University of Strathclyde

School of Social Work & Social Policy

PRISON STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ROLE IN

THE REHABILITATION & DESISTANCE

SUPPORT OF PRISONERS

JO BAILEY-NOBLETT

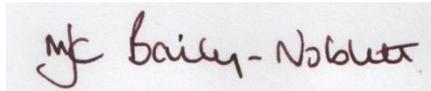A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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PRISON OFFICERS PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ROLE IN THE REHABILITATION & DESISTANCE SUPPORT OF PRISONERS

ABSTRACT

The principle objective of my ethnographical investigation was to interrogate prison staff perceptions in a Scottish prison to their role in affecting positive change, how this integrates into regular regimes of security and care and how they are trained to be positive agents of change. Research literature concludes that prison officers are the mainstay of the prison system, but rehabilitation and desistance support for prisoners is secondary to their primary role of security and care. In response to the Scottish Government's expectation that prisons reduce recidivism, the Scottish Prison Service introduced two strategies: (i) to positively transform the provision for prisoners internally and with community reintegration externally; (ii) to professionalise prison officer's service to transform how they facilitate positive change and desistance support for prisoners. I believe my empirical research has added to the knowledge of rehabilitation and desistance support in a penal environment through the lens of prison officers using a unique combination of video recordings of training and focus groups and audio recordings of one-to-one interviews which augment my observations, notes and interview responses, and provide an ontological perspective of a prison officer's occupation. My findings identify perspectival dichotomies and suggest that: training only provides new recruits with the bare essentials to undertake their primary function of security and care, positively conditions them to violence, but also conditions them to view prisoners negatively; poor intra- and inter-communication between different teams and groups of prison officers limits and impedes support of a prisoner's desistance journey; the architectural design of the prison has created a divide metaphorically and physically, so much so that rehabilitative support is seen as a formal process operating in specific areas of the prison away from the residential wings where a prisoner is likely to spend the majority of time incarcerated. What is claimed to be an holistic approach across the whole of the prison is unattainable due to the centralisation and concentration of 'support' in areas separated from the residential wings, and where prison staff have to make stark choices on who they can protect and support. Thus, strategies for the facilitation of rehabilitation, I contend, are not fundamentally meeting the needs of prisoners but the strategic goals of the Government, courts and prison service, where what is processed can be tangibly accountable through KPIs, contractual obligations and be fiscally affordable.

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THESIS STRUCTURE

FOREWORD: PRISON OFFICERS, PRISON & REHABILITATION

This section introduces the aim of this thesis, the theoretical framework of structural functionalism and decentred theory of governance and a conceptual framework that analyses three major concepts that highlight the interdependency and interconnectedness of penal governance that influences penal sociology and as a consequence decide how, rehabilitation and desistance support for offenders is decided upon and facilitated in a penal environment.

CHAPTER 1:   REVIEW OF PRISON OFFICER'S, PRISONS & REHABILITATION

This chapter provides a review of the of research on prison officers role from an historical standpoint and through the lens of a theoretical and conceptual framework that seeks to highlight the interdependencies of penal sociological strategies that have introduced rehabilitation and latterly desistance to the work role of prison staff.   Using my three concepts of structural, situational and developmental the chapter establishes the chronological history and the influences that have introduced rehabilitation to the prison remit.

CHAPTER 2:   REHABILITATION, DESISTANCE & THE PRISON OFFICER

This chapter provides the background to the various theories and processes that have been promulgated on rehabilitation in a penal environment and desistance in the open community. It provides an overview of what is known about the prison officer role with regard to rehabilitation and how it is implemented by prison officer through their perceived

legimacy and the power   differentials that manifest themselves through the cultural appropriations of the prison staff.

CHAPTER 3:   METHODOLOGY: REASONS, RESULTS & REFLECTIONS

This chapter describes the raison d'etre for the methodological choices for this empirical investigation. The research is characterised as an ethnographic case study which employs an inductive approach to data-theory associations through a constructionist ontological stance and an interpretivist epistemological position.   The data collection methodologies consisted of, focus groups and observation that were video recorded and, semi structure interviews which were audio recorded as well as desk research.   The strategy employed an appreciative/generative approach to the focus group discussions and semi-structured questioning as it is this researchers belief that it provides the participants with an empathetic ear and a motivational and safe environment to speak openly about their role.   A detailed description is provided of all the steps necessary to undertake ethnographic field work in a prison, taking cognisance of ethics and standards, prison security and regulations with regard to personal safety and use of electronic equipment.   Data analysis involved and inductive approach to the creation of a coding system that would highlight connections and relationships between data sets that would answer my research questions.

CHAPTER 4:   PRISON STAFF PERCEPTIONS: ON THEIR ROLE IN REHABILITATION AND DESISTANCE SUPPORT OF PRISONERS

This chapter, and the following chapters 5 and 6, presents the analysis from this empirical investigations data collected to answer the research questions.   The analysis focuses on prison staff perceptions of what rehabilitation is, how it is integrated in to their work, why it

is part of their role, when and where it takes place and which prisoners they consider they can and are able to support.   The desistance processes was an unfamiliar term for all but one prison officer who took part in the fieldwork.   Thus,   this evaluation of prison staff perceptions of desistance are taken from their personal, instinctual accounts of what they considered were important to support prisoners to reduce from criminality.

CHAPTER 5:   PRISON STAFF: PERCEPTIONS OF HOW REHABILITATION & DESISTANCE IS INTEGRATION INTO THE PRISON REGIME

This chapter is an analysis of prison staff perceptions of the prison regime, how rehabilitation fits into that regime and whose responsibility it is.   It also provides a comparison with prison staff views and the contrasting viewpoints of the prison's administration and the reports by HM Inspector of Prisons Scotland's report with regard to strategy, policies and operational realities.

CHAPTER 6:   PERCEPTIONS OF PRISON STAFF: ON HOW THEIR ORGANISATION TRAINS THEM TO PROVIDE REHABILITATION & DESISTANCE SUPPORT TO PRISONERS

This chapter examines the initial training of new recruits, how they are taught rehabilitative methods and relationship building to support prisoners.   The perspectives of experienced prison staff on their initial training and continuous personal development with regard to rehabilitation of prisoners which compared with those of the prison's administration.

CHAPTER 7:   CONCLUSIONS: REVIEW, DESIGN, DISCOVERY & IMPLICATIONS

The conclusion chapter outlines the key findings of the research, and the contribution and extension of knowledge on penal management and sociology focusing on prison officers role in the purported rehabilitation of offenders. It concludes that the initial training of new recruits does not provided them with the skills and knowledge to undertake their primary role let alone their secondary role of rehabilitation. That rehabilitation is primarily for the satisfaction of others external to prison rather than meetings the needs and requirements of prisoners. The research contends that rehabilitation is ad hoc, readily side lined if security is compromised because reduced staffing levels and lacks the equality of priorities given to security and care. This thesis argues that prisons will never be able to embraced the rehabilitative and desistance ideals as they have no influence over social factors that bring people in to prison in the first place for example, homelessness, substance abuse, family/community anti-social behaviours and social deprivation or have control over who and how many people are sent to be incarcerated or deliver the modern education levels required to teach that utilising technology and teaching methods.   To meet the needs of prisoners to enable them to live incarcerated and retain some semblance of their identity, their resilience and their self-efficacy they need to be cared for humanely through nurturing, training and participation in civic responsibilities rather than treatment for socially imposed deprivations by political, civic and media incited mis-governance and mis-management of poor and low income members of society.

FOREWORD: PRISON OFFICERS, PRISON & REHABILITATION

When imprisonment became the main option of the courts after the cessation of transportation to the colonies[1] (McConville, 1981; Maxwell-Stewart, 2010) the focus turned towards the secure confinement of prisoners in austere conditions in order to deter people from unlawful activity. The prison officer's primary occupation was secure incarceration through a regimen of rules, regulations and power.   Some twelve decades ago Gladstone added a third remit to prisons, the responsibility for rehabilitation of prisoners (Fitzgerald & Sim, 1982; Garland, 1985).   Prisons became and remain the legitimised places of secure incarceration, a physical and emotional sign of deterrence, and for the rehabilitation of offenders to return them to society as 'law-abiding citizens' (Carlen, 2005, p. 422).   In recent years in Scotland, post devolution, the Scottish Prison Service (SPS) Executive has been influenced by desistance theories, which is evidenced in their strategic organisational review, Unlocking Potential – Transforming Lives (SPS-OR, 2013) and subsequent policy documents, relevant to this study, Unlocking Our Potential – A Value Proposition (SPS-VP, 2016) and Prison Officer Professionalisation Programme (SPS-POPP, 2018) related to prison officers roles, responsibilities and development.

This thesis seeks to investigate what prison officers in Scotland now perceive to be their role in supporting prisoners to rehabilitate and desist from a criminal lifestyle by reviewing through two theoretical frameworks, structural functionalism theory (hereafter functionalism) and Bevir's (2002) decentered theory of governance. It seeks to examine how rehabilitation, and latterly desistance, policies and practices have been developed, and how they have influenced, changed and guided prison officers' roles in Scotland's prisons, using a

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[1] "...penal exile from the British Isles died a slow death maintained into the late 1860s only by demand for labour in Western Australia and the naval docks in Bermuda and Gibraltar." (Maxwell-Stewart, 2010:15)

conceptual framework that seeks to analyse three major concepts, factors that have summarily influenced, brought pressures, dichotomies and incentives to bear on the prison officers' role and their understanding of rehabilitation and desistance in Scotland[2].

These three concepts are:

(a) <u>structural</u>, focusing on the governance that legitimises prison and the requirements of accountability to the various stakeholders, the management of a prison environment, and the demands (and inherent dichotomies) for security and outcomes designed to change criminals into law-abiding citizens, and, also, the prison's physical assembly, its architecture;

(b) <u>situational,</u> examining those organisations that observe and who seek to influence and inform politicians and the SPS Executive, for example charities (e.g. The Howard League) and also the Prison Inspectorate and Independent Prison Monitoring[3] who have the authority to enter a penal environment as independent entities and report impartially on their findings (SPS-FD, 2016, p. 14);

(c) <u>developmental,</u> examining the history of prison officers' service over the last twelve decades, the personal and work cultures, the influence of the Prison Officers' Association (POA), the authorised initial training that stipulates legal rules and regulations and corporate approaches and, also, unofficial tutoring by colleagues and prisoners in their care.

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[2] The three concepts emerged from Parsons', Functionalism (1961) and Bevir's, Decentered Theory of Governance (2002). These concepts directly and indirectly, formally and informally, influence the role of the prison officer with each concept representing a level in the penal justice system. The Macro-level analysis reviews the systems and networks with overall responsibility for social control. Meso-level analysis involves the study of groups, communities, and institutions who have a vested interest in criminal justice.. Micro-level analysis focuses on the social interactions of individuals, teams and groups directly involved in the operational activity of a penal environments.

The <u>Structural</u> concept represents the Macro level, where governance provides the legitimisation of the penal system, through such agencies as Government, Civil Service and Prison Administration.

The <u>Situational</u> concept represents the Meso level, such as organisations that hold to account those at the Macro and Micro levels, representing independent monitoring, communities of interest, third sector organisations and political parties.

The <u>Developmental</u> concept represents the Micro level, individuals such as prison officers, prisoners, managers, colleagues and the culture ethos operational teams and the interdependent and interconnected relationships between them.

[3] An Independent Prison Monitor is a brand new volunteering role for Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons for Scotland. The role holds statutory authority under the Public Services Reform (Inspection and Monitoring of Prisons) (Scotland) Order 2015. It is an essential role within the Scottish justice system as it helps ensure prisoners' human rights are upheld and that life in prison contributes to their rehabilitation. First report published in December 2017.

These three concepts encapsulate and characterise the history and development of Scottish penal culture (Garland, 1985; Smith, 1983; 1989). These concepts are interdependent and interconnected and enable the function of incarceration of law breakers to be fulfilled, keeping the structures and systems in equilibrium, thereby ensuring that the goal of 'keeping society safe' is achieved.

This study brings to the fore the developing role of prison officers with regard to rehabilitation and desistance through the analysis of three concepts, structural, situational and developmental that together characterise the penal system in Scotland. This thesis provides a valuable understanding on the perspectives of prison officers on rehabilitation on residential wings and other areas within the prison of this case study. It highlights that despite the penal rhetoric on rehabilitative successes, it remains marginal for the few rather than the many. In the residential wings, where arguably prisoners spend the majority of their time, security and care is the predominant principle to which prison staff have to adhere. The training for new recruits remains firmly on security and care for the purposes of ensuring prisoners and staff safety but also to reduce the risk of adverse events affecting the prison's contractual obligations and public profile.

The case study prison in Scotland has provided an unique opportunity firstly, to study a large conglomerate and its penal component at the micro level, secondly, to employ innovative methodologies of appreciative, generative questioning and video recording of fieldwork, thirdly, to interrogate the influence of desistance research (based on service users in the open community) on policy, practice and integration in to a penal environment (ostensibly a closed community), fourthly, to critique the challenges of policy development and

implementation through the penal system and fifthly, to evaluate how governance of 'people' is construed in a restricted, hyper-securitised community. Albeit small scale in proportion to the whole it provides the generalisability of theory generated that rehabilitation is not an holistic approach for the many and is constantly undermined by administrative excess, need for compliance and fears of security breaches at the macro and micro levels of the penal system.

CHAPTER 1:   REVIEW OF PRISON OFFICER'S, PRISONS & REHABILITATION

1.1   INTRODUCTION

To understand the evolving role of prison officers with regard to rehabilitation and desistance support of prisoners in Scotland it is necessary to review the penal social history of Scottish Prisons, and the introduction of rehabilitation to the two, traditionally held, objectives of prisons, security and deterrence.   To recognise where prison officers fit into the structure of a large institution and how they undertake their daily work it is necessary to be cognisant of a number of variables[4]:

- how their organisation is governed, and how they themselves are trained and managed,

- why and by whom penal policies on rehabilitation and desistance are designed,

- how management constructs their strategies and operational plans to reflect those policies,

- how this filters through the layers of prison personnel to frontline staff,

- how the physical structural layout of a prison may or may not support rehabilitation and desistance support of prisoners, and

- how external accountability influences governments, prison administrators and prison personnel.

The three concepts, structural, situational and developmental, together with the above variables, have influenced the role of prison officers, either explicitly or implicitly, in supporting rehabilitation and desistance in a penal environment.

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[4] The term 'variables' is an indication that these factors and features listed are inconsistent and are often modified with a change of Government, senior management, advocacy by reformers and/or public opinion influenced by the media.

1.2   STRUCTURAL FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE REHABILITATION AND DESISTANCE IN PRISONS

The structural concept is made up of four sub-concepts: governance, policies, management and architecture. Governments legitimised prisons, (Foucault, 1977; Ignatieff, 1983; Sparks, 1994; Garland, 1985), for the suppression of the poor (Rusche & Kirchheimer, 1939; Cohen, 1985; Wacquant, 2001; Joyce, 2006). Generally, their policies follow the mantra of the prevailing political and economic rationale, or they sometimes emerge because the public is not persuaded that their best interests are being served (Foucault, 1977; Garland, 2001a). Prison managements interpret those policies through a prism of responsibilities to stakeholders, through approaches that advance the competences for meeting those responsibilities and systems for internal controls and external accountability on costs, quality of services, policy outcomes and value for money. The architecture of the prison, its external edifice, serves as a sign of deterrence and subjugation whilst internally people live (prisoners) and work (prison personnel) to fulfil the demands as interpreted through governance by the state on secure incarceration, deterrence, rehabilitation and desistance support to 'keep communities safe'.

1.3   GOVERNANCE

Governance is the process of steering or 'governing'; it is what 'governments do to their citizens' (Bevir, 2012, p. 2). Governance is about making decisions on behalf of the citizenry, depending on the prevailing political outlook and economic strategy. This is what, in recent decades, has driven and dictated the destiny of a particular marginalised group of people incarcerated by the legitimacy of the state and, for the purposes of this thesis, the rationale around rehabilitation and desistance in a penal environment.

Prisons throughout the eighteenth century were seen as independent, self-governing entities, readily accessed by anyone in the open community (Fitzgerald & Sim, 1982). In Scotland they were influenced by the country's own distinct legal system, retained after the Treaty of Union in 1707. This created a unique approach to criminal justice in Scotland (Garland, 1996), different from that of England and Wales, despite all laws relating to Scotland being made and passed by the UK government in Westminster (Duff & Hutton, 1999). Scotland, according to Young (1997a, p. 16), had a reputation for 'penal hardness' and 'penal innovation,' perhaps influenced by the country's Calvinist religious approach to sinners/offenders and the progressive enlightenment ideas of reformers around education (Cameron, 1983; Smith, 1983; Coyle, 1986).

In the nineteenth century stricter, more organised and regulatory supervision was developed through an Inspectorate, a General Board of Directors and centralised governance in the Home Office (Forsythe, 1981; Dobash, 1983; Coyle, 1991). Centralisation and governance of prison remained within government and was administered in Scotland by civil servants with little interference by their political masters through the twentieth century until the 1980s (McAra, 2008; Keating, 2010; McNeill, 2011). Criminal justice policy making was therefore undertaken through, and by, an exclusive network from the criminal justice fraternity, civil servants and agencies (e.g. Social Work), working to their own agenda but keeping within the framework of policy directives from Westminster (McAra, 2005; 2008). However, this came to an end under the Conservative government's, led by Margaret Thatcher and the Scottish Secretary, Michael Forsythe, punitive approach to offenders (McAra, 2001).

From the 1980s the Conservative government ushered in penal punitivism in conjunction with more laissez-faire economic policies (Garland, 1996), followed by New Labour's own form of punitivism, New Public Management (NPM) and continued privatisation (Feeley & Simon, 1994). It was during this period of change that the Scottish Prison Service became an Executive Agency in 1993. The Secretary of State for Scotland was accountable to the Westminster parliament, with the Chief Executive for Prisons accountable to the Secretary of State. This gave the Chief Executive relative autonomy and authority to manage the operational policies and practices of the prison service (Chadwick, 1996). This change in status and the introduction of New Public Management with its focus on private sector management concepts and market mechanisms of demand and supply altered the nature of the governance for Scottish prisons. This system of governance continued when Scotland achieved devolution in 1999.

Post devolution, the governance of Scottish Prisons has remained with the Cabinet Secretary for Justice, accountable to the Scottish Executive/Parliament rather than the Westminster government. Initially, penal policies of the Scottish Labour Government mirrored those of the Labour Government in Westminster. However, Scottish agencies (e.g. SPS and third sector organisations involved in criminal justice) developed a closer relationship to the policy makers and influenced the justice agenda (Morrison, 2011). The civil servants, however, went from having little interference from distant cabinet secretaries to being micro-managed and being answerable on a daily basis (Keating, 2010). According to McAra (2008), the amount of legislation, with an increasing number of agencies, created a perplexing system of criminal justice reforms. This resulted in a confused situation with agencies overlapping responsibilities and gaps in services where there had previously been none (Morrison & Munro, 2008).

When the Scottish Nationalist Party came to power in 2007, they sought to introduce, what was considered, the Scottish democratic welfarist tradition of criminal justice influenced by wider national and international developments in penal policies (Mooney, Croall, Munro & Scott, 2015). Civil servants were instructed to focus on the SNP's key policy indicators, 'rather than pursing their own indicators of prestige' and development of their departmental budget (Cairney, 2008, p. 15). They were also encouraged to consult 'outside of government', to the experts in the field and those accountable for policy execution (Keating, 2010, p. 202).

Devolution had brought about changes in the criminal justice system as it was more openly debated within the Scottish Parliament rather than remotely in Westminster with little time for discussion (Mooney, et al., 2015). The SNP changed the command and control approach of government and public management to one of outcomes and an evidenced-based learning approach to governance (Mayne, 2007; Sanderson, 2011). There was more involvement at a local level through the introduction of the Criminal Justice Authorities (Morrison, 2011) and sentencing reforms were introduced to try and reduce one of Europe's highest incarceration rates (Hutton & Tata, 2010). Though policy has moved from penal punitivism to welfarism there remains the popular punitiveness of perceived public opinion (Croall, 2012) and preserve of the judiciary to sentence people to the pains of imprisonment (Tombs & Jagger, 2006). In Scotland, in 2019, there are over eight thousand prisoners (SPS, 2019), an incarceration rate of 143 per 100,000, and the prison population has not reduced since devolution when it was around 116 per 100,000 (World Prison Brief, 2019). The governance structure may be more open and tightly managed and their policies of 'keeping Scotland safer' have been successful if calculated by the reduction in crime rates of 39% since 2008 up

to 2017[5] (SG, Justice Directorate, 2018, p. 57).   However, it may be argued that there is a failure of joined up penal and social polices needed to bring about a reduction in prison population through rehabilitation and desistance support for offenders in custody and in the community.

1.4   POLICIES FOCUSING ON REHABILITATION & DESISTANCE

Policy making, as indicated in the previous section on Governance, is not a straightforward cyclical business as described in the Treasury Department's Green Book (2018)[6].   I would suggest that, as

described in the Institute of Government's (2011) explanation, for policy making and makers it is an opportunistic process influenced by a broad range of factors and petitioning assemblages, for example, budget limitations, social and economic conditions, the principles and beliefs of political parties, public opinion, mass media, third sector organisations, interest groups, research and adverse incidents.   Policies are seen as an outward expression of the government of the day's solutions to the governance of social order to legitimise their power to incarcerate those who did not conform to society's social, legal and, at one time, religious rules and regulations.   Legitimacy is not constant;   it can be strengthened or weakened by policy changes and institutional reforms and the shifting viewpoint of citizens' preferences of their own moral compass (Beetham, 2013).   All of the above offer a possible explanation

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[5] Scottish Government, Justice Directorate. Scottish Criminal Justice Survey (SCJS) main findings published in March 2018. Figure 5.1: Comparable recorded crime and **SCJS** estimates, 2008/09 to 2016/17 page 57

[6] The Green Book, Appraisal and Evaluation in Central government . Accessed update 2018 version see Fig 2 p. 9 explanation of the policy cycle: 1: Rationale - a rationale is developed 2: Objectives - objectives are set 3: Appraisal - options are appraised 4: Monitoring - effects are monitored 5: Evaluation - results are evaluated 6: Feedback - evaluation results are fed back into the cycle

as to why penal policies have oscillated between penal punitivism, welfarism and carceral power legitimised by the governing elites (Ryan, 2003).

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century policy making remained the preserve of the elite[7] (Hay, 1980) and wealthy industrialists, merchants and reformists desiring to improve the judicial system, making it more efficient, effective and lowering the fiscal cost (Ignatieff, 1978; Elias, 1978; 1982; Foucault, 1977; Garland, 1985). It is argued that penal policies on imprisonment were a form of social and political control of the poor (Rusche & Kirchheimer, 1939; Cohen, 1985) and prison became the physical manifestation of control of crime and criminal behaviour through incapacitation (Foucault, 1977; Garland, 1996; Crewe, 2009). The Poor Laws[8] provide a window on the penal rhetoric and policies of the nineteenth century where treatment of the poor was based on the doctrine of less eligibility (Sparks, 1996; Scott, 2015) which, according to Ruche & Kirchheimer (1939, p. 93), has remained the 'leitmotiv of all prison administrations' through the twentieth century.

Whilst prisoners still faced austere conditions, the Gladstone Committee[9] removed the forced solitary internalisation of repentance for their wrongdoing and introduced penal reforms for prisoners based on the rehabilitative principle of treatment and training (Scott, 2015). According to King & Morgan (1980, p. 2) this principle remained the foundation of

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[7] Generally consisting of land-owning men who held power and influence over, and in, government.

[8] The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 in England and Wales and in Scotland 1845, philosophy of the period on religious and moral grounds believed that the money given to paupers should be less than the earnings of the lowest paid worker. (Sparks, 2000)

[9] Gladstone Committee 1895 - According to several contemporary observers, the British prison system at the end of the nineteenth century was in a savage and deplorable state. A series of articles in The Daily Chronicle in January 1894 referred to these prisons as 'our dark places'. They were managed by a man a few years later accredited with a 'barbaric philosophy'. The severity of this prison system was said to be legendary even in Russia. This school of observation then developed the view that the penal system was rescued by the recommendations of an influential home office report published in 1895. Named after its chairman, the then under secretary at the home office, Herbert Gladstone, this report was welcomed as 'the beginning of a beneficent revolution'. Upon its publication, the man vilified in The Daily Chronicle, the chairman of the prison commissioners, Sir Edmund Du Cane, resigned his post; the newspaper greeted this event as 'the inevitable end of a discredited system'. How correct was this perception of the late nineteenth-century British prison system? Harding, C. (1988)

prison reform until the 1970s when the "What Works?" report about prison reform was published by Martinson (1974a)[10].   This research gained a great deal of momentum and, although discredited[11], it remains a constant reminder of the capriciousness of politicians, of policy making and of the media when it suits their own agendas (Cullen & Gendreau, 2001). In the 1970s, when penal welfarism was the byword for rehabilitation, reform and citizenship by the politicians (Garland, 2001b), the 'nouveau riche', once a sector of society that were the promoters of welfarism, criticised the liberal penal reform agenda for not controlling criminality (Garland, 2001a; Wacquant, 2000;   2001), emphasising once again societal inequalities (Western, 2006; Western & Pettit, 2010).   The May Report (1979)[12] on overcrowding in prisons dismissed the proposals of King & Morgan (1980) as a 'justice model of humane containment' (King & Morgan, 1980; Coyle, 1991), instead proposing 'positive custody' (King & McDermott, 1989; Coyle, 1991; Ryan & Sim, 1998) and recommending a building and refurbishment programme to end slopping out[13] (King & McDermott, 1989)[14]. Leon Brittan[15] set a much tougher agenda for law and order and sentencing (Ryan & Sim, 1998), but the Woolf Report had a major impact and it set the blueprint for a just, humane and secure prison (Woolf, 1991), which Michael Howard[16] followed up in 1993 by adding that prison should be 'decent but austere' and should 'incapacitate' offenders (Coyle, 2005). New

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[10] Martinson, R. (1974a. p. 48) "the rehabilitative efforts have been reported so far have had no appreciable affect on recidivism" (p. 25) and Martinson posed a provocative question; " Do all these studies lead irrevocably to the conclusion that nothing works that we haven't the faintest clue about how to rehabilitate reoffenders and reduce recidivism"?

[11] Research by Milan & McKee (1974) at the same time verified some effectiveness of rehabilitative programmes in a penal environment.

[12] Prior to the May report there had been the Mountbatten Report 1966 and Radzinowicz Report 1968. Both focused on security and introduced classification on prisoners based on risk, which is still in place today. However,' Radzinowicz did not implement the other recommendation of Mountbatten to have a single high security prisons for the highest risk prisoners. (Fitzgerald & Sim, 1982). Mountbatten's categorisation on risk is still in place and does impact on what is available to prisoners in the way of purposeful activity and the steps they have to take to achieve enhanced status and progress for parole and early release on home dentation curfew.

[13] Which is still in evidence in some prison in England today

[14] According to King & Morgan (1989:109) "The May committee endorsed policies to reduce prison population but held out little hope for success, and so recommended a massive building programme to eliminate enforced cell sharing and end slopping out".

[15] Conservative Minister of State for Home Office Leon Brittan 1979-1981

[16] Conservative Minister of State for Home Office Michal Howard 1993-1997

Labour came to power in 1997 and many thought that the 'punitivist populism' of Conservatives would come to an end (Vanstone, 2010. p. 281).

This proved, however, not to be the case.   New Labour, with policy promulgated by Jack Straw[17], were considered as punitive, with the slogan 'tough on crime and tough on causes of crime' and did not initiate 'socialist thinking' on crime (Brownlee, 1998, p. 313).   New Labour had two preoccupations, fear of the punitive popular press, who had little regard for civil liberties (Brownlee, 1998; Vanstone, 2010), and a desire to make public opinion their 'primary constituency' (Ryan, 2004, p. 5).   This made its 'criminal justice policies weak at the core' (Vanstone, 2010, p. 284).   Throughout their tenure in government New Labour policies were dominated by managerialism, rules, regulations, outcomes and order and control (McLaughlin, Muncie & Hughes, 2010; Coyle, 2003; Vanstone, 2010).   During the 1990s the 'third generation', Risk, Needs and Assessment (RNR) of prisoners (Hannah-Moffatt, 2005, p. 32), began to be assimilated into rehabilitation policies which harmonized with New Labour's focus on technical and actuarial outcomes and overshadowed the welfarist and socialist character of rehabilitation of offenders (Garland, 2001a).

In 2010, with a new Conservative government, Kenneth Clarke's[18] green paper discussed government's views on rehabilitation, focusing on 'reducing reoffending without reducing the punishment of offenders' (Minster of Justice, 2010)[19].   The Prime Minister, David Cameron, encouraged the private, public and third sectors to take up rehabilitating and reducing re-offending: 'Do whatever it takes to get these people back living decent,

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[17] Labour Home Secretary Jack Straw 2007 to 2010

[18] Conservative Justice Minister Kenneth Clarke 2010 -2012

[19] 'The green paper is an important change of direction in penal policy which will put more emphasis on reducing reoffending without reducing the punishment of offenders. 'By reforming criminals and turning them away from a life of crime we will break the cycle. This will mean fewer crimes, fewer victims and safer communities.' Minster of Justice Ken Clarke quote from press release December 2010.

productive lives'; 'we will pay you for that – but ... and it is a major but – once again payments will depend on results' (quoted in Politics.co.uk, 2015). In 2019, Rory Stewart[20], described "effective rehabilitation as comprising 'activity to assess and manage individuals' criminogenic and resettlement needs, risks and responsivity to particular types of interventions and support" (quoted in MoJ Report, 2019, para 138, p. 59). Policy making continues to see RNR as the way of processing rehabilitation of prisoners. But what of RNR and rehabilitation policies in Scotland, with its unique justice system and, post devolution, policy making being somewhat different to that of the rest of the United Kingdom?

Throughout the 20th century the Scottish Office retained some independence that allowed the unique nature of Scottish Justice to be preserved (McAra, 2005). But, post the 1960s, the SPS almost ran in parallel with England and Wales, with policies based on the major reports[21] which had emerged out of penal crises. For example, in the 1970s, riots resulting from serious overcrowding were quelled by a brutal prison officer culture (Coyle, 1987). Out of this arose the Barlinnie Special Unit[22] (BSU) for high risk violent offenders, providing a unique approach in Scotland to reform and rehabilitation based on therapeutic relationships between prison staff and prisoners (Coyle, 1987; Nellis, 2010). This was in contrast to the 'cages' in Inverness prison that operated concurrently with the BSU (Scraton, Sim, & Skidmore, 1988; 1991; Coyle, 1987; Nellis, 2010). The problems for SPS continued into the 80s with violence by prisoners and prison staff culminating in the publication of a number of

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[20] Conservative Minister of State for Prisons Jan 2018 – May 2019 Rory Stewart

[21] Mountbatten Report 1966, Radzinowicz Report 1968, May Report 1972, Woolf & Tummin Report (1991)

[22] "The Scottish Home and Health Department (1971) Working Party report - *Treatment of Certain Male Long term Prisoners and Potentially Violent Prisoners* - emerged from official anxieties about escalating violence between staff and a handful of very particular prisoners who had demonstrably not been rendered manageable by the available repressive sanctions – beatings by squads of baton-armed prison officers, and/or solitary incarceration, often naked, for protracted periods in the prison-within-a-prison of "the cages" – the first form of "special unit" - in HMP Porterfield, Inverness. The Working Party proposed a new kind of unit. Influenced particularly by Maxwell Jones' and Dennie Briggs' conception of a therapeutic community (Jones 1968; Whitley, Briggs and Turner 1972) it was intended for up to ten prisoners, to have an explicitly psychiatric orientation, to make use of group counselling and drug therapy and to create a therapist/patient relationship between staff and prisoners". Nellis, M. (2010: p. 48)

policy documents designed to bring the penal environment under control. The first was 'The

Grand Design, 1987', which altered the prison estate by recategorizing prison security levels

to increase prisoner capacity, and 'Fresh Start, 1987', which altered the terms and conditions

of prison staff and led to discontent, disenchantment and distress amongst prison officers

(Chadwick, 1996).   This was followed in 1988 by two contradictory policy documents,

according to Adler & Longhurst (1991a), Assessment and Control (A&C) 1988a and Custody

and Care (C&C) 1988b.   It was argued that the A&C policy on security for high risk prisoners

in mainstream prisons would undermine the progressive policy on rehabilitation in C&C that

gave prisoners opportunities to take responsibility for themselves through newly introduced

sentence planning (Adler & Longhurst, 1991; Chadwick, 1996). According to Coyle (1991, p.

1)[23], Scotland has always seen imprisonment as punishment and deprivation of liberty. The

Secretary of State for Scotland[24], in Opportunity & Responsibility (O&R, 1990a), which

outlined his government's policy on rehabilitation of long-term prisoners, acknowledged that

incarceration was a negative experience but, used judiciously, is one which makes a positive

impression on those who are sent there (Coyle, 1991; 1994).   The O&R policy on

rehabilitation sought to translate the relationship between prison staff and prisoners by re-

balancing equitably between security, order and providing opportunities through co-

operative sentence planning and decision making (Adler & Longhurst, 1991a).

By the end of the twentieth century devolution brought about a number of social policies for

reducing poverty and increasing opportunities in education and employment, for example,

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[23] According to Coyle (1991:1) "the Scottish tradition of imprisonment has always that its primarily a punishment which consists of the deprivation of liberty. The rehabilitation of the prisoners is likely to come about, if at all, as a result of personal change. Future recidivism is likely to be affected, positively or negatively, by external features, such as accommodation, support and employment".

[24] Conservative Secretary of State for Scotland 1990 -1995 Ian Lang

Closing the Opportunity Gap (2002)[25], Workforce Plus: Employability (2006)[26], Skills for Scotland (2007)[27], and Safer Communities Strategies (2004; 2016)[28]. Penal policies were aligned to these social policies and culminated in 2013 with the SPS Organisational Review – Unlocking Potential: Transforming Lives (SPS OR 2013), a new theoretical framework for rehabilitation in Scotland. The Organisational Review (OR) was followed by a number of other policies related to the rehabilitation of offenders; the framework for Purposeful Activity (SPS-PA, 2014), the Value Proposition (SPS-VP, 2016), and recently the Prison Officer Professionalisation Programme (SPS-POPP, 2018). The OR sought to build on the approach of the 1990 O&R policy by reshaping opportunity, care, order and custody to custody and order, care and opportunity (SPS-OR, 2013, fig 3.2, p. 46). The OR explained that it would place rehabilitation at the centre of their prisoner reintegration into society with an asset-based approach to offender management, which SPS considered O&R had failed to do (SPS-OR, 2018, para 7.13, p. 168). The SPS approach to rehabilitation and reintegration was the development of 'community facing' strategies to increase 'connectedness and collaboration between local service partners' (SPS-OR, 2013, para 7.5, p. 165). It also introduced evidenced based research on desistance and an asset-based approach to provide and support

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[25] Closing the Opportunity Gap (SG COG, 2002: p. 6) "Closing the Opportunity Gap: Justice Crime and the fear of crime still blight too many Scottish communities, and the communities disproportionately affected are largely those which are the most disadvantaged. We are determined that this should change". https://www2.gov.scot/resource/doc/46997/0024934.pdf

[26] Workforce Plus (SG-WFP, 2006. P. vii) Employability is"... the combination of factors and processes which enable people to progress towards or get into employment, to stay in employment and to move on inthe workplace". *(Definition by Effective Interventions Unit in the Health Dept. and adapted for purpose of this framework.)* : https://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20180516025136/http://www.gov.scot/Publications

[27] Skills for Scotland (SG-SFS, 2007 refreshed in 2010: p. 28) The independent report on Offender Learning: Options for Improvement published in January 2010, identified a number of key challenges for Government and public agencies and set out recommendations on how learning opportunities for offenders could be improved. A response to these recommendations was published in July 2010. This outlines a new approach to delivering effective and integrated opportunities for young people and adults in or leaving the justice system to learn, develop skills and increase their employability. http://www.employabilityinscotland.com/media/127019/Refreshed%20Skills%20Strategy.pdf

[28] A Safer Stronger Scotland (2016) The Government's Safer and Stronger Strategic Objective is to help local communities to flourish, becoming stronger, safer places to live, offering improved opportunities and a better quality of life. A safer and stronger Scotland for our families and communities will be a more successful Scotland. We want communities to thrive, becoming better places to live and work, contributing to a more economically-cohesive Scotland, higher rates of labour market participation and sustainable economic growth. We will achieve this by improving housing and neighbourhoods, fighting crime, and reducing the fear of crime
https://www2.gov.scot/About/Performance/scotPerforms/objectives/safeAndStronger

successful reintegration (ibid, para 4.4, p.51).   Other policies included the Purposeful Activity review that sought, through 'level of service/case management inventory'[29], to place prisoners in the most appropriate activity that takes cognisance of RNR, enhances prisoners' personal development, agency and responsibility for their future plans, both in custody and in the community (SPS-PA, 2014).   Not only were prisoners to gain from this new approach but prison staff also;   they are seen as the lynchpin of this offender-centric service to rehabilitation through training and development on 'understanding desistance' (SPS-VP, 2016, pp. 16,20).

Going forward the SPS are ambitious to develop a professional academic qualification that will provide prison officers with 'greater recognition, professional influence' (SPS-POPP, 2018, p. 3) and provide them with the skills and knowledge to provide a balanced relationship with prisoners that supports custody and order but also influences how they deliver care and opportunities for prisoners to turn their lives around and reintegrate as positive citizens for a safer Scotland (ibid, 2018).   Turning policies into managerial and operational actions is the responsibility of all prison personnel.   However, the interpretation may not always be what the policy makers intended (Bevir, 2002). So, whose responsibility is it to manage prison and prisoners?

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[29] Level of Service\Case Management Inventory – We know from a wealth of literature that policies and practices that reflect the principles of risk, needs and responsibility promote desistance from offending; reductions in offending rates of up to 40% have been achieved in initiatives that are implemented in rigorous conditions. Risk Management Authority 2019. https://www.rma.scot/supporting-practice/ls-cmi/

1.5   MANAGEMENT OF PRISONS: WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY?

The management of Scottish prisons has assumed various styles, each in accord with its own polity and social historical period.   However, prisons all have one thing in common, they are functional organisations, 'defined as a subsystem of a more comprehensive social system' (Parsons, 1960, p. 20). Thus, the conglomerates (prisons) are instilled in and permeated by the morals and values of society as a whole and this intimate connection is required to legitimise their goals and activities (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

In the new penal era of a Scottish Nationalist Government the SPS, in their Organisational Review in 2013, brought in a new strategy that focused on transformational change that has had consequences for the management of prisons, prison personnel and prisoners.   Penal management is not the prerogative of those identified as managers, but includes prison officers who, it can be argued, have been people managing (Cressey, 1961) since prisons emerged centuries ago. Prison officer management of prisoners has been described in terms of power relationships governed by rules and routines.   In this new SPS era of penal administration it would appear that the prison officers are not aligning themselves with their leadership's vision and mission, and politically little inroad has been made to reduce the prison population which is now once again in crisis due to overcrowding and staff unrest. Decentred theory offers an explanation why prison officers are not responding favourably – 'a decentered approach would add to this recognition of how the reforms, and the responses to them, reflect contests of meaning between actors inspired by different traditions' (Bevir, 2002, p. 15).

In the eighteenth century management was 'relatively haphazard and prisons were frequently dilapidated, overcrowded, and chaotic' which 'affected the state's capacity to

implement prison policies' (Willis, 2005, p. 177 & 187). The preserve of charities, private

sector and judiciary, administrative oversight of, and compliance by, prisons were non-

existent (Fitzgerald & Sim, 1982; Emsley, 1987; Osborne & McLaughlin, 2002). By the

nineteenth century, with centralisation of state power and increasing bureaucracy

(McConville, 1981; Coyle, 1991; Flynn 1998; Willis, 2005), prison administration became strict

formal functional systems of rules, regulations and practices whose internal actors were

obligated to comply or suffer significant sanctions (McConville, 1981). Change came with the

Prison Act 1835 and placed Scotland's prison in the 'hands of Government' (Coyle, 1991, p.

43). The prisons' administration adopted managerial processes and tools of standardisation,

and responsibility through annual reports and accounts that justified expenditure (Garland,

1985).   The Reorganisation of Offices (Scotland) Act 1929 had a profound effect upon the

administration and governance of prisons in Scotland. The Scottish prison administration

was separated from the Scottish Judiciary, becoming part of the Civil Service with prison

personnel becoming civil servants[30] (Coyle, 1991).   Despite being part of the government

bureaucracy, the SPS, remained intrinsically linked to the state, political processes and the

whole criminal justice system (Coyle 1991, p. 199). As Parsons (1957, p. 64) reasoned, an

organisation cannot attain its goals without 'the relevant parts of the external situation in

which it acts or operates', thus prisons cannot operate without the inherent support of those

who govern (structural/macro level) and those who scrutinise (situational/meso level) their

adherence to the prescribed rules and regulations.

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[30] This Code sets out the standards of behaviour expected of you and all other civil servants. These are based on the core values. The Scottish Executive's Aim, Vision and Values and individual Agencies' own separate mission and values statements are based on the core values and include the standards of behaviour expected of you when you deal with your colleagues. The respective responsibilities placed on Scottish Ministers and special advisers in relation to the Civil Service are set out in their Codes of Conduct: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2003/08/17996/25268   and http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/propriety_and_ethics.

The assimilation into the civil service came in the 1950s, according to Coyle (1991, p.187), when a career civil servant became the Director of the Scottish Prison Service and reported to the Secretary of the Home and Health Department for Scotland. This meant that SPS was managed by two conflicting approaches – administrated at a distance by a team of highly structured, hierarchical, career civil servants whose focus was on organisational development and bureaucracy while, on the other hand and more directly, by governors who, during this period, had worked their way up through the ranks and whose focus was on the practicalities of managing the prison regime and prisoners (Duffee, 1975; Coyle, 1986). This highlights the challenges of implementation, the understanding of what prison is for and the different management styles from the structural/macro level of a system down to the developmental/micro level.   This was the era of welfare reforms when the government became increasingly responsible for public services (Osborne & McLaughlin, 2002).   By the late 1970s and early 80s, however, disenchantment had grown on how public services were managed, thought to be overly bureaucratic, inefficient, ineffective and employing large numbers of staff (Hood, 1991). Centralisation of authority created a situation where prison management concentrated on the minutiae of decision making rather than focussing on a comprehensive corporate strategy (Mintzberg, 1979).   An examination of the SPS prison management review in 1978 highlighted the limitations and preoccupation with 'short term problems and ad hoc solutions' (Coyle, 1991, p. 193).   Prison managements failed in their governance of the prisons with little oversight and accountability of prison officer compliance with regard to humane decency and prison rules (Bevir, 2002, p. 22; Sim, 2008; Drake, 2008). At the same time, the prison officer's union[31] became increasingly militant and influential in

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[31] (Coyle, 1991. p. 210) An important operational distinction between Scottish Prison Officers Association (SPOA) and the POA is the way in which the national executive committee of the Scottish body has been able to retain tight control over its members to a degree which has been impossible in England and Wales, where a significant level of decision making has been delegated to local branch committees. An important outcome of this centralisation in Scotland has been the opportunity which it has afforded the trade union to push on a national basis for a more participative form of management structure for the Scottish Prison Service

the management of prisons (Liebling & Crewe, 2012), particularly in Scotland[32] (Coyle, 1991).

This crisis in penal management was intensified by severe overcrowding and hostage taking across the prison estate (Sim, 2008). Any management system tends towards operating in equilibrium (Parsons, 1961). However, if the subsystems are not properly integrated in the process, it places a strain on the system and it becomes dysfunctional. Serious tensions and inconsistencies in the implementation of shared standards reduce legitimacy, allowing the creation of gaps that can be exploited by others. To reintegrate and unite the system it has to create a new and alternative set of norms and values (Parsons, 1961, p. 438). The management crisis was eventually resolved with the introduction of a number of influential policies which set out a new vision and goal for the prison service (Adler & Longhurst, 1991) which heralded the introduction of NPM[33] (Bevir, 2012, p. 22) to the SPS (Sangkhanate, 2012).

Key features of NPM are competition, contracting, performance management, politicisation, professionalism and customer orientation (Toonen, 2001). The introduction of NPM changed the overall shape, style and management structure within SPS from headquarters, to governors, right down to prison officer level, by progressively replacing the hierarchical, military style command structure, with its principal concerns of security, punishment and rehabilitation, to one of decentralisation of authority, where the principle concerns became accountability, competency, effectiveness and value for money (Liebling & Price, 2001; Bryans, 2007; Sangkhanate, 2012). During the 1990s SPS also achieved a significant change when it was given 'Agency Status' (SHHD, 1991c), which gave the Chief Executive and the SPS Board overall authority and responsibility for managing the prison service, reducing the

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[32] (Coyle, 1991. p. 235) While the management of the SPS would reject any suggestion of participative management , its style of accommodation with the SPOA in practice has come very close to this. All trade unions which have members working in the SPS are members of the Whitley Council of the service and are frequently consulted by management in this forum on issues of policy.

[33] "The neoliberal narrative of governance relies heavily on the idea that hierarchy has failed: the problems of inefficiency and overload justify calls for the new public management and marketization". (Bevir, 2002, p. 22)

influence of governmental civil servants and their networks.   The SPS were heavily criticised

for concentrating on developing the prison regime for long term prisoners to the detriment

of short-term prisoners and remands who received little support or opportunities to gain

skills and work whilst in custody (SPS-AS, 2005, p. 15).   Agency Status changed the

administration of prisons and gave individual Governors devolved power through Service

Level Agreements and Key Priority Targets, as well as accountability to the Board and policy

makers which introduced internal market-based approaches into the penal system (Walsh,

1995).

The value for money ethos has provided private business and third sector organisations

access to prisons through the procurement and tendering process[34] which, it could be

argued, has widened public understanding of penal environments and added another level

of scrutiny for penal employees and prisoners. Prison management can procure at a local

level for goods to allow it to function on a daily basis along with local support services for

prisoners (Armstrong, 2007). Larger contracts and national infrastructure projects on prison

building, utilities, prisoner courts transportation[35] and health[36] and education services[37] are

undertaken centrally at SPS HQ (ibid, 2007).   Contracting out also included the creation of

private prisons in Scotland, which policy came after devolution and New Labour's approach

to NPM (McAra, 2008).   There are only two private prisons in Scotland, managed on behalf

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[34] SPS procurement policy is that Goods, Services or Works should be acquired by competition wherever possible in line with
government policy and the relevant legislation.http://www.sps.gov.uk/Corporate/Information/ContractOpportunities.aspx
[35] Original contract went to Reliance in 2003 until 2011 after which G4S have had the contract.
 Contract between Scottish ministers and geoamey pecs ltd
www.sps.gov.uk/nmsruntime/saveasdialog.aspx?fileName=01500...Contract++6183...

26 Mar 2018 - Committee, the Scottish Government and the National Assembly. Service Provider for
the transportation of Prisoners .

[36] Health Services are now delivered nationally by the National Health Service since 2012,
https://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/CurrentCommittees/56763.aspx
37 Contract for learning & skills (l&s) services (prisoners) - Scottish Prison.
www.sps.gov.uk/nmsruntime/saveasdialog.aspx?fileName=01313+CTT...
This is Schedule A of Contract 01313 between Fife College .... the overall Learning & Skills arrangements against
the SPS Learning & Skills Strategy and ...... the SPS works closely with Justice Service colleagues; Education Scotland etc

of the Government by SPS staff, titled 'Controllers'[38], whose responsibility is to manage the private prison contractual compliance and who have the ultimate sanction over the Director[39] of the prison.   Private enterprises were conceived as providing value for money, innovation, an element of competition between public and private provision and supplementary to the public system that had reached its capacity (Sparks, 1994, p. 25). However, there is little evidence that it has created 'greater innovation and improvement in prison management' (Panchamia, 2012, p. 5). There is also the question of 'legitimacy' with regard private prisons in that it is not 'normative' but rather 'actuarial and contractual' (ibid. 1994, p. 22).   Sangkhanate (2012, p. 95) summarises, in his 'discourse matrix'[40] identifying SPS's pre-occupation with managerialism rather than rehabilitation from 1990 to 2007,

> "........ management of prisons in Scotland had not been dominated by specific ideology and that prison administrators did not rely on one particular model. Despite the fact that rehabilitation was still in play, it was in a more voluntary form." (Sangkhanate, 2012, p. 96).

But what of the new penal era in Scotland under an SNP government that had never been in government before, where any historical perspective on their penal and criminal justice policies is limited to what they stated in opposition[41]?

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[38] PB(MIN)02/16 minutes of the Scottish Prison Service Advisory Board meeting held on Wednesday 16 march 2016 in the boardroom, Calton House   www.sps.gov.uk/nmsruntime/saveasdialog.aspx?fileName=Minutes+of...(16.03)
SPS Controllers at both prisons meet regularly with the service providers to review contract performance and apply performance measures where relevant and assure that any changes in procedure or actions associated to recently issued Governors' and Managers' Action Notices are implemented. They also meet regularly to review progress against any recommended actions that emanate from either the service provider's audits, or the secondary audits undertaken by the Controllers, and have a shared action plan tracking process to assure regular review. The Advisory Board were invited to note that the 2 private prison contracts continue to perform against contractual expectations, and that performance in relation to the CCPES contract will continue to be closely monitored.

[39] Private prison senior manager is given the title Director rather than Governor

[40] Extension of Adler & Longhurst's (1994) discourse matrix

[41] SNP 1999 Manifesto. 'Imprisonment will always be a necessary tool in the criminal justice armoury. However, as well as punishment custody should also be about rehabilitation. There is widespread agreement that overcrowding in Scottish jails must be addressed and steps are already being taken in that direction. The SNP has welcomed and supported moves to expand the range of non-custodial sentences available to courts and would wish to continue with that work. The SNP remains totally opposed to private prisons. http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/scotland_99/manifestos/snp.htm

In the new penal era for SPS under an SNP Government the focus has been on transformational change.   A SWOT[42] analysis identified that the system was 'overly focused on prison management rather than offender management' (SPS-OR, 2013, Annex 5. pp. 233-236) and a PESTLE[43] analysis (ibid. 2013, Annex 5. pp. 231-232) identified external drivers for their value model (of efficiency, effectiveness and value for money (ibid. 2013, Fig 8.1. p. 181).   The SPS Framework Document (SPS-FD, 2016) identified key players, roles and responsibilities for management of the organisation and also mapped out its external accountability landscape in Annex B.   If this is compared to the external landscape organogram complied by Adler & Longhurst (1994, Fig. 1.6. p. 15) the level of accountability and scrutiny for the SPS appears to have increased substantially in three decades. The Public Reform Act (2010)[44] increased the emphasis of openness and accountability of public services which SPS complies with through their annual report and accounts.   SPS's management of prisons remains firmly attached to the NPM principles of competition, contracting, performance management, politicisation, professionalism and customer orientation (Toonen, 2001).   There are elements of internal competition with regard to a governor's performance in financial terms (SPS-AR, 2018, p. 46), although overt external competition between private and public prisons appears to have all but disappeared with the exception

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[42] SWOT analyses are a common tool used by the Scottish Government across a range of departments to assess Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats.
Strengths and Weaknesses - Factors tend to be in the present - The internal environment - the situation inside the company or organization. For example: factors relating to products, pricing, costs, profitability, performance, quality, people, skills, adaptability, brands, services, reputation, processes, infrastructure.
Opportunities and Threats - Factors tend to be in the future - The external environment - the situation outside the company or organization. For example: factors relating to markets, sectors, audience, fashion, seasonality, trends, competition, economics, politics, society, culture, technology, environmental, media, law, etc.
https://www.businessballs.com/strategy-innovation/swot-analysis/

[43] PESTLE is an acronym that stand for Political, Economic, Social, Technological, Legal and Environmental factors. A PESTLE analysis is a management framework or tool used to analyse and monitor the macro-environmental factors that may have a profound impact on an organisation's performance. https://www.cipd.co.uk/knowledge/strategy/organisational-development/pestle-analysis-factsheet

[44] The Public Services Reform (Scotland) Act 2010 came into force on 1 October 2010. The new duties of the Scottish Government and public bodies under the Act is to publish a range of financial and other information intended to promote openness and transparency across the public sector in Scotland. SPS complies with these duties through publishing this information annually alongside our Annual Report and Accounts.

of HMIPS inspection reports[45] that highlight areas of good practice in private prisons for public prisons to take cognisance of. Contracting remains actively part of the administration value for money ethos[46]. Performance management is based on Key Performance Targets (KPTs) (SPS-AR, 2018, Appendix 8, a & b. pp. 78-79)[47] and four strategic themes, Partnerships, Purpose, Governance and Professionalism with related Key Success Indicators (KSIs) as published in the SPS Corporate Plan (2017-2020)[48]:

What is striking in the corporate strategy is that it no longer highlights Control, Order, Care and Opportunity (COCO) as highlighted in the Mission Statement contained within the 2006-2008 Business Plan (SPS, BP, 2008). The remnants of previous policies, A & C (1988), C & C (1988) and O & R (1990), are now considered to be operational tasks according to Sangkhanate (2012, p. 88) as they no longer fit with the new ethos of transformational change (SPS-OR, 2013, p. 46. para. 3.21; SPS-AR, 2018, p. 4). The vision and mission now focuses on safer communities and transformational change:

"The SPS has a Vision of helping to build a Safer Scotland – Unlocking Potential –

Transforming Lives. The Mission of SPS: Providing services to help people

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[45] David Strang, H.M. Chief Inspector Prisons Scotland. "This report identifies a number of areas of good practice at HMP Addiewell, which I hope will be taken up buy other prisons in Scotland (2015, p. 5) https://www.prisonsinspectoratescotland.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publication_files/402905.pdf

[46] SPS Annual Report and Accounts 2017=2018 list all contracts under its administration http://www.sps.gov.uk/Corporate/Publications/Publication-6017.aspx

[47] KPTs focus on prisoner's activity legal or illegal activity; escapes, assaults, purposeful activity hours, increased literacy /numeracy, vocational qualifications, increased in employability, reduce or stabilise drug misuse, ICM case conferences and social work contributions based on the main national indicator of reducing reconviction rates. Two other KPTs focus on reducing prison costs to improve people's perceptions of the quality of public services and reducing waste to reduce Scotland's carbon footprint. SPS Annual Report 2017-2018. p. 79

[48] SPS Corporate Plan note Appendix 2 page 32   http://www.sps.gov.uk/Corporate/Publications/Publication-5169.aspx
Strategic Partnership: "Our collaboration with partners results in enhanced service provision and better personal outcomes for those citizens in and leaving our care".
Strategic Purpose: "Our communities are safer because those individuals in our care are supported to build on their assets and return to their communities as productive citizens".
Strategic Governance: "Our services are efficient, effective and provide value for money"
Strategic Professionalism: "We have the right people, with the right skills, in the right place at the right time".

transform the lives of the people in our care so they can fulfil their potential and

become responsible citizens" (SPS-AR, 2018, p. 4).

The SPS strategic concentration could be described as becoming customer orientated, internally and externally, and the four strategic themes of partnership, purpose, governance and professionalism about managing customer expectations. This fits with my conceptual framework, the 'structural' concept that highlights the accountability to stakeholders who now include the open community and has thus turned SPS from an inward looking organisation to one that is trying to breech its own physical and metaphorical walls to being seen as transformational with regards to rehabilitation. The extension of this transformational change is manifested operationally in the 'throughcare support officers'[49] role who work 'through the gate' in the community and is consistent with the 'developmental concept' where the policy becomes operational.

SPS's primary customer is the SNP Government which concentrates on efficiency, effectiveness, value for money and safety in the community. The principal customers or service users, by default, are prisoners. The opinions of prisoners have been collected for nearly three decades through prisoner surveys,[50] providing a lens on the prison administration's focus on particular issues that are current to penal management and policy.

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[49] SPS-Throughcare Support Strategy – 2018. p.3 'Support service users in and leaving our care on their desistance journey'; p. 4 '..and long term desistance'. p.7 'Commence assessment through an asset based case management process on admission to prison and continue to support service users on their journey into desistance by working with them and our partner agencies to prepare for, and successfully make, the transition from custody into the community.'

[50] Prison/ Prisoner Surveys over three decades. 1994 Second Prison Survey included staff and prisoners and the categories covered for, prisoners were Relationships with, Prison Officers, Inmates, Work Party, Prison Generally, Education Staff and Chaplaincy; Safety in Prison and Medical Facilities. For prison staff it covered, Atmosphere in the Prison , Relationships with Prisoners, Cleanliness and Food.
It later became just a prisoner survey and the 16th Prisoner Survey was published in 2017 some familiar categories appertaining to prison life and environment but other focusing on prisoner's life experiences in the community and growing up. The categories are; Custodial History, Sentence Length, Atmosphere and Relationships, Health, Disability and Long-Term Illness, Mental Health and Wellbeing, Drug Use, New Psychotic Substances, Drug Services, Alcohol, Smoking, Visits /Contacts with Family and Friends, Family Issues and Support, Prisoners Children, In Care as a Child, Adverse Childhood Experiences, Hygiene and Fitness, Cleanliness, Food and Canteen, Knife Crime, Bullying, Accommodation, Literacy/ Numeracy, Domestic Violence, Safety, Learning Centre, Beliefs, Programme Interventions, Preparation for Release.

Recently the concentration has been on a prisoner's life external to the penal environment, to identifying issues that have brought them into the criminal justice system. In this new SNP influenced era of penality prisoners are to be the recipients of, and accountable for, their own control, order, care and opportunities to enable them to undertake a transformational change from criminality through rehabilitation and desistance and become positive, educated and skilled members of their community. The prison regime will provide prisoners with the wherewithal to undertake transformational change which will be co-produced but managed by the frontline prison personnel who are considered people managers; it just happens that their 'employees' are prisoners (Cressey, 1960). Prison officers have to produce certain outcomes and outputs on a daily basis to enable the smooth operation of the prison. Just like any manager, they have to give instructions, make demands, cajole and encourage their employees to complete tasks (Coyle, 1991).

In the penal environment a prison officer's management is more often discussed in terms of power and trust. Penal power has been debated in terms of hard power (Sykes, 1958; Foucault, 1977; 1982; Garland, 1985; Sparks et al., 1996; Nye, 2004; Crewe, 2011), soft power (Nye, 2004; Crewe, 2011), discretionary power (Muir, 1977; Gilbert, 1997; Liebling, 2000) or, as Lukes (2005) argued, power can be visible but unconsciously inducing people to accept the dominance of others. Legitimacy of prison staff power is decided by prisoners who are the adjudicators, critics and beneficiaries and, if their perceptions are that staff are using that power in a discerning and equitable way, the prison will run peaceably and smoothly (Sparks et al., 1996; Liebling & Price, 2001). McCarthy (1984) reasoned that the discretionary actions of prison officers can be 'supportive', reinforcing pro-social behaviours:

"… officers constantly make low visibility discretionary decisions which reward

positive behaviour and penalize negative behaviour. These decisions directly

affect the day-to-day living conditions experienced by inmates under custody"

(McCarthy, 1984, p. 119).

The SPS have made strategic decisions with regard to a prison officer's role. They are to be divided into 'justice professionals', trained to a recognised academic level with continuous professional development, and 'custody security officers' who will undertake 'transactional security duties' that will be standardised to provide a 'dynamic day' across the whole of the prison estate (SPS – AR/Accs, 2018, p. 22). How this will impact on the management of prisoners is something for future research to ascertain. However, at the time of writing, it has been reported in the SPS Advisory Board minutes[51] that the prison staff have rejected the original Prison Officer Professional Programme (POPP) proposal and have also been balloted on strike action[52]. Are the SPS heading for a penal crisis similar to the 1970s with overcrowding and staff unrest?

Penal crises and dilemmas have always brought about change[53] and SPS has gone through a relative period of stasis with its strategic outlook based on COCO. The refocusing on 'transformational change' has brought forth dilemmas for frontline staff whose beliefs, norms and traditions do not appear to coincide with those of management. Bevir (2002) in his decentred theory of governance explicates that:

"The workings of a policy or institution depend on the ways various actors

interpret the relevant directives. Because these responses are inherently diverse

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[51] AB(MIN)06/18 Minutes of the Scottish Prison Service Advisory Board Meeting held on Wednesday 28 November 2018 in the Board Room, Calton House: 44. Disappointingly, the POA(S) membership voted against the POPP proposal and on 25 October, the Chief Executive wrote to all staff to confirm that the proposals had been withdrawn and all work on POPP brought to a close. Whilst dutifully respecting the outcome of the ballot, he expressed his extreme disappointment that the offer had been rejected. SPS Advisory Board Minutes page 5.

[52] http://www.poauk.org.uk/index.php?breaking-news&newsdetail=20190510-118_scottish-prison-officers-to-ballot-on-industrial-action accessed 14th May 2019

[53] For example, the Mountbatten 1966 report post high profile escapes, on categorisation prisons and prisoners security risk levels. The riots in Scotland and Opportunity & Responsibility (1990a) moving the focus and responsibility to prisoners to rehabilitate.

and contingent, reflecting the traditions and agency of the relevant individuals, the centre cannot have prior knowledge of the way any policy or institution will operate. Hence, the unexpected pervades political life: all policies are subject to unintended consequences that prevent them from perfectly fulfilling their alleged purpose" (Bevir, 2002, p. 25).

For example, SPS Executive and Prison Officer Association Scotland (POAS) representatives believed what they were offering prison officers through POPP proposals would be acceptable to them. This has not been the case. How will SPS now reach their KPTs and KSIs for 'transformational change' if their main resource for implementation of such has rejected the tools offered to them in the form of re-shaping their job role and increasing their professionalism through academic qualifications or will prison officers 'modify their beliefs and traditions' (Bevir, 2002. p. 15) as the dilemmas within the prison system deepen and accept their new role.

For SPS the prison officer is a specific unit whose position/status in the structure and whose functions/role are vital cogs in the interrelationships and interconnectedness of the whole social penal system. Prison officers' views of their role in the penal system specifically with regard to rehabilitation, has had little empirical attention despite their significant status in the penal system. Parsons (1961, pp. 15-16) highlighted that 'status' and 'role' are significant principal parts of any social system and this is the same in a penal environment which, it could be argued, is a semi-closed social system where status and role play an important part from 'bottom up' (developmental/micro level) to 'top down' (structural/macro level) in enabling and managing the system to operate in a steady state until one part does not conform or agree or becomes dysfunctional and equilibrium is lost and the system moves

once again into crisis mode. A further aspect of prison management is the prison's physical edifice as noted in section 1.2 pp. 6-7. It plays an important part in how prisons regimes are implemented, how prisoners live their lives and how prison staff function.

1.6   PRISON ARCHITECTURE: CAN IT SUPPORT REHABILITATION AND DESISTANCE?

Empirical research highlights that prison architecture can have significant consequences, both physically and psychologically, on those who have to live there and work in a penal environment. Present day prison design in Scotland is now focusing on rehabilitation and desistance support of prisoners and working roles for prison staff, emulating, to some degree, a Nordic penal philosophy (Armstrong, 2014). This section reviews the historical architecture of prisons from the eighteenth and nineteenth century, for example the Panopticon and Pennsylvania designs, to the present-day community facing prisons in Scotland using as a comparator Roger Ulrich's (1991) 'theory of supportive design' on coping with stress to improve healthcare and wellbeing. Ulrich's (1991, p. 106) research advocates that healthcare environments will help people (patients, staff and visitors) manage stress and augment wellness if they are designed to foster (1) a sense of control, (2) access to social support and (3) access to positive distraction and lack of exposure to negative distractions.

Prison architecture and buildings have ostensibly endorsed the penal philosophies of the period in which they were constructed (Beijersgergen, Dirkwager, van der Laan, & Nieuwbeerta, 2016); in the 1800s deterrence and incapacitation, in the early 1900s reformation and rehabilitation, in the 1970s disillusionment with prison's capacity to rehabilitate prisoners and the return of punitiveness, and in the 2000s, in Scotland, rehabilitation, reintegration and community participation. The design and layout of a prison

impacts on all penal relationships, prisoner and prisoner, prisoner and prison staff, prison staff and management (Jacobs, 2017; Beijersbergen et al., 2016; Dubbeld, 2001; Grant & Jewkes, 2015) and relationships are key to prisons operating smoothly, to the quality of life and to rehabilitation (Liebling, 2011; Liebling & Price, 2001; Bottoms, 1999; Sparks, et al., 1996). Deterrence, detachment and discipline were the operating regimes in purpose-built prisons in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, with the architectural style of a fort, formidable and austere, both outwardly and internally.

Early purpose-built prisons included the Panopticon, designed by Bentham (Foucault, 1977). Bentham's philosophy involved hedonistic calculus[54] for committing a criminal act, surveillance, control, discipline, and the principle of less eligibility[55] (Dubbeld, 2001; Pollock, 2005, p. 5). The nearest design to it in Scotland was the Edinburgh Bridewell on Calton Hill. Scotland's prison style was one that 'imitated defensive architecture with exaggerated castellated elements' to look like fortresses, an outward sign of deterrence and power (Scotland's Prisons Research Report (SPRR), 2015, p. 10). However, others in less prominent sites, such as Ayr County Buildings, were 'stark and largely absent of architectural detail', designed though to separate prisoner's, male from female and debtors from criminals (ibid. pp. 11-12).

Prison Inspectors visited the United States in 1835 to view two distinctive prison designs and regimes (Cameron, 1983), John Haviland's Eastern State Penitentiary in Pennsylvania which operated the 'silent system' of no communication but working in association, and Auburn

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[54] Jeremy Bentham's concept 'hedonistic calculus', the potential for profit or pleasure from a criminal act could be counterbalanced with the risk of slightly more pain or punishment. Therefore, people would calculate the benefits of crime versus the pain they would suffer is caught. If imprisoned in the panopticon the pain they suffered would recidivate them .

[55] Principle of less eligibility – the belief that if the poor houses were too comfortable, the men would choose to be idle over work; therefore, conditions had to be worse than the life of the lowest paid worker.

State Prison in New York which operated the 'separate system', with prisoners confined to living and working on their own in cells whilst being encouraged to work, read and exercise, with some communication with prison officers (ibid. 1983).   The 'separate system' was in operation in the Glasgow Bridewell[56] by its Governor William Brebner, who was considered in Scotland to be a penal pioneer in his treatment of prisoners and training of prison staff (ibid. 1983, p. 94-97).   HMP Pentonville's design was based on Haviland's Pennsylvania prison, the internal architecture's function being the 'physical and psychological compression of inmates' (Hancock & Jewkes, 2011, p. 616), with the focus on deterrence[57] and utilitarianism[58] (Pollock, 2005, p. 5).   These purpose-built prisons were physically functional but, as was to be discovered later, detrimental to the psychological well being of prisoners. Prisons in Russia provide an example of lack of privacy that leads prisoners who have to live communally in dormitories the need to find space for themselves by either retreating within themselves or finding a physical space to which they can retreat (Moran, Pallot & Piacentini, 2013, p. 143) but the 'architectural collectivism' maintains 'greater communality' and provides greater human interaction (Piacentini & Slade, 2015, p. 181) over solitary living conditions in the majority of Scottish prisons which is known to be detrimental to mental health (Foucault, 1982)

Utilising Ulrich's (1991, p. 97) description of hospital designs being 'functionally effective but psychologically 'hard'', facilities that are 'hard' fail because they create anxiety and are often not suitable for the psychological needs of the 'users', a useful analogy for a penal environment.   Research has highlighted that in operationally hard prison regimes, such as

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[56] Well before its introduction into Pentonville, London

[57] Deterrence - the capacity to prevent or discourage an individual or individuals from committing an act

[58] Utilitarianism – the ethical system whereby good is define as that which results in the greatest good for the greatest number.

the 'separate and silent systems', prisoners were leaving prison in a much feebler condition than when they entered (Elkin, 1959). Foucault (1977, pp. 264-266) considered that prison buildings hid the cruelty inflicted on prisoners by the legitimised state employees, and that the strict regime suppressing individuality was antithetical to the constructive goals of rehabilitation. Foucault, (1982) posits that hard functional environments contain features that are in themselves stressors (e.g. solitary confinement) and raise obstacles to coping with stress (e.g. lack of social contact and beneficial activities), thereby being major obstacles to healing (Ulrich, 1991, pp. 2-3). If this is extrapolated to a penal environment in the eighteenth and nineteenth century this observation could explain why prison buildings and prison regimes therein reduced people to dependency and despondency rather that support resilience, independence and moral conversion. At the close of the nineteenth century, the focus of prisons was to change from deterrence to rehabilitation and reformation with deliberation given to prisons being designed to reform the criminal.

Initially in the twentieth century, the external appearance of prison architecture in Scotland remained the 'severe castellated style with crenelated towers and ventilation shafts' laid out in a radial pattern (SPRR, 2015, p. 19). However, internally, conditions did change. The pointless drudgery of the crank and treadmill were abolished, solitary confinement was reduced and education, books, work and better food rations were officially approved (Cameron, 1983, p. 131). Later, the design form changed with the building of Barlinnie and Edinburgh, based on the style adopted at Wormwood Scrubs of parallel blocks with connecting corridors, termed the 'telegraph pole' plan[59] (SPRR, 2015, p. 22), looking more like Victorian factories with their large ventilation shafts and three storeys of cells lining an open

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[59] The parallel block design was based on 'European hospitals built after the Crimean War which were designed for effective air circulation and were orientated north-south to allow sunlight into each room' (https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1393204).

corridor. Despite the focus on rehabilitation rather than deterrence, the functionality of these prisons diminished and in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, severe overcrowding, lack of opportunities for education, work and visits contributed to a succession of riots, a crisis that could not be ignored (Cameron, 1983; Chadwick, 1996). The Woolf report (1991) on the riots commented:

> 'The physical state of a prison can significantly affect the atmosphere for both prisoners and staff. There are vast differences in the quality of prison buildings; some are well maintained and suitably located; others are dilapidated, damp and squalid' (Woolf, 1991, p. 18).

Victorian buildings, with poor infrastructure for personal hygiene[60], were not conducive to humane treatment and rehabilitation (Tombs & Piacentini, 2010).   To overcome this crisis, political decisions were made based on economics, public safety, reducing operating costs of prisons, alleviation of overcrowding and improving security (Shefer & Liebling, 2008).   This instigated a change in prison architecture and design, with prisons operated by private contractors[61], described by Hancock and Jewkes (2001, p. 617) as featureless and unassuming, the antithesis of the Victorian prisons[62] on the outside, and inside dreary, enfeebling and, 'with a restricted economy of space within'.

Prisons are discussed in terms of their psychological deprivation (Jewkes, 2013) or, as Sykes (1958) termed it, 'pains of imprisonment'.   Ulrich's (1991, p. 98) description of a hospital's physical and social environment highlighted numerous stressors such as noise, invasion of privacy and little moral support which can culminate in negative impacts on health and well

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[60]A number of prisons at this time prisoners had to empty their night waste termed, 'slopping out' ended in HMP Barlinnie in 2004.

[61] Serco, G4S and Sodexo (originally named Kalyx) are the private contractors for prisons in the UK

[62]"… all share a countenance that is antithetical to their Victorian predecessors: bland, unassuming and uniform in appearance. Vast expanses of brick, few (small) windows and no unnecessary ornamentation or decoration are the typical landmark of prison exteriors built in last 20 years" (Hancock & Jewkes 2011. p. 617)

being. A comparison can be made here with a penal environment which has been described as noisy, with little privacy and an absence of social support for prisoners and staff (Wener, 2012, pp. 195-198; Kriminalvarden Research and Evaluation Unit Swedish Prison and Probation Service (KREUSPPS, 2018, p. 5).

In Scotland as the prison estate was reconstructed the interior design of prisons began to change. Cells now contained integral toilet and shower room, blankets became duvets and cell walls could be personalised, going a short way to reducing the pains of imprisonment (Jewkes, 2002). Being able to take control of one's personal hygiene and personal surroundings may be interpreted as a small but significant step towards self-control or agency[63], Ulrich's (1991, p. 106) first condition of his 'theory of supportive design'. The language of prison design changed from functional and psychologically 'hard' to functional but 'normalised', to represent life in the open community. Principal philosophies for the 'normalisation' model were pioneered in Scandinavia. The architectural design was to be 'humane' and designed to reduce the stressors of prison life (Gleed Construction Consultancy Firm Report (GCFR), 2016, p. 59). To create a 'normal life' in a penal environment has to involve an holistic approach, with not just the functional physical structure but with a psychological environment that includes the language of the open community, 'men not prisoners, rooms not cells, gardens not yards' (ibid. p. 59), and designing for 'agency', where the men and women can take control and responsibility for communal areas, for cooking for the group, for budgeting, with opportunities to socialise and with meaningful activities that support rehabilitation and good relationships (Karthaus, Bernheimer, O'Brien & Barnes, 2017, p. 107).

