectations of the prison system. There appeared to be little or no sense of awareness on Gary's part that he was in prison for punishment. Like other prisoners, he was not accepting of why he was in prison, and his talk reflected no recognition that ultimately he was responsible for any 'hardship' that he purported to experience: he was in prison because of his continued offending behaviour. Gary appeared to have little sense of remorse and based on his construction of being in prison to 'do time', there did not appear to be any rehabilitation occurring. However, this approach to prison previously secured his release. Thus, 'remaining under the radar' and evading the attention of officers may be a successful

means of 'doing time'.

A challenge is how to facilitate rehabilitation for prisoners like Gary who have contrary expectations around 'doing time' and who are not engaged in rehabilitative efforts, in a system that has reduced resources. Yet, ultimately it may be reasonably argued that fundamentally the system needs to change with the most recent MoJ (2016b) figures indicating that in the twelve months ending March 2014, 45.8% of offenders released from custody reoffended. In such instances, it may be argued that prisoners are not learning anything from the prison experience, thus posing the question '*does prison work?*' The statistics would suggest not.

'Crafting resistance'

According to Laurin, Kay and Fitzsimons (2012), where restrictions are placed upon an individual's freedoms they respond in one of two ways: acceptance or resistance. According to Silvia (2005), restrictions do not necessarily impact on compliance, with some people engaging in cognitive processes that seek to present the restrictions in the most positive manner: *rationalisation* (see Aronson, 1989; Kay, Jimenez, & Jost, 2002). Alternatively, individuals can enter a motivational state of *reactance*. Here, based on *reactance theory* (Brehm, 1989), individuals notably enhance the value they ascribe to the restricted freedoms, with Wellman and Geer (2009) outlining how individuals may engage in behaviours that attempt to protect these same freedoms; they resist the restrictions placed upon them. The official expectation of imprisonment being about punishment and rehabilitation (see Ministry of Justice and Home Office, 2013) appeared to challenge Gary's freedom to do 'smooth time'. This section explores what authors may refer to as his *reactance* in response to these restrictions. Here, reactance and resistance are terms used to describe the same response; they reflect the process of resisting the structures and restrictions placed on prisoners. The term resistance will be used going forward.

Assuming positions: 'them and us'

Within Gary's story there were clear tensions and challenges in his relationships with prison officers. This was synonymous with other prisoners' narratives that also resisted any notion of prisons being places of punishment and rehabilitation. Gary constructed prisoners and prison officers as being 'opposites' within the prison system but claimed, "*I can't afford to be confrontational can I mate*". He seemed to resist this position and maintained some degree of control wherever possible adding,

> "*I'm not going to make their job easier and make them happy by (.) How can I put it? I don't want to make their job how he wants to have his job.*"

Gary's words initially positioned him as subservient and a performer of compliance. Elsewhere in the interview he outlined his perception that prisoners were expected to "*bow down*" to prison officers. Gary's talk claimed that as a prisoner he was unable to be "*confrontational*" to prison officers. However, one may question why Gary would want to be "*confrontational*" and what would prevent him from engaging assertively should he feel the need to challenge others. Perhaps this is a reflection of hegemonic masculinity and his attempts to regain control in the depriving nature of the prison setting (see Sykes, 1958). Gary's talk suggested that he was working against the prison system and the expectations being placed upon him: "*I'm not going to make their job easier*". Here, Gary's talk appeared to be centred on masculine notions of power and control. His approach to prison life seemed to function to exert control over his situation, thereby resisting any restrictions being placed upon him and also rejecting any expectation of obedience. His words not only made explicit claims around challenging prison officers, but he also outlined attempts to cause prison officers upset: "[I'm not going to] *make them happy*". His dialogue suggested that he 'performed compliance', whilst ultimately resisting compliance through his attempts to undermine officers. This has potential to damage staff-prisoner relationships through a resistant stance towards prison officers in a 'them and us' system.

The establishment of a 'them and us' relationship was not unique to Gary and reflected Goffman's (1961) notion of the total institution where prisoners and prison officers take on particular roles, positioning prison officers and prisoners as distinct groups. This is a process that Wheatley (1981) and Grapendaal (1990) claimed was protective and functional. However, as a prisoner, Hamid noted that over a period of 18 months he had seen prisoners and prison officers "*get on with each*" recognising that "*I won't say* [they get on] *like a house on fire and that, but the relationship is there.*" Simon reflected that when engaging with prison officers,

> "*You're more of a happier person and you more socialising, on association you're out of yourself, prison officers can see what you're doing, they see who's with who and they'll come and chat with you and that and you can chat with them. You can just have a nice light-hearted chat with them. I was sat doing (.) helping one with a crossword the other day, been getting on with him fine for ages because I'm happier he's happier and because everyone else is happy there is nothing for him to worry about he can just, he can relax, he can do a crossword.*" (Simon)

Thus, interactions between prisoners and prison officers were at times constructed positively and as King and McDermott (1990) outline, prisoners and prison officers tend to have shared interests. Where relationships are difficult, John outlined how this is likely to be the result of the prisoner community purposefully undermining relationships saying, "*they tend to do is they're like little pack animals who stick to themselves*" and avoid engaging with prison officers. This perhaps reflects Gary's notion of making prison officers' work more difficult.

It's personal: prison officers have it in for prisoners
In terms of Gary's story having laid claim to prison officers and prisoners being unalike, his discursive performance appeared to seek to position him as being a 'model prisoner' based on the absence of formal

adjudications. This position was used to contrast with what he suggested was the unreasonable behaviour of prison officers. Reflecting on his interactions with a particular prison officer, Gary announced,

"Now this S.O., for some reason, he had a bit of a thing for me and I don't know why. I didn't fuck around, you can look at me record."

Here Gary constructed the behaviour of the Senior Officer as being 'personal' towards him: "[The prison officer] *had a bit of a thing for me*". There was no suggestion that the prison officer was engaging in the task of upholding rules here. Gary's words claimed that the prison officer's behaviour was a slight on his 'good character' as "*I don't fuck around*". Gary seemingly expected to be treated with respect, yet at the same time his talk failed to recognise his attempts at purposefully undermining prison officers. However, by discursively presenting himself as a 'model prisoner', Gary was able to position prison officers as unreasonable and maintain the 'them and us' positions, possibly as a means of resisting the prison system.

The notion of prisoners being affronted by prison officers challenging their behaviour was also raised in Simon's interview. Simon had previously served sentences in Young Offenders Institutes and having been released from prison he had been recalled to the adult estate having engaged in aggression days after his release. Reflecting on the positioning of prison officers as being unreasonable, he said that when prison officers are conducting cell searches,

"...they find something that shouldn't be there, straight away the person whose cell it was will start talking about being stitched up; or he shouldn't have got nicked for that or he shouldn't have done that. And they knew in the first place that if they got caught with it they're going to get like punished. But because they've been caught with it and they're getting punished, they're like in denial kind of thing, and then they start getting paranoid about how

officers are going to stitch them up and how they've got it in for
them. They tell me and I just laugh at them and think 'you're off
your head'." (Simon)

Simon's talk reflected the same process that was outlined by Gary; namely
prisoners undermining prison rules but then interpreting the consequences
of their resistance as being punitive and unjustified. The prisoners' stories
suggest that prison officers are being positioned as unreasonable for
having uncovered their rule violations. However, the prisoners seemingly
ignore their responsibility for the rule violations in the first place. Denial of
any wrongdoing appeared to seek to strengthen their position as being
'reasonable' therefore supporting them to uphold the notion of a 'them and
us' system and legitimise any reaction to what they construct as an unfair
system.

This response perhaps reflects a process that John (a 'white-collar'
prisoner serving his first prison sentence) termed as being prisoners and
prison officers "*playing cat and mouse with each other*" (John). Here the
staff-prisoner relationship was constructed as being 'a game' of vying for
control in a system where prisoners were seemingly seeking to resist the
restrictions placed upon them, and officers seeking to uphold the rules.
Interestingly, Gary's talk did not construct this as being a game, but as an
abuse of power, despite the prison officers, on the face of it, doing nothing
more than their job. Thus, for Gary, positioning prisoners and prison
officer as 'them and us' appeared to be part of his resistance framework
and his attempt to discursively legitimise resistance to the expectations of
the prison system. He therefore resisted notions of rehabilitation and
punishment and further supported his desire to do 'smooth time' through
disengagement from the prison officers. However, this creates difficulties
in a system whereby mutual engagement is a factor necessary for the
maintenance of safety and security, and the provision of rehabilitation.

Repositioning prison officers as "dogs"

Throughout the interview, Gary often used disrespectful terms such as "*dogs*", "*prick*" and "*knob-head*" when referring to prison officers, thus constructing relationships bereft of respect. As outlined previously through Scott's (2008a) work, the terms used to refer to prisoners and prison officers is an indication of power, or the undermining of this power through acts of disrespect. Referring to interactions between prison officers and prisoners, Gary stated,

> "[Prison officers are] *dogs. [Prisoners] obviously don't interact with 'em. The only time they fuckin' interact with 'em is when they're ripping their cells apart and they're speaking to them like shit.*"

Gary's talk rebuked any notion of prison officers being a professional group, using his discursive practices to reposition prison officers as "*dogs*", accentuating the distance that he considered there to be between the groups. His words reflected a lack of respect for prison officers and their role within the prison system, seemingly justifying his resistance and his attempts at undermining their authority and hierarchy within the prison system. Positioning prison officers as "*dogs*" seemed to allow Gary to disrespect prison officers and the prison system as a whole. Again, his talk belittled any breaking of prison rules with him framing rule enforcement as abuse by prison officers. Further commenting on his experience of interactions with prison officers, Gary claimed

> "*…you get the pricks who like, d' y' know what I mean? How can I put it? Well it just happened recently on [wing name deleted] when the knob-heads just get in y' face and confront y' and, y' know what I mean', and they go out of their way to try and ruin everythin' you've worked for, and like, just say for instance they don't like you, then obviously man, they ruin everythin' for you.*"

He again positioned prison officers as abusive, juxtaposing this against his self-position as an engaging prisoner who had apparently "*worked for*" his

'status' or 'privilege' within the prison. His words laid claim to him engaging with prison life, yet in another discussion he had outlined his non-compliant style and how "*I expect to just be left alone which is* [the way] *I've been throughout me sentence*". Gary constructed the aforementioned interaction as aggressive, yet there was no recognition as to why a prison officer might need to "*confront*" or 'approach' him and challenge his behaviour. Is the prison officers' behaviour a result of Gary undermining prison officers and not complying with the requirement for good order and rehabilitation? His talk would perhaps support this assertion.

Within his stories, Gary uses discourses of abuse and intimidation that again position prison officers as lacking professionalism. In a further example of outlining his expectations of prison officers allowing him to "*be left alone*", Gary commented,

> "*When you get an idiot like that who like to get in front of people's faces and he likes to bully people and because he actually works in here and the lad's got a uniform on, he actually likes to come across as if he's (.) I don't know. It's hard to explain mate.*"

In a similar discussion, David commented on the behaviour of a specific prison officer and how,

> "*He stands over you when he speaks to you. He's bigger than most people cos he's six foot odd and he just looks at you, the way he looks at you when he's talking to you. He's a fucking prick* [laughs]." (David)

Here, Gary and David position prison officers as being unprofessional, implying that they engage in distasteful and somewhat aggressive behaviours towards prisoners which, they claim, amounts to intimidation or "*bully*[ing]". Elsewhere Gary described the restraint of prisoners as prison officers "*fighting*" with prisoners, again drawing on notions of prison officer

aggression. In terms of the use of force by prison officers, there are very specific guidelines about what is approved and lawful (Prison Service Order 1600: HM Prison Service, 2005)[35]. This is not to say that prison officers do not work outside these guidelines with official data. That is, between April 2008 and March 2013, on average 43 prison staff were subject to disciplinary action for their treatment of prisoner each year. This included an average of 20 staff being dismissed per year for their treatment of prisoners (see Ministry of Justice, 2013d)[36, 37]. However, perhaps the portrayal of prison officer aggression is not representative of prison life, with the issue here being one of 'tellability' in the generation of his narrative. Gary's discursive performance appeared to be more related to attempts to position prison officers as being distasteful in their treatment of prisoners to in turn justify his resistance.

'Dirty workers'

Within Gary's framework of unprofessional conduct, he also alleged that prison officers seek to undermine the resettlement and progression of prisoners by attempting to "*ruin everythin' you've worked for*". Reflecting on his ability to progress within the prison setting and to get a job within prison that offers a higher level of responsibility, he added that prison officers,

> "*Don't like to see you doing well. They'd probably try to ruin it for me by givin' 'em bad fucking information and all that*."

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[35] According to Prison Service Order 1600 (HM Prison Service, 2005), the use of force is only justified, and therefore lawful when it is reasonable in the circumstances, necessary, if no more force than is necessary is used and if it is proportionate to the seriousness of the circumstances.

[36] The numbers reported in 2008-2009 potentially skewed this data. It is not clear whether this year saw an unusually low number of staff subjected to disciplinary action or dismissal, or whether there are problems with the statistics. If this figure was removed the then the annual averages for disciplinary action and dismissal would be 52 and 24 respectively.

[37] It is acknowledged that the information held centrally by the Ministry of Justice is reliant on the data provided by the individual establishments and there are some inconsistencies in reporting. As such, these figures may be an under-representation of the number of recognised incidents against prisoners.

Similarly, Liam reported how,

"*Officers have just got too much power over our lives and I don't think it's right. They're just people like me and you. You wouldn't like it if people wrote bad things about you and didn't tell you until you found out later on.*" (Liam)

Like Gary, Liam claims that prison officers are able to document information about prisoners that impacts on their ability to progress. They construct this as being both distasteful and unprofessional in nature. However, there is little recognition in their words as to the possible justification for prison officers documenting this information. For example, in Gary's case, he had explicitly claimed that he would undermine prison officers and this might have suggested that he was not a suitable candidate for such a trusted job on account of his own behaviour. Yet his dialogue, and that of Liam, constructs the behaviour of the prison officers as being distasteful, abusive and undeserving of respect, positioning the prison officers as 'dirty workers' (see Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Hughes, 1962). According to Ashforth and Kreiner's (2014: 82) concept of 'dirty work', certain professions are considered '*distasteful, disgusting, dangerous, demeaning, immoral, or contemptible – as somehow tainted or dirty*'. Their writings suggest that as an occupational group, prison officers have low occupational prestige.

Gary's construction of prison officers' work implied that *dirtiness* was pervasive within the role. This is a feature of 'dirty work' (see Kreiner, Ashforth, & Sluss, 2006). He drew on the notion of prison officers engaging in demeaning, immoral and contemptible behaviours; namely being aggressive, unprofessional and ultimately abusive of power by undermining/preventing prisoner progression. This challenges the wider expectation of prison officers conducting their duties '*loyally, conscientiously, honestly and with integrity…be courteous, reasonable and fair in their dealings with all prisoners…treat people with decency and respect* (NOMS, 2013b). His talk appeared to undermine prison officers

as a professional group and supported him in repositioning prison officers and in turn undermining the authority and hierarchy of the prison officer group.

What would a friendly prison officer do?

When reflecting on his expectations of prison officers, Gary commented that,

> "*You know mate, the prison officer*[s], *they're here to come in, unlock y', right, and then they're here to help you out when you need help with things in jail and then they're there to look over y' to make sure y' not getting into any trouble.*"

His expectation of prison officers reflected aspects of the official role description in terms of undertaking security roles such as maintaining order by ensuring that prisoners are "*not getting in to any trouble*", and also accounting for prisoners. His talk also drew on a discourse of 'care', a behaviour that is considered fundamental to the prison officer role and to effective staff-prisoner relationships (see Tait, 2011; MoJ, 2010a). Yet, one may question how prisoners like Gary expect to be supported by the same prison officers that they purposefully seek to undermine. That is, Gary outlined how he was disrespectful and undermining of prison officers, yet at the same time his conversation suggested that he expected prison officers to support him. This again suggested that Gary wanted any engagement to be on his terms. He added,

> "*The good* [prison officers] *are the ones who don't go out of their way to, I mean to confront you and y' know what I mean?*"

In terms of being a "*good*" prison officer, Gary further outlined his view that,

> "*When y' ask them to do you somethin', a favour, they'll do it obviously.*"

Gary's dialogue suggested that he valued those prison officers that would not challenge him and perhaps allowed him to do 'smooth time', constructing this approach as being positive and as a facilitator of staff-prisoner relationships. However, he went beyond the notion of having his needs met, outlining his expectation for prison officers to do "*a favour*". This appeared to lack professional boundaries with his words suggesting that a "*good*" prison officer would be someone that may act outside of the structures and systems of prison system in order to meet <u>his</u> needs. This apparent lack of boundaries was noted elsewhere in the prisoner narratives with David saying how he perceived his interactions with prison officers as being "*just like another one of your mates and that*" (David). He also added that he likes to interact with prison officers "*just like they're one of my brothers*" (David).

For prison officers to be positioned positively, it appeared that these prisoners would want them to take on the role of a 'friend' or a "*mate*". However, this perhaps reflected a lack of awareness as to the nature of the prison system and the principles upon which it is based. Prison officers cannot be the friends of prisoners as doing so might undermine the system as a whole, especially the notions of security and order. Nonetheless, if Gary wanted prison officers to be *friendly* towards him, then perhaps he needed to comply with the requirements of the prison system. It may be argued that his talk reflected a lack of understanding as to the prison hierarchy. Yet, alternatively, based on his the notions of power and the sensitivities of the power amongst the prisoner group, perhaps what is observed in Gary and David's words was their attempts to position prisoners and prison officers as equals: a further attempt at resisting the prison hierarchy.

Resisting the prison hierarchy: 'fighting back'
De Viggiani (2012) proposes that expectations around the prisoner and prison officer roles can lead to the development of very distinct prisoner and prison officer identities, and roles that apportion different degrees of

power. As such, the roles can become a source of conflict that impacts on interpersonal relationships (Haney, Banks & Zimbardo, 1973; Haslam & Reicher, 2005; Reicher & Haslam, 2006). According to Lipsky (1980), social compliance underpins the prison regime and this is a result of the prison milieu that cues prisoners regarding behavioural expectations. Lipsky suggests that this is based on the premise that deviation from the expected behaviours may result in punishment. According to Gary,

> *"I've had someone in me face not long ago and he's had his finger right in me face, and fucking, you know what I mean mate? The way I look at it is I've got a kid and I need to get home. I don't want to be making things worse by doing nothing' to this man."*

Gary's talk suggested that he was mindful of the prison hierarchy in his interactions, seemingly choosing not to respond due to his awareness of the possible consequences of doing so. He reflected that had "*actually bit my lip I don't know how many times*" in his interactions with prison officers in order to avoid "*making things worse*". He appeared to have 'presented compliance' as he considered it to be in his best interest whilst positioning himself as having been 'forced' to accept this passive role. He implied the 'captive' and 'captor' positions outlined by Williamson (1990: 157) and the notion of the compliant prisoner, whilst elsewhere being undermining. He also commented that in a similar interaction with a prison officer he chose not to be aggressive adding,

> *"I could of fuckin' punched him. I could of done whatever with him. But y' know, I answered him back in the right way. D'y' know what I mean mate?"*

Gary's words claim that he did not engage in physical aggression towards the officer on that occasion; but did he comply and demonstrate respect? His talk was explicit in that he "*answered him back*". Is this evidence of assertive communication or Gary's resistance to the prison officers? His words might suggest the latter with him seemingly 'answering back' as

opposed to engaging in a conversation. In terms of interacting in "*the right way*", Gary outlined his view that generally,

> "*I haven't been being assertive. That means standing up for your own rights and you argue back and you put your point across. I actually let it blow over me head me and I just have to bite me lip like I've said.*"

Here Gary's dialogue suggested that he generally engaged in a passive manner by "*bit*[ing] *me lip*" as opposed to "*standing up for* [my] *own rights*". He then said assertiveness involved arguing and putting ones point across, in turn reflecting a seemingly aggressive style of interaction. However, Gary constructed this as being a form of assertive and pro-social communication, implying little knowledge of pro-social skills. 'Arguing' was seen as an appropriate form of communication with prison officers. This was not rare within the prisoner narratives with David also outlining how in an interaction with a prison officer, "*we had a few words and I told him to fuck off and you know what I mean*" (David). In another interaction he outlined how "*I said oh fuck you, you knob head, you know, it was one of them*" (David). Within these examples, there was little evidence of Gary or David having developed assertive and pro-social skills whilst in prison. Rather, they were continuing to demonstrate aggressive tendencies/behaviours. Gary's story suggested that when this was challenged, he interpreted this as hostility and an abuse of the prison officer role. However, is it likely that prison officers would spontaneously engage in this manner or is it more likely to be in response to Gary's challenging behaviour and presentation within the prison system? His talk may suggest the latter.

Hostile biases
Reflecting on what had been a recent interaction at the time of the interview, Gary commented,

> *"…this officer's come to me door and opened me door and he says, "next time I give you a fucking direct order, don't answer me back you do the fucking order". D' y' know what I mean?"*

Gary wanted to be left alone to do 'smooth time' and as such, any instruction may have been perceived as a violation of his perceived right to do this. Through his language, Gary did not frame his interactions with prison officers as being instructions; but rather, he constructed them as being abusive orders, seemingly adopting a hostile attribution bias (see Baron & Richardson, 1994) whereby he perceived hostile intent on the part of prison officers even when this may have been lacking. Despite Gary's interpretation of the situation, it is possible that the prison officer was simply communicating an instruction to Gary. That is, in a structure whereby prisoners seemingly seek to reject any notion of hierarchy, perhaps lawful instructions were seen as being abusive orders. The prison system expects prisoners like Gary to obey any lawful instructions, yet Gary seemed to resist them. According to Bottoms (2003), when prisoners interpret the climate as being one that is unjust and arbitrary, the outcome is one of resentment and in turn this is counterproductive. This is perhaps important for understanding how Gary responded to prison officers whereby his discursive performance seemed to function to legitimise resistance and reactance to the prison systems.

We're adult men

By rebuking the prison hierarchy on the grounds of it being unjust, Gary was able to resist the Prison Service's goals of punishment and rehabilitation. As such, perhaps Gary's attempts at 'crafting resistance' were a means of taking back some degree of control in his struggle for power. Struggles for power were embedded in the prisoner narratives and the notion of vying for control was clearly articulated in Liam's dialogue with him saying that,

> *"It's just the whole authority thing; you know. We're grown men in here and not kids. And for grown men, you know to have an officer*

who's about twenty-seven or forty-odd telling you what to do and to abide by these rules and that (.) it's annoying because we're grown men and we know why we're here, we don't need you to tell us what to do. You know, you mean nothing to us, you know, to us; you lot are just hired help. That's how I see it anyway." (Liam)

As outlined in earlier chapters, prisons are a place where power and control are removed from prisoners and afforded to prison officers. The prisoner narratives appear to outline the challenge that this has on them as individuals and, as outlined in Liam's words - as men. Jewkes (2005) tells us that the label of prisoner represents weakness, conformity and the relinquishing of power, and here, the prisoner stories tell us about the focus on seeking attempts to regain power and perhaps uphold their sense of manhood. Messerschmidt (1993) asserts that masculinities become indicative of identity and social status for prisoners. Discursively, prisoners spoke about the disproportionate use of power by prison officers and challenging these perceptions of power perhaps linked to prisoner codes and expectations for prisoners to '*be tough...be a man; and Don't be a sucker*' (Sykes & Messinger, 1960: 8).

Resistance appeared to be a discursive tool to support Gary in undermining the prison's expectations around punishment and rehabilitation – the concepts that seemingly prevented his freedom to do 'smooth time'. However, Gary's resistance appeared to be undermining his experience of 'smooth time', resulting in him experiencing the 'hardship' that he described in his relationships with prison officers. In the long-term, perhaps his reoffending and his return to prison custody were also consequences of his resistance to rehabilitation and the prison system. Ultimately his aspirations around 'doing time' were problematic, as was his framing of officers as 'dogs' etc. Further, the system also appeared problematic in terms of responding to prisoners like Gary who continue to return to prison. Yet, what can reasonably be expected of prisoners like Gary whose identity appears to be centred on notions of masculinity and anti-social repertoires as noted in earlier prison research.

This is likely to further complicate the notion of compliance, with a decision to comply possibly resulting in rejection from their peer group. Cohen and Taylor (1992) and Toyoki and Brown (2014) note that prisoners must make decisions about the ways in which they should resist or accept the demands of the prison in order to make life bearable and in order to maintain some sense of identity.

Summarising Gary's construction of 'crafting resistance'

The most notable aspect of Gary's narrative was his apparent commitment to resisting time. That is, given the restrictions imposed by the Prison Service, Gary responded to the restrictions on his freedoms through the process of resistance (see Brehm, 1989). This involved attempts at undermining authority and attempting to regain a degree of control. At the same time he was resisting rehabilitation and attempting to experience 'smooth time' and aiming to be left alone to do time on his terms. Despite positioning himself as a compliant prisoner, Gary's talk ultimately indicated that this was not the case and attempts at 'resisting time' seemingly undermined his 'smooth time'. That is, resistance brought about challenges in Gary's relationships with prison officers due to the intrinsic conflict that this caused:

> *"When they came to me cell they said you're being kicked off the wing and I said why and they said because you are because everything that happens y're involved which is a load of bullshit. They said (.) I just think this officer (.) maybe because I didn't bite back to him and because he might have felt intimidated by me, and he wanted me off the wing. I just don't know."*

Gary's talk suggested that he was perhaps involved in a range of problematic behaviours in prison - although he was not accepting of this. He externalised his difficulties, apportioning blame to the prison officers,

referring to them as elsewhere as "*bullies*". Positioning prison officers in this way was a tool through which Gary seemed to justify his resistance of prison, constructing prison officers as the purveyors of 'hard time'. Yet, in the end it was perhaps Gary's approach to prison, and his reluctance to engage with rehabilitation and the expectation of the Prison Service (including attempts to explicitly undermine the system), that undermined his ability to do 'smooth time'. Achieving 'smooth time' seemed to be linked with compliance and Gary was resisting this. Based on his narrative, perhaps everyone wanted to do 'smooth time', yet his attempts at challenging the system undermined this within the prison community as a whole.

Thus, who could Gary reasonably be in the prison setting? Perhaps resistance was one of a few limited options - although this choice seemingly undermined 'smooth time', placing him at odds with the prison officers. Ultimately, if Gary had wanted to do 'smooth time' then perhaps he needed to engage with the prison regime and the process of rehabilitation, whilst also working with prison officers.

Chapter 8 - '*Doing time the easy way*'

In this second prisoner analysis chapter, a narrative account of Adam's interview is presented. At the time of the interview Adam was approaching forty years of age and serving his fourth prison sentence. He said that he was a Category C prisoner in a Category B prison meaning that he was held in conditions that were more secure than his risk required. However, he said that this was his choice and he did not want to move prisons as "*the years fly by here*". During previous prison sentences Adam had spent periods of time in approximately 17 different prison establishments across England and Wales. He said that he had a positive upbringing but began to associate with "*the wrong crowd*" and "[went] *off the rails at sixteen*". Based on his self-report, his convictions had all been for aggression, although his conviction details are unknown.

Adam was released from prison in 2000 having served eight years and eight months of a prison sentence. He was then convicted for his index offence in 2005 through DNA evidence. However, the date when his index offence was committed had actually predated his previous sentence. As a result of being in prison Adam had lost his house. His sons, whom he raised as a single parent, were living with his mother. He described feeling embarrassed about being in prison as a forty year-old male. His focus at the time of the interview was on his release date that was set for 15 weeks later.

The 'reflective practitioner'

One notable aspect of Adam's narrative was his reflective style. According to Atkins and Murphy (1995), 'reflective practice' is an important tool through which to learn from one's experiences, with experience alone being insufficient to learn from one's encounters. In a professional framework, Wilkinson (1999) defines 'reflective practice' as being a process through which individuals are provided with opportunities to

identify new possibilities within practice, therefore confronting familiar thoughts and practices. It involves gaining an understanding of how knowledge and practices are impacted upon by historical, social, cultural, cognitive and personal experiences. During his interview, Adam reflected on his position within the prison system and his roles and responsibilities within this system. This was with a view to him 'doing time the easy way', thus existing within a 'comfortable' framework. This section focuses on Adam's positioning of the self and others within a reflective framework.

Situating the self

At the time of the interview, Adam's focus was on achieving release from prison: "*I just want to get back out and look after me kids*". A notable aspect of his talk was his desire to 'do time', and achieving release,

> "*Look, I'm just old school, I just get on with it. We're the old school, we just get on with it, we're not nasty, we're not horrible, we just get on with our jail.*"

For Adam, prison was constructed as a consequence of criminality and something that prisoners should seemingly accept and "*get on with*". This fitted with later assertions around his responsibility for being sent to prison on a number of occasions: "*At the end of the day, if you don't like it, then don't come to jail*". His notion of the "*old school*" implied differences amongst the prisoner group, constructing the 'old school' as those that 'do time', seemingly causing few problems for prison officers. Elsewhere his narrative referred to the "*young ones*" whom he constructed as more challenging of the prison systems. His suggestion was that 'doing time' and not causing problems for prison officers was positive.

The constructs of 'young' and 'old' are themselves facets of time, possibly reflecting a process of maturation. Within Adam's narrative, alignment to the 'old school' appeared to imply maturity, albeit focussed on "*get*[ting] *on with it*" as opposed to the wider aims of rehabilitation. His disclosure that he was placed in around 17 prisons during his previous three prison

sentences suggested that within his early 'prison career' Adam was possibly a 'problematic' prisoner. His behaviour would have likely resulted in his regular movement as a strategy to prevent disruption to the prison regime. That is, the Prison Act (1952) allows for a prisoner to be held in any establishment and therefore it is possible to move prisoners without any legal challenge from the prisoner. Likewise, the 'Managing Challenging Behaviour Strategy' (HM Prison Service, 2012) outlined how movement around the prison estate is often linked to managing challenging behaviour and threats to the security of the prison estate.

It was clear that something changed about the way in which Adam approached prison life whether this be around maturity or crafting ways of 'doing prison the easy way'. Further consideration as to the strategies adopted by Adam will be outlined in the following section of this chapter.

"I'm happy here": experiencing a comfortable prison sentence
Adam's words suggested that his "*old school*" approach and choice not to cause unnecessary difficulties for prison officers had resulted in him being able to 'get on with jail' and experience imprisonment in relative comfort,

> "*I'm in a B Cat jail but I'm a C Cat prisoner. I refuse to leave, I'm happy here.*"

Adam's talk claimed that his experience of prison was positive to the extent that he did not wish to move to conditions of lower security. This was of interest given that formal processes within the Prison Service (e.g. Parole Boards and Sentence Planning Boards) are based on the premise of progression and assessing the suitability of prisoners for re-categorisation to conditions of lower security. Here they experience fewer restrictions and it is intended that they be afforded more opportunities and choices; although it is recognised that access to meaningful activity has reduced in recent years (see HMCIP, 2015). Despite his decision not to engage with "*bullshit*" rehabilitation, Adam appeared to have achieved comfort. However, as outlined in Gary's analysis, prisoners are not sent to

prison to achieve such outcomes; prison is primarily about punishment and rehabilitation (Ministry of Justice & Home Office, 2013).

Adam's suggestion that he remained in more secure conditions of his own volition raised further questions about decision-making processes and choice. His self-positioning as an autonomous individual that is able to "*refuse*" to move prisons, implied that power was not a 'privilege' held only by prison officers. His talk suggested that prisoners themselves were able to direct the decisions of the wider operating systems. However, the reality is that if the system wanted to move Adam then they could do so without his agreement. Therefore, this raises the question as to why Adam's particular prison would want to keep him. Perhaps this was because the system favoured his seemingly 'compliant' approach; although if this was the case, then it seems concerning that his "*old school*" approach of not causing problems might be considered advantageous over rehabilitation. This raises the question as to the degree to which prison teaches prisoners like Adam to be 'compliant' prisoners as opposed to moral citizens, colluding with prisoners to favour compliance with rules over rehabilitation.

Within his narrative, Adam positioned himself as having matured, suggesting that his approach to prison life was about 'doing time' in comfort. Throughout the interview he reflected on ways in which prisoners might engage with their prison sentence as a means of 'doing time' within the 'modern' and evolving prison system. It is against this backdrop that Adam's analysis is presented.

The changing landscape of imprisonment: 'the good old days'?
Reflecting on the 'modern' Prison Service, Adam commented,

> "*Prison was prison back then, there were no tellies, no play-stations. Jail was jail and you had blankets and no windows. I still remember my first sentence, [establishment name deleted]. No*

windows, the wing that you are on is underground and you're looking up."

He reflected on the stark distinction between his first experience of prison in comparison to the 'modern' Prison Service that he constructed as being "*easy*". Whilst his words constructed a somewhat depriving prison experience during his first prison sentence, aspects of his narrative appeared to favour this approach to prison life, with his conversation akin to 'the good old days'. To contrast his experiences, Adam's talk referenced "*tellies*" and "*PlayStations*" to labour his point that in comparison, prison was now "*easy*" for prisoners. However, these items are recognised as a lever for promoting rehabilitation and engagement: a possible mechanism of control. The Incentives and Earned Privileges (IEP) Scheme[38] (see PSI 30/2013) is clear that in order to earn such privileges, prisoners now have to work towards their own rehabilitation, behave well, and help others. At a discursive level, the absence of bad behaviour alone is no longer sufficient to progress through the stages of the Scheme. This perhaps signals a move towards expecting prisoners to engage in rehabilitation as opposed to "*mess*[ing] *around*" with other prisoners or 'doing smooth time' as noted in Gary's analysis. However, perhaps prison was easier for prisoners like Adam who had found a means of achieving these privileges whilst avoiding rehabilitation.

Continuing his description of his first sentence, Adam added,

"You ha[d] *one blanket and I remember it being scary; but you soon adapt. You make the most of it and it's a gang of kids together so you just mess around."*

Although Adam described prison as being "*scary*" for him as a young man, the restrictive and harsh prison reality was clearly not enough to prevent him from reoffending. Yet, 'doing smooth time'; as observed in Gary's

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[38] The IEP scheme constitutes a means of monitoring and managing prisoner behaviour by prison officers.

analysis; is equally as problematic to the achievement of the overarching aims of imprisonment as outlined in Chapter 7. As previously suggested, this leads to the suggestion that the 'modern' prison system needs to be both punishing and rehabilitating.

Adam's reflections on adapting to prison life as a "*gang of kids together*" alluded to the process of acculturation (see Harré & van Langenhove, 1999) with his peer group having been fundamental to this process as noted elsewhere (see Jones & Scmid, 2000; Jewkes, 2002; Jewkes, 2005; Newton, 1994; Toch, 1992). Adam's construction of his social group as "*kids*" who would "*mess around*" drew on discourses of immaturity and irresponsibility, possibly positioning them as non-compliant to the requirements of the Prison Service. This appeared to be linked to masculine and criminal ideologies as described by Jewkes (2005). Adam's peer group seemed to have historically enabled him to overcome the anxieties caused by prison life, although in the interview, his talk described a reduction in prisoner solidarity and him disconnecting from his peers in order to 'do time the easy way'.

