Contents

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Editorial Comment

This general edition of Prison Service Journal discusses a range of issues concerning both those living and working within prisons which will be of interest to readers. Prior to introducing the content, we would like to draw readers' attention to **The Bennett Award for Outstanding Article 2022.** Congratulations to this year's winner, **Rachel Tynan**, for her article *Living in the present, imagining a future: Children and young people navigating the mandatory life sentence* which appeared in our general edition 261.

Our first article focuses on young people in custody. A number of countries, including England and Wales, have made efforts to reduce the number of incarcerated children and young people. **Hesam Esfahani** and **Carole C. Tranchant** examine the impact of the Youth Criminal Justice Act (2003) in Canada, and reflect on the increased use of alternatives to detention and the complex issues experienced by those who are placed within custody. They discuss how the provision for young people in custody, and the staff working with them, needs to account for the complexity of these issues and ensure that it is adequately resourced to meet these needs.

Maulin Pauli, Sofia Bermås, Jenny Liljeberg and **Katarina Howner** explore the feasibility of using staff ratings as a triage procedure to screen for psychopathic traits utilising the Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality Staff Rating Form (CAPP — SRF) within a high security correctional facility in Sweden. They found the CAPP-SRF to be weakly associated with other more commonly used measures, and ratings did not accurately capture the symptoms of psychopathy at any level. The findings suggest that more time consuming and resource intensive approaches should continue to be used.

We then have two articles with a focus on wellbeing. First, HMPPS staff **Kate Netten** and **Rachel Gibson** present a synthesis of the evidence base on prisoner wellbeing. While a range of factors impact on prisoner wellbeing, the evidence presented suggests that there are many parallels between what is important for prisoner wellbeing and the general wellbeing literature. They also present evidence for a number of prison-specific factors that impact on the wellbeing of prisoners, given the unique demands of living within a prison environment. We then hear from **Kelsey Engstrom** and **Esther van Ginneken,** who introduce the term 'ethical prison architecture', and discuss how the essential design features of this concept impact on the wellbeing of those who live, work, and visit them. The authors identify 16 prison design features from the literature which are linked with wellbeing. It is interesting to note some similarities between these design features and the 'build' way to wellbeing presented within the previous article.

Four articles then explore issues relating to the recruitment, training, professional development, and experiences of staff working within prisons. In the first of these articles, **Kaigan Carrie** explores attitudes towards training and development, including what the key training areas for prison officers are, focusing on the experiences of staff within the Scottish Prison Service (SPS) and Norway. Staff employed within Scotland saw their role as primarily focused on safety and security, despite the SPS' aim to maximise staff's role in reducing re-offending. Many of the participants felt that more training in rehabilitation was needed, along with adopting a training model similar to that employed within Norway, to enable SPS to professionalise the role and work towards achieving its goals.

Rhianon Williams, Carmen-Valeria Baisa, Inês de Castro, Ângela Fernandes, Autun Purser, Alexander Vollbach and **Daiana Huber** then present an overview of the literature and the results from an online survey across five European countries exploring how professional development of prison staff supports modern prison culture, recruitment, and retention. Results suggest that professional development efforts should place greater focus and emphasis on rehabilitation, along with ensuring that training adequately prepares prison staff for the challenges of their role. The central role that supportive managers can play in providing career guidance is emphasised, and the authors suggest that better training and support is needed for managers.

Rosemary Ricciardelli, Marcella Siqueira Cassiano, Dale C. Spencer and **Ayla Zehtab Jadid** explore the recruitment experiences of correctional officers employed within the Correctional Service Canada. Participants described priorities which included the need to ensure that recruits are old enough to take on the role, were personally suitable, and physically suitable. It is encouraging to note that participants were positive about the inclusivity, diversity, and equality of who was recruited.

Lastly, **Joanna Binley** describes the experiences of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) among ex-prison officers employed in English, Welsh, Northern Irish, and

Scottish prisons. Her overview of the literature provides a strong case for the need to better understand the prevalence of PTSD among prison staff, and her results suggest that staff feel under-supported. Other themes identified include the importance of a diagnosis, the impact of the culture within prisons, and the impact that PTSD symptomology can have.

We have four book reviews in this edition, the goal of which is to provide an independent and honest review of recent works which will be of interest to readers. In the first of these, **Lewis Simpson** reviews *Alexander Paterson: Prison Reformer* by Harry Potter. This book explores the life and work of Paterson, who made a lasting contribution to prison reform. Lewis describes this as a central text for anyone wanting to understand the work of Paterson, which will hold great interest to those interested in the history of imprisonment. Next, **Martin Kettle** reviews *Minority Ethnic Prisoners and the Covid-19 Lockdown — Issues, Impacts and Implications* by Avril Brandon and Gavin Dingwell. The authors provide a concise overview of their research conducted during the pandemic, and Martin suggests that the summary of the general impacts of the pandemic within the book are valuable, along with the arguments regarding the differential impact of Covid-19 on the specific minority groups explored. **Lynn Saunders** reviews *Prisoners' Families, Emotions and Space* by Maria Adams. This book is based on research conducted in three Scottish prisons by the author as part of their PhD. It provides an opportunity to understand the first-hand experiences of family members, with a particular focus upon the experience of visiting and how they deal with the impact of a family member being imprisoned. Lynn suggests that this book will be of particular interest to prison managers and policy makers when designing visiting areas and services. Finally, **Ray Taylor** reviews *What we fear most: Reflections on a life in Forensic Psychiatry* by Ben Cave. This personal and reflective account of a career in psychiatry focuses on the connections and relationships that Cave developed with his patients. Ray describes this as a highly readable and accessible account of the life and career of Cave, which will be of interest to a range of readers.

This edition offers a range of articles and book reviews. The Prison Service Journal continues to offer opportunities for practitioners and academics to share and engage with readers, with the aim of stimulating reflection, debate, and discussion regarding the realities of penal practice and reform.

Juvenile custody in Canada: Legal policy and current context

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At the turn of the 20th century, Canada has been criticised for its high youth incarceration rates. These criticisms appeared in several reports, in particular those of the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child. Since the Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA) came into effect in 2003 and following the implementation of extrajudicial measures and other alternative measures, the rates of youth incarceration have dropped significantly. However, this does not mean that juvenile delinquency and custody impacts are no longer a major concern within the Canadian society. In this article, we examine the consequences of legal policy, more specifically the impacts of the YCJA on the reduction of youth incarceration rates in Canada, to then provide a picture of the current context by analysing official statistics on youth incarceration and discussing what has and has not yet been achieved under the YCJA.

Introduction

Three youth justice statutes or Acts have shaped the evolution of juvenile justice in Canada, namely the Juvenile Delinquents Act (1908), the Young Offenders Act (1984), and the Youth Criminal Justice Act (2003). Each of these Acts reflect the dominant penal thinking of their time. These changes have spurred considerable advancements in the juvenile justice system. However, this system still faces several significant challenges, such as those related to the issue of criminal responsibility (the question of minimum age), the best criminal responses to young people who have committed crime,[1] as well as the persistent inequities that result in overincarceration among Indigenous and other ethnic minority youths. The first Canadian Act on juvenile justice, the **Juvenile Delinquents Act** (JDA), adopted in 1908, established for the first time in Canada a special court for young people charged with committing crime.[2] The minimum age for criminal responsibility under this Act was seven years old. The JDA had a protective orientation and was inspired by criminological positivist theories and social defence movements that were dominant at the time. The JDA emphasised treatment more as a welfare exercise than as a legal process.[3] This Act is more youth-focused than offence-focused and aimed to consider criminally-involved young people differently from adults.[4] According to the JDA, the juvenile offender is viewed as a misguided child in need of help, encouragement, and support. Consequently, the choice of sentencing must be based on the needs of the juvenile rather than on the seriousness of their offence.[5]

The JDA was in effect until the **Young Offenders Act** (YOA) was adopted in 1982 and enforced in 1984. The YOA granted juveniles the same fundamental rights and freedoms as adults and emphasised the principle of rehabilitation in the juvenile justice system.[6] [7] Under the YOA, the Canadian provinces and territories were allowed to set up 'alternative measures programmes' to judicialisation and promote the extrajudicial treatment of certain situations involving young people who had committed crime. In sentencing, the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) emphasises that it is not only the principle of

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1. Menon, S. E., & McCarter, S. A. (2021). Make juvenile justice more just: Raise-the-age to 20 years old. *Journal of Policy Practice and Research, 2*, 119-139.
2. Trépanier, J. (1999). Juvenile delinquency and youth protection: The historical foundations of the Canadian Juvenile Delinquents Act of 1908. *European Journal of Crime, Criminal Law and Criminal Justice, 7*(1), 41-62.
3. Trépanier, J. (2015). La loi canadienne sur les jeunes délinquants de 1908 : une loi sous influence américaine? *Revue d'histoire de l'enfance « irrégulière »,* 17, 119-136.
4. Bala, N., & Roberts, J. V. (2008). Canada's juvenile justice system: Promoting community-based responses to youth crime. In J. Junger-Tas & S. H. Decker (Eds.), *International handbook of juvenile justice.* Berlin: Springer (pp. 37-63).
5. Davis-Barron, S. (2015). *Youth and criminal law in Canada.* 2nd Ed. Montréal: LexisNexis.
6. Campbell, K. M. (2005). *Understanding youth justice in Canada*. Toronto: Prentice Hall.
7. Article 3(c) of the Young Offenders Act.

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proportionality, i.e., the seriousness of the offence that should be considered, but also the personal characteristics of the youth, their maturity, their vulnerability, their needs as well as their familial situation. As stated by the SCC, 'The home situation should always be taken into account because it is relevant in complying with the Act's requirement that an assessment must be made of the special needs and requirements for guidance of the young offender'.[8]

At the end of the 1990s, it became apparent that Canada displayed a relatively high rate of young people in custody. In fact, Canada was among the Western countries with the most frequent use of youth incarceration, with rates about twice as high as the United States.[9] The current Act, the **Youth Criminal Justice Act** (YCJA), adopted in 2002, came in effect in 2003. According to Trépanier, this Act is the result of a politicisation of juvenile delinquency.[10] A strong emphasis is placed on 'individual responsibility'.[11] Specifically, the YCJA emphasises the 'responsibility' of the whole 'community', on one hand, and the 'responsibility' of the 'adolescent delinquent', on the other hand, by prescribing important measures relative to each level of responsibility. This Act is largely inspired by neoliberal thinking, which dominated the discourse of criminal policy at the time.[12] As Garland shows in his book, neoliberalism, or what he calls 'late modernity', has brought about several changes in the criminal justice system,[13] including the ideas that rehabilitation of the offender is no longer the main objective of criminal justice, that criminal policy emphasises fear of crime, that the victim and their interests are at the centre of criminal policy, that protection of the public is the dominant theme, that

> Notwithstanding these influences from neoliberal thinking, the YCJA has had an appreciable influence on reducing the rate of young people in custody in Canada.

expert advice is abandoned in favour of politicians', and that probation and parole are more oriented towards risk management.[14] Notwithstanding these influences from neoliberal thinking, the YCJA has had an appreciable influence on reducing the rate of young people in custody in Canada,[15] as will be discussed next.

1. YCJA and its impact on youth incarceration

One of the important reasons that led to the development and adoption of the YCJA in 2002 was the high rate of incarcerated youths in Canada.[16] In its 2003 concluding observations on Canada's second report on the implementation of the International Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child expressed concern about the rate of incarcerated youth in Canada.[17] While the Committee welcomed the enactment of YCJA, it also listed concerns such as the expanded use of adult sentences for children as young as 14, the detention of juveniles and adults together in the same facilities as well as the public's access to juvenile records. The Committee raised its concern about the fact that 'the number of youths in custody is among the highest in the industrialized world'[18] and urged Canada to implement 'the necessary measures […] to reduce considerably the number of children in detention and ensure that detention is only used as a measure of last resort and for the shortest possible period of time […]'.[19] The measures proposed by the Committee included non-custodial alternatives as well as conditional release.

The concern relative to the high incarceration rate of youth is no longer present in the Committee's

8.   R. v. M. (J.J.), [1993] 2 S.C.R. 421.
9.   Bala, N., & Anand, S. (2012). *Youth criminal justice law*. 3rd Ed. Toronto: Irwin Law.
10. Trépanier, J. (2012). Les transformations du régime canadien relatif aux mineurs délinquants : un regard sur le droit et les pratiques. *Revue de science criminelle et de droit pénal comparé*, 4, 819-855.
11. Desrosiers, J., & Grégoire, J. (2017). *Loi sur le système de justice pénale pour les adolescents*. Montréal : LexisNexis.
12. Bell, E. (2011). *Criminal justice and neoliberalism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
13. Garland, D. (2001). *The culture of control: Crime and social order in contemporary society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
14. Roberts, J. V. (2003). Sentencing juvenile offenders in Canada. An analysis of recent reform legislation. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 19, 413-434.
15. Doob, A. N., & Cesaroni, C. (2004). *Responding to youth crime in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
16. Spott, J. B. (1996). Understanding public views of youth crime and the youth justice system. *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, 38(3), 271-290.
17. Committee on the Rights of the Child (2003). Concluding observations on Canada's second report, CRC/C/15/Add.215, UN, 27 October 2003.
18. *Ibid.*, paragraph 56.
19. *Ibid.*, paragraph 57(d).

concerning observations on Canada's third and fourth periodic reports (2012).[20] However, the Committee raised important concerns about incarcerated youth, especially girls and Indigenous and African Canadian youths. First, the Committee noted that '[…] Aboriginal and African Canadian children and youth are overrepresented in detention with statistics, showing for example, that Aboriginal youth are more likely to be involved in the criminal justice system than to graduate from high school […]'.[21] Secondly, it warned that girls in custody are at risk to be exposed to sexual harassment and sexual assault when they are 'placed in mixed-gender youth prisons with cross-gender monitoring by guards […]'.[22] In its most recent observations (2022), the Committee reiterated its recommendation to '[d]evelop an effective action plan towards eliminating the disparity in the rates of sentencing and incarceration of indigenous children and adolescents and Canadian children and adolescents of African descent […]'.[23] These consecutive observations from 2003 to 2022 show that since the implementation of the YCJA, the concerns of the Committee on the Rights of the Child have shifted from high incarceration rates of young people in Canada to disproportionately high rates affecting children from certain racialised groups and the high risk of assault faced by girls in the detention system.

Restricting the recourse to incarceration is an important objective of the YCJA, which justifies the use of extrajudicial measures. According to the YCJA, extrajudicial measures refer to 'measures other than judicial proceedings under this Act used to deal with a young person alleged to have committed an offence and includes extrajudicial sanctions'.[24] These measures are defined as opposed to judicial measures and they make it possible, in principle at least, to respond officially to the commission of an offence without going through the court.[25] Under the YCJA, rehabilitation is no longer the primary goal of juvenile criminal policy. Moreover, this Act is centred on the interests of the victim, and the protection of the public becomes the main element of this dominant criminal policy. The YCJA is based on one hand on the responsibility of young people convicted of crime and, on the other hand, on their social reintegration.[26] It also emphasises the need to limit repressive measures and, above all, to reduce the use of incarceration.[27] In effect, the YCJA seeks to diversify the responses to juvenile crime by introducing new sanctions and improving the reintegration of young people into the community.

According to the YCJA, incarceration can only be pronounced against a young offender if one of the situations described in this Act are met. Firstly, incarceration can be imposed if the young person has committed a violent offence.[28] The term 'violent offence', which was not defined in the initial version of the Act, was defined in its 2012 amendment as an offense that could endanger the life or safety of another person by creating a substantial likelihood of causing bodily harm.[29] In the second situation, the young person has not complied with a sentence not involving custody that was previously imposed on them.[30] Third, the juvenile has committed a criminal act for which an adult would be liable to imprisonment for

> According to the YCJA, incarceration can only be pronounced against a young offender if one of the situations described in this Act are met.

20. Committee on the Rights of the Child (2012). Concluding observations on Canada's third and fourth periodic reports, CRC/C/CAN/CO/3-4, UN, 6 December 2012.
21. *Ibid.*, paragraph 85(e).
22. *Ibid.*, paragraph 85(f).
23. Committee on the Rights of the Child (2022). Concluding observations on Canada's fifth and sixth periodic reports, CRC/C/CAN/CO/5-6, UN, 23 June 2022, paragraph 45(b).
24. Article 2 of the YCJA.
25. Hartnagel, T. F. (2004). The rhetoric of youth justice in Canada. *Criminal Justice*, 4(4), 355-374.
26. Trépanier, J. (2012). Op. cit.
27. Bala, N., & Roberts, J. V. (2008). Op. cit.
28. Article 39(1)(a) of the YCJA.
29. Article 2 of the YCJA defines a violent offence as: "(a) an offence committed by a young person that includes as an element the causing of bodily harm; (b) an attempt or a threat to commit an offence referred to in paragraph (a); or (c) an offence in the commission of which a young person endangers the life or safety of another person by creating a substantial likelihood of causing bodily harm". See also R. v. C.D.; R. v. C.D.K., [2005] 3 S.C.R. 668, 2005 SCC 78. The terms "serious offense" and "serious violent offence" are also used in the YCJA and defined in Article 2.
30. According to Article 39(1)(b) of the YCJA: "the young person has previously been found guilty of an offence under section 137 in relation to more than one sentence and, if the court is imposing a sentence for an offence under subsections 145(2) to (5) of the Criminal Code or section 137, the young person caused harm, or a risk of harm, to the safety of the public in committing that offence".

more than two years, after having been the subject of several extrajudicial sanctions or after a declaration of guilt.[31][32] The last situation is one where the aggravating circumstances of the offence are such that the imposition of a non-custodial sentence would be inconsistent with the purpose and principles of sentencing.[33] Thus, youth detention should only be prescribed in limited situations. The restricted entry of young people into prisons, due to the provisions of the YCJA, has had a notable impact on the decrease in the numbers of incarcerated young people according to official data. Other factors such as the gradual reduction in juvenile delinquency over time also came into play, as discussed in section 2. There is however no direct relationship between the implementation of the YCJA and the larger phenomenon of youth crime in the country.

While some have argued that the YCJA has benefited all youths more equally than the previous acts,[34] it is undeniable that important disparities and issues still persist. With respect to admission rates, official statistics show that 20 per cent of youth admissions to custody in 2020/2021 were from population groups designated as visible minorities.[35] Shockingly, Indigenous youth accounted for 50 per cent of youth admissions to custody in 2020/2021, despite representing merely 8 per cent of the youth population, while Indigenous youth girls represented 62 per cent of the youth female admissions to custody,[36] supporting the view that Indigenous youth remain less likely to be diverted from the criminal justice process than non-Indigenous youth[37]. Clearly, the current youth justice system, the decarceration trend in particular, has not benefited all youth groups equally, which could be traced back to several factors, including discrimination and prejudices.

In Canada, the legislated act of juvenile justice, the YCJA, is federal law. However, this Act is implemented independently by each province and territory (PT) according to their own realities and chosen strategies and policies for handling the cases related to juvenile delinquency. PT also have some latitude in how they implement the federal measures applicable to young people involved in crime. Although article 38(2)(b) specifies that 'the sentence must be similar to the sentences imposed in the region on similar young persons found guilty of the same offence committed in similar circumstances', there are hardly any data available showing that the Act is being applied uniformly across different jurisdictions. However, conspicuous disparities have emerged in the resources available in each PT to implement their youth justice system,[38] which could affect the experience and outcomes for young people, for example when adequate, culturally sensitive and well-resourced rehabilitation programmes and opportunities are lacking. In a comprehensive review of the YCJA, 'all PT identified a lack of sustainable resources to implement the programmes and services necessary to fully embrace the YCJA'.[39] Aside from adequate funding, there is a need for formal evaluations of the programmes and services available in the youth justice system across every jurisdiction to ensure that resources are being allocated in efficient ways and that all youths are receiving the maximum benefits.

Youth custody in Canada is divided into secure (or closed) custody and open custody. According to the YCJA, secure and open custody should only be used as a last resort and only in specific situations, as prescribed under the Act. Open custody is still considered imprisonment, but with fewer restrictions and with measures more conducive to social rehabilitation. In fact, it should promote the development and social reintegration of young people with as few obstacles as possible. Except during exceptional situations such as

> The decarceration trend in particular, has not benefited all youth groups equally, which could be traced back to several factors, including discrimination and prejudices.

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31.   Since 2012, extrajudicial sanctions may be pronounced at the same time as a declaration of guilt.
32.   Article 39(1)(c) of the YCJA & R. v. S.A.C., [2008] 2 S.C.R. 675, 2008 SCC 47.
33.   This situation is considered as exceptional by the YCJA, Article 39(1)(d).
34.   Tustin, L., & Lutes, R. E. (2022). *A guide to the Youth Criminal Justice Act*. Toronto: LexisNexis.
35.   Statistics Canada (2022). *Adult and youth correctional statistics*, 2020/2021. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/daily-quotidien/220420/dq220420c-eng.pdf?st=YxjALS5G. Retrieved February 9, 2023.
36.   *Ibid.*
37.   Ho, I. (2019). The misinformed versus the misunderstood: Continued overincarceration of indigenous youth under the YCJA. *Western Journal of Legal Studies*, 9, 1-22.
38.   Reid, S. (2016). Youth justice in New Brunswick. In M. Alain, R. R. Corrado & S. Reid (Eds.), *Implementing and working with the Youth Criminal Justice Act across Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press (pp. 125-157).
39.   *Ibid.*

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the early COVID-19 pandemic,[40] young people held in open custody have more contacts with the community. They can go to school in the community and engage in other extramural activities. By contrast, secure custody corresponds more closely to the traditional prison environment with strong restrictions on the contacts that youths can have.

2. Youth custody in the Canadian context

A critical examination of the official statistics of youth incarceration is helpful to better understand the current context of youth detention in Canada. While statistics do not capture the complex reality of the phenomenon,[41] they help grasp an overall picture of the subject and appreciate the impact that the YCJA had over the years. As shown in **Figure 1**, based on data from Statistics Canada,[42] the total number of youth admissions to correctional services in 2021-2022, about two decades after the enactment of the YCJA, was about seven times lower than in 1997-1998 when the YOA was in place. Over this period, the admission numbers dropped from 70,542 to 9,651 nationally. This does not mean that juvenile delinquency has declined to the same extent, but rather that the change in legislative policy, i.e., the provisions of the YCJA and the extrajudicial measures introduced in this Act, have been pivotal in reducing youth detention rates. This impact was observed across the provinces and territories. In Atlantic Canada,[43] for instance, a fourteenfold fall in youth admissions to correctional services was recorded between 1997-1998 and 2021-2022, from 6,203 to 441 **(Figure 2)**.[44] Importantly, the lower incarceration rates did not necessarily lead to reduced workload or responsibilities for the staff working with these youths. In fact, with the changes introduced by the YCJA, minors in custody now have more complex profiles with high risk factors,[45] including behavioural problems, mental health issues and/or substance use, that require specific training and skills as well as targeted and well-resourced extrajudicial measures. This type of indirect consequences of the YCJA requires more consideration and research.

Figure 1. Youth admissions to correctional services in Canada from 1997 to 2022
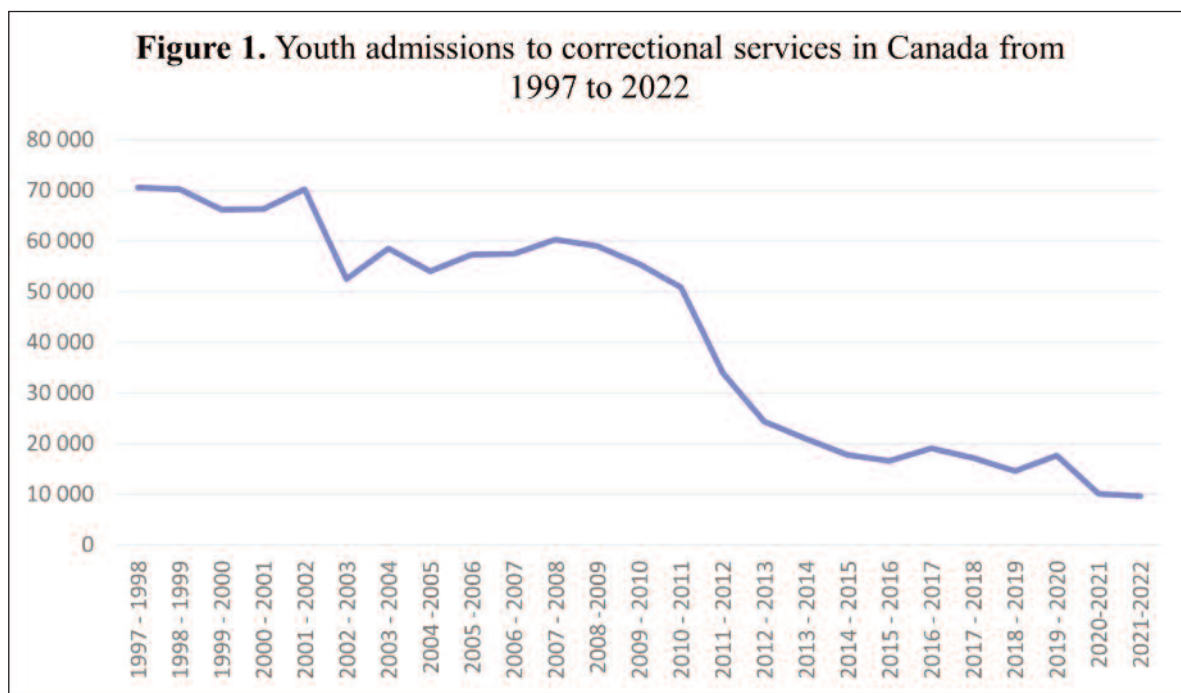
40. Esfahani, H. S., & Tranchant, C. C. (2022). Impacts de la pandémie sur les conditions de détention et répercussions possibles sur la santé mentale des mineurs incarcérés : Étude exploratoire au Canada. *Revue internationale de criminologie et de police technique et scientifique*, LXXVII(4), 432-443.
41. Walker, J. T., & Maddan, S. (2012). *Understanding statistics for the social sciences, criminal justice, and criminology*. Burlington: Jones & Bartlett Learning.
42. Data from Statistics Canada (2023). Youth admissions to correctional services. Table 35-10-0005-01. https://doi.org/10.25318/3510000501-eng. Retrieved February 27, 2023.
43. Atlantic Canada refers to the four provinces of New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island and has a population of over 2.3 million people (National Resources Canada, Government of Canada, 2019). https://www.nrcan.gc.ca/environment/resources/publications/impacts-adaptation/reports/assessments/2008/ch4/10339. Retrieved July 29, 2022.
44. Data from Statistics Canada (2023). Youth admissions to correctional services. Table 35-10-0005-01. https://doi.org/10.25318/3510000501-eng. Retrieved February 27, 2023.
45. Murray, J., & Farrington, D. P. (2010). Risk factors for conduct disorder and delinquency: Key findings from longitudinal studies. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 55(10), 633-642.

Figure 2. Youth admissions to correctional services in Atlantic Canada from 1997 to 2022
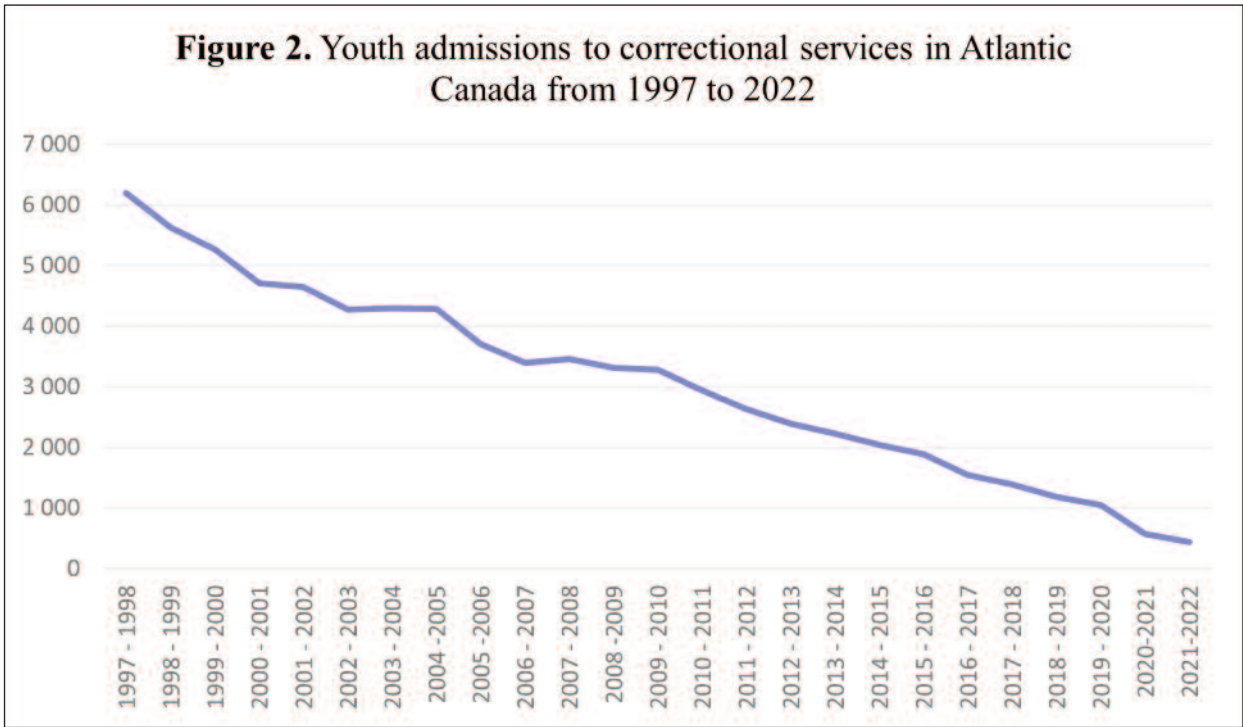
The rate of violent crimes committed by youth also decreased over the years, albeit not to the same extent as the incarceration and total crime rates, highlighting the fact that one act of legislation alone cannot prevent or reduce youth crime. As illustrated in **Figure 3**,[46] the number of youths accused of violent crimes fell by 37 per cent between 2011 and 2021 from 43,004 to 26,958, while total crime fell by 60 per cent from 136,494 to 53,688. For violent crimes, this number rose by 6 per cent between 2020 and 2021 in contrast to total crime numbers.

Figure 3. Youth accused of police-reported crimes in Canada from 2011 to 2021

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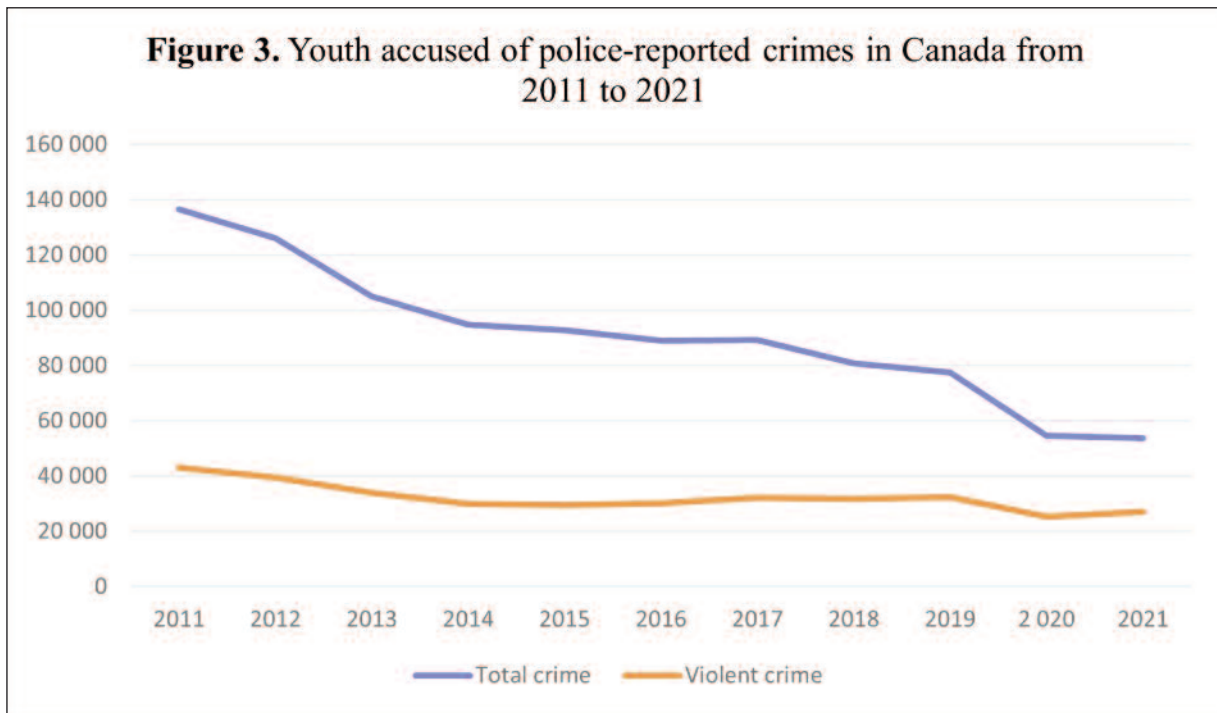
46. Statistics Canada (2022). *Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey*. Table 11 Youth accused of police-reported crime, Canada, 2011 to 2021. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2022001/article/00013/tbl/tbl11-eng.htm. Retrieved February 8, 2023.

The numbers of Canadian youths in open custody have generally exceeded those in secure custody since 1997-1998, as illustrated in **Figure 4**,[47] except in certain fiscal years, such as 2021-2022 when youths in secure custody, i.e., those who are deemed the most serious and problematic, exceeded those in open custody (359 vs. 247). A similar trend was observed elsewhere in the country. In Canada Atlantic, for instance, the numbers of young people in secure custody have been greater than those in open custody since 2017-2018; in 2021-2022, 21 minors were in secure custody, compared to 12 in open custody.[48]

Under the YCJA, the highly restrictive, prison-like conditions of secure custody are limited to more at-risk young people who have either committed serious (i.e., violent) crimes or have been repeatedly convicted of serious crimes. The criminal profiles of these youths are such that closed facilities, which have higher security

measures, are often considered the most secure way to detain them. Unfortunately, young people convicted of crime who have special needs, including unmet mental health care needs, are often found in high proportions both in secure and open custody. This has become a serious concern, especially since data became publicly available on the deaths by suicide or self-harm of inmates in Canadian prisons.[49] Some of these cases can even be considered as major turning points in the evolution of incarceration conditions in Canada. One of the cases that have called for heightened scrutiny of the correctional system, particularly in terms of young people with special needs, is the Ashley Smith case. This case was not isolated but it is one of the most highly profiled cases of inadequate treatment of a youth that should not have been subjected to imprisonment and solitary confinement.