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[63] Agency is best understood as a sense of control; it is the knowledge that a person recognises that they have some power to impact their life, their future and their direct environment. (Maruna, 2001)

Negative perspectives have been raised about normalisation as it can be interpreted as adding to the pains of imprisonment by emphasising what the person in missing (Brottveit, 2018), the daily routine, randomised security checks and views of natural surroundings and green spaces that inmates cannot access (James, 2018). Johansen, Granheim & Helgensen (2011) argued:

> "If prison architecture determines wellbeing, research on Norway's prisoners
>
> ought to report a relatively good quality of life, which has not been the case"
>
> (Johansen, et al., 2011, p. 526).

In Scotland nearly half of the prison estate has been replaced in the last twenty years (SPRR, 2015). The architectural design for the majority of the new builds has focused on the premise that 'the radial plan for the cellular accommodation continues to be considered effective in providing economy of space, ventilation and daylight for all rooms …… which is ….. 'reminiscent of the general layout of nineteenth century prisons' such as Perth General Prison (SPRR, 2015, p. 26).   Prison layout has a significant impact on relationships.   In new prisons with single occupancy cells, prisoners reported good relationships with staff (Jacobs, 2017). Prisons with radial layouts (e.g. HMP, Grampian and Low Moss), rectangular layouts (e.g. HMP Barlinnie), courtyard and high-rise layouts (Nordic Prisons) have all been described as being conducive to positive prison officer-prisoner relationships (Jacobs, 2017, p. 2).   However, Beijersbergen et al (2016, p. 850) suggests radial and panopticon prison layouts were built to discourage staff and prisoner interactions resulting in detached relationships.   Dubbeld (2001, p. 21) argues that, with radial prison layouts today, the focus remains on surveillance and control over prisoners' activities, as guards are able to visually inspect the wings from a central vantage point.   Relationships in a penal environment are an essential aspect of prison life (Liebling, 2001; Liebling & Price, 2001) and universal acknowledgement that prisoner-

staff relationships, respect and trust are central to prisons operating effectively (Bottoms, 1999; Sparks, et al., 1996) and safely through 'dynamic security' (Ibid. 1996; Snacken, 2005). A normalised environment with single occupancy, with no overcrowding, with natural light, with access to green areas, with clear lines of sight for prisoners and staff and where they can meet naturally, contributes to a reduction in stressors and increased well-being of both prisoners and staff (KREUSPPS, 2018, p. 6).

Prisoners and staff can be physically and psychologically affected by penal environments where there is overcrowding, excessive noise and poor ventilation.   Prisoners have further stressors, such as loss of control, isolation, lack of social communication with family and friends and lack of positive meaningful activities.   For prisoners this can increase mental health issues, substance abuse, violent tendencies, hostility and sleeplessness (KREUSPPS, 2018; Ulrich, 1991).   For prison staff, such stressors manifest themselves in increased use of sick leave, increased tobacco and alcohol consumption, physical fatigue and psychological distress (Bierie, 2012b, p. 89).   If these stressors are to be reduced then prison design has to be a consideration.   Karthaus, Block & Hu (2019, p. 1) argue that architecture alone cannot directly change behaviours, but the built environment can affect behaviours and support positive change.

Ulrich's 'theory of supportive design' argues that there are three elements that reduce stress and increase well-being in a hospital environment: (1) a sense of control, (2) access to social support, and (3) access to positive distractions and lack of exposure to negative distractions. The first, a sense of control or agency, is an important factor in desistance theory (Maruna, 2001) which influences stress and well-being. People require the need to control and have self efficacy with respect to their surroundings and situation to acquire resilience to

overcome negative stressors.   The absence of control is related to damaging and harmful mental and physical health issues (Ulrich, 1991, p. 100).   In a penal environment, this can involve giving a prisoner control, for example, of their cell, with respect to lighting, heating, decoration and ablutions, as in normalising prison regimes (GCFR, 2016, p. 61).   The second element, social support, allows people to draw significant benefits from regular or extended contact with family, friends and positive socialising in prison that are helpful and supportive, important factors in rehabilitation and desistance (Farrall, 2004; Rex, 1999; McNeill et al., 2005; Bottoms & Shapland, 2010). Jewkes (2002) highlighted that in-cell televisions can have a negative or positive affect on socialising with other prisoners and staff. People who receive positive social support in comparison to those with little social support on the whole tend to cope better with stress and have better physical and mental health.   Interior layouts that increase social interactions in a comfortable environment and have flexible seating arrangements are conducive to relationship building (Ulrich, 1991, p. 101).   Family contact has long been a part of penal strategy for rehabilitation either through telephone, letters, visits and, latterly, 'skype'. However, the facilities and security for family visits can have negative affects on both the prisoner and their families, thus increasing stress levels (Wener, 2000). Efforts are now being made to make family visits a more positive experience with 'community facing' (HMP Grampian) prisons supporting families by reducing travel times and having better visitors' facilities (Armstrong, 2014).   Building supportive relationships has been a constant refrain within the prison service. Relationships foster security, with prisons operating more efficiently and effectively and with a reduction in stressful situations (Beijersbergen, et al., 2016; Jacobs, 2017).   Negative relationships can have the opposite effect and create stressful environment that can lead to abuse of power (Sim, 2008; 2009; Drake, 2008).

The third element focuses on having positive distractions in physical environments. People's well-being is enhanced by the physical environment providing positive and steady stimulation. High stimulation of bright lights and colours, constant sounds, increase stress; low levels of stimulation, lack of natural light and drab colours produce boredom, depression and internalisation of their personal plight and anxieties (Ulrich, 1991, p. 102). Private prisons have been described by Hancock and Jewkes (2001, p. 617) as having drab interiors lacking visual stimulation. Prisons in the Nordic countries have features designed to avoid sensory overload; they are not over-lit; nor are they unnecessarily noisy, oppressively hot/uncomfortably cool, nor insufficiently ventilated. Gleed (2016, p. 62) argues that prison buildings and environment can be designed and built which reduce stressors and thus are more encouraging to rehabilitation. In Scotland HMP Grampian and Low Moss are taking steps towards the Nordic model of normalisation, albeit with a prison layout that is reminiscent of the nineteenth century and not necessarily conducive to positive prisoner-staff relationships. Architectural design is therefore manifestly related to how a prison operates and how it supports prisoners to become 'normal citizens'. Prison design can be supportive (as in some of the Nordic examples) or re-enforce the pains of imprisonment (Sykes, 1958).

1.7   QUIS CUSTODIET IPSOS CUSTODES?[64]: ORGANISATIONS THAT KEEP THE KEEPERS IN CHECK

INTRODUCTION

The second part of my conceptual framework, <u>situational</u>, reviews those systems that are external and independent of the prison system but integral and essential and is one of the

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[64] Quis custodiet ipsos custodes? ("Who watches the watchers?") is a Latin phrase found in the work of the Roman poet Juvenal from his Satires (Satire VI, lines 347–348).

variables[65] that can alter penal policies, regimes and prison personnel activities. The organisations can be divided into three categories; (1) independent but, funded by the Government, namely the Prison Inspectorate, and other monitoring organisations, who may provide the government the legality to incarcerate, (2) independent reformers/charities, funded generally by public donations[66], for example, The Howard League, who hold to account the penal community on prison rules, conditions, and on human rights, and (3) the media[67] who decide on the newsworthiness of anything penal that, it can be argued, shocks and titillates their customers while conforming to the superordinate desires of the owners of the publications.

The Prison Inspectorate has had a chequered history, at first autonomous but powerful and influential, whose reports were published in the public domain (Coyle, 1986). In the early 1900s they slipped into obscurity, becoming silent and impotent (ibid. 1986). Now the Inspectorate is once again independent, operating an open system of reporting with influence[68]. Prison reformers and charities have a long history of lobbying to improve prison conditions, of supporting prisoners and their families, undertaking support research and producing publications to bring information to the public and pressure to bear on policy makers and administrators of the penal system. The media have a role to play in a democracy of informing the public of social and political issues. However, there is a propensity to sensationalise penal issues, such as escapes, deaths, drugs or violence by

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[65] See page 4 this Chapter

[66] Although some may receive local government and/or national government funding for specific projects.

[67] Media refers to newspapers and television news rather than social media such as Facebook or Twitter. Although it has to be acknowledged social media is becoming increasingly significant in influencing and communicating with the public and public officials.

[68] HMIPS - https://www.prisonsinspectoratescotland.gov.uk/about-us/what-we-do

prisoners and prison staff, and less so on the positive and caring support provided by prison staff and also prisoners.

1.8   THE PRISON INSPECTORATE: INFLUENTIAL AND INDEPENDENT?

Two hundred years ago the Government were getting to grips with a dysfunctional, erratic, inhumane system of incarceration with hundreds of unsuitable buildings managed and staffed by equally, unsuitably qualified people (Coyle, 1986).   The Prison Inspectorate was established in the Gaols Act of 1835 (McConville, 1981; Flynn, 1998) and its remit was to bring about uniformity, focusing on training of local prison management, recruiting appropriate staff and scrutinizing the implementation of prison rules and legislation (McConville, 1981). Local jails were inspected by the county magistrates and, despite their reporting to the Secretary of State, in practice there was a lot of discretion and regulations were ignored (Emsley, 1987).   The Prison Inspectors in Scotland, Hill and his successor Kincaid, were influential and significantly contributed to penal policy and practice in Scotland making it distinct from the English prison service (Coyle, 1986, p. 67; 1991).   Their annual reports highlighted issues familiar to today, high levels of incarceration due to alcohol related offences, breaches of the peace, short sentences (5 and 10 days), and they explored alternatives to imprisonment such as the new probation system (Coyle, 1986).

The Prison Inspectorate had been an independent organisation funded directly by the Treasury. However, the Prison (Scotland) Act 1877 changed that position and thereafter Prison Inspectors were directly employed by the Prison Commission (Cameron, 1983) and no longer reported to the Secretary of State.   As a result, their status was reduced and Parliament took direct control of the prison system (Coyle, 1986, p. 48).   The last Inspector

was Major Willis, who retired in 1904[69], was replaced by the secretary to the Prison

Commissioners and Annual Inspection Reports ceased, although inspections did take place

'internally and intermittently' (Coyle, 1986, p. 50; Cameron, 1983).   The Prison Inspectorate

reports were no longer made public and as Cameron (1983, p. 127) noted, 'the system

became a closed bureaucracy' and remained that way until a century later when once again

the organisation became a visible entity in 1981 (Stockdale, 1983; Coyle, 1986).

In the 1960s the Scottish Prison Service mirrored that of England and Wales (Coyle, 1986).

There were a number of high profile escapes which were investigated and reported on by

Lord Mountbatten. His report recommended the appointment of an Inspector General[70] who

would be the recognisable head of the prison service and who would undertake inspections

(Stockdale, 1983). Although the original appointee only remained in post for three years the

position itself remained but was demoted to only overseeing prison inspections (Thomas,

1980; Stockdale, 1983).   In 1971 the title was changed to 'Chief Inspector of the Prison

Service' and a former governor was appointed.   There was support in criminal justice circles

for an independent inspection service with which the Home Office concurred   (Stockdale,

1983, p. 224). The May Report of 1979[71] also referred to the need for an independent system

of prison inspections (Stockdale, 1983). The Criminal Justice Act of 1982 inserted section 57

in the Prison Act of 1952 which referred to a 'Chief Inspector' (CI) (Stockdale, 1983) and a

semi-autonomous Prison Inspection Service was established.   The Home Office set it up as a

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[69] Major Willis' colleague Mr Stuart Johnson died in 1894 and the Prison Commission did not replace him, this Major Willis was the only inspector for the whole of the Great Britain. (Coyle, 1986. p. 49).

[70] Mountbatten Report 1966 Paragraph 238. "A proper inspection of an establishment is not simply an occasion for inspecting books. It should be an occasion for a thorough examination of an establishment as a whole and assessment of the tome and morale of the unit, prisoners as well as staff, and the extent to which the governor and all his staff are fully conversant and in harmony with the main policies and directions of the Secretary of State"(Stockdale, 1983. p. 223).

[71] "We therefore think that there should be a system of inspection of the prison service which although not 'independent' of it in either of the senses canvassed by the Home Officer paper, should nevertheless be distanced from it as may be practicable". (May Report 1979, p. 59)

Crown appointee and it became Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Prisons (Evans, 1980; Stockdale, 1983).

The first report from the Chief Inspector (CI) was published in 1982 in which it set out the 'Inspectors Charter' and 'Chief Inspectors terms of reference'[72] and described the poor conditions in prisons[73]. The Secretary of State for Scotland appointed a past Chair of the Parole Board to be the CI of Prisons in Scotland with the authority to inspect the SPS headquarters and the way policy decisions were made within the Scottish Home and Health Department (SHHD) (Coyle, 1986). However, according to Coyle, the Inspector's remit was deliberately misinterpreted by the civil servants in St Andrew's House, thus ensuring that they did not come under external scrutiny and pubic examination (Coyle, 1986, p. 90). Bevir highlights, in his theory of decentred governance, that actors respond to perceived predicaments by modifying traditions. Thus, no institution can be considered itself in permanent stasis as there are no guarantees that its members will react in the way intended (Bevir, 2002, p. 15). It is an interesting speculation that, if the Inspectorate had been able to examine SPS HQ and policy decision making within the SHHD, what differences, if any, it would have made to the prison administration, security, care and rehabilitation of prisoners and the roles of prison personnel. The SPS HQ response to the arm's length Inspectorate was to create their own 'operational assessment' for the prisons and a system of staff inspections. The prison unions responded too by setting up a watchdog staff inspection

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[72] The Inspectorate Charter with the Chief Inspector's terms of reference, which are: " To inspect and report to the Secretary of State on
prison service establishments in England and Wales and, in particular, on (a) conditions in those establishments; (b) the treatment of prisoners and other inmates and the facilities available to them: (c) such other matters as the Secretary of State may direct." (Stockdale, 1983. p. 225)

[73] " By no stretch of the imagination can these conditions be regarded as humane or proper. They are unacceptable. They certainly fall short of the standards suggested by Rule 5.3 of the European Standard Minimum Rules, which says that deprivation of liberty should be effected in material and moral conditions which ensure respect for human dignity. Indeed, we doubt if this standard can be said to have been realised in any of our local prisons." (quoted in Stockdale, 1983. p. 226).

committee which created a 'par referet' effect which impacted on the organisation's ability to proactively plan its business (Coyle, 1986, p. 96)[74].

The CI's power and independence in Scotland was brought into question by Adler and Longhurst (1994) who argued the status and profile of the CI was important and in Scotland they were lay appointees (HMCIPS – Standards, 2006), who lacked authority and autonomy and whose power base was within the SHHD, making the Inspectorate overly bureaucratic (Adler and Longhurst, 1994, p. 175). A further criticism of the CI's inspections and reports was that fact they did not 'draw upon research findings or refer to practice in other prison systems' and 'its conception of good practice can be characterised as particularistic and parochial rather than general and authoritative' (ibid. 1994, p. 175). This lack of a broader perspective on other penal environments and research has impeded improvement in performance standards as well as ignoring the lack of prison staff compliance with 'Prison Rules or Standing Orders let alone international standards and conventions' (Adler & Longhurst, 1994, p. 176). For example, the Secretary of State ordered an internal inquiry by the CI into the disturbances at Peterhead and prisoners' protestations about staff cruelty. The CI reported their 'overall satisfaction' with the prison regime and found no mistreatment of prisoners[75] and made recommendations for improvement in activities, work and catering facilities for prisoners (Sim, 1987). This was also emphasised in Scraton, Sim & Skidmore's

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[74] As discussed in on page 18 and 19. An examination of the SPS prison management review in 1978 highlighted the limitations and preoccupation with 'short term problems and ad hoc solutions' (Coyle, 1991. p. 193). Prison management appeared weak and ineffective with little oversight and accountability of prison officer compliance with regard to humane decency and prison rules (Sim, 2008[74]; Drake, 2008[74]); at the same time, the prison officer's union[74] became increasingly militant and influential in the management of prisons (Liebling & Crewe, 2012[74]), particularly in Scotland[74] (Coyle 1991).

[75] While the Inspector had critical comments to make concerning the welfare, work, recreational and dining facilities the report concluded that 'Peterhead is an orderly and well organised prison in which staff and inmates have apparently established a modus vivendi which is acceptable to both and appropriate to the long-term population' The Inspector also sought to blame any trouble in the prison on a 'small', number of inmates who are prepared to create serious trouble regardless of the consequences to themselves or to the remainder of the inmate population' HMIPS, Peterhead, 1982, p. 3 quoted in Sim, 1987, p. 71)

(1991) research that exposed the prison culture to be harsh and unrelenting[76] and if prisoners tried to negotiate they were seen as challenging the legitimate authority of the prison officer (ibid. 1991, p. 62).

Kathryn Chadwick (1996, p. 362) succinctly highlights the difference between official reports into authorised investigations and inspections on a variety of events and the conflicting alternative explanations from independent research and prisoner's narratives[77]. Joe Sim (1987) also queried the independence of the Inspectorate and its relationship to the State, power and politics[78]. The Inspectorate in Scotland is orientated within a larger superordinate system (the SHHD) and its legitimate status and position has a bearing on whether it accepts the principles of the superior system or decides to be autonomous or nonconformist (Parsons, 1956, p. 67). At this time (late twentieth century), it could be reasoned that the CI was a part of the state apparatus and as such conformed with the superordinate system to retain their power, status and legitimacy over the penal administration, as Adler & Longhurst (1991, p. 175) noted, its power base being within the SHHD. Her Majesty's Inspector of Prison in Scotland (HMIPS) also works within a tripartite model of prison monitoring with the Scottish

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[76] "Much of the protest has arisen from prisoners' collective responses to harsh regimes and an inflexible occupational culture which prevail in the operational policies and practices of the Scottish prison system". (Scraton, Sim & Skidmore, 1991, p. 1).

[77] "In researching the literature, it is clear that two accounts of the events and formal responses to them have emerged and consolidated. First, official discourse (SPS Annual Reports; SPS internal policy documents; HM and Chief Inspectorate Reports; Statistical Bulletins; Central Research Unit 'in house' studies; Official Inquiries) has provided a clear foundation on which recent policy has developed.
Second, alternative accounts (independent research; unofficial inquiries; published prisoners' accounts) has challenged the 'received wisdom' of official discourse, often providing conflicting versions of events." (Chadwick, 1996, p. 362).

[78] The Chief Inspector is theoretically independent of the Prisons Department and should therefore report directly to the Secretary of State for Scotland. There are two fundamental weaknesses with this line, First, the Inspectorate in Scotland has already conducted an inspection and published a report on Peterhead. The inspection took place in September 1981 and the report was published in June 1982.
The second issue involves considering the relationship of the Inspectorate to the state itself, The Prison Inspectorate do not stand outside or above the historical, ideological and structural processes which provide the backdrop against which state inquiries should be seen. These processes involving questions of power, politics, individual ideologies, prevent fundamental discussions of the relevant issues from making it onto the political agenda. Indeed, such inquiries have, in 'the words of Phil Corrigan and Derek Sayer, 'a long history' in British politics and ultimately legitimate the practices of the British state.' (Sim, 1987, pp. 70-71).

Prison Complaints Commission (SPCC)[79] and Scottish Public Service Ombudsman (SPSO)[80]. The outputs of these three organisations have a significant influence on prisoners who are now seen as the 'key customer' of the prison service (Hood, Scott, James, Jones & Traver; 1999). All three networks use complex, interrelated, regulatory methods of accountability and are 'employed by the government as managerial tools to monitor the delivery of prison services against established targets' (Sangkhanate, 2012, p. 175) and to retain and exercise control over organisations (Hood et al., 1999). According to Bevir, (2006, p. 428-429) where political governance incorporates institutions as stakeholders as a form of 'communitarianism' it is invoking a consensus of shared values that are promoting efficiency, effectiveness and social order. The question thus remains about their autonomy and independence. As HMIPS moved into the twentieth century has the status quo remained or has the organisation become autonomous and nonconformist?

In 2006 the CI published 'Standards Used in Inspections of Prisons in Scotland' (HMCIP-Standards, 2006). The document goes to great lengths to stress its independence from the Scottish Executive and SPS [81] and why a 'lay' person is chosen for the role of CI[82] (ibid. p. 1, 7). The document provides in-depth details on international (ibid. p. 2), regional (European)

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[79] The Scottish Prisons Complaints Commission investigates complaints made by prisoners that have not been resolved through the internal complaints system of the Scottish Prison Service (SPS). The SPCC closed on 30 September 2010. The functions of the SPCC transfer to the Scottish Public Services Ombudsman with effect from 1 October 2010 as a result of the Scottish Parliamentary Commissions and Commissioners etc Bill. The Bill takes forward recommendations from a number of reports issued since 2006 aimed at simplifying the landscape and improving the operation of the public sector in Scotland. https://www2.gov.scot/Topics/archive/law-order/offender-management/offender/custody/Prisons/18780

[80] The Scottish Public Services Ombudsman is the final stage for complaints about councils, the National Health Service, housing associations, colleges and universities, **prisons**, most water providers, the Scottish Government and its agencies and departments and most Scottish authorities. https://www.spso.org.uk/

[81] There are several reasons for this requirement about independent inspection. Prisons are by nature closed institutions, often far from the public eye, where one group of people has considerable power over another group. However well prisons are run, the potential for abuse is always present. The strong possibility that abuses will eventually be uncovered is also a protection for prison staff who want to resist a culture of ill-treatment and inhumanity but who may be under pressure from other staff. The publication of inspectors' reports keeps
prisons and prison conditions in the public and political eye. (HMCIPS- Standards, 2006, p. 6).

[82] "These "lay" appointments, as they are sometimes described, are generally seen to have been helpful in establishing the independence of the Chief Inspector." (HMCIPS-Standards, 2006. p. 7).

(Ibid. p. 3) and domestic laws (ibid. p. 3)[83] of which the published prison standards and outcomes have taken cognisance, something the CI had been criticised for in the past (Adler & Longhurst, 1994, p. 176). The CI states that the standards were for the reassurance of prisoners, prison staff, politicians and public that there are clear structures and guidelines in place[84]. With regard to prisoners and prison staff there appears to be an assumption by the CI that they would have access to the standards and be cognisant of the outcomes and indicators every three years an inspection came around? Little has been written about prison staff's emotional responses to inspections, be they positive or negative, and what affect they have on the prison regime and prison administration in the absence of obvious sanctions. In March 2015 the CI announced a new set of inspection standards that took cognisance of obligations to International Human Rights laws and focused on prisoner outcomes and an improved, robust follow-up process to review action plans by SPS following an inspection report (HMCIP –AR, 2015, p. 3). With regard to being an independent organisation, according to Behan & Kirkham (2016) the Scottish CI is moving in the right direction to becoming independent in comparison to England, Wales and Northern Ireland in that it is not funded out of the SPS budget but directly by the Scottish Government[85] (ibid. 2016, p. 443). Does changing the funding source make it independent or it is still a government organisation inspecting and reporting on a government organisation? As Hood, et al., (1999, pp. 5, 7) argue, new public management of governance is regulating public bodies by 'offering

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[83] 'The standards set out below derive from this large body of legislation, guidance and case law. References to the source of the standards in both international and domestic law are provided throughout. In brief, the standards for the treatment of prisoners worldwide all derive from Article 10 of the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which states:
"All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person." (HMCIPS,- Standards, 2006, p. 5)'.

[84] "The publication of these standards is designed to enable prisoners and prison staff to understand the main areas to be examined in the course of an inspection and what would be expected in each area; and to provide assurance to Ministers and the public that inspection is being carried out within a consistent framework and that measurements are being made against appropriate standards." (HMCIPS-Standards, 2006, p. 6)

[85] In 2014, funding for the Chief Inspector of Prisons was taken from the Scottish Prison Service and is now allocated by the Scottish government (Public Services Reform (Inspection and Monitoring of Prisons) (Scotland) Order 2014, Section 6(8)).

freedom to manage given with one hand but being checked on the other by more regulation imposed in the form of distinctive systems of audit, grievance-handling, standard-setting, inspection, and evaluation'.

Are the CI and HMIPS independent?   The Scottish Government and the Inspectorate imply that they are and the Inspectorate expresses this by publishing their Annual Inspection Reports and standards against which a prison is inspected.   Does the fact that they are funded by the Scottish Government and report to Scottish Ministers and the Scottish Parliament make it less independent or partially independent or does this give the CI power and influence over the SPS Executive, having the direct ear of governmental ministers responsible for penal policy?   How far down into the operational prison regime does this influence reach?   To the 'key customers', the prisoners, does it ensure that they are in receipt of a safe and decent places to live with the right opportunities for rehabilitation and desistance support?   The influence of the CI and HMIPS has not reduced overcrowding or recidivism rates although it does ensure that the spotlight is kept on the prison officer, on occupational culture and on prison operational regimes and management.   It highlights best practice and makes recommendations; but how much power and influence it has to force the SPS Executive to adopt or adapt its recommendations can be debated since, without the ability to enforce critical sanctions, this perhaps makes it less powerful and influential than it aspires to be. Empirical research on prison officers sheds little light on their perceptions of HMIPS inspections and reports and whether they have a positive or negative affect on rehabilitation on residential wings. What is know is that prison reformers have had an impact in the past on the living conditions for prisoners but what of working conditions of prison officers?

1.9   PRISON REFORMERS: WHAT'S IN IT FOR THEM?

Prison reformers over the centuries have inspected penal environments, published documents and lobbied, with the purpose of reforming the lives of prisoners, with little focus being on reforming the role of the prison officer. Their motives for reform in the eighteenth-century have been attributed to many reasons or concerns: humanitarian, religious ideology, social control, power, production and health through hard labour, industriousness, religious education and isolation. Today's reformers are a range of secular organisations focusing on a variety of reforms such as healthy living, socialisation, education and meaningful activities, short sentencing, families, women, overcrowding and employment, including seeking reforms for families and others affected by imprisonment or having been imprisoned.   The change in penal reform is said to have begun with the ending of the 'bloody' penal code of the death penalty for the majority of crimes to the building of modern prisons to contain criminals (Garland, 2011).   However, it has been proposed that this sudden change was evolutionary in nature and began in the sixteenth-century (Hardman, 2007). The discourse used by reformers from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth century was concerned with promoting hard labour as a medical 'cure' to reform and rehabilitate the offender, that it was functional, corrective, practical, economically affordable and thus an attractive proposition (ibid. 2007, p. 212). Towards the end of the end of the eighteenth century there were two important points of reference, the industrial revolution and a penal crisis of overcrowding.

During the period of industrialisation, the use of imprisonment was appealing to the state because of the perceived lawlessness of society and was seen as a tool of social control by the new 'factory owning bourgeoisie as a means of monitoring social fluidity' (Ignatieff, 1978, p. 3).   Thus, the reformers of the early eighteenth century were part of the industrial revolution and not driven by humanitarian reasons but by aspirations of class control,

capitalism and power (ibid. 1978). The reformers used different discourses to persuade of the benefits of the building of new penitentiaries. At a national level they focused on the positives of rehabilitation, but at a local level they used a different approach, that of emphasising the negatives, increasing peoples' fear of disease and the costs and consequences to their local communities if a prison was not built (ibid. 2007, p. 180, 212). Major influences on penal punishment and architecture were reformers such as Beccaria, Bentham and Howard, who sought to bring changes to political, social and economic strategies to improve the judicial system, making it more efficient and effective. They also wanted to ensure that the public knew what the judicial rules and regulations were within society and that if they broke the law, society had the legitimacy to punish them (Ignatieff, 1978; Elias, 1978; 1982; Foucault, 1977; Garland, 1985). John Howard was and remains influential in changing penal policies, practices and architecture through the organisation set up in his name, the Howard Association, in 1866. Howard urged for comprehensive reforms including salaried staff, outside inspections, improved diet, segregation by sex and offence and that the penal environment should be clean and quiet (Emsley, 1987; Ignatieff, 1978; Forsythe, 1990; Muncie, 1996). Religion was a powerful authority on society.

The Quakers, especially Elizabeth Fry[86], sought to improve prisons specifically for women. Evangelicals and Calvinists promoted the idea of redemption in prisons through religious education (Cameron, 1983; Smith, 1983; Coyle, 1986; Hardman, 2007). The Howard Association, along with the Penal Reform League, the Reformatory and Refuge Union and the

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[86] Elizabeth Gurney was born in Norwich, England in 1780 to a well-off Quaker (Society of Friends) family. In 1800 she married Joseph Fry who was also a Quaker. In 1813 Elizabeth Fry made her first visit to Newgate prison where she observed women and children in terrible conditions. Elizabeth began working for the reform, campaigning for segregation of the sexes, female matrons for female prisoners, education and employment and religious instruction. In 1817 Elizabeth Fry created the Association for the Improvement of Female Prisoners and along with a group of 12 other women lobbied authorities including Parliament. In the 1820s she inspected prison conditions, advocated reform and established more groups to campaign for reform. In 1823 prison reform legislation was finally introduced in Parliament.

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PRISON STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ROLE IN THE REHABILITATION & DESISTANCE SUPPORT OF PRISONERS
December 2019   Jo Bailey-Noblett

Humanitarian League, supported recommendations by criminologists to policy makers for improvements in prison conditions for prisoners (Garland, 1985). The Howard Association merged with the Penal Reform League in 1921 and became The Howard League for Penal Reform (HLPR). The 'League' has, over a period of 150 years, been instrumental in the highlighting to public and policy makers of the impediments in the criminal justice system and particularly the lack of penal reform. The HLPR in Scotland (HLPRS) has its own offices and its penal reform activities focus on reducing overcrowding, prisoner voting rights, increasing education and work and overhaul of the spent convictions legislation.[87] As well as HLPRS there are numerous other third sector organisations and criminologists providing information, research and guidance to policy makers in the Scottish Government.

Who are the twenty-first century penal reformers in Scotland? There remain the traditional penal reformers such as the HLPRS and lobby groups such Reform Scotland[88]. There are a myriad of third sector organisations which work in the open community but can impact policy and penal practice within the prisons, such as Families Outside[89]. And for several years, criminologists have had increasing influence and impact on penal policy and practice in Scotland through groups such as the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research (SCCJR)[90] and the Scottish Association Study of Offending (SASO)[91]. These work in tandem with the Universities in Scotland where academics and PhD students undertake innovative research

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[87] 1. Reduction in the prison population. 2. Improved prison education and work. 3. Spent convictions legislation overhaul. 4. Prisoner voting rights. http://howardleague.scot/policy/vision-scottish-penal-reform-2018

[88] Policy recommendations - in cell telephones, banning short sentencing, and automatic early release, see website for more details. https://reformscotland.com/?s=prison

[89] Families Outside is the only national charity in Scotland working exclusively on behalf of families affected by imprisonment. We speak to thousands of families each year, providing information and support on issues such as housing, finance, and emotional support. We also provide tools, resources, and training to those individuals and groups who come into contact with families affected by imprisonment. From **prison staff** and social workers to health care professionals and teachers, our bespoke training sessions increase the awareness of the issues and challenges faced by families and ensure that they continue receive the support they need. https://www.familiesoutside.org.uk/about-us/

[90] https://www.sccjr.ac.uk/

[91] https://www.sastudyoffending.org.uk/

in penal environments.   Many academics are called to give evidence to parliamentary groups and ministers on such matters as sentencing[92], which may affect prison overcrowding and recidivism rates.   A further testament to the influence of academia on penal practice is the adoption of 'theories of desistance' (Farrall, 2002; 2004; Maruna, LeBel & Lanier, 2003; Burnett & McNeill, 2005; McNeill, 2006; McNeill & Maruna, 2007; McNeill & Whyte, 2007; McNeill & Weaver, 2010) which has affected strategic policies and operational practice within the Scottish Prison Service.   This can be observed in the SPS's policy document Organisational Review (2013) which mentions desistance no less than seventy nine times and presents Fergus McNeill's (2012) 'six themes of a desistance approach' (SPS-OR, 2013, Fig. 4.2, p. 50). SPS's Value Proposition (2016) discusses being desistance focused (SPS-VP, 2016, p. 8, p. 23; para. 1) and Prison Officer Professional Practice (2018) discusses 'operationalising desistance' (SPS- POPP, para. 3.3, p. 11) into the working practices of prison officers.   It could be contended that the twenty first century reformers in Scotland are now found in secular, academic and affiliated organisations, replacing the Christian morality of previous philanthropists.   That they are not part of the superordinate system of government provides their independent status and their findings with a legitimacy and autonomy (Parsons, 1956, p. 67).   Prison officer views on penal reforms particularly rehabilitation and now desistance is missing from penal literature.   As they are the at the coal face of implementation their views would be a valuable contribution to understanding what is possible and, what assistance and training they receive to support prisoners to change their attitudes to criminality.

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[92] The Scottish Government had stated that it would extend the presumption against short sentences to 12 months which will be done by way of an affirmative Scottish Statutory Instrument (SSI). In advance of the SSI being laid, the Committee sent out a targeted call for written evidence which SCCJR has responded to in three different papers.   Dr Sarah Armstrong (Glasgow) Director of SCCJR, Dr Marguerite Schinkel (Glasgow) each prepared their responses with Dr Fergus McNeill (Glasgow) and Hannah Graham (Stirling) submitting a joint one.

1.10   THE MEDIA: NEWSWORTHINESS OF PRISON OFFICER'S, PRISONERS AND CRIME

The majority of the public will never enter a prison; nor will they ever feel or understand the pains of imprisonment. Prisons are, for the most part, out of the sight and mind of the public and information they receive generally comes through the media; what they write, images they print and videos they air are central to determining people's perspectives on everything penal (Kershaw, et al., 2000; Wilson & O'Sullivan, 2004). People use the information that they receive through the media to create a 'social construction of reality' which influences how they see and respond to the world around them (Surette, 1997, p. 1). In the case of penal environments and those who live and work there, it is well documented that media representations have a tendency to dramatize and disparage (Krajicek, 1998) and to over-report violence and sex (Mason, 2006) and interpersonal offending, (Greer, 2017), with a constant discourse on prisoners being dangerous and a threat to society, and prisons failing the public (Mason, 2006).   The criteria the media use to decide what to print and air on the screen impacts the public's perceptions of crime and the perpetrators of crime. Yvonne Jewkes (2004, p. 35), in her analysis of what constitutes newsworthiness for crime reporting in the twenty-first century, presents twelve features[93] which decide which crimes have news value: 1. threshold, 2. predictability, 3. simplification,   4. individualism, 5. risk, 6. sex, 7. celebrity or high status person, 8. proximity, 9. violence,

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[93] (see Jewkes, Y. (2004/2011) Media and Crime, second revised edition, London: Sage for more information on each feature)

10. spectacle or graphic image, 11. children and 12. conservative ideology and political diversion.

Crime news today has to be cost effective, highly visual, fit into news productions schedules, emphasis has to be on completed convictions and it has to appeal to the news outlet's audiences.   If is does not fit the criteria and features it is not considered newsworthy (Rinella, Jewkes & Ugelvik, 2014, p. 10). According to Garland (2001a) social change began in the 1970s, and the media were at the forefront of this change with regard to capricious critiques and policy positions on rising crime and the failure to rehabilitate.   In America, Martinson's (1974a) research explaining why 'nothing works' gained prime time television and front page news and despite the fact that Martinson 'recanted' his claims (Garland, 2001, p. 64)   this was not considered newsworthy (Cavender, 2004, p. 343) and consequently it has remained prominent in research and media almost fifty years later.

The 1980s brought more changes to the media with the Thatcher era of political reform bringing in deregulation, removing the media from state control, nurturing open competition alongside the revolution in communication technology which brought global satellite broadcasting directly into people's homes (Rinella, Jewkes, & Ugelvik, 2014). Described as 'mediachosis' by Osborne (1995, p. 37) people are absorbing subliminally what they are being told and this becomes significant when that is the only source available or chosen (Surette, 1998).   Hence the constant negative reporting in the news on prison officers and extraordinary rare events such as riots, escapes and release of dangerous prisoners (Levenson, 2001), with little or no balanced reporting on positive actions by prisoners and

prison staff (Freeman, 1998).   Prison riots provided a constant stream of newsworthy violence and legitimate victims, which showed prisoners as thugs with, for example, the dramatic and graphic photograph of the prison officer on the roof of Peterhead prison during the riots in 1987[94].   Little was reported on why they were rioting and the callousness of the treatment being meted out to prisoners by prison officers (Scraton, Sim & Skidmore, 1988; Sim, 1993).

The media that promoted the populist and punitive penal policy (Garland, 2001; Loader, 2005; Ryan, 2006) and overcrowding in the UK in the era of New Labour, due according to Mason (2006, p. 251) to the skewed reporting on violent and sexual crime, provided a constant discourse on dangerous criminals, incentivising fear in the public who then see prison as '**the**' option to keep them safe.   Because the media only highlight that prisons are full of killers, rapists and child molesters and is the right place for them to be rehabilitated has precluded any examination or discussion on the pains of imprisonment, of marginalised groups, of the erosion of prisoners' rights and the rising numbers of children and women being incarcerated (Ryan & Sim, 2006).   With regard to women who are drug takers and have children, the media see drug taking parents as newsworthy but a drug using mother is higher up the scale of newsworthiness (Greer, 2017).   The media's denigrations have influenced sentencers and service providers to see them as 'incompetent' mothers unable to

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[94]

Peterhead Prison siege hostage photograph taken during one of Scotland's most notorious prison riots in 1987
The prison riot that ended with the SAS - BBC News   https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-41397881

care for their children, thus reducing services to support their needs as a parent (Malloch, 2004, p. 397) and thereby failing both child and mother.

Mathiesen (2003, p. 3) contends that the media's deliberate strategy of seeking newsworthiness on serious vicious crimes has provided politicians with opportunities other than 'principled legitimation' whilst promoting prison as not perfect but the only solution to the tide of rising crime (Mathiesen 2000; 2003). This has led to overcrowding in prison not because of rising crime but because politicians have been influenced by the media overstating prison as the solution with erroneousness interpretations on what the vast majority of people are sent to prison for (Christie, 2000; Mason, 2006). The capriciousness of the press can be observed when, on the one hand, they describe prisons as 'holiday camps'[95], easy going, privileged places where prisoners can lie in bed all day and be served three square meals a day, with leisure activities and education that people in the open community cannot access easily. On other hand, they are disturbing places of rioting, violence and assaults on prison officers by prisoners or prisoners' assaults on each other (Coyle, 2005).

However, what is not newsworthy is the boredom, the tedium of the daily routine, the lack of privacy and loss of identity (ibid, 2005; Marsh, 2009). Prison officers, the providers and deliverers of the daily regimen, only emerge into the limelight if there is violence, sex or a risk to the public, as a victim, perpetrator or culpable person (Worley, Marquart & Mullings,

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[95] Prison doesn't work. It's like a holiday camp Tommy Knight has been in prison 12 times, taking up a total of nine years of his life. Honest citizens and victims of crime in particular would hope this punishment would have worked …   But, sadly, this is not the case.   To put it in Tommy's words: 'Prison doesn't work. It is actually not that far removed from a holiday camp. It is just like you are in another little world for a while' … He describes the   British criminal justice system as a 'soft touch' … 'When you come in here you get exactly the same as what you get on the outside. You can have more of a laugh in here as everyone has something in common. I would say that some people actually have a better life in here compared to the life they have outside of prison.'   (Liverpool Echo, 23 October 2003) Example cited in Marsh (2009, p. 372)

2003, p. 178).   According to Sim (2004, p. 116) the media overstate the victimisation status

of prison officers whilst underrepresenting the victimising at the hands of the state those

who are powerless, vulnerable and marginalised and,

> " contributes to building a 'consensus around essential benevolence of state
>
> institutions and their servants – particularly prison officers – while
>
> simultaneously socially constructing these same servants as living in perpetual
>
> danger from the degenerate and the desperate".

Prisons are depicted as dangerous places for prison officers to work, but the threats and

menaces, physical and psychological, faced by prisoners at the hands of the prison staff and

other prisoners receive little media attention (Sim, 2004; Greer, 2007)[96].   Other

repercussions include the creation of an unforeseen crisis for prisons with, for example, an

increase in older prisoners with age-specific physical and mental health issues and reduced

mobility creating problems in a highly regimented regime with limited staffing and training

to support their needs (Hayes, 2017).   There is little research on how prison officers

perceive their role around rehabilitation and being a 'carer' to elderly prisoners or how they

are trained to deal with the consequences of an aging prison population.

The media creates other issues in prison when smuggled photographs are printed by the

press that show violence and drug taking. This is the age of the electronic revolution with

technology increasingly reduced in size and therefore easy to hide, smuggle and use,

providing a constant battle for prison officers to find and this equipment is a high value item

in the prisoner hierarchy.   Thus, one photograph passed onto a news organisation is high

news value to them as it covers a number of Jewkes' (2004) features: threshold – drug taking

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[96] Extensive media attention in Scotland of prison officer brutality has been brought to the fore with CCTV footage released in 2019 by the family of Allan Marshall who died in 2015. Modern technology providing easier access to the reality of the pains of imprisonment and media to highlight the families plight of someone who has died in custody.

a national concern, <u>simplistic</u> – no need for a detailed explanation to strain the audience's

attention, <u>risk</u> –   this is what prison officers (victim) has to deal with, dramatic events

encapsulated in a <u>graphic image</u>, accompanied by journalistic rhetoric describing the

prisoners as 'smirking lags and living a 'cushy lifestyle'[97], whilst denigrating the prison and

the prison officers and prison authority for allowing this to happen. Private prisons often

receive negative press (Sangkhanate, 2012) where the news value is high because they are

'for profit', but when linked to violence the higher the news value.   One recent article in the

Guardian newspaper (in May-2019), was headlined 'Private jails more violent than public

ones'[98] but had no analysis of why any prison is violent nor of the causes of violence, simply

concentrating on the fact that profit equals more violence.

The media conglomerates in the UK are predominately owned by a small group of white,

extremely wealthy, middle-class men (Barak, 1994), the majority of whom promote

conservative ideology and regressive criminal justice policies (Wilson, 2003) and are

preserving their own authoritative political and economic interests (Chomsky, 1991).   Thus,

their editors have to relate and conform to their organisation's (superordinate) value

systems, their discourses have to be persuasive to the superordinate through a taken-for-

granted narrative structure which, in the case of the tabloid press, is to ensure that they

satisfy the customer with their particular journalistic 'habitus' as well as conforming to the

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[97] Exposed: Prisoners partying on drugs, vodka and fast food in shocking photos from behind bars (Mirror Headline 7 October 2017)
A smirking prisoner brazenly shows off the smuggled trappings of his gang's cushy life behind bars in a series of shocking images that shame our failing prison system.
The swaggering lag and his mates are pictured with a hoard of banned booze, drugs, and an array of takeaway feasts.
They also show off a selection of "shopping" goodies including packs of fresh prime cuts of meat many struggling families outside the jail's walls would struggle to afford.
The inmates, with no fear of authority, even snapped some smuggled mobile phones which prisoners are banned from using inside.
[98] **Private jails more violent than public ones, data analysis shows -**Private prisons are 47% more violent than public jails, according to data analysis that raises questions over the government's plans to pursue its prisons-for-profit model.
https://www.theguardian.com/society/2019/may/13/private-jails-more-violent-than-public-prisons-england-wales-data-analysis

political and economic aspirations and values of their owners (Parsons, 1956).   However, what this has achieved is a blurring of the political and media discourse on all things penal, producing a less democratic legitimisation of policy making (Barak, 1994).   As Jewkes concluded (2004, p. 58):

> "…... it appears that we now live in a society where political process and media discourse are indistinguishable and mutually constitutive.   The symbiotic relationship between the mass media and politicians is illustrated by the support given by the former to the latter in matters of law and order."

The problem for prison administrations in providing a balanced perspective of the reality of prisons is that they do not have the power nor the opportunity or ability to create features which have newsworthiness quotient to make an impact.   Also, their political stakeholders are more likely to err on the side of caution when it comes to the press as they require them to get elected and promote them positively.   Therefore, penal establishments and those who live and work there are never going to be given a fair hearing or understanding because, for the most part, they are seen as existing on the margins of society and are therefore less likely to achieve legitimate victim status (Greer, 2017, p. 49).   Levenson makes the point that giving people accurate information about the criminal justice system is vital to secure public confidence in it; and as the public relies so heavily on the media any misrepresentation is very damaging (quoted in Marsh, 2009, p. 371).

1.11   PRISON OFFICERS AND THEIR UNION: THEIR ROLE IN THE REHABILITATION OF OFFENDERS

INTRODUCTION

The primary role of the prison officer has been traditionally, and remains, the secure confinement of people sent to prison by a warrant of the court (Coyle, 1986; Liebling & Price, 2001; Crawley, 2004). Therefore, the prison service is principally the servant of the court (Coyle, 1986; Chadwick, 1996) and its objectives follow the broader objectives of the superordinate criminal justice system even though administratively they are part of the civil service (Coyle, 1986, p. 101). The prison administration consults and takes cognisance of the objectives of the Prison Officers Association[99] (POA) and the POA influences on operational activity and work culture (Thomas, 1972; Coyle, 1991; Crewe, Liebling & Hulley, 2011).   A secondary role was assigned at the end of the nineteenth century, the rehabilitation of prisoners to send them back into society repaired and mended, ready to become active and positive citizens in their communities (Sparks et al., 1996; Liebling & Price, 2001; Dobash 1983; Drake 2013; SPS-OR, 2013).   Thus, a prison officer for a century has had the dual role of security and rehabilitation and they have influenced that role through their own personal, cultural and work experiences (Elias, 1982; Liebling & Price, 2001; Moran, Tuner & Arnold, 2019).   Their initial training teaches them how to be a prison officer from the prison administration's perspective (Crawley, 2000; Arnold, 2008; Morrison, 2018) and from the perspective of others (Crawley, 2000; Arnold, 2008).

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[99]The POA has been representing Prison Officers since 1939 and throughout that period it has seen the role of prison service employees evolve from a turnkey to that of a custodial officer responsible for assisting with the process of rehabilitation of offenders. http://www.poauk.org.uk

Before a person joins the prison service the closest the majority will have formed their own views on prisons and prisoners through the lens of the media, "a distorted picture of violence, drug fuelled maniacs who are as likely to stab a prisoner officer as pass the time of day with him or her" (Kershaw et al., 2000; Wilson & O'Sullivan, 2004).   Their preconceived ideas of what prison is like and its work behaviours/cultures are shaped by their 'historically contingent evolution, folklores, memories, identities, and practices', according to Scott (2012, p. 21).   This is consistent with Norbert Elias's (1982) theory of the 'Civilising Process', which explicates that people are the products of the beliefs and values of prior historical social conditioning of ancestry, social community and education, including the acculturation of work experiences to which they have been exposed (Emery, 1970; Elias, 1982).   The instilled beliefs, values and culture are significant as they provide the basis of their views on the purpose of prison, rehabilitation and supporting prisoners in their care (Motivans, 1963; Emery, 1970; Hawkins, 1976; Shamir & Drory 1981; Crewe, 2009).   One such organisational culture that has influenced the penal environment is that of the military.

1.12   MILITARISM IN THE PENAL SYSTEM

The employment of ex-military personnel has a long history in the prison service, including managers, inspectors and prison officers as well as policy makers.   Sir Edward du Cane, a Major General in the Royal Engineers, was the Prison Administrator and eventually Chairman of the Prison Commission from 1863 to 1895.   He had convicts directed to undertaking utility work as a cost saving exercise for the government and insisted that prison cells should be 'comfortless and dreary as possible' (Cameron, 1983, p. 131).   Captain Alexander Paterson, Commissioner of Prisons and Director of Convict Prisons from 1922 to 1946, reformed the Borstals system, abolished whipping, penal servitude and hard labour and stated that 'men come to prison as punishment, not for a punishment' (Cameron, 1883, p. 183).   The belief

in 'military discipline' continues to the present day.   Recently, Prisons Minister Rory Stewart[100] (commissioned 2nd lieutenant) launched a tailored prison leadership training schemes, including a military-style 'staff college' (Moran, Turner & Arnold, 2019) and the previous Prisons Minister, Liz Truss, had two years earlier stated that those will military experience would make ideal prison officers to instil 'the virtues of discipline' (ibid, 2019).

One of the most ardent critics of using military personnel was William Tallack[101], who pointed out the dangers of employing ex-army men as governors, 'since they tended to impose a type of discipline inappropriate to prison work' (Thomas, 1972, p. 49).   James Thomas (1978) argued that the ex-military posed a problem to the prison service as they could only carry out prescribed orders and when Gladstone introduced the reforms that mentioned 'treatment and training' they were unable to adapt to the changes.   Part of the Gladstone Committee review considered the 'numbers and desirability of ex-service men as staff' (Coyle, 1991, p. 109). The conclusion they reached was that warders as ex-service men was acceptable but it was not an essential requisite for prison governors (ibid. 1991).

In 1983 the population survey reported that the 'majority of prison officers had a military background' (Liebling & Price, 2001, p. 30), affirming that, at that time, the military were still highly represented in the prison service.   The White Paper on 'Prison Safety and Reform' (November 2016) proposed a recruitment of former armed forces personnel to a prison officer programme because they already had the 'leadership and people management skills training' (Moran, et al., 2019, p. 233).   How the leadership and people management skills of a military service equate to the prison service and ability to support the rehabilitation of

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[100] Commissioned for a few months tot he Black Watch as 2nd Lieutenant

[101] William Tallack produced a book entitled 'Defects in the Criminal Administration and Penal Legislation of Great Britain and Ireland with Remedial Suggestions'. (Thomas 1972)

offenders has been brought into question because such a skill set tends towards authoritarianism, inflexibility and a focus on discipline (Thomas, 1972; Morris & Morris, 1963; Crawley & Crawley, 2008). The Prison Service and the Military both have a problem with regard to staffing and they have key priority targets to deal with the situation. The Prison Service need new recruits and the Military have to find new careers for their retiring or voluntary severance personnel. This is seen by both organisations as an answer to their staffing issues. However, Moran, et al., (2019) highlighted the possible stressors of people transitioning from military to civilian life in a penal environment and its affect on other prison staff and prisoners and the possible friction between their military training and prison officer training.

1.13   PRISON OFFICER TRAINING

The purpose of prison officer training is to provide recruits with the knowledge, skills, values and organisational culture, and the legalities of human rights and prison rules, in a few weeks after which they are operational[102] and reliant on experienced prison officers to show and explain the reality of their role. In England, pioneer training began with the chaplains at Portland and Dartmoor and by 1866, these were overseen by a committee of warders who further developed staff training; the chaplains, though, considered it their duty to interview new recruits to ensure they had the right moral attitude (Thomas, 1972). In Scotland, the first recognised training of keepers was undertaken by William Brebner, the Governor of the Glasgow Bridewell, which was extolled by the Prison Inspector Frederic Hill (Coyle, 1986). By 1872, in other prisons, the training was 'on the job' and lasted for three months, during which

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[102] In Scottish Prison Service the new recruits after the initial six weeks training start with an operational role for twelve months with little direct prisoner contact, after which they can apply for residential work with prisoners which is considered a promoted position. Whereas in private prisons they go directly from training to working with prisoners on residential wings.

time the warders were not allowed to take charge of prisoners. However, in the local prisons

staff shortages meant that this rule was often broken (Thomas, 1972).   By 1883, an

interesting proposal was put forward in England for a central training school; the Gladstone

Committee recommended that two or more prisons should be recommended as training

schools and the first was set up in Chelmsford in 1896 (Crawley, 2004; Johnston, 2008).

Training of prison officers has not always been seen as an imperative and Thomas (1972, p.

43) argued that, 'training was not important in 1877 and even now what was considered

more important was experience, skill, length of service'.   The May Report (1979), nearly a

century later, observed,

> "we have reached a clear conclusion that training at all levels is neither as
>
> effective not comprehensive as we think it should be and thus it is not given
>
> sufficient priority at all levels" (Coyle, 1986, p. 191).

During the 'golden age' of reform from 1930 to 1970 prison officers were side-lined,

castigated as obstructive to new approaches and any attempts to require them to become

more professional were unsuccessful (Thomas, 1972).   The prison officers' perspective was

they had returned to the 'dull repetitive and uninteresting work of the turnkey of old'

(Liebling & Arnold, 2004, p. 166).   Sykes (1958, p. 61) argued that training can only acquaint

an officer with the work:

> "Brief periods of schooling can familiarise the new officer with routines and
>
> procedures of the prison, but the prison staff cannot be fully prepared for the
>
> realities of their role with lectures and discussions alone".

Once the training is over and an officer is faced with the reality of the job, peer pressure and

pressure from senior officers means that the rules go out the window (McHugh, Heavens, &

Baxter, 2008).   Officers inevitably conform to the sub-culture of the other officers,

desperately trying to work out why some rules are not enforced, while others are enforced by one officer, but differently again by another (Kauffmann, 1988; Brogden & Shearing, 1988).

Prison staff wanted better training, especially around conflict avoidance, staff/prisoner relationships and consistency and flexibility around prison rules (Hay & Sparks, 1991; Liebling, 1999).   Liebling & Arnold (2004) argued that training does not give the officer the 'big picture' which is necessary to enable them to use discretion when applying rules.   On the other hand, the longer training that an officer received prior to working in therapeutic units was seen as beneficial, focusing on the use of discretion, as officers were trained to have a different mindset.   Instead of prison officer/prisoner, the relationship is one of therapist/client or patient (Coyle, 1991; 1994).   Liebling & Price (2001, p. 160) argue that the 'elite' prison officer training in Whitemoor Special Security Unit,

> "operated with a sense of purpose – it had a positive atmosphere and seemed
>
> to build consistency, confidence and self-awareness among the prison officers".

There has been a long-held desire among prison officers to become involved in welfare work (POA, 1963) determined to improve the status and professionalism of prison officers (Coyle, 1991; 1994; Liebling & Price, 2001).   However, research points to two factors that hamper prison officers undertaking rehabilitative work – over-crowding and lack of training on how to support prisoners (Crawley, 2004). Overcrowding is also problematic as there is no increase in staffing, just more overtime for already stretched staff to deal with the extra prisoners, therefore security and care becomes the absolute priority (Coyle, 1991; Crawley, 2004). Initial training of new recruits focuses on security and care as per Prison Rules and exactly how to support prisoners is left to ad hoc support from more experienced colleagues or even prisoners (Arnold, 2008).

Liebling & Arnold (2004, p. 8) highlighted the lack of research on what a prison officer understands from their training that makes their role complex and skilled as they move between a stressful encounter and restoring an edgy truce. Other research has pointed out the fundamental gap in the training of prison officers around the 'aims of imprisonment' that explains penal philosophies and values which have influenced prison regimes and practices (Dunbar, 1985; Bottoms, 1989). What the training does implant is that prisoners cannot be trusted and at all times a prison officer should be watching, listening and questioning the narratives and actions of prisoners from a negative perspective.

> "New recruits are instructed to observe inmates carefully and constantly; to get
>
> into the habit of asking themselves, when supervising inmates: 'What is he
>
> doing? Why is he doing it?" (Crawley, 2004, p. 69).

This suspicious mindset works both ways; the prison officer who is constantly thinking that the prisoners are out to 'get them' (Crawley, 2004) and prisoners thinking that someone is breaking the inmate code of 'grassing' by speaking to a prison officer (Clemmer, 1940; Sykes, 1958; Morrison & O'Donnell, 1994; Crewe, 2009). How then does a prison officer change this around when they go to work directly with prisoners, how do they learn the skills of building a trusting, supportive relationship that gives legitimacy to their role if they are trained to be conscious only of security and to believe prisoners are untrustworthy?

The Scottish Prison Service (SPS) in 2013 set out an innovative programme of transformational change not only for prisoners but also for prison staff (SPS-OR, 2013). This transformational change for staff was published in 2016, in the policy document 'A Value Proposition' (VP), which highlighted the importance of staff development with regard to desistance and professionalism (SPS-VP, 2016). To support this proposition SPS introduced

an 'Understanding Desistance' module for frontline staff across the prison estate which has also been included in the initial training for new recruits (SPS-VP, 2016). The 'Value Proposition' document sets out the future for SPS prison officers. It recognises that 'opportunities are being missed to meaningfully and positively transform lives' of those in their care, because there is a 'mismatch between the culture, roles and competences currently in place'" (SPS-VP, 2016, p. 22), that will not meet the ambitious priorities of the SPS and Scottish Government to return prisoners to society as 'responsible citizens' (SPS-OR, 2013, p. 5). The SPS have explained the next step in training prison officers to professionalise their role through an academically recognised qualification in the Prison Officer Professionalisation Programme[103] (SPS-POPP, 2018, p. 3). POPP proposes changes to ensure officers have the time, skills and resources to do more of what they do best and be recognised as professionals by wider society. The media's spin on this proposal was:

> "Prison Officers are to be scrapped …….. The Scottish Prison Service (SPS) wants
> to rename and retain them as 'Justice Professionals' – who will have a
> 'motivational agent of change toolkit' …….. However, critics last night attacked
> the use of 'corporate buzz words' and said the proposals were further evidence
> of the country's 'soft touch' approaches to justice'". (Scottish Mail on Sunday, 1
> Jan 2017).

The proposal was sent to the membership for formal acceptance on 21st September 2018, jointly endorsed by the CEO of SPS, and Chairperson Prison Officers Association (Scotland).

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[103] Recognising and Rewarding Scottish Prison Officers, Now and in the Future. Prison Officers SPS 2018, p. 3
Professionalisation Programme POPP is about recognising and rewarding Scottish Prison Officers, now and in the future.
It is a programme of significant change for the SPS, enhancing the role of the Prison Officer and First Line Manager (FLM), so that they are recognised as justice professionals, who are rewarded appropriately for their professional practice. The following proposal has been jointly developed by the SPS and the Prison Officers Association Scotland (POA(S) and contains four main components which will affect all Prison Officers:
- An enhanced and expanded single-tier role (supported by Justice Managers and Custodial Security Officers);
- A commitment to continuing professional development for all staff and the introduction of a new Higher Education Diploma;
- Changes to working arrangements;
- An enhanced pay and progression structure.

It was rejected by staff[104] (Insidetime, 30th January 2019). How SPS take this forward remains

to be observed.

It is clear that prison officer initial training throughout the last century has never been fit for

purpose but has been accepted and implemented to meet the needs of a service that is in

crisis over lack of staff, loss of experienced staff and high levels of sickness[105], and an

increasingly violent environment (Moran et al, 2019).   As there is no research on prison

officer training in Scotland thus far a comparison of the similarities and differences between

Scotland and the rest of the UK is not possible.   That Scottish prison officers rejected their

POAS recommendation is interesting: is their influence on the wane or was it just a

miscalculation of the mood of their members?   Recently the POAS have balloted their

members on strike action due to the crisis in overcrowding and staffing issues[106].

1.14   THE PRISON OFFICERS ASSOCIATION (SCOTLAND) & REHABILITATION

The Prison Officers Association (POA) and the Scottish Prison Officers Association (SPOA)

represent their membership over terms and conditions, staff development and changes to

how the prison regime operates. The POA, according to Coyle (1986, p. 12), have less

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[104] "However, special attention is paid to the Prison Officer Professionalisation Programme. This programme was intended to increase the skills and knowledge of prison staff through further training. However, the suggested changes were rejected by the POA union in October. SPS management is clearly worried that the 'nature and speed' of the transformational change agenda are affecting staff morale and leading to more sick leave being taken."   https://insidetime.org/prison-staff-sick-of-the-job/.

[105] Prison staff sick of the job? The Scottish Prison Service (SPS) has reported a sharp upturn in staff sickness levels, from 8.6 average working days lost (AWDL) in 2014 to 11.8 in 2017. The figures for 2018 are set to be worse, with more than 13.5 AWDL for February 2018. This is against the context of a slow decline over the previous decade from 12 days lost in 2004. What has happened that sickness levels have returned to more than their 2004 levels in just four years? It is clear that the SPS does not know, as these figures come from an SPS document inviting research into the issue. Among the possibilities mentioned are long-term austerity, consistently high prisoner numbers, negative perceptions of prison and prison staff and changing shift patterns. https://insidetime.org/prison-staff-sick-of-the-job/.

[106] The prison officers' union has voted to ballot for industrial action as the number of inmates in Scotland's jails approaches record levels. BBC News 10 May 2019

There are now about 700 more prisoners than a year ago. The union has also said previously that violence inside prisons is increasing, along with the number of sick days taken by staff

mandatory power than the SPOA. The POA power base is devolved to regional committees whereas in Scotland the membership is centralised which has given the SPOA two advantages, tighter control over its members and the authority to advocate for a more participatory form of management with SPS administration, ministers and civil servants (Coyle, 1991). The SPOA and the POA have had significant influence and their operational experience has provided insurance, reassurance and a strong voice with respect to the members, which is significant due to the transient nature of senior management in both Scotland and England and Wales (Coyle, 1991; Liebling et al., 2001).

The Prison Officers Association (POA) became the formally recognised representative of prison officers in 1939. A union for Prison Officers was first muted in Parliament in 1905 (Thomas, 1972); however, they came together in a joint union with the police in 1913 as the National Union of Police and Prison Officers. Eventually the Prison Officers Representative Board was instigated, but this was not considered to be effective by their membership and is only remembered for changing prison staff's title from warder to prison officer (Thomas, 1972). However, in the years before the formalisation of the POA, the prison officers made their voice heard through the Prison Officers Magazine (POM) or, as it was known, the "red 'un". It first appeared in 1910 as an underground magazine and its most influential editor was E. R. Ramsay, who wrote under the penname, Hubert Witchard.[107] The POM was the 'mouthpiece' for the prison officer and Ramsay was very critical of the prison administration and prison regime (Thomas, 1972, p. 146). The POA has had major influence in England and Wales in support of its members' terms and conditions, but also managerially, influencing the decision making process through the Whitley Council[108] (Thomas, 1972). The POA

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[107] http://www.poauk.org.uk/index.php?poa-history-in-prisons

[108] John Whitley was appointed to chair a committee to report on the 'Relations of Employers and Employees' in the wake of the establishment of the Shop Stewards Movement. Whitley proposed a system of regular formal consultative meetings

PRISON STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ROLE IN THE REHABILITATION & DESISTANCE SUPPORT OF PRISONERS
December 2019   Jo Bailey-Noblett

became a very powerful force and at times they were considered to be obstructive with regard to reforms but they were also able to bring their members out on strike (Liebling & Price, 2001). In their study of Pentonville, Morris and Morris (1963, p. 217) describe the POA as a traditional, militant association, very suspicious of change, totalitarian in its penal views and vociferous over bargaining the minutiae.   In the same year the POA have always sought to influence senior management about the role of the prison officer and in 1963 produced the memorandum 'The Role of the Modern Prison Officer' (Thomas, 1972; Coyle, 1991; Liebling & Price, 2001).   According to the article it was the Prison Officer who was best suited to help and to be involved in the rehabilitative training of, and programmes for, offenders. The proposal was presented at the POA 1963 conference and unanimously adopted by its membership; however little changed (Hawkins, 1976).

After poor industrial relations throughout the 70s and 80s, the Conservative government decided to tackle the situation head on and the Crime and Public Order Act of 1994 removed the right of the POA to instruct their members to strike (Coyle, 1986).   The POA, according to King (1982), invoked actions for their members which disproportionately adversely affected prisoners and the criminal justice system in pursuit of pay and conditions.   In the 1980s, after much disruption in the prison estate, the 'Fresh Start' initiative was negotiated with the POA; it aimed to create a more flexible approach to working practices, a more rational management structure and a more rewarding job with improved conditions of service for staff (Coyle, 1991).   This initiative did not get off to a promising start as was made clear in the Woolf Report which criticised the Prison Service for not declaring the efficiency

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between workers and employers, known to this day as "Whitley Councils". These would be empowered to cover any issue related to pay and conditions of service, and to take matters through to arbitration if necessary and continues to   influence industrial relations today.

savings that would be required to implement Fresh Start (Coyle, 1986). The POA were highly critical of the introduction of private prisons to the UK. They had visited private prisons in America with the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee and concluded 'unconvincing levels of performance in private prisons' (Coyle, 1986, p. 155; Ryan & Ward, 1989). The POA have ostensibly had a more traditional trade union role focusing on pay and conditions of service (King & Morgan, 1980) which is in contrast to the way the SPOA have operated on behalf of its members in Scotland (Coyle, 1991).

In Scotland, the SPOA chairman in 1946 stated that the union was a partner in the work and management of the prison service (Coyle, 1986, p. 199). The SPOA consistently brought up issues of adequate training for prison officers which, during the 1940s, was undertaken in Northern England at Wakefield prison. In the 1950s the SPOA continued to complain about the lack of training and new recruits being 'pitch-forked into the job' (Coyle, 1986, p. 189). In 1963 the Prison Service obtained the Bishopbriggs Civil Defence facility for training and, in combination with Barlinnie prison staff, continued to provide a form of training. On the back of the POA memorandum 'The Role of the Modern Prison Officer' the SPOA 1963 conference urged the SPS to produce a professional training scheme, with a suitable training school, that would serve the requirements of all prison staff (Coyle 1991). In 1970 a purpose built facility was constructed next to the Polmont Borstal Institution and this remains the SPS College (2019) where all recruitment training is undertaken. The SPOA have influenced policy at the highest level with respect to violent and disruptive prisoners. They met Ministers to advocate and negotiate for special segregation units to be built to separate violent prisoners. Three such units were built, the cages at Inverness prison, the Peterhead 10 Cell unit (Coyle, 1986; Chadwick, 1996) and, in 1973, the Barlinnie Special Unit. The SPOA

considered they had been one of the main proponents of the Special Unit and defended the concept of the unit against much press criticism (Coyle, 1986). The consequences of reactive management and poor planning in the Inverness unit, with staff receiving insufficient training on how to deal with violent prisons, in tandem with a rigid system with severe punishments making prisoners increasingly aggressive, had a negative effect on both prisoners and staff (Coyle, 1991, p. 131).

The SPOA over the years have wielded power over their members, prison administration, civil servants and ministers (Coyle, 1986, pp. 209-210).   The pressure the SPOA asserted, especially after significant incidents, such as violent attacks on prison officers, dirty protests and riots, has been detrimental to the management and development of the prison service and regime for prisoners (Coyle, 1991).   In 1978 SPOA demanded a meeting with the Under Secretary of State[109] in charge and made three demands.   One was for maintaining the special units, the second that the media be allowed to visit prisons and talk to the SPOA, and the third that a standing committee be set up to consider the allocation and treatment of violent and unruly prisoners on which committee the SPOA would have a representative, highlighting how prisoners who were violent towards prison staff should be treated.   The Under Secretary acceded to these demands (ibid, 1991, p. 131).   In 2000 the POA and SPOA merged and the SPOA changed their title to Prison Officer Association Scotland (POAS).

The POAS remain a powerful voice for their members in Scotland.   The right to strike had been removed from prison officers through the Criminal justice and Public Order Act 1994,

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[109] Frank McElhone Labour Politician Under Secretary of State 1974-79

Section 127 but in 2015, the Cabinet Secretary made the following statement with regard to giving prison officers as public servants the same rights as other employees.

> "This announcement is an important step forward and recognises the right of
>
> prison officers to be treated fairly and as equitably as other unions and workers
>
> in Scotland.
>
> "It comes as a result of discussions between the trade union, SPS and the
>
> government and is testimony to the trust and relationships built up between
>
> these organisations over time."[110]

The SPS CEO signed a new Voluntary Industrial Relations agreement in February 2016[111] with two of its principal Unions, Prospect and POAS and in March 2016 a revised partnership agreement, Forward Together, was confirmed with the POAS, the Public and Commercial Services Union (PCS) and Prospect, which collectively forms the SPS Trade Union Side (TUS). At a special conference convened by the POAS an agreement was reached to ballot the membership on industrial action over the lack of a new pay structure, on overcrowding and increased violence that was reminiscent to the difficult period of the 1980s, and the membership overwhelmingly agreed to take strike action[112]. This contrasts with the recent signing of the partnership agreement on 'value for money' that may impact on the prison

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[110] October 2015 https://www.scottishlegal.com/article/scottish-prison-officers-to-regain-strike-action-power

[111] Voluntary Industrial Relations Agreement http://www.sps.gov.uk/Corporate/News/News-3831.aspx

[112] http://www.poauk.org/index.php?latest-news&newsdetail=20190510-87_scottish-prison-officers-to-ballot-on-industrial-action

At a special conference convened in Perth the Prison Officers Association Scotland agreed to ballot their membership on Industrial Action over pay. Facing the prospect of receiving yet another year of capped rises from public sector pay policy Prison Officers are saying enough is enough. Speaking on the outcome of the conference Andy Hogg Assistant General Secretary said **"this decision reflects the anger and frustration of our members over the lack of progress around their inadequate levels of pay. In 2014 it was accepted by the then Justice Secretary that a new pay structure should be introduced to recognise and reward Scottish prison officers appropriately for the challenging work they do. Five years on we are no further forward. This is coming at a time when our members are subject to increasing levels of violence, excessive overcrowding and an environment that is becoming ever more volatile through staff exposure to psychoactive substances and the violent behaviour of prisoners under their influence. We are on the slippery slope back to the dark days of the eighties and Staff morale has never been lower. We have the makings of a perfect storm"** Encouraging the Scottish Government to take heed of the decision Scottish National Chairman Phil Fairlie stated, **"At a time when we should be sitting down discussing proper staffing levels for our prisons and a pay system that rewards and recognises the incredible work our members are doing every day, we are in fact being invited to discuss where to find in excess of 20m of savings due to the SPS budget settlement. Scottish government need to listen to what we are telling them and respond quickly, before we find ourselves trying to manage a crisis in our prisons that is gathering momentum day by day". May 2019.**

regime [113] (SPS-FT, 2016, p. 2) and the POAS backed staff development proposal by SPS, the introduction of the Prison Officer Professionalisation Programme (POPP) in September 2018. The membership were sent details of the proposal for the changes to prison officer roles and the union stated, in the letter signed by Andy Hogg the Assistant General Secretary[114]:

> "This opportunity will not present itself again nor is it subject to further negotiation.
>
> **It is therefore without reservation that the SNC unanimously commend the proposal to you and urge you to take the opportunity to shape your future, positively influence your salary, and take the first steps to being properly recognised as a profession in the years to come".** (text emboldened in original document).

The membership rejected the offer stating that the POAS were acting as the voice of the superordinate system of the SPS Executive and the Minister rather than that of their membership.   Whether the POAS were acting on this occasion on behalf of their members or were persuaded by the SPS Executive and Minsters that this was the right thing to do to take forward the policy on 'transforming lives and fulfilling the potential' of prisoners and prison staff, time will tell. The role of the POAS and other unions in private prisons in Scotland and their influence on the private operators around terms and conditions and prison officer development on rehabilitation is missing from penal literature.

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[113] All Parties to this agreement accept the challenge that a competitive environment can bring and all recognise that in the necessary pursuit of value for money to the taxpayer, public sector costs will be competitive. It is equally accepted by the Parties, that the pursuit of value for money will include considerations of the quality of service offered. (SPS- FT, 2016, p. 2)
[114] Letter from POAS to their membership. Date 21 September 2018, CIRC/14/2018
http://www.,poauk.org.uk/index.php?scotland

1.15   CONCLUSIONS

This review of penal literature has highlighted that the role of prison officers, particularly in Scotland, around training and rehabilitation is missing from the penal literature.   The review also underlines the decentring of governance of the penal system between the 'structural', the macro level and the 'developmental' micro level and the inconsistent influences from organisations at the 'situational' meso level, all of which impact on how rehabilitative policy and practice is designed and implemented in the penal system for prison officers to facilitate.   This thesis seeks to understand from a prison officer perspective their role in the rehabilitation of offenders, how the penal regime supports, or otherwise, rehabilitative work and how prison officers are trained to undertake this type of work with prisoners in their care.