The 'new firm' of officers: from bastards to professionals
Adam's dialogue around prison officers also centred on a discourse of change,

> "*I mean there's the old school officers who are bastards. I mean they go round and they get the stick. I mean if they've been around for 26-27 years, they're not really going to change.*"

His words inferred differences between the "*old school officers*" who were "*bastards*" and perhaps the more recently recruited officers. Those prison officers who had been "*around for 26-27 years*" were positioned as 'institutionalised' having seemingly gone through a process of acculturation that led to them reinforcing more traditional 'captive' and 'captor' roles (Williamson, 1990) based on notions of power and control. His suggestion that "*they're not going to change*" drew on a discourse of

hopelessness, and an acceptance that this was a 'reality' that needed to be accepted. His reference to these prison officers "*get*[ting] *the stick*"; a colloquial term suggesting that the prison officers would be undermined or disrespected; implied that relationships between this group of officers and prisoners are to some extent bereft of respect as reflected in Adam's positioning of the prison officers as "*bastards*".

Professionalising prison officers

Adam was able to reflect on changes within the prison officer group that he attributed to the training of new prison officers,

> "*Now, when staff are coming in they're taught more. Obviously I don't know the regime, or the psychological crap that they coach into them, but it's a lot more now. Back then it was do you want to be a prison officer? Can you punch somebody? Yeah. Then here's a set of fucking keys, bang 'em up, that was it. Now, it's a lot more about understanding and having an understanding of offending and why you're offending and stuff. Now there's a lot more understanding and people are starting to listen.*"

His conversation raised a number of points relating to the apparent 'professionalisation' of prison officers as an occupational group, moving away from Gary's notion of the 'dirty workers'. His account suggested that despite being ignorant to the content of prison officer training, at a personal level he had observed and experienced a change in the manner that prison officers conducted themselves. His talk suggested that 'modern' prison officers do more than 'control' and "*bang up*" prisoners, with an alternative focus on understanding individual prisoners and their needs. As outlined in Chapter 2, the official expectations of prison officers have changed over time with the 'modern' role going beyond housing prisoners and attempting to maintain order. According to Crewe (2011), prison officers now have a role in offender management and rehabilitation, with there being a move to new prison officers being required to undertake

a National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) in custodial work during their first year (House of Commons, 2009). Adam later added,

> "*They're trained to understand, whereas in the old days and in other jails, I'll be honest with you, they don't give a fuck*."

Here, Adam again positioned 'modern' prison officers as 'caring' drawing on a therapeutic discourse. Yet, elsewhere he said,

> "*The old firm were (.) You knew where you stood, but now you don't know where you stand*."

As such, Adam's conversation was replete with contradictions concerning the prison officer role and the changes he had observed. Whilst outlining the benefits of prison officers understanding the needs of prisoners, he suggested elsewhere that the changes in role had resulted in him having a lack of clarity around his expectations of prison officers, and their expectations of him. As Crewe (2011) outlines, for some prisoners, the dynamic nature of the prison officer role from one of being caring to then maintaining control and order can be challenging.   The "*old school*" approach is likely to have allowed prisoners like to Adam to 'do time' and not create challenges and tensions in relation to the expectation of change (rehabilitation).

Based on Adam's story, the "*old school*" system traditionally offered structure and containment, whereas the 'modern' system required more of prisoners in terms of their commitment to rehabilitation (see PSI 30/2013). As Adam was rejecting of rehabilitation, he perhaps favoured 'the good old days' on account of engagement not being an explicit requirement.

Doing a job: it's not personal
When considering how prison officers undertake their role, Adam reflected that,

"They do have a job and I do understand that they have to do a job, right. But, (.) they're not really heavy handed if you know what I mean, not any more. They used to be. It was the worst jail in the world ten years ago, believe me. It's eased up a bit. If something goes off erm (.) or if there's fighting, all they're doing is their job and what they're trained to do, and we don't like it. At the end of the day, if you don't like it, then don't come to jail."

Again, Adam positioned prison officers within a 'professional' discourse, although his talk alludes to this having not always been the case with prison officers historically being more "*heavy handed*" when conducting their role. There is an absence of specific data to indicate whether prison officers were historically more 'physical' in their management of prisoners. However, there is recognition of the prison officer role developing to now focus on 'softer skills' as outlined in Chapters 2 and 3. In describing the realities of prison officers engaging in physical interventions, there is recognition on Adam's part of this being a component of their role rather than being personal to individual prisoners: "*all they're doing is their job and what they're trained to do*". Elsewhere, he recognised the requirement for prison officers to intervene in order to maintain safety: "*They've got to think about their own safety and I understand that they're probably thinking about our safety as well*". Thus, prison officers were positioned as professionals and purveyors of safety as opposed to abusers as was suggested in Gary's narrative. Here, Adam positions the prisoners as being the individuals responsible for undermining safety through their engagement in behaviours that required the intervention of the professionally trained prison officers.

Overall, Adam appeared more accepting of the realities of prisons and the prison officer role. This approach has the potential to support staff-prisoner relationships through the recognition of the requirement of prison officers to 'control' and 'manage' prisoners as outlined in 'The Competency & Qualities Framework' (HMPS, 2008b). Perhaps acceptance, as demonstrated by Adam, supports a prisoner's ability to 'do prison the easy

way' as opposed to being in conflict with prison officers and subsequently engaging in reactance as was observed in Gary's analysis when he sought to challenge prison systems and structures in order to do 'smooth time'.

Looking back through rose tinted glasses: were they the 'good old days'?

Adam's narrative around 'the good old days' suggested that historically prison met his expectations regardless of its depriving and punitive nature. His construction of prison possibly reflects Williamson's (1990) positions of 'captive' and 'captor' whereby prisoners took on a prison identity and performed roles to socially align with other prisoners (see de Viggiani, 2012). The extent to which Adam's early prison experiences reflected 'the good old days' might depend on how 'good' is constructed.

The 'old' system when "*prison was prison*" seemingly offered a boundaried experience for Adam where he was clear of the expectation to comply, and he also expected to be 'controlled' and managed by prison officers. That system appeared to uphold 'them and us' approaches to prison life that in turn supported masculine identities aligned to hegemonic masculinity (see Donaldson, 1993). Further, rehabilitation appeared to have played a lesser role in prison life at that time and as such, possibly prison officers had fewer expectations of prisoners in terms of rehabilitation. However, according to Tait (2011: 446) '*old school officers*' were often caring, paternal and protective of prisoners in exchange for their compliance and as such, many long-term prisoners preferred the '*old school officers*' as noted in Adam's story.

As a 'reflective practitioner', Adam was able to acknowledge the consequences of challenging the prison system; namely the removal of the comforts he was afforded on his current sentence. Therefore, adopting a more 'compliant' approach to prison life had allowed him a period of relative comfort whereby "[prison is] *acceptable in the fact that you know you can deal with it*": maybe he was 'doing easy time'.

'Jail Craft': crafting compliance or encouraging collusion?

According to the Prison Governor's Association, the best prison officers have a set of skills and abilities called '*Jail craft*'. Liebling (cited by House of Commons Justice Committee, 2009) describes how knowledge and experience of prison life results in a set of skills for prison officers that allow them to develop their informal working strategies. A noteworthy aspect of Adam's talk around prison was the extent to which he had 'learned' to "*make the most of it*", apparently developing strategies in order to 'do time the easy way'. For Adam, this appeared to involve him learning to 'comply' with prison having reflected on the personal disruptions caused by his past engagement with the prison system.

In response to the restrictions placed upon him, Adam appeared to have adopted an approach of *rationalisation*, engaging in cognitive processes that served to present the restrictions of prison in a favourable manner (for example see Kay, Jimenez, & Jost, 2002). This is in contrast to Gary whose response appeared, based on reactance theory (Brehm & Brehm, 1981), to be one of challenging new restrictions by enhancing the value he attached to the restricted freedoms. Adam's narrative seemed to suggest that prisoners also develop 'jail craft' over time in that,

> "*You get the young ones that are idiots – that's just life, they'll grow out of it when they've done about ten years.*"

His conversation implied that over time prisoners go through a process of change in prison. However, it is not clear as to the extent to which prisoners 'change' or whether they learn that resistance is problematic to them achieving their individual needs. That is, they learn to perform a particular role in order to 'do time' in a less challenging manner. Nonetheless, there was a sense of 'maturing' in Adam's narrative linked to generational change.

A reflection on 'compliance'

Adam's talk may lead one to talk about 'compliance' with him having seemingly gone through a process of change resulting in him no longer experiencing the disruptions observed in earlier prison sentences. On face value, his talk implied that this was a result of compliance. But what is compliance?

As outlined by Useem and Piehl (2006), prisons are systems of cooperation, but they are also authoritative and hierarchical. Compliance is required by prisoners who generally exhibit 'compliance' despite there being occasions where they disagree with the policies and procedures. Prisoners appear to engage in a cognitive process of *rationalisation* around the expectations of the system (see Aronson, 1989; Kay, Jimenez, & Jost, 2002). However, and as noted in Chapter 2, in terms of defining compliance, Robinson and McNeill (2008) distinguish between the notions of 'substantive' and 'formal' compliance. The former represents active engagement with the system (i.e. rehabilitation), as opposed to offenders simply meeting the minimum requirements (formal compliance). From a Prison Service perspective, there is an expectation that all prisoners are compliant with the explicit prison rules (e.g. The Prison Rules, 1952), as well as engaging in rehabilitation (see PSI 30/2013). So was Adam compliant? Based on the data reviewed above, Adam's words suggest that he engaged in formal compliance and whilst this would not meet the threshold for compliance, perhaps this is enough on the ground level. This issue forms the basis of much of the discussion in the following section.

'Learned compliance'

Reflecting on his engagement with the prison system, Adam commented,

> "[I'm] *a convict, and you're expected to take the piss and you see what you can get away with. But you've got a line that's there and you can't step over, but you're allowed to bend them rules. I mean if you're not allowed something then just getting it is a buzz in itself. It's the annoyance; it's a game. I mean I'm not talking about a*

security risk, I'm just talking about having a laugh. Its banter, and it opens up."

Adam's language constructed prison based on principles of 'them and us'. He positioned prisoners as being testing of boundaries and prison officers as the constables and maintainers of the prison rules. In turn he was perhaps likely to experience less conflict with officers as he recognised this aspect of their role. He constructed prison officers' responses to prisoners as being their role rather than being personal; it was constructed as a "*game*" in which both staff and prisoners have a part to play.

Overtime, Adam appeared to have shifted from being a "*young idiot*" to someone who, through reflection, 'played the game' having found a level on which to operate. He appeared to challenge prison officers 'now and again', framing this as "*banter*" and suggesting that these were 'light hearted' interactions with staff. His discursive performance seemingly sought to legitimise nonconformity with prison rules by taking up the position of a "*convict*" and framing such behaviour as 'normal expectations'. Adam does not appear to be threatened by the prison officers' as he appeared to have found a way of interacting whilst continuing to break rules, possibly constructing himself as a 'likeable rogue'. However, as a 'reflective practitioner', Adam recognised the limitations of such "*banter*" identifying that there were "*repercussions*" to breaking rules, such that

"I won't step over the line if I know that they can nick me."

His talk was specific in that he complied with the formal requirements of the prison system and the prison officers by remaining within expected boundaries. His words suggested that there was some degree of flexibility in the application of rules by prison officers who appeared to use discretion in response to prisoners' behaviour as outlined in Chapter 3. There was some suggestion that his motivation for 'compliance' was about avoiding punishment rather than seeing the benefits of the rules and

engaging in substantive compliance. His dialogue indicated that if he knew that he was unlikely to be caught then he would be willing to engage in behaviours that went against the prison system, perhaps reflecting general anti-social thinking patterns within offender populations where rules and norms are not valued. Here, the prison system appeared to have encouraged consequential thinking, albeit in an anti-social manner focussed on evading detection.

Based on Adam's talk, it seemed that he was finding a way of achieving his goals whilst adhering to agreed expectations with officers: he was trying to 'do time the easy way'. His stories suggested that he had crafted the art of engaging in what Robinson and McNeill (2008) termed 'formal compliance', therefore complying with certain expectations of the prison system in order to 'do time the easy way'. Perhaps performing this surface level of compliance distracted prison officers from challenging his lack of rehabilitation.

Collusion? 'Doing jail the easy way together'

Within the 'modern' prison system, Adam suggests that,

> "*It's not nice to say, but there's no solidarity anymore. There's no us and them so the lines are blurred. The officers will agree with me on that too. The lines are all blurred now.*"

Based on Adam's conversation, it would appear that solidarity within the prisoner culture had demised, with his dialogue implying that he looked back through 'rose tinted glasses' at a 'golden age' when a 'them and us' culture existed. However, in his earlier dialogue he presented a different picture of prison life when the 'them and us' era was challenging for him. What Adam appeared to be outlining was a change in prison practices and the challenges brought about by the "*blurred*" roles of staff and prisoners in the 'modern' system. However, one may argue that the roles are not blurred in that that there are clear expectations for prisoners to comply and

engage in rehabilitation at a policy level, although the reality may be different with the prison officers having different expectations of prisoners.

Despite constructing the demise of the 'them and us' system in less favourable ways, Adam comments that the connection that he had formed with prison officers could be helpful in that,

> "*If there's a problem on the wing I can go to the S.O.'s or the P.O.'s and they will listen to me. I've got respect on the wing, I don't expect respect, I expect to be treated like I treat them.*"

Fred also commented that,

> "*In jail there's a lot of things you can't do for yourself that you need a prison officer to do for you.*" (Fred)

Thus, there was recognition of the benefits of being able to receive support from prison officers who "*listen*" and meet prisoners' needs; after all, prison limits the ability of prisoners to make choices and attend to certain needs resulting in them becoming dependent on prison officers. Seemingly the ability of prisoners to engage with prison officers is helpful and according to Hamid,

> "*To tell the truth, I get on with a lot of officers, I don't know why, it's probably the way I am or probably it's 'cause I respect them and they respect back.*" (Hamid)

There was recognition within the prisoner narratives that collaboration and 'shared respect' amongst staff and prisoners was fundamental to prisoners' needs being met. On face value, it would appear that formal compliance facilitates a collaborative approach to prison life, supporting prisoners like Adam to 'do time the easy way' as opposed to being in conflict. However, the question is whether this is actually a process of collusion in order for prisoners to have their needs met. Adam's narrative

would suggest that he was not engaging with prison in any meaningful manner. Rather, he appeared to be 'doing time the easy way' having learnt to collude with the notion of formal compliance due to his recognition that non-engagement was problematic, positioning those prisoners that do not engage as the "*worst kind of prisoner*" and implying that there is a need for prisoners to engage. But Adam's dialogue undermines any notion of engagement on a meaningful level; he is 'performing' compliance to meet his needs. This is not meant to be judging of Adam, but to recognise prison practices and ways in which prisoners 'do time'. According to Fred, there is an expectation amongst prison officers for prisoners to comply,

> "*The prison officers they tell you this is their job* [and] *as long as you do as you're told, it's all good.*" (Fred)

Further, David suggested that engaging with prison officers was functional in that,

> "*It makes things easier and all that doesn't it. It all goes down in the paperwork. It all goes down on the RC1*[39] *forms and all that.*" (David)

The fact that prisoners like Adam are able to form positive relationships with officers whilst rebuking rehabilitation, might suggest that prison officers collude with prisoners in order for everybody to experience 'easy time'. As such, perhaps it is enough for prisoners to perform 'engagement', seemingly colluding with prison officer expectations of formal compliance. In his early days in prison, Adam experienced difficulties when he challenged the status quo, as was also observed in Gary's analysis. According to Irwin (2005), those prisoners who are less versed with being in prison are more likely to test the limits of staff and

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[39] An RC1 form is a form used in the process of re-categorising the security level of prisoners. For example, it may be used in the process of formally re-categorising a prisoner to a lower security category i.e. from category B to category C as outlined in Chapter 4.

their peers. In his interview, John observed his fellow prisoners and concluded,

> "*I would say that the mature inmates respect the fact that the officers are there, and they are in control. They give them respect, they might think they're a dick or an arsehole, and they might mutter under their breath as they walk away, but initially when a conversation starts, they always start with respect.*" (John)

There is a suggestion that accepting that prison officers have control is a reality and that challenging this is likely to be problematic for prisoners. They need to at least be accepting and perform respect and in Adam's story, he appeared to have achieved 'easy time' by accepting the hierarchy and attempting to perform 'compliance'. At the same time he was continuing to engage in more subtle attempts at subversion. Adam's 'jail craft' was his ability to 'craft compliance', apparently colluding with the unspoken rules of the prison system. His conversation suggested that not all prisoners were able to succeed in 'crafting compliance'.

The reality of 'complying'

Having outlined his apparent connection with prison officers, and how his peers accepted this, Adam commented,

> "*I'm big enough and ugly enough to not give a fuck what* [other prisoners] *think and to just get on with it. I mean* (.) *I've got to a certain stage in life, in a certain respect where I've earned it. This is the way I am and if they don't like it then fuck off.*"

Adam maintained his earlier position of being a 'learned' prisoner who had reached "*a certain stage in life*" (and possibly in his 'prison career'). His conversation was rejecting of his peers, recognising that they possibly hampered his attempts at achieving a comfortable prison experience. Despite apparently undermining prisoner codes, he drew on the discourse of maturity, implying that his priorities surpassed the camaraderie that he

had favoured previously. Yet, for this process to occur, Adam's story outlined how earning the 'respect' of peers was important in facilitating his ability to "*just get on with* [jail]". His talk suggested that having the 'respect' of his peers directly impacted on his ability to reject prisoner codes and to align himself with prison officer requirements. Here, Adam drew on the masculinity discourse to qualify his ability to make these choices and elsewhere, positioning himself as having the respect of his peers. Elsewhere, Hamid also noted, "*the long-term prisoners get the respect*" (Hamid).

Within the prison system, Wooden and Parker (1982) suggested that stereotypical masculine attitudes and behaviours, violence, and threats of violence, uphold the prisoner hierarchy. Adam was a physically imposing man who, according to his interview, attended the gym daily. As Adam's words indicate, his physical appearance, and his experience of prison elevated his position in the prisoner hierarchy and enabled him to make choices around 'engagement' that other prisoners were unable to make. Perhaps other prisoners such as Gary, who do not seemingly hold an elevated position within the prisoner hierarchy, are less able to make the types of choices observed in Adam's case with them being required to comply with wider prisoner codes and expectations. Based on the analysis of Adam's interview, a prisoner's placement within the prison hierarchy seemingly impacts on their ability to choose whether or not they perform 'compliance'. Thus, choosing whether or not to 'comply' appears to be linked to the notions of a 'survival' within the prison system. However, such decisions are likely to have implications for staff-prisoner relationships.

Policing compliance

Within his description of challenges to the wing milieu, Adam noted that challenges to 'doing time' were not due to prison officers but the prisoners themselves adding,

> *"I'll put up with anyone in jail, but* [not] *those who make my jail harder. You know what I mean, that's when I start getting angry."*

A notable aspect of Adam's talk here was that he did not want his prison experience to be made "*harder*" in any way. He appeared supportive and tolerant of his peers if they engaged on his terms. However, as noted previously, Adam described being in a position to challenge other prisoners based on his 'experience' and 'status'. Elsewhere, he described how prison officers might call on his 'status' to support them in their role,

> *"If there's a problem or* [the officers] *know that someone has a problem then they'll come to me and say this is happening. They're not stupid enough, or disrespectful enough, to ask us what's happened. But, they'll ask us to go and have a word. You know what I mean?"*

His talk further aligned him to the prison officers with his 'status' being used to address prisoner non-compliance. According to Wheatley (1981), prison sub-cultures and codes have historically been tolerated and seen as functional in the prison setting. Here, Adam's dialogue outlined how the prisoner subculture is used in a 'legitimate' manner within the prison setting, with his conversation suggesting that prison officers sanction this approach. Here, prisoners and prison officers appear to collude with each other to universally 'do time the easy way' which would suggest that they are inter-dependant on each other in order to 'do time' and for prison to 'work'. For prisoners like Adam, his story suggested that staff-prisoner relationships could facilitate privilege, making them powerful tools for experiencing prison the 'easy way'.

Ultimately, Adam appeared to have learnt not to challenge prison officers in order for everyone to 'do prison the easy way'. It was seemingly rewarding for him, and also supported by prison officers; despite the fact that 'formal compliance' was failing to address Adam's needs. His talk also outlined blurred boundaries between prisoners and prison officers

with roles becoming less clear. Despite the potential abuse of roles here, this may be necessary in order to manage the increases in prisoner numbers, against the falling number of officers. Is collusion between staff and prisoners and the use of peer pressure what ultimately keeps people safe? Adam's dialogue would suggest so.

'Easy time' with the end in sight

Adam outlined the prison's role in facilitating 'easy time',

> "[This jail's] *set up for the long hauls, the other ones aren't. I mean in those types of jails staff can't interact with you because you're in and out, in and out. This place, because you're here so long, the staff just know you.*"

He suggests that long-term prisons support staff-prisoner relationships due to the length of time that prisoners spend in the establishment and the subsequent opportunities for staff and prisoners to become acquainted. In contrast, perhaps short-term prisons are less conducive to the development of relationships due to the high turnover of prisoners. Being in a more settled and less transient prison possibly brings stability for prisoners and removes the challenges of short-term prisons.

However, a challenge appears to be the increase in the number of long-term prisoners; especially the indeterminate sentenced prisoners who currently represent 18% of the sentenced prison population in comparison to 9% in 1993 (Ministry of Justice 2014b; Ministry of Justice, 2013e). The initial introduction of indeterminate sentence perhaps sought to promote rehabilitation by requiring prisoners to engage in risk reduction prior to their release. However, indeterminate sentence prisoners have no guaranteed date of release from prison and three-quarters of these prisoners remain in prison having passed their tariff expiry date (Ministry of Justice, 2015c). This perhaps reflects a lack of risk reduction on their part. It also raises questions about opportunities for, and priorities around,

rehabilitation and change. According to Adam, a lack of clarity over their release date results in challenges for this prisoner group who,

> "[Have] *got nothing to look forward to and no realistic goal. I mean the realistic goal at the end of the day is that we could go home, but we just don't know.*"

Adam's conversation claimed that the lack of a release date removes clarity for those prisoners with indeterminate and life sentences. Historically, he argues that prisoners "*knew where you stood*", but for some prisoners, their sentences lack focus, with 'time' potentially becoming an infinite concept. Therefore, the 'marking of time' perhaps becomes difficult and a question is how this group of prisoners 'do time' or 'mark time' when they are unable to quantify time. Thus, are they 'doing time' or 'existing' within the prison system? For these prisoners, Adam argues that accepting imprisonment and "*get*[ting] *on with it*" is important. However, a lack of clarity as to the specific requirements for release can do one of two things: encourage compliance as a means of progression, or encourage resistance against an unclear system. If there is an end in sight then perhaps compliance is favoured by prisoners; yet indeterminate sentences possibly undermine this. Here, staff-prisoner relationships perhaps become more important as a vehicle for motivating and supporting prisoners' progression. Ultimately, if the prison system is not encouraging or providing opportunities for rehabilitation then these sentences become truly indeterminate.

Successful prisoners, failed citizens?

According to Adam's talk, formal compliance seems to have been positive for him in that,

> "*It's alright here, the food is good here, they've got the regime down to a tee here, the bang-up - open-up times are sound. I mean, this prison is known as a bird killer, the years fly by here.*"

Within his conversation, Adam outlined the preference to have reduced periods outside of his cell, favouring the more restrictive prison regime. This view goes against the expectations of HM Inspectorate of Prisons who have criticised prisons for the amount of time that prisoners spend in their cells (HMCIP, 2015). Like Gary he favoured a passive experience, but seemingly did so without challenging the system. This is where he has learned to 'comply' and as a result, prison is allowing Adam to distance himself from the daily reality of prison life, avoiding rehabilitation and thus doing 'easy time' to the extent that,

> "*One month is like a week here, it just flies by and the way in which the staff are, that's the way it's always been. It is brilliant.*"

Although Adam positioned the prison staff as being supportive of prisoners, support was constructed as prison officers being facilitators of 'easy time' which undermined their role as outlined in Chapter 2. Within a system of limited resources where prison officer numbers have been reduced and prisoner numbers have increased, perhaps the prison officer role is limited to core security tasks. Likewise, 'colluding' with prisoners to achieve 'compliance' may actually maintain safety and be favoured as outlined previously as "*the lads who just want to do their jail get on brilliantly* [with the officers]"*.* Thus compliance appears to facilitate the development of positive staff-prisoner relationships, which in turn increases opportunities to 'do time the easy way'. His stories suggest that non-conformity undermines the prison regime, causing strains in the relationships that exist between staff and prisoners and it is in such situations that Adam accepts the 'power' that prison officers have at their disposal to manage prisoners. Therefore, having 'crafted compliance', Adam noted that,

> "*I guess that I get a lot more leeway, but I don't step over the mark. They know that I don't take the piss. I've got such a good job and such a good way of life in here. I would not risk that by making a mistake. They understand. I literally get left to my own devices.*"

Again Adam's talk outlined the expectation for him to be compliant and how this approach was rewarded, despite the reality that rehabilitation was not occurring. Within his framework of prison, rehabilitation did not appear to be a requirement at wing level with the focus being on maintaining the status quo and not disturbing the prison regime. However, the power held by prison officers and the wider system is seemingly at the forefront of prisoners' minds: if they do not comply then they are likely to do 'hard time'. As such, based on Adam's story, prison appears to be creating compliant prisoners who then become failed citizens. That is, they achieve the requirements of formal compliance on the prison wings, but do not engage in the levels of rehabilitation required for them to become moral and law-abiding citizens. As such, is prison fit for purpose? Adam's narrative would suggest not.

Rehabilitation and the 'defended subject'

As outlined previously, prison seeks to deliver punishment and rehabilitation (Ministry of Justice and Home Office, 2013), with prisoners being expected to engage in rehabilitation over performing 'good behaviour' (see PSI 30/2013). Reflecting on his approach to prison, Adam commented,

> "*You get the old lads who wanna go home, they just wanna go home to their families. They just want an easy life and an easy jail.*"

These words reflect Adam's previous construction of the "*old school*" and his self-position of being a more 'mature' and 'laid-back' prisoner. His talk was explicit about his expectation of 'doing time' in the easiest way possible, seemingly going in to prison and then focusing on his release. Again, however, there was little recognition of the requirement, or benefit, of substantive compliance; namely engaging meaningfully with his prison experience in order to equip him with the skills to remain at "*home*" on

release. Here Adam's conversation is more explicit about his lack of intention to engage therapeutically – prison is not about rehabilitation for Adam, it is about 'doing time'. He mirrored aspects of Gary's talk about expecting to succeed rather than committing to rehabilitation and change and his discussion failed to link the reality that in order to remain in the community he needs to engage with rehabilitation. The process of separating home and prison may be similar to the concept of segmentation observed in the prison officer group where home and life are separated to allow them to manage the challenges of the prison environment (see Kreiner, 2006; Johnson, Worthington, Gredecki & Wilks-Riley, 2016).

However, for Adam there was little recognition of the fact that he, like other prisoners, were distanced from their families because of their criminal activity; and possibly because of their lack of commitment to rehabilitation. His talk actively undermines the rehabilitative attempts of the Prison Service. However, perhaps this is an established defensive strategy to protect from his painful experiences and the reality of his role in the challenges he faces as a result of being in prison.

Situating the self: the defended subject

According to Hollway and Jefferson (2000a), individuals often have parts of their lives that they wish to protect from others, as well as parts that they have protected from their conscious self through repression, projection, denial etc. The 'defended subject's' unconscious defences against anxiety reportedly influence their experiences and relationships, fashioning the stories they tell (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000a; 2000b). That is, they invest in particular positions within their discursive practices in order to protect vulnerable aspects of the self. Within the interview Adam situated himself in different ways when referring to himself within the community and prison setting,

> "*My problem is that when I'm on the outside, I snort coke and I drink. That's when I cause problems. I mean I'm not a nasty*

person, but if you stick some Charlie in my hand, you stick some beer in me, I'm a fucking monster comes out of me. Then I'm not a nice person. That scares me. So now I know that I've just not got to go out and snort. I can go out for a bevy, but I can't put the two together."

Here, Adam positioned himself within an offending framework, with substances being used as an 'alibi', possibly offering a defence against his own responsibility for using substances and offending. Drugs are used as a justification, or at least an explanation for his offending behaviour. Whilst he suggested that he needed to remain away from substances, there appeared to be limited insight as to the benefits of engaging with rehabilitation in order to address his drug use. It is possible that Adam's behaviour in the community was a consequence of doing 'easy time' and not engaging in rehabilitation. However, his talk defends against this position, seemingly repressing against the realities of his non-engagement and subsequently protecting him against the feelings associated with any realisation that it was his decisions that were impacting on his experiences and the challenges also facing his family due to his incarceration.

Alternatively, Adam may argue that he had engaged with the prison system but that rehabilitation had been ineffective, defending against his own responsibilities by externalising blame. He added,

"I've got loads of qualifications and certificates, City and Guilds, NVQs. More NVQ's than I know what to do with. In all my years behind the door I've learned how to be a personal trainer and all about nutrition, and I can't get a job."

Gaining educational and vocational skills is recognised as a part of rehabilitation (see Home Affairs Committee, 2005), although it is not the full picture. That is, whilst these courses may support prisoners with their resettlement needs, the rehabilitation framework also recognises the requirement for offence-focused interventions. Adam may defend against

the requirement for him to change in this way, and perhaps engaging in vocational work allows him to position himself as 'engaged' and making an effort to change so that he can be with his family. However, this does not appear to be enough and the prison system is possibly colluding with Adam by letting him spend each day working in the gym, but not pushing him to engage in more focussed rehabilitation. His discursive performances defend against his limited engagement in rehabilitation by outlining the shortfalls of the rehabilitation attempts by the Prison Service.

Ineffective rehabilitation?

Reflecting on the notion of rehabilitation, Adam said,

> "*Unless they start telling people how to live a proper life, then the problem isn't going to get sorted.*"

His language defends prisoners here; again placing responsibility for rehabilitation on the Prison Service who he suggested needed to "*start to tell people how to live a proper life*". Whilst he acknowledged the necessity for change, there was little recognition of the role of prisoners in rehabilitation. That is, rehabilitation is not 'done to' prisoners, it is a collaborative process that requires a commitment to changes as outlined in more general theories of human motivation and change (for example see Ryan & Deci, 2000; DiClemente, Schlundt & Gemmell, 2004). In Adam's story there was ultimately little evidence of him committing to change, although his talk defends against the realities of this lack of engagement by constructing the prison system as a failing institution. Seemingly this could be a defensive mechanism to justify non-engagement, although at the same time, it may also reflect the realities of the prison system as outlined in Chapter 2.

Elsewhere, Adam added,

> "*I don't think they know how to deal with people. They put 'em on some of these courses which are bullshit and are not adapted to*

these people. I mean they're just throwing people into the mix, they're putting people in jail that shouldn't be in jail."

Again, Adam questioned the usefulness of prison for specific prisoners. However, it needs to be acknowledged that Adam was talking about prisoners who, by their categorisation, presented a risk to society and thus imprisonment is probably necessary in terms of public protection. Whilst community sentences may not be appropriate in such cases, Adam's dialogue did raise an important point about the utility of certain interventions that work to address the generic needs of groups of prisoners rather than the needs of individuals. However, at the same time, if prisoners like Adam position rehabilitation and therapy as "*bullshit*", then this is in itself likely to act as a barrier to change in the first place (see Burrowes & Needs, 2009). Again, however, it appears that positioning the prison system as failing defends against the realities of his non-engagement.

The criminal fraternity
Elsewhere Adam draws on the concept of the 'criminal fraternity', drawing on the hopelessness discourse as a means of further defending his position as a non-rehabilitated prisoner,

> "*I think that once you've been so many years in the criminal fraternity it's inevitable that you're coming back. It's a sad state of affairs, but it's true.*"

Again, Adam questioned the reality of the Prison Service actually rehabilitating prisoners, suggesting that it is inevitable that they will return to prison. It is not clear why this would be "*inevitable*", but the reality is that large number of prisoners return to prison after their release (see MoJ, 2016b). Therefore, allowing prisoners to 'do time' and merely 'craft compliance' is perhaps in part responsible for prisoners returning to prison through their avoidance of rehabilitation. However, there are means of

rehabilitation available to prisoners should they choose to engage, although there are limited resources (HMCIP, 2015).

By aligning himself to the 'criminal fraternity', re-offending was constructed as being an expectation that fitted with wider research around how offenders often construct themselves as being victims of their upbringing, or society at large (Indermaur, 1994; Killias, Aebi, & Ribeaud, 2000; Loza & Clements, 1991). Adam's discursive performance of his offending behaviour being linked to the 'criminal fraternity' and the outcome of ineffective interventions appeared to be a defensive strategy for managing the realities of his re-offending and risk. Here he used words that seemingly offered him comfort, and which externalised responsibility. Positioning the self in this manner possibly prevented a sense of failure by defending against reconviction by outlining the likelihood from the outset. Whilst Adam advocated for compliance within the system, his talk also presented a number of underlying beliefs based on a 'criminal code' that rejected authority, and possibly the requirement for 'real' engagement.

Is rehabilitation really expected of prisoners?
Reflecting on rehabilitation and change, Adam commented that,

> "[Some officers are] *old school. They're stuck in their ways. They believe that (.) well they just think you'll never change: once a convict always a convict. Erm, there's, there's, no room for change with them*."

From a defended position, Adam argues that the "*old school*" prison officers do not expect change. Despite Adam positioning this group of prison officers negatively, the reality, as observed previously, is that high numbers of prisoners do return to prison, with Adam himself being an example of the 'revolving door' concept. As observed by Adam, if the system does not see the potential for change, then this has the ability to undermine rehabilitation. At the same time, allowing prisoners to do 'easy time' and supporting 'formal compliance' over 'substantive compliance'

might suggest that the prison system maintains the problem of offending behaviour. It is not clear as to the extent to which prison officers really support this stance.   However, supporting 'easy time' and 'formal compliance' would possibly have implications for rehabilitation, particularly given that staff-prisoner relationships are recognised as a tool for change (Home Office, 1984; Pilling, 1992; Trotter, 1993; Sparks et al, 1996; Gilbert, 1997).   Here, however, Adam's words would suggest that staff-prisoner relationships are a form of collusion to allow everyone to 'do time the easy way'.

Summarising Adam's construction of 'doing time the easy way'

As a reflective practitioner, Adam had seemingly 'crafted compliance' to support him in 'doing time the easy way'.   His indication that younger prisoners will "*grow out*" of any non-compliant behaviour suggested that prison trains prisoners' like Gary to possibly become future Adams by engaging in 'learned compliance'.   Adopting a chronological view of Adam's prison career suggests that he had moved from an approach of challenging the prison system, to one of perceived 'compliance'.   He engaged in 'formal' compliance whilst at the same time seeking to "*bend*" rules wherever possible. It would appear that Adam was perhaps once like Gary, 'resisting compliance' and challenging the authority of the system. Perhaps Adam is a matured or 'burnt out' Gary.

Based on Adam's narrative, it is reasonable to suggest that experience leads prisoners to 'craft' their time in prison, 'doing time' in a way that generates less challenges for them and for prison officers.   In turn this appears to facilitate 'easy time' for all. Yet, this undermines rehabilitation at a cost to both society and the individual prisoner. Based on the notion of the 'defended subject' (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000a), an absence of rehabilitation also seems to allow prisoners to engage in discursive performances to protect their inner vulnerable self.   Whilst prisoners like

Adam may appreciate this opportunity, it is likely to prevent them from addressing relevant issues associated with risk. If prisoners were more aware that 'easy time' and 'compliance' was likely to result in their return to prison due to a failure to be rehabilitated, then perhaps rehabilitation would be more favoured. However, this is likely to depend on how prisoners construct prison. That is, is prison an opportunity for change or an 'occupational hazard'? Either way, prison is not meant to be 'easy'. However, Adam's narrative indicates that 'learned formal compliance' was rewarded in the prison system as a direct result of him colluding with the prison officers' expectations of prisoners; namely that they contribute to 'easy time'.