Figure 4. Total number of youths (12-17 years old) in open and secure custody in Canada
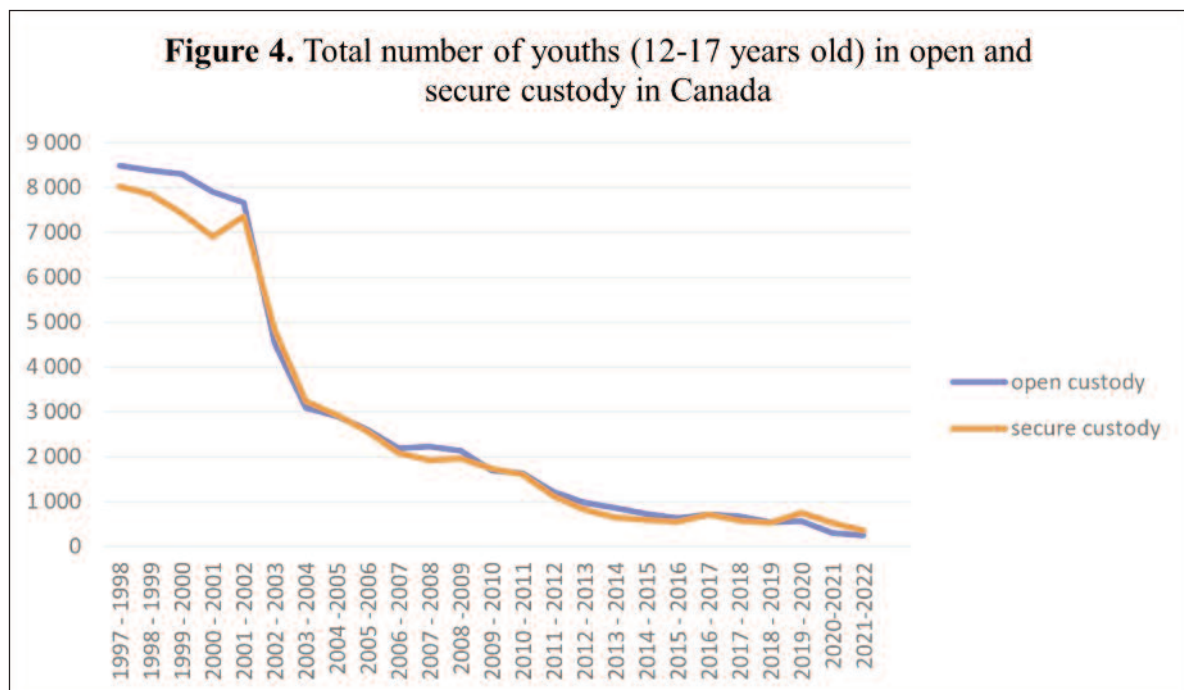
The Ashley Smith case is a major and high profile system failure that has shed disturbing light on the country's correctional policy concerning incarcerated young people.[50] Unfortunately, it is also in many ways 'a case fundamentally like those of many inmates before, and after, hers'.[51] Ashley Smith was a young teenager when she first became involved with the judicial system.

Despite suffering from mental illness, she was repeatedly sentenced to different penalties, including imprisonment and solitary confinement, for the relatively minor offences she had committed, until she died from self-inflicted harm while being under suicide watch. Despite early expert opinions on her mental ill-health, no appropriate action was taken to provide the

47.   Data from Statistics Canada (2023). Youth admissions to correctional services. Table 35-10-0005-01. https://doi.org/10.25318/3510000501-eng. Retrieved February 27, 2023.
48.   *Ibid*.
49.   Correctional Service Canada (2019). *Annual Report on Deaths in Custody* 2016-2017. SR-19-01. Government of Canada, Ottawa, ON. https://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/research/005008-3013-en.shtml. Retrieved July 29, 2022.
50.   New Brunswick-born Ashley Smith died in October 2007, at the age of 19, while under surveillance at the *Grand Valley Institution for Women* in Ontario. She suffered from mental health disorders that were not adequately taken into account during her involvement with the justice system.
51.   Bromwich, R. (2017). Theorizing the official record of inmate Ashley Smith: Necropolitics, exclusions, and multiple agencies. *Manitoba Law Journal*, 40(3), 193-223.

mental health care and support that her condition required. The 2013 Coronary inquest into the cause of her death brought to light the lack of necessary resources to address the psychological needs of people in detention, especially when they suffer from diagnosed mental health disorders or are at risk of developing them.[52] According to the Correctional Investigator's report, there were numerous instances of inhumane treatment of Ashley Smith. Although the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) was fully aware that she suffered from serious mental illness, this young person was subjected to excessive force and confinement measures that contributed to the tragic outcome of her detention.[53] The CSC was also well aware of the 'systemic issues that existed within the federal correctional system [and] contributed to the environment that permitted the individual failures to manifest themselves — with fatal consequences'.[54]

The Coronary inquest culminated in an unprecedented homicide verdict.[55] However, most of the 104 recommendations made in that inquest were ignored or rejected in the CSC's 2014 response.[56] The recommendations included that indefinite solitary confinement be abolished, that long-term segregation should not exceed 15 days and that restrictions be placed on the number of periods that people in prison can spend segregated. Although the CSC claims to have made 'significant changes to its policies and practices surrounding the use of administrative segregation', the practice of indefinite solitary confinement has not been abolished to this day. According to many observers, including youth advocates, very little systemic changes have occurred since Smith's preventable death. They also fear that the window of opportunity to make systemic change may go unrealised.[57] Clearly, much remains to be done in Canada to improve youth incarceration conditions and adequately meet their needs, which cannot be addressed by legislation alone. It is well established that a considerable number of young people involved in crime suffer from mental disorders.[58] However, as illustrated by Smith's case, the current correctional system, instead of meeting the specific needs of people with mental health disorders, often contributes to exacerbating symptoms and preventing the social reintegration of juveniles.[59] The lower rates of incarcerated youths in Canada are a good sign, but it remains of high concern that incarcerated youths suffering from mental illness and/or behavioural problems can still be judicialised and incarcerated without adequate services to meet their specific needs.

In this brief analysis, we examined juvenile custody in Canada through the double lens of the three federal Acts that have framed juvenile justice and of official statistics. While the implementation of the current youth justice Act, the YCJA, resulted in an overall decrease in youth incarceration rates over the past two decades, this does not mean that juvenile delinquency has diminished to the same extent, nor that all youths have benefited equally. Enforcement of the YCJA across the country only signals more widespread use of alternative measures other than detention to address juvenile delinquency. One of the indirect consequences of the YCJA is that the minors in custody now have more complex profiles with high risk factors, including behavioural problems and mental health issues that cannot be addressed without targeted and well-resourced extrajudicial measures as well as specialised skill sets. Thus, the demands on the staff working with incarcerated young people probably remain high, despite lower incarceration rates. These youths have either committed violent crimes or have been convicted of reoffending. Their unique characteristics require the implementation of specific and often multifaceted measures that suitably meet their needs and protect their interests both in and outside the judicial system. The allocation of adequate resources remains a critical factor for realising the objectives of the YCJA.

52. Murray, S. J., Burgess, S., & Holmes, D. (2017). Mort d'Ashley Smith : Entre biopolitique carcérale et souveraineté judiciaire. *Sociétés*, 136(2), 73-90.
53. See Sapers, H. (2008). *A Preventable Death.* Office of the Correctional Investigator, Government of Canada, Ottawa, ON. https://www.oci-bec.gc.ca/cnt/rpt/oth-aut/oth-aut20080620-eng.aspx. Retrieved August 15, 2022.
54. *Ibid*.
55. Bromwich, R. (2017). Op. cit.
56. Correctional Service Canada (2014). *Response to the Coroner's Inquest Touching the Death of Ashley Smith*. https://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/publications/005007-9011-eng.shtml. Retrieved February 9, 2023.
57. Onishenko, D., & Erbland, J. (2016). The case of Ashley Smith: Policy window or policy failure. *Canadian Review of Social Policy*, 76, 70-89.
58. Centre for Addiction and Mental Health (2020). *Mental Health and Criminal Justice Policy Framework.* Toronto, ON. https://www.camh.ca/-/media/files/pdfs—-public-policy-submissions/camh-cj-framework-2020-pdf.pdf. Retrieved August 29, 2022.
59. Morgan, R. D., Van Horn, S. A., MacLean, N., Hunter, J. T., & Bauer, R. L. (2019). The effects of imprisonment. In D. L. Polaschek, A. Day & C. R. Hollin (Eds.), *Wiley international handbook of correctional psychology*. Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell (pp. 63-77).

Is the Mask of Sanity Impenetrable? Using the Observations of Correctional Staff to Detect Psychopathy According to the CAPP Model

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Psychopathy is a complex and elusive phenomenon, defined as a severe form of personality disorder characterized by deficient affective experience, such as lack of empathy and shallow affect, grandiose and arrogant interpersonal functioning, as well as pervasive impulsive and deviant behaviour.[1] The Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R)[2] is currently the most widely used measure of psychopathy in clinical use. However, its dominance as a standard tool for defining and measuring psychopathy, in addition to its over reliance on antisocial behaviour, has been put to question.[3] Furthermore, it is a static measure, making it less useful for assessing symptom remission. Partly in response to this, recent years have seen the development of several new conceptualizations and measures of psychopathy. The Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality (CAPP) is a concept map encompassing pathological personality traits considered to be key elements of psychopathy.[4] It attempts to integrate historical and contemporary conceptualizations of psychopathy in order to revisit the question of what psychopathy is, and what it is not, aiming to capture psychopathy in its full dimensionality, as formulated in natural language. Additionally, it is devised to measure fluctuations in symptom burden. The 33 symptoms included in the model are grouped in six domains: attachment, behavioural, cognitive, dominance, emotional and self domains. The CAPP is available in several formats: as expert-rating (CAPP Institutional Rating Form; CAPP-IRS), as a questionnaire for institutional staff (CAPP Staff Rating Form; CAPP-SRF), as well as self-report (CAPP-SR).[5] So far, two studies have investigated the associations of the CAPP and the PCL-R, both demonstrating high correlations concerning CAPP-IRS total and domain scores.[6]

1. Hart, S. D., & Cook, A. N. (2012). Current issues in the assessment and diagnosis of psychopathy (psychopathic personality disorder). *Neuropsychiatry*, 2(6), 497-508.
2. Hare, R. D. (2003). *Hare PCL-R 2nd ed. Technical manual*. Multi-Health Systems Inc.
3. Skeem, J. L., & Cooke, D. J. (2010). Is Criminal Behavior a Central Component of Psychopathy? Conceptual Directions for Resolving the Debate. *Psychological Assessment*, 22(2), 433-445.
4. Cooke, D. J., Hart, S. D., Logan, C., & Michie, C. (2012). Explicating the Construct of Psychopathy: Development and Validation of a Conceptual Model, the Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality (CAPP). *International Journal of Forensic Mental Health,* 11(4), 242-252.
5. Sellbom, M., Cooke, D. J., & Shou, Y. (2019). Development and initial validation of the Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality-Self-Report (CAPP-SR). *Psychological Assessment*, 31(7), 878-894.
6. Florez, G., Ferrer, V., Garcia, L. S., Crespo, M. R., Perez, M., Saiz, P. A., & Cooke, D. J. (2020). Comparison between the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised and the Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality in a representative sample of Spanish prison inmates. *PLoS One*, 15(2), e0228384; Sandvik, A. M., Hansen, A. L., Kristensen, M. V., Johnsen, B. H., Logan, C., & Thornton, D. (2012). Assessment of Psychopathy: Inter-correlations between Psychopathy Checklist Revised, Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality - Institutional Rating Scale, and Self-Report of Psychopathy Scale-III. *International Journal of Forensic Mental Health,* 11(4), 280-288.

Expert-rating is the recommended method of assessing psychopathy. However, that is a time-consuming process, requiring the resources of highly trained professionals, which are a sparse resource in many institutions. A possible complement, and a novel avenue for research, is to use the ratings of institutional staff as a triage procedure to screen for psychopathic personality traits. In addition to being cost efficient, asking personnel in daily contact with the clients to screen for psychopathy might provide additional information.

In the context of forensic psychiatry, staff are regularly involved in procedures such as imminent violence risk assessment in institutional settings, for example using the Short-Term Assessment of Risk and Treatability; a dynamic risk assessment tool that combines a structured clinical judgement and risk management, performed by a multidisciplinary team, involving mental health caretakers and nurses.[7] However, in the field of psychopathy it is not practice to employ staff ratings and to our knowledge there is no research investigating the usefulness of staff in rating psychopathic traits.

In a previous study, we demonstrated that correctional staff find most symptoms of the CAPP model to be highly typical of psychopathy in their view of a prototypically psychopathic person.[8] The next step, and the aim of the current study, was to investigate association validity evidence of the CAPP-SRF as a measure of psychopathic traits in the setting of a high security correctional facility. Additionally, we aimed to investigate its usefulness as a screening measure of psychopathy. We hypothesized that CAPP-SRF would

> We demonstrated that correctional staff find most symptoms of the CAPP model to be highly typical of psychopathy in their view of a prototypically psychopathic person.

demonstrate strong correlations with the PCL-R as well as with a self-rating instrument of psychopathy; the Triarchic Psychopathy Measure (TriPM).[9]

Method

Participants

Participants were men incarcerated at high security correctional facilities in Sweden, aged 20 to 65 years, that were initially recruited for a cross-sectional genetic study.[10] Of the 309 men invited to participate, 206 (67 per cent) agreed, although five of them dropped out or were excluded due to lack of valid data. CAPP-SRF protocols were available for 88 participants, though six were excluded for having more than three missing items (> 10 per cent), resulting in a final CAPP-rated study sample of 82. The mean age was 38.4 years (SD = 11.3). Most participants reported having a history of violence (75.6 per cent) and more than one fourth (28.0 per cent) reported a history of lethal violence. Substance abuse problems were common (64.6 per cent), as were having been diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder (ASPD, 42.7 per cent) and Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD, 25.6 per cent).

Procedure

The study was reviewed and approved by the Regional Ethical Review Board of Stockholm (#2014/1192-31/1). The data collection was performed consecutively in 2015 to 2017. Participants were recruited and informed of the study by a clinically experienced research assistant, who subsequently interviewed them using a structured

7. Webster, C. D., Martin, M. L., Brink, J., Nicholls, T. L., & Middleton, C. (2004). *Manual for the Short-Term Assessment of Risk and Treatability (START), Version 1.0 (consultation ed.)*. St. Joseph's Healthcare Hamilton: Ontario, Canada–Forensic Psychiatric Services Commission.

8. Pauli, M., Essemyr, K., Sörman, K., Howner, K., Gustavsson, P., & Liljeberg, J. (2018). Gendered Expressions of Psychopathy: Correctional Staffs' Perceptions of the CAPP and CABP Models. *International Journal of Forensic Mental Health*, 17(2), 97-110.

9. Patrick C. J. (2010). *Operationalizing the Triarchic Conceptualisation of Psychopathy: Preliminary Description of Brief Scales for Assessment of Boldness, Meanness, and Disinhibition*. Available online at: https://patrickcnslab.psy.fsu.edu/wiki/images/b/b2/TPMmanual.pdf.

10. Pauli, M., Liljeberg, J., Gustavsson, P., Kristiansson, M., & Howner, K. (2019). Assessing the relevance of self-reported ADHD symptoms and cognitive functioning for psychopathy using the PCL-R and the TriPM. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology*, 30(4), 642-657; Pauli, M., Ölund Alonso, H., Liljeberg, J., Gustavsson, P., & Howner, K. (2021). Investigating the Validity Evidence of the Swedish TriPM in High Security Prisoners Using the PCL-R and NEO-FFI. *Frontiers in Psychiatry*, 12:704516; Pauli, M., Ölund Alonso, H., Liljeberg, J., Gustavsson, P., Tiihonen, J., & Howner, K. (2021). Exploring the relation between high-activity COMT Val158Met genotype and psychopathy in male offenders. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology*, 33(1), 171-177.

protocol regarding medical and socioeconomic history (self-reported) as well as a semi-structured interview for PCL-R scoring. Their correctional files were reviewed for collateral information. All participants provided written informed consent to participate and were informed that they could discontinue their participation whenever they wanted to do so. They received a small compensation of phone credits for their involvement in the study.

At the start-up of the study, we arranged three-hour workshops on psychopathy and the CAPP-SRF at each facility. The staff participating in the workshops were allocated by the management at each facility, striving to include staff from all housing units to perform the ratings in the project. The participating staff mainly consisted of staff placed at the housing units and case workers.

When a new participant was included in the study, a CAPP-trained member of staff was directed by the on-site study liaison officer at the facility to complete a CAPP-SRF rating of the participant. The liaison officers were instructed that the rating should be performed by a correctional officer with good knowledge of the participants (preferably their contact person at the housing unit or their case worker). Typically, as contact person or case worker, they would have knowledge of the participant's history, including their criminal history, as well as insight in their social situation and daily functioning at the facility. However, as the trained staff did not always have a close contact with each participant, if needed, they were encouraged to seek the help of a member of staff with a closer acquaintance with the participant to complete the rating.

> CAPP-SRF is intended for primary use in conjunction with the CAPP-IRS. It can then be used as a second source of information for the clinician performing the assessment, asking staff in forensic psychiatric care and correctional institutions to document their perceptions of the clients' psychopathic traits.

Materials

CAPP-SRF (Staff Rating Form)

CAPP-SRF is intended for primary use in conjunction with the CAPP-IRS. It can then be used as a second source of information for the clinician performing the assessment, asking staff in forensic psychiatric care and correctional institutions to document their perceptions of the clients' psychopathic traits.[11] We used the Swedish translation of the CAPP-SRF,[12] containing all 33 symptoms of the CAPP model, rated from 0 ('not present') to 6 ('very severe'), yielding a maximum score of 198. For the total score a maximum of three missing values were imputed using the mean item value. As the domain subscales consist of only 4-7 items, we did not summate the domain subscales for participants with any missing values.

The Hare Psychopathy Checklist — Revised

The PCL-R is an expert rating scale assessing psychopathy through a semi-structured interview in addition to file information.[13] The 20 items are scored from 0 to 2, with a maximum score of 40. The items are divided into four facets, encompassing different aspects of psychopathic traits and behaviour: interpersonal (facet 1) and affective function (facet 2), behavioural deviance linked to an impulsive lifestyle (facet 3) and antisocial behaviour (facet 4).

The Triarchic Psychopathy Measure (TriPM)

The triarchic model conceptualizes the core construct of psychopathy in three domains; boldness, meanness, and disinhibition,[14] that can be measured through the TriPM, available in

11. Cooke, D. J., Hart, S. D., Logan, C., & Michie, C. (2012). Explicating the Construct of Psychopathy: Development and Validation of a Conceptual Model, the Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality (CAPP). *International Journal of Forensic Mental Health*, 11(4), 242-252.
12. Pauli, M., Essemyr, K., Sörman, K., Howner, K., Gustavsson, P., & Liljeberg, J. (2018). Gendered Expressions of Psychopathy: Correctional Staffs' Perceptions of the CAPP and CABP Models. *International Journal of Forensic Mental Health*, 17(2), 97-110.
13. Hare, R. D. (2003). *Hare PCL-R 2nd ed. Technical manual*. Multi-Health Systems Inc.
14. Patrick, C. J., Fowles, D. C., & Krueger, R. F. (2009). Triarchic conceptualization of psychopathy: developmental origins of disinhibition, boldness, and meanness. *Development and Psychopathology*, 21(3), 913-938.

Swedish.[15] The self-report questionnaire contains 58 items that are rated on a 4-point Likert-type scale with the response options 0 (false) to 3 (true), and a maximum total score of 176. The items are divided into the three triarchic domain; boldness (19 items), meanness (19 items) and disinhibition (20 items). A maximum of three missing values were imputed using the mean item value for each subscale.

Statistical Analyses

We investigated internal consistency using Cronbach's alpha. Because all CAPP variables violated the assumptions of normality according to the Shapiro-Wilk test of normality, we calculated Spearman's (rank order) correlation coefficients to investigate the interrelatedness of the CAPP domains as well as the association with other measures of psychopathy. Secondly, we investigated if CAPP levels differed by levels of PCL-R rated psychopathy (i.e. investigating if the CAPP ratings might be accentuated only at specific levels of psychopathy), comparing participants grouped according to quartile levels on the PCL-R using one-way independent measurements ANOVA models and Kruskal Wallis tests. Levene's test indicated that the assumption of homogeneity of variance was violated for the behaviour and cognitive domains, thus Welch's test is reported. Post hoc comparisons were calculated using REGWQ and Games-Howell (robust). Analyses were conducted in SPSS (Version 28).

Results

Mean values, standard deviations, internal consistency values, as well as correlation coefficients are presented in Table 1. All CAPP domains were significantly correlated to CAPP total score (rs = .809 to .921). Furthermore, the domain scores showed strong intercorrelations (rs = .621 to .904.). However, the level of CAPP ratings, both regarding total score and domain scores, were low and distributions were positively skewed.

Associations to the PCL-R and the TriPM

PCL-R total score did not correlate to CAPP total score. As shown in Table 1, Facet 1 showed significant associations to CAPP total score (rs = .289) as well as to the dominance (rs = .401) and self (rs = .341) domains. Facet 2 was significantly correlated to CAPP total score (rs = .227) as well as the attachment (rs = .226), cognitive (rs = .220) and dominance (rs = .264) domains. None of the CAPP domains were significantly correlated to PCL-R total score.

Regarding the TriPM, no significant coefficients were found.

CAPP levels by quartile levels of PCL-R rated psychopathy

The distribution of CAPP total and domain scores at various levels of PCL-R rated psychopathy are summarized in Table 2, where mean and median values as well as standard deviance and range are presented. Both mean and median values were generally lower at the highest level of psychopathy, compared to the second and third quartile. However, neither ANOVA models nor Kruskal Wallis tests indicated that CAPP total and domain scores differed significantly by PCL-R level, except for the cognitive domain (see Table 2), although pairwise comparisons indicated that the scores differed significantly specifically comparing those who scored in the first two quartiles (p = .044), thus not at elevated levels of psychopathy. As Figure 1 exemplifies, CAPP scores were diversely spread in relation to PCL-R rated psychopathy level (with both low PCL-scorers rated high on the CAPP and vice versa).

> None of the CAPP domains were significantly correlated to PCL-R total score.
>
> Regarding the TriPM, no significant coefficients were found.

15. Kelley, S. E., Edens, J. F., Donnellan, M. B., Mowle, E. N., & Sörman, K. (2018). Self- and informant perceptions of psychopathic traits in relation to the triarchic model. *Journal of Personality*, 86, 738–751.

Table 1. Internal consistency values, mean values, standard deviations, and Spearman's correlation matrix

	n		M (SD)	CAPP	A	B	C	D	E	S	PCL-R	F1	F2	F3	F4	TriPM	DIS	BOLD	MEAN
CAPP	82	.954	47.3 (37.7)	–	.809**	.843**	.911**	.890**	.903**	.921**	.103	.289**	.227*	.048	-.004	-.014	.010	.030	-.020
A	78	.876	6.7 (5.5)		–	.634**	.666**	.621**	.806**	.688**	.050	.124	.226*	-.006	-.005	-.096	-.037	-.127	-.038
B	79	.845	7.4 (6.9)			–	.817**	.695**	.671**	.693**	.123	.174	.156	.155	.080	.206	.201	.044	.188
C	78	.581	6.8 (6.8)				–	.779**	.776**	.781**	.109	.195	.220*	.142	.005	.133	.095	.113	.164
D	78	.919	7.5 (8.1)					–	.774**	.904**	.113	.401**	.264*	-.002	-.067	-.144	-.170	.055	-.142
E	79	.877	9.1 (7.1)						–	.841**	.081	.175	.207	.035	.048	-.041	.016	-.044	-.044
S	72	.905	9.0 (9.2)							–	.016	.341**	.195	-.086	-.120	-.146	-.144	-.006	-.149
PCL-R	82	.881	19.8 (8.4)								–	.596**	.655**	.832**	.798**	.620**	.569**	.298**	.529**
F1	82	.712	3.1 (2.1)									–	.416**	.310**	.194**	.153*	.109	.297**	.052
F2	82	.779	4.6 (2.3)										–	.437**	.337**	.236**	.146*	.156*	.255**
F3	82	.739	5.2 (2.7)											–	.691**	.641**	.663**	.138	.571**
F4	82	.837	4.6 (3.1)												–	.684**	.642**	.260**	.598**
TriPM	79	.948	79.6 (29.5)													–	.859**	.466**	.922**
DIS	79	.932	27.4 (15.2)														–	.091	.737**
BOLD	79	.822	33.3 (9.0)															–	.296**
MEAN	79	.945	18.8 (13.9)																–

Note. **Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). *CAPP* CAPP total score, *A* Attachment, *B* Behavior, *C* Cognitive, *D* Dominance, *E* Emotional, *S* Self, *PCL-R* PCL-R total score, *F1* PCL-R Factor 1, *F2* PCL-R Factor 2, *F3* PCL-R Factor 3, *F4* PCL-R Factor 4, *TriPM* TriPM total score, *DIS* TriPM Disinhibition, *BOLD* TriPM Boldness, *MEAN* TriPM Meanness.

Table 2. CAPP levels by levels of PCL-R rated psychopathy, grouped according to quartiles on the PCL-R using one-way independent measurements ANOVA and Kruskal Wallis tests.

PCL-R quartiles	CAPP total		Attachment		Behavior		Cognitive		Dominance		Emotional		Self	
	M (SD)	Mdn (range)	M (SD)	Mdn (range)	M (SD)	Mdn (range)	M (SD)	Mdn (range)	M (SD)	Mdn (range)	M (SD)	Mdn (range)	M (SD)	Mdn (range)
0-12 (n = 21)	35.4 (37.4)	27.0 (1-146)	5.3 (5.2)	4.0 (0-19)	5.4 (6.6)	3.5 (0-22)	4.1 (4.4)	3.0 (0-17)	6.1 (8.6)	3.0 (0-32)	7.3 (7.3)	6.0 (0-23)	6.7 (8.4)	3.0 (0-24)
13-2 (n = 20)	59.3 (41.5)	64.5 (3-126)	8.4 (5.8)	8.0 (0-19)	9.4 (8.3)	11.0 (0-24)	9.0 (6.7)	11.0 (0-21)	9.1 (8.3)	9.0 (0-27)	10.8 (7.5)	11.0 (1-27)	12.2 (9.5)	13.5 (0-31)
22-26 (n = 18)	53.2 (36.5)	47.0 (4-143)	7.7 (6.0)	6.0 (0-21)	7.0 (5.0)	7.0 (1-21)	6.9 (4.3)	7.0 (0-13)	9.9 (9.5)	7.0 (0-34)	10.0 (6.8)	9.5 (1-21)	11.1 (11.1)	6.5 (0-35)
27-40 (n = 23)	43.0 (33.5)	36.1 (0-98)	5.8 (4.9)	5.0 (0-13)	7.9 (7.1)	6.0 (0-22)	7.2 (9.3)	4.0 (0-40)	5.7 (5.5)	5.0 (0-19)	8.5 (7.0)	7.5 (0-22)	6.5 (6.7)	5.0 (0-20)
F(df)	1.66 (3, 78)		1.45 (3, 74)		1.00[a] (3, 41)		2.89[a] (3, 40)		1.35 (3, 74)		.97 (3, 75)		1.98 (3, 68)	
p	.182		.235		.404		.047		.264		.413		.126	
H(df)	5.44 (3)		3.61 (3)		3.66 (3)		7.74 (3)		4.83 (3)		2.99 (3)		4.58 (3)	
p	.142		.307		.300		.052		.184		.393		.205	

Note. [a]Welch's robust test of equality of means

Figure 1. The association of CAPP and PCL-R total score grouped by PCL-R quartile levels.
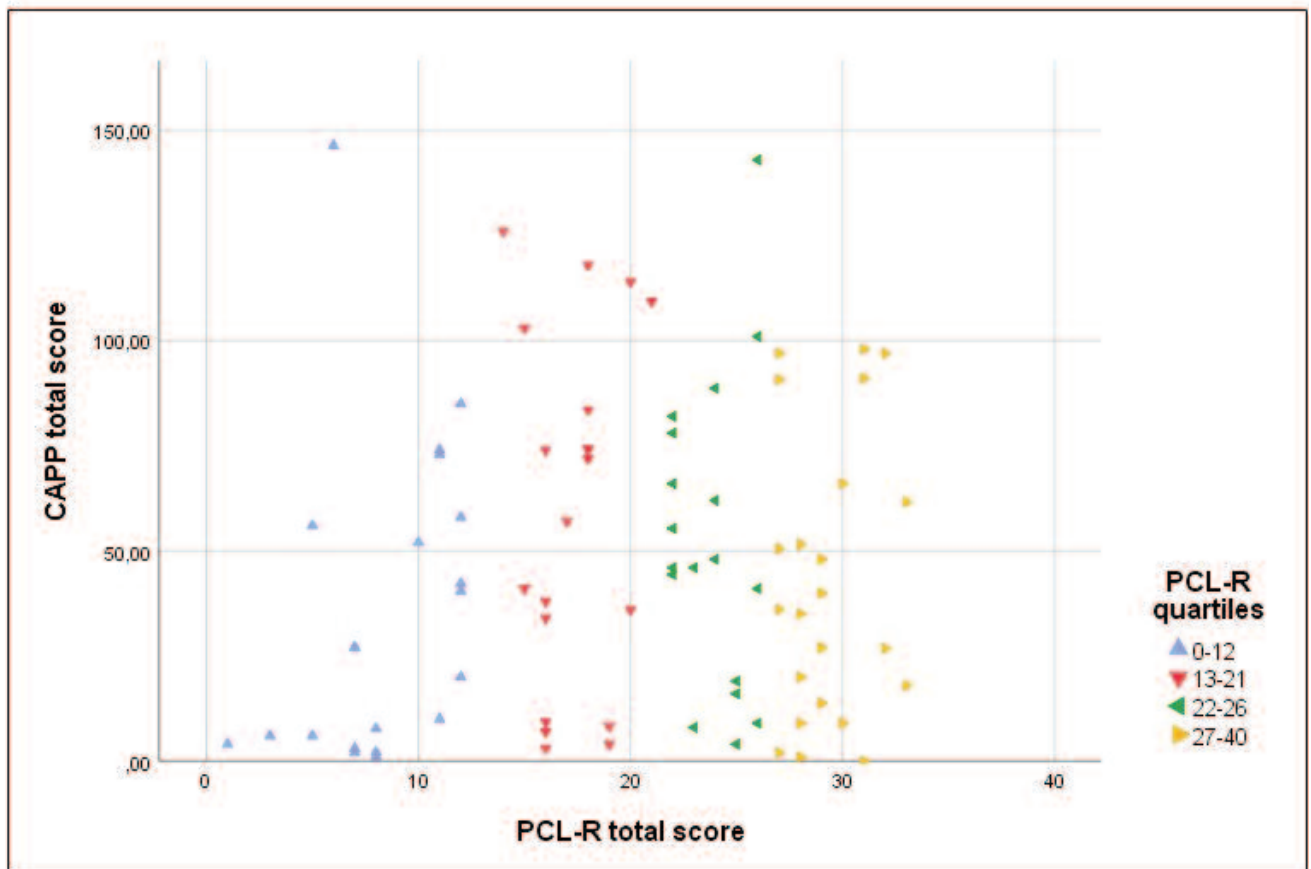
Discussion

In this cross-sectional study we aimed to investigate validity evidence of the CAPP-SRF in a Swedish high security correctional sample. Furthermore, we aimed to investigate its usefulness as a screening measure of psychopathy. The results in the current study were in part contradictory to both the theoretical description of the CAPP model as well as to previous findings. Most importantly, the CAPP-SRF demonstrated to be weakly associated to other measures of psychopathy. Furthermore, previous studies using the CAPP-IRS (i.e. expert rated psychopathy) have yielded notably higher CAPP scores in samples with comparable scores on the PCL-R,[16] reporting mean values of 68.5 (SD = 33.8) respectively 84.4 (SD = 42.0), compared to

a mean value of 47.3 (SD = 37.7) in the current sample. We were surprised to find that, as indicated in Figure 1, the CAPP scores varied at all levels of PCL-R rated psychopathy.

In their study from 2020, Florez and colleagues demonstrated that the associations of the CAPP-IRS and PCL-R were weaker in a subsample of the most high-scoring participants (PCL-R ≥ 30), compared to the total sample, meaning that in the high ends of the psychopathy construct, the CAPP-IRS and the PCL-R might not perform equally. In our sample we found no significant effect of level of PCL-R rated psychopathy on CAPP scores, although median values might point to a trend of comparably lower ratings at elevated levels of psychopathy, possibly indicating that the CAPP-SRF ratings were generally less accurate in capturing

16. Florez, G., Ferrer, V., Garcia, L. S., Crespo, M. R., Perez, M., Saiz, P. A., & Cooke, D. J. (2020). Comparison between the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised and the Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality in a representative sample of Spanish prison inmates. *PLoS One,* 15(2); Florez, G., Ferrer, V., Garcia, L. S., Crespo, M. R., Perez, M., Saiz, P. A., & Cooke, D. J. (2018). Clinician ratings of the Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality (CAPP) in a representative sample of Spanish prison inmates: New validity evidence. *PLoS One,* 13(4), e0195483; Florez, G., Ferrer, V., Garcia, L. S., Crespo, M. R., Perez, M., Saiz, P. A., & Cooke, D. J. (2018). Novel validity evidence of the Psychopathy Checklist- Revised (PCL-R) in a representative sample of Spanish inmates. *Forensic Sci Int*, 291, 175-183; Sandvik, A. M., Hansen, A. L., Kristensen, M. V., Johnsen, B. H., Logan, C., & Thornton, D. (2012). Assessment of Psychopathy: Inter-correlations between Psychopathy Checklist Revised, Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality - Institutional Rating Scale, and Self-Report of Psychopathy Scale-III. *International Journal of Forensic Mental Health*, 11(4), 280-288.

psychopathic traits at high levels of psychopathy. If that is the case it is problematic, as it is generally the high ends of the construct that we want to identify. Nevertheless, the skewed distributions with generally low CAPP-SRF ratings in our sample rather indicate that the ratings did not capture the intended symptoms of psychopathy accurately at any level of psychopathy.

Even though staff rating procedures like the START have been shown to perform well in similar settings,[17] it is important to note that the START is performed by a multidisciplinary team, with mental health experts (i.e. psychologists or psychiatrists) chairing the procedure. Correspondingly, using the CAPP-SRF with a comparable approach, probing and discussing problematic traits and behaviour under the guidance of a mental health expert, might be a more suitable use. Furthermore, adequate training in the instrument, previous experience of participating in evaluations as well as close acquaintance with the assessed individual, might be crucial factors to ensure the quality and accuracy of instruments like the CAPP-SRF. Although participating staff were provided training, it might not have been sufficient for the purpose of the study. Additionally, it needs to be said that observational ratings of immediate violence risk factors are less complex than personality assessments, wherefore it might be difficult to compare an assessment instrument of psychopathy to the START.

> However, the results from the current study raise questions of the possibilities for prison officers to be observant of psychopathic features of people under their supervision

Although the study results were unexpected, and unfortunately provided limited association validity evidence regarding the CAPP model as compared to the PCL-R and the TriPM, they do provide interesting information on staff as observers of psychopathy in particular. Despite the fact that correctional staff perceive the symptoms of the CAPP as indicative of psychopathy,[18] the results from the current study point to that when observing a specific individual, they may not recognize these same traits. If indeed correctional officers are not observant of manifestations of psychopathy, as might be inferred from the results in our study, they could be more vulnerable to unlawful influence, raising the risk of inappropriate relationships. The few available studies exploring inappropriate relationships between correctional staff and people in prison indicate that some of them take a more premeditated and active role in engaging staff in illicit behaviour and rule breaking.[19] Although some may court staff members out of romantic interests, others have exploitative or disruptive purposes, aiming to get staff to bend the rules, bring in contraband items or acting as a go between for criminal contacts.[20] Core features of psychopathy include traits of interpersonal dominance, that is for example being manipulative, deceitful and insincere, which in combination with lack of empathy and remorse heightens the risk of disruptive behaviour such as inappropriate relationships. However, the results from the current study raise questions of the possibilities for prison officers to be observant of psychopathic features of people under their supervision. This is important, as this is to the detriment both of the agency and of persons in prison, possibly leading to disciplinary actions as well as a disruption of rehabilitative measures. As of yet, there are to our knowledge no available studies exploring the role of psychopathy in boundary violations and the engagement in inappropriate relationships and unlawful influence within correctional services.

