



Peer Support in Prisons: Exploring the Role and
Experience of Peer-led induction on Male
Prisoners in their Transfer and Transition to
Open Prison

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Abstract

For over a century, reports into the conditions of prisons in England and Wales have documented the mental health and wellbeing issues and the experiences of those held within them. These are experienced more acutely during transfer, transition and adaptation to prison. To address the risk of self-harming behaviour and suicide, institutional safer custody strategy has introduced support measures following a prisoner's reception into a prison establishment. Implemented throughout the prison estate in England and Wales, the most prominent intervention is Peer-Led Induction, a power-sharing initiative symbolic of reconfigured power within the prison estate. However, evaluation as to whether this initiative delivers on its aims and objectives is lacking, especially in the context of prison transfer and adaptation to the open prison estate, which itself is an under-researched area. To explore these areas, this thesis collected data through 26 semi-structured interviews, capturing the lived experience of 21 ex-prisoners who experienced Peer-Led Induction in open prison, alongside 5 prison officers involved in the process of Peer-Led Induction. In evaluating the impact of Peer-Led Induction interventions on the wellbeing of adult male prisoners in the early days following transfer, the study established that these processes place considerable strain on the participants' mental health, reconciling them with both historic and contemporary Pains of Imprisonment. The thesis demonstrates that reconfigured penal power through this power-sharing initiative faces structural and organisational impediments surrounding knowledge management and knowledge conversion, though institutional managerialism, ineffective management and resistant staff cultures. The thesis conceptualises these as indicative of 'tick-box cultures' and fulfilment of management,

staff and mentor self-serving objectives. The application of power through strategies of 'responsibilisation' demonstrates that a needs-driven approach to induction is lacking; self-serving motivations, paradoxical support, and abuse and misuse of power interact to divert focus from actually helping prisoners. Peer-Led Induction points to 'intervention-itis', penal intervention as a quick fix amongst policy makers, but lacking the theoretical and evaluative foundation needed to meet its intended aims and objectives. In fact, it generates a range of unintended, 'iatrogenic' outcomes, which exacerbate the pain and 'tightness' of imprisonment. The thesis, therefore, explores the role of Programme Theory and its significance in the design, implementation, and delivery of Peer-Led Induction. The thesis can be situated within a framework of policy and intervention change to inform future Peer-Led Induction programmes and wider interventions and to deliver the best mental health and wellbeing outcomes for those men transferring and transitioning to the open estate.

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Keep Performing

These walls are closing in on me, there's truly no way out
I try to look so cool and calm, inside I scream and shout
I cannot show a weakness, they love the smell of fear
So I have to keep performing, till I get out of here
I've never played a role like this, but my show must carry on
I have to win that Oscar, if I don't my life is gone
So I'll carry on performing, give to it my all
Till I get back my lead role, with my family outside the wall

(Ian K, HMP Risley, Inside Times Poetry, 1st April 2022)

Chapter 1: Introduction

Prisons, like prostitutes, have always been with us but, over time and place have changed radically in conditions, attributes and functions as well as in their name, character and rationale.

(Potter, 2019)

The constant flux within prisons is an intrinsic to the pain that offenders experience while confined within the walls of our penal institutions. Make no mistake about it, pain is experienced by each and every offender imprisoned, regardless of the underpinning philosophy of punishment and purpose of imprisonment. The delivery of pain is synonymous with punishment and imprisonment and has been an enduring theme in the study of prisons.

Whilst most inmates, including long-term prisoners, adjust successfully to prison life, many do not cope well with the pains of imprisonment. Maladaptive responses such as emotional disorders, self-mutilation, suicide attempts, and prison misbehaviour are most common during the early phases of induction. (Adams, 1992: 27)

Prison transfer itself is a minefield. The most common reasons for transfer are changes in security category and sentence progression. Prisoners may transfer so that they can, for example, take part in an offending behaviour course in another prison, a course that might help to reduce their risk level. Some prisoners, in the final weeks of their sentence, move to a prison closer to home to support their resettlement, or 'local discharge'. Ideally, this gives someone the opportunity to make links for resettlement

and coordinate their release with their family and external offender manager. Other reasons include prison staff concerns about prisoner safety or perceived vulnerability to other prisoners, as well as consideration of medical and disability needs.

Transfer from closed prison to open prison is a core element of this thesis. Transfers between establishments are a staple of prison life in England and Wales, with 76,502 recorded inter-prison transfers in 2017 alone and 6950 transfers to Category D- Open Prisons in 2018 (Ministry of Justice, 2018). For prisoners, transfer is a tough and psychologically taxing prospect, underpinned by the lurking the *fear of the unknown* alongside the claustrophobia and physical anguish of the journey on the 'sweat bus' (the term 'cattle class' is never more apt than when discussing prison transport). Then, to arrive at a secure establishment and be plunged further into a chasm of unknowing during the arrival and transition period, with no semblance of light at the end of the tunnel to relieve this oppressiveness, is an apparent and very real failing. At a time where a tailored package of support, care and information should be provided, there are glaring deficiencies. How do I know this? Ethnographic pioneer Bronislaw Malinowski has said, "in order to explain a cultural product it is necessary to know it. And to know it, in matters of thought and emotion, is to have experienced it" (Earle, 2016; 1). I have lived it, endured it, and witnessed it on numerous occasions during my own experience of imprisonment.

This study has harnessed that experience, recognising that transfer, transition and adaptation to open prison as a time of great uncertainty, insecurity and anxiety. It questions the impact that the frontline intervention of Peer-led induction has on a

prisoner's experience of imprisonment. In doing so it draws upon qualitative interviews with 26 men and women comprising 21 ex-prisoners who have experienced Peer-led induction in the open prison estate and 5 prison officers involved in the delivery of Peer-led induction. The study explores the impact of these early days of transition and adaptation in open prison, following the critical process of transfer, on the mental health and wellbeing of prisoners and the extent to which Peer-Led Induction alleviates this, or not. It considers Peer- Led Induction through the theoretical lens of power and pain, and as such, how Peer-led induction as a power-sharing initiative interacts with what Crewe (2011) terms 'tightness', in the experience of imprisonment at these crucial times.

My experience is qualified further afield. Liebling (1999; 286) suggests that these experiences culminate in immense distress and evidence the "corrosive and demanding nature of imprisonment". This exposes what Giddens (1984) describes as a state of 'ontological insecurity' that can swamp an individual's psychological coping mechanisms, symbolic of the 'violence of austerity' which emanates from penal conditions lacking appropriate resources, operationalisation and support. However, recent times have witnessed a renewed vigour in the public domain for addressing mental health with its widespread recognition as a public health issue worldwide raising its profile and agenda. Public attitudes have continued to align with a picture of greater tolerance, awareness, and recognition of mental health issues with support for treatment rather than punishment of underlying problems (Esmée Fairbairn Foundation, 2004). The Joint Committee on Human Rights investigation (2004) into deaths in custody recommended prioritising the reduction of self-inflicted deaths and

self-harm, alongside improving pre-reception, reception and induction areas which are identified as critical stressors of mental health issues. The Safer Custody Group was established in 2001 to deliver a strategy across prisons in England and Wales with the following aims: to move from awareness to protection, to invest more resources where the risks are highest, to provide a better physical environment for prisoners (especially upon reception), to provide more training to frontline staff relating to mental health and suicide prevention, to develop better self-harm interventions, to increase peer listeners, and to develop better inter-disciplinary relations. It also recognised that reducing the number of prisoners held as 'imperative' could improve mental health outcomes relating to family ties, social exclusion, staffing and resource pressure, regarding instability and constraint.

One strategy employed by the Safer Custody Group, both to meet safer custody aims and to mitigate the pain associated with imprisonment, was to introduce the use of prisoner peer support workers, to support prisoners through a variety of interventions across the prison estate. Peer-led induction is one such intervention that utilises peer support workers alongside staff as a power-sharing initiative to deliver support and information, advice and guidance specifically to prisoners entering a penal establishment. Every prisoner arriving at a prison will encounter some form of induction and will be mandated to engage with it, although some prisoners may refuse or be resistant. Peer-led induction is an intervention that is adaptable to different prison establishments with differing facilities and populations. Its roots, however, can be firmly positioned amongst the core tenets of the Induction Insiders Scheme which it adopts. The Insiders Scheme states that it "aims to improve the quality of life for

prisoners by promoting community responsibility, supportive relationships and a caring environment". It does so by empowering and training prisoners to collaborate in the reception and induction process so that they might establish supportive relationships, offer reassurance, disseminate relevant and accurate information about the prison and its regime (HMP Safer Custody Group, 2005). Peer support workers also provide additional support to first time and/or vulnerable prisoners, help with basic needs (letter writing, filling out forms and applications), identify gaps in literature that prisoners need, alert staff of any concerns about any new prisoner including about those at risk of self-harm, suicide or bullying, record initial contact and referrals and follow up with prisoners where required. Prisoners alongside staff will often deliver classroom-based components to the induction, dependent on the function of the prison. These can include Offender Management, Family Support, Chaplaincy, Steroid Information, Resettlement, Safer Custody, Education Assessment, Working Out Scheme, Drug and Alcohol Support (RAPT), Independent Monitoring Board and Gym Awareness. Peers will often use a checklist to ensure that all the relevant aspects of their role have been delivered. These are then signed by the prisoner mentee to signify that they have received and understood the relevant information, and they can take it with them after induction. Peer support workers are usually selected by the frontline staff working on reception, first-night and induction and then subjected to security clearance by the prison.

Selection criteria for peer support workers can include the type of offence, as well as those prisoners having no history of bullying and no recent failed drug tests. It is suggested that they be trustworthy, literate, caring and good communicators with

appropriate interpersonal skills. They are traditionally supervised by staff involved in the reception and induction process and those staff should advise and support them also. Senior Management Team (SMT) and prison staff backing is noted as a core component of such schemes being fully effective. The schemes also require open and honest communication with the staff involved and balance between the benefits and potential drawbacks, such as fears of scheme abuse and conflicts with the security of the establishment. Some of these peer support roles are voluntary whilst others are paid positions; again, this is dependent on the individual prison. The key focus is that peers lead induction delivery and feed into the process, supporting the staff who are involved.

Blagden and Perrin (2014: 17) advance, “peer support schemes have existed in prisons for decades yet have only recently garnered attention (...) regarding how prisons can better support their inhabitants”. This is quite a narrow notion as it neglects a host of other reasons for investigation, such as institutional benefits in the face of an increasingly austere prison system characterized by low staffing levels, managerialism, poor resourcing as well as high rates of suicide and self-harm. However, as Maruna (2011) cautions, “[i]t’s not an unfamiliar habit to dress up failed old policy as a seemingly new exciting paradigm shift by simply changing a few buzz words” (7). With the implementation of peer support interventions across the prison estate gathering momentum, there remains about them a conspicuous absence of evaluative study and literature. The assertion by Maruna (2011) that “practices seem to be operating in a vacuum, with no clear explanation for the process is supposed to work” (8) can be extended to prison interventions, and this is especially true to those surrounding Peer-

led induction. This is in part because research to date on reception into custody and adaptation largely focusses on the early days of custody following reception into prison from the court after sentence. As such, it has neglected the experience of inter-prison transfer from closed prisons and reception and adaptation to a new establishment. The latter shares many experiential factors with the former, but also introduces the prisoner to a range of differing dynamics that interact with the process of, and contribute to, the 'tightness' of their penal experience. This transition is fraught with difficulties and challenges. In closed establishments prisoners are subject to a regime that is built on routine, prescriptiveness, and dependence on prison staff, which requires psychological adaptation to navigate and survive (Statham et al., 2021; Sykes, 1958).

To fit into the prison world in which they live in, prisoners must learn both the formal and informal governing guidelines (Weinrath, 2016). While they improve their capacity for living in constrained environments, they deteriorate in terms of their ability to live independently in the community (Berger & Luckman, 1967; Clemmer, 1940; Honeywell, 2015). Some scholars have suggested that prisoners serving long term sentences fail to make judgments for themselves, since these adaptations become increasingly deep-rooted the longer the sentence (Cohen & Taylor, 1981). The UK prison system's category D open establishments have the lowest level of security and are designed to reduce some of the negative effects of incarceration by giving inmates more freedom and autonomy (Crewe, 2011a; Shammass, 2015). However, as HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2021) caution, that in the present day:

prisoners in open prisons have consistently told [...] how nervous they are about the future. They have become so used to the predictable routines of prison life that they have lost everyday skills, such as negotiating transport or using a smartphone. They are often uncertain where they will live, how relationships will have changed with their children and families, and what they will do for work. They also worry that they will be tempted back into offending.

Given these concerns, the use of Peer-led induction serves a crucial function in the open prison to support adaptation and transition at this time of great stress and anxiety. Therefore, this research is both timely and necessary.

1.1. The Thesis Research Context, Aims and Objectives

The core aim and objectives outlined below act as the foundation for the overall direction and crux of the thesis:

- Identify the challenges and difficulties experienced by males who are imprisoned at the 'critical time' of the transfer process, the early days of custody in open prisons post-transfer and their impact on their mental health and wellbeing.
- Explore the experience of current Peer-led induction initiatives on the mental health and wellbeing of males who are imprisoned in open prisons.
- Develop a theoretical informed analysis of the 'peer-led induction model' as a power-sharing initiative between staff and males who are imprisoned.

- Explore the nature and motivations of the peer-led induction as a power-sharing initiative and its impact upon the legitimacy of the custodial regime and setting from the perspective of people who are imprisoned.

The central questions that this thesis seeks to answer to achieve these aims and objectives are:

- 1) What is the impact of peer-led induction upon the mental health and wellbeing of people who are imprisoned in open prisons in the early transitional days of custody following transfer?
- 2) How does the re-configuration of penal power through power-sharing initiatives manifest in the experience of transfer and imprisonment of people who are imprisoned?
- 3) In what ways and to what extent do power-sharing initiatives impact the 'tightness' of imprisonment?

The data are drawn through the primary method of semi-structured interviews to yield rich and nuanced data and took place over an 8-month period between September 2021 and May 2022, remotely through mediums such as Zoom and MS Teams. By doing so, this thesis contributes to a range of key literatures surrounding the design, implementation, delivery and role of Peer Intervention and Peer-Led Induction in prison, the experience of imprisonment, and how intervention interacts with this, alongside the interaction that occupational and organisational cultures have with penal intervention.

i) Situating the Research

The Areas of Research Interest (ARI) document (Ministry of Justice, 2020) is part of the Ministry of Justice's (MOJ) ambition to put evidence at the heart of the justice system. It is an illustrative guiding document focusing on the key strategic areas in which the MOJ has indicated the need for an increase in the available evidence base. These objectives directly relating to the prison system include:

1. Ensuring that prisons are decent, safe, and productive places to live and work
2. Protecting the public from harm
3. Reducing rates of reoffending and improve life chances (MOJ, 2020)

There are a plethora of areas requiring this attention to expand the evidence base. However, this study has focused on identifying those that it addresses and falls within. Although the present study has evolved to take place outside of the NRC framework- nonetheless, when formulating the research questions and aims and objectives of the study, I utilize this document as a framework within which to situate the study. In doing so- this framework becomes a benchmark by which to critically assess the conditions of imprisonment that the MOJ have ultimate responsibility for. In doing so, it allows for the concrete critiques surrounding intervention to be grounded against a backdrop of its own terms of reference. This ultimately can feed into a mobilisation of evidence which can translate into awareness of actions and policy being increased with this in turn being subject to explanation or acceptance in policy and practice debates moving forward in order to facilitate change from within.

It is expressed that the MOJ seek to ensure that prisons are decent, safe, and productive places to live and work as a core aim. Key aims that this study feeds into include MOJ aims to:

- Provide decent, safe, and secure accommodation that supports individuals
- Reduce levels of violence and self-harm and develop the evidence on what structures and interventions can help improve outcomes for individuals in prison. (MOJ, 2020)

They employ research reflective of their evidence priorities which also relate to the purpose and intended outcome of this study, including:

- How effective are different prison types, categories, and functions such as reception in meeting their core objectives?
- What works across our prisons to increase safety and security and reduce levels of violence? (MOJ, 2020)

More specifically, it looks at services and interventions - as does this present study - and poses the questions which this study will feed into, answering:

- How can services and therapeutic interventions, such as training, peer and family relationship, support and improve outcomes?
- How can we better understand the impact of interventions delivered in prisons? (MOJ, 2020)

In the health and wellbeing sphere it directly addresses and resonates most with the investigation of:

- What works to reduce levels of self-harm and self-inflicted death in prisons, for different individuals and groups?
- How can mentoring, peer support and staff relationships help in reducing self-harm? (MOJ, 2020)

Awareness and consideration of this framework has allowed me to both relate and situate my research to institutional aims and objectives. This in turn has played a guiding role in both developing and refining the research aims to maximise impact and applicability.

1.2. Why study Men?

Self-harm is an issue of central interest, especially as it is often the manifestation of mental health issues that prisoners experience, and its measure contributes to literature surrounding the extent of mental health issues in prisons. The existing evidence base on self-harm is complex, and often subsumed by studies focusing on suicide. It also tends not to clearly separate men and women and is therefore one primary motivation underpinning the use of a solely male prisoner sample in this study. As such, there is still much to learn about the motivations for self-harm in prisons, the risk factors for future self-harm and suicide, and how these might differ for men and women, given what has been described as an “explosion of male self-injury in groups who might be considered socially disadvantaged...adults in prisons” (Adler & Adler, 2011: 20). This is particularly true for self-harm by adult men.

What we do know, however, from the paucity of evidence, is that there are indications of a range of intrapersonal and interpersonal reasons underpinning such behaviours. Gardner et al. (2016) in their study into the reasons for non-suicidal self-harm in adult male offenders saw 82.9% of the sample endorse a reason that was intrapersonal in nature, and 72.5% endorse interpersonal. Intrapersonal reasons frequently identified were releasing emotional pressure, reducing anxiety, frustration and anger, punishing themselves, expressing anger toward themselves, and reacting to feeling unhappy or disgusted with themselves. The top five frequently endorsed interpersonal reasons were creating a boundary between themselves and others, letting others know their emotional pain, seeking care or help from others, creating a physical injury that is easier to care for (than an emotional one), and seeing if they could stand the pain.

Notably, the seriousness of self-harm is more pronounced in males than females, with 6.4% of male self-harm incidents requiring hospital treatment compared with 2.2% of females, while the rate of self-inflicted deaths in males is more elevated than in females (MOJ, 2019). This resonates with an earlier study by Hawton et al. (2014), who found in their analysis of self-harm in the England and Wales prison estate that 10% of instances in males were of medium or high lethality compared with 3% in females. This resonates with notions of masculine and feminine ways of self-injuring (Adler & Adler, 2011), with woman displaying a tendency to make smaller cuts and men more inclined to make more substantial, deeper cuts and burns with rough, serrated knives.

It is postulated that characteristics of the masculine identity of the male prison population are a central issue which has served to underpin this lack of knowledge, as

well as providing some explanation for the mental health, self-harm, and suicide issues across the prison estate amongst the male prison population. Brannon (1976) encapsulates the hegemonic definition of manhood, which is said to be dominant in the prison environment, in a series of four short phrases that are directly transferable to the male prisoner identity.

- i) 'No Sissy Stuff' - One may never do anything that even remotely suggests femininity. Masculinity is the relentless repudiation of the feminine.
- ii) 'Be a Big Wheel' - Masculinity is measured by power, success, wealth, and status.
- iii) 'Be a Sturdy Oak' - Masculinity depends on remaining calm and reliable in a crisis, holding emotions in check. In fact, proving you're a man depends on never showing your emotions at all. Boys Don't Cry!
- iv) 'Give 'em Hell' - Exude an aura of manly daring and aggression. Go for it. Take risks.

Kupers (2005) highlights an intensification of gender dynamic in prison settings. In following these rules, they are an expression of a toxic masculinity, which are socially destructive. These toxic hegemonic characteristics tend to proliferate wildly in prison settings (ibid) and are often the measurement yardstick against which male prisoners, and men in totality, are measured, either by others or themselves. Kimmel (1994; 220) identifies that Brannon's "four rules are elaborated by different groups of men in different circumstances." According to Kupers (2005), in prison settings these rules can be adapted to the context and acted out within a penal code akin to an exaggeration of male codes outside of prison. They comprise a real man or stand-up con who: i) does

not display weakness; ii) does not display emotions other than anger; iii) does not depend on anyone; iv) is never vulnerable; v) does not snitch; vi) does not cooperate with the authorities; and vii) suffers pain in silence (Kupers, 2005).

This 'mask' of traditional masculinity that imprisoned men put on in prison often hides an emotional struggle. These characteristics in their totality are an unreasonable endeavour for any man, yet that does not prevent males "trying, valiantly and vainly to measure up" (Kimmel, 1994: 272). The failure to do so through an inability to embody these rules is affirmation of the rules' power. Achieving the rules is often ascribed as the reasoning for a man's confusion and pain. The fear of failing is arguably illustrated by a lack of male willingness to talk and to identify mental health and wellbeing deficiencies they are experiencing. Quite simply, these rules restrict men from having emotional responses or, at the very least, articulating them in the public domain. Males 'free-ranging' their self-injurious behaviour are, therefore, able to circumvent official recording of their actions and behaviours and thus be underrepresented. In this vein, Whitlock et al. (2011) found that healthcare professionals are less likely to assess males for non-suicidal self-harm because of their perception and identification of men as being associated with or being the embodiment of hegemonic masculinity. There is an expectation from professionals that men will externalise their emotions rather than internalise them, as associated with female emotion or because of the generational, structural or societal normalisation of gender differences in the specific types of self-harming behaviours (for example, "boys will be boys"). This often means that at a structural and organisational level within the prison institution and within healthcare provision, both prison and clinical personnel responses are 'missing' mental health,

self-harm and suicidality issues in males, which then precludes awareness of male self-harm and suicidality. What is most alarming is MacInnes' (1998: 322) assertion that because of this "detachment from their true feelings, men are a danger to [...] ultimately themselves". This is problematic when considered alongside the statistics that will be presented later in this chapter.

It is widely postulated that males, especially male prisoners, are predisposed to difficulties communicating their thoughts, feelings, and emotions. Male prisoners who are actively aligned with masculine gender role orientations are significantly less likely to express any interest in seeking psychological help than other individuals with, for example, a female gender orientation, or restrictive emotional characteristics of males (Nam et al., 2010; Good et al., 1989). This can stem from discouragement from a young age to express their vulnerabilities and insecurities (Levant, 2006), resulting in the suppression of 'soft and vulnerable emotions', and encouragement instead to express violently or angrily. Consequently, these men experience difficulties in adulthood in experiencing, accurately expressing and responding effectively to their own emotions (Green & Jakupcak, 2016; Addis, 2011; Green & Addis, 2012). Furthermore, the toxic masculinity that pervades penal institutions makes seeking help even more difficult. Prisoners' 'survival behaviours' whilst navigating the brutal mechanisms of custody and the 'lags code' means that they play their cards close to their chest, refusing to reveal their vulnerabilities. As such, they do not seek help and the problems magnify. Fear of stigmatisation is a prevalent and dominating consideration for the male prisoner.

Building upon the foundations of research by Messerschmidt (1993) there are arguably two dominant class and status groups in the prison system who seek to accomplish and act out the dominant discourse of hegemonic masculinity. These take the form of: White Working-Class Men who have a background of low educational attainment, or potential for it, and construct their masculinity around an amalgamation of physically aggressive and anti-social behaviours; Working-Class Men from Ethnic Minority Backgrounds who, alongside their white counterparts, have little achievability of academic success and seek to assert their masculinity in gang culture or similar group constructions.

However, although men do not tend to talk about their emotions, they nonetheless have been gendered to openly display their self-inflicted 'manly' wounds, both to fit with structured hegemonic constructs of masculinity and to express the distress they are unable to talk about. This would be in the vein of 'Give 'em hell' and not being a 'sissy' (Kimmel, 1994). In doing so, however, they create a paradox, since in revealing severe self-injury to maintain and conform to the notion of Manliness, they also reveal vulnerability and 'Sissydome' – as in, they act in a manner (self-injury, ineffectively managing and regulating emotion) associated with the female gender, the antithesis of masculinity insofar as perceiving masculinity's overarching principle as not to do or act in any way associated with the feminine identity. Recent times, however, have seen a shift in this principle with males now more likely to conceal their injuries in line with the historical gendered female identity characteristics. Such actions and behaviours present a challenge in the traditional conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity, especially when one adds to the mix the question of whether male prisoners even want

to conform to hegemonic masculinity. As such, Butler (2015) articulates that there are three typologies of prison masculinity evident that can categorise male prisoners:

- i) Prison Hegemonic Masculinity, which focuses on toughness, not showing emotion, independence, standing up for yourself and beliefs, the threat of and/or use of violence, power and physical build and strength.
- ii) Subordinate masculinities, which include those identifying as homosexual, those who keep a low profile, those focusing on maintaining family ties and those avoiding masculine competitions amongst other prisoners.
- iii) Oppositional Masculinities, which include those who are too weak to cope and/or very emotional, those sexually assaulted in prison and those who have committed sex crimes.

Stearns (1979: 1) observes that the complexity surrounding masculinity means that, “the only common currency is a sense that masculinity is sorely troubled in modern society, both in concept and practice”. What is apparent from current literature surrounding the masculine identity of male prisoners is that the traditional conceptualisations of hegemonic masculinity and contemporary conceptualisations of the masculine identity transcend across one another, and while some aspects of these identities are salient, others are more prominently dependent on social context. All add to the ongoing debates and intrigue into the male prisoner, illuminating the gaps in, and need for more empirical literature, especially concerning mental health, self-harm, and suicide.

1.3. Why study Transfer and Transition to Open Prison?

There are 106 male prisons in the UK out of 122 in total, with 26,819 prison officers (bands 3-5) and operational support grades employed (Gov.uk, 2021). Only a small proportion of these are prisons are local, as in they receive individuals directly from the court following charges for an offence. Yet there is a disproportionate focus on the early days in custody of those entering these prisons and a lack of focus on the many other prisons receiving prisoners through inter-prison transfer, given that these prison transfers are a frequent event: 76,502 inter-prison transfers were recorded in 2017 alone (MOJ, 2018). By granting offenders more freedom and autonomy, the category D open facilities of the UK prison system, which have the lowest level of security, are intended to lessen some of the negative impacts of incarceration. Many who are housed there must already be deemed low risk to the public and of absconding prior to accessing open conditions (Statham et al., 2021). Achieving category D status as a prisoner and gaining a place at an open prison is a result of good conduct, engaging with sentence planning targets and having positive relations with prison staff (Meško & Hacin, 2018).

Conditions in category D prisons are designed to be aligned with that of the outside world, to allow those men who are imprisoned to adjust and acculturate towards regaining independence and day-to-day functioning outside of the walls (Statham et al., 2021). Release on temporary license (ROTLs) are a key provision allowing prisoner release to undertake employment, education, medical appointments, and home visits with family (Statham et al., 2021; Danks & Bradley, 2018). The dynamic of a lower security setting with less staffing and security measures means that there is a higher

threshold of responsibility behaviourally for prisoners. Statham et al. (2021: 5) state that further understanding is needed to clarify the ways in which open establishments support prisoner reintegration as, “whilst release is often eagerly anticipated, individuals face numerous barriers as they leave a place of familiar routine to enter more unpredictable circumstances”. However, this is also true when leaving closed conditions for open ones.

Prisoners’ status is also precarious, and a number of psychological manifestations can result from concerns surrounding prisoners being returned to closed conditions from open establishments for reasons such as substance misuse, feeling threatened and bullied, or a use of violence (Statham et al., 2021; Hallett & Lowbridge, 2014). There can be the notion of ‘too much too soon’ and the pressure, after years of penal dependence, of suddenly having to be responsible for a variety of different roles between family, employment, and prison life. As Honeywell (2015) explores, this can be overwhelming for the individual. Prisoner misconduct is seen as stemming from an individual’s unsuccessful adaptation to life in the category D prison and the inability to grasp the basic elements of the prisoner subculture (Meško & Hacin, 2018).

In an open setting where there are new norms and a sense of independence, the internalised expectations, regulations, and adjustments developed in closed settings are likely to be inapplicable. People’s personal resources are put under pressure when there are no physical boundaries, which can be unsettling for people who have grown reliant on others (Crewe, 2011b). Constrained freedom then becomes the source of experienced pain, described by Shammass (2014: 104) as the “pains of freedom where

freedom can be experienced as ambiguous, bittersweet or tainted”. As Statham et al. (2021: 731) articulate, “open establishments are not always the coveted institutions they’re expected to be, and the precise coping mechanisms adopted by individuals who successfully remain within these conditions are unknown ingenuity”. Despite the open prison being a key institution for individuals who are transitioning, “extremely little research has been conducted within it,” (Statham et al., 2021: 730), further supporting the need for this thesis.

1.4. Thesis Structure

Due to the depth of material relating to the key concepts of mental health and peer support, the thesis adopts the structure of considering this in two separate chapters - two and three.

Chapter Two considers the literature which demonstrates that the history of penal reform has seen various attempts to address the mental health and wellbeing of prisoners but that these are a) not new and b) not working. It considers four key reports into prison conditions over the past century, the Gladstone Committee (1895), *English Prisons Today* (1922), the Woolf Report (1991) and the Bradley Report (2007). These reports all establish that the issues and conditions underpinning poor mental health and wellbeing outcomes are enduring, and that little has changed despite efforts to address and improve them. As Allison (2017) suggests, this illustrates “a mental health crisis in our prisons” across England and Wales.

Chapter Three examines the argument that the effects of contemporary imprisonment still impose a spectrum of pain and suffering upon those who are imprisoned, resulting in psychological agony, even if modern penal practise has seen an evolution from the physical forms of punishment of yesteryear (Sykes, 1958; Crewe, 2011a). The effects are also experienced more acutely during the process of reception into prison and the adaptation to prison life.

In this chapter, I recognise the diffuse nature of power, which permeates all aspects of the penal institution, and review the literature covering the shift from applications of Hard Power to that of Soft Power. Softer forms of power are characterised by psychological assessment and consideration, alongside responsabilising strategies that belong to this new application of power in contemporary prisons. The chapter examines how power and suffering are intrinsically linked, with power serving as the core idea and permeating the institution's structures and workings. It reviews literature surrounding the 'pain of imprisonment' (Sykes, 1958), exploring five identified core pains of imprisonment as sources of distress to prisoners. Then it looks at more contemporary pains, ones which encapsulate the more profound psychological pain of contemporary imprisonment using Crewe's (2011a; 2011b) theorisation to illustrate that the pain of imprisonment has not disappeared. In fact, the enduring issues of imprisonment have now been accompanied by new pains emerging from the reconfiguration of penal power and the operationalisation of the modern prison. It considers context-specific pain associated with the entry and adaption to the open prison and open prison life and explores the concept of 'tightness', where these factors of penal power manifest in the experience of those subjected to them.

Chapter Four provides the conceptual framework of the thesis. There are not many comprehensive studies of peer interventions, even though peer interventions have proliferated throughout the prison system and 7% of prisoners are reportedly participating as peer supporters in prisons in England and Wales (South et al., 2014). This chapter acknowledges how the circumstances faced by the modern prison institution have led both to a developing culture of doing more with less and to addressing the manifestations of these persistent problems in the form of persistent reductions in mental health and wellbeing. Policymakers remain aware that such problems exist, are pervasive, and compromise involvement with statutory services. As a result, the personal experience of prisoner peers can legitimise, magnify, and lend credibility to prison staff communication and action, which is frequently met with resistance or lack of impact in the view of individuals inside. The chapter establishes the concept of peer intervention, introduces the various typologies of peer education, peer mentoring, and peer support, and reconciles them to provide a working definition of peer intervention for the purposes of the following discussion and thesis. The theoretical underpinnings and framework for peer support, and more specifically peer-led induction, are presented in this chapter drawing upon Social Learning Theory, Social Inoculation Theory and Differential Association Theory. It considers peer support as producing a 'buffering effect' from the challenges and difficulties that mentees face, and specifically those adapting to a new prison setting. It considers the various peer support constructs and their features. The chapter examines research on the effectiveness of peer interaction in prisons with the goal of generating positive outcomes for a variety of agents. In doing so, it takes into account the advantages of

peer interventions for both individuals and the institution, alongside a number of points that reveal a fragile underbelly to peer support, simultaneously challenging and threatening the efficacy of peer support interventions.

Chapter Five considers the qualitative methodologies used in the fieldwork of this thesis as well as the design frame employed during the research, an analytical framework. The chapter firstly situates the need for the research study to improve custodial conditions and experience and increase the relevant evidence base. It goes on to establish the research aims and objectives. The chapter then considers the challenges and changes that have been made to conducting the research and the adaptations made in the face of COVID-19. It recognises the ethical considerations and complexities of researching a 'hard-to-reach' and 'vulnerable' population. Central to this chapter is the consideration of my own positionality as a former prisoner and how this has interacted with the research process. I use Merton's 'Insider Doctrine' (1972) to identify myself both as 'Insider' and as Outsider and to consider the transcendence of these identities, whereby I occupy both positions. It also considers the impact of my positionality on the recruitment of the prison officer sample of the study through the use of gatekeepers and considers the concepts of prison officer culture that underpin the concepts of wariness and weariness towards both me and the research. Given the positionality of myself as the researcher, a detailed reflexivity is employed from the perspective of one researching those with a shared, lived experience, and how the process interacts with this identity.

Chapter Six: 'Cultures of Knowledge' is the first of the findings chapters and explores prisoner mentees' perspectives of those involved in the facilitation and delivery of Peer Led-Induction, considering too the role of prison management and staff in this process of delivering a need driven and effective intervention.

The chapter considers the data through the lens of Knowledge Management and Knowledge Sharing in the context of Peer-led Induction. Introducing the theoretical and operational role of these notions within the prison institution, it explores processes of knowledge conversion as experienced by induction mentees. It considers the strain on mental health experienced by those entering a new custodial establishment, which is a clear indicator of transition as a stressful experience. It considers the pains associated with imprisonment and these processes in the context of newer pains, especially the pain of transfer and adaptation/adjustment through *entry shock* and a *fear of the unknown*, which have arisen from reconfigured penal power. The thoughts and feelings associated with these pains are explored in relation to how they interact with this process. The chapter considers Prison Service Instructions/Orders (PSI's and PSO's), which act as guidance for what support prisoners should be offered during entry and adaptation to the prison and applies the reality of what is experienced against these. This evidences the emergent themes of self-interest and disinterest, alongside indications of box-ticking amongst mentors and staff, which exacerbates issues with prisoner adaptation and wellbeing. It considers the key challenges faced by the prison to get prison staff and peer mentors to share their information. It identifies and explores a range of structural impediments to Peer-Led Induction, surrounding ineffective management and resistant staff cultures that interact with the process of managerialism. This demonstrates a disproportionate

emphasis on following rules and management objectives instead of actually helping those who are imprisoned to have better outcomes surrounding mental health and wellbeing in the stages of entry and adaptation to a new custodial environment. Emerging from the data is the notion that reconfigured penal power through the power-sharing between prisoners and staff in Peer-Led Induction challenges occupational discourses around the identity of the prison officer and how the prison officer should 'do prison.' It then conceptualises how these issues are indicative of a 'tick-box culture' that prevents prison officers from connecting with offenders and underpins peers and staff fulfilling management and self-serving objectives and goals.

Chapter Seven: 'Responsibilisation: It really isn't what it says on the tin?', is the second findings chapter, introducing the concept of responsibilisation, which is a commonly adopted penal strategy in contemporary penal practise, surrounding self-governance and self-regulation. It considers what the Peer-led Induction should deliver alongside the notion of responsibilisation and reveals the model as failing to employ a needs-driven approach to induction. It considers responsibilisation as 'perverse', signifying a lack of visibility for staff and peers in the process and a lack of engagement with those inductees new to the prison, with detrimental impact to the mental health and wellbeing of prisoners. The chapter considers how responsibilisation, re-enforced by coercion, interacts with the concept of 'tightness', capturing the feelings of anxiety and stress experienced by those subjected to Peer-led Induction in open prison conditions. All this undermines the function of the Peer-led Induction and exacerbates the negative outcomes it aims to mitigate amongst those prisoners entering and adapting to a new custodial setting.

Chapter Eight: 'Iatrogenesis', is the final findings chapter and advances new conceptualisations of the issues presented in earlier chapters. It conceptualises the outcomes of Peer-led induction as 'iatrogenic' outcomes. It recognises the prison as delivering 'Institutional Pain' through a variety of themes. It does so through consideration of 'self-serving' motivations and the paradoxical nature of social support, which have emerged from the findings within the context of 'Managerial, Staff and Mentor Motivations' as an abuse and misuse of power. It conceptualises Peer-Led Induction as a form of 'Intervention-itis', signifying the saturation of such schemes in the prison estate as a quick fix or quick win for the institution to paper over the cracks that exist. The chapter reconciles this with the 'Tightness of Imprisonment' that is experienced by those subjected to Peer-Led Induction and by prison staff involved in the delivery of the intervention - as institutional top-down demands of managerialism influence their role. The chapter considers Peer-Led Induction as an intervention beset by a lack of the informed theoretical and evaluative grounding needed to deliver the intent of the programme in the form of a Programme Theory, especially in terms of evaluation and the use of evaluation. It concludes by considering the move towards an appropriate Programme Theory that delivers its intended outcomes and moves away from iatrogenic harms.

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis, demonstrating how this study has made both a significant and novel contribution to contemporary criminological inquiry, particularly at a time where prisons find themselves much maligned by a multitude of crises that engulf them. It is philosophical in its approach, identifying areas where the research study could be improved, and what future research could learn from this. It also

considers where the direction of future research should lie to address the issues illustrated, which impact the design, implementation and delivery of a successful needs driven Peer-Led Induction. It considers the key challenges to this process and how they can be supported by effective Programme Theory being introduced to develop Peer-Led Induction. Importantly, these considerations and this research offers an opportunity for policymakers in the criminal justice system to introduce interventions based on evidence and criminological theory, so that they might deliver intended positive outcomes and start to eradicate those design flaws in Peer-Led Induction. This could stretch to eradicating design flaws in peer support interventions further afield, those that underpin prisoner distress when what they need is effective, needs-driven support to help them successfully navigate and deal with the psychological impact and day to day functionality of prison life.

Chapter 2: Mental Health in Our Prisons

[Prisons provide] every imaginable means of infecting body and mind
(Bentham, cited in Bowring, 1843: 351-352)

Since the formation and subsequent evolution of the prison system in England and Wales, the mental health needs of the offender population have been often described as an important consideration, especially when exploring how the aspects of prison life interact with a prisoner's psychological wellbeing, often underpinning mental health issues amongst the penal population (Jewkes, 2007). Accordingly, when a person is sent to prison, the state accepts responsibility for their wellbeing, including their mental health and safety (HMCIP, 2017). Yet, despite this acknowledgement, the realities sit in stark contrast to the rhetoric of responsibility in government ideology, leading to the prison system in England and Wales being described as is in the "midst of a mental health crisis" (Allison, 2017). A 2005 survey with 1,300 prisoners recently arriving in prison found that 49% reported being at risk of anxiety and depression (National Audit Office, 2017). These symptoms frequently manifest in self-harming and suicidal behaviours amongst the offender population, often as a result of the stressors of prison life, with Lohner & Konrad (2007) and Liebling (1992) finding that the risk of such self-harming behaviours is considerably higher at reception to prisons and following transfer to a new establishment. Moreover, this crisis is indicative of a system that has in fact been in decline and crisis over a prolonged period, despite concerted efforts to identify and address the underlying issues and the manifestations arising from them. This is symbolic of the failure of reformatory policy and initiatives. This chapter demonstrates that the present 21st century concern over the ruinous mental health

and wellbeing of prisoners is not new and has been a persistent and pervasive feature over the course of the past century. The poor treatment of mental health within prisons, as well as attempts to reform and improve, can be traced throughout recent history. This chapter outlines the current state of mental health disorder within prisons and describes an attempted journey towards dealing with this issue through the Gladstone Committee (1895), the Prison System Enquiry (1922), the Woolf Report (1991) and the Bradley Report (2009).

This chapter firstly establishes the level of mental health-related issues that exist in the prison estate in England and Wales and presents the prison system in England and Wales as one that is characterised by record levels of self-harm and suicidality across the estate. While these are unprecedented in terms of their extent and prevalence, they are, in fact, the product of a range of the age-old issues. These exist alongside failed policy and initiatives throughout the supposed era of Penal Reform. The chapter traces back the roots that led to our current position, to the start of this era, providing an initial demonstration of the entanglement between the public, media, and government as the catalyst for policy change to bring about the “end of a discredited penal system” (Harding, 1988: 1), which had previously stifled opportunity for reformation through shifts in philosophy to punishment.

The Gladstone Report, which is firstly considered in this chapter, identified prisons as warehouses for the mentally ill and for the enduring issues within the prison walls, such as overcrowding, lack of purposeful activity, lack of education provision existing alongside a lack of appropriately trained medical staff and inappropriate healthcare

provision for those experiencing mental health issues. It also made recommendations for change, especially regarding “innovations in the treatment of the mentally ill and psychologically damaged” (Potter, 2019: 323). These issues are recognised as being intrinsically linked and as having a detrimental effect upon prisoners’ mental health. It made several recommendations for change. The chapter then considers three further investigative reports into prison conditions in the years following Gladstone.

The Prison System Enquiry Committee (1922) provided the first opportunity to chart the progress of the Gladstone Committee’s recommendations for penal reform. The object of this enquiry was to explore the operation of the system as it stood and its results. It provided the most substantive descriptive account of the English Prison System as it was working in 1922 and comprised a study of the physical, mental, and moral effects upon those subjected to it, recognising, for the first time with substance, the impact of transition to a new custodial establishment on the mental health and wellbeing of prisoners.

Considered next is the Woolf Report (1991), which was the next key opportunity to explore mental health provision, produced in response to widespread prison riots in 1990. Woolf’s investigation confirmed continuing declines in mental health provision and manifestations within the prison system. It also significantly raised the key notion of the gulf in mental illness and disorder experienced by those within and outside of the prison walls, and the need for equivalency in mental health service provision inside prisons as an integral contemporary approach to reconciling both the differential healthcare provision for prisoners with that of the general population.

Finally, the Bradley Report (2009) is considered, which was the next significant and most contemporary review of people with mental health problems in the criminal justice system post-Woolf. Although the overarching aim and remit of Bradley was to examine alternatives to prisons for offenders with mental health problems, the report is mindful that the problem at hand was the enduring and growing consensus that prison can perpetuate mental health issues and increase the risk of self-harm and suicidality in the prisoner. In doing so the report recognises the issues limiting effective mental health provision in custody. It provides a nuanced exploration of the mechanisms of healthcare provision in custody and their impact on the mental health of the prisoner. It illustrates the lack of progress in achieving the much-vaulted idea of equivalence of care, which is the principle by which prison health services are to provide those who are imprisoned with a quality of care that is equivalent to that provided to the general public (Niveau, 2007).

These reports evidence the continued decline in the issues identified by Gladstone, the failure of policy to address them and their manifestations alongside their detrimental impact on the mental health and wellbeing of the penal population. These reports also illustrate the interplay between media, public and government as influencing philosophies towards punishment and imprisonment and the shift from a pure deterrence model to one combining rehabilitative and reformatory notions. This thesis draws upon these reports to establish the context of penal issues and conditions which have culminated in the crisis in our prisons today and the subsequent need for new ways to tackle them.

2.1. Definitions and Terminology

Before continuing, it is essential to acknowledge the range and variation in terminology when referring to mental health issues over time. Terms such as ‘insanity’, ‘lunacy’, ‘mentally unsound’, ‘mental cases’, ‘weak-minded conditions’, ‘feeble-minded’ and ‘ill-balanced mind’ are frequently employed in earlier discourse. These lie in stark contrast to more contemporary terms such as ‘mentally disordered’ and ‘wellbeing’. Lunacy itself is a somewhat antiquated term in contemporary penology and society, and the term has evolved over time. In England and Wales between 1890-1922 the terminology ‘lunatics’ was often utilised, but the introduction of the Mental Health Treatment Act 1930 changed the legal expression to that of a “person of unsound mind”, which itself was later superseded by the term “mental illness” in the Mental Health Act 1959. In the case of insanity, in the infancy of the reformatory era, the criteria for diagnosis were loose and included conditions such as speech disorders and impediments, epilepsy and depression. Although the terms insanity and lunacy and the other historic terms still exist in today’s vernacular, it can be said that they broadly equate to and fall under what we would recognise as the contemporary umbrella conceptualisation of ‘mental disorder/mental illness’ evident in prison and experienced by offenders today. However, it is not possible to fully reconcile the terms across generations whilst, likewise, there is no widely accepted definition of what a mental disorder constitutes (Bradley, 2009).

Nonetheless, the broad definition of the term mental health disorder often employed is “a behavioural or mental pattern that causes significant distress or impairment of personal functioning” (Bolton, 2008: 6). These can be categorised as anxiety disorders,

mood disorders, psychotic disorders, eating disorders, impulse control and addiction disorders, personality disorders, obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The term 'mental disorder' is employed for the purposes of this thesis to encompass the historical terms noted above and is also sufficiently broad to incorporate a full range of mental health problems that fall within the categories aforementioned. It is important to have this understanding to reconcile terms and have a comparative understanding of terminology; when discussing specific reports and eras, the terminology of that time will be used.

2.2. Mental Health in our Penal System

As of September 2022, the prison population sat at a figure of 81,309, 3% higher than the same point in the previous year, comprising of 3,179 females and 78,130 males (MOJ, 2022). When considering the manifestations of mental health issues from this population, the illustration is profound.

The overall statistics surrounding death in custody demonstrate that, in the 12 months to June 2019, there were 308 deaths in custody, amounting to a rate of 3.7% per 2,000 prisoners and a decrease from 311 deaths in the previous year. This seemingly improving statistic, as the MOJ are keen to present it, is in fact a massaging of reality. On closer inspection, it incorporates all deaths in custody whether they be homicide, natural causes, other non-natural, other awaiting further information and self-inflicted deaths. In this same period, there were a total 86 occurrences of self-inflicted death, increasing 6% from 81 in the previous reporting year. 83 out of the 86 self-inflicted deaths were males, a rise of 5 deaths by the same means year on year (MOJ, 2019).

Looking at the long-term trend, the statistics are indicative of the mental health concerns and issues across England and Wales, with the total number of self-inflicted deaths in June 2009 standing at 63 and rising by 36.5% to the overall figure in the 12 months to June 2019 (MOJ, 2019). Considering the same period in relation to male self-inflicted death, there were a total of 61 self-inflicted deaths in 2009, rising by 36% to the figure of 83. Of grave concern is the finding that 70% of people who died by self-inflicted means while imprisoned had already been identified as having mental health needs (ibid). When considering the statistics surrounding self-harm in custody, they demonstrates a more harrowing picture, with a prisoner “self-harming every ten minutes in jails across England and Wales” (Bulman, 2019). Overall, considering the male and female estate, there were a record high of 57,968 incidences of self-harm in the 12 months to March 2019, although one must caution that these are only the visible recorded incidents and there are likely to be many more that have remained undeclared, preventing the true extent of self-harm to be captured. The thesis uses data from these ranges and not beyond, due to the unprecedented COVID-19 pandemic. The impact of COVID-19 and the subsequent conditions of imprisonment in response to it render it an anomaly which would skew data and have limited comparative value when considering trends.

Nonetheless what we have to work with represents an increase of 24% from the previous 12-month period. Furthermore, the number of individuals self-harming increased by 6% to 12,539 in the 12 months to March 2019, while the number of self-harm incidents per individual increased by 15% from 4.0 to 4.6. When focussing on the male prison population, the long-term trend illustrates a rise from 12,686 incidences in

2009 to 47,136 in 2019; a significant increase, made more impacting when presented as a 271% increase. The number of male prisoners self-harming also rose from 5,052 in 2009 to 11,321 in 2019, an increase of 125%, with the number of self-harm incidences per individual increasing by 68% in this period (MOJ, 2019). The long-term trend dates from 2009, the same year in which the Bradley Report was published. Another interesting point derived from this study was that the mean annual rate of suicide amongst male inmates who self-harmed stood at 334 per 100,000, nearly double that of females who self-harmed (149 per 100,000). The comparative extent of the issues surrounding mental health is illuminated when a comparison is made to the general population; self-harm is 10-20 times higher in the prison population than the general population (MOJ, 2019).

Such a reality is, sadly, not new. Rather, poor physical and mental health of prisoners has been an enduring and pervasive feature of the prison system over time. It has also been an ongoing concern of several investigations, to which the chapter now turns.

2.3. The Gladstone Committee (1895)

This section firstly considers the historic backdrop and rationale for the committee's enquiry. It then moves on to establish the key conditions discovered through this enquiry and the significant issues of mental health issues and suicide.

This process of penal reform started with the Gladstone Report (1895) which Harding (1988: 592) argues saw Herbert Gladstone deliver "the most considered statement of penal policy in this country" stemming from the seminal committee exploring prisons

which bore his name, bringing about the “inevitable end to a discredited system” and the “beginning of a beneficent revolution”. In the lead up to the committee’s inception, an overarching argument was that the prison system in place under then prisons administrator Sir Edmund Du Cane was one that was symbolic of penal failure and lacking as a commensurate response to crime. It was also thought that the prison regime could, in fact, underpin and contribute to the development of criminal behaviours. The combination of these issues and increasing public and media sensitivity and pressure, alongside parliamentary questions, prompted the then Home Secretary, Herbert Asquith, to set up a governmental committee known as The Gladstone Committee, to investigate and reform the prison system in England and Wales. This took place in the form of 35 committee sittings, spanning a total of 56 witnesses from a range of professions and agencies: governors, deputy-governors, warders-in-charge, medical experts, chaplains, matrons, representatives of government departments, prisoners aid societies, The Howard Society, visiting communities, reformatory schools, trade unions and ex-prisoners. All were afforded a voice and an opportunity to present their views, with a range of convict and local prisons, and discharged prisoners’ homes/institutions.

The regime that Du Cane had imparted to this point was founded on the notion that imprisonment was intended to deter offenders from further offences, which William Booth ascribed as ignoring “the first essential of every system of punishment-reformation” (cited in Potter, 2019: xii). Du Cane represented the antithesis of a potential shift in penal philosophy to a reformatory position which was more favourable in societal and political culture. He believed that reform should play a

subsidiary role in the prison system. This precluded the progression of the prison system at the time and ensured that a departure from the deterrent or retributive aspects of imprisonment remained at the expense of reform and reintegration of offenders. It is argued that Du Cane's outlook, combined with "economy of the regime [...] itself stifled the institutional potential of the prison system" (Harding, 1988: 602).

The power of punitive public debate, the media and political cultures were a pivotal perpetuating factor in the shift in penal philosophy at the time the Gladstone Committee came to fruition. Interaction between the media and public led to a campaign that saw the fundamental principles and practices of our prisons at the time both questioned and criticised whilst the prison administration was also held accountable for the issues prevailing (Harding, 1988: 603). The Daily Chronicle in 1894 had delivered "an articulate condemnation of the more severe physical and psychological features of the prison regime, [which] had touched the public's sensitivity to the issue" (Harding, 1988: 603). Of grave concern to the public, media, policymakers, and prison staff was mental health and, when considering the levels of insanity, it was affirmed that "among the prison population the ratio of insanity arising among persons sane on admission is not less than three times as great as that amongst the general population" (World Health Organisation cited in Cox & Marland, 2018: 707). The primary objections levied by critics centred around prison regime and operationalisation. Prisons at this point housed a large proportion of those who should have been in mental health institutions with adequate provisions to address such complex needs. The Chief Medical Officer of HMP Pentonville, Dr John Baker (in Gladstone, 1895) saw much value in the critics' viewpoint, observing the profoundly negative interaction of prison conditions and environment on prisoner mental health.

The campaign against this regime drilled down on public populism, with their attitudes moving away from repressive deterrence and aspiring to something aligned with better prisoner outcomes, positive in nature. It condemned the often severe physical and psychological aspects of the prison regime (Potter, 2019). This interaction is arguably the critical driver of all significant punitive policy with Hough & Roberts (2017: 239) recognising that “public opinion affects every stage of criminal justice”, with contemporary criminal justice even more responsive to public sentiment than its predecessors. The media’s role has been arguably integral in the shift in philosophy underpinning the reformatory position. The media unquestionably fuels public attitudes, and as such either directly or indirectly interacting with how policy is developed and interacted. (Potter, 2019) . The inception of the committee symbolised the processes of politicisation with policymakers reacting to the public and recognising that the dominant voice in policy is that of the public.

The warrant appointing the committee listed six objectives that required inquiry: i) the accommodation provided for prisoners; ii) juvenile and first offenders, and to what extent they should be treated as classes apart; iii) prison labour and occupation, with special reference to the moral and physical condition of the prisoners; iv) the regulations governing visits to and communications with prisoners; v) the regulations governing prison offences; and vi) the arrangements by which the appointment of a deputy governor is limited to prisons with more than 700 prisoners, and a warder in charge acts as a governor in prisons with not more than 100 prisoners.

The summary preamble of Lushington (cited in Gladstone, 1895) perhaps best encapsulates the issues the committee had with the previous prison administration and its associated philosophy, which perpetuated damage to the psyche of those imprisoned. He felt that their current approach was the antithesis of what the prison should do and how it should be run, noting that:

I regard as unfavourable to reformation the status of a prisoner throughout his whole career; the crushing of self-respect, the starving of all moral instinct he may possess, the absence of all opportunity to do or receive a kindness, the continual association with none but criminals, and that only as a separate item amongst other items also separate; the forced labour, and the denial of all liberty. I believe that the true mode of reforming a man or restoring him to society is in exactly the opposite direction of all these. (cited in Gladstone, 1895: 8)

However, Lushington cautioned that aspiring to an operational and ideological vision departing from these institutional failures was an endeavour of folly, proclaiming, “[t]his is a mere idea [...] It is quite impracticable in a prison. In fact, the unfavourable features that I have mentioned are inseparable from prison life” (ibid).

Some criminological theorists in ensuing years have proclaimed similar notions in that ‘unpleasantness’ and, by default, ‘pain’ are intrinsic to the concept of punishment and indeed the apparatus to mete it out (Goffman, 1961; Bean, 1981). The committee’s

investigations identified a range of issues within institutions of punishment, underpinning prison being painful for those imprisoned. Of particular concern was the lack of a uniform set of treatment principles and the prison code was not adopted, administered, and operationalised consistently across the penal estate by institutions and led to what the board considered “a considerable amount of mischief” (Gladstone, 1895; 6) The committee raised the severe charges of overcrowding in prisons, with the provision of accommodation not sufficient to house offenders. It questioned the rigidity of practices regarding visits and communications, and the detrimental effects on prisoners of excessive and disproportionate punishments. There was criticism of unproductive labour and hard labour as having no reformatory value, coupled with the nature and extent of prison industries as not sufficient for the men. They highlighted that isolation and confinement in work and association leads to moral and physical deterioration, and that there are severe ‘undesirable’ deficiencies in relation to the ability for prisoners to educate themselves. They also highlighted concerns over a lack of exercise and athletic activities and, further, the grouping of all ages of male prisoners as undesirable and detrimental. In totality, these aspects contributed to the notions that, “[p]rison life in itself is a potent cause in its [mental disorder/illness] development” (ibid; 33).

All these identified issues were, and still are, associated with having a detrimental psychological and physical effect upon those imprisoned, with the effect on mental health a primary concern, which will now be explored in greater detail.

Focussing on the presence, extent, and impact of mental disorder/illness in the prison system of England and Wales, the committee elicited a range of evidence that illustrated significant issues. Firstly, it is relevant to establish the extent of mental health disorder in the system. Gover (1895: 590) stated:

The prisons of England and Wales are at present used to some extent as hospitals for the treatment of mental health...but they are not intended for or adapted to that purpose.

This warehousing of prisoners was a significant issue, perhaps offering some explanation for historical ill-adapted mental health provisions in prisons and the extent of mental health issues amongst the prison population. People who should have been receiving care were instead subjected to criminalisation and control within a system devoid of any appropriate approach to the needs of those mentally ill. It is this warehousing that is arguably still evident in the current penal system when considering the levels of mental illness in prisons today.