Chapter 9 - 'Surviving time': protecting oneself from the realities of prison

This final chapter in the prisoner analysis section presents a narrative account of Martin's interview. At the time of the interview Martin was approaching his fifties and based on his self-report, he had served a number of sentences for violent offences. He said that he had been released from his previous prison sentence about 25 years prior to his index offence and had spent those years in the community and not in prison. He described having not experienced an advantaged background and said that he continued to be illiterate, notably impacting on his ability to engage in treatment programmes within the prison setting. He had been married previously and although divorced, they had a son together. However, his ex-wife, "*the person I'd loved for twenty-eight years had died*" whilst in prison sentence for his index offence.

Martin gave differing accounts as to the details of his index offence. He initially reported being sentenced following an assault on a male when his son had disclosed that he had "*touched a man's pecker*". Elsewhere he said that his index offence involved violence and the use of firearms. Thus, his account was seemingly complex.

In terms of returning to prison custody, Martin commented that in a world where "*I trusted nobody all my life*", he had expected prison to be "*like it was in the old days, dog eat dog*". In contrast, he said that the 'modern' prison system was like a "*holiday camp*", but at the same time he was pleased that "*luckily enough my reputation and that followed me*" from his previous sentences.

'Crafting' survival

During the interview, Martin reflected on his engagement and interactions within a 'violent' prison environment, outlining possible 'strategies' and approaches to manage the 'demands' of prison life. This section focuses on Martin's construction of the prison environment and his attempts to 'craft survival' within this 'violent' system.

A violent man?

Early in the interview, Martin entered in to a discursive performance around his use of violence; namely "*firearms and one thing or another*"; and positioning himself as a 'violent man',

> "*Basically I've been a bastard all my life, pardon the expression but you did ask for the truth.*"

Martin's talk claimed truth, thus positioning himself as an honest man, possibly seeking to give credence to his claims. His claim was that he had been violent across his life; although the extent to which he had engaged in a lifestyle of aggression was unclear. That is, despite articulating his frequent use of firearms and violence, his self-reported criminal convictions did not substantiate his claims. His conversation seemingly appeared to construct a hyper-masculine identity fitting with what de Viggiani (2012) reported as being a method of 'survival' in prison. This does not negate his claims and the reality that he may have simply evaded detection by the authorities. Reflecting on his use of violence, Martin later added,

> "*Erm, you've got your good side of people you know what come from wealthy backgrounds and one thing and another, but then you've also got the scum of the earth, which is people like me (.) With basically, we're the kind of people you don't want to see in a horror film.*"

The construction of the self as a 'horror film character' characterises Martin as someone to be scared of: a potentially violent and dangerous man. Whether this was the case or not is unclear, however it appeared important to his discursive performance where he portrayed a generalised identity that permeated his life. Drawing on socio-economic discourses, his talk claimed that his use of violence was the result of his social status. Most empirical evidence on determinants of violence, including that of Farrington (2007), supports the claim that violence is concentrated in the lower social strata. The majority of the prisoners involved in the research had themselves experienced challenging backgrounds and were individuals entering prison with a range of needs that went beyond simply addressing their violence and offending behaviour. For example, in Hamid's narrative he reflected a similar trajectory, outlining how,

> "*The area I was living in and that – the way I was brought up, all the lads who were hanging about and everything got me into crime and that. My father passed away at a very early age, I was only 15. There was a lot of pressure on me and everything so I started hanging out with older lads to get out of that pressure and that. With them I started smoking drugs and this and that, from then I never looked back.*" (Hamid)

Thus, the prisoner group was one with many complex and competing needs that the Prison Service and the wider Criminal Justice Service are tasked with addressing. For Martin to position himself as "*the scum of the earth*" and to use such pejorative language suggested that he was somewhat psychologically damaged as a person: he had seemingly adopted the identity of a character from a 'horror film'. Therefore, perhaps prisoners like Martin and Hamid require much more from their prison sentences than the opportunity to address their criminogenic needs as outlined in the rehabilitation framework presented previously. Here it may be argued that prison needs to work with 'individuals', rather than 'offenders', who have specific rehabilitation needs. However, this

potentially requires far more resources from a system tasked with reducing costs (NOMS, 2013a).

…or a man with unmet needs?
When explaining the circumstances resulting in his incarceration, one of the accounts given by Martin was that he had assaulted a male who had allegedly engaged in sexual contact with his son. He added,

> "*Erm, basically because I was sexually abused and one thing and another when I was a kid, I wanted the best for* [my son]*, I wanted to make sure nobody touched him, harmed him in any way at all possible.*"

This was one of a few instances in the interview where Martin exposed his vulnerabilities. His 'backstage self' (see Goffman, 1959) was one of vulnerability whereby as a child he was "*sexually abused and one thing and another.*" His talk implied that he experienced more than sexual abuse in the form of "*one thing or another*", yet within his conversation Martin did not expose more of his 'backstage' self. His speech positions him as both a vulnerable child, and a father who wanted to protect his son. His story suggested that he was unable to achieve the latter given his son's experience of abuse, possibly challenging his position of 'a man' and 'a protector'.

More generally, Martin's dialogue was replete with sexualised talk when discussing non-sexual matters. For example, in his portrayal of new prison officers he referred to them as "*virgins, first timers*" who he constructed as lacking in knowledge. The manner in which Martin described the abuse of his son, his subsequent response to the perpetrator, as well as his general use of sexualised language may suggest that issues were still emanating from the past. That is, there was an indication in his dialogue of unresolved issues.

As such, Martin presented as another prisoner with varied and complex needs. As outlined in Chapter 2, the prisoner population have a range of needs ranging from their mental health, through to their education and skill levels. According to Martin's story, there was no evidence of his needs being addressed as part of his wider rehabilitation. He disclosed being offered access to the group-based Enhanced Thinking Skills (ETS) programme, but there was seemingly little other therapy available to him that would have perhaps met the recommendations outlined by NICE for trauma (Guideline CG26) relating to his own abuse. In a system whereby prisoner codes centre on the premise that prisoners conform to survive and conceal their vulnerabilities (see Toch, 1998), it is perhaps unlikely that group-based OBPs such as the ETS would enable prisoners like Martin to openly discuss their experiences and vulnerabilities. Thus, in order to engage in 'real rehabilitation', there was perhaps a requirement for the system to better understand and meet the individual needs of prisoners. However, according to Martin, accessing any form of rehabilitation was challenging for him,

> "*I mean, I'm into my fourth year now, yeah, and at the end of the day it's took three and a half years for me to get on a course.*"

Based on Martin's conversation, accessing rehabilitation was difficult for him due to him being illiterate. Thus, according to Martin, the prison system was causing additional "*suffering*" and a lack of rehabilitation opportunities for prisoners who were illiterate. The official statistics outlined in Chapter 2 recognise the high proportion of prisoners with literacy and numeracy needs (Skills Funding Agency, 2015) which Ofsted (2015) state are not sufficiently addressed in prisons. Therefore, both Martin's talk and the statistics suggest that the prison regime is not meeting the complex needs of individual prisoners. However, despite the challenges within the system, the extent to which Martin subjectively valued treatment was not clear. Reflecting on opportunities to engage in treatment, he commented,

> "*I said to* [my personal officer], *I know I need to do summat because my parole's coming up*".

As such, engagement in treatment appeared to be linked to release as opposed to personal development: a further indication of 'formal compliance' within the prison setting (see Robinson & McNeill, 2008). Thus, across the prisoner narratives it may be suggested that more needs to be done to increase prisoners' subjective investment in rehabilitation given that <u>actual change</u> is more likely when there is genuine investment by prisoners (see Burrowes & Needs, 2009). At the same time, to address the varied criminogenic needs amongst prisoners, perhaps interventions need to go beyond the scope of OBPs in order to meet the complex needs of prisoners like Martin. His talk would suggest that his needs are not being met with his discursive performance being similar to that of Adam in outlining the limitations of the system.

The 'violent prison'

Martin constructed a 'violent prison' system characterised by "*nothing but violence, drugs and whatever*". Drawing on discourses of dangerousness and the abuse of others, he said,

> "*If you're going to act like a cunt then you're going to get treated like a cunt, and sooner or later you get took off. You know, you could be having a shower, next minute a bucket of boiling water with sugar in, you know, will get thrown at you.*"

Martin's talk alluded to expectations within the prisoner group around acceptable forms of behaviour and the subsequent consequences of non-compliance with these prisoner norms as Adam also outlined. Martin's talk outlined that repercussions were inevitable and would occur "*sooner or later*" if prisoners went against the expectations of the prisoner group. Thus, his conversation constructed a prison environment where there was an imminent threat of violence for prisoners, even when engaging in relatively mundane tasks such as showering. Martin's story about boiling

water and sugar reinforces the intention to cause serious harm[40], with his story claiming that the levels of violence can be severe and reach life-threatening levels. This reflects recent reports of one homicide every three months in the Prison Service in England and Wales in the year ending March 2015 (HMCIP, 2015). Continuing his description of life on the prison wings, Martin added,

> "*Basically, you know you go out down the landing, next minute two lads have jumped out, balaclavered up. What I mean by balaclavered up, they'll have pillow cases on their heads, you know, eyes cut out; they'll jump you.*"

Again, his discursive performance was about the imminence of the risk of violence against prisoners. Here, prisoners can apparently be attending to their daily activities and be subjected to unprovoked attacks. His story draws on crime discourses, with his reference to balaclavas notably linking to acts of offending behaviour. Both Martin's conversation and the literature inform us that prisons can be aggressive places, with there being an increase in the number of recorded incidents of violence within prisons. Also, the number of serious assaults in prison has risen by 55% over the last five years, and 35% in the last year (HMCIP, 2015). The statistics raise many questions about the incidence of violence in prisons. Prisons have long since been considered places where violence, victimisation, and bullying occur (Kupers, 2005; de Viggiani, 2012). However, whilst the figures may suggest that prisons are more violent places now than historically, it is possible that the system is becoming more adept at recognising aggression and recording this, thus taking further notice of the experiences of prisoners and taking steps to address this.

What the statistics do show is that the prison population appears to be changing with sentenced prisoners increasingly serving sentences for

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[40] It is generally reported that mixing water and sugar forms a syrup-like liquid that sticks to the skin to intensify burns.

more serious and violent offences[41]. In a system that manages individuals convicted of violent crimes, and who are known to have deficits in cognitive thinking skills and coping (Donnellan, Ge & Wenk, 2000; Howard, 2006), it may be reasonably expected that the environment be characterised by violence and displays of hegemonic masculinity. In a '*total institution*' that is noted to break down some prisoner's through social and psychological attacks that destabilise the sense of self (see Goffman, 1961), displays of violence and the portrayal of masculinity may be a strategy for 'survival' (see de Viggiani, 2012).

"*Fuck you Jack, I'm all right*"
Continuing his description of the 'violent' and "*dog eat dog*" prison system, Martin commented,

> "*You get your bigheads where they'll walk into you cell and "I want this, I want that. That's mine" basically.*"

Likewise, John said,

> "*Don't get me wrong, I'm only here for what I want, but at the same time, I'm not going to trample over people to get what I want; whereas a lot of the other prisoners would. But, then again I can see why, because it's them against the system, that's why. Everyone has their own goal.*" (John)

These quotes suggested that prisons could be exploitative arenas where violence and/or threats are used to meet the needs of individual prisoners who are ultimately goal orientated. Martin's dialogue drew on the notion of the prison hierarchy whereby the "*bigheads*" enter the private space of another prisoner (their cell), and take their possessions. He continued,

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[41] The proportion of prisoners serving sentences for sexual offences increased from 10% in 2000 to 17% at the end of March 2015. Similarly, in the same period, the percentage of the sentenced population that had committed violence against the person had risen from 21% to 27% (Ministry of Justice, 2015f).

> "*They're people what are doing fifteen to life so basically they got nothing to lose. So you've got two options then. You either give it them and keep the peace, yeah. Hopefully they don't come back. But some of them do because what's yours is theirs, and what's theirs is their own kind of thing.*"

Within his construction of the prisoner hierarchy those towards the lower end seem to accept that "*what's yours is theirs*" and do not question this in order to "*keep the peace*". At the same time, based on Martin's account, surrendering to their demands is not enough as prisoners merely "[hope] *they don't come back*". He drew on discourses of fear and intimidation suggesting that there was an on-going threat of violence within the prison system.

The notion that the "*bigheads*" and 'exploitative' prisoners are those "*doing fifteen* [years] *to life*" reflects aspects of Adam's composite. He too suggested that those prisoners serving long sentences; often with no specified date for release; have little to lose and little motivation in a system in which they are 'existing' rather than 'doing time' and working towards release. As such, his talk suggests that there are possibly few consequences of violence for this group of prisoners given the little perceived hope of release and progression. Drawing on the discourse of self-preservation, perhaps 'exploitation' and using violence is a reflection of 'easy time' whereby prisoners make prison 'easier' and more comfortable for themselves: "*fuck you Jack, I'm all right*". Whilst this may be constructed with disdain, it may reflect the realities of prisoners' attempts at 'survival'. However, it is important to note that despite Martin's construction of a violent prison, other prisoners presented conflicting accounts in that,

> "*I thought there'd be people kicking off all the time, you know, threatening you, give me this and give me that but they don't everyone leaves you alone.*" (David)

As such, the reality is perhaps not one of violence and aggression for all prisoners, but that is not to discredit Martin's account of his experience.

'Men' are getting hurt

Commenting on the prison establishment in which he was held at the time of the interview, Martin reflected on its negative historical reputation as a result of,

> "*…all the slashings, hangings and everything else what happened. Yet, it still goes on today.*"

Again, he reflected a violent prison system where extreme violence and weapon use reportedly occurred. The suggestion that "*it still goes on today*" further reinforced <u>his</u> lived reality of the 'violent prison'. He drew on discourses of 'dangerousness' and a lack of 'safety' to illustrate his point that prison was perhaps unbearable for some prisoners who, according to Martin, take their own lives whilst in prison. He goes on,

> "*A couple of weeks ago there was a lad trying eating an ashtray, 'cause he wanted to die, 'cause he'd had enough.*"

The discourse of desperation constructed an existence in which individual prisoners struggled to cope with the realities of the 'violent' and 'challenging' prison system. Official statistics indicate that in the year 2014-15 there were on average one or two self-inflicted deaths and 500 incidents of self-harm <u>per week</u> in prisons in England and Wales (HMCIP, 2015). This is against a decline in levels of safety in male prisons when assessed against the 'Healthy Prisons' test as outlined in Chapter 2. Thus, at this juncture perhaps staff-prisoner relationships are more crucial than ever in achieving the outcomes of safety (HM Prison Service Mission Statement), as well as role-modelling pro-social behaviour, challenging attitudes (Smillie & Guthrie, 2013) and facilitating and encouraging rehabilitation.

However, the Prison Service does provide a range of support systems for prisoners including the Personal Officer and Listener Schemes[42]. Whilst these schemes are noted to offer benefits (see Davies, 1994; Snow, 2000; Power et al., 2003), Snow (2000) outlines how a lack of trust has acted as a barrier to prisoners' engaging with Listeners. Considering Martin's performance of being a 'violent man', and the perceived benefits of 'front-staging' as outlined by Goffman (1959), it is possible that prisoners like Martin would avoid accessing such support systems and display their vulnerabilities. If prisoners do not access such schemes, then interventions and staff-prisoner relationships are possibly fundamental in keeping prisoners safe from the experience of prison.

"You'd be put out to rent"

In addition to his reports of general violence, Martin also commented on the 'sexual exploitation' and sexual violence that occurs within the prison setting. According to Martin there are,

> *"People getting sexually abused, people getting put out to rent. It does all happen. It happens. It's not some little man inside my head, it does happen."*

Indeed, according to Martin, prisons are places of sexual abuse and exploitation. The data outlined in Chapter 2 also supported the claim that sexual assaults occur in prisons, with more recent data suggesting an increase in the reporting of these assaults (see MoJ, 2014a; Howard League for Penal Reform, 2014b). Martin's conversation drew on notions of 'exploitation' over caring interactions, with wider discourses of sexual abuse outlining the predatory nature of some prisoners against vulnerable others. In doing so, Martin diverted the focus of the interview on to myself as the researcher: "*Lets take you for instance*". He added,

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[42] The Listener scheme involves Samaritans volunteers visiting prisons to select, train and support prisoners who become 'Listeners'. The Listeners work within the same framework as Samaritans by providing non-judgemental, non-directive, confidential emotional support (Jaffe, 2012).

> "*Basically you'd have a fucking, shall we say, a daddy. Now you could use it for your own sexual, his own sexual means, or they could, you know, basically put you out to rent.*"

In this instance Martin outlined the positions of the "*daddy*" and the 'prostituted victim' based on roles of dominance and subjugation. His story implied that dominance prevails with the vulnerable being "*put out to rent*". This reflects Martin's earlier claim that those with higher status in the prisoner hierarchy have greater degrees of power, with hegemonic masculinity being upheld through threats of violence (see Wooden & Parker, 1982). This is further supported in the transcripts based on a general notion of exploitation with John outlining how,

> "*As a new prisoner, people try to weigh up who you are by your appearance. They make snap judgements based on your appearance. They also want to try to take as much from you as physically possible.*" (John)

Thus prison appeared to be based on notions of 'survival of the fittest'. Indeed, Martin's conversation in the interview appeared to mirror the process of positioning the 'powerful' and the 'weak'. If the public presentation of self in the prison setting seeks to defend against personal vulnerabilities that the system may expose (see Crewe, Warr, Bennett & Smith, 2014), such discursive performances are possibly protective in terms of prisoners' psychological needs to establish their sense of masculinity and mask their vulnerabilities. Indeed, during the interview, Martin's talk to some degree created a 'distance' between he and I, seemingly creating an opportunity to elevate his masculine status. His dialogue suggested that an important feature of his interpersonal exchanges within the prison setting was to portray a 'toughened' masculine bravado, possibly to manage the worries of prison life as outlined by Jones and Scmid (2000), and Jewkes (2005). If relationships are routinely occurring against these discursive positions, this potentially has repercussions for the formation of relationships in prisons.

The 'performer'

According to Goffman's (1959: 2) dramaturgical metaphor of life being a perpetual performance with roles and scripts that are socially determined, relationships in prisons appear to be based on masculine performances within the prisoner social group. Here they perform their 'front-stage' self whilst hiding their private 'back-stage' vulnerabilities. This section focuses on an analysis of Martin's 'performance' of the 'violent' and 'masculine' prisoner.

The 'survival performance': front-staging the 'violent prisoner'

According to Martin, violence is a requirement for 'survival' in prison:

> "*You have to make a mark basically, and that gives the other inmates then an understanding as to say well, don't mess with that, you know what I mean, just to avoid that person, which I did and basically, luckily enough my reputation and that followed me.*"

His talk claims that it is necessary to have a reputation within the prison whereby "*mak*[ing] *a mark*" functions to protect prisoners by communicating to others that it is unwise to "*mess*" with them. Martin alluded to the use of violence as a way of establishing a reputation that had "*followed me*" either from the community or his previous prison sentences. Here, his performance appeared to be about masculine hegemony, focusing on attempts to maintain power within the prison hierarchy. However, his stories do not refer to any specific examples of aggression. Further, despite positioning himself as a somewhat well versed and experienced prisoner, this is contradictory to the reality that he reported having not been in prison for 25 years. Therefore, it is not clear as to why his 'reputation' would have followed him. Again, this appears to be representative of the 'defended subject' (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000a) and a discursive performance to protect his inner vulnerable self. At most, Martin's conversation alluded to the potential for violence. For example,

when describing an incident where the prisoner sharing his cell had sent correspondence of a sexual nature to Martin's ex-partner, Martin said,

> "*I had a choice to make then, do I go back in the cell, you know, and have a quiet word with him shall we say.*"

There were implicit threats of violence in his talk and the suggestion that he *may* engage in an aggressive interaction with his peers. Martin went on to use dramatic language to describe how "*the S.O. come running up*" whilst Martin "*was outside the cell, grabbing on to the railing, shaking*". His language depicted an emotionally tense interaction where the Senior Officer had allegedly seen the content of the letter and "*started to cry*". Despite engaging in dramatic talk, and constructing a dramatic scene, the situation was resolved when the Senior Officer, who had been approached by another of Martin's peers, had "*separated*" them; namely moving the fellow prisoner to a different cell. Thus, although Martin alluded to threats of violence on his part, he does not disclose following through with any form of violent behaviour. This is positive and may suggest that he has developed pro-social skills through which to manage difficult situations. However, taking his whole story in to account, his conversation appears to have been centred on 'bravado' with his discursive performance seeking to position him as a 'violent man' as a means of protecting the vulnerable self. This notion was observed in Fred's narrative when he said,

> "*I've met certain people in jail that try and have this big front, but I know them, I know what they're really like, but to other people they put this big thing on, they're talking more like this, and it's not really them.*" (Fred)

The literature suggests that threats of violence can be enough to uphold the prisoner hierarchy (see Wooden & Parker, 1982). Indeed, Martin's stories suggested that he 'survived' prison by positioning himself as a 'violent man' and creating a prison identity based on the notions of masculinity, hierarchy and threats of aggression. However, it may be

questioned as to how realistic it is that a young prison population would be fearful of a man approaching his fifties. Thus, the question exists as to whether the notion of 'reputation' protects prisoners like Martin from others, or whether it protects them from themselves in terms of rebuking their vulnerabilities through the portrayal of a masculine self. As such, it would appear that 'reputation' is merely a discursive tool through which to 'survive' in a system that strips away prisoners' masculine identity as they relinquish power and control to the system. For Martin, 'survival' seems to exist within the context of his past with masculinity supporting him to at least 'get by' in prison.

Pleasing your audience: "*At the end of the day you don't get involved*"

Reflecting on the aggression observed throughout his prison sentence, Martin commented,

> "*In jail you got to understand it's a code of honour (…) you know (…) what you see in a cell stays in a cell. You understand what I'm saying? Erm, on this sentence alone, er, yeah I have seen certain things, but there's a code of honour you don't break. Erm, basically you know (…) You feel sorry for the people like, but at the end of the day you don't get involved because you don't. You just want to be left alone.*"

Martin's conversation suggested that despite having "*seen certain things*" (possibly relating to violence given the nature of the conversation) he did not report this to the authorities based on the "*code of honour*". Martin's dialogue outlined the presence and relevance of Sykes and Messinger's (1960: 8) 'prisoner code' within the 'modern' prison system. Based on Martin's talk, social norms (originally suggested by Perkins and Berkowitz, 1986) appeared to influence the behaviour of prisoners based on perceptions of how other members of the social group may think and act. Thus, his decision not to get "*involved*" appeared to be linked to the notion that a prisoner should '*never rat on a con*' (Sykes & Messinger, 1960:8),

but more so the fear of reprisals. Thus, ignoring violence is possibly a further feature of achieving 'easy time' and 'surviving' the prison experience.

Interestingly, the same prisoner code outlines the expectation that prisoners '*don't exploit inmates*' yet Martin's story would seem to suggest that possibly certain aspects of 'the code' can be 'overlooked'. Perhaps remaining quiet is a feature of 'survival' and results in him 'doing prison the easier way': "*I do* [prison] *the easy way because at the end of the day I find it easy. Yeah. My life's comfortable.*" His talk suggests that compliance with the expectations earns him respect and as a result, "*I've got an easy life 'cause I've shown respect and I've got respect.*"

And the audience applauds: 'crafting respect'
For Martin, 'respect' was located within hegemonic masculinity and front-staging the 'violent self' in that,

> "*When you're in jail, it's like I said to you, you make a mark. Yeah? I made my mark. My mark's followed me, right?*"

Within the corpus of the data respect in the prison environment is important: "*everyone no matter if a prisoner or a staff, they want to be respected*" (Hamid). However, as also noted in Adam's narrative, 'respect' is seemingly linked to the ability of individual prisoners to secure a position of power and status within the '*pecking order*' that sets out the social hierarchy of the prison (Sabo, Kupers & London, 2001).

According to prisoners like Martin and Hamid, respect is linked to the amount of time an offender has spent in prison. Ultimately, the amount of time a person spends in prison is indicative of the number of previous offences, and the seriousness of their offending. Thus, 'respect' appears to be based on a masculine ideology and commitment to a criminal subculture, as opposed to pro-social behaviour. Respect appears to be built on the reverse principles to what the Prison Service seek to

engender; namely rehabilitation, pro-social values and meaningful engagement (Ministry of Justice and Home Office, 2013). On the surface Martin's talk suggests that he is well respected and that this offered protection and safety. However, this may be an illusion given that Martin was a somewhat 'vulnerable' man within the prison system.

Behind the scenes

Within Martin's interview, little is communicated as to his 'backstage' and private self. This is seen in the stories of other prisoners like Liam where their talk outlines much of their 'front-stage' selves and avoids any reference to their inner experience of prison,

> "*Some of us don't care about IEP's, some of us don't care about going down the block, some of us don't care about committing another violent act again.*" (Liam).

This 'back-staging' approach to prison is accepted in the literature as being protective for prisoners (Goffman, 1959), reflecting a similar process to that observed in prison officers (Crawley, 2004b). However, it is not wholly clear as to how 'front-staging' and the masking of the 'backstage self' impacts on the development of staff-prisoner relationships with protagonists performing robust and masculine identities devoid of emotional expression. Perhaps prisoners like Martin whose focus is on 'front-staging' never reveal their 'backstage' self, with revealing the 'backstage' self being too risky in an allegedly 'violent' and 'exploitative' prison setting.

I just want to be safe

According to Fred, "*as long as you feel safe and secure you're OK*" (Fred). Whilst it is acknowledged within the wider literature (e.g. Wolff & Shi, 2009; Gibbons & Katzenbach, 2006) that prisons are violent places, paradoxically, prisoners generally report feeling safe in prisons. However, Kerbs and Jolley (2009) note that older prisoners often feel less safe than their younger peers. When reflecting on the changes that he would make

to the prison establishment, Martin discussed at length the perceived need for prison officers not to be moved between different wings. That is, when staff are allocated to a specific wing they "*build up confidence within, within, within that wing*" and get to know the individual prisoners. This benefit was also outlined in Gary's composite when he reflected on his perception that relationships between staff and prisoners were enhanced when he felt that prison officers knew him and he felt 'cared for'. Martin continued to outline the benefits of this approach,

> "*You've got the staff what knows you, right; knows every move you make, right; because you've, you've learned (.) I've been here fourteen months now, so they've got to know me and I've got to know them, right. So that's the staff what knows you, yeah? So he knows, hang on that's not like Martin, there's something wrong there, I'll get straight on to that. So he'll go to the office and say to the S.O., or the P.O. or whatever "listen I need ten minutes. There's something wrong with Martin, he's acting a bit weird today.*"

Martin was not explicit in this dialogue about his own vulnerabilities within the prison system. Likewise, throughout the interview he used hypothetical situations or referred to other prisoners to articulate his point. Yet, there was a glimpse of Martin's vulnerability here in his enunciation of the benefits of having staff working on his wing that know him. His talk appeared to imply that the presence of familiar staff made him feel reassured that he was safe and cared for within the prison setting. Where consistency and familiarity existed within the system, this appeared to enhance his sense of containment and safety. The support of staff appeared to be a means through which Martin could 'survive' prison. However, if prisoners engage on a superficial level by enacting their 'front stage' behaviours this may limit their ability to access support from staff.

The staff-prisoner relationship seems fundamental in developing a safe environment where staff are responsive to the needs of individual prisoners. A challenge within the current climate is how reduced numbers

of prison staff can meaningfully engage with, and understand the needs of, an increasing prisoner population serving short sentences (MoJ, 2015g) and for whom community sentences may be deemed more effective (MoJ, 2013f). Should other forms of sentencing be available for this latter group of offenders, perhaps the Prison Service could focus more on meeting the needs of the longer-term prisoners in their care.

The 'emotionally intelligent' prisoner

Within Gary and Adam's composites, there was an indication of their attempts to 'remain under the radar', averting what Crewe et al. (2014: 63) refer to as the '*gaze of the institution*'. In contrast, within Martin's narrative, one noticeable aspect of his talk was his attempts to engage with prison officers and use these relationships as a strategy to 'survive time'.

Mayer and Salovey (1997) originally used the term *Emotional Intelligence* to describe an individual's ability to:

- perceive emotions in others;
- access and generate emotions;
- understand emotions and emotional knowledge;
- reflectively regulate emotions to promote emotional and intellectual growth;
- adapt to, and cope with, ones immediate surroundings in order to be more successful in dealing with environmental demands (see Bar-On, 1997).

Emotional intelligence therefore involves reacting to other's emotions while comprehending social networks and engaging in relationship management (Coleman, 1998). It thus allows individuals to persist in situations in which they encounter barriers to success (Coleman, 1995). Individuals with higher emotional intelligence levels have a better ability to empathise,

generally leading to their ability to conform better to organisational requirements (see Megreya, 2015).

Displays of emotional intelligence on Martin's part are of further interest given that deficits in emotional intelligence have been related to forensic populations in terms of aggression and general offending behaviour (Malterer, Glass & Newman, 2008; Hayes & O'Reilly, 2013; Megreya, 2013; García-Sancho, Salguero & Fernández-Berrocal, 2014).   This section outlines Martin's attempts at engaging with prison officers.

Negotiating relationships to survive

According to Martin, in terms of interactions with prison officers, prisoners have,

> "*…got two roads to go down. You'd rather make your prison life easier or you can make it hard for yourself, and by making it hard for yourself you're just being a cunt because at the end of the day you're not going to get nothing. By going down the easy road, show respect you get respect.*"

Thus for Martin, the staff-prisoner relationship is constructed as functional in achieving his needs. Prisoners do not have the same freedoms to make choices and respond to their surroundings as they would in the community. Therefore, the relationships that prisoners have with prison officers appear to be important tools in 'surviving' the prison experience. If prisoners "*show respect* [they] *get respect*" and seemingly have their needs met. This is a somewhat different approach to that of Gary who reported being at odds with the prison system and the prison officers, subsequently finding prison to be depriving. Therefore, it may be the case that prisoners seek ways of negotiating relationships and interactions with prison officers to meet their individual needs. Martin added,

> "*You either try and get on with* [prison officers] *or you don't. Now if you don't, there's going to come a point during your prison*

sentence where you're going to need summat or want summat, or you're going to need a favour, yeah? And because you've not made any headline towards that member of staff you're going to get nothing, 'cause it's give and take."

Likewise, David reflected,

"A few [prisoners] *call me a brown nose and a screw boy, because when someone asks me to do something then I'll do it. You know what I mean, some people will just argue about it, you know what I mean. If they shout their name, they'll be like 'why?' and I'll just say look I'll do it, you know what I mean. Then, when I come back they'll be like 'oh, screw boy', you know what I mean, 'brown nose' and all that, but I'm not bothered, you know what I mean."* (David)

Clearly Martin and David communicated the benefit of engaging with prison officers, recognising the potential for prison officers to meet their needs. They both discussed how relationships are not deemed inevitable, they require prisoners to make a "*headline*" towards the prison officers. However, their talk would suggest that their relationships with prison officers are somewhat 'functional' and a means of getting "*summat*" - possibly a "*favour*". Martin's talk specifically constructs these relationships as being based on the premise of "*give and take*". However, it is not clear how these relationships can be based on the premise of 'give and take' when there is a requirement for prison officers to uphold the rules and regime of the prison.

It is recognised by Liebling, Price and Elliott (1999) that the 'peace-keeping' and 'discretion' aspects of the prison officer role are important in understanding staff-prisoner relationships. Discretion is also required in situations where policy is vague, or in some circumstances, absent (Gilbert, 1997). That is, there is not a policy or procedure in place for every eventuality in prisons. Nonetheless, engaging in "*favours*" and 'making concessions' may undermine prison officers' abilities to maintain a

'fair' and 'safe system'. There is also the suggestion that "*favours*" may represent a boundary violation. However, according to Martin's conversation, he is able to engage in relationship management, therefore successfully developing relationships with prison officers, and seemingly succeeding in situations where there are potential barriers to both success and 'survival' (see Coleman, 1995). Like Adam, Martin reflected how,

> "*I do* [prison] *the easy way; because at the end of the day I find it easy. Yeah. My life's comfortable. I can say I'm one of the top (.) top paid prisoners in this prison, yeah, and that's because I've had to earn it, and I've had to graft, yeah? So I've got an easy life cause I've shown respect and I've got respect.*"

As such, in addition to being able to form relationships with prison officers, Martin proposed that this positive engagement with prison officers allowed him to do 'easy time' due to 'mutual respect' amongst him and the prison officers. So, how does Martin achieve relationships and have his needs met? That is, his talk suggests that he does not seek to 'remain under the radar' and he also appears to engage with prison officers. Therefore, 'easy time' appears to take numerous forms.

Reading others

In terms of establishing relationships with prison staff and deciding who is a 'good officer', Martin commented that,

> "*You can only do that when you've watched them and the way they react (.) Do you understand what I mean?*"

Liam described how he had also,

> "*…assessed these officers on the wing and I've realised who are the good ones and who are the bad ones.*" (Liam)

Therefore, their talk suggests that they use skills of emotional intelligence. In order to 'survive' in the prison environment Martin observed prison officers, perhaps in the same way prison staff are noted to engage in the surveillance of prisoners. His conversation suggested that he used this knowledge to 'craft survival' through the staff-prisoner relationships that he then developed. Commenting on his relationships with his personal officer, Martin said,

> "If [my personal officer] *walked in here now, I want to put a smile on her face and I'd pay her a compliment, and that's what I do on the wing.*"

Thus, according to Martin's conversation it is important for him to forge relationships with prison officers and this appears to be rewarding for Martin, possibly on both a practical level (i.e. him getting his needs met) and a personal level (i.e. giving him an opportunity for engagement). He continued,

> "*If I see an officer who looks a bit down like from some inmate who's given her grief, then at the end of the day I'll just pass her a good comment. She, she might say* "All right [Martin]?" *I'd say* "No, not really." *[She'll say]* "Why what's wrong?" *I'll say,* "But I'm all right now, all the better for seeing you, you've brightened up my day." *Summat simple like that can put a smile on an officer's face and take her mind of what she's just been dealt with, by another inmate.*"

Again, Martin's discussion implies an ability to perceive emotions in others and use this emotional knowledge to respond and engage with prison officers. Here he used his interaction to "*put a smile on an officer's face*", recognising how exchanges between staff and prisoners can reduce the possible negative impact of prison life, and in turn help individuals to 'survive' the realities of the prison setting. Further, it is of interest that within his talk Martin generally drew on interactions with female members

of staff. In these instances he seemingly applied his 'softer' interaction skills as opposed to drawing on violence and aggression. Perhaps his particular relationships with female staff have a function other than being a platform through which to display his masculine identity as a means of 'survival'. Maybe they allow him to connect with his vulnerabilities as Crawley (2002; 2004b) suggests that interactions with female prison officers often draw on sensitivity and compassion to effectively diffuse challenging situations and maintain respectful communications with prisoners. In turn, Ehrlich-Martin and Jurik (1996) inform us that this makes prisons safer environments in which to live and work.