Limitations

There are some limitations of this study that warrant consideration. Firstly, it would have been optimal to investigate association validity evidence of

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17. O'Shea, L. E., & Dickens, G. L. (2014). Short-Term Assessment of Risk and Treatability (START): systematic review and meta-analysis. *Psychological Assessment*, 26(3), 990-1002.

18. Pauli, M., Essemyr, K., Sörman, K., Howner, K., Gustavsson, P., & Liljeberg, J. (2018). Gendered Expressions of Psychopathy: Correctional Staffs' Perceptions of the CAPP and CABP Models. *International Journal of Forensic Mental Health*, 17(2), 97-110.

19. Worley, R., & Cheeseman, K. A. (2006). Guards as Embezzlers: The Consequences of "Nonshareable Problems" in Prison Settings. *Deviant Behavior*, 27(2), 203-222; Worley, R., Marquart, J. W., & Mullings, J. L. (2003). Prison guard predators: an analysis of inmates who established inappropriate relationships with prison staff, 1995-1998. *Deviant Behavior*, 24(2), 175-194; Worley, R., Tewksbury, R., & Frantzen, D. (2010). Preventing fatal attractions: lessons learned from inmate boundary violators in a southern penitentiary system. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 23(4), 347-360.

20. Worley, R., Marquart, J. W., & Mullings, J. L. (2003). Prison guard predators: an analysis of inmates who established inappropriate relationships with prison staff, 1995-1998. *Deviant Behavior,* 24(2), 175-194.

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the CAPP-SRF in conjunction with the CAPP-IRS. However, the data collection was originally planned as a cross-sectional study with a larger scope and necessitating the use of PCL-R, and we lacked the resources to complement it with expert-ratings of the CAPP model. Furthermore, we unfortunately had a large proportion of missing data specifically for the CAPP ratings. As the staff were approached by the liaison officer, we did not have any way of supervising which raters were approached nor the exact procedure for the ratings. It is possible that participating staff did not see any potential use of the CAPP-SRF and therefore did not have the motivation to perform the ratings. Similarly, an alternative explanation to the lack of convergence of CAPP-SRF to the PCL-R and the TriPM might be that participating staff were not fully engaged.

Even though the current study sample did not differ regarding PCL-R psychopathy level compared to those where CAPP-SRF was not available, the ratings for TriPM (with exception for boldness) as well as for the antisocial facet of the PCL-R were significantly lower, which might suggest a selection effect. However, it does not seem likely that this could explain the lack of concurrence of the CAPP-SRF to other measures of psychopathy, especially seeing as the PCL-R levels of the study sample were in a range comparable to similar correctional samples. It is more plausible that the seeming lack of accuracy in capturing psychopathic traits is explained by the raters' limited observations of and contact with the participants. The CAPP-SRF is devised for use in secure treatment settings (e.g. forensic psychiatric care or prison) with staff who work closely with those rated. As compared to secure treatment units, such as forensic psychiatric care, the staff of regular prison units will typically have less personal interaction with the individuals under their supervision. Therefore, the use of correctional officers to test the instrument might have been suboptimal.

Lastly, as all participants were men with Swedish ethnicity, results are not generalizable to women or to persons with a different ethnicity.

Conclusions

The main finding was that correctional staff ratings using the CAPP-SRF demonstrated a low correspondence to the other measures of psychopathy. The results from the current study provide limited validity evidence for the CAPP model and do not support the use of CAPP-SRF as a screening tool for psychopathy in correctional services. An interesting question for future research is to investigate if the CAPP-SRF might be more useful in the context of for example forensic psychiatric care. Additionally, although somewhat beyond the scope of the current study, the results highlight that the opportunities of staff to be properly observant of psychopathy might be lacking. Further research is warranted regarding management of psychopathic individuals within correctional services, including the exploration of psychopathy as a risk factor for boundary violations and unlawful influence within correctional services.

Prisoner Wellbeing: A synthesis of the evidence base.

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Psychological wellbeing can be defined as the experience of positive psychological states, functioning well within one's environment, personal growth, and positive relationships.[1] While we acknowledge that psychological wellbeing and mental health are closely related, we focus on the former within the current article (and for ease, use the term wellbeing from hereon in).

In the general population, wellbeing has been linked to a range of positive outcomes, including increased productivity at work,[2] better relationships,[3] and better health.[4] It is unsurprising that people in prison in the UK appear to have poorer wellbeing than people in the community.[5] People in prison have limited autonomy, are separated from their family, friends and support networks, and threat and suspicion are often part of day-to-day life. The introduction of restricted prison regimes to control infection during the Covid-19 pandemic exacerbated many of these issues. This limited contact with families/significant others, access to appropriate support networks, and everyday activities that in more normal times would help people to manage stress or otherwise protect their wellbeing. This had an inevitable impact on feelings of isolation, frustration, and stress among many prisoners.[6] This learning mirrored what we experienced and learned about wellbeing during the pandemic for us all.

Promoting and supporting the wellbeing of those within our care has clear links with HMPPS' purpose and priorities, and our duty of care to provide safe and supportive environments. Furthermore, the high prevalence of pre-existing vulnerabilities across the prison population means that it is likely that all prisoners at some stage will experience difficulties maintaining positive wellbeing.

Aims

This article presents some of the key themes in the empirical evidence base relating to the wellbeing of people in custody, focusing primarily on who may be most at risk of wellbeing difficulties, and what the evidence tells us may help support positive wellbeing in prisons.

A literature search was conducted, primarily using EBSCO and Google Scholar, and over 70 global studies were reviewed. Not all papers are cited as we prioritised the more rigorous and most recent. We found some meta-analyses and systematic reviews, but most were smaller-scale studies (quantitative and qualitative). Some studies failed to differentiate between wellbeing, mental health, and resilience. While effort was made to maintain focus upon the concept of wellbeing throughout, this has not always been possible and there are occasions when related concepts are discussed. As wellbeing is influenced by multiple factors, isolating the impact or influence of any one component is difficult.

Who is at greatest risk of poor wellbeing?

Individual, custodial, situational, and environmental factors have all been identified as influencing wellbeing in custody. Whilst poor wellbeing can be experienced by anyone in prison, there is good evidence to suggest some groups of

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1. New Economics Foundation (2011). Five Ways to Wellbeing. New applications, new ways of thinking. www.neweconmics.org
2. Losada, M., & Heaphy, E. (2004). The role of positivity and connectivity in the performance of business teams: A nonlinear dynamics model. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 47, 740-765.
3. Diener, E., & Seligman, M. (2002). Very happy people. *Psychological Science*, 13, 81-84.
4. Lyubomirsky, S., King, L., & Diener, E. (2005). The benefits of frequent positive affect: Does happiness lead to success? *Psychological Bulletin,* 131, 803-855.
5. Tweed, E. J., Gounari, X., & Graham, L. (2019). Mental wellbeing among people in prison in Scotland: an analysis of repeat cross-sectional surveys. *Journal of Public Health*, 43(2), 188-195.
6. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons. (2021). What happens to prisoners in a pandemic: A thematic review.

people may experience greater difficulties. These include people: [7]

- ❑ With pre-existing vulnerabilities, such as mental health difficulties, those with experience of being in care, a lack of family support and/or experience of trauma and adversity,
- ❑ In the early days of prison or at times of transition,
- ❑ On remand,
- ❑ Who are sentenced to long and indeterminate sentences,
- ❑ Who are recalled to prison,
- ❑ Held in segregation,
- ❑ Who take drugs in prison,
- ❑ Who experience insomnia,
- ❑ Who are parents, and
- ❑ Those experiencing discrimination (such as those from marginalised racial groups).

Certain factors associated with the prison environment can particularly impact on wellbeing also. While there is some evidence that cell-sharing with someone where there's a positive relationship can be good for wellbeing, most of the evidence would suggest that cell-sharing has a negative impact on wellbeing.[8] Living in close proximity with people withdrawing from drugs and/or suffering from severe mental health problems, and lack of privacy, continual noise and antisocial behaviour, have all been linked with emotional and psychological instability.[9]

Prison crowding increases pressure on staff, resulting in greater lengths of time people spend in their cells. This can lead to lack of mental and social stimulation, and isolation and loss of opportunities for meaningful activities such as education and work.[10] Poor prison conditions such as dirt, litter, clutter, fire risks, noise, lack of privacy and sanitation supplies have also been shown shown to have a negative impact on the mental and/ or physical health of prisoners.[11]

What helps to support people's wellbeing?

Research evidence suggests a range of ways in which the wellbeing of prisoners can be supported. Although at times the prison-specific research is limited, evidence suggests what contributes to prisoners' wellbeing parallels closely with what we know about wellbeing in general. The New Economics Foundation reviewed the evidence and identified the 'Five Ways to Wellbeing',[12] which have been adopted by the mental health charity MIND. From the evidence reviewed for the current article, these also appear relevant for the promotion of positive wellbeing among prisoners. An additional sixth 'Way to Wellbeing' has been identified as part of the current review, which accounts for some of the unique prison-specific factors identified in the literature.

While there is inevitably some cross-over between these 'Six Ways to Wellbeing', what follows is an outline of the evidence for each in supporting the wellbeing of people in prison.

1. Connect with others

Social relationships act as a buffer against mental ill health. Feeling valued, having support from peers and contact with loved ones can all make a difference to prisoner wellbeing.

Staff. Positive social interactions between prisoners and staff can be beneficial. Activities such as working collaboratively on a project can help build trusting working relationships.[13] Perceptions of fair treatment from staff (known as procedural justice) can also have a significant impact on prisoner's wellbeing.

7.   For example, Ford, K. Bellis, M. A., Hughes, K., Barton, E. R., & Newbury, A. (2020). Adverse childhood experiences: a retrospective study to understand their associations with lifetime mental health diagnosis, self-harm or suicide attempt, and current low mental wellbeing in a male Welsh prison population. *Health and Justice,* 8(13); Tweed, E. J., Gounari, X., & Graham, L. (2019). Mental wellbeing among people in prison in Scotland: an analysis of repeat cross-sectional surveys. *Journal of Public Health*, 43(2), 188-195; Addicott, P. (2012). 'Frustrations within': Imprisonment for public protection (IPP). *Prison Service Journal*, 201, 24–30; Harris, M., Edgar, K., Webster, R. (2020). 'I'm always working on eggshells, and there's no chance of me ever being free': The mental health implications of Imprisonment for Public Protection in the community and post-recall. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 30, 331-340; Bloem, O., Bulten, E., & Verkes, R-J. (2019). Changes in subjective well-being of prisoners on remand. *International Journal of Prisoner Health*, 15(2), 181-191; Harner H.M. & Riley S. (2012). The impact of incarceration on women's mental health: responses from women in a maximum security prison. *Qualitative Health Research* 23, 26–42.
8.   Cox., V., Paulus, P., & McCain, G. (1984). Prison crowding research. The relevance of prison housing standards and a general approach regarding housing phenomena. *American Psychologist,* 39, 1148-1160.
9.   Goomany, A., & Dickineson, T. (2015). The influence of prison climate on the mental health of adult prisoners: a literature review. *Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing*, 22, 413-422.
10. Walker, M., Illingworth, C., Canning, A., Garner, E., Woolley, J., Taylor, P., & Amos, T. (2013). Changes in mental state associated with prison environments: a systematic review. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*, 129, 427-436.
11. Moran, D., Jones, P. I., Jordaan, J. A., & Porter, A. E. (2020). Does Nature Contact in Prison Improve Well Being? Mapping Land Cover to Identify the Effect of Greenspace on Self-Harm and Violence in Prisons in England and Wales. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 111(6), 1779-1795.
12. See footnote 1: www.neweconmics.org
13. For example, Farrier, A., Baybutt, M., & Dooris, M. (2019). Mental health and wellbeing benefits from a prisons horticultural programme. *International Journal of Prisoner Health*, 15(1), 91-104.

This is when people feel decisions made about them are unbiased, are driven by trustworthy motives, done respectfully, and involve being genuinely listened to. Studies from several countries, including England and Wales, have demonstrated that poorer perceptions of procedural justice are associated with poorer wellbeing among prisoners. Trusting, supportive relationships with staff can influence how well a prisoner may cope with their situation, and the strains of imprisonment.[14]

Peers.[15] In prison, sharing stories and experiences can help to develop feelings of belonging and relatedness to others. Spending time with supportive peers helps some prisoners feel better protected, supported, and in control of their environment, contributing to reduced feelings of distress. A collaborative culture, working together on a project or developing a skill as part of a group, can provide ways for prisoners to feel connected with their peers. Peer-delivered interventions can also help to increase levels of confidence and self-worth amongst the peer workers who deliver the activities.[16] There is less evidence yet available on the potential positive effects of receiving peer support.

Contact with family and significant others.[17] There is a body of evidence that contact with family and significant others brings benefits for people in prison. In a recent systematic review, prison visits from family were found to reduce depressive symptoms in women and young people in custody but there has been less research exploring this among adult males. Research has also found that visits from parents are key for the wellbeing of young people in custody, regardless of the quality of the parent-child relationship prior to imprisonment. Wellbeing can also be impacted by the relationship between prison staff and those visiting the prisoner. For some people, visiting brings joy at being reunited with family and friends, but for others visiting causes stress and anxiety. This is often because of the travelling required for visitors, prison rules, practical difficulties, or the visit being an unhappy one. However, there is some evidence that the visiting experience can feel less stressful, simply by treating visitors with respect and fairness, and by explaining why certain security procedures are necessary. Visiting rooms that are designed with normality in mind are also better environments, especially for children who are visiting prisons.

2. Be physically active

Taking part in regular physical activity can help to promote wellbeing, and lower levels of depression and anxiety.[18] Such activities can also encourage social interactions.

> A common coping strategy identified by prisoners is exercising and going to the gym to help improve mood, health, and alleviate anxiety.

A common coping strategy identified by prisoners is exercising and going to the gym to help improve mood, health, and alleviate anxiety. A 2018 review of sport in justice settings highlighted the importance of prisoner physical activity on wellbeing.[19] Whilst several studies have explored these links, the rigour of the studies vary. Despite this, there is evidence that increased levels of exercise among men and women in prison is associated with positive psychological benefits, such as decreased levels of hopelessness.

3. Take notice of the present moment

Taking notice of the present moment can strengthen and broaden awareness of how the simple things can bring joy.

14. For example, Beijersbergen, K. A., Dirkzwager, A. J. E., Eichelsheim, V. I., Van Der Lann, P. H., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2014). Procedural justice and prisoners' mental health problems: a longitudinal study. *Criminal Behavior and Mental Health*, 24, 100-112.

15. For example, Woodall, J., South, J., Dixey, R., De Viggiani, N., & Penson, W. (2015). Expert views of peer-based interventions for prisoner health. *International Journal of Prisoner Health*, 11(2), 87-97; Hanley, N., Marchetti, E. (2020). Dreaming Inside: An evaluation of a creative writing program for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men in prison. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology,* 53(2), 285–302; Oliffe, J. L., Hanberg, D., Hannan-Leith, M.N., Bergen, C., & Martin, R.E. (2018). "Do You Want to Go Forward or Do You Want to Go Under?" Men's Mental Health in and Out of Prison. *American Journal of Men's Health*, 12(5), 1235–1246.

16. Woodall, J., South, J., Dixey, R., De Viggiani, N., & Penson, W. (2015). Expert views of peer-based interventions for prisoner health. *International Journal of Prisoner Health*, 11(2), 87-97.

17. For example, Ministry of Justice. (2017). The importance of strengthening prisoners' family ties to prevent reoffending and reduce intergenerational crime; De Claire, K., & Dixon, L. (2017). The effects of prison visits from family members on prisoners' wellbeing, prison rule breaking, and recidivism: A review of research since 1991. *Trauma, Violence & Abuse,* 18, 185-199; Brunton-Smith, I., & McCarthy, D.J. (2017). The effects of prisoner attachment to family on re-entry outcomes: A longitudinal assessment. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 57, 463–482.

18. For example, Battaglia, C., Di Cagno, A., Fiorilli, G., Giombini, A., Borrione, P., Baralla, F., Marchetti, M., & Pigozzi, F. (2015). Participation in a 9-month selected physical exercise programme enhances psychological well-being in a prison population, *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health,* 25, 343-354.

19. Meek, R. (2018). A Sporting Chance. An Independent Review of Sport in Youth and Adult Prisons. Ministry of Justice.

Yoga/ mindfulness/ meditation.[20] Mindfulness aims to develop a non-judgemental attitude towards one's thoughts, feelings, and sensations as they occur. Two systematic reviews and one meta-analysis found that mindfulness and yoga in prison settings helped reduce some of the symptoms of depression and psychological distress and improved relaxation capacity, self-esteem, and optimism. More recent prison-based studies have suggested that mindfulness may help with sleep quality and insomnia, and other physical symptoms associated with anxiety. Mindfulness training has been found to be significantly more effective for those serving longer sentences. The meta-analysis highlighted how the (modest) positive effect on psychological wellbeing was consistent across prison samples in a broad range of countries. The range of institutional settings included prisons for young adults, women, men, and substance misuse facilities. This means we can be reasonably confident about the robustness of this evidence.

Green space.[21] There is some evidence that stress, social connection, and health outcomes are related to access to green space and nature and may be linked to:

❑ Less agitation and increased empathy
❑ Increased social opportunities
❑ Community connections and cohesiveness
❑ Increased opportunity for exercise
❑ Lower blood pressure and anxiety
❑ Reduction in self-harm

As structured interventions involving greenspace often also provide an increased opportunity for social contact, exercise and learning new skills, it is difficult to identify whether the benefits (and the degree of these) is attributable to the specific 'green' element of the activities.

> Mindfulness training has been found to be significantly more effective for those serving longer sentences.

4. Keep learning

Continued learning through life encourages self-esteem and encourages a more active social life.

Research into psychological and therapeutic interventions for prisoners have generally focused on outcomes such as recidivism, rather than wellbeing. Therapies for prisoners with mental health problems are also relatively common in the literature. The limited number of general wellbeing studies we identified were small-scale, of variable quality and with varying follow-up periods, and included different psychological and therapeutic approaches. Despite this, some suggest promising benefits. For example, there is some evidence that group-based cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT)[22] and positive psychological interventions (PPI)[23] may reduce distress and improve resilience and wellbeing.[24] Despite these promising findings, there is currently insufficient evidence to draw firm conclusions about the effectiveness of any particular approaches on improving wellbeing (and for whom, when and over what time period) in prison settings specifically.

The evidence linking arts, drama, and creativity with prisoner wellbeing is still developing and we were only able to find a few studies in our search. One of the most consistent self-reported findings from studies across numerous disciplines is an increase in self-worth and confidence as a consequence to taking part in these activities.[25] Another potential benefit is that they provide people with alternative ways of expressing their feelings.[26] One study in China found that a drawing

20. For example, Shonin, E., Van Gordon, W., Slade, K., & Griffiths, M. D. (2013). Mindfulness and other Buddhist-derived interventions in correctional settings: a systematic review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 18, 365-372; Derlic, D. (2020). A Systematic Review of Literature: Alternative Offender Rehabilitation—Prison Yoga, Mindfulness, and Meditation. *Journal of Correctional Health Care,* 26(4), 361-375; Auty, K.M., Cope, A., Liebling, A. (2017). A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis of Yoga and Mindfulness Meditation in Prison: Effects on Psychological Well-Being and Behavioural Functioning. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 61(6), 689–710.
21. For example, Farrier, A., Baybutt, M. and Dooris, M. (2019) Mental Health and Wellbeing Benefits from a Prisons Horticultural Programme. *International Journal of Prisoner Health, 15*(1), 91-104.
22. Cognitive behavioural therapy is a talking therapy that can help you manage your problems by changing the way you think and behave.
23. Positive psychological interventions include tools and strategies focusing on increasing happiness, wellbeing, and positive cognitions and emotions through positive thoughts and emotions.
24. For example, Mak, V.W.M., Chan, C.K.Y. (2018). Effects of cognitive-behavioural therapy (CBT) and positive psychological intervention (PPI) on female offenders with psychological distress in Hong Kong. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health,* 28, 158–173.
25. Rosenbaum, J.L. (2019). Art and Mindfulness Behind Bars. The Prison Journal, Vol. 99(4) 3S–13S.
26. Testoni, I., Bonelli, B., Biancalani, G., Zuliani, L., Nava, F.A. (2020). Psychodrama in attenuated custody prison-based treatment of substance dependence: The promotion of changes in wellbeing, spontaneity, perceived self-efficacy, and alexithymia. *The Arts in Psychotherapy* 68. 101650.

therapy helped prisoners to manage their anxiety as they got closer to release.[27] Another focused on a creative writing programme for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander prisoners in Australia;[28] participants reported improvements in their self-confidence, and they placed particular value on the storytelling and connections to others.

There is limited empirical evidence available on music-related activities in prisons, but what there is, suggests music may be a route through which to engage people in out-of-cell activities, which may in turn have a positive effect on wellbeing.[29] How music may contribute to improved wellbeing remains unclear and further research is needed. For example, it could act as a distraction, helping prisoners to focus on something soothing, positive, and helping them to detach. It could also facilitate prisoners being able to connect with others, express their feelings or provide them with opportunities to feel a sense of accomplishment/mastery over a new skill.

There is some evidence that reading and access to prison libraries may support positive wellbeing among people in prison also. One Australian study found that reading and using the library helped some to experience time as "a positive aspect of prison life, rather than a source of frustration and boredom".[30] Books can also offer prisoners access to information on topics such as legal aid, health, skill acquisition, and generally as a way to increase awareness and knowledge, all of which can help them enhance their own wellbeing.[31]

The link between sleep and wellbeing is well established. The National Institute for Health and Care Excellence recommend treating short-term insomnia with non-pharmacological interventions followed, if necessary, by a short course of medication.[32] However, recommended non-pharmacological approaches (e.g., CBT) are not commonly provided in prisons to address insomnia,[33] and providing opportunities to support prisoners to learn strategies to manage such symptoms warrants further research attention.

> Books can also offer prisoners access to information on topics such as legal aid, health, skill acquisition, and generally as a way to increase awareness and knowledge, all of which can help them enhance their own wellbeing.

5. Give

Participating in social and community life, an interest in helping others, and acts of kindness come under the principle of 'give'.

Playing a role in our community, or having someone ask us for help, can provide us with a sense that we matter. 'Do good be good' activities enable people to help others. In a prison setting this can include formal roles (such as being a listener, a peer mentor, wing representative or prison council member) or less formal roles (such as helping others get through their sentence, helping to create a better physical environment, undertaking charity work and so on). Research suggests that volunteer work improves health and wellbeing when it makes us feel like we matter, and that it works best for those who may not ordinarily get opportunities to experience this.[34]

6. Build

Building and promoting opportunities for prisoners to develop optimism, hope, meaning, and a sense of

27. Yu, Z.Y., Ming, C.Y., Yue, M. Li, J.H., Ling, L. (2016). House- tree- person drawing therapy as an intervention for prisoners' pre-release anxiety. *Social Behaviour and Personality*, 44(6), 987–1004.
28. Hanley, N., Marchetti, E. (2020). Dreaming Inside: An evaluation of a creative writing program for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men in prison. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 53(2), 285–302.
29. Bensimon, M., Einat, T., Gilboa, A. (2015). The Impact of Relaxing Music on Prisoners' Levels of Anxiety and Anger. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 59(4), 406–423.
30. Garner, J. (2020). Experiencing time in prison: the influence of books, libraries and reading. Journal of Documentation, 76(5), 1033-1050.
31. Emasealu, H.U., Popoola, S.O. (2016). Information needs and the enhancement of the psychological wellbeing of Nigerian prison inmates. *Library Philosophy and Practice (e-journal)*. 1365. *http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/libphilprac/1365*
32. NICE. (2021). Managing short-term insomnia (less than 3 months duration) *https://cks.nice.org.uk/topics/insomnia/management/managing-short-term-insomnia-less-3-months/*
33. Dewa, L.H., Hassan, L., Shaw, J.J., Senior, J. (2018). Design of a treatment pathway for insomnia in prison settings in England: a modified Delphi study. *British Medical Journal Open*, 8(8), e022406.
34. Perrin, C., Blagden, N., Winder, B., Dillon, G. (2018). "It's Sort of Reaffirmed to Me That I'm Not a Monster, I'm Not a Terrible Person": Sex Offenders' Movements Toward Desistance via Peer-Support Roles in Prison. *Sexual Abuse*, 3(7).

autonomy. Working to develop and maintain the physical environment to help foster safety, decency, and rehabilitation.

Autonomy was a theme across a number of the studies we reviewed related to prisoner wellbeing. Staff providing opportunities and allowing prisoners a degree of choice and control (where feasible) appears to enhance wellbeing. In addition to this, we know that mastery (having a sense of control, being proactive, capable, or able to achieve/ develop skills) has also been linked to psychological wellbeing.[35] There is some evidence that when prisoners have a sense of meaning, this has a positive effect on wellbeing, optimism, and resilience.[36][37]

Being able to engage in activities and manage the passing of time is also related to wellbeing in prison settings. Activities that appear to assist with this included reading and using the prison library,[38] structuring routines around available activities (e.g., meals, listening to music, cell workouts), using television guides to plan schedules, and watching television.[39] Having a routine can go beyond the activities themselves and appears to help people make time pass more easily.[40]

Comfort and safety are also related to positive wellbeing within the prison environment. One study identified how young adult men (18-21 year olds) would seek and create spaces for comfort within the prison to get a break from the culture of power and status. By keeping their cell clean and tidy, they tried to create a 'homely' positive environment.[41]

While research exploring animal interventions is limited in quality and quantity, some suggests that animal interventions have the potential to improve psychological wellbeing for people in prison. Animal therapies have been shown to have a calming influence, helping people in prison to better manage stress, preventing feelings of loneliness, and having a positive impact on mood and behaviour.[42]

We know from the evidence on rehabilitative prison cultures that aspects of the physical environment can have an impact on attitudes and behaviour in prisons.[43] Having effective and efficient systems in place to develop and maintain the physical environment is therefore important to support wellbeing.

Noise is an important sensory aspect of prison life, which prisoners have little control over. Whilst we were unable to find any studies specifically about noise and psychological health in prisons, there is research in the wider community which has explored the negative impact environmental noise can have on wellbeing.[44] For those who may have heightened sensitivity to sensory stimulation such as noise, finding ways of reducing loud sounds in the prison environment, particularly at night when people are sleeping, is likely to be beneficial for wellbeing.

Implications

The evidence reviewed as part of the current article highlights the parallels between what is important for prisoners' wellbeing and what we know about wellbeing in general. This suggests that the use, and promotion, of the well-established Five Ways to Wellbeing within prisons is of value, plus our sixth way for prison settings. It provides a means of summarising what the evidence suggests helps to support people's wellbeing in prison and the addition of the 'build' category accounts for the prison-specific factors which have emerged from this review. A summary of approaches and activities that the evidence suggests may be most promising for promoting and protecting wellbeing are shown in the infographic below.

35. Gadalla, T.M. (2009). Determinants, correlates and mediators of psychological distress: A longitudinal study. *Social Science and Medicine*, 68(12), 2199-2205.

36. Bartholomaeus, J., Strelan, P. (2021). The empowering function of the belief in a just world for the self in mental health: A comparison of prisoners and non-prisoners. *Personality and Individual Differences* 179, 110900.

37. Oliffe, J.L., Hanberg, D., Hannan-Leith, M.N., Bergen, C., Martin, R.E. (2018). "Do You Want to Go Forward or Do You Want to Go Under?" Men's Mental Health in and Out of Prison. *American Journal of Men's Health Vol. 12*(5), 1235–1246.

38. See footnote 30: Garner, J. (2020).

39. Mehay, A., Meek, R., Ogden, J. (2019). "I try and make my cell a positive place": Tactics for mitigating risks to health and wellbeing in a young offender institution. *Health and Place, 57*, 54-60.

40. For example, Johnsen & Berg Johansen. (2019). Serving time: Organisation and the affective dimension of time. *Organization*, 26(1), 3-19.

41. See footnote 39: Mehay, A. et al (2019).

42. For example, Mercer, J., Gibson, K., & Clayton, D. (2015). The therapeutic potential of a prison-based animal programme in the UK. *Journal of Forensic Practice*, 17(1), 43-54.

43. Mann, R., Fitzalan Howard, F., Tew, J. (2018). What is a rehabilitative prison culture? *Prison Service Journal, 235,* 3-9.

44. Clark, C., Crumpler, C., Notely, H. (2020). Evidence for Environmental Noise Effects on Health for the United Kingdom Policy Context: A Systematic Review of the Effects of Environmental Noise on Mental Health, Wellbeing, Quality of Life, Cancer, Dementia, Birth, Reproductive Outcomes, and Cognition. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17, 393.

What does the evidence suggest can help prisoner wellbeing?

Connect

- Encourage and **enable trusting, supportive relationships** with staff.
- Ensure that processes and decision making are conducted in a **fair** and **just** way (applying principles of **procedural justice**).
- Provide prisoners serving longer sentences with the **opportunity to talk** about their life and sentence, at a stage that works for them.
- Encourage staff to engage well with **prisoners' families** / support network - in a respectful and procedurally just way.
- Enable **informal support networks** between prisoners.
- Provide lots of **contact with family and friends** and support network, ensuring that the use of technology does not replace face-to-face contact and is accessible, good quality, provides privacy and is affordable.
- Engage prisoners in **out of cell** music activities.
- Develop and **maximise green space** within prisons and prisoners' access to it.

Active

- Provide lots of opportunity for different forms **of exercise** and access to the gym.
- Encourage / provide a **healthy diet**.
- Develop and maximise **green space** within prisons and prisoners' access to it.
- Ensure that changes to regimes are **communicated to prisoners** as soon as possible in a procedurally just way, to provide them with an opportunity to plan how they will manage additional time in their cells.
- Provide books and televisions within cells to assist prisoners **manage the passing of time.**
- Enable and encourage **access to the prison library**.

Take notice

- Encourage people in prison to try **mindfulness, meditation** and **yoga**.
- Engage prisoners in **out of cell music** activities.
- Consider interventions using **animals** for those who may need that form of support.
- Provide **access to green space**.

Keep learning

- Provide access to **cognitive-behavioural therapy** (CBT).
- Provide access to **mindfulness-based therapies**.
- Provide access to positive **psychological intervention**.
- Encourage and enable **mindfulness, meditation and yoga**.
- Encourage and enable access to the **prison library**.
- Provide access to **creative activities**.
- **Support** prisoners experiencing insomnia.

Give

- Encourage participation in **social and community life.** Foster an interest in helping others, and encourage and reinforce **acts of kindness**.
- Enable and provide the right support to **peer** delivered interventions.
- Encourage and support activities prisoners can **do good, be good**.

Build

- Build opportunities to help develop **optimism, hope and meaning**, through **meaningful roles**, activities and evidence-based interventions.
- Build in ways to help **manage the passing of time**.
- Provide opportunities where prisoners can have **some control** and **make decisions** for themselves, to help foster and create a sense of autonomy.
- Foster **a safe clean and decent prison environment**, where prisoners are encouraged to play a role in creating and maintains that environment and professional building maintenance processes are timely, efficient and effective

Conclusion

Promoting and supporting the wellbeing of people in prison has clear links with HMPPS' purpose and priorities, and the duty of care to provide safe and supportive environments. The high prevalence of pre-existing vulnerabilities across the prison population and the likelihood that all prisoners at some stage will experience challenges to their wellbeing, means that this is an area that needs focus and attention.

There is much that we do not know about prisoner wellbeing and further robust research is needed in this area. In particular, we need to better understand the effects of different aspects of prison life, and the longer-term impact of interventions and activities designed to support prisoner wellbeing. We also need to understand when interventions need to take place and who may be best suited to which type of intervention. More research is required to explicitly explore the relationship between protected characteristics and prisoner wellbeing.

As a result of this review, the HMPPS Evidence-Based Practice team have joined with the Health and Social Care Partnerships to work with National Prison Radio as part of a Spring 2023 prisoner wellbeing campaign. The Six Ways to Prisoner Wellbeing principles have been used to structure 16 short radio messages created with and for prisoners using soundscape and music to share what the evidence suggests can help support their wellbeing. There is a plan to evaluate prisoners' responses to the campaign in Summer 2023.

What is Ethical Prison Architecture? An Exploration of Prison Design and Wellbeing

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Prison design requires urgent attention to ensure that prison environments support the wellbeing of those who live in, work in, and visit them. A prison's design can either support or undermine the prison's overarching aims. Architecture can be an effective vehicle for minimizing pains of incarceration, improving wellbeing, and eventually realizing decarceration.[1] In fact, initial prison designs were seen as progress from more inhumane forms of punishment. This article focuses on the understudied link between individual features of prison environments and their impact on lived experiences within prison.

We introduce the term 'ethical prison architecture' to operationalize the underexplored link between the physical prison environment and the wellbeing of residents and staff. This article aims to identify the most relevant aspects of prison design that existing literature has linked to wellbeing (including mental health, physical health, social health, and safety). In a recent systematic literature review we identified the design domains that are important to the 'ethical architecture' of prison buildings.[2] This has informed the development of a survey that comprehensively assesses the prison environment, which can be used by researchers and professionals. In this contribution, we present the specific design features that are essential to the concept of 'ethical prison architecture' and how they relate to wellbeing, based on prior research. Our survey can be consulted for the operationalization of these domains into self-report items and scales.[3]

Why Prison Architecture Matters

The quality of any built environment sends implicit messages to those who interact with it. A prison's design conveys messages about how the Prison Service, and society at large, value the individuals for which it is designed: staff and residents.[4] Societal attitudes about the correctional profession may also be interpreted through the institution's design. For example, a prison's layout can allude to how much engagement is expected of correctional officers with those incarcerated. Whether or not a facility has a staff breakroom also sends messages associated with the role. Stepping back even further, prison designs reflect how society chooses to respond to those caught for breaking socially constructed laws.

A broader question underpinning this issue is whether prisons can ever be ethical. There is an ongoing debate regarding the ethical role of the architect in prison design, whether a building itself can have inhumane values, or if ethical agency comes from the architect's practice of architecture and not the result.[5] The American Institute of Architects (AIA) has been criticized for not taking a stronger position to determine the ethical responsibilities of the architect and thus miss the opportunity to support efforts of moral and ethical progress in the field. While scholars and practitioners should continue these debates, prison designs grounded in wellbeing can uniquely contribute to swift harm reduction efforts within existing prison walls.