The committee recognised at this early juncture that there were substantial increases in instances of mental health disorder and illness amongst the offender population. They were informed by Ruggles-Brise (Gladstone, 1895: 346) that “there is no doubt that a great portion of the criminal population is mentally weak”. The statistics they present showed an annual ratio in local prisons of insanity between 1875-1877 as 113 per 10,000, while for the period 1890-92 this doubled to 226 per 10,000. By comparison, the annual rate of insanity amongst the public for the period 1890-92

stood at just 8 per 10,000. Furthermore, it was documented that in 1894, of the 354 cases of reported insanity, 42 of these cases were sane at the time of reception to custody becoming insane more than a month afterwards, representing an insanity rate of 30 per 10,000, which is significantly higher than the general population rate of 5.5 per 10,000. As such, among the prison population the ratio of insanity arising among persons apparently sane on admission is not less than three times as great as that amongst the general population of corresponding ages (Gladstone, 1895: 48-49). Contributions from witnesses including prison staff, medical professionals and ex-prisoners further supported the position that imprisonment contributed to adverse mental health.

There perhaps is no more severe manifestation of mental disorder and illness, certainly no more final, than that of suicide. Reverend W.D Morrison (Gladstone, 1895: 104) provided profound observations relating to suicide amongst the prison population of the time. He advanced that the number of suicides was out of proportion, acknowledging that the majority of suicides occur soon after an individual is received into custody and that “the temptation to [commit suicide] becomes weaker the longer the time spent in prison”. He proceeded to note that the proportion of suicides for male prisoners was much higher than that of men of the same age outside of the prison confines. When asked about the interaction between imprisonment and suicide, ex-offender Mr E (ibid: 328) informed the committee, “I feel sure it (suicide) arises from the fact of the severity of the punishment in convict prisons.”

Morrison (Gladstone, 1895) in his evidence to the committee described a recent explosion in suicide levels, which is somewhat borne out by 43 being recorded between 1889 and 1893. What was also of great concern, and still present in contemporary penology, is a lack of healthcare personnel to address the mental health concerns and issues of prisoners. Furthermore, the staff that were in place were beset by an absence of adequate experience in diagnosing and treating mental health disorders/illness. All medical officers and matrons provided evidence to the committee stating that the provision was not enough and that they required more personnel to support in specific reference to mental health. This was especially important to them given that the volume and arrival times of prisoners often made examinations a “hurried affair” with one prison doctor advising receipt of between 50-78 receptions throughout the course of a 24-hour period in one establishment alone (Gladstone, 1895: 177). This acknowledges that there was a significant presence of mental disorder and illness amongst the prison population of the time and that the deficiencies in medical care were unable to adequately identify and treat them. The overarching agreement was best encapsulated by Dr Bevan Lewis who asserted that, “[m]easures should be adopted which involve careful medical supervision with the view of bringing them to the condition of healthy rational beings” (ibid: 306).

The many failings relating to the mental health of prisoners has led to concerns in the current system post Gladstone, regarding delivering safer custody in the prison estate. Safer custody is a term much vaulted, and broadly means the management of prisoners at risk of harm to self, to others and from others. Its roots can be traced back to the Prisons Act of 1877, referred to frequently by The Gladstone Committee throughout

their investigations. Of note is the way in which the term is applied to how prisons should operationalise the principles of safer custody and the antecedent from this time that resonates with today's sentiments is that:

Regard shall be had to safe custody, but that every consideration shall be given to the treatment that is consistent with that safe custody and the discipline of the prison. (Gladstone, 1895: 366)

The commission was not deterred by the plethora of issues they identified within the penal establishments of England and Wales. Nor were they daunted by the negative perspectives surrounding reform. They countered that, while their broad description of prison life was negative, change for the better was possible. As a result, a much-remedied system was outlined in a series of recommendations by the committee to address the issues that were weighing down upon the penal systems. Their recommendations provided the foundations for the evolution of the prison system that we now recognise in contemporary society.

In addition to the specific issues relating to mental healthcare provision already discussed, the committee advanced further recommendations for increases in single-cell accommodations and a quicker admissions process. The committee proposed more discretion with visits and communications, greater interaction between support agencies and prisoners prior to release from custody, the ability to earn remission, the abolition of unproductive labour, the extension of association during work and leisure, productive industries to be developed, with a greater supply of books and better quality

of education. The committee further proposed a more considerable skill set in those staff engaging with prisoners. This was especially true concerning mental health, whereby all medical officers should have experience of special attention to mental disorder/illness and staff strengthened. The committee also called for confinement to be reduced and the level of punishments applied for refractory behaviours to be lessened alongside the first construction of what is recognised today as the Incentives and Earned Privileges Scheme (IEP), when advancing that prisoners should be enabled to earn money throughout the course of their sentences.

These were all recommendations which were attempting to address a system that provided conditions “absolutely opposed to mental, moral and physical health” (Potter, 2019: 337) of those housed within it and of the belief that modification could take place, transforming the prison into a system that is:

more elastic, more capable of being adapted to the special cases of individual prisoners, that discipline be, and treatment should be more effectually designed to maintain, stimulate or awaken the higher susceptibilities of prisoners, to develop their moral instincts, to train them in orderly and industrial habits, and whenever possible to turn them out of prison better men and women, both physically and morally, than when they came in. (Gladstone, 1895: 8)

Following Churchill’s address to the House of Commons in 1910, a sentiment was invoked which contained notions that focused on the humanity, decency, respect, and

safety of the individual subject to punishment. It also reaffirmed the rehabilitative potential of punishment, with the continued commitment of government to the transformation of the penal estate and treatment of those within it post-Gladstone. However, as the ensuing discussion demonstrates, this philosophy and the recommendations of Gladstone were sadly not realised and failed to provide appropriate improvements to regime, conditions and provision in prisons that are aligned with delivering positive outcomes for prisoner mental health and wellbeing. The conditions for this failure are now further explored through the three key reports that followed Gladstone.

2.4. The Prison System Enquiry Committee (1922)

Identifying progress in the prison system in the ensuing years post-Gladstone had proven to be impossible due to the secrecy that shrouded the penal estate (Gilligan & Pratt, 2003: 87). As such, there had been no systematic enquiry since Gladstone despite plentiful evidence available in the prison experiences of many men and women exposed to it. Of equal concern was that there was at the time no prospect of a government enquiry into prisons. In response to this, the Executive of the Labour Research Department commissioned the Prison System Enquiry Committee. The object of this enquiry was not to table reform, but rather endeavour to discover fact through exploring the operation in the system as it stood and its results. It also represented an initial empirical recognition of transition between prisons interacting with the mental health of people who are imprisoned. The enquiry's report is a key benchmark to consider whether the recommendations of Gladstone had been implemented, to what degree and their level of success. It was referred to as the 'the bible of prison reformers'

by Margaret Fry of The Howard League (Harding, 1988) and it inspired parliamentary questions into insanity and suicide within prisons.

Any optimism for a reformed and improved prison following the work of Gladstone was abruptly stifled by the findings of Hobhouse and Brockway (1922). The narrative of the enquiry became not one of progress and improvement but one of continued dissatisfaction and arguable decline. Prison labour continued to lack choice, was unwaged, was devoid of training to support employment upon release, lacked trained supervisors, and the work was degrading. Education provisions similarly lacked competent teachers, there was too little investment in education, and education was restricted with a lack of materials and opportunity to go beyond the basics. There remained insufficient reading materials and opportunity to engage in hobby or craft. In terms of communication, letters were delayed and censorship unnecessarily intrusive with visits infrequent and short in duration with the distances for family to travel excessive. The recommendations of the Gladstone committee had clearly not been realised (Hobhouse and Brockway, 1922). However, it was the evidence that “denotes the bad effect of imprisonment upon health” (Hobhouse and Brockway, 1922: 253) that demonstrated the most concerning issues.

The findings identified initial reception to prison and adaptation as critical junctures in relation to the mental health of the population, illustrated by a large number of deaths following reception, with an average of 38 prisoners dying between 1911-1914, and the recognition that the experience of imprisonment and adaptation to it are intrinsically linked. They document the greater tendency for suicide to be committed

in the first week of imprisonment than at any subsequent period, that those under remand or awaiting sentence are more likely to commit suicide and that first-time prisoners display a greater liability to commit suicide. In relation to treatment, the evidence was damning. A survey sent to 218 ex-prisoners yielded descriptions of the medical care as “hurried, callous, insulting” and “a disgrace to the profession and markedly in contrast to the manner of doctors outside” (Hobhouse and Brockway, 1922: 340)

The report again highlighted the fact that good calibre medical staff are rarely attached or attracted to the prison service and that the staff that do exist are neither substantial enough in number to enable psychological study and treatment to be undertaken nor competent for such duties, with inadequacy and amateurish being terminologies applied to describe provision (Hobhouse and Brockway, 1922).

In relation to insanity, the average rate occurring between 1906 and 1915 was 86.6 per 10,000 and, after deducting the cases whereby a prisoner was deemed as unsound at reception, a ratio of 41.3 per 1,000 still existed; nearly five times greater than that of the general population and increasing from 30 per 10,000 at the time of the Gladstone Committee.

Conclusions were also drawn in relation to suicide, finding that the features of the prison regime as aforementioned are the environmental influences of mental disorder, which also appear to cause of suicide. The excessive nature of prison suicide, and when considering the ratios on attempted suicide between 1896 and 1914 which evidenced

an increase from 39.7 per 10,000 to 57,3 per 10,000 post-Gladstone, were indicative of the prevalent nature of continued issues and decline:

While [some] features of prison life may be held to be more particularly harmful, most of its defects reside in the more general principle on which the system as a whole is based. These defects appear to be the result of having set up as primary aims the ideas of retribution and deterrent punishment and of allowing...the working of the machine stands before any interest in the welfare of the imprisoned men and women. There is an almost complete absence of professional, scientific, or humane interest in the criminal and in the problem, he presents. (Hobhouse and Brockway, 1922: 585)

This captures the acknowledgment of the tensions arising from the underlying philosophies of punishment and this position was aligned with the experiences of other international penal jurisdictions from the time. This was that the rigours of prison life—the hopelessness, confinement, harsh attitude of staff, animosity, absence of social intercourse the restrictions of prison, the shock of imprisonment combine with the politicised institutional aims of the system to “foster abnormal states of mind” (ibid: 534) including the manifestation in the act of suicide. A system of reform as conceived by Gladstone had evolved into one synonymous with regression rather than progression. This regression further continued, culminating in a series of prison disturbances across the prison estate in England and Wales which visibly expressed the

distress of those imprisoned. This resulted in further enquiry into prison conditions in the form of the Woolf Report.

2.5. The Woolf Report (1991)

Following the prisons enquiry, the next key report that focussed on the enduring conditions of imprisonment and how they manifest in prisoners, including in regard to mental health, came in response to a wave of serious prison riots across the penal estate in England and Wales in the form of the Woolf Report (1991). An admirable and landmark investigation, the Woolf Report confirmed the continuing decline in prison conditions and healthcare provision across the penal estate and proposed a plethora of recommendations for change. These included the need for improved healthcare provision and the need for equivalence of physical and mental healthcare with the general population. It was labelled as the most important report since the Gladstone Report of 1895. Yet, the Woolf Report signified that the optimism stemming from Gladstone proved to be unfounded regarding remedying the issues in the prison system and there was an absence of substantive progress on the enduring issues identified in the ensuing years, with a continued demise of the rehabilitative ideal and ethos, which left the prison system rudderless with no clear purpose, despite previous efforts to provide one. In this latter part of the 20th century, the prison system had become a model of containment, papering over the cracks of the conditions of imprisonment. This existed alongside the age-old operational strain brought about by incessant growth of the penal population, the physical degradation of prisons themselves and the primary risk averse focus of the administration which operated with blinkers on, seeing only security and dangerousness of prisoners (Player & Jenkins, 1994).

Prisons across England and Wales were maligned by these issues and there was a sense of malaise in them until a series of prison riots played out across the penal estate. The most visible of these riots was at HMP Strangeways in 1990, which alone resulted in the loss of one prisoner life, the injury of 147 prison officers and 47 prisoners, the damage to the institution itself totalling £30 million. However, serious riots broke out further afield across another 5 prisons, with a reported 30 more institutions experiencing some form of disturbance across England and Wales (Player & Jenkins, 1994). These riots, and riots that have occurred throughout the history of the penal system, are not what can be classed as isolated, one-off events. In fact, a total of 40 different establishments in 1986 alone all had disturbances prior to the events of 1990 (Player & Jenkins, 1994; Drake, 2012). However, although not a new phenomenon, the way in which riots are constructed, defined, and responded to has evolved over time. They are manifestations of the multitude of failings, issues and difficulties that teem through the penal system and will only cease once these are appropriately addressed. The prisoners in these riots sought to have their voices heard, to mobilise collectively to achieve what Sykes (1958: 110) describes as a “logical step in a pattern of repeated social change”. An interesting point of note is that it was found “significant that prisoners recently transferred from other prisons were centrally involved in all the incidents that led to riots” (Prison Reform Trust, 1991: 11).

What these disturbances did was provide explicit and graphic imagery and evidence of the issues in the prison system which reached the living rooms of people across the country, leaving an imprint of disorder, discontent, loss of control and disarray. Considering the scale of violence and destruction alongside ongoing concerns about

prison service management, a full and open independent public inquiry was initiated. Lord Justice Woolf and Judge Stephen Tumin, the then Chief Inspector of Prisons, were tasked with carrying this out with a broad remit to examine the disturbances, going beyond a fact-finding mission to discover what happened and explore the underlying causes and potential methods of prevention.

Woolf (1991) looked beyond just treating prisoners with humanity and recognised that justice was not aligned with this notion. His definition of justice moved beyond the confines of previously well-meaning investigations as well as bureaucratic procedure and due process, to encompass the conditions inside the prison, spelling out that “if the prison service contains that prisoner in conditions which are inhumane or degrading then a punishment of imprisonment which was justly imposed will result in injustice” (Woolf, 1991: 10.19). This in turn led to the documented outpourings to facilitate change as outlined in line with the notions of Gresham Sykes (1958) who had earlier written about differing pains associated with the experience of imprisonment for those imprisoned, and ways in which they manifest. Woolf was able to go beyond the facile notions proffered by prison officials of life sentenced prisoners with nothing to lose and those with psychological issues being ‘carceral riot-bombs’ who went off as the embodiment of the unrest within the system.

What Woolf (1991) alongside Tumin uncovered were a range of systemic causes that were to the detriment of both the prisons and the prisoners, in terms of their mental health. Yet more disturbingly, this served as the empirical grounding of a system that was continuing to exhibit the same issues that had maligned it over time, many as identified in the Gladstone Committee’s findings. These issues had continued to worsen

despite the prison system's adopting reformatory practices in the years post-Gladstone. Prisoner perspectives highlighted the insanitary and overcrowded physical conditions to which they were subjected, the negative and unconstructive nature of the regime, the lack of respect with which they were treated, the destructive effects of imprisonment and the institution on their family ties, the inadequacy of visits, and the lack of any form of independent redress for grievances. The lack of staff, lack of staff training, hierarchical divides and lack of direction and leadership were also identified, and the endemic nature of these issues is encapsulated in the notion of the build-up of tension being "like pressure in a pressure cooker":

Disturbances are never planned. Prior to any large-scale disturbance there is always a long period of dissatisfaction, tension, and general bad feeling. Complaints of bad food, mail being lost or delivered late, excessive security searches, delaying visiting periods, violence in the segregation blocks, more physical and open conflict with prisoners and staff. As [the prisoner] becomes more open in criticisms of the way in which prison is run [...] prisoners feel that verbal protest will solve none of their problems and violent protest follows, usually after some trivial incident." (Woolf, 1991: 496)

Woolf and Tumin also collected a wealth of information regarding the health provisions for prisoners and recognised immediately that it was "clear that there will remain for the foreseeable future a significant problem for the prison service in accommodating mentally disordered offenders" (ibid: 257). They were of the belief that the medical

provisions that prisoners were afforded fell short of what could be expected outside of prison and that there was a lack of equivalence between the prison and general population in care. They also called for research into the effectiveness of the mental health provisions already in place, which at the time were significantly under-evaluated.

Overall, Woolf alongside Tumin called for a shift in the philosophy of punishment and purpose of imprisonment, proposing a rehabilitative approach moving forward. This involved departing from the reformatory model whereby offenders were sent to prison for treatment and moving towards a form of individualised and responsibilised self-help, whereby tools such as educational, vocational and therapeutic opportunities would be provided to the prisoner to address their offending behaviour, mental health and wellbeing issues and to prepare them for release and resettlement into the community. He also called for wholesale changes (Woolf, 1991; Prison Reform Trust, 1991; Potter, 2019) that:

- no establishment hold more prisoners than its certified level;
- prisoners be granted facilities that are not classed as privilege but a normal expectation;
- provision be consistent between establishments; purposeful education, work and physical education be provided;
- visits and home leaves increase;
- there be better access to and less censored communication;
- work pay and hours be realistic;
- there be better prospects to maintain family ties

- prisons be refurbished, with more and better trained staff and medical personnel.

Such changes would have a profoundly positive impact on the lived experience of and mental health of those imprisoned, given the earlier identification of the conditions of imprisonment influencing the mental state of prisoners.

However, despite the seemingly renewed vigour to steer the rudderless prison ship towards clear water, the impact of the report was superficial. Despite riding the wave of a more 'radical justice approach' under a more liberal Home Secretary in the form of Kenneth Clarke, to expect him to shake himself free from the shackles of what came before would be a tough proposition. Moreover, society had heard it all before. Despite the circumstances that brought about the review, one would be forgiven for expecting it to show improvements across the board given the findings and recommendations of previous reports and the significant period elapsing since. This historical review, however, demonstrates that almost 100 years after the Gladstone Committee carried out its investigation, Woolf and Tumin's had yielded evidence of the same issues in a similar vein to Gladstone (1985) and Hobhouse & Brockway (1922). It was clear to see that the extent, prevalence, unwavering and enduring nature of the issues in the prison system had to continued. This is illustrative that the proposals to address them in the preceding 100 years had not resulted in any tangible improvements whatsoever, which raises the question as to what would be different this time? The answer was nothing, but this was not for want of trying. Although battles were won with the key notion of equivalence and the need to improve mental health being recognised, subject to recommendations for reform, the system had yet again been shown as synonymous

with the adage “if at first you don’t succeed, try and try again”. Yet, continuing to try was not effective in delivering improvement, only deterioration.

This time the opportunity to implement Woolf’s Gladstone-esque proposals, albeit constructed and presented differently, was stifled when the media, public and political realms collided once again, even though it did bring about a response to crime and imprisonment, through penal populism, which sat in stark contrast to the outcomes of this interaction 100 years earlier. This occurred despite crime receiving limited attention as a political issue before 1970 and there being a general cross-party liberal consensus, which included proposals to reduce the use of imprisonment citing concerns of effectiveness to rehabilitate prisoners and their operational cost. However, this consensus gradually started to fracture, leading up to the 1979 election with the roots of a forthcoming punitive turn firmly in place (Pratt et al., 2005). Crime was highlighted as an issue causing a current of social anxiety amongst the public, which in turn presented a vote-securing opportunity for government, which sought to alleviate this fear through a shift away from liberal principles to the implementation of a punitive ethos and criminal justice policy (Garland, 2001; Pratt et al., 2005)

This did not immediately come to fruition, however. From 1990 onwards there were sharp rises in crime rates and also a number of high profile crimes, including the murder of toddler James Bulger. These led to increasing social anxiety and a garnering of the attention of policymakers who became more attuned to them with the International Crime Survey (1996-2000) demonstrating public support for increased use of custodial sentences alongside reduced support for community sentences and reductions in prison numbers (Jennings et al., 2017). This meant that for radical justice reforms post-

Woolf, the window of opportunity proved to be short lived as Clarke was succeeded by Michael Howard in 1993. Presenting as someone embracing a populist law and order stance and keen to politicise the public attitudes, he crushed this vigour with an approach that put “prisons as the solution to crime [...] they should hold greater numbers not fewer, conditions of detention should be more austere not less” (House of Commons, 1993). Containment, punishment and deterrence was all back on the scene with no mention of rehabilitation or fairness and these contrived to the demise of Woolf and completely eradicated any hope of an improved prison system in England and Wales.

2.6. The Bradley Report (2009)

Alongside, this evaporation of hope, the late 20th and the early part of the 21st century has yielded a wealth of research demonstrating that prisoners continue to suffer from poor mental health (De Viggiani, 2006). A growing body of research signifies endangered mental health, evidencing that anxiety, depression and the stress of prison, the prison environment and its rules and daily regimes affect many prisoners (Jewkes, 2007; Graham, 2007; Bradley, 2009; WHO, 1998; Crewe & Liebling, 2017). There remained little evidence of fundamental changes to reception mental health screening processes and an absence of robust review of mental health in-reach teams in prisons alongside a lack of up-to-date statistics on prison staff mental health awareness training. There was also variability in access to provisions coupled with continued poor attendance of the training that exists by officers due to operational and resourcing constraints. Further, healthcare staff training and staffing levels remained inadequate (Durcan et al., 2014). All this undermines both the process of equivalence

and promotion of positive mental health amongst prison populations. This is underpinned by prisons buckling under increasing pressure, making it more challenging to manage prisoner mental health and wellbeing. Reduced resources, restricted regimes, outdated and ageing facilities all affect mental health and wellbeing in custodial settings and evidence the continuation of issues identified as early as the Gladstone Committee. While efforts have previously been made to genuinely improve outcomes relating to suicide prevention, safety, and decency, these are being further eroded by austere conditions advanced (Crewe & Liebling, 2017). The impacts of imprisonment coupled with these mental health deficiencies often underpin prevalent self-harm and suicidality in prisons estate-wide in England and Wales and is indicative of a continued deterioration of both a system and population within it.

In light of these enduring issues, the Bradley Report (2009) was the next significant review of people with mental health problems and learning disabilities in the criminal justice system, although this chapter primarily focusses on the report's exploration of mental health in the context of imprisonment. Although the overarching aim and remit of Bradley was to examine alternatives to prisons for offenders with mental health problems, he was mindful that the problem at hand was the enduring and growing consensus that prison can perpetuate mental health issues and increase the risk of self-harm and suicidality. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) in article 12 categorically established the "state's obligations to respect, protect and fulfil the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health" (cited in Exworthy et al., 2012: 271). Bradley (2009) kept this at the forefront of the report by building on the foundations of Woolf,

providing particular focus on the principle of equivalent healthcare provision for prisoners and how this could be realised in custody. It also entrenched this through considering how personnel could improve to support this process in the areas of training and the identification and assessment of prisoners with mental health needs. Yet, despite Bradley acknowledging “the emergence of new and creative ways of supporting people with mental health problems across the criminal justice system” (Bradley, 2009: 3) the efficacy of these is what is of paramount importance, and there are serious doubts given the continued deterioration in mental health across the prison estate in England and Wales. This is no anomaly in the history of mental health in our prisons; it is an enduring trend. At the time of the Bradley Report, the age-old issues discussed throughout this chapter affecting prisoners continued to persist with even more rigour. The prison population had increased by 60% since June 1996. The suicide rate was 114 per 100,000 prisoners compared with 8.3 per 100,000 amongst the general population with 30% of prisoners inflicting some form of self-injury during their custody (Bradley, 2009). The table below provides a robust comparative illustration of the extent of mental health issues and the significant difference in the levels experienced between prisoner and general populations.

Disorder	Prisoners	General Population
Schizophrenia and Delusional Disorder	8%	0.5%
Personality Disorder	66%	5.3%
Neurotic Disorder	45%	13.8%
Drug Dependency	45%	5.2%

Alcohol Dependency	30%	11.5%
Source	Singleton et al. (1998)	Singleton et al. (2001)

Table 1: Comparative extent of Mental Health Disorders between Prison and General Population

Over 90% of prisoners had one or more of the psychiatric disorders of psychosis, neurosis, personality disorder, hazardous drinking, and drug dependence (Singleton et al, 2001). With the government mindful of the pressures arising from the penal landscape continuing to grow in terms of population and consequently the potential level of health needs rapidly increasing, there was a renewed urgency in addressing these matters. It is also important to consider the trend that the prisoner suicide rate has been continuing to increase whilst the overall general population suicide rate is decreasing (Shaw et al., 2004). This urgency and attention were not just an exclusive notion felt by government with Bradley (2009) acknowledging that these issues have once again found their way into the public domain. These concerns were expressed in public attitudes, culminating in the broad findings that the public, including victims of crime, was not aligned with the use of imprisonment as the punishment to be meted out and advocated for mental health treatment programmes for offenders (Bradley, 2009). .

The government published *A Five Year Strategy for Protecting the Public and Reducing Re-offending* (Home Office, 2006), acknowledging that while safeguarding the public under the premise of public protection remains the top governmental priority, imprisonment was not the only way to punish offenders and maintain the safety of society. Bradley's report was sympathetic to the concept of public protection but was optimistic of walking the tightrope effectively and reconciling this alongside

interventions that improved treatment and outcomes for offenders and their families while contributing to the public safety agenda. The report was very much of the belief that the health inequality present was sufficiently high on the governmental policy priority agenda and that, in the context of a more favourable public opinion, improving the system would be invigorated and more conducive to successful outcomes. The public agreed, with only 11% believing there was sufficient existing services for those with mental illness who had committed crime. There was further evidence of public support for the notion that the social costs of re-offending triggered by mental health issues could be decreased by investing in appropriate mental health initiatives and treatments (Brooker et al., 2009).

Bradley carried out a systematic thematic review contextualising key policy from 1990 that was operationalised to reduce the ever-increasing prevalence of mental health issues across the penal estate in England and Wales and drew upon the Department of Health's Reed Review (Reed, 1992). The Reed Review of health and social services for mentally disordered offenders called for a flexible, multi-agency approach to identify and effectively meet the needs of mentally disordered offenders while improving access to specialised mental health services and more general services in the provision of care and treatment for mentally disordered offenders. Reed advocated services from the NHS being contracted in to facilitate the improvements in mental health services for prisoners, with the process of transferring fiscal and commissioning responsibility for health service to the NHS (Bradley, 2009). The rationale for this was that the NHS would now be able to become directly engaged with the agenda of promoting mental health in prisoner populations. It involved initiatives to facilitate the wholesale

mainstreaming of prison mental health alongside the continued development of in-reach mental health teams, and the prison mental health collaborative to foster good practice across disciplines. However, this agenda did not mitigate the visibility of prisoners and the mental health issues endemic across the estate with the then HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, Dame Anne Owers, (HMCIP, 2007) producing a review of prison mental health which again continued to call for improvements in mental health services to prisons, further illustrated by the Corston Report (2007) in the same year. The result was a greater awareness of the necessity for improved mental health provision for offender populations, ranging from improved continuity of care and enhanced accessibility to mental health care for prisoners.

The Bradley Report rightly highlighted the importance of early and accurate assessment of an individual received into custody, given the profound and well-documented effects of imprisonment on prisoner mental health. It flagged that the identification of mental health problems was sorely lacking, both prior to arrival at prison and upon arrival, despite this process and experience of transfer and transition to a new custodial location being identified as a critical stressor and agitator of mental health issues amongst prisoners as early as the Gladstone Commission.

The two-tier assessment, comprising of an initial rapid assessment of immediate needs in the reception environment of the prison followed by a second more detailed screening to be held away from the reception environment, was identified as poorly implemented and failing to identify all those with mental health problems. More concerning was the continuation of ineffectively and inadequately trained medical

personnel and provisions for the care and treatment of those experiencing mental health issues. Bradley (2009: 102) advanced that GPs in prisons lacked “specialist training in the care of prisoners or their complex mental health needs”, with the inadequacy of this care having a knock-on detrimental impact on mental health in-reach teams that are in place to deal with mood, anxiety, and adjustment issues. The Improving Access to Psychological Therapies (IAPT) programme was a crucial initiative to improve the lives of those living with mental health issues, despite initially being solely for those with severe and enduring mental health issues (SMI) (Bradley, 2009). Again, the pressures of an expanding population and the increasing levels of mental health and related issues amongst this population had rendered this initiative to be drawn away from treating and focussing on those with SMI and towards those experiencing other broad-based conditions. Demand also outstripped supply with in-reach service referrals increasing manifestly, for example, by 57% between 2005 and 2007 alone, culminating in a diversion of care from those for whom it is intended (Exworthy et al, 2012). This has also taken the form of healthcare staff carrying out assessment and treatment of prisoners self-harming, and consulting and training prison staff in matters of prisoner mental health. Of more concern is that mental health services were still reliant on non-mental health trained staff to make referrals to mental health services. Despite prison officers receiving a training programme, the training was found to be “disappointing” with a lack of coherence, a self-directed learning methodology - which has proved a less effective learning platform - and difficulties in management prioritising mental health as an issue to free staff for training (Bradley, 2009: 111).

Recommendations were made to increase awareness training to all prison officers and that it be multi-disciplinary and developed in conjunction with those receiving the care. There was further evidence of a lack of staff more generally, with 85% of in-reach team leaders stating that their teams were not sufficiently well-staffed to meet the needs of the prisoner population, indicating a failure in resourcing. The recommendation made was to refocus resources and develop them to be more productive with commissioners to improve the provision of mental health care in prisons. There was also a nod to the benefits of a more purposeful regime and environment as an enabler and pathway to improved mental health, resonating with the recommendations and findings of the Gladstone Committee (1895).

Building upon the evidenced disparity in mental health prisoner and general populations, Bradley (2009: 7) suggested that achieving the government-mandated policy of 'equivalence' between mental health services for prisoners and those mental health services in community settings was lacking and that there was a considerable gap to bridge in this regard. Equivalence was not a new concept as the chapter has documented. However, it was a central concept driving investigations into initiatives to improve prison healthcare and safer custody agenda, with the principle becoming interred into government policy from 1990 and intended to cover policy, standards, and delivery (Exworthy et al., 2012). It is widely acknowledged in contemporary penology that socially excluded factions are historically poor at accessing health provisions, in particular when interacting with "primary care [...] which are in effect the gateway to secondary mental health services" (Bradley, 2009: 11). Prison in-reach teams were the mechanism to deliver and achieve and the principle of equivalence.

Prior to Bradley, Brooker et al., (2009) recognised that despite the policy objective of equivalence, so that standards of care for prisoners with mental health problems are broadly comparable to those in the general population, much more needed to be done to achieve it. Pre-Bradley, the government report *Our Health, Our Care, Our Say* (Department of Health, 2006) contained a range of goals that were to be implemented not just for some groups in society but for the entire population, including offenders. The report proposed several initiatives to address health deficiencies and inequality in socially excluded populations. The Future Vision Coalition (2009: 12) comprising mental health organisations across England and Wales later proposed a ‘vision’ building on these sentiments to support the offender population through overcoming the persistent barriers to social inclusion, improving whole life outcomes of those with mental health problems and improving the entire population’s mental health. The government published its mental health strategy *No Health Without Mental Health* in 2011 (Department of Health), laying out the long-term ambitions for transforming mental health care, namely, more people will have good mental health. This was a lofty ambition indeed and one that does not appear to have materialised tangibly amongst prison populations, who return figures of record levels of mental health issues, self-harm, and suicide.

In fact, scrutiny of a review of the Bradley Report by Durcan et al., (2014) reveals a staggering lack of progression in relation to the recommendations made by the original report and an absence of any tangible improvements as evidenced by the continued deterioration in the mental health of the prisoner population of England and Wales.

The statistics presented earlier surrounding the current levels of mental health issues, self-harm and suicidality portray a clear picture of continued deterioration to record levels, coinciding with the period since the Bradley Report. This creates the logical inference that the same issues undermining poor conditions and failings in our prisons alongside the report's recommendations, delivery of equivalence and the associated interventions and efforts to improve mental health have not been realised, representing an abject failure in line with similar undertakings of yesteryear; that is the real long-term trend.

A key reality that underpins this is that there is not enough expenditure to deliver comparable standards of care for the prison population. It is documented that resources available for prison mental health care are merely a third of the level required to achieve equivalence (Brooker et al., 2009). Funding deficits present an undermining feature to the principle of equivalence and governmental policy to the present day, evidencing it as an enduring failed realisation, with the detrimental impact on mental health being the "violence of austerity" (Bulman, 2019). This violence of austerity spreads beyond just health care in prisons and profound budget and staffing cuts have significantly curtailed an already restrictive prison regime (Mills & Kendall, 2018). Equivalence, however, is not just an initiative or principle of choice in response to mental health issues that prisoners should view as a privilege, it is a fundamental human right, the right to health. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) "endorses the right to the highest attainable standard of health" enshrined in Article 25 (cited in Exworthy et al., 2012: 271).

As such, the fact that equivalence has only been on the policy agenda since 1990 in the UK, alongside the continuing issues that render it unrealised, signifies a violation of prisoners' human rights to health care, whilst the problems that constrain it, until this day, ensure that this human right is not fully realised for prison populations. Lines (cited in Exworthy et al., 2012: 272) argues that standards of equivalence concerning prisoner populations in reality "fall short of human rights obligations and public health needs". This principle concerning prison mental health care to some commentators is now beyond equivalence (Exworthy, 2012: 271). Despite the promise of a standardised approach to prison mental health, a national blueprint has yet to be developed (Durcan et al., 2014). Mental Health has long been ascribed aims, purpose and direction in the penal estate through a raft of policy initiatives yet fails to deliver the results it promises to yield, namely the improved mental health of the prison population. This creates the impression of government making "policy by press release" (Bulman, 2019) and as such our prisons find themselves in the position that they are in today; in the midst of a mental health crisis.

2.7. Prisoners' Lives Matter

The Department of Health report *Closing the Gap* (2014: 4) professes that:

Mental health is moving up the policy agenda across government.

Working together to improve outcomes for people with mental health problems is, therefore, a major policy priority.

It would be interesting to see upon what rung mental health rests on the policy ladder. The evidence presented suggests that it is neither climbing that ladder fast enough nor effectively. Each critical juncture and report calls for a greater awareness of the issues in our prisons, but this should have always been an important consideration. If it had, then there would be no need for the consistent report recommendations for it to be so. Perhaps it is that the level of policy importance hinges on the intricate interplay between public attitudes and sentiment towards punishment, imprisonment, and the political climate. After all, the focus and developments charted in relation to the mental health of prisoners, and indeed prisons themselves, either stem from or rely upon the mobilisation of public opinion, which was demonstrated over 100 years ago by a liberal consensus which underpinned the conception of the Gladstone Committee. As Bradley (2009: 9) asserts, “[t]he issues may remain the same, but what has changed over the intervening years is the political and social context”.

This chapter has evidenced that there is a pattern that pervades this entire era of penal work. A range of enduring penal issues malign the penal system in England and Wales, metastasising throughout its institutions. These issues may have differed in their construction, severity, and extent, and have been subject to several reformatory processes with variability in success, yet the fact remains that they are consistently present and, by their very nature, continue to have detrimental effects on prisoners. Bradley (2009: 9) perhaps expresses best the position evidenced regarding mental health in the England and Wales penal system when he notes that, “[it] is hard to believe that what was relevant [...] years ago is just as relevant today and that we are still struggling to resolve the same problems”.

Prisons are under increasing pressure, making it more challenging to manage prisoner mental health and wellbeing. Reduced resources, restricted regimes, and outdated and ageing facilities all affect mental health and wellbeing in custodial settings. These issues arguably culminate in immense distress for prisoners. They also evidence the “corrosive and demanding nature of imprisonment” (Liebling, 1999). This exposes what Giddens (1984) terms a state of ‘ontological insecurity’ that can swamp an individual’s psychological coping mechanisms.

The charted efforts that have been previously made to genuinely improve outcomes relating to suicide prevention, safety and decency are being eroded by austere conditions (Crewe & Liebling, 2017). However, just like the Gladstone Committee were not deterred by the issues the prison system was besieged by, many criminal justice actors have not either. As such, there has been a continued quest to improve the condition of our prisons and the issues they face as well as the mental health and wellbeing outcomes for the prison population. The reports covered in this chapter are the foundation, and pave the way for new approaches to the next stage of reform, through re-configured penal power. Whilst these reports recognise conditions and dynamics in prison that underpin the poor mental health and wellbeing of those imprisoned, it is key to acknowledge that what has been introduced to address these has not worked. In recent times, there has been a clamour for more innovative and progressive intervention across the prison estate, with one of the most recent advances centring around the re-configuration of penal power, with power-sharing initiatives

between staff and prisoners being employed to 'bridge the gap' and produce better offender outcomes, especially in relation to mental health.

The next chapter considers the emergence of peer support within prisons. Based on the premise of delivering support for prisoners, by prisoners, this intervention has become an increasingly important development in the quest to deliver improved mental health and wellbeing outcomes to those who are imprisoned.

Chapter 3: Pain and Power

[...] in examining the pains of imprisonment as they exist today, it is imperative that we go beyond the fact that severe bodily suffering has long since disappeared as a significant aspect of the custodian's regime, leaving behind a residue of apparently less acute hurts such as the loss of liberty, the deprivation of goods and services, the frustration of sexual desire and so on. These deprivations or frustrations of the modern prison may be the acceptable or unavoidable implications of imprisonment, but we must recognise that they can be just as painful as the physical maltreatment which they have replaced. Such attacks on the psychological level are less easily seen than a sadistic beating, a pair of shackles on the floor, or the caged man on a treadmill, but the destruction of the psyche is no less fearful than bodily affliction.

(Sykes, 1958: 64)

As documented in the previous chapter, as punishment evolved in society, there was a shift from punishment that inflicted physical harm and death to one that punished the soul and the psychological wellbeing of those convicted (Shammas, 2017). This chapter argues that whilst contemporary society has largely seen the replacement of physical forms of punishment, in the form of public spectacle and overt coercion, through the softening of penal power the effects of imprisonment continue to impose a range of pains and suffering, culminating in psychological distress (Sykes, 1958; Crewe, 2011a). The chapter will also demonstrate that, despite efforts to improve the penal system over time, prison remains "a mechanism for legitimated pain delivery" (Carlen, 1994: 136). Significantly, there are certain stages of a sentence of imprisonment where this pain of imprisonment is experienced more profoundly, such as reception into custody. Pain at this juncture has a considerable effect upon adaptation to prison life (Sapsford,

1983; Liebling, 1999, Crewe et al., 2017. Liebling (1995: 183) asserts that research shows a “clear link between the pain of imprisonment and harm”.

This chapter firstly introduces the notion of power, which is key to this thesis. There has been a transition from hard to soft power in the prison system; as such, psychological power has replaced the overt coercive application of power, with this raft of psychological assessments and paperwork existing alongside an increased responsibilisation of prisoners, which causes further pain. This is not a physical pain inflicted deliberately but rather one that is an iatrogenic outcome (Bowling, 2011) of this new application of power in contemporary prisons. It considers the points of convergence and divergence between Foucault and Elias (Foucault, 1977; Spierenburg, 2004) and the intrinsic nature of power and pain. Power is the central theme that diffuses through the institution and mechanisms of the institution.

The chapter secondly explores Syke’s seminal work, *The Society of Captives* (1958), which outlined five identified core pains of imprisonment that are the source of distress to prisoners, namely the deprivation of liberty, goods and service, security, autonomy, and heterosexual relationships. However, in the years since, the penal landscape has continued to change and Syke’s framework has been expanded to reflect the more distinct psychological pain of contemporary imprisonment. Secondly, the chapter considers Crewe’s (2011a) conceptual framework surrounding the contemporary pains of imprisonment and asserts that, although there has been a shift in the enactment of punishment across the penal estate in England and Wales, the pain of imprisonment has not disappeared. In fact, the enduring issues of imprisonment, outlined in the

previous chapter, are symbolic of an ever-evolving level and construction of squalid, brutal, degrading, and dehumanizing conditions present in prisons. In this vein, the core pains of imprisonment as outlined by Sykes (1958) have now been accompanied by new pains emerging from the reconfiguration of penal power and the operationalisation of the modern prison. Prisoners continue to identify historic pains: deprivation of liberty, misuse of staff authority, diminished family ties, institutional thoughtlessness (Crawley, 2005) and the “crushing of emotional existence” (Jewkes, 2005a). Yet the contemporary reconfiguration of penal power, characterized by greater autonomy and self-governance, has merely added greater complexity to the experience of prisoner frustration and suffering.

Thirdly, the chapter considers contemporary pains that are associated specifically with the entry and adaption to prison and prison life, especially open prison. Foucault identified mechanisms of imprisonment as an attack on the soul and psyche of the prisoner, and this is explored by Crewe (2011a: 522) through the concept of tightness to explore how penal power “does not so much weigh down on prisoners and suppress them as wrap them up, smother them and incite them to conduct themselves in a particular way”. The prison system may have evolved, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, yet pain still remains intrinsic to punishment and imprisonment. The evolution of the system has changed the extent and prevalence of historic pains and spawned a wave of contemporary pains with their effects underpinning ever-increasing declines in the mental health and wellbeing of those subjected to it.

3.1. Power

According to Matthews (2014: 43) “every facet of law and order is infused with power...from the interpersonal to the structural, power operates at every level”. Power here is as defined by Wrong (2017: 2) to be “the capacity of some persons to produce intended and foreseen effects on others”. Prison is an institution which typifies and illustrates the complex entanglement of power relations embedded within its walls. Foucauldian theory (1975) is founded on interest in the different ways that power manifests itself and its impact upon attitudes and actions. It conceptualises power as embodied within the creation and operation of the modern prison and those within it (Matthews, 2014). Elias (1984: 251) states:

In fact, what we call power is an aspect of a relationship, of every human relationship. It has something to do with the fact that people as groups or as individuals can withhold or monopolize what others need- food, love, meaning, protection from attack (security) as well as knowledge and some other things.

In this sense, prison is therefore the monopolization of what others need, which feeds into the deprivation thesis offered by Sykes (1958), all of which combine to contribute to diminish wellbeing of those who are imprisoned.

Discussion of prison and power would be incomplete without an acknowledgement of Foucault. This thesis agrees with the proposition, however, that Elias is just as relevant and important and, rather than existing separately to one another, their theorisation

can be reconciled to evidence hybrid theory of re-configured penal power and punishment. The first convergence between Foucault and Elias is that they both agree with the proposition that power is everywhere, and both postulate the omnipresence of the phenomena of power (Spierenburg, 2004).

The prison system in England and Wales evidences two distinct constructions of power, 'hard and soft.' As aforementioned, just as punishment has evolved in its construction and enactment, so too has its primary mechanism, the prison. Crewe (2009; 2011b) argues there is hard power, synonymous with historic prison practices and often aligned with coercion and conditions of brutality, degradation, and austerity with attempts to create an overt culture of fear, to be punitive and dehumanising. The shift from these practices - just like those in punishment more generally since the 18th century which Foucault (1977) claimed was illustrative of incarceration as a punishment of the soul and no longer primarily the body can also be said to be indicative of forming what Elias would term a civilizing process. Here, Elias' carving of the meat illustration can be invoked as an analogy. There used to be the spectacle of carving the meat in front of guests at the dinner table, but over time this spectacle was rendered as a distasteful insult to civilised sensibility. The carving doesn't stop however, as people still eat meat. Rather the distasteful is removed to behind the scenes of social life. This can be applied to power and pain. There is no longer the meting out of hard power in overt, physical, and brutal, degrading pain in front of the eyes of the public and prison population. This is now unpalatable. However, pain is still inflicted. Power is instead veiled with pain being administered covertly and in psychological forms. So here the theorisations of Foucault, that power has changed in its form, resonates with Elias' theorisation.

Whilst prisons have moved from their historic position of hard power, in the contemporary system different security category prisons evidence differing applications of power. The prison system today has been characterized by a reconfigured penal power to one based on 'soft power' and the open prison of today is without doubt the most extreme and illustrative example of such a power application. This soft power is actioned through a range of policies and procedures that emphasise the prisoner self-regulating their behaviour and taking on the responsibility of doing so, alongside the responsibility to drive the addressing of their offending behaviour, being pro-social members of the prison environment and community, and being accountable for their failings in achieving these elements. As Alford (2000: 141-142) argues, "we should not, however, confuse the decentralization of power with the transformation of power". The decentralized power applied is not necessarily more subtle, just much less visible. As Foucault (1977: 308) states, "the most important effect, perhaps of the carceral system [...] is that it makes the power to punish appear natural and legitimate, at least to lower the threshold of tolerance for penalty". Inter alia, the monolithic structure of power constantly punishes, and everyone thinks it is normal.

3.2. Sykes' Pains of Imprisonment (1958)

Lying somewhere between the total annihilation of the offender on one hand and warning or forgiveness on the other, imprisonment is generally viewed as the appropriate consequence of most serious crimes. (Sykes, 1958: 9)

It is in this sense the prison is symbolic of the application of state power to punish and exclude. Prior to this assertion by Sykes, there had been a number of commentators that had identified the negative impact of imprisonment and its imposition of social and material pains on those housed within them. Dickens (1842/1883: 678-9) for example, lamented the effects of confinement as “cruel and wrong” and recognised that isolation and deprivation fuelled anxiety and despair amongst prisoners, whilst Mayhew (1862: 127) spoke of the “intense misery” resulting from being “hemmed in by four white walls”. Such characterisations of the profound detrimental impact upon the mental health and wellbeing of those imprisoned are further reflected in a range of evidence and findings of the reports into the prison, discussed in chapter 2.

Sykes (1958) recognised the value in understanding prison life, an institution that was often shrouded in secrecy and hard to access and evaluate. This was especially important during an era of supposed enlightenment, when changes to the aims of imprisonment and its operation were introduced with a limited understanding of their outcome for prisoners. This lack of understanding in the face of change is something that has endured throughout the past 100 years. Sykes, however, was able to offer a framework that illustrated how the prison institution applied their power toward the prisoner. In doing so, he was able to define the experience of imprisonment and the impact it had on the prisoner subjected to it. He did so through five deprivations that he argued characterised prison life, referred to as ‘The Pains of Imprisonment.’ In doing so, Sykes (1958: 64) acknowledged that the “deprivations or frustrations of the modern prison may indeed be the acceptable or unavoidable implications of imprisonment, but we must recognize the fact that they can be just as painful as the physical maltreatment

which they have replaced". These deprivations and frustrations in the prison environment threaten the prisoners' sense of self and self-efficacy. The issues surrounding incarceration, including those described in the previous chapter, consistently exhibited across the penal estate and distinctive to the penal environment, were the combining factors that determined prison culture and how it is experienced. For Sykes and subsequently Goffman (1961), the prison was a system that was a largely autonomous monolith, cut off from the outside wider society. Goffman (1961) viewed the prison as a total institution where a cohort of people, sharing same characteristics and cut off from society, lived together in an enclosed and prescribed way of life.

This chapter now considers each of the five pains of imprisonment developed by Sykes (1958). The primary deprivation on the prisoner that Sykes described was the *removal and restriction of liberty*. Coyle (1994: 27) indicates the profoundly negative impact of this deprivation when he notes that "losing one's liberty is one of the most traumatic experiences an individual is likely to ever undergo". However, this restriction of liberty is not just the incapacitation of a person by placing them in prison. This is just one element of the process. There is a raft of further measures within the prison that re-enforce the loss of liberty, such as cellular accommodation and military style movements around the prison. The deprivation of liberty erodes the ties binding family and friends, serving to challenge the support network of the imprisoned individual, often as a result of institutional security and logistical difficulties, associated with sending and receiving written conversations, making telephone calls and the ability to receive visits and how they are enacted. Although many prisons have procedures and policies in place for such routine aspects of day-to-day life to facilitate them, they

remain restrictive and dilute the benefits of these methods. Calls are monitored, mail is vetted, visits are dehumanized, with an inability to touch and feel loved ones meaningfully. This deprivation is often experienced most acutely by those in custody for the first time, and this can be extended to those transitioning between prisons as a related aspect (HMIP, 2015).

The second deprivation is the *deprivation of goods and services*. Sykes (1958) observed that prisoners will inevitably experience material deprivation and restriction, whether that be tobacco, alcohol, a varied diet alongside individualised clothing, furnishings, and privacy. Arguably societal cultures, especially in the contemporary Western world, place a great degree of importance on material goods and they have a strong interaction with a person's identity and feelings of self-worth. They also serve as a symbol of status and their deprivation serves to diminish the sense of self. As such the revocation of being able to purchase, hold or enjoy such goods and services is highlighted as the source of profound loss to the individual and is symbolic of a corrosive attack upon the individual's personality and psyche. Furthermore, this deprivation and the replacement of some goods and services with those that are provided through the institution serve to compound the detachment of the self from the outside world.

Sykes provided a third deprivation, being that of *heterosexual relationships*. Whilst the principle of deprivation is valid, Sykes did not recognise the deprivation as one that could be ascribed to homosexual prisoners, and he argued that the deprivation of heterosexual relations created "latent homosexual tendencies" (Shammas, 2017).

However, there is the notion that enforced celibacy could cause psychological distress and therefore, given the evolution of society and culture, this pain is expanded to include all sexual relationships across sexual orientations. Enforced celibacy experienced during imprisonment, according to Sykes, was a source of tension and anxiety, and also clouded the individual's sense of self image and identity. When considering the effect on identity, Sykes describes that such aspects of prison are part of a process that question "an important component of a man's self-conception – his status as a male" (1958: 71).

Sykes fourth pain is the *deprivation of autonomy*, which can also include a restriction to the level of control that a prisoner can exert over a situation to which they are subjected. The rules and regulations that prisoners are subjected to erode the most basic decisions that one makes about when and what to eat, when they can move and to where, and even extends to controlling their bodily functions (Sykes, 1958). For Sykes, the harm stemming from a lack of autonomy enacted through forced acts of deference reduced prisoners to what Shammass (2017) later recognised as a "childlike state", again interacting with diminished identity. In this sense the prisoner becomes a passive being upon whom things are inflicted. Sykes conveyed that a significant body of prisoners expressed profound frustration at their inability to make decisions and choices due to the institutional constraints, which in turn also gave rise to hostility due to the enforced dependence on the institution. The provision of increased prisoner autonomy in the contemporary prison system does not necessarily mitigate this pain and continues to be cited as a source of psychological distress amongst prisoners. The complex nature of autonomy is further explored later in the chapter.

The final and potentially most impacting pain for those entering and transitioning into prison settings is the *deprivation of security*. The prison system is one portrayed in media and discourse as one that is synonymous with violence, bullying, threatening behaviour, and sexual assault and this is often against a backdrop of substance use and dependence in these environments, which underpins insecurity and such acts. In the prison system of England and Wales there are consistently and commonplace reported highs in violent acts within prison with prisoners in close quarters, whether sharing cells or in other prison activities, with those with complex needs and with histories of violent and aggressive behaviours (Shammas, 2017). As Sykes argues, such conditions are a prominent source of anxiety and distress amongst prisoners, promoting fear and ontological insecurity. Attacking the prisoner's sense of self and identity, the notion of fight or flight becomes a part of the prisoner thought process when assessing and navigating a range of interactions that take place in day-to-day life, causing intense stress.

Goffman (1961) built upon Sykes' pains, by demonstrating how the institution removed the prisoner from life as s/he knew it and the outside world. This process of deconstructing the prisoner's identity involved the issuing of numbers as identification, prison uniforms, the removal of contact with the outside world and the altering of physical appearance. As such, like Sykes, the materials for the adaptation of the prisoner could be found solely inside the walls of the institution, given the deprivations that had been enacted. Sykes argued that the pain of imprisonment, although obviously profound, can however be substantially reduced by social interaction, a notion

particularly key when considering the role of peer support in supporting prisoner adaptation to prison.

Whilst Sykes' (1958) work remains prominent as the founding conceptualisation of the issues underpinning distress in prisoners, even in today's prisons, the penal landscape is one that is ever evolving. As such, Sykes' framework is also one that, by default, requires adaptation and expansion. The previous chapter emphasised the changing nature of the penal system over time. It also stressed that such change should not necessarily be associated with outcomes of success. That said, the contemporary prison estate in England and Wales is one that has nonetheless changed with this reconfiguration. As Toch (1977, cited in Johnson & Toch, 1982: 18) states, despite the vast extent of the pains that Sykes describes:

...it has become increasingly obvious that the pains of imprisonment are not uniform or constant. Different personal needs shared by prisoners, in turn produce different perceptions of prison environments and different reactions to imprisonment. One man's (or woman's) meat can indeed be another's poison; Prisons possess diverse ecologies and house diverse populations; transactions of prisoners make for a complex mosaic of stress and adaptation.

Emanating from the changes in the penal system are changes in the extent to which the pains identified by Sykes are experienced, but also to a range of contemporary pains which go beyond the confines of Sykes' foundation. According to Newman (1978:

269), punishment has “evolved from a wide range of horrendous punishments to a form today where the range of punishments is extremely narrow”. He advances that the psychological conditions of prison are “far better today than at any other time in history” and further states that psychological punishment is far less common today, with a shift away from the “severe psychological punishments verging on psychological torture”. However, when considering the contemporary pains of imprisonment and the concept of tightness, this is clearly not the case. It is to these contemporary pains of imprisonment which this chapter now turns.

3.3. Revisiting the Pains of Imprisonment: a contemporary insight

As established, the infliction of pain is no longer an explicit aim of punishment. Indeed, reform and enlightenment have made efforts to improve the experience of imprisonment. However, pain is very much omnipresent across the prison estate, and it is this pain and frustration that has emerged iatrogenically, as an unintended consequence (Bowling, 2011) from the institutional policies and techniques of contemporary penal power. It exists alongside their historic counterparts, albeit different in origin, impact and feel. This is illustrated when considering the typology of the total institution advanced by Goffman (1961) and in place during Sykes’ theorisation. It is not one that can be wholly applied to the open prison estate, where individuals are no longer cut off from wider society or in a fully formal administered way of life, by virtue of both working and having home releases into the community amongst a culture of self-governance within the prison.

Crewe (2011a) identifies three categories of the contemporary pains of imprisonment that have arisen from the ashes of historic applications of hard power and the transition to perceived soft power: i) the pains of uncertainty and indeterminacy; ii) psychological assessment; and iii) self-government. All are mutually re-enforcing, entangled, and experienced acutely in the open prison estate.

i) The Pains of Uncertainty and Indeterminacy

Whilst Crewe considers uncertainty and indeterminacy together, given the deleterious and often more profound impact of what he describes as the tyrannical nature of the indeterminate sentence upon the experience of imprisonment, this chapter delineates them and considers uncertainty as a concept situated across sentence types and lengths. Indeed, many of the ideas presented are transferable across these elements.

Those imprisoned, irrespective of sentence, face uncertainty and anxiety about what the future holds, all the while existing in a present that is riddled with insecurity, stemming from how they are governed. Crewe argues that penal power has been reconfigured, in that it has softened, especially evident in the increased responsabilisation of prisoners in the open prison estate, who are in the lowest security conditions and in the reintegration phase of their sentence. This responsabilisation can be confusing for prisoners, especially as more coercive and overt displays of power co-exist alongside it, resulting in the simultaneous operation of soft and hard power, the ambiguity apparent. Hard power looms in the shadows should it be required through non-compliance by the prisoner, and the knowledge of this threat and lack of knowledge as to when it will be applied adds to confusion surrounding boundaries. The

cumulative effect of this is a level of uncertainty that perpetuates ontological insecurity (Giddens, 1984), resulting in poor mental health outcomes (Crewe, 2011a). Crewe raises issues for indeterminate sentenced prisoners which are applicable to other sentenced prisoners. These include prison staff being unable to provide accurate information regarding sentence planning, conditions and progress, leaving prisoners “in a fog of uncertainty about the basic terms of their captivity” (Crewe, 2011a: 515). When this is considered together with greater self-governance that encourages more responsabilisation from prisoners in the open prison estate, it results in the dual impact of staff either unable to help or not willing or operationalised to help.