On the surface, whilst Martin appears to engage well with prison officers, staff-prisoner relationships are complex. It is a fine line between being 'friendly' and being 'friends'. As such, Crewe (2011) suggests that the negotiation and management of boundaries in prisons is challenging. The possible consequences of these relationships are varied. That is, the relationships may support collaboration as a means of maintaining order and safety, yet they may also undermine these very principles of prison life.

A Mars Bar today, a set of keys tomorrow? Playing the 'easy time game'

Reflecting on the appointment of new officers to the Prison Service, Martin said that,

> "*Nine times out of ten he'll be frightened just like anybody would. But he'll come in and be quite happy to go out of his way (.) "Boss is there any chance of getting a cup of hot water please I know I shouldn't but is there any chance?" "I'll tell you what you stay where you are and I'll go and get one," you understand what I mean? He's breaking the barrier, he's like saying yeah, I know you shouldn't, but you know (…) I'll do this for you, so then you know that that officer's a good officer.*"

Again, Martin demonstrated his 'skill' in reading the emotions of others, recognising the possible vulnerability of the new and "*frightened*" prison officer. What Martin's talk also outlines is the possible opportunity to exploit the prison officer based on the identification of their vulnerability. His words implied that 'naïve' prison officers are perhaps more likely to make concessions in order to align themselves with the prisoner population. Based on Martin's comments, he appeared to exploit this; although others may argue that he was being emotionally intelligent. At the same time it is interesting that prison officers would choose to make such concessions due to the risk of being treated with suspicion, or potentially being rejected, from their peer group (see Harré & van Langenhove, 1999).

Elsewhere Martin commented on an interaction where he assisted a prison officer by cleaning the cell of a released prisoner. He added,

> "*He might come to you during the week and say "Martin, I found this lonely Mars Bar, it's all alone, would you like to keep it company?" It's their way of saying look, I can't pay you in goods you know what I mean, here's a Mars Bar, do you want it or whatever?*"

Ultimately, Martin's comments construct his behaviour, and that of the prison officer, as being positive in that the prison officer is reportedly "*breaking the barrier*" and being what Martin would term "*a good officer*". According to Martin, a 'good officer' is someone who uses discretion and makes concessions. Yet, it is unlikely that the Prison Service would see this individual as being a 'good prison officer' based on the expectations of the prison officer role as outlined in Chapter 2.

Further, it may be argued that Martin's expectations were somewhat unreasonable in that he was expecting prison officers to undermine rules. On the surface his stories appear to be simple interactions, but there are implications associated with prison officers making such concessions. In the first example, whilst Martin constructed the prison officer's decision to

get him a cup of hot water as being a relatively 'normal' or mundane act, his dialogue elsewhere referred to prisoners using hot water as a means of causing harm to others. As such, Martin seemed to have the ability to 'negotiate' with people; or maybe 'manipulate' them; using his emotional intelligence to 'survive time'. Whilst this appears to be effective on the surface, it may be dangerous and undermining of the prison system as a whole. That is, prison officers are required to maintain discipline and reinforce boundaries but it is not clear as to how they will be able to achieve this if they are willing to cross boundaries with prisoners. Today it is 'only a Mars Bar', but it raises the question as to what expectations this may set for prisoners.

Thus, relationships can easily lack boundaries as noted in Chapter 7 when David reframed his relationship with an officer as being 'brotherly'. Martin also outlined how the prison officers

> "…were there for me when I needed a friend and I needed someone to help me I could trust 150%."

He constructed his relationships with staff as being positive. In a system based on masculine identities, it may be deemed positive that Martin has been able to develop trust with prison officers. In his case, his conversation described how his trust in prison officers had resulted in him allowing them to support him whilst engaging in ETS. However, positioning prison officers as friends might suggest that Martin had expectations beyond a professional staff-prisoner relationship and when prison officers had maintained rules, he positioned them as being 'bad' or 'unreasonable'.

Damned if you do, damned if you don't?
On one level Martin was emotionally intelligent. He engaged with prison officers in the same manner that most other people would be expected to engage: negotiating interpersonal exchanges to achieve certain ends. He added,

"Have any officers had arguments with me? No. Because it's like I said, it's a line. To get respect you've got to show respect and at the end of the day I'm on a good wing, yeah. Should think I'm more or less liked by all the staff and there's lines I don't cross."

Thus, Martin's words suggested that his style of interaction was successful in forging relationships with prison officers. Whilst he suggests that there was "*a line*" in these relationships that reinforced their mutual "*respect*", his talk elsewhere indicated that he was seemingly comfortable in 'crossing the line' if it served his purpose. This appeared to be effective for him as he reported that prison officers have "*always responded and come forward*" and "*they've always delivered*" his expectations. Yet, within a forensic setting, the use of 'emotional intelligence' has the possibility to be dangerous and have implications for the wider system. The 'win' of getting a cup of hot water has potentially high implications in a setting where Martin purports that prisoners use such items to harm others. The stakes of negotiations are therefore seemingly higher in prisons.

Therefore, whilst Martin seemed to be engaging at an emotionally intelligent level, this may reflect the reality of staff members being manipulated and deviating from protocols in order to achieve Martin's ends: 'game-playing'. Perhaps he displays resistance in a more sinister form based on masculine notions of manipulation and control. That is, he portrayed an engaging interpersonal style, yet at the same time he seemingly undermined the prison system and the individuals with whom he purports to have 'relationships'. If this is the case, and relationships are what John described in his interview as being a "*cat and mouse*" game, it is not clear as to the extent to which meaningful relationships can exist that further the aims of the Prison Service.

We all negotiate in interactions, but the stakes are seemingly higher in prison. Prisoners may engage in, or in fact need, 'emotional intelligence' in order to 'survive' and have their needs met. Likewise, they may be

encouraged to develop their skills in emotional intelligence through their engagement in OBPs. At the same time, application of these skills has the potential to be undermining, and the extent to which this may be evidence of manipulation was less clear. As such, it appears that the distinction between emotional intelligence and manipulation are less clear in the prison setting. It would seem that for prisoners like Martin, they are 'damned if they do and damned if they don't'.

Summarising Martin's construction of 'surviving time'

As with the previous composites, Martin outlined 'strategies' for 'doing time'. For Martin, the focus of prison appeared to be on 'surviving' the prison experience and managing the challenges of emasculation in the 'masculine' and 'violent' prison environment that he and others (e.g. Jewkes, 2005) have constructed through their words. Whether or not he engaged in aggression, or more possibly made threats of aggression, in the performance of a masculine self, Martin's focus was on 'survival' and remaining safe. Protecting against any vulnerability appeared to be a feature of 'doing time' and 'surviving' prison for Martin. His conversation suggested that he engaged in a process of 'front-staging' (see Goffman, 1959), using discursive performances to construct a persona based on the notion of masculinity. This seemingly conformed to the requirements of the person-types recognised within the prison setting and in turn seemed to protect against negative feelings brought about by the prison experience. However, it was not clear as to whether Martin recognised this, or whether he too was a defended subject.

For Martin, the focus of prison appeared to become less about rehabilitation and preparing for release, and more about surviving his current circumstances in prison by findings ways of 'surviving time'. At the same time, however, Martin also recognised the benefits of 'formal compliance', and applying emotional intelligence was seemingly an

effective strategy in terms of forming relationships with prison officers. In turn he reported being "*comfortable*" in the prison setting. However, prison is not about being comfortable, it is about a process of change and rehabilitation, and some degree of punishment (MoJ, 2013b). What is the priority for Martin, and prisoners like him, 'survival' or rehabilitation? His talk suggested the former.

Determining priorities: 'doing time' or rehabilitation?

In Martin's attempts to 'craft survival' through the apparent use of a 'violent reputation', 'survival' itself appeared to be a possible extension of 'easy time'. That is, Martin appeared to be making attempts to find a way of 'doing time' that caused him the least number of challenges; in his case challenges to his safety. As with the previous composites, there appeared to be little focus on rehabilitation and the process of personal growth and self-actualisation (see Maslow, 1943) through the prison sentence. The focus was on achieving basic human needs and 'doing time'. The prisoner narratives raise the question as to whether all prisoners simply engage in the art of 'crafting' in prison in order to 'do time'. Based on the prisoner data, they ultimately appeared to craft 'easy time', albeit in different forms.

Based on the three prisoner composites in this thesis, the prisoners' conversations suggested that they were all seeking ways of 'doing time'. The staff-prisoner relationship presented as being important to this process, particularly given the potential influence that prison officers were deemed to have on this process. The prisoners' words suggested that prison officers supported them in their attempts at 'doing time' in a manner that was either 'smooth', 'easy' or 'safe'. This was despite the rhetoric around the necessity for prisoners to engage in rehabilitation. This is not to say however, that some prisoners; albeit in the minority; sought to engage with rehabilitation. Hamid commented, "*you can always learn, you never stop learning*", constructing prison as an opportunity for personal development as "*…through the courses I've done, do you get me? And er, it's just made me a better person*" (Hamid).

However, overall, there was an absence of commitment to rehabilitation within the prisoner narratives which focussed on the process of crafting ways of 'doing time' that met their individual needs. As such, based on the prisoner narratives, a challenge for the Prison Service seemed to be about how to increase prisoners' engagement with rehabilitation. That is, prisoners appeared to have become accustomed to engaging in 'formal compliance' and avoiding rehabilitation. Yet, the suggestion was that prison officers were happy to allow 'easy time' if ultimately this promoted a settled prison environment that in turn allowed them to do 'easy time'. Therefore, a question for the prison officer analysis is whether they encourage formal compliance and placate prisoners in their own attempts at doing 'easy time'.

Chapter 10 - "Doing it *my* way": more than just a 'turnkey'

The current research sought to explore staff-prisoner relationships in prisons within England and Wales. The previous three chapters presented detailed narrative accounts from the analysis of the prisoner transcripts. Current interpersonal theory recognises that relationships are dyadic in nature (Kiesler, 1996) and to understand individuals, there is a basic assumption that you need to understand their relationships with others (Leary, 1957). According to Kiesler (1996), interpersonal behaviours are not simply responses to stimuli; they are social in nature and are exhibited in the company of others and influenced by the reactions of others. As such, prison officers are important to understanding the nature of staff-prisoner relationships in England and Wales, with it being noted that they are often sensitive to not having a voice in prison research. The following two chapters therefore present the analysis of the prison officer interviews.

The focus here is not on attempting to validate or authenticate the prisoners' accounts, but to represent the prison officers' constructions of their role, of prisoners, and of the prison environment as a means of better understanding staff-prisoner relationships. As well as 'doing time' themselves, prison officers are also a huge component of the experience of 'doing time' for prisoners and as such, it is important to understand how they too construct imprisonment.

Prison officers as an occupational group

Within prison writings, prison officers are recognised as being a diverse group. As Crawley (2004b) explains, they defend different visions and versions of the prison officer role. Their approaches to prisoners often differ as a result of the manner in which they construct the causes of crime and the purpose of imprisonment (Sim, 2008; Kelly, 2014). As such, Scott (2008b) and Carrabine (2004) suggest that there are a number of different

prison officer *personalities*. However, despite these recognised differences amongst prison officers, as a group they are required to subscribe to an overarching pre-defined role. As outlined in Chapter 2, the expectation of prison officers as outlined by NOMS is that they:

- Supervise, manage and control prisoners decently, lawfully, safely and securely whilst carrying out all activities. Exercise the power of a Constable;
- Conduct searches on prisoners, staff and visitors as required;
- Undertake external escorts;
- Undertake 'first on scene' incident response;
- Maintain and update systems in-line with local agreements;
- Prepare relevant documentation to managers for verification / quality checking purposes;
- Attend and contribute to relevant meetings as required;
- Complete and update Personal Emergency Evacuation Plan;
- Establish, develop and maintain professional relationships with prisoners and staff; and
- Understand and comply with national / local policies and legislation.

Thus, prison officers operate within a particular framework as outlined here and within policies and procedures. Their role focuses on the management of prisoners and the maintenance of security and order within the prison setting. Notably, as already covered, Crawley (2002) suggests that this leads to a suspicious culture amongst prison officers. Further, it maintains an occupational culture of machismo that reinforces more detached interactions with prisoners and a tendency not to demonstrate sensitivity and compassion (Crawley, 2004b). Arnold (2008) also notes that prison officer training promotes notions of detachment and security beyond the level needed to maintain the security of the prison system.

The above role outline explicitly provides power to prison officers through their role; positioning prison officers as those who manage and control prisoners, albeit necessary to undertake this role in a 'decent' manner. Yet, their role is perhaps much wider than this. Whilst there have been typologies of either the 'custodial' or 'human services' prison officers (see Farkas, 2000), Stohr, Lovrich and Wood (1996) note the need for prison officers to move between these notions. Despite prisons being places of punishment, care is an integral part of the staff-prisoner relationship and this apparent incongruity is something that prison officers often have to manage: care is considered central to staff-prisoner relationships (see Tait, 2011). Notions of the prison officer role being either 'therapeutic' or 'rehabilitative' appear to be missing from the role descriptions. This, in turn, may result in confusion over roles, with prison officers having difficultly in managing what Stohr, Lovrich and Wood (1996) describe as conflict within the role.

Ultimately NOMS work to protect the public and reduce reoffending by delivering the punishment and orders of the Courts, whilst supporting rehabilitation by helping offenders to change their lives (NOMS, 2014). According to Smith and Schweitzer (2012), prison as a whole is an intervention that contributes to the wider aims of rehabilitation, and prison officers are part of this. Despite the employment of specialist staff (e.g. psychologists, probation officers and medical staff) reportedly resulting in the focus of the prison officer role being that of security and containment (Lin, 2000), prison officers do have a role in the rehabilitation of prisoners. The role relies on them employing a wide range of skills from care (Tait, 2011), to communication and negotiation (Crawley, 2004b) through what Hay and Sparks (1991) suggest is a creative use of one's own abilities. As outlined in Chapter 2, the factors considered to have the greatest impact on prisoners is having prison officers working with them *'who genuinely care about them, and who can persuade them that they should do things differently'* (MoJ, 2010: 10).

Analysing the prison officer data as an occupational group

The literature on prison officers outlines varied aspects of the prison officer role; although security and containment appear to be the aspects most explicitly noted. Despite the reported confusion amongst prison officers as to the focus and purpose of their role, they ultimately seek to present as a cohesive group who maintain the prison officer identity out of a fear of being seen as unreliable, untrustworthy or unsuitable employees (Fineman, 1993; Bendelow & Williams, 1998). Thus, as outlined in Chapter 6, the prison officer interviews were subjected to a discursive thematic analysis to represent them as a Community of Practice (Wenger, 1998; Wenger, McDermott & Snyder, 2002), that work together with differing levels of skill and experience to share and develop knowledge (see Bardon & Borzillo, 2016). A 'theoretical' thematic analysis was employed (see Braun & Clarke, 2006) drawing on discursive themes to address the specific research question: *how do prison officers construct and position their role, prisoners and the prison system?*

The prison officer analysis drew on the interviews conducted with nine prison officers from two prisons. This included male and female prison officers of different grades, ages and levels of experience within the prison system. A detailed description of the prison officers is provided in Table 6 in Chapter 6.

Identifying the key themes

Three key themes were identified through the process of the analysis that represented prison officers' constructions of themselves as individuals and an occupational group, as well as their constructions of prisoners and the purpose of imprisonment. Figure 1 illustrates the key themes and the sub-themes from the analysis. The key themes centre on '*jail craft*', '*prisoner characters*' and '*prisons as a time for change*'.
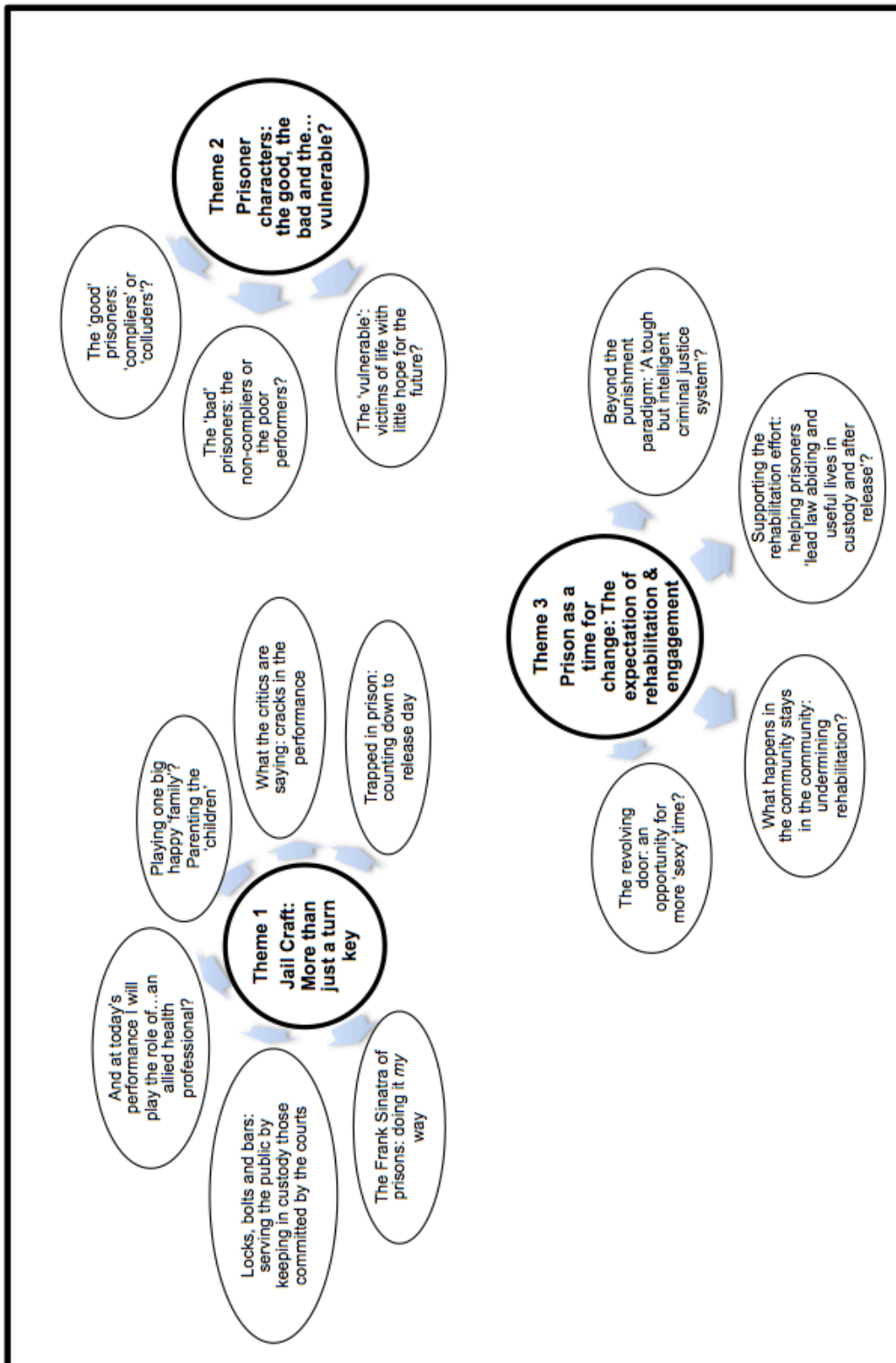
Figure 1: Key themes and sub-themes

Each theme will be presented and discussed within the current and subsequent chapter in numerical order. This starts in the current chapter by presenting the prison officers' constructions of their own role within the

prison context (Theme 1). The next chapter will present the prison officers' constructions of prisoners and imprisonment (Themes 2 and 3).

Jail Craft: more than just 'turnkeys'

Until 1921 when the title of 'prison officer' was officially adopted within the Prison Service, the title 'wardens' was used. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, this was derived from the old French word meaning 'to guard'. Here prison officers were constructed as 'jailers' who held the keys to the prison: 'turnkeys'. However, within the 'modern' prison system it is widely recognised that the prison officer role is multi-faceted and complex as outlined previously. This requires prison officers to undertake a myriad of roles and tasks in the prison setting. However, within the current research, Mr Reid, a prison officer in his mid twenties who had been a prison officer for two years said that, "*There's people who* [still] *think that all we do is lock and unlock doors. But there's a hell of a lot more to it*" (Mr Reid). Subsequently within the interviews, prison officers sought opportunities to construct their role as being professional, multi-dimensional, and fundamental to the prison system. Their talk reflected sensitivity to societal constructions of the prison officer role being that of a 'turnkey',

> "[Society] *see us in quite a negative light. The press call us wardens, which is insulting. I just think society sees us in quite a negative way really, as being quite male-orientated people working in a macho environment. You know, big macho-type prison officers and that's how they see us.* [And is that the case?] *No it's not. It's not at all. There is an element of macho-ness in this job, but I think that the biggest part of the modern Prison Service is about our interactions with prisoners and that takes skill to do.*" (Mr Thomson).

Similarly,

> "*I believe, from what you hear in the news or what you might read in the newspapers, even the broadsheets, there's a lot of rubbish in there really and there's very rarely any positive news about the Prison Service or prison officers. In general, it's all negative. I think that the job that we do is as important as other jobs in the service, but I don't feel that we get recognised appropriately for that.*" (Mr Smith)

As such, prison officers rebuked the position of prison officers as being a non-professional group, rejecting any notion that they were 'wardens' or 'turnkeys' employed to simply lock up and guard prisoners. Whilst they spoke about their role in maintaining order and the physical security of prisons, as outlined in the job description, they constructed themselves as skilled professionals undertaking an important public service. This echoed Adam's view that the 'modern' prison officer was less of a "*bastard*" and more of a "*professional*". Mr Anderson; a Senior Officer with over 17 years experience within the Prison Service; explained that,

> "*We're counsellors, we're firemen, we're policemen, police officers. We have to learn IT skills, we can all learn to kind of type, take statements, write memos. Things that you do on a daily basis: administrator stuff. Things and databases now, you know, ordering things and staff sickness, everything is a bit more complicated and relies on you using kind of more skills.*" (Mr Anderson)

The prison officers' discursive performances centred on reinforcing the complexity of their role and their individual skill level. Their talk claimed that they were "*social workers*", "*counsellors*", and "*parents*" to the prisoners, with each of these positions disputing stereotypes of a less sophisticated 'warden'. However, within the prison officer literature, Coyle (2005) argues that the question of what a prison officer should do is often difficult to answer due to society's continuing uncertainty about the purpose of imprisonment. Such levels of uncertainty were evident in the prison officers' dialogue with each prison officer seemingly constructing

their role in their own way.

The Frank Sinatra of prisons: doing it *my* way

The manner in which prison officers conducted their roles was constructed as individualised. Reflecting on his observations within the twelve months that he had worked as a prison officer, Mr Campbell reported that there was "*as much difference between officers as there is prisoners*", with Mr Robertson, a prison officer with over 16 years experience also claiming,

> "*Every* [prison officer]'*s got different ways to dealing with* [the job] *and once they've been in the job a couple of years they work out their own angle of doing it or their own way.*" (Mr Robertson)

Thus, prison officers communicated their individual approach to doing the job as outlined previously. This probably reflected Gilbert's (1997) observation that policy is often vague or indeed absent. According to Tims, Derks and Bakker (2016) employees engage in a process known as 'Job Crafting' whereby they make changes in their jobs based on their own initiative. According to Wrzesniewski and Dutton (2001), this may result in employees assuming additional responsibilities, adapting the way they conduct particular tasks, as well as their relationships in the workplace. In addition to crafting ones own role and doing things "*my way*", there was some suggestion within the prison officer narratives that they became more skilled in 'crafting' their role with experience; perhaps reflecting the process that Liebling (cited by House of Commons Justice Committee, 2009) termed as the development of 'jail craft'. This includes the ability to develop working relationships and strategies within the prison context. According to Mr Smith who had been a prison officer for several years,

> "*I think that as you get your experience and that you get, I quote 'Jail Craft', erm (.) I think you can just as easily de-escalate things and diffuse things a lot quicker than what you'd do when you perhaps first come into the job.*" (Mr Smith)

In the same way that Adam and Martin's narratives outlined how they had crafted 'doing time' over the course of their 'prison careers', the prison officers also suggested that they too underwent a similar process. When entering the prison system, prison officers are given particular discursive positions that are defined based on their role: positions of supervisor, manager and controller of prisoners and the prison environment. Despite prison officers having a certain set of rights, duties and obligations imposed upon them through their role, their conversation suggested that they negotiated their own identities through the process of finding their own craft. As Coutler (1981) explains, identity and a sense of selfhood are publically presented through various discursive practices. The prison officers' talk laid claim to them using their time in the prison setting to develop not only their own prison officer identities, but their skills and abilities to practically undertake the prison officer role: their 'Jail craft'. prison officers seemingly learned to conduct their role "*their own way*".

Reflecting on his career as a prison officer, and the development of his prison officer identity, Mr Thomson described himself as "*an officer who has evolved over time*". That is, through his 18 years as a prison officer,

> "*My attitude's evolved over the years that I've been in the job. I started at [establishment name deleted] prison and that was as macho as it gets. We ruled it with a rod of iron and when we shouted jump they jumped. I realised a few years down the line that it was having an effect on me and I didn't like the effect it was having on me. It was quite negative. I made a conscious decision a long time ago not to go down that road, and to come out of it another way and to model a humanist and compassionate approach. Since then that's who I am now, and I try to empathise with prisoners and I try to interact.*" (Mr Thomson)

Based on a discourse of personal growth, Mr Thomson's dialogue made reference to the process of developing and adapting his 'jail craft' in order to engage with prisoners in a "*humanistic and compassionate*" manner.

His words laid claim to the process of developing the manner in which he conducted his role in order to undertake specific duties, especially those linked to the development of relationships with prisoners. Yet, in order to do this, he was required to reproach displays of hegemonic masculinity that were based on the principles of control and the denigration of prisoners. What Mr Thomson's words suggested was that a cultural shift occurred that allowed him to adapt the way in which he undertook his role: a shift also observed in Adam's narrative. Reflecting on his attempts to model a humanistic and caring approach to prisoners within his year in the role, Mr Campbell said,

> "*Now, I've not been in the job long enough to decide who's right here but I like to try my way first and I have seen other officers that do it my way as well and they tend to have a much easier life of it. prisoners aren't getting away with anything but you just get what you want in a different way.*" (Mr Campbell)

Based on the notion of discretion and "*do*[ing] *it my way*", prison officers were positioned as being capable of negotiating their role and their relationships with prisoners. The freedom for prison officers to use discretion is framed by academics (for example see Sparks, Bottoms & Hay, 1996; Drake, 2011) as being wide-reaching, influencing how the prison officer role is both perceived and undertaken.

Within their narratives, prison officers drew on the discourse of discretion to justify their 'autonomous' approaches to their role. Their talk represented their individual differences in terms of using discretion and translating policy into practice in various manners. However, according to Grapendaal (1990), this results in inconsistent practices, and perhaps leaves prisoners like Adam (Chapter 8) feeling unsure as to the expectations for them as prisoners. Conversely, Gilbert (1997) recognised that the discretion employed by prison officers can be effective in reducing tensions between staff and prisoners, suggesting that the individualised approaches of prison officers complements the overall team performance.

Men and women's work

According to Mr Robertson, individual officers brought different skills and qualities to the prison setting,

> "*When you work on the landing you know what I mean, you've got a group of people where everyone's got different characteristics or different – summat they might be good at – summat they might be bad at – where you got to (.) Especially with females in the job now, if you got somebody that's a bit down or summat else like that you can say "You'd be better at talking to him than me" and then should somebody be kicking off and going to trash their cell it might be me that says "Go on, you do that, you're a bit better than me". So, it's mixing everybody in, you know them and what they're good at and what they're not good at and then basically you might distribute your staff accordingly.*" (Mr Robertson)

Therefore, Mr Robertson's conversation suggested that diversity in the way prison officers conducted their role was valued in certain situations, further contributing to a successful team performance. His words recognised the requirement for 'different strokes for different folks', an initiative previously rolled out throughout the Prison Service. However, his talk also drew on the gender discourse as a way of distinguishing male and female work. Females were positioned within a 'caring' discourse whereby they supported those prisoners that were "*a bit down or summat*". In contrast, Mr Robertson positioned himself as 'a male' who was better able to manage and control prisoners that may have been "*kicking off*", thus bringing about order. The gender discourse was relied upon to differentiate 'male' and 'female' work within the prison, with 'mens' work being more aligned to the security aspects of the role as outlined above. Their talk at least separated out women's work from men's work, therefore discursively seeking to maintain a masculine identity in a service whereby prison officers regularly undertake work that has traditionally been seen as 'women's work' based on the 'housekeeping' component of the role (see King & McDermott, 1990).

There is no 'I' in 'team'

Harré and van Langenhove (1999) and Goffman (1959) outline how the presentation of self ensures that public performances conform to the requirements of the person-types recognised by others. The prison officers' talk, as outlined above, laid claim to prison officers having opportunities to challenge certain personas, and to construct individual identities within the prison setting. This is despite expectations around engaging in a collective performance (see Crawley, 2004b). However, Mr Campbell recognised that despite his attempts at crafting the prison officer role, in order to be effective,

> "*You have to work as part of a team yeah. And that's very important as there can only be between six and nine officers on the wing at any one point depending on what time of day it is and it's very important you work as a team. And with all the different personalities we all want to do things slightly different and we all worked much the same pattern in the job as in what we do each day. We all have our own ways of doing it. It is very important I think that we work of the team but it's also very important that individuals in the same team who want to do things slightly differently,* [do things] *in a different way.*" (Mr Campbell)

Whilst Mr Campbell's conversation outlined his preference to be an individual, his talk recognised that a cohesive performance and team working were necessary to ensure safety within the prison setting. Ultimately there is a lack of clarity as to the extent to which prison officers are able to 'do it my way' or whether they are constrained by their job and the specific expectations as outlined earlier in this chapter.

Performing a solo?

Despite the above observations, as a newly appointed female prison officer, Ms Stewart gave a convincing performance that she would not be influenced by others in that,

"[Others] *won't alter the way I am. It doesn't matter, I'm here to do my job and I'll do that to the best of my ability* [and] *the way I think I should do it. And I won't be swayed by anybody else's views, you know. If they feel that way and that's the way they want to be then that's fine. But they won't change me.*" (Ms Stewart)

Ms Stewart's words suggested that she had so far resisted any pressure to adapt her identity that she constructed elsewhere as being that of a 'caring' officer. However, giving a 'solo performance' can be risky within the prison officer group, potentially leaving prison officers like Ms Stewart being treated with suspicion or being rejected (see Harré & van Langenhove, 1999).

Thus, it is not clear as to the extent to which individual prison officers are able to 'do it my way' and sustain this performance over time, especially if this undermines the group performance. Whilst prison officers positioned themselves as 'autonomous practitioners', which in turn appeared to justify their attempts at 'doing it my way', the structures of the Prison Service policies and procedures reflect the necessity for routine and a consistent approach. As such, perhaps 'jail craft' and the art of 'doing it my way' involves mastering the skill of finding ways of discursively negotiating their personas and representing one of a number of accepted prison officer identities which focus on the core tasks of supervision, management and control as outlined at the start of the chapter.

Locks, bolts and bars: serving the public by keeping in custody those committed by the Courts

When reflecting on the prison officer role, Mr Smith stated,

"*The role that I have as a prison officer is pivotal, pivotal to the establishment running correctly. Without people like myself the regime would just not run at all. Um, I appreciate that you have all the different areas within the establishment, um (..) which help the offender to develop, but without us working on the landings and*

having appropriate relationships with them (.) and having the time to spend with them, (.) I think everything else would fall down." (Mr Smith)

Here, Mr Smith's dialogue constructed the prison officer role as being fundamental to the Prison Service with his words claiming that without prison officers the regime would not run and "*everything else would fall down*". It is clear that it would be difficult, or maybe impossible, to run the prison regime without prison officers being in place. However, it is less clear as to what specialist role they take in the prison setting that is different to the other disciplines.

Mr Smith's conversation suggests that different disciplines within prisons help prisoners to "*develop*" and progress. However, "*working on the landings*" was constructed as the 'bread and butter' of both the prison officer role and of prisons more generally. Ultimately, the requirement to maintain the security of the prison establishment was outlined as being a fundamental aspect of the prison officer role. That is,

"*There is work that has to be done, like wing patrol, locks, bolts and bars, searching has to be done. Certain jobs have to be done first and they take priority over personal officer work. You know, security type jobs.*" (Mr Thomson)

As such, according to Mr Thomson and Mr Smith, security is a non-negotiable aspect of the prison officer role. It is accepted that maintaining order and safety is a core priority for prisons and prison officers and according to Useem and Piehl (2006), order is required before any form of rehabilitation can occur. This reflects the primary focus of the prison officer role as outlined previously. Thus, order is seemingly fundamental to the prison system working and for other staff (e.g. psychologists and probation officers) delivering rehabilitation. Constructing the prison officer role in this manner suggests that they have a 'specialist' role in supporting order and rehabilitation.

Security and relationships

Mr Thompson's talk recognised that "*99%* [of my role] *is my interaction with prisoners*", again positioning prison officers as having an interpersonal role with prisoners. This reflects the notion that effective prison management requires prison officers to engage in 'relational security'. 'Relational security' is concerned with staff having therapeutic relationships with prisoners that allow them to better understand the risks of particular prisoners, using their relationships to assess the stability of the prison and gather security intelligence. Further, 'physical security' reflects the physical aspects of the prison such as the walls and the gates, and 'procedural security' involves those procedures such as counting prisoners, conducting searches etc.

According to Exworthy and Gunn (2003), the distinction between relational, physical and procedural security is artificial in that if one aspect is ignored or neglected then overall security is weakened. The Learmont Inquiry (Home Office, 1995) into an escape from Parkhurst emphasised the importance of 'relational security', recognising that maintaining security (preventing prison escapes) and control (ensuring safety inside the prison) within prisons is '*only really possible through the relationship between staff and inmates*' (Home Office, 1995: paragraph 5.55). This was recognised in Mr Smith's talk above that implied that working on the prison landing was much more than security checks, it was also about the relationships that prison officers have with the prisoners and the time they spent together.

Security comes first

Mr Brown, who had been recently appointed to the role of prison officer, added,

> "*I think security is in your mind all the time when you're doing that role. You know what I mean? You can't get out of it, even though you've been helping them like a father. The role can change within*

a minute. You have to be security conscious at all time really." (Mr Brown)

Here Mr Brown's words explicitly referred to the role of security in the prison officer role, yet his talk appeared to be more about maintaining control within the prison setting and ensuring a safe prison environment. His conversation suggested that threats from prisoners were imminent in the prison setting as was outlined in Martin's construction of the 'violent prison'. Thus, Mr Brown's talk positioned prisoners as unpredictable, even in situations where prison officers may have been helping prisoners. In turn he constructed prison as being unpredictable and volatile due to the behaviour of prisoners. The official statistics presented in earlier chapters indicated that there are now more recorded incidents of violence in prisons, although the data is not clear as to whether these assaults reflected inter-prisoner violence or assaults on staff. Despite Mr Brown claiming that prison was a violent place where aggression was imminent, elsewhere his talk, and that of other prison officers, undermined this claim in that,

"*You think there is going to be more trouble and fighting. I mean for two years I've been on there I mean I've been involved in (…) one hands-on, one hands-on; which is not bad in two years you know what I mean. Obviously I've seen a few fights but I've not been hands-on. So in that respect you expect more trouble on the wing than what there is really.*" (Mr Brown)

Likewise,

"[In 18 years] *I've never been assaulted by a prisoner and I've never been potted by a prisoner. You know, throwing the shit over you. I've never been physically assaulted by a prisoner.*" (Mr Thomson)

Whilst this does not mean that violence does not occur, perhaps the prison

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officers' constructions of prisons as violent and masculine places had a similar function to that of prisoners. That is, constructing prisons violent places may function to support a masculine identity, or conversely it may justify their application of skills in the management and control of prisoners when there are conflicting expectations for prison officers around caring for prisoners. Ultimately the prison officers' conversations implied that they want to be safe in the prison environment. According to Mr Brown, "*as long as I'm going home safe at the end of the day, I've done my bit*" (Mr Brown). However, maintaining one's personal safety does not appear to attend to his responsibilities of maintaining the safety of prisoners and supporting rehabilitation. Martin's analysis in Chapter 8 outlined his attempts at crafting survival and here Mr Brown's talk implies that prison officers also seek safety and to go home safe after their shift. However, order and control should not be positioned negatively. That is, Tait (2011) notes that a focus on maintaining order by prison officers is one way in which the prison officers and prisoners' needs for safety are achieved: it is a functional part of prison life and a requirement of their job role.