Prison architecture has historically been used as a tool for achieving goals of punishment.[6] London's

1. Jewkes, Y. (2018). Just design: Healthy prisons and the architecture of hope. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology,* 51(3), 319–338.
2. Moran, D., Jewkes, Y., & Lorne, C. (2019). Designing for imprisonment: Architectural ethics and prison design. *Architecture Philosophy*, 4(1), 67-81.
3. Engstrom, K. V. (2023). Prison Architecture Assessment Tool. Zenodo. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7582025
4. St. John, V. J. (2020). Placial justice: Restoring rehabilitation and correctional legitimacy through architectural design. SAGE *Open*, 10(2). 1-9.
5. See footnote 2: Moran, D., Jewkes, Y., Lorne, C. (2019).
6. Johnston, N. B. (2000). *Forms of constraint: A history of prison architecture.* Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press

Newgate Prison, rebuilt in 1769, prioritized confinement with a simple design separating the building into two rectangular sections which showed little regard for the safety of those kept together inside.[7] Jeremy Bentham famously introduced the panopticon prison design at the end of the 18th century. The design was believed to maximize security and control by vertically stacking cells so confined individuals were under constant visual surveillance from a centralized guard station. During the 19th and 20th centuries, prison designs began to reflect penal aims beyond confinement and supervision, like treatment and reintegration, so telephone pole plans and campus-style prisons were constructed, as they were said to be more effective for rehabilitation. While different types of prison design have received ongoing attention, the actual effect of the design on inhabitants has still received remarkably little academic attention.[8]

Previous research occasionally draws connections between the environment and lived experience. Research from healthcare and therapeutic settings suggests that institutional spaces can be designed not just to mitigate harm, but to support wellbeing. When a building's design facilitates social interaction, it has been found to reduce stress and encourage wellness.[9] Institutional spaces with views of nature have been found to reduce heart rates and create a sense of healing.[10,11] The physical conditions within prisons have been connected to rates of health care utilization and perceptions of safety.[12,13]

Prison architecture has also been linked to prison climate, which encompasses the perceived quality of prison conditions.[14,15] It includes perceptions of autonomy, safety and order, in-prison activities, relationships with other incarcerated people and staff, connection to the outside world, and facilities.[16] Although studies have identified important relationships between prison architecture and prison climate, it is not comprehensively or consistently measured, and researchers have called for further academic attention to better understand this link.[17,18,19,20] From previous literature on prison design, prison climate, and wellbeing, it is clear that many aspects of a prison's physical environment, or 'what has usually been regarded as background noise,' might have a significant effect on behavior, wellbeing, and prison climate.[21]

What is Ethical Prison Architecture?

We take ethical prison architecture to be the prison design features that are linked to the wellbeing of the building users. Our systematic literature review identified 16 domains of ethical architecture (discussed below), which were linked to three latent theoretical constructs: humane treatment, autonomy, and stimuli.[22] 'Humane

> Prison architecture has also been linked to prison climate, which encompasses the perceived quality of prison conditions.

7.   Wener, R. E. (2012). *The environmental psychology of prisons and jails: creating humane spaces in secure settings*. Cambridge University Press.
8.   Nadel, M., & Mears, D. (2018). Building with no end in sight: The theory and effects of prison architecture. *Corrections*, 5:3, 188-205.
9.   Ulrich, R. S. (1991). Effects of interior design on wellness: Theory and recent scientific research. *Journal of Health Care Interior Design*, 3, 97-109.
10. Long, C. G., Anagnostakis, K., Fox, E., Silaule, P., Somers, J., West, R., & Webster, A. (2011). Social climate along the pathway of care in women's secure mental health service. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 21(3), 202–214.
11. Ulrich, R. S. (1984). View through a window may influence recovery from surgery. *Science*, 224: 420- 421.
12. Moore, E.O. (1981). A prison environment's effect on health care service demands. *Journal of Environmental Systems*, 11, 17-34.
13. Ross, M. W., Liebling, A., & Tait, S. (2011). The relationships of prison climate to health service in correctional environments: Inmate health care measurement, satisfaction and access in prisons. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 50, 262-274.
14. Beijersbergen, K. A., Dirkzwager, A. J. E., van der Laan, P. H., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2016). A social building? Prison architecture and staff–prisoner relationships. *Crime & Delinquency*, 62(7), 843–874.
15. Van Ginneken, E. F. J. C., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2020). Climate consensus: A multilevel study testing assumptions about prison climate. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 69.
16. Van Ginneken, E. F. J. C., Palmen, H., Bosma, A. Q., Nieuwbeerta, P., & Berghuis, M. (2018). The life in custody study: The quality of prison life in Dutch prison regimes. *Journal of Criminological Research, Policy and Practice*, 4(4), 253-268.
17. Canter, D. (1987). Implications for "new generation" prisons of existing psychological research into prison design and use. In Bottoms A. et Light R. (dir.), *Problems of Long-Term Imprisonment*, Aldershot: Gower.
18. Moran, D., & Jewkes, Y. (2015). Linking the carceral and the punitive state: A review of research on prison architecture, design, technology and the lived experience of carceral space. *Annales de Géographie*, 702–703(2), 163-184.
19. Davison, R. L. (1931). Prison architecture. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 157(1), 33-39.
20. Houston, J. G., Gibbons, D. C., & Jones, J. F. (1988). Physical environment and jail social climate. *Crime & Delinquency*, 34(4): 449-466.
21. Ross, M. W., Diamond, P. M., Liebling, A. & Saylor, W. G. (2008). Measurement of prison social climate: A comparison of an inmate measure in England and the USA. *Punishment & Society*, 10(4), 447-474; see p. 453.
22. Engstrom, K. V., & van Ginneken, E. F. J. C. (2022). Ethical Prison Architecture: A Systematic Literature Review of Prison Design Features Related to Wellbeing. *Space and Culture*, 25(3), 479–503.

treatment' is most central to the ethical architecture concept, as it involves designs related to a healthy and habitable environment, to sufficient space and privacy, and to human dignity. All 16 domains within the ethical architecture concept were found to be indicators of humane treatment. 'Autonomy' refers to the ability to make some choices to customize personal space or to change environmental conditions. Roughly half of the ethical architecture domains were found to influence autonomy. Indeed, spatial autonomy has been identified as an important theoretical notion linking prison building features with wellbeing and even rehabilitation.[23] The construct 'stimuli' includes negative and uncontrollable prison conditions, like unwanted noise or constant light, as well as meaningful and positive stimuli like views of nature or access to sunlight. Two thirds of the design domains were found to influence stimuli. Below, we review design features that are necessary to 'ethical architecture' in prison environments, meaning the elements of the built environment that either support or undermine the mental, physical, and social health of those within them. Sixteen environmental domains were identified from existing literature as the most relevant design features in prison buildings that may influence wellbeing. They are grouped into two categories, Personal Living Space, and General Prison Space, depending on which setting within the prison they are most relevant to in the literature.

> The construct 'stimuli' includes negative and uncontrollable prison conditions, like unwanted noise or constant light.

Category I: Personal Living Space

The first category includes design elements that pertain to incarcerated individuals' personal living spaces (i.e., cells or dormitories).

Lighting. In a prison environment, lighting is linked to three latent theoretical constructs: humane treatment, autonomy, and stimuli. Levels of natural and artificial lighting, especially one's exposure to daylight, are important environmental features that impact psychological wellbeing.[24] In living quarters in particular, researchers have identified the positive impact sunlight can have on wellbeing.[25,26,27] Frontczak and Wargocki stress the importance of having some degree of control over light sources in one's environment.[28] This offers the resident some autonomy over their immediate environment and can contribute to their visual comfort.

Use of Materials. Material choice can substantially influence the experienced quality and stimuli of a living space.[29] Prisons typically utilize hard materials resistant to human impact such as concrete, brick and metal. These materials can influence temperature, as brick and metal collect and radiate heat.[30] Soft materials like carpet, wood, and cork absorb noise, offset heat, and contribute to more habitable environments. Unfortunately, these materials are used less often, as they are less durable and more expensive.

Aesthetic. The aesthetic qualities of prison environments, like the use of color, materials, and shapes are gaining attention within prison design literature.[31] A built environment that feels antiseptic and unstimulating can be harmful to individuals with trauma histories. Instead, environments that integrate curved shapes compared to angular edges foster calmer atmospheres and invoke positive feelings of wellbeing.[32] Some prison systems in northwestern Europe, like Greenland and Norway, already devote more attention to the aesthetic qualities of prison space to encourage individuality and normalization.[33,34]Residents may also appreciate chances to personalize their living space, as it can contribute to

23.   Bird, J. (2017). Spatial Autonomy and Desistance in Penal Settings. Case Study: The Barlinnie Special Unit (1973–1994). In: Hart E., van Ginneken E.F.J.C. (eds) *New Perspectives on Desistance* (pp. 111-137). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
24.   Evans, G.W. (2003). The built environment and mental health. *Journal of Urban Health: Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, 80 (4), 536–555.
25.   Jewkes, Y. (2010). Penal aesthetics and the architecture of incarceration. *Prison Service Journal*, 187, 23-28.
26.   Jewkes, Y., & Moran, D. (2014). Should prison architecture be brutal, bland or beautiful? *Scottish Justice Matters*, 2(1): 8-11.
27.   Spens, I. (1994). A simple idea in architecture. In Spens, I. *Architecture of Incarceration*. London: London Academy Editions.
28.   Frontczak, M., & Wargocki, P. (2011). Literature survey on how different factors influence human comfort in indoor environments. *Building and Environment*, 46(4), 922-937.
29.   See footnote 7: Wener, R. E. (2012).
30.   Atlas, R. (1984). Violence in prison. *Environment and Behavior*, 16(3), 275-306.
31.   See footnote 1: Jewkes, Y. (2018)
32.   Papanek, V. J. (1995). *The green imperative: Natural design for the real world*. New York: Thames and Hudson.
33.   Jewkes, Y., & Moran, D. (2017). Prison architecture and design perspectives from criminology and carceral geography. In *Oxford Handbook of Criminology* (pp. 541-561). Oxford University Press.
34.   Høidal, A. (2018). Normality behind the walls: Examples from Halden prison. *Federal Sentencing Reporter*, 31: 58-66.

a normal sense of individuality.[35] It is clear from the literature that attention (or inattention) to the aesthetic quality of space is linked to stimuli, humane treatment, and autonomy.

Noise. Noise is commonly defined as unwanted sound and the negative stimulus of unwanted sound is critical to the safety and wellbeing of incarcerated individuals and staff in correctional buildings.[36] High exposure to noise within prison environments may negatively affect relationships between staff and incarcerated individuals.[37] Environmental psychology researchers have observed that 'unpredictable, intermittent and uncontrollable noise… causes significant stress, with powerful and enduring negative impacts on wellbeing.'[38] Constant noise can also be experienced as an invasion of personal privacy, as interruptions to daily activities like sleeping or conversations can lead to stress responses and illness.[39] Importantly, having some control over the noise exposure can mitigate its negative effects.[40]

Views. A decent view is an appreciated design in most built environments. Views can elicit a sense of openness and connection and previous prison-based research confirms how important it is to have a view of something other than prison buildings or other incarcerated people.[41] Although some prisons have living spaces with windows, often any views or natural light are blocked with metal bars, painted or translucent windowpanes, or the windows are placed too high up the wall to see out.[42] These are disappointing designs, because views, and especially views of nature, have been linked to improved health among residents as measured by increased levels of happiness and decreased sick calls.[43,44]

> Constant noise can also be experienced as an invasion of personal privacy, as interruptions to daily activities like sleeping or conversations can lead to stress responses and illness.

Temperature. Adequate temperature control is a basic environmental need within any personal living space. Thermal comfort is critical to a habitable indoor environment, but many prisons are built with heat-trapping materials like brick, stone, and concrete.[45] Without designs in place to control temperature, like heat-resistant building materials and effective mechanical ventilation systems, intolerable prison temperatures can lead to increased rates of misconduct and violent assaults.[46] Providing reasonable control over one's living space temperature can provide a small but valuable sense of autonomy and satisfaction with the quality of an indoor environment.

Air Quality. Ventilation and fresh air are a result of a building's architectural design, and inadequate ventilation systems can lead to significant discomfort in indoor space. Like temperature, a living space with poor air ventilation can create unnecessary stress and undermine habitability. Poor airflow can significantly exacerbate health concerns among residents and staff like upper respiratory illnesses and the transmission of diseases like COVID-19.[47] Having some degree of control over this aspect of the environment can also improve satisfaction with indoor air quality.

Privacy in Personal Space. The amount of privacy available to an incarcerated individual in their personal living space is directly linked to design choices. Moore found that audio, spatial, and visual autonomy were essential to humanizing prison environments.[48] The use of building materials, a cell door's design, or access to a partition to conceal a toilet are all design choices that can influence privacy. A recent study conducted at a maximum-

35. Sloan, J. (2012). "You can see your face in my floor": Examining the function of cleanliness in an adult male prison. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 51(4), 400–410.
36. See footnote 7: Wener, R.E. (2012).
37. See footnote 14: Beijersbergen, K. A., Dirkzwager, A. J. E., van der Laan, P. H., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2016).
38. Karthaus, R., Bernheimer, L., O'Brien, R., & Barnes, R. (2017). Wellbeing in prison design: A design guide. See page 56. (Retrieved from http://www.matterarchitecture.uk/research/)
39. Stansfeld, S. A., & Matheson, M. P. (2003). Noise pollution: Non-auditory effects on health. *British Medical Bulletin*, 68(1), 243–257.
40. Glass, D. C., & Singer, J. E. (1972). *Urban stress: experiments on noise and social stressors*. New York, Academic Press.
41. See footnote 38: Karthaus, R., Bernheimer, L., O'Brien, R., & Barnes, R. (2017).
42. See footnote 25: Jewkes, Y. (2010).
43. See footnote 12: Moore, E. O. (1981).
44. Barton, J., & Pretty, J. (2010). What is the best dose of nature and green exercise for improving mental health? A multi-study analysis. *Environmental Science and Technology*, 44(10), 3947–3955.
45. See footnote 30: Atlast, R. (1984).
46. See footnote 4: St. John, V. J. (2020).
47. Ryan, C., Sabourin, H., & Ali, A. (2020). Applying an Indigenous and gender-based lens to the exploration of public health and human rights implications of COVID-19 in Canadian correctional facilities. *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, 111(6): 971-974.
48. See footnote 12: Moore, E. O. (1981).

security men's prison in Norway found that residents' access to private cells was the most appreciated design intervention within Halden Prison, a prison designed to prioritize normalization and rehabilitation.[49] Residents of Halden Prison report that being able to come and go from one's cell, change the lighting, and hang personal photos on their cell walls, all helped to create a sense of personal privacy and normality within their space. Certainly, not all incarcerated individuals are housed in a similar manner, so it is important to consider privacy designs within cells and dorms. Research in open dormitories have found higher rates of perceived crowding, limited privacy, and illness complaints compared to single and double cells.[50] Interestingly, installing cubicles within open dormitories can increase privacy and a sense of environmental control that can offset or eliminate the impacts of crowding.[51]

Category II: General Prison Spaces

The second category includes designs within general prison spaces that can influence the wellbeing of staff and incarcerated individuals. While nature could be a domain within personal living space, for example, existing literature mostly studies the impact of shared outdoor green space.

Size and Crowding. The size of a prison population refers to the number of incarcerated individuals in an institution and crowding relates to building occupancy and density. Both size and crowding within a prison population can drastically impact the health and wellbeing of staff and residents. Chronic

> Residents of Halden Prison report that being able to come and go from one's cell, change the lighting, and hang personal photos on their cell walls, all helped to create a sense of personal privacy and normality within their space.

crowding has been linked to increased blood pressure in adults and damaging behavioral responses like self-isolation, hostility, and unhealthy sleep patterns.[52] Social density, meaning the number of individuals sharing a cell or dorm, may be the most damaging factor of overcrowding on wellbeing. Though a dorm may have more physical space per person than a single or double cell, a dorm will have a much higher social density with many people sharing one room. Low social density, like single or double cell units, has more positive impacts on wellbeing compared to dorms with more space.[53] A prison's design will determine the building's capacity limits and social density, as these markers depend on the number of cells or dorms allotted for housing units, all of which can have unique impacts on wellbeing.

Visitation. It is generally understood from existing research that prison visiting has a positive influence on incarcerated individuals.[54,55,56] One study investigated the visitor experience in liminal prison space, the area not yet behind prison walls, at San Quentin State Prison in California.[57] The design of the visitation waiting room, a small space lacking heating, seating, signage and basic amenities, was found to send building users a clear message of 'contemptuous neglect' (p. 83). Aiello and McCorkel also found the harsh design of liminal spaces that young and unaccompanied children had to walk through, including large metal detectors, loud metal doors, and bleak hallways, led to a secondary prisonization experience for young children visiting family.[58] Visiting areas designed to create positive

49. Abdel-Salam, S., & Kilmer, A. (2022). A Prison Is a Prison: Perspectives From Incarcerated Men on the Therapeutic and Punitive Aspects of Halden Prison in Norway. *The British Journal of Criminology.*
50. Cox, V.C., Paulus, P.B., & McCain, G. (1984). Prison crowding research: The relevance for prison housing standards and a general approach regarding crowding phenomena. *American Psychologist*, 39(10), 1148-1160.
51. Schaeffer, M. A., Baum, A., Paulus, P. B., & Gaes, G. G. (1988). Architecturally mediated effects of social density in prison. *Environment and Behavior,* 20(1), 3-20.
52. See footnote 7: Wener, R. E. (2012).
53. McCain, G., Cox, V., & Paulus, P. B. (1976). The relationship between illness complaints and degree of crowding in a prison environment. *Environment and Behavior*, 8, 283-290.
54. Cochran, J. C., & Mears, D. P. (2013). Social isolation and inmate behavior: A conceptual framework for theorizing prison visitation and guiding and assessing research. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 41(4), 252–261.
55. Moran, D. (2013a). Between outside and inside? Prison visiting rooms as liminal carceral spaces. *GeoJournal,* 78, 339-351.
56. Moran, D. (2013b). Carceral geography and the spatialities of prison visiting: Visitation, recidivism, and hyperincarceration. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 31(1), 174–190.
57. Comfort, M. (2003). In the tube at San Quentin: The "secondary prisonization" of women visiting inmates. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 32(1), 77-107.
58. Aiello, B., & McCorkel, J. (2017). It will crush you like a bug: Maternal incarceration, secondary prisonization, and children's visitation. *Punishment & Society,* 20(3), 351-374.

environmental stimuli may increase the likelihood and frequency of children visiting an incarcerated parent if visitation spaces incorporated comfortable furniture, play areas, and bright colors.[59] In England, researchers studied prison visitor's centres, buildings near prisons but run by third parties, and found they provided much-needed facilities, like clean bathrooms, child-friendly play areas, and a place to eat a snack or have a coffee before entering the prison.[60]

Nature. The presence of nature, including trees, plants, flowers, birds, insects, and other wildlife, can counteract sterile prison environments and create positive stimuli.[61] Research in health care settings has consistently linked nature contact with positive patient wellbeing.[62] The impact of nature films on residents in solitary confinement was studied over the course of a year, and participants exposed to nature videos had 26 per cent less disciplinary referrals than those not exposed.[63] They also self-reported less stress, anxiety, and aggression, and improvements in communication and coping skills. Other researchers underline the importance of not only seeing nature but interacting with it, 'to not just be able to see a tree but touch it.'[64]

Recent studies from England and Wales found that across 80 public prisons, the prisons with a greater percentage of vegetated space, regardless of being able to view or access it, reported lower levels of staff sick leave, self-harm among the incarcerated population, and violence both toward staff and among the incarcerated.[65,66] Accordingly, the authors call for the greening of all possible space within prison walls to support occupants' wellbeing.

Prison Layout. While 'every shape known to geometry [has been] tried,' it remains unclear whether a prison's layout has any measurable impact on wellbeing.[67] Studies on crowding suggests that building layouts that encourage social interaction in specific spaces can mitigate negative behavioral effects of residential crowding. Research from the Netherlands suggests that residents in facilities with panoptic designs report more negative relationships with staff than those residing in campus, radial, or high-rise layouts.[68] The same study found that incarcerated individuals in a campus-style layout had more direct lines of sight with staff and, compared to other designs, reported more positive relationships with staff. Findings from a recent autoethnography study further support the use of campus style prison layouts, noting the design's positive influence on behavior, increased access to nature, and smaller ratios between staff and residents.[69] While these findings may be limited to their unique contexts, it is clear from existing literature that it is important to consider a prison's layout within the concept of ethical architecture, as overall prison designs can significantly influence the lived experience for staff and those incarcerated.

Security Technology. Architecture, design, and technology is an important but overlooked feature of the lived experience in prison environments. Commonly used technologies in prisons include wireless cameras, listening devices, and biometric and electronic monitoring to track visitors and incarcerated persons within prisons. While some residents may appreciate the regular use of cameras, for a sense of safety and evidence of abuses, the cameras also encourage self-censorship and undermine privacy.[70] The effect of almost constant surveillance on both residents and staff will require ongoing attention. Some technologies may increase privacy, like the use of

> Research in health care settings has consistently linked nature contact with positive patient wellbeing.

59. Siegel, J. A., & Napolitano, L. (2021). Adult and child visiting at urban jails: Perspectives on visitation experiences and policies among visitors and people in jail. *The Prison Journal*, 101(3), 331-351.
60. Woodall, J., & Kinsella, K. (2018). Striving for a "good" family visit: The facilitative role of a prison visitors' centre. *Journal of Criminal Psychology*, 8(1): 33-43.
61. See footnote 1: Jewkes, Y. (2018).
62. See footnote 11: Ulrich, R.S. (1984)
63. Nadkarni, N. M., Hasbach, P. H., Thys, T., Crockett, E. G., & Schnacker, L. (2017). Impacts of nature imagery on people in severely nature deprived environments. *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment*, 15(7), 395-403.
64. See footnote 1: Jewkes, Y., (2018) pg. 329.
65. Moran, D., Jones, P. I., Jordaan, J. A., & Porter, A. E. (2021a). Does nature contact in prison improve well-being? Mapping land cover to identify the effect of greenspace on self-harm and violence in prisons in England and Wales. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers,* 111(6), 1779-1795.
66. Moran, D., Jones, P. I., Jordaan, J. A., & Porter, A. E. (2021b). Nature Contact in the Carceral Workplace: Greenspace and Staff Sickness Absence in Prisons in England and Wales. *Environment & Behavior*.
67. Fairweather, L. (2000). Does design matter? In L. Fairweather & S. McConville (eds.). *Prison architecture: Policy, design and experience*. Oxford: Architectural Press (p. 17).
68. See footnote 14: Beijersbergen, K. A., Dirkzwager, A. J. E., van der Laan, P. H., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2016).
69. St. John, V. J., Blount-Hill, K.-L., Evans, D., Ayers, D., & Allard, S. (2019). Architecture and Correctional Services: A Facilities Approach to Treatment. *The Prison Journal,* 99(6), 748–770.
70. See footnote 18: Moran, D. & Jewkes, Y. (2015).

full body scanners that reduce the need to conduct invasive strip searches of residents receiving visits.[71] Facilities with communication technologies can increase individual autonomy through video visitation, secured internet access, and telemedicine.[72]

Age of Prison. It is unclear whether newer prisons provide better or worse conditions for their occupants than older prisons. Madoc-Jones found that older prisons in England and Wales (built pre-1938) and newer prisons (built post-1978) scored much higher on safety, respect, purposeful activities, and resettlement scores, than middle-aged prisons (built between 1939-1977).[73] However, the relationship between a prison's age, public or private status, and staff culture is not straightforward. Some research from the UK suggests that older public prisons, with an 'us vs. them' culture between staff and residents, have more negative interactions between staff and incarcerated individuals than newer privatized prisons.[74] Research which distinguished different types of staff cultures, reported that some newer private prisons in fact had a more 'traditional-professional' staff culture than older prisons in the public sector. Residents rated these prisons with traditional-professional staff cultures more positively, even though staff attitudes were not very sympathetic toward incarcerated persons.[75] While it remains unclear whether a prison's age may directly impact lived experience, research has found that older prison buildings can have considerable differences in layout, lighting, thermal comfort, and noise compared to newer buildings, all of which can impact wellbeing.[76]

Accessibility. Many prisons operating today were built in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries or they used architectural designs from these eras. Older prison designs were not intended to house older populations, and many prisons today are ill-equipped to meet the accessibility needs of the growing number of older residents and people with disabilities. It is important to evaluate building accessibility in prisons, as appropriate ramps, railings, and signage can greatly influence autonomy and human dignity.[77] A UK-based study examined common environmental challenges facing aging residents and people with disabilities and found that a prison's layout often limited the mobility of wheelchair users, there was inadequate access to showers and elevators, and older residents were often assigned to housing units on higher floors or higher bed bunks when lower levels would have been more appropriate.[78] Beyond physical accommodations, many prisons are also inadequately designed to accommodate individuals with behavioral health issues, dementia, or social care needs.[79]

> It is important to evaluate building accessibility in prisons, as appropriate ramps, railings, and signage can greatly influence autonomy and human dignity.

Facilities. It is vital that prison building users have plumbing, electrical, and mechanical systems in good operating condition. Unreliable facilities can create unnecessary disruptions to daily life and damage morale throughout an institution. Poorly maintained mechanical systems like heating, cooling, and ventilation also influence noise levels, as they can create significant background noise in already loud prison buildings.[80] One study specifically focused on the structural control of water in carceral environments and found that the small amounts of shower water allotted per person, as well as the temperature of the water, served as another form of bodily control as it limited the ability to meet basic human needs.[81] Sufficient and operational facilities throughout a prison environment directly impact the habitability of the space for both staff and residents.

71. Ingel, S., Richards Karamarkovich, A., Bietsch, S. & Rudes, D.S. (2021). Privacy violations and procedural justice in the United States prisons and jails. *Sociology Compass,* 12847.
72. Larsen, D., Stamm, B. H., Davis, K., & Magaletta, P. R. (2004). Prison telemedicine and telehealth utilization in the US: State and federal perceptions of benefits and barriers. *Telemedicine J E Health*,10 (Suppl 2):81-89.73.	Madoc-Jones, I., Williams, E., Hughes, C., & Turley, J., (2016). *Prison building 'Does size still matter?': A re-assessment. Prison Service Journal,* 227, 4-10.
74. Shefer, G. & Liebling, A. (2008). Prison privatization: In search of a business-like atmosphere. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 8, 261-278.
75. Crewe, B., Liebling, A., & Hulley, S. (2011). Staff culture, use of authority and prisoner quality of life in public and private sector prisons. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 44(1), 94-115.
76. See footnote 14: Beijersbergen, K. A., Dirkzwager, A. J. E., van der Laan, P. H., & Nieuwbeerta, P., (2016).
77. See footnote 4: St. John, V.J., (2020).
78. Williams, J. (2012). Social care and older prisoners. *Journal of Social Work*, 13(5), 471–491.
79. See footnote 38: Karthaus, R., Bernheimer, L., O'Brien, R., & Barnes, R., (2017).
80. See footnote 7: Wener, R. E., (2012).
81. Turner, J., & Moran, D. (2018). Careful control: The infrastructure of water in carceral space. Special Issue: Troubling Institutions at the Nexus of Care and Control. *Royal Geographical Society*, 51 (2): 208-215.

Discussion

Imprisonment will cause distress regardless of a prison's design features. Nevertheless, two recent studies support the idea that more normalized environments can attenuate some of the harms and pains experienced by incarcerated individuals. Mjåland and others directly compared the experience of open and closed prisons between England and Wales and Norway and found that all environmental dimensions under investigation scored higher in open prisons in both countries.[82] Respondents housed in open prisons reported their environment as less 'heavy', 'deep' and 'tight,' and they reported more autonomy, trust, sense of safety, and less worry about reintegration. Respondents were more positive about the support and services they received. In both welfare-oriented (Norway) and neo-liberal (England and Wales) contexts, those incarcerated in open and closed prisons reported similar pains of imprisonment, but those within open prisons in both contexts reported pains of imprisonment to a lesser degree than their closed counterparts. The study underscores that open prisons are capable of relieving at least some of the pains of imprisonment, but that they are still very much experienced as prisons by the residents confined there.

Abdel-Salam and Kilmer studied lived experiences at Halden, a maximum-security men's prison in Norway.[83] Halden is known internationally for its unique designs that aim to encourage wellbeing, motivation, and an overall humane environment. The facility integrates normalization into every aspect of the prison environment to reflect the outside world as much as possible.[84] The authors found that while the prison's design was generally viewed favorably by respondents, they did not perceive the prison as having a strong motivational or therapeutic influence. Compared to the punitive aspects of confinement, like the loss of freedom and ability to make meaningful choices for oneself, the physical features of Halden were less

> Respondents housed in open prisons reported their environment as less 'heavy', 'deep' and 'tight,' and they reported more autonomy, trust, sense of safety, and less worry about reintegration.

significant. Still, respondents resoundingly identified the importance of private cells at Halden, as they allowed for privacy, helped respondents decompress, process anxiety, and for some, their private cell supported a positive mentality. Consistent with Mjåland's findings, Abdel-Salam and Kilmer argue that pains of imprisonment are an inherent part of the carceral experience even when a facility is entirely designed to promote rehabilitation over punishment. Halden and open prisons in both England and Norway are still very much experienced as prisons by those who are confined within them, but their associated pains are experienced to a lesser degree because of their intentional design and are thus less harmful than places of higher security and with less attention to design.

Future Research

The present study has important implications for practitioners and future prison research. The domains identified in the ethical architecture concept provide a framework for understanding the underexplored link between prison design and wellbeing. The prison environment may represent an important indicator of prison climate, but it has yet to be clearly incorporated in existing prison climate assessment tools and may have been overlooked because it is a challenging domain to accurately measure.[85] We developed an ethical architecture survey as an on-site assessment tool to gain insights from residents and staff on their experiences with aspects of prison design. This assessment could be conducted independently or alongside an existing prison climate assessment tool. Conducting on-site assessments on ethical architecture in prison environments can provide invaluable environmental impact data for individual prisons, from which local leadership can make informed design improvements. Assessments may also lead to a variety of important advances in prison studies by increasing the existing empirical evidence on the relationship between prison designs and how they are experienced by staff and incarcerated populations.

82. Mjåland, K., Laursen, J., Schliehe, A. & Larmour, S. (2021). Contrasts in freedom: Comparing the experiences of imprisonment in open and closed prisons in England and Wales and Norway. European Journal of Criminology.
83. See footnote 49: Abdel-Salam, S. & Kilmer, A. (2022).
84. See footnote 34: Høidal, A. (2018).
85. Liebling, A., & Arnold, H. (2004) *Prisons and their moral performance: A study of values, quality, and prison life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Future studies could also examine specific areas of prison space that were not addressed in the present study, as has been done with visitation spaces. Dedicated green space, reception centers, age-appropriate, disability-appropriate and gender-appropriate designs could all benefit from targeted architectural analyses. Segregation units did not emerge in the systematic literature review but would benefit from explicit consideration in relation to a prison's ethical design. Assuming a Prison Service adheres to the Mandela Rules and prohibits the use of indefinite or prolonged solitary confinement, the appearance, type of furniture, and quality of views from segregation units can help a space feel less institutional, and a radio, tv, telephone and materials for activities can relieve some boredom. Exercise yards in segregation units can also be designed with the purpose of providing appropriate stimulation and a humane space.

Of all the studies presented, discussion on the impact of ethically designed prisons on correctional staff is almost nonexistent. Liebling noted that correctional staff might benefit from ethically designed prisons, so they are not being asked to do 'impossible work in impossible conditions.'[86] One study identified poor lighting as a design feature that may negatively affect relationships between staff and residents.[87] Still, future research should equally examine the impact of open prisons and places like Halden within the context of correctional staff's health and wellbeing. A future comparative study could compare staff perceptions of the prison environment with the findings from the same instrument completed by residents. Because correctional staff are the frontline workers keeping prisons safe and supporting personal growth among residents, it is important to know if other aspects of a prison's architecture and design may be undermining occupational health and professional relationships with residents.

Conclusion

The ethical prison architecture concept may reinvigorate interest in an aspect of incarceration that has often been regarded as background noise, too difficult to measure, or inconsequential compared to factors like social climate.[88,89,90] It is clear from the research reviewed in the present study that the design of the physical prison environment is related to the wellbeing of incarcerated individuals and staff. A commitment to ethical prison architecture should not only seek to minimize harmful outcomes of imprisonment, but also promote positive ones, with a central concern for human wellbeing. Terwiel argues that the health-based approach of humane treatment in prison still sanctions considerable suffering, and instead calls for the right to be comfortable, as this recognizes the human desire for play, pleasure, and art.[91]

The concept of 'ethical prison architecture' raises difficult questions and the discipline of criminology has not extensively engaged with such foundational questions, although there have been and are well-known voices in favor of prison abolition[92,93,94,95,96,97,98] and emergent discussions on critical carceral studies.[99] Again, one could argue that abolition is the only ethical option. Decarceration is the clear next step, certainly in countries with high imprisonment rates and overcrowding, and this process must critically consider the impact of the built environment. Ethical prison architecture should be a site of debate where criminologists, geographers, and architects meet to discuss prison reform, environmental opportunities for harm reduction, and to consider if prisons can be spaces that promote healing and if so, how.

86. Liebling, A. (2002). Suicides in prison and the Safer Prisons agenda. *Probation Journal*, 49(2), 140-150 (p. 147).
87. See footnote 25: Jewkes, Y. (2010).
88. See footnote 21: Ross, M. W., Diamond, P. M., Liebling, A. & Saylor, W. G. (2008).
89. Tonkin, M. (2016). A review of questionnaire measures for assessing the social climate in prisons and forensic psychiatric hospitals. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology,* 60(12), 1376-405.
90. See footnote 8: Nadel, M., & Mears, D. (2018).
91. Terwiel, A. (2018). What is the Problem with High Prison Temperatures? From the Threat to Health to the Right to Comfort. *New Political Science*, 40(1), 70-83.
92. Carlton, B., & Russell, E. (2018). *Resisting Carceral Violence: Women's Imprisonment and the Politics of Abolition*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
93. Christie, N. (1981). *Limits to Pain: The Role of Punishment in Penal Policy*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock.
94. Mathiesen, T. (1974). *The Politics of Abolition*. London: Martin Robinson.
95. Ryan, M., & Ward, T. (2015). Prison Abolition in the UK: They dare not speak its name? *Social Justice*, 41(3), 107-119.
96. Scott, D. (2020). *For Abolition: Essays on Prisons and Socialist Ethics*. Sherfield on Loddon: Waterside Press.
97. Scraton, P., & McCulloch, J. (2008). *The Violence of Incarceration*. New York, NY: Routledge.
98. Sim, J. (2009). *Punishment and prisons: Power and the carceral state*. London: Sage.
99. Brown, M., & Schept, J. (2017). New abolition, criminology and a critical carceral studies. *Punishment & Society*, 19(4), 440–462.

Prison Officer Training in Scotland And Norway: Is It Fit For Purpose?

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The Scottish Prison Service (SPS) has long recognised that they need to do more in order to positively impact the lives of prisoners and help them to desist from crime.[1] In 2013 and 2016,[2][3] they published two reports which identified that the training delivered to staff was not sufficient to enable them to transform the lives of prisoners, nor were they equipped to work to their full potential due to the culture which existed, namely where control and command type behaviours were rewarded. As a result, the initial training delivered to residential prison officers changed in 2020 from completing the seven-week Officer Foundation training programme, with either none or one-week transitional training, to a twelve-week programme with more focus on rehabilitation. Modules are also completed over a two-year period.[4]

Although they are socially and culturally different, the SPS often looks to countries such as Norway when planning or implementing change.[5] The Norwegian prison system is considered to be forward thinking, with some of the most humane prisons in the world and a professionalised work force of prison officers due to one of the best training programmes in Europe. The Norwegian Correctional Service (NCS) have had a two-year prison officer training programme since the 1980s. This was a result of White Paper no.27 which recognised change was required to deal with the problems which existed at the time, such as rioting in prisons, and high levels of re-offending after release.[6] As a result, both the initial training and the role of the prison officer changed from being solely a guard, to be considered one of a guard and a social worker. Since 2012, prison officers in Norway obtain a Diploma in Correctional Studies as part of their two-year initial training, and since 2019 they have been able to undertake a Bachelor's Degree in Correctional Studies.[7] It is acknowledged that problems can arise from replicating prison systems that are socially and culturally different. Norway doesn't face the same challenges as Scotland in terms of prison overcrowding and under-staffing. However, improving the length of the training in Scotland, and gaining relevant qualifications while doing so, would hopefully move the SPS towards having a significantly more professionalised workforce of prison officers.