CHAPTER 2   REHABILITATION, DESISTANCE & THE PRISON OFFICER

2.1   INTRODUCTION

The purposes of imprisonment have been summarily described as: punishment for a crime committed against society, incapacitation to protect the public, deterrence as a constitutional threat to law-breakers, rehabilitation as a curative to repair contamination, and reintegration into society as a pro-social citizen. Prison could also be described as a bureaucratic, logistical warehousing system whose function is security and care, and governed, managed and influenced by numerous organisations whose personnel interpret, modify and adjust policies, directives, rules and regulations according to their own personal 'concrete egoism or altruism' towards their administration and team (Parsons, 1939, p. 467) or their instilled and inherited traditions (Elias, 1982) or realignment of those traditions after dilemmic or pressurised experiences (Bevir, 2002, p. 15). This links with Cheliotis's (2006, p. 323) observations of prison officers' decision making around incentive earned privileges (IEP):

> "What escapes the supervisory gaze of the 'system', no matter how Orwellian
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> that may be, is the panoply of personal values and idiosyncratic meanings that
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> individual decision-makers bring to their decisions (or their non-decisions, for
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> that matter) and which eventually coalesce to sustain, form or reform
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> organizational routines.".

Thus, in a penal environment prison officers working in teams under supervision are the ultimate end of the multiple decision making processes on the daily lives and futures of people they have to keep secure, safe and rehabilitate ready for reintegration as a risk free, pro-social citizen.

The Scottish penal regime through the latter part of the twentieth century was focused on penal welfarism (McAra, 2008; Mooney et al., 2015) due to its distinct legal system (McNeill, 2006; Tata, 2010) and, in part, its 'elite policy networks and the characteristics of Scottish civic culture' (McAra, 2008, p. 285). In the twenty-first century, the Scottish Prison Service's (SPS) primary aim is to keep society safe by providing secure accommodation and thus incapacitating offenders from further harming society. The second strand of their strategy is to reintegrate offenders as risk free pro-social citizens by 'unlocking their potential – transforming their lives (SPS-OR, 2013).[115] SPS are putting rehabilitation and desistance at the 'core of their prison regime' (SPS-PA-FWC, 2017, p. 5). This is designed as an holistic approach running through the prison regime and the whole of their estate through their Interventions Policy[116], purposeful activity development, the prison officer professionalisation programme and a new prison officer role, that of 'custody officer' (SPS-OR, 2013; SPS-PAR, 2014; SPS-VP, 2016; SPS-PA-FWC, 2017; SPS-POPP, 2018). This contrasts with research over decades that has highlighted rehabilitation as subordinate to the other needs of the prison and of keeping society safe (Sykes, 1958; Garland, 1997; Liebling & Arnold, 2004; Craig, 2004) and that purposeful activities have served as a controlling function by prison officers (Sykes, 1958; Johnson & Bennett, 1995, Liebling et al., 1999; Crewe, 2011).

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[115] The SPS's strategic visions are also aligned to political social policies of Closing the Opportunity Gap (SG-COG 2004), Workforce Plus: Employability (SG-WFP 2006), Skills for Scotland (SG-SFS 2007), Education and Life-Long Learning (SG-ELLL 2009) and the Safer Communities Strategy (SG-SCS 2004: 2016).

[116] SPS-PAR, 2014, para 7.3, p. 66) SPS Interventions Policy
The Organisational Review describes the SPS Interventions Policy: The SPS Interventions Policy (September 2010) sets out three broad objectives:
. 'developing a suite of improved programmes for offenders, including streamlined provision and better delivery models;
. using the interventions delivered in custody to build a desistance approach among offenders (particularly those receiving shorter sentences) to support them to break the cycle of reoffending. Activities to be aimed at building individual capabilities and focusing on social inclusion and economic participation; and
. developing an evaluation and monitoring framework to support the policy and provide evidence-based activity and outcome measures to inform decisions about current and future resource investment and service provision'.
The Interventions Strategy identifies a twin-track approach of:
. 'providing accredited programmes of proven worth to those offenders who present the highest risk of harm to the public, and
. addressing the needs of lower risk but habitual offenders to help them desist from the behaviour that leads to reoffending and to make the transition from prison to the community.'

Treatment programmes focus on safeguarding the public, thus the needs of the prisoner are also subordinate (Garland, 2001a; Robinson & McNeill, 2008). The present day SPS strategy on rehabilitation will focus on an individual offender's needs and will no longer be subordinate to security to achieve their corporate goals of keeping Scotland safe and 'unlocking potential – transforming lives'.

2.2   PENAL REHABILITATION: WHAT IS IT & WHO IS IT REALLY FOR?

Rehabilitation is an ambiguous term as it covers a wide spectrum of meaning, from a medical curative to good health and wellbeing from addiction or illness or as a societal restorative of a person's reputation, privileges, and misdemeanours through therapy and training (Raynor & Robinson, 2009).   A prisoner's rehabilitative needs can include some or all of the above and it has been sentence length that decided the rehabilitative opportunities,[117] whereas now it a prisoner's risk to society that takes precedence over their needs. An offender's risk to society is assessed through the three general principles of risk, needs, responsivity (RNR) model[118] (Andrews, Bonta & Hoge, 1990).   This model uses the Level of Service Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI) (Andrews, Bonta & Wormith, 2004) which also seeks to explain offender change in terms of client associations and attitudes in the contingencies for

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[117]Core Plus – a menu based approach designed to provide prisoners with appropriate services – including correctional opportunities – depending on their length of sentence, introduced in April 2004.
http://www.sps.gov.uk/Corporate/Publications/Publication-2429.aspx
The Concept: The idea of Core Plus is quite simple. Every prisoner entering a Scottish Prison Service establishment, whether as a remand prisoner or a convicted prisoner, is entitled to receive a basic "core" service. Depending upon the length of the individual's sentence they will also be able to access additional services and opportunities, that is the "plus" element. The longer their sentence the more services they can access.

[118]Andrews, Bonta & Hoge (1990, p. 20) Three Risk, Needs, Responsivity principles of offender rehabilitation:

1. **Risk:** Higher levels of service are reserved for higher risk cases. In brief, intensive service is reserved for higher cases because they respond better to intensive service than to less intensive service, while lower risk cases do as well or better with minimal as opposed to more intensive service.
2. **Need:** Targets of service are matched with the criminogenic need of offenders. Such are case characteristics that, when influenced, are associated with changes in the chance of recidivism. If reduction on the chances of recidivism is an ultimate goal, the more effective services are those that set reduced criminogenic need as intermediate target of service.
3. **Responsivity:** Styles and modes of service are matched to the learning styles and abilities of offenders. A professional offers a type of service that is matched not only to the criminogenic need but to those attributes and circumstances of cases that render cases likely to profit from that particular type of service.

criminal versus pro-social behaviour through the hands-on facilitation of the theory of Personal, Interpersonal, and Community Reinforcement (PIC-R)[119] (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). RNR and LS/CMI has been developed as an integrated approach across the whole of the criminal justice service in Scotland through the Risk Management Authority[120] (RMA), the roll-out of which began in 2010 (RMA Scotland, 2011). The report, Options for Improvement[121] (2009, para. 90, p. 21), identified that the lack of assessing an 'offender's capabilities' and 'readiness to benefit' from opportunities available are more likely to be neglected because of the focus on offenders' deficiencies to modify their criminogenic needs (Ward & Brown, 2004). The Scottish Government's Reducing Reoffending Programme[122], originally published in 2009 and revised in 2012 (SG-RRP2, 2012), was defined from the Scottish Government's Safer and Strong Scotland policy. The Scottish Criminal Justice agencies[123] and National Health Service Scotland, under the guidance of the RMA, have established a common, integrated 'Framework for Risk Assessment, Management and Evaluation' (FRAME) to 'promote proportionate, purposeful and defensible risk assessment and management practice' (RMA, 2011, p. 4). This integrated system of identifying risk (RNR) and capabilities and needs (LS/CMI) of offenders can be shared across a range of agencies

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[119] The PIC-R model uses a broad range of research to support the conclusion that offenders perceive multiple rewards and minimal costs for their law-breaking behaviour. Perceived rewards for criminal behaviour may include a sense of satisfaction (personal), praise from peers (interpersonal), deference from neighbours (community), or material goods (situational). Thus, those internal and external factors most strongly associated with criminality reflect ideal domains to be systematically targeted in correctional interventions. These interventions are expected to change, modify, or diminish these factors in a way that reduces future re-offending (Andrews & Bonta, 2010).

[120] The Risk Management Authority (RMA) is a Non Departmental Public Body established in 2005 by the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2003; and sponsored by the Scottish Government Community Justice Division. Our purpose is to make Scotland safer by setting the standard for risk practice to reduce reoffending and the harm that it causes. This involves working with partners to promote good practice and enhance risk assessment and risk management throughout Scotland.

[121] Offender Learning: Options for Improvement (2009) The report sets out recommendations for those involved in offender learning in Scotland in order that offenders can improve their prospects, obtain fulfilling and sustainable employment and develop a strong appetite for lifelong learning. Options for Improvement was published in December 2009.

[122] The Reducing Reoffending Programme (RRP) brings together a wide variety of agencies and professions in common objectives, "to deliver a key element of the Scottish Government's strategic objectives for a Safer and Stronger Scotland, delivering justice which is immediate, visible, effective, high quality, flexible and relevant." Each of those agencies and professional groups has specific aims, objectives and tasks, and risk management is an integral part of every agency and professional's responsibilities and a key aspect of our joint endeavours.

[123] Social Work Inspection Agency, Association of Chief Police Officers, Association of Directors of Social Work, Scottish Prison Service, Chief Officer's Group, Skills for Justice Scotland and CJA Training and Development.

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working inside the closed penal community and in the open community.[124] The principle lies in that what is recorded on the LS/CMI will follow the offender throughout their journey in the criminal justice system and will seek progressive change of the offender's risk, needs and responsivity to criminality (RMA, 2011). The RNR[125] and LS/CMI together offer a comprehensive inventory which identifies and measures a number of social and criminogenic factors to assess risk of recidivism and level of service required. The case management plan summarises criminogenic and non-criminogenic needs and responsivity considerations to be targeted during incarceration (Andrews & Bonta, 2006). The RNR as described above appears to offer an holistic approach to offender behavioural change in that it identifies, diagnoses and prescribes treatment (similar to a medical model of healing) but is restricted to what is physically and financially available both inside and outside the prison. An alternative to RNR is the Good Lives Model (GLM) theory of rehabilitation of offenders (Ward & Brown, 2004) based on positive psychology[126] (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000, p. 5), 'a science of positive subjective experience, positive individual traits, and positive institutions' promises to improve quality of life and prevent the pathologies that arise when life is barren and meaningless'.

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[124] Previous research had identified confusion between the different criminal justice agencies on how to assess and communicate risk (Barry, Loucks & Kemshall, 2007[124]).

[125] RNR also includes a risk of serious harm analysis and risk planning.

[126] Maslow developed the theory of hierarchy of need and emphasized the need for psychology to focus on human potentialities rather than just human deficiencies but also coined the term 'positive psychology' (Maslow, 1954: 201).

2.3 THE GOOD LIVES MODEL

The GLM embraces the principles of Aristotle[127] and Bentham's Utilitarianism[128] which identified that happiness and wellbeing provide for a better life. Positive psychology recognises that positive strengths provide the resilience to support a person through the setbacks that life brings from time to time (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). The argument promulgated by the theorists of GLM is that 'criminal actions arise when individuals lack the internal and external resources to attain their goals through pro-social ways' (Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 111). The GLM theory identified 'at least nine primary goods'[129] (Ward & Brown, 2004, p. 247), considered essential in providing positive psychological wellbeing, the 'need to be loved', 'valued', 'to function completely' and 'be part of a community' (ibid. p 244). The GLM seeks to support offenders in how to access knowledge, skills, resources and opportunities to live a good life and access primary goods which does not involve antisocial activities or 'destructive behaviours' (Ward, 2002, p. 516). To do this GLM focuses on offenders' internal and external factors of personal circumstances, abilities, preferences and strengths that will motivate an offender to accept and attend treatment and conceptualise and implement a good lives plan (Ward and Stewart, 2003; Ward & Brown, 2004). The GLM stresses the importance of the 'therapist' attitude towards

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[127] Aristotle's (384–322 BCE) greatest contribution to philosophy is arguably his work on morality, virtue and what it means to live a good life. As he questioned these topics, he concluded that the highest good for all humanity was indeed eudaimonia (or happiness). Ultimately, his work argued that although pleasure may arise from engaging with activities that are virtuous, it is not the sole aim of humanity (Tiberius, V & Mason, M. (2009) Eudaimonia. In Shane J. Lopez (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Positive Psychology*. Wiley-Blackwell. pp. 1—351)

[128] Utilitarianism, created by Jeremy Bentham is a philosophy that argued that the right act or policy from government is that which will cause 'the greatest good for the greatest number of people', also known as the 'greatest happiness principle', or the principle of utility. Utilitarianism was the first sector that attempted to measure happiness, creating a tool composed of seven categories, assessing the quantity of experienced happiness. (Pawelski, J. & Gupta, M. (2009) Utilitarianism. In Shane J. Lopez (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Positive Psychology*. Wiley-Blackwell. pp. 998-1001)

[129] The Good Lives Model identified a list of nine primary human goods is: (1) life (including healthy living and optimal physical functioning, sexual satisfaction), (2) knowledge, (3) excellence in play and work (including mastery experiences), (4) excellence in agency (i.e. autonomy and self-directedness), (5) inner peace (i.e. freedom from emotional turmoil and stress), (6) relatedness (including intimate, romantic and family relationships) and community, (7) spirituality (in the broad sense of finding meaning and purpose in life), (8) happiness, and (9) creativity. (Ward & Brown 2004, p. 247)

the offender of forgiveness, empathy and promoting a pro-social relationship crucial for an equal partnership (Ward & Maruna , 2007).   Research identified that the right skills set, interpersonal techniques and collaborative relationships with offenders are key to effective rehabilitative treatment interventions being effectively facilitated (Dowden & Andrews, 2010; Clark, 2006; Andrews & Bonta, 2010).   However, the authors of GLM have criticised the adverse impact the RNR model has on therapists, pointing out the difficulties of motivating offenders, of negative treatment goals and of the lack of recognition of identity/agency and non-criminogenic needs in the context of rehabilitation (Ward & Brown, 2004).   These claims were countered by the authors of RNR who stated that the depiction of RNR was inaccurate, particularly around the descriptions of relevance of relationships and motivating offenders, and that the model proposed in GLM of universal need was untested and potentially dangerous (Andrews, Bonta & Wormith, 2011).   A further response by Ward, Yates and Willis (2012, p. 108) stated, 'although it is a mistake to minimize the differences between the GLM and RNR, it is equally incorrect to ignore their areas of overlap.   The GLM does address risk, incorporates the RNR principles of risk, need, responsivity, and professional discretion, and provides a comprehensive framework to guide practitioners in their work with offenders'.

Despite the dispute between the authors of RNR and GLM there are benefits and complementarities of the two models working together for the benefit of offender rehabilitation which at the end of the day would meet the needs of the offender and society (Ogloff & Davis, 2004; Wilson, & Yates, 2009; Serin & Lloyd, 2017).   Research conducted by Maruna (2001) on offenders who were at various stages in their desistance journey from crime recorded that the GLM and primary goods were significant influencers on giving a

sense of, and understanding of, their lives and the changes they were undertaking. Other conclusions were that offenders could not conceptualise a new self on their own and needed support to access the right opportunities, skills and other essential social support (ibid, 2001).

2.4   DESISTANCE & OFFENDER REHABILITATION

In Scotland, desistance theory/processes[130] have been embraced by SPS and form part of their strategy for the rehabilitation of offenders (SPS-OR, 2013, p.51; SPS-PAR, 2014, p. 14; SPS-FD, 2016, p. 7; SPS-VP, 2016, p. 8). Desistance processes have emerged from research that has focused on offenders in the open community and the causations of a move to a non-criminogenic lifestyle. Thus, how well desistance processes can be transferred, implemented and or exploited in a penal environment is yet to be empirically tested. Also, how prison officers will be trained and supported to implement the new strategy, how they respond and interpret the strategy and what their perspectives and understanding of desistance theory have yet to be empirically tested.

Desistance processes have revealed a number of causations or hooks that are said to influence desistance by an offender (Maruna, 2001; Farrall & Calverley, 2006; Nagin & Paternoster, 1991) but the route is discontinuous with frequent setbacks (Giordano et al., 2002; Bottoms et al., 2004; Vaughan, 2007). The causations or hooks that motivate or instigate change are internal, cognitive transformations supported or created by external

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[130] According to Oxford Dictionaries, "to desist" is "to stop doing something; cease or abstain". Desistance theory strives to explain the process by which offenders come to live life free from criminality. Given the ambiguity of its dictionary definition, some researchers have had trouble in conceptualising what desistance actually is, with the majority of academics now acknowledging desistance as a process as opposed to a specific event.
https://www.craigaharper.wordpress.com/2013/08/02/desistance-theory/
Desistance theory is an overarching term used to explain of why people stop or temporary halt their criminal behaviours. It encompasses a number of desistance theories around age and marriage. Then are desistance processes that explicate what leads an offender to change. McNeill, N.; Farrall, S.; Lightowler, C. & Maruna, S. (2012).

influences (Giordano et al., 2004; Bottoms et al., 2004). For example, relationships with a significant person or persons or groups not associated with criminality can support the desistance process, often referred to as 'social capital' (Farrall, 2004). Their support and belief in the individual can provide a strong motivating force with continuous encouragement and role modelling of a pro-social lifestyle (Rex, 1999; McNeill et al., 2005) and a source of primary goods as per the GLM. A person's internal mechanisms for mindset change, or 'human capital', are also considered necessary to bolster the journey to desistance (Burnett, 2000; Maruna et al., 2003; LeBel et al., 2008; McNeill et al., 2012). This is often provided through relationships with significant others, for example, therapeutic relationships (Rex, 1999), support from family who are not involved in criminality (Bottoms & Shapland, 2010), marriage (Riken & Blokland, 2014), partners, becoming a parent (Sampson & Laub, 1992; Laub et al., 1998; Warr, 2002; Maruna et al., 2003). Caring for children, parents or grandparents restricts time for crime and, hence, the possibility of imprisonment (Sampson & Laub, 1993; Moloney et al., 2009) as does employment (Farrall, 2002; Uggen, 2000). On the other hand, Giordano et al., (2002) argue that some offenders can and do desist without having being in employment. Other factors attributed to desistance are age (Wolfgang, 1983; Van Mastrigt & Farrington, 2009) and abstinence from narcotics and alcohol, which are often connected with criminal activity (Walters, 1998). Altruism, through volunteering, for example in education or employment, that takes ex-offenders themselves back into contact with offenders and ex-offenders, supporting them through mentoring, offering pro-social role modelling and through being empathetic, empowers people to desist from crime (Maruna, 2001; Burnett & Maruna, 2006; Bottoms & Shapland, 2010). The desistance journey a person makes to becoming a pro-social citizen with a pro-social attitude on crime is not a rectilinear route but a meandering one with cul-de-sacs, reverses and re-routing (Glaser, 1964; Matza, 1969).

The pathways to achieve complete desistance have been argued by researchers in a number of ways.   Tony Bottoms et al., (2004, pp. 372-374) identified five concepts – programmed potential, structures, culture and habitus, situational context and agency[131] – which, they contend, provides a useful framework for studying desistance. Peggy Giordano et al., (2002, pp. 1000-1003) discuss desistance as a series of four cognitive transformations.   The first is a fundamental openness and readiness to change; the second, exposure to specific stimuli necessary for change that resonates with the actor's desire to desist; the third, when the offender is able to envision a different self, one that they can relate to and which displaces the old self; the fourth, the transformation, said to be complete when their criminogenic needs are no longer a viable and desirable option.   Most prominent in desistance processes are the three epochs, termed primary, secondary (Maruna, 2001; Maruna & Farrall, 2004) and tertiary (McNeill, 2016).   The primary stage is described as a break in criminogenic activity due to structured opportunities that either prevent (employment, education, caring or ill health) or reduce availability to commit crime (incarceration) (Maruna, 2001; Maruna & Farrall, 2004). Secondary desistance has been defined as when a person assumes an identity that they consider positive and discards the negative offender identity (Maruna & Farrall, 2004). This resonates with Bottoms et al.'s (2004) 'situational context' and Giordano et al.'s (2002), third stage of desistance and the accumulation of secondary and then primary goods as in the GLM (Ward & Maruna, 2007). However, some offenders struggled to rid themselves of their past and title of criminal or ex-offender which impedes moving through the secondary stage to complete desistance (Maruna, 2001).   The tertiary stage of desistance, as proposed by McNeill (2016, p. 201) is when a person's behaviour or identity moves in their

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[131] Bottoms et al., (2004. p. 374-376) consider that 'agency' although identified by many researchers as an imperative to the desistance process with several explanations and descriptions, Bottoms et al., (2004) are not convinced it has been thoroughly researched to give it such prominence in desistance theory.

'sense of belonging to a (moral and political) community' and understand how they see themselves and how others see them in that community. This could be argued as to why those who have desisted or who are in the process of desisting, do not consider themselves primarily as lawbreakers and find it easier to desist (Chiricos et al., 2007).

This change in identity has been challenged by Bottoms et al., (2004) and Laub & Simpson (2003) whose research suggests that reconstruction of a different identity or a conscious realisation that they have changed is not crucial to the desisting process. However, a change in agency from fatalism of the 'persisters' (Maruna, 2001. p. 75) to the 'redemptive' positive self is an important enabler to desistance (Maruna, 2001, p. 87). The theory of cognitive dissonance by Festinger (1957) offers an explanation of what motivates change and what immobilises it. For change to take place an individual has to feel cognitive dissonance (psychological discomfort) and by magnifying and exploring the incongruities of their perceptions of the impact of their criminality on others this can raise their levels of cognitive dissonance and reduce their criminogenic behaviours (Cluley, 2004, p. 235). However, there is a danger of taking cognitive dissonance too far and people then feel overwhelmed and are unable to change; they remain fatalistic and lack the agentic functions to influence change (Bottoms et al., 2004, p. 382). Human agency is considered essential for enabling a person to take or have control of their lives. Albert Bandura (2006., pp. 164-165) identified three forms of agency, individual, proxy and collective and four functions through which it is exercised, intentionality, prescience, self-regulation and self-reflectiveness[132]. Human

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[132] Human agency has three forms, individual (personally influencing what they can control), proxy (influencing others who have the resources and capabilities to act on their behalf) and collective (working collaborative, co-producing their future). Agency is exercise through four functions knowledge to support by acting intentionally (action planning), forethought/prescience (anticipatory, setting goals, that motivate action), self-regulation (pro-social actions) and self reflection/self efficacy (belief in one's ability to accomplish as task) (Bandura, 2006, pp. 164-165)

agency, acting through these four functions, gives control to an actor's life, having the ability and knowledge to access increased resources, making plans and achieving their goals, by being in control, independent and resilient (Bandura, 1986).   The pathway to tertiary desistance can be a long journey depending on acceptance, socially and psychologically, as political barriers influenced by populist punitivism (Bottoms, 1995; Garland, 2013) seek to continue to disenfranchise and discriminate those who have turned their lives around (Graham & McNeill, 2017).   Desistance processes provide an explanation for the causations and changes in offenders in the open community, and professional personnel in the probation service have influenced that change (Rex, 1999). What is unknown is if prison officers have the skills and training to become the influencers of desistance processes.   Are these desistance processes the same or different in a penal environment? Prisons may strive to 'normalise' prisoners' living conditions but in reality they are not comparable to the open community.   In the closed community of prisons, prison officers have had the role of rehabilitating for over a hundred years but the literature review highlighted that in essence it was secondary to security and it had not reduced recidivism and supported only a few rather than the majority of prisoners.

2.5   PRISON OFFICER: REHABILITATION IS SECONDARY

The closed prison has been described as a 'total institution', a place where the inhabitants' lives are run to the desired functions of the prison through the specific schedules and rhythms of a central authority, argues Goffman (1961).   While authority over prisoners comes in several configurations, for example 'hard' power, direct, coercive and physical (Sykes, 1958; Scraton et al., 1991), developments in policy have lessened the hard power

(Crawley, 2004) with such being replaced by 'discretionary' power, depending on prison staff's decisions on prisoners' privileges (Liebling et al., 1999) or by 'soft' power, identified in staff/prisoner relationships and policies which are opaque, subtle and insidious from a prisoner's perspective (Crewe, 2009).   Authority and power make for one-sided relationships, as prisoners do not make decisions for themselves, they are made for them (Tyler & Blader, 2004; Crewe, 2011).   'Opportunity and Responsibility' (SPS O&R, 1990a) was criticised by Adler & Longhurst (1991a) for not taking cognisance of the intrinsic presence of power in prison staff/prisoner relationships.   According to Sykes (1958) the inmate code is a barrier to building relationships with prison staff through their familial upbringing and socialisation conditioning environment, whether in prison (Sykes, 1958) or in the community (Sutherland, 1939).   Thus, relationship building is a negotiated equilibrium at a particular moment in time and is dependent on a myriad of potentialities, for example human emotions and physical administrative policies and practices that are either adopted, exploited and utilised or not (see C1, section 1.5, p. 18; Bevir, 2002) by prison personnel.

The position today in prison is not as clear cut as viewed in Sykes research in the 1950s (Crewe, 2011).   Prisoners who wish to improve their lot or their chances of early release are forced to have a 'relationship' with prison staff for the purposes of 'obtaining favours, enhancing privileged status and seeking positive comments on reports' (Crewe, 2011, p. 457). But for some prisoners, working with prison staff and building relationships is still anathema, due to deeply ingrained experiences, background (Western & Pettit, 2010), and the pressure of peer groups (Crewe, 2011).   Prisons are places of low trust and prisoners may not have had positive experiences of trusting prison staff (Liebling & Arnold, 2004) and, wary of prison staff who offer help and support, such offers are often met with cynicism by prisoners (Irwin, 1985; Rubin, 2014).   Building positive staff/prisoner relationships is a goal of SPS's

Organisational Review (SPS-OR, 2013) and its importance is to be reflected in a key priority indicator that captures the constructive relationships that motivate change and which supports pro-social behaviours (SPS-OR, 201,3 p. 90, para 4.8).   This builds on the premise of staff/prisoner relationships developed in 'Custody and Care' (1988a) and 'Opportunity & Responsibility' (1990a) and is a move away from the 'Code of Discipline' in the 1960s which forbade 'any undue familiarity with prisoners' (POA, 1963, pp. 331-2).   Research shows that facilitating pro-social modelling behaviours and attitudes has been proven to support rehabilitation and desistance in the 'open community' (Gendreau, 1998; Andrews, 2001; Raynor, 2003; McNeill, 2003; Trotter, 1996; McIvor, 1998; Bottoms, 2001) and, according to Crighton & Towl (2008:43), there is little research on pro-social modelling per se in a penal environment.   Empirical research of prison staff/prisoner relationships has tended to focus on legitimacy and power but rarely empathy, positive reinforcement and co-production which are the keystones to effective pro-social modelling in the 'open community' (Trotter, 1999; Rex, 1999).

2.6   PRISON OFFICER: LEGITIMACY & POWER

Legitimacy in prison is ascribed to a number of aspects of the administration, such as fair procedures (Tyler, 1990), behaviour of staff and the prison regime, highlighted in the Woolf report (1990) into prison disturbances (Sparks & Bottoms, 1995).   There is also the legitimacy of the state to punish through the executive power invested in it (Weber, 1920; Foucault, 1977; Garland, 1985), institutional legitimacy of the prison (Jacobs, 1977), and of Governors to lead and govern the establishment (Coyle, 1991).   Phil Scraton et al., (1991) and Sim (1994b) argue that deep-seated bias and the lack of social equality in prisons impedes

legitimacy and that the state in the past has also sought to undermine the legitimacy of prison staff unions through privatisation (Cavadino, 1995).

How do prison staff on the front line achieve legitimacy of their authority in the penal environment? Lombardo (1981) suggested that legitimacy of authority has to be earned by prison staff through interactions with prisoners and is achieved when staff rely less on the formal implementation of the rules by the book and more on their personality and their relationship with the prisoner.   This accords with Coyle's (1991, p. 207) view of attaining legitimacy through 'consistency', less reliance on 'formal authority' but their own 'personal authority and understanding the main function of imprisonment and their role in it. Some prisoners find it hard to accept the legitimacy of authority of prison staff, in particular when staff appear to go out of their way to find fault and record any particular indiscretion in their reports, as well as entering what a prisoner considers to be their private space (Crewe, 2011). Prisoners are constantly evaluating the legitimacy of unauthorised requests from staff (Light, 1991), especially those who overlook rule infringements and barter goods, services or special privileges for information (Carroll, 1985; McCleery, 1968; Sykes, 1958).   However, according to Tyler & Blader (2000; 2004), offenders in prison do not have the same 'voice' as individuals in the 'open community' and are less likely to be heard or taken seriously when they have raised their voices. This has, in some cases, resulted in violence against prison authority (Sykes, 1958; Scraton et al., 1988; 1991; Sparks et al., 1996; Cook et al., 2008) and has undermined the legitimacy of the law, leading to increases in criminality (Bonta & Gendreau, 1990; Bukstel & Kilmann, 1980).

Derrick Franke et al., (2010, p. 109), in their study of legitimacy in corrections, found that 'positive experiences actively promoted legitimacy', which is consistent with research

findings of legitimacy in probation and correctional work where it induces acquiescence, in the short term, and behavioural change, in the long term, in the offender (Paternoster et al., 1997; Bottoms & Rex, 1998; McIvor, 1998; Robinson & McNeill, 2008; Trotter, 2009).   These changes come about because the offender experiences are positive, and they have a sense of being respected, understood, encouraged and supported (McIvor, 1998; Rex et al., 2003). Prisoners on the whole accept the legitimacy of their sentence if they consider it as a consequence of their actions (Sykes, 1958) and if it was fair and proportionate in their eyes (Schinkel, 2014).   Tyler (1990, p. 11) argues that amenability to authority through just procedures is,

> "key to seeing compliance via legitimate exercise of authority and lies especially
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> in peoples' experiences of fairness in procedures".

Once incarcerated, Coyle (1994, p. 86) noted, the majority of prisoners want to serve their sentence with as little trouble as possible and are prepared to 'observe legitimate restrictions' placed on them.   This is comparable to what Sparks et al., (1996) and Liebling & Arnold (2004) identified, that   prisoners who consider that authority is being applied equitably, that they are being respected, are more likely to acquiesce even if they are unable to totally satisfy their personal needs.

Penal power has been debated in terms of hard power (Sykes, 1958; Foucault, 1977; 1982; Garland, 1985; Sparks et al., 1996; Nye, 2004; Crewe, 2011), soft power (Nye, 2004; Crewe, 2011), discretionary power (Muir, 1977; Gilbert, 1997; Liebling, 2000) or, as Lukes (2005 [1974]) argued, power can be visible but unconsciously inducing people to accept the dominance of others.   It is argued that hard and coercive authority is what prison staff are trained to concentrate on (Arnold, 2008) because prisons are coercive environments (Etzioni, 1964; Crawley, 2004) which are not conducive to maintaining positive staff/prisoner

relationships.   Staff are encouraged to keep their distance and focus on security and not rehabilitation (Sparks et al., 1996; Liebling & Price, 2001; Crawley, 2004; Arnold, 2008). Coercive power may prevent misdemeanours and security crises, but prison staff still require prisoners to comply and collaborate and they do this by applying informal control practices to enable the prison regime to operate smoothly (Sykes, 1958; Cloward, 1960; Irwin, 1980; Jackson et al., 2010).   According to Warr (2008, p. 25) the introduction of managerialism created psychological power, which reduced the power of the prison officers on the wings, who then became the 'buffer between inmates and the directors of power'.   Hard power creates staff/prisoner relationships that are negative, confrontational and sometimes violent (Carabine, 2004; Tolmaer, 2006; Sim, 2008).   Soft power on the other hand, argues Crewe (2011, p. 456), is found in the relationships between prison staff and prisoners when they 'directly' accomplish something together, but also 'indirectly' through penal policies that prison officers implement.   This places the responsibility on the prisoner to conform by self-control, by connecting positively and purposefully with the regime and by accepting responsibility for their own infractions.   This form of power does not have the clarity of coercive power; it is subtle and makes rehabilitation the responsibility of the prisoner to conform to the regime and the perceived risks that society imposes on them.   According to Attrill & Liell (2007) prisoners are not always aware of, or understand, the procedures employed to assess this perceived risk and, when their personal perceptions have been that they have complied with the regime and have taken on the responsibility to collaborate and conform only to find they are denied the outcome they had been working towards, they become disillusioned (Liebling et al., 1999).   Crewe (2011, p. 460) highlighted that prisoners are often resentful when they have completed a specified offender behavioural programme and have complied with IEP only to find the goal they had strived to achieved denied them

because of, in their eyes inconsistent, illogical and arbitrary decision making. Soft power lacks clarity, consistency and openness (Crewe, 2011, p. 463).

It is argued that discretionary power as utilised by prison staff can be exploitative, especially if prison staff use it for their own individual advantage or for 'personal material gain' (McCarthy, 1984, p. 116); but coercive power is also used, for example to keep the prison quiet, trouble free and easier to maintain (Sykes, 1958; Costikyan, 1967; Atkins & Progrebin, 1982). Sykes (1958, p. xii) explained the usefulness to prison officers in the use of discretion to keep secure control of a wing and prison:

> "In their wide discretion to apply force and enforce rules, guards also play a crucial role in keeping the peace. Guards in an orderly unit seek out the real men to make small trades, turning a blind eye to minor disobedience, to secure cooperation in other areas."

According to Liebling & Price (2001) one of the ways prisoners survive in prison is determined by prison staff's use of discretionary power. Gilbert (1997, p. 52) described four types of discretionary power, based on Muir's typology of police officers' discretionary working styles of 'professional', 'enforcer', reciprocator' and 'avoider'[133]. According to Liebling & Price (2001, p. 140) the positive use of discretion is pivotal to being a good prison officer and they argue that the shrewd use of discretion established best practices of prison staff's work. Legitimacy of prison staff power is decided by prisoners who are the adjudicators, critics and beneficiaries and, if their perceptions are that staff are using that power in a discerning and

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[133] Gilbert (1997, p. 52) "the 'professional' – reasonable, innovative, able to make exceptions; the 'enforcer' – aggressive, by the book, unable to make exceptions; the 'reciprocator' – counselling orientation toward enforcement duties; the 'avoider' – defines tasks out of the job to limit enforcement activities"

equitable way, the prison will run peaceably and smoothly (Sparks et al., 1996; Liebling & Price, 2001). The 'low visibility', discretionary, daily decisions of prison officers can be 'supportive' in reinforcing pro-social behaviours and can 'penalise' bad behaviour and affect the day to day atmosphere and living conditions for prisoners (McCarthy, 1984, p. 119). Thus, penal power used positively rather than punitively helps in the maintenance of security for prisoners and staff. Also, if prisoners perceive that penal authority is used legitimately, empathetically and carefully this can encourage the building of prisoner-staff relationships that can be productive and in prisoners accepting staff as pro-social models and working together to plan a beneficial course through their sentence.

2.7   PRISON OFFICER: EMPATHY & CO-PRODUCTION

One of Muir's (1977) typologies of discretionary working styles explicated an empathetic officer as one who was sensitive and compassionate and who viewed human nature as all-encompassing and that deviation and criminality were exceptions to normal society and borne out of conditional aberrations of their circumstances. Muir (1977, p. 226) argued that people had good and bad within them and consequently no one was 'exempt from temptation, conflicts, longings, and above all, the suffering of the human ordeal'. Being empathetic, an officer could gain intelligence and exert influence over people as well as having respect for them as a person and individual (ibid, 1977). This is similar to how Egan (1986, p. 106) describes empathy being with the person in their domain by listening, being attentive and observing, which leads to an understanding of their circumstances, needs and support required. Carl Rogers (1980, p. 142) described empathy as requiring a great deal of sensitivity to a person's personal experiences be that 'fear or rage or tenderness or

confusion' by 'temporarily living in the other's life, moving about in it delicately without making judgements'.

Empathy is about the prison officer approximating the prisoner's world even though they may experience and perceive that world differently.   It has been argued that some prison officers have similar socio-economic backgrounds to prisoners (Emery, 1970; Gilbert, 1997) and if they respect the person, the individual, it is because they understand that it could just as easily have been themselves on the wrong side of society (Muir, 1977; Gilbert, 1997). Other researchers have highlighted the fact that prison officers are often recruited from the same backgrounds as the people they are holding secure and are responsible for rehabilitating (Sykes, 1958, p. 14-15).   In Morris and Morris's (1963, p. 98-99) Pentonville study they noted research from Wakefield prison that suggested that there were significant differences between the socio-economic backgrounds of prisoners and new recruits. However, their findings suggested otherwise; they considered socio-economic difference was less profound than degrees of difference with regard to their aspirations and social mobility[134].   For prison staff coming from a similar background is a dichotomy that they have to resolve by theorising their differences[135] (Jacobs & Retsky, 1975, p. 24).   For some prison staff this provokes a 'deep hostility' towards prisoners and prison is the just desserts for their behaviours (Scott, 2008, p. 181).   Others, though, recognised the sameness and were 'willing

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[134]Morris, T. & Morris, P. (1963. p. 98-99) "The observations of the research at Pentonville suggest that such differences ae differences of degree rather than of fundamentally distance life experiences. both officers and prisoners at Pentonville are heirs to a common culture, that of the urbanized working class. Whatever aspirations officers may have for their children - and there are unmistakable signs of second generation social mobility - like prisoners , they left school for the most part at 14 or 15. Like prisoners, few of them had, or were likely to achieve, more than minor 'white-collar 'status in the labour market".

[135]Jacobs, J. B. & Retsky, H. G. (1975, p. 24) "Guards and inmates also share similar socioeconomic backgrounds. Many black guards have known inmates on the streets. White guards, too, are not drawn from the more law-abiding middle class, but usually are drawn from delinquency-prone groups where scrapes with the authorities during teenage years were not uncommon. Where guards and inmates interact in living units and working units day after day, there may be subtle psychological pressures on the line officer to identify with the prisoners unless he can develop a theory to account for his differentness from the inmate population."

to engage' with prisoners being empathetic and understanding of their predicament (Tait, 2008, p. 80). Against the socio-economic sameness, the prison officer also has the dichotomy of the workplace acculturation and peer pressure. Souter & Williams (1985, p. 22-23) have argued that it was the prison environment that created prison staff working attitudes and culture towards prisoners and not their personal and social backgrounds. Ben Crewe (2009), on the other hand, found that prison staff who exhibited empathetic understanding of a prisoner's situation put it down to their own personal pro-social values of what was right, decent and moral, and of being a professional prison officer. In Crewe's later research (2011, p. 464) he described that, for those officers whose engagement with prisoners was 'shallow, instrumental or tainted by mutual suspicion', empathy was unlikely to be one of their attributes. Failure to deal properly with prisoners' requests and needs often conveyed an absence of care and empathy and could have substantial consequences for prisoners' futures (Hulley et al., 2010). Jason Warr (2008, p. 18) described a personal experience when a prisoner was told by a prison officer how long he would have to serve before he was released and the devastating effects that this had on that young person, simply due to the lack of empathy and understanding of the person and of their situation [136].

Many prison officers do demonstrate empathetic approaches to prisoners. For some it starts when they are acculturated to the working environment of the prison and recognise prisoners as individuals. When they have gained experience in understanding prisoners' personalities and characteristics they differentiate the depth of their respect and empathy (Liebling & Maruna, 2005; Hulley et al., 2010; Tait, 2008). Tait (2011, p. 7) assigned a

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[136] Warr, J. (2008, p. 18) "He demonstrated, in this instance, no comprehension of, or empathy for, the effects that his power and pronouncements could have on a 20-year-old person. He had forgotten, it seemed, that he was talking to someone with feelings, someone rendered vulnerable by his environment and loss of freedom".

number of caring typologies to prison staff and the ones that showed high levels of empathy were termed,

> "true carers": these officers could see distress where many others could not or
>
> did not, concealed by anger, indifference, or hostility".

These officers were demonstrating Egan's (1986) description of empathy of attending, listening and observing, understanding the prisoners and their environment and going on to offer positive reinforcement by supporting them to do things for themselves rather than doing it in response to the prison officer's request or demand, which in turn supported the prisoners' self-determination (Tait, 2008) and self-efficacy (Bandura, 1986). Empathy in itself can be therapeutic (Burns & Nolen-Hoeksema, 1992) as well as relational, building relationships of respect, support, collaboration which focus the attention on core issues, experiences, emotions (Egan, 1986) and paving the way for goal setting, strategizing and implementation and being receptive to being rewarded for demonstrating pro-social behaviours (Hubble et al., 1999; Lambert & Ogles, 2004).

The promotion of pro-social behaviours and attitudes with positive responses and rewards could also be termed as positive conditioning that everyone will have received from the moment they were born into pro-social, family environments and growing up in a pro-social setting (Elias, 1982; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Seligman, 2002; 2011). In the past prison officers were discouraged by prison management of getting too close to prisoners for fear of 'negative conditioning' where prisoners, psychologically or through physical coercion, receive goods, services or rewards to which the authorities state they are not entitled (Sykes, 1958; POA, 1963; Sparks et al., 1996; Liebling & Price, 2001). It has, however, been contended that if prison staff know and understand precisely their role around both security

and rehabilitation then this type of conflict would not arise (Cressey, 1959; Cullen et al., 1985; Coyle, 1991; Gilbert, 1997; Liebling & Price, 2001; Sparks et al., 1996).   However, the perceptions of prison staff to their dual role of security and rehabilitation have yet to be empirically tested in Scotland.   Paul Gendreau (1996) and McNeill et al., (2005) argued that prison staff who understand offender behavioural programmes have the ability to identify criminal behaviours and utilise pro-social attitudes and work collaboratively with prisoners, which is a more successful approach to rehabilitation than those who punish and display negative attitudes.

Co-production is a new concept to a penal environment, but it has been operating in the third sector for a number of years (Boyle & Harris, 2009).   Co-production is a construct in the community that focuses on four core values: assets – human capital, what a person brings to the table, such as skills, actions and attributes; reciprocity – two-way transactions, sharing, giving and taking; redefining work – in particular, unpaid employment such as volunteering in the community and bringing up children;   and, social capital – infrastructure requirements such as services to which the final recipient makes a valid contribution (Cahn, 2000, p. 24). Co-production establishes an equality of the economics of market and money, and the community and family, by operating at two levels, the individual and society, thus aiding social justice (ibid, 2000. pp. 23-29).   From a public services perspective,

> "co-production means delivering public services in an equal and reciprocal relationship between professionals, people using services, their families and their neighbours.   Where activities are co-produced in this way, both services and neighbourhoods become far more effective agents of change" (Boyle & Harris, 2009, p. 11).

John Alford (2009) examined how an organisation's administration and operational processes could be reorganised to make better use of client co-production and argued that it was essential, for co-production, to understand the needs of the client, and the organisation must be clear what they want from the client. Alford (2009, p. 206) gives an example around unemployment:

> "Where the goal is to get people to a job as fast as possible, then the strategies will focus on 'work first'. If the goal is to get people to a stable and sustainable job, then the strategy will probably focus on 'education first'."

To achieve the desired outcomes, it is necessary to create a plan that identifies the elements required to make it achievable and the issues that may block the plan, identifying the people and agencies associated with each element of the plan and developing a strategy to influence and integrate their systems and the requirements of the client (Alford, 2009). To ensure the effectiveness of co-production the right organisational structures also need to be in place. Jaworski & Kohli (1993, p. 65) argued that devolved decision making and a well-connected communications infrastructure enables independence in decision making for frontline staff to make judgements on the spot, coordinating answers to client's needs. Without these the client centeredness is hampered by organisational structures, as co-production requires relationships with clients that are managed appropriately, with staff able to share information on case histories and co-ordinate responses (Alford, 2009). Prison staff perceptions of organisational structures supporting, or otherwise, their role and work in the rehabilitation is an area that lacks depth in empirical research. It is therefore difficult to ascertain the level of intrusiveness organisational structures place on prison staff's relationship building to support rehabilitation.

Working together and offering a person-centred approach (Rogers, 1951) to rehabilitation and desistance, the SPS have developed, trained and started a 'throughcare support officers'[137] support team for prisoners through the gate for up to ten weeks, and have implemented the introduction of an asset-based approach to sentence planning, titled 'AIRMAPS', for short term prisoners, and Positive Future Plans (PFPs) for young offenders (SPS, Low Moss, 2014; SW, Scotland 2015; SPS-AR, 2017). The asset, person-centred approach is a participatory assessment framework called the Asset Inquiry Report[138] which enables the personal officer[139] (PERO) to develop a rapport with prisoners to co-produce effective plans with the case manager where the prisoner will take ownership and responsibility for identifying and implementing actions required to support a change from anti-social to pro-social attitudes and behaviours (SPS, Low Moss, 2014; SW, Scotland, 2015). While these initiatives are recent, evidence so far would indicate that the prison staff directly involved as throughcare officers are highly motivated and are learning new skills about partnerships and relationship building with external agencies. However, the remainder of the prison staff lack understanding of and engagement with the project (Cochrane, 2014). With regard to the 'AIRMAPS' project for short term prisoners, it would appear to have some structural issues with regard to limitations on time to undertake the interviews and to engage

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[137] BBC Scotland has learned the service stopped taking new referrals from 5 July, but those who were already taking part of the initiative would continue to be supported for the remainder of the 10-week period. The suspension will take full effect from 13 September.

- Throughcare prison support scheme 'cuts reoffending'

The scheme - which was rolled out across most Scottish prisons in 2015 - paired prisoners up with a Throughcare support officer (TSO) who helped them make arrangements for housing, medical provision and benefits. The TSOs would then continue to give guidance to those released from custody. Forty-one TSOs and three Throughcare managers will return to working within prisons over the summer.
https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-49100680

[138] A similar report is used in PFPs

[139] Almost four decades ago sentence planning and the personal officer role were introduced into the Scottish penal regime for long term prisoners, after a decade of tumult in Scotland's prisons (Scraton, et al., 1988; 1991[139]), and the Scottish Home and Health Department (SHHD, 1987a, p. 7) saw it as an opportunity to develop the prison officers role. Today personal officers role is described by SPS as ensuring positive engagement with offenders and contributing towards offender case management, ensuring compliance with relevant policies and processes.
http://www.sps.gov.uk/Careers/OpportunitiesintheSPS/The-Role-of-a-Prison-Officer.aspx

with prisoners and a lack of suitable accommodation to do the work (HMIPS – Barlinnie, 2016, p. 49). Similarly, with PFPs there are structural issues that need to be considered; multiple assessments of the young offenders for the same information for different agencies, lack of case information sharing, forms which are too long and taking too long to complete, the young person losing motivation, lack of staff, lack of training and lack of time to fit in with other duties (HMIPS – Polmont, 2016, p. 29).

Frontline prison staff are the key to the success of any new initiative and policy implementation (Hall & Loucks, 1977; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983; Gilbert, 1977). Co-production at its most effective requires the co-operation of the whole organisation with clear strategies required for implementation, high connectivity and, for frontline staff, the devolved authority to use their discretionary powers effectively. For prison staff to work co-productively, being empathetic and having the ability to challenge antisocial attitudes and behaviours in a positive and reinforcing manner are essential, while at the same time utilising the legitimacy and power of their office to facilitate change. The roles that prison officers are now being asked to undertake are similar to that of a probation officer (Paternoster et al., 1997; Bottoms & Rex, 1998; McIvor, 1998; Robinson & McNeill, 2008; Trotter, 2009). However, it could be argued that their training to undertake this role has a narrower focus and depth in comparison to that of a probation officer. In England and Wales, there is a junior post of Probation Service Officer with a one-year training course (HM Prison & Probation Service (HM-PAPS, 2017), while in Scotland, to become a Probation Officer, it is necessary to have a degree in Social Work (a four year course), although there are fast track courses for those who already have a degree in another discipline (HM-PAPS, 2017; University of Strathclyde, 2017). Training of prison officers is another area that lacks in-depth empirical research and in Scotland there is limited empirical research on the training

provided for new recruits to the prison service, therefore comparisons with other courses are limited to timescales rather than course content.

2.8   CONCLUSIONS

Throughout the latter part of the twentieth century the penal focus in Scotland has been on welfarism rather than punitivism.   The reasons for this have been argued as being Scotland's unique legal system, 'elite' policy networks and the distinctive civic culture.   The present Scottish Government's penal strategies have focused on community sentences and the desire to 'extend presumption against short prison sentences'[140] as being essential to reducing offenders being incarcerated.   However, in spite of these strategies the prison population in Scotland continues to rise (now considered overcrowded[141]) putting the system under pressure and reducing the rehabilitative work of prison officers, in particular the Throughcare project (see C 2, footnote 20 page 85).   For those incarcerated the SPS have stated through their policy documents that prisoners are to be at the centre of their rehabilitation strategy which takes cognisance of research on processes of desistance, purposeful activities and professionalising the prison officer's care role whilst separating the security aspect to be a stand-alone role.   What has not been empirically researched in Scotland is the perspective of prison officers to their rehabilitative role and their preparedness for this role through their initial training. Rehabilitation has been the remit of

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[140] Scottish Government Published: 17 May 2019 09:15 https://www.gov.scot/news/reducing-ineffective-short-prison-terms/
Order published to extend presumption against short prison sentences.
Extending the presumption against short prison sentences will encourage the greater use of more effective community sentences and break cycles of reoffending, Ministers have said.
[141] Prison Insider. 3 March 2019
The unwanted benchmark has been reached despite high-profile efforts to drive down prison numbers. The Scottish Government is poised to introduce a presumption against prison sentences of 12 months or less – up from the existing three-month limit – as part of a drive to cut the number of inmates. Two-thirds of Scotland's prisons are officially overcrowded. This bumper prison population just isn't sustainable. It's putting prison staff and inmates at risk.
https://www.prison-insider.com/en/news/ecosse-prisons-bursting-at-seams-as-inmate-numbers-pass-8-000

prisons for well over a century but it has always had a secondary role to security.   Research has highlighted that in times of stress through overcrowding rehabilitation and the individual needs of prisoners are relegated to an even lesser priority to maintaining control and security of the prison.

To work effectively rehabilitation, desistance and the GLM all require three factors, physical, sociological and psychological, to be in place for prisoners to have the personal commitment, along with external support, to recidivate and desist from a life of crime.   The GLM explicates that for a person to live a good life, they need to be loved, valued, to function completely and be part of a community, achieved through the acquisition of certain primary goods (see C 2, p. 72, footnote 13).   Research into rehabilitation and latterly desistance theories have highlighted the age/offending curve, relationships with positive influencers and prison staff, education, training, health and drug care, housing, self-reliance and self-efficacy.   Some of these specifics have been incorporated into the prison regime, such as supporting family and friends' relationships, prison officers building positive relationships, offering education, vocational training and employment and therapeutic programmes to address identified risks to society which could contribute towards attaining the primary goods for living a good life. The SPS's approach to rehabilitation seeks to incorporate processes of desistance, which is a unique approach in the United Kingdom.   How well the administration can incorporate these processes into a penal regime and how well staff are trained and interpret the policies[142] is, as yet, untested.   This research seeks to understand the perspectives of prison officers of their understanding of rehabilitation and desistance support for offenders; also, though their lens, what is or what is not and what can and cannot be incorporated into the regime and

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[142] See Chapter 1, Section 1.4 p. 15 Bevir, 2002

how the prison administration supports and trains them to implement its policies and

practices around rehabilitation.

CHAPTER 3:   METHODOLOGY: REASONS, RESULTS & REFLECTIONS

3.1   INTRODUCTION

The literature review examined the theories, history and social development of imprisonment and the critical role that prison officers have played in the criminal justice system with regard to rehabilitation. In Scotland the SPS, since their Organisational Review (SPS-OR, 2013), have introduced several policy documents that focus on rehabilitation of offenders and prison officer professionalisation and have proposed the division of the residential prison officer's role into two stand-alone roles, one security, the other care (SPS-PAR, 2014; SPS-VP, 2016; SPS-PA-FWC, 2017; SPS-POPP, 2018).   These policies outline the SPS's strategic approach to rehabilitation based upon processes of desistance within and outwith the confines of the prison system reminiscent of William Brebner's approach, some two centuries earlier (see C 1 section 1.6, p. 30; section 1.13, p. 63).   This approach places an increased importance on the caring role of the prison officer in supporting prisoners to desist from offending behaviour and ultimately reducing recidivism and keeping society safe.

Recidivism has remained high over many decades, despite the addition of rehabilitation of offenders to the prison officer's remit by Gladstone over 120 years ago (see Foreword, p1; C1, section 1.13, p. 63).   The prison officer's role has consistently been a custodial one, holding those sent for imprisonment securely and humanely.   The accompanying role that Gladstone assigned to prison officers has been a transient one, depending on who were or are influential in any one period of time, for example, according to religious outlook (in Scotland, Calvinism), political persuasion (depending on the party in power at the time) and latterly secular voices (in the third sector and media).   Thus, the prison officer's role has remained firmly a custodial one but has expanded and contracted with regards to

rehabilitation of offenders.   Latterly in Scotland the prison service's administration has taken cognisance of research on desistance (see C2, section 2.1, p. 76), the routes that offenders take from criminality.   The significance of this awareness has seen desistance theory incorporated into SPS corporate strategy, and operationally within the initial training of new recruits and continuous development of experienced prison officers, to implement an asset-based, co-production approach with prisoners, prison staff and other appropriate statutory and third sector organisations.   This thesis is seeking to understand multiple viewpoints of prison officers on their interpretations and experiences of supporting prisoners through rehabilitative work alongside their custodial duties.

Traditionally, the main focus of the prison staff's role has been security and care, with rehabilitation having a subordinate role.   There has always been a dichotomy between custody and care, which a number of studies have highlighted and supported, for example Thomas, 1972; Wilson, 2000; Triplett, et al., 1996; Stohr, et al., 1996; Long et al., 1996; Lasky et al., 1986 and Cheek & Miller, 1983.   A further issue that has to be considered is the way prison officers interpret policies and translate and develop those policies into practice. This was highlighted by McGuinness (2014) on the implementation of Community Payback Orders, and Tata (2007) who found that frontline operators, depending on circumstances, experiences and local conditions, ignore or adopt policy and construe it their way by finding innovative ways to be compliant.   Robinson et al., (2012) also noted a gap between the official line and the frontline interpretation of 'quality in practice'.   This accords with Bevir's (2002) assertions that policy interpretations may not always be what the policy makers intended.

By focusing my research on organisational factors that affect the prison officer's work on rehabilitation, I was be able to identify, from the prison staff's perspective, structural restrictions between security and rehabilitation, between policy interpretation and practice, and also the logistical influences of overcrowding and prisoner movement. This was a unique opportunity to observe at first hand the training of new recruits and receive prison staff's perspective of how the training, information, advice and guidance they have received, formally or informally, enables them to have the confidence, skills and ability, and the time, to offer rehabilitative support to offenders in Scotland.

3.2   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The literature review highlighted a gap in penal sociology knowledge, specifically around the perceptions of prison staff:

1   to their role in supporting prisoners to rehabilitate and desist from offending;

2   to how their prison administration and prison regime enables them to undertake rehabilitative work;

3   to how the training explains the purpose of rehabilitation of, and how to rehabilitate, offenders.

Therefore, the purpose of this research is to examine, through the lens of prison staff, their perspectives of their role in supporting prisoners to rehabilitate and desist from criminal behaviour by discovering:

1   How prison staff perceive their role in supporting prisoners to rehabilitate and desist from criminal behaviour, and the techniques they deploy, such as pro-social modelling,

to motivate prisoners to take up the opportunities available to them whilst in custody; for example, work, training, education and cognitive therapy programmes.

2   How the organisational factors (policy, practice and operational regime) affect the work of the prison staff around rehabilitation and desistance support.

3   How the organisation supports prison staff to carry out their work on rehabilitation and desistance.   This would include training that is formal or informal, internally or externally facilitated by contractors or consultants, or any other support that the organisation offers prison staff to undertake this specific aspect of their job.

This study will provide a valuable contribution to penal sociology on the reality from a prison officer's viewpoint what is feasible with regard to rehabilitation of offenders within the constraints of a highly logistical and hierarchical organisation whose primary focus is security. To undertake this study and answer the gaps in knowledge it was necessary to gain access to a penal environment and, as it has been noted by numerous criminology researchers, breaking down the resistance to what is perceived by prison management as a form of public scrutiny to which they are cautious and sensitive.   This was a delicate process, but I had already worked within the penal system so felt confident.

3.3   THE BEGINNING: NEGOTIATING IN EARNEST

Having worked for a Non-Department Government Body in several penal establishments in Scotland and having undertaken research for the Scottish Government with regard to Learning, Skills & Employability (LSE)[143], I considered that I had a reasonable understanding of the SPS's organisational structure and culture.   I also had a good network of colleagues in

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[143] Offender Learning: Options for Improvement published in January 2010, identified a number of key challenges for Government and public agencies and set out recommendations on how learning opportunities for offenders could be improved. A response to these recommendations was published in July 2010. This outlines a new approach to delivering effective and integrated opportunities for young people and adults in or leaving the justice system to learn, develop skills and increase their employability.   http://www.employabilityinscotland.com/media/127019/Refreshed%20Skills%20Strategy.pdf

the SPS, the Director of Research and a number of Governors and Deputy Governors across the organisation. I had anticipated my fieldwork to be a comparative study in two or three prisons in Scotland with prison staff and prisoners and was confident of access as I had already set up pilot studies in two prisons with the support and approval of the Governor and Deputy Governor respectively. At a meeting with the Chief Executive of SPS he gave me tacit approval for my research. However, when it was referred to the SPS Ethics Committee I was refused access with no reason given. It took several months of negotiating by my supervisor and advocacy through my personal network before access was approved by SPS to commence my research in one prison in Scotland, but was strictly limited to prison personnel, no prisoners could be included in the study. Thus, my empirical research focus became a case study approach comparing a representative sample of prison staff's shared and varied perspectives that places the data in a real-life environment.

The study was undertaken is a new build prison opened in December 2008. I had previously interviewed the Director in early 2009 for the Scottish Governments' research on LSE in prisons, 'Options for Improvement' (SG-OFI, 2009). The prison is a Category C prison that holds convicted and unconvicted male offenders with a capacity of 700, plus 96 reserved places. It identifies itself as a 'Learning Prison' where prisoners can address their criminality and improve their opportunities to desist from crime through learning. The prison provides forty hours of out of cell activities weekly for prisoners which include education, trades, work and specific programmes that address criminality and addictions. An initial meeting was held with the prison's Director in August 2015 to whom I outlined my research project and my intention to use an appreciative approach and my desire to video and audio record parts of the fieldwork. At this meeting I provided the Director with my Protection of Vulnerable Groups certificate. The original goal of the research had been to include prisoners'

perceptions of prison officers and rehabilitation in one-to-one interviews and observation of prison officers facilitating offender behavioural programmes group work. However, at the preliminary interview with the prison Director, it was made clear that whilst SPS HQ had given permission for the research fieldwork to be undertaken with prison staff none could be undertaken with prisoners. When I queried this restriction with the Director, it was made clear that this was an SPS HQ decision and it was final.

A further meeting was held with the Director and the Deputy Director where they discussed their new asset-based approach to rehabilitation, and they were keen to impress upon me three things: firstly, that the establishment was a 'Learning Prison' – their explanation was that learning took place in all parts of the prison; secondly, prisoners were guaranteed 40 hours out of cell activity every week; thirdly, they were introducing an asset-based approach to rehabilitation, although the staff had yet to be trained. I was informed that the prison administration were timetabling training of new recruits, in either November 2015 or January 2016, which was an integral part of my empirical research. At this meeting I requested a named person to be my liaison contact for the duration of the research. I was invited to the Senior Management Team meeting in October 2015 to give a short presentation on my proposed research and answered the few questions put to me. The Director and senior managers[144] approved the use of video recording of the focus groups and training of new recruits and audio recording of the interviews provided that all staff and new recruits gave their approval and this was included in my ethics and standards form (see Appendix 5).

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[144] All the SMT signed my ethics and standards form at the meeting and several agreed to be interviewed at a later date.

Post the SMT meeting, in the afternoon of the same day I held my first meeting with my liaison manager from whom I learned that the nine weeks training for new recruits would now take place in March 2016. I was therefore keen to make contact with the training manager who, I discovered, had only been in post three months and had no experience of working or training in a penal environment. The resultant relationship with the training manager proved to be a key aspect throughout my research. From the meetings with my liaison manager and the training manager and two ad hoc interviews with managers (whom I knew from other prisons) I decided on my purposive strategy to identify prison staff for my focus groups and interviews based on years of service and a representative sample of male and female officers from all areas of the prison in which they operated.

There followed several emails and several visits to the prison to organise logistical details, to provide letters of introduction[145] for the prison staff who were to take part in the research, to explain my research and the ethics and standards forms[146] and to gain permissions from Security for the use of video and audio recording. I was required to undertake one day Personal Protection Training followed later with a Key Training session by the Head of Security during which I was given a tour of the prison. At a meeting with the training manager I learned that the initial training for new recruits was now rescheduled for December 2015, so I urged my liaison manager to organise the focus groups prior to the training and rearranged the one-to-one interviews post-training. I then spent several meetings with the training manager working out what training I would be able to attend and considered as imperative to observe[147], influenced by the data collected and reviewed from the focus groups and ad hoc interviews with managers. As I had been given permission to

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[145] Appendix 1 Letter of Introduction
[146] Appendix 2 Ethics and Standards Form
[147] see Appendix 8 pages q-v Copy of training schedule for new recruits

video record the training the training manager's administrator was proactive in getting the relevant signatures for my ethics and standards forms. As my initial fieldwork design to answering my research questions was a comparative study of prison officer's views across several prisons, being a single case study prison, I had to rethink my approach and what it meant to the interpretation, validity and generalisability for penal sociology of my research for Scotland and internationally.

3.4 METHODOLOGY SYNOPSIS

This qualitative social study was conducted in one Category C prison in Scotland. The research is characterised as an ethnographic case study which employs an inductive approach to data-theory associations through a constructionist ontological stance and an interpretivist epistemological position.

An inductive analysis refers to approaches that primarily use detailed readings of raw data to develop and build concepts and themes by interpreting the data in a way that allows the theory to emerge. This is in contrast to the deductive approach to analysis which sets out to 'test if the data is consistent with prior theories or hypotheses' identified by the researcher (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 12). The inductive approach to this study thus takes an emic perspective that regulates the focus of the study rather than an etic one. An emic perspective is one of the trademarks of qualitative research because the objective is to study as much as possible about an experience directly from the prison staff who had the experience and who are able to describe it. In a study conducted from an etic perspective, the researcher is more likely to use quantitative approaches and to obtain data using validated instruments and other such approaches. A further option could have been to use both emic and etic

perspectives to enable the collection of the relevant raw data (Olson, 2016, p. 15).   However, I concluded that the data collected in this study was best conducted from an emic perspective through interviews, focus groups and observation.

3.4.1   CONSTRUCTIONIST ONTOLOGICAL STANCE

The study employs a constructionist ontological stance. Ontology is 'the study of being' (Crotty, 1998, p. 10) and 'raises basic questions about the nature of reality and the nature of the human being in the world' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 183). There are two main ontological stances, constructionism and objectivism. An objectivist ontological stance often condenses social entities and objective facts beyond human stimuli that have a reality external to social actors (Bryman, 2004).   Objectivism is regularly operated alongside deductive reasoning and positivist position in quantitative research. The constructionist ontological stance utilised in this study considers social phenomena to be perpetually Bevir, 2002; Parsons, 1960) which chimes with a constructionist approach to ontology. Constructionism implies that social entities 'can and should be considered social constructions built up from the perceptions and actions of social actors' (Bryman, 2004, p. 16), which it could be argued concurs with Elias's (1982) theory of 'the civilising process'. The close relationship between ontology and epistemology suggests that ontology 'is concerned with what exists, what is real' and epistemology is concerned with 'the ways in which what exists may become known' (Hughes & Sharrock, 2007, p. 31).

Epistemology, or the study of knowledge, is 'a way of understanding and explaining how I know what I know' (Crotty, 1998, p. 3) or the 'nature of the relationship between the knower or would be knower and what can be known' (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 201).   According to

Denzin & Lincoln (2005, p. 183), epistemological inquiry looks at the relationship between the knower and the knowledge and asks, 'how do I know the world?'.   Epistemology is concerned with providing a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we ensure it is adequate and legitimate (Maynard, 1994).   There are a number of epistemological positions, for example, positivism, critical realism and interpretivism.   According to Bryman (2004, p. 11), 'an epistemological issue concerns the question of what is (or should be) regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline' and stresses that one of the main issues is the 'question of whether the social world can and should be studied according to the same principles, procedures, and ethos as the natural sciences' which would lend itself to a positivist approach rather than an interpretivist, which this study adopted.   Thus, the participants' understanding is central to interpretivism.   The epistemological stance which underlies this research process directs the theoretical perspective, the researcher's choice of methodology and methods employed to collect data (Crotty, 1998).   In this study the theoretical perspective is interpretivism, the methodology ethnography and methods employed are interviews, focus groups and observation.

Schwandt (1994) claims that constructivism more generally was analagous with an interpretivist approach.   The interpretivist approach is commonly attributed to Max Weber and his notion of 'verstehen' meaning 'understanding something in context' (Holloway, 1997, p. 2).   That is to say, 'people create and associate their own subjective and intersubjective meanings as they interact with the world around them' and thus interpretive research 'attempts to understand phenomena through accessing the meanings participants assign to them' (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991, p. 5).   But, ultimately it has to be recognised that the researchers cannot replicate the experiences of the research participants (Charmaz, 2006) or

be unconnected from the phenomenon they are studying (Holloway, 1997). Weber claims that all social research is inherently biased, and complete neutrality and objectivity are impossible to achieve since the values of the researcher and the participants are always present (ibid, 1997). This has to be taken into account by being reflexive throughout the research process.

3.4.2 REFLEXIVITY, SUBJECTIVITY & LIMITATIONS

It is claimed that interpretive research needs to be reflexive (Holloway, 1997; Charmaz, 2006). The interpretive position suggests knowledge as a social and cultural construction and hence the researcher needs to take account of how their expectations and understandings will impact on the research process in order to decode the complexities of the multiple realities contained within the data. According to Levy (2003, p. 94) this is 'not in order to suspend subjectivity, but to use the researcher's personal interpretive framework consciously as the basis for developing new understandings'. By being reflexive in research it is about being honest and ethical in practice and assuming a position of impartiality (Ruby, 1980). When understanding reflexive practice, issues of power frequently come to the forefront. Aléx & Hammarström (2008, p. 170) refer to Foucault's and Bourdieu's studies which highlighted issues of power related to dominant discourses that permeate society and in particular the importance of uncovering discourses in everyday practices. They cite research interviews where both the interviewer and the interviewee will act in certain ways according to their perceptions of each other's power. This might result in the interviewer highlighting certain aspects of the interview, whilst repressing others. Issues relating to age, education, gender, ethnicity, theoretical position and so on may also influence the dynamics

of the interview.   To allay issues of power I used an Appreciative Inquiry[148] approach to interviewing and focus group questioning. This approach builds empathetic relationships with participants and their responses to unconditional positive regard are open, communicative, accommodating, trusting and attentive to the research being undertaken.

Reflexivity debates note that sociological observation is inherently subjective. A researcher's theory is a personal response to phenomena and as a social being he/she cannot rise above the realities of social life.   Therefore, it is recognised that the relationship between the participants, the fieldwork sites, and the researcher is not impersonal but often interpersonal, linked, and complex (Chiseri-Strater, 1996;   Harre, 1998; Ahern, 1999). Despite these limitations and subjectivity, the aim of this thesis is to understand the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of the prison officers who live it.   This goal is variously spoken of as an abiding concern for the life world, for the emic point for view, for understanding meaning, for grasping the actor's definition of a situation, for verstehen.

There are limitations with this study, for example the fact that the prisoner's perspective was not included. Therefore, because this study cites only prison staff's points of view and is theoretically marginalising and silencing other social actors' points of view, a 'crisis of representation' as argued by Hughes & Sharrock (2007, p. 245) is likely to occur as all findings are inherently exclusionary. This research therefore recognises that its results are based on the experiences and understandings of the participants only and the possible existence of differing perspectives and opinions is acknowledged.

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[148] Appreciative Inquiry – discussed further in Section 3.7

Researchers cannot escape subjectivity, so it must be embraced and accounted for (Holliday, 2007). Researcher subjectivity is something that the researcher has to be aware of before they enter the field whilst designing the data collection process and during the field work. However, Flyvbjerg (2006) argues that this is applicable to any type of research and Bennett & Elman (2010) stated that it is the validly and generalisability of the data that is more important. But of far greater importance is the selection of the case study, ensuring that it is relevant and representative of the phenomena to be studied (ibid, 2010). In the case of this research I would argue that the case study prison and the purposive selection of participants are relevant and applicable to the phenomena of my research, i.e. rehabilitation from the perspective of prison officers.

3.5   CASE STUDY: A PHENOMENON WITHIN A REAL LIFE FRAMEWORK

The design of a research project is a very important aspect of any investigation and has to be carefully considered, as the appropriate design will play an important part in the collecting of data, in analysing, validating, evaluating, and in interpreting and theorising of the results (Creswell 2007). The design has to suit the purpose of the research to enable the researcher to answer their theoretical questions (Layder 1993). Therefore, can a one case study provide the depth of data that provides a validity and relevance across a broader and larger penal landscape? Advantages, according to Yin (2009) and Stake (2008), come from the examination of the data within the context of which the phenomena is used, thus providing a rich, deep holistic story that can inductively describe the reality of the environment. However, there are criticisms and limitations. Moaz (2002) argues that a one case study research allows the researcher to be less rigorous in their methodology. This can be

countered by applying multiple research methodologies to data collection (Bennett & Elman 2010) as in the case of this research using ethnography techniques of observation, interviews and focus groups as well as desk research.

Case study research is often criticised on the basis that there are limitations to its generalisability. These limitations can be countered, for example, in that theories proposed can be transposed beyond the original locale or provide provisional truths or propositions that can be further tested (Gerring, 2007). It can be argued that the method generates too much data but this can be overcome by developing prior theories or asking specific research questions (see section 3.2). Case study methodology research does have strengths that can offset these perceptions of perceived lack of generalisability (Stake, 2008) because case studies operate with a restricted focus, providing in depth understanding and engagement with complexity of the phenomena. Case studies are focused in the lived reality of the participants that strongly relate to the experiences of individuals, small groups and organisations. The depth and complexity of case study data can illuminate the processes in causal relationships (Yin, 2009; Gomm, Hammersley, & Foster, 2000) and places importance on, and pays attention to, the context of social interaction and actors' opinions (Lincoln & Guba, 1979). Therefore, the transferability of research theories drawn from one locale to another is feasible. Lincoln & Guba (1979, p. 32) label this as 'fittingness', related to the similarities between the original locale of the fieldwork to other sites to which the conclusions are to be transferred.

It has also been stated that it is difficult to conduct the field work due to operational, organisational or logistical issues. However, if systematic, logical and practical processes are

optimised these can be mitigated against (Yin, 2009; Stake, 2008). To overcome these issues, I worked closely with the liaison manager and training manager to work alongside the prison routines and accommodated their scheduling into my fieldwork timetable.   Thus, the case study prison and participants, and using multiple ethnography techniques, provided this research with a rich, deep vein of data collected from observation and video recording of focus groups and new recruit training, from semi-structured one-to-one interviews with audio recordings and from numerous ad hoc conversations as I moved around the prison and, finally, from internal documentation provided by senior managers and external HMIPS reports.

3.6   ETHNOGRAPHY: BECOMING PART OF THE FURNITURE

Ethnography is the study of social interactions, behaviours, and perceptions that occur within groups, teams, organisations, and communities and, for this study, teams of prison staff and managers in a 'learning prison'.   The fundamental goal of an ethnographical study is to provide holistic insights into perspectives and actions, in the natural environment of the inhabitants, through the collection of data during detailed observations, interviews and focus groups.   Thus, the task of the ethnographer is to document the culture, the perspectives and practices, of the social actors in the chosen environment (Hammersley, 1992).   Therefore, my aim was to become 'part of the furniture' and to understand the way individuals and groups view their work and their working environment.   In developing ethnography in a prison environment, it is necessary to understand and communicate that each prison is unique, it has its own environment where the staff, culture, regime vary and where forms of doing and knowing are differentiated (Drake, Earle & Sloan, 2015).

My decision to use an ethnographical approach was encouraged by the work of other researchers who appeared to me as having a pragmatic but reflexive approach to ethnography, for example Crawley (2004), Jewkes (2011), Piacentini (2004, 2007, 2009) and Crewe et al., (2008), and for me the time spent observing, listening and talking formally and informally to prison staff, described by DiIulio (1987) as "soaking and poking", was a rewarding experience. My ethnographical approach included one-to-one semi-structured interviews, as well as a number of informal corridor discussions with passing prison staff and managers, focus groups and observation. Ethnography is all about providing oneself with the invisibility cloak of an 'insider' so that one can listen to the narratives and observe the actions of the objects of the research – Geertz (1973) describes this as "thick description". It involved constantly checking the radar to review the signals through observation, note taking, recording and questioning to examine the detail in the data the prison staff were providing, and in critically determining that it aligned to the purpose of my research (Van Maanen, 1988; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995).