Whilst prison officers also have a role in rehabilitation, the recent statistics regarding safety within prisons (see HMCIP, 2015) suggests that the maintenance of order and security should remain a core aspect of prison officer work. That is not to say, however, that they do not have a role in rehabilitation as the literature very much supports this notion.

And at today's performance I will play the role of … an allied health professional?

Notwithstanding the requirement for prison officers to undertake security roles, all prison officers recognised that "*It's nice doing something like that than turning the key and locking up at night*" (Mr Campbell). As outlined by Liebling, Price and Shefer (2011) and Lombardo (1981), helping prisoners can offer a source of meaning for prison officers as their roles are viewed as having few rewards. Here the prison officer narratives positioned the role as being more than a 'turnkey'. This fit with earlier reports that prison officers have often believed that they could do the roles

that specialists are often brought in to the prison to deliver such as interventions due to their knowledge of individual prisoners (see Crawley, 2004b; Thomas, 1972). In the presentation of this subtheme, further consideration will be given as to how the prison officers' positioned themselves as allied health professionals within the prison setting and thus resisting the position of 'turnkey'.

When reflecting on the multi-dimensional nature of the prison officer role, it was proposed that prison officers are "*more of a carer than a custodian these days*" (Ms Stewart). Further, despite the recognition that "*There is an element of macho-ness in this job*" (Mr Thomson)*,* Mr Thomson recognised the importance of prison officers' interpersonal interactions with prisoners suggesting that the 'ideal prison officer' was,

> "*(…) Somebody with the least amount of ego as possible. Somebody who hasn't got control issues and when he puts his uniform on doesn't feel powerful. Somebody who is secure with themselves and is at peace with the world. Somebody who has very good listening skills and gets on well with people. It's somebody who shows compassion.*" (Mr Thomson)

Thus, Mr Thomson's talk laid claim to the importance of relationships, interpersonal skills and compassion that prison officers perform within the masculine prison environment. According to Sim (2008), those prison officers that see security and discipline as being central to their role exercise power through their personal authority. Elsewhere, however, Mr Thomson's words outlined that he was a qualified counsellor and that applying 'soft' skills was more important and effective than notions of power and physical control over prisoners. This mirrored Trotter's (1993) comments that the interactions that prison officers have with prisoners are fundamental to the effective management of prisons and prisoners, and ultimately of effective prison practice.

Therefore, prison officers seemingly used their interpersonal exchanges with prisoners to develop and maintain order within the prison setting and develop a safe environment where personal growth was achieved through displays of dignity and respect. Mr Thomson's dialogue claimed that interpersonal skills were effective in managing aggression and supporting prisoners in need, but perhaps the words of the prison officers failed to acknowledge the importance of their relationships in maintaining the core aspects of security and safety that they outline within their roles. In terms of equipping prison officers with the interpersonal skills to support prisoners, it is not clear as to whether this forms part of their training. It does not, however, form part of the role description referred to previously.

Taking the role of counsellors and social workers
According to Coyle (2005), the introduction of 'specialist staff' perhaps positioned prison officers as custodians. Lerman and Page (2012) suggested that the introduction of OBPs ultimately resulted in prison officers distancing themselves from rehabilitation. This is despite prison officers being able to volunteer to the facilitators of the OBPs. However, the prison officers' talk reproofed this notion and through their compassionate discourse, prison officers consistently aligned themselves to other allied health professionals,

> "*I suppose I'm a counsellor or, (.) I don't know. I'm a helper. I consider myself to be a helper, that's it in a nut shell.*" (Ms Stewart, lines)

Mr Robertson also suggested that,

> "*Basically, erm (…) these prisoners they have issues, families, everything else like that. In some ways you can be a bit of a social worker.*" (Mr Robertson)

The accounts of the prison officers in this sub-theme centred on the premise that being a prison officer required them to undertake a wide

range of roles on a day-to-day basis, ranging from security orientated tasks to those involving therapeutic and 'soft' skills. It reflected earlier questions as to what it really is to be a prison officer. Here their talk explicitly outlined their recognition of the 'human services' element of their role, with their dialogue reinforcing their professional role and contribution to the prison system, and rehabilitation, more generally. Their talk positioned them as specialists in the prison system and as key stakeholders in effective prison management. They reflected on the need to support the prisoners that are often constructed as being disadvantaged and in need.

Just to confirm, I'm not a 'care bear' though

Despite the above, the prison officers' conversations were careful not to position themselves as being what was known in the prison as 'care bears': namely "*somebody who's being a bit too soft*" (Mr Campbell). Reflecting on others constructions of his interactions with prisoners, Mr Campbell said that other officers,

> "*…probably think I was being a care bear. They probably think I was being too soft letting them get away with certain things but I don't let people get away with things. If they do something wrong I'll have a word with them.*" (Mr Campbell)

Again, Mr Robertson rejected the position of a 'care bear',

> "*I'm not what I'd call a care bear officer in that sense, but the professional side, 'cause obviously you don't want to see them dead or anything else like that, so you try and sort of find out what his immediate problems are, what you can do that, but one of the things I do think at the moment is because the Prison Service and, the support service, the best way to describe it is, where the pinky and fluffy gone too care bearish.*" (Mr Robertson)

Mr Thomson later commented,

> "*I see myself as compassionate, empathic and supportive of prisoners. But, I can do the other as well. If I have to and we get a violent prisoner and we have to go in, I'll do that as well.*" (Mr Thomson)

As such, the discursive performances of the prison officers juxtaposed compassion and empathy against masculine notions of control and power whereby they were seemingly available, and able, to engage in tasks such as using physical interventions as and when required. Prison officers constructed themselves as compassionate, although this appeared to reject the position of a 'care bear', seemingly keeping their masculinity 'intact'. However, this should not be considered a criticism, as their role requires them to undertake each of these tasks as outlined above. Core aspects of the prison officer role focus on maintaining security, including the use of control and restraint and searching prisoners, as well as challenging attitudes (Smillie & Guthrie, 2013).

According to Harré and van Langenhove (1999), interactions exist at different levels: the interpersonal, the institutional, and the cultural. Thus, whilst individuals may seek to engage in staff-prisoner relationships on a therapeutic and interpersonal level, they are part of the prison as an institution, which is also part of a wider cultural framework. As such, the interpersonal style of the individual is likely to be both culturally and environmentally determined (see Gredecki & Ireland, 2012; Liebling, Muir, Rose & Bottoms, 1997; Liebling & Price, 1998, 2001; Crawley, 2004a, 2004b; Dewa, Ireland & Gredecki, 2011; Haslam & Reicher, 2005; Reicher & Haslam, 2006). This seemingly leads to tensions within the prison setting about what is 'right' and what is 'wrong' in terms of the prison officer role as noted in the earlier quotes where tensions exist between compassion and control.

Playing one big happy 'family'? Parenting the 'children'

Family and parental discourses were entrenched within the prison officers' talk. This included the positioning of prisoners as 'children' and prison officers as 'parents'. Reflecting on the presentation of prisoners in the prison setting, Ms Stewart said,

> "*I think they're like children. I really do. I think prisoners are very much like children. I think they rely on you for an awful lot. I think that they can try to manipulate you like children if they don't get their own way and they'll have a tantrum.*" (Ms Stewart)

Here, Ms Stewart's positioning of prisoners as "*children*" drew on discourses of dependency and immaturity, with her words suggesting that prisoners are often focused on their self-interests. Her suggestion that prisoners may have "*tantrums*" seems judgmental rather than nurturing. Positioning prisoners as being dependent, vulnerable and needy, allowed the prison officers to position themselves as the 'parents' of the 'childlike' prisoners. This is likely to have reinforced their power and control within the relationship. However, their talk sought to construct such demonstrations of power positively as opposed to being oppressive; although it was another means of positioning themselves as powerful. According to Mr Robertson,

> "*You sort of see them every day, you interact, you know more about them than what their family does so, (.) It's like being a parent sometimes I suppose.*" (Mr Robertson)

Again,

> "*I think the majority of them look upon me as a Mother figure because some of them actually said it. I think they think that they can come to me and I can help them. I'm the nurturing type of person.*" (Ms Stewart)

The prison officers' conversations implied that prison officers took on the role of "*surrogate*" parents. In doing so, this seemingly positioned the prisoners as being in need of help and guidance, which then seemed to support and justify prison officers adopting more caring and parenting roles which was seen as being helpful to prisoners,

> "*They need er (.) a father figure, I mean a lot of them obviously they haven't been brought up a proper family life have they that's why they've gone that way. So I feel, I mean with the younger ones, obviously you're a father figure to them sometimes. Whether it helps or whether it doesn't, but that's how I think you should think at times.*" (Mr Brown)

Likewise, Mr Reid commented that in his interaction with a prisoner he too adopted a parenting role as,

> "*Maybe* [the prisoner's] *never had that in his life and never had a father-figure to look up to or explain the rights and the wrongs of whatever.*" (Mr Reid)

Mr Brown's words suggest that intuitively being a parent to prisoners was helpful. But he was making an assumption that the difficulties that prisoners face are a direct result of a 'broken home' and ineffective parenting. Whilst he constructed his role as being one of re-parenting the prisoners, his words indicated that he was perhaps moving towards rehabilitation in terms of reflecting on the "*rights and the wrongs*" of prisoners' behaviours. However, prisoners were sensitive to the power and influence of prison officers as outlined in the earlier chapters, with them reflecting on the reality that often they were being instructed by people younger than themselves, whether this be in a punitive or 'parental' way. Mr Reid was himself in his mid twenties and likely to be of a similar age, or younger than many of the prisoners in his care. As such, perhaps it would be both offensive and naïve to assume that prisoners would see him in a parental position. A 'sibling' position may have been more

appropriate, but perhaps that would undermine the 'authority' of the relationship. Also, they positioned prisoners as being victims of their experiences rather than active agents in their choices around offending behaviour. Positioning prisoners in this manner may be likely to impact on their constructions of rehabilitation and the requirement for prisoners to engage.

The ethics of parenting

A further question is around the extent to which it is helpful, or indeed ethical, for prison officers to cast themselves in a 'parent' role that is potentially misleading and cannot be maintained long-term. Ms Stewart referred to prisoners developing expectations that "*they can come to me and I can help*" and one prisoner on her wing becoming "*clingy*" and dependent on her support. Perhaps constructing relationships based around positions of 'parent' and 'child' result in expectations that cannot be maintained in a relationship that is ultimately professional and not personal. Further, within the realm of rehabilitation, it may be argued that the focus should be on developing independent and responsible adults who are able to self-manage in the prison and community settings.

The talk of the prison officers suggested some degree of uncertainty about the roles that they adopted with prisoners whether it was that of a counsellor, a social worker, a custodian or a parent. The prison officers' words position parents as being role models, advisors and authoritarians to the childlike behaviour of prisoners. Yet, positioning prisoners as "*children*", and their behaviour as childlike, is perhaps insensitive and unsophisticated in that it fails to account for the challenging nature of the prison environment. It may also be considered patronising to prisoners, as well as introducing another power-based relationship in to an already power-depriving setting.

Ultimately, do prisoners want, or need, 'surrogate parents'? The prisoners' conversations outlined in the previous chapters would suggest not. The As such, whose needs is this meeting, those of the prisoners or those of the

prison officers? Based on the prisoner data it would suggest that the role of 'parent' meets the needs of the prison officers as the role would be likely to attack the prisoners' masculine identities.

What the critics are saying: cracks in the performance

The prisoner analyses outlined in the previous chapters reflected on the distinctions between the "*old school*" prison officers, and the "*new breed*" of prison officers entering the prison system. A divide between the 'old' and 'young', and the 'experienced' and 'inexperienced' was also evident in the prison officers discussions. According to Mr Smith,

> "*There are very few of should we say, the old school officers, you know those particular types of officers who would have no time for offenders, they wouldn't even talk to them. But they're a dying breed. Fortunately, they're dying off or they've died.*" (Mr Smith)

Similarly, as a recently recruited prison officer, Mr Campbell commented,

> "*I would probably bite the bullet and say that some of the people that have been in this job a long long time, are mainly the ones with the poor attitudes towards prisoners. So I would slowly wheedle them out and bring in new officers who are certainly more willing to carry forward the way that the Prison Service wants the Prison Service to go. It's very hard to change prison officers who have been in the job for long time. You can try, but I don't think you'll do very well. Whereas with the newer prison officers who haven't been in the job for very long, it's easy to mould them into the way that the Prison Service wants them to be.*" (Mr Campbell)

The prison officers within the current analysis generally presented themselves as being progressive and embracing of change in a system that is likely to have trained them to be responsive to prisoner needs based on the changes to the recruitment and training processes outlined in Chapter 3. This 'modern' system was seen as being rehabilitative in

nature and having a role in preparing prisoners for release. The prison officers' talk seemed to sway towards the view that the more traditional approaches to prison life based on control and power were inferior to modern attempts at engaging with prisoners from a more rehabilitative orientation. Here, relationships and empathy were favoured over punishment and discipline. In turn, those prison officers that had been in the role for "*a long long time*" were positioned as 'poor performers' who, according to Mr Campbell's words, choose not to embody the transformation of the Prison Service. As such, his conversation suggested that the older serving prison officers did not have a place in the 'new' system, with Mr Smith suggesting that these officers were "*a dying breed*". At the same time, however, the "*newer prison officers*" were positioned as being adaptive and responsive to the changing system; although perhaps clarity is needed about what is the 'new' system and the role of the prison officer is in this system.

There was some suggestion from the words of the prison officers that the 'older' prison officers should adapt the manner in which they conducted their roles. However, is this the case? That is, as outlined in Chapter 3, private prisons were established in England and Wales with a view to change the working practices observed in '*traditionally resistant, older prisons*' (Arnold, Liebling & Tate, 2007: 481). However, despite the initial reports being positive, with private sector prisons outperforming public sector prisons in relation to outcomes around staff attitudes, levels of fairness and humanity towards prisoners (for example see Shefer & Liebling, 2008), over time problems developed. This involved prison officers having fewer boundaries and being too favourable towards prisoners (see Crewe, Liebling & Hully, 2011). Where 'good' staff-prisoner relationships are a result of negligence, inexperience and the insufficient enforcement of rules, Shefer and Liebling (2008) report that this can impact negatively on other aspects of prison life. Thus, it may be argued that the 'old school' prison officers have 'been there and done that' and their approach to the prison officer role is the result of many years of learning and 'crafting'.

Learning from experience

The official statistics suggest that perhaps something could be learnt from the practices of the "*old school*" prison officers in that overtime, these portrayals of the role were effective in maintaining systems within the prisons. However, why would some prison officers be rejecting of their experience, advice and support? According to Mr Robertson, having reflected on his service of over twenty years,

> "*Some of the people coming into this job now, fellow colleagues that you're working with are not up to scratch. You know what I mean and that's not to say that er, (.) you go to help them, you give them as much help as you possibly can or you advise them as much as you can, but sort of, a lot of them, well some of them are way off the mark.*" (Mr Robertson)

His talk positions newly appointed prison officers as being 'unskilled' and 'unresponsive' to the advice or support given by more experienced prison officers. Perhaps this is not surprising given Mr Campbell's allegation that during training prison officers are told to be resistant to the older serving prison officers and their models of working. However, it is not possible to comment on the truth of these claims in the absence of an overview of the training content.

Ultimately, 'ignoring' the advice of experienced officers perhaps reduces opportunities for learning as the experiences of some prison officers may help to maintain the integrity of the prison systems, with 'jail craft' equipping prison officers to manage the demands of prison life. It is less clear as to why the dialogue of the prison officers would be openly rejecting of the "*old school*" officers. Perhaps by constructing the practices of the "*old school*" as being inadequate and failing to meet the needs of the prisoner group provides some prison officers with a justification for positioning themselves as compassionate and adopting a seemingly more prisoner-centred approach to their work. However, one might argue that this more 'compassionate' approach is supporting non-engagement as

outlined in the earlier chapters.

Establishing dominance

Throughout the prison officer narratives, the discoursive performances sought to establish dominance as to whether experience was more effective than newly recruited colleagues. Perhaps the prison officers were also 'defended subjects' (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000a), using their discursive performances to favour their approach to the prison officer role by elevating the status of their approach and undermining that of the peers. However, perhaps it is helpful for prison officers to operate in this manner due to the perceived risk of undermining consistency. That is, without consistency, one may question how services can be evaluated and how effectiveness can be judged; and in turn how best practice can be established. At the same time, maybe a culture of 'different strokes *by* different folks' is the formula for effective prison management. Ultimately Mr Brown suggested that,

> "*…you need a balance don't you, you can't have too many new staff obviously. But it has happened which is not a good thing. prisoners catch on to that, which obviously they take it to their advantage don't they.*" (Mr Brown)

Consistency and flexibility are important to the prison officer role. Flexibility and discretion cause tensions amongst staff about how individual prisoners should be approached with staff questioning where the boundaries lie (Liebling, Price & Elliott, 1999; Gredecki, 2005). The frustrations that result from inconsistent decision-making and rule enforcement are not new and have been described for some time in the prison literature (for example see Mathiesen, 1965; Sparks et al., 1996). If there is no agreement as to how prison officers conduct their role, then it is perhaps less clear as to the likelihood that they will deliver the aims of the Prison Service. The research presented elsewhere in this thesis recognises the benefits of the prison officer group being diverse and representing contemporary society.

Trapped in prison: counting down to release day

Crawley's (2004) ethnographic study found that prison officers entered the Prison Service for a variety of different reasons. These included "*the pay...job security...to make a difference*" (p.65). Motivations for remaining in the role formed part of the prison officers' speech in the current research. Whilst security was a core component of being a prison officer in terms of keeping prisoners within the prison walls, it was also the security offered by the role that seemingly 'trapped' prison officers within the same walls. Reflecting on his motivations for remaining in the role, Mr Smith said,

> "*What keeps me here at present. (.) At present I have about 14-years in the pension and (.) I know that I can pay my mortgage, provide for my family and that I can make (…) some small difference in offenders' lives.*" (Mr Smith)

Likewise, Mr Brown commented,

> "*Er I suppose it's security, job security. I like the job, I get satisfaction out of it. Er, but I think security. I'm getting that age now where you think I don't want to change my job now again. I mean you have to pay the mortgage and you know the money's there. So I think it's security, but I can't say I don't like the job because I do like the job.*" (Mr Brown)

Thus, pay and terms and conditions of employment were important factors in the prison officers' decisions to remain in employment. Whilst prison officers like Mr Smith and Mr Brown talked about job satisfaction, their words suggested that it was most often the financial security offered by the post that prevented them from leaving. Mr Thomson was a qualified counsellor and despite favouring a role as a counsellor, he said, "*I've only got 10-years to do to retirement*" (Mr Thomson) and he therefore remained in the role due to the pension benefits. Mr Smith was in his mid thirties but having accrued nearly 14 years of pension benefits he reported feeling

unable to give up these benefits by pursuing alternative employment. As such, he possibly had in excess of 30 years of service remaining until he could claim his pension, but would choose to remain in the job due to the benefits at the end. The prison officers' talk seemed to position them as being trapped within the prison walls and as 'doing time' and counting down until their 'release date'. However, discursively prison officers constructed themselves as being content and as experiencing job satisfaction. As such, does their talk aim to protect against any criticism associated with being financially motivated to remain in the role?

Trapped by a pay-cheque

If prison officers are in fact motivated by the financial security of the role, this may possibly go some way to explaining the deficits reported in terms of prison officers' interactions with prisoners as outlined in the HMCIP reports referred to in Chapter 6. Perhaps some prison officers are not motivated by their role and they see being a prison officer as nothing more than 'a job' and prisoners as being a 'pay cheque'. As Sundt (2009) explains, the financial benefits of being a prison officer have been outlined in the literature as being one of the important aspects of the prison officer role. However, changes to the pay structures for prison officers as outlined in Chapter 2, may impact on this going forward.

In the current research, there was a group of prison officers who were reported to "[not] *get any benefit from looking after the prisoners*", but who remained in their role "*…probably for the money, they like the hours possibly, they like you know this shift work, the time off*" (Mr Campbell). This has potential implications in terms of the performance of the individual prison officers and the prison officer group as a whole. This disengagement was recognised by prisoners like Liam who talked about how some prison officers "*don't want to be there and they want to go somewhere else. You can just tell that they're not interested*" (Liam - prisoner). Thus, one may question how staff-prisoner relationships can be fostered when prison officers might also lack motivation to engage. In a system where there are groups of prisoners and prison officers working

against the principles of imprisonment, it is less clear as to how the wider aims of the Prison Service be achieved. It may be that everyone is 'doing time' and counting down to their individual release date whether this is the end of their sentence or retirement.

Summarising the art of 'jail craft'

The prison officers discursive performances centred on reinforcing the complexity of their role and their individual skill level. Their talk rebuked any suggestion that they were 'turnkeys', with their words having laid claim to them being autonomous individuals who crafted their own approach to the prison officer role by employing discretion. Within their construction of the prison officer role, participants drew on the discourse of compassion, aligning themselves to 'allied health' professionals; namely social workers and counsellors. Whilst the prison officers talk at times pushed against the notion of their role having a security focus, maintaining the physical security of the prisons was outlined as being one of the core tasks of prison officers as outlined in earlier chapters.

Compassion seemingly justified prison officers' attempts at crafting their own role and in turn engaging with prisoners on a number of levels. This included positioning themselves as 'parents'. Yet these positions were seemingly problematic on a number of levels and at times linked to prisoners being positioned as victims of their past experiences rather than active agents in their choices around offending behaviour. Therefore, positioning prisoners in this manner may impact on prison officers' constructions of rehabilitation and the requirement for prisoners to engage with this function of the prison system. Furthermore, focussing on a discourse of compassion linked to prison officers being rejecting of those colleagues who focussed on the security aspect of the prison officer role, constructing these colleagues as antiquated in their approach. However, as noted in previous research around the private prison estate (see Crewe, Liebling & Hully, 2011; Shefer & Liebling, 2008), the skills and

experience of longer serving officers can be helpful in achieving a number of outcomes within the Prison Service.

In this analysis, compassion and empathy were seemingly favoured over punishment and discipline by some prison officers. However, it is possible that such approaches have the potential to undermine rehabilitation and key Prison Service outcomes around safety and security.

Chapter 11 - 'Doing time' together: working with prisoners

The long established view of the Home Office (1984: Para. 16) is that staff-prisoner relationships are '*at the heart of the prison system*' in the UK and that everything depends on '*getting those relationships right*'. Sparks, Bottoms and Hay (1996) report that these relationships are fundamental to the effective running of prisons. Gilbert (1997: 53) argues that

> '*it is clear that the direct work product that these* [prison] *officers produce is not security, control or safety but personal interactions between themselves and inmates.*' Further, he adds that '*the affective nature of these interactions directly influences the level of tension between officers and inmates and indirectly influences the safety, security and control within the prison*'.

Staff-prisoner relationships can provide opportunities to support change. As noted in the prisoner analysis chapters, interactions between staff and prisoners form a fundamental component of prisoners' experiences of 'doing time' on a daily basis. Within the prison officers' conversations, Mr Reid reflected that,

> "[Prisoners] *are here 24-hours a day and you're here on long shifts, so you have to learn to get along with each other.*" (Mr Reid)

This was a sentiment shared by the prisoners who also recognised that it was perhaps better for prisoners and prison officers to find a way of working together rather than being in conflict: everyone wanted to 'do time the easy way'. As such, one of the fundamental features of staff-prisoner relationships for the participants was that they facilitated 'doing time' whether this be a prison sentence or part of the working week. Based on both the prisoner narratives and Mr Reid's words, it would appear that

positive staff-prisoner relationships firstly reflect an expectation of 'formal compliance' (see Robinson & McNeill, 2008), but arguably 'collusion' amongst both parties in their commitment to 'doing time' together. These are possibly the unspoken rules of engagement in these relationships. As such, the staff-prisoner relationship appear to be more than an opportunity for positive interaction, it is a means of 'doing time', whatever form this may take: 'resisting time', 'smooth time', 'easy time' or 'safe time'. The relationships appear to be a means to an end.

Building on the previous analysis chapters, the focus in this chapter is on prison officers' constructions of prisoners and imprisonment, and the process of staff and prisoners 'doing time' together within the prison system. Drawing on the Discursive Thematic Analysis outlined in Figure 1 in the previous chapter, the themes of '*prisoner Characteristics*' (Theme 2) and '*Prisons as a time for change*' (Theme 3) will be presented and discussed.

Prisoner characters: the good, the bad and the … vulnerable?

Tait's (2011) research on the typologies of prison officers observed that a number of prison officers positioned prisoners as being individual and having individual needs. Within the prison officer narratives they constructed prisoners in a myriad of ways. Some prisoners were positioned positively, whilst others were constructed in less positive terms. They were a diverse group whereby,

> "*All the characters you meet out there* [in the community] *you meet in here. It reflects (.) it's an accurate reflection of society*" (Mr Campbell).

Thus, prisoners were constructed as being fundamentally similar to the general population: a mix of people, some good, some not so good.

However, the prison officers' narratives went further, seeking to impress that prisoners were "*human beings*" with different needs as previously observed by Tait (2011). Drawing on a human-being discourse, Ms Stewart said,

> "*They're not all like headless monsters. There are some nice people who are prisoners. You know a lot of people who are disturbed and people who have had bad lives and that's why they've ended up where they are. You've just got to get beyond that and just treat them as human beings really.*" (Ms Stewart)

Ms Stewart rebuked the notion of prisoners being "*monsters*", although her words suggested some level of surprise that "*there are some nice people who are prisoners*". Her talk pulls through aspects of Martin's conversation in Chapter 8 who also positioned himself as a character from 'a horror film'. In Martin's case this led to the conclusion that he may have been 'psychologically damaged'; a notion that Ms Stewart's words also laid claim to when positioning the wider prisoner group. Ultimately her words recognised that prisoners have needs and positioning them in this manner gave credence to constructing themselves as compassionate practitioners. Whilst the NOMS values (2014) reflect the need for prison officers to treat prisoners with 'decency and respect', the prison officer narratives indicated that they engaged in discursive performances to justify such approaches, seemingly suggesting that it was not a widely accepted practice and one that they should justify. It reflected wider sensitivities that prison officers may be positioned as 'care-bears'.

Ms Stewart's conversation further positioned prisoners as "*disturbed*" people who had experienced "*bad lives*", therefore leaving them in need of support. Prisoners were said to be "*all so different. There's many different characters in here, many different groups of people*" (Mr Campbell). There were 'good' prisoners, 'bad' prisoners, and those prisoners that were 'vulnerable' as a result of their life experiences. These constructions will be presented and discussed later in this section.

A word of caution about prisoners

Prison officers' talk went to lengths to construct prisoners as being individual people with different needs. Perhaps positioning prisoners firstly as people, and secondly as people in need of support was an extension of their self-construction of the compassionate and humanistic prison officer. Nonetheless, their words were not wholly consistent and whilst the prison officers all acknowledged that prisoners were individuals, their talk gave insight in to the underlying constructions of prisoners as a collective in that,

> "*Prisoners are prisoners. Er, (.) You expect them to be as they are, you can't expect them to be goody goody, to do as they're told, you expect prisoners to be prisoners.*" (Mr Brown)

Likewise,

> "*When I joined the job and I'm still the same now, and which I tell new officers, you can get on with a prisoner, you can be helpful, you can have an element of trust but the very basic line is do not trust them. Because you can be there, you can be helpful, but as soon as they don't get something they want, then you've got complaints and allegations going in against you, do you know what I mean?*" (Mr Robertson)

Thus, despite a general recognition that prisoners are individual people with individual needs, the prison officers' speech was clear that as a group, prisoners were not "*goody goody*". Their talk reflected scepticism and ultimately positioned prisoners as being untrustworthy and non-compliant. Mr Brown added,

> "*They wouldn't be here if they were good would they. Er, (…) it would be an easy life for us if they all* [were]". (Mr Brown)

Again, expectations for prisoners to be undermining of the prison system were clear here, with Mr Brown positioning prisoners as non-compliant, and drawing on their offending behaviour to support this claim. Possibly all prisoners were assigned this position to begin with, and as noted by Scott (2008a), it was perhaps the task of the prisoners to earn the respect of prison officers before being constructed and attended to on a personable and individual basis.

However, Mr Brown's words also noted that when prisoners undermined security, this destabilised 'easy time' for the prison officers. Whilst their role is built on the premise that they need to manage prisoners and 'exercise the power of a Constable', the prisoners were constructed as making the role of the prison officers more difficult. However, if prison officers see themselves as having a limited role in rehabilitation, then how do they spend their time if it is not managing prisoners? It would appear that they potentially seek 'easy time' too.

Positioning prisoners as untrustworthy may have served the function of allowing a degree of detachment from prisoners allowing them to engage in the task of managing and controlling prisoners as outlined in the role outline; approaches that perhaps lend themselves less favourably to a compassionate approach. Their talk reflects the tensions within the prison officer role and what Stohr, Lovrich and Wood (1996) report as being difficulties in managing the conflict of moving between a custodial to a human services approach to their role. Perhaps their role in the 'modern' system does not allow them to fundamentally be a 'caring profession' with a focus on security as outlined previously in a system that has limited resources. Therefore their talk defends against their inability to adopt a more compassionate role by positioning prisoners as untrustworthy and perhaps reinforcing the need for a security orientated role. Ultimately the role outline presented in the previous chapter focuses solely on notions of control and managing prisoners.

Let's be frank: prisoners are bad

Developing the above further, and according to Mr Anderson,

> "*They're all bad at the end of the day. If they're mad they'd be in a hospital if they're bad they're in here.*" (Mr Anderson)

In contrast to others, Mr Anderson's words are somewhat frank, and possibly a reflection of how he positions prisoners; his construction of prisoners and their behaviour is that they were 'bad'. Thus, prisoners were seemingly in prison for punishment and not for the treatment that may be afforded in a hospital setting. Although Kelly (2014) suggests that prison officer attitudes regarding punishment have received limited research attention, they are recognised as being important factors in determining the experience of prison. If this is the prison officers' underlying construction of prisoners then this is likely to undermine rehabilitation and focus them on the security aspects of their role. But perhaps this is not problematic if everything in prison depends on the maintenance of order as observed in the previous chapter. Yet, Shefer and Liebling (2008) inform us that discourses around prisoners being 'bad', and prison officers being 'good', have led to disconnection in the staff and prisoner groups, leading to a culture that is difficult to change. Further, in situations where prison officers have held views about prisoners being '*the enemy*' (Crawley, 2004a: 118), this has led to increased staff assaults.

Returning to Mr Anderson's words, it was noted that generally within their narratives, prison officers communicated that society positioned prisoners in a similar manner to Mr Anderson. However, the prison officers tended to avoid giving prisoners such candid positions, particularly given their performance around them being a 'caring profession'. Elsewhere, Crawley (2004b) noted that prison officers have tended to align themselves closer to nursing and psychiatric work than policing (Crawley, 2004b).

A mixed bag

The prison officer narratives offered many contradictions. Prisoners were constructed as individuals, yet at the same time they were collectively constructed as 'bad' with prison officers "*expect*[ing] *them to be difficult*". Possible functions of the prison officers' constructions of prisoners have been outlined previously. Perhaps constructing prisoners as a 'whole group' provided a platform on which prison officers could undertake their role: a starting point. If prisoners were positioned as 'bad' and likely to undermine rules, perhaps this was protective to the possible reality that prisoners would undermine rules. Even in Adam's case, whilst he performed 'compliance', he was open about his attempts at subverting rules to meet his needs. From this position, prisoners could 'earn' the trust and respect of prison officers who could then engage in the more human services aspects of their roles.

Within the current theme of '*Prisoner Characteristics*', this section will consider further how prisoners come to attract specific positions of 'good' and 'bad', and in other cases 'vulnerable', and the responses that prison officers take to these positions.

The 'good' prisoners: 'compliers' or 'colluders'?

When commenting on the notion of the 'ideal' prisoner, prison officers constructed these prisoners as being those that they perceived to be engaged in rehabilitation. Here, engagement and prisoners' 'compliance' with the requirement for them to '*demonstrate a commitment towards their rehabilitation*' and to '*engage in purposeful activity*' (PSI 30/2013: 7) was constructed positively. Commenting on his view of the 'ideal' prisoner, Mr Smith commented that this was,

> "*An offender that's reached a stage in his offending lifestyle that really truly does want to change. He's had enough of coming in and out of jail. You know, he's made that decision that I actually do want to change. Those offenders are easier to deal with because*

them themselves will seek out the appropriate channels that they need to go through." (Mr Smith)

Likewise, according to Mr Anderson,

"*I like to see them engaging in interventions. I like to see that they're telling you things and that they'd like to change their life.*" (Mr Anderson)

Thus, engagement with both rehabilitation, and prison officers more generally, was constructed as being 'ideal' within the prison officers' dialogue. Here their talk indicated that they had expectations for prisoners around 'substantive compliance'. Mr Reid also commented that the 'ideal' prisoner was one that was,

"*Open and honest about his crime and what-have-you (.) and think (.) honesty's the main thing. I can never say that I've got 100% trust in him and that he's being totally honest, but on face value he's being honest whilst he's in here.*" (Mr Reid)

Here Mr Reid was reflecting on a particular prisoner within his conversation and in doing so he observed that his perception was that the prisoner was being "*open and honest*" about his offending. Yet his dialogue did not explicitly outline the requirement for rehabilitation or the prisoner's engagement with this. Based on the prisoner narratives, one might conclude that 'formal compliance' would be enough for prison officers to deem prisoners 'good'. That is, Adam colluded with expectations around 'compliant behaviour' and this appeared to result in him achieving 'easy time'. The words of Mr Reid and others differ in terms of their expectations of prisoners, but ultimately there was an indication that in order for prisoners to be positioned as 'ideal', prisoners were required to demonstrate engagement on some level, whether this be in rehabilitation or complying with the desire for prisoners to demonstrate pro-social behaviours. As Mr Smith outlined "*those offenders are easier to*

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deal with". As such, perhaps prison officers themselves seek 'easy time' and therefore positively position those prisoners that perform engagement. That is, it would perhaps be difficult to actually assess 'substantive' compliance and thus any performance portraying this would likely be interpreted as positive.