The last three years of the COVID-19 pandemic, and the aftermath of this, has impacted prison officers' abilities to positively impact prisoners even more. Staff shortages in Scotland meant that prisons have become 'places of containment rather than rehabilitation'.[8] Therefore, it is clear that a transformation of the role of the prison officer is still necessary to help meet the SPS' aim of 'maximising its contribution to reducing re-offending'.[9] As well as this, changing the negative societal perceptions of prison officers and improving their salaries would likely attract more of the right individuals to the role which could also help to improve staffing levels.

Professionalising the role of the prison officer

The need, and want, to professionalise the role of the prison officer in Scotland is not new. For two decades, the SPS have discussed correctional excellence and they have envisioned that the prison officer should carry the same public status as that of a nurse, teacher,

1. Scottish Prison Service (2012). SPS Corporate Plan 2012-2015. Available at: https://www.sps.gov.uk/Corporate/Publications/Corporate6.aspx;
2. Scottish Prison Service (2013) *Organisational Review - Unlocking Potential, Transforming Lives*. Available at: https://www.sps.gov.uk/Corporate/Publications/Corporate9.aspx
3. Scottish Prison Service (2016). *Value Proposition*. Available at: https://www.sps.gov.uk/Corporate/Publications/Publication-4733.aspx
4. F. Slokan, personal communication, 7 February 2020.
5. Scottish Government (2015). *International Review of Custodial Models for Women*: Key Messages for Scotland. Available at: https://www.gov.scot/publications/international-review-custodial-models-women-key-messages-scotland/pages/6/
6. Høidal, A. (2018). Normality behind the Walls: Examples from Halden Prison. *Federal Sentencing Reporter*, 31(1), 58-66.
7. KRUS (2021). Studies at KRUS. Available at: https://www.krus.no/studies.511950.no.html
8. HM Inspectorate of Prisons for Scotland (2021). *HM Chief Inspector's Annual Report* 2021-2022 (p.3).
9. Scottish Prison Service (2012). SPS Corporate Plan 2012-2015 (p.9). Available at: https://www.sps.gov.uk/Corporate/Publications/Corporate6.aspx

or social worker.[10] Yet, prison officers do not have professional certification. The SPS developed a Prison Officer Professionalisation Programme (POPP) which intended to professionalise their role. Among other things, POPP intended to enable prison officers to obtain a Diploma as part of their training. In October 2018, despite the Prison Officers Association (POA) advising its members to accept the proposal, it was overwhelmingly rejected.[11]

In order for the SPS to meet their goals, it is imperative that the training delivered to prison officers improves so that staff feel equipped to do the difficult job expected of them. Improving their training will likely help prisons to retain staff who usually leave due to lack of training and development opportunities.[12] Furthermore, research has found that prison officers who are given appropriate training and have experience in the role are more likely to believe that rehabilitation is possible.[13] This article intends to identify key training areas for prison officers in Scotland and investigate prison officer attitudes towards training and development.

Method

This was a qualitative study with semi-structured interviews and focus groups utilised to collect data. Nine interviews were carried out, seven with first-line managers from two prisons in Scotland, and two with ex-governors in Norway. Four focus groups were carried out. One contained three prison officers from a single prison in Norway, the other three focus groups contained four, two and two residential prison officers respectively from two prisons in Scotland. One impromptu meeting was also held with a governor from one of the Scottish prisons.

All participants, with the exception of the ex-governors, were selected by the prison governors or volunteered to be part of the study when asked by the governors. The two ex-governors in Norway still worked in corrections in some capacity. One of the officers in Norway supervises the trainee prison officers

going through their two-year training with the Kriminalomsorgens høgskole og utdanningssenter (KRUS), the University College of Norwegian Correctional Service. There was a mixture of male and female participants, with years in service ranging from one to twenty years. Several participants had experience of helping develop prison officer training in several different countries.

Thirteen questions were prepared ahead of the interviews and focus groups. The questions were created based on the literature that was available and gaps in the literature that the researcher wished to explore. Questions were centred around relations between staff and prisoners, the role of the prison officer, the importance of the initial training, the extent to which the training equips them to impact the lives of prisoners, what further training they felt necessary, and their thoughts on the training delivered in the opposing country. Follow up questions were asked where necessary.

Full ethical approval was given for this study from the University of Abertay and from SPS Research and Ethics Committee. Each participant was informed about the aims of the study via an information sheet and was given a consent form. As a result of COVID-19 all interviews and focus groups were conducted and recorded online via Microsoft Teams. These were later transcribed by the researcher. The collected data was analysed using NVIVO 12 and fifteen key themes were identified and coded through the use of inductive analysis.

Findings

There was a strong consensus among the officers in Scotland that first and foremost the role of the residential officer is the maintenance of safety and security. While this is paramount in any prison, the SPS states that the primary role of the residential officer is to support prisoners each day through effective case management and to build relationships with them.[14]

> There was a strong consensus among Scotland's officers that first and foremost the role of the residential officer is the maintenance of safety and security.

10.   Scottish Prison Service (2001). *Delivering the SPS Vision: The Work of the Vision Teams.*
11.   Scott-Moncrieff (2019). *Scottish Prison Service: 2018/19 Annual Audit Report to the Accountable Officer and the Auditor General for Scotland.* Available at: https://www.audit-scotland.gov.uk/uploads/docs/report/2019/aar_1819_scottish_prison_service.pdf
12.   Penal Reform International (2022). *A global perspective on prison officer training and why it matters*. Available at: https://www.penalreform.org/blog/a-global-perspective-on-prison-officer-training/
13.   Kelly, D. (2013). Punish or Reform? Predicting Prison Staff Punitiveness. *The Howard Journal of Crime and Justice*, 53, 49-68.
14.   Scottish Prison Service (2019). *Role of a Prison Officer - Residential Officer*. Available at: http://www.sps.gov.uk/Careers/OpportunitiesintheSPS/RoleofaResidentialOfficer.aspx

While not suggesting that residential officers should disregard safety and security as an important part of their role, it is interesting to note that no individual, when asked about the role of the residential officer, mentioned assisting prisoners before talking about safety and security aspects. However, participants in Norway mentioned that the role of the prison officer is to be a mentor, a social worker, and a parent, responsible for building positive relationships. One participant stated, 'it's not hard to run a prison where people don't escape, they need to spend time in a system where they have changed and learned to govern their own lives'. Participants in Scotland recognised that the role is to help rehabilitate prisoners, but a number of them felt that wasn't something they actually did.

There was a distinct difference between why participants applied to the role in Scotland and Norway. In Scotland, some participants applied because they felt underqualified for anything else in the same pay range, and many applied out of economic pragmatism. However, in Norway, a number of the participants applied because they had a desire to work in a rehabilitative role. This is important because Nilsen and Bagreeva[15] argue that the quality of a prison officer depends on their motivation for becoming one and their attitude towards prisoners. They believe that these qualities are just as important as the skills they acquire through training.

> It's not hard to run a prison where people don't escape, they need to spend time in a system where they have changed and learned to govern their own lives.

Initial training in Scotland and Norway

The direct entry residential officer role is a direct result of the rejection of POPP in October 2018. Each of the participants in Scotland felt that POPP would have been beneficial to them by increasing the status of their role, providing them with a qualification and more in-depth training to make a bigger difference in prisoners' lives. One participant stated:

'I was frustrated [POPP] didn't go through. I believe we should be trained and with a recognised qualification…we have no professional service in the SPS and it should

be. It's one of the most highly skilled, I'm more highly skilled as a prison officer than I was as a [other public service profession].'

The participants felt that POPP was rejected due to the lack of communication given by governors and senior staff, so prison officers weren't clear on what it would entail or how it would benefit them. This is disheartening, as POPP appeared to be a big step towards achieving the SPS' vision and mission which was set out in the organisational review.[16] While the direct entry to the role of residential officer is a direct result of the rejection of POPP, it does not deliver the same benefits. For example, residential officers will not work towards a degree. Several officers have commented that, without a degree, they feel their skills gained in the role are not transferrable.

The majority of the interviewees in Scotland felt that the initial training delivered to residential officers was not fit for purpose, was not orientated towards rehabilitation and did not prepare them to transform the lives of prisoners. One participant had been through the new residential training in 2020. They felt the training covered operational duties mostly, and its purpose was to teach the basic knowledge of the job and included nothing about rehabilitation. This participant knew nothing about the modules that they were supposed to complete over the first two years in the role, despite having been in the role for around nine months by this point. Most of the staff felt that informal training at the establishment, where the new recruits shadow more experienced staff, was the best training for learning the job. However, they felt that due to short-staffing or lack of motivation, many experienced staff either didn't have the time to teach them the role or weren't interested in doing so. New recruits should be mentored by experienced officers who are engaged and want to make a difference to ensure the culture that the SPS is trying to achieve is established.

Seven years on from the Values Proposition report highlighting the failings in the initial training, the training has been re-developed.[17] However, a new recruit who experienced this training felt it focused on

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15. Nilsen, A., A Bagreeva, E. (2020). How to transform a static security prison into a dynamic organism for change and growth, in Focquaert, F., Shaw, E., and Waller, B.N. (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of the Philosophy and Science of Punishment.* Routledge.
16. Scottish Prison Service (2013). See footnote 2.
17. Scottish Prison Service (2016). See footnote 4.

the operations role instead of the residential, that the trainers were not prepared for this intake of new recruits and the officer didn't know anything about the modules they were to undertake. Furthermore, due to staffing levels, the residential officer training has been stripped back even further to focus merely on the basic security requirements of the role and doesn't cover all the rehabilitative work that it was created to do. It will be difficult for residential officers to unlock the potential and transform the lives of prisoners when they do not appear to receive appropriate training to do so.

All participants from Norway felt their training was fit for purpose but felt it could be longer. Some participants felt the two-year training only 'scratched the surface' of what they needed to know in their role. When asked what they thought of the training delivered in Scotland, one participant stated, *'what you put in, you get out. If you give people seven weeks training and expect them to do wonders it will fail, no doubt'*. While another offered,

> *'Holding one of the most important and influential positions in Scotland…People who have been locked up and then we put people in charge of these kinds of institutions without any proper training. It's disgusting, it's terrible…'*

Most of the participants in Scotland felt positively towards the training delivered in Norway and felt they would hugely benefit from similar training. One stated, *'I think it would be great to professionalise what we do'*. However, a few acknowledged that, while they should be doing the rehabilitative work with prisoners, they were unable to do so due to overcrowding which caused them to do the *'basic security-type stuff'*. They felt that this, coupled with under-staffing, meant it wouldn't be justifiable to have a similar training system until these aforementioned issues were dealt with.

Required training needs

While the SPS have attempted to transform prison officer training, all participants in Scotland felt their initial training was inadequate. It appears that POPP would have been a positive step forward for prison officer training in Scotland, however it was communicated poorly. It offered a degree — something that all participants said they would have wanted —

professional recognition and improved pay. It also intended to enable all prison officers to become Personal Officers, rather than solely residential prison officers. This would have enabled operations officers to carry out case management with prisoners, combating the problem of residential officers feeling like they don't always get time to do this type of work due to short-staffing. It is concerning that the SPS appeared to have made a breakthrough in moving their staff towards being 'justice professionals', yet it was rejected by officers because they felt POPP, and everything it would bring, wasn't effectively communicated to them by governors and senior management.

There needs to be more establishment-specific training, as many participants felt the training at the Scottish Prison Service College (SPSC) was aimed at staff working within the closed, male estate. Staff in the female, young offenders or open estates were told to direct all questions to their establishment when they arrived. When they arrived at their establishment, most participants were told to 'forget everything they learned at the College'. This hinders the effectiveness of the initial training, so it is imperative that there is better integration between the SPSC and the establishments. Perhaps a welcome pack could be distributed at the SPSC, giving new recruits information about the establishment they'll be working in. In Norway, prison officers spend six months at KRUS, a year in a prison, then a further six months at KRUS. Many participants liked that Norway's training had this blended approach. They felt that implementing this in Scotland would enable their training to be tailored to their establishment and help the training at SPSC be better integrated within their prison establishments.

Participants felt it would be beneficial to have better training in substance misuse, how to effectively manage prisoners with mental health difficulties, report writing, and interviewing skills. In relation to substance misuse, one participant stated that training in this area was *'lacking massively'* as so many prisoners come to rely on drugs in prison, even if they'd never previously had a drug addiction. Interestingly, there is a low level of drug taking in Norwegian prisons, yet their staff are taught about substance misuse during the core 'reintegration' module. Substance misuse remains a prominent challenge in Scottish prisons, yet substance misuse training did not form part of the core training

> # Interestingly, there is a low level of drug taking in Norwegian prisons, yet their staff are taught about substance misuse during the core 'reintegration' module.

for officers.[18] Participants wish for further training in interviewing skills so they can better deal with the difficult conversations that arise regarding prisoners' trauma, mental health, and their offending. Some participants received no training on report writing, yet this can have a significant impact on how a prisoner progresses through their time in prison.

The SPS should incorporate their vision and mission into the initial training so that the culture they are trying to promote is embedded in new recruits. When new recruits enter the prison on masse, they could then hopefully promote rehabilitation and a growth-orientated environment, rather than conforming to the current 'command and control' culture.

Conclusion

The overall purpose of this article is to address a gap which exists in relation to the initial training delivered to prison officers, particularly in Scotland, on which there has been limited research. The research drew on Scandinavian models as a comparator, therefore the initial training delivered to residential officers in Scotland and prison officers in Norway was examined. The research concluded that the training delivered to residential officers in Scotland is not fit for purpose. POPP appeared to be a positive step forward for the SPS and offered the key components that the SPS want their staff to have in order to professionalise them and enhance their effectiveness. However, this was rejected, seemingly due to poor communication from governors and senior staff. In training, prison officers were not taught about rehabilitation, despite the SPS wishing for prison officers to unlock the potential within prisoners and transform their lives. Many of the participants felt that training in this area was lacking, with one interviewee stating that they were not sure rehabilitation was something they even did. While the direct entry residential officer training was only introduced in March 2020, one participant had undertaken this. They felt the training was operations focussed and did not prepare them for the rehabilitative aspect of their role. Since this, the training has been stripped back further due to the impact that COVID-19 has had on staffing levels.

There was a strong consensus that the training delivered at the SPSC was to teach the basics of the role and that the 'real learning' began when working in an establishment. It is clear that there is a lack of continuity between what is taught at SPSC and within establishments. Integrated learning between the SPSC and establishments would better assist prison officers to do their job, as they would be putting theory into practice. The participants in Scotland felt this would be the best way for them to learn. The Norwegian participants learn this way and they each felt this was crucial for effective learning and subsequent implementation. Providing welcome packs at SPSC about the establishment each recruit would be working in may be useful so the training can be more individually tailored.

Using a training model similar to Norway would be beneficial in Scotland. In particular, more integration between the SPSC and each prison establishment, working towards a qualification and being mentored by engaged staff who want to make a difference. Most of the officers in the Scottish sample joined the SPS out of economic pragmatism, whereas in Norway it was more because they wanted to make a difference or work in rehabilitation. Staff who want to make a difference may be more inclined to apply for, and remain in, the role because they feel better equipped to do the job, are part of a rehabilitation-orientated culture, and are working towards a qualification. The SPS were vocal about their aim to professionalise prison officers and reduce re-offending in Scotland prior to this study. However, the last three years of the COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated the struggles they have had with this. Scottish prisons are facing even more problems with short-staffing, poor relations between staff and prisoners, and difficulty doing the rehabilitative work expected of them. Improving training for prison officers in Scotland is needed now more than ever.

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18. Scottish Government (2022). *Prison population: substance use and wider support needs*. Available at:
     https://www.gov.scot/publications/understanding-substance-use-wider-support-needs-scotlands-prison-population/pages/1/

Aligning the goals of detention and rehabilitation with recruitment, retention and professional development strategies in European prisons

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In June 2020, the Erasmus+ Corrections Careers project conducted an online survey, aimed at prison officers, to see how professional development in prisons supports modern prison culture and recruitment and retention. This article presents a review of relevant literature, and then details why and how an online survey was developed to validate the findings. We present an analysis of the 749 responses from 5+ countries, to draw out significant differences between how prison staff responded in the participating countries. We conclude by indicating where positive and negative survey response correlations support the literature review findings, and indicate possible areas for future research.

Introduction

Recruiting and retaining the human service role within reformed corrections

A prison officer's working routine and training are still deeply entrenched around traditional custodial duties. Over the last two decades, however, their role has become pivotal to ongoing prison reform: in every European country, prison officers are now, to a greater or lesser extent, involved in a range of rehabilitative measures, from dynamic security to occupying prisoners in purposeful activity, to helping them acknowledge and address their offending behaviour, and preparing them for release. A literature review was undertaken to see how far professional development in prisons is succeeding in supporting modern, rehabilitative prison culture with the recruitment and retention of front-line, uniformed prison staff (hereafter: prison officers)[1] in a human service role. Partners identified gaps in the current literature,[2] and as practitioners in the field, wanted to validate these findings with their staff and colleagues. We therefore developed an online survey directed at prison staff to gather their perceptions about what we could do to better support their careers in prison whilst increasing the focus on rehabilitation.

Overview of current practice and challenges in prison career guidance

The dichotomy between existing training and professional development and the human service role within reformed corrections appears repeatedly in literature collected by European partners.[3][4] Some prison

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1. The authors acknowledge the over-simplification of the term 'prison officer' to cover the diverse functions of uniformed prison staff in different countries, for the purpose of this article.
2. 12 organisations from eight European Member States: CPIP (Coordinator) (RO), Timisoara Penitentiary (RO), SNPP - The National Trade Union of Prison Policemen (RO), ICPA - International Corrections and Prisons Association (BE), Turkish General Directorate of Prisons and Detention Houses (TR), Bremen Ministry of Justice and Constitution (DE), BETI Baltic Institute of Technology (LT), DGRSP Portuguese Prison and Rehabilitation Service (PT), IPS Innovative Prison Systems (PT), CEIPES – International Centre for the Promotion of Education and Development (IT), BrainLog (DE) and York Associates (UK)
3. In *From Jailor to Correctional Officer: social (re)configuration of a profession* (2014), Ana Pereira Roseira, aims to explore the following questions: What continuities exist (in Portugal) between the now extinct profession of jailor (carcereiro) and the contemporary Prison Officer (guarda prisional)? Similarly, the question of 'what are we here for?' is drawn out in interviews with prison officers in England and Wales published in the Wings of Learning report (2006).
4. From 2019-2020, partners collected 52 items of Partners returned 52 items they considered to meet the protocols of *Corrections Careers* research guidelines, across five main disciplines of legislation and public policy, vocational educational training (VET), criminal justice (incl. grey literature), human resources and lifelong learning research.

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officers feel at times underused, that their function in the prison community is frequently reduced to 'turnkey' security duties, while their own perceptions of their duties and responsibilities is many and varied, frequently challenging and often demanding. Research attributes this to a broad number of changes, but from their practice, partners particularly note an increase in the number of prisoners with mental health disorders and addictions,[5][6] new groups of people in prison and types of offences (such as extremism). Many officers want to do more but felt constrained by the demands of the job and a lack of time. Some argue that any blurring of the line between discipline and the 'softer' parts of the regime, such as education, could lead to a conflict of roles.[7] Russo and colleagues highlight a need for the US corrections workforce to 'clarify the mission of the sector', calling for research into reframing corrections as a 'human-services role', along with a corresponding change in the competencies sought, thus helping the sector recruit a broader base of new talent.[8] The *Prison Safety and Reform* White Paper, published in 2016, by the Ministry of Justice in England and Wales,[9] prioritised developing leaders and prison officers as one of six key categories for reform. Whatever the aspirations of policy makers, the human relationships which prison staff and officers build with prisoners and communities frequently appear central to reforming service delivery.

> The human relationships which prison staff and officers build with prisoners and communities frequently appear central to reforming service delivery.

When and how should career guidance most effectively be delivered?

When and how should prisons provide their staff with career development training and support in a way that systematically and successfully supports rehabilitative reform? In criminal justice literature, frequent direct or indirect use is made of management

and leadership figures as those best positioned to deliver timely and tailored career guidance to their staff. The Prison Management edition of *The Prison Service Journal* heard directly from Governors of diverse prisons in England and Wales on how they balanced organisational and individual needs with the changing nature of a prison officer's role. The authors noted the 'complexity of the work not only from a technical perspective but more importantly from human, moral and emotional perspectives'.[10] One manager who ran a particularly successful 3-11pm shift in prison proactively used regular and purposeful staff meetings to promote 'reward by career planning'.[11] As individuals become more proactive, the availability of easily accessible, printed and online material has an influence over an individual's long term planning, such as the French Ministry of Justice's info-flyers for Prison Director role progression, which give quick information on qualifications, competencies, and salary.

However, prison conditions — and training — do not allow all managers to act as a link for guidance to train and retain officers throughout their careers. For example, Baudino looked at the Italian prison system, where a shortage of prison staff was identified as a significant reason for individual and the organisational burnout, before either can make even reactive changes to employee conditions and progression. Within this context, he flags the issue of high rates of suicide within the Italian Prison Police corps.[12]

Tried and tested interventions have been developed to retain key target groups of prison officers. Knowing at which points in employees' career paths to anticipate using these interventions would make for more effective use of resources. Lambert and colleagues found that age and gender were responsible for specific correlations with job satisfaction and job

5.   Vollbach, A., Menschenwürde hinter Gittern – Über grundlegende Konzepte zum Umgang mit Gefangenen/ Human dignity behind bars – fundamental concepts of the approach to prisoners. Forum Strafvollzug, Heft 4/2022 – 72. Jahrgang
6.   Fazel, S., Bains, P., & Doll, H. (2006). Substance abuse and dependence in prisoners: a systematic review. *Addiction*, 101, 181-191.
7.   Braggins, J., & Talbot, J. (2006). *Wings of Learning: the role of the prison officer in supporting prisoner education*. The Centre for Crime and Justice Studies.
8.   Russo, J., Woods, D., Drake, G. B., & Jackson, B. A. (2018). *Building a High-Quality Correctional Workforce: Identifying Challenges and Needs.* https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR2386.html (accessed 4.2.20).
9.   Ministry of Justice (2016). *White Paper on Prison Safety and Reform.* https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/565014/cm-9350-prison-safety-and-reform-_web_.pdf (accessed 20.11.2022)
10. Crewe, B., & Liebling, A. (2015). Governing governors. *Prison Service Journal*, 222, 3–10.
11. Liebling, A., Price, D., & Shefer, G. (2010). *The Prison Officer.* Routledge.
12. Baudino, M. (2014). La polizia penitenziaria tra sovrafollamento carcerario e burnout: il dibattito interno 16

stress,[13] and wider human resources literature indicates benefits when career guidance targets disadvantaged groups for social equity and inclusion.[14] A Rapid Evidence Review into employment support for the over 50's gives primary importance to 'role, provision and effective use of adult-orientated information advice and guidance (IAG) in informing individual choice and pathways to extending working lives', particularly where the individual has health issues.[15] Bimrose's human resources research explores the application of gender-sensitive approaches to career guidance practice to counter known issues such as occupational segregation and harassment.[16] Some studies indicate proactive career guidance for female prison officers would be most effective at specific points. For example, those surveyed by Dial and colleagues on leadership, job environment, stress and job satisfaction found staff tended to look for alternative career pathways between three and eight years after joining the service.[17]

The literature review identified positive effects from both restructuring the prison services' career guidance (such as training prison managers to guide careers) and addressing individual needs (such as promoting services for specific groups, at specific points in their working lives). Current human resources thinking pushes us further, to distinguish and contrast. The 'shaper categories' of 'adviser, informant, witness, gatekeeper and intermediary in terms of their perceived impact on individuals' are further distinguished and contrasted by the modern human resources thinking.[18] This could help staff in the prison 'be explicit about the career support they can offer, and to identify other potentially valuable career shapers.'

For the present at least, the work of the *Corrections Careers'* stakeholder group reinforces the pivotal role a line manager plays in their employees' professional development: whether examining training choices is simply a list-ticking process, or whether a prison officer's professional growth is strategically tied to the aims of the individual and the institution, depends on the mindset and abilities of the line management.[19] Stakeholders in the partnership cited a range of reasons as to why a line manager might not recommend a prison officer for training, such as:[20]

❏ A manager without formal education or who is less convinced of the value of continued professional development would subsequently be less likely they to recommend or know what to recommend.

❏ Insufficient dialogue between the manager and the education and training centre.

❏ If there isn't enough budget flexibility, managers may be reluctant to request funding or may prioritise security-based training over rehabilitative measures.

Building evidence and prioritising evaluation in criminal justice

Does career guidance work? Evidence for the effectiveness of career guidance tends to accrue under the three broad policy priorities, namely learning, labour market and social equity goals. For an overview, the evidence base developed to support the European Lifelong Policy Network's Lifelong Guidance Policy Development Kit,[21] gives tangible evidence to support the view that 'Business benefits include increasing employee satisfaction and engagement, and supporting knowledge transfer and cohesion'. From broader research into the understanding of entry-level recruits into technical facilities, we see a call for organisations to 'verify which career education strategy allows the graduate to more easily adapt to the employer's demand';[22] these three goals must be prioritised and align between the organisation and the employee.

Criminal justice research reflects this: responding to a high turnover rate in the Midwest of the USA, Bonham and Crews conducted research evaluating outgoing prison officers' concerns.[23] They found that involving people in offering feedback for change and development should not only promote institutional

13. Lambert, E. G., Kim, B., Keena, L. D., & Cheeseman, K. (2017). Testing a gendered models of job satisfaction and work stress among prison officers. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 40, 188–203.
14. Musset, P., & Kurekova, L. M. (2018). Working it out: Career Guidance and Employer Engagement. https://doi.org/10.1787/51c9d18d-en
15. Parsons, P. D., & Walsh, K. (2019). Employment support for over 50s: Rapid evidence review. https://ageing-better.org.uk/resources/employment-support-over-50s-evidence-review
16. Bimrose, J. (2019). Guidance for Girls and Women. In J. A. Athanasou, & H. N. Perera, (Eds.), *International Handbook of Career Guidance*. Springer International Publishing, pp. 385–412.
17. Dial, K. C., Downey, R. A., & Goodlin, W. E. (2010). The job in the joint: The impact of generation and gender on work stress in prison. *Journal of Criminal Justice,* 38, 609–615.
18. Bosley, S. L. C., Arnold, J., & Cohen, L. (2009). How other people shape our careers: A typology drawn from career narratives. *Human Relation*s, 62, 1487–1520.
19. Corrections Careers (nd). Review of Policy and Practice https://www.careersincorrections.com/resources/
20. Corrections Careers (nd). Country Reports on England and Wales, Denmark and Germany, respectively https://www.careersincorrections.com/resources/
21. Vuorinen, R., Watts, A. G. (2012). *Lifelong guidance policy development: A European resource kit*. European Lifelong Policy Network.
22. Mereuta, C. (2018). The Importance of Professional Counseling and Career Guidance in Technical Faculties. *The Eurasia Proceedings of Educational & Social Sciences* (EPESS), 10, 244-247.
23. Bonham Jr., G., & Crews, R. (2007). Strategies for Employee Retention in Corrections. *Corrections Compendium*, 32(3), 7-11.

efficiency but also foster long-term improvements in teamwork, morale, and operational participation. Aside from compensation and working conditions, two of the top three suggestions from this study related to access to relevant professional development and guidance. His Majesty's Prison and Probation Service's (HMPPS) business plan 2018-19[24] cites the business case for embedding new organisational structures and investing in expertise to provide consistent service across public and private prisons. More effective career and succession planning structures that better serve the business is one area of investment that is explicitly mentioned.

Although no meta-analysis of career guidance in prisons could be found, research in other fields shows effective ways to deliver career guidance to employees. These studies may help us to determine which people will benefit from career guidance the most, and how to assess pilot guidance projects. Whiston and colleagues give such an overview, alongside a six-step process for evaluating career counselling programmes,[25] and the Lifelong Guidance Policy Development Toolkit also details the benefits of evaluation, and how to implement this sustainably.[26]

> Although no meta-analysis of career guidance in prisons could be found, research in other fields shows effective ways to deliver career guidance to employees.

Method

How do prison officers feel their careers in prison could be better supported?

Corrections Careers originally aimed to conduct stakeholder meetings, to identify and assess innovative policy approaches which help improve education, training, and professional development systems in prisons. The partnership was particularly looking for those initiatives that have the potential to be mainstreamed. In order to reinforce critical messages already established through our desk study, and to give decision-makers a route of referenced and prioritised action, we wanted to hear directly from prison officers in this research.

However, this activity took place in 2020 and was dominated by restricted access due to the global COVID-19 pandemic. To reach frontline prison staff, we went digital: our partnership of prison, education, and non-profit professionals developed an online Prison Officer Needs Analysis Survey, which we distributed to prisons in five European justice systems, Turkey and internationally. We asked prison officers or their line managers to respond.

Survey development

During two separate online video sessions, survey questions were developed based on the desk research from the partnership: the first session broke down specific themes from the literature, selected by partners representing different sectors (justice ministries, prison practitioners, tertiary adult education, and non-profit sectors). Partners cautioned that prison officer participants in earlier online surveys had responded poorly to questionnaires lasting more than 15 minutes. This is consistent with current research showing that when surveys become very time-consuming and tedious, respondents may not provide accurate answers at later stages or may submit incomplete responses.[27] Therefore, questions were limited to one per theme. During development, the survey was tested to ensure it could be meaningfully answered in less than 15 minutes.

In the second survey session, partners peer-reviewed each other's questions to ensure they were appropriate in terms of phraseology, vocabulary, and question type. Since scale response formats take respondents more time, binary yes/no questions were utilised whenever possible.[28] Where a binary response

24. HM Prison and Probation Service (2018). Business Plan 2018-2019. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/724911/HMPPS_Business_Plan_2018-19.pdf
25. Whiston, S. C., Mitts, N. G., & Li, Y. (2019). Evaluation of Career Guidance Programs. In J. A. Athanasou, & H. N. Perera, (Eds.), *International Handbook of Career Guidance*. Springer International Publishing, 815–834.
26. See footnote 21.
27. Dolnicar, S. & Grün, B., & Leisch, F. (2011) Quick, Simple and Reliable: Forced Binary Survey Questions. *International Journal of Market Research*, 53(2), 231-252
28. Rivera-Garrido, N., Ramos-Sosa, M. P., Accerenzi, M., & Branas-Garza, P. (2022). Continuous and binary sets of responses differ in the field. *Scientific Reports*, 12, 14376.

would have inhibited a full understanding (e.g., To what extent do you think this training helps you stay in your job?), a 5-point Likert scale response format was used. In order to analyse a respondent's level of agreement, points 3-5 were classified as agreement/positive/higher incidence, whereas points 1 and 2 were classified as disagreement/negative/lower occurrence. Native speakers of the partner languages translated the final version of the survey.

Survey dissemination and number of responses

The survey was delivered via Google Forms, remaining open for nine weeks in the five languages of the *Corrections Careers* partnership. Each partner distributed the survey via their local or national prison services or union. In each partner-country, prison officers from at least two prisons responded to the survey. An English-language version was also disseminated through the International Corrections and Prisons Association. Table 1 presents the response frequencies.

Table 1. Number of Corrections Careers survey responses per country

Country	Number of responses
Turkey	265
Italy	248
Portugal	120
Germany	71
Romania	28
English language (Int. responses)	17
Total	749

Analysis

Survey respondents identified themselves primarily as prison officers in every country aside from the English-language worldwide edition. Fewer than 10 per cent of respondents overall identified themselves as being in a leadership position in prison.

To examine potential significant differences between how prison staff responded in the partner countries, we grouped the responses from all countries into two batches of questions. The first batch (A) focussed on **time and experience in the role:**
❏ How long in current position
❏ Has this been your only career?
❏ Do you consider your salary enough...?
❏ Do you seek out career counselling or are all employees given career counselling?
❏ When you go to work do you consider this...
❏ I feel I am given guidance to understand opportunities/ philosophy of corrections.

And the second batch (B) focussed on **training and mentoring:**
❏ Do you have an annual job performance review?
❏ Are you receiving enough training to perform your duties effectively?
❏ To what extent do you think this training helps you stay in your job?

❏ Do you have a career mentor or counsellor not line manager?
❏ How much information is there present in leadership development career…?
❏ I feel I am given guidance to understand opportunities/ philosophy of corrections.

All responses to these two batches of questions were compared using a cluster analysis, so any regions that provided significantly different answers from the others would be identified by a low similarity score. The responses provided by prison staff in the partner countries were very similar; no region exhibited any appreciable outlier responses, demonstrating a remarkable degree of uniformity in responses across regions. We can say with some confidence that regional differences in answers to these batches of questions are minimal.

We combined the data from all respondents in all locations to assess the degree of correlation between responses, and used Spearman rank-order correlation to identify correlation coefficients by measuring the extent to which two variables tend to change together. A value of 1 indicates all responders provided the same answer to both questions, with -1 representing opposite responses to each question. A positive correlation indicates that increasing positive responses to a particular question were often matched by positive responses to the second question. A

negative correlation represents a trend of when responders answered positively to one question, they often answered negatively to another. Where no correlation is indicated, there was no indication of responses to one question correlating with responses to the other. The dataset is publicly available via Mendeley Data.[29]

The authors present the Spearman rank-order correlations here in full, but with the following caveat: in the context of the *Corrections Careers* project, we used the Spearman rank-order correlations strictly to contextualise partners' desk research, not as stand-alone findings. This is because whilst there are correlations in the data, these may not necessarily be causal. Readers should also note that:

❏ Spearman rank-order correlations measure monotonic relationships: the variables tend to change together, but not necessarily at a constant rate.

❏ Spearman correlation coefficient is based on the ranked values for each variable rather than the raw data.

❏ A substantial correlation is shown in dark colours in the tables if a large majority (>95 percent) of respondents answered two questions in a similar manner.

❏ Weak correlations are indicated when a smaller majority respond similarly to two questions.

❏ The stronger the colour, the more pronounced the correlation (see Table 2 below). If there is no pattern in response, no correlation is indicated, or we have declared there is inadequate data, and these are indicated in grey. The correlation only appears as positive or negative if the coefficient is above 95 per cent.

Table 2. Interpretation of correlation strength

			From 0.0 to 0.1
	No correlation		From 0.11 to 0.2
	From 0.0 to -0.1		From 0.21 to 0.3
	From -0.11 to -0.2		From 0.31 to 0.5
	From -0.21 to -0.3		From 0.51 to 1.0

Findings

The resulting analysis output is too complex to show here in its entirety. We therefore divide this into smaller outputs that display each country's replies to important issues. In this section, we present five questions at a time and discuss the most noteworthy positive or negative correlations.

Correlations between responses for questions 1-5

In the first five questions (see Table 3) we notice the following negative correlations:

❏ When compared to line managers, prison officers tended to have a negative correlation with their tenure in the job. This meant that front-line employees typically had less experience in their positions than their superiors had.

❏ Prison officers tended not to feel that current training provision helps them to stay in their job. Their line managers were neutral on this point.