Crewe discusses the unpredictable nature of penal power and observes that this creates significant insecurities. This is intensified in the open prison, whereby prisoners describe themselves as ‘treading on eggshells. They run the risk, after years of enduring the many issues within the prison estate and navigating the system, of this progress to be suddenly undermined if they are removed from the open prison for any actual or perceived indiscretions. In fact, Crewe describes prisoners as presenting that they are being set up to fail, with minor mistakes being viewed by the institution as more indicative of risk than the aforementioned years of hard work and good behaviour and, in the case of open prison, to get to the point that they find themselves in the lowest security conditions. This unpredictability is further exacerbated by inconsistencies in the way that rules, regulations, and regime are implemented. A direct outcome of the softening of penal power results in prisoners stating that they do not know where they stand in interactions with staff (Crewe, 2011a; 2011b). In sum, the softening of penal

power has resulted in greater inconsistency and a lack of reliability, both of which impact negatively on the prisoner experience of imprisonment.

ii) The Pains of Psychological Assessment

The contemporary prison system is one that has embedded the field of psychology into its core function being described as “never being more influential” (Thomas-Peter, 2006). The role of psychology is one that infuses the institutional practices of the prison, especially in the open prison estate. In this environment, risk assessments and psychological assessment are central to any decision, such as whether or not to grant release on temporary license into the community, whether that be for resettlement day and overnight release for work, education, training and maintenance of family ties. The role of psychological assessment is a key element of recategorization decisions and also in the identification, delivery and review of prisoner offending behaviour programmes; programmes intrinsically linked to prisoner progression through the system. Psychological assessment is “done to them” (Attrill & Liel, 2007) under the guise of protecting the public, especially in the open prison estate, rather than to explore their self-identity.

As such, prison psychology to Crewe (2009) has morphed from an offering to alleviate psychological distress amongst the prison population to “a primary role as the providers of expert risk assessment” (Maruna, 2011: 672). The forms and processes of such psychological assessment in a penal world dominated by risk management are omnipresent in the lived experience of the prisoner and act as a powerful tool in

determining their future, with the wielding of this psychological power often creating psychological distress to prisoners. The role of psychology in the penal world can also attack and erode an individual's sense of self and identity. As Crewe (2011a: 515) argues, "subjective understanding, intricacy and ambiguity of identity, and the social context of identity and enacting identity are not fully encapsulated by the psychological categories used in assessing prisoners". It is often said that the pen is mightier than the sword and this is apparent in the experience of prisoners who regularly express the perception that psychological reports, and prison reports more generally, are subjective.

Crewe (2011a) recognises prisoners as perceiving reports as taking interactions out of context, with little awareness of humanity, compassion and that prisoner actions, behaviours and identity are not facile. The reports are too often carried out by staff and viewed with wariness and cynicism due to the detached nature in which they are enacted, and in the demographic of those enacting them. These are often trainee psychologists, young, female and middle class and often appearing as dispassionate and unwilling or unable to engage meaningfully to establish a relationship with the prisoner, which all serve to amplify the prisoner scepticism of them and their motives (Crewe, 2011a). Prisoners are aware that these comments have no expiration date and the fact that they can rear their head, many years down the line, and still be to the detriment of a prisoner's progression, is a constant source of anxiety and pressure. As a result, this will divert prisoners away from engaging with psychological services and staff about their mental health issues and concerns and internalise them for fear of providing information that could be documented and utilised to the detriment of their

progression. Such comments can also shape staff perceptions of the prisoner, with interactions between them being based on the subjective accounts of others, rather than an understanding of the individual based on a balanced set of interactions over time. Prisoners have self-perceptions of the multi-faceted identity that they hold, yet too frequently the prisoner identity is a formal and institutionalised one (Crewe, 2011a; 2011b) and overwhelmed by psychological attributions. This serves to diminish the human aspect of identity and dehumanises the prisoner. It can be argued that psychological discourse smothers the opportunity for the prisoner to enact their identity, forcing them to adopt a 'shadow self' of identity that 'ticks the boxes' and satisfies psychological assessment in order to progress through the system. What is apparent is that psychological practices in the penal estate are an expression of power. Although not overtly oppressive and coercive, they perpetuate a range of harmful effects upon the lived experience of the prisoner, being deeply intrusive and distorting the individual's sense of self.

iii) The Pains of Self-Government

The reconfiguration of penal power across the England and Wales estate has seen a shift in governance and control in prisons, to Foucauldian notions of self-regulation. Whereas prisoners have historically been exposed to overt oppressiveness which regulates, restricts, and deprives their autonomy, there is now a softer approach devoid of physical institutional oversight, especially in the open prison estate. In the prison system today, the prisoner is given a greater level of autonomy and encouraged to exercise their free will, choice and to actively take and bear the responsibility for their future (Rose, 2000), which is known as responsibilisation. In an open prison the

level of autonomy is far greater than in a closed prison. Here, the onus to successfully navigate the prison becomes the responsibility of prisoners, rather than that of staff interaction and direction driving progression and day to day activities. The transition from closed to open prison institutions is a source of great anxiety and insecurity amongst prisoners. As such, this research study is a key tool to determine whether interactions and initiatives to assist prisoners in the transitional stages of custody are effective in navigating this difficulty.

One issue is that prisoners may actively resent this responsibility, as the boundaries between prisoners and staff become delineated and blurred (Crewe, 2011a). As opposed to being issued orders and directions to follow, both historically and in the closed prison estate, prisoners are now having to direct and manage themselves, their actions, and their time in the open estate. The failure to govern themselves correctly will inevitably result in consequences and Crewe (2011a: 519) astutely observes that this results in a shift from prisoners being “objects of discipline and an agent of one’s own incarceration”. This leads to heightened anxiety and fear as the role of being a prisoner carries the weight of this responsibility. As such, rather than fear the actions of staff, prisoners fear the actions and behaviours of themselves. This makes imprisonment more demanding as these “weak and lonely individuals, subject to an enforced dependency on their custodians”, migrate from this lack of agency (Mathieson, 1965). A further concern is that some prisoners do not have the skills to adapt to this level of autonomy or take time to adapt, which is understandable given that prisoners most likely will have spent prolonged periods in higher security closed prisons, where regime and control are more prescribed and directed. Placing such men

into conditions where what is appropriate is more loosely defined creates tense and fearful prisoners tiptoeing through their day-to-day life, cowering from the looming threat of a punishment.

3.4 Transition Specific Pains

Context is important and as debates surrounding Sykes' work have continued, a further range of pains have been identified that go beyond both Sykes' and Crewe's theorisations. Such pains can be applied to differing types and contexts of 'custody' and 'imprisonment.' Given the focus of this thesis towards the open prison estate, this chapter now considers a further five additional pains of imprisonment; *entry shock*, *fear of the unknown*, *lack of social support*, *physical environment* and *fear and nervousness about release* (Jones, 2007) which are directly experienced by those in the open estate transferring and transitioning.

Entry shock is described as "the turmoil individuals face during their initial period of incarceration when they enter the criminal justice system" (Jones, 2007: 22). This notion is often applied to those making their initial entry to custody from their status of liberty. The shock element is due to the suddenness of this transition and is particularly evident through the high levels of self-harm and suicide, underpinned by elevated anxiety and stress that prisoners experience in the early stage of admission. (Blaauw et al., 1998; Ingram et al., 1997). However, it is argued that this is also experienced for those transferring between institutions. Prisoners go through a reception process when entering prison which signifies the start of a number of "abasements, degradations, humiliations and profanations" (Goffman, 1961: 23).

Although this may be experienced more acutely upon initial entry into custody, the prisoner will have to go through this process of mortification as they progress through the system on arrival at every prison they arrive at. Goffman (1961) finds that this process is the source of acute psychological stress for the prisoner. Goffman's work can be further extended to transferring and transitioning into a new establishment, as, arguably, revisiting this process will reactivate this stress. This is due to it disrupting the prisoner's adaptation to the penal world and returning them to a position of liminality whereby they are overwhelmed by the introduction of a new regime and new surroundings detached from their comfort zone (Caird, 1974).

Jewkes & Laws (2020 : 4) assert that it takes "time to become accustomed to, and a common narrative [...] that confinement could be emotionally turbulent, especially during the early stages, when a liminal 'state of being' meant the subject moving through a period of instability or chaos, to one of tolerance or even transformation and reinvention". 'Liminality' has enduring legacies in the anthropological conceptualisations. It was first used by Arnold van Gennep in 1909. But it wasn't until Van Gennep's work was translated into English (Van Gennep: 1960) and Victor Turner (1967) borrowed and modified his ideas. As a sociologically valuable notion, "liminality" refers to the middle stage of any ritual process that can be decanted into three analytically distinct stages and during which a person transitions from one social position to another. Wels et al., (2015) surmise that during the middle phase of this process, the individuals involved are described being 'no longer' and simultaneously also 'not yet'. It is thus an ambiguous phase; liminal personae are "neither here nor

there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial” (Turner 1969: 95).

This can be associated with a differing pain, the *fear of the unknown* (Jones, 2007). Again, this is experienced most acutely during the initial stages of any element of the criminal justice system, when levels of uncertainty are at their peak. In its simplest form, it is often caused by a distinct lack of information and awareness about the individual’s situations and surroundings, and it is especially evident when transferring and adapting to a new institution, regime, and conditions. Here, the apprehensive prisoner becomes overwhelmed and the uncertainty continues when going beyond the institution and factoring in the prisoner concerns about family, friends, and support. This all serves to increase stress amongst the prisoner and this fear will accompany them throughout custody, especially when considering the idea that prisoners are objects to whom prison is done with little to no agency in the decision-making processes that shape how custody is experienced.

A further pain of relevance is a *loss of social support* (Jones, 2007). This is not to be considered in the context of detachment from the outside world due to institutional demands and barriers. Rather, this is considered in the context of the open prison whereby those prisoners transferring to the new prison are removed from the support networks and relationships that they have developed over time with other prisoners. Just as relationships with the outside world are severed with separation from family and communication limited, the same then occurs in the penal world amongst peers when they transfer. Loss of support in this sense is linked to suicidal behaviour and self-

harm (Liebling, 1999) and can have devastating effects on the ability of the prisoner to navigate the new penal environment.

An often-overlooked pain is the experience of the *physical environment* (Jones, 2007); not only of the prison itself, but also an appreciation of how the prisoner is transported to their new establishment. Of course, there are the enduring austere and squalid conditions that prisoners live in throughout the estate, yet the exposure to these in open prison is much more limited due to the amount of time out of cell and away from the physical confines of the prison. What is of concern is that prisoner transportation vehicles, also known in the prison vernacular as ‘sweat boxes’, are associated with being cramped, claustrophobic, oppressive and unrelenting in their condition, which is distressing for the prisoner (Caddle, 1995; Howard League, 2001). The prison escort vehicle is a compartmentalised bus of cells, a human cattle truck, with observation panels, no seat belts, no toilet facilities except for a urine bag that must be requested by the prisoner from the staff, with the prisoner then urinating in the bag in their ‘pod’; an additional dehumanising element. The negative experiences of the prison bus arguably underpin suicide and self-harm amongst prisoners after entry or transfer (Howard League, 2001).

The final pain to be considered is that of *fear or nervousness about release* (Jones, 2007), which is an aggressive stressor for those transferring and transitioning to the open prison estate. In addition to the anxiety and uncertainty stemming from the pains discussed so far, the prisoner moving to the open estate also has to contend with the knowledge that they are in the final stage of their sentence, the penal finishing school

if you like – with a range of social interactions and activities to prepare them for release - from where they will be re-integrated into the community. Just as prisoners face elevated stress levels on their entry to prison, they face the same levels of stress on their exit and re-entry into society away from the institution. Thoughts about problems finding employment, how they will maintain, develop, and reconnect family ties alongside how the prisoner will fit back into the social world all become products of a heightened anxiety leading up to release (Paulus & Dzindolet, 1992; Parisi, 1982). Thus, the final stages of imprisonment can be fraught with difficulty, which further distorts prisoners' experience of imprisonment and assaults their sense of place, identity, and mental health.

3.5. Tightness

It is important, therefore, to conceptualise and delineate the pains of imprisonment described in this chapter from other varieties of the penal experience, in order to capture the essence of and difference between them. Arguably, the most appropriate term to characterise the experience of imprisonment, certainly in the context of the open prison estate, is that of 'tightness.' In this conceptualisation institutional power is experienced as a constricting force that envelopes the prisoner subjected to it and one that fuels the prisoner to behave and act in a way that is welcomed by the institution. Crewe (2011a: 522) describes this power as working as an "invisible harness", recognising its elusive yet looming presence, which underpins self-regulation of the prisoner with this application of power. Alford (2000: 140) muses that "[t]he ruler still rules, but he rules underground" and astutely observes that, "moved to the margins and rendered more invisible, power has not therefore become more subtle". This is

arguably the case when considering the reconfiguration of power in the prison system. This tightness is evident in this context through the psychological assessment, risk assessment and responsibilisation described and the accountability that it brings. As such, these maintain a vice-like hold over prisoners, reducing them “to instruments of wilful, omnipresent, and all-pervading force: power” (Franke, 1995: 294). In the open prison estate, as discussed, there are a range of very pertinent aspects resulting in pain. The conditions of the open prison, which demand self-regulation due to low levels of staffing and minimal security alongside the ‘end stage’ of the prisoner’s sentence, mean that tightness has a deep entanglement with the fear and insecurity that prisoners have of transitioning to different penal status, to that of an ex-prisoner being released, or being returned to a higher security prison. These negative dimensions of tight forms of power are revealed when prisoners fail to subject themselves to the level required by the institution in relation to rules, regulations, and self-discipline. The tightness looms over them, waiting in the wings as a form of hard power that ringfences the purported softer strategy and construction of the open prison.

Crewe & Levins (2020: 3) further argue that this tightness therefore induces prisoners, who are subjected to a ‘disciplinary gaze’, to exercise self-control from the conditions of autonomy and freedom in the prison. Open prisons are ‘loose and lax,’ as well as ‘tight,’ with both soft and hard power in play. Embedded within a system fraught with deficiency and inconsistency, such a toxic combination continues to have a detrimental impact on those subjected to it.

The methods of delivering pain have changed in location from physical to psychological; however, the power behind them remains diffuse. As Alford (2000: 139) argues, “prisons [...] represent not pain that originates at the margins, but power that has been moved to the margins from the centre, whilst losing none of its centrality”.

3.5. Power is still Power

Stress is an important feature of prison life, and indeed may be the central feature of prison life as it is experienced by prisoners themselves. Stress can contaminate programs, undermine adjustment efforts, and leave a residue of bitterness and resentment among inmates. It can make prison a destructive and destabilising institution; to ignore stress is to relegate prisons to the business of warehousing spoiled (and spoiling) human resources. Stress must be controlled if prisons are to become environments in which the work of corrections, in any sense of the word, can take place.

(Johnson & Toch, 1982: 20).

Although over 60 years old, Sykes’ work has provided the blueprint for an appreciation and understanding of the pain associated with prisoner experience of imprisonment. Whilst it is applicable to a range of contexts, it remained nonetheless narrow in its reach and has now been extended beyond its original remit to address a range of other pains associated with imprisonment indicative of the modern prison. A review of the literature has revealed that power in prison is experienced as less heavy and hard than it was historically and as much less authoritarian in nature. These newer pains contribute to imprisonment across the open estate as being ‘tight,’ with the ‘soft’ psychological power wielded over prisoners, leaving them feeling as though they are in a state of perpetual uncertainty and it is “at the psychological level that imprisonment is a painful, depriving and destructive experience” (Morris & Morris, 1963: 183). Being

imprisoned is less directly and overtly oppressive, but more vice-like. The literature reviewed in this chapter evidences the prison as an institution that is still synonymous with pain. In fact, it can be argued that, as the system has evolved, it has contributed to the creation and exacerbation of a wider range of pain for those within it and suggests that Johnson & Toch's (1982) warning has not been observed. Pain has not been eliminated in the prison of today. Rather, it has merely morphed into a different construction that attacks the prisoner in a different way to its predecessors. Those who do not adjust easily to these pains are likely to find imprisonment a difficult experience. Liebling (1995: 183) argues strongly that research demonstrates a "clear link between the pain of imprisonment and harm", with the current state of our prisons today as discussed in the previous chapter, record levels of self-harm and suicide offering the starkest illustration of that relationship.

Johnson & Toch (1982) state that sometimes the destructive process emanating from the pain of imprisonment "occurs in the presence of peers and authorities who choose to do their own time and ignore the suffering and humanity that surround them". However, although power is often associated with coercion and other negative applications in the context of prisons, Foucault (1977, cited in Matthews, 2014: 44) argues that power is simply not "repressive but productive and positive". This is further supported by Lukes (2005) who is critical of commentary and rhetoric equating power with connotations of domination, repression and constraint and actively seeks to reject these notions.

Although power is often associated with coercion and other negative applications and manifestations in the context of prisons, positive outcomes of power can emanate in many ways. However, the evolution of contemporary penal practices, such as power-sharing initiatives, symbolic of a re-configuration of penal power, are steeped in the assumption that “power in prison is inherently bad” (Crewe et al., 2014: 8). They have often been viewed from a perspective riddled with scepticism and the perception that they are sinister in nature and “involving [...] repression, domination and subjection” (McMahon, 1992: 218). This outlook has often served to preclude the fact that coercion is merely one aspect of power relations in prison and is not its essence. Good power, utilised with the intent to produce positive quality of life, safety, and other custodial custody outcomes through power-sharing initiatives - such as the use of peer support schemes and programmes in custodial settings - can achieve positive outcomes. Current safer custody strategies recognise the importance of peer supporters in the custodial environment, with peer support becoming an increasingly prominent facet in the promotion of health and wellbeing and instrumental in reducing suicide and self-harm in custody, as well as supporting the mental health issues of the offender population (Snow & Biggar, 2006; Davies, 1994; Woodall et al., 2015). Providing support to other prisoners in situations that could trigger distress is shown to have favourable impacts upon suicide and self-harm (Davies, 1994; Liebling & Price, 1999). The next chapter explores peer support in the context of imprisonment.

Chapter 4: Peer Intervention

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce peer support in prison, which is the central focus of this thesis. It considers the different constructs of peer support and their characteristics. It then looks at the roots of peer support in wider institutional settings before narrowing the focus to that of the penal setting. It introduces the theoretical foundations of prison-based peer support. It then draws out the use of peer support interventions in England and Wales, firstly considering a passive approach to peer support in contrast to the active approach of Peer-Led Induction. It considers the potential benefits of the use of peers in induction before acknowledging issues that can challenge the effective use of peers in induction.

Given the plentiful mental health issues and manifestations that have already been discussed, a culture of doing more with less has pervaded penal institutions. This has arisen from increasingly austere prison conditions and the potential of power-sharing initiatives to produce positive outcomes on prisoner mental health and wellbeing. With establishments seeking to bridge the gap between staff and their institutions on one side of the divide and offenders on the other, using offender peer support workers and initiatives to deliver positive outcomes – as well as stretch their limited resources further - there is often the mandate to do more with less (Fletcher & Batty, 2012). Peer-based intervention is an umbrella term which covers a range of lateral interventions delivered by and for service users that have grown dramatically within the prison estate.

Peer support is becoming an increasingly important component of the promotion of health and wellbeing, and current safer custody policies recognise its value in the custodial setting. It has been shown to play a significant role in lowering the rate of suicide and self-harm while in detention and aiding the population of offenders who have mental health conditions (Woodall, 2015; Snow & Biggar, 2006; Davies, 1994). Despite variations in their typologies, they all share the premise that, in prison settings, they are recognised as being programmes for inmates by inmates (Ehly & Vazquez, 1998; Kerish, 1975). In custodial settings, induction-related peer support schemes are predominantly identified, recognised, and delivered by Induction Insiders or Induction Peer Support Workers. Inducting prisoners to the policy, procedures and day to day lived regime of the prison establishment has become a prominent aspect of peer support. Many prisoners have complex circumstances. Some feel resentment and anger towards those who represent structures and systems of power that they perceive as having 'cheated' them and as such are resistant to relinquishing these feelings, often expressing them in troubling ways, with verbal and physical violence alongside self-harm and suicide. There is currently the realisation amongst policymakers that such issues compromise engagement with statutory services (Scott & Codd, 2010). As such the experiential knowledge of prisoner peers can legitimise, amplify, and give credence to communication and action by prison staff, which is often rebuffed or lacking impact in the eyes of those imprisoned.

In a Peer-Led Induction, peer mentors provide information, reassurance, and practical support to prisoners in the early days after their arrival at the new establishment. It has been demonstrated that offering such support to other prisoners in circumstances that

could cause suffering has positive effects on the rate of suicide and self-harm (Davies, 1994; Liebling & Price, 1999). Despite the explosion of peer interventions across the prison estate, illustrated by 7% of prisoners said to be involved as peer supporters across England and Wales, there is a lack of large-scale studies of peer interventions (Jarrett, 2018), and a lack of studies more broadly, illustrated by the sparse research that does exist being narrow, compartmentalized, and “largely functional, aiming to evidence reduced reoffending rates” (Buck, 2018: 191) rather than focusing on the nuanced aspect of these interventions in differing contexts and how they work to influence change in those exposed to them.

As there exists differing types of peer intervention which are often used interchangeably, without a nuanced consideration of their differences, this chapter firstly establishes the notion of peer intervention and introduces these differing typologies of Peer Education, Peer Mentoring and Peer Support and reconciles them to provide a working definition of peer intervention for the purpose of the ensuing discussion and thesis. The chapter then moves on to consider the roots of peer intervention and its development institutionally, from its early roots in healthcare, educational and youth service settings, to its rise as an ever-present feature of the penal estate across England and Wales. In doing so it considers the development of penal intervention, especially in the realm of offending behaviour, which has paved the way for a wider range of interventions. It also establishes who and what constitutes a peer in the custodial setting and considers a shift in ethos, from prisoners being seen as passive recipient in the penal institution to an active institutional resource.

The chapter then considers the theoretical underpinnings of peer intervention, and peer induction specifically. It argues that Peer-Led Induction is an entanglement of differing aspects of Social Learning Theory, Social Inoculation Theory and Differential Association Theory. These theoretical positions are drawn on to inform the design and implementation of peer intervention, with variability in the levels of each present dependent on the intervention aims and objectives.

Being such a diffuse concept, power is considered in the context of peer intervention. The chapter considers power as a positive force in custodial settings and that Peer-Led Induction contains a number of power relations that ultimately provide a level of social support. It is this that acts as a 'buffer' from the challenges and difficulties that mentees face, and specifically those in the adaptation to a new prison setting. The chapter moves on to then look at peer interventions in practise in penal settings, focussing on two prominent endeavours representing passive and active models of peer support. Ultimately, peer intervention is about delivering beneficial outcomes for a number of agents and the chapter considers research into the efficacy of peer intervention in prisons. In doing so, it considers the benefits of peer interventions both for individuals and the institution, whilst considering a range of points that reveal a fragile underbelly to peer support that both challenges and threatens the effectiveness of peer support interventions.

4.1. Peer Interventions

There is a breadth of constructs of, and terminologies for, peer interventions and peer workers in custodial settings. Peer Mentor, Peer Educator, Peer Listener, Peer

Supporter and Peer Counsellor are frequently used terms for workers of interventions of those principles. Collectively, peer interventions are described as “complex interventions as there are typically a number of inter-related components both in relation to the preparation, training and supervision of peer workers and in relation to their subsequent role and interactions with the target population” (Woodall et al., 2015: 7). It is, in fact, difficult to delineate these completely as there is significant overlap between them and arguably elements of all can exist within an intervention. As such, there has been significant difficulty in finding a singular encompassing definition of peer intervention with it being “widely acknowledged that no one single definition or model exists, rather a number of different models providing support” (Parsons et al., 2005: 5). It is important therefore, at this juncture, to provide an overview of the three key categories of peer interventions within the prison system.

Peer Education is predominately focussed on the provision of communication, education and skills development, which is an endeavour between prisoners with the desired outcome to increase knowledge and awareness and to influence change in the recipient. Peer Education is typically associated with health promotion and harm reduction surrounding HIV/AIDS, sexual health and injecting practices, with the peer educators having undergone training in the knowledge base and skill to deliver education to the audience.

Peer Mentoring involves establishing a relationship between two individuals, the mentor typically acting as a role model or experiential authority figure who has successfully navigated the path the mentee will soon take and who supports the

development of the mentee. In the prison environment this relationship is often related to goals surrounding effective resettlement, social inclusion, and desistance (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2007). However, research has identified mentoring interventions as also improving mental health outcomes (Perrin, 2017). As well as reinforcing positive attitudes and behaviours, interventions often introduce instrumental support.

Peer Support in prisons involves either social, emotional, or practical support being provided by peer support workers. Peer Support interventions can involve group work or can alternatively be one-to-one, dependent on identified prisoner needs. This support can take the form of counselling, listening, befriending, liaison with staff, and providing information and signposting (Perrin, 2017). Peer Support involves the provision of emotional support to the recipient to allow them to release the stress that they had accumulated. Examples include the Listeners Scheme, a prison suicide prevention scheme present throughout the prison estate and linked to the Samaritans, and the Insiders Scheme, an induction programme for new prisoners entering a custodial establishment. The latter is indicative of this with peer supporters offered elements of “reassurance, information and practical assistance...to new prisoners.” (Perrin, 2017: 13), although it is not necessarily intended to provide emotional support.

This overview provides a scaffold to distinguish differing characteristics of peer intervention models. To reflect this entanglement and also the diversity of these roles and programmes, this thesis refers to them under the umbrella term of peer support interventions and draws on a working definition as involving “the provision of education, support or counselling between individuals who are of equal social status or

who share similar characteristics or who have common experiences” (Woodall et al, 2015). It is to the starting point of peer support that this chapter now turns as it charts the roots and evolution of penal and peer intervention.

4.2. History and Development of Offending Behaviour Programmes

Programmes and interventions in the contemporary prison have historically been directed at eliciting a reduction in re-offending through some form of positive change. This can be social change through welfare provision or at the individual level (Hollin & Palmer, 2006). This rehabilitative ideal, however, was sharply experienced during the 1980's alongside the marked move to the right, and the shift to a 'just deserts' model of administration to those coming into contact with the criminal justice system. This stemmed from a 'nothing works' perspective, with rehabilitative measures seemingly having no effect on recidivism (Lipton et al., 1975). Eliminative measures used at the time, such as short sharp shock prison regimes, were illustrative of this gravitation to more punitive measures. Questions continued to rise about what could be done to rehabilitate prisoners effectively to prevent crime and reduce re-offending. The rise of meta-analysis helped to answer some of these questions as this statistical technique allowed for suggestions about 'what works' in reducing re-offending (Hollin & Palmer, 2006). What the analyses were able to garner were factors for effective offender interventions. These may be cognitive behavioural in nature, structured programmes with specific aims an objective, an elevated level of treatment integrity, delivery by highly trained staff, with prominent levels of organisational support and built in monitoring and evaluation procedures (Hollin & Palmer, 2006: 4).

These have further been developed by Andrews (1995; 2001) who established the 18 principles that underpin effective interventions. Although not an exhaustive list, these are tabled below:

Interventions with offenders should be based on a psychological theory of human behaviour
This theory should have a personality and social learning theory focus to the risk factors for offending
Strategies for intervention should be based on human service, rather than on principles of retribution, restorative justice, or deterrence
Where possible, interventions should take place in the community in natural settings. However, when it is necessary to use custody, these facilities should be as community oriented as possible
Offenders' level of risk of reoffending should be assessed and used as the basis for allocation to services
Offenders' dynamic criminogenic needs- those needs associated with their offending behaviour- should be assessed and used as targets for interventions
Interventions should be multi-modal in nature in that they should target a range of criminogenic needs to reflect the fact that offending is associated with multiple risk factors
Assessment of level of risk and criminogenic needs should be carried out using validated methods
Interventions should have general responsivity and be adapted to take account of the diversity of offenders and their strengths and limitations
Specific responsivity and offenders' strengths and weaknesses should be assessed in a routine manner, using specifically designed tools
Organisational Strategies should be in place to monitor the continuity of service, including provision for relapse prevention work
Organisations should identify areas of practice in which staff may exercise their personal discretion in applying the principles of appropriate service. These areas should be made clear to all staff

Organisations should develop a service-level policy and guidelines for the application of the principles of appropriate service and ensure that it is circulated to all staff
Organizations should set up [procedures to monitor the delivery and integrity of interventions, and for dealing with problems. These procedures should include issues such as staff selection, training, supervision, and recording of monitoring information on service delivery
Managers should have the competencies expected of their staff, plus extensive knowledge and understanding of the principles underpinning interventions. They also need the ability to coordinate procedures associated with programme and site accreditation
At an organisational level, programmatic intervention should be placed within a wider context, with attention paid to differences in local contexts and client groups so as to allow for adaptation of services necessary.

Table 2: Principles of Effective Practice (Hollin & Palmer, 2006: 5-6; Andrews, 2001; 1995)

These principles provide a strong guiding set for the development and implementation of interventions and, as Hollin & Palmer (2006: 6) assert, “provide a basis from which to extend theory, research and practice”. Interventions in prison in the 1990’s gained momentum, underpinned by a clearer notion of what worked and there was now a further focus to ensure action spoke louder than words. Programmes had to demonstrate they employed these principles and that the quality of delivery was high. The answer to ensuring high-quality intervention and delivery integrity was through accreditation and audit.

Offending Behaviour (OB) programmes were now subject to accreditation criteria which clearly set out the benchmark criterion to set standards that programmes would

be designed and evaluated against (Hollin & Palmer, 2006; Thornton, 1996). The Correctional Services Accreditation Panel (CSAP) has a number of duties to:

- Review programme or intervention design and delivery (and make changes if deemed appropriate)
- Accredite programmes
- Authorise audit procedures for delivery
- Authorise the annual assessment of delivery content
- Carry out an annual review of developments in the evidence base and provide advice based on this to inform programme design and development
- Provide advice regarding training
- Receive reports on programme/intervention effectiveness and report the implications (Hollin & Palmer, 2006: 11-12)

There are ten current accreditation criteria for Offending Behaviour Programmes:

Programmes must have a clear model of change
The selection of offenders must be justified
Target a range of dynamic risk factors
Programmes should use effective methods of change
Programmes should be skills oriented
Sequencing, intensity, and duration of treatment should be justified
Attention should be given to the engagement and motivation of offenders taking part in the programme
Continuity of programmes and services within sentence planning
Programmes should show how they will maintain integrity
There should be procedures to allow the continued evaluation of a programme

Table 3: CSAP Accreditation Criteria (Hollin & Palmer, 2006: 12)

Until 2006, the CSAP has evidenced “no shortage of well-developed, accredited programmes in the Prison and Probation Services of England and Wales” (Hollin & Palmer, 2006: 19) and in the years since 1999 has “accredited 27 offending behaviour programmes, recognised or provisionally accredited four programmes, one integrated system, and a model for a prison therapeutic community” (ibid: 19).

Despite the focus on Offending Behaviour, and programmes that target specific offenders or offences, within a dominant discourse and relentless targeting of re-offending, many of the principles discussed above should and indeed have been used as the foundation for wider ranges of interventions in prison, interventions delivering awareness, education, and support existing outside of the recidivism vacuum. These have some constructionist values, and such approaches involve employing education, skills training, employability skills and intervention to change attitudes and beliefs and equip offenders with skills to navigate life. Although they often seek to change criminal behaviour through providing alternatives to offending, they also have impact to bring about many positive outcomes further afield in the individual rather than being contained purely in relation to re-offending and criminal behaviour. Peer support interventions and indeed Peer-Led Induction are primary examples of these.

Peer support as an element of interventions and programmes is evident as early as 1793 in clinical settings for those with mental illness, with them being referred to as “better suited to this demanding work because they are usually more gentle, honest and humane” (Davidson et al., 2012). Miller & MacGilchrist (1996) and Parkin &

McKeganey (2000) have traced the roots of peer education to education settings in 19th century England with pupils assisting teachers with lessons. It was from the 1920's when a focus on the value on the role of peer support in the treatment of mental disorders was applied (Davidson et al., 2012). Whilst overseeing an inpatient facility for male schizophrenics, men recovering from mental health issues were enlisted by the medical personnel to assist on a treatment unit. Personnel were firmly of the belief that the combination of their own life experiences of their mental health issues and recovery would add a dimension to their work, making them uniquely qualified to "assist their peers in working through similar struggles in a humane and compassionate manner" (ibid: 3). This approach paved the way for the operation of many therapeutic and clinical settings in the years since. Subsequent therapeutic communities developed in inpatient settings have encouraged the use of peer support and mentoring, as well as "confrontation, conflict, and collaborative problem-solving," as integral elements of the treatment process (ibid: 6). In contemporary times, peer interventions have migrated from their primary usage in healthcare settings and have been largely associated with use within educational and youth service settings such as schools, with these interventions targeting a range of issues largely associated with social welfare such as sex education, learning difficulties, drug consumption and injecting practices, substance abuse, teenage motherhood, anger management and violence (Deville et al., 2005; Shiner, 1999). Studies into the peer support interventions in these realms share the perspective that outcomes from these interventions are positive (Fletcher & Batty, 2012; Devilly et al., 2005). The common themes that exist across the schemes, irrespective of the variance in their design, is their foundations on the core values of

mutual reciprocity, shared problem solving, empathy and experiential exchange (Blagden & Perrin, 2014).

There is a basic understanding of peer support as being the embodiment of these values of mutual reciprocity, shared problem solving, empathy and experiential exchange. Their sharing of experience and learning from those like 'us' is founded upon them, yet it is a far more complex proposition. This complexity starts from the contention of what or who a peer is; close friends, associates, other people in a shared environment or task could all be described as peers. However, as Shiner (1999: 557) postulates, "the question remains, what makes somebody like us?" In short: identity. Individuals construct and mould identities in relation to an array of characteristics which can emanate from a range of sources. Shiner (1999) advances that these can include roles that social actors take on, group categories they feel attached to and experiences that they have. In the prison environment, a peer could be identified through being someone who belongs to the same group category of the mentee, namely a prisoner, and who has the same experiences of prison, more specifically the experiences and challenges that the mentee will be experiencing. However, this is a broad construction.

As such, there is the potential for identity conflicts, with tensions arising from other characteristics of the peer such as ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, and more prison specific notions such as offence type, sentence type and the affiliation with those in power. There is a multitude of outcomes, some good, some unintended and some not necessarily positive, that may emerge given the complexities involved in a multiplicity of dimensions to identity. All can undermine relationships with mentees and peer

mentors and, ultimately, the intervention. Historically, offenders were recognised as “passive recipients of treatment and are required to adopt the role of patient, client, or student with the change process resting upon professional staff” (Devilly et al., 2005). However, it has long been established in the realm of counsellor preferences in the penal estate that clients “will prefer one of their own kind” (Cahill et al., 1979). The idea that prisoners provide social support to one another during their day-to-day prison life has been identified as an informal mechanism in many accounts of imprisonment as far back as the works of Sykes (1958).

Considering this, it is important to return to the idea that Peer-Led Induction is an example of re-configured penal power. The intervention is illustrative of the shift from those associated with the structures of authority, namely prison staff, doing induction to prisoners being enabled to lead and deliver the intervention. In doing so, it recognises prisoners as moving beyond passive recipients of intervention to being “important resources” (Boothby, 2011: 426) in the support of prisoners. Given the shifts in penal power in the contemporary prison, rather than being recipients, prisoners are now identified as a legitimised resource, with the formal capacity to both powerfully and positively influence their peers (Devilly et al., 2005; McHugh, 1995). As such they have been identified as having the potential to facilitate a closing of the gulf between what is needed and what is provided (Fletcher & Batty, 2012).

Though social support has been conceptualized in a number of ways, there is agreement that it relates to an exchange of resources between individuals (Shumaker & Bronwell, 1984; Suurmeijer et al., 1995). Exchanges are by nature two-way, which

means that a person may either give or receive. Peer initiatives are sometimes referred to as an internal social support system that comes from within the institution. It can be formal when its source has official status such as the criminal justice system, and informal when emanating from one of the recipient's social connections (Cullen, 1994; Boothby, 2011). Peer-led induction transcends across both realms in its operation, with the overall outcome being that internal formal support has demonstrated the ability to increase the quality of prison life and support prisoners to navigate the prison environment (Boothby, 2011; Ryan & McCabe, 1994).

When explaining the role of social support on wellbeing, the Buffering Model is arguably the most pertinent. The buffer effect of social support theory emerged from the field of medicine (Alloway & Bebbington, 1987). The theory postulates that people who receive social support are able to better cope in situations of illness or other physical ailment (Alloway & Bebbington, 1987; Cohen & Hoberman, 1983). Research on social support has connected it to an increased sense of wellbeing (Kong et al., 2013).

The theory advances that social support has a significant positive effect when individuals are under high stress and that when social support is high, individuals will develop fewer psychological problems. Given that transfer and adaptation to a new prison establishment are identified triggers of mental health issues and manifestations in the form of self-harm and suicide, Peer-Led Induction arguably works as a form of buffering as it seeks to redefine the threat of a situation and maximise the ability of the individual to cope with it. Again, this theory does not stand alone, as some individuals

may not experience heightened psychological effects stemming from transfer and transition, and as such it is important to also consider the more generalised idea of the Main Effect Model. This theory contends that social support has a positive effect on wellbeing in both high and low states of stress (Cohen & Willis, 1985; Boothby, 2011). Whilst Peer-Led Induction is not intended to be an emotional support in prison, it nonetheless incorporates notions of emotional support alongside being a source of practical support and information, emphasising the importance of this as a social support system, irrespective of whether it buffers in situations of high stress or regardless of the level of stress.

Returning to the notion of peer support as a resource, this word is employed given that, rather than be a purely humanistic endeavour to promote the best possible outcomes for those experiencing it, it has a more dominant fiscal underbelly for the institution. Fletcher & Batty (2012; 14) home in on the notion of public spending cuts meaning that there is a shift on focus to “doing more with less”. This arguably arises given the continued austerity measures that pervade the public sector. Peer support is a cost-effective intervention, with the use of peers considerably cheaper than prison staff. Furthermore, when considering peer support in the sphere of re-offending, with re-offending costing upwards of £13 billion (National Audit Office, 2000), it should perhaps come as no surprise that the quest for new and innovative ways to address offending behaviour are at the forefront of criminal justice policy.

4.3. Prison Peer Intervention in Practice

There are many ways that prisoners are involved in peer interventions across the England and Wales prisons estate: Health Trainers, Resettlement Champions, Recovery

Champions, Prison Council Representatives, Shannon Trust Mentors, Heath Care Representatives and the St, Giles Trust Advice Project are just some of the many interventions and roles that are present in prisons, demonstrating the breadth across the different areas of imprisonment. A summary of some of the most common prison-based schemes that involve peers are as follows:

Scheme Title	Nature of Support	Description
Listeners	Emotional	Volunteer Listeners who are trained by the external charity Samaritans provide face to face emotional support to prisoners who request help
Buddies	Emotional and Practical	Buddies can be paired with new prisoners who may require emotional support and also practical assistance when first adjusting to life in [a new] prison
Helping hands	Personal Care	Helping Hands volunteers care for those less able to do so for themselves. This role can involve personal care duties as well as emotional and practical support
Shannon Trust Mentors	Educational	The Shannon Trust is a UK charity that regulates a scheme within which fluent readers are paired with those less able. Through this set-up, mentors help students through a reading program over a period of several months

Table 4: Peer Support Scheme Details (Perrin, 2019: 6-7)

There are predominately two models of such peer interventions in prisons. The first being that peer support is seen as a passive intervention such as the Samaritans'

Listeners Scheme, whereas Peer-Led Induction is viewed as being active in nature with the characteristics of providing advice and help (Fletcher & Batty, 2012). It is important to cover two interventions illustrative of these models to draw out the differences in approach, as they are divergent in achieving their intended outcomes.

There is no better place to start than with the most prominent intervention, a passive one, the Listeners Scheme. First launched in HMP Swansea in 1991, it is now a scheme available in almost every prison in England and Wales. The most recent available statistics demonstrate that the scheme recorded 89,752 face-to-face listener contacts between listeners and prisoners in 2015 alone, with a total of 1,803 active prison listeners across the penal estate at the end of 2015 (The Samaritans, 2022). The intervention is described by the Samaritans as a “a peer support service which aims to reduce suicide and self-harm in prisons” (The Samaritans, 2022). These listeners provide a confidential service in the form of emotional passive support to their peers who are experiencing difficulties coping in prison. They are trained by the Samaritans and sign a code of conduct with them. These listeners have supervision regularly and attend safer custody meetings within the prison, indicative of their role in improving safer custody outcomes for those that they engage with. Prisoners who are experiencing emotional distress can access this provision by calling out listeners who meet with them in a dedicated area in the prison. One of its main characteristics is that it demands the utmost confidentiality, and this is an element that makes it more accessible for those needing help and who may have been otherwise reluctant to seek it. Passive schemes such as the Listeners do lack the dynamism and depth of more

active interventions such as peer support, and therefore are limited in the support they can provide, especially in context-fluid situations.

The most pertinent peer support intervention in prisons across England and Wales of relevance to this thesis is the Insiders Scheme, an active form of peer intervention, specifically induction-based Peer Support. The Insiders Scheme was conceived as an active form of engagement to target the initial prison experience of prisoners which is synonymous with elevated levels of self-harm and suicide. In fact, the first 24 hours and first week in prison are associated with the highest risk of suicidal behaviour in prisoners. They are also recognised as “high risk periods for establishing harmful relationships with staff and prisoners” (Adair, 2005), which also signifies the interaction between relationships and potential deficiencies in the experience of imprisonment. It is an intervention that has concurrent objectives of reducing anxiety experienced in the early days of custody and improving safer custody outcomes. The scheme operates as a multi-faceted endeavour, comprising differing elements. Prisoners, who work as ‘Insiders’, are more active in their role, and have more scope than those carrying out passive support. As such, they are described as being more “advice and practicality orientated rather than listening and emotion focussed” (Perrin 2017: 26) and they offer information and reassurance to help new prisoners navigate these stressful early days in custody, with all the challenges of adaptation, following their arrival at an establishment. Despite there being caution raised about Peer Mentoring and Peer Support being used interchangeably, given their nuanced differences in relation to being passive or active, there is nonetheless the reality that often elements of both

approaches are combined and overlap, and that certainly appears to be the case in relation to peer induction.

4.4. Theoretical Underpinnings of Prison Peer Support Interventions

Tolan et al. (2008) advance pillars of mentoring relevant to prison-based peer intervention more generally, with three of those relating directly to Peer-Led Induction. Firstly, peer to peer work should involve interaction between two individuals. Secondly, the mentor in the relationship holds and evidences a level of experience, knowledge or power that is greater than the mentee, with this construction of power much aligned with the behaviourist models of peer support which will be discussed later in the chapter. Thirdly, the mentee should be able to benefit from the knowledge, skills, and experience of the mentor. Buck (2017: 192) also proposes that there are three fundamental conditions of peer mentoring, “caring, listening and encouraging small steps”, that a good mentor will demonstrate and manage in the course of their interactions with mentees.

Moving away from the cost-effective nature of using peers, as covered earlier, Fletcher & Batty (2012) identify a further three key tenets underpinning the use of peer interventions:

- 1) Peers are effective identity models and as such they enable the Social Learning and Inoculation theory.
- 2) Use of peers are necessary to mitigate and navigate the view of prison staff as authority figures without first-hand experience.

- 3) Peer intervention builds social capital and resilience within a prison community that can be described as one of deprivation and complexity.

With this in mind, when considering peer interventions from a theoretical perspective, it provides an initial grounding for general explanation of how peer support interventions work and also serves as an indication of the enactment and influence of re-configured penal power. There are three key theories, Social Learning Theory, Social Inoculation Theory and Differential Association Theory, which will now be introduced, whose elements predominately underpin peer interventions in custodial settings. Whilst considered separately, it is proposed that some elements are interchangeable, supporting the idea that peer intervention is indicative of a theoretical hybrid.

Firstly, Social Learning Theory commits to the notion that behavioural change amongst individuals comes from the opportunity to observe and practice behaviours garnered from others until they are able to model them effectively (Turner & Shepherd, 1999). The extent of this influence is determined by the model's qualities, the observer's traits, and the perceptions of the results of adhering to such behaviours (Bandura, 1986; Devilly et al., 2005). It acknowledges that many prisoners have both chaotic and complex circumstances that have maligned their learning process, with their developmental curve being founded upon and affected at all junctures by a range of parenting influences and anti-social traits. As such, the opportunity to be exposed to and interact with a range of fellow prisoners demonstrating pro-social attitudes and behaviours, and overcoming similar antecedent circumstances, acts as a form of experiential knowledge exchange between peer mentors and peer mentees (Borkman,

1990) and is an effective method to bring about attitudinal and behavioural change (Mathie & Ford, 1998; Turner & Shepherd, 1999; Devilly et al., 2005).

Secondly, Social Inoculation Theory places emphasis on the social pressures that compromise an individual's resilience to unhealthy attitudes and behaviours. The theory suggests that resistance to such pressure is strengthened by developing arguments to counter them (Turner & Shepherd, 1999). Interventions designed to help develop those counter arguments delivered by professional service staff within the prison can be rejected by prisoners. However, when those counter arguments are delivered by those who share the same lived experiences and pressures they can land more successfully (Devilly et al., 2005).

Finally, Differential Association Theory (Cressey, 1960) draws upon the psychological concepts of both Social Learning and Inoculation theories but stems from criminological and deviance research. It argues that offending behaviour can be learnt by those interacting with those who can teach the skills and techniques to offend. Conversely, Turner & Shepherd (1999) argue that those acting as peer supporters can also act as the catalyst and facilitator for helping those they interact with to change their behaviour and lifestyles. Moving beyond purely offending behaviour, this theory can be applied to supporting those adapting and transitioning to a new establishment through Peer-Led Induction, with new prisoners learning from interactions with their peers who have walked the same path previously.

Whilst these are broad and generalised theories underpinning the usage and effectiveness of peer support, elements of all theories are arguably present in Peer-Led Induction, albeit to differing levels dependent on the intervention framing, aims and strategies. Certainly, in a peer induction intervention, the presence of all of these theories can be seen to inform the design and implementation of the intervention.

4.5. Benefits of Prison Peer Based Interventions

In the literature that exists, much has been said about the benefits and impact of peer interventions in custodial settings. Current suicide prevention recognises the importance of peer supporters as an increasingly prominent facet in the promotion of health and wellbeing. South et al. (2014: 44) found that there were indications of positive practical and/or emotional effects for the recipients of peer interventions. Those who had used peer support reported using it as an avenue to “vent and to overcome feelings of anxiety, loneliness, depression and self-injury, and there were indications that this may be potentially beneficial in preventing suicides in prison” (South et al., 2014: 47). It is also indicated by South et al. (2014) that there are attitudinal and behaviour improvements amongst those receiving peer support. Further research identifies peer support as instrumental in reducing suicide and self-harm in prison and management of such symptoms, with increased emotional wellbeing, the ability to confront offending behaviour, increased social functionality, social inclusion, and a reduction in the likelihood of developing a mental disorder or the degree of mental disorder experienced resulting from good mental health amongst offender populations (Snow & Biggar, 2006; Davies, 1994; Fletcher & Batty, 2012; Woodall, 2015; South et al., 2014). This, in turn, can underpin a more successful

rehabilitation of released prisoners in the community, elevated safety and better returns on the money spent on imprisonment (World Health Organization, 1998) with poor mental health also estimated to cost the economy £105 billion every year (Faculty of Public Health, 2011). While the use of peer support is implemented, often with the sole and explicit aim of promoting wellbeing, an increase in power-sharing between staff and prisoners is also evidenced (Crewe & Liebling, 2017: 905).

With the idea of doing less with more, and new and innovative ways of 'doing prison' (navigating prison and sentences) - a prominent concern of the prison service in the face of austerity measures - there is undoubtedly a lot of support for peer support. This is especially true from an operational standpoint, given the benefits of peer support interventions for the organisation. Peer supporting prisoners effectively act as a diversion service in some interventions, especially that of Peer-Led Induction. Peers are sometimes employed to "absorb queries and issues that would otherwise be directed at prison staff" (Woodall et al., 2015). By default, this allows the time of professional staff to be deployed in other areas of the prison and to other duties in their role. This can be deemed a 'selling point' to garner management buy in to the implementation of peer interventions. Freeing up staff time can arguably help them meet their targets, a prominent cog in the penal wheel. The impact on reducing staff workload is also associated with reducing staff turnover and that it is more cost effective (Cook et al., 2008; Boyce et al., 2009). Given the meagre wages that prisoners are paid, the opportunity to have a workforce available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week makes the ability to run such interventions more financially viable and enhances the productivity of the prison workforce.

Peers primarily are seen as credible individuals to engage with the target audience. This is extremely important in the role of peer induction interventions as they are seen as “more credible sources of information [who have] experienced similar struggles and [...] speak the same language by offering positive support and positive role modelling” (Devilly, et al, 2005: 232). As such, in prison, mentees are deemed more likely to turn to peers than authority figures and those associated with the structures of power. Peers with this credibility are effective at sharing information and knowledge, the founding principles of a peer-led induction intervention. In fact, it is evidenced that individuals are more inclined to be receptive to this information when it is presented to them by someone they can identify with. Also, given their knowledge of the prison context and environment, peers themselves can better engage in a manner that most effectively conveys information (Fletcher & Batty, 2012).

The benefits of credibility also extend into the running of the prison with the use of peers to overcome prisoner issues and challenges, as well as helping prison staff deal with those whose behaviour they find challenging, thereby helping to promote the security and order of the prison establishment.

4.6. Risks and Challenges of Prison Based Peer Interventions

An appropriately designed and supported peer-led program can have [...] positive effects, expressed in enhanced prisoner wellbeing, reduced rates of self-harm and a calmer and more cooperative social environment. (Adair; 2005: 13)

The efficacy of peer-led intervention, specifically induction, is not disputed. The evidence of this is documented in this very chapter. However, what happens when its design and level of support is not appropriate? What does a Peer-Led Induction look like then? It is argued that despite the plentiful beneficial impacts of peer support in the prison environment, research indicates that peer interventions can create a range of negative individual and organisational effects. It is therefore important now to consider these.

Much of the success of any peer intervention within prisons rests on the relationship between staff and peers sharing power. Prisoners do not deliver peer support alone and such interventions invariably require 'buy in' from prison staff, something that South et al (2014: 107) term 'Co-Constructs'. This starts at senior management level, whose support signals the institutional buy in to such interventions. Yet, as this trickles down there remains a requirement for buy in from the boots on the floor. Woodall et al. (2015) advance that those staff who are fully versed with the reasoning for and benefits of peer intervention underpin more successful interventions. However, resistance to interventions compromises facilitation, delivery and ultimate effectiveness and those prison staff resisting can do so logistically by impeding movement of peers or act like 'street level bureaucrats', resisting policy implementation and subvert it (Lipsky, 1969). In fact, the shift in power produced by bestowing more autonomy on prisoners is viewed by some staff as being contentious and problem laden. Woodall et al., (2015), for example, considers that at an organisational level the idea of allowing prisoners a greater degree of freedom and

movement in prison is difficult to overcome and that this actively goes against the grain of prison values, especially amongst staff cultures and viewpoints about a prisoner being subordinate. Another concern revolves around the use of peers as a 'managerial strategy' to replace paid staff (Woodall, et al, 2015). As already introduced, there has become a culture in prisons of doing less with more in the face of austere measures, so there may be a perception amongst staff that peers are replacements for staff in light of staff redundancies and other cost cutting measures. There was the view that this could underpin staff resistance to peer support (Woodall et al, 2015).

Confidentiality also remains a key consideration in peer support. Whereas some interventions hold confidentiality as a key tenet, such as the Listeners Scheme, other schemes, including The Induction Insiders, are not a confidential endeavour. There is a strong presence of an inmate code in prison which has various informal rules, including not informing on prisoners to prison staff or those in authority. However, staff may well pressure mentors to disclose and inform on prisoner mentees and, furthermore, prisoner mentors may well do so for personal gain or to 'settle scores' with prisoners who they may have a slight with (Fletcher & Batty, 2012). Prisoners may fear that disclosing personal information at a time of vulnerability could be used to blackmail, extort, or manipulate them when they arrive on their wing. This potential abuse of trust means that peer mentees may in fact gravitate away from a peer-led intervention and towards talking instead to prison staff (Delveaux & Blanchete, 2000). Irrespective of reasoning for it, a lack of confidentiality may certainly affect the application of the induction peer intervention as mentees may naturally, in their heightened state in the

early days of custody, view induction staff and mentors through a narrow and wary lens, unwilling to fully immerse into such an intervention to gain from it fully.

Linked closely to this notion is the recruitment of those prisoners to be mentors who have the appropriate level of “experience, aptitude and skill” (Fletcher & Batty, 2012: 7). Finding those with those skills and emotional maturity from a population beset by profound complexity in their identity is difficult. As such, there is the potential for the wrong mix of peers to be employed in the face of satisfying demand for peers to facilitate an intervention. Conversely, restricting access to peer mentor positions for those not meeting the criteria required may also preclude those who would potentially make a difference in the role.

In prisons, there has been a long-standing debate about whether they are places of care or control, and whether they can manage these dual aims. There exists the reality that institutional concerns about security and order are too dominant over the notions of care, fairness, and dignity of those imprisoned. Security concerns are seemingly at the forefront of those involved in the prison system, with discourse being prominent surrounding peer interventions potentially jeopardising security measures in prisons as well as the safe running of the prison. Seemingly, these are based on risk averseness regarding peer workers abusing their positions of power and trust. There are recorded instances of security breaches leading to peer dismissals, such as failed drug tests, the distribution of contraband around the prison, extortion, and bullying (Fletcher & Batty, 2012; Boyce et al., 2009; Woodall et al., 2015). Following on from this is the idea that such complexity in peer interventions requires demands on time and labour (Walker &

Avis, 1999) that simply aren't available given that interventions, especially induction interventions, have one eye on extending sparse resources by utilising peers in the first place. Prison populations are widely decreed as being difficult to manage, largely predicated by the complex circumstances of those within the penal system, so managing members of these populations as a workforce brings additional challenges which, in turn, constrains resources.

One key issue undermining peer intervention and especially induction is that of peer turnover. Security issues aside, the prison population is widely acknowledged as being transient in nature. Prison transfers for a variety of reasons such as progression and disciplinary reasons means that the continuity and effectiveness of interventions can be diminished by attrition amongst the peer workforce (Scott et al., 2004). This is especially difficult, given that peers are often trained in these specialised roles over periods of time.

What is clear is that there are a number of considerations, issues and concerns that need careful attention when designing, implementing, and maintaining peer interventions. It is also refreshing and much needed for these to be highlighted and serve as a bottom-up corrective to the seemingly rose-tinted perspectives on peer support as being the golden panacea for prisoner and prison issues.

One of the paramount issues that beset peer intervention in England and Wales is a wholesale lack of robust evidence into the effectiveness of utilising peers and peer interventions. Devilly et al. (2005), in their analysis of peer support interventions, make

a number of recommendations regarding evaluation and monitoring of interventions.

They describe evaluation as:

An integral part of implementing an effective peer program [...] it establishes whether the program is meeting its aims and objectives, provides quality assurance to enable them to continue in the future, and enables continuous feedback and improvement. (236)

They recommend both evaluations of the process or peer intervention and of the impact that it has to deliver its outcomes. Despite this recommendation, Fletcher & Batty (2012) point to a lack of evidence demonstrating a clear added benefit of utilising peer support, with the interventions existing still being “new, small scale” (ibid: 15) and largely undervalued. Looking further forward, Woodall et al. (2015) indicated, akin to other research into peer interventions, that they may be effective at improving or maintaining the health and wellbeing of prison populations, but they go on to call for research to validate these claims. This is due to there being “major research gaps in understanding the role, effectiveness and value of peer interventions within the criminal justice sector” (ibid; 13). When considering this powerful statement, it is perhaps best to exercise caution and view peer intervention in the vein of Milburn (1995: 21) who contends that it is “no more than a working hypothesis rather than a proven model”.

There are significant challenges surrounding resistance to power-sharing, managerialism and occupational cultures, confidentiality, risk, and population

turnover. This study seeks explore these issues further through interviewing those prisoners who have experienced the induction and staff members involved in the delivery of Peer-Led Induction, to gain their rich insights into the intervention and fill some of the aforementioned void in research. The next chapter provides a comprehensive consideration of this research process.