Playing the game: 'emotional intelligence'
Within Martin's prisoner analysis, he verbalised how his 'emotionally intelligent' interactional style rewarded him with privileges. Commenting on factors that made interactions easier and that supported staff-prisoner relationships, Mr Robertson said,

> "*I think politeness comes into it. You can normally tell by the way somebody talks to you basically. Er (…) not so much towards their attitude but towards their (.) er (…) what can I say, er aggressiveness, you know what I mean. Obviously somebody who talks to you, (.) talks quite quietly comes up and says "Please Gov. can I have so and so" and everything else like that. It doesn't work all the time obviously but if you've got somebody who doesn't even know you and they just come on the landing and start shouting and swearing straight away, then obviously you mark him down as aggressive, at the back of your mind he's aggressive.*" (Mr Robertson)

His conversation reinforced the notion that when prisoners presented as engaged and personable, then they were positioned in positive terms. When prisoners were demonstrating emotional intelligence (see Coleman, 1998) and 'formal compliance', his words reinforced the benefits of prisoners performing in this manner as they appeared to conform to the organisational demands of prisoners. Emotional intelligence allowed prisoners to persist in situations where they encountered barriers to success (see Coleman, 1995) and staff seemingly rewarded such attempts by interacting with them. This may also be an indication of prison officers contributing to rehabilitation. However, a challenge to this

operating framework is that prisoners are known to demonstrate deficits in this aspect of social functioning (Malterer, Glass & Newman, 2008; Hayes & O'Reilly, 2013; Megreya, 2013; García-Sancho, Salguero & Fernández-Berrocal, 2014). Therefore, this raises the question of what happens to these prisoners. That is, in Mr Robertson's dialogue aggressiveness was constructed negatively despite the wider recognition in the literature as to the prison population consisting of aggressive men who perform masculine identities (see Viggiani, 2012; Crewe et al., 2014). Thus to reject those prisoners "*mark*[ed] *down as aggressive*" would potentially exclude the majority of the prisoner population.

Allowing prison officers to do 'easy time'
The prison officer constructions of the 'ideal' prisoner indicate that they ultimately favour 'formal compliance'. Reflecting on his role as a prison officer, Mr Brown commented,

> "*You feel as though you live there longer than you do at home, you know what I mean. So you don't want the mither. Less mither the better, you know what I mean. So the more you help them, the better it is for you in the long run, so I feel as though they feel I'm doing the right thing I should think.*" (Mr Brown)

As with the prisoner narratives, Mr Brown's dialogue drew on the notion of time that was almost an integrative theme (see King & Horrocks, 2010) whereby for prison officers, being in prison, albeit for their paid employment, was almost a lifetime. Mr Brown's talk suggested that prison officers also sought to 'do time the easy way' to the extent that his talk claimed that he seemingly colluded with prison officers in exchange for 'formal compliance'. However, there is no indication that being 'ideal' involved any notion of rehabilitation. Adam and Martin outlined the benefits of this former approach to their experience of 'doing time' and as such, for prisoners like Gary who wanted to do 'smooth time', the indication is that they need to 'comply' and not challenge the prison officers and then they too will be rewarded. Although the prison officers

say that they favour 'compliance', careful examination of their construction of prisoners indicates that the system appears to be promoting collusion as the 'ideal' in terms of achieving 'easy time' for all.

The 'bad' prisoners: the non-compliers or the poor performers?

Despite the earlier reflection that prison officers generally constructed prisoners as untrustworthy, the previous subtheme presented the means by which prisoners may be able to be re-positioned and seemingly rewarded by the system. However, the prison officer narratives indicated that the 'dis-engaged' and 'resistant' prisoners were positioned inauspiciously: the 'worst kind of prisoner'. According to Mr Smith,

> *"The worst kind of prisoner is (..) a prisoner that's, a prisoner that's not willing to comply. One who's violent, who isn't progressing, who has lots of issues and who's just continuing with that vicious circle of offending behaviour."* (Mr Smith)

Thus, Mr Smith's words reinforce earlier claims that prison officers favour 'collusion' with the notion of 'easy time'. Thus the 'worst' prisoners are the antipathy of the 'ideal' prisoner as they undermine the goals of the 'doing time the easy way'. The prisoner narratives also supported this view, with those prisoners who upset the status quo being challenged by the wider prisoner community. If these behaviours are barriers to engagement for prison officers, this raises many questions about the development of the staff-prisoner relationship, possibly making it more challenging for them to undertake the human-services element of their role. Perhaps this results in prison officers focussing their interactions on attempts to maintain their power and reinforcing the requirement for prisoners to demonstrate respect to their authority as outlined by Scott (2008a; 2008b). In turn, how can the staff-prisoner relationship develop? Without wanting to labour the point, the corpus of the data points towards the requirement for prisoners to perform compliance as outlined previously.

Some prisoners do not want to interact

In the same way that prison officers expected prisoners to engage with the system, there was also an expectation for them to engage with prison officers and non-engagement was constructed negatively:

> "*I just don't think some of them want to interact with prison officers. I think they think well er I'm here, I'll do me time and I'll get out. They're not bothered talking to ya you know what I mean? You can approach them sometimes an they'll look at ya an whatever an just walk on. But that's fine if that's what ya wanna do.*" (Mr Wilson)

Again, Mr Reid commented,

> "*I mean there are prisoners on the wing who won't get on with any staff because of the uniform and the authority and you accept that.*" (Mr Reid)

Here, Mr Wilson's construction of the 'worst' kind of prisoner was one that was resistant to prison officers. His talk suggested that he expected engagement with rehabilitation with there being an element of disbelief that prisoners may think "*I'll do me time and I'll get out*". However, this was perhaps a reality as the prisoner narratives outlined. Thus, the challenge is for prison officers to contribute to rehabilitation by motivating prisoners to engage. However, Mr Reid's dialogue is sensitive to the power dynamics of the staff-prisoner relationship and how this can be a barrier to interactions and engagement; although this is perhaps of little surprise given the issues of identity and prisoner sensitivities to authority and hierarchy as outlined in Chapter 3.

Ultimately it is accepted that some prisoners may not wish to engage with prison officers. However, prison officers have a role in offender rehabilitation as outlined in earlier chapters and they have a role in motivating offenders to engage. In the previous chapter the prison officer narratives fought for them to be positioned as 'professionals'. Thus, if they

want to assume this position, then perhaps they are responsible for working on the development of relationships with prisoners. Although it may not be explicitly worded in the prison officer job outline, surely this forms part of their supervisory role within a prison system that purports to rehabilitate prisoners. A challenge is how prison officers can deliver this given the high prisoner numbers and limited staff resources.

The 'vulnerable': victims of life with little hope for the future?

Tait (2011) notes that prison officers also position prisoners as being a vulnerable group based on their developmental backgrounds that are often seen as being disadvantaged. The prison officer narratives reflected this, drawing on a discourse of 'disadvantage' and positioning prisoners as individuals with "*mental problems, domestic problems, educational problems*" (Ms Stewart). Mr Smith stated,

> "*A lot of them have had the shitty end of the scale growing up. Maybe they're second or third generation of offenders within the family and they don't know any different. Um, do you know what I mean, they don't get a lot of support from their family so they seem to get involved with their peers or follow the gangs.*" (Mr Smith)

Likewise, Mr Thomson commented,

> "*I see some of them as the victims of life. When you get talking to them and you get to know what their childhood was like, I think that there was very little chance to become anything. Some of them will always be prisoners.*" (Mr Thomson)

The prison officers' conversations reflected an appreciation of the level of disadvantage experienced by some prisoners as outlined in the work of Farrington (2007) and others. A cross-section of the prisoner population was positioned as "*victim's of life*" with the prison officers' words suggesting that the prisoners possibly had little control over their eventual position. The behaviour of prisoners was constructed as being the result

of their developmental backgrounds. Whilst psychological models and theories of offending consider developmental trajectories as important in formulating offending (e.g. Marshall & Barbaree, 1990; Ireland, 2008), there are no single factor theories of offending. Also, many people who experience deprivation do not engage in criminal activity and perhaps it is unhelpful to construct offending in this way.

The recognition of the prisoners' levels of victimisation by prison officers is an important, yet complex factor in this thesis. That is, it is positive that prison officers were able to acknowledge the complexities of those prisoners in their charge. The recognition of the victimisation of some prisoners perhaps paved the way to a holistic view of the prisoners' needs and the requirement for prison officers to work with 'individuals' rather than groups. This was positive. Further, from a risk perspective, victimisation is also recognised as a risk factor for violence in structured risk assessment tools such as the HCR-20 (HCR-20 version 3: Douglas, Hart, Webster & Belfrage, 2013). Therefore, addressing such factors may also form part of the rehabilitation framework. In contrast, however, as outlined in the previous chapter, such compassionate approaches may undermine rehabilitation by externalising responsibility for prisoners' criminality and suggesting that there may be little hope of positive change, with prisoners being positioned as 'lost causes'. Therefore, the function of positioning prisoners as victims, as opposed to recognising their level of victimology, is central to this thesis and the staff-prisoner relationship.

Prison as a time for change: an expectation of rehabilitation and engagement

As outlined in Chapter 2, NOMS works to protect the public and to reduce reoffending by delivering the punishment and orders of the Courts and supporting rehabilitation by helping offenders to change their lives (NOMS, 2014a). The latter is reportedly achieved through a transformed justice system where punishment is part of effective rehabilitation (NOMS,

2013a). As such, the Prison Service has a role in delivering the punishment of the Courts as well as assisting in the rehabilitation of prisoners; namely supporting them to change their lives and reduce reoffending. As Chapter 10 outlined, prison officers also have a role in this process, despite much of the literature focussing on the procedural aspects of the job.

In terms of considering imprisonment within a wider cultural framework, many of the prison officers reflected that society generally favoured a punitive approach to the management of prisoners whereby,

> "*I don't think they're really, um, bothered about what the service does in terms of re-offending, um, sorry to rehabilitate and reduce re-offending. They just want them off the streets. They don't want these people particularly living in their areas.*" (Mr Smith)

Likewise,

> "*I think they want to see prisoners banged-up and out of the way of society so they can't offend.*" (Mr Anderson)

Thus, prison officers observed how members of the public were more concerned with prisoners being "*banged-up*" rather than being rehabilitated. Yet, a system focussed on punishment is unlikely to address the underlying cultural and societal influences on offending which Wikstrom and Sampson (2003) suggest are often missed. Thus, to reduce offending and the personal and financial impact of this on society, rehabilitation becomes even more relevant to prison practice.

Recognising the requirement for rehabilitation
Commenting on his role as a prison officer, Mr Smith outlined how his role was about "*trying to get the best out of* [prisoners]". This reflected the general narratives of the prison officers that constructed prison as an opportunity for rehabilitation,

> "*A lot of* [prisoners] *need help. Er (…) it's no good locking them away (…) I mean the younger ones obviously they've all got something to learn (.) about life.*" (Mr Brown)

Again,

> "*Our job is to try and rehabilitate* [prisoners] *and look after them*" (Mr Wilson).

Prison officers constructed prison as a place of learning and development rather than being a 'warehouse' for those people who offend. This construction of prisons ran contrary to what prison officers said society wanted. Prison officers drew on the rehabilitation discourse to argue that prison serves the function of increasing prisoners' insight (seemingly in to their risk factors and self-management strategies) and to engage them in a process of personal development. These all form part of the process of rehabilitation as outlined in Chapter 2 (see Home Affairs Committee, 2005). Mr Brown's words also suggested that it was perhaps the "*younger*" prisoners that had the most to "*learn*" from being in prison. These words may suggest that the expectations for 'older prisoners', or maybe those individuals who have been in prison on a number of occasions, are different. This would fit with the wider literature that recognises that it is perhaps more likely to have a positive influence on those prisoners early in their sentences or with little previous experience of prison (see Souza & Dhami, 2010; Zamble & Porporino, 1988).

Beyond the punishment paradigm: '*A tough but intelligent Criminal Justice System*'?

Ultimately, the prison officer narratives constructed prison as a place where rehabilitation was favoured over punishment. This section will explore the concept of 'prison as a time for change' and some of the complexities around the function of imprisonment and rehabilitation based on the prison officers' constructions of imprisonment.

The role of the Prison Service, as outlined in its mission statement, is framed as being one of containment and rehabilitation as opposed to punishment. According to Coyle (2005), Courts send people to prison to be deprived of their liberty and as such, this is one of the main priorities of the prison system; namely to keep prisoners within the prison walls until their release date.   The MoJ (2010) recognises that punishment represents the removal of offenders' liberty, '*forcing them to comply with a structured, disciplined and tough regime where everyday choices usually taken for granted are removed*' (p.6).

As outlined by Bennett and Shuker (2010) the prison officers were able to recognise the effects of imprisonment for prisoners. Consistent with the policy documentation, prison officers' talk outlined that the prison experience was not about punishing offenders whilst they were within the prison walls. According to Ms Stewart, a recently recruited prison officer,

> "*I think that they're in here because obviously they've done something wrong and they're being punished for that. Their liberty has been taken away from them, so it's not up to me to punish them further. I'm here to look after them whilst they're here taking the punishment. Do you know what I mean? I'm not here to punish anyone, I'm here to look after them whilst they're here, I think the punishment is being here isn't it? I mean they can't walk out of here and go where they want to go, so that's the punishment in my eyes. I'm just here to look after them and be helpful really*." (Ms Stewart)

Again,

> "*How the government have put it is it's a loss of liberty isn't it. You can't just go out to a take-away, you can't go to the cinema with anyone. You're in the prison 24-hours a day aren't you. You know, you're told when to go to bed, when to eat.*" (Mr Reid)

The prison officers' talk outlined how prisoners are sent to prison *as* punishment but not *for* punishment. These sentiments were outlined elsewhere in that "*obviously we're not here to punish them when they're here,*" (Mr Wilson). Punishment was constructed as the deprivation of liberty in an environment that Coyle (2005) argued was coercive and in which Goffman (1968) stated that prisoners lose certain roles due to the barriers that are created with the outside world. As such, there is no requirement for prison officers to be the purveyors of punishment; although it was recognised that perhaps society expected something different. That is, according to Mr Anderson, "*I think they want punishment. I think they want um, vengeance I suppose.*" However, in their conversations, prison officers did not subscribe to the notion of punishment within their roles. Their words, as outlined by Ms Stewart above, focused on reinforcing the compassionate nature of the role, reflecting on the requirement for prison officers to "*look*[ing] *after*" prisoners. Thus their construction of the self seemingly distanced prison officers from any notion of punishment. Here prison officers positioned themselves as 'carers' and a source of help, seemingly challenging perceptions within society of prison officers as "*these nasty big blokes walking round, only there to punish the prisoners yeah*" (Mr Campbell).

Delivering the punishment of the Courts

Prison officers are required to do more than 'look after' prisoners. They have a role in rehabilitation and exercising the 'power of a Constable' in order to uphold the '*Prison Rules*' (1999). Whilst, prison officers are not employed to 'punish', they do have a role in the delivery of punishment by the nature of the requirement for them to restrict the liberties of prisoners and ensure compliance with policies. This includes restricting movements, preventing certain communications and enforcing rules. prison officers are ultimately active participants in the system and as communicated by Mr Campbell, "*I'm here to look after them, help them, okay discipline them when necessary, but not to punish them*".

Discipline is part of the prison officer role as outlined previously. It involves the facets of supervision, management and control. The absence of these core aspects of imprisonment run the risk of prisoners like Fred saying that prison "*is like a hotel and they're* (prison officers) *the hotel workers*" (Fred - prisoner). However, prison is not a hotel and prison officers are clearly not employed to provide 'an all-inclusive package holiday'. Adopting a more liberal view of the prison officer role may possibly result in the facilitation of 'smooth time' (as noted in Gary's narrative) and in turn undermine notions of punishment and rehabilitation. The prison officer role goes beyond "*look*[ing] *after*" prisoners incorporating rehabilitation and the punishment agenda.

Supporting the rehabilitation effort: helping prisoners 'lead law abiding and useful lives in custody and after release'?

Prison officers highlighted the necessity for rehabilitation within the prison sentence, with prison officers having the obligation of "*making* [prisoners] *better people and supporting them once they leave*" (Mr Anderson). Mr Wilson had been a prison officer for around 21 years, and had undertaken a number of roles including being a wing officer, working on resettlement projects and more recently in the gym. He said that prison should,

> "*…give* [prisoners] *the (.) er qualifications what they might need. That's what we do on the introduction training we say "listen these are other courses you can do but it's entirely up to you if you want to do them". So it is there for them to do.*" (Mr Wilson)

Again, Mr Campbell said,

> "*What I expect now from prisoners is to erm, (..) first of all I'd like them to address their offending behaviour and realise what they've done, address it and get involved in some of the programme's that's in the prison to help them to address it. Erm, in that way they'll hopefully go out and not re-offend. Yeah so I'd like them to address offending behaviour. Erm, I'd like them to be in some way*

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obviously as I mentioned just rehabilitated and I'd like them hopefully to go out of prison with more than they came in with even if it is they couldn't read when they came in and now they can, they couldn't do maths and now they can, they couldn't do any plastering and now they can. I expect them to get something out of it. Now you know those expectations aren't always met I'm afraid." (Mr Campbell)

Firstly, Mr Wilson's talk alluded to the obligation of the Prison Service to provide prisoners with opportunities to engage in rehabilitation. Yet his conversation framed engagement as being optional. Likewise, Mr Campbell's regular use of the term "*I'd like them to…*" further framed rehabilitation as being non-compulsory. Engaging in rehabilitation was constructed in the prison officers' talk as being an 'ideal'. Rehabilitation was an 'elective' that prisoners might choose to engage with. However, according to NOMS (2014b) and PSI 30/2013, active engagement in rehabilitation is not an option if prisoners want to receive certain privileges in prison.

As arbiters of the IEP system, prison officers are expected at a policy level to determine whether prisoners are actively engaged with rehabilitation. However, their talk here suggested that such levels of engagement were negotiable; again seemingly favouring 'formal' compliance. This might reflect Logan's (1993) findings that prison officer support for the implementation of rehabilitation interventions is often associated with the idea of ensuring control in the prison setting as opposed to reducing risk per se. Yet, adopting such approaches to rehabilitation is also unhelpful for prisoners as ultimately many decisions about progression (i.e. parole board decisions) are based on an assessment of prisoners' risk and whether they may be safely released in to the community (for example see The Parole Board, 2015). However, the statistics presented previously suggest that there are in fact limited opportunities available to prisoners within the prison system in terms of rehabilitation, accessing meaningful activity and resettlement opportunities (see HMCIP, 2013). Therefore, the

limited opportunities for rehabilitation may imply that prisons do not provide a 'time for change'.

Offending Behaviour Programmes don't really work

Further to the above, there was some clear scepticism relating to prisoners engagement in OBPs,

> "*I think some* [prisoners] *will go through it and become better criminals. You know those who do the Enhanced Thinking Skills, they'll learn to stop and think more before they actually engage in crime.*" (Mr Smith)

As such, and according to Mr Smith, there are concerns that prisoners may engage with OBPs and ultimately develop skills to become 'better criminals' or may be develop skills to evade detection. This positions prisoners as perhaps being conning and manipulative, whilst also undermining the integrity and value of the interventions being offered to them. Therefore, it is unlikely that prison officers would be effective in promoting rehabilitation if they held such views. However, as noted earlier in this chapter, when prisoners were able to perform 'emotional intelligence' and demonstrate sound interpersonal skills, this was seen as positive. Thus, their talk might suggest that the use of these skills by prisoners was constructed as helpful if they met the needs of prison officers: 'easy time'. However, elsewhere they were linked to more sceptical views of prisoners as being 'bad' and 'untrustworthy'.

What happens in the community stays in the community: undermining rehabilitation?

According to Goffman (1968), when prisoners enter the prison system they lose their individual identity in a system that works with large numbers of people on a day-to-day basis. In their narratives, prison officers also chose to distance themselves from aspects of the prisoners' individual identities; namely their offending. Mr Robertson had been a prison officer

for around 20 years and in terms of engaging with prisoners he outlined how,

> *"I've come across every kind of prisoner you could think of; child killers, sort of er, necrophiliacs, anything you can think of I've come across and, seeing as you're prison officers, if you started going into all that, your head would be mashed."* (Mr Robertson)

Likewise, Mr Brown reported that,

> *"If you think about what they have done, then you would never get anything done. You have to cut it out of your mind."* (Mr Brown)

As such, the prison officers' talk constructed the notion of acquiring knowledge about individual prisoners and their offending behaviour as unhelpful. Their conversations suggested that knowledge of the prisoners offending behaviour would somehow impact on them psychologically as "*your head would be mashed*", as well as on their ability to remain objective and undertake their role. Thus, their choice to not know about prisoners' pasts was framed as being a protective strategy for maintaining their own mental health, as well as their ability to effectively undertake other aspects of their role. Their talk claimed that being exposed to information regarding offences may have been problematic and something that they may not have had the personal resources to manage. As such, this raises questions as to the extent to which the prison officers were supported to safely engage with prisoners whilst maintaining their own psychological wellbeing.

Too much knowledge can damage relationships
However, in addition to potential for knowledge about the prisoners impacting on the prison officers' wellbeing, it was further noted that such knowledge had the potential to effect staff-prisoner relationships in that,

"If you came in thinking about what they'd done and the effects of the offending on the victims, then you wouldn't have anything to do with them because you know what had gone on - it would change it wouldn't it. I don't let factors like that bother me, because I think that if I do start to it would end up with me not being able to talk to anyone because I knew what they'd done. I'd end up not giving them the time of day, so that's why you can't let outside factors bother you." (Mr Reid)

Based on the principles of the person perception literature, Denrell (2005) outlines how people seek interactions with those people that they like, at the same time avoiding interactions with people that they may dislike. Within Mr Reid's dialogue, his words suggest that knowledge of the prisoners' offending behaviour and their victims can undermine the manner in which prison officers engage with prisoners. His talk suggests that this is to the extent that prison officers may choose not to engage with prisoners: "*I'd end up not giving them the time of day*". Yet the policies and procedures around the prison officer role requires prison officers to develop professional relationships with all prisoners. Their role mandates that they should interact with prisoners and treat prisoners with respect and fairly; although their talk implies that this may be difficult for prison officers.

According to Alves, Koch and Unkelbach (2016), social perception is impacted upon by liking and perceived similarity to others. As previously outlined by Crawley (2004b) prison officers maintain a higher social distance from those prisoners who have committed certain offences (particularly sexual offences against children) when compared to those prisoners who are perceived to have committed 'normal' offences such as theft, burglary etc. As such, at one level perhaps 'not knowing' may be protective and functional in terms of avoiding prison officers engaging in the process of 'labelling' prisoners. However, a lack of knowledge about prisoners is likely to impact negatively on their ability to make informed assessments of prisoners' needs.

The first stage of rehabilitation as outlined by the Home Affairs Committee (2005) details the need to assess prisoner needs. Thus choosing to avoid knowing about the prisoners' backgrounds would presumably undermine this notion and also remove prison officers from rehabilitation. This is interesting given that elsewhere they aligned themselves to other allied health professionals in terms of being able to deliver rehabilitation. For those prison officers of a 'security orientation', knowledge is surely required in order to manage risks. The prison environment may be an effective place through which to observe prisoners and better inform current assessments of risk by monitoring risk related behaviours (for example see Jones, 2003; Gordon & Wong, 2015). However, if prison officers are detached from any knowledge of the prisoners' risks, it may be concluded that their ability to manage these individuals may be compromised.

Therefore, it would appear that any decision not to know about the details of the prisoners' backgrounds and offences would undermine the core aspects of the prison officer role. Furthermore, it would potentially support the notion of 'easy time', giving the prisoners the opportunity to avoid addressing the very factors that bring them in to contact with the Criminal Justice System.

The revolving door: an opportunity for more 'sexy' time?
According to Mr Anderson who had approximately 17 years experience of working in different categories of prisons across the country,

> "*I think that* [prison]*'s more tolerated now: it's sexy. You've got young people on ASBOs growing up and going to prison and seeing that as a badge of honour, and seeing prison as being great.*" (Mr Anderson)

Here Mr Anderson's words constructed offending and imprisonment as being "*sexy*"; perhaps a fashionable existence that is not only tolerated in certain communities, but supported or encouraged. This fits with the

observations of Yablonsky (2000) whereby some prisoners regard their inmate status as a badge of honour and thus appreciate their prisoner identity. Whilst prison officers ultimately constructed prison as being a place where prisoners would engage in a process of change; despite the fact that they often detach themselves from this process; it is noted that this is possibly their expectation and that it is not ultimately shared with prisoners. That is, the prisoner narratives outlined alternative goals for their time in prison which generally did not involve rehabilitation and ultimately change. Prison is possibly an opportunity to maintain masculine identities that underpin the general social functioning of the prisoner population.

Prisoners do not want to change

There was some suggestion that some prisoners do not want to change. According to Mr Campbell,

> "*I see* [prisoners] *that you know are just not gonna change. You know* [some prisoners are] *not bothered about being in prison. You know they don't view it as a punishment so what's to stop them doing the same thing and coming back in prison again. They don't find it that hard.*" (Mr Campbell)

Mr Campbell's conversation suggested that some prisoners constructed prison positively; something that was also noted in the prisoner narratives. Prison was not acting as a deterrent for future offending as it was seemingly functional for some prisoners, and for others it was perhaps an occupational hazard in a cycle of offending. Conceivably over time some prisoners 'craft time', finding ways of 'doing time the easy way' as Adam demonstrated. Yet for others, prison is constructed as being a better option than life in the community in that,

> "[Some prisoners] *say they're better off in here. Some people, (.) they've nothing outside, they've no life outside. They've no family*

half of them, so this must be their life. I mean it's not a nice life, but if that's all they know it's the best thing for them aint it." (Mr Brown)

Thus, prison is constructed as the 'better of two evils' for some prisoners, allowing a seemingly disadvantaged group of people the opportunity to achieve a number of their basic human needs. If this is the case, then it is unclear as to how the Prison Service might deliver rehabilitation when some prisoners seemingly prefer to be in prison rather than in the community. But perhaps this is an indication of the need for rehabilitation - to make community and pro-social living the better option. Based on the statistics around rehabilitation and resettlement (see HMCIP, 2015), more clearly needs to be done in terms of the Transforming Rehabilitation agenda (see NOMS, 2013a) to address the wider resettlement needs of prisoners so that they are able to secure accommodation, employment and stability in the community setting. Perhaps attempts at being compassionate and offering sympathy to prisoners is contributing to the 'revolving door' by failing to challenge prisoners to engage with rehabilitation as a result of positioning them as being unable to change.

Prisoners are not changing

Despite the challenges outlined in the previous paragraphs, ultimately prison officers constructed a prisoner's time within the prison system as a potential opportunity for change and rehabilitation. This was communicated as being their 'ideal', despite apparent challenges to this notion given their focus on rewarding 'formal compliance' over 'substantive compliance'. Prison officers' talk outlined their desire for prisoners to change and not return to prison: despite the fact that they were seemingly undermining rehabilitation at times. Yet, they observed individual prisoners returning to prison through the 'revolving door' which Crawley (2004b) reported leads to prison officers being pessimistic about the possibility of rehabilitating prisoners. In the current analysis, whilst the prison officers articulated that the purpose of prison was around change, many of the prison officers here expected prisoners to achieve little from their experience of imprisonment: "*really they're gonna go out just as bad*

as they came in. And you know they're gonna re-offend and that's frustrating. It really is frustrating" (Mr Campbell). Mr Brown said,

> "*I've worked here about two years now and the amount of prisoners you see going out and coming back is quite a lot, do you know what I mean? I mean there's a prisoner on there now who's just come back, I think he's been on* [the] *wing (.), it's his fourth time now since I've been on in two years. So it's (…) I mean, (…) are we helping or are we not helping? Or, are we just there to look after them inside to* (unclear)*. I mean the younger ones you hope you can help them on the right path. Er, (…) but like I said there is some who this is their lives isn't it, this is all they know.*" (Mr Brown)

Prison officers generally outlined their experience of the 'revolving door', with individual prisoners returning to prison time after time as outlined in Mr Brown's comment. The prison officers' talk drew on frequent examples of prisoners returning to prison upon release, which was consistent with the statistics outlined in Chapter 2. However, if prisoners are serving very short sentences as noted by Mr Brown, it is perhaps unlikely that they will have the opportunity to engage in any meaningful rehabilitation. As such, based on the prison officers' talk, perhaps rehabilitation is only a realistic goal for those prisoners serving longer sentences.

Commenting on expectations around prisoners' engagement in the regime and the notion of sentence length, Mr Reid said that,

> "*It's a long-term jail, people have been here for 5-6 years, a lot of them just want to come here and do their time and go home, end of. Whereas like [establishment name deleted] they know that they're only there two week, so they think why bother I'm only here two weeks, so they just cause a hell of a lot of problems.*" (Mr Reid)

Likewise,

> "*A lot of the lads are on the indeterminate public protection sentence. So generally they are keeping their heads down. They are towing the line.*" (Mr Smith)

Thus, there is further suggestion within these words that the duration of the prison sentence is a determinant factor in terms of prisoners' engagement. Those on longer sentences, or indeterminate sentences, are seemingly engaging in 'formal compliance' and "*keeping their heads down*". They seem to be achieving 'easy time' without engaging with the requirements of rehabilitation. Further, prisoners serving longer sentences appear to be crafting ways of 'doing time', whilst those on shorter sentences seemingly have little investment in rehabilitation or compliance.

Does rehabilitation actually work?

There is some scepticism amongst criminologists around the ability of the prison system to rehabilitate prisoners, with King and Morgan (1980) claiming that prisoners have always known that prisons are really about captivity rather than rehabilitation. Mr Reid's words seemingly concur through the suggestion that prison officers are somewhat colluding with prisoners' attempts at 'doing time' in captivity, and in doing so, undermining the requirements of their role to promote rehabilitation.

By using their speech to position prisoners as resistant to change; and others as incapable of change; perhaps allows prison officers to seemingly remove any perceived responsibility for reoffending. However, their talk suggests that they are undermining rehabilitation by positioning some prisoners as 'lost causes' and therefore not encouraging substantive compliance. It is highly possible that prison officers experience disappointment in seeing prisoners returning to prison, which in turn fosters cynicism amongst prison officers. However, it cannot be ignored that perhaps prison officers are in part responsible for this due to their disengagement with rehabilitation.

Summarising prison officers' constructions of prisoners and imprisonment

Within this chapter, prison officers' talk drew on the staff-prisoner relationship as being one in which prisoners and prison officers were required to work together. Generally prisoners were positioned as 'bad' and this appeared to justify prison officers engaging in the security aspects of their roles. However, the prison officers' conversations recognised that over time prisoners could be positioned as 'good'; although this ultimately required prisoners to comply with prison officers' expectations around doing 'easy time'. The data would suggest that a commitment to the 'easy time' ideal is supported. In turn, however, this appeared to undermine the requirements for prisoners to engage with rehabilitation, and for prison officers to reinforce this requirement. Positioning prisoners as 'bad' or 'vulnerable' looked to result in them being constructed as 'lost causes', with little hope of change or rehabilitation. Prison officers' talk sought to legitimise them professionally distancing themselves from the prisoners offending behaviour, claiming that knowledge of the prisoners' offending impacted on their ability to work collaboratively and to develop relationships. Yet at the same time, this approach perhaps prevented prison officers from undertaking their role as outlined by the Prison Service that required them to manage prisoners and to assess and monitor risks. Nonetheless, such approaches seemed to justify an absence of rehabilitation on the part of prisoners. Rehabilitation was constructed as being ineffective overall for a group of prisoners that were positioned as being unable, or to some extent unwilling, to change.

Chapter 12 - Crafting the 'easy time' tango

The broad aim of this thesis was to understand how prisoners and prison officers construct the staff-relationship, using positioning theory to explore these relationships within the prison context. Through a dramaturgical lens of prisons and the prison environment, it was possible to draw on discourse and positioning theory in order to explore such relationships and how these enabled certain positions to be taken up – or indeed resisted within the prison context. Engaging with both prisoners and prison officers provided a sound understanding of the way in which both parties were constructing their relationships. Further, the participants' stories provided an opportunity to consider discourse and how as individuals they constructed their relationship with both the prison, and each other. The way in which the data has been analysed in this research has provided a very strong indication as to the process of 'crafting time' within prisons. That is, for the participants in this research, the data appears to suggest that within the prison setting, both prisoners and prison officers seek to achieve 'easy time' by crafting ways of interacting with each other. These current findings have brought us to a place of thinking whereby the staff-prisoner relationship appears to be dyadic, with both parties engaging in a dance that allows them to move within, and through, the prison system. Within this 'dance', each performer was reliant on others if 'easy time' was to be achieved.

Defining the 'easy time tango'

The title of this chapter, '*Crafting the 'easy time' tango*', is not intended to be flippant, or in any way undermine the seriousness of what this research has been focusing on. However, the research has used discourse and performance throughout and the dramaturgical metaphor has been useful in understanding prisons and those individuals within this system: prisoners and prison officers. Despite earlier constructions of these

relationships as being independent of each other (see for example, Williamson, 1990), this research suggests that the relationships occurring between prisoners and prison officers are dependant on mutual engagement between both parties. It suggests that there is an intimacy to these relationships within the constraints of the prison environment, even if these relationships involve the performance of hegemonic masculinity as noted in the analysis chapters.

As a dance, the tango originated as a depiction of the relationship between a prostitute and a pimp (as discussed in Tobin, 2009). According to Taylor (1997: 41), the tango "*re-enacted and parodied the macho attitude of dominance*" with Tobin (1998: 83) claiming that as a dance, "*the tango couple is composed of two masculine subjects, even if one – or both of them – happens to be a woman*". Within artistic performances of the tango, Subero (2014) notes that staged or filmed tango scenes are often linked to acts of hegemonic masculinity and to extreme forms of violent crime (e.g. rapes, murders and prostitution). As such, Subero claims that, "*at the heart of tango dancing there is a strong performance of masculinity and the masculine imagery*" (p.47).

Thus, the tango originated as a dance depicting notions of power; and what is referred to in this thesis as hegemonic masculinity (see Donaldson, 1993); with one dance partner holding the power. The dance portrays the ostensibly unequal but intimate relationship between a prostitute and her pimp where both parties are dependent on the other: they co-exist with a shared interest. Therefore, within the dramaturgical notion of a dance, the tango appeared to suitably represent the power dynamic of the staff-prisoner relationship in a dance that has unequal partners – similar to prostitute and primp relationship originally depicted in the tango – but in which each party is ultimately dependent on the other: they need to co-exist in order to exist.

Sharing 'easy time'

One of the main findings to have come out of this research was the very intertwined and interconnected nature of the staff-prisoner relationship. These relationships were not dichotomous to Williamson's (1990) 'captive' and 'captor' roles. Rather, the relationships observed in this research were more integrative and dyadic in nature as recognised in current interpersonal theory (e.g. Kiesler, 1996). This research has revealed that staff-prisoner relationships for these participants were ultimately far more intimate and entangled, and as this research demonstrates, 'crafting time' required prisoners and prison officers to engage collaboratively with each other. The participants' talk reflected the view of King and McDermott (1990) whereby the prisoners and prison officers in this research tended to have shared interests, further emphasising the interdependent nature of the relationships. As such, they experienced relationships, albeit functional relationships centred on easing the experience of prison in whatever way possible.

Dancing the 'easy time tango'

Within this research, 'time' was what King and Horrocks (2010) would term an integrative theme. Everyone was finding a way of 'doing time' and prison life was clearly constructed around this concept. Whilst the notion of 'doing time' is not new within the prison literature, what this research reveals is a valuable understanding of the manner in which prisoners and prison officers share time within prisons. It provides evidence that in order to respond to the requirements of the prison system, prisoners and prison officers are required to work collaboratively, ultimately sharing time.