❏ Line managers had a slightly larger propensity to view their job more as a profession than as a public service. Any responder who saw their job more as a career than a public service was somewhat more likely to feel underpaid.

And the following positive correlations:

❏ The more years that respondents had spent in their roles, the more likely they were to have had (or know whether there was) an annual job performance review. The trend for experienced workers to have a mentor, or someone comparable who is not their direct manager, was also observed.

❏ Adequate salary was an indicator for positive responses to 8 out of 15 questions.

❏ Line managers were more likely to be happy with their salary than prison officers.

29. Williams, R. (2022). https://data.mendeley.com/datasets/8d69mv2bmz/2

Table 3. Spearman rank-order correlations for questions 1-5

	Are you a correctional officer?	Are you a line manager to correctional officers?	How long have you been in your current position at the prison?	Has this been your only career?	Do you consider your salary is enough to perform your duties?
Are you a correctional officer?		-0.29	-0.12		
Are you a line manager to correctional officers?	-0.294		0.1	0.13	0.29
How long have you been in your current position at the prison?	-0.12	0.1		0.29	
Has this been your only career?		0.13	0.29		
Do you consider that your salary is enough to perform your duties?		0.29			
Do you feel your organization provides you with enough motivation to keep you in your career?		0.12		0.07	0.25
Does your organisation have an annual job performance review?			0.31		
If you answered no, do you think staff would benefit from an annual performance evaluation?					
Are you/ are your prison staff receiving enough training to perform your duties effectively?		0.09	-0.09		0.14
To what extent do you think this training helps you stay in the job?	-0.11		0.1		
How much information is there in basic training that prison work is a career?					0.09
How much information is there on development of leadership skills?		0.08			0.1
When you go to work, do you consider this job – Public mission?		-0.12			-0.09
Do you sometimes not tell people that you work in prison?	0.1	-0.09			
How receptive are managerial staff to learning and development?					0.14
Does your prison officially (outside of the prison) promote working in corrections as a career?		0.19	0.12		0.1
Do you need to seek out career counselling yourself, or is career counselling given to all employees?					
Do you have a career mentor or counsellor you can visit, who is not your line manager?		0.1	0.21		
I feel I am given guidance on education opportunities to better understand the philosophy of corrections		0.1			0.11
I feel I am given guidance to training opportunities that help me do my job better		0.1			0.18

Since there was more significant divergence between the respondent regions in relation to salary (Q.5: Do you consider that your salary is enough to perform your duties? Possible responses: No (blue)/ Yes (green)), we present a breakdown by country (Figure 1 below) for clarity.

Figure 1. By-country responses to question of salary

Germany	Turkey	Romania

Portugal	Italy	International Responses
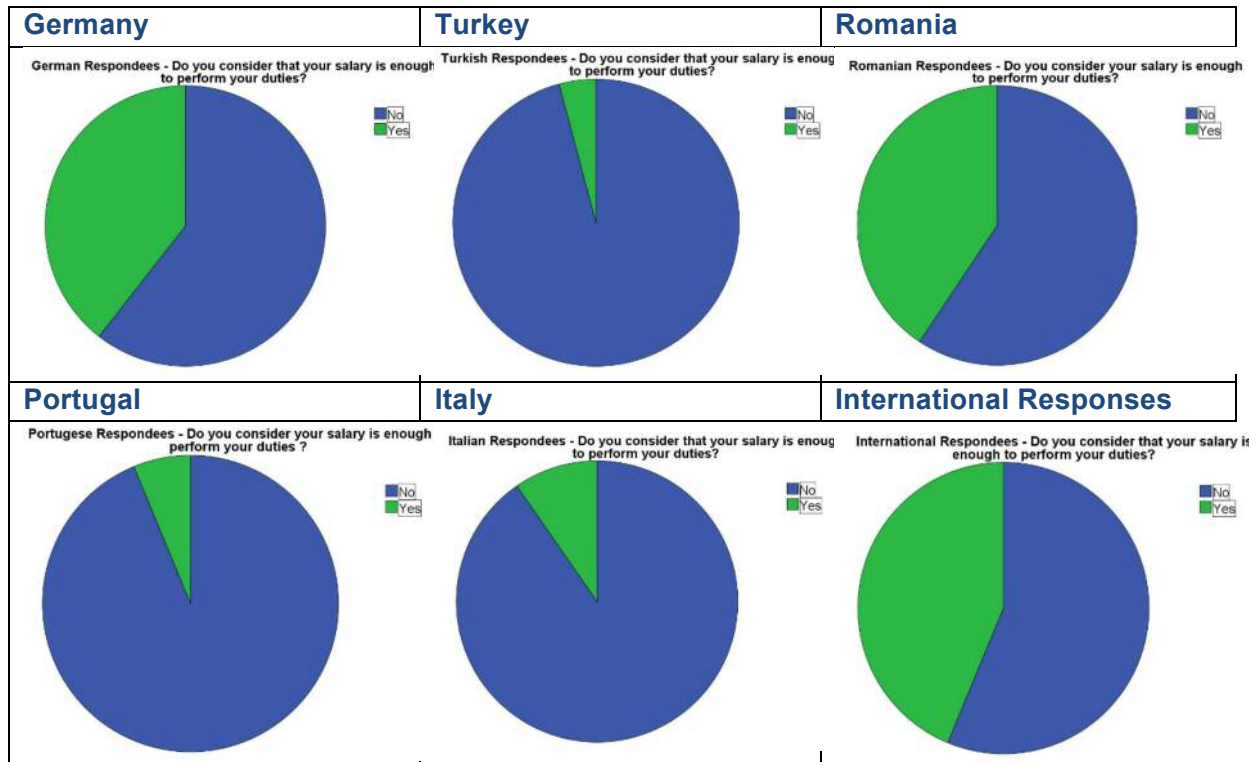
Correlations between responses for questions 6-10

For questions 6-10, the correlations are presented in Table 4. In particular, we notice:

❏ The strongest positive correlations to any question can be found for question 6: respondents who felt that their organisation provided them with enough motivation to stay in their career (such as good holidays/ parental leave / training etc.) were also more likely to respond positively to eight other questions.

❏ A weak positive correlation exists between this motivation, and the extent to which respondents felt training helps them to stay in their jobs.

❏ Question 9 exhibits the second-strongest set of positive correlations, indicating that respondents who believed they were receiving sufficient training to perform their duties effectively, also responded positively to five additional questions.

❏ Overall, if the respondent felt positively, that the training they receive helps them to stay in their jobs, they also responded positively to eight out of the 15 questions. Other responses were predominantly neutral.

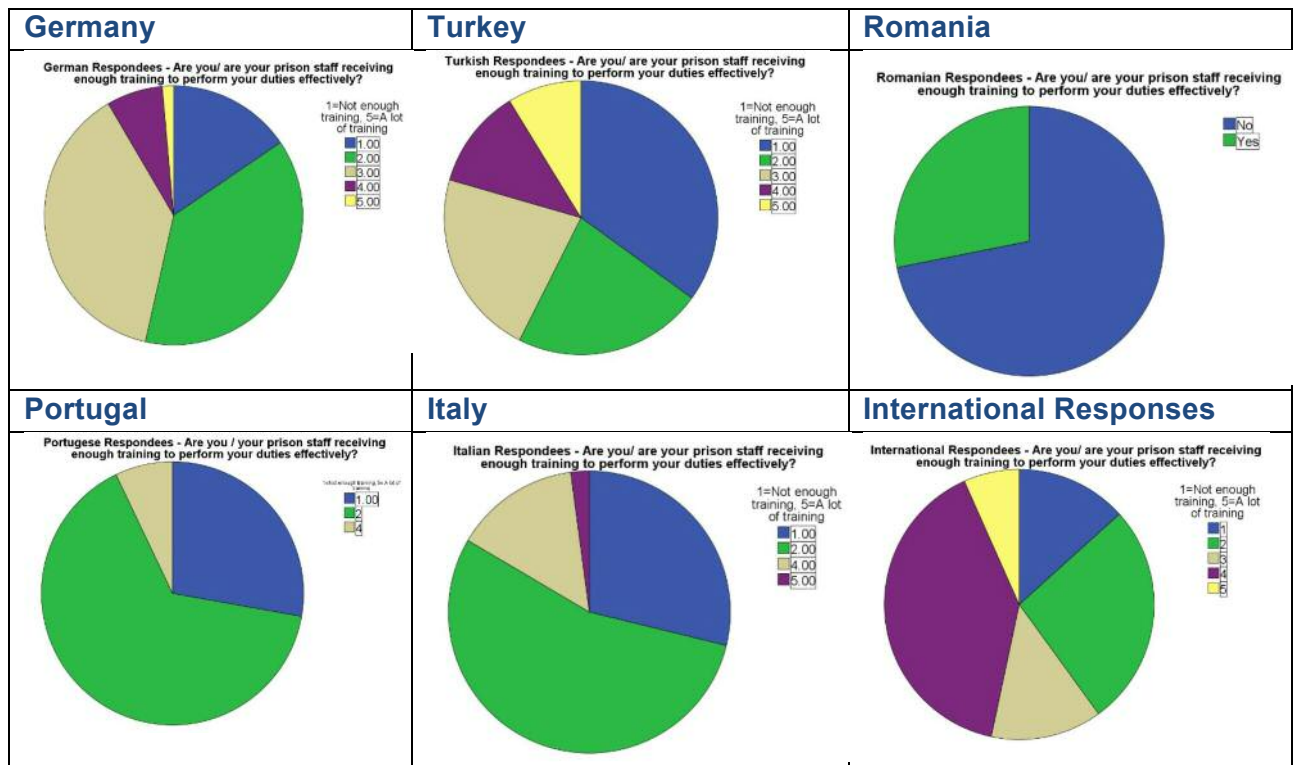Table 4. Spearman rank-order correlations for questions 6-10

	Do you feel your organization provides you with enough motivation to keep you in your career?	Does your organisation have an annual job performance review?	If you answered no, do you think staff would benefit from an annual performance evaluation?	Are you/ are your prison staff receiving enough training to perform your duties	To what extent do you think this training helps you stay in the job?
Are you a correctional officer?					-0.11
Are you a line manager to correctional officers?	0.13			0.09	
How long have you been in your current position at the prison?		0.13		-0.09	0.1
Has this been your only career?	0.07				
Do you consider that your salary is enough to perform your duties?	0.25			0.14	
Do you feel your organization provides you with enough motivation to keep you in your career?	■		0.2	0.46	0.13
Does your organisation have an annual job performance review?		■			0.23
If you answered no, do you think staff would benefit from an annual performance evaluation?	0.2		■		0.17
Are you/ are your prison staff receiving enough training to perform your duties effectively?	0.46			■	0.26
To what extent do you think this training helps you stay in the job?	0.13	0.23	0.17	0.26	■
How much information is there in basic training that prison work is a career?	0.31	0.12		0.46	0.28
How much information is there on development of leadership skills?	0.33	0.12		0.43	0.24
When you go to work, do you consider this job – Public mission?		-0.1			
Do you sometimes not tell people that you work in prison?	-0.17			-0.12	
How receptive are managerial staff to learning and development?	0.44			0.3	
Does your prison officially (outside of the prison) promote working in corrections as a career?	0.16	0.27		0.14	
Do you need to seek out career counselling yourself, or is career counselling given to all employees?	0.12			0.1	
Do you have a career mentor or counsellor you can visit, who is not your line manager?		0.27			
I feel I am given guidance on education opportunities to better understand the philosophy of corrections	0.23			0.354	0.15
I feel I am given guidance to training opportunities that help me do my job better	0.32	0.1		0.36	0.15

As the aim of this survey was to gauge how prison officers perceive professional development in their prisons to support modern prison culture and recruitment and retention, we particularly highlight individual country responses to question 9 (presented below in Figure 2): Are you/ are your prison staff receiving enough training to perform your duties effectively? Most countries responded on a Likert scale, where 1 (blue) represented 'not enough', 2 (green) represented 'not quite enough', 3 (beige) represented a neutral response, 4 (purple) represented 'just about enough' and 5 (yellow) represented 'yes, enough'. Romania adapted the response format to a binary 'yes' (green) or 'no' (blue).

In each country, the respondents surveyed reported their training to be lacking (blue and green), or were at least not convinced that training is sufficient (beige) for this developing role. Very few prison officers (international responses were predominately from prison leaders) felt their training is enough to recruit and retain officers in a modern prison.

Figure 2. By-country responses to whether staff felt they/ their staff received enough training

Germany	Turkey	Romania
German Respondees - Are you/ are your prison staff receiving enough training to perform your duties effectively?	Turkish Respondees - Are you/ are your prison staff receiving enough training to perform your duties effectively?	Romanian Respondees - Are you/ are your prison staff receiving enough training to perform your duties effectively?
1=Not enough training, 5=A lot of training	1=Not enough training, 5=A lot of training	No / Yes
Portugal	Italy	International Responses
Portugese Respondees - Are you / your prison staff receiving enough training to perform your duties effectively?	Italian Respondees - Are you/ are your prison staff receiving enough training to perform your duties effectively?	International Respondees - Are you/ are your prison staff receiving enough training to perform your duties effectively?

Correlation between responses for questions 11-15

Table 5 presents high positive associations between respondents' perceptions that their basic training provided sufficient information to support prison work as a career, and their likelihood of receiving information on the development of leadership qualities. Also noteworthy are those negative correlations between respondents who tended not to tell people that they work in prison, and their responses to other questions. Prison officers reported being less willing than their line managers to be honest

Respondents also tended to think there was not enough information in basic training that prison work is a career, nor general training on developing leadership skills.

with others about their place of work. As we progress along responses, we can see that the same respondents also tended to think there was not enough information in basic training that prison work is a career, nor general training on developing leadership skills. These respondents tended to think that management was not receptive to learning and development, that their prison did not promote outside of the prison that working in corrections is a career, and felt they were not given guidance on educational opportunities to understand corrections, nor training opportunities to help them do their job better.

Table 5. Spearman rank-order correlation map for questions 11-15

	How much information is there in basic training that prison work is a career?	How much information is there on development of leadership skills?	When you go to work, do you consider this job – Public mission?	Do you sometimes not tell people that you work in prison?	How receptive are managerial staff to learning and development?
Are you a correctional officer?				0.1	
Are you a line manager to correctional officers?		0.08	-0.12	-0.09	
How long have you been in your current position at the prison?					
Has this been your only career?					
Do you consider that your salary is enough to perform your duties?	0.09	0.1	-0.09		-0.14
Do you feel your organization provides you with enough motivation to keep you in your career?	0.31	0.33		-0.17	0.44
Does your organisation have an annual job performance review?	0.21	0.12	-0.1		
If you answered no, do you think staff would benefit from an annual performance evaluation?					
Are you/ are your prison staff receiving enough training to perform your duties effectively?	0.46	0.43		-0.12	0.3
To what extent do you think this training helps you stay in the job?	0.28	0.24			
How much information is there in basic training that prison work is a career?		0.8		-0.1	0.14
How much information is there on development of leadership skills?	0.8			-0.12	0.19
When you go to work, do you consider this job – Public mission?					
Do you sometimes not tell people that you work in prison?	-0.1	-0.12			-0.15
How receptive are managerial staff to learning and development?	0.14	0.19		-0.15	
Does your prison officially (outside of the prison) promote working in corrections as a career?	0.17	0.18	-0.11	-0.15	0.27
Do you need to seek out career counselling yourself, or is career counselling given to all employees?		0.09		-0.12	0.23
Do you have a career mentor or counsellor you can visit, who is not your line manager?	0.11	0.11			
I feel I am given guidance on education opportunities to better understand the philosophy of corrections	0.3	0.27		-0.11	0.17
I feel I am given guidance to training opportunities that help me do my job better	0.29	0.31		-0.14	0.22

Correlations between responses for questions 16-20

Noteworthy from responses to questions 16-20 (Table 6) are the following two observations:

❏ Where a respondent identified a prison as being officially open to promoting working in corrections as a career, they were also more likely to receive in-house career guidance, to have a mentor or counsellor who is not their line manager, and to understand corrections and feel guided towards opportunities which help them do their job better.

❏ The second strongest correlation indicates that when respondents were given guidance to training opportunities that help them do their job better, they were very likely to feel they had more opportunity to better understand the philosophy of corrections. Individuals who did not feel encouraged to pursue training and a comprehension of rehabilitation were also more likely to feel stigmatised in this important public service position

Table 6. Spearman rank order correlations for questions 16-20

	Does your prison officially (outside of the prison) promote working in corrections as a career?	Do you need to seek out career counselling yourself, or is career counselling given to all employees?	Do you have a career mentor or counsellor you can visit, who is not your line manager?	I feel I am given guidance on education opportunities to better understand the philosophy of corrections	I feel I am given guidance to training opportunities that help me do my job better
Are you a correctional officer?					
Are you a line manager to correctional officers?	0.19		0.1	0.1	0.1
How long have you been in your current position at the prison?	0.12		0.21		
Has this been your only career?					
Do you consider that your salary is enough to perform your duties?	0.1			0.11	0.18
Do you feel your organization provides you with enough motivation to keep you in your career?	0.16	0.12		0.23	0.32
Does your organisation have an annual job performance review?	0.27		0.27		0.1
If you answered no, do you think staff would benefit from an annual performance evaluation?					
Are you/ are your prison staff receiving enough training to perform your duties effectively?	0.14	0.1		0.35	0.36
To what extent do you think this training helps you stay in the job?				0.15	0.16
How much information is there in basic training that prison work is a career?	0.17		0.11	0.3	0.29
How much information is there on development of leadership skills?	0.18	0.09	0.11	0.27	0.31
When you go to work, do you consider this job – Public mission?	-0.11				
Do you sometimes not tell people that you work in prison?	-0.15	-0.12		-0.11	-0.14
How receptive are managerial staff to learning and development?	0.27	0.23		0.17	0.22
Does your prison officially (outside of the prison) promote working in corrections as a career?		0.15	0.2	0.14	0.22
Do you need to seek out career counselling yourself, or is career counselling given to all employees?	0.15				
Do you have a career mentor or counsellor you can visit, who is not your line manager?	0.2				
I feel I am given guidance on education opportunities to better understand the philosophy of corrections	0.14				0.56
I feel I am given guidance to training opportunities that help me do my job better	0.22			0.56	

Conclusion

We have noted that initiatives which recognise the human service element of a prison officer's role empower them to improve the overall quality of life for prisoners and for themselves. Our survey results indicate that these initiatives should focus on greater prison-wide recognition of the rehabilitative mission, and more training to better prepare prison officers for the reality of this challenging role. The survey results underline the positive correlations between pride in a performing a public service role, having managers who are open to training, and wider community recruitment and recognition. Around half of the European prison managers and prison officers we surveyed felt reluctant to tell people where they worked, some perhaps because this might pose a threat to their families, others perhaps because of lack of pride in their jobs in

the prison system. Where employees felt they had supportive managers and plenty of information, they tended not to experience this reluctance. We can improve training, recruitment, and public awareness policies by better understanding, with more research, how training and societal awareness affect how prison officers' roles are viewed by the officers themselves, and by the communities in which they live.

The survey results support the suggestion that there are effective points in a prison officer's career for career development, and also underline the importance of the line manager as a gatekeeper to facilitate and motivate take-up of training. The survey data shows how the annual review may be an effective tool to inform and motivate staff. Staff who had mentors in their careers tended to view training and learning with more positivity, although newly hired staff sometimes had no mentors in place at all. According to our survey results, career counselling seems essentially non-existent, although training is more frequently available to prison officers. Two thirds of prison officers who responded had had annual reviews with their line managers, but these reviews did not automatically translate into practical training that helped them to perform their duties more effectively. In fact, two thirds of respondents consistently stated that their prison's management were not receptive to prison officer learning and development opportunities. Mentorship, other than line management, as a more accessible way for uniformed staff to cope with emerging difficulties encountered when performing their jobs, was almost non-existent for the participants. Irrespective of the type of training, survey responses reinforce that simply

feeling valued and guided towards professional development may further understanding of rehabilitation and (re)inclusion needs. We recommend that the line manager's pivotal role in career guidance be acknowledged through better training and support, and we see a need for research into effective methods of in-employment career guidance delivery specifically for prison services.

Front line officers — as opposed to their superiors — thought they were not paid enough, which appeared to negatively impact crucial variables such as feeling invested in the public mission of rehabilitation. A good salary and holiday allowance was also related to increased training uptake. The survey results are supportive of current research findings suggesting uptake of training, understanding of corrections and guidance to training are aligned to more consistent implementation of modern prisoner rehabilitation strategies. Nevertheless, even where respondents identified their salary was too low, involvement in training corresponded to greater morale, personal commitment, and involvement in operations.

This study suggests that rote career development checklist reviews should be discontinued as a prelude to other (perhaps more resource-intensive) approaches. Simply encouraging employees and enabling (within prison schedules) uptake of existing learning and development opportunities is a good start — even encouraging teams to share their work may help to promote a learning environment in prison. As noted in the literature review, enabling this learning to shape strategy might make a culture of learning more sustainable in a prison, and help to embed change processes.

Correctional Officer Recruitment in Canada's Federal Prison System: An Analysis from the Perspective of the Correctional Officer

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Recruitment is key to any thriving correctional service, however, knowledge of the recruitment processes, which also includes onboarding training, is still limited to administrators, instructors, and recruits despite the importance of recruitment for the well-being of prison staff and prisoners. Recruitment determines the composition of the correctional workforce, and the orientations of those entering the field, specifically, their values, morals, ethics, and knowledge base. Correctional agencies suffer from serious problems related to recruitment such as high employee turnover rates and an inability to recruit enough employees to replace those who exit the occupational field.[1] In the current study, we spoke to 64 correctional officers with a minimum of one year of work experience (and a maximum of less than two years) at Correctional Service Canada (CSC) to understand their interpretations of recruitment, particularly CSC's eligibility and selection criteria. Instead of examining recruitment processes, we explore how officers view CSC's selection criteria, including any suggestions they had to improve screening, engagement, selection, and onboarding. We limited our interviews to employees with one year work experience as these individuals will recollect their recruitment experience. We also recognise the needs of those in the occupational role due to their occupational tenure and as such, our sample balances recall of recruitment with knowledge on occupational needs.

CSC onboards recruits with a programme referred to as the 'Correctional Training Program' or simply 'CTP'; correctional workers also refer to CTP as 'core'. Correctional workers' interpretations of recruitment are central to advancing a more effective enlistment and training programme and ensuring occupational fitness for the job. These officers' interpretations provide a frontline, ground-up response to the challenges that are associated with creating a correctional officer workforce oriented to the provision of care, custody, and control.[2]

In the current article we draw from semi-structured interviews with correctional officers and ethnographic experiences of the lead author as she completed CTP at CSC in 2019 to unpack four themes tied to recruitment: the age of recruits, personal suitability for the occupation, the need for physical standards, and more pronounced recruitment efforts to increase CSC's visibility. We note that participants felt CSC did well in recruiting in line with equity, diversity, and inclusion standards. We conclude with a discussion of the next steps for recruitment, highlighting possible organisational cost savings and how to create a more rehabilitative workforce.

Recruitment in Corrections

There has been sporadic attention paid to recruitment in correctional services in Canada and internationally. In Canada, Corey evaluated CSC's CTP using Kirkpatrick's four-level evaluation framework.[3] Although an insightful study about trainee reactions, learning, behavioural outcomes, and organisational

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1. CSC. (2015). *Why do Correctional Officers Resign?* FORUM on Corrections Research. Retrieved from https://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/research/forum/e011/e011c-eng.shtml; Lambert, E. G. (2001). To stay or quit: A review of the literature on correctional staff turnover. *American Journal of Criminal Justice, 26*(1), 61.
2. Ricciardelli, R. (2019). *Also serving time: Canadian provincial and territorial correctional officers*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
3. Corey, S. (2012). *An evaluation of the correctional training program delivered by the correctional service of Canada*. (PhD). Carleton University.

implications, Corey's work, the only study on CSC's CTP, was removed from discussions of recruitment. Other evaluations have discussed correctional organisations' offered training, for instance, Amboyer surveyed correctional officers in the United States to unpack their interpretations of 77 correctional work tasks (e.g., prisoner custody, institutional security, prepare written reports)[4] and Arredondo and colleagues evaluated a 'stress management programme' for both correctional officers and their spouses.[5] Backer studied correctional worker coping by evaluating a stress inoculation training intervention,[6] and Bhoodram,[7] like others,[8] studied correctional worker experiences with employee assistance programmes, finding each insufficient to meet the needs of officers. Stress management training has been studied by others also.[9] Some have more generally evaluated correctional training and development — including with a lens to improve officer mental health rather than toward recruitment.[10] Moreover, a scoping review of published literature on correctional officer training and education reveals that research tends to focus on entry-level training/educational programmes, development in officer training, and specialised well-being/mental health training initiatives.[11] What is missing across all literature is a focus on recruitment *alongside* training.

Claude Tellier Joseph, recognising the growing concerns in CSC tied to the management of the prisoner population, profiled CSC correctional officer recruits.[12] He showed that 87 percent of his sample of 1,357 recruits remained with the organisation for two and a half years. Central here is that researchers have shown that assessment of candidates must be correlated to their attitudes and behavioural skills and that candidates' personalities and values must align with the organisational philosophy for positive occupational outcomes. Nevertheless, researchers have not properly explored how hiring, terminating, and turnover (as well as turnover intent) may hinder correctional services, represents massive budgetary demands, and may negatively impact efforts to support public and institutional safety.[13] To further demonstrate the importance of this project, there is no international literature that develops an understanding around Correctional Officers' (CO) and recruitment to their correctional programme. Abdelsalam and Sunde's work made a comparison between CO's in the United States and Norway and found differences amongst CO's and their perceptions.[14] Specifically, the focus and structure of training may be influenced by the ideologies and goals of different countries, as each should be systematically and culturally embedded. In the US, the focus of training is primarily on learning tactical and procedural skills related to static security within prisons. Conversely, to become a CO in Norway requires a degree from the Correctional Service of Norway Staff Academy and all recruits undergo a two-year theoretical and practical education, where their studies are divided between academic coursework and practical training in a designated 'teaching' prison where candidates receive a full-time wage to support their studies. Once training is completed, the graduates

4. Amboyer, D. J. (1991). *Entry-level correctional officer perceptions of academy training, higher education curricula of the correctional officer academic program, and frequency of job task performance*. (Ph.D.). Wayne State University, Ann Arbor. ProQuest One Academic database.

5. Arredondo, R., Shumway, S. T., Kimball, T. G., Dersch, C. A., Morelock, C. N., & Bryan, L. (2002). *Law Enforcement and Corrections Family Support: Development and Evaluation of a Stress Management Program for Officers and Their Spouses*. Executive Summary: (529902006-001).

6. Backer, L. H. (1990). *The differential effectiveness of a stress inoculation training intervention as a function of coping style among correctional workers*. (Ph.D.). California School of Professional Psychology - San Diego, Ann Arbor. ProQuest One Academic database.

7. Bhoodram, P. A. (2010). *An Evaluation of The Employee Assistance Programme in the Department of Correctional Services Benchmarked Against the Standards of the Employee Assistance Professionals Association of South Africa*. 26. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/2263/28567

8. Siqueira Cassiano, M., Ricciardelli, R., & Foley, G. (2022). The Mental Health and Wellness of Correctional Officers in Canada: Programs and Practices. *Corrections*, 1-18.

9. Booth, B. (2009). *Cognitive-behavioral stress management program for correctional officers*. (Ph.D.). Nova Southeastern University, Ann Arbor; Bravo-Mehmedbasic, A., Salcic, D., Kucukalic, A., Fadilpasic, S., Cakovic, L., Mehmedika-Suljic, E., & Masic, I. (2009). Impact of psychoeducation on professional stress reduction among prison guards. Materia Socio Medica, 21(1), 24; Der Pan, P. J., Chang, S.-H., & Lin, C.-W. (2007). Correctional Officers' Perceptions of the Competency-Based Counseling Training Program in Taiwan: A Preliminary Qualitative Research. *International journal of offender therapy and comparative criminology, 51*(5), 523-540.

10. Bensimon, P. (2005). *Correctional Officers and Their First Year: An Empirical Investigation.* Correctional Services of Canada; Doughty, P. L., Spuches, C. M., & Wall, D. M. (1992). A Case Study of Evaluation in Corrections Training and Development. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 43(2), 82-87; Engelmann, N. D. (1997). *The impact of Critical Incident Stress Debriefing on correctional officers*. (M.A.). Southern Connecticut State University, Ann Arbor; Galvin, J. J. K. L. J. C. o. C. M., & Training. (1969). *Manpower and training in correctional institutions.* Washington: American Correctional Association; Khan, E. W. (2001). *Analysis of correctional officer training in the United States of America.* (Ed.). Oklahoma State University, Ann Arbor; Kois, L. E., Hill, K., Gonzales, L., Hunter, S., & Chauhan, P. (2020). Correctional Officer Mental Health Training: Analysis of 52 U.S. Jurisdictions. *Criminal Justice Policy Review,* 31(4), 555-572.

11. Ryan, C., Brennan, F., McNeill, S., & O'Keeffe, R. (2022). Prison Officer Training and Education: A Scoping Review of the Published Literature. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 33(1), 110-138.

12. Claude Tellier Joseph, A. M. C. D. B. V. (2001). *Profile of Correctional Officer Recruit*s. 29.

13. Morgan, M., & Smith, J. E. *Hiring the Right Individual for Your Corrections Staff*. 4.

14. Abdelsalam, S., and H.M. Sunde. (2018). Enhancing the Role of Correctional Officers in American Prisons: Lessons Learned from Norway. *Federal Sentencing Reporter* 31(1), 67-74.

must then do one year of mandatory service as a CO. This latter approach, the authors suggest, serves to diminish prisoner discontent. Thus, there are similarities with the recruitment process internationally, but also stark differences. The correctional recruitment literature that exists focuses on officer attitudes towards rehabilitation of prisoners, job stress, and officer engagement with the prison. Especially in international literature, there is a lacuna regarding CO's training and recruitment.

As such, in the current study, we unpack what individuals who have very recently experienced recruitment identify as gaps in recruitment processes. Our intention is to provide knowledge to correctional services to help optimise such processes in support of the betterment of the organisation's functioning, as well as that of prisoners and staff alike.

Recruitment at CSC: Selection Process and Onboarding Training

Scholarship on the broad topic of recruitment at the CSC is still limited; the only work available on the topic is a doctoral thesis that focuses solely on CTP.[15] Ethnographic data collected by the lead author, however, reveals that recruitment entails phases, the selection process, training (i.e., CTP), and onboarding. Each phase includes several steps. In the selection phase, CSC screens applicants' eligibility and fitness to the job. In the training phase, CSC trains recruits on correctional policies and routines while continuing to assess their occupational fitness.

The selection phase begins with an application to work for the federal government.[16] CSC invites selected candidates to complete the following tasks: an online questionnaire, a written examination, an interview, and a reference stage. If selected, candidates must still pass a criminal record check. Candidates are assessed for fluency in English or French. They must have a secondary school diploma or a 'satisfactory score' on

the Public Service Commission test or an approved secondary school equivalence test.[17] In addition, candidates must have a valid Standard First Aid and cardiopulmonary resuscitation 'Level C' certificate. Candidates must demonstrate competencies in teamwork, be action-oriented, show integrity and respect, be reflective, and be able to communicate orally. Candidates must also have a driver's license, and pass a medical examination and a psychological assessment. Next, CSC recruits the CO candidates who fulfil the eligibility and selection criteria to participate in training, the CTP phase.

CSC's CTP involves three distinctive training stages. In the first stage, recruits study several online modules and complete a test.[18] Recruits who successfully complete stage one continue to stage two, which consists of a series of written 'take home' assignments. Upon completing stage two, recruits are invited to stage three, an in-person 14-week programme at one of CSC's training facilities. In essence, the 14-week training is an extended job interview where CSC will send home recruits for scores of less than 70 percent on three examinations, or if their morals, values, and ethics are assessed as failing to align with those of the organisation.

Method

Our data are taken from the qualitative component of our multi-year, mixed-methods study, that started in 2018 and will continue until 2028 on the mental health and well-being of COs in Canada, entitled the 'Canadian Correctional Workers' Well-being, Organisations, Roles and Knowledge' (aka CCWORK). Canada's correctional system includes provincial, territorial, and federal prisons, but CCWORK studies only COs from federal penitentiaries, which house prisoners sentenced to two or more years in prison, which is under the administration of CSC.

As a longitudinal project, CCWORK collects qualitative (interviews), clinical (mental health

> The correctional recruitment literature that exists focuses on officer attitudes towards rehabilitation of prisoners, job stress, and officer engagement with the prison.

15. See footnote 3.
16. CSC. (2022). *WE'RE HIRING! Correctional Officer* I. Retrieved from https://emploisfp-psjobs.cfp-psc.gc.ca/psrs-srfp/applicant/page1800?poster=1715741
17. Government of Canada. (2016). *Public Service Commission Tests*. Retrieved from https://www.canada.ca/en/public-service-commission/services/staffing-assessment-tools-resources/human-resources-specialists-hiring-managers/human-resources-toolbox/personnel-psychology-centre/consultation-test-services/public-service-commission-tests.html
18. Ricciardelli, R. (2021). Socialization Across the Three Stages of the Correctional Service of Canada's Correctional Officer Training Program: An Ethnographic Study. *Journal of Qualitative Criminal Justice & Criminology,* 11(1); Ricciardelli, R. (2022). Ethnographic experiences of participating in a correctional officer training program: An exploration of values, ethics, and role conflict. *Ethnography*, 146613812110690.

assessment), and quantitative (surveys) data from COs when they begin onboarding for training (i.e., baseline interviews) and annually thereafter (i.e., follow-up waves).[19] CCWORK interviews are semi-structured and inquire into the officers' expectations, experiences, and perceptions of correctional work, which includes the following topics: their views of correctional training, prison, prisoners, and co-workers; work-life balance; exposure to potentially psychologically traumatic events; correctional policies; and health and wellness. To capture participants' experiences and interpretations of correctional training, we inquired into their experiences of recruitment, specifically asking participants if they had any 'advice for CSC' about recruitment processes, gaps, or needs.

CSC facilitates participant recruitment by allowing us to advertise CCWORK to CO recruits (between 350 and 700 individuals per year) and conduct interviews during paid time, as well as by providing a private space for the project team to conduct interviews in-person or over the phone (since the COVID-19 pandemic). CCWORK interviews last between 45-90 minutes and are voice recorded and transcribed verbatim. Despite CSC's collaboration, participation in our project remains voluntary. CSC had no access to the research data, and interview data (i.e., all participant identifying information) are anonymised during the analysis, including participants' names, which were replaced with a unique identification number.

All CCWORK interviews are axial coded using QSR NVivo software,[20] and based on a multi-item coding scheme that reflected the core themes explored in the interviews, including stress. This scheme included a code labelled 'Correctional Training Programme,' which contained excerpts from 64 COs who had completed a year on the job (i.e., follow-up wave). To develop our analysis on recruitment, we applied open coding to the excerpts coded under 'recruitment' and identified patterns and repetitions within the data, classifying them into the following four themes (i.e., sources of

> Considering Canada's population profile, the views of Indigenous people, who account for about 5 per cent of population, are well represented in our sample.

stress): age of recruits, personal suitability, physical standards, and expanding awareness of correctional work to optimise a recruitment pool.