A further technique I employed with participants was an 'appreciative' and 'empathetic' approach (see, sections 3.7 and 3.8) to questioning. This, I believe, was significant in obtaining the information and data necessary to answer my research questions. I believe that this approach took away the suspicion (Lee, 1995) that I, the researcher, was there to find out the problems and seek out negative perceptions from the prison staff. I believe it also reduced management anxieties about my being in their prison, poking around looking for their weaknesses (DiIulio, 1987) and made it easier to have open and relaxed conversations about the rehabilitative work in the prison.

One drawback was that I had no control over who volunteered for the focus groups and one-to-one interviews with regard to frontline prison staff and was only able to provide several copies of a letter detailing my research for the liaison manager to place in the dookets of the prison staff.   I was able to arrange interviews with managers myself, either by email or in passing in the corridor, and the majority with whom I made contact were willing to take part in the research.   To try and ensure that the prison staff were a representative sample from across the prison, I provided the liaison manager with a list of demographical requirements. For example, number of years of experience working as a prison officer, mix of male and female and from as many departments and units across the prison[149].   This was important in my ethnographic research to obtain an holistic sample as possible of the prison staff.

During the focus groups (see section 3.10) I learned that the only training around rehabilitation that the prison staff receive in this prison comes at the initial training of new recruits.   Thus, it was an imperative to observe the training to enable me to answer parts of my research question on how the organisation supported prison staff to carry out rehabilitative work with prisoners.   Working with the training manager to decide on what to observe was not without some difficulty, as a title of 'a workshop' did not necessarily give any clue as to what was being taught and there were no comprehensive training manuals to review[150].   The   decisions on what to observe were partly dictated by what prison administrators were willing to allow me to observe and video record, what was relevant to my research and preliminary scoping of the data from the focus groups.   For each session

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[149] During the preliminary meetings with senior managers I learned that the frontline prison staff had no experience of working in any other prison in Scotland. When I queried recruitment strategy, I was informed that was the company policy. This is in contrast to the majority of managers who had years or decades of working in prison in Scotland or England

[150] See Appendices 8 p q-v Initial Training timetable

that I observed and video recorded (see Appendix 8), I requested from the facilitator a copy of their notes.

In qualitative research it is important to gain not only legitimacy and trust of the participants but also but also validity of the data collected which is obtained through employing the various methodological processes to data collection, observation, interviews, focus groups, desk research, audio and video recordings. These objectives were achieved by the use of an appreciative approach to questioning, as mentioned above, with interviews and discussions conducted in a positive manner.

3.6.1   TRIANGULATION

Data triangulation is an essential tool within ethnography as a means of validation of findings requiring the researcher to collect data "from all sources and in all ways as best fits the purpose" (Brewer, 2000, p. 76).   Triangulation also serves to clarify understanding by distinguishing the diverse ways the phenomenon is being seen, (Denzin, 1978; Silverman, 2006).   This investigation is no exception.   Developing an in-depth understanding of the ways in which prison staff's attitudes, experiences, working practices combined within the context of the wider penal system regarding the rehabilitation of offenders requires a methodological triangulation (Denzin, 1970)[151] if the diverse structural, situational and developmental concepts are to be consolidated into an holistic, coherent, valid study.

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[151] Types of Triangulation; Denzin (1970) extended the idea of triangulation beyond its conventional association with research methods and designs. He distinguished four forms of triangulation:
1. Data triangulation, which entails gathering data through several sampling strategies, so that slices of data at different times and social situations, as well as on a variety of people, are gathered.
2. Investigator triangulation, which refers to the use of more than one researcher in the field to gather and interpret data.
3. Theoretical triangulation, which refers to the use of more than one theoretical position in interpreting data.
4. Methodological triangulation, which refers to the use of more than one method for gathering data.

To provide validity to ethnographic research the use of triangulation as a method to compare and contrast data collected from different research methodologies offers a wide-ranging insight into the phenomenon under study. Triangulation of data increases the validity of the data and provides validation that the mechanics of the methodology employed by the researcher did not bring about or influence the conclusions (Jupp et al., 2000). However, Flick (2007) argues that triangulation is not a device of validation but an alternative to validation through the amalgamation of multiple methodological processes, perspectives and observations in a single study as a strategy that enhances the rigour, extent of the complexity, depth, intensity and fullness of the study. However, Bloor (1997, p. 39) cautions that cognisance should be taken in triangulation of data of the variations in the 'personal perspective in one-to-one interviews and the collective perspective from focus groups'. A significant feature of this research is the use of video recordings of the focus groups and observation of training of new recruits through which the visual data could be triangulated with verbal data as a further independent source of information (Flick, 2004). As previously stated I employed an appreciative approach to questioning during my ethnographical research as I considered it an important tool to build trust and legitimacy within the prison environment. The next section provides the justification for that decision.

3.7   APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY AS A MODE OF STUDY

Appreciative Inquiry (AI) has its foundations in the conceptual/ontological position of social constructionists, who work from the premise that language, knowledge and action are inextricably linked (Gergen, 1978; 2009). Cooperrider (1986), through AI, was seeking to challenge the problem-oriented approach often applied by action researchers; he presents

AI as 'generative in theoretical terms' and 'a way of being with' and 'directly participating' in the 'organisations we are compelled to study' (Cooperrider, 1986, p. 17). Cooperrider and Srivastva (1987) argued that the problem-solving approach which steered most social science action research at the time created more problems, was undoubtedly counter-productive and stifled inventiveness (Bushe, 2011). AI, I contend, is complimentary to my chosen methodological framework of an ethnographic case study which employs an inductive approach to data-theory associations through a constructionist, ontological stance. To support this 'grounded, generative, participative, mode of study Cooperrider & Srivastva (1987) designed a four stage model for social science researchers to utilise AI in action research.

3.7.1 THE APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY MODEL

The general outline of the AI approach is the four 'D' methodology. At its core is the unconditional positive question that strives to identify what works best (discovery), allowing the participants to present their ideas and aspirations (dream), to create a new perspective (design), and implementation of the new design (destiny) (Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987). Throughout the latter part of the twentieth century, a school of 'positive thinking' has produced a number of constructs that focus on the positive to bring about social change through research, for example on Asset Based Community Development (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993), Solution-Focused Therapy (de Sharzer, 1985; Molnar & de Shazer, 1987) and Positive Psychology (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi, 2002). At its heart AI adopted what Matza (1969) argues is the role of the researcher, to be curious and understand the social reality of those who reside there, and Liebling, et al., (1999) concur that AI does espouse this approach.

3.7.2 APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY STRENGTHS

The AI methodology encourages participants to narrate the positive experiences of their reality with confidence and trust rather than justify or distort the reality of their poorest experiences for fear of being reproached (Barrett & Cooperrider, 1990; Liebling et al., 1999; Liebling & Price, 2001). The appreciative approach to questioning creates an environment of empathy, genuineness and acceptance between the interviewer and interviewee (Rogers, 1959; Elliott, 1999), carefully focusing the unconditional positive questions (de Sharzer 1985) on positive practices. Bushe (1995) and Cockell & McArthur-Blair (2012) attest that people react affirmatively when information is sought and shared on what is the best of each other. This is validated by Liebling & Price (2001, p. 6): 'it was through AI that we were able to discover new and valuable ways of looking at the work of prison officers'. Robinson et al., (2012, p. 3) also found that a constructive approach 'rendered visible aspects of contemporary probation culture which, we believe, would have remained hidden had we not chosen to explore quality through an appreciative lens'. Besides bringing to the fore experiences that may have otherwise remained hidden the AI approach leaves participants sanguine, optimistic and confident post interviews and focus groups.

The AI approach generates wellbeing, with participants 'upbeat' and 'positive', as described by Robinson et al., (2012, p. 17), the opposite of what they had experienced when using a problem solving method of inquiry which they found left participants 'despondent' and 'demoralised' (ibid, p. 17). Liebling et al., (1999) and Crewe et al., (2011) were encouraged by AI's inclusivity, building empathic relationships with participants, who overcame their self-consciousness of speaking about their achievements, and their responses to unconditional positive regard were open, communicative, accommodating, trusting and attentive to the

research, which was also highlighted by Robinson et al., (2012).   However, there are limitations to AI that have to be taken into consideration.

3.7.3   APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY LIMITATIONS

Limitations commonly focus on the fact that positive experiences are collected at the expense of the negative from participants' narratives and that AI does not take cognisance that what is positive for some may be a negative for others.   According to Oliver (2005, p. 209) AI promotes 'experiences of joy and pride and collaboration will be encouraged' whilst 'discomfort, challenge, disagreement, evaluation and critique [are] avoided'.   This struggle between AI and problem-solving approaches to social research has built up perceptions that this is a dichotomy, a polarisation between positive and negative, good and bad, right and wrong (Oliver, 2005).

However, social constructionists contend that behind every positive image lies a negative one (Fineman, 2006) and AI academics claim that behind every negative image lies the positive (Bright et al., 2011).   It has been suggested that the focus on the positive during the first stage of the model (discovery) stifles important and meaningful discussions on negative issues and experiences of participants (Egan & Lancaster, 2005; Pratt, 2002; Reason, 2000). Oliver (2005, p. 207)   argues that the positive dogma of AI is what gives meaning to the dialogue and there is an 'a priori assumption' that the rules invoke loyalty to the 'positive'. By focusing on the positive it is pre-judging the language content and for a social constructionist perspective language cannot be pre-judged as it is 'contextual, emergent, partial, multiple, and negotiated with and between participants.'   Thus, the assumptions to the limitations of AI are that it is 'a priori', focuses on the positive and limits the content,

interpretation and analysis of the data and participants' holistic experiences of a particular phenomenon.

Other possible limitations are concerned with the four-stage model and whether social action research has to employ all four stages of the AI methodology to data collection and maintain rigour (Robinson et al., 2012). Robinson et al., (2012) only utilised the 'discovery' and 'dreaming' stages, as they considered that the latter stages would not be appropriate to their research in light of the changes that were soon to be implemented within the probationary service[152]. As well as these perceived limitations there are other critiques of AI, that is it technically difficult to sustain a 'positive' approach and there are those who contest the reliability and validity of the data.

3.7.4   CRITICISMS OF APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY

Critics cite a number of issues with the AI approach; for example, technical concerns if the approach is used tentatively (Liebling et al., 1999; Bushe, 2011) or if the interviewer is unable to sustain the appreciative perspective (Robinson et al., 2012), that it is not always suitable for social research and that it ignores the negative experiences that are fundamental to social reality (Miller et al., 2005; Reason, 2000).

Cooperrider and Srivastva (1987) argued that the problem-solving approach which steered most social science action research at the time created more problems, was undoubtedly counter-productive and stifled inventiveness (Bushe, 2011). Scott (2014, p. 30) has argued that the AI claim that it provides 'a fuller account of prison experience than critical research'

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[152] The probation services were being moved from public sector provision to private sector provision, and they did not want to disillusion staff with false hopes for the future. (Robinson et al., 2012)

is defective, asserting that both the approach and aims of the methodology are compromised because in AI the 'reality of the situation is replaced by a projection of what could be, not what is, the mythical rather than the real'. It is thus unable to provide the true 'reality' but one that is 'repackaged and reinvented'. Scott (2014, p. 30) goes further and contends that all the AI approach does is promote the 'interests of the powerful' over the powerless and suggests that AI does not uncover the realities of 'subjugated' groups. Fitzgerald et al., (2010) on the other hand counter these arguments by stating that problems and issues do emerge and are acknowledged, and Johnson (2011) identified that the propagative potential of AI comes from pursuing and acknowledging the positive and negative realities of the situation.

Pioneers of AI, who have strived to integrate the appreciative approach into social research, continue to be challenged as to the validity and reliability of the data suggesting that appreciative research is inferior to problem solving research (Reed, 2006). This can be a positive experience for the participant and leave them feeling appreciated, valued and motivated, as opposed to wary, defensive and distrustful (Liebling et al., 1999; Liebling et al., 2001; Cowburn et al., 2010). Robinson et al., (2012) make a subtle but noteworthy point in favour of an appreciative method of interviewing. It is the responsibility of all researchers, with regard to the ethics and standards code of research, not to harm their participants in any way, physically or mentally, and by utilising an appreciative mode of study they have a positive effect as opposed to a negative, harmful effect, caused by using a problem-solving approach. Despite that positive aspect of the appreciative interview, much of the criticism levelled at AI is that the negative experiences of participants are diminished to insignificant narratives of little value (Egan & Lancaster, 2005). Yet, there are a number of studies that have refuted this allegation and which have highlighted that the negative is far from ignored

(Liebling et al., 1999; Liebling & Price, 2001; Cowburn et al., 2010; Fitzgerald et al., 2010); it is reframed (Elliott, 1999; Robinson et al., 2012) but not allowed to become the dominant feature (Liebling & Price, 2001).

3.7.5   RAISON D'ÊTRE OF THE USE OF APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY

The constructivist/ontological approach supports the application of AI methodology as it allows the researcher to encourage the participants' narrative in a conversational, informal manner and this then reveals various perspectives.   Each perspective that contributes to the dialogue can offer insight into the phenomenon being researched.   My experiences of an AI approach is that it supports one's legitimacy and allows the participants to feel part of the research by being involved and, indeed, proud of what they have achieved whilst at the same time expressing, in a safe environment, what could not be achieved because of barriers such as time, the administration of the prison regime and staffing levels, and restrictions on knowledge and understanding of what rehabilitation means in a penal environment.   There is ample evidence that putting participants at the centre of research provides a deeper ontological, hermeneutic understanding of the data than does a critical approach.

 An appreciative lens can, and does, bring forth negative experiences, but it is by investigating them supportively that a fuller, more rounded picture emerges.   Bushe (2012, p. 13) argued that 'social constructionists do not believe that any theory or method is about 'the truth' (including social constructionism) but, rather, that every theory and method is a human construction that allows for some things to be seen and done and for other things to be overlooked or unavailable'.   By taking a constructivist approach, AI allows researchers to promote dialogue and discussion around a phenomenon, which then reveals various

viewpoints.   My research aim is to investigate and identify the reality of the perceptions of prison staff to one aspect of the work, the rehabilitation of offenders.   By interpreting their collective voices, stories, actions and observations, this will contribute to the understanding to prison sociology into rehabilitation implemented by prison staff.

3.8   EMPATHY: AT ONE WITH THE PARTICIPANTS

Empathy is an important skill for the ethnographer as it helps to build relationships, check understandings and allows one to understand the participant's frame of reference;   it also facilitates dialogue by focusing on their perspectives (Egan, 1986).   Empathy is important to sustaining relationships within qualitative research, in particular when utilising an AI approach to interviews and focus groups where it is necessary to maintain a positive outlook throughout the period of data collection (Liebling et al., 1999; Bushe, 2011; Robinson et al., 2012).   Empathy shapes the researcher-participant relationship and its intrinsic effects on building rapport and gaining trust, with the importance of boundaries that are not barriers but supports.   One impact of empathy and the relationships of trust placed in me by participants was that I became sensitive of my epistemic obligations that highlight the need that boundaries should not be barriers but supports.   The inclination for the development of friendships (or simulated friendships) arising out of trusting relationships due to the regular contact between researcher and interviewee can disrupt the   power balance present in research and is more likely to be in favour of the researcher (Duncombe & Jessop, 2002). Thus, it is important that empathy is not synonymous with friendship and avoiding fabricated or disingenuous friendship contributes to ethical research behaviour.

Using an empathetic approach to building relationships in interviews and focus groups also raises ethical issues with regard to genuineness, relationships, reciprocity and the commodification of participants' emotional feeling (Duncombe & Jessop, 2002, p. 119). The commodification of the skills of building relationships empathetically raises ethical questions regarding how far researchers are able to 'set the agenda' for the interview and to 'manage the consent' of the participants in disclosing information (Duncombe & Jessop, 2002, p. 119). These views are similar to those reported by Aléx & Hammarström (2008) on Foucault and Bourdieu's discourse on the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee and preferential analysis of the data. Similar ethical issues were raised by Scott (2012) with regard to AI, arguing that it promotes the interests of the powerful and subjugates the participants. These concerns can also have relevance for ethnographic observation where trust and supportive foundations are built between researcher and participants through which disclosures are shared in an environment of safety. However, a safe environment may not necessarily be 'safe' for vulnerable participants who are not fully cognisant of the implications of the research and the researcher may be intrusive and 'run the risk of breaching the interviewee's right not to know or reflect upon their own innermost thoughts' (Duncombe & Jessop, 2002, p. 112).

Empathy is a learned skill of identifying with experiences which, in turn, can be used to communicate and understand others' experiences and emotions (Wispé, 1986; Liebling, 2001; Halpern, 2003; Webster, 2012). Rogers (1980, p. 142) describes empathy as 'being with the person'. My approach was to centre on the participants, with careful use of language that reflected their needs and preferences, by maintaining eye contact[153], by

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[153] A sign that I was giving my complete attention to them, signalling that I am alongside them, not superior but analogous.

listening without being judgemental and absorbing their narratives, emotions and aspirations (Egan, 1986). To be empathetic involved detaching myself from my own world and immersing myself into the world of the prison staff and new recruits and accepting what they said, even if it did not fit with my own social and cultural values[154] (Wertz, 1983; Ioannidou & Konstantikaki, 2008). It was important that I was constantly checking that what I heard, observed and interpreted had the same meaning as the participants' perspective and not my own (Creswell, 2007). It therefore involved a process of constant checking and reframing (Egan, 1986; Cooperrider, 1986).

My empathetic approach, I believe, gave the prison staff and managers confidence to trust me and not consider that I was trying to find fault. Testimony to that can be found in the fact that a number of participants thanked me for listening to their stories and making them feel they were trying to do a good job. Building that empathetic relationship started in the focus groups and from there word spread throughout the prison, according to my liaison manager, that speaking with the researcher was a positive experience. Empathy, therefore, is an important skill for the ethnographer as it helps to build relationships, check understandings and allows one to understand the participant's frame of reference; it also facilitates dialogue by focusing on their perspectives (Egan, 1986). The combination of ethnography, AI and an empathetic approach to my fieldwork, I believe, afforded a depth of detail to the data that demonstrated the reality of a prison officer's role and rehabilitation in a penal environment. My research was further enhanced by the use of video recordings of focus groups and observation of the initial training of new recruits and audio recordings of the interviews with prison staff and managers.

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[154] For example, faced with a negative attitude to prisoners by a few prison staff, it was essential I did not show any non-verbal or verbal signs of disapproval.

3.9   VIDEO RECORDING IN A PENAL ENVIRONMENT

The use a video recorder for the focus groups and for the observation of the initial training of new recruits, I believed, would provide an additional lens to my fieldwork and provide corroboration and authentication of my handwritten field notes.   My research, therefore, was enhanced by video recordings of five focus groups and over eighty hours of the initial training of new recruits[155].

The use of video recording in my ethnographical research in a penal environment added substantially to the data obtained from my field work notes.   I had previous experience of video recording evidence for vocational training qualifications and considered that it provided a depth of detail that note taking of the observation could not, for example with regard to body language, participation and group dynamics.   Visual recording is a well-established approach in anthropology, education and medicine; there is now videography that is used in qualitative purposive research to interpret phenomena (Knoblauch & Schnettler, 2012).   However, I was not using the camera lens as the main tool for collecting data but as an additional eye to verify and validate my written notes and elucidate important pieces of data as I transcribed.   I was then able to review the recording more than once to ensure that I had fully grasped the importance of what had been said, especially since this involved deciphering the local dialects of, and language used by, prison staff.   The compilation of valid data has to be the primary objective when recording ethnographical phenomena and scrupulous analysis of the data is essential, and the video recordings

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[155] There was only one two day session that I was not allowed to record as it was possibly a breach of copyright of a particular cognitive behavioural programme purchased by the prison.

provided me with an additional lens through which I was able to compare it with my written notes allowing an effective evaluation on which to form my conclusions.

There are technical issues that have to be considered in the use of such technology. For example, the camera should not be intrusive and create a diversion from the events and, ethically, the researcher should not try to manipulate the environment or the participants by altering the normal or natural setting of the activity or event as this might influence outcomes and invalidate the data (Rosenstein, 2002; Knoblauch & Schnettler, 2012). In a focus group situation where one is facilitating, asking the questions, encouraging answering, listening and watching, while at the same time taking notes, all this requires a great deal of concentration, effort and memory power and I would argue that the extra lens supported my field notes and augmented and added validity to the data collected. Ultimately, the results gained were worth the effort of getting permission, the waits at the gate for security checks again and again to confirm that authorisations had been granted, allowing extra time to ensure everyone was willing to be recorded and diligently asking them to sign my ethics and standards form, the setting up of equipment and the hours it took to review and transcribe the data.

Using a camera for ethnographical research in a penal establishment for research is rare and it has provided my research with density and depth of data, and the nuances of how prison staff react to questions and each other in a group setting added that finer detail; for example, the length of silences and their facial and body language. On the whole the prison staff reacted positively to the camera and being an observer, and also filming, did incur risk; for example, the 'Hawthorne Effect' of people over- or under-reacting (Gold, 1958; Parsons,

1974; Olsen et al., 2004), which did occur in the training of new recruits as one facilitator reacted like a startled rabbit in the headlights and another gave a star performance.   All of which did not go unnoticed by the new recruits as I listened to their conversations during the breaks.   Overall, though, the facilitators were very helpful and willing to participate.   Only once was I asked to turn off the recording by new recruits during a tea break when they were discussing their training and a particular facilitator.   It was essential to ensure that the data is secure and to reassure people that only I, the researcher, would have access to and would review the data which, in retrospect, I should have taken a longer perspective of with regard to the additional information contained in the recordings which may have extended penal knowledge further in Scotland in areas outwith the areas of my research questions.

3.10   FOCUS GROUPS: INTRODUCTORY TO THE CASE STUDY PRISON

Focus groups have a myriad of perceived formats, such as social events (Goss & Leinbach, 1996), organised discussions or interactions (Kitzinger, 1994; 1995), that aim to explore a specific set of issues (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005).   Focus groups can provide numerous perspectives on the same topic (Gibb, 1997), far more than would individual observation and one-to-one interviews, according to Morgan & Spanish (1984).   Powell & Single (1996, p. 499) define a focus group as:

> "a group of individuals selected and assembled by researchers to discuss and comment on, from personal experience, the topic that is the subject of the research".

Focus groups as a research technique have advantages, and also disadvantages. It has been suggested that focus groups can scope out areas that other research methods cannot (Kitzinger, 1995; Krueger, 1996).

The key distinction between focus groups and interviews, according to Kennedy, Kools and Krueger (2001), is the rich data that is produced from the interaction between group members. It is argued that focus groups provide a broader, more detailed data which emerges through a group interaction process (Lewis, 1992) and a richer and more complete understanding of the phenomenon under examination (Asbury, 1995; Krueger, 1996). Lederman (1990) argues that the synergistic interaction which takes place between participants in focus groups generates more than the totality of individual inputs from interviews. It has been noted that people reveal sensitive material when they feel safe, relaxed and engaged with like-minded individuals. Conversely, people may be intimidated by a more dominant individual (Merton & Kendall, 1946; Fern, 1982).

It is argued by Morgan & Spanish (1984) that the settings of the group sessions are 'unnatural' and not a substitute for the more 'naturalistic' participant observation. Others contest that focus groups are organic gatherings where participants can develop concepts that come to the fore in the discussion or counter these concepts, or suggest new ideas of their own (Krueger, 1994). However, Kitzinger (1994; 1995) considers that the benefits to the participants to articulate and question each other allow them to evaluate their own understandings and experiences. The facilitator has to be aware of their own influence (Griffith et al., 1998), group dynamics and not allow one person to be dominant[156] and be mindful that these are work colleagues who rely on each other for support (Frey & Fontana, 1991).

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[156] This unfortunately happened in my focus group with senior prison staff and it took considerable skill, energy and motivation to break their dominance in an empathetic way and include the rest of the group.

Information can be collected in different formats; written, verbal (recorded) and non-verbal (observation) (Kitzinger, 1995). To facilitate a focus group, one has to be highly organised (Elliott & Associates, 2005), in an environment that is conducive to open discussion and disclosure and provides a safe place to talk, and it must also follow ethical guidelines (Homan, 1991). The participants must be able to answer the questions. Therefore, the questions have to be jargon free, to the point, each covering one topic, open-ended and non-threatening (Frey & Fontana, 1991). The number of questions being asked is also important. Eight is considered the maximum and the focus group should last no longer than 2 hours (Morgan & Spanish, 1984). Asking unconditional positive questions (Ludema et al., 2001) is often seen as an easy option for participants but that is not necessarily the case. People remember negative information more readily than the positive (Beckwé et al., 2013; Nolen-Hoeksema, 1991) and it was interesting to observe in the focus groups how long it took the prison staff to answer the positive questions. On occasions there were long silences[157] and this can feel uncomfortable for the participants, but it is a very important technique to allow them to remember something of importance that has been parked in the deep recesses of the mind (Merton & Kendal, 1946; Gill et al., 2008). Conversely, they may not want to 'blow their own trumpet' and it gives them time to get over the embarrassment of providing a positive story.

To ensure comparisons can be made across a number of groups it was important to be precise about my role, to follow the ethical standards required and, to use the same questions, in the same format, for all groups. The selection of participants for research ideally should cover a whole range of demographic criteria (Gibb, 1997), such as age, gender and length of

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[157] Some of the lasted nearly three minutes which is long enough to make people feel uncomfortable and thus break the silence

service.   Group size is important – less than 4 will not provide the deep detail being sought and more than 12 will make it difficult to control and have all the questions answered (Fern, 1982; Goss & Lienbach, 1996; Kitzinger, 1995).   For my focus groups I requested the following: five focus groups with a minimum of 6, maximum of 8 prison staff; groups consisting of prison staff with 7 years experience working in the prison (7 years being longest in this particular prison), with 5 years and with 3 years, and with senior prison staff who line manage the wings' staff, with the final group being new recruits once they had completed their initial training, and each articulating the organisation's gender balance which is roughly 40% female to 60% male.

The use of focus groups as the foundation and starting point of my fieldwork supported and informed my later methodologies of observation and one-to-one interviews. Post the initial four focus groups I reviewed the data from my field notes and video recordings to identify any anomalies, issues and points of interest that affect the rehabilitation of offenders that I could further explore and examine through observation and one-to-one interviews or informally in corridor chats.   There were other reasons for using the focus groups at the start of the field work.   Firstly, it gave me an opportunity to absorb the culture, group norms and atmosphere of the prison environment and observe the interactions of the prison staff with each other.   Secondly, I was able to introduce myself to prison staff to allow them to get to know me. They would be my advocates around the prison, but I had to be careful not to exert undue influence on them (Flyvbjerg, 2006) which may create unintentional consequences that could result in them only informing me of what they thought I might want to hear or what their managers wanted them to tell me (Kvale, 1995; Lincoln, 1995; Patenaude, 2004; Creswell, 2007; Chenial, 2011).

The focus group data provided me with an insight into operational activity and what was, and when it could be, possible to undertake rehabilitative work. The use of focus groups also allowed me to explore and become familiar with local, technical language used, and the acronyms used which, in large organisations, become part of the culture and language (Babbie, 1989; Frey & Fontana, 1991; Morgan & Krueger, 1993). I would also be able to identify the stage the organisation was at in the implementation of a programme (Morgan, 1988), in this case 'Unlocking Potential and Transforming Lives', the flagship policy of the SPS for rehabilitation of offenders. Finally, I would be able to observe what information or conversation was muted or censured within the group by reviewing the video recordings of each session. Thus, the focus groups were a crucial and essential part of my research strategy for data collection to answer to my research questions.

3.11 OBSERVATION OF NEW RECRUITS' INITIAL TRAINING

Part of my investigation was to understand how prison staff are trained to implement their secondary function of rehabilitation of inmates. It was therefore my intention to immerse myself into the training and build rapport with the new recruits. This enabled me to hold frequent informal conversations with them, gleaning information on their previous jobs, about their training, their aspirations and trepidations for their new career and why they had applied for this type of work. Being a 'participant observer' (Gold, 1958) I was by that time becoming part of the prison, often being greeted with a smile or with a handshake by the new recruits when I arrived and other prison staff and asking me, 'how's it going?'.

Overall, I observed and video recorded over 80 hours of training. There was only one, two-day workshop I was not allowed to record, titled GOALS, which is a franchised product that the prison had purchased and the facilitator considered it may breach terms and conditions

if I recorded it, although I was allowed to sit in the classroom to observe and take notes. In discussion with the training manager and security manager it became clear that my attendance at the Control and Restraint (CnR) Phase 1 and 2 was not a likely prospect as it was completed off site and would incur extra costs by the prison. I had already attended and taken part in the Personal Protection Training prior to starting my fieldwork and I was not unduly disappointed that I was unable to observe this part of the training, although it would have been interesting to review it from an appreciative, rehabilitative perspective rather than in terms of security and control. However, this was compensated for by the new recruits informally relating all that went on in the CnR training, as for them it had been highly motivating, indeed the best part of their training, and they believed that it brought them together as a team.

3.12 ONE-TO ONE INTERVIEWS AND INFORMAL TÊTE-À-TÊTES

Interviewing is an important tool in qualitative research and can be defined as a conversation with a specific focus (Berg, 2000), or as Loftland et al., (2006, p. 17) explain,

> "both an ordinary conversation and listening as it occurs during the course of a
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> social interaction and semi-structured interviewing involving the use of an
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> interview guide".

Interviews allow researchers the opportunity to identify what happens in reality when they are unable to witness the action first-hand (Burgess, 1984; Neyland, 2008). The use of semi-structured interviews enabled me to compare interview data across the participants and provided and allowed the participants to highlight what they viewed was important to them (Berg, 2007; Loftland et al., 2006; Neyland, 2008).

Semi-structured interviews enabled me to examine the perceptions, understandings and experiences of the prison staff on rehabilitation and desistance support for prisoners.   By asking a series of open-ended appreciative questions[158] I encouraged the prison staff to speak about those aspects of their work that they considered important and when during the daily operational activities of the prison regime they were provided with the opportunity to offer support to prisoners.   My previous observations of the initial training of new recruits and focus groups with experienced staff provided me with background data on which to conduct my interviews, as did the one-to-one interviews with the prison's Director and some 'of senior managers at the beginning of my fieldwork, which gave me an overview of their ethos, culture and aspirations around rehabilitation and desistance for prisoners.   I was therefore better able to understand how frontline prison staff perceive, and identify with, how informal learning on the job, support from colleagues and their own experiences prior to becoming a prison officer, influenced their support for offenders to rehabilitate.

Prior to asking my questions I gave an overview of my research, of my appreciative approach, of the importance of ethics and standards, form signing, confidentiality and permission to audio record the interview and the reasons for recording and note taking.   I also made sure that I checked a few logistical details to make sure I had the right person in front of me for interview, having learned from previous experience of interviewing people with whom I had no prior interaction.   My first questions were designed to focus interviewees' mindset on the 'appreciative,' reassuring them that I wanted to investigate their perceptions of the positive side of their role, what they considered to be good practice, what worked and why it worked.   This covered my first four research questions.   The following questions sought clarification on organisational factors and to answer my second research question, 'How do

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[158] Appendix 4. Questions asked in the one-to interviews

organisational factors for example: policy, control and order, overcrowding, affect the work of prison staff around desistance support?'. I was seeking to identify their perceptions, viz: is their job improving? Do they feel their contribution is valued? Are they more motivated? Is there a greater sense of pride in what they are doing? Conversely, from their initial responses, is the job more difficult and do they find themselves unable to implement the new paradigm shift? Are there technical issues, such as overcrowding or moving prisoners, that inhibit progress? Are there reasons as to why they may not have bought into the new regime; if not motivated, why? The remaining discussions related to answering my third research question; 'How does the organisation support prison staff in carrying out their work on rehabilitation, desistance and motivating prisoners to take up opportunities available in prison? This is to identify exactly what information, types of training, on the job or in their initial training, what support they receive for this aspect of their work role around care and rehabilitation. The last question: 'Do you want to ask me any questions?'. This is a catch-all question and gives the participants an opportunity to question me, the researcher, so that they feel part of the process and to give any additional information they consider relevant.

I formally interviewed frontline prison staff, senior prison staff and managers from across the various prison wings and departments, and new recruits, five months post completion of their training. The majority of my semi-structured interviews took place in 'the pod'[159], as it was colloquially termed, which was located in the middle of the large administration office surrounded by numerous desks. The room was glazed on three sides; it was, therefore, very conspicuous but private at the same time. However, on occasions, the exposure was a

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[159] The 'pod' is an oval shaped portable structure that had been erected, divided into two interview rooms, one of which was allocated to me for the duration of my research.

drawback as a couple of managers, spotting their staff being interviewed, knocked on the glass and gesticulated or opened the door and said,

"how is it going?"

or,

"don't forget you have to do such and such a thing before you leave."

Also, their colleagues would on occasions knock on the glass and make faces.   The room itself had poor lighting and no air conditioning which at times was difficult as one had to keep the door closed.   However, it was a good space to conduct and record an interview away from the wings and allowed the prison staff to concentrate for the most part on the questions being asked.

For the semi-structured interviews, I decided to use audio recording as I considered that the camera would be too intrusive in what were, ostensibly, private and personal conversations. When I am conducting an interview I always explain how I am going to conduct it and that it may include note taking to support the analysing of the information, or as an aide-memoire to seek clarification on something that has been said.   During the interviews I became conscious that some prison staff would stop speaking when I put pen to paper.   I therefore had to watch and listen carefully in the first minutes of the interview to their reactions and react accordingly myself.   Therefore, for some interviews, my note taking was minimal and written up post-interview and for others, the note taking took the form of a series of short memos.   I was conscious of not interrupting the flow of a conversation and wanted to maintain eye contact and watch for non-verbal clues which are important aspects of interviewing.   These interviews were augmented by the recordings which I transcribed post-interview.   The recordings were a valuable resource that provided clarity and validity,

including interpreting local dialects and sayings, but also prison language and acronyms which have their own meanings (Sykes, 1958).

Informal tête-à-têtes took place frequently and, if it looked like the discussion was going on for quite some time, I would ask them to sign my ethics form, but this only happened on two occasions.   Most of the tête-à-têtes were in tea rooms, corridors, the staff canteen or in offices, with groups of staff who were keen to discuss my research and offer their opinions of what worked well or what could work better if finances were available.   I had become familiar with the prison regimes, rhythms and culture and was acutely aware of staffing and the precise algorithms used for shifts and how prison staff were allocated to specific tasks. This gave me the knowledge to empathise with what they were able to achieve and drill deeper into their understanding of rehabilitation and desistance and what was possible to achieve in this particular penal environment under that regime.   My field notes and transcriptions of the interviews provided a deep, colourful picture of prison life for both those who lived there and those who worked there and the innovations, the positives, the negatives and the ethos of this 'learning prison'.

3.13   TRANSCRIBING, CODING & ANALYSIS

Data analysis in this research was similar to other qualitative studies based on identifying themes and categorising patterns of data collected from the focus groups, observation, interviews and documentary data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).   Furthermore, triangulation was used as a means of examining internal consistency among the participants from the focus groups, observation, interviews and documentary data as an assurance of the validity and reliability of the research.   I also employed an inductive approach to the analysis which is intended to aid an understanding of meaning in complex data through the development of

summary themes or categories from the raw data and data reduction. An inductive approach is bottom-up and codes are derived from the data and participants' words with *in vivo* codes used to code the data. These codes were built, modified and reduced in number throughout the coding process until saturation was reached. The audio and visual recording data was transcribed by myself as I considered that it would act as revision as well as placing me deep within the data itself. It also provided my research with confidence that the transcriptions were reliable (Kvale, 1989). I diligently took steps to increase consistency and reliability by listening several times to recordings and re-reading all transcriptions for accuracy (Kvale, 1996) and identifying themes and categories. I transcribed as literal an account as possible of the recordings by keeping the vernacular language and silences. Silences are important facets of focus groups and interviews in research and recording them when they happen is just as important as recording what has been said (Poland & Pedersen, 1998). Ethical issues and security also had to be taken into consideration. I gave each person a cypher so that they could not be identified and the downloaded recordings were stored with a security code (Drisko, 1997); the data was deposited on the University's secure computer system for the duration of my thesis.

The first data collected from the focus groups was reviewed and scanned for naturally emerging themes and ideas that were used to inform what to observe and generate questions for the one-to one-interviews. Similarly, the observation data was viewed and examined for comparative themes and anomalies from the focus groups which helped to refine the interview questions and collected additional data as means of dealing with coding conflicts or clarifying emerging themes in the data. Post interviews, I then began the transcription of all the audio, fieldnotes and documentation notes onto Excel spreadsheets. Data was transcribed onto columns of the spreadsheet (see Appendix 9). Each focus group,

specific training and individual interview was transcribed onto separate spreadsheets. During the transcriptions I noted recurring themes and coded them as they instinctively occurred as I transcribed the data to build up a coding framework. Saldaña (2009, p. 8) stated that,

> "qualitative codes are essence capturing and essential elements of the research story, that, when clustered together according to similarity and regularity (a pattern), they actively facilitate the development of categories and thus analysis of their connections".

To build up this coding framework I used an Excel spreadsheet (see Appendices 9-10) that was divided into three sections as per my research questions and, as I read and re-read the transcriptions and the primary codes, I constantly reviewed whether this data fitted my research questions.

Once the transcription had been completed and some primary codes assigned to the data I then re-read the data to check and compare and built a primary coding framework. I then re-read the transcripts noting any emerging sub-themes and coded them as secondary codes and repeated the process to seek any sub-themes and coded them with tertiary codes (see Appendices 9-10). There were a few pieces of data that received a quaternary code; this data was either saying something unexpected or it was outwith my research questions but nevertheless of interest. The final column on the spreadsheet was for my notes, memos or aide-memoires to help me keep track of ideas or further comparisons. Once the coding system was devised and implemented it did not remain static; it was heuristic and dynamic (Fuller & Goriunova, 2012). As I analysed the information, other meanings and relationships emerged and some became redundant or were subsumed into another code. Data reduction

is part and parcel of the analysis process; it helps to focus, sharpen, sort and discard, and facilitates the organisation of the data set so that conclusions can be drawn and verified (Miles & Huberman, 1994).   The reduction was undertaken in two ways through constant comparison and utilising the A-Z filter on the Excel spreadsheet that helped to highlight codes assigned that were too vague or where there was not enough data to validate or see any relationships within the main themes and concepts.   By the end of the coding I had 70 codes.

As mentioned, one tool used to identify relationships across core concepts was the sort A-Z filter facility on the Excel spreadsheet.   The A-Z filter, used on the primary code column, sorted the codes alphabetically and the associated transcription, secondary and tertiary codes remain in situ with the transcription and primary code.   Once arranged alphabetically all the data sets[160] were copied and transferred to folders to hold just the one primary data code.   This brought all the data together per the primary code, which was then re-read, and to analyse I then used Miles & Huberman's (1994, p. 69) questions, 'How do the codes and themes relate to each other?, and What is the big picture and how does it relate to each theme and code?'.   The A-Z filtering system was then applied to the secondary and tertiary codes to review and check for themes and relationships within these codes. This final level of analysis, systematically making associations across the themes, validating those associations, indicated that no further refinement could be made.   It was at this stage that I considered I had reached a theoretical saturation point (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) as a number of themes had emerged and the additional quaternary codes did not add any new thematic idea to the bigger picture and to answering my research questions.

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[160] Data sets included the focus groups, observation, interviews and documentary data

The method I devised for my coding and sorting allowed me to triangulate across all of my data sets. Triangulation of data increases the validity of the data and provides validation that the mechanics of the methodology employed by the researcher did not bring about or influence the conclusions (Jupp et al., 2000). Triangulation can be achieved by validating the data from multiple methods of data collection, for example, interviews or focus groups, and was further validated by multiple triangulation of all the data sets (Denzin, 1978; Hammersley, 2008). A further point to raise with regard to analysis of the data is the use of AI methodology in the files to collect data. This methodology was not part of the analysis process for two reasons. Firstly, my research questions did not specifically state that I was seeking only the positive perspectives of the prison staff to their role in the rehabilitation of offenders but that their overall perspectives were being sought. Secondly, to only highlight the positive would not conform to the constructionist interpretivist stance that I have taken for this analysis. Ontologically, it was about the nature and reality (Crotty, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) of the world of the prison officers. Epistemology is concerned with providing a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we ensure it is adequate and legitimate (Maynard, 1994). My rigorous and systematic approach to reading, transcribing, coding and analysing the large data sets enabled major themes to emerge that prison staff were at a disadvantage when it came to implementing their secondary role as rehabilitators of offenders.

3.14   SECONDARY DATA SOURCES, SECURITY AND ETHICS AND STANDARDS

My data sources accrued from reviewing empirical research that highlighted the relevant experts in the field of my subject area. It also gave me an opportunity to assess which

qualitative method would be the most suitable for my research fieldwork.   Neuman (1994, p. 72) stated:

"a literature review is based on the assumption that knowledge accumulates, that we learn from and build on what others have done".

The literature research helped identify gaps in knowledge, refine my research questions and identify its contribution and expansion to knowledge.

Secondary data included official documentation available on websites, such as the Scottish Prison Service, Scottish Government, Her Majesty's Inspector of Prisons Scotland, Private Prisons, internal policy and practice documents provided by the prison in which I undertook my fieldwork, and other sources which I considered relevant.   Strauss & Corbin (1997, p. 49) stressed the importance of secondary sources:

"an appreciation of the relevant literature can enhance sensitivities to subtle nuances within primary data, can support making comparisons with primary data and can help formulate questions utilised in interviews and observations".

Although I had previously had experience of prison environments, this immersion in secondary data brought out details that I was not aware of and enhanced my knowledge to the extent that my research questions in interviews and focus groups could be made more relevant and specific and also helped me identify that what was being said or observed was genuine, accurate and realistic.

The working rules in a prison environment are not the same as in the free society workplace (Sykes, 1958; Jewkes, 2002) and it is important that I, as the outsider, became familiar with them and acquiesced to them, complying with Economic Social Research Council (2006) Ethics and Standards in Research.   The security in my fieldwork prison started at the

electronic, glass gates where highly visible security involved a rub down search, and with x-ray machines to examine you and your bags and clothes. Egressing was much easier; one just went through the electronic scanner and the two glass electric gates. Internally, some doors required specific permissions via a security camera or a set of keys contained in a stout leather belt and chain[161]. The use of computers and mobile phones is forbidden and even carrying a metal teaspoon is not acceptable. I was given permission by the Director of the prison to take in video recording and audio recording devices for the purposes of my research. The Head of Security requested precise dates that I would be bringing in the equipment and the permission was in the form of a letter with the dates left at the gate in a large folder which the prison staff on duty checked.

My doctoral research is supervised by experienced academics in the field of Criminology and Penology, Professor Laura Piacentini (laura.piacentini@strath.ac.uk), Professor Neil Hutton (neil.hutton@strath.ac.uk) and latterly Dr. Daniel Horn (daniel.horn@strath.ac.uk .
Through their guidance I obtained approval from the University of Strathclyde Ethics and Standards Committee (No. 523) to undertake my research and compile appropriate participant ethics and standards forms[162]. Every effort has been made to conform to the ethical principles outlined in the ESCR (2006) regulations[163] and the prison's polices and practices on security and personal safety.

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[161] I was provided with my own keys and leather belt with key pouch

[162] Appendix 5. University of Strathclyde's Ethics Approval Form

[163] Appendix 6 ESCR six key principles of ethical research

3.15   CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has described and placed the study in context and has explained the conceptual and ethnography methodologies employed in collection of data to answer the research questions. Data collection was augmented by an appreciative/empathetic questioning style and video and audio recordings have provided the richness and depth of data to answer my research questions. I supported my work adhering to the ethical standards that are required of a researcher, by the University, and prison security requirements.   The research in the prison left me enriched with new insights and thoughts well beyond what I had envisioned when I set out on my research journey.   My study has provided a unique insight into a penal environment that is challenging and into the aspirations, motivations and constraints faced daily by prison staff to support offenders.

The results outlined in the following three chapters provide a detailed analysis and exploration of the perceptions of prison staff to implement rehabilitative support for prisoners when faced with a number of competing challenges, for example, the prison regime, recidivism, staffing, shift patterns, experience and management's expectations and aspirations.   Chapter 4 analyses prison staff perceptions of rehabilitation, whom they can and cannot help, whose responsibility it is to support prisoners and their instinctual understanding of the desistance journey.   Chapter 5 studies prison staff viewpoints on what impedes prisoners from desisting, what they consider are structural impediments and those imposed by the learning prison's regime.   Chapter 6 examines the observations of prison staff to their initial training and how it influenced their perceptions of prisoners, their preparedness to working on residential wings and learning how to support prisoners on the

job.   These three chapters analyse the perceptions of prison staff as to what is and what is

not feasible in the rehabilitation of offending in a penal environment.

CHAPTER 4   PRISON STAFF PERCEPTIONS ON THEIR ROLE IN REHABILITATIVE &

DESISTANCE SUPPORT FOR OFFENDERS

4.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the fieldwork observations of prison staff towards their role in

supporting prisoners to rehabilitate and desist from criminal behaviour.   The study analyses

prison staff perceptions of the prison regime and administration and their positive and

negative effects on rehabilitation. Prison staff explained how they learned their real roles and

responsibilities on the wings, after their training, where they discovered that prisoners, like

themselves, are not an homogenous group (Kauffman, 1988). Prisoners, they explained, had

certain attributes which manifest themselves within a penal environment, such as

selfishness, 'machismo' (Sabo, et al., 2001), a negative mindset about authority and a fatalism

as to their habituations of criminality and addictions (Sykes, 1958; Cohen & Taylor, 1972;

Toch, 1998).   Prison officers also, subliminally, ascribed prisoners other attributes through a

number of typologies.   These categorisations are significant, as this prisoner typecasting

determines a number of phenomena: attitudes towards prisoners, the support that

prisoners receive, forms of verbal communication used, relationship building and whether

prison officers believe that prisoners are worth the effort to rehabilitate.

Prison staff have their own principles, some instilled from previous work experiences

(Rutherford, 1993) and also through social class, education and their upbringing, having been

nurtured by their parents and social contemporaries (Elias, 1982; Crotty, 1998).   These

influences on prison staff accords with Bevir's (2002, p. 25)[164] decentred theory of

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[164] Bevir (2002) in his decentred theory of governance explicates that:

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December 2019   Jo Bailey-Noblett

governance, that their 'traditions and agency' affect how policies and directives are interpreted and delivered. (see C1 section 1.6, p. 30; section 1.13, p. 63). Other factors that emerged from the data were the length of service that prison staff have in this case study prison, a maximum 7 years, and the influence of management who, for the most part, had decades of experience working in prisons across Scotland and the England. This chapter details the prison officers' points of view on what creates offenders, who can or cannot be helped, their responsibilities and understanding of rehabilitation (and desistance) and whose responsibility it is to promote such. This chapter starts by looking at the demographics of this case study prison how this has a direct impact on the role of the majority of prison officer roles around the rehabilitation of offenders.

4.2   PRISON DEMOGRAPHY

The prison staff's experience of prison work ranged from a few months to a maximum of seven years. The majority of those participating in my fieldwork had five years and less experience and an explanation for this could be inferred from in this comment[165] by a prison officer during a one-to-one interview:

> "It seems they have a 5-year plan for staff, you come in, you spend 5 years doing
>
> that job and then go away, go and find a job somewhere else [166] – and there are
>
> not many staff here who are more than 5 years in here – we have been open

---

"The workings of a policy or institution depend on the ways various actors interpret the relevant directives. Because these responses are inherently diverse and contingent, reflecting the traditions and agency of the relevant individuals, the centre cannot have prior knowledge of the way any policy or institution will operate. Hence, the unexpected pervades political life: all policies are subject to unintended consequences that prevent them from perfectly fulfilling their alleged purpose" (Bevir, 2002, p. 25).

[165] Throughout this Chapter the dialogue in quotes and italics is as expressed by prison personnel during focus groups and one-to-one interviews. Also, in brackets are my queries asked to clarify a point raised or another voice which interrupts the main speaker in a focus group followed by a three-letter cipher.

[166] A dash – indicates where there was a break in the natural flow of the dialogue of the participant either a silence of 'erm' etc.

only 7 years and of the ones that started there is maybe 10 left. There are entire groups left – entire ITC[167] groups have left – one of the guys I work with, he is the only one left of his group and he was in one of the first 10".(PO.LID)[168]

The organisational culture of the prison is influenced by the senior and middle management teams, the majority of whom have decades of prison knowledge and experience of working in different penal establishments in Scotland and the UK.   In terms of age and experience, this is a young prison.   The frontline prison staff have not been influenced by frontline prison officers with decades of service practice and expertise (Sykes, 1958; Liebling & Price, 2001; Crawley, 2004) which contrasts with many other prisons in Scotland.   Thus, descriptions and observations about prisoners' behaviours by prison staff, and their perceptions of why the prisoners exhibit those behaviours, about how this affects the way the wing[169] regime operates, about how prison staff react to and support prisoners and their first impressions of work on the wings, are based on only a few months or years working in a penal environment.

Prison staff on wings operated in a team of 6, plus 1 senior prison officer, across 3 wings, each wing accommodating up to 63 prisoners at any one time.   Prison staff, on the day shifts, work in pairs on one of the 3 wings; for the night shift there are 2 staff covering 3 wings and they work outside the wings in the hub[170] at the confluence of the wings.   There

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[167] ITC = Initial Training Course – 9–week course for new recruits – for my fieldwork I observed ITC 30 (30th nine-week course to run in the 7 years the prison had been opened)

[168] PO.LID this is the cypher for the person whose quote is being employed to emphasis a point. PO = frontline staff. Other cyphers denote SPO = Senior Prison Officer who are first line supervisors, OM = Operational Managers representing the fourth tier of management , SMT = three tiers of management, Director, Assistant Director, Senior Managers   There are five tiers of management in total this prison. Appendices 11 and 12 provide a list of prison personnel who participated in the fieldwork.

[169] The wings are the residential areas of the prison where the prisoner's personal cell is located, and some prison staff refer to them as halls as well as wings.

[170] The 'hub' is a round glassed office that is manned by an operational officers who has no prisoner contact. There role is to observe the three wings ingress and egress, undertake administration tasks for the residential prison officers, for example. referrals and adding information to the prisoner record system.

is little communication with colleagues who do not work the same shift patterns and access to computers to review prisoner records or work emails was limited[171]. The majority of the communication, such as prisoner requests, and prisoner's records were paper based with some referrals made by telephone to other areas of the prison. The following sections examines prison officers' observations, perceptions and attitudes towards prisoners and rehabilitation from their limited experience of working in a penal setting.

4.3   PRISON STAFF: OBSERVATION OF A PRISONERS' ADVERSE INFLUENCES

There was consensus amongst the majority of prison staff that prisoners have had an upbringing which, at best, could be described as dysfunctional. One prison officers described it thus;

> "A roof and food but having to fend for themselves with no discipline or self-discipline, no respect for people or responsibility to themselves or others".
>
> (PO.CES)

When they describe the life histories of prisoners, what they have had to endure throughout their lives and the activities in which they have been involved, it is not a thing they could imagine for themselves or their families, and the prison staff find it difficult to comprehend the adverse childhood experiences[172] that many prisoners have endured in their upbringing:

> "Sometimes it is horrendous, it is horrible, some the things I have heard about upbringings". (PO.ERY)

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[171] At the time of my fieldwork the wings did not have access to a computer or prisoners computerised records, a computer was accessible in the 'hub' at the confluence of the 3 wings. This changed post field work when the new Director had computers installed in all of the wings.

[172] Negative events in childhood can affect a person's whole life. Adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) increase the risk of everything from depression, alcohol abuse and incarceration through to conditions like heart disease and even cancer. It's estimated* up to half of the Scottish population will have experienced at lease one ACE. http://www. http://actiononviolence.org/projects/resilient-scotland

Staff members describe how some prisoners, if you speak to them in a 'nice, polite, positive' manner, often respond in a negative, suspicious and abrasive style. In their opinion, prisoners respond this way because that is how they have been spoken to most of their lives, in a negative, hostile way; they have been put down, have hardly ever received positive feedback or compliments from those around them and that is all they understood; anything different appears insincere to prisoners. Staff explained that because of the negative manner in which prisoners respond to communication they considered it necessary to address the prisoners in a similar way to get through to them, to make them understand what they are saying or requesting. But they indicated that they have to be careful how and when they take this approach as management do not approve of using colloquial communication with prisoners. This fatalistic attitude by prison staff may de-legitimise their authority in the eyes of prisoners (Cavadino & Dignan, 1992). The majority of prisoners would prefer to serve their time in a compliant and stress-free environment and 'observe the legitimate restrictions placed on them' (Coyle, 1991, p. 86). Prison staff undertake this by being consistent with all prisoners which enables them to use their formal authority (ibid, 1991, p. 207) as well as their discretionary authority (Crewe, 2011). If prison staff are perceived as inconsistent or manifest a despondent attitude as in the language they use and the level of support they provide then prisoners may well misbehave and display recalcitrant behaviour such as 'resistance', 'disengagement' or 'gameplaying' (Braithwaite, 2014, p. 915). This attitude by prison staff may well compromise any attempt to support prisoners to rehabilitate or attend opportunities available to them.

Most of the prison staff have therefore discerned that many of the prisoners' issues around criminality originate from their family background:

"There is a pattern to it, there was this guy who told us his parents were never

there for him and he had to bring himself up; then you find out when he is a bit

older – you find that he has a son in the wing next door". (PO.GAM)

Staff have found that, with many prisoners, this type of upbringing brings with it many

challenging behaviours, with the result that some prison staff have a pessimistic attitude

towards prisoners; in their judgement, what has been done cannot be undone:

"You cannot undo the damage has been done at a young age". (PO:PEE)

Most of the prison staff observations describe prisoners as career criminals, the 'family

business' and a lifestyle choice, and the expectations are that prison is an occupational

hazard. Therefore, the conclusion is that for some prisoners it is their job, their lifestyle –

they are content with it and are not interested at all in changing:

"For a lot of them it is their job, their main job, what they do, and we have to

accept that, it is their way of life. They do not want to get up and go to work".

(SPO.SMT)

Some prison staff considered career criminals to be indolent because of the amounts of

money they earn without much effort in the open community and used to finance the extras

for a less austere prison life. Therefore, for them, there is no financial imperative to attend

purposeful activities[173] to earn a wage. Some wing staff stated that they find it hard to

motivate these prisoners to rehabilitate:

"Laziness and money – for me two things – they can earn an incredible amount

without any effort, so getting up and doing a job – they do not have the drive to

get anything done because they don't have to make the effort". (PO.ERY)

---

[173] Purposeful activity is prescribed in the 'Prison and Young Offenders Institutions (Scotland) Rules 2011' and covers the following areas: Work; Education of any kind, including physical education; Counselling and other rehabilitation programmes; Vocational training;   Work placements outside the prison, and any activity which is designed to assist the prisoner's reintegration into the community following release.

Another explanation of the career criminal was peer pressure that created the rotating penal lifestyle. On release, they go back to the same area, the same network of friends and family, the same circle of life:

> "I think when we send them out back to exactly where they come from, to the
>
> same group of friends – the same family unit – it's automatic to just fall back
>
> into what you were doing if you have friends and family doing it". (SPO.PAE)

A suggested remedy for this was to exile prisoners (Farrall & Calverley, 2006; Maguire & Raynor, 2006) when released from their family and friends so that they would not fall back into their old ways and make new friends without the stigma of criminality hanging over them:

> "If we could send the prisoners out to somewhere other than where they lived.
>
> The issue is sending them back to the same family and friends". (SPO.PAE)

4.4   PRISON STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF RECIDIVISM RATES AND THE REVOLVING DOOR

Almost all the of the   prison staff expressed adverse traits of prisoners in terms of percentages[174].

- 90% of the prisoners have addiction issues related to drugs, alcohol or violence,

- 24% of the prison population are homeless,

- 50% are illiterate and lack maturity and often describe them as needy children,

- more than 50% of the prisoners have mental health issues, exacerbated by the influx of

    New Psychoactive Substances (NSPs),

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[174] Throughout the focus groups and one-to-one interviews prison staff often used percentages to describe the phenomenon they were discussing.

- they can only help a small number of prisoners, around 10%.

One prison officer expressed it thus;

> "Just maybe one or two out of 20 you would be maybe able to help change their
>
> ways", (PO.ISE)

and it is from this standpoint they make their decisions on who can and cannot be rehabilitated. The age of prisoners was another factor that influenced rehabilitation and penal life, not just around maturation[175] but where older prisoners are not coping with, for example, the minimum forty hours 'out of cell' policy, being more used to a penal lifestyle where there is more 'in cell' time, and with access to production workshops. There are also age-related health conditions, creating additional difficulties for prison staff and prisoners (discussed further in section 4.7.4. p. 189).

There are exceptions to the above. Some prison staff are empathetic and try to support those who want to move on or who, in their opinion, have ended up in prison by default and who are not what they consider to be 'career criminals':

> "There are some on the wing that have been unlucky. They have been in a
>
> confrontation, not really their fault, they have defended themselves and it went
>
> wrong, very, very small minority. They are not bad people, they have only done
>
> one thing wrong". (PO.TAE)

But the majority of prison staff in my fieldwork considered that most of their prisoners are career criminals and it is their lifestyle and upbringing that has conditioned them to be so.

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[175] See Chapter 2, Section 2.4 pp .74-78 on desistance and age (Wolfgang, 1983; Van Mastrigt & Farrington, 2009) and section 2.7 pp. 84-91 on age related offending.

Prison staff see prisoners coming into jail repeatedly to serve short sentences[176]. A member of staff with seven years service commented on the revolving door of recidivism and had observed that a number of prisoners had returned on at least twenty-five to thirty occasions or more, and a new member of staff with only five months' experience has already noted several prisoners on their short-term wing having returned three and four times. Because of the constant reappearance of prisoners, over half of the prison staff expressed feelings of negativity about rehabilitation and re-offending because their observations are constantly being reinforced by the relentless 'churn' of offenders returning to jail. This reduces their motivation to help and their belief in rehabilitation is eroded:

> "Aye, it is difficult to think positive, like it is easy to think of the negatives, especially like with re-offending. I dinnae think it is down to us. I think most of them that re-offend, come back to jail, and the ones that dinnae I do not think it is something we say, they just do not like the jail". (PO.CRS)

The belief then develops that their hard work supporting prisoners is a waste of time and effort (Morris & Morris, 1963). One prison officer said,

> "You are just wasting your time with some of them – over the years you get to know some of them and they are not going to change – they are not interested".
>
> (PO.TAE)

Some of the prison staff like to ask prisoners, when they are being liberated, about coming back to prison, and the replies, staff consider, are indicative of the mindset of the majority of prisoners:

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[176] Short-sentences are those of less than four years. But in the context of my fieldwork prison staff are referring to prisoners serving sentences of less than six months and in some case just a few days or weeks on a regular basis.

"I have asked most prisoners when they are getting out, 'are you coming back?';

I cannot think of one, off the top of my head, who has said they will never be

back in here again – that is a terrible thing to say after six years – but it seems to

be the natural way of life for them". (SPO.PAE)

A few prison staff are very hopeful[177], and when a prisoner has not returned after several

months, they begin to think that they have reformed, only to be very disappointed when they

do return:

"I thought he had knuckled down after being out for ten months, and he is

back, he breached his licence – he breached his licence conditions – and when I

seen him, I said, 'what the hell are you doing back in here?'; 'I know, I know, it

was a stupid mistake' – 'well what did I tell you – keep your nose clean – that is

what you were supposed to do – because if you messed up again it is going to

be a long one for you' – he says 'I know, I know". (PO.CES)

Prison staff do feel let down when one of the prisoners who they thought might desist from

re-offending comes back, and for some they feel that it knocks the prisoner back as well, so

much so that it is even harder to pick them up and motivate them again:

"Because people have got bad pasts – they go out and do something really small

and stupid – end up back in jail and it just sets them right back and it doesn't

help them". (PO.COC)

Most of the staff accepted that for some prisoners there is a rotating door; these prisoners

can be very intimidating, spatially and verbally, especially if they consider they are not getting

what they know they have a right to;

---

[177] Prison staff who have 3 years of less experience tended to be hopeful than the prison staff who had worked in the prison longer.

> "The problem is some prisoners never change – revolving door – and quite a lot
> are polite to you as long as you give them what they are entitled to – everything
> is fine – if you don't, they kick off". (PO.COC)

Other prisoners 'kick off' when they can't get something they want even when there is no entitlement. This attitude and behaviour according to prison staff is a way in which prisoner's test them, and especially their resolve, to see if they give in, and if a member of staff does 'cave in' all prisoners are aware that that member of staff is an easy touch:

> "If they see you backing down they push, and push and push". (SPO.SMT)

Prison staff, as their experience deepens, and they learn more about the people they are dealing with, start to reduce their effort to motivate prisoners because they themselves lose their altruistic motivation to support them. According to some prison staff the majority of short-term prisoners enter prison in an unstable and vulnerable state, mentally and physically, from the use of addictive substances (Fitzgerald & Sim, 1982; Bukten et al., 2015). Encouraging them to attend educational courses is also problematic for the prison staff and prison regime due to the short sentences these prisoners are serving and the length of the courses on offer.

The case study prison is spoken and written about as a "learning prison"[178] and offers prisoners opportunities to take educational classes, trades and some cognitive therapy

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[178] My case study prison has the designated title 'learning prison'. The architects design brief stated that it was to be designed as a learning prison http://www.hlmarchitects.com/projects/justice/ – It is referred to in HMIPS inspection reports and https://www.prisonsinspectoratescotland.gov.uk/publications/ and SPS Corporate information http://www.sps.gov.uk/Corporate/Prisons as such.

programmes which are necessary if prisoners want to obtain HDC[179], Parole[180] or Open Estate[181].   Prison staff report that prisoners do go to the classes and some have a full timetable.   However, it was noted by HMIPS (2015, p. 50)

"that classroom attendance was often less than 50%".

Reasons for attending vary, and prison staff identified these as: prisoners do not want to sit behind their cell doors all day; it gives them something to do and offers distractions from missing their families and friends and not being in the open community doing what they want to do:

"…… only have the night-time to think and contemplate on their situation". (PO.ISE)

But the main reason for attendance is a financial one, according to prison staff; prisoners need money to buy the extras in prison if they do not have financial assistance of their own or from others outside the prison.   If they want the extras for prison life, such as newspapers, magazines, tobacco, toiletries or confectionery, they have to be purchased from the prison 'canteen[182]';   none of these products can be sent in from outside of the prison for security reasons.   Other reasons for attending classes and 'programmes' were that they are an essential condition of a prisoner's sentence if they wish to reduce the time that they spend in prison by gaining early release, and because it supports gaining enhanced[183] status which give prisoners extra visits, in particular family visits for, for example, homework clubs, and

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[179] Home Detention Curfew (HDC) came into use in Scotland in 2006 and allows prisoners, mainly on shorter sentences, to serve up to a quarter of their sentence (for a maximum of six months and a minimum of two weeks) on licence in the community, while wearing an electronic tag.

[180] The Parole Board for Scotland's aim is to protect the public by ensuring that those prisoners who are considered to present a manageable risk to the public safety when released on a parole, non-parole or life licence may serve the remainder of their sentence in the community under the supervision of a criminal justice social worker. www.scottishparoleboard.gov.uk

[181] HMP Open Estate is only open prison in Scotland that accommodates men from all areas of Scotland who are assessed as requiring low supervision and seeks to prepare them for release into the community at the end of their prison sentence.

[182] The canteen is the prison supermarket. Which sells an approved range of goods which prisoners can purchase through the 'kiosk' system up to a maximum spend of £20 per week.

[183] This particular prison had two prisoner statuses, standard and enhanced. Enhanced entitled prisoners to extra visits, special family visits and extra wages. However, HMIPS 2015 reported that only one third of the 700 prisoners had gained enhanced status. https://www.prisonsinspectoratescotland.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publication_files/402905.pdf

increased wages.   Prison staff are aware of the reasons that prisoners go to classes, but they

are hopeful that just by being there they may learn something:

> "The ones that don't have assistance from their family – they go to classes to
>
> get money – they do learn something, and they are actually enjoying it".
>
> (PO.AMA)

However, during my investigation, prison staff explained prisoner's non-attendance resulted

from structural issues, for example sentence length, course duration, financial issues[184],

limited timetable and also psychological issues and prisoners' attitudes that varied

considerably if they were short-term or long-term prisoners.

4.5   PRISON STAFF: DESCRIPTIONS OF PRISONERS ON SHORT & LONG-TERM WINGS AND SENTENCE LENGTH

Prison staff explained that their work with prisoners was varied. It depended on where they

were deployed, on a long-term or short-term residential wing.   The staff described the

different strategies they had to learn and develop to work and communicate with prisoners

as they gained experience of working with offenders. This was not something they had been

taught in their initial training (see C6 pp. 251-285 but through their own upbringing, personal

skills, abilities and previous work experience (Elias, 1982).   They learned on the job how to

respond to requests, how to communicate with and how to motivate prisoners to attend

purposeful activities.

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[184] See comment on page ? this chapter.

Prison staff explained that they had to be consistent in their approach with all prisoners. They discovered that the majority of prisoners are very observant, prying and intrusive, ready to jump on what they, the prisoners, perceive as inconsistencies in how staff treat each one of them and often use this to try and obtain goods or services to which they are not entitled, analogous to what Sykes (1958) and Morris & Morris (1963) wrote about over half a century ago. All prison staff on the wings explained they tried to get to know the prisoners as individuals to build relationships, meet their needs and encourage them to attend classes or take up purposeful activities. However, on the short-term wings prisoners are, in their opinion, tough guys, overly sensitive, with a heightened awareness of the atmosphere of the wings and ready to react to the smallest perceived insult (Sim, 1994a; Carrabine & Longhurst, 1998):

> "Generally, they do not need a lot of provoking – but they are guys who are manly and tough – and there is a stigma attached to it – alcohol, drugs or any issue like that – but you have just got to listen – a lot of this job is, it would take five minutes to listen". (PO.BEI)

Due to the tense atmosphere on the short-term wings it was difficult, most prison staff stated, to move beyond dealing with the demands of security and safety. Into this acute atmosphere new recruits enter and have to take on board all the nuances of the wing and 60-plus inquisitive, observant and 'on the make' prisoners watching what they are doing all the time. Prison staff spoke about consistency of approach, in terms of personal and team security and safety so that did not have prisoners playing the staff off against each other. The new recruits[185] described their surprise at this aspect of prison and how prisoners communicate with individual members of staff:

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[185] In the new recruits focus group, five months into the job – post initial training.

"As soon as you step on to the wing you are being watched – prisoners pick up

on everything and I had not thought of that before – how they interact with

different staff – they might go to one member of staff and ask for something one

way and if they are not lucky they will go to someone different and ask in a

different way to try and get lucky". (PO.CHR)

One new recruit was not satisfied with the way prisoners spoke to prison staff. They

therefore set about, in their opinion, 'training' or 'conditioning' prisoners to have good

manners, an important attribute that they had instilled into their own children. Prisoners had

to preface requests with 'please' and conclude with 'thank you' whenever they had a

communication with this officer. However, pro-social civility was not transferred to other

members of staff and their colleagues did not reinforce this pro-social learning.

"What I can't get my head around – is they don't carry through everybody they

speak with, they get used to certain members of staff who are like that – and

they know that every time we come onto the wing they need to be like that –

but then someone else will come in and they lose it again – and that confuses

me completely – why can't they keep that up in everyday life". (PO.AMA)

Prison staff articulated that they considered short-term prisoners as selfish, inconsiderate

and disrespectful towards their families, fellow prisoners and prison staff. For example,

whilst prisoners are incarcerated they like to maintain the aura of figurehead of the family

and appear 'flash' to other prisoners in the jail, by demanding of their family expensive

trainers, and prison staff speculated about what the prisoners' families are going short of to

provide these expensive items (Hairston, 2002; Houchin, 2005):

"They have family outside – do they think about their family – because – I mean

– these guys walking around in brand new trainers – what has the family got –

they have not got a father". (PO.VIR)

According to most prison staff, short-term prisoners find it difficult not to steal anything and

everything they can get away with and extra vigilance is required when the cells are open,

particularly around meal and association times.   This leads prison staff to regard prisoners

as thoughtless, inconsiderate and immune to the consequences of their actions.

"no respect or anything – they have no respect for other people round about

them, "no respect for prison staff – no respect for each other". (PO.CIS)[186]

The prison staff explained that the short-term wings were busy and demanding, with a

constant churn of prisoners coming and going.   However, staff did get to recognise, if not

know individually, those offenders who returned on a regular basis[187], but found there was

little time to offer any meaningful support.

"The sentences are not long enough to do anything – all that time to get them

clean, back into a routine – maybe getting them to do as they are told – just

settling in – then they are back out". (SPO.SMT)

The majority of staff on the short term wings considered their priority was security and safety

rather than rehabilitating prisoners. For some prisoners serving longer sentences over 18

months[188] there was a little more time to build a relationship of trust which enabled staff to

motivate prisoners to access rehabilitative opportunities.

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[186] This fits with Ross and Fabiano's (1985) argument that offenders often have 'thinking' problems, and this leads to lack of impulse and emotional control, unable to problem solve, one track minds, apathetic to others and the consequences of their actions. Ross, R. & Fabiano, E. (1985). Time to think: A cognitive model of delinquency prevention and offender rehabilitation. Johnson City, TN: Institute of Social Sciences and Arts

[187] These tended to be prisoners who had very short sentences of less than 12 months

[188] Short term sentences are up to 4 years, after that they are classed as long term.

The long-term wings, on the other hand, were quiet, and prisoners were more insular and less demanding and less communicative with staff. Experienced prison staff explained that long-term prisoners ignore the new staff members until they get used to them being on the wing and building trusting relationships takes much longer. Staff described the long-term wing as a wall of silence instead of a wall of noise. After cells were unlocked in the morning long-term prisoners did not emerge from their cells until late in the day unless they had to attend the medical centre, for example, for their methadone, or for education. At weekends, the prisoners hardly emerged from their cells at all, only doing so to collect their meals:

> "wall of silence, even during the week the guys just go about their business – if something is annoying them – they will come up and tell you – but they will not come up for trivial things like the remands and short-termers". (PO.CES)

Prison staff were consistent in their observations of long term wings, they described a sort of peace and harmony on the wing and if younger prisoners were housed on the wing they were left in no uncertain terms by the older prisoners as to how the wing operated, as they did not tolerate any immature antics, or loud tv, radio or music emanating from their cells:

> "They are much quieter, they like to get their head down and get on with their sentence, they have a routine and stick to it, they do not like hassle or upset on their halls and the young prisoners know that". (PO.CES)

When it came to rehabilitation the approach had to be different. Rehabilitation, prison staff explained did not start at the beginning of their sentence as any impact would have been lost by the time of release. Because these prisoners were in prison for such a long time, prison staff stated they could have completed all the cognitive programmes, education classes several times over. Some prisoners did study Open University courses and other in-cell learning but with most prisoners it was a struggle to get them to undertake any rehabilitation

until they reached a specific milestone and then they wanted to do everything at once. This, in their opinion, led to rehabilitation being rushed and condensed into the last few months of their sentence, principally to ensure that they complied with the conditions laid down in their sentencing statement. A few prison staff are frustrated by prisoners who do not accept responsibility for their criminality and do not think they can be rehabilitated until they accept responsibility for their actions:

> "I could talk to them every day for the six years of their sentence, but if they are
>
> not facing up to what they have done or not accepting it, then – it's you know, an
>
> absolute waste of time – it will make not a dent of difference". (PO.BEI)

There are prisoners who prison staff recognise will not return to prison. They are the ones whose families are important to them and who have conceded that they made stupid mistakes by, for example, not paying taxes:

> "A number of guys had a business on the outside which is great" – "why did you
>
> end up in here? " – "A stupid mistake, not paying taxes". (PO.BEI)

According to prison staff these prisoners stand out in prison as having a different mindset to the other prisoners. When they request anything, they do so with a degree of civility, are careful of which prisoners they relate to, and attend education or other activities to pass the time. Overall, they do not present themselves as a security risk but do require support as some are vulnerable and may require protection from other prisoners.