At a policy level, the aims and objectives of the 'modern' Prison Service are about much more than doing time. As outlined in Chapter 2, it requires prison officers to undertake a multi-faceted role requiring both 'human services' and 'control' functions (see Farkas, 2000). Reduced staffing numbers (see MoJ, 2015b) means that prison officers do not represent physical power in a prison system characterised by increasing

numbers of prisoners convicted for violent offences (MoJ, 2015f) and a prisoner population that is apparently engaging in more acts of aggression in the prison setting (HMCIP, 2015).   In this research, prison officers represented what Crewe (2011) refers to as psychological power (Crewe, 2011).   As outlined by Crewe (2011), this requires prison officers to use their soft-skills as opposed to attempting to control prisoner groups through force. Within this research, there was some indication that prison officers were finding ways of undertaking their role that maintained both the notion of 'easy time' and their safety. Seemingly, for the participants, the success of the prison officer role depended on the extent to which prisoners collaborate with them, as outlined in the previous paragraph.

However, at a policy level, prisoners are required to do more than collaborate, they were expected to actively engage with the prison regime and the process of rehabilitation (see PSI 30/2013). This was with a view to leaving prison with the skills and attributes necessary to live offence-free lifestyles as outlined within the mission statement of HMPS. According to prison policies, the rhetoric is that good behaviour is not enough for prisoners to progress through their sentences. As such, in this era of indeterminate sentences and risk assessment processes (for example see Parole Board, 2015), the prisoners' stories in this research suggests that they were required to comply with the prison system. This was in order to either expedite their release (e.g. for those prisoners seeking early release via the Parole system), or in some cases facilitate their release (for indeterminate sentenced prisoners who need to demonstrate a reduction in risk). Yet, prisoners openly rejected rehabilitation, constructing this as "*psychological bullshit*" that according to Adam (Chapter 8) did not meet the needs of prisoners.   However, prisoners are able to progress through the system to release. The prisoners' talk demonstrated that rather than engaging with rehabilitation, they were focussed on getting released from prison and – perhaps understandably - ensuring that the period leading up to their release was as 'easy' as possible. What was of further interest was that this research revealed that both prisoners *and* prison officers collaboratively sought to

experience 'easy time' and used each other to achieve their aims and in doing so, each choreographed their own 'easy-time' steps.

Choreographing one's own steps

Based on the stories told within this research, it was evident that everyone in prison was crafting time, albeit in different ways. For some this amounted to attempts at 'resisting time', whilst for others it amounted to 'smooth time', 'surviving time' and doing 'safe time'. In Chapter 7, Gary's narrative outlined his attempts at resisting both interactions with prison officers, and the restrictions placed on him by the prison system. In contrast, in Chapter 8 Adam's story centred on the notion of 'doing time the easy way' through his performance of engagement with prison officers. Similarly in Chapter 9, Martin's account reflected an analogous process of engagement linked to a personal desire to maintain his safety. From a prison officer perspective, Chapter 10 provides evidence of the process through which the prison officers also sought to undertake their role as individual performers, responding to the individual needs of prisoners in order to form relationships.

Despite the varied approaches taken to 'doing time', what my research has shown was that the ultimate aim of 'crafting time' seemed to be about one thing – doing 'easy time'. That is, regardless of how the individual participants approached life in prison, they seemed to be crafting ways of making their prison experience as 'easy' as possible. This involved removing any potential challenges linked to prison life. Ultimately, prisoners and prison officers shared time in the prison setting and seemingly collaboration from within, and between, both groups, supported them in achieving 'easy time' and the staff-prisoner relationship was presented as being intrinsic to this. Yet, whilst my data suggested that prisoners and prison officers favoured this approach, doing 'easy time' was not without its challenges.

'Positioning' the self and others within the 'dance'

Hollway (1984) explains that individuals present themselves and others as actors within a drama creating discursive positions. Analysing the data with a particular focus on the participants' narratives allowed for a theoretical understanding of how prisoners and prison officers constructed staff-prisoner relationships. Within this research, positions were relational, occurring on the interpersonal, the institutional, and the cultural level (see Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). Personhood was created through the participants' discourse (see Shotter, 1983) and they positioned themselves and others in various ways that afforded them specific rights and duties. This research demonstrates how individual participants used positioning to justify their own responses and approaches to prison life. Through the recognition of the positions of themselves and others, the public self was constructed (see Harré & van Langenhove, 1999) in a manner that was appropriate to both the prison setting and their approach to doing time.

The notion of positions opening up different behaviours was demonstrated in Gary's positioning of prison officers as being "*dogs*" and "*bullies*" that in his view sought to punish prisoners and make their experience of prison 'hard' and challenging. This stemmed from his initial view that he had been sent to prison *as* punishment and not *for* punishment and as such, he should be allowed to do 'smooth time'. Through his discursive performances, Gary legitimised his quest for 'smooth time' and his resistance to the system by reflecting on the conduct of prison officers. For Martin, presenting himself as an 'emotionally intelligent' prisoner and constructing his interactions as being friendly banter; despite stating that he was looking to exploit new and inexperienced prison officers in order to access restricted items; went some way to justifying his attempts at undermining prison rules and regulations in order to gain access to privileges. Yet, his behaviours were clearly dangerous and had the potential to place some prison officers in a vulnerable position, and some prisoners at risk. Positions opened up a series of apparent rights for the prisoners (see Harré & van Langenhove, 1999), justifying their individual approach to the 'dance' that they were performing with the prison officers.

Prisoner positions: reinforcing the 'easy time' tango

Drawing on the prison officer data further demonstrates that their positioning of prisoners guided the way in which prisoners were managed. The prison officers' discursive practices publicly presented their identity and sense of selfhood (see Coulter, 1981) as being one of compassion (a position that will be considered in more detail later) and of supporting prisoners. This was functional for prison officers in that it challenged cultural stereotypes of the prison officer role as discussed by the participants, and it seemingly fit with what was considered a 'modern' prison system. However, compassion appeared to be at odds with the requirements of a role that expected them to supervise, manage and control prisoners by exercising the power of a 'Constable'.

Further, in Chapter 11, despite giving numerous discursive performances about prisoners being individual people with individual needs, prisoners were ultimately positioned as 'bad'. As such, for the current participants, positioning prisoners as being 'bad' seemed to justify an approach to the prison officer role that was based on containment and management. It seemed to allow them to be sceptical about prisoners and their reportedly unpredictable nature, therefore approaching their role from a security orientated viewpoint. Also, 'bad' prisoners were constructed as being 'lost causes' that were unlikely to change. The research suggested that constructing prisoners in this manner undermined the need for rehabilitation. OBPs were constructed as being ineffective in changing these 'bad', 'lost causes', and in some instances they were seen as being a means of assisting the prisoners to become better offenders. Positioning prisoners in this manner, and constructing interventions as ineffective, appeared to remove the requirement for rehabilitation, in turn justifying prison officers in supporting the wing-wide approach to doing 'easy time' in a seemingly unchangeable population.

However, within the prison officer data, it was reported that prisoners were capable of being repositioned from the initial position of being 'bad' to that of being 'good'. However, the latter reportedly relied on prisoners

engaging with rehabilitation; a process that the prison officers had already constructed as being ineffective. As such, the research brings us to a point of considering whether prison officers actually position prisoners positively, or whether this is a discursive performance that is directed by the expectations of the Prison Service and the rhetoric around dignity and respect. This has serious implications for staff-prisoners relationships if interactions are fundamentally based on the premise that prisoners are 'bad' and 'unpredictable'. It would also question the benefits of introducing interventions such as the five-minute intervention[43] (see Kenny & Webster, 2015) if the underlying position is that prisoners are bad and incapable of change.

Whilst the corpus of the data indicated that ultimately many prisoners did not engage in rehabilitation, they were still able to have positive relationships with prison officers. These relationships appeared, however, to be linked to an absence of disciplinary problems and a commitment to supporting the prison officers' experience of 'easy time'. This research suggests that it did not matter whether individual prisoners and prison officers liked each other, or whether their perceptions of each other were generally positive as is outlined in the person perception literature (see Derrell, 2005). Ultimately, the staff-prisoner relationship was a means to an end: a facilitator of 'doing time'. However, the positions given to prisoners and prison officers were important features of achieving 'easy time' and to the process of doing 'shared time'. Everyday life appeared to be impacted upon by the episodes of discourse that constituted their constructions of each other and they defined the nature of their interactions (Harré & Secord, 1972).

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[43] The notion of a 'Five Minute Intervention' (FMI) was an initiative developed within HMPS to encourage prison officers to use everyday conversations with a prisoner as a chance to address a particular criminogenic need and/or encourage a new outlook.

The problem of compassion

As an occupational group the prison officers shared common interests and through their mutual engagement in a shared practice, the creation of a common repertoire, and the negotiation of a joint enterprise (see Wenger, 1998), they represented a community of practice (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder, 2002; Bardon & Borzillo, 2016). Chapter 10 outlines how the prison officers positioned themselves as being 'compassionate' which seemingly resulted in them attempting to construct a role that had a 'human services' orientation. Through their talk they sought to reject any notions of being a controlling and disciplinarian profession. Within the demands of the 'modern' prison system, this involved a focus on the caring and nurturing aspect of the prison officer role as outlined in Chapter 2. Their shared practice seemingly drew on a discourse of compassion, seeing their role as being aligned to allied health professionals. Through this compassionate lens, they were seemingly positioning some prisoners as 'victims' of their experiences and circumstances as outlined in Chapter 11. In turn, such prisoners were on occasions positioned as being exempt from any responsibility for addressing their offending. That is, they were not seen as being responsible for changing their behaviour, as their offending was formulated as being the result of their development - they were therefore allowed to do 'easy time'.

Prison officers and prisoners moved between different positions that were impacted upon by their discourse and subsequent interactions. This perhaps resulted in an inconsistent approach to their roles as was particularly observed in the prisoner narratives. Individuals were using their positions to enable certain interactions. However, in my research, compassion came at a cost and rather than prisoners being mandated to engage in rehabilitation as outlined in policy and procedure, they appeared to be left to do time on their terms - as long as they ultimately behaved themselves and caused minimal disruption to the prison community. Everybody sought 'easy time', and prison officers appeared to reinforce this. Whilst compassion is interesting, and perhaps seen as a useful tool in forming staff-prisoner relationships, prison officers are ultimately

employed to do a role that involves maintaining order and encouraging and policing the process of rehabilitation. The current data highlighted some conflicts for prison officers in moving between the notions of human services notions of compassion, and the need for maintining security. The latter was recognised by HMPS and the prison officer participants as being fundamental to the effective running of prisoners. Likewise, prisoners like Fred and Martin, noted how containing prisons felt safer for prisoners.

Performing masculinity and power in prisons

This research focussed exclusively on male prisons and masculinity transcended the talk of prisoners and prison officers. Prison is a masculine place where prisoner and prison officer identities and roles are based on performances of masculinity (de Viggiani, 2012; Crawley, 2004b). Despite much of the prison officers' work being likened to traditional 'women's roles' (see King & McDermott, 1990), male prison officers spoke of the masculine nature of their work, separating out men and women's work as discussed by Mr Robertson in Chapter 10. Similarly, prisoners drew on discursive performances of masculinity in their constructions of the self and the prison environment. Such performances by prisoners and prison officers appeared to maintain a masculine sense of self in a system that is noted to challenge personal perceptions of masculinity for both prisoners and prison officers.

However, we cannot forget that prisons are dangerous places where violence does occur to life threatening levels. That is, as outlined in Chapter 2, on a weekly basis in the prison estate, there is in excess of 300 assaults which include more than 40 serious assaults, approximately 70 assaults on staff, including nine serious assaults; and four to five prisoner deaths, with one or two of those deaths being self-inflicted (HMCIP, 2015). As such, for prisoners, masculine performances become a means of crafting survival as outlined in Martin's narrative with interactions becoming a means of self-preservation both psychologically and physically.

Prisoners in this research clearly concealed their backstage selves in a quest to rebuke exploitation. Adam talked about his physical appearance and his ability to do prison based on his terms; whilst Martin also discussed his 'status' and 'reputation' within the prison system and its apparent functional nature in terms of doing 'safe time'. The data suggests that such masculine performances are tolerated in the prison system, with Adam's conversation outlining how prison officers had used his status as a way of managing prisoners' attempts at undermining 'easy time' at a wing level. This finding was not surprising given the earlier reports by Wheatley (1981) that prisoner sub-cultures and codes have historically been tolerated and seen as functional in the prison setting. Yet, what this research suggested is that ultimately staff-prisoner relationships were used as a means of maintaining order and prison dynamics as a direct result of prisoners and prison officers wanting to do 'easy time'.

However, such approaches to maintaining order in prisons are open to exploitation and abuse as noted in Martin's analysis and therefore support for prisoners managing dynamics at a wing level was problematic for a number of reasons. Such approaches do not seem to increase safety within prisons, with the most recent statistics suggesting the contrary with there being higher rates of violence and reductions in safety outcomes in prisons (HMCIP, 2015). Furthermore, allowing prisoners to engage on such masculine platforms would suggest that the pro-offending values of prisoners and their masculine ideologies and commitment to the criminal subculture (see Jewkes, 2005) are not being challenged. Therefore, little or no rehabilitation seems to be occurring in a system where it is recognised that prison officers have a role in challenging attitudes (Smillie & Guthrie, 2013) and committing to the process of rehabilitation. Ultimately, prison officers in this research appeared to be undermining rehabilitation through their own quest to do 'easy time', and through their support of prisoners' 'easy time'.

Assigning the male lead

Many 'dances' involving two people require a leader and a follower. Traditionally the male takes on the lead role guiding what is constructed as the more feminine role. Whilst the 'follower' is no less important in dance terms, the lead is constructed as the masculine and dominant role in the dance (see Anderson, 2012). This too reflects aspects of the staff-prisoner relationship as depicted in this research whereby both parties make important contributions to the relationship given its apparent dyadic nature. However, the tensions around masculinity as noted in the prison setting were evidenced in the dance that occurred between prisoners and prison officers. The total institution (Goffman, 1961), and the process of imprisonment removes choice and autonomy and in my research, prison officers discursively took the lead role, with many rituals and symbols (e.g. keys) indicating that they were ultimately in control. According to Pratt (2002), these processes confirm prisoners' sense of powerlessness. Yet, as this research demonstrates, prisoners' engagement within this construction of the staff-prisoner relationship was not a passive role. That is, as demonstrated through Adam's narrative in Chapter 8, prisoners may present as being compliant to the prison officers' demands; although ultimately they engaged on their own terms, whilst recognising that performing their acceptance of the prison officers' authority contributed to prisoners' experience of doing 'easy time'.

Compliance: sticking to the choreographed steps and meeting audience expectations

As outlined in earlier chapters, Lipsky (1980) notes that social compliance underpins the prison regime and this is a result of the prison milieu that cues prisoners regarding behavioural expectations and the consequences of deviation. Using Robinson and McNeill's (2008) model of compliance, this thesis has distinguished between notions of 'substantive' and 'formal' compliance. The former represents an individual's active engagement with the requirements of the Prison Service; that is, to engage with rehabilitation and address their offending behaviour as outlined in the Prison Service Mission Statement and policies such as PSI 30/2013.

Formal compliance, on the other hand, reflects the process of prisoners simply meeting the minimum requirements; namely performing compliance.

Within this research, and as outlined in Chapter 11, prison officers discussed at length their expectations around prisoners' engagement with rehabilitation. Here, they noted their views that prison should be a time for change and an opportunity for prisoners to address their offending behaviour, ultimately being supported to lead law abiding lives on release from prison. The data appears to suggest that whilst rehabilitation was constructed as being important amongst the prison officer group, their experience of working in prisons had resigned them to the reality that for many prisoners, this was an ideal. As noted previously, prisoners were constructed as 'lost causes' and as being incapable of change. In turn, there appeared to be little evidence of prison officers prompting or challenging prisoners to engage in rehabilitation. Substantive compliance did not appear on their 'playbill'. Rather, this research appears to suggest that prison officers had few expectations beyond formal compliance and prison officers appeared content to allow prisoners to 'do time' as long as they were not undermining 'easy-time'.

'Learned compliance'
The process of encouraging formal compliance can be demonstrated through the stories of Gary and Adam in Chapters 7 and 8. Gary ultimately challenged the status quo of the prison, undermining the authority of the prison officers and not engaging with any form of rehabilitation in his quest to do 'smooth time'. Gary described doing 'hard time' as a result of the conflicts that he had experienced with the prison officers; although Gary's talk informed us that this conflict did not appear to be linked to a lack of engagement with rehabilitation; rather his general 'arguments' with prison officers. Adam appeared to have once been like Gary, his words describing an earlier 'them and us' approach to engaging with prison officers that had resulted in him being moved around the prison estate to manage his behaviour. However, Adam had been able to reflect

on his approach to prison life, recognising that engagement with prison officers facilitated 'easy time' and he used his relationships to this end.

Consistent with Fred's talk in Chapter 8, Adam recognised the reality that prison officers have power over the experience of prison for prisoners and that to do 'easy time' he needed to meet their expectations: "*at the end of the day I'm in their house and I've got to live by their rules.*" However, this is not to say that Fred and Adam were compliant with the prison system. To the contrary, Adam rebuked rehabilitation and engaged on his terms. Yet, he formally complied with the prison regime, therefore requiring little input or attention from prison officers. He had crafted the art of 'doing time the easy way' through formal compliance. He was engaging in a 'dance' with the prison officers having learned through his time in prison that prison officers *also* want 'easy time' and as such, he was negotiating 'easy time' during this prison sentence. Whilst this was not ideal, and went against the reported aims of the Prison Service, the prison officers and the wider system seemingly accepted this. That is, Adam had been elevated to a trusted position of employment in the prison, and he was being afforded the opportunity to do 'easy time'. This was to such an extent that he did not wish to move to a lower category prison establishment. Martin's narrative in Chapter 9 also demonstrated how simply complying formally enhanced his experience of prison, providing him with a range of privileges. These prisoners were engaging in 'learned compliance' in that they were able to reflect on the benefits of meeting the prison officers' expectations of 'easy time' which, based on the data, were centred on the notion of formal compliance. 'Learned compliance' was seemingly enough to facilitate staff-prisoners relationships and their engagement with the prison system: thus the dance is finally mastered.

The findings from this research have brought us to a place of thinking about how a desire for 'easy time' has resulted in formal compliance being encouraged in the prison system. The prisoner narratives strongly suggest that the Prison Service is ultimately encouraging prisoners to demonstrate formal compliance over substantive compliance and a

commitment to rehabilitation. Allowing prisoners to formally comply with the requirements of the prison system and not challenging them to do more, appears to be an effective tool in maintaining staff-prisoner relationships. Prisoners and prison officers both appear to be happy with this 'arrangement' as it allows them all to do 'easy time'. However, this level of collusion undermines rehabilitation and this is ultimately problematic with prisoners not being rehabilitated.

An 'easy time' model of compliance

Within this research there were three forms of compliance evident: 'resisting compliance', 'learned formal compliance' and 'substantive compliance'. Resisting compliance appears to fit with Brehm's (1989) reactance theory whereby prisoners are attempting to protect the freedoms that are restricted (see Wellman & Geer, 2009) within the prison environment by resisting the authority of the prison system. However, this is problematic to doing 'easy time' as recognised in a number of the prisoner narratives such as those of Fred and Simon. In this research 'learned compliance' appears, on the one hand, to be a reflection of the process of prisoners seeking to engage in the cognitive process of rationalisation, constructing any restrictions to their freedoms in the most positive manner (see Aronson, 1989; Kay, Jimenez, & Jost, 2002; Silvia, 2005). Yet, this research would lead us to thinking that this is not a true process of rationalisation as there is little evidence of substantive compliance. Doing 'easy time' reinforces an approach to prison life centred on formal compliance at a cost of undermining rehabilitation and a commitment to change.

Despite policies such as the IEP scheme within the prison system reporting the need for substantive compliance in order to achieve rewards, the current research suggests that the reality is somewhat different. 'Learned formal compliance' seemingly results in 'easy time' for all and this is apparently encouraged and rewarded despite this undermining the purpose of prison. This would suggest that overall the prison system is

failing as a result of the prison officers' taking a lack of responsibility for encouraging rehabilitation.

The secret to doing the 'easy time tango'

To do 'easy time', my research has shown that everyone needed to accept the roles that they are prescribed by the system. As summarised in Chapter 3, prisoners and prison officers have pre-defined roles within the prison setting, and congruence with these roles is expected, with personas (see Harré & van Langenhove, 1999) needing to reflect those of the environment. Prison officers were expected to demonstrate control over prisoners, who were in turn expected to accept this hierarchy, or resist it within the accepted norms of the prison community. Yet, should individuals have wanted to challenge these roles and do time on their terms, the research indicates that this was only accepted if 'their terms' were aligned with those pre-defined by the system and also supporting the 'easy time tango'. Prisoners were not sympathetic to those peers who undermined the status quo and who caused challenges for the prisoner group. Prison officers were not forgiving of those prison officers who undermined the performance of the team. Thus, individuals seemingly had little choice in the prison system: their personas were pre-determined by the prison system. Experience of being a prisoner or a prison officer seemingly taught individuals that compliance was what was required. Therefore, to experience 'easy time', prisoners and prison officers needed to demonstrate congruence with the locally accepted behaviours, or ultimately face 'hard time' and possible rejection as outlined by Harré and van Langenhove (1999).

The prison performance: a comedy or tragedy?

The major finding of this research is around the interdependent nature of the staff-prisoner relationship and the apparent focus for prisoners and prison officers doing 'easy time'. It was clear that 'easy time' resulted in prisoners colluding with the expectations of the prison officers, and in-turn

prison officers potentially rewarded prisoners for their commitment to formal compliance. However, to comment further on these findings, it is necessary to first consider the purpose of prison in England and Wales.

So what is the purpose of imprisonment?

As outlined previously in Chapter 2, the rates of imprisonment in England and Wales continue to be the highest in Western Europe at a rate of 149 per 100,000 of the population (Prison Reform Trust, 2015). The statistics raise questions as to whether the population in England and Wales are more criminogenic, and ultimately commit more crimes than in other parts of Europe, or whether the CJS in England and Wales has a penchant for imprisonment. It is recognised that the issues of crime and punishment are political with changes to penal policy and practice occurring against economic and political contexts (Garland, 2001; Young, 1999). Back in 1993, the then Home Secretary Michael Howard anticipated,

> "*More convictions and longer sentences ... More people will go to prison. I don't flinch from that ... No longer shall we judge our system of justice by a fall in the prison population ... Let's be clear - prison works.*"[44]

Seemingly, increases in the prisoner population have historically been constructed as being an effective response to crime, perhaps reflecting Tony Blair's 1995 notion of being "*tough on crime*"[45]. Perhaps adopting "*tough*" approaches to criminal activity has led to the observed increase in the prisoner population. On this basis, prison is about punishment. However, in his speech, Tony Blair also referred to the need to be "*tough on the causes of crime*". This suggests a need for the CJS to provide opportunities for rehabilitation, offering an *'intelligent Criminal Justice System'* that bridges punishment and rehabilitation (see MoJ, 2013b: 5).

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[44]http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld199596/ldhansrd/vo951120/text/51120-04.htm Accessed 10.05.2016

[45] http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/speech-archive.htm?speech=201 Accessed 18.05.2016

An 'intelligent' Criminal Justice System?

If the purpose of the Prison Service, and the CJS more widely, is about furnishing prisoners with both punishment and rehabilitation, then it may be concluded that what is being offered is an 'unintelligent' system. That is, the reality of the 'modern' prison system is that prisoners are not being offered the purposeful activity or resettlement opportunities that were outlined in Chapter 2 as being key outcomes for a 'healthy prison' (see HMCIP, 2015). Further, and as already outlined in this thesis, the most recently published data on proven reoffending rates indicates that in the twelve months ending March 2014, 45.8% of offenders who had been released from custody reoffended within a year (MoJ, 2016b). As such, the Prison Service appears to be ineffective if the focus of imprisonment is on rehabilitation. Alternatively, if the aim of prison is about containing prisoners and preventing escape then perhaps the system is effective. However, if prison aims to keep those individuals within the prison safe, statistics around safety outcomes (see HMCIP, 2015) and incidents of violence (see HMCIP, 2015) would suggest otherwise. Thus, prison does not appear to be rehabilitating prisoners.

Further to the above, when considering the notion of punishment, research published by The Howard League for Penal Reform (2011) indicates that generally offenders would prefer to be in prison rather than complete community sentences. This is on the basis that they are easier to complete. In that research, some prisoners considered community sentences to be more punishming, claiming that community sentences caused them more of an inconvenience than being in prison (Howard League, 2011). These observations are interesting when considered in light of my research findings. That is, as outlined previously, prisoners in this research noted their ability to craft ways of doing 'easy time' through their engagement in formal compliance.

Whilst formal compliance appeared to be enough within the constraints of the staff-prisoner relationship and the prison setting, wider research findings would suggest that community sentences perhaps require

offenders to engage in substantive compliance. Therefore, prison appears to be less challenging for prisoners who are ostensibly left to 'do time', whilst making little commitment to their rehabilitation. In my research, prison was not challenging for prisoners if they performed compliance and contributed to prison officers' easy time. However, doing 'easy time' is equally as problematic to both the notions of rehabilitation and punishment. Based on the data from my participants, prison was not achieving either of these outcomes. Rather, what appeared to be happening was that prisoners were being 'warehoused', doing little more than 'their time' as prescribed by the Courts' sentences. Their liberty was being removed, although they were not being punished, they were not engaging in rehabilitation, and they were not being afforded opportunities for rehabilitation.

The function of prison for the participants

This research sought to explore how prisoners and prison officers discursively construct prison as an institution. The research has shown that both parties did not see prison as an institution that was anything beyond taking prisoners out of society as punishment. It was not an opportunity for change or rehabilitation; prison was a punishment that prisoners were required to accept. Rationalisation (see Aronson, 1989; Kay, Jimenez, & Jost, 2002) of their prison sentence and the overarching rules of the prison setting appeared to facilitate 'easy time' through the process of <u>collusion</u>; or what may be theoretically referred to by Robinson and McNeill (2008) as 'formal compliance'. Prison officers' talk also alerted us to the reality that they too felt the need to engage in a process of 'doing time'. This occurred in a system in which many of them did not want to be in, but where they felt obligated to stay because of the perceived benefits such as their pensions as outlined in Chapter 11. Rehabilitation was not a feature of their 'modern' prison system either.

Leading the 'rehabilitation dance'

Masculinity was important to the negotiation of power and hierarchy within the current research, with prisoners and prison officers seemingly vying for

the role of the 'lead' in the 'easy time tango'; albeit in different ways. However, in relation to rehabilitation, both parties seemed somewhat elusive and avoidant, with neither taking responsibility for rehabilitation.

Nonetheless, at a policy level, the process of imprisonment should provide opportunities for prisoners to engage in a process of rehabilitation. As noted previously, the realities of this are questionable. However, the interactions between prisoners and prison officers are recognised as having the potential to have one of the greatest impacts on prisoners. That is, prison officers '*can persuade* [prisoners] *that they should do things differently*' (MoJ, 2010a: 10) and they can challenge prisoner attitudes (Smillie & Guthrie, 2013) and encourage behavioural change.

'Wasting time': the failings of imprisonment

My research suggests that prison officers generally distanced themselves from the process of rehabilitation, and based on the prison literature, there could be a number of ways of explaining this finding. For example, the employment of specialist staff with the prison setting (e.g. psychologists) is noted to have resulted in prison officers being positioned as custodians (see Coyle, 2005), and therefore the system distanced them from rehabilitation (Lerman & Page, 2012). Yet elsewhere, prison officers have claimed that they are in the best position to offer rehabilitation due to their knowledge of, and regular contact with, prisoners (see Thomas, 1972; Crawley, 2004b). In my research, whilst the prison officers' talk rejected any notion of them being a "*turnkey*", they also claimed that it was better not to know any information about the prisoners' offending behaviour. One may conclude that this limited their ability to support rehabilitation given that the first stage of rehabilitation requires an assessment of prisoners' needs (see Home Affairs Committee, 2005). Further, this may also limit their ability to monitor risk related behaviours (for example see Jones, 2003; Gordon & Wong, 2015) and to respond accordingly to the management of risk. Perhaps such avoidant approaches can go some way to explaining the reports of high incidents of violence in prisons.

Ultimately, in this sample, prison officers distanced themselves from notions of punishment and rehabilitation.

The same could be said for prisoners who also discursively distanced themselves from rehabilitation. This was achieved in a number of ways that included positioning the Prison Service as being responsible for their rehabilitation and also constructing rehabilitation as being ineffective. As this research demonstrates, prisoners were rejecting of rehabilitation and their focus appeared to be on their release. Here, prisoners presented as being more concerned with their release rather than taking a journey to their release that supported them through some degree of rehabilitation and an opportunity for change. As was observed in the prisoner narratives, there is an assumption here that prisoners would want to change and be law-abiding citizens. However, this may not be the case with prison being little more than an occupational hazard as reflected in Gary's story. 'Doing time' was then about crafting ways of achieving some form of 'easy time' until their eventual release.

Based on the notion of the 'defended subject' (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000a), an absence of rehabilitation also seems to allow prisoners to engage in discursive performances to protect their inner vulnerable self. Whilst prisoners like Adam may appreciate this opportunity, it is likely to prevent them from addressing relevant issues associated with risk. As such, this data has brought us to a place of thinking that prisoners were seeking to 'do time', and prison officers were colluding with this process. As such, they were arguably collectively 'wasting time' and the potential opportunities for change. This again has huge ramifications for both the aims of imprisonment, and for society given the number of prisoners who leave prison and go on to reoffend. Further, there is some suggestion that prison officers are not fulfilling the requirements of their role as outlined in earlier chapters and as such, this would indicate a need for further consideration of how they are choosing to perform the prison officer role.

Prison officers: dance partners or dance teachers?

Within this research, the prisoner and prison officer narratives ultimately construct them as being 'dance partners', each colluding in their performance of the 'easy time tango'. However, at the same time, there are clear indications of power dynamics in this relationship. Despite the construction of the relationships, and based on the role description for prison officers, they should perhaps be taking on the role of 'dance teachers' supporting and directing prisoners towards rehabilitation and new ways of approaching prison and community living. The job description points to this; although this is challenged as a result of the prison officers' general construction of prisoners as 'lost causes', as well as prison and rehabilitation being constructed as being ineffective as outlined in the theme of the 'revolving door' in Chapter 11. However, there is clearly a requirement for prison officers to guide prisoners towards rehabilitation. The interactions between prisoners and prison officers are recognised as having the potential to encourage behavioural change as noted previously.

Many prisoners are reoffending on release from prison as outlined in the statistics (see MoJ, 2016b) and as such, it may be argued that more needs to be done to analyse what is going on in prisons. My research gives some indication of how rehabilitation is being undermined by the prison system and through the collective performance of the 'easy time tango'. This research gives evidence for prison being a passive existence whereby 'time' and opportunities are 'wasted'. The periods of time that prisoners and prison officers spend in prison appear to be somehow bracketed off from life in the community. However, prison and the community are clearly interlinked and prisoners need to be challenged in order to effectively engage: after all any privileges in prison should be linked to engagement.

And the reviews are in: it's a tragedy

My research has shown that the majority of the prisoner participants in this study had previously been to prison where they had apparently engaged in

the 'easy time tango'. This had facilitated their release from prison, although clearly little change had occurred. They may have had a positive experience of prison that may have been 'easy' or 'smooth'. However, the performance is not a comedy as men like these are returning to prison and they are not only 'wasting time' in prison, but they are seemingly wasting large chunks of 'life' by being in prison. This is in addition to creating more victims through their offending behaviour. Therefore, this research leads one to conclude that 'sharing time' with prison officers and doing the 'easy time tango' is contributing to this reality. That is, the data from this research has, on the face of it, brought us to a natural conclusion that if the purpose of prison is about both punishment and rehabilitation then it is failing on both accounts. The prisoners were not changing and the reality of prison for these participants was clearly not a comedy, but a tragedy.

Choreographing a 'new dance'

The average annual cost per prison place has recently been estimated at £36,259 (MoJ, 2015e). However, and as outlined above, beyond housing prisoners, the statistics suggest that prison is ineffective in rehabilitating offenders with there being high rates of reoffending amongst those released from prison custody (MoJ, 2016b). The cost to the taxpayer of reoffending was previously estimated to be £9.5 to £13 billion per year (MoJ, 2013b). As such, despite investment in the CJS over the past decade, it may be reasonably argued that the current systems are not working. In performance terms, prison does not appear to be worth its ticket price and those commissioning prison based services are clearly not getting the product that they are purchasing. However, this is again wholly dependant on what commissioners actually want for their money. At a societal level, there was some recognition within the narratives that members of the public wanted prisoners to be removed from society and have a 'hard time' in prison. Likewise, some of the political views outlined have noted a punitive approach to managing offenders.

Prisons seem to be well accomplished at maintaining the physical security of the prison environment and keeping offenders off the streets. However, the vast majority of prisoners return to the community and as such neither imprisonment nor punishment are enough in themselves. The findings of the current research highlight the requirement for the 'easy time tango' to be re-choreographed. That is, the current 'dance' is doing little to meet the needs of the Prison Service, prisoners and the wider society; allowing prisoners to 'do time' and then in many cases return to a life of crime. Therefore, the Prison Service needs to be challenged to provide rehabilitation opportunities and to motivate prisoners to engage with such opportunities. In a period of austerity and scrutiny on spending, if there is an expectation of rehabilitation and a reduction in reoffending rates amongst those offenders being sent to prison, then the Prison Service need to do more. If prisons were funded on the basis of 'payment by results', the recent statistics would indicate that they would likely receive little government funding. Perhaps more accountability is required within prisons. However, as outlined by the Revolving Doors Agency (2015), careful consideration would need to be given as to the outcomes in such a complex area of practice.

Outlining expectations

One of the clear findings from this research is the lack of clarity regarding the function of imprisonment and the expected outcomes for individuals and the wider service. As outlined previously, it may be that the ultimate aim of imprisonment has been the warehousing of prisoners and protecting the public from these individuals for the period whilst they are in prison. Whilst the rhetoric has been about rehabilitation, the current research would indicate that the prison system has offered little more than containment and without clear expectations of prisons and prison officers, maybe it is acceptable to merely contain prisoners. The current research suggests that it is important to stop 'pretending' that prison is about more than containment, as the prison officers in this research were busy performing compassion and positioning themselves as allied health professionals, when their focus could be on maintaining the physical

security of the prison and observing prisoners. Doing the latter may at least go some way towards increasing levels of safety in prisons.

However, in terms of direction for the Prison Service, it is timely that speaking in May 2016, the Rt Hon David Cameron commented,

> "*Because this Government sees the potential in everyone, we will finally undertake the long-overdue change that our prisons need. No longer will they be warehouses for criminals; we want them to be incubators of changed and reformed lives*"[46].

Here, the 'Prison and Courts Reform Bill' is intended to bring about change in the prison system ensuring that they are not simply places for punishment, but also places of rehabilitation for prisoners. This involves reports of an overhaul of education, health and training to reduce re-offending and give prisoners the chance of a fresh start. Furthermore, the bill calls for new performance measures to assess prisons' current performance, long-term direction and progress. This reportedly involves closing '*old and inefficient prisons*', replacing them with '*new institutions where prisoners can be put more effectively to work*'. Here prison governors will be given the freedom to manage their prisons and to provide these outcomes; although with such freedoms it is likely that there will be more accountability and in turn there is a requirement to better articulate expected outcomes. Further, and in order to achieve such outcomes, there is also the necessity of funding in order to provide the required levels of input in a system that has been considerably challenged to cut costs in recent years (see NOMS, 2014a). Whilst these political changes give direction for the 'modern' prison system, this research demonstrates that such changes are not likely to be an easy task. Much work needs to be done to support implementation and actual change.