Chapter 5: Methodology

This Chapter aims to introduce and consider the methodology undertaken in the fieldwork inquiry. In doing so, the chapter firstly re-establishes the aims and objectives of this research study and then the design frame employed. Given the turmoil that society has been plunged into in recent times, due to the global crisis experienced as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, the chapter then considers how it has impacted the research process and also presents the challenges and changes that have been made to conducting the research study, both in the face and midst of this global pandemic. It then moves on to explore the ethical considerations of conducting work with a sample that is considered as 'hard-to-reach' and 'vulnerable' in nature and indicates the complexities of such research. The analytical framework, comprising a grounded theory approach is then introduced and I explore the factors for this approach and the mechanics of applying it to the study.

Of vital importance to the chapter is the consideration of positionality. The chapter draws out the ways in which my positionality as a former prisoner has affected the research process. It is fair to state that Merton's 'Insider Doctrine' (1972) is directly applicable to my identity. Earle (2014) identifies that, in a research context, there is a difference between 'serving time' and 'spending time' in prison, with Beyens et al. (2015: 74) arguing that, as a result, "whatever researchers might do, their experiences cannot be compared between the research subject and the researchers". I, however, bridge this chasm and fall under the category of an 'Insider' (Merton, 1972) That said, the chapter also argues that I, like many others, am able to hold multiple statuses and

as such do not fit neatly within each boundary; in fact, I transcend across an exclusive categorization of insider or outsider and, as such, straddle both. The chapter also considers the impact of this researcher positionality upon the recruitment of the prison officer sample of the study through the use of gatekeepers and considers the concepts of prison officer culture that underpin the concepts of wariness and weariness towards both myself and the research. Given my positionality, a reflective approach in the research process is key and the chapter concludes with the application of the framework of Dickson-Swift et al. (2007) to consider reflections on the research process thematically, from the perspective of one researching those with a shared, lived experience in particular, and how the process interacts with this identity.

5.1. Research Aims and Objectives

Whilst not an explicit objective of this study to conform or exist within a HMPPS research framework, nonetheless the research context presented in the introduction illustrates that the present study is situated within the aims and the objectives of the MOJ in regard to expanding its evidence base upon which prisoner outcomes can be improved. It therefore has the potential to make an important contribution to prisons in practice. This study aims to do so with a range of pertinent aims and objectives guiding its design, construction, and delivery.

The study aims to:

- Identify the challenges and difficulties experienced by males who are imprisoned at the 'critical time' of the transfer process, the early days of

custody in open prisons post-transfer and their impact on their mental health and wellbeing.

- Explore the experience of current Peer-Led Induction initiatives on the mental health and wellbeing of males who are imprisoned in open prisons.
- Develop a theoretical informed analysis of the 'Peer-Led Induction model' as a power-sharing initiative between staff and males who are imprisoned.
- Explore the nature and motivations of the Peer-Led Induction as power-sharing initiative and its impact upon the legitimacy of the custodial regime and setting from the perspective of people who are imprisoned.

The study seeks to achieve these aims through the research questions below:

- 1) What is the impact of Peer-Led Induction upon the mental health and wellbeing of people who are imprisoned in open prisons in the early transitional days of custody following transfer?
- 2) How does the re-configuration of penal power through power-sharing initiatives manifest in the experience of transfer and imprisonment of people who are imprisoned?
- 3) In what ways and to what extent do power-sharing initiatives impact the tightness of imprisonment?

5.2. The 'Original' Design Frame

In order to achieve the aims and objectives of the study, the original data collection was scheduled to take the form of face-to-face semi-structured qualitative interviews

within the prison, with the sample pool identified across four Category D Open Prisons situated in the South of England.

The qualitative aspect of the design frame was scheduled to use a purposive approach allowing for the acquisition of social knowledge through rich data into the impact of the induction intervention on offender mental health (Bryman, 2004). The semi-structured nature of the interviews was selected to allow the interviewee to pursue experiences and topics that both the researcher and interviewee feel pertinent. They were selected as they also allow the interviewee to attribute meaning to their environment and their experience of transfer and transition (Bryman, 2004). They focus purely on the experiences and perspectives of each category of participant. Interviews in this 'contextual uniqueness' can produce 'thick description'; rich accounts of experience which are possibly transferable and as such further beneficial. (Gertz, 1973a cited in Bryman, 2004: 275). Such rich accounts will also underpin emphasis on the contextual understanding of the offenders and staff social experience.

The prisoner sample inclusion criteria were scheduled to comprise solely of adult male prisoners received into custody at four identified Category D open prisons in the South of England, following transfer from a 'closed conditions' prison. A fundamental ethical tenet was that they must also be able to provide informed consent and be available to discuss their experience of transfer, imprisonment, and Peer-Led Induction. There was proposed to be six prisoners from each institution for the prisoner sample, a total of twenty-four across the four sites of data collection, who must have experienced two

instances of prison transfer in order to provide a depth of insight into the transfer and transition process.

The prison induction officers sample had a criteria that stipulated that they be required to have at least 1 years' experience in the induction function at their institution and in-depth working knowledge and experience of their role, experience of induction processes and procedure and the intervention, knowledge of the relational interactions between prison officer, peer mentor and prisoner, and knowledge of the role of the peer-led induction as well as the role of the institution in relation to transfer and induction. There were to be two induction officers from each institution for the staff sample, comprising eight across the four sites in total.

The Peer Mentors (due to the transient nature and frequent turnover associated with the regime of open prisons) were required to have been in post as a Peer Mentor at their institution for a minimum of 3 months. Again, the study sought those willing to talk about their experiences in the role of a Peer Mentor and its nature as well as their observations of this interaction with mentees and on relations between staff, prisoners, and peers. It was planned for two mentors from each institution for the Peer Mentor sample, comprising eight in total across the four sites.

5.3. Research in a Global Pandemic

Like many researchers worldwide, foreseeing a global pandemic that would plunge society, on a global level, into chaos and uncertainty was not a consideration when conceiving and developing the methodological design of this research study. Methods

of data collection that both became and are susceptible to being adversely impacted by COVID-19 include those that involve human interaction, such as interviews and ethnographic research, as well as logistical considerations such as travel for data collection and access to institutions and environments where the sample population frequents or engages within. Due to these factors, qualitative researchers who would typically conduct interviews at field sites have had to adjust their data collection tools, alter their design frames, and examine alternatives, such as collecting data over the phone or via online platforms. In the face of such challenges, however, as researchers we must adapt and this involves, as Hennekam (2019: 1) sets out, “adapting our research design to the particularities of the population under study, stressing that it is important to stay flexible and open to change at any stage of the research process”. This is extended to the wider contextual and environmental settings that this population under study and the study itself is immersed within. Arguably, it is being adaptable and creative that increases the probability of us as researchers garnering the very data that we seek by using different research designs and approaches (Hennekam, 2019).

i) Research During a Pandemic

All researchers wanting to conduct research with staff and/or offenders in prison establishments, National Probation Service (NPS)/Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRC) regions or within Her Majesty’s Prison and Probation Services

(HMPPS) Headquarters are required to formally apply for research approval to the HMPPS National Research Committee (NRC) (MOJ, 2020).

In response to the threat of COVID-19, the MOJ and HMPPS took decisive action to protect staff and people accommodated in prisons or on supervision in the community. This involved making significant alterations to ways of working through Exceptional Delivery Models (EDMs) and management plans, and implementing restrictions to limit the movement of people. Based on these restrictions, the NRC introduced a moratorium on primary research in HMPPS. The moratorium aimed to ensure safety and reduce unnecessary burden on the prison and probation estate (MOJ, 2020). As such, all research was suspended. Additionally, submitted research applications were not processed and prospective applications were unable to be submitted. At the time there was no timeline as to when the HMPPS research application process would re-open nor were there any indications of changes to processes and procedures to ensure research applications would be COVID-19 regulation compliant.

With this in mind, and with the fieldwork originally scheduled to commence in early 2020, the decision was made to alter the sample and data collection for this study in the face of the need to adapt the design frame, both to ensure timeframes were met but also following consideration of both the potential and actual logistical challenges as introduced earlier. The changes are outlined below:

1. Originally the data collection was scheduled to take place across four prisons in the South of England. Data collection no longer took place within the prison and took place in community settings.
2. The sample was originally scheduled to comprise prison staff, prisoner Peer Mentors and prisoner peer mentees. The changes were as follows:
 - i) Prison staff involved in the process of induction were still recruited. However, this occurred outside of the prison environment via social media and gatekeeper staff. They were also interviewed outside of the prison in community settings.
 - ii) The peer mentee prisoner sample also changed from prisoners currently serving sentences of imprisonment to ex-prisoners released into the community, which removed the need to enter the custodial setting and were recruited through NGO and CJS organisations and interviewed in community settings.
 - iii) Prisoner Peer Mentors were removed from the sample to reflect that physical access to the custodial setting has now been removed from the study. As such, this group were no longer to be accessed.

3. The sample size was originally $n=40$. This was reduced to $n=26$. It comprised five prison staff and twenty-one ex-prisoner peer mentees. This reflects the removal of the prisoner Peer Mentors from the sample and also a reduction of six prisoner mentees, given that access to a greater pool had been removed through not collecting data in the prison where all prisoners held share the characteristics required for the study. This, however, was merely a guide, and the aim was still to strive to recruit as many participants as possible to hopefully extend the data pool.

Given the unprecedented nature of the COVID-19 pandemic, the challenge to create a viable sample and reconstruct the study was a taxing one that required a lot of time and resource intense focus to achieve. This was an unrelenting time of stress, yet one that has been navigated successfully to deliver this study.

ii) Recruitment, Sampling and Doing Research

The design frame has had some significant changes with the revised parameters of the study, especially surrounding recruitment of the sample and the sampling strategy employed. As there was now no longer what could be described as access to a captive sample pool to recruit from within the prison, the methodology to recruit evolved. There were a number of media and sampling strategies employed as such in order to gain the required sample. It is important to recognise that both ex-prisoners and current serving staff, with the specific characteristics and experience required for the study, can be described as hard-to-reach populations. 'Hard-to-reach' is a term used to describe those sub-groups of the population that are difficult to reach or involve in

research (Shaghagi et al., 2011). It is argued that hard-to-reach populations are generally floating populations and socially invisible, thus gaining access to them poses major barriers for their recruitment. Hard-to-reach populations may also actively try to suppress their identity and perspectives due to fear of confrontation with legal authorities or simply because of social pressure they feel from other members of the broader community (Shaghagi et al., 2011). This especially relevant in the case of these samples when taking into consideration the inmate code (Sykes, 1958; Liebling & Maruna, 2005; Mays & Winfree, 2013) and prison officer cultures (Arnold et al., 2007; Crawley & Crawley 2007; Liebling et al., 2011). Even after reaching and recruiting individuals from a such a population, there existed at times some anxiety stemming from the perceived threat from the authorities amongst those officers currently serving, when doing research. There was also a hyper-sensitivity surrounding agreeing to cooperate in the study and potential violation of anonymity amongst the officer sample.

In relation to the ex-prisoner sample, the sample was recruited still adopting a purposive approach and, whilst the prisoner officer sample adopted the same approach, it also arguably contained elements of convenience and snowballing in relation to its composition, as it was recruited through a gatekeeper. Purposeful sampling is a technique widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich cases for the most effective use of limited resources (Patton, 2002). This involved identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a

phenomenon of interest (Cresswell & Plano Clark, 2011), which in this case was prison induction.

In addition to knowledge and experience, Bernard (2002) and Spradley (1979) highlight the relevance of availability, openness to participation, and the capacity for clear, expressive, and thoughtful communication of experiences and perspectives. It is appropriate to use a small, purposefully chosen sample in a qualitative study in order to increase the level of comprehension (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Palinkas et al., 2015). In order to find and select cases that will efficiently employ the limited research resources available, purposeful sampling is used to pick respondents who are most likely to provide pertinent and helpful information (Palinkas et al., 2015). Purposive sampling techniques differ from random sampling techniques in that they ensure that particular types of cases of people who might be included are included in the research study's final sample. The justifications for using a purposive strategy are predicated on the idea that, given the goals and objectives of the study, certain types of people may have distinctive and significant opinions about the theories and problems under consideration, necessitating the inclusion of the sample of those individuals (Trost, 1986).

In this case the key criteria the ex-prisoner sample were experience of transfer to open prison and experience of being a mentee within a peer induction programme, whilst for the officer sample it was experience of facilitating and delivering Peer-Led Induction in an open prison. Recruitment of the ex-prisoner sample took place largely through advertisements on social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook and through

targeted emails to members of prison reform organizations such as The Longford Trust. It also drew upon the identification of ex-prisoners through the informal networks that I had assembled throughout my time imprisoned and post-release. I also attempted through social media to recruit officers for the study. However, this yielded no responses whatsoever. As such, I relied on a gatekeeper to provide access to a sample of prison officers willing to engage with both myself and the research. It is a complex, ongoing process that has a powerful impact on the extent to which a research study is successful. Gatekeeping is described as “the adult who controls or limits a researcher’s access to participants. These individuals also have the power or influence to grant or refuse access to a field or research setting” (McFadyen & Rankin, 2016).

There are inevitably debates surrounding sample sizes in qualitative research and the strengths and limitations of using a ‘small sample.’ However, in using a small sample, this study can disseminate an in-depth insight into the experiences of adult males experiencing transition, transfer, and the induction intervention as well as of those staff members in the delivery and facilitation of the intervention. It does not claim to be representative of all individuals within the criminal justice system experiencing and involved in these processes. Martel (2004: 170) suggests that such “small samples and generate (in)valuable insights about the particular, or ‘local’, character of our global world”. In this vein, this does present data that is representative of all prisoners or all staff. What it does allow for is a detailed, visceral portrayal of a smaller number. As such, this study embraces the notion of Wolcott’s (1990: 63) “do less, more thoroughly” and is within the parameters of other prison researchers who have employed small samples.

The primary method adopted in the empirical study were semi-structured interviews. The interviews took place between September 2021 and May 2022, remotely through mediums such as Zoom and MS Teams. This was born out of limitations regarding face-to-face contact given the COVID-19 pandemic and the ethical and institutional demands.

Name	Age	Gender	Ethnicity	Length of Service as a Prison Officer	Previous experience of working in Open Prison	Length of Service in Open Prison	Length of Service as a designated Induction Officer
Gatekeeper Officer	50's	M	White	30+ years	Y	10 years	6 years
Officer Woody	40's	M	White	10+ years	Y	6 years	5 years
Officer Lily	20's	F	White	0-4 years	N	2 years	2 years
Officer Emily	20's	F	White	0-4 years	N	2 years	2 years
Officer Kev	40's	M	White	20+ years	Y	15 years	5 years

Table 5: A categorisation of the prison staff sample

The table above offers some demographic and contextual information about this study's prison staff participants. When considering Table 5, it can be summarised as follows:

- 3 of the 5 participants were male
- 2 of the 5 participants were female
- All participants were white
- 3 out of the 5 participants had previous experience of working in open prison
- 3 out of the 5 participants had in excess of 10 years' service as an officer
- 2 out of the 5 participants had less than 4 years' service as an officer
- 3 out of the 5 participants had 5 or more years' experience as a designated induction officer
- 2 out of the 5 participants had 2 years' experience as a designated induction officer.

The data presented gives focus to the officer's occupational experience in terms of their length of service as a prison officer before applying specificity to consider their experience of working in both open prison and induction, which are critical areas of consideration for this thesis, in order to advance the exploration of these areas with regard to the aims and objectives of this study.

Name	Age	Gender	Ethnicity	First Sentence of imprisonment	Number of previous prison sentences	Previously imprisoned in open conditions	Total Number of Inter-Prison Transfers	Time spent in Open Prison
Joey	30's	M	White	N	5-9	Y	10+	2 years +
Danny	50's	M	White	N	1-4	Y	10+	2 years +
Chris	30's	M	Black	Y	0	N	1-4	2 years +
Graeme	60's	M	White	Y	0	N	5-9	13-24 months
Perry	20's	M	White	Y	0	N	1-4	13-24 months
Peter	50's	M	White	Y	0	N	1-4	13-24 months
Del	40's	M	Black	N	10+	N	10+	13-24 months
Pauley	60's	M	White	N	1-4	N	5-9	2 years +
Rich	50's	M	White	N	1-4	Y	10+	2 years +
Steve	50's	M	White	N	5-9	N	5-9	13-24 months
Jimmy	30's	M	Asian	N	1-4	N	5-9	13-24 Months
David	20's	M	White	Y	0	N	1-4	7-12 months

Freddy	20's	M	White	Y	0	N	1-4	1-6 months
Webby	30's	M	White	N	10+	N	5-9	13-24 Months
Billy	40's	M	White	N	5-9	N	5-9	1-6 months
James	30's	M	White	N	0-4	Y	10+	13-24 months
Ally	20's	M	Black	N	0-4	Y	10+	13-24 months
Rob	50's	M	White	Y	0	N	1-4	13-24 months
Sammy	20's	M	Black	Y	5-9	N	1-4	7-12 months
Alan	50's	M	White	N	0-4	N	5-9	7-12 months
Harvey	60's	M	White	Y	0-4	N	0-4	2 years +

Table 6: A categorisation of the ex-prisoners

The table above offers some demographic and contextual information about this study's ex-prisoner participants. When considering Table 6, it can be summarised as follows:

- 16 of the 21 participants were White
- 12 of the 21 participants had served previous sentences of imprisonment
- 9 of the 21 participants were serving their first sentence of imprisonment
- 5 of the 21 participants had previously been imprisoned in open prison
- 16 of the 21 participants had no prior experience of open prison
- 6 of the 21 participants had experienced in excess of 10 inter-prison transfers
- 7 of the 21 participants had experienced between 5-9 inter-prison transfers
- 8 of the 21 participants had experienced between 1-4 inter-prison transfers
- 6 of the 21 participants spent in excess of 2 years in the open prison they discussed
- 10 of the 21 participants spent between 13-24 months in the open prison they discussed

The data presented gives focus to the ex-prisoner participants' experience of imprisonment in terms of their history of imprisonment before applying specificity to consider their experience of both inter-transfer and being imprisoned in open prison which are critical areas of consideration for this thesis, to allow for a relevant and nuanced exploration of them, to advance the aims and objectives of the study.

It was crucial that these research participants had input into the research process. Gaining understanding of the experience from both prisoner and officer perspective

was a fundamental tenet of the research. This was an emotive and powerful experience with the pains of imprisonment and how prison is experienced through the lens of prisoners as a key understanding to be garnered. This was not exclusive to the ex-prisoner sample, however, and gaining the same level of understanding from a prison officer perspective was also central to the study. Semi-structured interviews were identified as the best fit for the study as they allowed for me to not only tap into and glean the knowledge of the participants but also allowed for the flexibility to probe and prompt for deeper meaning and understanding in relation to experience of imprisonment to support the aims and objectives of the study.

The tenets of listening, respect and fairness were all guiding principles that were followed throughout. The interview schedule employed was one that was categorized thematically with a guiding overarching thematic question supported by a number of sub-questions with the ability to 'dart in and out', dependent on where the interviewee was going and what they were revealing in their narrative. The framing and phrasing of the questions was also important to "encourage respondents to communicate underlying attitudes, beliefs and values, rather than glib or easy answers" (Gilbert, 2008: 249). Key to this was harnessing and tapping into my experiences of being amongst the prisoner population as a prisoner to inform the design phase, and whilst in practice when interviewing, revealing researcher positionality to find commonality whilst also at times adapting my tone and vernacular to adopt a style and language more associated with what would be heard and spoken amongst many individuals 'on the landings.' This helped make the process far more personal as a tactic to get at

underlying attitudes. The process of interview is considered in greater depth during the reflections on the process later in the chapter.

It is important to note at this juncture that, although alterations to the study have been made, they in fact reduced the ethical considerations, which this chapter shortly explores, that were originally considered, given that all research and data collection inside the prison was no longer relevant. The ethical aspects are now discussed in more depth in the ensuing section.

5.2. Ethics

The history of research is littered with unethical research conducted in prison settings (Charles et al., 2014). Prisoners were often deemed as cheap and available with prison warehouses as a captive audience for convenient experimentation. Over time, this became less accepted in research and societally, and gave rise to considerable progress in redressing the balance. The penal population was eventually recognized as one that is vulnerable, to be protected from potentially harmful interventions (Dalen & Jones, 2010). To be vulnerable in a research context indicates “a group of persons who, in virtue of some features they share, such as limited cognitive abilities or unequal social circumstances, are deserving of special protection in research” (Nickel, 2006: 45). Whilst the sample for these studies are ex-prisoners and current serving officers they, too, can be classed as vulnerable. When considering the ex-prisoner sample, they are likely to still be impacted by a disempowered status underpinned by often complex and chaotic social lives and circumstances. They may no longer be a captive population. However, metaphorically they still are when considering the power differentials

between those with lived experience of the criminal justice system and those who are deemed as criminal justice agents or aligned with them. Without a doubt, using human subjects in research involves taking a chance where there is no way of knowing if the risk will result in harm or injury. Diener & Crandall (1978) postulate issues that fall within four fundamental areas of consideration when designing and carrying out research: i) whether there is harm to the participants; ii) whether there is a lack of informed consent; iii) whether there is an invasion of privacy; and iv) whether deception is involved. This study gives credence to these areas, both in line with institutional guidelines regarding ethics but also by adopting alongside these, the guidelines of the British Society of Criminology.

At institutional level “all research, staff or student, funded or unfunded, that involves human participants, their tissue or data, or non-human subjects, or other material ethical issues, must undergo ethical review before initiation” (The University of Kent, 2022). This includes studies such as this where I did not have face-to-face and physical contact with the sample throughout the course of the research. The purpose of this policy is to:

...protect the dignity, rights, safety and wellbeing of research participants; the safety and reputation of researchers; the reputation of the University; to ensure research carried out in connection with the University is lawful; to manage and mitigate the risks arising from research; and to ensure ethical awareness is

embedded across all faculties and schools. (The University of Kent, 2022)

Appropriate ethical approval was required to be in place before any contact with participants or data began. As such, before any fieldwork was undertaken the study was subject to ethical review by the School of Social Policy, Sociology and Social Research at the University of Kent. Ethical approval was granted on 16th January 2020 for the original proposed methodology and, following the detailed amendments to the study, ethics was re-submitted to reflect these changes and approval granted on 19th November 2020.

It was key to recognise my responsibility to minimize personal harm to research participants by ensuring that the potential physical, psychological, discomfort or stress to individuals participating in research is minimized by participation in the research (British Society of Criminology, n.d.). This was especially given that I was asking questions and requesting information about the prisoner and staff experience of interventions on mental health and wellbeing and negative effects that may have impacted experience, which relate to the sensitive concepts of respect, humanity, relationships, trust, support, fairness, safety, wellbeing, family contact, social life, quality of life and mental health. I ensured that questions were constructed sensitively to minimise the opportunity for controversial, contentious, sensitive, embarrassing or upsetting reaction and this process was assisted by my own lived experiences.

In further recognizing the sensitivity of the topics and their potential impact, community Samaritans group details were made available to the prisoner sample to access should they wish to share any issues of distress and concern that may arise from their participation. The prisoner officers interviewed were also identified as potentially needing support as they have also experienced harm and as such the Prison Officers Association wellbeing and support team was highlighted as available for the participating officers to engage with should this be required. This was also available as a support for any concerns arising for them disclosing information regarding the operation of their employer.

I assured participants that any information that was shared would be received in a supportive manner and remain anonymous and I ensured that any identifiers were redacted in subsequent transcription of the interviews. That said there are times when a researcher has to break confidentiality, and I had to create a boundary in this respect. It is important, therefore, that research participants be informed about the limits to confidentiality and anonymity. I informed participants that they must be aware that, in the interests of safeguarding of both the participants and others, anonymity can be waived. Despite not being conducted in the prison environment, contact was a robust and clearly boundaried construct. I ensured participants were aware that if they shared information about undisclosed illegal acts, indicated that they were involved in terrorist activity, or discussed behaviour that would bring serious harm to either themselves or others, this information would be disclosed to the relevant authorities. I was alert to guide interviews and dialogue away from such topics and information in a pro-active manner to further support the participant should they arise, but this did not happen

throughout any interview. It was also explained that, should this anonymity be waived, it is a protective factor to them. Participants were not coerced or led to share information that they were not comfortable with discussing.

It was important to design the research in a way such that the dignity and autonomy of research participants was also protected and always respected in addition to protecting the rights of the sample as well as their interests, sensitivities, and privacy (British Society of Criminology, n.d.). The interview questions themselves were also constructed in a manner that did not facilitate the revealing of sensitive data or identifying data and, as aforementioned, I was mindful to guide the participant away from such information and advice accordingly as required or appropriate. Personal data as defined by the Data Protection Act was not collected from participants. Participants were assigned a unique identification code which correlates to their allocated pseudonym. All data is confidential and was anonymised utilising pseudonyms once transcribed. Only I know the unique code corresponding to the pseudonym of the participant and therefore in the event of a request to withdraw from the study the appropriate data can be removed. Although collecting generic contextual information about offending history for demographic mapping, I did not collect specific offending history and as such the risk of identifying features of the participants being available is minimised. When I sent audio files for transcription, any such information that was provided was edited out by myself or redacted. The transcriber was asked, and observed, to not use the names and identifying data/features in their transcription. A confidentiality agreement was implemented with the transcriber to ensure no

compromise of personal identifying information to add a further layer to the protection of participants.

Taking part in research voluntarily, free from any concern, and to be able to give freely informed consent remained a prominent consideration (Bryman, 2004). Involvement in the study was on a purely voluntary basis. There was no payment nor any form of incentivisation for taking part in the study although participants were reminded that they may find personal satisfaction and benefit from being involved in a project that has the capacity to support change, especially in relation to improving the experience of imprisonment for those who find themselves imprisoned or working in custodial settings as well as the safer custody of prisoners and staff within the criminal justice system, both for them and other prisoners and staff who may come into contact with a custodial institution (Gilbert, 2008). This is a perspective that was embraced by those interviewed from both samples and discussed in the reflective element.

Gaining the informed consent to participate in research implies a responsibility on the part of the researcher to provide, and in terms meaningful to participants, a full explanation of the study. As such, it was therefore key to ensure that participants' consent be given based on sufficient information about the research. As discussed, of paramount importance is this informed consent of the participant. The Participant Information Sheets (PIS) and consent documentation for the study (Annex A) provided the participants with the written assurance that their data will only be utilised for the purposes described to them and that their interests will be safeguarded through the measures described above and throughout this application and they evidence the

processes of fairness and transparency. The data subject rights ensure that the participant, as is advised in PIS and consent forms, has the right to erasure, the right to access the information held about them and the right to rectification and these were observed throughout the study. I went through the information about the study with all participants from each sample. For those with low literacy levels or impaired cognition I was available and willing to read to the participants the PIS and consent form and provide a verbal explanation of the information contained therein. Whilst originally planned for this subset of participant I recognized it would be prudent to do this for all participants for clarity. The PIS Form and consent forms were signed and returned to me prior to commencement of participation in the study to check that each participant is making a voluntary and informed decision to participate. Participants were advised that a summary of the findings will be available to access on request both during the study and for one year after the study ceases.

A prisoner and staff sample may often be reluctant to disclose to the researcher as they may associate the researcher with the systems and structures of power that imprison them, or they perceive as oppressing them. Therefore, the thorough and carefully explained nature of the project helped me to create an environment of equality and in which traditional power structures are deconstructed, which I have experience of doing by drawing upon my experience of researching with prisoners and prison staff alongside working with a variety of prison reform NGOs. This background and positionality were shared with all participants help to put them at ease. There was a constant emphasis employed to reassure participants that they have the right to withdraw and/or refuse to have their interviews recorded and/or stop the interview at

any time should they feel uncomfortable. As discussed, the anonymity and confidentiality of participants were protected by the protocols and measures put in place. Should any participant wished to withdraw from the study at any time, there were no consequences to them, and this notion was re-enforced. Likewise, should they express the wish to no longer actively participate, the option was given for any data they have provided to be used and presented in its current state or destroyed. A copy was, and still is, available for their records before use or destruction.

The data collection, analysis and dissemination processes embrace the principles of lawfulness, practice, fairness, and transparency. The processing of data in the study is lawful as it falls under a 'task carried out in the public interest.' This is in line with the justification for this lawful basis in the university charter that "the objects of the university are to advance education and disseminate knowledge by teaching, scholarship and research for the public benefit" (University of Kent, 2022). Providing research into safer custody in prisons falls very much in the public benefit and interest. It is proposed that fairness and transparency are evidenced by the measures discussed throughout this methodology, namely: data minimization, by only collecting data that is necessary and avoiding the use of personal identifiers and personally identifying information employing pseudonymisation; transcriber confidentiality clauses; researcher editing; and question construct to avoid eliciting identifying information and robust data storage measures support this outcome. The study, at all junctures, followed General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) as per its ethical approval. As such, the risk to participants would be negligible should data in any way be compromised or leaked. Only limited contextual identifying information has been

collected. There are no details or recording of the prison the participant is from or the type of offence, dates of offending history and, therefore, they will be unidentifiable from interview data. Also, the use of a unique identifier code that correlates to their pseudonym as introduced adds a further layer of protection for participant (The University of Kent, 2022).

5.3. Analytical Framework and Approach

Before the data could be analysed it was necessary to transcribe the interviews from their audio-recorded form. I chose verbatim transcription, defined “as the word-for-word reproduction of verbal data, where the written words are an exact replication of the recorded words” (Poland, 1995). The benefit of this method being that it can capture the meaning(s) and perception(s) of the interviews that were carried out and their context. In addition to this I drew upon my fieldnotes “as an additional layer of data, to be interpreted and analysed” (Phillipi & Lauderdale, 2018: 81). Qualitative research methods actively advocate researchers to make field notes to support the collected data and provide rich context for analysis (Phillipi & Lauderdale, 2018; Lofland & Lofland, 2005; Lofland et al., 2022). I also took field notes with the intent to employ them to constructing thick, rich descriptions of the study context, encounters and interviews in line with the notion of Gertz (1973, cited in Bryman, 2004). These notes at times helped and contributed to initial coding processes and provided informative contextual observations to inform data analysis.

Given the relative paucity of research and theory relating to the experience of open imprisonment and the experience of power applications in that custodial environment,

and a lack of specificity from what does exist, this serves as a rationale for carrying out a grounded theory analysis, since there is limited ability to theorize about this phenomena. Described as “the most widely employed interpretive strategy in the social sciences today” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994: 204). Grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) is the analytical approach and methodology employed in the analysis of this study. The core tenet of grounded theory is to generate and develop theory ifrom data (Punch, 2005)

As such, the fundamental notion in developing a grounded theory is to unearth a core category that is both grounded in data and accounts for the core data. For the purpose of this study, analysis drew upon the ‘systematic approach to analysis’ model of Huberman & Young (1994), allowing a more detailed process to examine relationships in the data and analysis. It was employed to identify trends, cross-examine information, and develop a body of evidence. Central to this is the process of coding, which is employed in a three-pronged approach.

The initial phase was to carry out open coding, whereby the harvested data was broken down into parts, scrutinised and compared for similarities and difference (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). These initial concepts were then subjected to a process of refinement and polishing to be converted into more meaningful categories. This was followed by axial coding, which is the process of “putting things back together again” (ibid: 124) through elaboration of the ways in which the categories and sub-categories “cross-cut and link”. The most powerful aspect was the third element, selective coding, whereby I was able to focus on the most significant categories in order to elaborate them and

connect them to central categories to devise a broader theoretical framework from the conclusions. In this vein, the relationship between the central category and other satellite categories is elaborated until overall theory is devised and refined. The analysis focussed on date “reduction, elaboration and development into theory” (Gilbert, 2008; 107).

So, how did this methodological theorisation translate into practice? Whilst the study was exploratory, there were some pre-existing themes with which to code and organise the data from an earlier study. Despite this, akin to Liebling’s (1992) research, a number of new themes and subsequent conceptualisations emerged throughout the study and were integrated into the research as it developed. I modified and added to these categories as progression was made through the interviews. It was then possible for me to synergize these categories thematically and draw out the various presenting similarities and differences between interviewees amongst the samples. A key aspect was then to select what quotations to invoke to illustrate once these themes were identified. I highlighted the quotations that I felt were the best fit in terms of illustration and impact (Jones, 2007). The overarching rationale and aim were a level of analysis to explore the similarities, differences and patterns among interviewees and consider any relationships between them. The culmination of the phases of coding are represented in the thematic theoretical framework that follows in the forthcoming findings chapters.

5.4. Positionality

It is vital to consider that research “represents a shared space, shaped by both the researcher and participants” (England, 1994, cited in Bourke, 2014) and the identities of these actors has the potential to impact the research process. Positionality has emanated from “feminist, post-structuralist and postcolonial traditions that have sought to challenge the methodological hegemony of neopositivist empiricism” (Sanghera & Thapar-Bjorkert, 2008; England 1994). As such, positionality frames these relationships in the field and acts as a form of governance of the tone of research (Sanghera and Thapar-Bjorkert, 2008).

When undertaking fieldwork, it must be acknowledged that “research is a process, not just a product” (England, 1994: 82). It is said that positionality in research “reflects the position that the researcher has chosen to adopt within a given research study” (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013: 71) and identified by locating the researcher to the concepts of the subject, the participants and the research process and contents. The multi-dimensional notions of the self relating to privilege and aspects of social identity - such as identification with a protected characteristic relating to race, nationality, gender, sexual orientation amongst others - influence researcher positionality. This is further extended to lived experience and the sharing of experiences amongst a cohort of peers. In this study, the most pertinent aspect of positionality is the notion of personal experience which falls within the category of subjective and contextual positionality (Chiseri-Strater, 1996). For myself as the researcher to carry out the research methodologies and analysis clearly and accurately as well as construct, critique and articulate my positionality, a reflexive approach is required. Cohen et al. (2011: 225)

has emphasised that “researchers should acknowledge and disclose their own selves in the research, seeking to understand their part in it or influence on the research”. In what follows, I draw out the ways in which my positionality as a former prisoner who served a long-term determinate sentence of imprisonment totalling 15 years in the England and Wales prison estate, interacts with the research process, its design, outputs, and interpretations.

i) Insider, Outsider or somewhere in between?

In order to explain a cultural product, it is necessary to know it. And to know it, in matters of thought and emotion, is to have experienced it.

(Bronislaw Malinowski, anthropologist, 1884-1942)

When considering the changes in the social world there is a frequent problematization around the notion of differentials amongst and across social groups in relation to accessing diverse types of knowledge. As Merton (1972; 11) muses, certain groups have monopolistic accesses to particular kinds of knowledge whilst others have “privileged accesses with other groups able to acquire that knowledge but with an elevated level of risk and cost in doing so”. As such, this is conceptualized through the ‘Insider and Outsider’ doctrines.

In relation to being an Insider, this is the presentation of a new credentialism as “one of ascribed status, in which understanding becomes accessible onto to the fortunate few or many who are to the manner born” (Merton, 1972: 14). Insiders are defined as “members of specified groups and collectives or occupants of specified statuses; Outsiders are non-members” (ibid: 21). These conceptualizations serve to distinguish

between insider access to knowledge and outsider exclusion from it and the ability to understand the group. It is postulated that the authentic understanding of group life can be achieved only by those who are directly embedded within it. As a former prisoner, having served a determinate sentence of 15 years imprisonment across Category B, C and D public prisons in England and Wales, I can firmly be identified as an 'Insider' amongst who could be described as my 'criminal peers'. In that sense we are a cohort who have shared in various guises the lived experiences of imprisonment and the day-to-day pain associated with the existence within the walls and institution. However, as Merton (1972: 22) correctly professes, "we are all, both Insiders and Outsiders". A Mertonian position is that an individual does not simply hold a single status, they have "a complement of variously interrelated statuses which interact to affect both their behaviour and perspective "(ibid: 22). The key term here is complement. These statuses do not have to be constructed or perceived as adversarial, demarcated into an 'us vs them' dichotomy. As Merton rightly exerts, the occupations of these varying statuses, which have differing levels of attributed importance to us as individuals and differing situations and social contexts, activate the differing statuses which then take in that instance precedence and become salient over the other statuses. Therefore, the boundaries between statuses, and the Insider and Outsider are permeable and fluid rather than fixed, situations arise, and different statuses become activated and the lines of separation shift (Merton, 1972).

Being perceived as an Outsider at times has benefits. As Simmel (1950) frequently stated, "one need not to be Caesar in order to understand Caesar." Resonating with Simmel's ideas, who postulated that the Outsider is not bound by commitments of

allegiance to the group, I felt “freer, practically and theoretically” and, as such, able to seamlessly become more objective in my inquiry. Being an outsider, or being perceived as an outsider by those interviewed for the study, rather than being seen as a negative issue acting as a barrier to the richness and depth of data, was instead harnessed positively and, as Simmel (1950: 404-5) muses, allowed me to “survey with less prejudice [...] more objective ideals [...] not tied down in my action by habit, piety, and precedent”. It is the very nature of being an Outsider in this framing that allowed me to question things more intently and with greater depth, due to adopting at times unfamiliarity. This unfamiliarity was present certainly when engaging with the prison officer sample and also when dealing with some demographics and experiences of imprisonment, especially surrounding those serving indeterminate sentences who viewed me as an Outsider in terms of being able to understand the experience of their sentence, despite viewing me as one of their number in relation to being someone who has experienced imprisonment. Here the fragility of status and the multiplicity or statuses that we hold simultaneously is exposed. As Merton (1972: 44) rightly states, “Insiders and Outsider in the domain of knowledge, unite. You have nothing to lose but your claims. You have a world of understanding to win.” The interchange between these often adversarially viewed and exclusive concepts saw me adopting perspectives to achieve the research aims through my willingness and ability to straddle the multiple statuses and positions of Insider and Outsider, dependent on the context and situation and guided by the search for rich data from those participants I encountered. The tensions between Insider and Outsider statuses are explored further later in the chapter through the process of reflexivity.

If my theory of relativity is proven successful, Germany will claim me and German and France will declare that I am a citizen of the world. Should my theory prove untrue, France will say that I am German, and Germany will declare that I am a Jew. (Einstein, 1919, cited in Merton, 1972: 28)

Merton (1972: 19) argues that groups “want to make their interpretation the prevailing one of how things were and are and will be” and it is important that this research therefore captures what Heidegger (1927) terms a ‘public interpretation of reality’. Merton (1972) suggests that “the critical measure of success is when the interpretation moves beyond the boundaries of the ingroup to be accepted by the Outsider” and, as such, I adopt this critical measure of success when assessing the relevance and success of this thesis. Moreover, it is an interpretation that is applied in practice to improve the experience of imprisonment for those who are imprisoned. As for my identity, the outcome of this study may well also activate differing statuses in the status set, just as it did in the research process, influencing how I am “claimed” as an Insider, Outsider, or someone in between.

ii) From Gatekeepers to Caretakers: Engaging with the Prison Office Sample

Researchers have identified gatekeepers as crucial mediators for gaining relevant and sensitive group participation in research. (Eide & Allen, 2005). As a researcher develops a plan to guarantee the most suitable sample of participants is both identified and recruited, some of the first ethical decisions they face on the job are related to this.

Gatekeepers are defined as “those individuals in an organization that have the power to withhold (or allow) access to people or situations for the purposes of research” (De Laine, 2000: 123) and as a result researchers are reliant on their input. It is commonly recognised in the literature that those gatekeepers play a crucial role in social research (De Laine, 2000), especially when researching groups that don't trust mainstream research and are underrepresented or for sensitive subject research (Eide & Allen, 2005; Yancey et al., 2006).

The role of the gatekeeper is often influenced by a variety of potential factors. Motivation remains a crucial factor. Intrinsic motivation is a powerful tool in stimulating individuals to engage especially if there is a sense of achievement, personal satisfaction and ownership in the process. Extrinsic factors relate to a supportive working environment for research. Both forms of motivation were at play and observed during the study and it was evident that the combination of being involved in the research process, a clear understanding of the rationale behind the research, and its need in gaining recognition from the researcher all contributed to positive attitudes and behaviours (McFadyen & Rankin, 2016).

This study had one such community that formed part of the overall sample: current serving prison officers in the open prison estate. For the reasons discussed earlier in the methodology, the current study did not seek approval through the National Prison Research apparatus and existed outside of this. Whilst my insider status was able to facilitate the effective recruitment of the ex-prisoner sample, it was a more complex process for officers, especially given the research existed independently of the NRC

framework. As such in the context of this study the gatekeeper approached to provide access to the officer sample was a current serving senior operational HMPPS officer. This gatekeeper I negotiated with for access was known to me through a mutual activity that we shared outside of the prison. The gatekeeper had got to know me over a period of time, both whilst I was imprisoned and on day release and subsequently when I was released. This individual was incredibly supportive in their manner and engaging in their ideas and thoughtful conversations. It became apparent to me through our conversations in this period that this individual was concerned with the operationalization and managerialism of the current prison system and that officers were being diverted away from developing relationships with prisoners and supporting them.

There was a concern that the sample generated by the gatekeeper could be skewed by virtue of the gatekeeper selecting a sample that mirrored or shared their perspective of prison management and how it was operationalised. A key notion to mitigate this was acceptance that this was not a representative sample and that they were the best sample both available and accessible. I put trust in the gatekeeper's apparent genuine passion for positive change and interested in how my work fitted within such a continuum and there was a level of pre-existing trust, rapport, and reciprocity between the gatekeeper and myself. Given my positionality as an ex-prisoner, the gatekeeper was important as they recruited access to those officers who they deemed to be willing to be involved and who would also offer value to the cause of the research. They also acted almost as a guarantor of the researcher's legitimacy and that of the research too (De Laine, 2000).

My faith regarding a suitable sample being selected was qualified once the sample had been interviewed and it was clear that they were a diverse set, but all willing to offer insight without a dominant discourse targeting managerialism. Of interest was how the gatekeeper positioned me as the researcher and, in this vein, they often related to me first as a friend/associate and as a researcher secondarily. Arguably “researchers remain dependent on the goodwill of gatekeepers to a very large extent” (Heath et al., 2004: 26) and I was no different. It was the gatekeeper who mediated access and arranged the interviews with the officers whom they provided access to and I was forewarned “not to let me [them] down” (Gatekeeper Officer). This was important as there was a natural level of research ‘weariness’ and ‘wariness’ (Sanghera & Thapar-Bjorkert, 2008) amongst a climate of fear and suspicion. I did not want to let down the gatekeeper, especially as I was all too aware of the potential recrimination that I could face in the context of my research from the gatekeeper who had the power to limit the conditions for access to participants and limiting access to respondents.

This was illustrated in both the furtive and sensitive nature that communications with the gatekeeper took place. The gatekeeper made it clear that communications should not take place via email or phone, nor should text messages be used; only a brief WhatsApp message (an encrypted medium and as such untraceable) requesting to catch up and that the gatekeeper would make contact and would primarily meet in person to discuss anything that needed attention relating to the research process. The gatekeeper explained that they were naturally suspicious and risk averse as after all “it’s my job to be like that” (Gatekeeper Officer). I was sympathetic and understanding

to this and supported those interactions and communications to exist free from the shackles of hyper-vigilance and suspicion.

One of the key questions frequently asked by prison officer participants recruited by the gatekeeper related to who I was, why I was doing this study, and why people should communicate with me about their experiences of their role and day to day job. Minority or marginalised communities are often misrepresented, pathologised, or problematised by research processes and prison officers have often had a maligned identity and viewed in some realms as inferior and as deficit. Prison has been established so far in this thesis as a medium for pain delivery, dehumanizing for those experiencing it. However, Scott (2006) highlights prison officers as spending more time in prison than any other occupational group and often longer than those who are imprisoned and they, too, are subject to pains of imprisonment, whether that be fear, mental health issues, isolation, uncertainty, anxiety and even powerlessness (Crawley, 2005). So, in facilitating and enacting the delivery of pain, they too suffer pain, and they too are dehumanized.

Returning to the theorizing of Merton (1972) it can be argued that the prison officer provided both Insider and Outsider perspectives, sharing perceptions and understanding in both realms. The special perspectives and insights that arise from this much-maligned group of staff “systematically frustrated by the social system: the disinherited, deprived, disenfranchised, dominated and exploited Outsiders” (Merton, 1972; 29) is invaluable.

The aforementioned issues serve as a barrier facing researchers and minority groups in relation to securing their involvement in the research process. Fundamental to providing a foundation of trust, these questions were perceived by myself as standard and important considerations in qualitative research, as no-one can know what questions may arise or anticipate responses to those questions (Magolda, 2004). The process of establishing and developing trust was key to providing an enabling effect upon participants and, as such, giving them the confidence to share sensitive and personal information and reassuring them that the data provided will not be misused or abused (Magolda, 2004). Disclosure can vary among researchers and self-disclosure can serve to enhance rapport and reciprocity, but it can also introduce demanding situations where researchers may become vulnerable and emotionally entangled (Dickson-Swift et al., 2007). In my research, I chose to openly disclose my positionality and also information about my identity, thoughts, and feelings surrounding the plentiful issues within the penal system in England and Wales, including my own beliefs regarding the impact of peer support interventions, whilst demonstrating a sympathetic demeanour to participants regarding the realities of day-to-day life as a prison officer and demonstrating an awareness of the complexities of their role. This disclosure enabled the gatekeeper and participants to gauge my authenticity and support, overcoming the culture of fear and uncertainty that co-exists with the aforementioned wariness, supporting them in engaging with rich insights.

5.5. Reflections on the Research

Viewing one's involvement as both problematic and valid and of recording the subjective experiences of doing research [...] underpin the creation of knowledge.

(Gelsthorpe and Morris, 1990: 88)

Reflexivity is a proactive process involving the researcher being aware of their effect on the research process, relationships, and outcomes of the research. It involves researchers actively acknowledging the implications for the knowledge of the social world they generate, of their methods, values, biases, decisions, and where they are positioned and situated in the research itself. It is crucial to have awareness that the underlying prejudices and assumptions we display as social actors can transcend and influence how we can impede rather than facilitate the research process. As such, a constant process of reflection is an analysis of the research process on many levels to improving current and future research. It has been described as an active process that should lead to learning, changing habits, and reflexive analysis and reflection being a constant part of the research study from the start. (McFadyen & Rankin, 2016). This is an approach that this study embraces.

Those individuals involved in our research are subjects not objects [...] they should not be treated as a chemist would treat a chemical substance or a geologist would treat a rock, The objects of criminological inquiry are not inanimate. (Jupp, 1989: 130)

Reflexivity is not just an endeavour putting the researcher at the centre and promoting effective and robust research through improvement. There is a human aspect, and the participants of research must always be a vital component of the reflective process to respect the key tenets of ethical consideration as well as to ensure participant voice is

heard. As someone formerly imprisoned, my biographical history provides a lived familiarity with the research participants, all of whom have been subject to imprisonment whether that be as prisoners or as caretakers of punishment (Scott, 2006). However, I do not attempt to speak for the research participants who have a prisoner identity, nor do I work on their behalf to challenge any experienced injustice. Rather, I tread carefully in balancing objectivism and subjectivism. There is a range of generic benefits stemming from my 'insider' status when researching from which I have benefitted. Of particular importance was the ease of access to the research participants who are typically acknowledged as a hard-to-reach group by virtue of being considered as "one of us" (Sanghera & Thapar-Bjorkert, 2008: 556). I was also able to construct and operationalise more meaningful, probing, and insightful questions, together with an ability to understand the offender identity vernacular and language, including body language. In their exploration of conducting sensitive research, Dickson-Swift et al. (2007: 330) recognise that when conducting sensitive research, we as researchers are "going into other people's lives, sometimes at times of crisis and stress, and we ask them to talk in detail about their experiences".

I have already highlighted some manifestations of my positionality which were also considerations when constructing the design frame and I have adopted a reflective framework of five of the entangled and mutually impacting themes proffered by Dickson-Swift (2007) for the purpose of this thesis, as set out below, in order to further reflect upon the research process that was carried out.

i) Self-Disclosure

Self-Disclosure is advanced by Dickson-Swift et al. (2007) as being “often reported as good research practice with some advocating researchers’ self-disclosure”. I recognised in the research that my positionality as an offender means that I can be characterised as an ‘Insider’ such that, by disclosing this positionality, the relationship between myself and the ex-offender participants was viewed by them as less hierarchical; I was able to create a “level playing field” (Dickson-Swift, 2007: 332). This also fed into the development of a good rapport with the research participants, and this was a conscious choice by myself, which I feel benefitted the process. There is a danger of being vulnerable through self-disclosure. However, as this took place with participants who share the commonality of the first-hand experience of imprisonment there was no vulnerability experienced, and it was a positive step in the interview process. Despite this, imprisonment is experienced uniquely by each individual subjected to it and it is a layered effect. Although there was a commonality in the fact I had been imprisoned, the composition of that differed between myself and my peers, especially those serving indeterminate sentences. Here I was viewed more as an Outsider, and I was able to reflect that in some senses I was, whilst also straddling the notion of an Insider on a lesser level. As a researcher and ex-prisoner who served a determinate sentence my lived experience did not encompass indeterminacy and the extremely specific set of pains and frustrations clearly felt by the participants identifying with that sentence. In fact, a familiar outpouring from those participants was that I would not be able to understand or did not understand what they go through or what it is like to serve that sentence. This served, however, to sharpen my focus and objectivity to explore and garner rich data about an emotive area of prison life that I previously had limited

understanding of. As such, it was a learning process for me. The comprehension of an ex-prisoner now researching was viewed with suspicion, especially by those serving indeterminate sentences, and there was a positioning of myself by them at times as aligned with the structures of power meting out the conditions that elicit such powerful and emotive responses of anger and frustration. It was almost to them as if I had crossed over to 'the other side' and as such there was a strong focus on ensuring that there was constant negotiation in the face of my motivation being tested and tried at times. Suspicion did not stop here when positionality was declared because, as documented earlier in the chapter, some wariness from the prison officer sample existed; again I was viewed as an Outsider from their cohort and culture and, again, this process of re-enforcing my motivations was key to overcoming this.

ii) Rapport

It feels weird talking about it [...] it seems like a lifetime ago now.

(Joey)

The most pertinent aspect of qualitative research enquiry, as Dickson-Swift et al. (2007: 331) argue, is that "researchers must initiate a rapport-building process from the first encounter with a participant to build a research relationship that will allow the researcher access to that person's story". I used my positionality and disclosure of my own experiences of the criminal justice system when interviewing the ex-offender component of the sample frame to facilitate this rapport, which I believe underpinned elevated levels of participant disclosure. I was careful, however, to ensure that the openness and intimacy of the interviews were not leading in any way in the interest of ethics.

You've been out a while now [...] it's changed in that time you've been out; COVID and all that shit changed everything, and we had to live it, you didn't. (Danny)

There was at times some disconnect between me and some of the ex-prisoner sample. Prisons, as well as society post prison, are in constant flux and as such this ever-changing context influences the experiences of those exposed to them. Just like I manage a multiplicity of identities, which is often challenging, those that I interviewed also share this. Some are developing existing identities whilst also creating and developing new identity, all whilst navigating day to day life, often in a more acute manner than others due to their criminal history and experiences of imprisonment. When you are in prison together as part of the population there is a greater degree of shared commonality and focus on day-to-day life. The very nature of restriction for those imprisoned means that there are a limited range of opportunities for people. As such, discussions and activity can be limited and akin to 'Groundhog Day'; people doing and talking about the same or similar things, often repetitively. It is easier in this context to interact and demonstrate bonds of commonality. However, freedom has eroded that commonality by virtue of, and exposure to, free will and choice, and this exposes the level of difference between us as individuals.

I ain't about that anymore [...] it will always be a part of me but it's not who I am now or something that I wanna think about too much.
(Chris)

It is acutely apparent to me that the shared experience of prison is no longer as dominant as it once was. It undoubtedly interacts with our being yet, for most, it has retreated into the shadows; not as relevant or just an identity that those interviewed are trying to move away from. This served at times to undermine the ability to build a rapport as I was trying to probe and elicit responses to topics that were not a priority or focal point for some participants, or indeed had been buried or compartmentalized by some. The key to unlocking the door was to remain as relaxed and attempt differing tactics. Being consistent and persistent but not pushy as I tried to identify common ground to use as a foundation for inquiry was the approach used that was effective. It was stop-start at times but, once the commonality was identified on some level, it then seemed to cascade into a good narrative flow producing insightful data.

I was surprised by the rapport I managed to build with the prison staff. I was expecting there to be a power imbalance with the staff exerting their authority and power over me, given the prisoner-staff divide and boundaries often enacted in custodial settings which can be adversarial. However, they were extremely open and engaging, sharing stories and vignettes with me openly and being candid about their employee's strengths and weaknesses and the limitations of their work, role, and the intervention. Despite staff being guarded in some respects as outlined earlier, and at times viewing my motivations for this research with suspicion, there appeared to be nothing withheld. What resulted was a dialogue that was open in nature. The staff seemed genuinely pleased to be making a positive contribution both to my work and potentially to offender wellbeing.

iii) Reciprocity

Through self-disclosure, a 'fair exchange' took place, and despite some of the aforementioned challenges I am of the belief that these principles contributed to the depth and quality of the research process. The reciprocity of disclosure of my positionality, and the ability to share vignettes of my first-hand experience of the same conditions and processed that the participants experience certainly lessened the hierarchical nature of the research and gave them something back which I felt was a crucial factor on a personal level, especially as they were 'letting me into their lives.' I was in an extremely privileged position, and I wanted to convey to the participants that this was recognized and respected by myself. At the forefront of my mind was the prominent thought that I was privileged to be allowed a private view of another person's past, their pain, and their sorrow. Akin to the research of Liamputtong et al. (1999), I was extremely grateful to have this access and, whilst the research process can be described as laborious at times, I had a renewed vigour and did not feel bogged down by the weight of the work I had undertaken. For me, part of the process of reciprocity was to now harness a responsibility to act upon the information shared and reciprocate further by producing a study that underpins change in the penal establishment.

iv) Feeling Guilty

Reflecting on the research process, I identified that it had left an 'ethical hangover' (Lofland & Lofland, 1995: 28), "the feeling of persistent guilt or unease over what is viewed as a betrayal of the people under study". I was interviewing my criminal peers,

people who share similar first-hand experience of imprisonment and are subjected to the same pains of imprisonment, and they were sharing with me their extremely personal and sensitive experiences, thoughts and emotions, which I was then using with what Etherington (1996: 347) would describe as my “researcher ears” and as a “means to an ends” (Dickson-Swift et al., 2007: 343) in terms of my research aims and objectives. My emotions were spiked by conditions often mirroring those experienced by Liebling (2014: 481):

...when faced with the challenge of being with and getting to know young, Black, mixed race or White, physically healthy men in their twenties or early thirties who had been sentenced to indeterminate or life sentences with tariffs often longer than their ages. Their condition was simply unmanageable, for them, and for us as their witnesses.

This made me feel uncomfortable and voyeuristic even, that I was ‘out’ and they were still metaphorically ‘in’ and living their sentence, albeit in the community, and that I was also exploiting them. In a way, I was, which resonates with the research of Glesne and Peshkin (1992).

England (1994: 85) is emphatic about this proposition when stating “exploitation and possibly betrayal are endemic to fieldwork” and some go as far as labelling this the ‘violence of fieldwork’ (Crapanzano, 1977). Whilst I am mindful of this and the proposition that “fieldwork might actually expose the researched to greater risk and be

more intrusive and more exploitative than more traditional methods” (England, 1994: 85) this is not something that was apparent or implicit during the research and I feel that this was also mitigated by the robust ethical framework put in place. I also felt that this is done in the quest of making things better for those who were now where we had been. I harnessed these emotions to feel a sense of duty to ensure that the research I conducted contributes to making the custodial environment better and improve offender outcomes for my peers currently in custody and entering custody in the future and indeed the people who I interviewed should they return to custody at a later date.

v) Process of Interview

It is postulated by Ely et al., (1991: 49) that “if we undertake to study human lives, we have to be ready to face human feelings”. With this in mind, and given my own experiences imprisonment, I was comfortable enough not to be affected by considerations of vulnerability or marginalisation as I was among my peers and therefore felt it was appropriate to display ‘caring behaviours’ – such as compassion, comfort, concern, empathy, compassion interest, sharing and support (Leininger, 1981: 13). Whilst most of the sample participants were genial, warm, friendly, curious, and keen to be involved and help, what I perhaps was not prepared for was the level of emotion behind the words shared with me. There was anger, rage, frustration, helplessness, resignation across both the ex-prisoner and staff sample that was powerful and delivered in a no-holds barred manner; those individuals did not hold back or measure their delivery. This was exponentially acute amongst those who served indeterminate sentences.