Overall, the length of a prison sentence, from the point of view of prison officers, is an impediment to rehabilitation alongside a structural one, created by the prison regime, where courses are too long, and sentences are too short, and conversely long-term prisoners do not have enough variety and the courses offered are too short in length and content. The

majority of prison staff on both the long and short term wings considered that the prison regime did not support prisoners to be responsible for themselves.   This contradicts the prison administration's perspective, with a specific reference to the computerised managing system on which prisoners have to organise certain aspects of their prison life (see C5 section 5.4 pp. 238-243).   Prison staff, however, believe that the regime does not support the C & C (1988b) policy of prisoners taking responsibility and control of their sentence planning (see C1, section 1.4, pp. 10-18).   This inculcated dependency/institutionalisation is a further barrier to rehabilitation.

4.6   PRISON STAFF: REFLECTIONS ON WHICH PRISONERS THEY CAN & CANNOT SUPPORT

Many of the prison staff consider that the prisoners do not have enough responsibility for themselves in prison.   In their opinion this undermines any rehabilitative work because prisoners lack resilience to change their lifestyle.   The prison routine, as explained to me by the majority prison staff, gave them more of a parental role than that of a prison officer (Liebling & Price, 2001) in that they discipline prisoners, make sure they behave, that they are not taking drugs.   They did everything a parent would do to get their child out to school or work and because of this they are making the prisoners dependent on others instead of instilling resilience and independence:

> "We do everything for them, feed them, get them up in a morning, get them to
>
> classes, work, medication – no responsibilities – on the outside they need to do
>
> it for themselves and they can't cope". (PO.SMT)

A number of prison staff explained that some prisoners just could not co-operate due to lack of confidence   This manifests itself in non attendance at classes, meetings and interviews or

wrecking the progression they had made towards early release by deliberately breaching discipline, which places them on 'report'[189], which incurs a loss of enhanced status and returns them back to square one. However, some prisoners do reach a turning point and prison staff notice that is when they start to disassociate themselves from some of their peers and acquiescence more willingly to requests:

"You get them set up for them and they find excuses not to go – but some do reach a point in their sentence and just do it". (PO.HOY)

Despite the frustration highlighted by prison staff at the continuous churn of prisoners returning, they are quite philosophical about those prisoners who they feel they cannot help and why they cannot help them. Some are too aggressive, others are controlling the contraband on the wing, others have no boundaries to their behaviour, no self-control and thus prison staff consider the best they can do with them is to control them and prevent them creating havoc.

"With some of them you realise that is not going to happen – they do not want to change – some on the wings are controlling all the drugs on the wing and all that – and they are just – they are not changing – you get that in every wing – that is the downside". (PO.TAE)

Some prison staff on the wings try to support those they consider may want help but it has to be done on a one-to-one basis. Prison staff were of the opinion that group work is not viable on the wings; 'you get more out of them when they are on their own' (Sykes, 1958). A few prison officers described prisoners who are excessively aggressive and, having been

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[189] Being put on report: Reporting breaches of discipline
Rule: 111. An officer must inform the Governor in writing immediately where he or she (a) becomes aware, or suspects, that a prisoner has committed a breach of discipline; and (b) decides to charge the prisoner under rule 112.

removed to the segregation unit, often become more amenable to holding conversations with the prison staff in that environment.   But in front of their peers on the wings it is a different story:

> "As I say, if you speak to them individually, they will tell you a lot of different
>
> things – but when they are sitting in a wee group in the main hall and you might
>
> say to them, do you want to join this group? or do you want help with that? –
>
> but they are not interested – but later they might come up to you individually
>
> and say listen any chance of getting me on that programme – or any chance of
>
> helping us – I think it is something to do with a bravado sort of thing – but there
>
> are some who you speak to all day but they are never going to change".
>
> (SPO.MAE)

The observations of nearly all the prison staff highlight that rehabilitation, for the majority of prisoners who inhabit their prison, is difficult to achieve.   Many prisoners are resistant to support and are happy to remain in their chosen cycle of life, whether in or out of prison. But this does not halt prison staff from wanting to help if they have the chance to do so, or to make life comfortable for those who are emotionally vulnerable because, for example, it is their first time in prison:

> "First timers in jail, terrified – so you explain that the first phone call, first visits
>
> will be difficult but when he realised he would not be sharing a cell and he was
>
> going to have his own space – he calmed down". (PO.WHY)

Prisoners become emotionally exposed when something external happens in the family and prison staff are very supportive and empathetic and go out their way to help, for example, in ensuring that all the rights forms are completed so a prisoner can get out to go to the funeral:

"Prisoner who had a phone call – mother had died – he was getting very

distraught – it must be a terrible place to be if something like that goes on –

when somebody has died". (PO.TAE)

For some, support is given only when they reach crisis point, with something happening to

them in the prison or on the outside tipping the balance.   However, until such a situation

arises, they struggle to ask for any help, according to nearly all the prison staff, because they

have been rejected so often in the past, or they may want to remain independent or they just

do not know how to ask:

"Nine times out of ten they are screaming out for help, most of the time they

do not know how to ask for help". (PO.GAM)

Many of the prison staff have identified it as institutionalisation, that of prisoners being in

their cell for many hours at a time during the day, and some find the number of hours they

can be out of their cells in this prison during the day too much for them:

"I think they find it quite big – yes – I think it is difficult for them to adapt – but I

think they are used to being locked up all the time there – so they will opt out –

a lot of them sign a disclaimer to say they just want to stay behind their door

and are opted out of the timetable". (PO.PER)

A further observation by half the prison staff is that some of the prisoners are overlooked not

intentionally but for the simple reason they are not causing any trouble; they are doing all

that is asked of them and they become invisible:

 "Because some of the guys – they fly under the radar and you will not notice

them – they will go about their daily business day in, day out, go to their classes

– no' cause you any hassle; it is always these guys we do not think about – but

the ones who get into trouble and miss classes – they are the ones that stick in

your head". (PO.CES)

What is striking about the observations and perceptions of the majority of prison staff on

the wings, with the frustrations very apparent, is the number of times they have commented

about their inability to help prisoners to rehabilitate.   Prison staff on the wings try to support

prisoners on a one-to-one basis and are especially empathetic to those with mental health

issues, older prisoners unable to cope with the regime, vulnerable prisoners suffering from

exploitation or open to suicide and self-harming or some whom they perceive as not being

career criminals.   They are particularly compassionate and supportive to those prisoners

when a family member dies or is terminally ill.   But the overriding impression provided by

prison staff from the wings was that they can only support a few prisoners and this phrase

was almost a constant in my focus groups, interviews and general conversations with staff:

"There is nothing we can do for them"(PO.WHY)

and,

"There are the ones that fall by the wayside – just maybe one or two out of

twenty you would maybe be able to help change their ways – but you just don't

physically have the time to work with them individually – there are guys who are

just not interested, and it's just like, you have had your chance, you know that is

it, you are not getting a second chance". (PO.ISE)

During the fieldwork staff mentioned that they considered that around 10% of prisoners can

be supported to change (see C 4 section 4.4, pp. 159-164).   This is in contrast to the Scottish

Government's published re-offending average of '60%' (SG-SBCJS, 2015, p. 1).   The return

rates influence the behaviour of the prison staff and they pointed out that they try to target

the ones that they think will benefit from their help and support.   Around a third of the prison staff who took part in the fieldwork had been employed in the prison for more than six years; they stated that they had become cynical and found it hard to motivate themselves to support prisoners.   They found the constant negative reinforcement of the continuous stream of prisoners returning to prison disheartening.   Some of them considered the regime unhelpful and that what was provided for rehabilitation ineffectual:

> "… and that is your problem – I mean – I always feel that if a prisoner does not want to be rehabilitated – no matter what classes you throw at them or what medication you throw at them or what you say and do". (PO.PEE)

Other issues that arose out of the data were that the courses and programmes for rehabilitation are too long for those prisoners serving short sentences and that there is not enough variety in what is offered, with a lack of longer more meaningful courses for those serving long-term sentences (see C5 section 5.3, pp. 235-236).   Other prison officers are resigned to an acceptance of a prisoner's mindset:

> "You get the ones – and I don't think they are looking to be anything other than in prison – so that is their life – I think here definitely some of them have been institutionalised – they are happy – they are happy with what they have currently got – I don't think they see anything – I don't think they need anything outside of that – if they have reached that level of happiness with that – you are not going to motivate them – what is a better life outside, sort of thing". (PO.VIR)

Prison staff, as they gained experience, confidence and knowledge of individual prisoners, became quite shrewd when it came to typecasting prisoners into categories.   Such categorisation tends to be their own rather than that of their colleagues as they themselves

lacked the in-depth penal experience; and organisational influences are limited by poor communication infrastructure and training (see C 5 & 6).   I would therefore contend that their own individual values of altruism from their social acculturation and upbringing have influenced their views and attitude towards prisoners (Jurik, 1985; Cullen, et al., 1989).

4.7   PRISON STAFF: DESCRIBING PRISONER TYPES

Previous paragraphs highlighted the perceptions and observations of prison staff about prisoners as they learned their 'prison craft' on the job (Arnold, 2008).   They identified that prisoners have similarities around upbringing and a career-criminal lifestyle and that long and short-term prisoners adapted to prison life differently (Flanagan, 1980).   The prison staff defined a number of traits (see Section 4.4, pp. 159-164) in prisoners that impacted on their work, in particular when it came to rehabilitation. Prison staff described prisoner traits thus: those with addiction issues related to drugs or alcohol, or those with issues of violence, homelessness or illiteracy, those whose behaviours replicate immaturity – described as needy children, those more mature or older prisoners not coping with the '40 hours out of cell' and lack of production workshops[190], and those suffering from mental health issues, exacerbated by the influx of New Psychoactive Substances[191] (NPS).

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[190] Scottish Prison Service: Those in custody who engage in Production Workshops are provided with opportunities which enable them to gain realistic work skills which can enhance their employability prospects upon release.
[191]New psychoactive substances (NPS) are drugs which were designed to replicate the effects of illegal substances like cannabis, cocaine and ecstasy whilst remaining legal – hence their previous name 'legal highs'. Very little knowledge exists with regard to new psychoactive substances. Many of these drugs are unknown quantities. http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0045/00457682.pdf

4.7.1 PRISONERS & ADDICTIONS

All of the prison staff consider that 90% of all prisoners who come into their prison do so due to the fact that their crimes are related to substance addictions.   The prison staff observed that those on addictive substances are apt to make poor decisions and do not think about the consequences of their actions, and of those 90% they further believe that only a very small number of prisoners can be supported to change their addiction lifestyle:

> "It is a small percentage that turn around in jails; it is shocking and nine out of ten people coming back in, you say – Why? – it is all to do with drugs and alcohol – 90% of prisoners is through drink and drugs is why they are back – poor judgement". (PO.PEE)

These addictions, prison staff stated, make it particularly difficult to help prisoners as, when they first enter the prison, they must be detoxed to a level that makes them more amenable to listening and working with the prison staff, following the regime to a certain extent and even considering rehabilitation in the form of cognitive therapy programmes and education. For prisoners on short term sentences (see section 4.5 pp. 165-171), they are unlikely to attend much in the way of therapy, education, vocational skill training or attain the trust of staff to undertake purposeful activity, as the length of their sentence does not allow such interventions to be beneficial or, indeed, be available.   Thus, for the most part, prison staff said that these prisoners spend their time 'stuck behind their cell door', often refusing to go outside for exercise and appearing only for their meals, association and appointments with the staff who prepare the administration for release.

For those prisoners on long-term sentences of more than four years, there are numerous purposeful activity opportunities available and, if deemed trustworthy by prison staff, they may work as a passman[192]. Some of the prison staff believe that they give prisoners the chances to change their lifestyle, and a member of staff described one of their successes; although the staff member considered this to be rehabilitation, I would argue that it was more to get the prisoner to conform to the prison regime:

> "One prisoner – been in prison all over the estate – and considered a real pain in
>
> the butt – one day we, I was fed up with his constant moaning and told him that
>
> there were loads of staff in here who would help him – but not with that attitude
>
> – started to engage with addictions programme – then in the pantry one day –
>
> he said – nobody had spoken like that – and that if he did everything right he
>
> could play the system instead of fighting the system and getting pissed off
>
> himself and everyone else". (PO.HOY)

Many of the prison staff expressed the view that most of the prisoners who take part in the cognitive therapy programmes for addictions are there, for financial reasons and not with the hope or intention to be cured or rehabilitated, but to conform to certain rules and regulations with regard to early release or a move:

> "A lot of them on addiction programmes are there to tick boxes saying all the
>
> right things because they know how to progress because they want Open – but
>
> there is always a small minority who want to change". (PO.ART)

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[192] Passman is a title given to those prisoners who undertake some responsibility on a wing that support prison staff and prisoners it may be domestic/cleaning work, administration, peer support or peer listener. They have to have enhanced status, which indicates they have not been in any trouble, and attended the required programmes attached to their sentence conditions, generally paid extra for the work, wear a coloured top to make them identifiable and considered a reward for trust, good behaviour and positive attitude.

However, almost all prison staff stated that, of those prisoners who had gained the HDC, which moves them back into their own community, albeit under restrictions, some genuinely wish to achieve early release to be with their families; however, others have disturbing motives. Prison staff narrated a number of stories about prisoner's recidivism due to drugs and alcohol. For instance, several who have been released on HDC have done so to pay off a debt and return within a few days, bringing drugs back into the jail and are caught at Reception with drugs concealed on their person. Other prisoners had told prison staff that, as soon as they were out, they were going to seek alcohol as quickly as possible, and prison staff views were that they would simply end up in trouble and back into the jail. One example given was of two prisoners who were only recently released:

> "Couple of lads let out of the jail and went and robbed the shop around the
> corner – just to get a carry out – if you do not tackle that problem you have no
> chance of rehabilitating somebody". (PO.PEE)

Others had been out for a number of years, but alcohol abuse had brought them back into prison once again, which led to them being given a short prison sentence rather than a community option because of their previous criminal behaviour with regard to alcohol.

Other issues with prisoners with addictions, according to many of the prison staff, concern those who are prescribed the drug, methadone[193]. These prisoners remain unstable to a certain extent and tend to be peevish, quick tempered, jump to conclusions, are ready to make accusations and are very demanding, at times, of prison staff. A small number of prison staff considered that methadone did not aid rehabilitation and that the number of

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[193] Methadone is an opioid medication, it reduces withdrawal symptoms in people addicted to heroin or other narcotic drugs without causing the "high" associated with the drug addiction. It is used as a pain reliever and as part of drug addiction detoxification and rehabilitation.

prisoners who entered prison because of their addictions, later released from prison after years, remain addicted to methadone and will therefore seek drugs once again. Their conclusions were that methadone does not help in rehabilitation, but simply keeps prisoners stabilised for secure reasons. An observation by one of the least experienced staff I interviewed was quite percipient about drugs in the prison:

> "There are guys who have been in here nearly eight years and they are still on methadone – so they are still receiving drug treatment – so is that rehabilitation? – are they being rehabilitated in every aspect of their life that is leading to crime? – because drugs is a big part for a lot of them – and if drugs is a big part of it and all you are doing is stabilising that – does that actually rehabilitate short term or long term?". (PO.VIR)

The conclusions of prison staff are that the most they can do for prisoners in their care who are under the influence of addictive substances is to stabilise them to ensure the safety and security of the prison, prison staff and prisoners. Another issue that prison staff perceive as significant to maintaining security and care of prisoners is the number of prisoners presenting with mental health issues.

4.7.2 MENTAL HEALTH: STABILISING UNPREDICTABLE PEOPLE

All prison staff mention mental health as an issue which was difficult to deal with and their views varied on the numbers of prisoners affected, ranging between 50% to 75% of the prison population.

> "It is one thing you never think of when you start here – you do not realise how, just – how big a factor in here it is – until you start, and you see it – it is quite an

eye opener actually – you don't know how rife the mental health problems are

in here". (PO.LID)

Behaviours associated with mental health, according to prison staff, are self-harming and the use of NPS substances.

"Self-harming is a huge problem in the jail and I think – I think you probably get

75% of prisoners with mental health issues – with mental health issues then

comes self-harm and I think that is a big problem that needs to be tackled within

the prison itself". (PO.COQ)

However, three members of staff in one focus group saw self-harming differently.   They considered that a number of prisoners used self-harming to get attention and manipulate the regime's policies and practices. Prison staff had remarked that security and 'no deaths' were the priority of their prison administration and if somebody self-harms managers saw it as a possible suicide:

"Prisoners use it as manipulation and that annoys me as well – because there is

always somebody who manipulates something, and the Act2Care[194] document

will get manipulated by prisoners saying – you see if they are not getting

attention for medication issues or mental health issues and the best ways to do

it is to self-harm – and it is just a cut to the arm and then they get all the attention

they want". (PO.CHR)

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[194] ACT2CARE assumes a shared responsibility for the care of those 'at risk' of self-harm or suicide. To work together to provide a person centred caring environment based on individual assessed need, where prisoners who are in distress can ask for help to avert a crisis. To identify and offer assistance in advance, during and after a crisis.

Mental health problems are exacerbated by the use of NPS which prison staff consider to be more unpredictable in their effect on the human mind than heroin or cannabis and even more difficult for security to detect. Illustrations of what NPS can do were highlighted by prison staff who were concerned about the fact they had little or no training on NPS and they were unsure how to detect them and deal with the consequences of their use by prisoners:

> "He was standing trying to blow the gates open – it is just what these things can
>
> do to people and we have no training on it – we do not know what they look like
>
> – we don't know what they smell like – apparently you can smell – we know what
>
> heroin smells like when it is being burnt, it is really sweet and what weed smells
>
> like – because they are common in here – we don't know what legal highs [NPS]
>
> smell like". (PO.LID)

A number of prisoners signed a disclaimer to opt out of a personal timetable and the required 40 hours out of cell policy. Many of the prison staff considered this as a concern for some prisoners, particularly for their mental health, and often they become invisible, as generally they are not demanding, loud or causing trouble for prison staff. However, a few prison staff said when they have time they do try and get them to come out of their cells and go to the education centre:

> "The ones that don't go to classes and they are always – going opt out, opt out,
>
> opt out – I think they are not in a good place – so we try and encourage them".
>
> (PO.TAE)

On the whole prison staff are empathetic to prisoners with mental health issues; they are willing to help them, particularly if they are not looking after their personal and cell hygiene. Ensuring a prisoner keeps themselves clean and their cell tidy is not just for the benefit of the prisoners themselves but for the health and hygiene of the other prisoners on the wing and the staff. Staff cited the example of an elderly gentleman (prisoner) who had mental health issues and was doubly incontinent who wore an 'adult nappy'. They reported that prisoners would come up to them complaining that the prisoner was rather "odoriferous" and with the help of the wing's passmen, would clean him and his cell. Prison staff saw the aging population as additional work on top of what they already had to do.

Prison staff explained how difficult it was for them to recognise mental health issues in prisoners, as they explained that prisoners' "horrendous" backgrounds and what had happened to prisoners in their childhood (see section 4.2 pp. 154-156) often created unforeseen issues. An example given in an interview was of a young prisoner who they were trying to encourage to keep his cell clean and take a regular shower, only for the prisoner to say they had been abused in a shower. Situations like this, according to staff, put them on the back foot and looking for answers about how to deal with these situations. The Act2Care which training all staff received, with internal support from the prison psychologists, did go some way, according to half of the prison staff, in helping them identify specific signs of mental health issues. It also helped them to the reconsider the actions of prisoners, as some prison staff indicated that they felt prisoners were 'putting it on' to gain attention and or medication. In another interview a staff member highlighted that they were very concerned for the mental health of a prisoner, whom they had referred through the system but who

was not getting any medical support; they took the opportunity to refer the prisoner directly to the medical staff:

> "We have one the now – he needs mental health – highlighted to the nurses weeks ago – anyway it just happened, there were two mental health nurses on the wing dishing out medication – they said send it to them [paper request] and they got him an appointment and that – I came back from holiday and he came up and thanked me – it was good he could approach me". (PO.GRE)

A problem that prison staff highlighted with regard to mental health was in persuading prisoners that they may require mental health support; more often than not prisoners saw it as stigmatising, or un-masculine, to be diagnosed as requiring mental health treatment as opposed to physical health care.

Prison staff are empathetic to, and supportive of, prisoners who they truly believe are mentally unwell.   However, they find that some prisoners suffering with poor mental health also have addiction issues (see section 4.7.1 pp. 178-181), and these prisoners can be quick tempered, very demanding and/or anxious:

> "They are very self-conscious a lot of these guys – and that is why frustration comes through – you know I have had them screaming and bawling at me – 'I want my' …… "I usually say "go away and calm yourself down" – then I go and speak to them half an hour later". (PO.GRE)

According to prisoner staff mental health is closely connected to substance abuse and is a problematic issue to deal with in the confines of a prison.   Communicating referrals for medical support can be a hit and miss affair; some prisoners accept that they need help,

others do not. Some prisoners become invisible in the melee of a busy wing and it is only because staff note their absence and seek them out that they receive support and encouragement.   On the whole, most prison staff expressed compassion and concern for prisoners with mental health issues, but a small number of staff considered that some prisoners were just creating a situation to gain attention like a recalcitrant child.

4.7.3   THE 'NEEDY CHILD'

Prison staff very often attribute the epithet of 'needy child' to the younger prisoners in their care. They have equated their role not as a prison officer, but as a parent (Liebling & Price 2001) or glorified childminder:

> "It is because sometimes you feel like saying I work in a nursery because that is
>
> how it feels – I am your childminder – do you know what I mean – honestly I feel
>
> like I am a childminder – definitely sometimes – honestly it is a glorified
>
> childminder – that is how I feel some days". (PO.CHA)

The prisoners they are referring to are those in their early twenties who lack maturity and whose behaviour reminds some prison officers of 'Kevin the Teenager'[195] in a BBC comedy sketch show; throwing things not directly at the prison staff but at the wall next to them, shouting, calling them names, being argumentative, swearing, banging doors and seeking attention from anyone and everyone:

> "They come in here at 20, 22, 23 years of age but they have still got a 16-year-
>
> old brain.   I am dealing with a young lad just now who is just non-stop, wants
>
> attention – and it is just aggression – all the time, and that is what he is used to".
>
> (PO.COQ)

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[195] Kevin Patterson 'the teenager' was a character in a sketch show acted by Harry Enfield www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00c3mgk

The majority of prison staff have concluded that young prisoners commit the most of their crimes under the influence of drugs and alcohol and, when they come into prison, they are constantly seeking out anything that they can get a 'high' from. This makes them a high security risk and prison staff explained that they have to be highly alert at all times around young prisoners as their behaviours are often erratic, impulsive and inconsiderate of their fellow prisoners. Prison staff attribute this behaviour to a lack of positive role models in their lives and of the opinion that this has produced youngsters who are loud, belligerent and demanding:

"… who think all they have to do is shout abuse at you to get what they want". (PO.GRE)

A few of the prison staff noted and considered that, for some, their behaviours are associated with the fact that they are in prison, away from the pressures of living their disordered lifestyle and have remarked to prison staff that they are glad to be in prison (Rubin, 2014,). While they are able to access their drug needs legitimately through methadone medication, or illegitimately, it makes for an easier way of life, albeit in a penal environment:

"… safer and less chaotic – selfish people only here so they are, only here to get their meals, get their tobacco, get their drugs, if that's their thing, but at the end of the day they can go behind their door and know it is safe – when they go outside everything's a mess – they don't know where they're going to get their drugs – they don't know about their relationships – I would say a high percentage want to be here, that is why they are constantly re-offending". (PO.ART)

Given the perceived lack of maturation in young prisoners, prison staff are of the opinion that, because of their upbringing, they lack social skills, they do not have the understanding of civility with regard to addressing people, or with the rules of conversation around waiting their turn to speak:

> "People need social skills to speak to you – you are speaking to one and two
>
> others are trying to speak through them – that is a problem because a lot of them
>
> don't have them skills". (PO.AMA)

Just like a child in any family who plays parents/guardians/carers off against each other they do exactly the same in prison.   Alternatively, prisoners acting up, playing games and displaying verbal and physical resistance may be their 'posture of defiance' to authority (Braithwaite, 2014, p. 915).   This posturing has created some divergence of approach among prison staff.   There are some who will meet all their demands, within reason, just for an easy life and there are others who consider that prisoners need to learn to do things for themselves, but they will support them to complete a task.   To deal with these recalcitrant prisoners prison staff adopt whichever approach they personally consider is the best approach to de-escalate situations.   Some will use what they called the 'professional' approach, by not using the same profane language to which they are subjected.

> "If the issue is they are swearing at you – you don't swear at their level – stay
>
> above them – stay professional – if you can stay professional and use positive
>
> language that's going to help – rather than swearing and shouting back at them".
>
> (PO.CAS)

Some staff, however, on occasions feel that they have to be verbally aggressive to get their point across to prisoners because they believe that is all they respond to, because of the way they have been brought up (see section 4.2 pp. 154-156).   Many of the prison staff expressed their views that it was impossible to support young prisoners to rehabilitate as they had to

concentrate most of their time trying to keep them under control and out of trouble, especially with older prisoners. The age range in the prison creates a number of difficulties for prison staff and they have to balance the needs of the young against those of the older prisoners.

4.7.4 AGE DIFFERENTIAL

Many of the prison staff consider that age matters in prison and their perceptions are, at times, contradictory, particularly around learning. Prison staff categorised the ages by decades: needy, immature prisoners were in their twenties, the more receptive group, in their thirties, with the older prisoners tending to be anyone over forty.

Some prison staff perceptions are that the prisoners in their thirties want to attend education, to learn and change their lifestyle (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983) and that this was an age group that the prison should be targeting, especially if they had literacy issues, these staff considered they were more receptive to the idea of learning:

"They have gone past the kiddy stage where 'we do not want to learn, we sat in a classroom for years and years', they have gone past that, and lot of them – you can get at just the right stage – it is not too late for you – even ones who come in and can't read and write are starting to read and write – and you can see the differences in their outlook – because I can suddenly read this book – and then I go yes – the education prison system works for that age group – but older than that, no – no chance". (PO.AMA)

The older prisoners, it is contended, want to stay in their cell or go to the library for a chat with their friends from other wings. The over-forty age group, staff noted, usually had experience of other prisons in Scotland where there are production workshops where they can work with their hands and pass the time of day doing something physical and productive. According to prison staff, these older prisoners find the lack of workshops difficult to deal with as they are not used to spending their time in education, sitting around listening or reading.

> "I think definitely, if anything, the offenders aged thirty to thirty-five might be –
> more settled here, but older than that they want to work – the prison needs to
> introduce more jobs and workshops and things". (OM.TES)

A few prison staff thought that younger prisoners were willing to get up and go to their classes and learn something.   But the majority were of the opinion that what young prisoners want to do is exactly what they do at home:

> "… young guys lying in bed all day, not wanting to get up, not motivated, sleep
> until 6 o'clock – then up all night watching DVDs – telly – video games". (PO.ISE)

The fieldwork data of prison staff's observations on age vary and are inconsistent. Nevertheless, they have learned that age is an issue in the prison environment and they have to be cognisant of it to maintain security, and to motivate and engage the prisoners at either end of the age range spectrum to see education as beneficial for their future. Observations by most prison staff made with regard to elderly prisoners related to their cyclical influx into the prison in winter due to homelessness:

> "Old guys break the law at this time of year [Christmas] especially in the winter".
> (PO.PLS)

According to the prison staff these elderly prisoners were amenable and compliant with the prison regime and they suggested that, in the winter, around 24% of their prison population was made up of homeless prisoners.

4.7.5   HOMELESS HOTEL[196]

There was a consensus among the longer serving prison staff as to why homeless prisoners want to come into the prison in winter and why some would prefer to be there permanently:

> "They are in for just petty things, some of them have got nothing – a couple of particular ones – they are homeless, sheltered housing, they have nothing – no heating – no electricity to cook food – they want to get caught, to get back here once they are out". (PO.WHY)

A number of the prisoners the prison staff know well, and they spoke with some affection about them and expected to see them on a regular basis.   Other staff believe that these prisoners had become institutionalised, wanting to be in prison where it is safe and warm and where they have friends.   Others, because they were incapable of accessing services in the open community to deal with their needs.   This is the life of one such prisoner who was unable to control his alcohol addiction and prison was the only option that kept him from his alcoholism:

> "We have one in here – he likes it in here – he is in his sixties – he says himself he likes it in here – he has nobody on the outside – he has a drink problem out there and he goes out for about a week, he gets bored – goes into a supermarket – takes a bottle of whisky, drinks it and waits for the security to pick him up – he

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[196] As described by the longer serving members of the prison staff who expected to see their regular winter visitors and were somewhat empathetic to their plight, but also considered it was an expensive way to house the homeless.

said, "I have company in here – I have a bed – I have meals and I am off the alcohol". (PO.TAE)

Prison staff are empathetic to homeless prisoners, providing clothes from the 'jail rack'[197] if theirs were too shabby or dirty to wear in prison, as often, on admission, they only have the clothes they are standing in and which are considered a health and safety/hygiene risk. These 'jail-rack' clothes have been donated by other prisoners:

"Some prisoners, when they go out, they leave clothes and trainers that still have some use in them for the homeless prisoners, to help them out". (PO.CIS)

Prison staff believe that for some there is a significant chance, even an expectation, that they are going to return to prison because life in the open community is too hard for them to cope with or is unsafe, they have no family or friends, and thus prison becomes their preferred option and, due to their criminal record, it is an easy option to gain a prison sentence. If the prison staff's perceptions are correct homeless prisoners make up a quarter of the prison population. On the whole they acquiesce with the prison regime, their pains of imprisonment are being trapped in homelessness in the open community. The dichotomy here for prison officers is whether to try to motivate them to rehabilitate to what? Homelessness?

4.7.6   PRISONER TYPES: CONCLUSIONS

Prison staff working on the wings highlighted a number of specific issues that stood out in my fieldwork about the ascribed general characteristics of the prison population that make it challenging for them to rehabilitate or support desistance for prisoners. These perceptions

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[197] In this particular prison, prisoners were allowed to wear their own clothing. The 'jail rack' was a rail of clothes in reasonable condition donated by other prisoners held in the prison Reception for other prisoners "*less fortunate than themselves*".

are related to prisoners' substance addictions, mental health, immaturity, age category and whether the prisoner may be homeless. Each one of these perceptions results in differing reactions by prison staff that are based on their life experiences and their professional experiences, with a concomitant variety of approaches to how they work with each individual prisoner, with regard to security and care, to rehabilitation and to the level of empathetic response.

Addictions, mental health and immaturity present prison staff with a number of issues around security and care, as prisoners have a tendency to be unpredictable, unstable and lack rudimentary civility. Some are also vulnerable to exploitation by other prisoners. Prison staff empathise with those with mental health issues if they believe that they are not 'at it' just to get medication and attention. With regard to prisoners with addictions, some staff find it hard to empathise as they consider it self-inflicted. Immature prisoners were treated by some prison staff as they would with their own recalcitrant teenagers; some staff, however, found them demanding, irritating and difficult to deal with.

Age and homelessness presented other problems around security, care and rehabilitation. The age range of prisoners in this prison is from early twenties through to seventies. Age also impacted on which prisoners were motivated to attend education. With regard to this aspect, there was no consensus of opinion. Some thought that the younger age benefitted whilst the older ones did not, and vice versa. Others considered that those in their thirties were more motivated to attend learning to change their lifestyle. With regard to homelessness, it was noticeable in the fieldwork that prison staff had the most empathy for this particular group of prisoners. Prison officers' perceptions, overall, are that they see the

same faces returning to prison on a regular basis. It does affect their morale and their efforts to rehabilitate and support prisoners, but the majority of their time is taken up with security, controlling the unruly prisoners, ensuring they have their entitlements, and coping with a prison regime that can often be perceived as undermining their authority (see C 5, pp. 204-246).

4.8   PRISON STAFF: THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF REHABILITATION

Previous paragraphs have examined prison staffs' perspectives on the prisoners in their care with whom they are working to keep secure and support as best they can.   An interview at the start of my field work with a senior manager, discussing rehabilitation and desistance in the prison, explained that prison staff in this prison were unlikely to understand either term:

> "You know how to rehabilitate – there is nobody in this jail will know what that
>
> is – but nobody will know what that is until you explain it to them – and they will
>
> go – 'aye I know what that is – oh aye' – they do not know the terms". (SMT.ZIN)

However, what my research discovered was that prison staff did have a broad range of perceptions, opinions and understanding about 'rehabilitation' and its purpose.   Their appreciation of rehabilitation varied depending on how long they had worked as a prison officer, or in which part of the prison they worked or, as a new recruit, what they were taught in the nine-week initial training (see Chapter 6) and their own upbringing and work experience.   These following comments from focus group five[198] which summarises prison staff views on rehabilitation and their role:

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[198] Focus Group 5 a group of five prison staff who had been employed at the prison between 4 to 6 years, they had no experience of any other prisons in Scotland.

"just like giving advice and guidance to your friends"; "picked it up as I went along"; "but not my job"; "futile, they keep coming back"; "we don't give them the life skills that normal people have". (Collection of views from Focus Group 5)

But, when it came to 'desistance' this was a term that most prison staff were not cognisant of:

"I know about rehabilitation, but I don't know about the other [desistance]".(PO.MAG)

There were a small number of exceptions. The prison staff who worked in Programmes and in Integrated Case Management had heard the term through the forthcoming introduction of the prison's asset-based approach for short-term prisoners. They saw their specific role as one of supporting and planning a prisoner's rehabilitation and preparation for release. Thus, with regard to those staff who worked on the 'learning side' of the prison, they had knowledge and understanding of what they were trying to achieve around rehabilitation, but desistance was still at the embryonic stage. However, on the wings rehabilitation and desistance was not part and parcel of the job according to the majority of prison staff; their job revolved around the core daily administrative imperatives on specific security tasks, moving prisoners around the prison (logistics), controlling illegal activities, caring for the vulnerable prisoners and general health and well-being.

Prison staff perceive their work on the wing as, primarily, maintaining security. This involves each day completing a specific list of approximately twenty-two core daily tasks to meet management and contractual criteria to maintain security and the safe operation of the prison, and to ensure that prisoners are receiving care and support to live as securely as possible in their penal 'home'. This perception by prison staff on rehabilitation as a

subordinate consideration of the prison policy and practice is supported by previous research claims by Morris & Morris (1963), the Prison Officers Association (1963), Thomas (1972), Coyle (1986), Sparks et al., (1996), Liebling & Price (2001) and Crawley (2004). This is how members of staff described rehabilitation in one of the focus groups:

> "Rehabilitation is a second-class theme in here – what comes first is your security
> —- making sure nobody dies – (that's how it runs .... PO.MOL[199]) …. being brutally
> honest reality in here means you lock your gates and nobody dies.   Once that
> is sorted, we can maybe work on them not coming back – it is a secondary target
> in here". (PO.LEC)

Rehabilitation within the prison, as it emerged from the fieldwork investigation, as prison staff understood it, took place in the learning area of the prison, facilitated by specially trained prison staff who worked in those areas. Prison staff who work on the wings referred and encouraged prisoners for rehabilitation. Prison staff described the prison as divided into two specific areas: the wings, where the prisoners live, 'their home', and the place where they go to be rehabilitated, the 'learning area'.   Prison staff on the wings refer prisoners through the systems available to them, which are paper-based, with hand-written notes or written in a specific book for education staff, health staff or case managers to access all passed over to operational staff in the hubs.   They are also responsible for updating the prisoner's record system, known as PR2[200], which again the wing staff have limited access to. Their role is to operate the communication from the wings to the other parts of the prison and surveillance of all who enter and egress from the wings. This makes referring to activities

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[199]. In this quote it indicates another voice expressing their views during the conversation.

[200] The SPS electronic database called Prison Records 2 (PR2) is an estate wide database on which the details of all prisoners are recorded.
  Different screens are used to support the ICM process, in particular facilitating referrals to other service providers.

and other agencies a rather hit and miss affair according to prison staff and can create tensions in relationships.

Trustworthy and empathetic relationships between prison staff and prisoners are key to supporting prisoners on their desistance journey (Farrall & Calverley, 2006; Burnett & McNeill, 2005; McNeill, et al., 2012). Desistance support can be identified as happening on the wings for example encouraging keeping family ties. However, it is not perceived as such, but as simply something they do because they care about another human being. Nevertheless, prison staff personally decide who they are going to support and put their time and effort into those they consider worthy of it by differentiating prisoners by their circumstances and traits, such as homelessness, immaturity, addictions, mental health or whether the prisoner is a career criminal (see sections 4.7.1. to 4.7.5 pp. 178-191). Hence, rehabilitation or desistance are not perceived as processes that happens on the wings where prisoners live but in another part of the prison, facilitated by trained prison staff or by civilian staff employed for the purposes of teaching educational courses, by library services and by outside agencies (National Health Service, Job Centre Plus, Criminal Justice Social Workers, Families Outside, New Roots).

In the following sections I have separated rehabilitation and desistance since, while prison staff have some understanding of rehabilitation being a process of identification of risk and sentence planning that prisoners can go through to help them get out of prison early and ultimately stop re-offending, desistance was a term prison staff were not familiar with and therefore had no overt understanding of the various routes, influences and changes that supported a prisoner to desist from crime. However, in their narratives human and social

capital could be identified, in that they understood that a significant person, parenthood, age, employment and education played a part in changing a prisoner's mindset on criminality.   Therefore, I considered it crucial to separate rehabilitation and desistance to better explain prison officers' views of their role in supporting prisoners to change.

4.8.1   REHABILITATION: RECEPTION TO RESIDENTIAL WINGS

All prisoners, on arriving at the Reception unit in prison, undergo an initial assessment of their needs. This is completed through what is known as the Core Screen Plus[201], which is a series of questions which are the same for all prisoners. The Core Screen interview is about finding out as much information about the prisoner as is feasible and is used to signpost individuals to appropriate support referrals within the prison.   Areas covered are alcohol or drug addiction, competence in reading, writing or working with numbers, housing, relationships, violence, mental illness, training for work, offending behaviour and benefits:

> "In that initial interview you are identifying interviews, or appointments for x
>
> amount of things up in the Links centre – it could be the Jobcentre – it could be
>
> housing – you are making healthcare referrals, education referrals and all that
>
> kind of stuff". (PO.LEC)

The 'reception' area is a sensitive and tense place, and the prison staff explained that they have to process prisoners as quickly as possible to get them into the admission and induction wings.   Prison staff feel that they sometimes have to be pragmatic, especially if the prison

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[201] The Core Screen Plus interview carried out by prison staff to find out as much about the prisoner as possible. This allows prison staff to put appropriate supports in place and refer to other agencies.
http://www.sps.gov.uk/Families/HowCanIbeInvolved/Integrated-Case-Management.aspx

is experiencing high volumes of intake in the reception area and they explicated that the Core

Screen then becomes a tick box exercise because of time issues of moving prisoners from

Reception into the admissions and induction wings of the prison:

> "Depending on the quality of the Core Screen, admittedly – and we are all up to
>
> the same standards on the Core Screen – and it can mean on the busier days the
>
> quality of the Core Screen dropping, because you have less time to speak to the
>
> guys and less time to get into their heads – because there is so much to do within
>
> a certain period". (PO.LEC)

Other issues include prisoners serving very short sentences and in and out in a few days or

weeks, where the need to process them has a sense of urgency to make sure they are

referred to the right agencies in preparation for liberation, not only in the time allocated to

do the work in Reception, but to get appointments with all the external agencies who work

in the prison before they are released. The imperative in Reception is to do a thorough

assessment:

> "So, the better the quality of the Core Screen you can then identify their needs
>
> – of the short-term prisoners – and then you can refer them onto the outside
>
> agencies such as Housing, Benefits, New Roots and all that kind of thing".
>
> (PO.EDN)

If the Core Screen is inadequate, then some prisoners are at risk of missing out on support

from internal rehabilitation interventions and external agency support until a few weeks later

into their sentence when they move from the induction wing to the residential wings. Other

issues in Reception resonate with prison staff's experiences of trying to help those prisoners

who enter prison still under the influence of, or enduring withdrawal symptoms from,

substance abuse.   Prison staff stated that they can only do so much in Reception, the

essential issue is to process and move them the induction wing for observation and referral to the health services if they are a cause for concern.

The majority of staff on the wings consider the most they can offer in the way of rehabilitation is a referral to another department or agency in the learning side of the prison. However, prison staff claimed on numerous occasions that they were not informed that a request has been actioned or that the prisoner was attending health care, education, training, behavioural programmes or meeting with external agencies. Prison staff only get that information when they see that prisoner's name on the daily list of where prisoners are going each day:

> "… and it is a piece of paper referral – so you are not sure if that person is
> receiving that – you are not sure if they are actioning it – unless you see them
> walking off the wing, saying they are walking off the wing because they have an
> appointment for alcohol counselling". (PO.LUT)

This lack of information on referrals being actioned, for staff, is frustrating and creates unnecessary obstacles to the continuity of meaningful support for prisoners because they do not know what they are undertaking in the learning/rehabilitative side of the prison. Their perceptions are that if they knew what a prisoner was working on, getting help for or learning they could use it as a motivational lever for communication and support to help prisoners achieve their goals. Prison staff on the wings explained that most of the time they are using their own judgement on the needs of prisoners based on their own experience of life and work, their personal skills and from their upbringing, rather than from any specific training they have undertaken, and it is often just a short conversation on which they make that judgement:

"If a prisoner is struggling the staff will talk to them as briefly as they can and just

make sure his wellbeing is good enough – anything deeper than that they would

need to go – (would refer him on?) – aye, they would need to because time would

not allow these deep conversations with four, five people if that is what it took –

maybe one a day scrape it, but there is just too much going on in a core day, for

wing staff to be able to". (PO.MAG)

Even if staff do find time to listen and discuss issues, they still have to refer them on because

they have no say in a prisoner's activities off the wing:

"In here, because the way the wings are structured – the residential staff do not

have much say in what they are doing in their times – yes, you know, you maybe

spoke to the guy who is in for breach of the peace when he is drunk – and you

can only refer them on to somebody else". (PO.EDN)

The residential prison officer has no authority to assign a prisoner onto a timetable of

activities; this action can only be undertaken by the ICM officer (see C 5, section 5.5.4, pp.

253-257).   The perceptions of nearly all the prison staff was that rehabilitation was the

responsibility of those on the learning side of the prison.

4.8.2   PRISON STAFF: PERCEPTIONS OF WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR REHABILITATION

Prison staff perceptions of rehabilitation and of their role in this aspect of their work varies

across the prison and are, to an extent, dependent on their length of service and which part

of the prison they work in.   There was, however, an opinion that came across quite clearly

during my fieldwork that prison staff were not involved with rehabilitation on the wings or education area, only in the Programmes and Trades areas of the prison:

> "You see the problem is, you have got two areas. You have got prisoners where
> they live, and then you have got prisoners where they rehabilitate, to be honest,
> the learning parts, the Academy[202], the Trades[203]. The only people that get the
> time really to do the rehabilitation is the teachers, because the prison staff in the
> education and learning areas are basically just guards. So, when they are in
> there they do not have the time to do any informal chit chat or anything – no
> they are supervising fifty or sixty – basically, they are security". (SPO.SMT)

The prison staff who undertake rehabilitative work are those who facilitate the offender programmes, vocational trades, and co-ordinate case management.[204] Rehabilitation is thus operationalised as a formal activity undertaken by assigned prison staff who have received specific training for these posts. Prison staff on the wings can suggest, recommend and motivate prisoners to take up options to fill up their daily timetable, but actual allocation to any activity is undertaken by other staff employed by the prison in different teams who are responsible for education or programmes in conjunction with the prison's ICM team. The Separation and Care Unit (SCU) prison staff do undertake rehabilitation to support prisoners to reintegrate; however, this is not aimed towards liberation to the open community but rather to mainstream prison life.

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[202] Academy is the branding term used in this prison for the education area

[203] Trades refers to the area where they teach vocational skills

[204] The personal officer role on the residential wings had not been fully implemented throughout the life time of the prison and seen as an add on to the wing officers main remit see section 5.6.3 pp. 233-237.

In the SCU, their aim is to assimilate a prisoner to be able to live in the main residential wings and they explained that they did this by demonstrating pro-social behaviours of politeness, respectfulness and listening (to the prisoner). However, they did not appear to consider this to be rehabilitation:

"... again being respectful towards people might be – the fact that they have never had – and if you can give them that little bit of respect might change their lives – it just takes one spark to make a fire, you know it, it is also having the time to listen to somebody, because half of these guys may not be able to off-load – not only to an officer but to anybody in confidence. (Do you have time to do that?) I really struggle, sometimes, and sometimes you just have to make time". (PO.COQ)

However, with regard to some of the prisoners sent to the SCU, while staff may consider that the prisoner cannot be rehabilitated to live in the open community, stabilising a prisoner to behave rationally is something that they are proud of:

"He is never going to get out – there is no rehabilitation of him – but if you take that step forward, actually getting him interacting with staff and having had a job, maybe getting a steadier sentence, I think that is progression towards that. But, as I say, some cannot be rehabilitated, but if you get that, a step forward, and again it is a plus point for the staff who are working with him and a plus point for the prison as well". (PO.PEE)

The staff description of how they operate in the SCU had similar characteristics to those of the Barlinnie Special Unit where the staff-prisoner relationships were more like 'therapist and patient', rather than officer and inmate (Coyle, 1986, p. 204). However, the interesting

aspect of prison staff work in the SCU, I would suggest, is that there is rehabilitation, but for life in a penal environment. Even though their perceptions are that 'this person' is never going to change to live in the outside community, they have enabled them to have as 'normal' life in a penal institution. They have supported prisoners to move into and live in the mainstream prison by helping them to build relationships of trust with prison staff and prison opportunities. The SCU prison staff regard their primary role is, through pro-social civility, to show or to teach prisoners that prison staff are there to help them, not be verbally or physically aggressive, and to reintegrate them back into mainstream prison living so that they are no longer disruptive to the prison regime, prison staff (Liebling et al., 2001; Crawley, 2004) and other prisoners (Dunbar, 1985).

The perceptions of almost all of the residential prison staff was that rehabilitation is a formal activity undertaken by specialist prison staff and that the cognitive behavioural programmes are just bringing out the skills people already possess, highlighting them and encouraging and use them pro-socially rather than anti-socially:

> "I am a firm believer we in Programmes .... we are not teaching the guys any new skills. We are just – we are highlighting that they have got these skills that everybody has naturally got – assertiveness – everybody has actually got problem solving techniques.   It is how they go about enhancing them, if that makes sense, you know. So, we are not teaching anybody nothing". (PO.MAG)

In the Trades, they do believe they are training prisoners to develop new skills or update old skills. The prison staff consider that the prisoners appreciate the time they are spending with them and the inmate code of 'don't trust a prison officer' is suspended (Sykes, 1958; Liebling

et al., 2011), and this allows a trusting relationship to develop between staff and prisoners (Coyle, 1986).   Prisoners then feel they can disclose issues or problems that they are experiencing and seek the help of the teaching officer.   The following quote describes something similar to what Tait (2008) also observed, that rapport, trust and sociability offered by prison staff leads to prisoners confiding and seeking support for their problems:

"I do have a dual role but what you find is while you are learning the guys

something – you will find that a prisoner has got a dilemma as well, at the same

time.   Because they have got your trust – you are giving them information as to

learning a trade and whatever – because you have gone out of your way to learn

them a trade and, there is a trust thing there, and they come to you and confide

in you – that they've maybe got a problem in prison or a problem at home – help

them see somebody within the establishment that deals with that department

or whatever". (PO.COL)

Thus, some staff see the potential in prisoners, and intuitively recognise that certain supportive actions and attitudes help prisoners consider changing their lifestyle (Jacobs, 1977; Shamir & Drory, 1981).   However, other staff see not only the positive in prisoners but also the negative side, and there is a lack of belief in rehabilitation by some prison staff and no confidence in the regime.   Prison staff who had worked in the prison since it opened do question the approach to rehabilitation and have become sceptical about Programmes, and consider that many of the staff are too nonchalant with prisoners and do not take cognisance of the victims of their crimes (Teske & Williamson, 1976):

"I see a lot of the victim's side and a lot of people forget here – you know – your

job here – is to help prisoners – whereas a lot of people forget there is victims as

well. So, you get a lot of the officers get settled and blasé with the prisoners –

that sort of buddy, sort of, you know – day to day thing – and forgetting, you

know". (SPO.SMT)

The perceptions of prison staff varied when it came to relationships with prisoners. Some

considered that they were just people, the same as themselves, who had gone wrong and

they were prepared to give them a second chance because they considered that, by good

fortune, they or their family did not end up on the 'opposite side of a set of keys':

"This guy it was his first time, he didn't have a clue what happened, he had never

been in bother in his life before, so it was just all alien to him – am thinking that

could easily could be any one of our sons and daughters who's been put in that

position and I think that kind of paternal instinct – think well I need to sort this

young chap out. Do you know what I mean?" (PO.CIS)

Some did their duty as a prison officer and provided everything a prisoner required by the

prison rules and prison administration but, beyond that, they were not going to be supportive

of them to rehabilitate from their chosen lifestyle. For some of the prison staff, whose

perceptions are that rehabilitation does not work, there is a sense of futility about their job.

They have no way of knowing if what has been done does work and they consider that, if they

stabilise a prisoner, when they go back into the community all of the hard work done in the

prison is undone (Crawley, 2000). The following points, raised by prison staff, shed light on

what Rusche & Kirchheimer (1939, p. 159) termed the 'false assumption' about rehabilitation,

that the mode of behaviours of self-control and regulation in prison will enable the prisoner

to re-adjust when released back into the community and similarly, as Garland (1985, p. 248)

has argued, that the penalty is trying to 'substitute new values and norms for the defective

ones' to restore prisoners to an 'elusive normality' to 'counteract degeneracy and neglect' associated with their lives in the community.

> "So, if we can clean them up in here and send them out to nothing, to the same
>
> friends, the same drug dealers, same family, and they just fall straight back into
>
> that regime". (SPO.PAE)

Even if the prisoners have undertaken the programmes and it has not changed their mindset on drugs and alcohol, this is frustrating for prison staff:

> "If someone is coming in here addicted to heroin and they go out addicted to
>
> heroin – it is not going to rehabilitate them, is it?   And if somebody is addicted
>
> to drink they are going to go back and those who are addicted to drink most of
>
> their crimes have been done when they were under the influence – and you
>
> say to them – when they are just getting out – what you are doing today? – 'I
>
> am going straight for a bottle' – and you know it is all going to end wrong and
>
> they will be back". (PO.PEE)

All of this adds to the prison staff's feelings of futility with regard to rehabilitation and recidivism in prison and provokes in them a personal and universal helplessness to change the situation (Abramson, al., 1978) and instils in the prison staff a fixed mindset (Dweck, 2006), a belief that prisoners do not have the ability to change, and this viewpoint can inadvertently and overtly be expressed through the interactions between prison staff and prisoners.

Nevertheless, when prison staff see a prisoner who, in their eyes, has changed by becoming a passman or is learning to read and write or gaining education qualifications, because the intervention has come at the right time, they are proud of that achievement, for the prisoner and for themselves.   Prison staff recognise that, for a prisoner to gain a qualification that has

a certificate attached to it, this means a great deal to the prisoner and their family.   This, however, is tinged with the reality that it is only a small number that they can turn around with education, skills training and cognitive behavioural programmes.   In their estimation, this number is quite low, around ten per cent.

> "It is probably few and far between, it's probably ten percent of what you get in – you are thinking that – a lot of them you can't change you know – they are in and out and that is just what they do. But the odd one that you get – it's good. So, I had one, like the one that got out today – he ended up a passman". (PO.TAE)

The perceptions are that prisoners attitudes and traits (see section 4.7) require a great deal of attention to keep the prison secure so there is little time for extra support that focuses on rehabilitation.   Also, the prison's regime mitigates against rehabilitation as the classes and courses do not coincide with sentence length (see section 4.5, pp. 165-171).

For prison staff to motivate some prisoners to attend education is an uphill struggle (Petersilia, 2003; SG–OFI, 2009) particularly if they illiterate.   Other prisoners, they mentioned, are afraid of exposing their lack of literacy (Black, 1990, p. 95) and therefore they opt out and also do without earning money for the prison 'luxuries':

> "I think with the amount of people that, that cannot read and write – erm – there is – I do not think there is enough opportunity for them to go to ('there is not enough opportunity'?) there is not enough encouragement given them – they are very self conscious a lot of these guys – and that is why the frustration comes through". (PO.GRE)

4.8.3 NEW RECRUITS: PERSPECTIVES ON REHABILITATION & WING WORK

This section reiterates the views of new recruits five months post initial training (training is discussed further in Chapter 5).   After training, new recruits allocated to the wings considered that they were disadvantaged with regards to helping and motivating prisoners to attend and access rehabilitative opportunities. Their knowledge and understanding of the learning side of the prison has to be gleaned on the job from colleagues and prisoners. The training did not explicitly acknowledge that rehabilitation is one of their roles apart from role-modelling; therefore, whose responsibility it is to rehabilitate offenders is rather vicarious.

New recruits were heavily reliant on their experienced colleagues for information and support and, in some cases, the 'experienced' staff may have only been working there themselves for a few months.   New recruits declared that they would have liked to have more input from the education staff during their training, with the only direct involvement with a specific prisoner programmes being an introduction to GOALS[205].

> "..... aye maybe you know even if we get a sit down with each tutor – and then you learn about what each course entails so you know what the prisoner's going to and what he is learning – so then if they do come to you and ask you something about it – you could be like aye – blah, blah, you could tell them – you could give them an answer to their course – whereas they come up and ask you and 'I don't know mate' – whereas if somebody came up and asked me something about his course I would never know – I would not have a clue – I would not know what he is doing". (PO.PRA)

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[205] GOALS is a motivational two-day programme based on self-esteem, assessing current lifestyle. It integrates different positive psychology methods and 'good old' common sense, to help prisoners get more of what you *want* and less of what you *don't want* in life. www.goalsuk.org

The new recruits explained that they have to build up their knowledge over time (see section 4.8.1 pp. 198-200) as part of a team of six working across three wings holding approximately 180 plus prisoners[206]. They do not have a large pool of colleagues from whom they can gather knowledge and information and learn what happens on the other side of the prison. Knowledge can be gleaned from prisoners as well, but there is the 'cons v white shirts'[207] attitude to overcome (Sykes, 1958). Therefore, the building up of knowledge and internal contacts is another task, on top of the core daily regime, that has to be completed. New recruits working on the wing often felt they were ignorant when it comes to rehabilitation due to the way the prison regime is organised (Duffee, 1975) and lack of training.

One new recruit narrated the time a prisoner had come up to them on the wing with their homework assignment which needed to be sent off to an external agency for marking. The recruit had taken the work but not forwarded it on and the cut-off date had gone by and they felt really bad for not passing the work on. This was not an isolated case, and new recruits mentioned that missing notes, referrals, letters and phone calls are due to the ratio of two prison staff to between 60 plus prisoners and to staff turnover, staff with little experience and to the daily core duties taking priority, making this a regular occurrence, not intentionally but plainly a result of logistical issues. The new recruits, particularly on the wings, have to learn the daily routines, about security, about who their 60 plus prisoners are and their individual needs, all from the small resource of experienced staff they are working alongside.

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[206] Prison staff have to be agile and work across the three wings in each area and therefore in reality they have to try and get to know 180 prisoners and on the short term wings with the turn over of prisoners this is an onerous tasks.

[207] Cons v White shirt is the termed used in this prison to denote that there are relationship issues between prison staff and prisoners.

4.8.4   REHABILITATION: CONCLUSIONS

In general, prison staff, across the residential areas of the prison, have few positive reinforcements to inform them that they have been successful in turning prisoners away from criminality.   Their perceptions are that prisoners return to prison with a predictable regularity, due to their attitude and traits and to motivate them to take up the options that the prison provides for rehabilitation takes a great deal of effort and time which prison staff contended they do not have.   Thus, their overall belief is that they can only help a small percentage of prisoners, around 10%.   The physical division of the prison has created a metaphorical divide in the minds of the prison staff around rehabilitation; the wing staff deal with the pressures of the core, daily compliance and duties around security and care that have to be completed, with the prison administration concentrating the rehabilitation of prisoners into accountable specialisms in another area of the prison, where they provide cognitive behavioural programmes, and where education and training are facilitated and link centre services are provided.

Desistance, however, is not part of the verbal currency of rehabilitation in this prison, but this has not halted desistance support for prisoners being encouraged.   Prison staff instinctively recognise that certain supportive actions and attitudes help prisoners change their mindset.

4.9   INVESTIGATING DESISTANCE IN A TOTAL INSTITUTION

For centuries the intended focus of penal establishments had been about making good, repairing the damaged goods sent there by society (Gardener, 1958).   In the last half of the 20th century, attention centred more on 'why' people stopped offending to ascertain if

understanding the 'why' could be utilised to bring the onset of desistance earlier rather than later in a criminal life cycle. Thus, theories of desistance have emerged over time through investigations of offenders in the open community, both those who are in the process of desisting criminality (primary desisters) and those who have permanently ceased criminality (secondary desisters) (Maruna et al., 2004), and of self-efficacy around integration into their community (tertiary desistance) (Maruna, 2011; Barry, 2013; McNeill, 2016). Empirical investigations of the factors that support desistance in offenders mostly come from the open community rather than the semi closed prison environment.

We can take the three epochs of desistance (primary, secondary and tertiary) and view them through the lens of a penal environment which, although not a totally closed institution, is closed to prisoners with regard to their own personal communities and civic society. Primary desistance may well commence in a penal environment with the support of the prison and specialist staff. Several of the prison staff described a prisoner's personality change, for example becoming acquiescent[208], no longer associating with certain prisoners or becoming drug free. The majority of the prison staff explained the importance of building relationships, being role models, positively reinforcing skill acquisition or skills demonstrated. They intrinsically understand the importance of human and social capital, albeit without having overt knowledge of these terms. With regard to secondary and tertiary desistance prison staff have no method of reliably knowing if someone has desisted and that they may have influenced a change in mindset. The only confirmation they appear to have is if a prisoner does not return to their prison[209]. Or, as a few prison staff reported, a chance encounter in

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[208] The context in which this was described by prison officers was not a prisoners just following the rules to gain access home detention curfew, parole of open estate, it was fundamentally different.

[209] Although the prisoner may be in another prison in Scotland or elsewhere.

a supermarket or walking down a street when they are greeted by an ex-prisoner who thanked them for their help and who introduces them to their family.

A number of the prison staff expressed the views that if socio-economic needs are met they would stop prisoners reoffending, for example a home, a job, gaining vocational or academic qualifications or disassociating themselves from their criminal connections. This fits with the structural processes relating to the socio/economic conditions through which desistance may be supported, for example employment, social bonds and detachment from an offending peer group (Laub & Simpson, 2003; Weaver, 2013).   With regard to age and maturation, prison staff have a variety of views (refer to para, 4.4 & 4.7.4) but not that these are associated with desisting from crime (Glueck & Glueck, 1940).   Neither do they associate desistance with a trauma (Mulvey & LaRosa, 1986; Shover, 1996; Maruna, 2001); however, they do perceive this as a difficult or disturbing situation for the prisoner and are very supportive and empathetic.

Human agency is also considered essential for enabling a person to take control of their lives. Bandura (2006, pp. 164-165) identified three forms of agency, 'individual', 'proxy' and 'collective' and four functions through which it is exercised, 'intentionality', 'prescience', 'self-regulation' and 'self-reflectiveness'.   Human agency, acting through these four functions, gives control to an actor's life, having the ability and knowledge to access increased resources, making plans and achieving their goals, by being in control, independent and resilient (Bandura, 1986).   However, their arguments as to when, why and how agency provides the trigger for desistance is contested.   Giordano et al., (2002) explicates it as enlightenment, when a person realises that changes are already happening, and Paternoster & Bushway (2009) argue that it is at the start of the process of desistance when a person

starts to reason that their life could become positive or negative and the fear of the negative self outweighs the positive and forces desistance. Offenders, it is argued by Weaver (2009), begin to consider a crime-free future for themselves and the realisation that their anti-social attitudes and behaviours are socially unacceptable and incompatible with their aspirations to lead a crime-free lifestyle. Bottoms et al. (2004) contend that 'structure' and 'agency' are interrelated with regard to desistance. They explicated the interrelationships between 'structure' and 'agency' through an individual's attitudes and values moving towards the pro-social and, they argued, that is when they start to seek to change their socio/economic circumstances and in doing so pro-social acculturation develops and becomes consolidated (Barry, 2010).

The question that the above raises is this: if desistance is now part of the policy and practice in penal establishments in Scotland (SPS-VP, 2016), are these theoretical arguments around sociological structures and psychological transformations understood by prison staff working with offenders in all areas of a prison? I would contend that support towards desistance by prison staff is intrinsically, and intuitively, actively taking place in prisons. Prison staff in my fieldwork prison who worked on the wings, however, had no knowledge of the term desistance, let alone the theories of desistance. But, nevertheless they were identifying some of the levers associated with desistance, such as family relationships, significant life changes such as parenthood, reminding prisoners to focus on positive networks, reinforcing positive skills, encouraging educational attainment. The following sections expand on what desistance looks like in a penal environment without staff being trained with regard to, or indeed having the knowledge of, desistance theories or processes.

4.9.1   DESISTANCE: INSTINCTIVE & NURTURING

The majority of prison staff who took part in my field work were not familiar with the term 'desistance'. Despite this lack of knowledge, prison staff knew that their work involved being a role model for prisoners:

> "I think you just have to – when they come in – we just – when they used to come in we used to build up relationships with them – and then we could – when we had made an established relationship we could them make suggestions to them – and they'd actually confide in you a wee bit – a bit of belief in you – I don't think, a lot of them do not have any one who cares about them on the outside that can guide them in a positive way outside – and I think they kind of look up to you in that role because you can provide a support for them – so you just encourage them to engage with the services". (PO.CLA)

But being offered a positive role model is not always accepted or understood by prisoners, according to prison staff during one discussion in a focus group.   They were of the opinion that prisoners did not understand positive and complimentary comments by prison staff and either shrugged them off or considered that there was something underhand about them:

> "Basically, the way they have been, they do not like authority and they do not like us – they do not want to please anybody, anybody that is a positive. They don't tend to go down that route because they do not think it works and they have never known a positive in their lives – everybody has put them down – so when they get a positive its like 'really, OK' – and then they just don't grasp on to it then – whereas if they did grasp on to these positives – it could turn them into better people". (PO.CES)

Despite the lack of knowledge around desistance and its relevance to recidivism and changes in prisoners' attitudes to criminality, prison staff involved in the fieldwork described actions and demonstrated skills and qualities of caring and trust (Leibrich, 1994), relationship building, empathy and respect (Rex, 1999) and positive reinforcement associated with pro-social modelling (Trotter, 1999). Similarly, although not expressed overtly in their narratives, with regard to social and human capital, the fundamentals that support desistance (McNeil, 2009), these attributes could be identified in prison staff's descriptive stories of prisoners and of the support they gave them.   Social capital can be recognised in their accounts of prisoner's families, social background and the areas in which they lived.   Similarly, with regard to human capital, prison staff positively reinforced parenthood, and highlighted skills, abilities and capabilities of prisoners and often encouraged prisoners to upskill by attending education and training courses.   Prison staff are aware that age influences change (Glueck & Glueck, 1940), but their observations are that some prisoners may change but, in others, age will not necessarily be the catalyst for change (Maruna, 1999). They described how they have encouraged social bonds (Warr, 2002; McNeill, 2002) to be maintained and have made significant efforts to help prisoners maintain those bonds, but they also have observed, in the visitors' centre and through prisoner's telephone calls to their relatives, how those bonds are stretched and often at breaking point.   In the stories told by a few of the prison staff there was no indication that they promoted a prisoner's other identities, such as brother, partner, husband, employee or tradesman, but one identity they were keen to positively reinforce was that of parenthood, especially if staff have children themselves.

Many of the prison staff expressed the view that they saw prisoners as individuals who have made a mistake, and prison itself is, therefore, their punishment and they are not there to be further punished.   A few mentioned that becoming a prison officer changed their perceptions of prisoners. Before, it was, 'they get all they deserve', 'they should be punished in prison', 'lock them up and throw away the key'. However, becoming a prison officer made them realise that prisoners are just human beings, "like you and me", and that, for most, their start in life could not be considered to have been positive and that their influences were anti-social rather than pro-social. I would argue that, despite prison staff not being cognisant of the terms desistance and social and human capital, they did, through their own instinctive values and morality (Elias, 1982) and through their observations and conversations with prisoners, try to positively reinforce the values of, for example, positive family influences, and to encourage prisoners, whom they perceive are demonstrating exceptional skills, such as in music and art, to consider that as an employment opportunity.

4.9.2   PRISON STAFF: PERCEPTIONS OF FAMILY RELATIONS & SOCIAL CAPITAL

Prison staff understand that positive, familial relationships are something to nourish and maintain where possible and that those from whom such relationships were absent, or who had issues with employment, housing and education, were socially disadvantaged and were, therefore, more likely to return repeatedly to imprisonment.   The prison operates a number of activities that involve the family, and the prison staff believe that, by the prison showing respect to a prisoner's family and by involving them in specific activities, this will help to maintain and retain those family bonds, lower anxiety levels of the family and the prisoners and act as a positive reinforcement from outwith the prison which, in turn, will encourage the prisoner to take up opportunities to better themselves.

Therefore, the understanding by prison staff of the pro-social requirements to desistance, I would suggest, are learned from their personal and lived experiences and they use this information and learning to motivate those prisoners whom they consider it is worth putting in the time and effort to help; to think of their family and how much better life would be for their family if they were outside the prison there to support them. Pro-social activities associated with desistance, employment, education and having a stable home environment, are promoted and supported by the prison staff and by external agencies who work in the rehabilitation area of the prison. Prison staff on the residential wings can advise and recommend to prisoners that they take advantage of what is on offer, as they recognise that,

> "the main aspirations for prisoners getting out of prison when they are liberated
>
> is to have a home to go to, and something along the lines of education or a job.
>
> I think the new 'work right' scheme that we have on is brilliant – in the Lib-rite[210]
>
> – which is helping with the housing and the benefits and things like that. If they
>
> have a house, money and a job – I think if they had all those things they would
>
> not come back". (PO.JAC)

The prison staff consider that the process by which their prison liberates a prisoner through the visitor's centre respects them as an individual citizen and not as an offender and prison management considered that being respectful to the family of the prisoners sets an example. Despite the policy of respect being shown to the family, some prison staff perceive not only the positive, but also the negative, impact of the family on the desistance process:

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[210] "Lib-rite" is the title they give their prisoner liberation programme.

"Also you are treating their wife, their partner, their kids with respect as well –

not just standing out in the rain – because they all do not get picked up in a car;

some of them, it is the train and the missus comes to meet them – and

sometimes the missus comes with a bottle of wine and meets them and that is

not great and they end up coming back – and 'where do we go and score?', and

that happens as well.   But, I think we give them as much of a chance as we can".

(PO.TAE)

Prison staff expressed their views that the family ties were important and that the long-term

prisoners had stronger bonds with their families than the short-term prisoners.   They

explained that that long-term prisoners' families had not been negatively influenced by their

criminality and the families were still a constancy in their lives. The short-term prisoner's

families, however, were weary, disgruntled with the continual disruption to family life and

they were, therefore, more likely to give up on them.   Nevertheless, the prison staff promote

and support prisoners to communicate with their families with specific activities, for example

'Storybook Dads', 'Homework Club' and 'Dad's Rock', and during these activities, the prison

staff stated, the parents and children are relaxed, and interaction is 'normalised'.   Another

example where attempts are made to retain the family social bonds is the 'Family Induction

Day'[211] which serves a number of purposes, according to the prison staff who facilitate the

event. It allays any fears the family have that their loved ones are not going to be looked

after:

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[211] Family Induction Day – prisoners can apply for their family to attend the family induction day. This provides them with an extra visit that does not come off their allocation. However, the prisoners apply through their personal officer and case manager have to approved and they must have not been on report.   The family induction day involves a presentation in the visitor's centre on prisoner's cells, facilities, visiting, what can be sent in and courses available to the prisoners.

"It gives them a bit of reassurance – and again a lot of prisoners, they are the same – a lot of their worries are how are the folks getting on outside". (PO.ISE)

The Family Induction Day shows the family what the cell looks like and that prisoners have integral toilets and showers, that practical courses such as cooking, and painting and decorating are available, and that if the prisoner attains enhanced status they can get extra visits.   The prison staff see this information as not only helping the family but, the family motivating their loved ones to use their time in prison positively:

"Some of them go – 'so they have their own shower?' I think that is one thing, that they think they are lined up and hosed down. It shows them – a lot of things you can turn it round – so if he does this and he does that he can go into the visits – if he is enhanced they get extra visits – and they turn round and say, 'why did you not get them?' – so he was in a bit a trouble – so the missus is then having a go at him and then they put the pressure on them – again I will make a joke of it – so when he comes out he will be able to make you the dinner – you had better start going to that cooking class.   Yes, and they have got the painting and decorating – so he can come home and decorate for you".   (PO.GAM)

Prison staff on the wings encourage the prisoners to think of their family and often use it as a lever by encouraging them to concentrate on what they could do for their children if they were there for them:

"You can give that wean a better start in life you maybe never had – and it will make you feel better – you can then turn round – I never got that start in life – but look what I give my wean – and look at my wean –and maybe in 16-17 years

time, you can say I stopped my wean from coming into a place like this, and following my footsteps". (PO.CES)

I would suggest that prison staff do this because they have children of their own and their perceptions are that it is the children who are missing out and who will, in all probability, follow in their father's footsteps, eventually ending up in jail.   Prison staff consistently use the levers of the family and children to get the prisoners to focus on changing their lifestyle. Their perceptions are that the majority of prisoners who come to their prison are socially disadvantaged from their birth (see section 4.3 pp. 156-159) and it requires a huge amount of effort to change what had been acculturated and conditioned in them, as, in the same way, the prison staff have their own attitudes and beliefs inculcated and conditioned into them by their upbringing.

Prison staff also recognise that the area and background where a prisoner has been brought up plays a significant role in determining why people become criminals, and that asking a prisoner to leave that all behind and go and live away from their family and friends, and start a new life somewhere else, would make a difference.   Staff, however, expressed the viewpoint that making that leap of faith into the unknown may be too frightening for some prisoners to undertake.   Thus, prisoners return to their own areas, preferring familiarity. Prison staff did not necessarily see it either as a cure-all, getting prisoners to move away from their family and social networks; while moving to a new area may give them anonymity from their crimes (Maruna, 2001; McCulloch, 2005; Farrall & Calverley, 2006), it does not necessary mean that they can gain employment because their criminal record will expose their previous lifestyle due to legislation on disclosure checks (SG-DC, 2017).

Prison staff, therefore, while recognising the benefits associated with prisoners moving from the 'familiar' and changing the area where they have traditionally lived, also recognise the issues associated with such a change. Staff understand that breaking away from their criminal 'family' and offending peer groups can disrupt the cycle of criminality (McNeill & Weaver, 2010) and may eventually break the generational cycle of criminality.