The 64 interviews used to support this article were conducted between October 2019 and October 2021. We sampled based on convenience, as those interviews had been transcribed and coded and were ready to be analysed. Our research ethics protocols received approval from the Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Over half of participants self-identified as male (56 per cent), while about 44 per cent self-identified as female. Most participants were aged 19-24 (27 per cent) and 25-34 (56 per cent). The remaining aged between 35-44 (11 per cent) and 45-64 (6 per cent). Ethnically, most participants self-identified as 'white' (83 per cent). Meanwhile, the percent of Indigenous or racialised participants accounted for 11 per cent and 6 per cent, respectively. Considering Canada's population profile,[21] the views of Indigenous people, who account for about 5 per cent of Canada's population, are well represented in our sample. In contrast, the same is not true about officers who are racialised; in 2016, approximately 22 per cent of Canada's population described themselves as belonging to a community in the racialised category. Most participants were either single or married: 45 per cent of participants were in a marital relationship (i.e., married, or common-law relationship), while about 44 per cent had never married. Separated or divorced participants accounted for about 11 per cent of the sample. Most had a post-secondary degree: over half had obtained a college diploma (52 per cent) and about a third (31 per cent) had a university degree. The remaining had a high school diploma (12 per cent) or some college experience (5 per cent). Approximately a third of participants (29 per cent) had previous correctional experience in Canada's provincial system. In contrast, 71 per cent had no correctional experience before joining CSC. Participant demographics were consistent with the CO population in Canada.[22]

19. Ricciardelli, R., Andres, E., Mitchell, M. M., Quirion, B., Groll, D., Adorjan, M., . . . Carleton, N. (2021). CCWORK protocol: a longitudinal study of Canadian Correctional Workers' Well-being, Organisations, Roles and Knowledge. *BMJ Open*, 11(12), e052739.
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21. Statistics Canada. (2017). *Census Profile. 2016 Census*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001. Retrieved from Ottawa: https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E
22. Samak, Q. (2003). *Correctional Officers of CSC and their working conditions: a questionnaire-based study*. Retrieved from https://ucco-sacc-csn.ca/assets/uploads/2019/04/Correctional-Officers-and-their-working-conditions1-1.pdf

Results

In this section, we denote participants by their participant number; doing so allows us to manage a large longitudinal dataset and ensure ethics protocols concerning participant identity confidentiality. Based on our data, we categorised CO's perceptions of recruitment into four themes, which we unpack in the following sections. The themes are age of recruits, personal suitability, diversity, and lack of physical screening.

Age of Recruits

Maturity

When asked 'What kind of recruitment advice would you give to CSC?', P100 explained that although CSC does not '*want to age discriminate*', value is inherent to hiring persons with lived experience instead of '*19-year-olds who are still living with their parents*'. Echoing P100, P33 stated: '*Just because they've gone to university doesn't mean they're necessarily ready for something like [correctional work]*'. P7 too felt that CSC must '*find fairly mature people*' and keep their '*standards high*', explaining that, in his experience, once CSC releases someone from the recruitment or training processes, the individual should likely *not* be allowed back. The perspective is that the individual's abilities are inadequate and thus, if readmitted, they could compromise institutional safety.

Participants explained that hiring *young* recruits (e.g., '*19-year-olds*'; P33) presents consistent challenges given the recruits are '*young and they're impressionable*' (P100). P30, for instance, explained:

> We've had a couple of people come in who are 18, 19-years old and they're very, very nice, but they, we had a girl cry because someone had told her: 'you're on OJT, you've been late a couple of days, maybe just set the alarm earlier, don't let it happen again.' And she was pretty upset after being talked to, and no one was mean to her (P30).

P30, echoing others, explained that young participants appear impacted by any criticism and, some appear emotionally vulnerable, particularly when criticised. Likewise, P105 explained:

> A lot of the younger staff come here and it's tough to deal with stuff when you're 20 years old. It's tough to come and deal with mass murderers and sex offenders… they [the offenders] don't have much respect and the 20 years old don't know how to talk (P105).

P105 suggest younger recruits may lack the necessary communication skills to engage with criminalised persons in healthy ways oriented to their rehabilitation. P106 also wondered '*how young is too young… the maturity level of people involved here. You know somebody starts CSC at the ripe old age of twenty*'.

> Younger recruits may lack the necessary communication skills to engage with criminalised persons in healthy ways oriented to their rehabilitation.

Lived experience

Compounding the notion of '*maturity*' (P106) is the perceived lack of '*life experience*' (P100) due to youthfulness. P100 continues to lament: '*they're [CSC] hiring younger these days. And, I don't think it's good to have the younger people without a little bit of life experience in here*'. As evidenced by P100, some participants interpreted the younger recruits as, due to their '*need [for] life experience*' (P33), taking incidents and dialogue '*personally*', rather than professionally. P33, for instance, reflected on a recruit who '*cried*' and '*felt everybody was judging her all the time and if she wasn't doing something right, she would cry about it, she'd self-doubt it, or she'd you know behave like it wasn't happening*'. The participants' indirectly reveal an interpretation of prison spaces as difficult places to learn how to create and enforce boundaries and, most importantly, to take criticism — a reality in prison work given individuals may not be pleased with their current living or working conditions.

P45 too spoke to CSC's need to hire persons with lived experience. She explained her positioning with the following argument:

> With age comes experience and you cannot hire people under 25 and expect them to know how to do this type of job, know how to talk to people… I just think recruitment needs to zero in and focus more on people that have dealt with difficult situations (P45).

The central focus for P45 was for CSC to recruit individuals who have experienced hardship, which

comes with lived experience and age, feeling such individuals are more prepared for the occupation (and related interactions). In their responses some participants, like P105, felt CSC should seek out '*older staff and that I'm saying the 30's*'. He believed that lived experiences would prevent recruits from being both easily manipulated by or '*taken advantage of*' by prisoners (P100) and would assist with rapport building, and their ability to cope with criticism.

Participants considered having prior work experience most beneficial. For instance, P104 explained:

> *Try to get involved in some sort of like profession before you go on to like into corrections. I was a support worker, and I did the military for a bit so like being around structure and being around mental ill people, [I] really find it helps…. (P104).*

Like P104's words evidence, embarking on correctional work as a second career ensured that recruits had prior work experience and understood the dynamical relationships that unpin working with people. Some participants felt that a career in provincial correctional services or public safety work was particularly beneficial for recruits to possess. P99 also believed that prior experience in correctional services or law enforcement, even internship or educational experience, is fundamentally necessary for competent and well-adjusted employees. He explained: '*The best thing I ever did was while I was in college. I did a two-year programme. They had a college placement for four hundred and fifty hours inside of some kind of facility institution/halfway house*'. Here, P99 described their internship as preparing them for the complexities of the occupation. Others felt, that even if the recruits lack correctional work experience, they should '*tour a prison at some point to see if that would be an environment you'd like to be in*' (P104). Likewise, P5 told us that recruits should experience prison prior to entering the occupation. He believed '*it would be nice to take these recruits and actually put them in a jail before they get here … let them do a week with a mentor in jail and then come back to the academy and make sure this is what they want to do*'. P5 here expressed a concern that results from recruits exiting the training programme post prison exposure — which is a fundamental waste of funds. P54 too believed that prior to entering the field '*it would be good to see where you're going beforehand… to kinda at least talk to someone who was in the job*'. Likewise, P63 suggested that '*it should be a requirement before going into to CTP that you have some background maybe go visit and I think you should have to visit a prison*'. Thus, among recruits, there was a desire to see older recruits — those on a second career — with lived experience, and knowledge about correctional work and facilities.

Concomitantly, such interpretations may, to a degree, reflect broader cultural stereotypes and prejudices towards young people and their level of maturity regarding interacting with criminalised individuals in correctional settings. Such reverse ageism, to an extent, mirrors attitudes and beliefs towards elderly persons regarding their competences in terms of job performance.[23] That said, some recommendations are not inherently ageist but reflect experiences that come with time, including the necessity of maturity and communication skills for corrections, and the need for familiarity with prison and jail spaces, and the labour process prior to entering the profession.

> A key consideration for recruitment was to remove individuals from consideration who feared criminalised populations.

Personal Suitability

Most participants spoke about the personal suitability of those recruited, speaking of a need to ensure that the recruits' personalities, values, and ethics align with those of the organisation. Such traits including recruiting individuals who are '*serious*', with '*confidence and ability*' (P150), and able to '*deal with things head on in order to resolve a situation*' (P18). P45, speaking to personal suitability, explains that CSC needs to '*find people that have values, morals, ethics, find people that care about the community*'.

A key consideration for recruitment was to remove individuals from consideration who feared criminalised populations. P18 spoke of new employees who '*froze*' on the job after seeing an incident — '*he stood there and just like didn't know what to do*'. P114 spoke of the safety challenge that arises when officers are '*terrified of inmates*' and how that impedes their occupational safety, as well as their ability to support

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23. Rupp, D. E., Vodanovich, S. J., & Crede, M. (2006). Age bias in the workplace: The impact of ageism and causal attributions 1. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 36(6), 1337-1364.

prisoner rehabilitation. P99 explained that recruits who fear prisoners are liabilities and should not be recruited and explained that *'when you're actually on the job doing that right I mean if you're ducking inmates and you're in training then that's probably a sign'*, thereby suggesting that such recruits should be removed from the roster.

Many participants spoke of recruits who finished CTP but were simply *'not suitable for the job'* (P69). For instance, P69 explained that *'I saw people in my core and other cores that I feel like should have been, should have been scrutinized a little bit more'*. He explained the following: *'Once you're in the service word gets around really quick, so, you're able to keep tabs on everybody that was in your core and how well they're doing in different places'*. P69 continued to describe how *'The ones that I had my like concerns about while I was in core… I think two left or something like that and then like a lot of them aren't doing so well, aren't doing so hot'*. Thus, his sentiments suggests that suitability must be consistently re-evaluated after the initial recruitment screening throughout CTP training and even on the job training. Like many others who had the same concerns and saw people who struggled in CTP struggling on the job, they felt not everyone is *'cut out'* for CO work. Pronounced, here, is the recognition that a failure to perform in the occupation can result in compromised occupational safety. The recommendation was that *'personality screening'* should be part and parcel of the recruitment process.

Echoing many others, P144 felt that CSC should not *'be afraid to let people go home'*. They continued to explain:

> *I understand CSC has spent a lot of money getting them to Core. And the training is very expensive you put them up in a house and you're feeding them, and I get it's very expensive but at the end of the day I'd much rather have good officers that have my back that I know I can trust them (P144).*

This participant reveals an understanding of the expense tied to recruitment and training but remains committed to the value that *'good officers'* who can be

> The safety and security of institutions, staff, and prisoners (as well as public safety) is foundational within the carceral environment.

trusted bring to the institution. Thus, personal suitability should trump any expense tied to recruitment and training. For this reason, many participants spoke about how *'judge of character'* (P117) is essential to consider during recruitment, and that CSC should not *'be afraid to let people go on personal suitability'* (P114). Asked to explain how they understood *'personal suitability'*, P114 continued to explain that *'I've noticed with some of the new staff, they're very arrogant, very cocky, [they] think they know it all … They're not the brightest…'*. Likewise, P117 valued *'trustworthy'* among recruits, explaining:

> *In our CTP, for example, there was some people that you don't even know how they passed the interview because they're just wild. We're like 'I would not feel safe working with you'. I think that's what it boils down to, like you need to find people that are going to be safe when they're here because if they're not safe that means that your safety is in jeopardy too (P117).*

P117 reflects on the link between personal suitability, trustworthiness, and safety — which is critical to all correctional work, as the safety and security of institutions, staff, and prisoners (as well as public safety) is foundational within the carceral environment.[24] P62 illustrated the following on the topic of personal suitability, trustworthiness, and safety:

> *Sometimes you get people right out of the gate that are not suited for the job at all and it's kinda shocking how they even made it through everything right and then you get some that five years down the road probably shouldn't have been doing this job (P62).*

Participants drew on personal suitability with a lens to how prison work may affect the recruit over time if they are not prepared for the occupation. This angle, complementing the idea that some recruits are simply not suited to the occupation due to their personality, suggests that their mental health — the fabric of their constitution — may not be compatible with the demands of the occupation.

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24 See footnote 2.

With this in mind, P33 explained that during recruitment, CSC is '*needing to weed people [out] … like [if] they're not able to meet like full requirements*' or, as stated by P128, if they fail to have a '*balanced perspective of the job itself*' and instead have '*expectations of grandeur [and] glory*'. The idea here being that people should be recruited for their value and ethics and, critically, have realistic expectations of the occupational role. For these reasons, P18 felt recruitment needs to be '*more stringent, because you're getting people in that can't do the job, or they're not suited for the job but, because they passed everything, they're here… Just more stringent. You gotta look at people's personal suitability*'. This participant, echoing others, presents a need for a stricter recruitment process that place a greater emphasis on ensuring that recruits meet personality standards as well as pass their screening. P28 recognised that correctional work is '*not also a career that draws a lot of people to it*'. Although P28 acknowledged there may be pressures to fill seats in training and vacancies in institutions, he also believed that occupational fitness should never be compromised.

Physical Component

Many participants, like P45 felt essential that CSC '*bring back the fitness test [and] make it so it is hard to get in [to CSC], make it like the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Where you can pride yourself on how hard it was to be there, how hard it was to get through and you wear the uniform with pride here.*' Participants felt that the '*physical component*' was '*the big thing for me*' (P107). P107 associated physical fitness with safety, recognising that in CO work '*it can go from zero to hundred in a blink of an eye*' (P107). Thus, he felt, particularly given persons vary in biological composition that '*some kind of physical screening*' (P36) was essential to ensure persons could keep up with the demands of their occupational work. Thus, screening exercises such as '*lift[ing] some weights or they're able to run up and down the stairs*' (P36) were deemed necessary to preserve the integrity of the service in terms of adequate responses to call for support. To this end, participants, like P107, desired introducing physical screenings and did so by reflecting on other services that require diverse testing. For instance, P107 explained the following about physical aptitude in correctional services:

Back in the day with provincial corrections, they had this thing called COPAT [Corrections Officer Physical Abilities Test] so it's a correctional officer physical aptitude test basically it's an obstacle course and, I've done the COPAT, it's challenging but it's not unrealistic… That's the one thing I wish CSC would maybe implement a bit more a physical requirement for the position.

Others reflected on desiring not to work with officers who '*don't take care of themselves like they're not physically fit for the job*' (P114), or '*people who are obese and that can't make it to a code. That's one thing I would change about CTP is the fitness testing is nothing… obviously you need healthy staff*' (P99). Thus, a key recommendation for recruitment remains physical fitness testing and screening.

Recruitment Events

Participants largely felt that recruitment for the service needed to be more widespread. For instance, P150 felt '*there should be more recruitment canvassing cause, again, you recognise an RCMP officer, you recognise a Canada Border Services Agency officer, but I feel people just know nothing about corrections*'. The '*canvassing*' was presented as requiring a strong social media presence and 'dedicated persons' (P152). P152 felt CSC would benefit from having '*somebody who goes out and does recruiting events cause again that will help public perception, that will get people in*' by increasing awareness. P152 spoke to their experience, explaining that '*there also isn't a person to talk to, you send an email to a generic mailbox and then somebody gets back to you in a couple days. During the recruitment process there was nobody I could call to say 'hey this is so and so, I got a question, what's your job? You've done the job, what is it actually like?' dadadadada*'. This need for more available information and dedicated recruitment support was articulated by a few participants, who desired being able to ask someone on the frontline about the realities of working the job.

Of note, participants overwhelmingly expressed that CSC was excelling at recruiting and hiring following the principles of inclusion, equity, and diversity. P77 felt diversity was well represented at CSC, stating '*I think it's good that they're [recruits] from different backgrounds. Everyone's very different*'

> The idea here being that people should be recruited for their value and ethics and, critically, have realistic expectations of the occupational role.

backgrounds'. P25 explained the following on the hiring diversity: '*I think corrections is doing a really good job of hiring different people. There's a widespread of cultures and races and genders*'. However, one comment that arose selectively among recruits was concern about an over emphasis on '*statistics and stuff like that*' (P28), where equity hiring may be surpassing merit. Discussion of diversity linked to participant confusion about who completes the recruitment process successfully versus who CSC eliminates from the service. Participants often felt 'no rhyme or reason explains the nuance of the selection process. Many drew attention to '*some guys who got turned away*', expressed that these individuals were '*awesome*' and explained: '*I'm not sure how this guy got turned away, but this guy got it and I'm like that just blows my mind*' (P128). P150 also '*had friends not get by [the recruitment] and was 'shocked'*'. P128 finished his interview by saying '*I'm not actually sure recruiting works… I just wish there was more qualified people that got in*'.

Discussion and Conclusion

Recruits were positive about the inclusivity, diversity, and equality evidenced by who was recruited, some going as far as to say the service was well implementing processes that supporting these principles. However, participants were also confused about why some seeming 'awesome' candidates were turned away. Thus, more transparency in the selection process appears desirable. Perhaps conflictingly here, recruits often felt that if a recruit was released from training or recruitment processes the individual should not be allowed back because some concern was identified. Perhaps, however, there is an opportunity to change the release process — including that tied to strikes. Instead of 're-starting' CTP or recruitment, there may be opportunity for persons to be repositioned in a class where they have the opportunity to relearn the skills they struggled with—if recruits are deemed of satisfactory performance and aptitude to continue in the programme. Thus, rather than 'restarting', recruits would be placed such that they can redo areas of need and learn the competencies necessary. Such a practice would ensure cost saving for CSC and support the recruit in minimising time away from family as well as economic sacrifices. Moreover, the practice would ensure the recruit attains necessary skills before moving forward and without repetition, while providing CSC the opportunity to re-access the recruit's competencies in a fashion with legacy memory (i.e., aware of prior challenges and able to provide necessary supports to overcome such challenges).

Having prior experience visiting a prison (or more preferably, interning in a prison) was also deemed desirable. Participants had exposure to recruits exiting training post-prison exposure. Thus, beneficial would be to ensure that recruits are aware of prisons, have toured prisons, and understand the nuances of prison living. Participants recognise the lost funds on training and recruitment that derived from recruits exiting after the realisation that they were unsuited to prison work and felt this could be avoided with mandated interning or, at minimum, exposure to a prison post recruitment and training. Thus, we recommend correctional services ensure potential employees have at least visited a prison prior to their recruitment to ensure they are able to navigate the realities of prison work and what is expected of every CO.

Participants requested hiring individuals with '*lived experiences*', referring to individuals who had diverse opportunities to overcome life challenges — particularly those associated with the passage of time and life transitions (e.g., marriage, divorce, death, employment). Participants recognised that '*age discrimination*' was never desirable but felt maturity — including maturity derived from a first career and exposure to a prison — was an essential preparatory element for correctional work. Articulated with different rationalities, for instance lived experience was thought necessary for rapport building with prisoners, safety, handling criticism, comfort in the work environment, participants felt life experience helped ensure their colleagues had the bearings and positionality to cope with CO work. Thus, lived experience was desirable for working in prison spaces to prevent individuals from acting in ways that may compromise the environment, and thus safety and security.

Participants advocated for '*personality screening*', which was operationalised as screening to ensure morals, values, and ethics aligned with those of the organisation, that recruits who feared prisoners were dismissed, as well as those who were untrustworthy. Adding additional screening to recruitment processes that encompassed personality would also reduce

> Life experience was desirable for working in prison spaces to prevent individuals from acting in ways that may compromise the environment, and thus safety and security.

wasted training costs due to dismissals later in the process. Of note, many participants felt it was invaluable that CSC dismiss recruits whose personalities are not deemed compatible with that desired by the organisation. Participants drew attention to the continuance of watching recruits struggle first in CTP and later on the job, recognising that such struggles could be eliminated with more aggressive and stringent screening prior to and during training. Participants desired more stringent processes to ensure their own and institutional safety, but also as a protective factor that recognises not all people share qualities and some, particularly those who fear criminalised populations, may be significantly affected personally — and negatively — by their occupational responsibilities.

Personality screening, however, can be interpreted in many ways. Thus, future researchers may wish to better understand the desirable versus undesirable personality traits of recruits/officers and develop measure to capture such traits in a timely and affordable manner. Efforts should be undertaken in collaboration with correctional services to ensure all perspectives are considered and a tool developed that is customised to the occupational demands while protecting staff well-being.

Second to personality screening was the desire for physical standards to guide who is eligible for recruitment. Participants felt CSC should return physical screening practices to ensure the correctional workforce is able to respond to incidents in a timely manner without becoming fatigued or immobilised by their physical fitness. Many participants felt unnecessarily vulnerable because of the physicality of their colleagues and passionately advocated for the reintroduction of physical fitness testing. Some attributed passing such tests to an increased pride in the uniform, because of the imposed standard demanded by physical screening, but more commonly felt that their safety would be enhanced if there was a standard.

To increase the recruitment pool, participants suggested more widespread recruitment activities, including a vaster social media presence. They felt that increasing the public visibility of COs was essential to increasing their recruitment pool. In addition, some requested having a staffed recruitment position to help interested citizens navigate the recruitment process, to answer questions, and to be able to speak of the nuances of the job — many here felt that recruitment occurred in a black box void of information regarding processes and timelines. To this end, staffing a recruitment support position may be beneficial and, if such a position already exists, making the position more visible to potential recruits will optimise its utility.

The analysis presented in the current article has several limitations that should be taken into consideration upon interpreting the findings. First, although our findings can benefit any correctional service willing to revise and improve their recruitment processes, the research data supporting our analysis speaks to CSC's recruitment reality. Second, our analysis did not account for CSC's recruitment strategy (i.e., the reasons why recruitment is operationalised as is) nor for the challenges CSC faces when organising recruitment activities. Future research on the topic of recruitment should include interviews with the correctional agency's human resource department. Doing so would make the analysis more nuanced and expose the complexities of recruiting prison employees. Third, the dataset utilised in this analysis consisted of interviews with officers who had at least a year of experience on the job, but no more than two years. Although we believe that experienced employees are better positioned to provide insights into recruitment than recruits, the views and perceptions of experienced employees are informed and influenced by peer-groups and their opinions of the new hires (i.e., external bias). Such views and perceptions are also affected by memory limitations, given that more than a year had passed since the participants themselves had undergone CSC's recruitment process.

Nevertheless, recruitment serves as a prime tactic to ensure positive outcomes for correctional organisations. As we have demonstrated, within correctional services, recruitment, including eligibility and selection criteria, constitute the composition of the correctional workforce and the moral and professional orientations of those entering the field. Of utmost salience, recruitment shapes correctional agencies' capacity to deliver their mandate to rehabilitate and safely reintegrate criminalised persons into communities. Here we have offered insights into the key characteristics — in terms of values, knowledges, and capabilities — for ensuring the necessary screening of officers during training and the capacities that make for suitable COs in the field.

The Experience of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in Ex-Prison Officers

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The increasing staff turnover rate amongst prison officers in England and Wales may be due to the occupation's range of possible physical and mental health consequences.[1] Prison officers are exposed to illicit substances, experience more psychosomatic health issues, and are at a heightened risk of assault,[2] than most other occupations, with prisoner-on-staff assaults steadily rising in recent years.[3] Also, prison officers have higher rates of mental health disorders than many other occupations,[4] however, a large amount of research in UK prisons has mainly focused on the mental health of prisoners.

High stress levels and burnout, both significant predictors of PTSD, are common amongst prison officers and could lead to increased absenteeism.[5] Moreover, prison officers experience a constant threat of violence — to themselves or those around them — which has been argued to be more stressful than direct victimisation alone.[6] This could lead to developing hypervigilance, which is common amongst correctional officers and a symptom of PTSD.[7]

In addition, prison officers are exposed to a range of potentially traumatising events (PTEs) such as: violence, self-harm, drug overdose, and suicidal behaviour. Witnessing PTEs is associated with developing PTSD symptoms.[8] It is important to consider how prison staff manage seeing such traumatic events in their workplace, with many employing a 'façade of capability' (p. 816),[9] wherein they pretend to be undisturbed by traumatic events.

Similarly, prison officers may adhere to the 'feeling rules' (p. 2)[10] of the prison environment to manage their emotions at work. Every workplace has implicit feeling rules set according to an organisation's culture, values, and history, dictating appropriate emotions for each setting.[11] The feeling rules of prison work render emotions such as fear, sadness, and anxiety as unacceptable. Prison staff report that colleagues or managers would view them as weak if they broke these rules and spoke truthfully about their mental health.[12]

Internationally, suicide rates are higher amongst correctional officers than the general population;[13] one paper estimated rates of suicide in correctional officers in New Jersey are double that of police officers.[14]

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Elevated rates of suicide could be due to high levels of PTSD which is associated with increased suicidality.[15] However, at the time of writing, there are no available papers exploring suicidality amongst UK prison officers.

As they experience burnout, exposure to multiple PTEs, and substantial emotional labour — all significant PTSD predictors — there may be high levels of PTSD in UK prison officers.[16] Across Western countries, estimates of PTSD in prison officers range from 33 per cent to 53 per cent;[17 18] each estimate is at least three times the lifetime prevalence of PTSD in the general population.[19] American correctional officers experience levels of PTSD higher than New York Fire Fighters involved in the rescue efforts of 9/11,[20 21] and equivalent to those of war veterans.[22] UK prison officers may experience PTSD at comparable rates to their international counterparts and significantly higher rate than the English general population's rate of 4 per cent.[23]

To date, there has been no study exploring the prevalence or experience of PTSD in UK prison officers, despite mounting evidence suggesting prison officers could be suffering from elevated rates of workplace PTSD. UK research has focused primarily on officers' stress and burnout,[24] or general mental health.[25]

Due to PTSD's nature,[26] it is likely ex-prison officers could still be suffering and those no longer enveloped within prison work may feel more able to speak openly about this. Therefore, including in research the experiences of ex-prison officers with PTSD may enable understanding of PTSD in serving officers.

With the frequency of PTEs in prison officers' roles, it is imperative to be aware of their consequences, and to better understand their experiences of PTSD. This study aimed to raise awareness of the issue of PTSD amongst UK ex-prison officers and, by extension, those still serving as officers, and to develop a better understanding of their experiences.

Method

Participants were ex-prison officers (n=12) with PTSD: two women and 10 men. One had worked as a prison officer for between six and 10 years, all other participants for 20 years. Eight participants had served in England and Wales and had worked in prison categories ranging from A to D. Two participants had served in Northern Irish Category A prisons, and two had worked in Scottish maximum-security prisons.[27] Participants were excluded if they did not report receiving at least a working diagnosis of PTSD from their GP.

Participants were recruited through the Prison Officer Association's (POA) communication channels. Those who expressed interest were given more information via telephone or email and a detailed information sheet. Participants received an online consent form and demographics questionnaire. Interviews were then arranged.

> Elevated rates of suicide could be due to high levels of PTSD which is associated with increased suicidality.

15. Gradus, J., Qin, P., Lincoln, A., Miller, M., Lawler, E., Sørensen, H., & Lash, T. (2010). Posttraumatic stress disorder and completed suicide. *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 171(6), 721-727.
16. Boudoukha, A., Altintas, E., Rusinek, S., Fantini-Hauwel, C., & Hautekeete, M. (2013) Inmates-to-staff assaults, PTSD and burnout: Profiles of risk and vulnerability. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 28(11), 2332-2350.
17. Jaegers, L., et al. See footnote 5.
18. Trounson, J., Pfeifer, J. E., & Critchley, C. (2016). Correctional officers and work-related environmental adversity: A cross-occupational comparison. *Applied Psychology in Criminal Justice*, 12(1), 18-35.
19. Regehr, C., Carey, M., Wagner, S., Alden, L. E., Buys, N., Corneil, W., Fyfe, T., Fraess-Phillips, Krutop, E., Matthews, L., Randall, C., White, M., & White, N. (2021). Prevalence of PTSD, depression and anxiety disorders in correctional officers: A systematic review. *Corrections: Policy, Practice and Research*, 6(3), 229-241.
20. Spinaris, C., et al. See footnote 8.
21. Perrin, M.A., DiGrande, L., Wheeler, K., Thorpe, L., Farfel, M., & Brackbill, R. (2007). Differences in PTSD prevalence and associated risk factors among World Trade Center disaster rescue and recovery professionals. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 164, 1385-1394.
22. James, L., & Todak, N. (2018). Prison employment and post-traumatic stress disorder: Risk and protective factors. *American Journal of Industrial Medicine*. 61(9), 725-732.
23. Fear, N., Bridges, S., Hatch, S., Hawkins, V., & Wessely, S. (2016). *Adult psychiatric morbidity survey: Survey of mental health and wellbeing, England*, 2014. NHS.
24. Butler, D., Tasca, M., Zhang, Y., & Carpenter, C. (2019). A systematic and meta-analytic review of the literature on correctional officers: *Identifying new avenues for research. Journal of Criminal Justice*, 60, 84-92.
25. Kinman, G., et al. See footnote 4.
26. The APA states PTSD can be 'long lasting' and 'persistent': American Psychiatric Association. (2013). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders (5th ed.)*.
27. Grimwood, G. (2015). *Categorisations of prisoners in the UK (Briefing Paper Number 07437)*. House of Commons Library. Available Online: https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-7437/

Semi-structured interviews were conducted via telephone, audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. The interview's open-ended questions gained a comprehensive overview of the participants' experiences. Interviews ranged in duration from 23-161 minutes, the average being 68 minutes long. After interviewing, participants were sent a debrief sheet, which detailed possible avenues of support such as Assist Trauma Therapy and Samaritans.[28]

Thematic Analysis (TA) was used to analyse the data to identify main themes of experience.[29]

Coventry University granted ethical approval.[30] To protect participants from harm, detailed information sheets ensured participants fully consented and knew of any potential distress.[31] The researcher clearly explained the study's aims and potential distribution to participants.

Results and Discussion

Figure 1 below presents the themes and sub-themes generated from the data.

Figure 1. Thematic map showing overarching themes and sub-themes generated from the data.
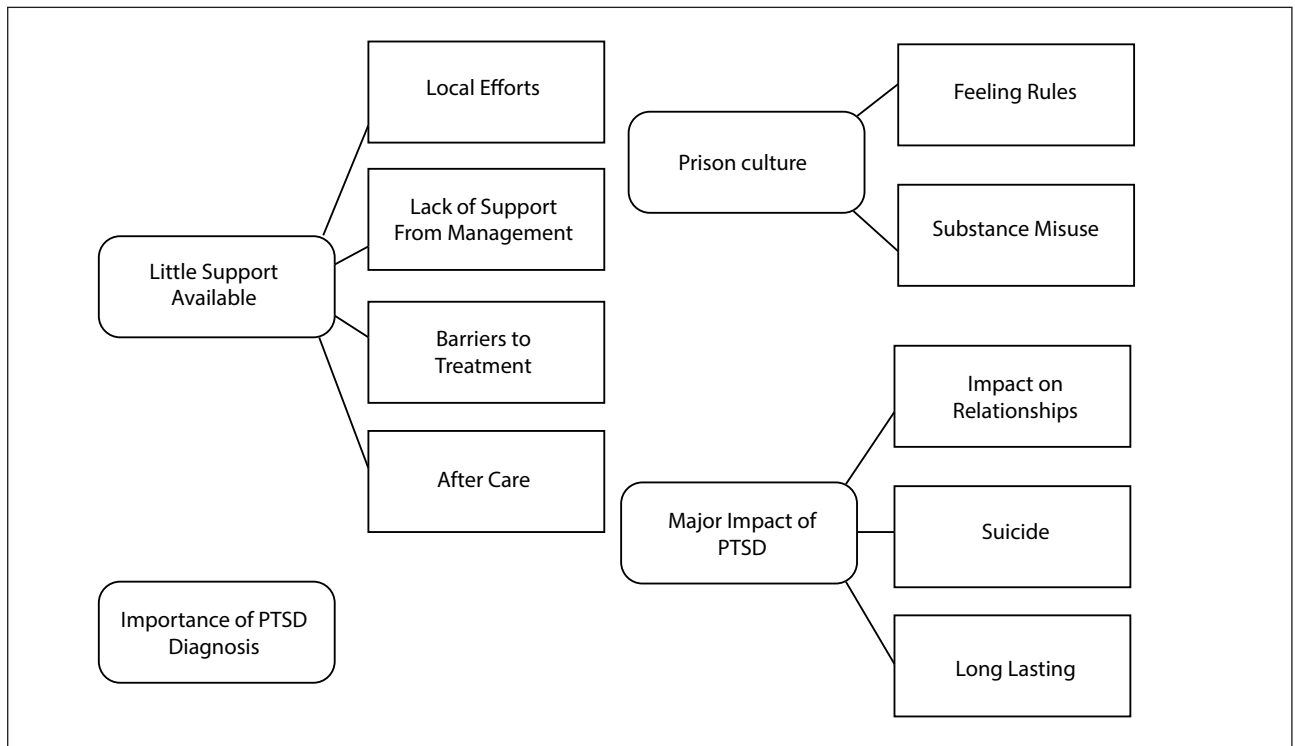
Theme 1: Little support available

Local efforts. When reflecting on their time as a serving officer, the participants found support around PTEs was inconsistent nationally across prisons, even for basic forms of support, such as debriefs after major incidents.

I was never invited to the critical debrief. Everybody else got invited…I was the one dealing with the core incident. (Participant A)

Importantly, prison officers involved in a critical debrief have lower levels of post-traumatic stress symptoms than those who are not.[32] Debriefs also function as encouragement for officers to consider and discuss their emotions, potentially reducing stigma surrounding struggling after a PTE.[33]

Support for individuals who had already developed PTSD from their work varied between managers.

28. http://assisttraumacare.org.uk/ and https://www.samaritans.org/
29. The author closely followed Braun and Clarke's guidance of TA: Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3(2), 77–101.
30. The British Psychological Society's Code of Ethics was followed: British Psychological Society. (2018). *BPS Code of Ethics and Conduct*.
31. Grey, N., & Holmes, E. (2008). "Hotspots" in trauma memories in the treatment of post-traumatic stress disorder: A replication. *Memory*, 16(7), 788-796.
32. Ruck, S., Bowes, N., & Tehrani, N. (2013). Evaluating trauma debriefing within the UK prison service. *Journal of Forensic Practice*, 15(4), 281-290.
33. Sweeney, F., Clarbour, J., & Oliver, A. (2018). Prison officers' experiences of working with adult male offenders who engage in suicide-related behaviour. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology*, 29(3), 467-482.

If you had a particularly good boss they might say 'you're not doing so great are you? We'll cover your shift, go home'. (Participant G)

Lack of support from management. Participants felt most managers did not understand how to deal with traumatic events and staff suffering from PTSD.

I was sat at home… not getting anything from anyone, the managers just didn't know how to deal with [PTSD]. I felt like a pariah. (Participant D)

[After a prisoner nearly killed an officer] there wasn't anyone there at the end of the day from senior management, to just say 'are you okay?'. (Participant K)

Many managers showed insufficient understanding of their employees' PTSD, and this led to them feeling unsupported. Feeling misunderstood by management was previously reported amongst English prison officers.[34]

Some managers explicitly dismissed their employees' concerns.

[PTSD] doesn't exist, nobody suffers from PTSD according to senior management. Nobody wants to talk about it. Nobody is willing to acknowledge it. (Participant L)

One of the governors rang me… he said 'you mentioned that there's a lack of support from senior management? That's not my job'. I said 'really? I've been assaulted in your prison, I've done 30 years of service, I've done good work, and it's not your job?' (Participant I)

A manager told me the more fraggled you are the better you're doing your job.[35] Another

senior manager told me being a fraggle was a badge of honour and to pull myself together. (Participant L)

Due to the hierarchical arrangement of prison work, prison officers may not be able to seek help from occupational health services if their manager is unsupportive or dismissive.[36]

Support offered felt like a bureaucratic exercise without any care behind it.