No one did fuck all for me when I was in; just left me there to rot in that shithole. (Graeme)

Annison and Condry (2018: 2) highlight that:

...a pervasive sense of injustice and uncertainty underpins and permeates more specific concerns relating to efforts to progress towards release and managing the stresses of life beyond release [...] Family relationships – both with the prisoner and more widely – are often heavily disrupted [...] significant negative health effects caused by the stress and anxiety. All of this is likely to undermine efforts to rehabilitate individuals who have served an Indeterminate sentence.

This indicates a degree of liminality that these individuals both face and navigate on a daily basis. The majority of those participants subject to indeterminate sentences were frequently disengaged from the focus of the questions and engaged instead with a vitriolic critique of the prison system and how it had as one individual described as, “shat on [them] from a great height, every single fucking day” (Joey).

I felt that for these individuals. The engagement for them was cathartic and gave them a voice to be heard, empowering them to have their say as human beings after being subjected to dehumanizing environment primarily and secondarily to contribute to change. Aresti et al. (2016) highlight that the “voices of marginalised groups are effectively and systematically muted and silenced, both in academic research and in

the work of statutory and non-statutory organizations in the criminal justice field". I could have been more focused in my interviewing and steered these men back to the questions at hand however, with the notions of Aresti et al. (2016) ringing in my ears I made a decision early on to let those men speak their truth and say what they needed to say. After all, what cost was it to me to dedicate some extra of my time to them? The answer was little. As someone formerly imprisoned, I knew extremely well the importance of someone giving you a bit of their time, sometimes just to chat socially, sometimes to allow you to vent your frustrations, whether that be about the system, its treatment of them or a wide range of other personal issues. Theirs are voices which have been silenced or gone unheard for too long and I wanted to ensure that they were heard authentically and given the platform and freedom to do so. Secondary yet and of importance to the research study at hand was the notion that:

...the prisoner's voice is an essential one for exposing bad practice, helping to set standards of decency and acceptability within prison walls and for countering the de-humanization, depersonalization and stigmatization of both prisoners and their families [...] To facilitate lasting and effective penal reform and change they demand to be authentically heard. (Aresti et al., 2016: 13).

Both elements were impossible to disentangle so I embraced them instead.

There was, as far is possible, no apparent blurring of boundaries between myself and my participants and I believe that, by employing these behaviours, I gained a richer and greater depth of insight into the experiences of the participants. I did not present as

being unconsciously biased or overly sympathetic to the participant culture and background, nor as being too close to the culture. As a result, there was no presence of a myopic view precluding my ability to ask requisite questions to achieve the research aims and objectives, nor an inability to introduce and acknowledge an external perspective to the research process. Also, due to the participant knowledge of my Insider status, there was a concern that participants may assume that I possessed a certain amount of expertise or indeed more than I do and that I share a similar understanding, and as such information that may be deemed as obvious to myself may not be disclosed or explained although this did appear to be the case.

In summary, this methodology chapter has outlined the aims and objectives of my study, situating them and their applicability amongst the core areas of interest to HMPPS. It reflects how the research study was adapted in the face of an unprecedented global crisis, to use a predominately qualitative research approach and methods to deliver those aims and objectives. It provided a detailed discussion of the processes of Recruitment, and Sampling as well as that of applied research. It went on to consider in detailed fashion the ethical considerations that were of paramount importance given the nature of the populations being researched and it did so systematically based upon the British Criminological Society and the University of Kent principles of conducting research. Subsequently, I provided an in-depth account of the analytical foundations and scaffolding used in my approach to data analysis. Following on from this, I explored my unique positionality and how this interacts with my statuses as an Insider and Outsider in the research process, including in relation to the use of a gatekeeper in the study for access. The reflexive framework that I employed whilst developing the

research and undertaking the fieldwork was then considered thematically, looking at both researcher and participant experiences of the process of the study.

Lastly, I hope this chapter has given a unique insight into my experiences and feelings as a former prisoner now managing a multiplicity of identities and emotions whilst undertaking research in the criminal justice system. The three chapters that follow are based primarily on this qualitative research and explore the experience of Peer-Led Induction that adult male prisoners face following transfer and transition to the open prison estate in England and Wales and the outcomes of these.

Chapter 6: Cultures of Knowledge

Tick box exercise [...] a special kind of vacuity that is damaging because the tick does not refer to the reality on the ground.

(Boyle, 2020: 30)

This chapter signifies the first of three findings chapters. It primarily focuses on mental health and addressing the first research question, to firstly establish the impact of Peer-Led Induction upon the mental health and wellbeing of people who are imprisoned in open prisons in the early transitional days of custody following transfer. Secondly, it considers how the re-configuration of penal power through the power-sharing initiative of Peer-led induction manifests in the experience of transfer and imprisonment of people who are imprisoned. It illustrates how the Peer-led induction Programme is crucial in terms of impacting mental health as prisoners come into contact with it at time of potential crisis- the process transfer, transition, and adaptation to the open prison. However, it suggests that neither prison induction officers nor Peer Mentors are doing enough to address them. This chapter explores, through the lens of prisoner mentees, their perspectives of those involved in the facilitation and delivery of Peer Led-Induction, whilst also considering the role of prison management and staff in this process of delivering a need driven and effective intervention. In doing so, these perspectives identify themes of disinterest, self-interest, constraint, and lack of trust amongst the staff and peer mentor populations which underpin the issues presented.

The chapter firstly considers the notion of Knowledge Management and Knowledge Sharing in the context of Peer-Led Induction. It firstly establishes the theoretical and

operational role of these concepts within the organisation. It focuses initially on the processes of knowledge conversion and how socialisation and the conversion of tacit into explicit knowledge through dissemination are experienced by induction mentees. It considers the key challenge faced by any knowledge management or knowledge sharing endeavour, surrounding the ability for it to “convince, coerce, direct, or otherwise get people, in this case prison staff and peer mentors, to share their information” (Gupta et al., 2000: 19). The chapter then builds upon the earlier introduced theorisation of the pains of imprisonment by Sykes (1958) and Crewe (2011a; 2011b) to focus on pains arising specifically from the process of transfer and adaptation and how these are evidenced in the mental distress and anguish of those subjected to them, which are pivotal points of foci for this thesis. As pain is synonymous with the experience of imprisonment, the chapter considers that pain has developed from those advanced by Sykes (1958) over half a century ago and argues that these ‘newer’ pains emanate from the reconfiguration of penal power, with the pain of transfer and adaptation/adjustment through *entry shock* and a *fear of the unknown* (Jones, 2007) considered as being experienced most acutely by those received to the open prison. The chapter charts some of the various thoughts and feelings of prisoners, surrounding the uncertainty and anxiety of transfer and adaptation, before and during these processes and how a degree of liminality and, given the conditions of open prisons, ‘double liminality’ interact with this stage of the prison experience.

The chapter thirdly establishes a benchmark through introducing and considering literature from Prison Service Instructions/Orders (PSI’s and PSO’s) which act as guidance for what support prisoners should be afforded in the induction phase of their entry and adaptation to a prison establishment. In doing so, it advances the reality of

what is experienced, and prevalent themes emerge surrounding the motivations of the peers leading induction as well as the prison staff overseeing the process. There is a strong suggestion from the ex-prisoner sample that the presence and application self-interest, disinterest and the indication of tick-box cultures exist around the induction process, present in both mentors and staff, which exacerbates prisoner anxiety at the key juncture of prison transfer and transition.

The chapter then considers a number of structural impediments to the process of Peer-Led Induction. These impediments revolve around the nucleus of ineffective management and resistant staff cultures and reveal the underpinning themes of constraint and lack of trust. Managerialist aims and objectives, which are a dominant discourse in the modern prison, with their top-down approach of what works, are viewed as a bureaucratic culture by the staff sample. As such, they foster negative perceptions of management motivation. This, alongside the presence of ineffective leadership and lack of incentivisation, contributes to a prison officer culture that is resistant to 'buy in' to the vision of management in relation to Peer-Led Induction.

The chapter then considers that resistance is not purely as a result of management practise. It considers that the reconfiguration of power, most visible through the power-sharing between prisoners and staff in Peer-Led Induction, challenges occupational discourses around the identity of the prison officer and how the prison officer should 'do prison.' In doing so it conceptualises how these issues manifest through a "tick-box, bean-counting culture" that prevents prison officer from connecting with offenders, which has long been a source of complaint for former

Justice Secretary, Ken Clarke (The Guardian, 2013). This thesis finds that such a view is supported in conjunction with a glaring lack of motivation to deal with offenders. This is especially apparent about what should be a needs-driven offering, which is in fact diminished by peers and staff fulfilling management and self-serving objectives and goals. This tick-box culture is often referred to and acknowledged as a bureaucratic and external imposition on professional working conditions, which can be found in many organisations around the world (The Guardian, 2013). In prison, it can be said to demonstrate a disproportionate emphasis on following rules and management objectives instead of actually helping those who are imprisoned to have better outcomes surrounding mental health and wellbeing in the stages of entry and adaptation to a new custodial environment. Whilst there is a dominant theme of negativity in these areas, that is not to say that it is a whitewash. There are some pockets of good practise and glimmers of the potential of Peer-Led Induction for those subject to it. However, to realise this potential, the sinister underbelly of issues to its detriment needs to be firstly addressed.

6.1. The Foundations of Knowledge Management and Knowledge Sharing

Knowledge is lifeblood of an organization, and it has been identified as a crucial element for the survival of organizations. It implies that managing knowledge is as important for an organization as other assets are managed. In order to be successful, organizations heavily depend on knowledge that has become a resource and critical success factor.

(Ul-Haq & Anwar, 2015,: 1)

Knowledge Sharing operates in institutional environments characterized by uncertainty, change, and instability that lead to the creation of various challenges.

Issues emerge from these factors which require organisations to quickly and easily adapt to them. The prison is no different. The documented issues surrounding mental health and safer custody of those imprisoned has led to the prison responding by introducing interventions and measures to bring about positive outcomes. The success of such organisational measures is highly dependent on knowledge sharing and knowledge management (Fong et al., 2011). Insights, interpretations, context, experience, and wisdom are all examples of knowledge, and they all help an organisation achieve its objectives, mission, and vision while also enhancing its value. Knowledge sharing takes place between two individuals; one possesses knowledge and the other acquires knowledge. In terms of the Peer-Led Induction, given that the crucial endeavour is to offer reassurance, support and provide information, this should take place between management and staff, intra-staff, between staff and peer mentors and between staff/peer mentors and the mentees with this process involving the sharing of information, ideas, suggestions, and experiences related to adapting to the new prison environment.

Implicit and explicit knowledge are the two categories of knowledge. In contrast to implicit information, which is difficult to share with others because it is very personalised, explicit knowledge is knowledge that can be communicated explicitly (Lai, 2013: 233). Explicit or tacit information can flow between people, or it can be used from others as groups, departments, or organisations. Knowledge sharing refers to the voluntary activity by individuals to provide access to others to their own knowledge and experiences. The main processes of knowledge sharing in Peer-Led Induction revolve around the transfer and dissemination of knowledge between individual and

groups. Marouf (2007) highlights that organizations identify knowledge sharing as a critical issue for a number of reasons, including the growing importance of the value of knowledge and the increasing recognition that tacit knowledge is more valuable than explicit knowledge. Although knowledge is created and preserved by an organization's employees, sharing knowledge with others requires a willingness to cooperate. As a result, sharing knowledge is not a simple procedure. Lack of information exchange can result in the dissemination of misleading, incomplete, and inaccurate information, which is terrible for organisations (Zboralski, 2009).

A core and fundamental expectation is that the Peer-Led Induction should actively facilitate and deliver information sharing. An overarching organisational principle is that “sharing of information at the front-line level is essential in order to provide service users with the right support” (Curtis & Edwards, 2019: 355) and throughout the process of inducting prisoners the Peer-Led Induction should disseminate a range of information to achieve its aims and objectives. However, it goes beyond the simplistic notion of it being purely an information-sharing model as, by virtue of utilising peers and involving staff, it does in fact demonstrate attributes more akin to the concept of Knowledge Management and Knowledge Sharing. This is evidenced through both staff and peers.

Knowledge management is often viewed as an organisational process that covers the “development, storage, retrieval and dissemination of information and expertise within an organisation” (Gupta et al., 2000: 3). The recognition of knowledge as a resource has become more prominent in organisational discourse, especially to ensure

that it stays competitive and also innovative. Organizations have recognised the “vast and largely untapped asset diffused around in the organisation knowledge” (Gupta et al., 2000: 4).

The rationale behind the increased importance of knowledge organisationally is steeped firmly in the belief that effective management of knowledge brings positive outcomes that bring about institutional success. In fact, research evidence knowledge as the most crucial factor for success (Kogut & Zander, 1992; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). Furthermore, effective and judicious use of knowledge also leads to increased productivity and performance (Ul-Haq & Anwar, 2016; Mesmer-Magnus & DeChurch, 2009). Knowledge that is not well managed and shared diminishes easily and rapidly. The tacit knowledge that resides in the minds of people accumulated over time must especially be shared. Knowledge sharing is a related concept and that is defined as the “transference of knowledge among individuals, groups, teams, departments, and organizations” (Ul-Haq & Anwar, 2016). There are many factors that impact knowledge-sharing practices, such as the individuals’ characteristics, as well as the characteristics of groups within the organisation. The organization itself tends to affect the perspective of, and approach to, knowledge sharing. Cultures within groups, management and organisations as a whole interact with the individual and the values and norms associated with them and can influence the degree and flow of knowledge sharing (McKinnon et al., 2003). Knowledge management also fits within a managerialist rationale and approach to the Peer-Led Induction. Some of the primary foundation behind it is the organisational need to be “cost effective and managerially effective in problem solving and decision making” (Gupta et al., 2000: 4).

A post-structural Foucauldian approach to power is arguably at play in the penal establishment. Such an approach means that power is produced and reproduced in social relationships, that is embedded in the way people act, talk and interact with others- their discursive practices. Power is a strategy in which 'one should decipher [. . .] a network of relations, constantly in tension, in activity rather than a privilege that one might possess' (Foucault, 1977: 26). Knowledge is constructed in 'truth games' involving technologies of the self with the help of others (Foucault, 1988). The self is 'made up' to be capable of navigating between discipline and freedom (Engstrand, Å.K. and Enberg, C., 2020). To analyse how people use such technologies in the concept of discursive positioning from positioning theory is relevant (Davies and Harré, 1990). This concept builds on Foucault's idea of subjective positioning; the self is always in the making through its interaction with others and agentive rather than solely determined by social structure. Discursive positioning helps to address individuals' particular experiences within the intervention and institution but without missing out on the discourses within which subjectivity is constructed (Winslade, 2005). With this approach it follows that boundary work is a main concern, the prison has many. How these boundaries are enforced and addressed and how people within them are positioned or position themselves impacts the importance, worth and significance of knowledge (Bucher et al., 2016).

Boundaries are inherent features of the knowledge integration institutionally, especially within the business model of the modern prison. Carlile (2002) identified three boundaries related to domain-specific knowledge: the syntactic, the semantic and the pragmatic, arguing different boundary objects can be used to overcome the

various knowledge-related boundaries. Developing shared practice and mutual understanding has also been suggested as key to overcome semantic problems in knowledge integration (Grant, 1996; Huang et al., 2001; Kleinsmann et al., 2010), a perspective it shares with situated learning theory (Contu and Willmott, 2003). The semantic approach opens up for acknowledging the different opinions and potential conflicts involved in the integration process. Different systems of meaning results in different goals, competing interests, conflicting values and judgements as well as conflicting evaluations of alternatives (Von Meier, 1999). If the knowledge-related boundary is pragmatic and political, knowledge is 'at stake' since actors have invested time and effort in knowledge which is localized and embedded in different practices (Carlile, 2004: 559). Hence, with such boundaries, knowledge becomes an issue of negotiation among organizational members and power is then understood as either enabling or restraining participation in learning contexts, and this is evident in the discussion that follows in relation to the operationalisation of the peer led induction institutionally. (Contu and Willmott, 2003).

Investing in time and relationship building as well as compromises of different interests are imperative (Kellogg et al., 2006) The need for obtaining resources through bargaining, negotiation, alliance and coalition building as well as controlling resources. And notions that boundary objects can enable knowledge integration without demanding agreement or consensus are also pertinent and present organisationally (Lainer-Vos, 2013). Therefore, acknowledgement of the role of power in knowledge integration processes rather than solely establishing that power is prevalent and important to acknowledge, is key. Whilst power is often seen as negative in penal

institutions (Matthews, 2014; Lukes, 2005) power as productive rather than constraining (Heizmann and Olsson, 2015), and as enacted in webs of relations rather than searched for and used as individual resources is just as crucial to consider (Marshall, 2006).

The Foucauldian perspective on power and the emphasis on relationality and self-technology open up for an innovative way of interpreting processes of knowledge integration. Understanding this process of knowledge integration from this perspective, requires focus on the micro-level, on how people position themselves in relation to each other and how that positioning affects the knowledge integration process and the learning involved in it which this chapter goes on to consider illustratively. To Foucault, knowledge is closely connected to power and fundamental to the operation of power. Power forms or creates knowledge in relations. This approach to power signifies that we approach power as relational, that is it 'becomes apparent when it is exercised' (Townley, 1993: 520), and decentred, that is it operates through networks between organizational members (Torfing, 2013). For Foucault (1978), 'power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere' (p. 93),; it means that we need to trace power in several different relations, as earlier discussed when considering its locus. What power does is mobilize energy and knowledge of free actors within a certain discursive framework, so that the different subjectivities always have the possibility to resist which is visible in the data that is presented in the following section (Torfing, 2013: 113). Foucault saw discourses as an institutional infrastructure of distributions of power/knowledge, providing opportunities and constraints for individuals (Deppermann, 2015: 370).

Foucault mainly engaged with technologies of domination and the objectification of the self through dividing practices. Although later work of Foucault was more interested in the creation of human subjectivities, that is, technologies of the self:

“Perhaps I’ve insisted too much on the technology of domination and power. I am more and more interested in the interaction between oneself and others and in the technologies of individual domination, the history of how an individual acts upon himself. (Foucault, 1988, in Martin, 1988: 19)

The relation between the technologies of the self and technologies of domination of others, was described by Foucault (1988) as ‘governmentality’ (p. 19). In an institutional setting, such as the prison, governmentality serves to accomplish results through self-governing and reflexive self-control rather than through external sources of control (Clegg et al., 2002). However, internal technologies of domination of others can still exist as a form of control. Technologies of the self and technologies of domination of others are manifested in discursive positionings and boundary work (Engstrand and Enberg, 2020), performed within an institutional infrastructure of discourses. The resistance involved in this process is imperative and connected to the privileging of certain types of knowledge: ‘What is questioned [by people] is the way in which knowledge circulates and functions, its relations to power’ (Foucault, 1982: 781). The acknowledgement of subjectivity and resistance has implications for learning: learners are discursively positioning themselves in multiple ways (Harman, 2011) and have the potential to choose between professional discipline and freedom, at organisational

level in the prison this has impact upon the function of what is a business like organisation.(Engstrand and Enberg, C., 2020; Foucault, 1988). As such, positioning theory helps operationalize Foucault's theory of power and forms a bridge between the local production of knowledge and the discursive infrastructure (Winslade, 2005).

Positioning theory uses the concept of discursive positioning that builds on Foucault's concept of subjective positioning but focuses more in detail on people's talk and utterances and the production of relationships (Winslade, 2003). Foucault's original concept of subjective positioning was more focused on the systematic regulations of people's lives in society (Foucault, 1978, 1980). Discursive positioning includes both self- and other-positioning (Van Langenhove and Harré, 1999) and they are linked to each other; people are positioned by others and position themselves. Self- and other positioning are thus highly suitable analytical concepts for detecting technologies of domination of others as well as technologies of the self, as the latter implies help from others (Foucault, 1988). As such, positionings can serve both inclusionary and exclusionary, in terms of how the positioned person's knowledge is acknowledged. In addition, positioning theory allows us to understand contradiction and discontinuity in knowledge integration processes. Rather than stressing the need for consensus and agreement, as the knowledge integration literature tends to do, the possibility of contradiction of discursive positioning is necessary for the possibility of change. Positioning of people involves boundary work as organizational members may 'establish, expand, reinforce or undermine boundaries' (Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010: 194). Thus, individuals boundary work within the prison setting can lead to

reinforcement and/or undermining of the infrastructure of discourses and this results in certain effects, which are now explored further (Foucault, 1977)

6.2. Knowledge Conversion

For knowledge to truly realise its full value and to be harnessed to deliver its intended outcomes, especially in the case of Peer-Led Induction, it must be effectively converted and transferred between individuals. The work of Nonaka & Takeuchi (1995) has been drawn upon to develop a typology of knowledge conversion with there being four processes often associated this conversion, namely, socialization, capture, dissemination and internalization: all relevant to Peer-Led Induction although with variability in the level of relevance, implementation and actualisation.

The induction programme follows some principles of what can be termed as 'Knowledge Conversion' (Gupta et al., 2000). This is firstly operationalised through the process of Socialisation, whereby the interactive classroom-based induction components involve the sharing of experiences through observation, imitation, and practice. There are a number of separate classroom and department specific based induction sessions that are employed in Peer-Led Induction, as introduced in chapter one, that cover various aspects of prison life. These sessions involve the sharing of information and experience regarding the function of these specific areas and their function. The general consensus amongst mentees was that the range and variety of information in this modular aspect to the Peer-Led Induction was plentiful and delivered to them, which is a positive outcome. These supplement potential social interactions whereby information is shared. Conversations at the gym, at association,

in the meal queues are all opportunities where peers and staff can socialise with those newly arrived prisoners.

Secondly, there is the conversion of tacit knowledge, from the domains of subjective, cognitive, and experiential learning, such as the knowledge learned in these classroom-based sessions into explicit knowledge in the form of written formats. Sometimes prisoner mentees reported making notes whilst other preferred to supplement the interactive elements with the written information and forms that were issued during these sessions.

There was a lot of information [...] too much to take in at times [...] I
couldn't keep up. (Perry)

I was trying to work out what I needed to prioritise when listening,
but I couldn't so ended up getting proper worked up and flustered.
(Peter)

There were, however, issues with these formats. A number of interviewees found that the number of sessions and the raft of information being presented to them was quite overwhelming and many found that capturing knowledge into explicit forms were difficult. Some of the interviewees expressed that this was due to low literacy levels, whilst others cited attention deficits and difficulties being in the classroom/formal environment anxiety inducing in itself, due to these factors but also when coupled with lived experience of these settings in their formative years.

There needed to be much more support [...] it was like we were invisible and so were they [mentors] [...] I was struggling and I felt isolated and on me own [...] they just weren't approachable or that interested. (Del)

The options to interact with mentors throughout the induction was viewed with caution by a substantial number of interviewees. There was the element of hierarchy that took place. Many interviewees viewed mentors as occupying a lofty position above them amongst the prison population. As such, mentees avoided approaching the mentors for help whilst others were met with an attitude from the mentors that symbolised them as being somewhat an inconvenience or irritant.

It was like I was beneath them, an inconvenience [...] well, that's how I saw it anyways. (Joey)

Others simply stated that the mentors were just not visible to even approach. This undermines the full process of the Peer-Led Induction if knowledge and information cannot be garnered. the confluence of principles, lived experience, context, and insight that serves as the foundation for assimilating fresh experiences and knowledge (Gupta et al., 2000) are factors all undermined by the limited level of interaction.

The PSI governing induction goes on to state that all new prisoners must be provided with a booklet of "[e]ssential information about what will happen during their first few days in the establishment, and including information about the Samaritans, Listeners,

Insiders, and any other peer supporter initiatives” (NOMS, 2015: 10). This pack or booklet should “contain a brief description of what the prisoner can expect from their Offender Supervisor and clarify that they will be allocated an Offender Supervisor during their period in custody who will work closely with their Offender Manager in the community” (NOMS, 2015: 10).

This is a core component of prison induction which is entangled with the process of dissemination. This involves the conversion of tacit to explicit knowledge with this explicit knowledge disseminated through a range of materials both hard copy and digitally presented around the induction units, the departments, and wings. This was largely present alongside socialization in the induction intervention through the issue of induction packs and literature relating to the various areas and elements of the open prison establishment and processes.

To be fair they did give us handouts to refer to and use which were pretty helpful to have a reference point. (Del)

The leaflets with info helped me find my feet a bit by myself really which isn't a bad thing. (Paul)

While there may be deficiencies in the level of detail contained within the literature, in the level of explanation and accessibility of them, and the relevance of the information against offender needs, the provision of explicit knowledge does nonetheless take place and is actually well received by a number of mentee interviewees who viewed

them as a foundational offering in their adaptation to the new custodial setting. However, there was a more critical perception from some of the interviewees who viewed the level of dissemination as a way for staff and mentors to circumvent engagement with the mentees in the induction process. Rather than being a supplementary measure to underpin the peer support mechanism, they were in fact perceived as reducing peer support to a more subordinate role below the information handouts and as such limiting the role of peer support and the opportunity to engage with it.

Internalization is the process of experiencing knowledge through an explicit source. In this sense an individual can reconcile the experience of reading, listening, and learning with that of prior experience. This knowledge internalization, as the last stage, is key at the formative and transfer phases of knowledge transfer process, but further at the knowledge promotion and application stage. It can be regarded as the reverse behaviour of the externalization of tacit knowledge, *inter alia*, the implicitization of explicit knowledge on the basis of innovation. In order to master a subject, knowledge subjects must first assimilate explicit knowledge into a higher level of tacit knowledge. In the context of Peer-Led Induction, success in this realm can be conceptualised with success measured twofold, as mentors reconcile these areas to deliver an effective intervention with mentees then being able to adapt and navigate the early days in the open establishment in a manner that does not exacerbate, and relieves, the pains of *entry shock and adaptation*.

The governing PSI (NOMS, 2015: 9) states that prisoners must be placed on an appropriate induction and “as far as possible, induction staff should confirm that prisoners understand the information they have been given and know where to seek further guidance”. However, despite this key objective, unintended outcomes were often the reality:

I was lost. I didn't have much idea about what was going on and I didn't feel I had the stuff I needed to figure it out [...] What I got was not what I needed and didn't answer the questions I had [...] questions went unanswered and led to more questions and this just got me worked up and ramped my anxiety up [...] It was testing.
(Rich)

Prison Service Orders/Instructions clearly advance that “Governors must ensure that all prisoners are given the information they need on the issues that are important to them” (NOMS, 2015: 2). However, the very use of peers to deliver induction, alongside staff, symbolises a more in-depth and complex notion than simply sharing information. Induction Peer Mentors, and also staff, should deliver knowledge, the core rationale for using them. Knowledge is more than just information. Knowledge is “information combined with experience, context, interpretation and reflections”, a “high-value form of information” (Davenport et al., 1998: 43). As Gupta et al. (2000: 17) state, it is “an opportunity to find, select, organise and disseminate and transfer important information and expertise necessary for dynamic learning” with such learning being part of the wider induction process. Using peers to support and deliver induction allow

the intervention to go beyond information sharing and foster experiential exchange with lived experience a vehicle for connect to allow for a more effective intervention to deliver better outcomes for those entering the prison environment. However, as Davenport et al. (1998: 43) have rightly recognised, it is a complicated process to “successfully transfer it from one person to another”. They go on to stipulate that motivation to “create share and use knowledge is an intangible critical success factor for virtually all knowledge management.”

There is the inference from the staff and peer self-serving motives, which have been thus far described in this chapter, that these have had a detrimental impact on the induction process and are an indication of insufficient information sharing, as Joey claims:

They're the ones who are set here [the mentors], they're meant to be helping us [...] they should know what we need [to know], but they don't give a fuck about telling us [...] guess that is cos they don't give a fuck about us or anyone but themselves.

A key challenge, therefore, to the management of the Peer-Led Induction model appears to be, as Gupta et al. (2000: 19) recognise, “how to convince, coerce, direct or otherwise get people to share their information”. This is especially relevant to staff which is covered later in this chapter.

They are there to help, right? All they ended up doing was ramping up my anxiety and stress. (Steve)

As has already been shown, the peer mentors may have information they could share with mentees who are exposed to the intervention but frequently decide not to do so. This is due in part to the motivational issues. It's possible that, content aside, there is a culture among peer mentors and, to some extent, the staff that lessens the efficiency of knowledge-sharing and learning processes. It is to these and similar realities about knowledge sharing to which this chapter now turns and how they evidence induction as a tick box exercise.

6.3 The Pains of Transfer and Adaptation

...behaviour is situationally determined in the fullest sense of the concept, stemming from a complex of interactions between persons and environments at a given time.

(Adams, 1992: 315)

Sykes (1958) introduced the notion of the pains of imprisonment as a deprivation thesis to explore how imprisonment is experienced by those subjected to it. A key foundation of the work of Sykes was that these psychological pains could serve to be more damaging than overt physical punishments, which this thesis supports. This was built upon by the theorisation of Foucault (1977), who considered that the replacement of this physical punishment may by a more civilised process through processes of discipline and regulation yet more penetrative in nature. Crewe (2011a: 512) considers the experience of imprisonment and control is softened through policies and practices

that, as he describes, are "creating a kind of buffer zone, between the prisoner and the hard, coercive power on which incarceration ultimately relies". He goes on to note that the pains of imprisonment previously identified still exist institutionally, yet he acknowledges that the reconfiguration of penal power has "added an additional layer of frustrations" (ibid: 512) to co-exist with these existing pains, the *pains of uncertainty and indeterminacy*, the *pains of psychological assessment*, and the *pains of self-government*; "different in their sources, their feel, and their effects". These are neither an exhaustive nor exclusive set of pains that are experienced. In fact, limiting oneself to the narrow confines of Sykes and Crewe's pains neglects a range of other pains associated with differing aspects of the experience of imprisonment. Of the other pains of imprisonment that can be identified, there are two especially pertinent to this study and Peer-Led Induction: *entry shock* and *adaptation*, with *adaptation* in the context of this thesis centring around *fear of the unknown*, which the findings of this thesis provide further evidence of.

Entry shock is described as "the turmoil individuals face during their initial period of incarceration when they enter the criminal justice system" (Jones, 2007: 23). However, it is this thesis contention that this extends to reception into any prison environment, whether from the community or being received after transfer from another establishment. At this juncture many prisoners can be overwhelmed by the imposition of a new regime and the change in their lived reality (Jones, 2007; Caird, 1974). It is evidenced that entering the criminal justice system can be a situation that underpins increased self-harm, suicidality and mental health issues, due to its disruptive and chaotic equilibrium distorting effect. This is especially true in the early days of custody.

However, when considering the early days of custody, the stressor points of transfer between prisons and entry to a new establishment can also be included. Although literature suggests that the transition from freedom to prison is associated with the higher rates of self-harm and suicide due to it being more sudden than a transfer between incarceration, yet this does not mean that it is not still experienced acutely (Jones, 2007; Blaauw et al., 1998; Ingram et al., 1997).

I didn't have a clue what to expect [...] you hear so many different things you just don't know what it's going to turn out like. (Peter)

It was torture waiting [...] they don't tell you when you are going to transfer for security reasons so every day I was waiting for the knock on the door last minute to tell me to pack my stuff ready to transfer [...] I was living out of banana boxes packed with my stuff ready to go. (Jimmy)

In fact, when transferring from closed conditions to open conditions this can be a protracted process waiting for paperwork to be completed, signed off and computed, then waiting for transport booking and for spaces becoming available. Here, the suddenness is replaced by uncertainty and rumination that comes with awaiting the next step to freedom that you have been approved for- a source of profound anxiety. A number of interviewees concurred with this position and said that waiting to transfer to open conditions was far worse an experience for them than entering custody from the community and there was almost the presence as evidenced above of a 'pre-entry

shock’ as they prepared for the inevitable knock at the door to tell them they were transferring, although when that knock would come was unknown and increased prisoner’s anxieties.

The transfer to a new establishment also signifies that “leave one world or life and enter another” (Jones, 2007: 25). Again, originally intended in relation to those transitioning from the community to custody, it can however, be extended to inter prison transfer. A number of the interviewees had experienced a number of differing ‘worlds’ through the various prisons and associated regimes that they had experienced on their journey. In their early stage of transition, it can be said that there is evidence of liminality as prisoners hold on to aspects of their previous prison and regime whilst trying to acculturate to and reconcile their unfamiliar environment. At this point as Harvey (2007: 31) muses, “neither relinquished their hopes from which they had been torn, nor yet accepted their existence within a new enclosed order”.

Years of doing things one way, then bang it was turned on its head.

Things were so different, I kept making comparisons to my old nick but they weren’t the same [...] in hindsight I dunno why I did, they were totally different prisons, security, and all that [...] just putting more pressure on myself I guess. (Steve)

This is evidence of *entry shock* when arriving at the prison, a theme that was shared almost unanimously amongst the ex-prisoner interviewees. Despite the fact that some interviewees had been in numerous prisons during their sentences longitudinally and given some had been in open prisons before and experienced the process of transfer,

it still was an environment that caused acute feelings of fear and anxiety, arguably due to the ever-changing construct of the prison. The penal estate and the institutions within it are in a constant state of flux, ever changing as a result of multiple dynamic factors, so the prison will always as a result be different every single time, inducing the state of fear. This then becomes a process, moving on to an early construct of *adaptation* founded upon an acceptance of the new situation and world within which prisoners find themselves within. As time goes by this adaptation is elevated to the point where prisoners not only have better adaptation, but they are also able to apply their adaptation to benefit from it (Jones, 2007; Harvey, 2007).

I was scared shitless [...] I was trying to front it out, so no-one picked up on it, but just sitting in the reception I was totally on edge [...] things were about to change and the consequences of not getting it were gonna mess things up for me and my family. (Joey)

I was so close, close to spending time at home with my family and getting back to normality [...] it was pressuring though cos I could see the high security prison across the road, and I knew I could end up back there at any point. (Peter)

The idea of liminality and its construct were introduced and established in Chapter 3. However, this thesis extends this notion. It does so by identifying the presence of a 'double liminality' whereby prisoners in the open prison do not just occupy a position between their former incarcerated world and present incarcerated world, but also a

position between the present occupied world and the free world. This double liminality is especially acute given the prospect of a return to more onerous imprisonment or freedom. The stakes are high, so this liminality certainly exposes why *entry shock* is as profound as the interviewees state, encapsulated in the quotes above.

...anxiety went sky high [...] I overthink at the best of times but new prison, new people, new rules, new things to learn it kind of takers over your thoughts. I was obsessing over it and it was stressing me out. (David)

Fear is a word that has been mentioned on a number of occasions so far and also by those interviewed. *Entry shock* does not exist on its own in the early days of experiencing a custodial setting and it is associated with *fear of the unknown*, which is a particularly acute experience amongst those transferring and transitioning.

I didn't know what was coming next [...] I had some ideas or guesses, but I weren't sure [...] that's a surreal and scary position [...] just not knowing. Waiting. (Freddy)

Fear of the unknown is arguably a manifestation of a lack of information that individuals are given in relation to the situation and environment that they find themselves in and this was as evidenced above a common theme amongst those entering the open prisons into which they were received. Some of the underlying conditions for this fear resonate with the research of Jones (2007) who found that this was often the product

of a criminal justice system interviewees were exposed to that kept them firmly shut out. In the prison environment *fear of the unknown* is associated with uncertainty surrounding the prison itself, family ties and the liminality earlier introduced can exist inside a vacuum until adaptation is achieved. As such, pain continues to exist in the face of fear. However, as Adams (1992) muses, prisoners have adjustment issues. Therefore, the ability to address this at the time when it is experienced most acutely, through intervention in the form of Peer-Led Induction, is crucial in mitigating the pain experienced. All too often limited strategies for coping are offered or, as in the case of Peer-Led Induction, when it is offered it does not deliver what it should do to help those imprisoned adapt in an expedited manner. This is often due to it being undermined by responsibilisation, which is often perceived as a faux-motive for more sinister undercurrents surrounding staff motivations to help prisoners which are considered later in this thesis.

6.4. Establishing the Basics: Doing the bare minimum at best

As long as hit the first-night requirements that's the priority.

(Officer Kev)

We have to follow the guidelines as set down by the PSI and management.

(Officer Woody)

Prison Service Instructions (PSI) is a term that has been mentioned already and it refers to a collection of policy documents that provide specific information about the rules, regulations, and guidelines that must be followed in operational contexts. These are the primary legal documents that govern the prison system. The procedures to be

followed are outlined in PSI 07/2015 (NOMS, 2015) with regard to being taken into custody, spending the first night in jail, and the induction process. The main result of the first night in custody is that "prisoners are kept safe and supported during their first night in prison," as well as having their urgent needs handled and this signifies the importance of supporting prisoner mental health and wellbeing. It continues to emphasise the severe trauma that offenders go through when ties to their families, communities, and future are severed. As a result, focus is placed in custody on "tackling safer custody difficulties during the first 24 hours and beyond is expected to yield maximum value in this early time," as "many self-inflicted deaths and self-harm events occur between the first 24 hours, first week, and first month." Peer supporters "may offer additional help to convicts, particularly during the first night" (NOMS, 2015: 7). Prison staff acknowledge this importance and focus as according to Officer Kev, as a prison officer involved in the induction process, "The main thing is we check they aren't going to cut up or string up.

Prisoners assessed as being at risk of suicide or self-harm should have support identified and managed with all newly arrived prisoners assessed as part of the reception health screen process to determine whether they are at risk of suicide or self-harm. (NOMS, 2015: 13)

This is important as "prisoners [...] are at increased risk of suicide/self-harm, and the risk occurs with transferred prisoners as well as those on initial reception into custody" (NOMS, 2015: 13). Staff members are therefore required to understand and abide by national and local guidelines on avoiding suicide and managing self-harm that are

outlined in safer custody policies. Despite the fact that this assessment was always conducted, all participants described it as robotic process lacking fluidity.

It was like a conveyor belt [...] one after the other, in and out job.

(Steve)

Interviewees said that once staff members were confident they were not going to harm themselves or take their own lives, they moved on without addressing the causes of these manifestations, which included anxiety, stress, and depression, all of which they self-reported having.

I was so stressed [...] I told 'em but they said see healthcare in the morning and that it was just a bit of anxiety [...] I bet if I had told 'em I wanted to cut up they'd have paid attention. (Billy)

They weren't interested in my mental health issues [...] I told 'em I was on meds, but they didn't wanna chat about that or how I felt- just if I had problems with self-harm and thoughts of suicide. (Webby)

It indicates that once the offender disclosed that they did not feel suicidal or motivated to commit self-harm, they were not given the proper consideration. Staff members are therefore required to understand and abide by national and local guidelines on avoiding suicide and managing self-harm that are outlined in safer custody policies.

Despite the fact that this assessment was always conducted, all participants described it as a mechanical process. It indicates that once the offender disclosed that they did not feel suicidal or motivated to commit self-harm, they were not given the proper consideration.

Being in an open prison does not in itself mitigate or nullify the effects of imprisonment and indeed being an offender in the open estate comes with its own pains of imprisonment. The notion of *entry shock* and *pains of adaptation* are experienced most acutely at this juncture. However, again, the prison staff appeared to have little awareness of this acuteness and the wider range of its manifestations and sought instead to adopt a tick-box approach in relation to managing self-harm and suicidality, without exploring the mental health deficiencies that this manifest from.

Support and guidance cost nothing, but it seemed to be a big thing to them [staff and peer mentors], no interest in me [...] couldn't even get the basics right [...] kick a man when he is already down was what it was like. (Jimmy)

It is widely acknowledged throughout the PSI that some prisoners received into prison “will need support and assistance to resolve urgent and immediate issues arising as a result of their imprisonment and which adversely affect their lives (or the lives of others) outside the prison” (NOMS, 2015: 9). The PSI (NOMS, 2015, p9) states that the prison establishment needs to “[h]elp prisoners to uphold their immediate

responsibilities to others by assisting them to solve immediate problems and make arrangements to cover the time they will spend in prison.”

For example, they may be worried about having left family members without an explanation of where they are. It states that during the initial interview:

...staff must take time to listen to prisoners and offer them help and support in resolving or managing their most urgent issues and in particular those that arise directly as a result of their imprisonment, time and resources must be available to resolve issues that cannot be left unresolved overnight and to provide personal help and support to prisoners as needed. (NOMS, 2015: 9).

Ideally, we would like to spend more time with them and do more, but we just don't have the time [...] the best we can do is a quick first night interview to cover the basics that we have to do. (Officer Kev)

There was a sense of disinterest, but it was clear from the officers' responses that they felt they could, and would like to, do more but lacked the time to do so. As a result, they were forced to make do with a meagre offering that fell short of assuaging newcomers' worries and problems, and of the level of support that both staff and inductees would hope for.

The PSI (NOMS, 2015) governing induction states that the expectation is that first night staff should be supported by Induction Insiders in this task. The peer mentors involved in the Peer-Led Induction should shoulder the responsibility of being bound by the PSI directly or to ensure that mental health issues experienced by prisoners are addressed. This is the responsibility of prison staff who are involved in the induction process. However, there were alarming deficiencies in this area in terms of the support offered by peers to contribute to achieving the PSI.

The peers couldn't wait to get me out the door so that they could crack on with cooking their dinner and playing pool [...] every time I asked a question they just fobbed me off and told I'd figure it out as I went along... (James)

As soon as I signed their paperwork, they did a Houdini and vanished, and I never saw them again during the time I was on the induction wing. (Rich)

The comments above clearly indicate a distinct lack of interest from the peers in assisting with this process, and there was a prevalent perspective that the peers were only interested in having their paperwork signed off which indicates to others that they had 'done their job.'

The PSI states that:

Equally, some prisoners may need additional support and assistance in understanding and adapting to the prison environment and that all prisoners new to custody and new to the establishment must be provided with key information relevant to their first few days in the establishment. (NOMS, 2015: 10).

The PSI also recognises that “prisoners new to custody are likely to find the reception and first night periods confusing and even overwhelming, and that staff should try to help them settle in and overcome their anxieties” (NOMS, 2015: 7). It states that staff should also ensure prisoners are aware that safer custody is amongst the highest custodial priorities, with the responsibility of these measures being both effective and the establishment Governor’s responsibility. When considering the first research question, what is apparent is that the process and period of induction is identified and evidenced as being a difficult time for prisoners, with mental health and wellbeing issues and needs not being adequately addressed in the early stages of the Peer-Led Induction, whether by the prison officers or those peer mentors supporting.

6.5. “We seek them here, we seek them there” (Davies, 1966)

The interviewees, however, overwhelmingly agreed that staff and peers helping prisoners to acclimatise and settle to overcome anxiety was not the case. Although the officer and peers met with the mentees and ticked the box, the majority of the people who were interviewed said that they did not disseminate the required information as instructed. Additionally, they stated that on the first night, both the peers and the induction staff did not adhere to these rules entirely. Others provided recollections of

receiving piecemeal paper-based information, such as timetables for induction activities for the coming days, before being sent on their way. Many of these came with no explanation and many of these sessions were reported later as not run-on time or even run at all.

Some reported only being told the roll call times and mealtimes and asked whether or not they had any thoughts of suicide and/or self-harm, signifying that these were the basics that were deemed necessary for a prisoners' immediate adaptation needs. In this context, the key concept is need and, more accurately, unmet needs of those experiencing their adaptation to the new institution. It is clear that staff and peers once again carried out a meagre attempt to partially satisfy a guideline rather than implementing and delivering a needs-driven offering.

Everyone is out for themselves [...] they ain't interested in helping us
settle in and adjust [...] They are only interested in what suits them.
(Rich)

All officers interviewed were quick and vociferous in their presentation of heavy workloads and managerial pressure to meet guidelines, not only creating huge time constraints impacting the ability to do their job as they would like but resulting in a culture whereby staff seemingly do everything by the book rather than using their professional judgement. It seems that the shackles of "unhelpful" government targets and guidelines require the adherence to centrally prescribed ways of working, diminishing any prospect of local-level autonomy in aspects of the practice. However,

as this chapter also identifies, there is a semblance of autonomy within the Peer-Led Induction for staff to manage the process within the parameters of their management decreed focus. This begs the question of whether they could have actually done more?

No time. They sit on their arse drinking coffee in the office. (Jimmy)

The majority of mentees interviewed definitely thought more could be done and expressed the perspective that officers and peers 'hid behind' the sentiment that they were tied down by paperwork and as a result didn't have the time to deliver the intervention appropriately, when the reality was that, in fact, they preferred not to carry out their duties as prescribed.

Likewise, the peers delivering induction were eager to bemoan the volume of paperwork and the tick-box culture, although again the consensus among the mentees interviewed was that they also hid behind this notion and demonstrated a lack of interest in the role they were supposed to be carrying out. As Rich says:

There is a fair bit of info, but they aren't interested in going through it with you. They just want your squiggle [signature] to say you've read it and they are covered. (Rich)

The officers kept impressing the recurring sentiment that there was a distinct lack of time to focus on the care of transitioning prisoners. This is situated within a framework of the 'violence of austerity' with austere conditions and a lack of staff combined with

a diverse set of offenders often presenting with complex needs and tremendous pressure from management to do more for less and comply with rules and regulations. These arguably culminate in culturing an environment and, more specifically, Peer-Led Induction interventions that are devoid of being conducive with effectiveness and promoting positive wellbeing outcomes.

Given this much presented theme of a lack of time, it was not surprising that officers welcomed the use of peers leading the induction, although as this chapter later covers, this is not a unanimous consensus within prison officer culture. Staff interviewed, however, actively 'contracted out' to peers on a regular basis, showing a willingness to share power for the purpose of managing their time more effectively but also to 'make things a lot easier for us' (Officer Emily). This resonates with the literature considered in chapter 4. Peer support prisoners effectively act as a diversion service on the frontline for dealing with prisoner questions and queries, thus allowing time for professional staff to be deployed in other areas of the prison and to do other duties in their role. What was clear was that there was a much greater focus and concern in relation to the day-to-day tasks associated with the running of the wing and prison generally rather than with the process of the induction programme and mentee needs. The pitfalls of power-sharing in this sense are that, even though the peer supporters become interred into the operational structure, it is compromised and a fragile proposition, given the almost careless delegation of such power to these peers. In this sense, the self-serving motivations of staff become the priority and result in what Liebling & Crewe (2017: 907) refer to as power being handed to peers in an "informal, collusive and unaccountable" manner.

The induction orderlies run the show [...] The kangas [prison officers] let them do whatever they like, sort them out access to their property and treat them easier if they make their life easier and do what they should be doing. (Pauley)

There is the strong presence observed amongst the prison interviewees of prisoner hierarchy when it comes to the highly regarded roles in prison, such as peer support work. Seemingly, prisoners with the greatest level of credibility, influence and ingratiation amongst staff, and sometimes their peers, are perceived as attracting influential work placements. This is coupled with accompanying perks and benefits such as greater freedom of movement within the prison walls, greater access to staff, favourable parole reports and being shown in a favourable light with prison gatekeepers – these often offered in exchange for them exerting their influence over the new inductees, almost as a form of governance. These notions form the basis for mentors ‘feathering the nest’, whereby the true rationale for being a peer supporter is for self-serving motivations such as trafficking of contraband, extortion, and bullying.

This is evidenced in the research findings through diminished staff authority, a steeper prisoner hierarchy and imbalances of power in the sharing initiative, all of which serve to re-enforce and exacerbate the triggers and stressors identified by ex-offender participants, creating the impression of what Dilulio (1987) terms a ‘corrupt alliance’.

You do not get any of the things you are really after, such as prisoner wellbeing and personal development, which we know are linked to all the outcomes we are interested in, until all the basic hygiene things, such as policing and security, staff professionalism, respect, humanity and safety, are in place. (Liebling, as seen on Parliamentlive.tv, 2017)

However, a range of underpinning factors permeate the intervention leading to this point. It is to these factors that the chapter now turns through the lens of Managerialism and Staff cultures.

6.6. A Recipe for Disaster: Managerialism and Staff Culture

Culture has been identified as a pivotal construct that can either enable or obstruct knowledge sharing and transfer (Ul-Haq & Anwar, 2016). Culture is “a system of beliefs rooted in the society and expressed through the behaviour of the people and organizations” (ibid). Culture is documented as a key factor in relation to knowledge sharing and knowledge transfer, in role as the precursor to knowledge sharing.

They [management] tell, we do, it's that simple [...] they don't need us to help them with that. (Officer Kev)

That said, managerialist approaches of the prison institution to Peer-Led Induction are an issue, eroding the notion of a community culture. Such managerialism is described as “a set of beliefs and practices at the core of which is the assumption that better

management is an effective solvent” (Pollit, 1993: 1). Deshpande et al. (1993) explain community culture as a culture where the entire focus is on cohesiveness of employees, rather than achieving goals. In this construct, employees participate in organisational decision-making and their satisfaction is a key driver and consideration. This is sadly lacking in the case of Peer-Led Induction, the officer sample expressing a lack of involvement in decision making to the extent of being ‘cut out’ by management.

It’s about ticking the box for the things they focus on. Everything else
is a free for all. (Officer Woody)

Staff perceptions seem to align with a perspective of management as one behind a bureaucratic culture; by focussing on the adherence to rules and procedures it overlooks assets such as “insights, intuitions, hunches, gut feelings, values, images, metaphors and analogies” (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995: 5). Literature (Ul-Haq & Anwar, 2015) has evidenced that such culture can have a positive relation with knowledge-sharing behaviours. However, this is not the case in relation to the Peer-Led Induction, especially when considering the relationship between management and staff. Officer Kev’s comment is indicative of this:

Why should I bother helping them? They don’t give a shit and they
treat us like shit so why help them?

Organizational culture has been recognized as a significant barrier to knowledge sharing by many (Ul-Haq & Anwar, 2016), acting as an omnipresent barrier to

knowledge sharing and transfer in the institution as well as undermining the process of Peer-Led Induction, given that prison officers are acknowledged as “a diverse group, defending distinctly different visions and versions of the prison officer role” (Crawley, 2004: 168).

The older staff who have been in the job for years are a bit more old school and don't like the new approach [...] they are more about giving out orders to people. (Officer Emily)

When they [staff from other units] come onto the unit to cover, they are really dismissive of us and how we do things. They don't even make the effort to do things our way. (Officer Lily)

This signifies variability within the occupational group of the prison officers. They have a range of different attitudes, values and visions and the comments from the staff interviewees is illustrative of what Crawley (2004: 188) conceptualises as “pulling in other directions”. It is clear that there is resistance to the notion of power-sharing as this challenges traditional officer culture and hierarchy. Some officers create the impression that this sits outside their belief systems and attitudes to doing prison work; these are seemingly hard to relinquish when considering the staff interviewees comments. In this sense, they become fragmented as ‘the old guard’, “which associated competence with masculinity, physical strength, and emotional toughness” (Crawley, 2004: 10). There is the notion from those staff interviewed that they saw these staff members as being aligned with Crawley's (2004: 9) description of being “too

disillusioned, too cynical, too frustrated, too frustrated or simply too old to buy into the organisations new ideal”, in this case, the Peer-Led Induction.

Peer-Led Induction is about building relationships and rapport from our perspective [...] but other staff don't share that perspective.
(Officer Emily)

Staff not sharing the ethos of a Peer-Led Induction also undermines the value of establishing relationships. Within the notion of power-sharing and reconfigured penal power, there has been a shift to developing positive relationships between staff and prisoners moving away from historic adversarial approaches.

There are some officers who don't get the changes [...] they think that they can do the induction without the use of prisoners [...] It's like they are a threat to them and the job. (Officer Emily)

They [resistant staff] don't like that we talk to prisoners and aren't as full on [as them] [...] they seem to think that there needs to be a divide, like an us and them kind of thing. (Officer Lily)

The comments above sit firmly in the realm of Peer-Led Induction officers and the induction intervention running in ways that are “contrary to the norm” (Crawley, 2004: 204). This means that interactions with prisoners deviate and depart from traditional institutional ethos and are met with resentment, antagonism and scepticism from

officers failing to “internalise and make it [power-sharing through induction] their own” (Gabriel, 1993: 135).

A theme emanating from the staff interviewees is that of openness to change, which is acknowledged as a fundamental cultural attribute behind the exchange of knowledge (Al-Adaileh & Al-Atawi, 2011). Openness facilitates effective communication in an organization, and this can be extended to within intervention (Magnier-Watanabe, 2011). It is proffered that “[g]ood communication along with a climate of trust, openness, and sense of collegiality helps in the creation of an engaging environment that facilitates tacit knowledge sharing” (Nakano et al., 2013: 293). An issue that impacts the Peer-Led Induction, however, is that when there is lack of time and workload is heavy, sharing and transfer of knowledge becomes difficult.

We are flat out all [...] there is so much to do and so little time, we have to make tough calls about what to prioritise [...] sometimes, well quite often, there are things we just can't do. (Officer Kev)

If they [management] gave us proper resources we would be able to do everything that's needed, not just the things that get checked up on. (Officer Woody)

This can be situated within the notion that time pressure provides conditions that preclude knowledge sharing. Because of the violence of austerity within the prison estate, work pressure has also increased, which makes it difficult for prison staff to both involve themselves and do so effectively in knowledge-sharing.

I'd genuinely like to do more for them [prisoners], but my hands are tied. (Officer Emily)

Thus, heavy workload is a fundamental reason for having limited or no time for knowledge sharing. This issue around knowledge sharing is evident in staff-to-staff communication as well as staff-to-prisoner communication. The perception of staff and mentors engaged in this process is, however, one that is vastly different in the eyes of the ex-prisoner interviewees, as discussed earlier in the chapter. Even though both perspectives compete, what is unequivocal is that they are to the detriment of the Peer-Led Induction intervention.

Both profit-making and non-profit organisations view organisational performance as a critical issue. Increasing performance is something that most businesses want to do. Several factors have been identified in the literature as having an effect on organisational performance and its improvement, including organisational culture, strategy, individual and organisational learning, employee involvement, and commitment to organisational goals (Bhatti et al., 2011; Abu-Jarad et al., 2010; Uzkurt et al., 2013).

Additionally, the non-economic facets of an organization's social and societal interactions and competitive success elements that affect the effectiveness of its operations can be referred to as operational performance. Five criteria are typically used to evaluate operational performance: cost, quality, delivery, flexibility, and

innovation. These non-financial metrics are well-liked because they may be utilised to convert a strategy and vision into a tool that affects performance and produces superior performance.

Management support has been shown in research into knowledge sharing and transfer “as a motivator or enabler of knowledge sharing” (Ul-Haq & Anwar, 2016: 10) with support stemming from management having a profound impact on knowledge sharing in practice (Cavaliere & Lombardi, 2015). Management leadership has a pivotal role in the promotion of knowledge sharing and transfer in any organisation and the prison is no different. Central to the role is the ability to nurture and develop trust amongst employees as well as promote them to share and exchange their knowledge. Unfortunately, there was a lack of trust in prison management evidenced by the staff interviewees, with Rivera-Vazquez et al. (2009) identifying that management can take the form of a cultural barrier to knowledge sharing. Such lack of trust has been identified as the biggest barrier that inhibits sharing of knowledge with others in the organization (Ul-Haq & Anwar, 2016). They suggest that distrust between individuals hinders the ability to share knowledge within and between organisations.

They just want to hit their targets [...] that’s their concern. (Officer Kev)

The staff interviewees indicated the perception of self-serving and selfish motivations of management rather than demonstrating effective leadership. As considered in chapter 4, less pressure on staff resources can support management to meet their targets, with reducing staff workload also aligned with reductions in staff turnover, and

a more cost-effective and captive workforce than that of utilising paid staff. Effective Leadership enables knowledge sharing and transfer organisationally. However, the combination of deficient management support and poor leadership have hindered the successful sharing and transfer of knowledge in the prison environment. This has led to a gulf in knowledge especially in relation to the design, implementation and evaluation of the intervention, which feed into issues in the Peer-Led Induction in these areas. As identified by McNichols (2010), lack of top management support acts as a barrier to knowledge sharing and transfer. There is a lack of focus on the individual as people with differing attributes that are all essential to the success of the institution and the mechanisms of the institution. This creates major problems to “convince, coerce or direct people to share their information” (Gupta et al., 2000: 10).