4.9.3   BUILDING RELATIONSHIPS BY UNDERSTANDING CRIMINALITY

Over half of the prison staff mentioned how they took pride in building relationships with challenging prisoners, getting to understand who they are, why they are in prison and searching for levers to motivate them to change their anti-social behaviour and lifestyle. But a small number of prison staff did not have the same motivation with challenging prisoners, and explicated that they were not inclined to support these prisoners but complied with the prison rules, the prison regime and human decency. They were less likely to promote education, programmes or other activities to prisoners as they did not consider a prisoner would benefit from such activities because they were not going to change, and it was just a wasted effort to try. They accept that for these prisoners there is a revolving door and they are not going to recidivate:

"Over the years you get to know some of them and they are not going to change

– they are not interested". (PO.ISE)

However, some of prison staff stated that they want prisoners to have the chance to change and gain an education or a new skill, but they could not understand why a prisoner would work hard at gaining and developing new abilities not to want to continue with them when they return to the open community or even turn them into some form of employment

opportunity. In trying to understand a prisoner's background and why they have ended up in jail, prison staff consider it important to comprehend what has brought them there. With this information they believe they can then try to address some of a prisoner's issues around criminality. This may be simply a social issue, such as lack of literacy, which is the catalyst. Prison staff are cognisant of the fact that changing someone's mindset is a challenge and staff explained that if they could understand why a prisoner has ended up in jail then they believe they may be able to help them change. They are curious about what prisoners have done and why they have committed the crimes, not for any reasons of voyeurism or curiosity, nor do they condone what they have done, but because they genuinely believe they can point out the errors of their ways and use it as method of challenging that behaviour. However, prison staff constantly refer back to a prisoner's upbringing:

> "It is often a family background thing which is ongoing from when he is a child –
> if they are brought up the way they are – you gradually do notice the links. Like
> some of the ones I have got – whether it is extreme violence or just aggressive
> or abusive – but once you hear about their backgrounds and where they came
> from ………". (PO.ERY)

4.9.4   PRISON STAFF: PERCEPTIONS ON HUMAN CAPITAL & ASSET BUILDING

Prison staff described their frustration over, and find it difficult to comprehend, why someone would spend all their time in prison doing 'art' or 'music' which, alongside 'the gym', are among the most popular classes, yet prisoners according to some prison staff do not perceive this as working towards an employment opportunity on release. Prison staff on the wings encourage prisoners to consider that the skills they have or have learned in prison could be useful to them in gaining employment in the open community. This positive reinforcement is proffered as a genuine effort to motivate prisoners but without the

knowledge or understanding of the local labour market and how it relates to people with

criminal records; but nevertheless, they see an opportunity for them;

> "I would say – I would totally say – and guys who are artists the money they could
>
> be making – you could be doing tattooing – you could be doing anything – you
>
> know what I mean it's frightening the money you could be doing instead of
>
> coming in here". (PO.WHY)

The prison staff encourage the younger prisoners to go to the 'trades' training and promote

the positive possibilities for them; they know the qualification level they are teaching in the

prison is below qualification level required to step directly into a trade job but it would put

them on the first rung of the ladder of a career in construction:

> "...... go to that class and get yourself a qualification – get out of here – you go
>
> out and you get – go and get yourself a qualification in the brickie – you might
>
> not end up being a brick layer but you will get a job as a labourer – pays the bills
>
> don't it – keeps you off the street – keeps you from selling drugs – keeps you
>
> from needing to knock off shops – and then you don't come back." (PO.LID)

Prison staff are realistic and pragmatic that prisoners are not easily persuaded to attend

learning and are more motivated to obtain some form of work in the prison.   The prisoner

attitude to education and learning is a hard barrier to overcome for the prison staff but they

nonetheless use positive reinforcement by suggesting that gaining skills and knowledge could

lead to employment in the open community:

> "… and a lot of them just want to get a job when they come into jail, they don't
>
> want to come in and learn – it is trying to break that is the big thing in here is –
>
> saying yes, you might be learning instead of working – but learning in here means

working out there, when you get to the other side of the gate – it is trying to push that one – that is the big barrier to break". (PO.LID)

However, all prison staff are pragmatic in understanding that once a prisoner leaves the prison their influence ends and that of their family, friends and peers re-establishes itself and they can only hope that, in what they have tried to instil in prisoners through positive reinforcement and in helping them to maintain social bonds, they may change their criminal lifestyle. However, the reality is that this is not positively reinforced for prison staff when they see the same people returning multiple time to prison.

These insightful, real life descriptions, by prison staff, of prisoners' backgrounds are, I would argue, explicated through their own personal perspectives of their world, through their own morals and values which emanate from their own experiences and their upbringing in which they have been inculcated and conditioned by generations of their family, friends and peers (Elias, 1982). Prison staff expressed the view that prisoners are similarly influenced, and this conversation summates the conversations and discussions on prisoner's upbringing:

> "Being able to make a change for some of them – as I say these guys in here have not had the best start in life – we may be more privileged, if we can use that word, in that we have had a better upbringing in life and start off on a better foot. Whereas, basically, these guys have been dragged up – had to fend for themselves at a very young age". (What do you mean by dragged?) "Their parents being either alcoholics or drug users – not basically being there for them. Basically, they are left to fend for themselves – so basically the only life they have known is the life of the street, basically, and crime pays – crime gets them what they want in life. Whereas our parents have worked hard to get the money to

give us – what we have got – and then we just follow that – we follow on from

our parents and our grandparents and follow down the same path". (PO.CES)

Prison staff may not be cognisant with terms such as desistance, or social and human capital, but they are consistent in their beliefs that the adverse experiences prisoners had during their upbringing are the consequences that have brought them into the criminal justice system.   Yet, their judgement is that family social bonds are important and, with this premise, make every effort to help some prisoners maintain these bonds, and many express their aspirations to break that cycle of familial offending.   However, prison staff are discerning enough to realise that, for some, this aspiration is not, necessarily, going to be supported by the family, as they have acutely observed that family and friends encourage the continuation of the criminal lifestyle, whilst in prison and post-liberation.   With regard to self-identity, prison staff endorsed fatherhood as a way of encouraging desistance by exploiting a prisoner's emotional ties to their children.   However, they are not overtly encouraging prisoners to consider that they have another identity other than that of prisoner.   This can be construed as the prison staff having empathy for the prisoners, given that they are parents themselves, or for the altruistic, human, objective of trying to stop the familial cycle of offending and re-offending for the sake of the children.

4.10   CONCLUSIONS

In Scotland there are few empirical studies on prison officers' work, even fewer that focus specifically on their role around rehabilitation and none on desistance in a custodial setting. This chapter has explicated these gaps in penal knowledge and therefore adds to penal sociology from the prison officers' perspectives on the following: what they understand

rehabilitation and desistance processes are, whose responsibility it is, which prisoners benefit, which prisoners do not. The decisions that prison officers make on supporting prisoners are altruistic rather than instilled through training from experienced colleagues or by organisational culture. It also brings to the fore prison officers' perspectives on the realities of a prison regime and that penal policies on rehabilitation are secondary to security and care.

In this case study prison officers on the wings discussed rehabilitation in terms of security and care rather than a process that can enable reform. Keeping the prison and prisoners safe was their priority and rehabilitation was the preserve of specialist staff in specific areas of the prison separate from the residential wings. On the wings prison staff explained that role modelling was about being professional and that rehabilitation was about caring for prisoners' immediate needs, ensuring attendance at programmes necessary for early release or encouraging skill development. Desistance was an unfamiliar term to almost all of the prison staff, both in the specialist areas and on the residential wings. Despite this I would argue that the prison staff did promote some desistance processes particularly around familial and positive relationships. However, the majority of prison staff considered they could only support a small percentage of prisoners for a number of reasons, which they characterised as traits.

These traits were indicative of which prisoners could and could not be supported to rehabilitate. Some prison staff were reluctant to spend time on supporting prisoners as they felt it was a waste of time due to the high levels of recidivism, which was demotivating. Prison staff also justified this position on the grounds that they had limited time to support

prisoners once they had completed the statutory and contractual priorities around security and care. Thus, they targeted their support for those whom they noted had changed their behaviours and had become compliant or were vulnerable or suffering due to a traumatic event outwith the prison. The support that prison staff provided was not taught through training, or advice and guidance from experienced colleagues, but from self-direction from their own upbringing and previous work experience. This accords with Bevir's (2002) theory of decentring of governance in that their actions are influenced and enacted upon by personal beliefs and attitudes and not by the directives of the administration.

The majority of prison staff considered rehabilitation worked for only a few prisoners as the majority were not interested in changing their criminal lifestyle. A further reason proffered as to why rehabilitation did not work was that the prison's contractual and regime priorities mitigated against in-depth, meaningful rehabilitative support; for example, sentence length and mismatch with course length, while choice and availability were mutually exclusive and did not allow for an holistic approach across the whole to the penal establishment. Which premise contradicted the appraisal of senior management. Thus, prison officers' perspectives are that rehabilitation is a specialist activity and security, safety and contractual obligations are the priorities that have to be adhered to.

My developmental concept (see C 1, section 1.5 pp. 18-19) suggests that the twenty first century prison officers' role with regard to rehabilitation is the distillation of several decades of penal militarism, punitiveness, welfarism and intermittent policies impinging on the secondary priorities of their role. Statistics show the penological 'modus operandi' on rehabilitation has had little impact on recidivism rates across the decades. It could be argued

that the prison service's approach to rehabilitation is unlikely to change when the prison

regime is predicated upon an administration that focuses on outputs rather than outcomes,

when the lack of control over implementation of policies become attenuated variants of their

original design, with prison officers lacking basic knowledge of evidenced based studies of

rehabilitation and desistance and while the prison regime is managed similarly to an

impersonal warehousing and logistics style of operations.

Chapter 5 goes on to analyse the prison officer's viewpoint of rehabilitation and its

integration into the prison regime.   It also provides a contrast and comparison of those

perceptions with the stance of the prison administration and the independent inspection

reports by HM Inspector of Prisons Scotland's with regard to strategy, policies and

operational realities.

CHAPTER 5   PRISON STAFF PERCEPTIONS ON HOW REHABILITATION & DESISTANCE IS INTEGRATED INTO THE PRISON REGIME

5.1   INTRODUCTION

The second aim of my study was to examine prison staff perspectives of how rehabilitation and desistance are integrated into the prison regime and how this is combined with their primary function of security and care.   The first aim was to elucidate the perceptions of prison staff on their role in rehabilitative and desistance support for offenders.   My fieldwork prison was designed, as per the business proposal and contractual arrangements, as a 'Learning Prison', the only prison designated as such in Scotland (see footnote. 178, p. 145). Thus, the architectural design focused on classroom style areas to teach academic subjects, a library, gym and vocational training as the emphasis for prisoner support and advancement, rather than production workshops found in other prisons in Scotland.   Further differences are the use of biometrics for security and of a private personal computer system which allows prisoners to self-organise aspects of their penal life.   Prisoner support systems that are integral to all prison regimes, such as Integrated Case Management (ICM), Offender Behavioural Programmes (OBP), and a variety of purposeful activities, were all in operation in my fieldwork prison.   However, the Personal Officer (PERO) role was less well established (HMIPS, 2015) but about to be re-introduced alongside an asset-based approach for prisoners on short sentences.

The learning design and contractual arrangements therefore influence the policies and practices of the prison regime to which the prison administration and prison staff adhere, and while functioning similarly to any other prison in Scotland its main focus for prisoner

development was education and vocational training which model, a senior manager considered, during a one-to-one interview, was perhaps, retrospectively, not the most effective option for prisoners:

> "I think probably with hindsight the balance of education as opposed to vocational training – is not (Do you mean trades rather than the workshops?). Yes, trades, trades, I think – teaching people trades, is more useful to getting them to work in workshops.   But, how people want to engage with academic learning,   I think – you know, – it has taken more of struggle to kind of – make that an offering which is more rounded than just academic learning".(SMT-ZIN)

To gain an in-depth picture and understanding of the unique aspects of the prison I conducted interviews with senior, unit and line managers and reviewed the HMIPS inspection reports.[212]   The information and data gathered enabled me to gain a reference point, a baseline by which I could compare the perceptions of management and the independent factual reports of HMIPS and, in turn, compare these with the perspectives of frontline staff as to what constitutes a Learning Prison and how it integrates with the primary role of prison staff.

5.2   PRISON MANAGERS: VIEWS ON THE 'LEARNING PRISON' REGIME

The senior managers, I interviewed, had not all been part of the prison administration from its inception in 2006, nor from its opening in December 2008.   As it was described in the interviews I conducted, the prison was designed as a Learning Prison; this meant there was no inclusion of industrial workshops.

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[212] Note, denied access to interview prisoners by SPS Head Office

> "The contract was let on the basis of this not being an Industrial Prison but a Learning Prison. So, the design was primarily a Learning Prison so there were no Industrial workshops, what people expect to see in prisons, there was none of that". (SMT-WIL)

However, the philosophy, policies and practices of a prison being a solely Learning Prison had not been decided upon and these only came together as the prison was being constructed during 2007 and 2008. Throughout the building period the prison management team set about fashioning a sense of purpose around the concept of a Learning Prison, while, at the same time, designing and writing the regime's policies and practices for the administration and operational proposals that focused on the management of the prison, of prison staff and of prisoners. The senior manager explained:

> "All operational proposals, and there were 62 of them, were written in such a way that the prison would have cohesion. So that one bit would not be working differently to another, and all grounded in the philosophy around the Learning Prison, the responsible prisoner and desistance and all that stuff".(SMT-ZIN)

Two of the managers considered that prisoner learning was not about outcomes, qualifications and gaining certificates; the most important aspect was to teach prisoners life's pro-social skills, normally taught by parents, extended family and social contemporaries (Elias, 1982). They considered that prisoners required skills on how to speak to people appropriately and how to develop their self-esteem and confidence which would encourage them into employment or further education by highlighting their positive assets. They

considered that the role of the teaching staff[213] was to formally teach the subjects but informally, subconsciously, bolster the positives in the lives and skills of prisoners:

> "I think there is a lot that will be very informal, that is not tangible, but we are actually doing it.   But, they [teachers] go into a classroom to try and rehabilitate them.   So, it is always at the back of their minds, even changing their manner and demeanour, so, you have them talking to staff appropriately". (OM-TAW)

There were some unit and line managers who had aspirations to maximise the education area, called the 'Academy', which was not used during the evenings and weekends[214].   As prisoners were contracted to be out of their cells for most of the weekend and during evening association, the managers wanted to develop classes in drama, prisoner magazine production and newsletters to publicise the opportunities in the prison.   Others wanted to move the emphasis from academic learning to improving soft skills which they considered necessary for living in the community and that learning should be a prison-wide exercise, taking place not just in the learning areas.   For those managerial staff who had not been there from the inception of the prison, their perspective was that prisoners should be learning about themselves.   Their aspirations on prisoner learning were that the prison should operate in such a way that prisoners understood what their assets were, building on those strengths whilst in the prison. Alongside self-reflection and learning, prisoners should be planning their requirements for post-liberation and working out what is required to rehabilitate and desist from their previous life of crime:

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[213] All teaching staff are civilian employees of the prison administration.

[214] The original teaching staff were contracted from the local Further Education College, but the contract was terminated after two years.   The teachers were then recruited directly by the prison and all are civilian staff.   Their working hours were what could be termed as normal working hours, 8 am to 4:30 pm, Monday to Friday.

"If you could have a range of ways people can do and think meaningfully about either what they have done, where they want to go, where they have been, where their family is, what place the world is, I think that speaks more to the core of what the prison service wants to be".(SMT-XAN)

One manager was of the opinion that the prison staff did not understand or had not bought into the concept of a Learning Prison:

"I am not sure they know what it means, I have never used the phrase since I got here, 'this Learning Prison', to anyone I have spoken to, never, because it does not make sense to me, it has not got any life to me".(SMT-TEA)

Another manager implied that a decision had been made that a greater emphasis would be included in the initial training of new recruits to instil clarity as to the purpose of the Learning Prison and offer the existing staff the opportunity, during their lunch breaks[215], to voluntarily attend personal development sessions to provide them with a deeper understanding of their roles in motivating and promoting prisoner learning around assets and desistance.

It therefore became apparent that senior managers and managers had different perspectives and aspirations on what a 'Learning Prison' is and should be with regard to learning being the sole provision for rehabilitation support for prisoners. The operational policies and practices on how a 'Learning Prison' would operate had been devised as the prison was being built and this, therefore, would suggest that they were not included in the original proposal placed before the Scottish Government. The opinions that the 'Learning Prison' did not make

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[215] Lunch breaks last for 30 minutes

sense to some managers, and observations by managers that the 'Learning Prison' concept was not understood or embraced by prison staff indicate, I would suggest, that it had not yet attained the holistic, cohesive approach the prison administration had been seeking in their original 62 operational proposals for the prison prior to its opening.   The learning facilities were under-utilised and this, according to some managers, left prisoners with a lot of time, especially at weekends and evenings out of their cells with very little to occupy them, other than what was available in the wings or if a member of staff instigated an activity voluntarily. The teaching staff, it was intimated, were supporting rehabilitation formally through the academic subjects they taught and informally by being pro-social models and encouraging prisoners' aptitudes and abilities that they could build on for future employment or further education.   However, there was no indication that this information reached prison staff on the residential wings who considered that they could have exploited that information to motivate prisoners further (see paras 4.8.2 & 4.8.3 pp. 179-187).

5.3   HMIPS: INSPECTION REPORTS ON THE LEARNING PRISON

The prison has had three inspections since it opened in December 2008.   The first inspection in 2010 (HMIPS, 2010) provided a mixed picture of prisoner learning and the learning spaces in the prison.   The learning was based on Curriculum for Excellence[216] (SE-CE, 2004), and the education facilities were considered positive, and there were good links between the residential hall staff and education staff (HMIPS, 2010, para. 7.18 p. 45). However, there were a number of issues that HMIPS recommended should be remedied. The vocational trades areas were too small with limited opportunities for prisoners.   There

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[216]The aim of Curriculum for Excellence is to help prepare 3-18-year olds in Scotland to take their place in modern society and the economy.   The curriculum will provide a framework for la young people in Scotland to gain knowledge, skills for learning, skills for life and skills for work that they need.   http://www.gov.scot/resource/doc/226155/0061245.pdf

were not enough prospects for long term prisoners for learning, or for skills development related to employability, activities to gain certification or work placements to earn wages. Attendance in all purposeful activities was around 60%, with the remaining prisoners locked in their cells.

By the next inspection by HMIPS (2012) there had been an improvement in attendance to learning and purposeful activities, up to 75%.   There had been some improvement in the vocational workshops, but they were still limited in space and the variety in provision for long term prisoners had not improved, nor was provision for in-cell learning and Open University courses.   It was noted in the 2010 inspection report that the contract for delivering academic and vocational qualifications with the local College had been terminated and the prison had directly employed teaching staff.   The report highlighted the fact that 71% of the teaching staff lacked an appropriate teacher qualification.   The HMPIS (2012, para. 2.18, p. 11) inspection commented:

> "The staff, without an appropriate teaching qualification, are limited in their ability to draw on a sufficiently wide range of learning and teaching approaches when working with those prisoners who may find it difficult to engage in meaningful learning".

By 2015, the inspection report, published during my fieldwork, described meaningful learning as representing less than 50% of what was scheduled on prisoners' timetables and that 15% of prisoners had totally opted out of all activity and remained in their cells (HMIPS, 2015, pp. 61-62).   The range of academic courses was considered appropriate and certification could be gained in a number of subjects at SCQF[217] levels 2-6.   In-cell learning was available, but

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[217] http://scqf.org.uk/the-framework/scqf-levels/ Level 2 equates to National Awards 2 and Level 6 equates to Higher

the inspection report considered that prisoners were not motivated or had the necessary learning skills to undertake this type of learning, and support from the teaching staff was judged deficient. Those with learning difficulties were inadequately assessed and provision was insufficient for their needs, which accords with staff reporting the lack of time to complete the core screen in the reception area of the prison (see section 4.8.1, pp. 198-200). Overall, the inspection report concluded that provision was underprovided to allow progression for long term prisoners:

> "There was limited engagement of long term prisoners because they had exhausted the educational opportunities already or they were not relevant to their life in prison" (HMIPS 2015, p. 61);

and that returning prisoners were repeating the same courses and programmes more than once, which is consistent with prison staff perspectives (see section 4.8.1, pp. 198-200). The vocational areas varied in consistency and again the report highlighted that the limited space meant that prisoners had to take a turnaround in the practical learning, half worked while half observed. The quality of the teaching was inconsistent and overall it was inadequate, and if staff were absent, for whatever reason, staff cover was poor, and the class or course could be cancelled without a replacement option. One of the key features of the prison, a computerised prisoner self-administration system which prisoners use to access their timetable and apply for courses, work and purposeful activities, gave an element of free choice. However, the reality is described by HMIPS (2015, p. 62):

> "... prisoners were encouraged to use the kiosk[218] system in the residential halls to schedule purposeful activity. However, programme start dates, an insufficient range of programmes available, and classes being full with waiting

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[218] 'Kiosk' is the colloquial term for the prisoner computer system

lists, was limiting prisoners' options.   Most prisoners did not receive the timetable they requested, sometimes attending classes of no interest to them to fill their timetable or gain enhanced status."

A further conclusion of HMIPS (2015) was that procedures for the aggregation of prisoner data from across the whole of the prison was inadequate for planning and profiling provision and that the teaching and programmes staff were not involved in assessments of a prisoner's risk or protection factors, or suitability to be involved in group work[219], which was an impediment in the system.   From the reports of the HMIPS it can be observed that the 'learning' environment needs to be improved on all fronts with greater involvement, understanding and co-operation of all prison staff required to improve the provision, opportunities and motivation of prisoners to attend.   According to some managers the ethos of the 'Learning Prison' is not understood or embraced by prison staff and it is not a tangible openly spoken about in the prison itself.   But is that the reality for prison staff perceptions of their 'Learning Prison'?

5.4   PRISON STAFF: OPINIONS OF THE LEARNING PRISON

After the focus groups, observation of the initial training of new recruits, interviews with management and my desk research, it became apparent that, with regard to exactly what a 'Learning Prison' is and what it offers prisoners in the way of rehabilitation and desistance support, there was a diverse range of perspectives.   I therefore added a direct question to my one-to-one interviews with prison staff and new recruits, "What makes this is a Learning

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[219] see Chapter 4, section 4.6 pp. 152-157   prison staff views on group work

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Prison?". It was interesting that only 53% of those interviewed offered any views, but of those who did, all of them opinionated that it was a Learning Prison because it did not have any industrial production workshops, only education and vocational training:

"The fact that we do not have physical sheds, we only offer them educational stuff, my understanding other [prisons] facilities offer them, like Shotts used to build benches that they sold to garden centres, and I think Barlinnie have a concrete shed. We do not have anything like that here. Yes, we have the work parties that do the bins, for the grounds, and various other passmen, nothing much else. We are an education facility and that is all we offer them". (PO-EDN)

There were other perspectives. The majority of prison staff worked on the residential wings and had a complex shift pattern and could be deployed anywhere in the prison at any time and thus occasionally they had a security shift in the 'Academy' where they observed learning in progress. When prison staff were on security detail, they observed prisoners sitting in the classes doing nothing, "looking glaikit", just passing the time of day with their pals. Staff considered that, for some prisoners, attending the Academy was a tick box exercise and prisoners were not doing much learning there. However, they explained they had little communication with civilian staff in the Academy and only met occasionally the other prison staff who were based in the learning side of the prison, which is the opposite of what HMIPS reported in 2010. The prison staff on the wings were sceptical about its effectiveness:

"[lets out a long sigh] Honestly, I hate that title in here (do you) yes, - (why is that?) It is not so much a Learning Prison as a forced school in here you will find, and I don't think it works".(PO-LID)

Another view expressed was that courses come and go with the people who are engaged to teach or facilitate them, that the academic level is too low for many of the prisoners and there are not enough courses and physical places for prisoners to attend.   However, those prison staff who worked in the Trades, Gym and ICM and Programmes staff[220] who were based in the learning side of the prison, had an awareness of rehabilitation and could communicate readily with the teaching staff in the Academy; their perspectives were somewhat different because of their role and where they were based:

> "The Academy for a start, they have different classes on, they can enhance,
>
> they have a lot of people doing degrees.   Which is absolutely spot on you
>
> know, it is a very positive thing for guys to enhance their education, but they
>
> have got to want to do it.   Not everybody is going to do – there is a class that
>
> is always full, it is the computing.   So, it is guys who did not even know how to
>
> use computers that are getting the European Computing Licences". (PO-MAG)

Their perspective, on the whole, was that the Academy provided good educational classes for prisoners to learn and improve themselves, for example literacy, personal development, art, music and certification in recognised industry qualifications, such as food hygiene and industrial cleaning, which they felt was a good stepping stone for prisoners onto the employment ladder.   The courses in computing enabled prisoners to gain some experience of using a computer as preparation for returning to life in the open community.   Two of the prison staff engaged in ICM explained that it was the prison's approach to learning that singled it out as a 'Learning Prison'.   They described it in two ways: firstly, as social learning,

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[220] Prison staff in my fieldwork prison if they took on a specialism they were not paid more.   There was only on e pay scale for prisoner contact staff and one for operational staff who had no prisoner contact.   Each member of staff received a small percentage increase annually.

because prisoners called staff by their first names which makes the way they communicated with prisoners and formed relationships more personal; secondly, from prison staff watching prisoners and identifying their natural skills and abilities, their assets, and then explaining to the prisoners that they could advance those skills through education and certification which could lead them to a college course or employment.

Overall prison staff's perspectives varied depending on their work role and the area they were based in within the prison.   Of the five new recruits interviewed five months post their initial training, only two proffered an opinion of the 'Learning Prison'.   One was sceptical and considered that the learning was all about tick boxes for the prison to show the prisoner was progressing.   The other had a different response:

> "I knew that [the prison] was an educational prison, that is one of the reasons I did apply here.   I don't think the education prison is entirely 100% effective.   I think if they are going to be an education prison it needs to be for, kind of, the gap between young offenders and maybe thirty to mid-thirties.   Where there is the chance they could still want to learn.   When they come to thirty to thirty-five they do not want education anymore – they would rather be here working".
> (PO-AMA)

The other new recruits had not thought about the prison being a 'Learning Prison' and why it should have that title.   Although they had been given some information during the initial training they expressed that it was just a prison without workshops, with only education.

Prison staff's perspectives and opinions on the Learning Prison did not highlight a concerted comprehension of any specific vision or mission statements, strategies or policies and practices that underpin the prison's regime, ethos and culture of a 'Learning Prison'.   Apart from the introduction to the learning opportunities during their initial training, prison staff had to garner information from prisoners, managers and colleagues, and the occasional shift in the Academy.   However, they were expected to promote classes and motivate prisoners to attend.   Given that the life of the Learning Prison focused mainly on the 'Academy', the learning areas of the prison, from the perspective of wing staff, was a place to send prisoners to get them out of their cells, earn money and tick boxes for early release or a move to 'top end'.   But, for those prison staff whose location and work role are specifically about rehabilitation they had a different perspective and considered that it supported prisoners to gain skills for employment on release.

The management expressed a variety of views and aspirations but there was no overall consensus, no operating philosophy, other than that all prisoners must have a full timetable of learning activities that kept them out of their cells to meet the contractual agreements. HMIPS inspection reports stated that the quality of the teaching, spaces for vocational trades and the opportunities for long term prisoners were all inadequate, yet nothing appears to have motivated the prison administration to address these issues.   Overall, the picture that has emerged is that the prison staff have a similar perspective to the facts reported by HMIPS, as did some of their managers.

There was no prison-wide discourse on the specific structure of the Learning Prison and what it meant for rehabilitation and desistance support for prisoners.   There were no statements on beliefs and practices that constructed the way the prison administration thought, spoke

about and responded as a Learning Prison regime.   The Learning Prison regime appeared focused on timetabling and out of cell hours for prisoners, which met their contractual obligations first and foremost, and learning was confined to a narrow curricular approach rather than a wider, more liberal approach across the whole prison that supported the development of a prisoner's self-cognition, self-efficacy and self-realisation that would support desistance.   The introduction of the asset-based methodology (see para 5.5.1 & 5.5.2, pp. 217-222) is possibly a start in that direction.

5.5   MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES ON INTEGRATED CASE MANAGEMENT, THE PERSONAL OFFICER ROLE AND AN ASSET BASED APPROACH TO REHABILITATION AND DESISTANCE

Almost four decades ago sentence planning and the personal officer role were introduced into the Scottish penal regime for long term prisoners, after a decade of tumult in Scotland's prisons (Scraton, et al., 1988; 1991).   In 1987, 'Fresh Start'[221] was introduced to radically alter the promotion and management structures in the prison service and underlined an urgent need for a new strategy on training (Coyle, 1991).   The Scottish Home and Health Department ((SHHD, 1987a, p. 7) stated that:

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[221] The Home Office described the aim of Fresh Start proposal in the following terms:
"the general aim is to replace existing management structures, systems and methods with working arrangements that:
1= match more closely the work requirement of the establishment
2= are responsive to changing pressures and demands
3= enable managers to manage more effectively
4= promote the unification of governor and prison officer grades and a sense of purpose, ownership and responsibility at al levels.
5= improve efficiency, effectiveness and economy with which the Prison Service discharges its public service
6= provide the basis for the enhanced delivery of regimes
7= brig increased job satisfaction to prison officers through a reduction in hours of attendance and a closer identification and involvement with their work by increased continuity
8= provide greater predictability of attendance
9= provide clearer lines of operational accountability
10= provide clear definition of roles and responsibilities (Fresh Start Bulletin No 7 1987)

"it would provide the opportunity to develop the role and skills of the prison

officer".

This provided the impetus for a number of reports (see C 1, section 1.4, p. 15; section 1.14, pp. 68-75) and it ushered in again a rehabilitative role for prison officers.   Thus, prison officers were allocated roles as Personal Officers (PERO) to support sentence planning for all prisoners, now part of ICM, and became central features on which SPS strategy on which rehabilitation and now desistance is focused.   The SPS Organisational Review (SPS-OR, 2013, para 4.42 p. 67) reiterated the importance of ICM and the PERO roles:

> "Personal Officer is responsible for the day to day interactions with the prisoners
>
> and an ICM Case Coordinator is responsible for carrying out assessment of risks
>
> and needs organising the input from multi-agency representatives attending the
>
> case conference"

SPS are introducing across the whole of the prison estate an Asset Based Approach (ABA) to their desistance work with the intention that it should become a whole prison approach, not contained within specialisms, and that it will be the responsibility of all prison staff to operate and work with prisoners using an appreciative rather than a deficit approach:

> "Central to the programme of change will be the ability of SPS to develop its
>
> entire workforce to support positive change in people and practice,
>
> concentrating on things that make individuals and communities flourish" (SPS-
>
> OR, 2013, para 4.11, p. 54).

To provide a background for a comparison with my fieldwork prison on ICM, PERO and an ABA to rehabilitation and desistance I reviewed the SPS policy statements and HMIPS inspection reports.

5.5.1 SCOTTISH PRISON SERVICE: PERSPECTIVES ON ICM, PERO AND ASSET BASED APPROACH TO REHABILITATION AND DESISTANCE

The ICM officer's role is to establish co-operation and information sharing across a multi-disciplinary team which includes internal prison teams and external community agencies and statutory services with the purpose of supporting prisoners both inside the prison and when they return to the community.   The PERO is the interface between the prisoners and the ICM team.   SPS see the PEROs as the motivators of positive change in prisoners through their daily interactions and trusting relationships empowering the identification together of a co-productive plan to support and to initiate the transformation from inmate to citizen.

In the prison there are two levels of ICM for prisoners, enhanced for long term and standard for short term.   The enhanced is much more comprehensive than the standard (SPS-ICM, 2007) which is considered disjointed and improvisatory by SPS and, something that they aspire to improve upon (SPS-OR, 2013, para 4.18 p. 55) through the introduction of 'AIRMAPS' for short-term prisoners.   AIRMAPS is an holistic and participatory approach with prison staff and prisoners together identifying strengths, needs, goals and actions required to achieve them, brought together in a co-produced sentence plan (McNeill & Weaver, 2010; Weaver & McNeill, 2010).   The SPS-OR (2013) recognised the value and importance of the PERO role and that, since its inception in the late 1980s, there had not been a clear overall standard of the PERO role (SPS-OR, 2013, p. 79) and that relevant education and training was not seen as an imperative.   However, SPS are seeking to change this:

"[PERO] staff will require education, training and support to deliver new roles effectively; a point perhaps missed in the intervening period following the launch of Opportunity and Responsibility" (SPS-OR, 2013, section, 4.69 p. 78).

The PERO is to be considered as a core role and not a 'secondary' responsibility; they are to be relieved of the daily regime of routine tasks to allow them to concentrate solely on facilitating and motivating prisoners to volunteer to be involved in sentence planning. The PERO will also remain in touch with the prisoners via the Through Care Officers, who report on how prisoners are re-integrating into their community, which information is then a discussion point if they return to custody (SP-OR, 2013). The HMIPS inspection of Barlinnie (HMIPS, 2016, p. 54) reported that prison staff were having difficulty finding time and space to conduct the appropriate interviews but that prisoners considered these as opportunities to address their criminality. SPS are striving for a whole prison, holistic approach to desistance through the introduction of AIRMAPS to recalibrate the needs-risk/needs deficit model upon which the majority of rehabilitation work had been previously predicated (SPS-OR, 2013, para 4.27). In this case study prison, a number of changes were taking place, with the introduction of an ABA for short term prisoners, re-establishing the PERO and strengthening the ICM team to improve their core offering around formal rehabilitation support for prisoners similar to that in other prisons in Scotland.

5.5.2   PRISON MANAGERS: VIEWS OF INTEGRATED CASE MANAGEMENT & AN ASSET BASED   APPROACH FOR SHORT-TERM PRISONERS

From the data in the interviews with managers their description of ICM over the life of the prison was that it was somewhat extemporaneous and only in the previous year to the

commencement of my fieldwork in 2016 had the prison focused on improving this function in the prison. Some managers considered that not all staff were engaged with the ICM process, in particular the residential staff, and that overall, staff were too inexperienced, in some respects due to the high turnover of staff and the policy of not employing frontline staff with other prison experience:

> "I don't think that the staff, yet, are as engaged with the case management of prisoners as they should be. The case workers are but the residential staff on the wings have a long way to go I think, in terms of integrated case management. Whether that is for long termers or short termers I do not think we have cracked that yet. I just think the staff are too inexperienced and the amount of turnover we have had in the first three years, we were just putting bums on seats". (SMT-ZIN)

From the opening of the prison there appears to have been a number of iterations of the way ICM has been operationalised. Initially, the prison employed a similar approach to that of other prisons in Scotland:

> "The paperwork we first had was the SPS paperwork, we first used that. There is just a blank box and you have a conversation and make notes. At first, basically, it never worked for the first 3 to 4 years because the training was probably poor on it. In 2012 we revised this. So, the new documentation was put together and it was nice, it was in colour. It asked, 'Tell me your weekly lows and your weekly highs', you could then open up a conversation and it was supposed to be done weekly". (SMT-TUR)

For a number of years, prison administrators explained, there were only two prison staff allocated as ICM case workers and they undertook the one-to-one interviews with all the long-term prisoners.   As in the other prisons in Scotland, long term prisoners were provided with the 'enhanced' ICM provision.   As it was described in the interviews, it sounded similar to that laid out in the SPS ICM Manual (2007, p. 4).   However, it differed in that the decisions on prisoners' requirements to fulfil their sentence plan were made solely by the case manager and social worker and excluded other prison staff and relevant outside agencies.   This was not an holistic approach and created problems and issues across the teams who also had a vested interested in ICM;

> "I would say that it has not been working as well as it should be, because we had a difference of opinion between psychology and the programmes team and how the prison-based social worker and case manager have assessed the interventions needs.   So that has caused us a wee bit of a problem, in terms of folk progressing". (SMT-TEA)

However, during the months of my fieldwork in the prison the management sought to introduce a more holistic approach to the ICM process and made significant changes to emulate the system that was in operation in other prisons in Scotland.   For example, the programmes assessment would now be carried out and then referred to the Programmes Case Management Board (PCMB) who would decide appropriate interventions and sequencing.   When a prisoner completes the process the whole ICM team would review the progress and next steps.

With regard to ICM for short-term prisoners, particularly those serving less than 6 months, the 'standard' process, as in other prisons in Scotland, is followed:

"We have obviously got the standard ICM process which is a pretty blunt instrument; it does the Core Screen and there is not a lot else generated from it.   So, we were aware that was a shortcoming, and the process here, we have just started in December an asset-based approach review to try for short term prisoners". (SMT-TEA)

The ABA is in line with the other prisons in Scotland but was designed in-house to reflect the ethos of the 'Learning Prison' and is titled, Asset Based Approach Report (ABAR); it is focused on prisoners who are serving sentences of 6 months up to 4 years.   The prison administration decided that, for those serving less than 6 months, there was insufficient time to do very much for them:

"… because under 6 months we are normally very tight for time, but they will do the Core Screen and addictions work.   Time wise it is just more difficult to do but we still do the Core Screen and stuff like that to try and find stuff out.   It gives the basic information and hopefully on areas we can start to focus on". (SMT-TEA)

Overall, the prison administrators in my interviews provided a description of ICM as having being rather a hit and miss affair since the opening of the prison; it was disjointed, lacked consistency of approach and progression for prisoners was rather haphazard, so much so that some prisoners missed their pertinent action points, and this has had a negative impact with regard to moving to less secure conditions.

"The thing is if you have got somebody's journey through prison, there are a number of hoops they have to jump through before they get to that point, and some of it has been a bit disjointed, whereby he [prisoner] has missed a

programme so he was at that stage, now he is back a stage [lower level] because

he missed a bit out". (OM-WAT)

One manager explained that prisoners are happier that there is more structure and consistency and that they are beginning to hit their milestones and that they [prisoners] can see progression, especially the 'lifers'[222], who are seeking to attain "top end", which is a less secure prison regime but still within enclosed conditions.   According to the prison management they are now focused on ICM as a priority, for example, with the increase in the ICM team from 2 to 9[223] and the introduction of an asset-based approach for short term prisoners.

5.5.3   HMIPS INSPECTION REPORTS ON INTEGRATED CASE MANAGEMENT

The first report on my fieldwork prison by the HMIPS (2010) gave a positive report with regard to ICM, stating that it operated to a good standard (HMIPS, 2010, para 1.19) and regarded the prison's support to engage families in the process as being considered and an example of good practice, with between 18-26% attendance (HMIPS, 2010, para 1.12) by a family member at the case conference.   The HMIPS report acknowledged that the ICM work was carried out and completed for the most part within the required timescales and that decision making was robust and appropriate (HMIPS, 2010, para 3.2). There were two areas in which they, HMIPS, recommended improvement, namely with the documentation not being filed correctly and, due to the inexperience of the prison staff, case managers and prison managers

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[222] Lifers.   The average length of time served by the released discretionary lifers was 15 years and 8 months; the average served by the released mandatory lifers was 11 years and 1 month.   The average length of time served by mandatory life sentence prisoners has been increasing over time.   Life Sentence Prisoners in Scotland - Research Findings. www.gov.scot/Publications/1999/03/6c148e2e-6dbf-489b-bf70-6991256cb92

[223] The prison administration increased the ICM team from 2 prison officers to 7 prison officers and 2 Team Leaders whilst I was undertaking my fieldwork

lacking understanding (HMIPS, 2010, p. 56) of the 'challenges and opportunities that prisoners face when they progress to open conditions' (HMIPS, 2010, para 9.8).   The next report (HMIPS, 2012) acknowledged the family involvement as continued good practice and the ICM team had improved their knowledge and understanding of the issues that prisoner's face during progression when they moved prison, were released under license or were liberated.   However, by the HMIPS (2015) inspection report it would appear that the numbers of families attending the ICM case conferences had drastically reduced, with,

"...... of 26 due to attend and only 6 attended" (HMIPS, 2015, p. 54).

The HMIPS did add a caveat in that the rest of the prison estate were experiencing a similar situation (HMIPS, 2015, p. 55).

The ICM management of short term prisoners was reported as being unsatisfactory in that support was only proffered if requested, which approach the report considered as negative:

"Staff members reported that short term prisoners were only considered for progression if they requested this themselves.   This is clearly problematic if prisoners are unaware that they can access this support."(HMIPS, 2015, p. 55)

However, the preparation for release was considered encouraging, with over 86% of prisoners attending a pre-release interview (HMIPS, 2015, p. 56).   At the time of the inspection there were only two case work managers to undertake the ICM reports, with the prison-based social worker, for around 200 prisoners.   The case manager and social worker decide between them the programmes for prisoners with no involvement of other staff or of prisoners and it was noted that prisoners were having to wait up to six weeks to see their case manager and

some prisoners decided to opt out of the process altogether (HMIPS, 2015, p. 56).   This was not considered satisfactory for prisoner progression by HMIPS[224].

From the series of three inspection reports it could be observed that the ICM, which had started very promisingly when following SPS guidelines, as recorded in the HMIPS 2010 report, had deteriorated significantly when the prison administration altered the process, subsequently becoming a cause for concern by HMIPS.   It is worth noting that a number of points raised by managers in the one-to-one interviews were also highlighted by the HMIPS in its three reports.   There was the suggestion of a failure to facilitate prisoners' progression, with a lack of an integrated approach with prisoners and other teams relevant to the ICM process.   The prison administration considered that the original ICM process did not work effectively – that is why they changed it – yet, HMIPS stated that it was working satisfactorily.   In my interviews there was no mention of family attendance at the ICM case conferences, yet the HMIPS originally considered it as an example of good practice.   Overall the picture presented by HMIPS on ICM was that it started adequately and deteriorated. However, the prison administration perceptions were that ICM was not operating effectively and changed the process but in doing so did not give it the priority, status and staffing levels required to run effectively, leading to a lack of effectiveness where, according to the HMIPS report, it did not support prisoners' progression through their sentence.

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[224] All of the above was in the process of being rectified during my fieldwork when the HMIPS report was published.   A manger pointed out to me at the time the prison administration had prior warning of what was in the report and they were pre-empting it.

5.5.4   PRISON STAFF: PERSPECTIVES OF INTEGRATED CASE MANAGEMENT

The one-to-one interviews were undertaken with residential prison staff and those involved in ICM and Programmes Teams.   The staff involved in ICM had a clearer knowledge of the process than those on the wings and it was noticeable from the data that there was a distinct separation of duties with regard to supporting prisoners to rehabilitate.   Communication between the two areas appeared limited and the prisoners bypassed the wing staff if they wished to progress or discuss their timetable or other issues they encountered.   The prison staff who facilitated the ICM and Programmes described how the process operated in their prison.   At the time of my fieldwork all prisoners attended a two-week induction towards the end of which they were interviewed by the case manager.   Previously, the prisoner's induction lasted for 3 days, then it was increased to a week and at the time of my fieldwork it lasted for two weeks.   From the one-to-one interviews the suggestion was that the extension to the induction period was for logistical and processing reasons rather than prisoner need.   For all prisoners, in the initial interview with their case manager, they would take cognisance of the Core Screen completed in the busy Receptions area (see C4, section, 4.8.1, pp. 198-200).   After the prisoner's first interview with the case manager the information garnered is discussed with the social worker and they decide what the prisoner should be timetabled for and which cognitive programmes they should attend.   The Programmes staff originally had no input in who should attend the OBPs or when; this did create issues with the group work as some prisoners either could not cope or simply resorted to inappropriate behaviours, identified by HMIPS (2015, p. 52).   One of the issues that the ICM team do have is getting prisoners to attend the Risk Management Team meetings where progress and issues are discussed.   Thus, more often than not, decisions on a prisoner's progression are made without the presence of the prisoner and with incomplete information gathered across the prison and collated by the ICM team.

"Some guys don't go up, so it is based on a folder, this is his background, this is

what we have done to find out where he can go for his home leave [referring to

Open Estate].   Just all the kind of report stuff put together and presented to

Senior Management ...... what I say is, it is all fine and well, being on a bit of

paper, you [prisoners] could maybe put that little bit extra there and boost your

chances.   It may work or not, depends on the mood of the day". (PO-EDN)

For long-term prisoners, within the first 6 months there is a case conference which reviews if

the prisoners are responsive to the timetabling they have been given and their attitude on

the wings.   All this information is collated into a management plan and recorded on the

prisoner records system.   The next review for a long-term prisoner would be 12 months

hence, and annually after that:

"In a management plan for someone that is starting a 20 years sentence, there

is not much going on for those prisoners throughout the first 15 years apart from

staying out of trouble and stuff like that.   Apart from that there is nothing and

they do not really invite their family, they know it is a generalised plan". (PO-

COL)

Short-term prisoners are now also being interviewed post Core Screen assessment by the ICM

officer.   This will eventually include the new system ABAR[225] to assess prisoners, from which

an action plan will be created.   Short-term prisoners are invited to an exit interview 6 weeks

prior to release to review all action points on the core screen and ensure they have been

completed.   They are then passed to the link centre staff to connect with and meet external

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[225] ICM Team knew about the ABAR approach for short-term prisoners.   However, it had not been rolled out as expected
and was still on hold as I came to the end of my fieldwork.   Consequently, the staff I interviewed has no understanding of
ABAR , how it operated or its purpose.

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PRISON STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ROLE IN THE REHABILITATION & DESISTANCE SUPPORT OF PRISONERS
December 2019   Jo Bailey-Noblett

agencies such as Housing, Job Centre or other agencies that have been identified through the assessment and risks and needs process.

ICM and Programmes officers had all previously worked on the residential wings and had between them 18 months to 5 years prison experience.   They described how different their job was from the residential work.   It was a much more hands on approach with involvement with other agencies and they do have a sense of achievement, as they could see the results of their interactions with the prisoners.

> "I think this job gives you more of a sense of achievement on the whole – because you are seeing the results of things.   But, you are also seeing the people coming back and you have got that rapport with them already, and they come back and they are always going to ask you for help;   you know that it actually means something, not to them as a person but it means something.   I think that is the sort of approach the business wants you to go for anyway". (PO-JAC)

One case manager explained that being in ICM allowed them to be themselves, whereas on the wings they had to adopt a more severe attitude to ensure that prisoners were not taking advantage or were complaining that they, the staff, were treating someone else better than them.

> "I can be a nicer person in ICM that I was on the wings.   Not that you are not a nice person in residential. You have to be serious, when you need to be serious. You still do that in ICM, but I think I just wanted to be nice, I just wanted to be me". (PO-JAC)

Residential prison staff had a detached perspective of ICM. Some were able to describe the process and only occasionally were they asked for information on prisoners by the ICM officers. However, one member of staff mentioned that they would refer prisoners on to education, link centre or case manager by telephone:

> "There are loads of different avenues that are open to you, although we are only based on the wings, we have got access to refer them to the people that can deal with the issues that they need sorted". (PO-PER)

The main method of referral was self-referral by prisoners through the prisoner personal communication system. Staff explained that all of the prisoner's information is placed on this system and it provides information to the prisoners on their purposeful activity timetable, food menus, wages and internal finances and 'canteen'; it also contains their sentence details, court dates, parole dates and any orderly room[226] reports they may have accrued:

> "If you want to speak to your case manager or anything like that, they can ask questions through that [kiosk] to initiate and it saves a lot of time for case managers and things like that, not to be answering silly wee questions they can find out from the kiosk. If they come down through the orderly room, if they receive a punishment, information is up-loaded on to the kiosk. So, when they go on [kiosk], they find out when they are going to get the TV back". (PO-ERY)

I have already recorded that prison staff on the wings have a schedule of 22 action points to be completed every day and their working shifts are heavily framed towards administration and security. ICM does not appear to be an integral part of their role of working with

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[226] Orderly Room is where breaches of prison rules, such as disciplinary issues, are adjudicated by the Governor of the prison or their representative. www.sps.gov.uk/nmsruntime/saveasdialog.aspx?...PrisonerDisciplinaryHearings2459

prisoners on the wings, yet part of the ICM process is to obtain information on prisoners' behaviours, for example are they settling in, attending their timetable of activities, as well as any external family issues or internal personal problems, such as mental health and addictions.

The perspectives of prison staff, those who work in the 'learning area of the prison' and those who work on the residential wings, on the ICM system, described an emerging picture of a prison of two halves, with little communication to bridge that divide, for both prison staff and prisoners.   The 'kiosk' appears to be the electronic link for prisoners but prison staff cannot access this device.   Prison staff on the wings receive no acknowledgment as to whether a prisoner's requests have been actioned; this may duplicate work if other wing staff make a referral as well.   It was interesting to note that only one member of staff, a new recruit, mentioned that they could telephone other areas of the prison to get a prisoner help; it was not possible to ascertain from the data whether this was encouraged or discouraged by management, by case managers, by education, by Programmes or it was simply a time issue for wing staff or that they did not think it was part of their job to do that.   This leads to the PERO role and their role in the ICM process.   The impression I was initially left with after the focus groups was that the role of the PERO was not very well established.   However, after the interview with the senior managers, unit managers and other prison staff, this was found to be not quite the case.

5.6   THE PERSONAL OFFICER ROLE IN THE LEARNING PRISON

This section contributes to penal sociology as it highlights the significance of the PERO role on supporting rehabilitation and desistance but I would contend that it loses potency when

it is allocated as an additional role on top of a prison officer's primary role of security and lacks the imperative from the prison administration due to their policies on staffing of the residential wings. During my investigation the prison administration were seeking to improve the status of the PERO as the HMIPS had reported it was not given any significant priority or oversight:

"No evidence was found that an effective Personal Officer scheme was in operation" (HMIPS, 2015, para 7.10, p. 56).

Some prison staff had been trained to facilitate the role of the PERO, but it emerged from their perspectives, and those of the majority of prison administrators, that they had little time to do the PERO role, with lack of access to the computerised records (PR2) on which to add the narratives, with the turnover of prisoners, particularly on the short-term wings, and with prison staff turnover, shift patterns and deployment across the prison all making full implementation challenging.   First line managers described the situation thus:

"The idea is to try and help the prisoners through their journey in prison; 'he [prisoner] is dealing with this and he is dealing with that'.   But, because our staff are all over the place, these staff do not have access to computers to update their notes or nothing like that. Yes, eventually it goes on PR2, weekly narrative, you will find that they are not always up to date and things like that because the staff do not have time to do that.   We do not have any lock up time." (SPO-MAE)

5.6.1   PRISON MANAGER'S: PERSPECTIVE OF THE PERSONAL OFFICER SCHEME

As noted from the SPS policies the PERO is a member of staff who works in the residential areas of a prison.   They play an integral part in the ICM process for prisoners to progress through their sentence and in preparation for early release or liberation (SPS-OR, 2013, para 4.42, p. 67).   In my fieldwork prison it did not hold the same standing and during the focus groups, although a number of staff stated they were PEROs, the suggestion was that it was just an administrative role added to their duties on the wing.   This was confirmed in one of the one-to-one interviews with a senior manager who was explaining why they thought the PERO role was not functioning as an integral part of the ICM process:

> "I don't think the emphasis that drives that in terms of the personal officer scheme, a lot of people just see it as an extra piece of paper that we have got to fill in – because they have 25 bits of paper to fill in every day.   So, it is just seen as something else to fill in and, in reality they do not understand the goodness they [prison staff] can get out of it". (SMT-TUR)

In the one-to-one interviews with prison administrators there were a number of reasons stated for the lack of development in the PERO role.   They emphasised the following.   Firstly, the inexperience of the prison staff and the high turnover of staff were a hindrance to the role functioning effectively on the residential wings and there was also insufficient resourcing in terms of staffing[227].   Secondly, the fact that prison staff on the wings did not have access to the computerised prison records system, PR2, which held all of the ICM notes on a prisoner's backgrounds, sentences, risks and requirements.   Thirdly, the system they employed assigned prisoners to each PERO on the wings, with 10 specific numbered cells per

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[227] Two prison staff per wing per day shift to 61 prisoners was considered inadequate

member of staff, and whichever prisoners were inhabiting those cells the prison officer then became their PERO. This was considered flawed, because of staff turnover, staff absence or with staff on annual leave, and because of prisoners' movements within the prison and prison system as a whole and the constant churn of prisoners on short-term sentences.

"They are not resourced [wings] enough. They have got the basic numbers in here to do the day to day management of the hall, and they will do the day to day interactions with them, care for them, refer them to their case manager for anything they can't support. They will support the prisoners through their journey encouraging them to take part in their case management and stuff like that, but they are not actively writing the case management". (SMT-TEA)

However, a senior manager in the one-to-one interview, when I proffered information that staff on the wings had contended that they had very little time to do their work and that fitting in the PERO role was an issue, was of the opinion that staff had more than enough time on their 7-hour shift to do all of the work they were allocated, particularly around security checks, such as accommodation fabric checks (AFCs).

"Because we are first and foremost, we are here about security and the security check is AFCs. So, the quality of doing those is paramount. That literally takes 30 minutes in a shift – 30 to 40 minutes say, because the early shift will do one half of the wing, not the full wing. So, if they are done properly they are on a 7 hour shift they have 6.5 hours left of the core day. There are a couple of route movements that take 10 minutes. So, they actually have valuable time through the rest of the day, what we have to remember is that 78%-80% of our prisoners

are out working …… technically a member of staff on the wing is maybe left with

12 to 20 people with whom they can actually engage with." (SMT-WIL)[228]

It was also pointed out that wing staff have less administrative work to do than in other prisons because the 'kiosk' did a lot of the work for them. Therefore, this particular manager contested that there was enough time left over to work with the few prisoners that remained on the wings who were not attending purposeful activity. They indicated that 78-80% were attending activities whereas the HMIPS (2015, para 7.15 p. 59) inspection report indicated that it was less than 50%. It was also pointed out that in the evening, during recreation time, prisoners do not want to have anything to do with the staff because they are chatting and playing games with their friends, 'chilling out after work'. This is at odds as to what prison staff have reported, that they are bombarded with demands, questions, queries and tantrums (see C4, section 4.3, pp. 156-159).

On the whole, the majority of the prison administrators agreed that the PERO was not functioning correctly and staff who took on the role of PERO needed time to do their job. As I was completing my fieldwork, decisions had been made to add computers to the wings, change the allocation of prisoners to PERO by sentence length rather than cell number, and assign a back-up member of staff if the PERO was not available. They were also encouraging the PERO to attend the Case Conferences and Risk Management Team (RMT) meetings to update on how well the prisoners were managing their sentence, whether they were coping or had other issues. There would also be checks by the first line managers on the PERO weekly reports with senior managers completing further checks monthly and at six-monthly

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[228] This contrasts significantly with the description provided by the facilitator at the initial training of new recruits. See Appendix 7.

intervals.   There was also the introduction of new paperwork based on ABAR for short-term prisoners serving six months and over (see sections, 5.5.2, pp. 246-250; section, 5.5.4, pp. 253-257).

It would appear from the one-to-one interviews with the prison administrators that there was a difference on opinion on how well the PERO was functioning on the wings and that the time available and necessary to complete the work the role requires to be adequate to support prisoners through ICM, Case Conferences and RMT.   The HMIPS inspection report of 2010 and 2015 offered a rather different perspective of the PERO scheme.

5.6.2   HMIPS INSPECTION REPORTS ON THE PERSONAL OFFICER SCHEME

In the HMIPS (2010) inspection report it was recorded that some 41 prison staff on the wings had been trained as PEROs.   The scheme at that time was very much in an emergent stage and there was a lack of expertise and understanding of the PERO role, particularly with regard to statutory cases (HMIPS, 2010, para 9.5).   The HMIPS inspection report of 2012 did not mention the PERO role at all;   however, the HMIPS (2015) report again noted that there was no effective PERO scheme in operation on the wings:

> "A personal officer aide memoire was recently introduced but this is simply more
>
> guidance on what information they should include in the narrative they submit.
>
> There were no personal officers at the ICM case conferences or at the Risk
>
> Management team meetings we observed. Staff report that the personal officer
>
> scheme is in name only, this would be supported in the poor response to custody
>
> reports".   (HMIPS, 2015, p. 56)

The HMIPS inspection report backs up the majority of the prison administration's perspectives on the PERO scheme, with the exception of one manager. However, it appears that it has become an imperative now to improve the situation and fall in line with the SPS Governor and Manager Actions[229] notices on PERO roles.

> "What SPS are doing are moving it to a more asset-based process and more targeted case conference approach so if that comes out as a Governor and Manager Action (GMA) stuff in the future. We will obviously have to re-visit our model in the future and make sure we comply with what their GMA states". (SMT-TEA)

However, the prison staff perspectives were that it was an added administrative function, although they were keen to improve their work and help build trust and supportive relationships with prisoners, enhancing their role from just security and care.

5.6.3 PRISON STAFF ON RESIDENTIAL WINGS: PERSPECTIVES OF THE PERSONAL OFFICER ROLE

Overall, the frontline prison staff who took part in my fieldwork regarded the PERO role as a positive one, as they understood the benefits of the role to themselves and to the prisoners who were allocated to their care. However, those who had worked in the prison longest explained that it was initially not an imperative:

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[229] Governor and Manager Actions Notices. These notices go to all Governors and Prison Managers regarding new and updating of strategic policies and operational practices.

"I have not worked on the wings for 4 or 5 years, but the person officer scheme was never in when I worked on the wings.   There were trying to bring it in a wee bit more, it's newer from when I left the wings". (PO-MAG)

It was during the period of my fieldwork that prison staff noted an increase in emphasis on the PERO work being actioned and being seen as something that was necessary to be implemented to a similar standard as in other prisons in Scotland[230].   However, because this prison had a different staffing regime, with its own shift patterns and a different prisoner's regime to other prisons in Scotland, it was seen as more difficult to embed and facilitate the role of PERO due to lack of time and staffing.

"………. because they are highlighting the personal officers is great.   But, see the way the shifts system works, you might not be working on that [wing].   To me consistency is if you are a personal officer it has got to be consistent, so he [personal officer] has got to be on that wing constantly". (SPO-SMT)

However, the prison staff were optimistic about the PERO role and its purpose.   They described how they were allocated prisoners by cell number and that it was not necessarily the best method of allocation.   It worked well on the long-term wings where the prisoners were less likely to move on a regular basis and building relationships and some trust was seen as making the wing operate smoothly.   This allowed them to support prisoners to manage their life through their sentence, by checking their wellbeing each week, asking what was good and what was difficult that week and recording this in the prisoner's personal paper folder.

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[230] During my fieldwork the HMIPS 2015 report was published.   No prison staff mentioned that this may have influenced the focus and imperative to improve the PERO role.

The position on the short-term wings was more complicated and the turnover of prisoners in the allocated cells for whom the PERO was responsible added to the issue of building trust and relationships.

> "You can get a strong rapport with it [PERO role] and you are in charge of it. It looks like it is better on the long-term wings. I have got 9 cells on a short-term wing. Over the last 2 months, I think I have had about 17 prisoners in those 9 cells, because it is short-term, constant change". (PO-LID)

Short-term prisoners provided challenges other than those imposed by time constraints; other observations highlighted sentence type, licences, HDCs and supervised release orders. Such prisoners are entitled to enhanced ICM and there are KPIs[231] attached to these types of orders. The PERO work is an important requirement for a prisoner's application which has to be considered at the case conference and a risk management team meeting. During my fieldwork prison staff who had been given the role of PERO were starting to be invited to attend the prisoners' case conferences and RMTs to present their perspectives of how prisoners were working through their sentence, with emphasis on personal issues, behaviours and attendance at education and prescribed cognitive therapy courses. As the PERO role in the prison is re-established the prison staff explained that there are still challenges to completing the necessary work:

> "The PERO on the wings, they do a brilliant job, but they have limited resources and they do not have access to email. So, they can only do things by writing it on a piece of paper. If you create a paper trail everybody knows it can be lost. If the personal officer, if they want something done, they can phone us [ICM

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[231] KPI. Scottish Parliament set the Key Performance Indicators which they require the Scottish Prison Service to act upon.

team] and we can email it across and 9 times out of 10 it will happen quicker

than if it was a piece of paper". (PO-EDN)

What came across from the prison staff's perspectives was that they wanted to undertake the role of the PERO; it enhanced their work in supporting prisoners to consider changing their lifestyle and desisting from crime. In the focus groups the prison staff were able to relate stories of supporting prisoners through difficulties they were experiencing and the satisfaction they gained from seeing a problem solved with a positive, visible outcome for the prisoner and themselves.

New recruits were introduced to the role during their initial training before they had any experience of prisoners and a prison wing. It was described to them as follows:

"You get 8 cells allocated to you and it does not matter who goes into those cells,

you will automatically become their personal officer. So, if somebody kicks off

and moves wings, then you get the next person who is allocated that cell".

(Facilitator – I S T)

In the interviews with a number of the new recruits after they had been working full time on the wings for 5 months, two of them explained that they had been given the role of PERO on their wings. They were motivated to have the role and enjoyed the work but found it hard to fulfil the role effectively on a weekly basis because of time constraints and they managed to complete the necessary forms fortnightly and considered that an achievement. They described the work as like completing a report card, an appraisal of the prisoner's weekly experience of life in the prison.

Overall, prison staff's perspectives of the PERO role is positive, and they see tangible results from their work with prisoners in building relationships of trust and support. Some prisoners, who in the melee of prison life may have been missed out, also get support. But the prison regime, staffing, and shifts patterns made constancy of support difficult to maintain and the system worked better for the long-term prisoners than it did for the short-term prisoners. With regard to the experience of the staff working with prisoners, which was commented on by HMIPS, indicated that their lack of experience was a barrier to fulfilling the full potential of the PERO role and it was striking to find 2 prison staff with only 5 months prison experience assuming the responsibility of the PERO role. This may be taken as an indication of the staffing situation in the prison which, at the time of my fieldwork, was stretched due to a deficit in staff required to undertake the core work of security and care of prisoners.[232] A further interesting detail from the field work was that the prison administrators, with the exception of one, all agreed with the prison staff that the role of PERO was limited due to the prison regimes' core day and a lack of resources, in particular computers on which to access emails and prisoner records.

The PERO role in SPS prisons is an important one to allow full implementation of the ICM process that supports prisoners to maintain the right relationships through their sentence and to develop the right skills to support an optimistic, crime free life style, post liberation. It appears that full implementation of the PERO role in my fieldwork prison may require major strategic and operational adjustments to prison staffing, shift patterns, retention, and the prison's core regime. The aim of my research question is to investigate prison staff

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[232] Prisoners in a high security prison have set fires in the building in protest at being locked up for 22 hours a day . Inmates caused the damage at HMP Addiewell prison in West Lothian after it was hit by staff shortages.
https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/scottish-news/inmates-hmp-addiewell-torch-jail-20798605
By Norman Silvester, 3 Nov 2019

PRISON STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ROLE IN THE REHABILITATION & DESISTANCE SUPPORT OF PRISONERS
December 2019   Jo Bailey-Noblett

perspectives of the prison regime and the study highlights that there are certain aspects of the prison regime that do affect the role of prison staff with regards to rehabilitation and desistance support for prisoners, namely the prison's regime around security and care, the out of cell hours policy, the prisoner communication system, staffing and shift patterns.

5.7   THE PRISON REGIME IN A LEARNING PRISON

The Learning Prison regime has significant differences to other prisons in Scotland and I would argue that they affect the way the prison staff work around rehabilitation and desistance support for prisoners.   The differences surround the contractual arrangements for security and care, the guaranteed out of cell hours for prisoners, the 'kiosk', staffing and shift patterns, and the learning regime.   Each of these has an impact on how prison officers perceive their role around rehabilitation and desistance and security and care.

Security and care are the main priorities of any prison and this also applies to my fieldwork prison. However, the prison regime is controlled by its contractual obligations to the Scottish Government, for example the daily completion of compulsory administrative security tasks and the prisoners' guaranteed minimum 40 hours timetabled activity outside of their cell per week.   The prison administration cannot decide to have a lock down[233] to undertake all staff training or meetings because it impacts on how the prison operates and on the financial 'bottom line':

> "So, your ability to communicate is difficult here – because you can't just close
>
> things down for training, for communication, for meetings, for development.

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[233] Lockdown is a term used when all prisoners are locked in their cells for a variety of reasons (Jewkes Y & Johnston H (eds) (2006) Prison Readings: A critical introduction to Prison and Imprisonment Willan)

You cannot close anything down because the regime has to deliver the 40 hours

purposeful activity per week.   So that drives different management behaviour.

You can't be, as that great Glasgow word, 'gallus', in terms of making decisions,

because you have to think, what's the impact of this on your contract". (SMT-

ZIN)

Another constraint centred around ensuring that illegal contraband, such as mobile

telephones and drugs, did not enter the prison.   The contract allowance dictates a certain

percentage of finds per month; if the contraband finds exceed the percentage allowed, then

the prison incurs a financially penalty.   As this is a self-reporting contract then it is up to the

prison administration to declare this to the SPS controller:

"The contract itself – is what is classed as a 'self-reporting contract' – if they do

not tell [SPS], and if it is found out they are in breach of their contract, the

penalties for not informing [SPS] is far higher than the penalty for informing [SPS]

that something has happened." (SPSC-AEN) [234]

This contractual obligation places a certain amount of strain on the prison administration and

prison staff relationships.   The prison staff are aware of this contractual arrangement and

they feel they are placed in a difficult situation:

"There might be intelligence that there is a phone and we can't go for it because

we will get fined.   It will put you over your limit for the year.   It is dangerous

for staff". (SPO-MAE)

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[234] SPSC is the cipher for the Scottish Prison Service Controller who oversees all the contractual arrangements in the prison

The biometric security system has several purposes.   It is used on route movements throughout the prison to record the entering and egressing of prisoners from the residential wings, education, trades, library and other areas around the prison.   It then automatically records prisoner's attendance to their timetabled activities and triggers a payment towards their wages.   If a prisoner is trying to enter an area that has no record of permission from their personal timetable, then the prison staff are alerted, and the prisoner is then escorted back to the wing. It is also used to identify those prisoners with whom, potentially, a prisoner may come into conflict.   Therefore, when they enter prison at reception the biometrics system highlights any possible conflict with other prisoners and they are then timetabled and housed in different residential wings in the prison to ensure they do not meet up, thus reducing the possible security risks:

> "The biometrics is one of the reassuring things for the prisoners.   In Reception
> they are not going to meet their enemies because it is flagged through the
> biometrics so that helps with timetabling, and wings and visits, and all linked in
> via the kiosk". (PO-WHY)

Therefore, moving prisoners through the prison regime from reception, induction and eventually onto a residential wing is a logistical operation which requires security checks and balances at every stage to ensure prisoners do not meet up with other prisoners with whom there would be conflict. But there did not appear to be the same effort or even desire, to facilitate breaking down barriers throughout the prison and reducing enmity and risks of violence and thus lessening the security risk. If prisoners are to rehabilitated and encouraged and assisted to desist from crime, the possibility of facilitating reconciliation between gang members could be engaged, I would

contend, as part of the desistance journey in preparation for returning to the community.

The 40-hours per week of purposeful activity, out of cell time for all prisoners differs from other prisons in Scotland where inmates are only guaranteed 1 hour per day out of cell activity in the fresh air[235].   To operate this system the prisoners are allocated a timetable of learning and purposeful activity which is then posted on the kiosk.   The timetable is not decided upon by the prisoner but by those in charge of case management and the Prisoner Case Management Board.   The timetable can be broken down to different areas: educational, cognitive therapy programmes which may be a requirement of their sentence, gym, or any work parties they may have been allocated to once they had gained enhanced status.   In addition, there is statutory association in the evenings and, in this particular prison, cells are open for most of the day at the weekends.

It is therefore feasible for prisoners to have a full 40-hour timetable of learning and work activities; however, it is also possible to have no timetable.   The prison staff expressed the viewpoint that the majority of prisoners with timetables do so to earn money because they do not receive any from family and friends from outside.   For those who do have financial support many often sign an affidavit opting out of attending some, or even any, activities and are then locked in their cells, which are only opened for meals, association and exercise.   It was difficult to identify a full picture of the numbers opting out; according to management it

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[235] The Prisons and Young Offenders Institutions (Scotland) Rules 2011
www.sps.gov.uk/nmsruntime/saveasdialog.aspx?IID=1375&sID=630   Part 9 Page 49 Rule 87.1

was very low at around 10 or 12%, but according to HMIPS it was around 50%. Therefore, the wings were not empty every week day, as was suggested in an interview with a senior prison manager (see section 5.6.1 pp. 259-262). Prison staff explained that having all prisoners out of their cells at the time was not physically possible as the Academy, Trades and other areas could not contain all of the prisoners at one time.

> "There is quite a lot of different learning stuff, but I think it is probably difficult
> with the resources we have here to provide for everybody's needs. The size of
> the Academy is not massive for all those people, you could not get 700 people in
> there in one". (PO-COL)

Prison staff did not make any negative observations with regard to the amount of time out of cells and whether this made it a security risk for them and prisoners. In fact, their perspective was that it was good for prisoners' mental health and wellbeing. From their own perspective, they considered that they could observe the prisoners acutely. The longer serving prison staff explained that they were able to pick up on a prisoner's moods and notice if there had been a change, especially if they had returned to the wing after a visit or phone call, or were not collecting their meals, not appearing at association or not interacting with other prisoners and themselves. Management had a somewhat different perspective in that they considered that the weekend period increased staffing pressures and limited communication and training with no opportunity for whole staff events because they could not justify a lock down, principally for financial reasons.

In addition to the biometric system the other innovative piece of technology in use is the 'kiosk', which is a computer system specifically for all prisoners to gain access to the system

through a biometric fingerprint and personal code.   The prison staff on the wings cannot access the system, but they do receive training during their initial training on how it works. This is to enable them to help prisoners use the system.   The prisoner's main training on the kiosk is undertaken at induction and prisoners support each other to use the system.   The information contained on the kiosk system relates to internal systems within the prison, such as menus from which they can order their personal meals, their canteen, to top up their phone cards and manage their internal finances[236].   Other information includes their personal timetable, religious observance, the name of their case manager, sentence information, liberation dates, and other pertinent dates specifically relating to the prisoner's personal circumstances, for example, case conferences and parole information.   Through this system prisoners can timetable certain personal visits from family, friends and legal representatives.   Prisoners also receive internal emails from their case manager and prison managers, and they are also afforded the ability to ask questions around issues they may have.   Prisoners in other prisons in Scotland would have to ask and request the relevant paperwork, information and support for all of the above from a member of the prison staff.

Prison staff see the 'kiosk' as a 'great wee machine' taking the 'drudgery' out of the administration and collating of all of the above.   The prison administration suggested that it reduces the misuse of power by prison staff (Sparks, et al., 1996; Liebling & Price 2001; Crawley, 2000; 2004; Drake, 2013; Crewe, 2011; Crewe, et al., 2011):

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[236] A prisoner's internal finances.   Each prisoner has a prison bank account into which their prison wages are banked.   They are also allowed a second account into which money can be banked if sent in from outside of the prison.   Money from this account can be transferred to their prison account but the account can never exceed £20.   Twenty pounds is a prisoner personal spending limit per week and if they wish they can have money sent to their families outside.

"...... because in [other prisons] everything is paper based, and they have to go through the officer to get it.   I do not know if it is a control thing because the staff, if they have got a head banger and they ask for a canteen sheet, they can say, "you are not getting it", or "you cannot book a visit just now because I have to give you the paperwork".   So, there is that, I think a lot of the staff think [in other prisons] ...... are happy to have that control". (OM-WAT)

Older prisoners and those new to this prison, according to the prison staff, find using the 'kiosk' somewhat intimidating.   Prison staff encourage prisoners to use it because they themselves do not have access to a computer on the wings, nor do they have access to the 'kiosk'.   Therefore, they explained that difficulties arise around trying to answer prisoners' queries.   Prison staff and the prison administration have suggested that the 'kiosk' increases a prisoner's responsibility for themselves while serving their sentence and reduces accusations of culpability between prisoners and prison staff (Clemmer, 1940; Sykes, 1958; Cressey, 1959; Cullen, et al., 1985; Crawley 2004).

"You will get the older ones, 'what is all this about'?   'It is so you cannot blame anybody else but yourself, you are the one who books your own visits, your own food, you do all you own stuff through the kiosk.   So, you cannot turn round and say, "you did not do that for me"'.   So, it is up to them". (PO-SPA)

When the prison administration and prison staff were asked what the value of the kiosk was beyond the prisoner taking responsibility for themselves in prison and reducing administrative work for those staff on the residential wings, only one person, a middle manager, could extrapolate the 'kiosk' as a learning tool, something that helps prisoners to

be more confident and cope with the modern world of touch screen ordering and finances, for example.   They summed up the value of the 'kiosk' to the prison administration and prisoners thus:

> "It is another member of staff.   I keep trying to tell my staff.   When I worked on the wings [in other prisons in Scotland] the paperwork I had to go through, counting menus, tallying canteen sheets, booking visits.   It is another member of staff, it really is.   They do not know how good they have got it.   The kiosk is a godsend, and it encourages prisoners from the outset, who are not IT literate, to become IT literate.   Because, they have to learn, and those with reading and writing problems, to function in their life, they have to be able to use these.   OK, most of it is pictures but they have still got to be involved in the process because they have got to press the buttons". (OM-TOP)

Therefore, the 'kiosk' performs a number of different roles and, subsequently, offers significant benefits.   For prisoners, it allows them to take personal responsibility for their everyday organisational needs within the prison environment.   It offers a myriad of opportunities for the prison staff to overtly teach prisoners IT, literacy, numeracy and in being responsible adults.   For prison staff it reduces paperwork, restricts misuse of power and culpability, and prison administration considered it as another member of staff on the wings.

Staffing levels[237] was a constant theme that ran throughout my fieldwork discussions. In particular, those working on the wings consistently endorsed the belief that two members of staff per 61 prisoners, especially on the short-term wings, made it very difficult to complete all of the compulsory administrative tasks, dealing with prisoners' queries, with daily routes in and out of the wings and meal times, and that this left very little time for anything else. The long-term wings were different, in that, according to prison staff, the wings were quieter and prisoners kept themselves to themselves with the wing being kept in order by a certain hierarchy of prisoners. The prisoners just put their heads down and got on with life, they did not tolerate disruptions by younger prisoners, and any causing disruption were quickly put in their place by the 'head' prisoner (Sykes, 1958; Sparks et al., 1996).