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[46]https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/524040/Queen_s_Speech_2016_background_notes_.pdf Accessed, 20.05.2016

Bringing the "old school" performers back to the dance floor

As outlined by Tait (2011), a focus on maintaining order amongst prison officers is one way in which the prison officers and prisoners' needs for safety are achieved: it is a functional part of prison life and a requirement of their job role. Further, according to Useem and Piehl (2006), order is required before any form of rehabilitation can occur. The prisoner and prison officer narratives also recognise the benefits of prison officers adopting a role based on notions of security and structure. Prisoners like Adam and Martin reported having clarity around the expectations of the staff and also some sense of containment. Literature around the introduction of the private prisons recognised that despite initial aims of changing the traditional working practices of some staff (see Arnold, Liebling & Tate, 2007), the reality was that problems developed over time as a result of staff-prisoner relationships that were based on notions of negligence, inexperience and the insufficient enforcement of rules (see Shefer & Liebling, 2008).

The words of prison officers like Mr Robertson in Chapter 11, advise us that inexperience amongst the prison officers can place both prisoners and prison officers at risk. This was exemplified in Martin's story where he identified inexperienced prison officers and then circumvented boundaries, managing to access items that he was not officially meant to have. A focus on compassion and the associated positioning's of the self and others by prison officers runs the risk of eroding away the possible skills of the more experienced prison officers by positioning and constructing what they are doing as negative. Perhaps favouring compassion undermines the aims of the Prison Service, making prisons more dangerous places to work and live in. That is, in this research, attempts at performing compassion resulted in the creation of prison environments where prisoners like Adam were able to get away with certain behaviours, and prisoners like Martin were able to access restricted items. The outcome of compassion appears to be prisoners and prison officers colluding and undermining personal change.

Enhancing accountability

Based on the reported aims of the Prison Service and the role description of prison officers, prison officers clearly have a role in encouraging change and it is seemingly not acceptable for prison officers to give discursive performances of hopelessness. Drawing parallels with research in the field of education (for example see Pew, 2007), pedagogically schools have many students who do not wish to engage, yet teachers have a role in providing them with learning opportunities that are useful and enabled them to learn in a way that is focussed for them. According to Albert Einstein (cited in Pew, 2007),

> "*I never teach my pupils. I only attempt to provide the conditions in which they can learn.*"

In the same way, prison officers also have a role in finding ways of engaging prisoners in rehabilitation and providing a context for change and rehabilitation (also see Burrowes & Needs, 2009). That is, the prisoners' reports that they do not want to engage in rehabilitation are not the point. They are supposed to engage in substantive compliance and the requirement is for the prison system to find ways of nurturing prisoners to a point whereby they are addressing their offending and engaging in some form of rehabilitation. Or, if it is not for that, then we need to live with the fact that they may reoffend and reoffend.

Merely engaging in the crafting 'easy way' breaks down any opportunity for change. Supporting 'easy time' and interdependency means that the 'easy time tango' is performed and ultimately 'easy time' prevails; although nobody ultimately wins in this system. Individuals may 'win' on that day when their immediate needs are met, but the bigger things do not get done; namely rehabilitation. However, eventually there is a reckoning for that as evidenced by poor prison outcomes as outlined by HMCIP (2015), as well as high rates of reoffending.

Relocating the performance: delivering punishment and rehabilitation beyond the prison walls

The research demonstrates that the Criminal Justice System needs to provide interventions that actually challenge offenders; although it also questions whether this is best achieved via imprisonment. That is, within this research, Mr Campbell outlined the reality of one prisoner having been in the same prison on four occasions in two years. Whilst prison was not working for this offender, the reality is that such short sentences are likely to have provided little opportunity for meaningful engagement or change. The information published by NOMS (MoJ, 2015c) indicates that they are now targeting their interventions (especially OBPs) towards high-risk offenders. Whilst this appears sensible, it also suggests that being in prison has little to offer 'lower risk' offenders. Prison is not helping such prisoners and perhaps there is little that prison officers and the Prison Service can offer, or expect, other than 'easy time'. Research has previously indicated that offenders who receive short-term custody of under 12 months are more likely to re-offend than similar offenders who receive a community or suspended sentence order (e.g. MoJ, 2013f; 2015h). Therefore, the issue of rehabilitation goes beyond prison and involves wider consideration as to the function and purpose of the CJS as a whole. However, community based sentences may go some way to meeting wider notions of punishment and rehabilitation as outlined in the research (for example see Howard League, 2011; MoJ, 2013f, 2015h).

A note on the funding of rehabilitation

Against a background of budget cuts and cost saving demands, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Prisons (2013) outlined concerns regarding prison managers becoming '*preoccupied with cost cutting, targets and processes*' thus resulting in a lack of focus on safety, security and rehabilitation within prisons (HMCIP, 2013: 8). Prison Officer numbers have been reduced whilst the prison population has increased as outlined in previous chapters. In Chapter 11, prison officers reflected on the negative impact of staff reductions and increases in prisoner numbers on their ability to engage with prisoners and to meet their needs. Their talk

laid claim to the reductions in prison officer number having a direct impact on staff-prisoner relationships and the ability of prison officers to engage with the majority prisoners. As such, it is unclear as to how prison officers may instigate and support change amongst a complex prisoner population in an era of diminishing resources. Furthermore, since the time of the data collection, the number of prison officers employed in England and Wales has reduced further (see Howard League, 2014). As such, there are likely to be greater demands on the time of individual prison officers and this begs the question of whether prison officers are now able to form meaningful relationships with prisoners and facilitate change.

The Prison Service seeks to reduce costs whilst at the same time it is failing on core outcomes around resettlement and reducing re-offending (see HMCIP, 2013). The irony is that these shortfalls in service delivery are likely to be linked to the high reoffending rates that are costing the taxpayer billions of pounds each year (HMCIP, 2013; NOMS, 2014a). It appears that this is a case of 'robbing Peter to pay Paul', taking the budget from the Prison Service to then be merely fed in to covering other costs associated with offending behaviour. However, perhaps alternatives to prison are what are required for many offenders and investment of funds in areas such as education, training, housing, employment and community sentences could better meet the needs of offenders.

Choreographing a winning performance
The opportunities for change within the Prison Service are endless. As outlined in Chapter 1, this research has never intended to make judgements about what is right and wrong, or about prisoners and prison officers. It has always intended to provide valuable insight in to the difficult work that prison officers do, and the challenges faced by prisoners. What this research has reinforced is that prison is a complex world; however, by listening to the stories of prisoners and prison officers, it is has been possible to understand the dyadic nature of the staff-prisoner relationship. As outlined previously, this research leads us to a point of thinking whereby prisoners and prison officers are constructed as interdependent

groups: one cannot exist in the prison setting without the other. Through their collective and collaborative performances in prison, it appears in this research that they have moved towards a process of collusion in their performance of the 'easy time tango'. However, engaging in this 'dance' is seemingly undermining the published aims of the Prison Service and favouring 'formal compliance' over 'substantive compliance'. Here positioning themselves and others in certain ways justifies each individual in 'doing time' on their own terms. However, this is problematic in terms of criminal justice policy and practice. The 'easy time tango' needs re-choreographing should the Prison Service seek to produce a winning performance that involves the rehabilitation and resettlement of prisoners.

The current research informs us that in order to address the shortcomings of the staff-prisoner relationship outlined in this thesis, more needs to be done in order to better articulate and understand the remit of the 'modern' Prison Service and the role of the prison officer, and the prisoner, within this system. Thus, all individuals involved in the system can focus their energies on constructing personas linked to explicit person types which allow them to contribute to the aims of the service. This involves challenging the notion of 'easy time', and supporting prisoners and prison officers to craft prison in a useful and productive way.

Doing my own time: reflections on the completion of the thesis

This thesis presents an analysis of data that was originally collected between November 2007 and October 2008. As with most PhD's undertaken by practitioners, or those working full-time, there can be a range of factors that impact upon, and interrupt the completion. My journey to the completion of my PhD was no different; however the research was completed, and the thesis submitted, within the timeframes set by the University for a part-time PhD. However, it is perhaps important to reflect on the contemporary nature of the data and the analysis.

One fully acknowledges the amount of time that has lapsed since the data was collected, and the subsequent analysis presented in this thesis.

Whilst it is accepted that life in prison will not be identical today as it was in 2007, the roles, duties and obligations afforded to both prisoners and prison officers within prisons remain the same, as do their subjective positions. Further, prison structures remain the same. Over time the aforementioned features have not changed and there continue to be clear expectations around prisoner and prison officer roles – roles that are consistent with those outlined when this research began.

Having returned to work in prisons during the final stages of preparing this thesis, I was somewhat surprised to find myself experiencing a similar interaction to the one outlined in Chapter 1 that originally prompted my research. I was again faced by a group of prison officers who collectively ridiculed me - on this occasion it was when I had asked to use one of their pens to sign on to the wing: "have you not got your own pen" asked one prison officer, "you can buy them for 99p from WH Smiths (all laugh)" added another prison officer. I had simply wanted to borrow a pen and although being assertive in my approach I became the source of the humour and what felt like humiliation. Subsequently when I asked to see "Mr Smith" for his therapy session (this was not the prisoner's real name) I was told that I could not see "Smith" as there were no staff available to collect him and to safely facilitate the therapy session – this was despite being stood in front of seven prison officers who were all sat in the wing office. Thus, little seemed to have changed. I was being ridiculed, the title 'Mr' was refuted for prisoners, and rehabilitation did not appear to be high on the prison officers' agenda.

Despite some changes to penal practice and policy, my observations as a practitioner within the prison setting appeared to be consistent with those observed some 13 years previously when I had first entered prisons. Objectively, prison outcomes continue to reflect similar concerns as those outlined at the time of the fieldwork as evidenced by the 'healthy prisons' test. Further, politicians continue to recognise the requirement for change in regards to the delivery of prisons (see Chapter 2 for a discussion). Within the period of time surrounding the completion of the thesis, prisons

appear to be operating in a consistent manner to that outlined at the start of the data collection. This is with the added challenge of reduced prison officers and more prisoners - perhaps the current picture for prisoners is bleaker than that observed in 2003.

Thus, and in summary, whilst the data collected for this thesis may be considered 'dated', my experience as a practitioner psychologist working in prisons would lead me to conclude that the data and the analysis remain contemporary and relevant to current penal practice and policy. Further, it is recognised that data collected some time ago is often used, and sometime reanalysed, in narrative and discursive research (e.g. Riessman's (2004) work - A thrice-told tale - drawing on twenty year old data in relation to the illness narrative).

A final reflection on the methodology

Whilst some of the findings may not be surprising to some people, they have been articulated in a different way in this research and the methodology has allowed me to consider staff-prisoner relationships through a different lens. That is, the way in which the current research was approached was somewhat different to previous work in the field. Rating scales were replaced by interviews and the opportunity for participants to tell their stories. I had spoken to both sides of the prisoner/prison officer relationship and this was again different to earlier research that focussed on either prisoners or prison officers. Much of the earlier staff-prisoner relationship research has been juxtaposed against research examining the broader context of the prison officer role and work (e.g. Crawley, 2004a) resulting in staff-prisoner relationships being a by-product of other fields of enquiry rather than the focus of sophisticated research questions. By engaging with both staff and prisoners, this research has managed to achieve a sound understanding of the ways in which the prisoners and prison officers were constructing the one relationship.

Using the stories and narratives of the participants meant that their individual voices were not lost and the findings have been embedded in the interactions with me and that formed the data collection stage of this thesis. This approach has captured the nature of the staff-prisoner relationship in a way that has not been used before. It has allowed this research to draw on some very specific findings that have been outlined based on this piece of interpretative work. Whilst the methodology allowed me to do all of the above, it does not negate that there is more work that needs to be done around better understanding the prisoners and their reoffending based on their engagement with the prison system.

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Appendices

Appendix A: The Prison Rules 1999 (Section 51: Offences against discipline)

Attached is an overview of Section 51 of The Prison Rules (1999). This information has been taken directly from the official documentation that was access on 10.01.2015 from:

http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/1999/728/made

A prisoner is guilty of an offence against discipline if he:

(1)   commits any assault;

(2)   detains any person against his will;

(3)   denies access to any part of the prison to any officer or any person(other than a prisoner) who is at the prison for the purpose of working there;

(4)   fights with any person;

(5)   intentionally endangers the health or personal safety of others or, by his conduct, is reckless whether such health or personal safety is endangered;

(6)   intentionally obstructs an officer in the execution of his duty, or any person (other than a prisoner) who is at the prison for the purpose of working there, in the performance of his work;

(7)   escapes or absconds from prison or from legal custody;

(8)   fails to comply with any condition upon which he is temporarily released under rule 9;

(9)   administers a controlled drug to himself or fails to prevent the administration of a controlled drug to him by another person (but subject to rule 52);

(10)   is intoxicated as a consequence of knowingly consuming any alcoholic beverage;

(11)   knowingly consumes any alcoholic beverage other than that provided to him pursuant to a written order under rule 25(1);

(12)   has in his possession –
        (a) any unauthorised article, or
        (b) a greater quantity of any article than he is authorised to have;

(13)   sells or delivers to any person any unauthorised article;

(14)   sells or, without permission, delivers to any person any article which he is allowed to have only for his own use;

(15)   takes improperly any article belonging to another person or to a prison;

(16)   intentionally or recklessly sets fire to any part of a prison or any other property, whether or not his own;

(17)   destroys or damages any part of a prison or any other property, other than his own;

(18)   absents himself from any place he is required to be or is present at any place where he is not authorised to be;

(19)   is disrespectful to any officer, or any person (other than a prisoner) who is at the prison for the purpose of working there, or any person visiting a prison;

(20)   uses threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour;

(21)   intentionally fails to work properly or, being required to work, refuses to do so;

(22)   disobeys any lawful order;

(23)   disobeys or fails to comply with any rule or regulation applying to him;

(24)   receives any controlled drug, or, without the consent of an officer, any other article, during the course of a visit (not being an interview such as is mentioned in rule 38);

(25)   (a) attempts to commit,

(b) incites another prisoner to commit, or

(c) assists another prisoner to commit or to attempt to commit, any of the foregoing offences.

Appendix B: Copy of introductory letter and consent form (prisoners)

Attached is a copy of the introductory letter and consent form used with the prisoners.

Neil Gredecki

c/o Carol Tindall, Senior Lecturer

the Manchester Metropolitan University

Elizabeth Gaskell Campus

Hathersage Road

Manchester

M13 0JA

Date

Re: HMP [Insert establishment name] Staff-Prisoner Relationships Research

Mr [insert name],

I am a postgraduate student studying at *the* Manchester Metropolitan University and I am conducting research into staff and prisoner relationships at HMP [insert establishment name]. I have selected your name at random from all the prisoners in the establishment and I would like to meet with you to hear about some of your interactions with staff at HMP [insert establishment name] however important you may think they are. The interview will form part of a wider research project examining how staff and prisoners form relationships in Prisons with the aim of maintaining and improving these relationships where possible. The purpose of the research is to examine staff and prisoner relationships and NOT to monitor staff attitudes or performance or to make judgments about staff or prisoners.

It is expected that the interview will last for approximately one hour and will take place in a private interview room on the wing. If you decide to take part in the research then the reason for the interview will not be written on your appointment letter and I will not make staff aware of the content of

our interview unless you disclose any specific information about offences for which you have not been convicted, or any information that suggests, in the opinion of the researcher, that you may potentially cause harm to yourself, others or the security of the Prison establishment. All interviews will be recorded so that an interview transcript (a written record of what was said during the interview) can be produced following the interview. Your name will not be attached to the transcript and your comments will be ANONYMOUS. If, having completed the interview, you wish to withdraw from this study you are free to do so until the point where the transcript has been analysed as part of the overall analysis.

As this is an ongoing piece of research, some participants will be asked to participate in further interviews at a later stage. Once the research is completed, the ANONYMOUS contributions of the staff and prisoners involved will be used to write a report. The final report and interview transcripts will be submitted to the university and will be made available to those with a legitimate academic interest in the research. This will include my supervisors and an external examiner. A copy of the report will be held in the Elizabeth Gaskell Library at the university.   Further research articles may be produced although no information will be included that could potentially identify you or any of the other people involved as individuals.

If you would like to participate in the research please complete the attached consent form and return it in the enclosed envelope. Once I have received replies from those people I have sent letters too, I will contact you in the next few weeks to discuss whether I will need to meet with you at the current time to conduct an interview. If you have any questions about the research or are unsure about any of the information contained in this letter or the consent form, please do not complete the form at this stage but just indicate that you are interested in participating in the research and I will be able to discuss your questions/queries with you should an interview be arranged.

I thank you in anticipation for your support and look forward to meeting you at some point in the future for the purposes of this research.

Regards,
Neil Gredecki

Neil Gredecki

PhD Research Student

the Manchester Metropolitan University

RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

Research Title: HMP [insert establishment name] Staff-Prisoner Relationships Research

Researcher: Neil Gredecki

Please read each of the following statements and sign the end of the form to indicate that you understand and accept the information contained in the statement and that you are willing to be interviewed as part of the research project listed above.

- I have been given information about the purpose of the Staff-prisoner Relationship research via a letter inviting me to participate in this research.

- I understand that I do not have to participate in this research and my decision not to engage will not affect my position in the establishment and will not be fed back to Prison Staff.

- I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this research.

- I understand that content of the interview(s) will not be discussed with Prison staff unless:

  a) I disclose offences for which I have not been convicted.
  b) I disclose information that suggests, in the opinion of the researcher, that I may cause harm to myself.
  c) I disclose information that suggests, in the opinion of the researcher, that I may cause harm to other people either inside of outside of the prison establishment.
  d) I disclose information that suggests, in the opinion of the researcher, that I may cause harm to the security of the

establishment.

- I understand that the interview will be recorded so that a transcript (a written record of the interview) can be produced.

- I understand that the interview transcripts will be anonymous and my name or identifiable details will not be included in the transcript.

- I understand that the transcripts will be seen by those with a legitimate academic interest in the research.

- I understand that the content of the interview transcripts will be used to write a research report that will be made available to academic staff within the university and an external examiner.

- I understand that a copy of the research report will be placed in the Elizabeth Gaskell Library at the Manchester Metropolitan University and that further research articles may be produced.

- I understand the information detailed in this form and I give my consent to be interviewed by Neil Gredecki for this research.

Name _____ Prisoner Number _____

Signed _____ Date _____

Appendix C: Copy of introductory letter and consent form (prison officers)

Attached is a copy of the introductory letter and consent form used with the prison officers.

Neil Gredecki

c/o Carol Tindall, Senior Lecturer

the Manchester Metropolitan University

Elizabeth Gaskell Campus

Hathersage Road

Manchester

M13 0JA

[insert date]

Re: HMP [insert establishment name] Staff-Prisoner Relationships Research

Dear Officer [insert name],

I am a postgraduate student studying at *the* Manchester Metropolitan University and I am conducting research into staff and prisoner relationships at HMP [establishment name to be inserted]. I have selected your name at random from all the officers in the establishment and I would like to meet with you to hear about some of your interactions with prisoners at HMP [establishment name to be inserted] however important you may think they are. The interview will form part of a wider research project examining how staff and prisoners form relationships in Prisons with the aim of maintaining and improving these relationships where possible. The purpose of the research is to examine staff and prisoner relationships and <u>NOT</u> to monitor staff attitudes or performance or to make judgments about staff or prisoners.

It is expected that the interview will last for approximately one hour and will take place in an interview room on the wing. If you decide to take part in the research then I will not discuss the content of our interview with other

members of staff in the establishment or your managers. The only time I would speak to a member of management would be if you disclose information that suggests, in the opinion of the researcher, that you potentially cause harm to yourself, others or the security of the Prison establishment. All interviews will be recorded so that an interview transcript (a written record of what was said during the interview) can be produced following the interview. Your name will not be attached to the transcript and your comments will be ANONYMOUS. If, having completed the interview, you wish to withdraw from this study you are free to do so until the point where the transcript has been analysed as part of the overall analysis.

As this is an ongoing piece of research, some participants will be asked to participate in further interviews at a later stage. Once the research is completed, the ANONYMOUS contributions of the staff and prisoners involved will be used to write a report. The final report and interview transcripts will be submitted to the university and will be made available to those with a legitimate academic interest in the research. This will include my supervisors and an external examiner. A copy of the report will be held in the Elizabeth Gaskell Library at the university. Further research articles may be produced although no information will be included that could potentially identify you or any of the other people involved as individuals.

If you would like to participate in the research please complete the attached consent form and return it in the enclosed envelope. Once I have received replies from those people I have sent letters too, I will contact you in the next few weeks to discuss whether I will need to meet with you at the current time to conduct an interview. If you have any questions about the research or are unsure about any of the information contained in this letter or the consent form, please do not complete the form at this stage but just indicate that you are interested in participating in the research and I will be able to discuss your questions/queries with you should an interview be arranged.

I thank you in anticipation for your support and look forward to meeting you at some point in the future for the purposes of this research.

Regards,
Neil Gredecki

Neil Gredecki
PhD Research Student
the Manchester Metropolitan University

RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

Research Title: HMP [insert establishment name] Staff-Prisoner
Relationships Research

Researcher: Neil Gredecki

_Please read each of the following statements and sign the end of the form
to indicate that you understand and accept the information contained in
the statement and that you are willing to be interviewed as part of the
research project listed above._

- I have been given information about the purpose of the Staff-
  prisoner Relationship research via a letter inviting me to participate
  in this research.

- I understand that I do not have to participate in this research and
  my decision not to engage will not be discussed with my managers
  or colleagues or affect my position in the establishment.

- I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this research.

- I understand that content of the interview(s) will not be discussed
  with managers unless:

  a) I disclose information that suggests, in the opinion of the
     researcher, that I may cause harm to myself.
  b) I disclose information that suggests, in the opinion of the
     researcher, that I may cause harm to other people either inside
     of outside of the prison establishment.
  c) I disclose information that suggests, in the opinion of the
     researcher, that I may cause harm to the security of the
     establishment.

- I understand that the interview will be recorded so that a transcript (a written record of the interview) can be produced.

- I understand that the interview transcripts will be anonymous and my name or identifiable details will not be included in the transcript.

- I understand that the transcripts will be seen by those with a legitimate academic interest in the research.

- I understand that the content of the interview transcripts will be used to write a research report that will be made available to academic staff within the university and an external examiner.

- I understand that a copy of the research report will be placed in the Elizabeth Gaskell Library at the Manchester Metropolitan University and that further research articles may be produced.

- I understand the information detailed in this form and I give my consent to be interviewed by Neil Gredecki for this research.

Name _____

Signed _____ Date _____

Appendix D: Interview schedule (prisoners)

Attached is the interview schedule that was used with all prisoners during the fieldwork.

Prisoner Interview Schedule

Preamble:

Explore with the interviewee the nature of exercise and the importance of the research and issues pertaining to consent and confidentiality and any limits to confidentiality.

Introduction:

Introduce interviewee to this section of interview that will look at the factors that led to their imprisonment and their views about Prisons, prisoners and prison officers.

- What brought you to be in Prison?
- When you were sentenced, what were your major expectations of Prison?
- What were your major expectations of prison officers?
- Have these been met? / Are these still being met?
- Have these views ever changed?
- What are you looking forward to?
- What are you dreading about the future?
- What do you think Societies attitudes are to prison officers?
- What do you think Societies attitudes are to prisoners?
- How do these attitudes effect what you do on a day to day basis?

Critical Incident:

Inform the interviewee that this section of the interview will change slightly and will involve them thinking about their interactions with prison officers.

PROMPT: Think about the last time you had a significant interaction with a prison officer. Tell me all about it.

- What happened?
- Where did it happen?
- Who was there?

- What role did you play?
- What role did the Officer play?
- How did you relate to the Officer?
- How did you feel?
- How would others have viewed your response?
- How might other prisoners have thought you dealt with the situation?
- Imagine a prison officer who you consider to be good at their job. If they had seen you how would they have thought you dealt with the situation?
- Imagine a prison officer who you don't consider to be good at their job. If they had seen you how would they have thought you dealt with the situation?
- What might you have done differently?
- What stopped you from doing this?
- What might the Officer have done differently?
- What may have enhanced the interaction?
- What was the short-term outcome?
- What was the long-term outcome?

If the first example was a positive interaction, now explore a negative interaction and visa versa dependant on the first interaction described.

Interpersonal Skills/ Behaviours:

Tell the interviewee that you are now going to ask them to explore their interactions with prison officers and ask them to think about the skills and behaviours that might make these interactions easy or difficult.

- Think of an Officer that you find it easy to work with. What is it about them that makes them easy to relate to?
- Think of an Officer that you find it difficult to work with. What is it about him that makes them difficult to relate to?
- What makes interactions generally easy?
- What makes interactions difficult?

- How would you describe the relationships that you have with Officers?

- Think of a relationship that has gone from bad to good. What happened? Why did that happen?

- Think of a relationship that has gone from good to bad. What happened? Why did that happen?

- What do you expect from Officers?

- How do you view Officers here?

- How do you view other prisoners here and their interactions with Officers?

- How do you think other prisoners may see you?

- How would you describe yourself as a prisoner?

- How would you describe the ideal prison officer?

- How would you describe the worst prison officer?

- What would be best/worst practice for a prison officer in your opinion?

- How would you describe an ideal prisoner?

- How would you describe the worst prisoner?

- How would you describe yourself outside of the Prison?

- How would someone close to you interpret your behaviours if they saw you in work? (i.e. would they consider your behaviour to be consistent with behaviour outside of the Prison? - If not, why, what's different?)

- If you could change one thing about you to enable you to get on more easily with Officers what would it be? Why?

Exploring the Establishment:

Tell the interviewee that you are now going to ask them to think about the establishment as a whole and staff-prisoner relationships in this Prison.

- How would you describe staff-prisoner relationships here?

- What do prisoners do to enhance these relationships?

- What do Officers do to enhance these relationships?

- How does the establishment and the systems enhance these relationships?

- What do prisoners do to hinder these relationships?

- What do Officers do to hinder these relationships?

- How does the establishment and the systems hinder these relationships?

- What is communication between staff and prisoners like here? Tell me more (generate examples).

- If you could make one major change here to enable more meaningful staff prisoner-relationships, what would it be? Why?

- If you could make any other changes to the running of the Prison, what would these be? Why?

- What would make a difference to staff-prisoner relationships here?

Conclusions:

I am aware that there is a lot of information to cover on this topic that we may not have had a chance to talk about. Is there anything else that you would like to tell me, about how well/or not staff and prisoners get on together here?

Appendix E: Interview schedule (prison officers)

Attached is the interview schedule that was used with all prison officers during the fieldwork.

Prison Officer Interview Schedule

Preamble:

Explore with the interview the nature of exercise and the importance of the research and issues pertaining to consent and confidentiality and any limits to confidentiality.

Introduction:

Introduce interviewee to this section of interview that will look at what motivated them to become a prison officer and their views about the role.

- What interested you in the prison officer Role?
- What were your major expectations of the prison officer Role?
- Have these been met? / Are these still being met?
- Why are you still here?
- What would make you leave?
- How do you see your job?
- What do you think Societies attitudes are to prison officers?
- What do you think Societies attitudes are to prisoners?
- What are your attitudes to prisoners?
- Do you think prisoners are capable of changing? Tell me more about that (generate examples)
- How do these attitudes effect what you do on a day to day basis?

Critical Incident:

Inform the interviewee that this section of the interview will change slightly and will involve them thinking about their interactions with prisoners.

PROMPT: Think about the last time you had a significant interaction with a prisoner. Tell me all about it.

- What happened?
- Where did it happen?
- Who was there?

- What role did you play?
- What role did the prisoner play?
- How did you relate to the prisoner?
- How did you feel?
- How would others have viewed your response?
- Imagine a prison officer who you consider to be good at their job. If they had seen you how would they have thought you dealt with the situation?
- Imagine a prison officer who you don't consider to be good at their job. If they had seen you how would they have thought you dealt with the situation?
- How might prisoners have thought you dealt with the situation?
- What might you have done differently?
- What stopped you from doing this?
- What might the prisoner have done differently?
- What may have enhanced the interaction?
- What was the short-term outcome?
- What was the long-term outcome?

If the first example was a positive interaction, now explore a negative interaction and visa versa dependant on the first interaction described.

Interpersonal Skills/ Behaviours:

Tell the interviewee that you are now going to ask them to explore their interactions with prisoners and ask them to think about the skills and behaviours that might make these interactions easy or difficult.

- Think of a prisoner that you find it easy to work with. What is it about him that makes him easy to relate to?
- Think of a prisoner that you find it difficult to work with. What is it about him that makes him difficult to relate to?
- What makes interactions generally easy?
- What makes interactions difficult?

- How would you describe the relationships that you have with prisoners?

- Think of a relationship that has gone from bad to good. What happened? Why did that happen?

- Think of a relationship that has gone from good to bad. What happened? Why did that happen?

- What do you expect from prisoners?

- How do you view prisoners here?

- How do you view other Officers here?

- How do you think prisoners may see you?

- How would you describe yourself as an Officer?

- How would you describe the ideal prison officer?

- How would you describe the worst prison officer?

- What would be best/worst practice for a prison officer in your opinion?

- How would you describe an ideal prisoner?

- How would you describe the worst prisoner?

- How would you describe yourself outside of the Prison?

- How would someone close to you interpret your behaviours if they saw you in work? (i.e. would they consider your behaviour to be consistent with behaviour outside of the Prison? - If not, why, what's different?)

- If you could change one thing about you to enable you to get on more easily with prisoners what would it be? Why?

Exploring the Establishment:

Tell the interviewee that you are now going to ask them to think about the establishment as a whole and staff-prisoner relationships in this Prison.

- How would you describe staff-prisoner relationships here?

- What do prisoners do to enhance these relationships?

- What do Officers do to enhance these relationships?

- How does the establishment and the systems enhance these relationships?

- What do prisoners do to hinder these relationships?

- What do Officers do to hinder these relationships?

- How does the establishment and the systems hinder these relationships?

- What is communication between staff and prisoners like here? Tell me more (generate examples).

- If you could make one major change here to enable more meaningful staff prisoner-relationships, what would it be? Why?

- If you could make any other changes to the running of the Prison, what would these be? Why?

- What would make a difference to staff-prisoner relationships here?

Conclusions:

I am aware that there is a lot of information to cover on this topic that we may not have had a chance to talk about. Is there anything else that you would like to tell me, about how well/or not staff and prisoners get on together here?

Appendix F: Copy of 'Standardised Instructions'

Attached are the standardised instructions that were used with both prisoners and prison officers during the fieldwork.

STANDARDISED INSTRUCTIONS

The following interview will last for approximately one hour. During the interview you will be asked about your experiences and interactions with staff and prisoners at HMP [establishment name deleted]. It is important that you give honest answers and remember that there are no right or wrong responses. It is your experiences that I am interested in.

After the interview has taken place, a transcript will be made which will log everything that you and I have said during the interview. If you mention any information that may identify you and other staff or prisoners this will be erased from the transcript to ensure the anonymity of all the people involved.

I have received your written consent to participate in the research however; if you wish to withdraw from the research you have the right to do so at any time.

I would like to thank you for your participation in the research and if you have any questions you would like to ask about the interview please feel free to do so now.

Appendix G: Prison population tables

Presented here are the prison population tables describing the prison population at the start and completion of the fieldwork.

Table 7: Overview of prison population in November 2007 and October 2008

	November 2007 (MoJ, 2007)			October 2008 (MoJ, 2008)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
All population in prison of which	**76,715**	**4,512**	**81,227**	**78,956**	**4,325**	**83,281**
Remand	**11,939**	**940**	**12,879**	**12,680**	**918**	**13,598**
Untried	7,549	595	8,144	8,063	583	8,646
Convicted un-sentenced	4,390	345	4,735	4,617	335	4,952
Under Sentence	**63,418**	**3,494**	**66,912**	**64,829**	**3,336**	**68,165**
Fine defaulter	85	9	94	88	12	100
Less than or equal to six months	5,055	526	5,581	5,153	481	5,634
Greater than six months to less than 12 months	2,476	240	2,716	2,395	212	2,607
12 months to less than four years	21,967	1,271	23,238	22,706	1,247	23,953
Four years or more (excluding indeterminate sentences)	23,913	1,125	25,038	23,080	1,018	24,098
Indeterminate sentences	9,922	323	10,245	11,407	366	1773
Non-criminal prisoners	**1,358**	**78**	**1,436**	**1,447**	**71**	**1,518**

Table 8: Overview of adult prison population in November 2007 and October 2008

	November 2007 (MoJ, 2007)			October 2008 (MoJ, 2008)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
All adult population in prison of which	65,315	4,013	69,328	67,294	3,962	71,256
Remand	9,592	818	10,410	10,236	819	11,055
Untried	6,151	518	6,669	6,599	520	7,119
Convicted un-sentenced	3,441	300	3,741	3,637	299	3,936
Under Sentence	54,467	3,119	57,586	55,871	2,968	58,839
Fine defaulter	79	9	88	85	11	96
Less than or equal to six months	3,725	446	4,171	3,890	398	4,288
Greater than six months to less than 12 months	1,840	211	2,051	1,770	182	1,951
12 months to less than four years	17,374	1,102	18,476	18,122	1,077	19,199
Four years or more (excluding indeterminate sentences)	22,282	1,048	23,330	21,382	955	22,337
Indeterminate sentences	9,167	303	9,470	10,623	345	10,968
Non-criminal prisoners	1,256	76	1,332	1,326	62	1,388

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Table 9: Overview of 15 to 17 year old prison population in November 2007 and October 2008

	November 2007 (MoJ, 2007)			October 2008 (MoJ, 2008)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
All 15 – 17 years in prison of which	2,292	65	2,357	2,286	72	2,358
Remand	526	20	546	519	13	532
Untried	334	14	348	322	8	330
Convicted un-sentenced	193	6	199	197	5	202
Under Sentence	1,761	44	1,805	1,767	59	1,826
Fine defaulter	0	0	0	0	0	0
Less than or equal to six months	433	9	442	426	21	447
Greater than six months to less than 12 months	252	5	257	234	7	241
12 months to less than four years	889	21	910	889	23	912
Four years or more (excluding indeterminate sentences)	116	8	124	146	4	150
Indeterminate sentences	71	0	71	72	4	75
Non-criminal prisoners	4	1	5	0	0	0

Table 10: Overview of young adult prison population in November 2007 and October 2008

	November 2007 (MoJ, 2007)			October 2008 (MoJ, 2008)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
All young adults in prison of which	**9,108**	**434**	**9,542**	**9,237**	**404**	**9,641**
Remand	**1,821**	**102**	**1,923**	**1,925**	**86**	**2,011**
Untried	1,064	63	1,127	1,142	55	1,197
Convicted un-sentenced	756	39	795	783	31	814
Under Sentence	**7,190**	**331**	**7,521**	**7,191**	**309**	**7,500**
Fine defaulter	6	0	6	3	1	4
Less than or equal to six months	897	71	968	837	61	899
Greater than six months to less than 12 months	384	24	408	391	24	415
12 months to less than four years	3,704	148	3,852	3,695	147	3,842
Four years or more (excluding indeterminate sentences)	1,515	69	1,584	1,552	59	1,611
Indeterminate sentences	784	20	704	712	18	730
Non-criminal prisoners	**98**	**1**	**99**	**121**	**9**	**130**

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