On the other hand, poor leadership acts as a barrier to knowledge sharing and transfer. There is also a lack of motivation in the construct of recognition, praise, and incentivisation that encourages the knowledge sharer to disseminate their knowledge to others (Gururajan & Fink, 2010). According to Dysvik et al. (2013), employees who voluntarily participate in the process of knowledge donation are more likely to be recognised for their efforts and intellectual capital, which in turn facilitates their managers' attempts to gather information. Additionally, participating in the process of knowledge donation can be crucial for organisations since it enhances their knowledge base by gradually changing individual information into collective and organisational knowledge (Alhady et al., 2011) Measuring organizational performance can be performed using various objectives and measurements. The performance of an effective Peer-Led Induction delivering reduced self-harm and mental health issues and

safer custody outcomes is the gold standard measure of how well the prison achieves its objectives in relation to Safer Custody.

Just like prisoners are incentivised to display certain behaviours and practices, the same can apply to staff to support the transfer of knowledge to ensure the intervention is in an optimum state and to overcome some of the managerialist issues that are to its detriment in relation to management and staff relationships. However, this is sorely lacking.

I do what their priorities are [...] that way I can't be criticised.

(Officer Kev)

Staff also evidence a culture of fear and ambivalence towards management, and this transcends into the Peer-Led Induction which itself is seen as aligned with managerialist strategy. The unrelenting top-down pressure of managerialist demands has resulted in staff being rigid and not prepared to deviate beyond these constraints. This is a sign of a high level of uncertainty avoidance in the prison, which is measured by how reluctantly individuals embrace ambiguity and uncertainty. People are more risk-averse and inclined to accept and adhere to norms, policies, and laws inside the institution under this high uncertainty avoidance culture. The managerialist approaches stifle the 'wriggle room' for staff to be more entrepreneurial in some respects of the Peer-Led Induction. Intolerance to new ideas and behaviours is also a key component of this and can be evidenced with the staff not embracing their reconfiguration of penal power through the power-sharing of Peer-Led Induction.

Governors must ensure that all prisoners are given the information they need on the issues that are important to them. (NOMS, 2015: 2)

However, there is a lack of balance as there is some evidence of staff having freedom within the intervention to develop it and construct it. In effect there is a structure within a structure, with staff evidencing high uncertainty avoidance stemming from top-down approaches and towards the managerialist peer support intervention and those associated with it. Yet, they are also able to evidence some semblance of low uncertainty avoidance through them being able to have more individualism when the time and resources allow and when they do not clash with management priorities. This low certainty avoidance in the context of Peer-Led Induction is, however, fraught with issues surrounding inconsistency and variability in design, implementation and delivery, which may not be conducive with delivering the intended outcomes of the intervention. In fact, this process of assembling the peer intervention and its content from a perspective of what staff and peers deem 'is best' or 'what prisoners need' symbolises a lack of connection with input from those that matter, the prisoners coming into contact with the intervention. The lack of evaluation that permeates the peer led intervention is indicative of this and leads the intervention to deviate away from a 'needs driven model' Given the findings directly applicable to the Peer-Led Induction as proposed by Curtis and Edwards (2019: 358), a prominent consideration of intervention design for any service is to ask, "for whose benefit is this service intended?". It is argued that "the least successful [information sharing initiatives] have been those designed and imposed from a central bureaucratic perception of the needs

of individuals and those committed to assisting them” (Curtis & Edwards, 2019, p358). There have been numerous examples from those interviewed which categorically and unanimously indicate that this is indeed the case, and that the induction model falls within this category and is far from a needs-driven model.

I’m not saying that they didn’t think it was the right stuff [information], but it wasn’t what I needed, what I wanted it more importantly when I needed it [...] it was more suited to them [staff and mentors]. (Peter)

It has been acknowledged that teams “fail to share information when they most need to do so” and “deviate from the optimal utilization of information” (Mesmer-Magnus & DeChurch, 2009: 525) despite it being a crucial aspect of any intervention success and “serve to strengthen individual preferences rather than share correct information” (ibid: 544). The mentee interviews, as illustrated above, expressed that this is apparent when providing information to those subject to the induction process.

The offender participants all expressed that they believe the available induction model is not one that is appropriate for needs-driven induction, and that the lack of pertinent information and content coupled with an inappropriate delivery has only served to increase the offender's anxiety and negatively affect their wellbeing during the transition to the establishment.

It just made me more worried [...] I had a head full of questions I couldn't answer or get answered [...] I just wanted to say fuck it and do nothing. (Ally)

All the years of jumping through hoops, kissing arse, going against everything I'm about to get here for my family and it was being threatened at the first stage. (Rich)

This sits in stark contrast to the intended outcome of the induction intervention. The governing PSI (NOMS, 2015: 7) advances its ultimate aim as being for “[p]risoners receive the relevant Induction to Custody package at a time and in a manner relevant to their individual needs” and also that “[p]risoners know and understand their entitlements and responsibilities, and how to access support and facilities available to them” (NOMS, 2015: 13). The current offering clearly falls down and fails to meet these aims. The Peer-Led Induction needs to take the form of a collaborative endeavour, tailored to needs, not to belief and wishful thinking, between the mentees on one hand and the staff and peer mentors on the other.

They need to sit down with us and ask us what would help us settle better [...] if they did that and gave us what we wanted to know then I would have felt so much better. (Rich)

It's a great idea in principle, but they ain't got it set up right here to do that's all. (Steve)

If they did what we needed then it would be really helpful. (Rich)

As the above show, despite the dominant negative discourse towards the model offered at the establishments, there are also pockets of positive aspects that have arisen from the empirical investigation of it with offender interviewees all expressing the idea that Peer-Led Induction does have the potential to work as expressed above. The challenge being, how to convert this potential. The portrayal of the establishment is one that lacks a responsive needs-driven approach to its processes and are led by a 'tick-box' mentality. Interviewees create an impression of rigidity rather than fluidity. This is through the institutional focus on compliance within a rigid set of rules. It does so through what historian Richard Adams (2006) describes as an "Oppressive Attention to Marginal Detail," which challenges the notion of delivering intended positive outcomes for those subject to the intervention. This adherence hinders the cultivation of a more positive culture and a needs-based model, promoting the best outcomes for those imprisoned. The ex-offender participants all repeatedly identified the factors of distance from family, safety in the new establishment, uncertainty over regime and protocols within the new establishment, and lack of support and information as stressors triggering elevated levels of anxiety and insecurity impacting their functionality and general wellbeing. They were unanimous in calling for the implementation of an induction model focussed on being tailored to individual needs. However, this motivational aspect of such a model is not evident in the Peer-Led Inductions experienced by the participants. What becomes apparent is that the central proposition of using peers and staff to support is being largely diminished by the pervasive nature of a tick-box culture and self-serving motivations underpinning the

development and exacerbation, which only led to increasing the psychological onerousness and ontological insecurity of prisoners and leaving them feeling like they are 'swimming in a shark tank' (Liebling & Crewe, 2017).

At present, the 'tick-box culture' means there is too much emphasis on following guidelines and rules instead of actually helping the prisoners transitioning into the prison in a more needs focussed manner. It means that the system is full of people 'doing things right' rather than 'doing the right thing', a term Munro (2010) used when describing the tick box culture evident in our schools. A plethora of relentless top-down government targets and too many forms and procedures are preventing prison staff from providing transitioning offenders the help they need and assessing whether that help has made a difference. As it stands, a 'one size fits all' approach appears to be in place. This reduces the autonomy of the induction staff and peers and fails to allow staff to think for themselves or to deliver a needs-driven model for induction.

The fair treatment of offenders and its impact on their mental health and wellbeing, are not something that can be completely reduced to a risk to be managed and guidelines to be observed, yet the prison does so, and this has reduced the induction process to one that is based upon compliance. The prison culture of thinking about compliance as a risk that has to be managed leads to the establishment of risk avoidance and through the promotion of a 'tick-box culture, thus failing to address the critical mental health needs of people at the point they transfer and transition to open prison.

What is clear is that there are severe deficiencies in a number of clear areas relating to the management and sharing of knowledge. There is a lack of clear purpose between management and staff, between staff, and between staff/peers and mentees. A key factor underpinning this is a wholesale lack of a knowledge-friendly culture permeating through all echelons of the institution, often stemming from a lack of senior management support and trust in management. Resistance to change in the face of established occupational cultures and questionable motivations from staff and prisoners also serve to undermine the intervention as well as narrow channels for knowledge transfer. All of these areas are core conditions for success in knowledge endeavours. These areas are also symbolic of the power relations that Foucault introduces, which occur both institutionally and between individuals, and how they manifest into the management and conversion of knowledge. All of them have profound shortcomings, which render the ability for the knowledge through the intervention to deliver the intended outcomes as a largely fruitless endeavour. When considering the first and second research questions, it is clear that the 'tick box' way in which Peer-Led Induction is operationalised, delivered and power-applied, means that it does not meet prisoner mental health needs and support positive outcomes. Intent in this instance does not lead to unintended outcomes but instead lays a foundation for the unintended outcomes that arise as a result. The next chapter delves beyond the surface level expressions and considers more intricate arguments about the principles of Peer-Led Induction being potentially quite problematic because they are infused with responsibilisation managerialist cultures.

Chapter 7: ‘Responsibilisation: It really isn’t what it says on the tin’

Congratulations. You have survived the war. Now live with the trauma.

(Lori Jenessa Nelson, n.d.)

This chapter signifies the second of the three findings chapters. The chapter advances the previous chapter’s arguments in relation to the first research question, and signifies that Peer-Led Induction extends beyond simply inadequately addressing prisoner mental health and wellbeing needs at the time of transfer, transition and adaptation to open prison. Instead it is arguably indicative of making issues in these areas worse. This chapter also addresses the third research question relating to what ways and to what extent do power-sharing initiatives impact the tightness of imprisonment. In doing so, it evidences the omnipresence of the diffuse concept of tightness at a number of junctures, and how it is experienced, in relation to wide ranging issues surrounding the concept of ‘purported’ responsibilisation, which is a strategy employed in the open prison estate. It does so through consideration of visibility and engagement of the staff and peers involved in the Peer-Led Induction intervention and how it is both operationalised and experienced.

The chapter firstly introduces the notion of responsibilisation that has become a staple of prison strategy and policy in the contemporary prison. As Rose (1996: 59) states, “the regulation of conduct becomes a matter of each individual’s desire to govern their own conduct freely in the service of the maximization of their happiness and fulfilment that they

take to be their own". It advances responsabilisation as a strategy of self-regulation and governance through 'technologies of the self' in order to achieve both prison and individual objectives. A key factor experienced by those entering a new custodial establishment is stress, defined as a "mentally or emotionally disruptive or disquieting influence" (Adams, 1992: 282). Prison reception is synonymous with elevated levels of maladaptive behaviours, which is a clear indicator of transition as a stressful experience. Adams (1992: 346) states that:

Early research on prison adjustment focussed attention on attitudes during the middle stage of the prison term, or the point at which it was hypothesized that the influence of the prison culture is the greatest and the influence of the community weakest. We now see that the beginning and the ending points of the prison term are critical transition periods when dealing with issues of stress and maladaptive behaviour.

Previous research on prison adjustment also:

...clearly indicates a need for programs that help inmates to develop their coping abilities early in the prison sentence. These programs could use a variety of behavioural, cognitive, and social skills techniques to teach inmates to respond more effectively to difficult situations. (ibid: 345)

Peer-Led Induction, as established, is one such example and this illustrates the notion from Adams (1992: 345) that, "[w]hen directed at problems of adjusting to prison life, such programs are likely to be effective and can bring immediate payoff". The chapter therefore considers the

role of Peer-Led Induction and what it should deliver alongside the notion of responsabilisation being perceived as a catch-all phrase to mask staff and peer lack of visibility in the process, alongside a lack of engagement with those inductees new to the prison; essentially, failing to employ a needs-driven approach to induction. It considers how this 'perverse responsabilisation' interacts with the mental health and wellbeing of prisoners and is to their detriment.

The chapter then proceeds to consider how responsabilisation interacts with the notion of 'tightness'. It explores how tightness "captures the feelings of tension and anxiety generated by uncertainty, and the sense of not knowing which way to move, for fear of getting things wrong" (Crewe, 2011a). It considers how this is experienced through the fear of regression and a lack of progression in the open prison and how this fear is stoked by the Peer-Led Induction. It signifies how responsabilising measures are experienced against a coercive backdrop, whereby this culture of fear is further re-enforced, culminating in unremitting anxiety, frustration, and mental distress. There are a number of competing themes and tensions that run throughout the consideration of responsabilisation. Theoretically it is associated with aims to empower and enable, yet it in fact results in disempowerment and disabling effects underpinned by disinterest. Arguably, the overarching notion is that responsabilisation, whether it be genuine or employed as a buzz word to mask deficiencies within the programme, undermines the function of the Peer-Led Induction and promotes an existence fraught with tension, stress and anxiety amongst those prisoners entering and adapting to a new custodial setting.

7.1. Responsibilisation

...from a variety of direction, the disadvantaged individual has come to be seen as potentially and ideally an active agent in the fabrication of their own existence [...] And, thus it follows, that they are to be assisted not through the ministrations of solicitous experts proffering support.....but through their engagement with a whole array of programmes for their ethical reconstruction as active citizens.

(Rose, 1996: 60)

It is argued that crime control institutions have repeatedly failed to achieve their manifest goals (Foucault, 1977). Institutions for criminal law enforcement and punishment fail to show that they do adequately, in fact, control crime, deliver justice, deliver care, or contribute to safe and peaceful communities. But the problem is not merely that the apparatus of 'criminal justice' fails to work; in some instances, the mechanisms it introduces to do so produce outcomes that demonstrably make things worse. This was evident within my findings and is encapsulated best by Joey who states:

It made shit worse [...] my head was ruined [...] I had so much shit going on and I was wobbling hard [...] New nick, new people, new things [...] it just made things go from 0 to 100mph in no time.

A Foucauldian perspective of governmentality has led to literature exploring the manner in which their modalities of exercising and applying power are dependent on ways of thinking and ways of acting and, of central importance, "ways of subjectifying individuals and governing populations" (Garland, 1997: 174). In this sense, "the state alone is not responsible for preventing and controlling crime" (Garland, 1996: 453). This

was extended out to the prison environment with literature documenting the offender's responsibility for their actions (Hinds & Grabosky, 2010; Matthews, 2005). As Hannah-Moffat (2000: 514) states, "the state seeks to bring about action [...] either by simulating new forms of behaviour or by stopping established habits" on the part of the individual, in this case the prisoner. This leads to 'government at a distance' through "a new mode of governing [offenders] with its own forms of knowledge, its own objectives, its own techniques and apparatuses" (Rose & Miller, 1992, cited in Garland, 1996: 454). This approach to power signifies the earlier notions that we approach power as relational, that is it 'becomes apparent when it is exercised' (Townley, 1993: 520). An important caveat is that power can only be exercised over free subjects, that is, if actors are stripped of options and thus incapable of acting there is a situation of domination rather than power. Here the ambiguity of responsabilisation is evident.

Responsibilisation symbolises the governing prisoners is no longer the sole responsibility of the government and prison but rather that of the offender themselves. (Hannah-Moffat, 2000). Individuals, not government or institutions, are now responsible for their own destiny, their welfare and the consequences of their decision-making processes. Garland (1996) asserts that government commit resources on tough penal measures as "a strategy of reasserting sovereign power to punish" and in doing so demonstrate ability to inflict harsh forms of punishment. In the contemporary prison estate, the government still asserts its power to punish. However, austerity extends to the prison estate, which lacks the resources and the historic mechanisms of punishment as evidenced in this thesis. As such, there is the necessity to do less with more, a recurring theme when considering penal intervention and Peer-Led Induction.

Rose (2000: 334) notes the aim of responsabilisation to “reconstruct self-reliance in those who are excluded”. This also allows them to gain an understanding of the “values and ideas about the desirable attributes for taking part in society” (Ballesteros-Pena, 2018: 459), in this case the prison society. As Rose (1996: 59) states, “the regulation of conduct becomes a matter of each individual’s desire to govern their own conduct freely in the service of the maximization of their happiness and fulfilment that they take to be their own”. By engaging in Peer-Led Induction, mentees are accepting responsibility in the eyes of the prison and as an understanding of what they need to do to govern themselves. Technologies of the self are the “actions and strategies implemented in order to shape the individual and collective capacities of action in ways that are consistent with the objectives pursued by government in the neoliberal era” (Ballesteros-Pena, 2018: 458). It is postulated that these mechanisms of self-governance are implemented through a responsabilising process (Ballesteros-Pena, 2018; Garland, 1997; O’Malley, 1999). The prison estate, and more specifically open Prisons, use responsabilising governance in order to regulate and maintain order, “producing a rational subject, self-governed and self-sufficient” (Ballesteros-Pena, 2018: 459). In the open prison this is at its most acute. Here prisoners are the lowest risk prisoners, those close to release or a combination of both, housed in institutions with low security, low staffing where freedom is consumed on a daily basis. The low staffing and security mean that prisoners subject themselves to their own form of governance, a disciplinary gaze upon themselves to compartmentalise freedom and temptation to gravitate towards what is mandated by the prison. (Crewe and Levins, 2020).

7.2. A Relationship of Inconvenience

After reviewing the evaluation of the Insiders Scheme, it evidences a limited Programme Theory. When considering the earlier literature, there appears to be two key aims in relation to the use of peers in the Peer-Led Induction:

- To offer reassurance to new prisoners
- To provide them with key information that will be useful to them in their early days in custody (HMPS: Safer Custody Group, 2005).

It is an active form of peer support in terms of its objectives, function and operation when compared with more passive schemes involving the use of peers such as the Listeners, which was introduced in the earlier literature review chapter documenting peer support. In a Peer-Led Induction model, the peer mentors do not have any expectation to provide emotional support, nor do they receive any training to do so. They also do not have confidentiality principles to follow.

The perception of staff and mentees engaged in this process is, however, one that is vastly different in the eyes of the ex-prisoner interviewees. There is the perspective from the majority of interviewees that 'laziness' was the motivation behind extolling virtues of 'responsibilisation' on those seeking support.

I'm all for being left alone to do stuff [...] but I still needed some support and information to get me to the point where I could, and I didn't get it [...] they were too busy sitting in the office. (Del)

By far a bunch [the prison officers] of selfish, lazy cunts [...] doing the minimum. (Rob)

This resonates with findings from Crawley (2004: 188) who describes “lazy staff” as those who “hide when undesirable jobs need doing, who go off sick more often than others and who fob off prisoners seeking help”. This serves to undermine the relationships between staff and prisoners which documented as being at the centre of the functioning prison (Crewe, 2011b). However, intra-staff relationships also are negatively impacted by a lack of a shared sense of direction. Some of the officer sample described the performance of staff as not conducive with delivering the aims and ethos of induction (Crawley & Crawley, 2007) which, coupled with the levied perception of laziness, made the lives of prisoners and the enactment of the prison officer role in the context of induction more difficult and stress inducing. This notion of no shared sense of direction also plays out when considering the intra-staff relations explored within occupational staff cultures in Chapter 6. Just as Crewe & Levins (2020) identify, staff involved in the key decisions in the open prison around functions such as ROTL, Paid Work, Community Work and Community Engagement were simply unavailable and as a result are “distant and under-informed” (ibid: 57) when it comes to actually making decisions relating to these areas. Here they demonstrate absence and a lack of ‘grip’:

Relationships between all parties involved in the Peer-Led Induction are very complex and a central underlying factor of any success it could have must centre around relations using the principles of approachability, decency, stability, and legitimacy. Interpersonal contact with staff was after all expressed by Lloyd (1990) in a Home Office

study as being the best countermeasure for those prisoners experiencing suicidal tendencies. However, they are based on what Crewe (2011b) terms as non-normative motives as the quotes above symbolise, with the process of mutual compulsion, a transactional mode of interaction pervading. Any interaction can be situational within Crewe's (2011b) theorisation that they are artificial in nature, based upon self-interest as much as a legitimised and genuine interaction. When combining instrumental interactions with a lack of genuine intentions alongside responsabilisation strategies they have the effect of drawing the prisoner mentee away from interaction and accessing and establishing positive relations.

As Bosworth (2007: 76) muses:

Each articulation of power of the prison paradoxically undermines and reinforces the broader view [...] that prisoners act rationally [...] fully responsible for their actions. The threat of sanctions makes it all the more necessary for inmates to monitor their behaviour [...] reminding them that they are constantly under review.

What should be an endeavour to support autonomous individuals within the prison through Peer-Led Induction actually creates a contradictory environment of dependence. In order to navigate the institution, prisoners must engage with its mechanisms to do so- walking a tightrope of ambiguity between taking responsibility, being responsible, needing help, and doing what they are told.

The sufferings within the walls of the prison have not evaporated because of this softening of the punitive power through responsabilisation and the usage of peers. Even while some interviewees argued that the idea of responsabilisation is welcomed, the truth remains that all participants overwhelmingly agreed that it was improperly operationalized and that there was an excessive amount. As a result, these pains of captivity still exist and have changed in response to establishment-specific pains at the local level, which were highlighted in chapter four and are characterised by a tick-box culture which the previous chapter has established. All of the offenders who were interviewed spoke about the negative effects of issues such as being stripped of their freedom, staff members abusing their power, other prisoners acting threateningly, the breaking of family ties, "unremitting loneliness" (Johnson & McGunigall-Smith, 2008), the crushing of one's emotional existence (Jewkes, 2005), and "institutional thoughtlessness" (Crawley, 2005).

My head was a mess [...] I just wanted to go back [...] I was up the creek without a paddle. (Joey)

I was struggling mate [...] fuck me [...] I thought I was passed being scared but here I was the same guy who can't deal with his shit [...]
Sounds absolutely pathetic but it's how I felt [about trying to adjust].
(Steve)

It is further argued that by responsabilising offenders, it also allows staff and peers the time to fulfil their self-serving motivations and/or observe the tick box and 'arse-

covering' culture discussed in previous chapter. They also reported a distinct lack of support again based upon the assumption of tacit knowledge about the prison due to having been in custody in other establishments. As Steve notes:

You've been in a few times so long enough to know how to do your
bird you'll pick things up quick was the great advice from the
mentors. (Steve)

Sammy also raised the shift in how power is enacted in the open prison when reflecting on the notion that "I've been in high security for years where you get told what to do and when nothing happens without asking someone first and then you wait and fucking wait [...] I've rocked up here and it's the other way, and it's hard to adjust [...] but they can't see that- they think it must be easy to go from one extreme to the other, but the thing is [...] year after year after year that was my life and routine- being here don't mean I'm gonna adjust overnight- it needs time and a little bit of help".

However, this is a dangerous assumption as further reported conditions across establishments vary, and dynamics of prison life differ on all levels and are experienced differently depending on each prison's context as established earlier when considering the pains of entry and adaptation.

Whenever the screws and peers couldn't be arsed to answer a
question or help out or do something for me they just kept saying it

was up to me to find out, or it was my responsibility to find out/sort it [...] but if I knew how or if they had told me things I needed to know then I wouldn't have asked in the first place! (Pauley)

You need to start doing things for yourself [...] you're gonna be going on day release in the community soon and you ain't gonna have no-one to wipe your arse for you then, that was the excuse they kept giving me not to do shit. (Steve)

These quotes above encapsulate an almost perverse form of responsabilisation. This attitude purports to an attempt to enable and empower the prisoner, when in fact many interviewees felt it was an all too convenient excuse not to maximise the benefit of induction and provide the much-needed support. Instead of giving their time, knowledge, information, and support, it allows them, namely the peer supporters and prison induction staff to 'pass the buck'. This purported responsabilisation of offenders sits in direct contrast to the overall purpose and spirit of the induction process of reducing anxiety, self-harm and promoting wellbeing. Instead, it especially underpins the pains of self-governance, and also into all those pains associated with transfer, transition and adaptation discussed in chapter 4. Such strategies of responsabilisation that Ballesteros-Pena (2018: 473) state delegate "coordination, control and surveillance onto inmates". It signifies a managerialist approach of governance that should allow for a more efficient and performance achieving construct. However, the reality is quite different. Here the contradictory nature of power plays out in the open prison and exemplifies the tension between care and control.

This also sits within the theorisation of Crewe (2011a; 2011b) who raises the issue of officers lacking the means to help provide a clear path for prisoners that makes the things required of them attainable and clear. The PSI mandates that "[I]nformation is provided to prisoners. Prisoners are aware of how to use the resources and services offered to them in this facility" (NOMS, 2015: 7). Despite this goal, every prisoner interviewed expressed fear and worries about bullying and safety in the new facility and was actively looking for assistance and reassurances that these worries were unfounded. They did, however, emphasise that they didn't get these.

A big concern for me was bullying and violence. I know there aren't many guvs about [...] I was told that violence wasn't a big issue and if I had any concerns to go see a rep [...] end of [...] no information to reassure me about why it isn't a problem or how they deal with it [...] Prison is full of vultures so to go speak to a rep who is a prisoner and tell him I'm scared and vulnerable and share my personal shit made me really anxious. (Joey)

When considering the adjustment issues that are connected to self-injury and mental disorder, they have been largely associated, especially by Toch (1975, cited in Adams, 1992: 288) as efforts to "alleviate themselves of severe emotional distress". Adams (1992: 288) extends Toch's ideas to identify that prisoners therefore can turn to coping strategies that involve:

classifying themselves as victims, and make clear to staff their inability to deal with this status [...] also may enlist the assistance of staff in trying to deal with their difficulties [...] convince staff to be placed in a specific prison environment or setting [...] or demands on staff.

Although being granted a semblance of autonomy and choice under the guise of ‘responsibilisation’, as Giddens (1991, cited in Crewe, 2011a: 519) carefully observes, “the prisoner is exposed to a greater degree of risk.... this opening up of possibilities, however narrow, provokes feelings of anxiety and powerlessness”. This is evidenced in the following quotes:

What’s the point of having peers and staff if they ain’t gonna help?
[...] It just stressed me out even more. I didn’t know what to do or how to go about doing it when I did [...] just made everything so fucking hard. (Alan)

Peer support was a myth [...] in a strange environment after years in a different nick, and I was told to crack on with it and figure things out myself [...] I just wanted to go back [to my previous prison] amongst what I knew [...] I was stressed to fuck by it all. (Steve)

That said, many prisoners have serious adjustment issues. As such, a problem with responsibilising strategies is that, as Adams (1992: 276) states, “[they] are poorly

situated to participate in correctional programs and can drain institutional resources by consuming inordinate amount of staff attention". Some of the officers interviewed reported prisoners having such adaptation issues, however, that their approach was naive. They were rather one-dimensional in their assessment, seeing prisoners as a drain on their time instead of recognising the complex history of those coming into contact with them. In doing this creates an image of prisoners being seen as a largely homogenous cohort in assessment- with the more nuanced notions of identity neglected. There is variability as such in the institutional environments where prisoners have previously been located, with some prisoners adjusting better in some settings than others, whilst others have adjustment difficulties at various stages of their life and indeed sentence.

I guess I was wrong about us being in it together [prisoners] [...] there weren't no community, just individuals focussing on what was in their best interests. (Freddy)

The awareness of variability was in lacking consideration and empathy, amongst staff but also amongst the peer mentors. Those very people who were supposed to be supporting their fellow prisoner were perceived as viewing these individuals as in some way being an inconvenience and an unwelcome imposition. This is a clear early indication that what should be an altruistic endeavour is deficient in this area and potentially indicates self-serving motivations as a primary driver of those involved in the induction process. It also serves to disrupt the adjustment process, which Clemmer (1958) terms 'prisonization', whereby the prisoner assimilates themselves into the

prison population and community. The “individual differences in perceptions, needs, skills and abilities are seen as critical factors in adjustment”, according to Adams (1992:282). However, the institution fails to recognise them.

It is not to say that prisoners do not attempt to engage in responsibilising themselves. Even when they do try to use initiative in the face of an ineffective induction model that lacks responsivity to need, they get stuck in a perpetual cycle of responsibilisation where being responsible is met by responses to be ‘responsible’. All of this leaves an enduring stain from the pain of imprisonment associated with *entry shock* and *adaptation*.

7.3. Treading on Eggshells: The Fear of Regression and/or Lack of Progression

The findings indicate that the most appropriate metaphor to characterise the impact of the responsibilising nature of the induction is arguably that of ‘tightness’ rather than ‘weight’. ‘Tightness’ is an aspect of the multi-faceted concept of ‘weight’. However, “the shape and distribution of the penal burden have shifted, like a sack of sand remoulding itself across the body of its bearer. There are more levers of compliance and regulation, and therefore, more points where the weight is felt” (Crewe, 2011a: 524). It appears that while the pains of confinement can be reduced to some degree, pain is intrinsic to imprisonment, and they will merely manifest themselves in alternate forms and different contexts as a result of different applications of power and operationalisation, rather than being eliminated from the prison experience. As Crewe (2011a: 512-513) muses, the reconfiguration of penal power in prisons in England and Wales has “worked alongside established pains in determining the experience of

imprisonment, but they are different in their sources, their feel and their effects". Power in this context, as applied by the induction prison staff and peer support, "does not so much weigh down on prisoners and suppress them" as engulfing and smothering them, coercing them to conduct themselves in particular ways (Crewe, 2011a: 522).

This 'tightness' is the epitome of anxiety, stress, and tension. As Rich expresses "They are on top of you all the time [...] just waiting to fuck you over. (Rich)". In this sense prisoners feel rudderless, trapped in inertia for fear of moving in the wrong direction and getting something wrong. It is connected to the acute tensions and insecurity that are experienced when a prisoner is fearing a regressive move or a lack of privilege or progression in the prison environment. Crewe (2011a) states that this is a normative companion of therapeutic coercion. However, it also extends to intervention such as Peer-Led Induction, in an established associated with the lowest levels of security and highest levels of autonomy.

I didn't wanna get anything wrong in case it stopped me getting my
home leaves on time. I was constantly feeling like I was treading on
eggshells, so I made the move to stay out of the way in my cell.
(Harvey)

As such, the autonomy granted by the establishment to its population is limited and circumscribed, and power is tight because the "smack of firm governance" is always waiting in the wings to make sure this autonomy is exercised in a proper manner

(Crewe, 2011a: 523). Extending the thoughts of Franke (1995) in Chapter 3, “[p]eople have to comply with the wishes and desires of power”. Soft power and self-regulation are thus ring-fenced by a coercive nature because the full weight of the walls of hard power is waiting in the wings when softer responsabilising techniques fail.

When considering state responsabilisation techniques, inducement is one whereby incentives are offered to the public to undertake practices, such as in the crime control realm. This can be extended to the open prison and Peer-Led Induction. The incentive here is that by undertaking the intervention you will have the information and tools to navigate prison life and access elevated levels of freedom and autonomy such as ROTL. If you try to opt out, you are deemed as not having the foundational skills and knowledge to navigate this stage of your sentence.

As Hannah-Moffat (2000: 524) observes, “an unwillingness to participate in an institutionally defined regime of empowerment can result in nothing other than punishment”. In this sense empowerment “is used to justify, rationalize and legitimate a variety of disciplinary techniques through as parallel discourse of responsibility” (ibid, 524).

Like many strategies within the open prison institution, Peer-Led Induction mobilises good power in the constructed technologies of the self through “participation, responsibility and empowerment” (Ballesteros-Pena, 2018: 457). Yet, they also co-exist with enactments of power such as coercion and surveillance whilst prioritising the prisons own objectives. There is the element here of maintaining social order. Well

adapted Prisoners are a lower risk of self-harm, suicide, mental health issues and refractory 'risky' behaviours which mean that institutional safety, compliance, order and security is more robust. An example of this is that attending induction is a voluntary endeavour, however, failing to attend or not engage appropriately results in consequences to the offender's progression and resettlement as the comment of Peter indicates.

...get a booklet with the timetable of induction modules [...] it's on your head to follow it and go where it says at the time it says. If you struggle with doing that or miss anything, then you have to wait to complete that module the next time it runs so it means that induction gets delayed which means you'll be held back moving off the induction and your progress will too. (Peter)

This combination is particularly toxic as responsabilisation coexists against a punitive backdrop that does not take in to account the experiences and circumstances of the individual prisoner and, most importantly, needs, constructing the offender as "accountable and responsible for their actions irrespective of victimization and structural impediments" (Hannah-Moffat, 2000: 525). As Bosworth (2007: 72) argues, "behaviour once thought to reflect socio-economic factors, psychological disturbances and/or opportunities, is in other words[...] a matter of choice". Responsibilisation is subjective and, as such, individual characteristics and experiences, and people's attitudes are key drivers of its success.

What is clear is the negative 'othering' of the identity of those who fail to engage or are unable to enact expectations of regulation, to navigate open prison (Garland, 1996). These are the individuals in the eyes of the institution who will be unable to benefit from all the experiences and opportunities available, especially surrounding access to temporary release from the prison. Effectively, "life becomes harder for those who do not accept responsibility for governing their own confinement" (Ballesteros-Pena, 2018: 459). This pressure from prison staff, also re-enforced by the induction peer mentors through the dissemination of information, acts as a technology of the self-pressuring the show of responsibility and self-regulation. The seedy underbelly of tight forms of penal power is revealed when prisoners fail to "subjectify themselves appropriately" (Crewe & Levins, 2020: 51). As such, ROTL being delayed or the return to closed conditions and higher levels of security are the methodologies of choice for punitive intervention in open conditions.

As Crewe identifies and typifies, the establishment is more pushy than caring and more prescriptive than liberal. If prisoners do not want to or are not able to functionally responsabilise themselves in the manner expected by the prison, "if they choose not to conform to institutional demands, or if they cannot recognize their 'best interests', then punishment and constraint are not far away" (Crewe et al., 2014). This could be in the form of delayed community release, or they have to remain on the induction programme longer and their progression delayed, as described by James below:

...OMU [Offender Management Unit] don't come to you [...] it's your responsibility to contact them and find out what you need to do and

submit the forms otherwise your progression and going out will be delayed.

Interestingly, whilst prisoners are seen as active participants in their environment under the guise of responsabilisation, the information that is shared and disseminated actually reveals that prisoners are not really steeped in the supposition that [they] can and will act freely (Bosworth, 2007). The negative consequences of failing to responsabilise themselves is shared by both staff and peers as many ex-prisoner interviewees shared:

I got told not to do this and that [...] silly things like stepping on the grass in a certain area would mean I get sent back to closed conditions [...] the peer mentor told me that. (Harvey)

This can be situated within the observations of Bosworth (2007: 74) who argues that, “the true might of the prison’s rigorous and punitive moral economy becomes apparent” when responsabilisation fails. To Shamir (2008: 7-8) responsabilisation:

...assumes a moral agency which is congruent with the attributed tendencies of economic-rational actors: autonomous, self-determined and self-sustaining subjects [...] as the choice of expression for action is, or so the neo-liberal notion of rationality would have it, the expression of free will on the basis of a self-

determined decision, the consequences of the action are borne by the subject alone, who is solely responsible for them.

However, it is difficult for the prisoner to be responsible for actions that lead to consequences when they are not provided with a needs-driven commensurate foundation to be autonomous or autonomous effectively. The argument is that the responsibility in the first instance lies with the responsabilising institution to provide this foundation. In this sense it evidences what Crewe & Levins (2020: 62) describe as the prison being “inconsistent, deficient or bureaucratically lax in providing the means that would allow prisoners to become what it necessitates them to be”. Power in this sense is tight and loose, taut and slack (ibid), with prisoners being hammered as a square peg into a round hole without the tools to help them inhabit it correctly. There is also the notion of deficiency underpinning frustration characterised by the lack of prison engagement with the prisoners whilst the culture of indifference permeated interaction.

As such, the interview comments indicate the notion that the prison demonstrates and operationalised form of ‘authoritarian governmentality’ (Dean, 1999) or ‘neo-paternalism’ (Crewe, 2009). I, however, deem the term ‘Coercive Responsibilisation’ as a more apt concept to encapsulate the responsabilising of offenders as shaping prisoner adaptation, culture, and prisoner social life in distinctive ways. This builds upon the theorisation of Foucault (1977), expanded by Crewe (2011a: 515), identifying that power is “diffuse and decentralised, operating in a manner that is ‘light’ but anonymous, demanding without seeming coercive, everywhere but nowhere”. This can

be further situated within the theorisation of Rose (2000: 333) who describes control workers as having “a new administrative function - the administration or marginalia [...] through the identification of the riskiness of individuals, actions, forms of life and territories. Hence the increasing emphasis on case conferences, multidisciplinary teams, sharing information, keeping records, making plans, setting targets, establishing networks for the surveillance and documentation of the potentially risky individual.

To Ericson and Haggerty (1997: 41) control is “about the generation of knowledge that allows selection of thresholds that define acceptable risks and generates practices of inclusion and exclusion based upon that knowledge”. Prisoners’ fear is based upon the power of these control workers; in the open prison the ‘pen is mightier than the sword’ and feeds into the insecurity and anxiety and overall fear experienced by prisoners. In this sense, the reconfigured penal power can be exemplified through officers now being able to “mediate the forms of psychological power that are among the main sources of hope and frustration for prisoners”. They are effectively the gatekeepers, governing from a distance. Whilst some may say that staff-prisoner relations have improved in the face of regulation of staff power and softening of abrasive staff cultures (Crewe, 2011a; 2011b) and meant that the adversarial divide between both parties is now bridgeable, the nature of power still has a grip on those subjected to it. The inappropriate use of soft power is tantamount to an abuse of power. Although admittedly a departure from physical punishment in brutal, degrading, and overt ways, soft power as evidenced so far in this chapter and thesis is just as impactful in its consequences to the prisoner.

The peer support function of welcoming, addressing prisoner concerns and describing their early days in custody was sorely lacking. The PSI governing induction states that “Prisoners with wide custodial experience are likely to need less input than those comparatively new to prison, but staff should be aware that some prisoners may not retain information for very long and will need reminding” (NOMS, 2015: 8). However, the provision of information to those with custodial experience was seemingly reduced to a state of absence as expressed by Steve:

Just cos I've been around the block [different prisons] don't mean I know it all or should be expected to [...] each prison is different, but they just expected me to know it and get on with it.

This also seems to neglect both the presence of the pains of *entry shock* and *adaptation* alongside a core aim of peers in induction process who should be offering reassurance to those who arrive at the establishment. There exists a dangerous assumption that those who have been in previous establishments will have by default the requisite knowledge and skills to navigate the custodial environment. This neglects the many individual and personal factors that interact between the process of transfer and transition and the wellbeing of those experiences these processes. This neglects a needs-driven approach to the intervention through failure to establish each individual prisoner's circumstances.

7.4. The Peer Support Paradox

All of the offenders who were interviewed stated that they had received some form of peer support, but it is important to note that the majority of them noted that they did not receive this support through the "official channels" of the Induction Peer Support Workers or the Induction Prison Officers. Rather, they achieved this through informal networks of friendships and allegiances that had been formed over the course of their time in the prison system.

Luckily, I knew a few guys from some previous prisons, and they got me up to speed and helped me with what I needed to do [...] no-one else did. (Pauley)

This shows that peer support helps with the induction process, but not in the way that it was intended and instead comes from peers outside of the programme. Offenders were compelled to migrate away from the peer element of that intervention that should have helped them adapt and take on a form of self-responsibility that both manifested as a fact-finding mission that shouldn't have been required. This forced them to leave a programme that should have supported and developed them as well as their knowledge of the establishment due to the deficient nature of the many factors that undermine the 'peer' function of the Peer-Led Induction, whilst also serving to diminish the intervention as a whole. It has led to a Peer-Led Induction that is characterized by the absence of engagement by peers. They may well be those in the know but they are remiss to engage with mentees to exchange this information. When considering an interactionist perspective in relation to prison adjustment it provides

the foundation for a greater propensity for adjustment problems, given the imbalance between the prisoners and peers and also the prisoners and the environment. As Adams (1992: 281) suggests, some environments feature safety and support which is a key cornerstone of Peer-Led Induction, with the mix of people associating being a critical feature of the environment. When that is a mismatch, adjustment will be diminished. It therefore begs the question as to why peers are needed in a formal capacity especially as the induction is largely reduced to a didactic endeavour.

Responsibilisation in the experience of those offenders interviewed suggested that it left them in a state of ontological uncertainty (Giddens, 1984), through tying them into their own subjection. These applications of penal power create significant insecurities, and when in the face of uncertainty, offenders perceive everything as loaded with meaning and viewed through the eye of the beholder as a test or a threat. Crewe (2011a) identifies prisoners talking about being 'set up to fail'. I also heard many similar comments throughout the interviews, with the prison presented as an institution that obstructs one's progress despite attempting to create the illusion or image of seeking to help. The widespread comments from participants about "hoops to jump through" (Paul) and "obstacles put in our way" (Rich) are indicative of "an encounter that is one-sided, almost designed to trip you up" (Crewe, 2011a: 514). Here, this ties in with the theorisation of Crewe and Levins (2020: 62) who consider that prisoners are unsupported in doing what the institution expects and are also "impeded and abandoned" by the institution in their efforts to do what is expected. Effectively they are unable to meet the standards by which they are assessed and judged by for progression. This tight and loose, taut and slack construct operates in a hybrid form with a 'low demand, low assistance' conceptualisation. In this sense, "prisoners are

abandoned and invisible at least with regard to any meaningful effort [...] to help them change themselves” (Crewe & Levins, 2020). Responsibilisation has shifted the purpose of the prison. The prison now provides the warehouse for prisoners within which the prisoners make the decisions surrounding their future (Bosworth, 2007). The responsibilised prisoner in the eyes of the institution is arguably the “proto customer, always assessing his options. and then selecting, rationally and soberly, the best among them” (Bosworth, 2007: 72)

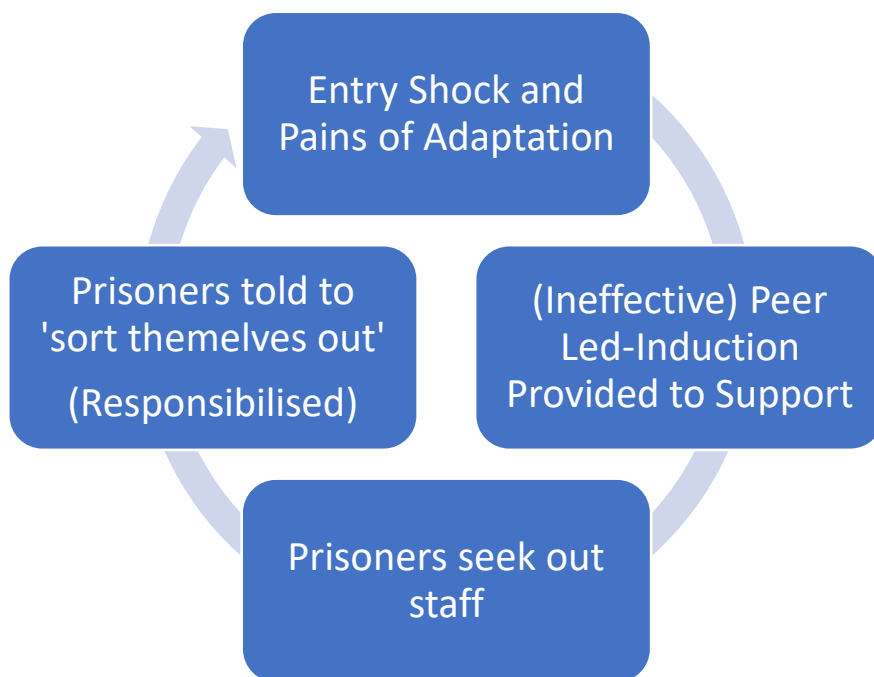


Figure 1: Cycle of Induction based Suffering

Prisoners are stuck in a devastating cycle (Fig.1) as Peer-Led Induction is an example of a failed policy through failure to properly design, implement and deliver the intervention, showing a lack of commitment to it and offender needs, either because

of a disregard for prisoner safety and wellbeing, or for self-serving motivations that exist behind a veil of Responsibilisation. As such, this, alongside the expectation of prisoners responsibilising themselves, potentially causes even more damage to a prisoner's already fragile existence through expounding the tightness associated with imprisonment, especially when considering the pains associated with prison transfer, entry and adaptation/adjustment. This serves to undermine the whole ethos behind the intervention, destabilising any notion of the intervention being perceived as legitimate or contributing to the legitimacy of the induction and prison regime.

Returning to the opening of this chapter and the ideology and expectation that insiders and staff should be giving their time, knowledge and support, the exploration of this notion against the backdrop of purported responsibilisation also illustrates the alarming deficiencies in the realm of information sharing and knowledge management which were explored in the previous chapter. The thesis now moves on to its final findings chapter, which re-conceptualises the issues and manifestation that have been covered in the findings chapters to date, to both consider them and their foundations and situate them within a framework of intervention outcomes.

Chapter 8: Iatrogenesis

It is a lot better to walk alone than with a crowd going in the wrong direction.

(Lapman, 2020)

The peer support model of induction has not had evaluation or review since a small-scale impact evaluation of a pilot study almost 20 years ago (HMPS: Safer Custody Group, 2005). In the absence of regular evaluation and in the context of the ever-changing penal landscape since, there is a lack of evidence to support that the intervention is indeed meeting its aims and objectives and delivering the intended outcomes. These are to: offer information and reassurance upon arrival at the institution; provide positive information and immediate reassurance; provide new arrivals with key information that will be useful to them in their early days in custody; and follow up with individuals, especially those who are vulnerable or who experience difficulties that can increase their vulnerability (HMPS: Safe Custody Group, 2005). Intervention provision also varies to such an extent to suggest that an evaluation is needed to find evidence of what actually works. In fact, the evidence that does exist is that there are a range of iatrogenic outcomes associated with the intervention.

This chapter aims to introduce and consider these unintended 'iatrogenic outcomes' of the Peer-Led Induction model, and the foundations for them. It does so by re-conceptualising and situating them thematically within a framework of intervention iatrogenesis, and in doing so places it primarily amongst the collective of "[i]nterventions that purport to modify behaviour.... [and] have the power to bring

about unintended, harmful consequences” (Rhule, 2005: 621). Central to this consideration is the theme of power, which is most prominently featured in this chapter. This consideration of how power infuses the Peer-Led Induction allows for the third research question to be addressed and illustrates the ways and extent to which this power-sharing initiative underpins and exacerbates the tightness experienced in imprisonment in greater depth, through consideration of the way that power is applied institutionally by management, induction prison staff and peer mentors. In doing so, this chapter explores the idea that Peer-Led Induction is harmful in terms of mental health outcomes for those prisoners engaged with it rather than neutral or helpful.

The chapter firstly establishes the pivotal concept of iatrogenesis, connecting the theorisation of Illich (1975; 1976) and Cohen (1988; 1998) within a framework of how the penal institution establishes and exacerbates the unintentional and detrimental outcomes stemming from Peer-Led Induction. It illustrates the influence of enduring penal issues that have been charted earlier in the thesis, and initially highlights the role of belligerence in penal policy; especially in relation to focus on actioning change and a lack of stable grounding to the peer support intervention.

It then goes on to expand this further through the conceptualisation of this as ‘Institutional Pain Delivery’ and uses a thematic approach to illustrate this. It does so by situating notions of ‘feathering the nest’ and the ‘peer support paradox’, which have emerged from the findings within the context of ‘managerial, staff and mentor motivations’ as an abuse and misuse of power. The chapter then considers the saturation of interventions in custodial settings, connecting it to penal belligerence,

and establishes this through the exploration of the basis for the explosion of penal peer intervention and 'intervention-itis.' Given the observation that managerialism now dominates contemporary organisations, particularly in the developed Western world (Bennett, 2016), including a shift to pronounced hierarchical structures that "attempt to monitor [...] through target-setting and the use of information technology" (Bennett, 2016: 7), it goes on to then consider how this inflammation has underpinned unintended outcomes from the intervention through the lens of 'Managerialism'.

The chapter then proceeds to establish how these areas interact and contribute to the 'Tightness of Imprisonment' that is experienced by those subjected to Peer-Led Induction. It also considers how this tightness is experienced, too, by prison staff involved in the delivery of the intervention, as institutional top-down demands of managerialism influence their role.

The chapter draws to a close by reconciling the notion of iatrogenic harm emanating from the Peer-Led Induction with that of a lack of an informed theoretical and evaluative grounding. This makes it clear, that when designing, implementing, and delivering prison interventions; "in the absence of sound theory, programs stand little chance to bring about good and may even cause harm" (Welsh & Rocque, 2014: 262). In doing so the chapter introduces the notion of 'Programme Theory' which is the overarching theory or model of how an intervention is expected to work (Funnell & Rogers, 2011). The culmination of these findings indicates clearly either a lack or, at the very least, severe deficiencies in the Programme Theory of the Peer-Led Induction Model, especially in terms of evaluation and the use of evaluation. This in turn creates,

develops, and exacerbates harm, undermining the intended outcomes of the intervention and giving rise to the host of unintended harms presented. The chapter closes by considering the move towards a commensurate Programme Theory and evaluation, which indicates that this thesis is an initial gambit into informing change to bring about a Peer-Led Induction intervention that delivers its intended outcomes and away from iatrogenic harms. It also may inform other peer involved interventions moving forward.

8.1. The Unintended Outcomes of ‘Well Meaning’ Intervention

There is often a focus on the benefits and positive outcomes that can emanate from interventions put in place to help those subjected to them. In the case of induction peer support interventions, the intent is clear.

Effective peer support can contribute to suicide prevention in the widest sense by helping to create a safe, decent, and healthy environment with positive prisoner/prisoner and staff/prisoner relationships, where prisoners’ problems can be voiced and addressed. (HMP Safer Custody Group, 2005)

In relation to the actual outcomes, the previous limited evaluation of what was then a pilot scheme over 20 years ago, using a small sample comprising of 55 prisoners, 17 officers and 18 insiders across a total of 6 prisons and focussed on those with limited prison experience boldly concluded that:

The Insiders scheme has had a positive impact on prisoners' early experience of custody being both informative and reassuring. The scheme successfully adapted to suit establishments with differing functions, facilities, and populations. Those where the Insiders had been fully integrated into the everyday procedures tended to operate more smoothly. (HMPS: Safe Custody Group: 2005)

However, this appears to be a rather facile and misguided perspective when considering the deleterious intervention outcomes evidenced by this study. There is limited attention given to issues identified during the evaluation of the Insiders Scheme. In terms of the issues that were raised regarding setting up, developing and running the scheme, they only considered the voices of insiders, Prison Officers and Suicide Prevention Co-ordinators. There is far more focus on the positives and as such, McCord (2003: 27-28) perhaps sums this up best in stating that:

Researchers typically fail to consider whether social programs have adverse effects, looking only for favourable results [...] Yet providers of social services do not have a right to harm their clients. Nor do most providers wish to do so. But the social climate that buries evidence of harm is powerful.

As Scott (2006) suggests, "total institutions like the asylum damage mental health rather than provide places of sanctuary or healing". As such, when considering the total institution of the prison, it can be argued that interventions, no matter how well

meaning they may be in their intent, as evidenced in the case of the Induction Scheme above, may well be flawed by virtue of the institutional construct they are contained within. These manifest, as the findings of this study indicate, in iatrogenic harms, as in the “injury, hurt or damage generated by an institutional practice which is justified on the basis of helping, assisting or healing individuals with problems requiring remedy” (Scott, 2016: 1).

8.2. Origins of iatrogenesis (Illich, 1975; 1976)

Emanating from a medical foundation, iatrogenesis, derived from the Greek ‘iatros’ (physician) and ‘genesis’ (origin) was a concept introduced by radical social critic Ivan Illich (1975; 1976). Its simple premise was that it conceptualised the detrimental impacts of modern medicine on society, and specifically based on the manifestation of counterproductivity from medical intervention.

Illich’s work, however, was not confined to just the field of medicine and was clearly applicable to a range of others with the institution being the central structure, whether that be “schools creating ignorance, hospitals creating ill-health or asylums creating madness” (Scott, 2016). The findings demonstrated so far support the idea that when considering penal institutions, they create and exacerbate pain. Cohen (1988; 1998) extended the work of Illich to a criminological context, using a three-pronged typology. However, it is his notion of clinical iatrogenesis which this thesis finds especially relevant and extends to term it as prison iatrogenesis. Cohen sets out a typology of this phenomenon.

Clinical iatrogenesis is where hospitals, doctors and modes of treatment are “themselves the sickening agents” by prescribing drugs with harmful side-effects, carrying out unnecessary surgery and otherwise inflicting pain on patients (Cohen 1988: cited in Bowling, 2011: 5). In a criminological setting, criminal justice actors can also cause suffering, harm, and occasionally even death, aid in stigmatisation and labelling, and foster and institutionalise deviance.

In the criminological construct Cohen viewed criminal justice agents as those who can inflict pain, injury, and death with Bowling (2011: 5) illustrating this as “damaging families, blighting careers, contribute to labelling and Stigmatization whilst creating and entrenching deviance within individuals”. Cohen (1988; 1998) described this this as ‘paradoxical damage’.

Earlier in this thesis the enduring and worsening issues associated with imprisonment were illustrated and charted chronologically, utilising investigative reports into prison conditions spanning the 19th Century right through until the present day. They are indicative not only of crime control institutions repeatedly failing to achieve their goals but also is illustrative of what Bowling (2011: 4) highlights the “problem is not merely that criminal justice fails to work, in some instances it makes things worse”. As Officer Emily says in the context of Peer-Led Induction and the goal of promoting safer custody:

Everyone starts with best intentions to be hot [on self-harm] but then you see the attitude change [...] [it's] a knock-on effect from existing issues and negative staff culture.

This notion of things being made worse can be firmly situated within a criminological conceptualisation and framework of iatrogenesis. Just as Cohen (1998; 194) warns that no one “aware of the history of crime control can continue advocating ‘more of the same’ in good faith”, this warning transcends into consideration of the penal estate and its design and use of interventions and programmes. As such, *paradoxical damage* and iatrogenesis provide “an informed basis for scepticism towards benign transfer” (ibid: 193), in this case being the continued expansion of penal intervention and programmes which are devoid of a meaningful foundation of theory in the design, implementation and evaluation phases and are rather based on what appears to be quite tedious and fragile notions of intent and the hope of replicating outcomes shown in other interventions and programmes. This is especially noticeable in Peer Support interventions, with the concept of peer support being applied in various guises without a suitable foundation to deliver the intended outcomes as evidenced in the specific construct of Peer-Led Induction. As such, a transfer of intent to deliver positive outcomes associated with peer support transforms from an initially benign transfer to one that is potentially malignant given the unintended outcomes that it underpins, produces, and exacerbates.

Just as Illich (1975; 1976) viewed societal dependence of professionally based health care as a threat to health, this thesis extends that notion into the criminological landscape and the penal estate by in a similar vein conceptualising the penal institution’s reliance on interventions as a threat to prisoners’ wellbeing and health. Furthermore, just as Illich (1975; 1976) also questioned the effectiveness of the medical

establishment through constructing the narrative argument that more harm than good is caused by medicine, in a penological context this thesis argues that prison intervention, both broadly and specifically in the form of Peer-Led Induction is illustrative of causing, reinforcing, and exacerbating 'Prison Made Pain' which this chapter next considers.