> "There is definitely a pecking order on the wing. You know who is the top, or who they [prisoners] see as the top. [So, is he the first in the lunch queue?] No, no, he is not, but you know it is him, you can tell with just the way the prisoners are and stuff like that around him". (PO-VIR)

Long-term prisoners were wary of new staff and were reluctant to speak to them until they had got used to them working on the wings. With the high turnover of prison staff and staff movement across the prison to reduce familiarity and conditioning, this meant that new prison staff on the wings was inevitable. This impacted on the building of trustful relationships between staff and prisoners and reduced the opportunities to support prisoners on the wings through their sentence.

The prison staff's shifts also impacted on their workload.   Shift patterns were complicated[238] and have been devised by computer algorithms to maximise time, optimise staffing numbers and, thus, minimise costs.

> "Because it is all computerised, it is allocating every spare minute of everybody's time; they must be doing something, because it is a business.   This is how much staff cost and you need to utilise it.   I agree with it, but what happens if somebody goes sick?   Oh well, we have put in 17%.   You know it is a computerised model, but what if 19% goes sick?   The what if's and what if's, it is tight.   So, to make it tight, you have to, and that is what I am saying, they are in the business of, and they looked at it and said we can save 100K a year, we can save 50K a year, of course you can". (SPO-SMT)

The new recruits, at their initial training, had the shift patterns explained to them in this way by one facilitator[239]:

> "The shifts are crap just now.   But they are getting changed;   you will probably get it explained to you throughout the training and stuff like that".

The shift patterns were indeed being reviewed as I was completing my field work and the imperative and catalyst for this was described as being that the prison had to improve the ICM, PERO and ABAR activity within the prison to meet the required standards as per SPS GMA instructions.

With regard to education, the learning prison regime focuses, for the most part, on academic learning for prisoners in a classroom setting.   This, it has been argued, in retrospect may

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[238] Shift patterns explained to me in the focus groups.   Some staff having a 10 weeks shift timetable and others a 28-week timetable, within which were over 30 different shift patterns, with one shift lasting 14 hours,
[239] Stated by the facilitator during the 'Role and Responsibility' training for new recruits.

not be appropriate for the majority of prisoners for whom a more hands-on, skills-based learning experience would have been preferable. Prison staff on the wings have little or no experience of supporting a prisoner's learning or sentencing journey and, indeed, they contend that they have not a great deal of time to do more than the basics, as their main focus is on the security and care priorities as laid down in the prison's contract.

5.8   CONCLUSIONS

The objective of this chapter was to answer the research question that focused on the perspectives of prison staff on how the prison regime organises the integration of rehabilitation and desistance support for prisoners around their primary function of security and care. It also compares and contrasts this with the standpoint of the prison administration and the inspection reports of HMIPS. The chapter analysis of the data expands penal sociological knowledge by contrasting perspectives and impediments to integrating rehabilitation holistically across the whole penal environment in Scotland. It draws attention to the following: firstly, that the obligations of contractual arrangements and finance controls take precedence over all aspects of operating a prison securely to the mutual exclusion of rehabilitation; secondly, the functionality of prison staff on residential wings; thirdly, the lack of imperative for the personal officer role; and finally, that the prison regime itself is a barrier to rehabilitation. The fact that this is a single prison case study prison, I would argue, is not an impediment to the generalisability[240] of the findings on other prison regimes and prison administrations in Scotland and the rest of the UK.

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[240] See Chapter 3 Section 3.1 pp. 93-93

The prison is operated through contractual arrangements with the Scottish Government and is managed by the Scottish Prison Service.   According to prison staff, the prison administration priorities were fulfilling the contractual obligations and keeping finances under control. The largest financial cost to the prison is staffing. To optimise staffing several administrative practices are in place, principally a computer generated algorithmic[241] system that determines the optimal number of prison staff required to keep the prison secure whilst minimizing the number of prison staff not gainfully employed.   This system creates a complicated shift pattern and minimal staffing that maintains security and care whilst ensuring that contractual commitments are met.   I would argue that this system does not provide for the consistency and constancy of staff on residential wings required by prisoners to establish a trusting relationship or the time necessary to allow prison staff to build meaningful relationships with prisoners, a primary requirement for desistance and rehabilitative support[242] and a key priority of SPS's Organisational Review (SPS-OR, 201,3 p. 90, para 4.8).

The minimalistic approach to staffing, it could be contended, particularly on the residential wings where the ratio of staff to prisoners is 2:63, has only the capacity to facilitate their primary function of security and care. This limitation on time reduces or even eliminates the possibilities of supporting and motivating prisoners to rehabilitate.   Chapter 4 highlighted that prison staff are forced to make choices on who to support, motivate and help though the pains of imprisonment, for example, first timers in prison, those who they consider are not really criminals or those who appear to them vulnerable.   However, due to time constraints sometimes the most vulnerable prisoners are overlooked, not deliberately but

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[241] See Section 5.7 this chapter pp. 238-247
[242] See Chapter 2 Section 2.7 pp. 84-91

because they are not 'in your face' or kicking up a fuss'.   Staffing of prisons is an organisational issue, and if the prison administration focuses their rehabilitation strategies narrowly on a range of specialist staff, then the holistic approach across the whole penal environment, I would argue, is unattainable.

One of the key bridges to an holistic approach was the introduction into the prison service in the 1980s, after a period of serious rioting[243], of the role of personal officer to support long term prisoners and prison officer development. The personal officers today are considered as the link between the prisoners on residential wings and internal and external services that support rehabilitation and reintegration.   The PERO plays an important role towards prisoners, helping them to navigate the labyrinthine requirements of their sentence, their personal needs and the necessities that allow them to live humanely in a place that strips them of their identity, resilience and humanity and to mitigate the loss of the companionship and friendships of their family, friends and community.   However, I would argue that the prison regime has not given the PERO role the priority, status and endorsement that it requires to enable the prison staff to take the role to its full potential of supporting prisoners through allowing them to build trusting, positive relationships, helping prisoners to not only complete their sentence meaningfully but also fostering a prisoner's self-esteem, resilience and identity in preparation for liberation.   Instead, the prison administration has not prioritised it as a stand-alone role but appends it to the remit of prison staff who are already stretched with their regular duties of security and care and consider it as just another administrative task, and who also have little experience of prisoners, or sufficient access to experienced colleagues for support or training that would enable them to understand and

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[243] See Chapter 2 Section 2.7. pp. 84-91

utilise the key motivators of rehabilitation and desistance.   Therefore, the importance and value to a prisoner's penal life and rehabilitation appears subsumed by the   prison's administrators priorities, perceived need to comply with GMAs and HMIPS reports and the further need, fiscally, to maintain staffing to the minimum necessary to operate the prison regime.

The other significant variation of practice elsewhere in the SPS estate is the contractual offer to prisoners of 40 hours per week out of cell purposeful activity.   This out of cell time is supportive of a prisoner's mental wellbeing and reduces the stresses of isolation but in reality the prison does not have the space, or sufficient places, for 700 prisoners to be out of their cells all of that time. Therefore a few prisoners were able to achieve the 40 hours but the majority did not and again prison staff expressed their views that this was down to staffing levels.   The case study prison is the only establishment in Scotland that is called a 'Learning Prison'.   In the fieldwork data it was established that despite this title prison staff, and to some extent managers, described it as a prison with no production workshops which relied on classroom education for their main rehabilitation offering to prisoners.   What was also identified was that what is on offer does not accord with sentence length or a prisoner's educational level and vocational certification levels taught are too low to lead directly to employment on release.   HMIPS also recorded that the teaching staff did not have a recognised teaching qualification which limited how to engage prisoners in learning. Absentee cover was poorly organised which led to class cancellations which had an adverse effect on prisoners continuing education.   Whilst a small number of prisoners may benefit from a learning regime, the belief was that the majority do not, with prison staff commenting on the regularity of seeing the same faces over and over again.

This begs the question, can the present day prison regimes offer prisoners sufficient rehabilitation and desistance support to allow them to become pro-social citizens on release. Prisons have had this remit for decades but it has not made an impact on recidivism rates. Is it time to re-evaluate what prison is for and how prison staff can meaningfully support prisoners to see a different life for themselves?   If prisons were places of holistic nurturing, and there are examples of this at one time in Scotland in the Barlinnie Special Unit and Grendon in England, if prison staff were trained in skills and techniques of social care on the lines of therapists or social workers, instead of concentrating on security and care, what would the prison regime look like?

In the next chapter the aim is to investigate and analyse the perspectives of new recruits, operational prison staff on their initial training and personal development with regard to rehabilitation of prisoners in comparison with those of the prison administration.

CHAPTER 6   PERCEPTIONS OF PRISON STAFF: ON HOW THEIR ORGANISATION TRAINS THEM TO PROVIDE REHABILITATION AND DESISTANCE SUPPORT TO PRISONERS

6.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the third aim of this study, the initial training of new recruits and their perceptions of their preparedness for their role as a prison officer to facilitate rehabilitation of offenders.   I also gathered the viewpoints of experienced prison staff to their original training and continuous training and development that they had received that enabled them to understand how to support prisoners to rehabilitate whilst in custody.   I also took cognisance of Senior, Unit and Line Managers' perspectives on the initial training of new recruits and staff development, each of whom proffered somewhat divergent perspectives.

My literature review identified that there was very little empirical research on the initial training of new recruits to the career of prison officer and none with regard to rehabilitation and desistance.   In England, there is research by Arnold (2008) and Crawley (2000; 2004) on initial training of prisoner officers.   In Scotland there are three pieces of research on training new recruits: a quantitative investigation on how training prepared trainees for their job by Coyle (1986), an evaluation questionnaire around attitudes to training by SPS (SPS-Carnie & Spencer, 1997) and recently a small-scale study on professionalism and learning techniques by Morrison (2018).   All provided a basis from which to compare my own ethnographic research on prison officer training in my fieldwork prison in Scotland.

6.2   OBSERVING INITIAL TRAINING OF NEW RECRUITS

To enable me to maximise the collection of research data on rehabilitation and desistance training in the prison I spent a half day discussing, with the training manager, the nine-week schedule of the new recruits.   There was no training manual per se, but a timetable listing titles of the training, for example, Diversity and Inclusion, Roles and Responsibilities, Professional Standards, Family Support and CnR (See Appendix 8, pp. q-v).   The training was divided into three distinct learning experiences: twenty-eight and a half days of classroom learning, ten days on physical security training – PPT, CnR and Officer Safety Training (Foundation level) which was undertaken at the SPS training centre – and six and half days for work shadowing on day shift and one on night shift.   It was explained to me that the majority of the training would be facilitated by internal prison staff and managers with input from civilian staff and external agencies who were the experts and professionals in their field, such as Police, NHS Mental Health Services and 'Families Outside'.[244]

In the classroom-based learning for new recruits I observed twelve modules, of which I video-recorded eleven.   For a further eight modules I undertook desk research and received informal feedback from the new recruits on those that I had been unable to attend due to rescheduling, cancellation or lack of permissions.   Not all of the PowerPoint presentations used at the sessions were available to me prior to the training; thus, a limited outline of what was to be facilitated could only be ascertained.   I was not given permission to attend physical security training, for example CnR, OST, Radios, Searching, Radiation Protection and CCTV; neither was I allowed to observe work shadowing.   However, for the PPT and Keys and Locks

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[244] Families Outside a National Charity that supports the families of those in the criminal justice system.
https://www.familiesoutside.org.uk/

training I was given my own personal training as the Director had agreed that I should have my own set of keys.

The initial training of new recruits in my case study prison introduces them to the prescribed legislation (SPS-Rules, 2011) governing the operation of the prison, followed by instruction on corporate responsibility and the prison regime.   There were sessions on how to deal with violence, on how prisoners behave and react to prison staff and new recruits, and how to observe prisoner's behaviours.   One session highlighted the rehabilitative activities that take place in another part of the prison by specialist prison staff and civilian employees who teach academic courses.   The initial training of new recruits lasted for nine weeks[245].   Elsewhere in Scotland the training lasts for six weeks, which has remained arguably the same for over a century or more (Coyle, 1991).   On completion of the initial training new recruits go to work directly with prisoners on residential wings, whereas in the other prisons in Scotland they first go into Operations[246], with no prisoner contact for over 12 months, after which they can apply for residential work and undertake further training (SPS- TD, 2018).

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[245] The prison a shorter training course of 5 weeks for new recruits who are going to work specifically in the Operations side of the prison with no prisoner contact. This was not scheduled to take place during the period of my fieldwork. However, from speaking informally to the two Operations staff who were upskilling to work in the residential wings of the prison, this training covered the same training modules with the except Control and Restraint (CnR) and Officer Safety Training (OST) because Operations staff do not have prisoner contact.

[246] **Operations Officer (Entry Level)** - As you embark on a career as a Prison Officer, you will join the SPS as an Operations Officer. In this role you will be responsible for the overall functioning and security of the establishment, working as part of a team and carrying out roles such as:

Patrol: observing and monitoring the security and behaviour of people in custody, identifying and responding to breaches of security and order.

Reception: managing the entry and discharge of offenders from prison, assessing the needs of individual offenders and ensuring the correct procedures are followed.

Electronic Control Room (ECR): responsibility for the movement and security of staff and prisoners throughout the prison establishment.

Front of House: ensuring a high level of security and customer service as the first point of contact for staff and visitors entering the prison establishment.

Visits: responsibility for the security and order of prisoner visit sessions through effective observation and searching
https://www.sps.gov.uk/Careers/OpportunitiesintheSPS/The-Role-of-a-Prison-Officer.aspx

To understand how prison staff in this prison were trained and motivated to support prisoners to rehabilitate and desist from a criminal lifestyle, I conducted 4 focus groups with experienced staff prior to my observation of the initial training. Immediately post training, I conducted a focus group with new recruits and this was followed, five months later, by one-to-one interviews with the new recruits and prison staff. This provided in-depth understanding of staff perceptions of training and also provided a comparison with my observations. Although I was not given permission to observe physical security training or follow the new recruits during work shadowing, I was informed of what took place either formally or informally by the new recruits. I also missed the Act2Care training because it was re-scheduled at short notice by the training department[247]. I was, however, given permission to video-record most of the training that I observed with the exception of a two-day session in the Academy on a positive thinking programme for prisoners called GOALS. The management considered that recording this may breach copyright and pose a security risk as prisoners would be present in the corridors during class breaks. The observation of the training provided me with a unique insight into how people are taken from all walks of life, and trained to be watchkeepers, doorkeepers, caretakers and logisticians of people in a carceral environment which, to all intents and purposes, is quite alien to what the majority have previously experienced in their working careers so far (Liebling & Price, 2001; Crawley, 2000; 2004).

The one-to-one interviews and focus groups highlighted positive aspects of their initial training. All staff agreed that the work shadowing had been the most valuable part of their training. The CnR training, although physically demanding according to the new recruits,

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[247] Rescheduling of training sessions occurring almost on a weekly basis throughout the training for a number of reasons.

brought them together as a team (Arnold, 2008).   The training also highlighted that 'conditioning' is an important aspect of prison life and training. It was elucidated as 'positive conditioning' of prison staff to violence through the CnR, OTS and PPT training, with descriptions and outcomes of 'negative conditioning' by prisoners of prison staff to entice them to break the rules (Arnold, 2008).   However, it was interesting to observe that there were no overt discussions around prison staff positively conditioning prisoners as, for example, parents would to instil society's required skills of civility (Elias, 1978; 1982), or negatively, through the misuse of power or for nefarious gains by prison officers (Sykes, 1958; Crewe, 2005).   It could be inferred that the initial training of new recruits was in itself a form of 'conditioning' to ensure prison staff react in a prescribed manner to a specific response, for reasons of security and corporate strategy.   The downside for all the staff was that they felt ill-prepared, which in turn led to a lack of confidence and left them worried about letting their more experienced colleagues down when they started on the residential wings.   The consensus was that work shadowing was the part of their training where they began to learn their 'jail craft' (MoJ, 2010, paras 48 & 118), on the job, from their more experienced colleagues and, indeed, from prisoners (Arnold, 2008).

With regard to specific training in rehabilitation and desistance, in the opinion of those staff who would ultimately work in the residential wings of the prison, they felt that they were not prepared to undertake this type of support with prisoners.   However, during the training, they were introduced to the concept of exhibiting pro-social behaviours and being role models for prisoners, but it was not connected to desistance but to being 'professional' and keeping the prison safe.   In fact, the training stressed that it was the role of the ICM and Programmes and Education teams to support the rehabilitation of prisoners, in the learning

side of the prison. The focus of the training was to ensure that prison staff focused on security and care in the wings, that they took cognisance of a prisoner's mental health and well-being and complied with all the regime's administrative requirements with regard to prison rules, prisoner entitlements and contractual arrangements.   The experienced prison staff who had moved from the residential wings into other roles based in the educational area of the prison, such as ICM, undertook internal training and work shadowing and the Programmes team members attended external facilitator training for cognitive therapy courses at the SPS College. For the Personal Officer role (PERO), the training was an overview of the required paperwork and some work shadowing with a member of the ICM team. Further training and development of prison staff post initial training appeared to be, according to the prison staff interviewed in my research, ad hoc and available to some and not others.

Overall, the opinion of the prison staff and new recruits was that the training did not provide them with the necessary training around security and care for the duality of their role, in that it only provided them with a sense of the variety of risks that prisoners present but not the reality of what they would encounter once they went 'live' in the prison.   It was their contention that they learned how to work with prisoners, and of the regime's administrative expectations, from other prison staff rather than the initial training they receive.   This resonates with the arguments of other researchers, covering nearly half a century, from Sykes, 1958; Thomas, 1972; Crawley, 2000; 2004; Liebling & Price, 2001; Arnold, 2008; McHugh et al., 2008; and MoJ, 2010, paras 48 & 118.

"The brief periods of schooling familiarise the new officer with routines and procedures of the prison, but the prison staff cannot be fully prepared for the realities of their role with lectures and discussion alone". (Sykes, 1958, p. 61)

New recruits stated that the CnR gave them a sense of belonging, team work and camaraderie with colleagues with whom they could offload the stresses and strains of the job without censure (Liebling & Price, 2001; Crawley, 2004). However, preparation towards and an understanding of how to rehabilitate prisoners on wings was not overtly seen as part and parcel of the role they were being trained for. The training involved three learning experiences, classroom, physical security[248], and work shadowing. The classroom learning concentrated on the prison regime and administration, on what was the corporate management expectation of their prison staff in terms of Roles and Responsibilities, Professional Standards, Human Resources Policies and Procedures, Diversity and Inclusion, and on how to care for prisoners, with a particular focus on opioids, drug addiction, new psychoactive substances and mental health. The work shadowing gave them a taster of the reality of prison work and they were at their most animated in the training rooms post a work shadowing session, ready to expand on what they had seen and heard. All staff considered that the physical security training was particularly valuable in that these sessions brought them together as a team and, importantly, there was a contention that they provided them with the skills required to "look out for each other".

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[248] For example, Personal Protection Training, Control and Restraint training, Keys and Locks, Conditioning, Radios, Entry and Egress to the prison and inside the prison, Escorting prisoners internally and externally, Terrorism, Intelligence gathering, Risk awareness and Incident response, Anti bullying and Violence reduction and Scottish Legal System, Scottish Prison Rules, Evidence Handling and Witness statements.

6.3   TEACHING NEW RECRUITS ABOUT PRISONERS & SECURITY

The training I observed taught the new recruits that prisoners are devious, dangerous, intelligent, vulnerable, frightened and immature.   Trainees received an overview of the Scottish Prison Rules (2011), European Prison Rules (2006), the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994) and the Scottish Government Equality Act (2010).   It was explained to new recruits that this was the legal framework that they needed to know and follow, as they would meet situations, on a daily basis, where they would need an understanding about, for example, the use of force and, in particular, prisoner rights:

> "So, lack of resources, we cannot use that excuse for the prisoners not getting
>
> their exercise, so, we can't cover health care, so you can't see a doctor.   The first
>
> comment you will get from a prisoner is, 'I am phoning my lawyer'.   See these
>
> rules and the SPS rules and everything we are governed by, the prisoners know
>
> it better than us, seven years I have been here, and they can read it like [clicked
>
> their fingers], they do not need the rule book, they know what they are entitled
>
> to". (Facilitator – Roles and Responsibility Training (R&RT)

The facilitators, when discussing security, put forward the notion that prisoners were out to thwart prison staff at every opportunity, for example, by listening for intelligence on how to compromise prison staff, and the new recruits were left in no doubt that staff could compromise themselves by discussing personal matters when in proximity to prisoners:

> "On the top landing it looks right over the officer's desk.   So, you will hand over
>
> there at the desk and they [prisoners] are listening.   So, when you talk about
>
> where you are going on a Saturday night, where your house is, what car you have
>
> got, or how many kids you have got, somebody [prisoner] is sitting there

listening. Also, the pantry is next door and you could have someone [prisoner] in the pantry as well, standing and listening. It sounds sneaky but that is how they are, that is how they operate". (Facilitator – Interpersonal Skills Training (IST)

The recruits were warned about relationships with prisoners and that they must have another member of staff physically beside them as much as possible when they are speaking to prisoners. They are also warned that personal information can leave them vulnerable to unwanted visits to their home from prisoners' friends and families, or that they could expose themselves to bribery if they disclosed where they chose to spend their leisure time or their social media associations. During these sessions new recruits were taught to be very wary of prisoners, of what they said in front of them, of how they responded to requests and of how they completed their cell searches. For example, disclosing where they spend their leisure time could equally bring them into contact with a prisoner's community networks who may then offer them a drink, but,

"it would not be a free drink". (Facilitator – Security and Conditioning Training (S&CT)

They were informed that prisoners are constantly hiding illicit goods and carefully watch how well the prison staff do cell searches, or devise ways to bring in contraband, and thus were not to be trusted as they often try and entice staff with what may appear to be a small innocuous request:

"'You see one of those orange KitKats, we don't get them in the canteen, could you bring one of them in for me when you come in?'. So, you bring the chocolate biscuit in and then it escalates, 'you see that chocolate biscuit you brought me,

you are not supposed to bring me that in, any chance you can get me this, get

me that?'   So, then it escalates, OK". (Facilitator – S&CT)

Throughout the training the message was constantly being re-enforced that prisoners are

disruptive, difficult, 'in your face' and they are going to go out of their way to corrupt you as

a prison officer to get what they want. They will use any method possible, starting with

pleasantries:

'Your hair looks lovely today darling, going to get me a visit'; (Facilitator – S&CT)

or psychological manipulation;

"'I thought you were one of the good ones'.   When, you say the big bad word

'no' to them.   Prisoners will say that to you all the time". (Facilitator – S&CT)

Then prisoners would become more aggressive and abusive. To emphasise this point during

the training the facilitator without warning goes face to face, noses almost touching with a

new recruit, shouting,

'you going to give us a fucking visit'? (Facilitator – S&CT)

This was to demonstrate how prisoners invade their personal space, use psychological

manipulation and make them feel uncomfortable. This certainly made the new recruits sit

up and many looked unnerved but focused on what the facilitator was teaching them.

The recruits were taught that the role of prison staff was to observe and listen to prisoners

for information about possible trouble and hidden contraband.   Equally new recruits were

taught that prisoners are observing and listening to prison staff for personal information that

could be used to negatively condition them.   However, the other side of the dichotomy was

that new recruits were taught to listen and observe for signs of mental health, bullying,

illiteracy, emotional highs and lows, indications or symptoms that a prisoner needed help and support but were not always going to ask directly for that help and support.

6.4 DUTY OF CARE OF PRISONERS & PRO-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

New recruits were taught that it was their duty to care for prisoners, that prisoners had been sent to prison as a punishment and it was their responsibility to keep them safe from harm. The observation of rights of prisoners was tantamount to running a good prison. Prisoner rights discussed included treating prisoners with respect, maintaining a clean environment, offering healthy food, ensuring that prisoners were free from physical abuse and torture, ensuring that prisoners had reasonable access to family and community and access to legal representation, and were subjected to non-discriminatory behaviours. The above was discussed under the heading 'Safety, Dignity and Opportunity'. Their role as a member of the prison staff was to build effective relationships with prisoners, to hold them securely in custody, to create a safe environment, to provide access to regime opportunities and to work as part of a multi-agency team. It was stressed that, to be an effective member of staff, they had to be fair, firm, consistent, be friendly but not over familiar, be approachable and be a good communicator. They must work to the legal framework (Prison Rules), the prison regime and know their prisoners. They must at all times recognise and promote prisoner rights, encourage personal responsibility, be empathetic but not sympathetic, be non-judgemental and have a sense of humour.

They were also instructed that they were role models for prisoners and must appear and act professionally at all times. One facilitator stressed it thus:

"Being professional and setting high standards, you have to decide in your head what type of role model you want to be, as prisoners look up to you. So that when prisoners follow them [watching new recruits] they see the high standards being set, and not poor standards of sitting with feet up on the desk, swearing at prisoners and staff". (Facilitator – Professional Standards Training (PST)

One particular term used in the training was 'pro-social behaviours'. There was a long discussion about what pro-social and anti-social behaviours were and what the effects would be if prison staff used anti-social behaviours against a prisoner, and the facilitator summed up the possible effects of anti-social behaviours by prison staff:

"Reinforcing negative behaviour and attitudes and preventing them from learning and practising new skills, preventing the building of trust and respect which are important for development change, encouraging antisocial behaviour from prisoners which will impact on safety and security of all, re-enforcing stereotyping and unhelpful labels, for example using language like calling us screws". (Facilitator – R&RT)

Conversely, if prison staff exhibited pro-social behaviours prisoners would notice and it demonstrates to them, the prisoners, what is acceptable and looked for by society in the open community. Being a pro-social model would:

"demonstrate to others [prisoners] the values, attributes and behaviours that make up pro-social behaviour and how to carry them out in daily life". (Facilitator – R&RT)

Research on desistance is unambiguous that pro-social modelling (McIvor, 1998; Burnett & McNeill, 2005; McNeill & Maruna, 2007; Trotter, 2009) is one of the keys to changing offender attitudes and behaviour, but this was not overtly expressed in the training, an

opportunity lost to explain the benefits and possible outcomes, such as changing a prisoner's attitude to crime if prison staff practised and exhibited pro-social behaviours towards prisoners.

Besides pro-social modelling, relationship building and good verbal communication were considered important aspects of their role, building a sense of trust and enablement to motivate prisoners to take up opportunities to learn, to be responsible adults and in de-escalating potential flashpoints.   Verbal communication and relationships had to be contained within legal and social boundaries; the phrase used was:

> "good fences make good neighbours". (Facilitator – IST)

Good boundaries were described as knowing your prisoners but not getting personal with them:

> "Once you get personal with prisoners it is very difficult to bring that back". (Facilitator
> – IST)

Good boundary management, it was explained, provides safety for prisoners and prison staff, a baseline for being assertive without being controlling and enabling adult communication, the preservation of emotional independence that safeguards against any emotional impact, helping in the maintenance of relationships when behavioural changes deteriorate, providing consistency and clarity, thus helping to avoid jealousy and build trust.   Principally, the new recruits were taught that good boundaries promoted the balance between the security and developmental role of the prison regime.

During the initial training the new recruits were given divergent perspectives on prisoners, as the two quotes from different areas of the training highlighted:

> "I always say to anybody that's coming down to residential, know your prisoners. What happens with that is, see the guys in the green top, they are your passmen, get to know them first, see if you have got your passmen on side you have got a slick running wing, because they will do anything for you". (Facilitator – R&RT)

and;

> "You control the area and there is only one way of doing it. If it is different, do you know why it is different? It is because they have all been conditioned in different areas by the passman who says it would be better to do this way instead. So, it is the prisoners who have dictated how it should go". (Facilitator – S&CT)

Awareness of being conditioned was a key priority of a number of the facilitators during the training for new recruits, the positive conditioning of new recruits to violence and negative conditioning by prisoners of prison staff.

6.5   CONDITIONING PRISON STAFF: POSITIVELY & NEGATIVELY

The training on conditioning demonstrated to the new recruits that it could be both positive and negative. Positive conditioning, as it was described by one facilitator, was to acclimatise and habituate prison staff to the use of controlled aggression to restrain violent or hostile prisoners.

"So, by the time you do your assessment on the Friday you can quite comfortably control and restrain a violent individual. So, that is conditioning you to deal with violence but that is positive conditioning". (Facilitator – S& T)

This 'conditioning' was inculcated into the new recruits during PPT, CnR and OST training where positive reinforcers were applied (Skinner, 1953) through being praised on strong teamwork, keeping themselves and their colleagues safe and the outside community safe from violent individuals. The rationale behind positive conditioning was that it meant that every member of the prison staff would know, exactly and routinely, what to do, when to intervene, with a full awareness of their position in the team, and when it was necessary to react to external stimuli, such as aggressive behaviour by prisoners, cell fires and riots.

Negative conditioning was described, then endorsed and emphasised through video clips, as a process of behavioural modification and psychological manipulation in which prisoners attempt to influence, coerce and persuade, either directly or indirectly, prison staff to deviate from their prescribed training in professional standards, roles and responsibilities and legal framework. Prisoners, the facilitator explained, are out to gain control over their environment and everything in that environment revolves around prison staff. Because prisoners are dependent on the prison staff, prisoners do not get anything without a door being opened for them and requests being handed over to them or for them. However, it was not identified by the facilitator as psychological manipulation of prisoners by prison staff when they described withholding a prisoner's rights, or property or delayed access to services; it was described as 'teaching them a lesson' and gaining control. This could, however, be considered to be a form of mistreatment (Sykes, 1958; Foucault, 1977; Crawley, 2004; Arnold, 2008; Crewe, 2011). The facilitator described what happens in other prisons

in Scotland and that because they had the 'kiosk' to make prisoners responsible for their lives

in prison this was less likely to happen in their prison, because prison staff had reduced

control over prisoner requests:

"In all the [other] jails a prisoner cannot book a visit unless he goes through a

member of staff.   Because they have to physically put it on the system, he does

not get the sheet until a member of staff gives it to him.   So, if somebody is

being, as they say in the trade 'a wee fanny', what a member of staff will do is

say, 'Well no, I will give you that later on in the day, you are not getting it the

now'.   So, they have a certain amount of control, OK.   So, staff for me in that

environment, staff will have even more control, but that then leads to staff doing

some bullying" . (Facilitator – S&CT)

The facilitator exemplified a direct approach to conditioning when a prisoner approaches the

member of staff in an aggressive manner, with an invasion of space, leaving the member of

staff feeling anxious and fearful:

"[Facilitator (S&CT) says something nasty to one of the new recruits] 'I am

going to stab you in the fucking eye, you'; this is an example of what a

prisoner does and then walks away.   That generates fear.   You wonder,

what's going on?   As soon as you report that we can go and deal with it.

It is unacceptable behaviour."

The facilitators reassured the recruits that threats of physical violence to prison staff or their

'significant others' were meaningless; such threats were designed to intimidate them or to

put them under pressure.   However, if they kept their professional standards, abided by the

legal frameworks and worked as a team and reported incidents, no matter how trivial, then

such issues could be dealt with by senior staff.

"If everyone keeps the professional standards the same, these things won't
happen. Even with, the point when a prisoner says, 'I know where you live', 'I
know where the wife works' and all the rest of it. No self-respecting drug dealer
is going to do anything to your family because they know that the drug
enforcement agency would be all over their operation like a rash, they will not
be able to scratch their bum without the Police knowing about it. If they have
an operation it will die, so that is never going to happen". (Facilitator – S&CT)

With regard to what might appear less direct and, on the surface, quite innocuous requests,
it was reinforced that the consequences could still be serious. For example, a request for a
broom to sweep out the 'peter' [cell] after association. All brooms have to be locked up at
night and if a prisoner is allowed to keep one it can be used as a weapon in a fight.   Or, if
intelligence has been received that there is a mobile telephone in the cell, they can use the
broom handle to jam the door, giving time to flush the telephone down the toilet, thus,
depriving the prison of evidence of the prisoner being in possession of illicit goods. However,
there are more insidious manipulation techniques that, unless the new recruits had not been
made aware of them, they may not consider these as conditioning. For example, distracting
a member of staff as they are walking around the wing:

"Distraction, for example, you will get a prisoner who does not generally speak
to you, he knows something is going on and as you walk up towards it, he will
come up to just to stop you and distract you.   Causes confusion and they are
trying to stop you knowing about it". (Facilitator – S&CT)

Other methods included praise and friendship. Often this was directed by the facilitators at
the female new recruits and was termed as 'gender manipulation'.   The implication of this

was that female prison staff were more susceptible to this form of conditioning than male recruits[249].   The facilitator provided an example:

> "Gender manipulation.   When we first got females into male prisons.   Two
>
> prisoners fighting, and the female staff comes in and says, 'will you stop doing
>
> that' and the fighting stops.   If it had been the day before with all male staff,
>
> those two prisoners would have just continued to batter hell out of each other.
>
> That's interesting.   Then they will start an argument with one another and
>
> someone [looking at female recruit as he said] will come in and say, "what you
>
> are arguing about" and the fight stops, and they will say, 'you alright? [prisoner
>
> to female staff] I will look after you' and, you think he is a good guy". (Facilitator
>
> – S&CT)

It was explained to new recruits that allowing themselves to be compromised was a serious issue.   Not only could it lead to a loss of their job, but it could also lead to prosecution and possible imprisonment:

> "We had a female member of staff who we sacked; it was her first job, who came
>
> in one morning with 60 rolls and sausage for her boys". (Facilitator – S&CT)

The new recruits all laughed at this example, but they were left in no doubt about the penalties of not being on their guard at all times, remembering that prisoners were not to be trusted, especially if they were being nice to you, and that they must not divulge any personal information that could be used to intimidate or blackmail them.

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[249] During my fieldwork observations of the training it was very much a topic of conversation by the new recruits, as the local and national press were headlining that a female member of the prison staff had been sacked for having a relationship with a prisoner in custody in the prison.

According to Liebling, Arnold & Straub (2011) and Crewe (2011) prison staff were wary of developing close relationship with prisoners for fear of being conditioned. However, one of the mechanisms for supporting rehabilitation and desistance in prisoners is to create a trusting and supporting relationship (Burnett & McNeill, 2005; Liebling, Arnold & Straub, 2011; Rogers, 1959; Scott, 2012; SPS - LM 2014) and to do that it is often through the exchange of personal information.

> "Being open and connecting with people meant providing person truths. Real information acted as the groundwork of establishing a relationship. Trusting someone with personal facts normally came as a reciprocal gift, with expectations that they would be given back in a similar manner to signal willingness to engage in the mutual relationship building process" (Liebling, Arnold & Straub, 2011, p. 30).

The training of new recruits, therefore, has provided them with a dichotomous perspective of prisoners, that they are devious and not to be trusted and that they need to be cared for and supported. So, what did the initial training teach new recruits about rehabilitation and desistance if they could not build a trusting relationship? They, the prison staff, had to get to know their prisoners, do what the prisoners do, listen, and question in their mind, 'why are they doing that'? or 'why are they going into that prisoner's cell'?, be curious. This, as discussed previously, is difficult, particularly on short-term wings, due to turnover of prisoners, staffing and shift patterns. On the other hand, the out of cell hours meant that there was more time to observe prisoners on the wings.

6.6   REHABILITATION AND DESISTANCE: TRAINING NEW RECRUITS

The initial training rarely mentioned how rehabilitation and desistance would be part of the prison staff's role on the wings.   This is consistent with the comments made by the senior manager, in our one-to-one interviews when discussing rehabilitation and desistance in the prison, who stated that,

"those words are not used much in the prison" (SMT-ZIN);

therefore, the prison staff would not necessarily recognise them.   However, it was evident that that type of work was indeed being undertaken in the prison but not identified as such. The prison regime did offer rehabilitative opportunities for prisoners in the learning area of the prison and ad hoc classes took place for protected prisoners in the mezzanine area of the wings, as they were not allowed to mix with other prisoners.

However, there was no specific module that covered rehabilitation and desistance.   Various facilitators expressed the prison administration's perspective that the prison staff were expected to exhibit be pro-social behaviours, as prisoners looked up to them (Andrews & Carvell, 1998; NOMS, 2006; SPS-OR, 2013).   New recruits were advised they should treat prisoners fairly by addressing them by their first name, challenging inappropriate behaviour and language and observing minutely their personality and any changes to it.   The training gave the new recruits an overview of what the 'learning prison' provided in the way of positive opportunities for prisoners to gain education and trades skills, as well as the OBPs that were essential curricula for prisoners seeking early release on Parole, HDC or "top end" and employment opportunities in the cookhouse, as passmen, in canteen supplies and grounds work.

The initial training presented information on the importance of family visits and the impact on prisoners of separation from the family and the benefits of maintaining that social contact, which again is a further key component of desistance research, referred to as social capital by Farrall, 2004; McCulloch, 2005; McNeill, 2006; and McNeill & Maruna, 2007. Families were offered the opportunity to come for an 'Induction Day,' where prison life and visiting would be explained, the carrot for this being an extra visit above the normal quota. The facilitator did not relate this as social capital, supporting desistance, but more about the mental well-being of the prisoner which helped to 'keep the lid on things' and 'make their [prison staff] job easier', but, may help towards reducing re-offending. There were normal visits that prisoners could book themselves through the 'kiosk'. There were also enhanced visits that prisoners could apply for, such as homework clubs, music sessions or religious festival events; places were limited to 30 prisoners[250] and their families and could only be sanctioned and organised by prison staff.

The training stressed that prison staff had a responsibility to support positive visits by being professional, treating the families with respect, with empathy, being non-judgemental, polite, and engaging with dignity, honesty, fairness and courtesy; in other words, what was described as 'good customer service'. The trainer explained that prison staff should be particularly watchful on the wings when prisoners returned from visits, to note their body language, demeanour and how communicative they were, in case the visit had been a negative experience. If this was the case the prisoner officer should keep an eye on the

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[250] These visits were limited to those prisoners who were seen to be conforming to prison rules and thus had a good behaviour record.

prisoner and offer support. If the visit had been a positive one prison staff should reinforce the value and importance of the family to the prisoner. All of this had to be written in the daily diary which had to be reviewed every time staff went on shift.

During the two days of 'Interpersonal Skills Training' new recruits were involved in acting out real scenarios. The main focus of the scenarios was security, de-escalating possibly violent interactions, dealing with rowdy, childish actions and suicides.   Trainers were constantly stressing the importance of observing prisoners, noting any behavioural changes; that this could only be done by 'knowing your prisoners'.   There were some caring scenarios that focused on mental health and well-being, particularly after visits or a phone call, which may lead to self-harm or suicide.   They were taught about 'transactional analysis'[251] to highlight how not to become emotionally involved in what is being said or shouted at them, to enable them to have adult-to-adult conversations, to be objective and to seek to understand the situation from both the prisoner's and the regime's perspectives to bring about a resolution to an issue or de-escalate a situation.   However, during these two days there was no mention of rehabilitation or desistance or how to motivate prisoners to take up the purposeful opportunities available to them in the prison to bring about a change in their lifestyle.

It was during these 'real scenario' sessions that the daily routine of a residential officer was explained in a twelve-minute discourse by one of the facilitators (F1) (see Appendix 7). The facilitator described in detail the activities of both morning and afternoon shifts, and a second facilitator (F2) stated that the job of a residential officer was fast paced and busy:

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[251] See Appendix 13 for an explanation of Transactional Analysis Parent/Adult/Child Model

"Just a quiet day!   But there is two of you, it is a very, very busy day and F1 has run through it in pretty good detail, I think, that a Res Officer's job is a very difficult one.   It is getting the balance of all those things, you will probably have in front of you six to ten prisoners all asking different questions about their wages, their timetable, their schedule, their visits.   About that their mam is not very well and they need to get out to see her, they want to see a senior, they want to see a unit manager.   They had bad news yesterday.   There will be all those reasons and you will be trying to do all those things that F1 has described to you". (Facilitator – IST)

But at no time during that discourse did the facilitator indicate when there would be time available to speak to prisoners to encourage, support and motivate them to take up the options available in the prison, which was not the perspective of one senior manager (see C 5, section, 5.7, pp. 268-278).   During the course of my fieldwork observations of the initial training only twice was the word rehabilitation used by a facilitator, once during the 'Security and Conditioning Training':

"[Our prison] is unique in that we're trying to make this a learning prison.   We are trying to rehabilitate prisoners, so they go back out, so we need to be role models for them.   But equally we are looking for them to treat us with respect too.   So, you are going to present as professional and give them all the help they need to get them out the other way" [meaning rehabilitated]; (Facilitator – S&CT)

and, the other during the 'Diversity & Inclusion Training' (D&IT):

"We are all about rehabilitation, some people think it works, some think it doesn't. Some staff will think it works, some people don't. Everybody will have their own personal opinion". (Facilitator – D&IT)

Thus, the facilitators did not mention rehabilitation and desistance in the context of describing what each involves and how they, as prison staff on the residential wings, would be part of that rehabilitative process. It was simply expressed as just being part of 'what the prison does'.

Throughout the training there were many opportunities to connect the training to rehabilitation and desistance, with opportunities to impart a greater depth of understanding in the training on supporting prisoners' 'social capital' and its importance in the desistance journey. However, the association was never made. Neither was there any development of 'human capital' through learning new skills or acknowledging skills already gained (Maruna, 1998; Farrall & Bowling, 1999; Laub & Samson, 2001; Burnett, 2000; Farrall, 2004; Farrall & Calverley, 2006; McNeill, 2006; Maruna & LeBel, 2010; McNeill & Weaver, 2010; Schinkel, 2014). Even with the major issue of illiteracy in a significant number of prisoners, according to prison staff, (see C4, section, 4.3 pp. 156-159), positive engagement appeared to be an afterthought:

"So, seven years down the line we finally clicked. You know what, we need to do something for these guys. So, we need to be respectful with that [illiteracy], it is embarrassing for some of these guys, but others don't care, and they will quite boldly admit it they can't do it. But, it can be embarrassing for them, so we need to think about that. That is what we are there for, to encourage them, for to pick up on things, what skills they've got and that and when they are

struggling, promote what we have got and the activities there for them and it is

challenging them". (SMT-WIL)

Throughout the training, the new recruits learned about positive examples of how well the

prison supported prisoners in the learning areas of the prison but not in the residential wings.

These included how the prisoners were treated with respect and dignity, especially those

close to liberation.   The pre-release programme started 5 weeks prior to a prisoner's

liberation date, which included an optional two week 'cook-rite' class for healthy eating on a

budget.   Every effort was made to ensure that a prisoner did not leave without some form

of accommodation and appointments with relevant external agencies.   Basic personal

necessities were provided to support their first few days in the open community.   Respect

and professionalism were shown when families come to collect their loved ones, being

invited in to the visitors centre for a cup of coffee, with the visitor's centre being described

as 'similar to an airport lounge'.   The facilitator related that the prison had received excellent

feedback about the liberation procedures from prisoners who had returned to the prison:

> "We have had feedback from the guys who went out through the new Librite
>
> process and come back in and have spoken very highly of the service they got in
>
> that five-week period, and the reason they come back in are things that are out
>
> of our control". (Facilitator – Liberation Training (LIBT)

The new recruits were told about two prisoners who had gained jobs with a multi-national

train company before they left the prison.   A full account was given of all the effort and

preparation that had gone into ensuring they had the right clothes to wear, with mock

interviews being practised prior to the employer coming to the prison for the interviews.

Thus, initial training was promoting the prison to the new recruits, giving examples of positive stories on how prisoners were supported with numerous opportunities to reform. This, however, does not reflect prison staff perceptions, as indicated in Chapters 4 & 5.

Rehabilitation and desistance support was taking place in the learning areas of the prison with positive examples to underline the effectiveness of such support. The sequencing of the training schedule was based on staff availability to undertake the training; therefore, modules that could have included specific references to rehabilitation and desistance were scattered throughout the training. This is in contrast to the SPS initial training which has introduced a one-day module focusing specifically on 'Desistance in Practice', which I was invited to observe. The module is based on academic research to which the new trainees were provided with the relevant references which included the research of Maruna, 1999; McNeill, 2003; 2009; Warr, 2002; and McNeill & Weaver, 2010.

There were, one may argue, opportunities throughout the initial training where rehabilitation and desistance could have been emphasised, and research acknowledged, that if you work in specific ways with prisoners the results may lead to rehabilitation and desistance for some prisoners. This may counter the negative reinforcement of the constant returning of prisoners mentioned in Chapter 4. For example, when discussing the importance of the family, there could have been included, for example, discussion on social capital (McNeill, 2009), social bonds theory (Maruna, 1999; McNeill, 2003), being married (Warr, 2002) and pro-social relationships (McNeill & Weaver 2010), or when they are informed they should look at the prisoner as an individual with skills and abilities that can be further developed or added to human capital (McNeill, 2009) or during 'transitional analysis'

training on maturation theory (Maruna, 1999) . It was only when new recruits undertook work shadowing, however, did they realise that supporting prisoners, and opportunities to do so, on the wings to change their criminal mindset was actually very limited and the majority of the reforming took place in the learning area of the prison and not on the wings.

6.7   PERCEPTIONS OF EXPERIENCED PRISON STAFF & NEW RECRUITS ON WORK SHADOWING

All the prison staff who took part in my fieldwork expressed the viewpoint that work shadowing had been the most important part of their training.   There were many positives that came out of work shadowing, such as increased confidence to do the job, changing their perceptions of prisoners, learning from experienced staff and observing the use of prison rules and methods to de-escalate situations and to deal with argumentative prisoners. These are similar findings to recent research by SPS that workplace learning is a vital aspect of the training, is enjoyable and highlighted how the job should be done (Morrison, 2018).   The work shadowing did open up some issues for the new recruits.   For example, they felt that it should have been more targeted to the areas in the prison to which they were to be allocated post training.   They also felt that it should have been spread throughout the 9 weeks, which would have helped them to put into context and understand their training in an operational setting.   All expressed the viewpoint that they learned more in the 6 days of work shadowing than they had done in the five and half weeks spent in the classroom.   It brought alive some of the training that they had undertaken but it also highlighted the divergence in perspectives they had been given of prisoners and of their preparedness for the job (Crawley, 2004; Arnold, 2008).

The experienced prison staff who had been trained and employed at the opening of the prison some seven and half years previously[252] explained that they, themselves, had not had the opportunity to work shadow because there was no one to shadow. Some of them had been taken for a one-day work shadowing experience to a prison in the North of England. All frontline prison staff were new to the job when the prison opened and had no experience of how a prison operated:

> "We done a few hours, but not very much unfortunately at that stage, because
> we were just opening up the jail and to be honest the staff did not know what
> we were doing at that stage and the prisoners knew that and were playing on it.
> So, we were not allowed down the wings very much". (PO-CRS)

The managers in the prison, however, had many years of experience working in prisons and provided the operational guidance to the new recruits in their first months of operation. However, new recruits in other prisons in Scotland spend their first week familiarising themselves with prison life (SPS-POR, 2018) to gain an overview of work in a penal environment. This allows them to consider whether they have made the right choice and would wish to continue in the service. They then complete the six weeks training. This process, it is contended, helps with recruiting the right calibre of staff.[253]

The initial training in the first few years of the prison had been undertaken by two ex-prison officers who between them had decades of experience working in several prisons in Scotland. They taught the new recruits, in the classroom, about the prison regime and about handling

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[252] The Prison opened to receiving prisoners in December of 2008
[253] Scottish Prison Service: http://www.sps.gov.uk/SearchResEnt.aspx?search=recruitment%20policy

prisoners, through their personal stories and anecdotal consequences of enforcing, or not enforcing, rules. For the trainees this brought the training to life and gave them an indication of what they would have the responsibility for once they were face to face with prisoners. However, it was not a total substitute for having a work shadowing experience, which a lot of the experienced staff considered they missed out on.

> "[Tom] and [Dick][254] were good because they had years and years of experience
>
> in the prison service. So, they had lots of stories and examples to give you. But,
>
> and I suppose like cell search and rub down search and stuff like that, it is alright
>
> being shown how to do it in a classroom environment. But, to go on to a wing
>
> and when there is a prisoner present you have a conversation, an initial sort of
>
> meeting, with the prisoner and get the necessities out of the way and then get
>
> the search done, you don't get that in a classroom". (PO-WHY)

Many of the experienced staff spoke about the importance of work shadowing for the new recruits because they themselves had learned as they went along.   They had not been subjected to contamination (Ignatieff, 1978) by any highly experienced prison staff because there simply were none to listen to and learn from in the workplace.   Some staff indicated that they found the reality (Brogden & Shearing, 1988) of working with prisoners frightening and disconcerting, particularly on the wings, and suggested that this led to a high turnover of staff and staff shortages in the first few years of the prison's operation.   They did not have any experience to build on, good or bad, and had just had to get on with the job of working with prisoners as per the contract, prison regime, prison rules, legal framework and personal life experiences.   However, now they consider that the prison has settled into a steady state

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[254] Changed names to protect identity of the trainers

and they can help new recruits to learn best practice rather than the haphazard habits that they fell into in the beginning due to expediency.

> "Now we have knuckled down sort of thing and lost all our bad habits that we
> developed because we did not know any better. It is a lot easier to shadow us,
> because we can show them all the good stuff rather than the bad habits". (PO-
> GRE)

The new recruits were candid about work shadowing in the focus group I conducted immediately post-training. They had found shadowing beneficial because it allowed them to build some confidence and it changed their perspective on prisoners; it was at times chaotic, but,

> "it was better than 8 hours of PowerPoints". (PO-PRA)

They were instructed by experienced staff on how to do cell searches, on how to interact with prisoners and on how to respect a prisoner's personal property in the cell,

> "because that was their home". (Facilitator – IST)

They were also shown how to complete all the necessary paperwork which, they stated, they had not been fully instructed to do in the classroom. They learned what the ICM officer and PERO roles were and how they worked with prisoners and the paperwork they had to complete. However, despite the work shadowing, there was still a lack of understanding as to what took place in the Education area of the prison, as they had, in their opinion, not been given any detailed description of the learning side of the prison:

> "I feel even in the work shadowing we don't know much about education
> (mutterings of affirmation in the group). It seems to me to be an education
> building on paper but where is the information on that?". (PO-CHA)

Some of the new recruits discovered that prisoners were "people after all":

> "One of the biggest things was before we did shadowing it was, don't talk to them [prisoners].   But, now you realise you can talk to them and have a laugh with them". (PO-CIT)

Some new recruits concurred with this opinion and went further to state that the prisoners had been helpful and not out to trip them up but explain how this or that was done.   Others said that they were being conditioned, and that it indeed did resonate with the explanations of the facilitator in the S&CT that prisoners use congenial tactics to get prison staff to do what they want.

> "Even the prisoners have been genuine like not in a sarcastic way, they have pointed out how things work, not to rip you up or be sarcastic (PO-GLA) – ('they know we are new' (PO-CIT);   they have been surprisingly helpful – ('that is conditioning': (PO-LUT) –   No, it is not". (PO-GLA)

This conversation provoked a discussion on prisoners as people.   How could they be trusted?   How would you know if they were trustworthy; what were the signs and signals?   This they found a little disconcerting, but they re-iterated again what had been stated in the training constantly, get to know your prisoners and use your interpersonal skills (Crawley, 2004). However, the work shadowing had changed some new recruits' opinions on prisoners and their needs:

> "The shadowing totally changed what I thought about before. I thought they should not get this and that. The work shadowing helped me understand why they got things"; (PO-PRA)

and,

"My perceptions changed totally, like [PO-PRA], with the shadowing, interacting with the prisoners, knowing what their needs are, the whole thing, just doing that. I have learned a lot more shadowing that the last few weeks in a training room". (PO-LUT)

Despite the work shadowing being the most positive aspect of their training, they did have a few negative comments about certain aspects of shadowing. The times they were allowed to go onto the wings were when there was, in their opinion, not a lot of action; that, although they had been given a night shift, they had never seen how the residential wings or operations functioned over a full 24-hour period and this, they considered, put them at a disadvantage when they went live. Many of them considered that they were just a "spare part" and would have preferred to have been able to be more hands-on, be the third officer on the wing rather than an observer or supernumerary (Arnold, 2008). However, this was not possible as, before they could engage fully as a member of staff, they had to be 'badged', indicating that they had completed the training, assessments and subsequent exam to the satisfactory standards of the SPS Controllers team.

Others mentioned the importance of work shadowing in the areas/teams to which they were being allocated, whether in residential wings or operations. Another problem discussed in the focus group concerned the areas where female officers were not allowed to work, one being the vocational trades areas. However, one female recruit was allocated to that area for shadowing:

"One of the girls got sent to Trades and they are not supposed to have girls on Trades.   So, she had to sit at a table all week frisking down prisoners when they leave the area." (PO-CHA)

One or two found that some of the prison staff were less obliging and helpful and just considered them a hinderance at getting the daily job completed.   However, overall, work shadowing was considered to be the most informative, helpful part of their training and six weeks spent in the classroom only gave them a brief overview of what they would experience and did not fully prepare them for first and subsequent shifts, particularly on the wings.

The relevance of the training, at times, was lost.   The new recruits explained that they could not relate what they had been taught to the practical work, but work shadowing filled that gap.   The new recruits provided a number of suggestions on how to improve the training, the vast majority of which involved improving the work shadowing experience and interspersing the classroom learning around it, to enable them to observe the practical realities of the job in relation to the classroom learning.   Overall, they did not think that the classroom training prepared them adequately to do their job and their real learning started when they went live with their team on the wings.   This perspective of the new recruits and experienced prison staff to training is in contrast to the majority of the prison administration's viewpoints, with a few noteworthy exceptions.

6.8   PRISON ADMINISTRATION VIEWS ON INITIAL TRAINING & STAFF DEVELOPMENT

As part of my fieldwork I interviewed the Directors and senior and middle managers who provided their opinions and expectations of the initial training of new recruits and the personal development training that focused on rehabilitation and desistance support. Some considered that the initial training was fit for purpose.   Others had the directly opposite opinion.   Personal development training was, according to prison staff, ad hoc and only provided to certain members of staff.   However, the prison management proffered a different perspective in that there were a great deal of new initiatives that were disseminated to prison staff who worked in both the learning areas and residential halls.

According to the SPS Controller (SPS-C), the training that was provided and facilitated in the prison was of a similar standard to that provided at the SPS College and enabled new recruits to deliver the same function as any other prison officer in Scotland. The recruitment, training and continuous assessment and tests undertaken by the new recruits are examined by the SPS Controllers team and, I was informed, only they could give a definitive decision about who receives their 'badge' to become a prison officer.

> "All the documentation that is generated from that training programme, all the
> various tests that every candidate sits and all the various areas, whether it is
> security, equality diversity, key training, all the documentation that is generated,
> is presented to the [SPS- C] team at the end of the course.   The [SPS-C] team will
> then read through the documentation and make sure that the standards that
> [SPS-C] require to be delivered are being delivered.   The [SPS-C] have the final
> say if somebody is going to be employed are not". (SPS-C-AEN)

However, a number of senior managers of the prison did not think the initial training was 'fit for purpose' and the fact they were a learning prison was not reflected in staff learning and development:

"I think the training itself is not fit for purpose.   If you think about it, this is a learning prison.   We are not doing that in here, it is not a learning prison". (OM-VIT)

The scheduling of training was often arranged in haste due to the need to recruit staff to work in the prison as a matter of some urgency.   The turnover of staff in the prison has always been high and, of the original 6 cohorts who trained (comprising approximately 120 people) and started when the prison opened to prisoners in December 2008, only 10 members of staff remain working in the prison, according to the prison staff I interviewed.

"The turnover we have had in the first 3 years was just …... all we were doing was filling bums on seats".(SPO-MAE)

Some managers considered that a number of the staff who were allocated the work of facilitating certain aspects of the training programme lacked the necessary skills, experience, motivation and did not see the importance of what they were doing as critical to the running of the prison effectively.

"It is about, you might have a module in there that says 4 hours on paper – it is not getting delivered in 4 hours, it is getting delivered in a hell of lot less …...... we should capitalise on the fact that we know things are not quite right and therefore seek to change that.   And one of the things we need to do is throw a protective ring around the contributors, because one of the variety bits is not seeing the same face for 8 weeks, you get bored stiff.   Different people coming

in with a sense that individual knows what they are talking about, and it is not just a passing, have you got 10 minutes come and talk to this mob, type arrangement". (SMT-XAN)

During the period of my fieldwork the prison administration made a strategic decision that the Initial Training Course (ITC) had to be improved and, to that end, they reviewed and redesigned the initial training for new recruits. I was invited back to attend the next ITC but was unable to take up this option. However, they did give me some insights into what they were seeking to achieve, particularly around rehabilitation and desistance.

> "The starting point is to give them [new recruits] a better awareness of the issues faced by individuals. In not doing so all they see is a person that the courts have sentenced to prison and that they are a bad person. What they don't have is any comprehension of what led that individual in the first place. You can only help someone to desist from offending if you understand why they offend in the first place and we have not done a good job of that. So, the new ITC, and the stuff that I have committed to doing, delivering to the next 2 ITCs and coaching others is going to be around the socio-economic issues that our specific prisoner population experience". (SMT-XAN)

As well as introducing increased training on rehabilitation and desistance, the overall focus of the ITC will be to bring it up to a standard so that it can achieve a national academic accreditation as a vocational qualification. The managers considered that this would add credit to the training and motivate the trainees to eventually gain the formal qualification by the end of their probationary period. This is in line with a SPS

staff development proposal of a higher educational qualification in 'Unlocking Our Potential – Value Proposition' (SPS-VP, 2016, p. 20) and the introduction of a specific module on 'desistance' for new recruits and dissemination to all SPS frontline staff based on academic research by a number of eminent contributors (See section, 6.6 pp. 302-309).

6.9   PRISON STAFF: FURTHER TRAINING & DEVELOPMENT

Further learning and development, from the prison staff's perspective, was 'ad hoc' and unequally distributed amongst the prison staff, and even some of the most experienced staff stated they had not had any further training and development (Crawley, 2004).

> "They tell us when you start, when you are in your training, you will have all these
>
> opportunities.   You will be able to do classes, and you can do this and, you can
>
> do this, and if you want Open University we can help you with that, and it does
>
> not happen. You get put in and you start your job and you do you PDR[255] every
>
> year. I have never had anything taken forward in 4 years and they wonder why,
>
> when they do their [staff] survey, they only get 18% staff engagement". (PO-LID)

In the interviews residential staff, when discussing the introduction of the prison's new 'ABAR' initiative, were not aware of this asset-based approach. They explained that if some new development, training or regime change had been introduced whilst they were on annual leave, or on their day off, they were reliant on their colleagues remembering to 'bring them up to date' when they next returned to work.

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[255] Every year each member of prison staff have a one-to-one interview with the first line manager and discuss their Personal Development Review for the past year and the coming year.

"I have not heard it (ABAR). It is quite strange, say they roll this out on a Monday and I am off on a Monday. I will not hear anything until another officer tells me, eventually two months down the line". (PO-CHA)

Because of contractual arrangements around out of cell hours for prisoners it was implied that training large groups of staff, or whole staff training, was not possible as it would necessitate a wing shut down and this would incur penalty points.

"To be contractually compliant, we have to have 40 hours of purposeful activity available per prisoner per week. That means that, if I wanted one day to shut down the Education Department because I want the Education Department to come to a meeting, you can't do that here because that impacts on your available purposeful activity". (SMT-ZIN)

Therefore, the preferred method of training in this prison on further development or new initiatives was to train, either in-house or externally, a small number of prison staff.

"They don't invest in their staff in here, which we have noticed. There is a training course, 6 staff went on the training course, to qualify them to teach, to run the training course here. But, there is no sign of us getting it so far. I would like that, because it's known to be rife[256] in the unit I am working." (PO-GAM)

It would then be the responsibility of those staff to train their colleagues across the prison in the new developments or initiatives while staff continued to work their shifts.

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[256] This interviewee was discussing New Psychoactive substances

"We have already had 5 facilitators trained up, 2 months ago down at [town]. It

is called FMI, Five Minute Interventions, and we are just about to roll it out here".

(SMT-WIL)

This is what Crawley (2004, p. 176) intimates as the 'Chinese whispers, trickle down effect' which overall was a much shorter version of what they had experienced and without the knowledge of how the training they had received worked in practice which would have enriched the training with practical knowledge and experiential examples.

It would appear that the contractual obligations of the prison impact on the level and quality of in-service training and development of prison staff. The prison administration operates the 'cascade' training method. This is considered as the most effective way for management to disseminate new training or initiatives to prison staff without incurring financial penalties if the contractual obligation of prisoners' 40 hours out of cell time was not adhered to. There are positives and negatives for this form of training. While it can be cost effective, it may well also lose something of its effectiveness in translation of the training. Also, staff may not have the experiential knowledge and understanding of the effects and outcomes of training in practical terms and therefore the training may not be as comprehensive as the original training (Smith, 2008). This was alluded to by some of the senior managers around the effectiveness of those facilitating the ITC training for new recruits.

The majority of the senior managers and SPS Controllers team contended that the initial training met the standards required for people to work in a carceral environment. Three managers, however, expressed the view that it was not fit for purpose, expressly that the training and development strategy was determined by the contractual obligations around

the number of hours prisoners are out of their cells, thereby imposing a barrier to large groups of staff being upskilled at anyone time. .   This latter expression was the consensus of opinion of the new recruits and of experienced prison staff.

6.10   CONCLUSIONS

In this Chapter I have focused on how the prison administration prepares new recruits for their secondary role, that of rehabilitation and desistance support for prisoners, and also for their primary role of security and care.   The research literature on prison officer training is limited in Scotland to Coyle (1986), an SPS quantitative research survey in (1997), and a recent small-scale study by Morrison (2018).   My research on prison officer training identified similarities with the above research in that the training focused on ensuring that the prison administration's priorities were met, that of having a stable prison, with a safe environment for prison staff to work in and where prisoners are held in secure surroundings and cared for, as per the designated Scottish Prison Rules (2011).

A primary focus of the training had been to explicate that prisoners were not to be trusted as they would 'condition' prison staff to compromise themselves, for example, providing them with extras to which they were not entitled or even persuading them to bring in contraband.   The classroom training did not wholly provide the prison staff, in their opinion, with the information and guidance required to support their primary function of security and care.   They acknowledged that they gained confidence from working as a team and gained a sense of camaraderie from the CnR training.   However, it was only when they undertook work shadowing that the reality of the role and its responsibilities came sharply into focus. It was only when they started doing the job for which they were being trained, with the

informal coaching from experienced prison staff, prisoners and personal trial and error, did the real training take place in learning their 'jail craft'.

With regard, specifically, to rehabilitation and desistance, which is the focus of my research, the training only provided them with an overview of what the prison offered on the 'learning' side of the prison. The new recruits were of the opinion that their function was to run the residential wings efficiently, keeping prisoners secure by logistically controlling their movements between the two main areas of the prison. They were also required to familiarise themselves with the prisoners to enable them [prison staff] to pick up on any changes in their behaviours to which they could respond quickly so that potential issues of self-harming or potential self-inflicted death could be monitored and dealt with or that the wing did not descend into anarchy. There was little evidence of overt development of strategies to reinforce rehabilitative approaches or of enhancing opportunities to develop desistance among prisoners on the residential wings.

The 'learning' side of the prison was presented as a juxtaposition, a separate area to the residential wings, with the two spaces having distinct functions. It could be argued that this is a liminal space, a 'geographical unconformity'[257], which divides the prison, through which the majority of prisoners pass each weekday, watched over in silence by prison staff on security detail. But the prison staff on either side of this geographical unconformity rarely pass through, creating an invisible barrier. Research indicates that prison architecture plays a significant role in the lives of prisoners and prison staff (Jewkes, 2018; Moran & Jewkes,

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[257] An unconformity in geological terms is where two units of rock are juxtaposed by a fracture

2015) and on the discipline and social relations in prisons (van Hoven & Sibley, 2008). The geographical unconformity in my fieldwork prison, I would suggest, is an invisible barrier to an holistic and cohesive prison approach (see C 5, section 5.2, pp. 231-232) that impacts the policies and protocols created by the Director and SMT prior to the prison opening.

According to the prison staff, they were not adequately prepared for the realities of their primary role of security and care in that much of their training focused on the negative aspects of a carceral environment, instilling in the prison staff initially a wariness and fear of prisoners (Arnold, 2008). In their opinion they were taught that rehabilitation and desistance was the reserve of the learning side. The new recruits considered they had not been informed what rehabilitation and desistance was and from my observations there were several missed opportunities to bring in research evidence of 'what works' and 'why it works', which is included in the SPS Desistance in Practice module for trainees. Their perspective was they were not taught what might be involved in that type of work, nor how it could be undertaken on the wings. The new recruits, in their estimation, were not prepared for supporting prisoners to change their mindset and lifestyle from exhibiting anti-social to pro-social behaviours. The training taught them to watch for behaviours upon which they could act to prevent trouble that may cause self-harm and harm to other prisoners or to prison staff. They felt that the wings were areas of the prison to be managed akin to that of a major warehousing system involving the logistical movement of goods, but in the case of prisons they are dealing with people.

It can therefore be concluded that supporting change in prisoners has become a formal, accountable activity, the preserve of the specialist prison officers and civilian staff in the

learning areas, who are positive and motivated about what the learning prison is achieving around rehabilitation.   Desistance has yet to become part of the language and actions of rehabilitation and therefore remains an 'unknown' in views of the prison staff across the majority of the prison establishment. While the prison management and SPS Controllers team considered that the initial training of new recruits, as they moved to work on the residential wings, was at the required skills level to keep the prison, prison staff and prisoners secure and cared for, the new recruits and prison staff contended that the training did not train them fully for their primary role, with insignificant emphasis on, and training for, their secondary role of encouraging prisoners to rehabilitate and desist from future crime. The initial training as far as the prison staff were concerned was   ineffective as it only provided the very minimum of skills and knowledge to keep themselves, their colleagues and prisoners secure and safe.   Anything significant that they learned was whilst working on the job, from more experienced colleagues or prisoners.

The developmental training on upskilling prison staff with regard to rehabilitation and desistance was undertaken in such an ad hoc and uncoordinated manner that some staff were unaware that new initiatives that had been introduced until told by colleagues at a later date. With regard to rehabilitation and desistance support the new recruits were given no guidance, research information or the skills necessary to enable them to help prisoners in developing a change of mindset.   It is argued here that the training was both inadequate and not fit for purpose for the work that prison staff were expected to undertake to rehabilitate prisoners to become pro-social citizens and fulfil the Scottish Government's strategic policy of 'keeping Scotland safe' (see C 1, section 1.3, pp. 6-10).

CHAPTER 7   CONCLUSIONS: REVIEW, DESIGN, DISCOVERY & IMPLICATIONS

7.1   INTRODUCTION

This thesis has sought to investigate rehabilitation and desistance support provided by prison officers across all areas of a case study prison and how prison officers are trained to deliver such. Chapter 1 and 2 provides a review of the extant empirical research viewed through a theoretical framework of functionalism (Parsons, 1960), where prisons are seen as a functional organisation, part of a larger civic social system imbued with the values and principles through which they claim legitimacy. The decentered theory of governance (Bevir, 2002) provides an explanation of the influences that turn penal policies into penal governance and practice.   The conceptual framework further clarified the penal hierarchy and the interrelationships and interconnections that influence policy, practice and implementation and determine that the role of prison officers is primarily one of security and care and that rehabilitation is about compliance and readily overlooked when equilibrium in the penal system is lost through, for example, political struggles on policy agendas, operational procedures, disturbances, disorder, overcrowding, and staffing levels.

The review identified gaps in penological knowledge in Scotland on the perceptions of prison officers to their secondary role of rehabilitation and its integration into their daily routine of security and care (see C1, section 1.5, p. 26; section 1.9, p. 49).   The review highlighted that the POA lobbied to have prison staff upskilled (POA, 1963); however, prison officer training remained inadequate for decades (Coyle, 1986) and was not seen as an imperative (Thomas, 1972).   The training only provided prison officers with the minimal amount of skills and knowledge to start the job (Sykes, 1956; Crawley, 2004; Liebling & Arnold 2004; Coyle, 1986). Liebling & Arnold, (2004, p. 8) noted the absence of research on prison officer training and

post learning on the complexity of their role and 'aims of imprisonment' that explain penal philosophies which have influenced prison regimes and practices (Dunbar, 1985; Bottoms, 1989; see C1, section, 1.13, pp. 63-68). More recently in Scotland the POAS supported the SPS CEO's proposal for a major change to training to be commensurate with academic qualifications only to have this rejected by the prison officers (see C1, section 1.13, footnote 106). A further gap in knowledge is that there are no empirical studies that have specifically focused on prison officer training on rehabilitation or the change in policy direction by SPS to focus on the process of desistance (see C1, section 1.13, pp. 63-68). This is an interesting step change when the still emerging empirical research evidence on desistance has only been undertaken with service users in the open community (see C2, section 2.4, p. 83). Therefore, there is a gap in knowledge as to how desistance is assimilated into a prison regime, how staff are trained to facilitate and support prisoners to desist from their anti-social life style.

7.2   INVENTIVE METHODS USED TO CLOSE THE KNOWLEDGE GAP

Thus, the purpose of this thesis was to examine, through the lens of prison staff, their perspectives of their role in supporting prisoners to rehabilitate and desist from criminal behaviour by discovering:

- How prison staff perceive their role in supporting prisoners to rehabilitate and desist from criminal behaviour, and the techniques they deploy, such as pro-social modelling, to motivate prisoners to take up the opportunities available to them whilst in custody, for example, work, training, education and cognitive therapy programmes.

- How the organisational factors (policy, practice and operational regime) affect the work of the prison staff around rehabilitation and desistance support.

- How the organisation supports prison staff to carry out their work on rehabilitation and desistance. This would include training that is formal or informal, internally or externally facilitated by contractors or consultants, or any other support that the organisation offers prison staff to undertake this specific aspect of their job.

The study employs a constructionist ontological stance which sought to bring to the fore the realities of the prison officers' working environment and how they interpreted their role (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), specifically around rehabilitation and desistance support for prisoners. As the prison officer's understanding is central to this thesis an epistemological interpretivist stance directed the theoretical perspective and methodological approach, that of ethnography and data collection strategies of one-to-one semi-structured interviews, focus groups and observation of the training (see C3, section 3.4.1, pp. 113-115). Integral to my investigatory style to data collection I included an appreciative, constructive questioning technique which has been utilised before in a penal environment and this study builds on and extends that experience.   Also, the use of a third lens, video recording of the focus groups and observation of the training, is unique in empirical research in prisons and promulgates the benefits for future ethnographical investigations, outlining the strengths and limitations of this type of technology (see, C3, section 3.9, pp. 133-135).

7.2.1   APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY APPROACH

An appreciative style to questioning requires an understanding of the reality of the person to be interviewed, to be empathetic, genuine and with an ability to put oneself "in their shoes". The questions have to be simple, yet provoking, to enable the participant to 'root around' in their memory and bring to the fore the positives (see Appendix 4). It takes patience and the use of silences to allow the process to happen, as positive memories and experiences are

more ephemeral and remain at the back of the memory store, whereas adverse recollections and experiences are recalled much more easily (Beckwé et al., 2013; Nolen-Hoeksema, 1991). I would argue that my experience was similar to that of Robinson et al., (2012):

> "It is argued not only that AI served our project well (in terms of furnishing us with a wealth of relevant, good quality data) but also that our choice of methodology rendered visible aspects of contemporary probation culture which, we believe, would have remained hidden had we not chosen to explore quality through an 'appreciative' lens."

I contend that if I had only investigated adverse experiences I would not have uncovered numerous positive stories loitering in the memories of the prison officers.   My experiences bear this out (see C3, section 3.10, p. 137), that it takes time for the good stories to appear front and centre and when that story has been told there is, generally, a 'but', and the explanation continues with, 'we could have done it better if we had had', for example, more staff, more time, more information.   Thus, the adverse experience is also narrated, but the impact is tempered with the exposure of the positive. This, I consider, provided my research with an holistic perspective of the realities of prison staff to rehabilitation and desistance in prison. What I consider I have realised is an extension and affirmation of the experiences of those who have gone before me and counter to those who consider it a flawed reality by focusing on the positive, such as Miller et al., (2005) and Scott (2014), in the same way that Gergen (1973) and Geertz (1980) argued that emulating a natural science approach only provided a partial truth, that of an adverse reality. What I sought to achieve was to elicit as near as possible a comprehensive viewpoint of prison staff perceptions of their role to rehabilitate and motivate desistance in prisoners.