8.3. The Foundations of Iatrogenic 'Prison Made Pain'

The evidence presented in this thesis thus far demonstrate that there are a range of negative outcomes associated with the Peer-Led Induction intervention. This evidence demonstrates that it is delivering paradoxical and contradictory outcomes to those it is intended to deliver. A central theme arising from the data and providing the foundation for these outcomes are that they primarily stem from the motivations of management, prison staff and mentors, with these motivational factors manifesting as both abuse and misuse of power. This misuse of power involves the incorrect, careless or dishonest use of it, whilst abuse of power plays out as the misuse of authority to take actions in personal interest, in this case negatively impacting; the intervention, those subjected to it, those staff in the delivery of it and the institution. This is explored and illustrated through the notions of *motivation*, *feathering the nest*, the *peer support paradox* and *managerialism*.

i) Motivation: The Abuse & Misuse of Power

The reconfiguration of penal power in the construct of peer support as a Peer-Led Induction endeavour sees a shift in the way power is enacted in prison. Moving away from the historic conceptualisations of power that are normally aligned with applications of power in prisons, there is the argument that good power utilised with the intent to produce the positive quality of life, safety, and other custodial outcomes through power-sharing initiatives such as the use of peer led support in custodial settings. can achieve positive outcomes. As introduced earlier peer assistance for other prisoners under trying circumstances has been shown to lower suicide and self-harm (Davies, 1994; Liebling & Price, 1999; Fletcher & Batty, 2012; South et al., 2014). Peer support is a common component of safer custody initiatives to deliver goals of the promotion of custodial health and wellbeing and has played a critical role in lowering prisoner suicide and self-harm. The penal system in England and Wales recognises the use of peer supports in prisons (Snow & Biggar, 2006; Davies 1994; Samaritans 2012, cited in Woodall, 2015).

As introduced, Matthews (2014: 43), recognised the infusion of power in the mechanisms of the criminal justice system. From the interpersonal to the structural, power operates at every level and further considerations identify the capacity of those applying power to produce intended and foreseen effects on others, however it is the unintended and unforeseen outcomes of reconfigured power, often neglected, to which this section now turns.

ii) 'Feathering the Nest'

Paramount to any prison is security, with it being central to debates around care and control in custodial settings. The open prison, which is the lowest security Category D rating, also has its own category specific caveats. The Ministry of Justice states:

The main purpose of open conditions is to assess prisoners in conditions more similar to those that they will face in the community. Time spent in open prisons affords prisoners the opportunity to find work, re-establish family ties, reintegrate into the community and ensure housing needs are met. (Prison Guide, 2022)

This is facilitated through the Release on Temporary License Scheme (ROTL), by helping to prepare them for resettlement in the community once they are released.

When considering the motivations of prisoners for being peer mentors a general consensus from the mentees is that the engagement of the mentors was not for altruistic reasons and was far detached from this with one interviewee describing them as.

They are manipulators [...] out for themselves. (Joey)

Both the ex-prisoner and staff interviewees highlighted some ways that this plays out in practice. When prisoners arrive at the prison, they are not in a position to be released on ROTL straight away and there is a period of risk assessment and consideration of the individual's specific case before ROTL can be considered. This therefore limits the

movement of the newly received prisoners into the establishment. Whilst they have the freedom to leave their cells mostly freely, with the exception of observing periods in their cells during rollcalls and night-time they are not able to leave the prison on ROTL. The freedom of other prisoners to engage with ROTL allows them the opportunity to access contraband and smuggle it into the prison or facilitate this through those in position of trust (Fletcher and Batty, 2012). For those working in induction, there is the opportunity for them to access a 'captive audience' with new inductees.

They were the people supplying the drugs to people when they came in [...] first thing they asked was if I needed anything and they didn't mean support or help to get settled in. (Joey)

John described how he was targeted in the reception area when he arrived and given a 'sales pitch' that the induction insider was the person to see. Other interviewees highlighted the privileged access that the Induction prisoners had.

They had access to all areas in the prison [...] reception, OMU, other areas of the prison that most of us can't go to. (Danny)

This access was important in many ways. As John concurred:

They had all the power. They could access the reception area and get prop (their personal property held in storage in reception) and orders while we had to wait.

This meant, by virtue of their role, that the induction peer supporters were in a position to engage with staff in order to get catalogue orders and property which often other prisoners had to wait until a certain allocated time and date slot to receive. This often occurred when collecting prisoners from the reception areas or running 'reception and induction' related errands to this area of the prison or through the invention of fictitious reasons for attending the desired area.

It was a pisstake. They were only in the job so that they could fly about and do their dodgy dealing and get what they wanted. (Joey)

The most contentious issue stemmed from the access these peers had to the Offender Management Unit (OMU) and staff. This is the unit that contains the staff involved in the risk assessment and ROTL issuing process. There was the perception that they were able to circumvent the normal channels of procedure to do so and oil the wheels of progressing ROTL applications and queries for themselves. This was something that was both recognised and normalised by staff, viewed as a benefit of the role amongst the majority of staff interviewed.

At the end of the day they help us out dealing with the prisoners, so we do our bit for them. Last thing we need is a bunch of pissed off

mentors on our case and not doing the job right.... if we keep them
happy things go according to plan. (Officer Kev)

Ex-prisoner mentees had a cynical view of this involvement with OMU, with some going
as far as labelling those peer mentors as 'Screw-boys' and 'Grasses.'

They are up there in those offices snitching [...] they'd do anything to
look good to the screws. (Gary)

Who knows what info they are giving the screws [...] they're giving
them something- that's why they get looked after. (Graeme)

A key issue was a lack of perceived interest in the role, which is further considered.
Whilst the PSI (NOMS, 2015) governing induction states that the expectation is that
support be provided by Induction Insiders; there were alarming deficiencies in this
area.

They [peers] were only interested in fucking my off out the door so
they could get on with cooking their dinner and association [...] questions just went unanswered- they were invisible. (Joey)

As soon as I signed off the paperwork they needed, they were off,
and that was the last time I even saw them. (James)

The comments above clearly indicate a distinct lack of interest from the peers in assisting with this process, and there was a prevalent perspective that the peers were only interested in having their paperwork signed off which indicates to others that they had 'done their job.' Ex-Prisoner interviewees all agreed that the peers were using their role as a way to look good and curry favour in the eyes of the prison staff. This exposes the attempt of mentors to cultivate a superficial image to draw staff attention to the supposed altruistic nature of their role as opposed to some of the sinister underbelly which has been outlined. Being a peer mentor in the eyes of the ex-prisoner sample is a means to an end, a self-serving motivation, a cynical move with their role the sidecar to the vehicle getting them what they want. They have power, which they apply for their own self-serving motivations which re-enforces hierarchy but due to this they are also viewed as Steve articulates as "another set of screws on us and getting busy but just not in uniform."

This, however, is just one perspective. One of the limitations of the study is that the voice of the mentors is absent, due to the changes made to the study as outlined in the methodology chapter. As such, it is difficult to generalise the observations around peer mentors to all who do the job. However, the perspective of those subjected to Peer-Led Induction is that one of the inherent and inevitable failings of the Peer-Led Induction is quite simply that power is not always shared or applied through power-sharing as intended and that abuse of this power in a penal context is arguably inevitable.

iii) 'The Peer Support Paradox'

Luckily, I knew a few fellas from my last prison, and they showed me the ropes and what I needed to do [...] no-one else did.

(Pauley)

Another prevalent manifestation of how the questionable motivations of staff and mentors used their power, is that of the *peer support paradox*. This chapter has conceptualised these issues along with the tensions of responsibilisation, which Chapter 7 has looked at extensively in relation to the impact responsibilisation and this combination feeds the paradox that exists.

Whilst all of those ex-prisoner interviewees interviewed reported some level of peer support it is essential to state here that the majority noted that they gained this support not through the 'official channels' of the induction peer support workers nor the induction prison officers but rather from informal networks of friendships and allegiances built up longitudinally through their time spent in the prison system.

This suggests that peer support works in assisting the induction process however not in an intended manner and in fact is garnered from peers outside of the programme. Offenders in this sense were forced to migrate away from a programme that should support and develop both them and their knowledge of the establishment to help them adapt and undertake a form of self-responsibilisation that both manifested as a fact-finding mission that should not have been necessary. This characterises the iatrogenic nature and outcome of intervention as the Peer-Led Induction undermines its own premise of a structured and targeted social support programme through driving people

away from peers to informal networks. Here the almost perverse notion of responsabilisation is at its most acute. Prisoners and staff involved in power-sharing results in a blurring of boundaries for prisoners whilst giving power to some inmates with questionable motivations causes prisoners to 'steer clear' of those who should be helping them.

8.4. Managerialism: Intervention-itis and Tick Box Cultures

This chapter has primarily considered the motivations of induction staff and peers that underpin iatrogenic outcomes. However, it is now appropriate to acknowledge the managerialist notions behind broadly, the use of peer support interventions and more specifically Peer-Led Induction which is synonymous with leading to what this thesis terms 'intervention-itis.'

It also considers the impact that *managerialism* has in practise, with the top-down management negatively impacting Peer-Led Induction and its staff ability to deliver its intended aims. This managerialism was an approach that was associated from within the public service as the vehicle to improved efficiency and effectiveness. This all too familiar trend within the public sector is often referred to as 'new public management' (Pollitt, 1993; Bennett, 2016;). In the penal estate, processes of management monitoring and control were embraced as the solution to the established problems experienced in prisons such as including improving security (Learmont, 1995; Spurr & Bennett, 2008) and "increasing management control and direction, turning good intentions into reality" (Bennett, 2016: 7). However, as this chapter indicates, in the case of Peer-Led Induction, good intentions lead to an unintended reality.

i) **‘Intervention-itis’**

Whilst the chapter has earlier introduced the perceived role motivations of the peer supporters, the gaze now turns to management and staff. It is not just the prison mentors that *feather the nest* and both management and staff are guilty of doing the same albeit in a quite different guise for the most part.

As established in the earlier chapters, there is a saturation of interventions in prison, whether its peer support or offending behaviour. In terms of peer support this is evidenced through “the explosion of peer interventions across the prison estate, illustrated by 7% of prisoners said to be involved as peer supporters across the England and Wales prison estate” (South et al., 2014). The suffix ‘itis’ is employed as a primarily medical suffix, derived from the Greek language, used to denote inflammation. For example, appendicitis translates as the literal or figurative inflammation of the appendix. Applied to the penal context and the use of various interventions and programs with prisoners, it conceptualizes this explosion of peer support through what this thesis terms as ‘intervention-itis’, meaning the inflamed number and usage of such interventions and programs across the penal estate, of which Peer-Led Induction is one. This ‘itis’ exists and has been expanded for a variety of reasons. From an institutional perspective surrounding peer support and Peer-Led Induction, it has been seen by many managers as an opportunity to do more with less in the face of the growing violence of austerity within the penal estate with under-staffed and under-resourced institutions a norm in contemporary prisons across in England and Wales (Fletcher & Batty, 2012).

This is symbolic of the re-configuration of power, which has seen the use of prisoners more involved in custodial provisions as such, intervention-itis is arguably a product of this clamour to paper over the cracks. All prison staff interviewed concurred staunchly with this assessment whether it being a primary or secondary aim.

It makes sense from the higher ups [...] saves them resources and plugs the gaps that exist [...] I guess its clever management or maybe desperation. (Officer Lily)

They just trot things out willy-nilly, without any thought about the logistics and practicality [...] they just want a quick fix, no thought about how to go about it though. (Officer Kev)

Also, this view was similarly held by a considerable number of ex-prisoner interviewees. Interviewees from the ex-prisoner sample were firmly of the belief that the use of peer supporters in the intervention were a ploy to plug the gaps arising from a lack of resources in personnel in the penal establishments.

All they are trying to do is put the dairy [responsibility] on us [...] they ain't got the staff to do what they are meant to do so they've got the screw boys running about doing their job for them. (Chris)

We have to rely on the peer supporters to do a lot of what we should do- making sure they have a phone call, answering concerns and

queries, reassuring them [...] the peers are there to supplement us
not replace us and do our duties for us. (Officer Kev)

I wouldn't tell them this, but they are a god send for me personally
[...] we haven't got the bodies on the landings anymore to even do
the basics [...] they free us up. (Officer Emily)

In this sense the staff recognised the influence of peers on their workloads. This is something that they believed management had also realised and this is situated firmly within the framework of Boyce et al., (2009: 12) who recognise using peers to reduce workload “sold it to the prison” especially as it is evidenced that peers ease professional pressure, extend support, and reduce staff turnover as well as being cost effective (Boyce et al., 2009; Fletcher & Batty, 2012). This is an initial illustration of a managerialist approach to the use of peer support, ‘weaponizing’ it as a tool to facilitate their self-serving cultures of institutional compliance.

As Bennett (2016: 8) muses, “[p]risons in England and Wales have seen the proliferation of the technologies and techniques of target-setting and monitoring in a quite pronounced form over the last 25 years. This has included the introduction of key performance targets and indicators, audits, and ratings systems.” The use of peer-support interventions, and specifically Peer-Led Induction, are symbolic of a top-down approach with the strategic direction, policy and planning devised by prison management. From these strategic plans, management develops the policies and

action plans required to meet the strategic goals and passes them on down to the boots on the floor to implement.

This top-down approach is viewed amongst the staff interviewees as very exclusionary, as it precludes staff involvement in developing its policies, plans and directions from their ideas, suggestions, and solutions and as such reduces the ability for employee participation in decision-making, problem-solving, and strategic planning. The staff cited this as one of the key reasons for a lack of interest and job dissatisfaction.

I've been in the job too long now to bother trying to talk to them
[management], they ain't interested in what we've got to say [...]
(Officer Woody)

There was also a sense of frustration amongst the staff interviewees, with many feeling disempowered by their lack of input into policy and intervention design and implementation.

If they bothered to ask us or listened when we tried to feedback and
acted upon it [...] things would be so much better. (Officer Emily)

I mean, we are the ones doing this day in and day out [...] we see
where the issues lie, what they are [...] it's not a quick fix admittedly
but it can be improved [induction]. (Officer Kev)

Prison staff are 'agents of power' (Spierenburg, 2000) and as such, any instance of power being exercised is an opportunity to gain knowledge and provide feedback to other agents of power about the implementation of commands, policies and procedures. In this sense, as Foucault (1977) argues, it has productive and integrative impacts rather than being associated routinely as just repressive. Resonating with the ideas surrounding power from Chapter 3, Elias (1984) states that power is two sided, operating from the top down as well as the bottom-up. However, the bottom-up approach is largely untapped and the distribution of power unequal. Management may be more powerful than prison staff at junior levels however, that does not mean that they are left without power completely. This also invariably and profoundly feeds into literature surrounding the notions of a failure to design and evaluate interventions properly, from a bottom-up approach, in the rush to push programmes into practice and implement them. There have already been a number of high-profile interventions in penal settings, especially in the offending behaviour/rehabilitation realm that have been shown to be ineffective due to a lack of evidence base and evaluation (Shaw, 2019). Yet, in the clamour to paper over the cracks, issues amongst and within intervention are neglected. As such, the plentiful interventions bypass a number of key steps and jump the implementation phase and lack appropriate consideration of the design and construction of the intervention. This leaves the prison system in a state of Intervention-itis with a plethora of interventions, such as Peer-Led Induction, that due to deficiencies in design and operation stemming from a managerialist approach to plug gaps in their institutions, which do not deliver their aims. This intervention-itis is, therefore, firmly a pre-cursor to, and source of, the iatrogenic harm established. This

notion is explored further when considering the domain of Programme Theory later in the chapter.

ii) 'Papering Over the Cracks and Ticking the Box'

The role of management is something that has been considered in the findings chapters of this thesis, and this section builds upon this by further considering institutional managerialism in prison in the context of its key performance targets, which cover five categories: 'Decency & Health' (such as suicide and self-harm audit score, time unlocked); 'Organisational Efficiency & Effectiveness' (such as completion of staff appraisals, timely responses to prisoner complaints and public correspondence); 'Regimes' (such as purposeful activity and the attainment of qualifications by prisoners); 'Safety' (such as assaults and accidents); and 'Security' (such as escapes, breach of temporary release and completion of searches). Of particular relevance to this thesis and exploration surrounds Decency and Health. The measure of these targets has a high visibility, being discussed at all levels. They are monitored at least senior management team meetings and at performance meetings attended by senior and middle managers. They are described as "visible assessment of individual, team and prison performance and were constantly in the consciousness of managers" (Bennett, 2016: 74-75). These arguably drive a relentless pressure on staff to deliver the targets as the boots on the floor which some interviewees expressed:

They are relentless [...] the only time we see them is when they are chasing us up for not meeting a target or ticking a box [...] always the negatives, the things that affect them. (Officer Emily)

Here the perceived focus of management connects firmly with literature which indicates that the primary concern of first- and middle-line managers is to ensure they are meeting targets, delivering the business plan, and ensuring audit compliance (Crewe, 2007).

As introduced, Peer-Led Induction is situated firmly in the Decency and Health category and a key intervention to reduce suicide and self-harm in custody. As such is in prominent focus of management and this filters down to staff as these interviewees described the pressure they feel which then draws them away from what they feel they should be doing within the context of induction:

If I could split myself into pieces and be in more than one place at once I could do what is really needed. (Office Lily)

Doing a first night interview and putting a comment on the prisoners P-NOMIS [the electronic custodial record for a prisoner] is the best I can do with the time I've got. (Officer Kev)

Here the tick-box nature of managerialism in the context of Peer-Led Induction is vivid amongst the staff involved in the delivery and facilitation of the Peer-Led Induction. Performance is no longer evaluated by the meeting the specific needs of the individual prisoner and is instead based upon “meeting measurable targets [like] [...] meticulous record-keeping [...] the management or even the control of risk” (Cheliotis, 2008: 247).

The prisoners are reduced to statistics to be managed within an interpersonal framework.

It's just another example of arse-covering and crossing off another thing on their action plan. (Officer Kev)

They put something in place, tick their box then we are left to try and make it happen [...] Induction is no different. (Officer Woody)

These are viewpoints echoed by all of the staff interviewees. It shows Peer-Led Induction is clearly viewed as a managerialist measure to tick their (the manager's) own box of satisfying safer custody requirements and recommendations and the KPT's that they are subjected too. All of this comes at the expense of it being a suitably resourced intervention to have intended positive outcomes. In this sense it actually becomes a disingenuous endeavour by management and staff, unable and incapable to deliver what is needed by those coming into the prison post transfer. It is symbolic of interplay between both misuse and abuse of power, initially from management, and then the knock-on effect to staff also.

What becomes clear is that the application of power still leads to negative outcomes for those subject to it irrespective of it being applied hard or soft. In this sense the application of power is merely shifted. Power is still applied and it causes negative outcomes, however, these become less of a spectacle, hidden or buried under the guise of being applied in "well-meaning or well-intended" forms and constructs, such as Peer-

Led Induction. Yet, the reality is that it is still aligned with the enduring issues documented in prisons within this thesis and causing pain for those subjected to it.

8.5. Tightness

How power is applied and enacted alters the experience of imprisonment. Power is experienced as both firm and soft in the open prison. There are elements of oppressiveness that characterize all penal institutions, yet there is also a deftness to them, a light touch. Rather than being a suppressive force weighing prisoners down like a millstone around their neck, it acts as a straitjacket, constraining them, by wrapping them up, smothering them and egging them on to demonstrate institutional appeasing behaviours. It best “captures the feelings of tension and anxiety generated by uncertainty” (Crewe, 2011a; Freeman & Seymour, 2010). The iatrogenic outcomes stemming from Peer-Led Induction have been detailed and explored with their foundations established in this chapter alongside the preceding two chapters. What these findings all illustrate, is the *tightness of imprisonment*.

There is the notion that responsabilising prisoners to navigate their day-to-day prison life with greater autonomy and the variety in delivery of the design and delivery of the Peer-Led Induction actually combine to ‘set prisoners up to fail’ increasing their fear of uncertainty. Tightness as a concept captures those feelings, anxieties and tensions associated with uncertainty. It encapsulates the feelings demonstrated by a number of ex-prisoner interviewees in Chapter 6, who spoke of the sense of the unknown, not knowing what to do, when to do it or how to do it for fear of getting it wrong. They put themselves under their own form of disciplinary gaze born from institutional

expectations of responsabilisation. The softening of penal power underpins the notion of responsabilising prisoners.

It also feeds into more contemporary pains of imprisonment such as *entry shock* and *pain of adaptation* (Jones, 2007) with some interviewees stating that anxiety associated with their transfer and change of circumstances, increasing in the face of a lack of needs driven support in Induction. As the theorisation of Crewe (2011a) argues, the notions of self-governance and responsabilisation combine. Here, as the majority of the ex-prisoner sample indicated, the sense of self and the fragility of their status in this transient phase is both challenged and eroded underpinning deleterious psychological impacts. This combination actively underpins the uncertainty that is conceptualised by tightness. There are difficulties surrounding prisoners becoming self-regulators, especially in this open prison estate. The low staffing and levels of security mean that there are options for prisoners to leave of their own accord and, as Crewe & Levins (2020) indicate, this leads to institutional regulation shifting locus to one that is left almost in its entirety to the prisoner themselves. When support was most needed from mentors and staff it was nowhere to be found or when the 'physical' people were found they hid behind a range of questionable motivations, as established in earlier chapters, to avoid engaging. This resonates with a majority of ex-prisoner interviewees who can find their frustrations situated within Crewe's (2015) theorisation of tightness whereby they spoke of difficulties navigating administration, getting answers to questions which were met with indifference and unresponsiveness. This evidences the notion of power being both "tight and loose, taut and slack" (Crewe & Levins, 2020). In this sense, prisoners are unsupported to become the self that is desired by the prison, and they also as a result face being impeded in their efforts to become that version of the self

the institution wants them to aspire to. There is a non-optic perspective (Crewe & Levins, 2020; Alford, 2000) where truly little is done for prisoners. They are rendered as abandoned and invisible, notions conveyed in Chapter 6 and 7, and there lacks meaningful engagement from the Peer-Led Induction which should be there to help them.

Managerialism in the context of induction also impacts the prisoner outcomes emanating from it. The staff interviewees were all of the opinion that the managerial pressure and focus on 'pen pushing' prevents them from having commensurate engagement with prisoners to facilitate and support the Peer-Led Induction. These feed into the notion of the *peer support paradox* and makes it more malignant. Not only do prisoners migrate away from the peers that are there to supposedly support them, but they also migrate away from the staff who are there to support them also due to a lack of staff availability and accessibility.

This not only underpins the aforementioned pains of imprisonment but also those associated with self-regulation and governance. Prisoners in this unfamiliar environment with greater autonomy, in an open prison, with trigger points of acute mental health issues, were being left to self-regulate and navigate their sentence devoid of the support systems that are intended to alleviate the pains associated with settling into a new establishment. Prisoners are in a self-regulating environment, which is magnified in the open prison estate. In order to maintain their status in the prison and progress to ROTL they have to regulate and conform, jumping through hoops almost to satisfy those gatekeepers to freedom, with the knowledge omnipresent in

their being that if they do not they miss out on their progression and indeed could face regression. Here, the power is waiting in the wings in a more oppressive and overt nature to act swiftly in the absence of self-regulation associated with soft application. Here penal power is seen in its true form as omnipresent form through exerting what Crewe (2011a; 2011b) identifies as a 'grip' upon the prisoner. Bureaucracy and processes of responsibilisation combine to stifle the prisoner.

It is not just prisoners who are 'doing time' inside the prison; prison staff are also doing time and, in a number of cases, significantly longer sentences than those imprisoned by the courts. An interesting observation arising from the fieldwork was the notion that staff are subject to their own pains of imprisonment stemming from managerialism and top-down pressure which leads to them experiencing their own form of tightness. Just like prisoners these officers face fear, anxiety and mental duress, uncertainty, lack autonomy and face both isolation and alienation (Scott, 2006, Crewe, 2011b). These often manifest in or exacerbate pain and Scott (2006: 29) captures the essence of this best in stating "those who perform dehumanising tasks become themselves dehumanised", those who inflict pain have pain inflicted upon themselves.

I'm always dreading what's going to happen if I can't do something or do it how they want it done [...] they sit in their meetings and behind their desks watching and monitoring hovering in the background ready to hammer us. (Officer Kev)

The staff inability to have what they deemed as adequate involvement in the Peer-Led Induction to do the job they feel they should be doing, partly due to resourcing issues alongside the demands of meeting targets, combined to elicit fear and pressure amongst them, with this relentless top-down managerialism resulting in staff experiencing their own form of tightness. Tightness in this sense was a direct result of managerialism. The vice like grip of tightness compelled the staff to feel a profound level of uncertainty. Just as ex-prisoner interviewees mirror the literature of being tied into responsibilisation and governance of the self, the same applies to the prison officers. As earlier stated in this chapter, staff expressed fear from management with them waiting in the wings to crack down on them should they not satisfy the demands of the job handed down to them.

What is key, and a cornerstone of this thesis which it has delivered, is to illuminate the importance of not ignoring the particularly important lessons that can be garnered from interventions that fail to work or cause harm. This thesis concurs with Zane et al., (2016: 153) who assert that “the focus on positive results is too narrow”, attributing this partly to the failure to acknowledge or even recognize that some intervention cause harm. This can lead to what they go on to describe as an “under-appreciation of what is truly at stake in designing social interventions” (ibid), which is a responsibility that should be at the forefront of any programme design.

What is also relevant and apparent with the Peer-Led Induction Model is that an intervention “not sufficiently grounded in sound [evidence and underpinned by] criminological theory is unlikely to succeed and may do more harm than good” (Zane

et al., 2016: 153) and this connects to the much earlier notions of iatrogenesis offered by Illich (1975; 1976). As such, it is key, as Zane et al, (2016: 153-154) advance, to “determine the theoretical basis for why some programmes cause harm [...] representing an important consideration when designing future social interventions, both to diminish risk of harm and to allow for a more nuanced understanding of intervention effects”. This study has also recognised and illustrated this notion. These notions further feed into the importance of ensuring that there is an effective and evaluated Programme Theory which is the overarching theory or model of how an intervention is expected to work. So far, the culmination of the findings has indicated either a lack, or at the very least, severe deficiencies in the Programme Theory of the Peer-Led Induction Model and evaluation of it. The chapter now considers this further.

8.6. Programme Theory

It is of course possible to achieve high levels of quality and safety on the basis of intuition derived from experience alone, with little evident help from formal theory. The few successful examples that exist do not, however, help to build a science.

(Davidoff et al., 2015)

Programme Theory is a tool to help people “better understand what works, for whom and under what circumstances” (Maden et al, 2017: 2). The initial stage of planning an effective treatment programme involves a solid theoretical foundation on which to base the intervention (Rossi et al., 2004). This involves the foundation of a theory of programme change, which is namely how will the treatment elicit change in those subjected to it. Because of the significance of programme theory, advancements in

evaluation literature, like logic models, have been made. These models explain how a programme functions (or is intended to function) in terms of inputs, resources, activities, outputs, outcomes, and long-term impact (Mertens & Wilson, 2012). The benefits that extend from Programme Theory include a more efficient development period for interventions, optimal design, effectiveness awareness of context in order to identify the best conditions for success and to enhance learning from the intervention. (Davidoff, 2015; Zane et al., 2016).

In the context of crime prevention, theory failure has been identified as being responsible for the ineffectiveness of many penal intervention's such as Scared Straight programmes which also uses peers (Welsh & Rocque 2014). In this scheme children at-risk of becoming juvenile offenders or juvenile offenders made scheduled visits to jail institutions as part of the Scared Straight programmes. Youths hear vivid stories from older prisoners about their experiences in prison. In less confrontational and more educational sessions, inmates can also examine their personal histories and the choices that resulted in their confinement. These are meant to act as a deterrence by showing individuals who are at danger the realities of incarceration. Given the fragility of such programmes, this thesis extends that proposition, and its position is the premise that the evidence supports a partial theory failure within Peer-Led Induction as being responsible for its iatrogenic effects.

It has been documented that "crime policy on the whole lacks a rational foundation" (Mears, 2007: 679) and the thesis through its literature review, has established that this could be extended to many penal interventions implemented across the estate.

Whilst there is a rational basis for the Peer-Led Induction it has been evidenced as one that is naïve and beset by a lack of considered and context specific thought in the design, implementation, and delivery.

Typically, policy makers and CJS management have shown a predisposition to a disproportionate focus on 'what works, but as Zane et al., (2015) proffer, "this may ignore important lessons that can be gleaned from programmes that fail to work or even cause harm". A second, related result is that preventative programmes without a solid theoretical foundation in criminology are unlikely to be effective and might potentially cause more harm than good. In order to reduce the risk of harm and allow for a more nuanced approach, it is crucial to understand the theoretical underpinnings of why some programmes have the potential to harm.

There seems to be the belief and premise across CJS and especially amongst the prison sector that peer support will work across different interventions to produce specific outcomes in differing contexts, as is the case of Peer-Led Induction (HMPS: Safer Custody Group, 2005), because there has been some success for it in others. This, however, "fails to recognize that some treatments cause harm" such as inability to "cope with life" (McCord 2003: 17). This is a form of generalisation that is immensely harmful to those subjected to the intervention. In the absence of an explicit account of an intervention, what staff and prisoner interviewees have described is symbolic of a manifestation to 'cargo cult science' (Fennyman, 1974) whereby things that looked like science are not. More specifically, in the sphere of peer intervention, this would be "the refusal to accept results that are 'wrong' only insofar as they disagree with those obtained by an eminence" (Hanlon, 2013: 52). Here, the poor understanding of what the Peer-Led Induction consists of, what it does and how it works, combine to thwart

meaningful replication of the interventions that were successful. Here, that is the principle of peer support. There is a lack of engagement with the theoretical underpinnings of peer support, introduced in Chapter 4 and discussed again below, and this lack of awareness and understanding of the foundations of peer support and the subtleties of it and its outcomes. This leads to an “under-appreciation of what is truly at stake in designing social interventions” (Zane et al., 2015), a sentiment that was echoed by those interviewed who were subject to the induction interventions. In fact, literature suggests that even those that are successful are difficult to “sustain or replicate in new contexts” (Davidoff et al., 2015).

There is some evidence of the presence of theory in the pilot review of the Induction Insider Scheme, but it is naïvely applied; extrapolating tenets of the benefits of peer support and attempting to apply them to an induction intervention without considering factors that can challenge that, as well as failing to recognize the complexity in doing so. Meaningful Programme Theory employs the combination of informal and formal theory to: recognise the issue (elevated mental health issues manifesting in self harm and suicide); identify its cause (transfer adaptation and lack of support); say what the corrective intervention is made up of (its component parts); specify the range of outcomes (desired or not); indicate why it is likely to deliver the desired results so namely the mechanisms to do so; and describe how it will be assessed. Yes, there are guiding principles that are presented in Prison Service Instructions and Prison Service Orders surrounding induction. However, there is little evidence of a coherent theoretical model to bring the intended outcomes and it does not draw or make explicit that it draws upon mainstream criminological theories (Mears, 2007). If this was given

the highest standard of quality through accreditation, as Offending Behaviour Programmes are, it would need to be fully manualised, totalling five manuals (Hollin & Palmer, 2006). These would comprise:

Manual	Description
Theory Manual	Details the theory and its supporting research evidence that underpins the programmes model of change
Programme Manual	Details each programme session and links to the targets for change to the model of change presented in the theory manual
Assessment and Evaluation Manual	Provides full details, including administration, scoring and interpretation for all the measures used for assessment and evaluation within the programme.
Management Manual	Details the procedures for staff selection, training and appraisal; the criteria for the selection and assessment of offenders for the programme; operating conditions, procedures for monitoring and evaluating the programme, and the roles and responsibilities of staff relating to the programme
Staff Training Manual	Provides details of all training for those staff involved in the programme, including both management and delivery personnel, alongside the procedures for assuring the competence of staff and regular reviews of staff performance.

Table 7: Manual Categories for Accredited Programmes (Hollin & Palmer, 2006: 14)

This level of accreditation would allow for a structure to be applied to deliver the highest standards for the development, implementation and maintenance of the Peer-

Led Induction and meet the needs of those participating in it. Yet, these are reserved for Offending Behaviour Programmes.

The Buffering Model discussed in chapter 4, is completely undermined by the issues that have been presented. The theory advances that social support has a significant positive effect when individuals are under high stress and that when social support is high, individuals would develop fewer psychological problems. If Peer-Led Induction was to utilise this theory in its programme the induction would do as it should do; act as a buffer and maximise the ability of the individual to cope with the situation of prison adaptation. The induction does not do this, with the potential outcomes of theory application being presented as a rationale for the peer intervention, yet demonstrating no meaningful or explicit engagement with the underlying theory relating to Social Learning Theory and Differential Association Theory and lacking any understanding of how this theoretical basis interacts with the means to deliver well intended aims and objectives of the intervention. Notions of emotional support alongside being a source of practical support and other information-hallmarks of a social support system are negated by the issues presented. That leaves a limited buffer effect, meaning that the prisoner is exposed to the cold front of pain emanating from entry and adaptation with little shelter. When we consider the comments from ex-prisoner interviewees both in Chapter 6 and in this chapter, the motivations of the peer supporters interact to render the potential impact of Social Learning Theory and Differential Association Theory as a negative one; prisoners are drawn away from those peer mentors that they should be engaging experientially with and modelling. The non-altruistic nature of those delivering the peer intervention a key factor behind this. In fact, what the behaviour of

the peer supporters does is to breed indifference and present a set of behaviours that are undesirable to be replicated in the open prison environment such as manipulation. There is no explicit portrayal of theory in the evaluation of the pilot study of the Induction Insiders Scheme considering the immense variability across interventions delivering peer led support, and this is supported by comments from officer interviewees. What exists, when considering the staff interviewees consensus, is vague and generic, lacking specificity, a contextual awareness, and substance as to the how, the why and the delivery in practice. A central frustration of the staff interviewees that relates to this was the lack of thought that went into the design and implementations of Peer-Led Induction. All too familiar, for the motivations demonstrated in this thesis, a prominent feature of prison interventions, and true in the case of Peer-Led Induction, is the tendency to move straight to the implementation phase. This is arguably a product of both 'intervention-itis' and underpins the iatrogenic outcomes associated with the intervention.

We use our experience and what we think is needed to pull it together. (Officer Emily)

This is a sentiment echoed throughout the prison officers interviewed. The Peer-Led Inductions were largely experiential. Whilst this has value, it exposes the intervention and it exposes variability amongst the staff and how they carry out their role. Two of the staff interviewees in roles delivering Peer-Led Induction had only been in service for under 4 years and had limited exposure to the prison and penal system. As such, the experience they have, although valuable, is limited, which in turn limits the scope

of their experiential knowledge into intervention design and delivery. This connects also to Davidoff et al. (2015: 228), who recognise urgent need for more effective use of formal theory in intervention, “because personal intuition is often biased, distorted and limited in scope” and maximum exploitation of learning and accumulation of knowledge. Promoting the transfer of learning from one project, one context, one challenge to the next is best achieved using formal theory.

One of the earlier staff comments spoke about the institution rushing out interventions without considered development using a bottom-up approach. This resonates with Davidoff et al. (2015) who identify this feature of many interventions being the tendency to move straight to implementation and circumventing the working out of the Programme Theory. The clamour to introduce the programme and keep it running has resulted in an intervention that, whilst being attractive superficially, lacks a clear and specific evidenced process and narrative regarding each intervention and the behavioural, social, and technical processes that they seek to alter or assist.

i) Evaluation: underpinning or undermining theory

Despite there being a clear need and rationale for programme/intervention evaluation for public sector institutions to monitor and improve performance, the reality is that very few evaluations are conducted in prisons despite an elevated level of importance for intervention in these contexts (Arsenault et al., 2016). What is important to consider in the context of Peer-Led Induction is that it is not accredited, and so there is no obligation to ensure that it is evaluated and designed based on the best available evidence.

I've never done anything formal. We just ask from time to time how the prisoners got on with induction and if everything is alright. They don't tend to say too much. (Officer Lily)

Of greatest relevance to this intervention is the invaluable role Programme Theory plays in providing a scaffold for evaluation. This is key because all interventions need to be designed in a manner that makes it possible and visible to ascertain whether the intervention has indeed resulted in the desired outcomes. The element of evaluation and the process of negotiation and renegotiation in the Peer-Led Induction is absent, which means it is absent from contributing to a Programme Theory that is robust and from determining an intervention that is delivering what is intended. Here, evaluation acts as addressing whether or not "chains of objectives" are met (Suchman, 1967: 55) with the Programme Theory guiding evaluation.

I've never seen any research done on it, not since I've been here. We have a comment box, but I've not known prisoners to put feedback in there apart from complaints about more general aspects of prison. (Officer Kev)

They never asked me what I thought about it [...] besides even if I said anything they are just going to make my life difficult and cause me a problem. (Joey)

The key proposition a value of Programme Theory Evaluation (PTE) is understanding why and how interventions do or do not work. The ability to evaluate the steps in a theory, as earlier mentioned, in the intervention provides an important narrative about failure and success of the differing elements in reaching its goals or aims. An inability to evaluate means there is little opportunity to not only identify what does and does not work but also why, in the context of Peer-Led Induction, what critical mechanisms were lacking in the model, such as it being activating and engaging. This is clear evidence of the earlier consideration in chapter 4 of Fletcher & Batty (2012), who highlighted a lack of evidence demonstrating a clear added benefit of utilising peer support, due to the lack of evaluation.

This is a theme within the MOJ, who have failed to evaluate 20 of their accredited Offending Behaviour Programmes as of 2019 (Shaw, 2019). A lack of PTE also precludes the ability to identify causal attribution, to determine whether the intervention caused the observed outcome and providing robust evidence of doing so. Principles of delivering and maintaining effective practice are neglected seemingly as this intervention exists outside of an Offending Behaviour framework therefore no evaluation or audit is attached. A core consideration of evaluation needs to be to improve the intervention, and this was lacking.

We are the ones doing this day in and day out [...] we are able to adapt and change things about that we think need it amongst ourselves. (Officer Emily)

That is not to say there is no presence of evaluation. There appears from the data to be a type of formative assessment that takes place informally amongst staff. Here any questions relating to the effectiveness of the intervention take the form of conversations between staff and handovers, used as Rogers et al., (2000: 9) suggest, “guiding daily actions and decisions”, rather than summative considerations of effectiveness stemming from structural issues relating to the intervention. This form of functional evaluation is not to develop the Peer Led Intervention as such, but more to assist staff in the planning and management of the prison function. It sits firmly within a managerialist framework regarding motivation rather than delivering the intended aims and objectives in relation to prisoner outcomes.

Overall, the Peer-Led Induction cannot in its construct fit within a framework of ‘Effective Interventions’ that the MOJ (2022) promote. These principles are documented in relation to Offending Behaviour Programmes and Interventions, yet not seemingly applied to Peer-Led Induction. As a non-accredited programme or one that does not target Offending Behaviour, arguably it is not deemed as requiring such rigor:- evidence based rationale, being delivered as intended and evaluation. However, these are principles that should, given the flaws in this intervention, be applied to Peer-Led Induction and indeed all interventions that involve those who are imprisoned, to ensure that they run to the highest standards and deliver their intended outcomes. There is no significant adherence to principles of effective practice and there is “no clear theoretical model of change, fully articulated in a Theory Manual, which explains the principles by which the programme will achieve the intended outcome” (Hollin & Palmer, 2006: 12). Arguably in the face of this evidence, the only purpose it serves is

to plug a void and tick a box rather than a robust one that genuinely attempts to deliver the best possible outcomes employing effective practice in both development, implementation and maintenance phases.

Bad things happen when good people pretend there is nothing wrong. (Taylor, 2022)

The oft-ignored possibility of iatrogenic effects of social interventions carries important implications for research, policy, and practice. First, while it would be easy enough to dismiss a study with null or negative effects and simply ‘move on,’ studying why a social intervention did not work, or even caused harm, is a critical component of connecting sound developmental theory with penal intervention (Poulin et al. 2001).

As Bowling suggests, “[t]he unintended and ironic, but also predictable consequences of intervention are well established” (2011: 12). Yet despite this, they often remain unchanged and even unchallenged. The same can be said of well-intended interventions, whether they be offending behaviour programs to modify behaviours and reduce re-offending, or the raft of other interventions implemented and enacted in prisons to promote positive outcomes for those who are imprisoned, with this raft of intervention creating the climate of ‘intervention-itis.’ Such unintended consequences are illustrated throughout this chapter in relation to the focus of this thesis, Peer-Led Induction.

Arguably this historic lack of contestation and change is symbolic of denial; namely “when people are presented with information that is too disturbing, threatening, or anomalous [...] [it] is therefore repressed, disavowed, pushed aside or re-interpreted” (Cohen, 2001: 1). Peer support in custodial settings as established in this thesis is a staple of prison intervention, with a wealth of literature lauding its virtues and positive impact. As such, challenges to its efficacy are arguable indicators that the premise for intervention, as well as the design, implementation and delivery of interventions, are potentially flawed. Therefore, the lack of programme/intervention evaluation and change is firmly situated in the enactment of managerialism alongside fear of the identification of intervention flaws and denial. If it were not, evaluation and a theory of change to ensure that the intervention was meeting its aims and intended outcomes would surely be a much more prominent feature of the penal systems priorities. Yet the lack of action and practice illustrates the polar opposite. This thesis forms, arguably, a foundation for a Programme Theory for Peer-Led Induction as it contains evaluative empirical evidence that can be used through adaptation as a guideline for informing a programme theory and evaluation. What is crucial is to design interventions with a clear hybrid of Programme Theory and an Accompanying Logic Model. The use of the logic model is important. Logic models are useful for providing a clear illustrative diagram of programme theory in a manner that is accessible and understandable to a wide range of people who come into contact with it. It can take the form of guiding those facilitating and delivering the intervention and also illuminating key concepts for those concerned with its evaluation. By employing this research, which identifies a range of unintended outcomes diminishing the intended aims and objectives of the intervention, it allows for the process of renegotiation to occur through the redesign

of the programme, highlighting the importance of evaluation to indicate areas requiring this focus.

The reconfiguration of penal power has reconfigured the pain of imprisonment and its forms and application and invariably and the experience of this imprisonment. Here the hybrid theory of Foucault and Elias introduced in Chapter 3 plays out, whereby the locus of power has changed and the enactment of punishment is less visible and less of a spectacle. These changes in power have resulted in changes in the experience of imprisonment and prisoner outcomes. What also becomes clear is that the application of power still leads to negative outcomes for those subject to it, irrespective of it being applied hard or soft. In this sense the application of power is merely shifted. Power is still applied, and it causes negative outcomes. However, these become less of a spectacle, hidden or buried under the guise of being applied in well-meaning or well-intended forms and constructs, such as prison interventions. How those involved in the implementation and delivery of intervention apply their power also impacts how it is experienced. As Crewe (2011a: 512-513) suggests, the reconfiguration of penal power in prisons in England and Wales has “worked alongside established pains in determining the experience of imprisonment, but they are different in their sources, their feel and their effects”.

The reality is, power is still aligned with the many of the enduring issues documented in prisons within this thesis, causing pain for those subjected to it. In the construct of peer support interventions the combination of these elements is best conceptualised through tightness, a vice like grip on those that come into contact with it.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

The thesis sought to address three central research questions to achieve its aims and objectives. In doing so, the narrative throughout this thesis has considered the complex and nuanced interactions between the use of peer support, in the form of Peer-Led Induction, to support prisoners in the early days of transition and adaptation to open prison following transfer. When considering the first research question it is clear that the thesis has evidenced prison as a painful experience, both historically and in the present day, and the thesis explored how the process was experienced by those who were imprisoned first and foremost. In doing so it considered the challenges, thoughts, and feelings they experienced in the early day of custody post-transfer and how Peer-Led Induction interacted with that. It demonstrated the considerable strain on mental health experienced by those entering a new custodial establishment which is a clear indicator of transition as a stressful experience. It evidenced the pains associated with imprisonment and these processes, building upon earlier theorisation of Sykes (1958) and Crewe (2011a; 2011b), in the context of newer pains, conceptualised as the pain of transfer and adaptation/adjustment which was founded on conditions of *entry shock* and a *fear of the unknown*, arguing that these have arisen from reconfigured penal power. In doing so it elicited perceptions of those staff and peer mentors involved in the implementation and delivery of the intervention, revealing a number of key themes and considerations that interact with the efficacy of the intervention. It also considered the organisational challenges that threaten the efficacy of the intervention, considering what support prisoners should be offered during entry and adaptation to the prison and contrasting against the reality of what is experienced. The reality was often captured through the emergent themes of self-interest and disinterest amongst mentors and staff. These all underpinned issues relating to

negative mental health and wellbeing outcomes amongst prisoners. The thesis was able to identify and explore a range of structural impediments to Peer-Led Induction. These related to the complex construct of institutional managerialism, with the entanglement of ineffective management and resistant staff cultures interacting to divert focus away from helping those who are imprisoned to better adapt and alleviate mental health and wellbeing issues in the early days in the new establishment.

Power is a concept that is deeply embedded throughout the thesis and is present in addressing all the primary research questions. Emerging from the data is the notion that reconfigured penal power through the power-sharing between prisoners and staff in Peer-Led Induction challenges occupational discourses around the identity of the prison officer and how the prison officers should 'carry out their duties'. It then conceptualises how these issues are indicative of a 'tick-box culture' that prevents prison officers from connecting with offenders and underpins peers and staff fulfilling management and self-serving objectives and goals. Furthermore, the application of power through strategies of responsibilisation reveals the model as failing to employ a needs-driven approach to induction. It considers responsibilisation as a 'smokescreen' at times, due to a lack of staff and mentor visibility in the induction process and lack of engagement with inductees. This power-infused responsibilisation interacts closely with the concept of 'tightness.' It underpins the feelings of anxiety and stress of induction mentees, and undermines the potential for the intervention to have meaningful engagement, alleviating the mental distress of new prisoners. How power, in the form of this power-sharing initiative, manifests in the experience of transfer and adaptation is further evidenced through a range of conceptualisations that the thesis advances, concerning self-serving motivations,

paradoxical social support, and the abuse and misuse of power. All this culminates in ramping up the thermostat of penal tightness for those subject to the Peer-Led Induction. It conceptualises Peer-Led Induction as a form of 'intervention-itis', signifying the saturation of such schemes in the prison estate as a quick fix or quick win for the institution to paper over the cracks that exist. As such, there is limited thought in the design and implementation phase, which serves to have deleterious impacts upon prisoner mental health and wellbeing, thus increasing the tightness of the penal experience.

When considering these in their totality, this thesis is of the position that Peer-Led Induction is an intervention plagued by a lack of a sound theoretical and evaluative footing, one which would provide the aim of the programme in the form of an efficient Programme Theory, especially in terms of evaluation and the application of evaluation. As such, it establishes the role of Programme Theory and its importance in the design, implementation and delivery of peer support interventions broadly, and more specifically Peer-Led Induction, especially in an age where penal policy has seen a plethora of interventions and schemes thrown at addressing fundamental issues stemming from the conditions of imprisonment in England and Wales, with the clamour to do so precluding the devil in the detail.

This final chapter is both reflective and forward thinking in nature. It firstly considers how research could be improved moving forward to shed further light on this nuanced area in light of the changes to the open prison landscape and the challenges and experience of COVID-19. It will then turn to reflecting on the key challenges that Peer-Led Induction faces, whilst considering how these can be addressed. In doing so, it draws upon the thematic analysis and conceptualisations

of the finding's chapters. It moves on to consider the thesis' contribution to academic literature and theory, firmly situating it categorically. The thesis concludes by considering how it can be situated within a framework of policy and intervention change and challenges the makers of penal policy to double down on the mantra that prisoners lives matter. Not only that, it encourages them to be bold in doing so, by accepting the flaws and issues identified, but doing so both critically and constructively to bring about change that produces the best possible outcomes for the mental health and wellbeing of the many men transferring and transitioning to the final phase of their custodial journey and life outside of the walls.

9.1. Where do we go from here? Future Research

Since this thesis began, the climate in which prisons exist has changed dramatically, especially in the open prison estate. It has been established that the transition and adaptation to the way of life within the open prison estate comes with a range of challenges that impact the mental health and wellbeing of those that encounter them. Peer-Led Induction is a support to try and mitigate these by helping prisoners navigate an environment that is complex, but not successful. The already complex nature of open prisons has changed during the thesis with there being a new set of rules regarding aspects of the regime. Previously, prisoners had to complete a 'lay down period', months of monitoring and assessment before being allowed to progress through various stages of community release. There were other restrictive rules too regarding work placements. However, these changed in late 2019, including eligibility for Resettlement Day Release (RDR) starting from the point of transfer; there is no longer a restriction on ROTL for the first three months following transfer to open conditions and prisoners are now eligible for ROTL once all sentence planning and risk management procedures have taken place (Prison Reform Trust, 2019).

COVID- 19 hit open prisons hard as they were unable to carry out their main purpose of preparing prisoners for release through large numbers of the population of these prisons working and developing skills off-site in the community. HMIP (2021) also recognised that those at the end of life-sentences or indeterminate sentences benefit, alongside other prisoners, from ROTL to re-integrate into the community and develop and maintain community and family ties. COVID-19 meant that these were suspended. HMIP (2021: 7) decreed that ROTL suspension was necessary to minimise the spread of infection. However:

11 weeks later [HMIP] found a sense among prisoners that the establishments had lost their purpose. Many prisoners had worked for years to gain the opportunity to move to open conditions, and evidence a reduction in their risk of reoffending and build or re-build ties with family and the community; others had been working out in the community for some time and had begun to build a new life even before release. Prisoners felt the loss of opportunity keenly and levels of frustration were high.

All these factors represent more layers to the experience of imprisonment and more opportunity for psychological distress for the prisoner. Due to the time frame for data collection, the ex-prisoner sample would have not been exposed to these evolved conditions in the prison estate. As such, further study of the open prison today and reflecting these conditions in the experience of those imprisoned who have experienced them would be welcomed to fully encapsulate and reconcile conditions and experience of them.

The sample for this study was both small and purposive, with the prison officer sample being selected by the gatekeeper officer and the ex-prisoner sample recruited through networks and online media platforms. This limited the extent to which the study could reach. Whilst it offers a vital and comprehensive exploration and critique, it can be developed further. A larger sample size across multiple open prison sites across the open prison estate in England and Wales would assist with extending the comprehensiveness and authority of a study into this field. Furthermore, by conducting this research in the prison estate, there will be the opportunity to engage with prisoners being received into the establishment at the pinch points of transfer and transition. Also employing a longitudinal approach when carrying out further study in this construct, in order to chart the prisoners at the time of reception and pre-induction and then again after the induction process, would allow for a greater depth to the data and for a self-reporting quantitative element to measure the prisoners' thoughts, feeling and attitudes to underpin the rich qualitative data.

Gender is a category that allows analysis of unequal power relations that are rooted in societies (Scott, 1995a). In this sense, by taking prison as a historical institution, we can include another dimension in this triad of intersections: punishment (Davis & Dent, 2003). When evaluating the decision to concentrate on the male prison population, the theme of masculinity was first addressed in the thesis. The dominating masculinity present in prison can be described in terms of aggression, violence, homophobia, and dominance, as was also stated earlier. Since showing weakness in an environment like prisons can be a risk factor, many men who are denied their freedom hold this dominant identity and strive to be overly dangerous in order to protect themselves from potential physical and/or sexual violence (Pemberton, 2013). Because it highlights characteristics of hegemonic masculinity that encourage the propagation of violent forms of being a male in the world, this expression of hegemonic masculinity is known as "toxic masculinity" and is made worse by the prison environment (Kupers, 2005; 714). It should be noted, however, that the gender dynamics of masculinity as they were conceptualised and manifested in relation to the

data collection and the experiences of incarceration described by those interviewed were not salient nor discernible thematically in this regard although there was some presence of masking thoughts and behaviours. As a result, the focus on masculinity has been diminished as a result of the lack of proximity to the findings to a place where they may interact, but in a different context that is neither significant to the study at hand, so they are not further explored or extended in this study. That said, research recognises the importance of studies on the “specificities of the prison population to avoid the non-segmentation of the various mechanisms of exclusion that cross the life of the usually imprisoned world population, in order to avoid reductionist and decontextualized interpretations” (Cunico and Lerman, 2019; 232). As such, the exploration of masculinity further afield in similar studies is something that can be integrated more as a core research aim to add depth to the theoretical offering’s that already are in place.

Self-serving motivations have been a perception levied at both peer mentors and staff involved in the induction. However, it could also signify that the same self-serving motivations exist within the peer mentees as to why they wish to paint the peer mentors and staff in this manner. One voice that is not represented in the study is the voice of the peer mentors due to factors beyond my control, as discussed in Chapter 5. Moving forward, study in this realm should seek where possible to ensure that all actors involved in the process of induction are given a voice. Their perceptions of the staff they share power with and those mentees that they interact with are valuable to supporting a more rounded perspective. The same can be said for the prison management, who are similarly perceived in a negative manner by the staff sample. This would allow for a much more in-depth consideration of staff and management cultures, motivations, and dynamics.

Also of interest is the impact of who carries out future research in this realm. One unique factor of this study is this researcher's positionality. That positionality afforded by this researcher's lived experience allows a level of privilege and insider status that has assisted in accessing and recruiting the samples for study. It also has allowed the questions and interviews to be carefully constructed and carried out in a manner that harnesses the authenticity of this researcher. The ability to slip into prison vernacular, to make the implicit explicit, to react to nuance - things that come about from identifying a shared experience - were all employed in this research to elicit rich data to inform this thesis. Potentially, a researcher without those characteristics may not be able to foster the connection required to mine this level of understanding, but they may bring other equally important qualities to the table, devoid of the feelings that were elicited during the reflective process described in Chapter 5.

9.2. Where do we go from here? Key Intervention Challenges and Changes

What is clear from the thesis is that there are a number of pertinent iatrogenic outcomes that compromise the design, implementation and delivery of an effective and needs driven Peer-Led Induction. The chapter now turns to identifying these key challenges and considers ways to address these.

i) Managerialism and Staff Culture

What is key is the notion that "good programme management is the key to successful implementation of [offending behaviour] programmes" (Hollin & Palmer, 2006: 10). This is also true in relation to Peer-Led Induction. There was the presence of a resistant culture to management, born out of issues relating to trust and how management were perceived as more

orientated towards fulfilling their management targets and delivering a top-down approach. This was conceptualised as being indicative of a tick-box culture, dominating and pervading what should be an intervention to deliver positive outcomes in relation to the mental health and wellbeing of the mentee rather than managerialist priorities and targets. This approach created a wariness of management from staff who felt disenfranchised as a result of this approach and as such were much more resistant to sharing and converting knowledge that could have been used in a bottom-up approach to the benefit of the Peer-Led Induction, thus improving outcomes for both prisoner mentees and management, who struggled to engage their staff to convert. There needs to be much more synergy between management. Clear lines of communication between both parties - with a greater level of support for and recognition of the knowledge and experience of those staff on the ground and the challenges they face, resource support and the incentivisation of the intervention - would garner buy in amongst the staff and increasing the legitimacy of the management. Advances in this area, as discussed earlier, would underpin a workforce that is much more conducive with both converting and sharing knowledge with management to make for a more effective provision.

ii) Selection and Training (Staff and Peers Security)

One of the key notions was that of the motivations of peers and staff in relation to the Peer-Led Induction. There was the notion expressed by the ex-prisoner sample that the peer mentors engaged in activities that were in breach of prison security measures and that they were in the positions they were to facilitate these outcomes or to benefit in some way by accessing material goods or those staff members involved in the ROTL process. This highlighted the motivations as self-serving and as not embracing what should be an altruistic endeavour to provide support to those in need. Similarly, staff reported issues about staff members resistant to the ethos of

power-sharing in the Peer-Led Induction and how staff involved in the inductions enacted the role of a prison officer. To these staff members it challenged an occupational culture where there is a historic understanding of how the prison officer should 'do prison' and symbolised that shift to softer power. Staff members undermined the effectiveness of the provision when having to work in induction by conforming to their own person ethos and ignoring the culture of power-sharing. All these issues point towards problems surrounding effective selection and training of peer mentors and staff who come into contact with the provision of induction. Whilst necessary pools of those prisoners and staff with the requisite experience, ability and skill may be in short supply in the prison setting there nonetheless needs to be some effort to adopt a criteria and resources to embrace and develop the core values of a power-sharing endeavour of Peer-Led Induction.

iii) Empowerment and Support

As documented, responsibilisation is a key strategy of the open prison. However, responsibilising strategies are a source of anxiety, stress, and the pains of transfer and adaptation at a time when they are experienced very acutely. Prisoners found themselves almost cut adrift by the notion of having to find their own way whilst also contending with what this thesis recognises as the process of double liminality. Often this lack of engagement was perceived as a lack of visibility and interest by staff and peers and was conceptualised as an abuse or misuse of power. These responsibilising measures exist with coercion in the form of regression to closed conditions or lack of progress within the open prison, with this fear causing immense distress amongst prisoners, captured as 'tightness' in their experience of imprisonment. Responsibilisation is intended to enable and empower, but, in reality, it has crippling effects that are supported by perceived apathy amongst staff and peer mentors. The

combination of these elements is shown as leading to a paradoxical outcome, whereby prisons sought out the support and advice they needed to navigate this time of transition from networks of fellow prisoners, rather than peer mentors and induction staff, which undermines the existence of the intervention itself. The responsabilising strategies of open prison would arguably be better suited to being operationalised once a supportive, responsive, needs-based, and relational induction is completed, one that revolves around altruism, effective communication, and dissemination of information, and once the prisoner suitably adapted. Responsibilisation is not a word to be banded around to mask or excuse deficiencies in these areas.

iv) Design, Implementation, Delivery: Monitoring and Evaluation

‘intervention-itis’ plays a role in the compromise of the intervention. The clamour to get interventions out there has led to arguably less robust, less evidence- and theory-based interventions to be put in place to plug the gaps in a prison system fit to burst under the strain of its issues. The response is a plethora of these interventions, symbolic of ‘intervention-itis’. Something is not better than nothing if that something does not achieve its intended aims and consequently produces iatrogenic outcomes. This is what Peer-Led Induction does; it produces iatrogenic harm, as has been established. There is a lack of sufficient focus on Programme Theory in Peer-Led Induction to develop it to a level where it both meets its intended aims and objectives and is free from the shackles of iatrogenic outcomes that diminish it. For all the rhetoric and literature that exists about the rigors of accredited programmes, the fact remains that Peer-Led Induction is not one, alongside other interventions within the walls of prisons that those who are imprisoned engage with. There remains a huge void between Offending Behaviour (OB) interventions and others that are not offending behaviour orientated, as well as non-accredited, with the latter appearing to be cut adrift. They are devoid of the same rigor in relation to

promoting best and effective practice and from receiving the diligence that accreditation brings, as introduced earlier, especially surrounding evaluation. Delivering and maintaining effective practice across all interventions, including Peer-Led Induction, must be a focus if the principles of effective practice are to be translated into action. Programme accreditation and audit are key to ensuring that interventions embody the principles of effective practice introduced earlier and are effective through quality delivery. Yet these are not applied here as it is neither an OB programme nor accredited. Ultimately, by neglecting these areas in the realm of non-offending behaviour interventions, those who are imprisoned are also being neglected. This neglects prisoner outcomes surrounding health and wellbeing in favour of a disproportionate focus on outcomes surrounding re-offending rates. Seemingly delivering the best possible interventions for those who are imprisoned with the highest possible standards is not a consideration when it does not concern the field of recidivism; otherwise, this thesis and many other critiques of penal interventions would not be written, at least not with the level of issues they elucidate. By not focussing on Programme Theory or accrediting in regard to Peer-Led Induction, there are not the conditions for giving the maximum focus available to the Peer-Led Induction. Theory and accreditation are not enough alone. The issues identified are not individual cogs; they need to be addressed as part of a bigger structure. There remains the potential for Programme Theory and accreditation to become a tick-box exercise too, rather than the next golden goose to improve everything.

9.3. Contribution to Academic Literature and Theory

This thesis makes a significant contribution to the understanding of peer support interventions in custody, specifically Peer-Led Induction and how power-sharing initiatives can interact with the experience of imprisonment to mitigate the pains of imprisonment at the key times of transfer,

transition and adaptation to both a new, and open prison. The theorisation of Sykes (1958) and Crewe (2011a) surrounding the pains of imprisonment has been extended, using the research of Jones (2007), and applied to the process of inter prison-transfer from closed to open conditions to offer a more nuanced application of pain that is context specific. In doing so, it further develops the framework of how re-configured penal power can manifest in the prisoner experience of imprisonment, by focussing on how power is applied, misused and abused, in the construct of Peer-Led Induction. This can be applied to interventions further afield across the penal estate. It has identified a range of themes found within the theoretical framework that reach out to the criminological and wider sociological and psychological audience. These include the identification and exploration of managerialism and occupational cultures, which threaten the efficacy of penal interventions and challenge effective processes of knowledge management and conversion. The latter, although common concepts in the field of organisational management, are under-developed in relation to the penal context. The concept of 'liminality' is likewise extended in the context of the open prison estate, going beyond historic constructs and considerations to reflect the nuance of open prison through the concept of 'double liminality'. The totality of the thesis evidences institutional intervention iatrogenesis. As such, the thesis has connected iatrogenic outcomes to the field of penology, by reconciling iatrogenesis with the prison environment and the interventions used within them. This is an original contribution to the study of interventions in prison, with it being a more nuanced and fitting framework of how the aforementioned notions interact in the context of providing peer support through Peer-Led Induction, an under-researched endeavour in an under-researched environment.

9.4. Where do we go from here? Future Policy and Intervention Change

Most misunderstandings in the world could be avoided if people would simply take the time to ask, "What else could this mean?"

(Shannon L. Alder, n.d.)

Policymakers and prison management within the penal estate have arguably seen peer support as the panacea to bridge the number of issues documented in this thesis, as such lauding it as a success, blinded by its virtues or blinkered to anything other than its function in papering over the systemic cracks. However, this thesis evidences it is a 'golden goose' that is being asphyxiated due to issues surrounding its design, implementation and delivery. Therefore, the worry of Peer-Led Induction being a one size fits all approach that actually fits nothing or nobody, is realised not by it being a prescriptive uniform offering but more by its chaotic implementation and delivery; implementation that is beset by structural and operational issues that render it as yet another intervention used by managerialists and policymakers as an emergency tourniquet to stem the flow of blood whilst the penal system inevitable continues to bleed out, devoid from long term life saving attention. The concept of 'intervention-itis' has been introduced and peer support interventions, specifically peer-led induction, are arguably the product of this. It is also seen further afield in the prison estate with the Prison Leavers Project, promoting collaboration across sectors and at a local level to develop innovative ways to help turn people leaving prison away from crime (MOJ, 2021). This illustrates ongoing 'intervention-itis'. The pain of imprisonment is profound and the thought that peer support is the solution by virtue of it being perceived as the solution of issues surrounding mental health, self-harm and

suicide in early stages of custody and other areas of deficiency in prison is synonymous with the arrogance and naivety in equal measure of the prison service.

Policymakers need to embrace the notion that no single regime, or type of regime, is perfect for all prisoners, or even for the same prisoner at various points in their life, and this needs to be factored in better to deliver a needs-driven model. There's no silver bullet to the complex set of issues facing people transferring to open prison. Different things will work in different circumstances. This in itself illustrates the need for embracing newer approaches. According to Curtis & Edwards (2019: 358), a more progressive strategy is needed, as "most successful initiatives have been driven from the frontline in active collaboration with the individuals involved," and "placing the user at the centre of service design will not only dictate the information required, and who needs access to it [...] but will improve transparency and accountability." A Peer-Led Induction model that adopts these concepts and employs evidence such as this thesis would arguably go a long way toward resolving the majority of the concerns raised during the study.

This thesis is an invitation to policymakers within the criminal justice system to be bold when considering what works and what doesn't; to be brave and gravitate away from cherry-picking whereby they pick only the best people or things from a group, so that only people or things that are less good remain. In a thesis that has at length discussed self-serving motivations and enduring issues in the penal system, these issues are evident in the policymakers too. Despite seeking to gather evidence to form a basis upon which to act, the penal system is still in crisis. If the MOJ are to meet the aims and objectives as laid out in their own terms of reference used as the benchmark

framework earlier in the thesis, they need to be held accountable to this framework. They need to address issues with the evidence base being collated or, rather, how it is used and translated into practise to address the issues prisons and prisoners face every day. As such, this is a crucial juncture for this thesis to provide a richer understanding of Peer-Led Induction and its interaction with the experience of imprisonment at the crucial time of transfer, transition and adaptation to the open prison estate. It could contribute to the development of a needs-driven model of Peer-Led Induction that addresses the needs of those who are received into a prison establishment.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethics Application



SRC Ethical Review Application Form

*Note: these procedures only apply to
research involving human participants*

An ethical review application form must be completed for each project that has agreed funding (postgraduate or staff) and submitted to the SRC Ethical Panel. You can complete the form in Word, or print it out and complete it by hand.

The University of Kent requires that each department has procedures in place to ensure that the ethical implications of all research involving human participants have been considered and that ethical standards of conduct are achieved. An ethical review application form should be completed for each project granted funding and submitted to the SRC Ethical Panel. It is the responsibility of staff to ensure that their own research, and where appropriate that of students they supervise, is submitted for ethical scrutiny. Approval must be granted before the project can undertake the work with human participants.

If you feel that there are special considerations that require a particular expertise on the part of the reviewer, please make these clear in your application.

In order to assist the review of this application, it is essential that you attach the study detail, such as a full copy of the proposal, data collection instruments and protocols / methodology, consent form and information sheet.

Section 1: Title of Project

Peer Support in Prisons: Exploring the Role and Experience of Peer-led induction on Male Prisoners in their Transfer and Transition to Open Prison

Section 2: Details of researchers and project organisers

Name of principal researcher:

Mr Edwin Michael Schreeche-Powell

SSPSSR, The University of Kent, Cornwallis North East, Darwin Road, Canterbury, Kent,
CT2 7NF

E.Schreeche-Powell@kent.ac.uk

07598502864

Name of others involved and role (for example, supervisor) including affiliation if not

SSPSSR:

Dr M Silvestri- Lead Supervisor

Dr C Chatwin- Secondary Supervisor

University of Kent grant number:

N/A

Section 3: Details of application

Is the application new or does it follow-on from a previously reviewed study?

New Application

Section 4: Ethical approval from other ethical review procedures

Has the project got ethical approval or will ethical approval be sought from another ethics committee or funding body?

The project firstly requires ethical approval from the University. Once this is granted, the project will seek approval from Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (HMPPS) Research Team as per their process and criteria. Nicole Palmer has been consulted and fully supports the application being put forward at this time for review by university ethics (email attached)

If yes please give details (name of committee, date ethical approval granted/expected, any further information the committee should be aware of).

As Above

If appropriate ethical approval has been given there is no need to complete the remainder of this form.

Section 5: Purpose of Project / Aims and Objectives

Existing research has established both prison transfer and transition into a new custodial setting as critical crisis points in the experience of imprisonment endured by male prisoners. Such points are a subsequent trigger of suicide, self-harm and decline in mental health which can often occur without forewarning or preparation (Liebling, 1992; 1999; Jewkes, 2007). Current safer custody strategies recognise the importance

of utilising peer supporters in line with the ‘good prisons’ model to help realise a more positive prison experience, promoting enhanced health and wellbeing. Implemented throughout the prison estate in England and Wales, the intervention aims to help people who are imprisoned deal with the challenges of transfer and transition between custodial institutions. Peer based interventions in prisons are “programmes for inmates by inmates” (Ehly & Vazquez, 1998; Kerish, 1975). They also signify a reconfiguration of power within prisons, as they involve power-sharing between staff and the prisoners delivering them. One such intervention is that of induction, which every prisoner will encounter. However to date, there has been no evaluation or exploration of the process or the outcomes of such an intervention.

This study aims to address this lack of research by exploring the role of peer-led induction intervention and its interaction with the experience of prison and in particular, the wellbeing of adult male prisoners in the early days of custody following transfer to open prison. As a power-sharing initiative, the study explores the reconfiguration of penal power and evaluates its impact on the experience of imprisonment. Utilising qualitative methodology, this multi-site study proposes to draw on interview data collected from four category D open mens’ prisons in the South of England, with a sample in each site comprising six male prisoners who have experienced transfer to the open prison estate, two Peer Mentors known as Induction Insiders delivering the intervention and providing the support, and two prison staff involved in the induction process from each site. This equates to 10 participants from each collection site representing a total of 40 participants across them all.

The study aims to:

- Identify the challenges and difficulties of the transfer process and the early days of custody in open prisons experienced by males who are imprisoned at this 'critical time' and their impact on their mental health and wellbeing.
- Explore the experience of current peer-led induction initiatives on the mental health and wellbeing of men who are imprisoned in open prisons
- Develop a theoretically informed analysis of the 'peer-led induction model' as a power-sharing initiative between staff and men who are imprisoned
- Explore the nature and motivations of the peer-led induction as a power-sharing initiative and its impact upon the legitimacy of the custodial regime and setting from the perspective of men who are imprisoned as well as the staff and prisoners delivering the induction initiative

The study seeks to achieve these aims through the research questions below:

- 1) What is the impact of transfer, transition and engagement with peer-led induction upon the mental health and wellbeing of men who are imprisoned in open prison?
- 2) How does the re-configuration of penal power through power-sharing initiatives manifest in the experience of transfer and imprisonment of men who are imprisoned?
- 3) In what ways and to what extent do power-sharing initiatives impact the 'weight and tightness' of imprisonment and regime legitimacy?

The study is anticipated to produce findings with direct applicability to policy change in relation to improving the experience of imprisonment in prisons in England and Wales as well as the Safer Custody practices.

Section 6: Conduct of Project (complete as appropriate)

For externally funded projects it is acceptable to attach *relevant sections of the project proposal* and indicate here where this information can be found.

1. Brief description of participants and number

The prisoner sample inclusion criteria will comprise solely of adult male prisoners received into custody at four identified Category D open prisons in the South of England, following transfer from a 'closed conditions' prison. They must also be able to provide informed consent and be available to discuss their experience of transfer, imprisonment and peer-led induction. There will be 6 prisoners from each institution for the prisoner sample, a total of 24 across the 4 sites of data collection, who must have experienced 2 instances of prison transfer in order to provide a depth of insight into the transfer and transition process.

The Prison Induction Officers will have at least 1 years' experience in the Induction function at their institution and in-depth working knowledge and experience of their role, experience of induction processes and procedure and the intervention, knowledge of the relational interactions between prison officer, peer mentor and prisoner, knowledge of the role of the peer-led induction as well as the role of the institution in relation to transfer and induction. There will be 2 induction officers from each institution for the staff sample, comprising of 8 across the 4 sites in total.

The Peer Mentors, (due to the transient nature and frequent turnover associated with the regime of open prisons) shall have been in post as a Peer Mentor at their institution for a minimum of 3 months. Again they should be willing to talk about their experiences in the role of a Peer Mentor and its nature as well as their observations of this interaction with mentees and on relations between staff, prisoners and peers. There will be 2 mentors from each institution for the Peer Mentor sample comprising 8 in total across the 4 sites.

2. How will you comply with the General Data Protection Regulations (GDPR)?

Please address the following questions.

a) What data do you need to collect?

Personal data as defined by the Data Protection Act will not be collected from participants. Participants will be assigned a unique identification code which will correlate to their allocated pseudonym. All data will be confidential and anonymised utilising pseudonyms including once transcribed. Only the researcher will know a unique code corresponding to the pseudonym of the participant and therefore in the event of a request to withdraw from the study the appropriate data can be removed. I will take care to ensure that although collecting generic contextual info about offending history, I will not be collecting specific offending history and as such the risk of identifying features of the participants being available is minimised.

b) Does it infringe on any personal rights?

No. Informed consent will be provided in writing by all participants. As above, the anonymity and confidentiality of participants will be protected by the aforementioned

protocols and measures. Should the participant wish to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no consequences to them. Likewise, should they wish to no longer actively participate, the option will be given for any data they have provided to be used and presented in its current state or destroyed. Also, a copy can be provided for their records before use or destruction.

c) Have you included a privacy notice in participant information including a link to the School-level privacy notice?

A privacy notice is incorporated into the participant information sheet. Due to many of the participants having reduced or no access to the internet a printed version of the school-level privacy notice will be provided to the potential participants alongside the PIS and consent documentation.

d) What would happen if the data was leaked?

The risk to participants would be negligible. Only limited contextual identifying information will be collected. There will be no details or recording of the prison the participant is from or the type of offence, dates of offending history and therefore they will be unidentifiable from interview data. Also the use of a unique identifier code that correlates to their pseudonym as introduced adds a further layer of protection for participant.

e) What measures have been put in place to mitigate risks to individuals?

The interview questions have been constructed in a manner that does not facilitate the revealing of sensitive data or identifying data- and the interviewer will be mindful to guide the participant away from such information and advice accordingly as required or appropriate. The interviewer will ask for no identifying information to be provided verbally to the participant. When sending audio files for transcription, if any such

information is provided it will be edited out by the researcher or alternatively will be redacted on written transcript or another alternative is to ask the transcriber to not use the names and identifying data/features in their transcription. A further measure will be to invoke a confidentiality agreement with the transcriber to ensure no compromise of personal identifying information

f) What processing option will you use and will an exemption apply to your research?

No exemption will be required. The data collection, analysis and dissemination processes embrace the principles of lawfulness, fairness and transparency. The processing of data in the study is lawful as it falls under a 'task carried out in the public interest'. This is in line with the justification for this lawful basis in the university charter that "the objects of the university are to advance education and disseminate knowledge by teaching, scholarship and research for the public benefit". Providing research into safer custody in prisons falls very much in the public benefit and interest. It is proposed that fairness and transparency are evidenced by the measures employed in this application. Namely data minimization, by only collecting data that is necessary and avoiding the use of personal identifiers and personally identifying information employing pseudonymisation, transcriber confidentiality clauses, researcher editing and question construct to avoid eliciting identifying information and robust data storage measures as detailed further later in the application support this outcome. Of paramount importance is the informed consent of the participant. The PIS and consent documentation for the study (attached) provides the participants with the assurance that their data will only be utilised for the purposes described to them and that their interests will be safeguarded through the measures described above and

throughout this application and they evidence the processes of fairness and transparency. The data subject rights ensure that the participant, as is advised in PIS and Consent Forms, has the right to erasure, the right to access the information held about them and the right to rectification and these will be observed throughout the study.

g) How do you plan to store, access, and work with the data you collect?

Data will be stored on the University of Kent Data Centre where allocated networked storage is available up to 5TB. The Data Centre is an onsite secure controlled facility using a Virtualized Machine environment with built-in computing and power redundancy and resilience. Information security will be observed throughout the project. Data gathered offsite will be copied to the Data Centre promptly. The transfer of data to the Data Centre will be confirmed using MD5 Checksum. All media and laptops are password protected and copies will be held on encrypted USB pens according to University data security guidelines.

The researcher Edwin Schreeche-Powell- will have access to the shared network storage to securely store data at the Kent data centre. This can be securely accessed remotely, from offsite in any location through the universities dedicated VPN service - <https://www.kent.ac.uk/itservices/home/index.html>. This enables secure storage and collaboration of files, adhering to the universities data and storage policies - <https://www.kent.ac.uk/itservices/secure/>. A secure area of SharePoint will be set up so that files are only accessible to the researcher.

The University of Kent Datacentre is guaranteed by 'Cyber Essentials' certification (see <https://www.cyberessentials.ncsc.gov.uk/>). Data Centre staff ensure that all systems

are secure, protected and up-to-date. Certified internal and external penetration tests ensure service security against data corruption and breach. All content is backed up on a nightly basis, transferred to tape and stored offsite. All data stored at the University of Kent is under Information Compliance - Data Protection Code of Practice: https://www.kent.ac.uk/infocompliance/downloads/data_protection_CoP.pdf

h) Will there be any third-party involvement in processing the data?

The only third-party agent to be involved at any stage will be a transcriber who will be transcribing the collected data. As stated above the transcriber will be bound by a confidentiality clause to protect the participant data.

i) Will the data be transferred outside of the European Economic Area?

No

j) Can you fully anonymise the data and still achieve the same results?

As addressed throughout, the data will be fully anonymised utilising the unique code and pseudonym correlation and this is not anticipated to impact the results in any way.

k) What will you do with the data once you've finished with it?

The data will be stored for a period of 12 months to allow the results to be written up for the purposes of the PhD thesis and potential academic journals and texts. After this period, the data will be destroyed by a specialised company.

3. Expected start date and duration

Fieldwork and data collection is anticipated to commence on 2nd January 2021 and be completed by 1st June 2021.

4. Source of funding (if any)

Not applicable. This is a PhD Research Project.

5. Has the proposal been peer reviewed? If not please attach a copy of the research protocol.

No

6. Brief account of methodology/techniques

The data collection will take the form of face-to-face semi-structured qualitative interviews, in a dedicated room within the prison, with the sample pool identified below across 4 Category D Open Prisons situated in the South of England. The guiding interview questions for each sample category are attached to this application.

The qualitative aspect of the design frame utilises a purposive approach allowing for the acquisition of social knowledge through rich data into the impact of the induction intervention on offender mental health (Bryman, 2004). The semi-structured nature of the interviews will allow the interviewee to pursue experiences and topics that both the researcher and interviewee feel pertinent. They will also allow the interviewee to attribute meaning to their environment and their experience of transfer and transition (Bryman, 2004). They focus purely on the experiences and perspectives of each category of participant. Interviews in this 'contextual uniqueness' can produce 'thick description'- rich accounts of experience which are possibly transferable and as such further beneficial. (Gertz, 1973a cited in, Bryman, 2004, p275). Such rich accounts will also underpin emphasis on the contextual understanding of the offenders and staff social experience. A thematic approach to analysis will take place allowing the

classification, sorting and arrangement of information to examine relationships in the data; and combine analysis with linking. It will be employed to identify trends and cross-examine information and develop a body of evidence.

7. Payment of participants (if any)

Involvement in the study is on a purely voluntary basis. There will be no payment nor any form of incentivisation for taking part in the study.

Section 7: Ethical Considerations

For each of the following questions please provide details of how the project will address the issues that arise.

- 1. Are there any risks to the participants? This includes all forms of harm, for example, physical, psychological or emotional harm. Particular attention should be paid to the potential to cause distress and embarrassment.**

Yes. I will be asking questions and requesting information about the prisoner experience of interventions on mental health and wellbeing and negative effects that may have impacted their experience- which will relate to the sensitive concepts of respect, humanity, relationships, trust, support, fairness, safety, wellbeing, family contact, social life, quality of life and mental health. I will ensure that questions are constructed sensitively to minimise the opportunity for controversial, contentious, sensitive, embarrassing or upsetting reactions. Although participants may not wish to discuss this, I will assure them that any information that is shared will be received in a supportive manner and that it will not be disclosed and remain anonymous. I will be

advising all participants (prisoners and staff) to ensure that they do not reveal any information, either intentionally or unintentionally, that could possibly be employed to identify them in any way- and used against them and will ensure I am vigilant about maintaining high awareness of this in order to guide discussion and dialogue away from any potential instances where this may arise. Should this occur, I will ensure that any identifiers are redacted in subsequent transcription of the interviews. Participants will not be coerced or led to share information that they are not comfortable with discussing. Samaritans and Listeners Groups' details will be made available to the prisoner sample to access should they wish to discuss and receive support for any issues of distress and concern that may arise from their participation. The prisoner officers interviewed may also experience harm and as such the Prison Officers Association wellbeing and support team will be available for the participating officers to engage with should this be required. This is also available as a support for any concerns arising for them disclosing information regarding the operation of their employer. The process relating to identification outlined above will be followed. All participants retain the right to withdraw from the study at any time should they wish.

The researcher will however also inform participants that they must be aware that in the interests of safeguarding of both the participants and others that anonymity can be waived. The researcher will ensure participants are aware that if they share information about undisclosed illegal acts, indicate that they are involved in terrorist activity, or discuss behaviour that will bring serious harm to either themselves or others, this information will be disclosed to the relevant authorities. The researcher will attempt to guide interviews and dialogue away from such topics and information

in a pro-active manner to further support the participant. It will also be explained that should this anonymity be waived; it is a protective factor to them. There will be emphasis employed to reassure participants that they have the right to withdraw and/or refuse to have their interviews recorded and/or stop the interview at any time should they feel uncomfortable.

The location of a Category D-Open prison represents the lowest level of security and risk to both personal safety of the researcher and participant. The researcher has extensive experience of the open prison environment and is well versed with national protocols and procedures of conduct and the working of the prison environment and regime and of the safeguarding of people within those environments. I anticipate low levels of threat to personal safety during data collection. The researcher has previously carried out a small sample study on the same topic with participants from a similar sample pool. In relation to audio recording, the researcher will liaise with the security department at each establishment to ensure compliance with the prison regarding audio recorders entering and leaving the prison and the usage of them during data collection.

2. How will confidentiality be maintained during the project and in subsequent data analysis and dissemination?

Participants will be assigned a unique identification code which will correlate to their allocated pseudonym. All data will be confidential and anonymised utilising pseudonyms including once transcribed. Only the researcher will know a unique code corresponding to the pseudonym of the participant and therefore in the event of a

request to withdraw from the study the appropriate data can be removed. I will take care to ensure out that although collecting generic contextual info about offending history, I will not be collecting specific offending history and as such minimise risk of identifying features of the participants being available. The interview questions have been constructed in a manner that does not facilitate the revealing of sensitive data or identifying data. The interviewer will be mindful to guide the participant away from such information and advice accordingly as required or appropriate. The interviewer will ask for no identifying information to be provided verbally to the participant. When sending audio files for transcription, if any such information is provided it will be edited out by the researcher prior to transcription. A further measure will be to invoke a confidentiality agreement with the transcriber to ensure no compromise of personal identifying information

3. Are there any anticipated difficulties, particularly those relating to power imbalances between researcher and participants, for example, between staff and students, or where dependent relationships are involved?

The prisoner sample may be reluctant to disclose to the researcher as they may associate the researcher with the systems and structures of power that imprison them, or they perceive as oppressing them. The researcher will thoroughly and carefully explain the nature of the project and the right of anyone participating to not be included or withdraw should they wish without any adverse attention or consequence. The researcher will create an environment of equality and in which traditional power structures are deconstructed, which the researcher has experience of doing by drawing upon his experience of researching with prisoners and prison staff alongside working

with a variety of Prison Reform NGO's. This background and positionality will be shared with all participants to put them at ease.

4. Are there any cultural issues, including the use of appropriate interpreters?

The researcher hopes to recruit a range of participants from diverse cultural backgrounds. However, a participation criterion is that participants can speak in conversational English. As members of the prison population are often acknowledged as having low levels of literacy, materials have been produced in a way that is easy to understand and will be reviewed thoroughly with the researcher prior to interview to ensure that full understanding of them has been achieved.

5. Will there be unaccompanied contact with vulnerable adults or children? If so have arrangements to obtain police checks been put in place?

The researcher will have contact with adult male offenders. As aforementioned a range of strategies will be engaged to safeguard participants. The researcher will obtain security clearance to enter the prison to undertake the research, which includes eligibility to work with the population, when making the HMPPS research application.

6. Will participants be paid? If so why and what is the likely impact on participation, bearing in mind any ethical implications of inducements to take part?

In line with HMPPS Guidelines regarding research with prisoner populations, there will be no payment nor any form of incentivisation for taking part in the study. However, participants will be reminded that they may find personal satisfaction and benefit from

being involved in a project that has the capacity to support change, especially in relation to improving the experience of imprisonment for those who find themselves imprisoned or working in custodial settings as well as the safer custody of prisoners and staff within the Criminal Justice System both for them and other prisoners and staff who may come into contact with a custodial institution.

7. Will research findings be fed back to participants? If no, what other arrangements have been made to make results available?

A summary of the findings will be available to access on request both during the study and for one year after the study ceases. The researcher will provide both a physical address and email address for contact to facilitate the participants' requests for a summary.

Section 8: Consent

It is normally considered essential that all those who participate in research should do so voluntarily. At a minimum this section should address:

1 Details of how it is intended that informed consent be obtained from the participants. Copies of any relevant documentation (including information for participants and consent forms if appropriate) should be included.

Participant will be provided with a PIS Form and Consent Forms (attached) which will be signed and returned to the researcher prior to commencement of participation in the study. The researcher will go through the information about the study with all participants from each sample. For those with level of low literacy levels or impaired

cognition the researcher will also be available and willing to read to the participants the PIS and Consent Form and provide a verbal explanation of the information contained on the PIS and Consent forms.

2 Procedures for gaining permission from participants who are unable to give informed consent.

N/A- inclusion criteria for the study mandates that all participants MUST be able to give informed consent otherwise they will not be considered for inclusion into the study

3 In rare cases when it is intended to conduct research without the informed consent of participants a detailed justification should be given.

N/A

Section 9: Security Sensitive Material

Does your research involve access to or use of material covered by the Terrorism Act?

No

(The Terrorism Act (2006) outlaws the dissemination of records, statements and other documents that can be interpreted as promoting and endorsing terrorist acts. By answering 'yes' you are registering your legitimate use of this material with the Research Ethics Advisory Group. In the event of a police investigation, this registration will help you to demonstrate that your use of this material is legitimate and lawful).

Ethical panel members who checked the form:

Date of submission:

Date of approval:

In order to give us a sense of feedback, perhaps you could inform Amanda Burns of any ethical problems or questions which arise during the project. Many thanks.

Appendix 2: Ethical Approval

From: SSPSSR Undergraduate Office <SSPSSRUndergraduateOffice@kent.ac.uk>

Date: 16 January 2020 at 16:40:30 GMT

Subject: Ethics Application - Outcome E Schreeche-Powell

Dear Ed

Thank you for submitting your Research Ethics Application, and once again I apologise for the tardiness on my part.

I am pleased to advise you that your application has been approved by the committee and you are now able to commence your research.

Please find attached the committee's comments forms for your reference and ensure you retain this email for your records.

Thank you

Kind Regards

Naina

Naina Purkiss | Taught Programmes Officer

University of Kent

SSPSSR - Undergraduate Office

Cornwallis North East

Canterbury, Kent, CT2 7NF

Tel No: +44 (0)1227 823679

This email is confidential to the intended recipient. If you have received it in error please notify the sender and delete it from your computer.

Appendix 3: Participant Recruitment Advert



Call For Participants

Title of Study: Peer Support in Prisons: Exploring the Role and Experience of Peer-led induction on Male Prisoners in their Transfer and Transition to Open Prison



I am interested in identifying the challenges and difficulties of the transfer process and the early days of custody in open prisons experienced by males who are imprisoned at this 'critical time' and their impact on their mental health and wellbeing. I also plan to explore the experience of current peer-led induction initiatives on the mental health and wellbeing of those men. I am looking for the following people to be interviewed as part of the study:

- Over the age of 21 years old
- Have been imprisoned in the open estate within the last 3 years and experienced induction **OR**
- Have worked in the delivery of induction as a current/former prison officer in the open estate within the last 3 years
- Able to attend an online interview at a mutually convenient time via computer, smartphone or tablet

As part of the interview you will answer a range of questions around the experience of imprisonment and induction. Participation in the study is both voluntary and anonymous. If you are interested in taking part or would like to find out more information than please email:

Ed Schreeche-Powell (PhD Candidate and Assistant Lecturer) e.schreeche-powell@kent.ac.uk

Supervisors: Dr Marisa Silvestri and Dr Caroline Chatwin

Appendix 4: Revised Ethics Application

This is an amendment to the ethical approval for the attached research study secured prior to the COVID-19 pandemic.

In response to the threat of COVID-19, the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) and Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (HMPPS) took decisive action to protect staff and people accommodated in prisons or on supervision in the community. This involved making significant alterations to ways of working through Exceptional Delivery Models (EDMs) and management plans and implementing restrictions to limit the movement of people. Based on these restrictions, the National Research Committee (NRC) introduced a moratorium on primary research in HMPPS. The moratorium aimed to ensure safety and reduce unnecessary burden on the prison and probation estate. As such, all research was suspended. Additionally, submitted research applications were not processed and prospective applications can no longer be submitted. At this time there is no timeline as to when the HMPPS research application process will re-open nor are there any indications of changes to processes and procedures to ensure research applications will be COVID-19 regulation compliant.

With this in mind, given that fieldwork for the study is scheduled to commence in early 2020- I, together with my supervisors have made the decision to alter the sample and data collection for my study. The proposed changes are outlined below:

Originally the data collection was scheduled to take place with staff and imprisoned participants across four prisons in the South of England. Due to the

COVID related restrictions outlined above, data collection will no longer take place within the prison setting. Instead prison staff and former prisoners will be interviewed in community settings using virtual mediums such as MTeams, Skype and Zoom.

- 5 The sample was originally scheduled to comprise of prison staff, prisoner peer mentors and prisoner peer mentees. The changes are as follows.

Prison staff involved in the process of induction in Open Prison will still be recruited, however this will be outside of the prison environment via social media and gatekeeper staff. Whilst it is hoped that the sample will comprise those who have seen and responded directly to the recruitment advert, it is also anticipated that there may be the element of snowball sampling should other participants identify peers that may be willing to participate. This is welcomed by the researcher. They will also be interviewed outside of the prison in accordance with the conditions outlined above.

The peer mentee prisoner sample will also change from prisoners currently serving sentences of imprisonment to ex-prisoners, who have previously undergone the peer mentee scheme, and are now released into the community. This removes the need to enter the custodial setting and they will be recruited through NGO and CJS organisations and interviewed in community settings using virtual mediums such as MTeams, Skype and Zoom.

Prisoner Peer Mentors have been removed from the sample to reflect that physical access to the custodial setting has now been removed from the study. As such, this group can no longer be accessed.

6 The sample size was originally n=40 in total . This has now been reduced to n=26. It comprises 8 prison staff and 18 ex-prisoner peer mentees. This reflects the removal of the prisoner peer mentors from the sample and also reflects a reduction of 6 prisoner mentees given that access to a greater pool has been removed through not collecting data in the prison where all prisoners held share the characteristics required for the study.

7 Although these alterations have been made, they in fact reduce substantially the ethical considerations that need to be observed during the research study, with all aspects related to research and data collection inside the prison no longer relevant. The research questions aims and objectives all remain as per the original application as do all ethical considerations relating to GDPR, processing, access and storage of data, confidentiality and informed consent. Techniques of data collection in the form of semi-structured interviews also remain. The same question pool as outlined in the initial ethics application will be used, with the exception of those for peer mentors which have been removed due to their removal from the sample. Interviews will still be recorded, however how they are conducted will differ from the existing sample. All interviews will be conducted using virtual platforms including MSTeams, Skype and Zoom. Of course, there may be some potential participants who do not have access to such technology and in this case they will be removed from the sample.

Supervisor Sign off:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'M. Silvestri', with a stylized, flowing script.

Marisa Silvestri

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Caroline Chatwin', with a stylized, flowing script.

Caroline Chatwin

Date:

Appendix 5: Revised Ethics Application Approval

From: SSPSSR Undergraduate Office <SSPSSRUndergraduateOffice@kent.ac.uk>

Date: 19 November 2020 at 09:47:44 GMT

To: Edwin Schreeche-Powell <E.Schreeche-Powell@kent.ac.uk>

Subject: Outcome of your Ethics Application

Dear Ed

Thank you for submitting your Research Ethics Application.

I am pleased to advise you that your application has been approved by the committee and you are now able to commence your research.

Please find attached the committee's comments forms for your reference and ensure you retain this email for your records.

Thank you
Chere

Chere Yard | Taught Programmes Assistant
Division for the Study of Law, Society & Social Justice (LSSJ)

LSSJ is one of our six new academic Divisions, bringing together Kent Law School, Journalism, and the School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Research

Cornwallis North East , University of Kent , Canterbury, Kent, CT2 7NF

Tel No: +44 (0)1227 824248

Appendix 6: Consent Form and Information Sheet for Ex-Prisoner Sample

CONSENT FORM



Title of project: Peer Support in Prisons: Exploring the Role and Experience of Peer-led induction on Males Prisoners in their Transfer and transition to Open Prison

Name of investigator: Edwin Schreeche-Powell

Participant Identification Number for this project:

Please initial box

I confirm I have reviewed the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and that it will not impact my relationship with my establishment, The University of Kent or the researcher.

(Should you have any questions regarding any aspect of the research, then please contact Edwin Schreeche-Powell- E.Schreeche-Powell@kent.ac.uk or alternatively by post at Edwin Schreeche-Powell, The University of Kent, SSPSSR, Cornwallis North East Buildings, Darwin Road, Canterbury, Kent, CT2 7NF).

I understand that my responses will be anonymised before analysis with the researcher (Edwin Schreeche-Powell) beign the only person to have access to them. *(Responses will only be presented to academic staff and the research team to review and will be anonymised in doing so).*



I agree to take part in the above research project.

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant	Date	Signature

To be signed and dated in the presence of the participant

_____	_____	_____
Edwin Schreeche-Powell (Researcher)	Date	Signature

E.Schreeche-Powell@kent.ac.uk or
alternatively by post at Edwin Schreeche-Powell, The University of Kent, SSPSSR, Cornwallis North East Buildings, Darwin Road, Canterbury, Kent, CT2 7NF).

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

The purpose of this Participant information sheet (PIS) is to help you as a prospective participant to make an informed choice regarding whether or not to participate in the research project. This sheet is provided to each potential participant to allow you sufficient time to make a decision and ask any questions that you may have. Before seeking consent, the researcher will read through the information sheet with you to ensure that you have understood all points.

The research is entitled;

Peer Support in Prisons: Exploring the Role and Experience of Peer-led induction on Male Prisoners in their Transfer and Transition to Open Prison

This study aims to generate data that identifies the different stressors and triggers experienced by prisoners during the processes of transfer and transition to open prison. It explores their impact on the experience of this transfer and transition. It also seeks to identify from mentee, mentor and staff perspective and experience how the intervention is perceived and experienced. It also explores the elements of the current peer-led induction that work to address them, as well as those that do not. The research findings will create opportunities to provide more comprehensive insight into safer custody matters in prison.

You have been selected to participate as you have recently experienced transfer, and transition, to your new Category D- Open Prison, and may be

able to offer insight into this experience that will help to explore the aims of the study.

It is expected that the interview should last between approximately 45-60 minutes in duration. There is no minimum or maximum requirement, and the researcher will ensure that you are allowed to share all the information that you are willing to irrespective of time. The interviews will be audio recorded following obtaining the permission of the participant as this will allow for an accurate record to be captured before the being later transcribed by the researcher. All transcriptions will be anonymised to protect participant confidentiality. Following transcription, the audio files and transcription will also be archived and available to the researcher. Edwin Schreeche-Powell will analyse the transcript of the interview as the researcher.

Privacy Notice:

All information provided will be confidential. As a participant, the risks that exist are limited and your participation and information is confidential with your answers not linked to your identity nor impacting your relationship with the prison, university or researcher. Your name will not appear anywhere where you provide responses. Your name will not appear on any public documents that are produced from this research. I would like to record your responses so that I have an audio file of our conversation to help me accurately represent the findings of the research. Only I, Edwin Schreeche-Powell, will have access to these files and transcriptions. They will be kept in a password protected computer at The University of Kent. Your name will not be linked to the files. If you do not wish to have your conversation recorded then please let me know. The research is for the PhD

research project of Edwin Schreeche-Powell – it is not funded by any third-party agencies or organisations. Should you wish to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no consequences to yourself. Should you wish to no longer actively participate, the option will be given for any data you have provided to be used and presented in its current state or destroyed. Also, a copy can be provided for your records before use or destruction. The findings of the research will be submitted as part of my PhD studies to the University of Kent SSPSSR department for consideration and also disseminated as academic journal articles. Before submissions, the researcher will provide you with an opportunity to view the findings, should you wish. Please provide me with your contact details if you wish to be sent any presentations or publications of the research. Should you have any questions regarding the research, then they can be directed at any time to Edwin Schreeche-Powell at either E.Schreeche-Powell@kent.ac.uk or *alternatively by post at Edwin Schreeche-Powell, The University of Kent, SSPSSR, Cornwallis North East Buildings, Darwin Road, Canterbury, Kent, CT2 7NF*).

Details of the Samaritans and Listener Support services will be made available to you should you wish to discuss any issues, concerns or topics that may cause you any form of distress.

You will not receive any incentivisation for participating in the study, however you will have the knowledge that you have participated in a study that can potentially be used to better inform and develop safer custody and the experiences of prisoners, mentors and staff.

As previously mentioned, there is limited risk to you and as explained your participation and information is confidential with your answers not linked to

your identity nor impacting your relationship with the prison, university or researcher. However, if you share information about undisclosed illegal acts, indicate that they are involved in terrorist activity, or discuss behaviour that will bring serious harm to yourself or others, this information will be disclosed to the relevant authorities.

If you indicate you intend to harm yourself or others I may waive your confidentiality to access the help and support that you need.

Thank you for taking the time to read this!

Now please read and sign the consent form if you agree to take part in the research.

Appendix 7: Consent Form and Information Sheet for Prison Officer Sample

CONSENT FORM



Title of project:

Peer Support in Prisons: Exploring the Role and Experience of Peer-led induction on Males Prisoners in their Transfer and transition to Open Prison

Name of investigator: Edwin Schreeche-Powell

Participant Identification Number for this project:

Please initial box

I confirm I have reviewed the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and that it will not impact my relationship with my establishment, The University of Kent or the researcher.

(Should you have any questions regarding any aspect of the research, then please contact Edwin Schreeche-Powell- E.Schreeche-Powell@kent.ac.uk or alternatively by post at Edwin Schreeche-Powell, The University of Kent, SSPSSR, Cornwallis North East Buildings, Darwin Road, Canterbury, Kent, CT2 7NF).

I understand that my responses will be anonymised before analysis with the researcher (Edwin Schreeche-Powell) beign the only person to have access to them. *(Responses will only be presented to academic staff and the research team to review and will be anonymised in doing so).*



I agree to take part in the above research project.

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant	Date	Signature

To be signed and dated in the presence of the participant

_____	_____	_____
Edwin Schreeche-Powell (Researcher)	Date	Signature

E.Schreeche-Powell@kent.ac.uk or
alternatively by post at Edwin

*Schreeche-Powell, The
University of Kent, SSPSSR,
Cornwallis North East
Buildings, Darwin Road,
Canterbury, Kent, CT2 7NF).*



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

The purpose of this Participant information sheet (PIS) is to help you as a prospective participant to make an informed choice regarding whether or not to participate in the research project. This sheet is provided to each potential participant to allow you sufficient time to make a decision and ask any questions that you may have. Before seeking consent, the researcher will read through the information sheet with you to ensure that you have understood all points.

The research is entitled;

Peer Support in Prisons: Exploring the Role and Experience of Peer-led induction on Male Prisoners in their Transfer and Transition to Open Prison

This study aims to generate data that identifies the different of stressors and triggers experienced by prisoners during the processes of transfer and transition to open prison. It explores their impact on the experience of this transfer and transition. It also seeks to identify from mentee, mentor and staff perspective and experience how the intervention is perceived and experienced. It also explores the elements of the current peer-led induction

that work to address them, as well as those that do not. The research findings will create opportunities to provide more comprehensive insight into safer custody matters in prison.

You have been selected to participate as you have experience in the Induction function at your institution and in-depth working knowledge and experience of your role, experience of induction processes, procedures and the intervention. Your knowledge of the relationship between prison officers, peer mentor's and prisoners, knowledge of the role of the peer-led induction as well as the role of the institution in relation to transfer and induction are also of great interest to the study as you may be able to offer insight into this experience that will help to explore the aims of the study.

It is expected that the interview should last between approximately 45-60 minutes in duration. There is no minimum or maximum requirement, and the researcher will ensure that you are allowed to share all the information that you are willing to irrespective of time. The interviews will be audio recorded following obtaining the permission of the participant as this will allow for an accurate record to be captured before the being later transcribed by the researcher. All transcriptions will be anonymised to protect participant confidentiality. Following transcription, the audio files and transcription will also be archived and available to the researcher. Edwin Schreeche-Powell will analyse the transcript of the interview as the researcher.

Privacy Notice:

All information provided will be confidential. As a participant, the risks that exist are limited and your participation and information is confidential- with your answers not linked to your identity nor impacting your relationship

with the prison, university or researcher. Your name will not appear anywhere where you provide responses. Your name will not appear on any public documents that are produced from this research. I would like to record your responses so that I have an audio file of our conversation to help me accurately represent the findings of the research. Only I, Edwin Schreeche-Powell, will have access to these files and transcriptions. They will be kept in a password protected computer at The University of Kent. Your name will not be linked to the files. If you do not wish to have your conversation recorded then please let me know. The research is for the PhD research project of Edwin Schreeche-Powell – it is not funded by any third-party agencies or organisations. Should you wish to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no consequences to yourself. Should you wish to no longer actively participate, the option will be given for any data you have provided to be used and presented in its current state or destroyed. Also, a copy can be provided for your records before use or destruction. The findings of the research will be submitted as part of my PhD studies to the University of Kent SSPSSR department for consideration and also disseminated as academic journal articles. Before submissions, the researcher will provide you with an opportunity to view the findings, should you wish. Please provide me with your contact details if you wish to be sent any presentations or publications of the research. Should you have any questions regarding the research, then they can be directed at any time to Edwin Schreeche-Powell at either E.Schreeche-Powell@kent.ac.uk or *alternatively by post at Edwin Schreeche-Powell, The University of Kent, SSPSSR, Cornwallis North East Buildings, Darwin Road, Canterbury, Kent, CT2 7NF*).

Details support services will be made available to you should you wish to discuss any issues, concerns or topics that may cause you any form of

distress. The Prison Officers Association wellbeing and support team will be available for you to engage with should this be required regarding what you discuss. This is also available as a support for any concerns arising from disclosing information regarding the operation of your employer.

You will not receive any incentivisation for participating in the study, however you will have the knowledge that you have participated in a study that can potentially be used to better inform and develop safer custody and the experiences of prisoners, mentors and staff.

As previously mentioned, there is limited risk to you and as explained your participation and information is confidential with your answers not linked to your identity nor impacting your relationship with the prison, university or researcher. However, if you share information about undisclosed illegal acts, indicate that they are involved in terrorist activity, or discuss behaviour that will bring serious harm to yourself or others, this information will be disclosed to the relevant authorities. If you indicate you intend to harm yourself or others I may waive your confidentiality to access the help and support that you need.

Thank you for taking the time to read this!

Now please read and sign the consent form if you agree to take part in the research

Appendix 8: Contextual Demographic Questions and Interview Questions for ex- Prisoner Sample

How long were you a resident in the open prison you are referring to?

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Less than 1 month | ☐ |
| 1 – 6 months | ☐ |
| 7 – 12 months | ☐ |
| 13 – 24 months | ☐ |
| More than 2 years | ☐ |

Was this your first sentence of imprisonment?

- | | |
|-----|--------------------------|
| Yes | ☐ |
| No | ☐ |

How many times have you been in prison before?

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Never | |
| Once before | ☐ |
| 2 – 5 times before | ☐ |
| 6 – 9 times before | ☐ |
| 10 or more times before | ☐ |

Have you been in this prison before?

- | | |
|-----|--------------------------|
| Yes | ☐ |
| No | ☐ |

**Have you been imprisoned in an open establishment on any other occasion?
If so, how many times?**

How many times have you experienced prison transfer in total?

Which type of sentence were you serving?

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Extended sentence for Public Protection (EPP) | ☐ |
| Indeterminate sentence for Public Protection (IPP) | ☐ |
| Life Sentence | ☐ |
| Determinate Sentence | ☐ |

How long was sentence, or if you were a life sentence or IPP prisoner, how long was your tariff?

- Less than one year ☐
- 1 year but less than 2 years ☐
- 2 years but less than 4 years ☐
- 4 years but less than 10 years ☐
- 10 years but less than 15 years ☐
- 15 years or more ☐

When were you released?

- Less than 1 month ago ☐
- 1 month but less than 6 months ☐
- 6 months but less than 12 months ☐
- 12 months or more ☐

What is the total length of time you have spent in prison over your lifetime?

- Less than 1 year ☐
- More than 1 but less than 3 years ☐
- More than 3 but less than 5 years ☐
- More than 5 but less than 10 years ☐
- More than 10 years ☐

How old are you?

How would you describe your national identity?

- English ☐
- Welsh ☐
- Scottish ☐
- Northern Irish ☐
- British ☐
- Other, write in ☐

.....

What is your ethnic group? Choose **one** section from A to E, then choose **one** box to best describe your ethnic group or background

A White

– English / Welsh / Scottish / Northern Irish / British ----- ☐

– Irish ----- ☐

– Gypsy or Irish Traveller ----- ☐

B Mixed / multiple ethnic groups

– White and Black Caribbean ----- ☐

– White and Black African ----- ☐

– White and Asian -----

☐

C Asian / Asian British

– Indian ----- ☐

– Pakistani ----- ☐

– Bangladeshi ----- ☐

– Chinese ----- ☐

– Any other Asian background, write in----- ☐

D Black / African / Caribbean / Black British

– African ----- ☐

– Caribbean ----- ☐

– Any other Black / African / Caribbean background, write in ---- ☐

E	Other ethnic group	
	– Arab	☐
	– Any other ethnic group, write in	☐

What is your religion?

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|
| No religion | ☐ |
| Christian | ☐ |
| Buddhist | ☐ |
| Hindu | ☐ |
| Jewish | ☐ |
| Muslim | ☐ |
| Sikh | ☐ |
| Other religion | ☐ |

If you ticked 'Other', please specify

Prisoner Questions

How did you feel when you discovered you had been re-categorised to a Category D Prisoner? Please describe your emotions if you can

What were you looking forward to about transferring to open prison?

What aspects and benefits did you perceive for yourself?

Did you have any concerns or worries at this stage about transferring in general? (new establishment, new routine, being away from family etc.)

Did you have any concerns or worries about transferring to an open prison?

Are these different concerns or worries to those you have experienced when transferring between closed conditions? If so, how? (Describe emotions)

How long did you have to wait in your former prison before transferring to your open establishment?

Did this wait effect your feelings regarding transfer? If so, how?

Please can you describe in your own words your experience of the process of transferring between prisons?

How did the process make you feel?

Did you find the experience of transferring to an open prison different to your experience of transferring between closed prisons? If so, how?

What elements of the transfer process did you find particularly difficult or challenging?

What effect did these difficulties and challenges have on you? (Specifically emotionally)

Did you have existing emotional wellbeing concerns and issues? If so, did these difficulties, challenges and your transfer experience?

How did you feel about moving to a new prison? Both before the transfer and in the early days of custody at your new establishment?

Before arrival, in the build-up to the actual transfer to your new establishment, did you have any concerns or issues that troubled you in any way

On arrival at your new establishment, did you have any concerns or issues that troubled you in any way? (Concerning safety, respect, dignity, family etc) What were these?

Did these concerns or issues continue during your induction? How did they make you feel?

Did any other concerns or issues arise during the transition? How did they make you feel?

Induction Insiders are the peers that deliver induction- a) How did you meet/come into contact with them? b) Did you feel that the induction insiders were able to support you and allay any concerns that you had?

How did the induction insiders do this?

Why do you feel the Insiders undertook their role? Can you give examples that fed into this perception?

Did receiving induction information and support from fellow prisoners help and if so, how?

How did the induction insiders do this?

Did you feel that the prison officers involved in the induction were able to support you and alleviate any concerns that you had?

How did the induction prison staff do this?

What do you perceive are the Induction Insiders motivations for undertaking their role? Why do you feel this way? (Give an example)

How do you perceive the relationships between yourself and Induction Insiders ?

How do you perceive the relationships between yourself and the Prison Officers involved in the induction?

How do you perceive the relationship between the Insider and Induction Staff?

What skills and qualities demonstrated by the Induction insiders and Staff did you find helpful?

What were the key elements of the insider induction programme that assisted and supported you in your transition into your new establishment?

Do you feel that the programme met your needs? How?

Did the induction programme impact your emotional wellbeing in any way? If so- how?

What areas of the induction programme did you find unhelpful?

How do you think the induction programme could be improved? What would have helped support your transition and emotional wellbeing?

Appendix 9: Contextual Demographic Questions and Interview Questions for Staff sample

How long have you been worked in this open prison?

- Less than 1 month ☐
- 1 – 6 months ☐
- 7 – 12 months ☐
- 13 – 24 months ☐
- More than 2 years ☐

Is this your first role in an open Prison?

- Yes ☐
- No ☐

How many prisons have you worked in?

- Never ☐
- Once before ☐
- 2 – 5 times before ☐
- 6 – 9 times before ☐
- 10 or more times before ☐

Have you worked in this prison before?

- Yes ☐
- No ☐

Have you worked in an open establishment on any other occasion?

- Yes ☐
- No ☐

How old are you?

Have you worked as an Induction Officer before?

- Yes ☐
- No ☐

How long have you worked as an Induction Officer in total?

- Less than one year ☐
- 1 year but less than 2 years ☐
- 2 years but less than 4 years ☐
- 4 years but less than 10 years ☐
- 10 years but less than 15 years ☐
- 15 years or more ☐

What is the total length of service as a Prison Officer?

- Less than 1 year ☐
- More than 1 but less than 3 years ☐
- More than 3 but less than 5 years ☐
- More than 5 but less than 10 years ☐
- More than 10 years ☐

. How would you describe your national identity?

- English ☐
- Welsh ☐
- Scottish ☐
- Northern Irish ☐
- British ☐
- Other, write in ☐

.....

What is your ethnic group?

A White

- English / Welsh / Scottish / Northern Irish / British ----- ☐
- Irish ----- ☐
- Gypsy or Irish Traveller ----- ☐

B Mixed / multiple ethnic groups

– White and Black Caribbean ----- ☐

– White and Black African ----- ☐

– White and Asian -----

☐

– Any other Mixed /multiple ethnic background, write in - ☐

C Asian / Asian British

– Indian ----- ☐

– Pakistani ----- ☐

– Bangladeshi ----- ☐

D Black / African / Caribbean / Black British

– African ----- ☐

– Caribbean ----- ☐

– Any other Black / African / Caribbean background, write in ---- ☐

E Other ethnic group

– Arab ----- ☐

– Any other ethnic group, write in -----

☐

What is your religion?

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|
| No religion | ☐ |
| Christian | ☐ |
| Buddhist | ☐ |
| Hindu | ☐ |
| Jewish | ☐ |
| Muslim | ☐ |
| Sikh | ☐ |
| Other religion | ☐ |

If you ticked 'Other', please specify

Can you briefly describe your background and experience as an officer, including the various roles you have held, the periods held and the time in your current position?

Can you please describe in your own words your role in the induction process?

What are the official aims and objectives of this role?

What are YOUR aims and objectives in this role? What do you feel an induction officer should offer?

What do you perceive as being the most challenging aspects of the transfer and induction processes for prisoners?

What effects have you observed these challenges having on prisoners? How do they manifest?

What are the most common issues and concerns that prisons present regarding the process of transfer and in the initial transition to the open prison?

Do you feel that different subsets of prisoners have different issues and concerns, are affected differently by these and experience them differently? Give examples

What elements of the Induction Programme do you feel are the most important to support prisoners?

Do you feel that the Induction impacts wellbeing? How?

How do you feel the use of peers in leading the induction impacts the prisoners undertaking induction?

What skills and qualities do you feel that the Induction Insiders demonstrate to support and deliver positive wellbeing outcomes to prisoners undertaking induction?

What elements of using peer-led induction do you find most beneficial to yourself?

How do you feel mentees view and perceive your role in the induction process?

What feedback have mentees given you about your performance and role? (Positive and Negative)

How do you feel mentees view and perceive your relationship with them and the induction insiders?

Do you think that any issues can compromise the successful delivery of Peer-Led Induction? What are these?

Do you feel that there are any aspects of using peers to lead induction and induction support that can or could threaten that process?

Do you view the Peer-Led Induction as a collaborative partnership? Can you tell me how this relationship works?

Do you feel that you have the support and resources to deliver a needs-driven induction intervention? Please explain

What issues do you feel challenge the delivery of a safe and supportive working environment?

How do you feel that the peer-led induction is perceived by your peers? (drawing upon any knowledge you may have of their views)

What Managerial input has fed into the Peer-led induction process? Do management support the Peer-led induction- how do they do so and what are your perceptions of their motivations?

Do you feel that the balance between the care and control of prisoners is appropriate in your establishment? Please explain

What elements of the Induction process do you feel could be improved, and how?

Do you have the support to deliver a Peer-led induction that meets prisoner needs?