Thus, I would argue that an appreciative approach is not a veneration of the best of what is, but the best about what ethnographic empirical research can be, an holistic and ethical approach.   Our role as researchers is to not to appear to be the expert, but to be someone who listens, cares and understands the reality of the participants and not to impact them negatively in any way.   I would argue that an appreciative, constructive style to questioning impacts positively on participants (see C3, section 3.8, pp. 130-133).   My methodological approach centralised the participants, their perspectives and their health and well-being and brought forth a deep and detailed understanding of their viewpoints on rehabilitation, the prison regime and training in their establishment.

7.2.2   VIDEO RECORDING

The utilisation of a third lens, video-recording, both validated and endorsed the observations and notes taken within the focus groups and training sessions and provided a three-dimensional aspect to the subsequent inductive coding and analysis of the data.   The video recordings have given my findings a validity that is not normally accessible to ethnographers when investigating prison phenomena.   In a focus group situation where one is facilitating, asking the questions, encouraging answering, listening and watching, while at the same time taking notes, all this requires a great deal of concentration, effort and subsequent reliance on memory and I would argue that the extra lens supported my field notes and augmented and added validity to the data collected.   There are technical issues that have to be considered in the use of video recording equipment, such as intrusiveness, environmental manipulation of the environment or participants by altering the normal or natural setting of the activity or event as this might influence outcomes and invalidate the data (Rosenstein, 2002; Knoblauch & Schnettler, 2012).   Ethical issues in ownership of the data, misuse of the

data by third parties and secure storage must be addressed at the outset (see Appendices 1-2, pp. a-e; Appendices 5-6, pp. i-j). There is also the 'Hawthorne Effect' of people over- or under-reacting (Gold, 1958; Parsons, 1974; Olsen et al., 2004) of which cognisance has to be taken and the possible effects of such under- or over-reaction therefore have to be recognised in the analysis.

I would argue that the use of video recording augmented my ethnographical research in a penal environment adding substantially to the verification, enhanced validity and allowed more meaningful elucidation of important pieces of data as I transcribed.   Repeated reviewing of the recordings ensured that I had fully grasped the importance of what had been said, especially since this involved deciphering the local dialects of, and language used by, prison staff. The video recording, and subsequent viewing, also allowed the analysis of non-verbal phenomena within a group dynamic which most could easily have been missed without the use of the technology.   The compilation of valid data has to be the primary objective when recording ethnographical phenomena and scrupulous analysis of the data is essential, and the video recordings provided that additional lens through which I was able to compare it with my written notes allowing an effective evaluation on which to form my conclusions.   This I would contend this is an area that requires further development to verify benefits and iron out issues for ethnographical research in penal environments.

7.3   THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

The SPS are intrinsically linked to the state, political processes (civic social/community) and the whole criminal justice system and individual prisons are a subsystem of that civic social/justice community and as such are permeated with the laws, morals and values of that

community to which they preserve a close relationship to legitimise their goals and activities of secure incarceration. The literature review pointed to the fact that prisons as functional organisations are scrutinised by external organisations and networks and internally by prisoners on their adherence to rules of law. Their main function is dictated by external situations over which they have no control, that of the number of offenders being sent to them for secure incarceration, care and rehabilitation. Similarly, the rehabilitation of offenders to desist from an anti-social life style requires the prison to provide interventions that will encourage them to return to society as pro-social citizens. Yet, the major causes of criminality are created, it can be argued, to a great extent by the political and social policies decided upon by the Government of the day over which prisons have no influence to change as an organisation[258], for example poverty, housing, homelessness and employment, all factors that research has indicated, if eliminated, would reduce criminality.

Besides the policies that prison personnel have no influence over, there are some penal policies that are derived from and which directly relate to the operational activity of a prison and, through the theoretical lens of Bevir's decentred theory of governance, the literature review noted that they are not always implemented in the way they are intended. Prisons are governed, managed and influenced by numerous organisations whose own personnel interpret, modify and adjust policies, directives, rules and regulations according to their own personal 'concrete egoism or altruism' towards their administration and team (Parsons, 1939, p. 467) or their instilled and inherited traditions (Elias, 1982) or realignment of those traditions after dilemmic or pressurised experiences (Bevir, 2002, p. 15). The case study prison had additional tiers of policies, procedures and measures associated with their

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[258] Prison personnel as citizens can influence policies by exercising their civic responsibilities through voting

corporate employer and contractual arrangements with the Scottish Government that were also interpreted and implemented according to the decisions at each level of the prison hierarchy.   This is illustrated in chapter 5 with the mobile phone and drug policy for the prison.   The contract overseen by SPS defines a target percentage of contraband and in the event of anything above target being found then the prison is fined.   SPS see this as a deterrent, prison administration as a fine to be avoided and prison staff see themselves being placed in a difficult position if they find over the quota; do they report it, do they ignore it.   Such ambiguity results in serious consequences for themselves, for prisoners and for the prison administration. (see C5, section 5.7, p. 270)

The conceptual framework (see Foreword, p. 2) put into context the governance structures, watchers, influencers and implementers of the hierarchical penal justice system.   This system was described in three levels: the structural, macro level that legitimises prisons in the eyes of the society; the situational, meso level that keep the system accountable for its actions or inactions; and the developmental, micro level, the frontline prison staff, their histories, work culture and training.   The framework examined the interconnections and dependencies and noted that governance is a fluid action that is constantly shifting through various policy developments, disruptions, staffing to maintain equilibrium and rehabilitative ideals to preserve legitimacy of the penal system through compliance (see C 1, section, 1.4, p. 10). While the architecture is designed as a deterrent from the outside and place of reformation on the inside the reality is, however, that it contributes to a deterioration of prisoners' mental and physical wellbeing (see C 1, section, 1.6, p. 30) and ultimately does not reduce recidivism or 'keep society safe'.   The prison regimes are not conducive to supporting a rehabilitative environment when prisoners are confined to their cells for long hours and

moved round the prison to the rhythms of the regime that suit the managing of prison staff rather than prisoners' lives. The 'watchers', in particular the HMIPS, are somewhat ineffective[259] when they have no structures in place that ensure that their recommendations are implemented and acted upon in a systematic and accountable manner (see C1, section 1.8, p. 41).

7.4 RESEARCH OUTCOMES OF REHABILITATION & DESISTANCE IN A PENAL ENVIRONMENT

Penal rehabilitation has been described as a 'medical model', one that diagnoses risks and needs and then determines which curative would work to restore that person (Raynor & Robinson, 2009) to the pro-social citizen as desired by society (see C2, section 2.2, p. 78). There are various diagnostic tools used in prison such as RNR, LSCMI, sentence planning, integrated case management and the work of the PERO. The remedies utilised to effect a 'cure' are what is available and accessible to a prisoner in individual prisons, examples of which could be OBPs, medication, education, production work, trades, family visits, purposeful activities, passman responsibilities, volunteering and physical fitness.

Desistance is, on the other hand, is more complex and nuanced with a variety of unrestricted influences and supports to help an individual to aspire to or achieve a pro-social lifestyle. Desistance is ongoing and to date has identified some of the processes that an offenders'

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[259] Purposeful activity and time out of cell The IPM team are concerned that too many residents do not appear to be fully engaged in any purposeful activity, with lots of residents remaining on the halls, while the number of people at education appears low.https://www.prisonsinspectoratescotland.gov.uk/publications/prison-monitoring-summary-hmp-addiewell-july-september-2019   Latest thematic report September 2019 by HMIPS again reported on the lack of out of cell time and purposeful activity for prisoners, this has been reported consistently for ten years by HMIPS and nothing has changed.

takes on their journey that results in either complete rejection or reduction of their criminality. The journey has been described in terms of three epochs. Primary occurs where there is a break criminogenic activity (Maruna, 2001; Maruna & Farrall, 2004). Secondary occurs when a person assumes an identity that they consider to be positive and discards the negative offender identity (Maruna & Farrall, 2004), which is analogous with Bottoms et al's (2004) 'situational context' and Giordano et al's (2002), third stage of desistance and the accumulation of secondary and then primary goods as in the GLM (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Tertiary desistance, as proposed by McNeill (2016) is a change in a person's behaviour or mindset in how they understand and see themselves and how others see them in that community. Desistance research in ongoing and is evolving in the open community with service users. To date effective relationships are identified as sources of human capital (Burnett, 2000; Maruna et al., 2003; LeBel et al., 2008; McNeill et al., 2012) and social capital (Farrall, 2004) which motivates pro-social attitudes and lifestyle (Rex, 1999; McNeill et al., 2005), recognised as an important consequences of desisting (Weaver, 2009; see C2, section 2.4, pp. 83-87). The GLM explicates that positive relationships and pro-social attitudes help offenders acquire 'primary goods', positive assets that promote and sustain a pro-social lifestyle (Ward & Maruna, 2007; Ward & Brown, 2004; see C2, section 2.3, p. 81). Thus, there are obvious differences between rehabilitation and desistance.

Rehabilitation it can be contended is a compliance controlled process used to support prisoners to meet certain milestones to meet the objectives of their sentence in preparation for release back into the community but, one would argue with a restricted palette of options in penal environments to achieve this. Desistance is subtle and deeply personal to the individual, it requires a depth of knowledge of the individual, a relationship of trust, openness

and honesty.   How achievable is this in a penal environment when the subtleties of a change

in mindset are hardly visible, when relationships are based on and influenced by ephemeral

meetings and changes in staffing, and a prison regime that focuses on compliance, restricted

by budgets, architecture and the size of the prison population?   In Scotland, desistance

theory/processes have been embraced by SPS to form part of their strategy for the

rehabilitation of offenders (SPS-OR, 2013, p.51; SPS-PAR, 2014, p. 14; SPS-FD, 2016, p. 7; SPS-

VP, 2016, p. 8).   However, in spite of these strategies the prison population in Scotland

continues to rise with prisons now considered to be overcrowded putting the system under

pressure and reducing the rehabilitative work of prison officers, for example the Throughcare

project (see C 2, footnote 137 page 89).   For those incarcerated the SPS have stated through

their policy documents that prisoners are to be at the centre of their rehabilitation strategy

which takes cognisance of research on processes of desistance.   But what have prison

officers understood and implemented as rehabilitation is a gap in penal knowledge, which

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 sought to reveal?

In the case study prison, prison staff on the residential wings had some understanding of

rehabilitation but that it was delivered in another part of their prison by specialist trained

prison officers and civilian education staff.   Of desistance, it was a word that was unknown

to prison staff[260] but not their managers.   What did accord with previous research was that

prison staff who understand the purpose of OBPs were able to relate rehabilitation to

prisoners' changes in behaviours and initiate the thoughts of a pro-social lifestyle (Gendreau,

1996; McNeill et al., 2005).   This is similar to the finding in this research.   Prison staff who

worked in ICM, Programmes and Trades understood rehabilitative options and their purpose,

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[260] Who participated in the field work study

whilst those in the SCU saw rehabilitation as preparing prisoners to re-integrate to living internally within the prison community (see C4, section 4.8.2, pp. 198-201). The PERO role was not well established and was rather ad hoc and for the most part considered as an administrative task mostly for the benefit of the ICM officer to add to the prisoner's file.

The majority of prison staff worked on the residential wings and considered that they had very little time to work with prisoners due to the daily routine duties that had to be undertaken to abide by prison rules, security and contractual obligations. (This was at variance with the viewpoint of a senior manager.) The prison staff also identified and defined a number of traits (see Section 4.4, pp. 159-164) in prisoners that impacted on their work, in particular when it came to rehabilitation. Prison staff described prisoner traits thus: those with addiction issues related to drugs or alcohol, or those with issues of violence, homelessness or illiteracy, those whose behaviours replicate immaturity, those more mature or older prisoners not coping with the '40 hours out of cell' and a lack of production workshops, and those suffering from mental health issues, exacerbated by the influx of New Psychoactive Substances. All the above required care and attention for reasons of security and they understood that this was not rehabilitation but keeping staff and prisoners safe.

The case study prison was designed as a 'Learning Prison' it offered on paper every prisoner 40 hours out of cell time per week for OBPs and other purposeful activities. The reality was as recorded by HMIPS that only 50% of the prisoners attended activities on the learning side of the prison and indeed the size of the education areas could only hold 150 prisoners at any one time and it was therefore physically impossible to have 700 prisoners out of their cells for all of the 40 hours. The understanding of a majority of prison staff and some managers

of the learning prison was not that the focus was on academic education and vocational trades but, a prison that did not have any production workshops. A senior manager did disclose in retrospect that having only education as the main offer for rehabilitation was very limiting. The same manager explained that prison staff would not understand the term desistance and that did prove to be the case.

However, the data did highlight that some prison staff were trying to support desistance processes in, I would argue, a way that was instinctual and nurturing, consummate with their upbringing and personal and moral values. Prison staff described actions and demonstrated skills and qualities of caring and trust (Leibrich, 1994), relationship building, empathy and respect (Rex, 1999) and positive reinforcement associated with pro-social modelling (Trotter, 1999). The majority of prison staff did want to do more than the routine duties of security, care and ensuring that all relevant administrative tasks had been completed but they considered that they had very little time to do anything else. Therefore, they chose to invest in those who, in their opinion, were vulnerable, or not 'really criminals' or young men with families. But some longer serving prison officers has similar views to those found by Morris & Morris (1963) who were sceptical of rehabilitation as they saw there efforts failing all too often with the revolving door of recidivism and noted that some things they could do nothing about, such as poverty, homelessness and substance abuse (see C4, section 4.4, p. 161).

The findings of this research suggest that prison staff who work in specialist areas had an understanding of rehabilitation and its purpose than the prison officers on the residential wings. Thus, from the perspective of prison staff, rehabilitation was confined to the 'learning area' of the prison and was the preserve of a limited number of prison staff to support

prisoners to fulfil the requirements of their sentence, preparation for liberation and special family visits. The staff on the wings considered that they were constrained by the prison regime and although their training repeatedly informed them that 'getting to know' your prisoner was an important aspect of the job they were also warned 'not to have relationships' with prisoners because that was a security risk (see C6, section 6.3, p. 292).

7.5   CONDITIONING OF NEW RECRUITS   (OR DESIRED BEHAVIOURS[261])

The initial training was designed to give trainees an overview of what their job would entail, the roles that they would be asked to perform, the rules to which they had to conform and an overview of the prison, prisoners and prison officer culture. However, this initial training was more akin to a parent instilling in their offspring the necessary manners and actions of their family culture. I would contend that the learning is comparable to what Elias (1978, 1982) described in his 'The History of Manners' and 'The Civilising Process', where he hypothesises that children and young people are expected to exhibit desired behaviours that acculturates them to their own community and wider civil society. Acculturation according to Gordon (1964, 1978) involves assimilating the cultural patterns of the dominant style and assimilation of the dominant organisational ethos. Lombardo (1985), however, noted that absorption was tentative until prison staff came under pressure and then they became a cohesive unit. This is similar to what the new recruits reported on the CnR training, that it brought them together as a team (see C6, section 6.5 p. 297) and positively conditioned them to violence for the organisational purpose of maintaining security. Gordon (1964) also

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[261] Quote from SPS-OR, para, 6.3, p. 157 '....existing training and development was in fact sufficient for the organisation to not only bridge the knowledge gap and set the change in expectations between the two roles but also to reinforce the desired behaviours.'

explicates that assimilation and absorption lingers open-endedly until it is replaced by another dominant culture.   Thus, the initial training is, I would contend, the prison administration's method of inculcating and acculturating desired behaviours in their prison staff for the purposes of security and care and but not for the secondary purpose of the rehabilitation of prisoners – this comes later, indirectly, when prison staff had learned their 'jail craft', from trial and error, from more experienced colleagues and from prisoners, and their own personal experiences and values developed from their own social acculturation.

Prison officer initial training, I would argue, is intended to condition desired behaviours rather than train, to instil in new recruits the strategic principles and tenets of the organisation, the rules and regulations governing the administration of a penal environment and the consequences of breaking the rules.   The prison staff stated that it does not adequately prepare them for their primary role of security and care and certainly not for rehabilitation of prisoners and that they learn most of their job when they have gone 'live', which coincides with SPS findings by Coyle (1986) and SPS – Carnie & Spencer (1997).   SPS have introduced a one day desistance module for new recruits who will not have direct contact with prisoners least 12 months post training. I would contend that, as prison officers, they will not have the opportunity to reinforce, strengthen and deepen the skills learned since, as Skinner (1953) contends, behaviours that are constantly reinforced are inclined to deepen and thus be repeated and, conversely, that behaviours not reinforced have a tendency to dwindle, weaken and eventually disappear.   Thus, those skills that are learned in the desistance module are likely to weaken and diminish by the time the officer begins working with prisoners on the wings.

Research on the training of new trainees is an area offering significant potential on how to provide meaningful training that does help them to do their job when they go live and that includes both the primary and secondary purposes of penality; training that does more than teaching prevention and warehousing skills but offers skills comparable to and an extension of, for example, the Norwich system (Thomas, 1972) or similar to the Norwegian penal system (Mathieson, 1965; Pratt, 2008a; 2008b), or the Barlinnie Special Unit training (Coyle, 1986; Nellis, 2010; see C1, section, 1.4, p. 14). Training that includes teaching prisoners and prison staff respect for all as human beings to improve relationships; training that provides for the 'reality' of what is possible rather than what is 'not' possible; and training that ensures all areas of the penal environment are positive places of achievement and interconnectedness rather than areas separated by visible and invisible barriers that increase emotional deprivation for both prison staff and prisoners (Jewkes, 2016; 2018). At no stage during the training were the philosophies of retribution, incapacitation, rehabilitation, deterrence or restoration that underpin penal regimes and practices explicated. I would therefore argue that the training did not provide new recruits with the information to understand the aims of imprisonment other than the basic premise of keeping the prison secure and safe, by completing all the necessary daily tasks, so that there are no escapes, disorder, self-inflicted deaths and prisoners go where they are supposed to go if not in their cells. The gaps in training identified by Liebling & Arnold, 2004; Dunbar, 1985; and Bottoms, 1989 (see C1, Section 1.13, p. 66) I contend has been partially filled the gaps and thus, added to the existing knowledge on prison officer training but also further expanded the understanding of what prison staff learn from this training on rehabilitation is negligible.

7.6   PRISON ARCHITECTURE: CREATING AN INVISIBLE DIVIDE

The research on architectural design highlights that certain layouts are more conducive to prisoner-staff relationships but also for surveillance and security (see C1, section 1.6, pp. 30-38). A particular picture of the case study prison began to emerge during the early stages of the fieldwork that it was divided metaphorically and physically in terms of space. The prison was divided into the residential wings, the living areas of the prison, and the 'learning areas', staffed by specialist prison officers and other specialists, employed to provide education, health and pre-release services (Goffman 1961). The architectural divide was exacerbated by the exclusion of the residential prison officers from the learning areas.

According to the residential staff their initial training did not provide them with the knowledge and understanding of what was being taught in the learning areas and therefore they felt either unable, or only superficially able, to support prisoners' academic or OBP learning. This divide is real and in plain sight but is unseen by the prison staff and prison managers, a 'geographical unconformity'. By that I describe a space between two or more units that are juxtaposed, unconnected and dissimilar in function. For prison staff on the wings this is an invisible barrier, in the sense that they have limited knowledge and understanding of what is being taught and facilitated with prisoners and therefore is another limiting factor to rehabilitation and desistance support.

The 'unconformity' is not, I would argue, a deliberate attempt by the prison managers to divide the prison but is there to divide the living quarters from the rest of the prison, for purposes of security. I would argue that the two main carceral spaces in the prison are distinct entities in which there are different social environments to which are ascribed

different rules[262]. But the divide, I would argue, does not support a whole prison approach to rehabilitation and desistance of prisoners; prisoners, as well as staff, see the 2 areas as distinct and react accordingly.   Prison staff perceptions on the wings are prisoners replicate the lives that they may have had led in the open community, sleeping all day, watching television all night and hanging around with their pals in the evenings. That prisoners see them as adversaries, and that they are there to bear the brunt of prisoners' frustrations and pains of imprisonment (Sykes, 1958).   The carceral divide results in prison staff having little time to develop relationships and set examples by pro-social modelling of civil society behaviours holistically across the prison.

7.7   COMMUNICATION CHANNELS A BARRIER TO REHABILITATION

The constraints on communication previously highlighted resulting from the structure of the prison regime and staffing arrangements were exacerbated by the carceral divide. The prison staff on the wings expressed the view that communication and collaboration between themselves and the specialist prison staff was limited[263] and tended to be the preserve of the senior prison officers who had the responsibility for three wings containing approximately 180 prisoners and 6 prison officers.   The prison regime, staffing arrangements and partitioning of the prison mean that these small teams are overly reliant on each other on shift[264] where the most experience staff member was between 12 to 18 months.   The lack of communication with colleagues was due also to the complex shift patterns and a lack of

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[262] An example of rules. Clothing worn on the wings can be flip flops and short, the prisoners cannot leave the wings in those types clothing they have to wear long trousers/jogging bottoms and polo shirts/sweat shirt.   Prisoners in this prison do not wear prison issue clothing, they wear their own clothes within certain rules and regulations.

[263] There were exceptions when residential staff were on a long shift that required them to assume various security details across the prison.

[264]Residential staff team consisted of 6 members plus one senior prison officer and one unit manager to whom they could communicate daily.

whole-staff training opportunities post their initial training. The inability of the administration to undertake training of large groups of staff from across the prison or, similarly, for meetings, was due to contractual obligations[265]. This has led to a method of training and administrative communications that relied more on the 'trickle down effect' (similar to what Crawley, 2004, identified, see C6, section, 6.9, p. 320) which, possibly leads to a diminution or dilution of the message or, as explained by some staff, if such information or training took place while they were on leave then they may not even hear about it for some time, if at all, which in turn may have implications for prisoners' progression in status or early release. The staff facilities also deterred inter-communication, prison staff stating that the staff room and canteen were small, windowless rooms (Jewkes, 2018, p.15) which did not encourage staff to meet at length, and the statutory break times[266] precluded lengthy chats with other colleagues.

This lack of intercommunication left prison staff, particularly the new recruits on the residential wings, feeling isolated and they considered that this sometimes compromised their authority and put them at a disadvantage because prisoners knew more than they did[267] (similar to Morris & Morris, 1963 findings in Pentonville; see C4, section 4.5, p. 165). It also created problems, the prison staff explained, when they could not answer prisoner queries. It increased prisoner tensions, recriminations and verbal abuse which could have been avoided if there had been better communication. There was no indication that experienced prison staff tried to undermine the less experienced staff or new recruits or to hold power

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[265] Explained provided by the prison Director (see C5, section 5.7, p. 239)

[266] 15 minutes for tea break and 30 minutes for lunch including walking to the facility

[267] One new recruit stated: *"Prisoners have to go through a literacy and numeracy assessment called Big Plus before they got a timetable for purposeful activity. Complaining because I did not know anything about that and I felt I had made mistakes because of the lack of knowledge".*

over them; however, some did feel undermined when rules were differently interpreted (Bevir, 2002) by more experienced staff[268].

The small, closely-bonded teams reported experiences similar to what Liebling & Price (2001) had found, that good days were experienced when the intra-communication between the team had been at its best and they could rely on their close colleagues to keep each other safe. Intra-communication supported prison staff to do their job and get through the day, whereas the lack of inter-communication could leave them isolated and create barriers with prisoners and the rest of the prison. This research argues that the lack of inter-communication has left residential staff heavily reliant on their small isolated teams whereas the specialist prison officers communicated regularly between each other and the education staff for purposes of report writing to provide evidence of a prisoner's progression. The PERO role (see C5, section 5.6.3, p. 263), which would have provided a conduit for the wings to be more involved, was inconsistent in its execution and seemed not to be a priority of prison management during the field work. However, towards the end of my field work, there was a concerted effort to revive the role, but with no increase in staffing on the wings, nor having a similar status as a core role as is the case in SPS (SPS-VP, 2016; see C5, section 5.6 pp. 257-267).

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[268] Dialogue between new recruits in the focus group post training. "*I went into a long-term wing and I have done the same on the short term, you go into the cell and you whip off the duvet cover and you leave it, and the prisoner was standing at the door and said you are not leaving here until you put that back on. I said this is my job and this is what I have to do, he said no.* [what did the other officer say (CHA) *Nothing, and I said no and he was just standing there in the door just like that* (FUL) [demonstrated the prisoner covering the door] *and he kept saying you are not getting out of here, you are not getting out of here.* [Was there another prison officer there?] *Yes, there was and another lassie as well, so basically the other officer put it back on and when I went down stairs, I said, "don't you do that on this wing", and he said," no".* [(Do you think that is right PRA?)] *No, but what …… so on different wings, different rules.*"

Lack of inter-communication, I would argue, had also led the prison to be a prison of two halves, with one side, the residential wings, operating a regime where the priority is security, care and logistics, while the specialist prison staff in the learning side are working towards rehabilitative compliance. The lack of intra and inter-communication as well as the prison architecture has created barriers for staff on the residential wings and is an impediment to supporting and motivating prisoners' rehabilitative or desistance aspirations in a cohesive and holistic approach across the whole of the prison.

7.8   IMPLICATIONS OF INTRODUCING DESISTANCE INTO THE PENAL REGIME

This study has added to penal knowledge on rehabilitation from the perspective of residential and specialist prison officers. The study has also highlighted the following impediments to the facilitation and implementation of rehabilitative support: the lack of training to provide the skills, knowledge and understanding of the purpose of imprisonment; the lack of awareness and possibilities offered by an appreciation of rehabilitative philosophies; the influence of the prison regime, the inadequacy of operational planning to allow the full development of rehabilitative process; and, physical architecture of the prison mitigating against an holistic approach to rehabilitation. Desistance in the case study prison was not actively acknowledged, despite being the focus of one of SPS's flagship policies. However, this study contends that prison staff do support desistance processes naturally and altruistically. But if desistance is to become an intrinsic part of the penal regime for prisoners then what are the implications for policies, practices and training for prison officers and for prisoners passing through a system where tick box compliance are the bases for gaining enhanced status for parole, HDC or extra family visits?

Desistance is not a treatment model but one based on identifying the processes that lead to pros-social behaviours and understanding how they work. As has been noted previously desistance is complex, nuanced and focuses on individuals, their traits and the myriad of trusting and supportive relationships that they make through a variety of networks and other social experiences found in the open community. There are implications to all levels of the penal justice and penal sociological system of moving to a desistance paradigm which is untested in a penal environment.

At the structural level the implications are suggested thus. How are desistance processes to be defined as policy outcomes and KPIs in a penal environment to satisfy all stakeholders at all levels in the penal justice system? Curative treatments for prisoners have been utilised by successive Governments to satisfy their policies of making society safe by being tough on criminals. Thus, rehabilitation has been used for political purposes to provide legitimacy for incarceration, contractually to which prisons are held accountable, practices that are scrutinised by external agencies such as HMIPS et al, as measured against prison rules. Given that prison rules are predicated on the philosophies of the aims of imprisonment rather than the processes of desistance, will they have to be re-written? The SPS, in their Organisational review, recognised some of the changes required and undertook a Logic Modelling exercise (SPS-OR, 2013, para 8.35, p. 191) to review how the KPIs set by Government would reflect the new penal paradigm and continue to contribute the relevant penal policies and drivers of change (ibid. Section 1, pp. 20-29). SPS have also elected to use the MQPL[269] to review,

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[269] The Measuring the Quality of Prison Life (MPQL) contains 126 'items' or statements, which respondents are asked to agree or disagree with, on a five-point Likert scale (from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'). These items are clustered into conceptual 'dimensions', which represent key aspects of a prisoner's quality of life. The dimensions are presented here thematically in five categories: Harmony dimensions, Professionalism dimensions, Security dimensions, Conditions and Family Contact dimensions, and Well-being and Development dimensions

measure and identify best practice, evidence of effective activities and of the prison regime to improve progression and outcomes for prisoners (ibid. section, 8.37, p. 191).

Thus, SPS has recognised the need to refocus policies and practices, for example the 'throughcare support officer', assets based approach, co-production, professionalisation of the prison officer, separating the custodial role with the decision to introduce a 'custody officer' (see C2, section 2.1, p. 77). However, external policy developments, the 'presumption against short sentences' (see C2, section 2.8, p. 102) have, I would suggest, helped to increase the prison population to a state of dangerous overcrowding and as such have seen the new penal paradigm judder to a standstill. There are also implications with regard to penal architecture on internal layouts, assets and environments that are suitable and conducive to modern learning and teaching methods, utilising technologies found in schools and colleges, employment and volunteering that is meaningful to which skills learned can be attributed and equated with work in the open community, all of which are identified as positive conduits for desistance.

At the situational level, what are the implications for HMIPS, and partners, SPCC, SPSO and RMA, third sector organisations and probationary services (see C1, section 1.8, p. 41)? HMIPS and partners focus on measuring how well the prison works for prisoners by measuring provisions and regime against prison rules and regulations found in the UK and Europe. Will HMIPS and partners have to adjust their systems for measuring rehabilitation to include the different practices anticipated if the roles of the prison officers are separated between prisoner support and security? With regard to third sector organisations and probationary services, if desistance is introduced into the penal realm would it benefit their

service users providing an holistic criminal justice service that is compatible with the services in the open community.

But what of prison staff and the POAS at the 'developmental' level?   For prison officers, if they are to be trained to a level that supports and facilitates desistance, they will require a greater depth of training than is presently undertaken and available.   SPS have an example of good practice in Scotland in the BSU where prison staff were trained to have therapeutic relationships with prisoners, where trust and security were not mutually exclusive and the results supported some of the most dangerous prisoners in Scotland to be released to live a fruitful and pro-social lifestyle.   There are other examples such as Grendon, the Norwich System and indeed Norway's Haldane Prison, but they are all predicated on prison officers being trained to a much higher level of learning more akin to a counsellor or social worker. Are SPS willing to invest in this training?   Do they have the backing of the stakeholders?   Do they have the finances to undertake such an investment?   The POAS, who have advocated often on improving the status and professionalisation of the service, face a dilemma from within their membership who rejected the POPP terms and conditions.   Introducing such far reaching developmental changes into working practices are, it seems, fraught with dangers for those at the macro level and highlights the power that can be exerted by those at the micro level of a system if they are not fully engaged or take ownership of the change process.

One area that has not been discussed in this study is that of the service users and this highlights the limitations imposed on this study.   A comparison between service users' views on prison staff and rehabilitation would have added a further depth of detail on the role of prison staff and the benefits of this knowledge would have provided this study with a fuller

picture of the reality of rehabilitation in prisons. Also, although the research was based in only one prison I would argue that it affords generalisability, logically, across all penal establishments. Further gaps in penal knowledge revolve around what the benefits are for prisoners on a 40 hour out of cell policy and how prison staff could be trained to use this better to build meaningful relationships that focuses on the processes of desistance. In the penal community where security is the primary function and rehabilitation a poor secondary function that is readily set aside when the prison comes under pressure and falls out of equilibrium.   If a longitudinal study of the processes of desistance development and implementation was undertaken it could add to the knowledge of 'how it works from the inside to the outside', and the interconnectedness and compatibility of services for the service user on their desistance journey.

7.9   CONCLUSIONS

Rehabilitation has been a remit for prisons for over twelve decades and a treatment model that diagnoses through RNR/LSCMI and has been centred around a carrot and stick approach for prisoners to take responsibility for their own restoration to society. This remit has met with limited success for the few rather than the majority of offenders.   This study has shed a light on the lack of understanding and knowledge of rehabilitation, desistance and the aims of imprisonment by those prison officers who spend the greatest length of time with prisoners on the residential wings.   It has further expanded on the knowledge that the training is not fit for purpose for their primary function let alone their secondary one and that the architecture, prison regime, staffing levels, shifts patterns and prisoners' physical and mental issues and adverse life experiences all impact significantly on what can be achieved by prisons officers and prisons under the banner of rehabilitation.

If desistance is to become the new penal paradigm then the adjustments which the SPS have to make to provide a service that seeks to know 'how it works' rather than 'what works' requires the significant change in the culture of prison staff, in their working practices and in their roles and responsibilities, with an holistic approach throughout the whole penal environment.   All of the above require an enormous step change across the criminal justice and penal justice systems and begs the question, how prepared are they for this change?   One further argument that needs to be highlighted and discussed is the prison service's decades-long remit of being held to account for rehabilitation.   If prisons were no longer accountable for this remit with regard to the number of prisoners who recidivate, what would the prison regime look like?   What would the prison officer's role look like?   But most importantly, what would life be like for a prisoner if prisons could 'normalise' prison life through a desistance approach and change from the RNR model to the GLM and Positive Psychology?   Prisons should be places of 'nurturing' rather than 'pain', where both a prison officer's and prisoner's personal strengths are positively encouraged, through compassion, resilience, creativity, curiosity, integrity, self-efficacy and trust.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

20 January 2016

Dear Prison Officer

Re: Research into the role Prison Officer play in supporting prisoners to rehabilitate and desist from criminal behaviour.

Over the last few months with the kind permission of your Director, Audrey Park, I have been undertaking focus groups with experienced prison officers, observing the training of new recruits and I am now about to start the next stage of my research, one to one interviews with prison officers.

You have either been chosen because of your experience and expertise in a particular area of prison work or you attended one of my focus groups and volunteered to take part in this phase of the research.

My research is specifically focused on your views and perceptions of your role as a prison officer in supporting prisoners to rehabilitation and in taking up the opportunities available to them in HMP Addiewell.

The one to one interview will be sound recorded and only I have access to this recording. When the data is transcribed each interviewee will be coded to anonymise the information. Thus no one will be able to identify the interviewee or the transcribed information. The interview will last approximately one hour and will be like a structured conversation rather than a series of questions-and-answers format.

If you did not take part in one of the focus groups I will asked you to sign my Ethics and Standards form, a copy of which is attached to this letter.

If you have any queries about the above interview or Ethics form, please do contact me.
mary.noblett@strath.ac.uk.

I look forward to meeting you soon.

Yours sincerely

Jo Noblett

a

PRISON STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ROLE IN THE REHABILITATION & DESISTANCE SUPPORT OF PRISONERS
December 2019   Jo Bailey-Noblett

Participant Information Sheet for HMP Addiewell Prison Service Personnel

Name of department: Law School – Faculties of Humanities and Social Sciences

Title of the study: The opinions and observations of prison officers on their role in supporting offenders to stop or reduce their criminal behaviour when released from prison.

Our ref: 523   05-Jan-15

Introduction: My name is Jo Noblett and I am a PhD research student at the University of Strathclyde, studying in the Law School which is part of the department of Humanities and Social Sciences.

What is the purpose of this investigation?

My research investigation is about what your views, opinions and observations are concerning your role as prison officers in supporting prisoners to reduce or stop their criminal behaviour. However, I want to explore it from an appreciative and constructive viewpoint. That is looking at what is working well, and why it is working well. Therefore, I want you to begin by thinking about your role, and the work you undertake, by identifying the best moments you have had working with offenders, in supporting and motivating them to reduce or halt their criminality; why it was positive and what were the conditions/environment at the time that made it work.

Do you have to take part?

My research is looking for volunteers to take part and if you do not want to take part or, at a later stage if you wish to withdraw from the research, that will not be an issue.   All of your views and information will be respected.   Initially in the focus group, we will discuss what you consider to be your best moments of working with prisoners in helping them reduce their criminality and also in supporting prisoners to make the best of the opportunities available to them whilst in prison. We will do this with a few questions which we will then extrapolate and investigate further, but all from an appreciative perspective. The discussion may include you writing on index cards and flip charts.   This group will meet again two more times, half way and at the end of the research.

However, to enable a deeper understanding of your work after this session I would like to ask a number of volunteers to participate further in my research on a one to one basis – this will be an in-depth one to one interview format in which a more detailed discussion can be undertaken on your observations and opinions of your work supporting prisoners to

rehabilitate. This will happen at specific intervals over the next few months (roughly every 4 to 6 weeks) to identify what is working well and why it is working well.

What will you do in the project?
During the research investigation I will be interviewing you for around one to one and half hours at a

time and at intervals of about 4 to 6 weeks to ascertain your views on what is working well and why you think it is working well. This will take place in your place of work with the permission of your line manager and Director. The participation is voluntary and there is no remuneration or inducement.

Why have you been invited to take part?
This research is focused on prison officers; there is no screening criteria and it is purely voluntary.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?
There is no risk to the participants and the only preparation they would be asked for is, prior to each interview, to start thinking about what has worked well over the last few weeks and why it has worked well.

What happens to the information in the project?
All the information you give me over the time of the investigation will be confidential to me and within my research; you will not be identified as each of you will be coded thus, anonymity will be provided and preserved. All hard data will be stored in a locked cupboard within the university and electronic notes and coding will be on a secure site that is password protected.

The University of Strathclyde is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office which implements the Data Protection Act 1998. All personal data on participants will be processed in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

Thank you for reading this information – please ask any questions if you are unsure about what is written here.

What happens next?
Everyone who takes part in the research, including today's focus group, will be asked to sign this consent form. If you do not want to participate in the more in-depth part of the research then thank you very much for your time and the information you have provided today.

At the beginning of each in-depth interview I will review with you the previous data, then undertake the interview for that particular session and at the end of each interview allow you to ask me any questions about the research.

However, interim results may be presented at conferences or in written papers to journals. It will be up to Sodexo Senior management when and how I can feed back the results of the research to you, but my intention would be to give each of the participants a short-written synopsis of the results post publication of my thesis.

Researcher contact details:
Jo Noblett; email: mary.noblett@strath.ac.uk   mob: 07792573495

C

Address: University of Strathclyde; Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences;

HaSS Graduate School, Lord Hope Building Level 1; 141 St James Road,

Glasgow G4 0LT

Chief Investigator details: as above

This investigation was granted ethical approval by the University of Strathclyde Ethics Committee.
Number 523

If you have any questions/concerns, during or after the investigation, or wish to contact an independent person to whom any questions may be directed or from whom further information may be sought, please contact:

Secretary to the University Ethics Committee, Research & Knowledge Exchange Services, University of Strathclyde, Graham Hills Building, 50 George Street, Glasgow, G1 1QE

Telephone: 0141 548 3707
Email: ethics@strath.ac.uk

d

Consent Form for HMP Addiewell Prison Service Personnel

Name of department: Law School – Faculties of Humanities and Social Sciences

Title of the study Title of the study: The opinions and observations of prison officers on their role in supporting offenders to stop or reduce their criminal behaviour when released from prison.

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.

- I understand that my participation is <u>voluntary</u> and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, up to the point of completion, without having to give a reason and without any consequences. If I exercise my right to withdraw and I do not want my data to be used, any data which has been collected from me will be destroyed.

- I understand that I can withdraw from the study any personal data (i.e. data which identifies me personally) at any time.

- I understand that anonymised data (ie .data which does not identify me personally) cannot be withdrawn once it has been included in the study.

- I understand that any information recorded in the investigation will remain confidential and no information that identifies me will be made publicly available.

- I consent to being a participant in the project

- I consent to being audio- and/or video-recorded as part of the project

(PRINT NAME)	
Signature of Participant:	Date:
Age:	Male ☐ Female ☐
Length of service at Addiewell Prison:	Thank you for completing the form

e

APPENDIX 3:   QUESTIONS USED IN THE FOCUS GROUPS

Question 1:	Activity
Since you took up your career as a prison officer in HMP Addiewell what would you consider to be, your best moment when you felt you had supported a prisoner to reduce or consider changing their offending behaviour when released? It could be to do with work, vocational training, education, sport, or a chat on the wing. What made you think instinctively yes, that felt right? For example: (give one of my own) *(This opening question is designed to connect them to the research, each other and the facilitator and to create a comfortable atmosphere so that the prison officers feel at ease speaking about their successes and listening to others' achievements)*	I am going to give you 3 minutes to think about it and write one sentence in the notebook provided. Just think about the action you undertook. When you have completed the sentence please stand up. I now want you all to share this with the group and to do this I will choose the first person and they will then choose the next using this ball.
Question 1 a:	**Activity**
The activity that gave you the most satisfaction, I want you now to think about more deeply about it *(return to my example)*. What were the circumstances that made it satisfactory? What made that moment special for you? (go back to the time it happened) What was going on around you and what was your relationship with the prisoner at that time, what made you think they were receptive to your support, advice, guidance and help?	I am going to give you 5 mins for this activity Again, write it down in your notebook either as a story or a series of points whatever suits your style. When you have finished, we will then share the stories, listening and identifying key themes together, noting them on the flip chart.
Question 2	**Activity**
When in your opinion do you consider it to be the right time during the operational day that you can work with offenders on supporting them to stop offending?	7 minutes Small groups – flip chart paper Ask them to divide it up into the natural divisions of the day in Addiewell. Then identify the times of day and the places they consider are the right ones to support offenders Each flip chart put on the wall for group discussion
Question 3	**Activity**

f

What was the most effective training you have received on supporting, motivating and working with offenders to reduce or consider reducing or changing their criminal behaviour? Was it formal or informal? Was it peer support or was this from prior experiences of life in general.	5 minutes and I want you to work in pairs. Have a discussion and then write it down in your notebook. At the end your partner will share your experiences and vice versa. Discussion to identify key themes and noted on a flip chart.

g

APPENDIX 4: QUESTIONS ASKED IN ONE-TO-ONE INTERVIEWS

Name:…………………………………….. Present role:……………………………………………………………………

Previous roles in the prison:………………………………………………………………   E & S   ☐

What do you consider to be the best part of your work as a prison officer?
Why does it stand out to you as being the best part of your work?
Are these your biggest motivators to work as a prison officer here in HMP xxxxxxx or are there other reasons?
What do you enjoy most about the supportive aspect of your job?
What types of approaches do you use to motivate offenders to access opportunities that promote rehabilitation and desistance whilst in prison?

h

What are the best opportunities for prisoners to rehabilitate and desist from crime in this prison?

Are they always formal activities? Or are there informal ways of helping prisoners?

What makes this a learning prison?

Does this make it different to other prisons and if so what do you think the differences are?

Which part of your initial training course was of most beneficial to you for your role as prison officer?

How did the training train you to support and motivate prisoners to rehabilitate and desist from a life of crime whilst in the prison?

Have you undertaken any further training that supports this aspect of you work here?

Do you have any questions for me?

APPENDIX 5 : TYPE 1 ETHICS APPROVAL APPLICATION

Our Ref: 523   05- Jan-15

Dear All

The perceptions of prison officers about their role in rehabilitation and desistance of prisoners

CI   Neil   Hutton   Other Investigator Mary Jo Noblett

I can now confirm full ethical and sponsorship approval for the above study.

Regards

Laura

j

PRISON STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ROLE IN THE REHABILITATION & DESISTANCE SUPPORT OF PRISONERS
December 2019   Jo Bailey-Noblett

APPENDIX 6

ESCR 2006 regulations six key principles of ethical research.

Research should be designed, received and undertaken to ensure integrity, quality and

transparency.

1.   Research staff and participants must normally be informed fully about the purpose, methods

        and possible uses of the research, what their participation in the research entails and what

        risks if any, are involved.

2.   Confidentiality of information supplied by research participants and anonymity of

        respondents must be respected.

3.   Research participants must take part voluntarily, free of any coercion.

4.   Harm to research participants and researchers must be avoided in all instances.

5.   The independent research must be clear, and any conflicts of interest or partiality must be

        explicit.

k

APPENDIX 7

Transcription of Facilitator 1(F1) and Facilitator 2 (F2) describing in several minutes the daily routine on a Residential Wing with some advice on how they do their work and what to watch out for.

F2. "Basically, what it is, you arrive about 7:15am the first thing you do is the radio. Then the two of you go to the wing. Then you will go door by door and each of you will check, numbers check, the two of you at a door, one marking off and one checking that there is a body in there, you have to make sure you can actually see someone. If you can only see a pile of duvets you need to go in and lift it up, some guys do not like getting woken up at 7am in the morning but, that is where your IPS skills come in straight away you are half asleep they are half asleep".

"After you add numbers get cleared, you are then unlocking the wing, you are getting your paper work ready, sheets done, cell search paperwork ready, you are getting your compliance paperwork, you are getting your route movements paperwork, checking who is going out at ten o'clock, who is going to be where and what they are doing. You might call on exercise and send the guys out to exercise at the same time you could be sending 20 guys exercise as well as sending 20 out to PT. So, you have 20 guys out on exercise, 20 guys at PT and you are watching the wing. Then when you have got them back in you have got your AFC's".

"So you then have your accommodation fabric checks, you check each individual cell and you are going round checking the lights are working, the showers are working, the toilets working, their bed is still attached to the wall, the windows do not have any holes in it. The guys are sleeping and at that point you are going in switching lights on, banging on windows, checking their bed, so you can get confrontation happening there. You then leave at that point, usually by then the guys from exercise in the gym are coming back, you count them back on the wing. You then have to be ready for your route going in 5 minutes. You get your board ready you shout route movement. So, as they are leaving you checking that they can go off the wing. So, as they are leaving their cell - but as you get to know the wing you will say they is Jimmy, they is, and ticking them off ".

"When you guys first go in it will be like, what cell number are you in, aye you are going. So you might get guys walk off and then coming back saying they have not got anything on in the academy today and you might be saying he can leave, he cannot leave".

"Once they have all gone you are then locking up the wing. So that each wing, [FRASER wing] does it slightly differently to everyone else - in [FRASER] you lock the wing at 9:30am, then you will go round and unlock any body who is going on the route let them go and then do your cell search".

"The rest of the wings everyone is out [of their cell] until the route goes and then you will let your pass man out, so he can skim [log on to biometric system] in so he will get paid. They will come back in and then the full wing will get locked up. You will then be told what cell you are going to search. You will go in and you search and when you have finished your cell search you will a half an hour window to get your cell search done and the wing locked up. Do that between 10 and 10:30am to do that. Once that is done one person is filling out the cell search paperwork and the AFC paperwork and the other person is going round unlocking the passmen".

"So you have your passmen out you make sure they are working - the rest of guys if anyone comes back early you are locking them up - so if they come back early they do not get to hang about the wing - if they go up at 10 and they are back at 10:30 they go behind their door. So, you then have got that skill of talking them to go behind their door".

"By 11:20 you unlock again so the guys who are coming back can go straight behind their doors and then unlocking the guys who are going out on the route. So, you have guys coming back on the wing and guys going out of the wing. Anyone who comes back you lock them up. You are then left with your pass men out, you are then about quarter to one getting your food trolley, so you are trying to get your food trolley in to the hall when your route is coming back. You have got the mail coming in and you have guys asking for their mail.

Guys trying to get into the food trolley, prisoners coming back on the wing. Also unlocking the wing so the guys can get their lunch, one of you is in the pantry checking that there is 20 sausage rolls, 30 pies enough chips to go around. You have your passmen in there it is all about trusting them. You count it all and you know there is exactly enough food to feed everyone and walking out that pantry and locking them in".

"You are then faced with the dinner queue you have then got twenty guys fighting to get to the front, trying to get their dinner before everyone else, you are controlling that and then telling each one what

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they are getting fed. Guys jumping over the back of you trying to get their dinner or their packet of crisps, they don't want their food they just want their crisps. You are in charge of making them queue up and making sure they do not bang in to you. Don't do that. At that time, you got your back shift coming in and you are trying to hand over to the back shift, trying to tell them who has done what, who deserves what, who has been a dick, who has not. If you have told someone they can have a phone call, or this is happening or you are waiting for finance to come back to you. You are handing all that over to the back shift, you might finish at quarter past one, half past or more likely 2 o'clock, walking off going home".

"The back shift are doing the exact same. The only good thing about back shift is at 2 o'clock, you come in at about quarter past one by quarter two you have to be ready to go for the route. So, by quarter past one you are getting your paperwork sorted you are handing out mail, you are trying to deal with handover, you are trying to deal with guys and get stuff sorted out. You are like, let me just settle and check what as been done, and I will get back to you. A route goes at two, those left get locked up again.   If your cell search has not been done, you are doing your cell search then. If not, you have 20 minutes were you can just sit and read through your hand over, get to grips with stuff, you are unlocking your pass men, you are locking anyone up who has come back".

"Around two o'clock you have all your visits, so you have guys going up to visits. So, you are making sure you know where they are if they are not on the wing you can tell visits where in the jail they are so that they can get them up to visits as quick as you can. You have 15 minutes to get them up there. So when visits phone you take a name and what time they phoned you, so if they phoned you at 2, they will take your name. See if it is half two and you have not sent anybody up, it is you who is going to be pulled up in front of the senior, asking why it took you half an hour to get somebody up there. Always write down who is to go where, any appointments you are sending them. At half past three, twenty past three you are unlocking again for the route coming back and locking those coming in, half three routes coming in guys are leaving".

"Then the best part five o'clock you have locked up, your remain pass men are unlocked waiting for the route to come back in, they have been in the Academy all day so they are at the kiosk trying to order, trying to use the phones, you are trying to lock up because it is lock up. You need to have your numbers in by quarter past five. So, you are negotiating there trying to get them off the phones, off the kiosk, behind their doors, again we go round two to a door and number check. Because guys work over lock up period, so you may have guys working the kitchens, guys serving up food in the canteen,

guys working in Reception, so you may have guys off the wing so you need to know where they are. So, you are counting I had 60 this morning I now have only 57 but 3 out so we are OK".

"So, by half five, six o'clock, so, it six when the food trolleys come back and any cooks that you have got you are unlocking your pass men to get ready to feed them, checking you have the right amount of food. One person standing waiting, one unlocking, between 6 and 8:30 pm you are patrolling because everyone is out their cells. You may have busy on rules, [prisoners who have been sanctioned] so that means they are behind their door at 7 pm. So, you are looking for them negotiating with them, talking to them to go back to behind their door. Then quarter past eight, lock up gets shouted and that is when the fun starts. To negotiate with them to get behind their door, so if anyone is up with their pals, or they rushing to borrow a DVD off somebody it takes time to get them behind their door by quarter to nine numbers get called that is you off and night shift are in".

[F 2] "Just a quiet day but there is two of you, it is a very, very busy day and F1 has run through it in pretty good detail I think a Res officers [meaning residential officer] job is a very difficult one. It is getting the balance of all those things, you will probably have in front of you six to ten prisoners all asking different questions about their wages, their timetable, their schedule, their visits. About their mam is not very well and they need to get out to see them, they want to see a senior, they want to see a unit manager, they had bad news yesterday, there will be all those reasons and you will be trying to do all those things that F1 has described to you".

F2: "I must say lock up and I am very much like F1. Methodical, you start at 30, for me I always start on the left hand side walk round. If there are any near their cell get them in and get them locked, just go round once and then start shouting people and if there is anyone who really does piss me off, if he is not there the second time I will lock the door and I am sure F1 is the same.   You will find a lot of officers do, you will also find a lot of officers don't, it is a personal preference, for me if they are fannying me about at the lock up, then eventually I am going to control that you are not going to go until I say so. It would be easy for me to walk back, as I walk round the edge and if somebody is at their cell and shouting, 'are you going to boss , are you going to let me in F2'? I will say aye when I come round and I will deliberately go round the long way before I get to his door, and I may have to double back before I get to his door".

F1: "There are ways of controlling that, so tomorrow night when you are locking up the guy will be there".

NR: "it reinforces you being in control"

F2: "Another thing is once the prisoner is in the door at lock up and that door is locked - that does not get opened again until you have done your numbers - you will have a lot standing at their door saying - he is going to give me a smoke and some coffee for the night".

F1: "Don't care"

F2: "Shame you should have got that twenty minutes ago on you trot, but they will stand there and argue with you that is the point when you are going to have to use your skills to deal with that".
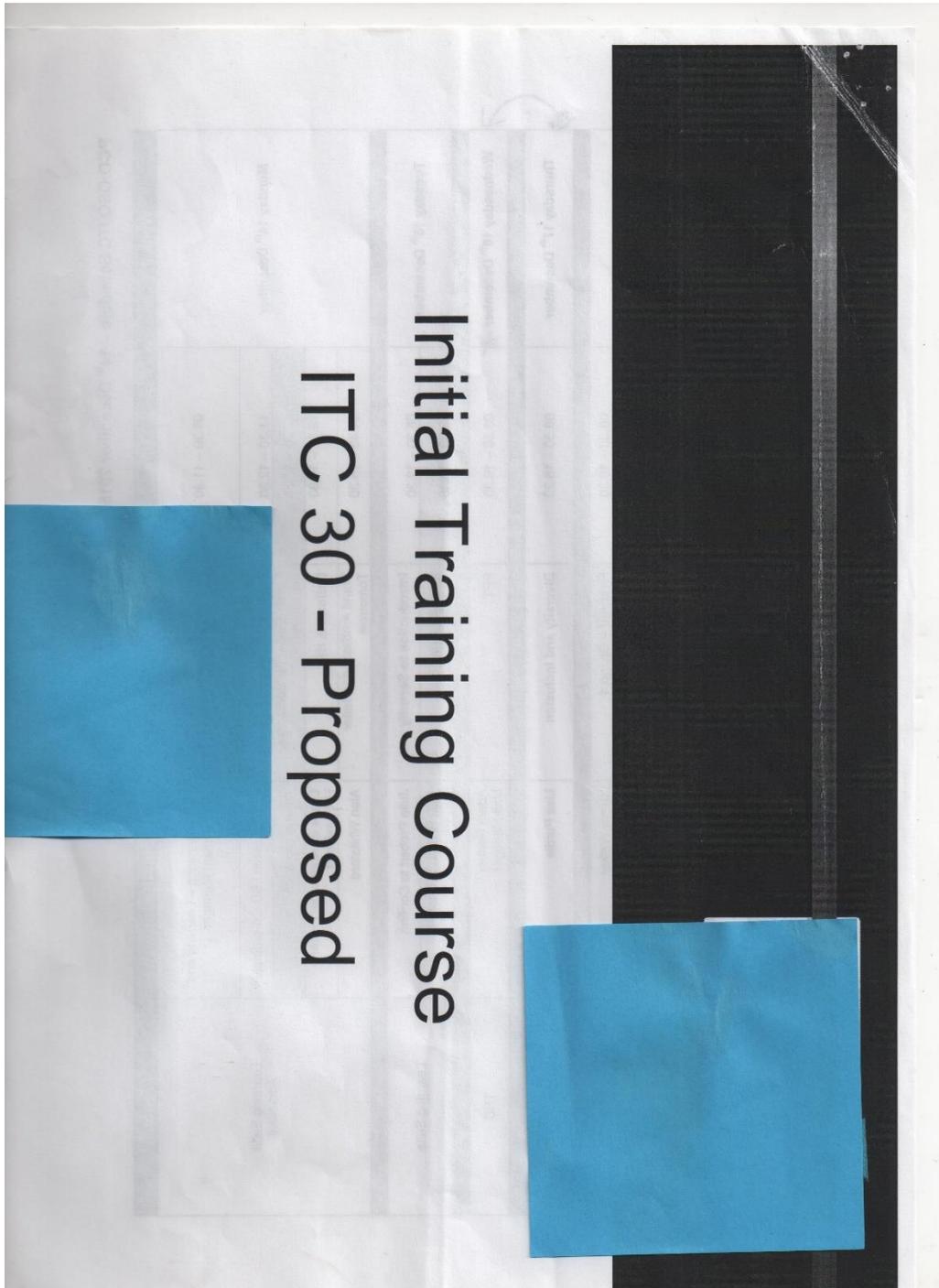
F1: "Another one is I am just running down for a cup of hot water. 'I am just going for hot water boss'. So, there are lots of little bits as well that you will come to learn your own method of dealing with those and as F2 says it is a very, very busy day. Any questions come out of what you have been told"?

F2: "You have seen it from both sides"? (to staff upgrading)

S1: "To me it just looks, totally manic on the early shift, you blink and before you know it is 12 o'clock basically and of course you have the added pressure of trying to get away. Sometimes it does not work for you, because those coming in who are taking over from you are running late, or don't; show up".

F1: "And hopefully one of the things that we hope will be sorted by the time you go live. We have a number of meal breaks for those who are working an all day shift and they need to get a meal break at lunchtime and there is no built in meal break for staff at lunchtime. So, somebody has to cover that. So, it might well be that, you know the guy who is coming on to relieve you is actually away covering some bodies lunch break or they are away getting a lunch break before they come to relieve you, so there are difficulties".

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PCO ITC Schedule – 21st December 2015

Week 2

	Time	Subject
Monday 21st December	08.30 – 16.30	First Aid – Group 2
	08.30 – 12.30	Group 1 - Human Rights/White Ribbon
	13.00 – 15.00	Group 1 - BICS
	15.00 – 16.30	Group 1 - Facilities Management
Tuesday 22nd December	08.30 – 16.30	Health & Safety
Wednesday 23rd December	10.30 – 13.00	Role and responsibility of PCO
	13.30 – 16.30	Conditioning
Thursday 24th December	08.30 – 10.30	Professional Standards
	08.30 – 09.30	Radiation Protection/CCTV
	09.30 – 15.00	Searching
Friday 25th December		Christm...

Colour	Description
	Badged Subjects

PCO ITC Schedule – 28th December 2015

PCO/OSO ITC Schedule – 14th December 2015

Week 1

	Time	Subject
Monday 14th December	08.30 – 11.30	Welcome / Introduction / ITC setting clear expectations / Domestics., Admin, Intro to learning and mentoring
	11.30 – 12.30	Tour
	12.30 – 13.30	Lunch & meet the directors & managers
	13.30 – 14.30	Uniform & HR
	14.45 – 16.30	Brand Ambassador/Better Tomorrow
Tuesday 15th December	08.30 – 12.30	Introduction to Security
	13.00 – 16.30	Keys & Locks
Wednesday 16th December	08.30 – 16.30	PPT
Thursday 17th December	08.30 – 16.30	Diversity and Inclusion
Friday 18th December	08.30 – 16.30	First Aid – Group 1
	08.30 – 12.30	Group 2 - Human Rights/Whi... Ribbon
	13.00 – 15.00	Group 2 - BICS
	15.00 – 16.30	Group 2 - Facilities Management

Colour	Description
	Badged Subjects

CO ITC Schedule – 4th January 2016 – Fauldhouse booked can't get any ot[...]

Week 3

Week 3	Time	Subject
Monday 28th December	08.30 – 16.30	Group 1 – Interpersonal Skills
	08.30 – 16.30	GOALS – Group 2
Tuesday 29th December	08.30 – 16.30	Group 1 – Interpersonal Skills
	08.30 – 16.30	GOALS – Group 2
Wednesday 30th December	08.30 – 16.30	Group 2 – Interpersonal Skills
	08.30 – 16.30	MHFA – Group 1
Thursday 31st December	08.30 – 15.00	Group 2 – Interpersonal Skills
		MHFA – Group 1
Friday 1st January	08.30 – 15.00	New Yea[...]

Colour	Description
	Badged Subjects

Week 4

Week 4	Time	Subject
Monday 4th January	08.30 – 16.30	Control and Restraint Phase 1
Tuesday 5th January	08.30 – 16.30	Control and Restraint Phase 1
Wednesday 6th January	08.30 – 16.30	Control and Restraint Phase 1
Thursday 7th January	08.30 – 16.30	Control and Restraint Phase 1
Friday 8th January	08.30 – 16.30	Control and Restraint Phase 1

Colour	Description
	Badged Subjects

PCO ITC Schedule – 18th January 2016

Week 6	Time	Subject
Monday 18th January	08.30 – 16.30	Group 2 - Sep &Care/Orderly Room; GOALS – Group 1
Tuesday 19th January	08.30 – 16.30	Group 2 – Shadowing Main Shift Mail/Xray/Ion/Gate
Wednesday 20th January	08.30 – 10.30	Incident Response
	10.30 – 12.30	Complaints
	13.00 – 16.30	Handling Prisoner Coms/Property
Thursday 21st January	08.30 – 12.30	Alcohol Brief Interventions
	13.00 – 16.30	Addictions
Friday 22nd January	08.30 – 12.30	Hep C Awareness
	13.00 – 15.00	WRAP & Counter Terrorism
	15.00 – 16.30	Intelligence & RIPSA

Colour	Description
	Badged Subjects

PCO ITC Schedule – 11th January 2016

Week 5	Time	Subject
Monday 11th January	08.30 – 09.00	Use of Radios – Theory
	09.00 – 11.00	Use of Radios – Practice
	11.00 – 12.30	Escorts
	13.00 – 14.30	Scottish Legal System
	14.30 – 16.30	Scottish Prison Rules
Tuesday 12th January	08.30 – 14.15	Food Safety
	14.30 – 16.30	Banksman Training
Wednesday 13th January	08.30 – 10.15	Role of the Controller
	10.30 – 12.00	Evidence Handling/Witness Statement
	12.30 – 16.30	Report Writing/Personal Off
Thursday 14th January	08.30 – 16.30	MHFA – Group 2
	08.30 – 16.30	MHFA – Group 2; Group 1 - Sep &Care/Order Room
Friday 15th January	08.30 – 16.30	Group 1 – Shadowing Main Shift Mail/Xray/Ion/Gate
	08.30 – 16.30	MHFA – Group 2

Colour	Description
	Badged Subjects

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PRISON STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ROLE IN THE REHABILITATION & DESISTANCE SUPPORT OF PRISONERS
December 2019   Jo Bailey-Noblett

PCO ITC Schedule – 25th January 2016

Week 7	Time	Subject
Monday 25th January	08.30 – 16.30	Act to Care
Tuesday 26th January	08.30 – 12.30	Risk Awareness
	13.00 – 16.30	Prison Papework
Wednesday 27th January	08.30 – 09.30	Numbers
	10.00 – 11.00	PR2/CMS/Info Assurance
	11.00 – 12.00	Hub Officer Role
	12.30 – 14.30	Hub Shadowing
	14.30 - 16.30	Librtie/CMS Attendance/ Partner Agencies
Thursday 28th January	08.30 – 12.30	ICM/MAPPA
	13.00 –16.30	Child Protection -
Friday 29th January	08.30 – 10.30	Group 1 - Family Support
	10.30 – 12.30	Group 1 - Anti Bullying/ Violence Reduction
	13.00 – 16.30	Group 1 - Purposeful Activity / Group 2 - Shadowing
	Night Shift	
Saturday 30th January	08.30 – 16.30	
	08.30 – 16.30	

Colour	Description
	Badged Subjects

PCO ITC Schedule – 1st February 2016

Week 8	Time	Subject
Sunday 31st January	Group 1 Nightshift	Shadowing
	08.30 – 16.30	
Monday 1st February	08.30 – 16.30	Group 2 - Family Suppo
Tuesday 2nd February	08.30 – 10.30	Group 2 - Anti Bullying/ Violence Reduction
	10.30 – 12.30	
	13.00 – 16.30	Group 2 - Purposeful Acti
	NIGHT SHIFT G	
Wednesday 3rd February	08.30 – 16.30	OST Foundation
Thursday 4th February	08.30 – 16.30	OST Foundation
Friday 5th February	08.30 – 16.30	OST Foundation

Colour	Description
	Badged Subjects

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PCO ITC Schedule – 8th February 2016

Week 9	Time	Subject
Monday 8th February	08.30 – 12.30	IPS - Refresh
	13.00 – 17.00	Shadowing
Tuesday 9th February	All Day	Shadowing
Wednesday 10th February	All Day	Shadowing
Thursday 11th February	All Day	Shadowing
	17:30 – 19:00	Graduation
Friday 12th February	All Day	Shadowing

Colour	Description
	Badged Subjects

Presentate Recorded.

APPENDIX 9: METHODOLOGY – CODING AND DATA ANALYSIS

Excel spreadsheet design for data analysis

Column 1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Date, time on recoding and name of speaker	Verbatim transcription of speakers dialogue. Divided by natural breaks in the dialogue	Code 1 Primary	Code 2 Secondary	Code 3 Tertiary	Code 4 Rarely used but there as a provisional catch all	Queries, notes or aide memoire on text to check with other data

APPENDIX 10: METHODOLOGY CODING FRAMEWORK

Excel spreadsheet design for coding framework

Column 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	Code	Code	Code	Code	Code	Code	Total No Codes for each
Research questions 1							24
Research questions 2							28
Research questions 3							18

APPENDIX 11   PARTICIPANTS IN THE FOCUS GROUPS (lasting between 2.5 to 3 hours)

		17 November 2015 Focus Group 7 between 5 to 7 + year service 5 Participants	
Title	**Codename**	**Area work in the prison at the time of the focus group Male 3 Female 2**	**Service length**
PCO	GRE	Residential	7 and 2 month
PCO	GRN	Legal visits	7 years
PCO	CRS	Several operational roles	7 years 1 month
PCO	WHY	Reception, courts & liberation	6 years
PCO	PLS	Several operational roles	5 years
		19 November 2015 Focus Group 5 with 5 year or less service 5 Participants	
Title	**Codename**	**Area work in the prison at the time of the focus group Male 3 Female 2**	**Service**
PCO	CIS	Reception	6 years
PCO	ISE	Residential	5 years and 8 months
PCO	HOY	Programmes	4 years 6 months
PCO	PEE	Segregation Unit	5 years and 8 months
PCO	ART	Residential	6 years
PCO		Did not attend	
		25 November 2015 Focus Group SPCO between 6 and 7 years service 3 Participants	
Title	**Codename**	**Area work in the prison at the time of the focus group Male 3**	**Service**
SPCO	MAE	Reception	6 1/2 years
SPCO	PAE	Residential	6 years
SPCO	SMT	Residential	7 years
		26 November 2015 Focus Group 3 with approximately 3 year service 6 Participants	
Title	**Codename**	**Area work in the prison at the time of the focus group Male 6**	**Service**
PCO	LID	Residential	3 years 10 months
PCO	CAS	Gym	3 years 10 months
PCO	CES	Residential	3 1/2 years
PCO	LEC	Residential	3 1/2 years
PCO	MOL	Security	3 years
PCO	TAE	Residential	3 years
PCO		Unable to be released from duty	
		11 February 2016 Focus Group with 8 new recruits Post initial training Male 5 Female 3	
Title	**Codename**	**Area allocated to post initial training**	**Experience**
PCO	CHA	Residential	9 weeks ITC and 2 weeks live
PCO	CHR	Residential	9 weeks ITC and 2 weeks live
PCO	CIT	Operations	9 weeks ITC and 2 weeks live
PCO	FLA	Operations	9 weeks ITC and 2 weeks live
PCO	LUT	Residential	9 weeks ITC and 2 weeks live
PCO	PRA	Residential	9 weeks ITC and 2 weeks live
PCO	GLA	Residential	9 weeks ITC and 2 weeks live
PCO	FUL	Residential	9 weeks ITC and 2 weeks live

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APPENDIX 12   PARTICIPANTS IN ONE-TO-ONE INTERVIEWS (lasting between 50 mins and 1 hour)

	Participants	in	One-to-One Interviews		
	Job Title	Codename	Area worked in the prison at time of the interview Male 14 Female 5	Date	Attended Focus Group
1	PCO	CLA	ICM	23-Feb-16	
2	PCO	COL	Trades	16-Feb-16	
3	PCO	LID	Residential	16-Feb-16	FG
4	PCO	COQ	Segregation	03-Feb-16	
5	PCO	EDN	ICM	05-Feb-16	
6	PCO	ERY	Segregation	24-Feb-16	
7	PCO	GAM	Residential /Induction	16-Feb-16	
8	PCO	CES	Operations	9-Feb-16	FG
9	PCO	JAC	Residential/Induction	22-Feb-16	
10	PCO	WHY	Reception	09-Feb-16	FG
11	PCO	MAG	Programmes	19-Feb-16	
12	SPCO	SMT	Residential/Induction	09-Feb-16	FG
13	PCO	PER	Residential/ Induction	15-Feb-16	
14	PCO	SPA	Programmes	07-Mar-16	
15	PCO	PEE	Segregation	25-Feb-16	FG
16	PCO	TAE	Residential	15-Feb-16	FG
17	PCO	ISE	Residential	03-Feb-16	FG
18	PCO	PAE	Residential	03-Feb-16	FG
19	PCO	GRE	Residential	05-Feb-16	FG
	One-to-One	Interviews New Recruits Female 3 Male 2	5 months post initial training		
20	PCO	AMA	Residential	11-Jul-16	
21	PCO	BEI	Residential	04-Jul-16	
22	PCO	COC	Residential	04-Jul-16	
23	PCO	CHA	Residential	11-Jul-16	FG
23	PCO	VIR	Residential	11-Jul-16	
	SMT made up of 3 tiers of managers	Interviews with managers Female 6 Male 7	Departments covered left out of the list as this would identify participant • Were interviewed more than once		
1	SMT	ZIN*		17-Feb-16	
2	SMT	XAN*		11-Jul-16	
3	SMT	AEN		29-Feb-16	
4	SMT	ALB*		25 Apr-16	
5	SMT	WIL		15-Apr-16	
6	SMT	VIN		15-Feb-16	
7	SMT	TEA		26-Jan-16	
8	SMT	TUR		15-Feb-16	
9	4th tier manager	VIT		26 Feb 2016	
10	4th tier manager	TAW		11 Feb 2016	
11	4th tier manager	TES		26-Nov-15	
12	4th tier manager	WAT		29-Feb-16	
13	4th tier manager	TOP		17-Feb-16	

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APPENDIX 13

TRANSACTIONAL ANALYSIS – PARENT/ADULT/CHILD MODEL

https://www.emotionalintelligenceatwork.com/resources/parent-adult-child-model-basics/

The psychologist **Eric Berne** developed the idea that people can switch between different states of mind—sometimes in the same conversation and certainly in different parts of their lives, for example at work and at home. He found that these states of mind aggregated into three egos which he labelled Parent, Adult and Child. The **Child** state consists of parts of ourselves which hark back to our childhood. It is childlike but not childish. In this state "reside intuition, creative and spontaneous drive and enjoyment".

The **Parent** state reflects the absorption over the years of the influences of our actual parents and of parent and authority figures such as teachers, bosses and so on. It has two functions. One is to enable people to be better actual parents of their children. The other is to enable many responses to life to be made automatically—"that's the way it's done"—thereby freeing the Adult from making innumerable trivial decisions.

The **Adult** state is where we hope to be as adults. It is our adult selves, dealing with the vicissitudes of everyday life. It also has the function of regulating the activities of the Parent and Child and mediating between them.

Berne used this model of the personality to inform his theory of transactional analysis, which is just the study of the transactions, the communication, the *relationship* between people.

Berne used this model of the personality to inform his theory of transactional analysis, which is just the study of the transactions, the communication, the *relationship* between people.

Diagrammatically, a person's personality is represented as below:
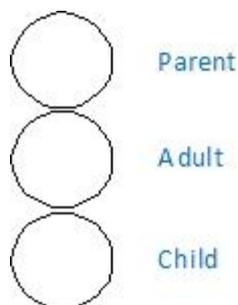
Relationships

A typical relationship is represented thus:
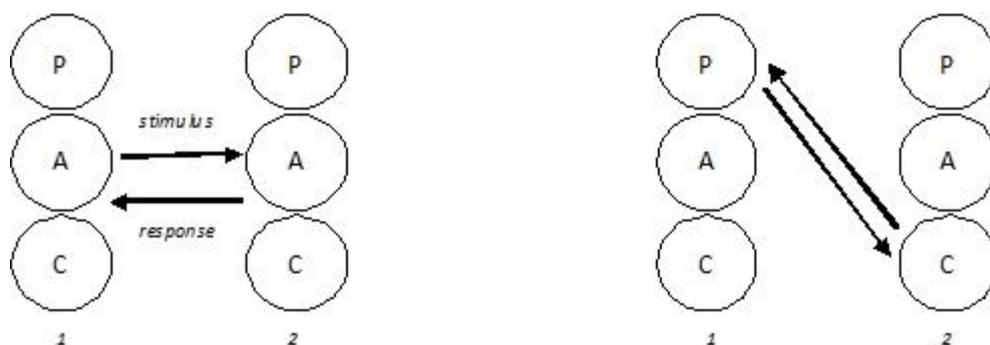
In these diagrams, there are two people, 1 and 2. 1 always goes first with some stimulus and 2 responds. The left hand diagram above represents a good working relationship: two people working together as Adults. Of course, this isn't perfect: in any relationship there is also a need for the intuition, creativity and spontaneity provided by the Child in each person.

The right hand diagram illustrates a more usual working relationship: 1, the manager, has a more or less Parental approach which the team member more or less willingly complies with, turning up their Child responses.

In the relationship below, left, we have an all too common situation, where the team member chooses not to step up to responsibility and expects the manager to look after them. They go into Child mode and the temptation for the manager to be Parental can be overwhelming.

On the other hand, the relationship below, right, exemplifies a "crossed transaction" where, for example, the manager attempts to maintain an Adult-Adult relationship in the face of the team member's Child position. This is, essentially, an unstable situation, not that it can't persist for some time at much cost in energy expended as stress, tiredness and ill-feeling.