There's a falseness if they do ask you how you are after an incident… they've done it because their tick box told them to. It means nothing. (Participant E)

Having more positive relationships with supervisors is linked with less symptoms of stress and PTSD in correctional officers.[37]

Barriers to treatment. Multiple barriers stopped participants, and their peers, from successfully receiving treatment, which supports previous research.[38] Being expected to work soon after or just before their psychotherapy session was a logistical and emotional barrier for staff, which discouraged them from engaging.

They'd say 'oh when's your appointment' and you say '11' and they'd say 'well come in for the morning then and then leave'… I'd say 'well no because I'm not going there in my uniform'… It was an inconvenience for them… a lot of staff just went 'ugh I'm not doing this'. (Participant D)

Managers did not consider that psychotherapy can be emotionally draining and leave individuals feeling vulnerable.

Only five (42 per cent) participants were offered formal psychotherapy through their workplace.[39] Others sought alternative free treatment through the NHS, such as via Improving Access to Psychological Therapies

> Feeling misunderstood by management was previously reported amongst English prison officers.

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34 Walker, T., et al. See footnote 9.
35 'Fraggle' is used amongst officers to mean an individual with mental health issues caused by their workplace.
36 The occupational health service often relies on management's involvement (HMPPS).
37 Steiner, D., & Wooldredge, J. (2015). Individual and environmental sources of work stress among prison officers. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour, 42*(8), 880-818.
38 Walker, T., et al. See footnote 9.
39 This five received Eye-Movement Desensitisation and Reprocessing Therapy (EMDR): Khan, A., Dar, S., Ahmed, R., Bachu, R., Adnan, M., & Kotapati, V. (2018). Cognitive behavioral therapy versus eye movement desensitization and reprocessing in patients with post-traumatic stress disorder: A systematic review and meta-analysis of randomized clinical trials. *Cureus,* 10(9), 1-17.

(IAPT) which they were referred to via self-referral or their GP, however this had long waiting times. A minority paid for private treatment, unlikely to be a viable option for many others. The remaining participants went without treatment, which could be detrimental to their long-term prognosis.[40]

The process of organising treatment caused difficulties. Psychotherapists applied for more funding if they felt an officer required more sessions, sometimes these applications were rejected, resulting in individuals receiving an inadequate amount of therapy which ended abruptly. Alternatively, if applications were accepted, delays in receiving extra sessions felt disruptive.

The best thing [was] when [Occupational Health] started funding some of the EMDR [Eye Movement Desentisation and Reprocessing].[41] The worst thing they did is fund partially... 'well you can only have six sessions and we're not paying anymore'...It was like 'we're gonna help you a bit, but not all of it'. (Participant D)

It took so long to get more sessions, it felt as if I'd lost any good stuff we'd been doing... because it was interrupted. (Participant K)

Delays in treatment impact on recovery and PTSD symptoms reduce to a greater extent with less time between psychotherapy sessions.[42]

Aftercare. Most participants felt there was no formal aftercare for ex-officers suffering from PTSD, and believed this was an essential, missing, element of the employers' 'duty of care'.

[There's] nothing at all... On social media there are pages for ex-officers to show each other they're not alone and support each other, but it's a social media page at the end of the day. (Participant K)

Whilst social media pages offered some camaraderie, there was no structured support network available across England, Wales, and Scotland, such as support groups or telephone support which could reduce PTSD symptoms.

In Northern Ireland, an organisation offered ongoing support to ex-officers, the two participants who served in Northern Ireland highlighted how valuable this service was.

They're brilliant. It's really only for retired prison officers. But they do trips away...someone is always on the end of the phone. If there's anything you need...[they] give me a call once a month. (Participant B)

After they finished their service, participants felt nobody cared about what they had been through.

It was just hand your uniform in and you're away. That was it. All those years and I got nothing, nobody gave a damn about what had happened. (Participant F)

A lack of aftercare following trauma could impact on ex-officers' experiences of PTSD, but also serving officers' job performance.

Theme 2: Importance of diagnosis

Most participants reported difficulty recognising they had PTSD. Many did not understand what they were experiencing, attributing it to how prison work had 'changed them'. Once they sought help from a medical professional, they were diagnosed with PTSD.

I was surprised, I never thought of PTSD... I just thought that was me and how I'd become. (Participant G)

All participants encouraged others suffering to seek help. Many described how the PTSD 'crept' up on them due to not recognising, or speaking about, it.

The minute there's something not right, ask for help, otherwise it will consume you. It creeps up on you. It's like pouring water into

> All participants encouraged others suffering to seek help. Many described how the PTSD 'crept' up on them due to not recognising, or speaking about, it.

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40. Morina, N., Wicherts, J. M., Lobbrecht, J., & Priebe, S. (2014). Remission from post-traumatic stress disorder in adults: A systematic review and meta-analysis of long-term outcome studies. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 34, 249-255.
41. Khan, A. et al. See footnote 39.
42. Erekson, D., Lambert, M., & Eggett, D. (2015). The relationship between session frequency and psychotherapy outcome in a naturalistic setting. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 83(6), 1097-1107.

a glass slowly, once it overflows it's too late... do not let the glass overflow. (Participant L)

Participants felt if PTSD went unrecognised, the individual's prognosis was worse, potentially due to a lack of treatment. Research supports this and suggests without intervention or support, PTSD can have devastating consequences, such as substance abuse, and suicide.[43]

Theme 3: Prison Culture

Feeling rules. Many participants felt part of being a prison officer was carrying on with things, and not discussing how they felt. 'Feeling rules' applied not just amongst colleagues, but also around prisoners otherwise dangerous consequences were possible.

> *In prison work, you've got to put up a front all the time...Even if you're scared, you put on this persona of 'you can handle it, you can do this'. (Participant K)*

> *You have to be on top of your game every day, you can't let it slip even for a moment, if you do the prisoners will have you...If you seem weak, you can very easily find yourself in a dangerous situation. (Participant I)*

> *I think a great many of them [colleagues] had PTSD... It's laughed off and there's a 'shit happens' approach. (Participant G)*

This supports Barry's application of feeling rules to prison work:[44][45] fear, anxiety, and sadness, were seen as unacceptable and often participants highlighted how they would have appeared weak to other staff had they displayed these emotions. Appearing as weak due to not displaying the correct emotions in the workplace could leave staff feeling isolated.[46] The current

> ## 'Feeling rules' applied not just amongst colleagues, but also around prisoners otherwise dangerous consequences were possible.

participants presented themselves as able to witness traumatic events and be unaffected when they were serving officers, supporting the notion of them employing a 'façade of capability' (p. 816).[47]

Staff used dark humour to deal with the emotions work caused. It was not appropriate to feel sadness or fear about their work, but officers and ex-officers were expected to joke about it.

> *You don't talk much, but you laugh about stuff, deep down I think we all felt the same, we all felt scared and depressed...but we didn't want to show it... Nobody ever talked about how they felt. (Participant F)*

> *Now, not being in the prison I feel I can breathe, I'm not putting on a face all the time... You pretend it's not bothering you, everything you've seen and witnessed and been a part of, you pretend. You switch off and it creeps up on you and eats you up. You pretend it's fine and you use humour as the way out of it all. (Participant H)*

The use of dark humour is a well-documented phenomenon amongst prison staff and is thought to help officers create a group dynamic,[48] essential for prison work. Dark humour provides a method of managing emotions whilst not deviating from feeling rules.

Substance misuse. Substance misuse was entwined with the culture amongst prison staff. Nearly all participants reported excessive alcohol consumption as an officer and one mentioned misusing prescription drugs. Substances 'helped' to manage their emotions, it was unclear whether this was to self-medicate for their PTSD, or seen as 'just prison life'.

> *I ended up drinking a lot more than I realised, it was almost a case of wanting to still be in a haze when you go to work next morning. (Participant H)*

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43. Kelmendi, B., Adams, T., Yarnell, S., Southwick, S., Abdallah, C., & Krystal, J. (2016). PTSD: From neurobiology to pharmacological treatments. *European Journal of Psychotraumatology*, 7(1), 1-11.
44. Barry, C. See footnote 10.
45. Hochschild, A. See footnote 1.
46. Crawley, E. See footnote 12.
47. Walker, T., et al. See footnote 9..
48. Schmidt, C. (2013). "There's nothing funny about prisons": Corrections workers, laughter and unlaughter. *Western Folklore*, 72(3), 355-367.

I was drinking a lot, taking prescription drugs. I'd come home from work and have a couple of co-codamol just to calm down a bit, that became the norm. (Participant K)

Participants' substance misuse was seen as 'normal' by their peers as it formed part of the 'prison culture': participants highlighted other officers drank large amounts of alcohol and drug usage amongst staff was mentioned by two participants.

There was a massive culture of drinking in the prison, heavily drinking, we all kind of masked [the trauma] behind that. (Participant D)

I was telling [colleagues] I was drinking every night, that I was having a glass of wine every night, they were saying 'oh well I wouldn't worry about that', then you think 'wait…what are you doing every night, how much are you drinking?', they're telling you not to worry. (Participant A)

For most participants, they no longer engaged in substance misuse; it seemed primarily tied to their time as an officer, though could also have related to when their PTSD was at its worst.

When I retired, within two weeks I'd stopped drinking… At one time I was drinking a bottle a day, maybe even more. I'd go home at night and just start drinking… that's all I wanted to do. (Participant F)

Literature previously highlighted the high substance use levels amongst individuals with PTSD, particularly for those who have held a combative role, [49] as many prison officers do.[50] Moreover, substance misuse levels have been found to be high amongst prison officers.[51]

Theme 4: Major Impact of PTSD

Impact on relationships. All interviewees reported PTSD deeply impacting their relationships with family and friends. Many reported feeling angry and numb, leading to them withdrawing from their loved ones, key symptoms of PTSD.

I don't want to see anybody, I don't want to meet anybody, my marriage broke up… I'm quite angry at times. (Participant B)

I became very angry at times… not talking to anybody. Just sitting down and drinking… not talking to my wife… I wasn't a very nice person for a period of time. (Participant C)

I was short-tempered. I couldn't be bothered talking to people. I didn't worry about things; I didn't care about things. (Participant F)

PTSD also influenced how participants' loved ones felt and behaved towards them. For example, participants spoke of how their families had difficulty understanding and anticipating their moods.

> PTSD also influenced how participants' loved ones felt and behaved towards them.

[Sometimes] you don't want anyone near you. I know others who don't have a family anymore, they lost everything because of the PTSD. It takes a massive toll on loved ones, they're worrying about… whether very dark thoughts are going through your head, sometimes they feel shut out because of how you are …I become very distant… I will sit there and not say anything or forget where I am and think I'm in work again. (Participant L)

I'd come home from work and [Participant K's family] didn't really know what I was going to be like, whether I was going to fly off the handle or drink myself into oblivion. (Participant K)

Relational problems due to PTSD are well researched,[52] particularly in relation to emotional numbing and anger. Thus, a major aspect of serving

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49. Head, M., Goodwin, L., Debell, F., Greenberg, N., Wessely, S., & Fear, N. T. (2016). Post-traumatic stress disorder and alcohol misuse: comorbidity in UK military personnel. *Social Psychiatry & Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 51, 1171-1180.
50. Many prison officers hold a combative role - their work is physically demanding and they can be faced with extreme violence and aggression: 51 Fusco, N., Ricciardelli, R., Jamshidi, L., Carleton, N., Barnim, N., Hilton, Z., & Groll, D. (2021). When our work hits home: Trauma and mental disorders in correctional officers and other correctional workers. *Frontiers in Psychiatry*, 11, 1-11.
51. Crawley, E. See footnote 12.

and ex- prison officers' experience with PTSD is the impact it had on their relationships.

Suicide. Suicide was a key facet of interviewees' experiences with PTSD. Some participants spoke openly, and others more implicitly, about how they had experienced suicidal ideation and intent.

I had planned to throw myself in front of a train… if I threw myself sideways, the driver wouldn't be as affected. That's how deep I went. (Participant A)

I didn't like where my mental health took me… I still have thoughts about what I might have done, and then that would have been it, the end. [PTSD] took me right to the edge… I feel guilty about that. (Participant I)

Many of the participants discussed how they knew officers or ex-officers who had committed suicide, often they believed this was due to them also suffering from PTSD.

A lot of people in our job have killed themselves… they didn't know what was wrong with them, just… took the easy way out. (Participant F)

I had some really, really dark thoughts, I felt suicidal… I've lost two really good friends to suicide, both prison officers. (Participant K)

Whilst it is impossible to speculate over the cause(s) of an individual's suicide, participants attributed their own suicidal ideations and intention to their PTSD. Once they realised their colleagues' behaviour mirrored their own, they believed they also suffered from PTSD. This suggests the prevalence of PTSD amongst serving and ex- prison officers may be just as widespread within UK officers as it is internationally,[53] and a possible link to increased suicide rates in prison officers.[54]

Long lasting. Many participants felt irreversibly changed since developing PTSD.

PTSD changed everything for me. I used to be the lead, now I'm like a child… I forget everything… I can't process more than one task at all… I'm the opposite to what I was… I've accepted that I might never get better, which takes a lot of difficulty. (Participant A)

I'm not coping now… Sometimes I won't go out the house or I'm fearful about going out. (Participant D)

Positively, most participants had experienced reductions in their PTSD symptoms since stopping working as a prison officer. Still, multiple interviewees discussed how their continuing PTSD made them feel they had to adjust their behaviour around members of the general public.

It's like a cloak over me... I'm hypersensitive over my surroundings all the time. I see prisoners around me all the time… I see people and think they're an ex-con… I haven't really left the job in my head. (Participant D)

Things are better. I'm still on edge. I still have bad dreams. I still sit thinking about the day it happened. I always have it in my head… I always make sure I can see the door, so it's still built into me. (Participant F)

Prison officers' PTSD could be particularly long-lasting due to the way in which it may develop: often, the interviewees had not experienced one trauma, but had experienced multiple PTEs over prolonged periods of time, amidst an environment with a constant threat of victimisation. Similarly, research suggests individuals with multiple traumas in a persistently dangerous environment experience longer lasting PTSD than PTSD caused by a single trauma.[55]

> Research suggests individuals with multiple traumas in a persistently dangerous environment experience longer lasting PTSD than PTSD caused by a single trauma.

52.   Campbell, S., & Renshaw, K. (2018). Posttraumatic stress disorder and relationship functioning: A comprehensive review and organizational framework. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 65, 152-162.
53.   Regehr, C., et al. See footnote 19.
54.   Milner, A., Witt, K., Maheen, H., & LaMontagne, A. (2017). Suicide among emergency and protective service workers: A retrospective mortality study in Australia, 2001 to 2012. *Work, 57*(2), 281-287.

Conclusion

This study raises awareness and develops understanding of the experiences of ex-prison officers in the UK who suffer from PTSD: they receive little support for their PTSD which overwhelmingly impacted their lives, while being enveloped in a unique prison culture, typified by adhering to 'feeling rules' and where substance misuse is rife.

PTSD within ex- and serving prison officers is likely widespread and not dissimilar from high international estimates of PTSD in prison officers.[56]

Future research should focus on exploring the relationship between PTSD and prison officer work. The prevalence rates of PTSD in UK prison officers must be explored in order to raise awareness of this topic and foster more support for those struggling with it.

Limitations

Interviewees could be recalling their experiences with a negative mindset, potentially misrepresenting serving prison officers. However, even officers with less than two years of service can become cynical and disillusioned with the job,[57] suggesting it is unlikely only ex-officers with years of experience feel this way.

Many individuals expressed interest in participating in the study and believed they had PTSD, however, they had not received a formal diagnosis so were excluded.

Due to difficulties receiving a diagnosis, it is possible many ex-officers have PTSD but have no formal diagnosis and were then underrepresented.

Implications

The results of this study could encourage more ex- and serving prison officers to talk to one another about their experiences of PTSD, reducing prison work's feeling rules.[58]

Additionally, the study highlights the need for support for serving and ex- prison officers with PTSD. For example, support groups would provide a much-needed safe space for ex- and serving officers to speak with others who understand the topic.

Reiterating the suggestion of King and Oliver,[59] prison staff may benefit from training around recognising PTSD symptoms, particularly as many in the current study had difficulty realising they had PTSD, thus delaying them accessing help.

Management require training on PTSD. This should encourage timely and proportionate referrals to Occupational Health, and arrangements enabling staff to attend appointments. There requires a cultural shift wherein staff feel able to admit when they need support.[60] Managers must lead by example in better supporting staff and ex-employees with PTSD in order for a cultural shift to occur.

55. Doron-LaMarca, S., Niles, B., King, D. W., King, L. A., Kaiser, A. P., & Lyons, M. J. (2015). Temporal associations among chronic PTSD symptoms in U.S. combat veterans. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 28(5), 410-417.
56. Regehr, C., et al. See footnote 19.
57. Morrison, K., & Maycock, M. (2021). Becoming a prison officer: An analysis of the early development of prison officer cultures. *The Howard Journal of Crime and Justice*, 60(1), 3-24.
58. Hochschild, A. See footnote 11.
59. King, A., & Oliver, C. (2020). A qualitative study exploring vicarious trauma in prison officers. *Prison Service Journal, 251*, 38-46.
60. King, A., & Oliver, C. See footnote 59.

The Bennett Award for Outstanding Article 2022

Rachel Tynan is an Influencer and Policy Manager at Clinks.

The 'Bennett Award' for outstanding article of the year is in its seventh year and was renamed in 2020 in honour of our former editor of seventeen years — Dr Jamie Bennett.

The Prison Service Journal editorial board reviewed a shortlist of articles in 2022. The board weighed each article by its merit. We have endeavored to make our judgement as unbiased and objective as possible. In so doing, we chose the article that best reflected the aims of the PSJ which is to inform theory and practice.

The board selected an article from issue 261 — *Living in the present, imagining a future: Children and young people navigating the mandatory life sentence.*

This article was written by Dr Rachel Rose Tynan.

Dr Tynan's article presents the experiences of four boys serving life sentences. She explores the feelings of illegitimacy associated with joint enterprise, their convictions, the specific pains of being sentenced to life imprisonment as children and the experiences of racialised identities and stalled development. The article advocates for regimes that 'meaningfully reward' engagement and for creative approaches to children serving life sentences.

Dr Tynan received a framed certificate and a plaque designed and created by prisoners at HMP The Mount.

The 2023 Bennett award shortlist will be agreed in the autumn this year. If you would like to nominate an article from the 2023 editions, please send your nominations to prisonservicejournal@justice.gov.uk

Book Reviews

Alexander Paterson: Prison Reformer

By Harry Potter
Publisher: The Boydell Press
ISBN: 9781783276677 (Hardcover)
9781800104457 (eBook)
Price: £45.00 (Hardcover) £19.99 (eBook)

Reviewer: **Lewis Simpson** *is a Lecturer in Criminology at Leeds Beckett University.*

Potter's book of the life and work of Alexander Paterson is an outstanding contribution to understanding the values that were held by a historic figure in the history of prisons in England and Wales. The book examines many elements of Paterson's life, recognising how his youth and studenthood had informed his philanthropic and humanitarian ambitions in life. The book then expands into a detailed and deeply interesting explanation of his political and managerial endeavours in punishment and criminal justice. Having always been an admirer of Paterson's penal agenda, this text only reinforces the reason why he was so respected and continues to be by students of prisons. Potter not only offers a masterclass in the practices of a historical criminologist but writes to inspire action to the contemporary issues we face with punishment and imprisonment. Readers could enter this book with no knowledge on Paterson, and still walk away feeling inspired to engage in prison reform.

Patterson is no doubt an influential prison reformer, his time in the Prison Commission has left a lasting legacy and longing for a similar approach, with authors still referring to the 'Paterson era'. This is particularly poignant as he was never chairman of the Prison Commission, yet his influential values are now synonymous with the period between 1922-1939. Not only did he impact adult prisons, but his reach and influence saw the transformation of the Borstal systems promoting that 'it cannot train them in an atmosphere of captivity and repression' (p. 243). For those who are unfamiliar with this period of prison reform, Potter details Patterson's ambitions, determinations, and ethos of punishment in great detail. Using a wide range of evidence from people witnessing Patterson's reforms first hand make this text an anthology of voices as well as a narrative of development. Potter brilliantly presents the Patterson era, addressing how and why his libertarian and humanitarian views became central to his work on prisons and punishment.

Potter details many areas of Patterson's life, exploring his values, perspectives, and moral campaigns through a fantastic use of letters, stories, and cross referencing to historical publications. This produces an insightful way of presenting Paterson's life and ambitions and gives voice to those who were able to speak to, witness, and interpret their own thoughts on his work and manner of supporting people. I believe that Potter, through this approach, recognises the complexity in Patterson's interests as he sought to increase the quality of life with all those around him. The early chapters clearly present his alma mater and humanist crusades that eventually lead to his work and focus on the Borstal system and to prisons. In the early chapters, the author presents some excellent foreshadowing, showing the reader how Paterson's experiences would lead towards future works in charities and within criminal justice. This not only hooks the reader further, but also emphasises the manifestation of Paterson's value basis which would later lead to his most memorable qualities when working with offenders. Indeed, Potter claims that Paterson often presented himself as an observer of the world, where he recognised inequalities, injustice, and made calls for change through a distinct approach. This approach is characterised by the author as 'descriptive rather than prescriptive, to state the problem not to solve it, although he did suggest many ameliorations' (p84). It solidifies the view of Paterson as an observer first, intervener second.

I found particular interest in reading around Paterson's early life and career, as Potter truly frames and builds a clear representation of the values and moral commitment that he held. This excellent building of his character is seen throughout the book, with the author constantly recollecting changes, ambitions, and goals that Paterson set for himself. The mid to late chapters on his work during the Prison Commission further capture his strong philosophical and penological stance. I find this difficult to represent in a review, as the quality and quantity of detail that Potter provides does more than highlight actions and events, but an ethos for punishment and penal action that are elsewhere seen in penological writing. The ability to forget about the Paterson I read as an undergraduate and to learn his values anew, is evident of the author's outstanding contribution to understanding a specific time of penal reform. Potter then leaves the reader with an account of Paterson's legacy, acknowledging his contribution to prisons and Borstals whilst also addressing the lasting impact he made to penal reformers. Whilst Potter

acknowledges that Paterson's work can no longer be directly recognised in contemporary imprisonment, one cannot help but feel impassioned to strive for change and reform, using the same values and frames seen during the Paterson era.

This text represents the importance of good historical methodology in criminology. Potter not only presents a strong overview of Paterson's work but also demonstrates detailed work that is not usually seen when reading about the history of prisons and reform; making this book the central text to understand the work of Paterson. I can see this text holding great interest for those fascinated in the history of imprisonment, and for those who seek to share the moral and philosophical views that Paterson developed and established with those working in, living in, and studying prisons. Readers should be aware this text cannot be simply read as a biography, a history, or a manifesto for penal reform. It is all of these things, making this unique, comprehensive, and incredibly personal to its readers.

Minority Ethnic Prisoners and the Covid-19 Lockdown — Issues, Impacts and Implications
By Avril Brandon and Gavin Dingwall
Publisher: Bristol University Press (2022)
ISBN: 978-1529219555 (Hardback) 978-1529219562 (EPub)
Price: £47.99 (Hardback) £16.99 (EPub)
*Reviewer: **Martin Kettle** is an inspector with HM Inspectorate of Prisons*

The rhetoric of 'we're all in this together' has so shaped narratives about the Covid-19 pandemic that the differential impacts on certain minority populations may have been persistently underplayed. In the community, the worse outcomes for racialised people are well established, and it is timely that Brandon and Dingwall have shone a light on how this played out in prisons. They focus on 'minority ethnic' prisoners, foreign nationals, and those from the Irish Travelling and Roma communities. The study covers all the UK nations, and the Republic of Ireland.

The research was conducted while the pandemic was still at its height, so it is not based on face-to-face interviews in prisons. The authors give a summary of the impact of the pandemic and its management, citing dozens of inspection reports and a rich variety of quotes from prisoners. They do justice to the successes arising from close collaboration between prison leaders and the public health bodies, including the remarkable work of Dr Eamonn O'Moore and his public health team; but they also set out evidence of the negative impacts of restricted regimes on prisoners' mental health.

Black, Asian and minority ethnic prisoners are the first group examined (the authors are alive to the difficulties of labelling). The community realities are well known — in the UK, when age was taken into account, Black people were 4.2 (males) or 4.3 (females) times more likely to die than White people (p.30); while after adjusting from a range of other variables, Black people were still almost twice as likely to die a COVID-related death. The possible causal factors are helpfully rehearsed, as is the over-representation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic people in prison. HMIP is cited as saying that 'there had been little or no monitoring of the impact of Covid-19 on various prisoner groups' (p.34).

The authors consider the COVID-related death rate among prisoners with Black (4 per cent of deaths) or Asian (9 per cent) heritage, compared with 87 per cent White; the difference in age profile between these sub-populations is probably relevant.

They then move to the tricky issues of mental health, saying 'it may be argued that minority ethnic groups are no less likely to experience mental health problems, but … may be less likely to receive diagnosis and/or treatment' (p.36). They cite useful evidence from the Zahid Mubarek Trust, and also commend the work of chaplaincy staff in maintaining in-person pastoral support throughout.

Evidence of differences in staff-prisoner relationships is then considered, extending to incentives systems, access to prison jobs, release on temporary licence, complaints, and access to the discrimination incident reporting process. Little evidence is cited linking inequitable outcomes directly to the pandemic, but in general the inequities are acute, and the claim that 'the impact of the Covid-19 lockdown in prisons has . . . differentially affected minority ethnic groups' (p.50), though hard to evidence, is not implausible.

Among foreign nationals, there may well have been greater impacts from Covid-19 in the community. In prisons, those who did not understand English were inevitably disadvantaged in a fast-changing situation where health and regime information was being pushed out in English on almost a daily basis, and where clear information on arrival in prison was vital; additionally, this group may be less likely to disclose risk factors such as mental health problems (p.58). HMIP Scotland drew attention sharply to some of these issues, while in the Republic of Ireland, chaplaincies were commended for providing interpretation. Some prisons ensured that Covid-19-related information was translated — for example, at HMP Bedford the governor's weekly newsletter was translated into 25 languages in 2021 (p. 64), with similar examples in the other jurisdictions such as a

fortnightly newsletter in eight languages delivered to every cell in the Irish Prison Service. The fast rollout of video-calling in all the jurisdictions also made a difference to foreign nationals, especially at HMP Huntercombe (p. 65). In staff-prisoner relationships, the same types of differential outcomes applied as with Black, Asian and minority ethnic people (above), while the anxiety of many foreign nationals about their immigration status was exacerbated during the pandemic by the increased difficulty of contact with Home Office staff, or with external support agencies.

In the community, the Irish Traveller and Roma groups have been particularly impacted by the pandemic. The Taoiseach's office has said that 'existing vulnerabilities of the Traveller and Roma communities in health and accommodation put them at particular risk of contracting the virus' (p.77f). This applies equally to mental health: 'for members of [these] communities, who are already disproportionately impacted by mental illness and suicide, the impact of isolation may be critical' (p.81). ZMT research supported this, citing reduced access to culturally appropriate support and advocacy services. Chaplaincy support again comes through as a strength.

The inability to see family has hit these prisoners hard. Traveller families often have less access to technology and internet than most settled-majority people, and a requirement for proof of address caused difficulties initially.

Finally, the book considers the fast-changing issues of moving out of lockdown. The authors mention 'video visits' as a real gain, but they assert, controversially, that 'a pre-pandemic regime is not what post-pandemic prisons need'.

The book's conclusions in relation to the minority groups which it studies are modest. The impacts common to all prisoners are increased by existing vulnerabilities

of these sub-populations and by patterns of (mainly indirect) discrimination. There are some redeeming factors, such as video visits, though even they have downsides, for GRT people in particular. The book presents its evidence concisely, and is as valuable for its summaries of the general impacts of Covid-19, and of experiences of discrimination, as for the case which it presents for differential impact of the pandemic on specific minority groups.

Prisoners' Families, Emotions and Space

By Maria Adams
Publisher: Policy Press (2022)
ISBN: 978-1447358121 (Hardback)
978-1447358138 (EPUB)
Price: £80.00 (Hardback) £27.99 (EPUB)

Reviewer: **Lynn Saunders OBE** *is Professor of Law and Social Sciences at the University of Derby*

As the title suggests this book explores the experiences of prisoner's families. It considers the experiences of family members visiting three Scottish prisons, before, and during Covid restrictions. Family members are interviewed and the emotional impact that visiting prisons has, is explored. The book gives a rare voice to family members and their experiences of visiting prisons, how they deal with the process and impact of a period of imprisonment, featuring the themes of space, emotions and identity.

The author had experience of working in prison as a playworker and her analysis is much focused on the implications of the restrictions to visits on the emotional wellbeing of family members, and the limitations of visiting areas in prisons. She also explores how the attitude and approach of prison staff impact on the experience of visiting a family member in prison.

She argues that emotions are a neglected area in the sociology of prisons research. The book offers insight into how the experiences of visitors to prisons influence both the organisation of the institution and its policy.

The book is based on a PhD study and explores a number of themes which are divided into chapters. These include, how prison visiting rooms can sustain relationships, how strict body searches and security checks are an example of social control of prisoner's families, how the extensive periods that family members need to wait at a number of stages in their visits are further exercises in control, how families manage adversity, and how the space allowed for visits to prisons is often a matter of local policy.

The introduction explores the context of the research on which the book is based and outlines the nature and necessity of the visiting restrictions as a result of the Covid pandemic. She also explores the phased resumption of visiting arrangements describing them as 'sterile' (p. 9) and challenging for visitors. Researched in three prisons in Scotland, the book explores the varying architectural designs and how they had an impact on the visitors' experiences. In particular, the theme of 'waiting' (p. 68) is explored and how this is a feature of a number of aspects of the visit. She explores the implications of the length of time it takes for visitors to travel to prisons, and when prisoners are moved with very little notice how unsettling this was for family members. The author suggests that 'waiting' is a form of social control experienced by visitors that leads to shame and fear.

The author suggests that families' survival of the incarceration process involves both resilience and time, and that family members adopt a range of coping strategies. These include 'keeping

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busy' and 'activism' which she describes as 'subtle changes that contribute to improving families' confidence and self-esteem'. (p. 91)

Chapter 2 focuses on how gender is an important contribution to understanding the experiences of prisoner's families and how a caring role can provide coping mechanisms for families to deal with a period of imprisonment. The author focuses on the subject matter from a Feminist perspective exploring the relationship between space, place, and the focus of power. She comments on the importance of visits while also acknowledging their limitations as a substitute for the home environment.

The role of visiting rooms in sustaining relationships for prisoners and their families is explored in Chapter 3. The author discusses whether the visits room is a 'place of care or a place of confinement' and explores the role and function of children's' visits sessions describing them as 'artificial home life'. (p. 28) She concludes that children's visits cannot replicate the home environment, but that they play an important role in the maintenance of contact between prisoners and their children. Chapter 4 then documents families' experiences of space dominated by social control and how space for families is regulated by prison authorities.

The recurrent theme of 'waiting' both during the prison visiting process and in the wider criminal justice process, is discussed in Chapter 5, and whether this is an exercise in social control. However, the practical management of the visiting processes are not considered in the discussion. The author argues that waiting is a significant part of families' lived experience of visiting prisons. One research participant states that they are 'doing the sentence with them'. (p. 71)

Chapter 6 entitled 'Surviving the Incarceration Process', explores how incarceration affects families and the importance of the role of social support in improving their resilience. The importance of 'space' in determining the experiences of families is examined in Chapter 7. The author concludes that 'space, emotions and identity' and criminology and geography are important lenses through which to analyse the experiences of prisoners and their families.

The book is an interesting exploration of the first-hand experiences of family members in a much under-researched area. The emotional impact of a prison sentence on family members and the effort required to maintain relationships is something that both prison managers, and policy makers should bear in mind when designing visiting areas and services for visitors.

What we fear most: Reflections on a life in Forensic Psychiatry

By Ben Cave
Publisher: Orion Publishing Co
ISBN: 9781841885544 (Hardback)
Price: £18.99

*Reviewer: **Ray Taylor LL.M.** is a security policy official at His Majesty's Prison and Probation Service.*

What we fear most is an apt title for a work that explores, not just a life in forensic psychiatric medicine, but the social environment that nurtures the conditions such medicine has developed to treat. In his autobiography, Ben Cave explores and reflects on his own background and environment as much as he does that of his patients and the other people around him. Unlike most autobiographies, however, the book does not merely track the humdrum events of the subject's lifetime. This one takes a more detailed and contextual look at the

author's life, reflecting on all he has learnt of his profession. It starts with the author's formative years living within a dysfunctional middle-class family, and how his early experiences helped him to find his calling as a doctor specialising in psychiatry. It continues by providing an insight into some of the conditions he has treated through the experiences he has shared with his patients.

For in Cave's work, the focus of the narrative is on the relationship between patient and psychiatrist and how this has assisted in developing a greater understanding of the conditions the author has treated over the decades. The 'fear' in the title is, if I understand the author correctly, one of the typical aspects of presentation noted in the book. This should be no surprise to anyone who has spent any time working in carceral environments or those who have interacted with people dealing with some form of mental distress or illness, whether diagnosed or not. See a person arrive in prison for the first time and you will often see fear in their eyes, their behaviour, and their interactions with others. For those convicted of a violent offence in which an unbalanced state of mind was a causal factor, the part fear may have played is all too evident in the case studies cited by Cave. These 'cases' are explored through conversations with the patient and the observations of one who is clearly a prominent expert in such presentations.

What we fear most is accessible and the narrative engaging. It takes the reader on a journey through the learning of one individual as they progress through knowledge gained from experience. There is undoubtedly an important element of commitment on the part of the young man who progresses through the early stages of his career in medicine. I don't know from experience, but I can't imagine many junior doctors voluntarily

remaining overnight in a hospital after their shift has completed, for instance, to get closer to the patient and their environment.

Cave's learning discussed in the book often comes as much through error, as it does from getting things right from the start, which adds to the humanity and accessibility of the narrative. On one occasion, for example, the younger Dr Cave prescribes certain medication for symptoms that include shaking hands, a known side-effect of medication the patient had previously been prescribed. Cave later sees the man selling the medication in a bar, clearly demonstrating that his unwitting doctor has 'been had'.

There are thankfully more examples of Cave getting it right than getting it wrong. Although one might expect an element of self-congratulation in an autobiography such as this (one reason I don't often read them) Cave's examples appear to be genuinely illustrative. They help the reader gain insight into some of the clinical conditions discussed in the book.

If the book is an accurate depiction of the author's experiences and relationships with patients, it is one that provides a model of empathy and emotional intelligence. Cave, it transpires, is not afraid of forming an emotional connection with a patient. On the contrary, it seems that, during his career, Cave has embraced the need to connect with his patients and clearly found it as clinically informative as it was emotionally satisfying.

Crying together with a distressed patient for instance. Or in understanding that, by successfully treating a patient who was convicted of killing her own child, he also brought to her the realisation of the enormity of what she had done. 'So, this [knowledge of what she had done] is my punishment?' the patient asks him. Would it have been kinder to the patient to leave her in blissful ignorance of her actions or was it more important to treat her and bring her to the realisation, not just of the reality of her actions but also (Cave hopes) the understanding that they resulted from an illness and (in light of the theme of the book) from an incapacitating fear.

This book also includes some very useful reminders, such as the rarity of a successful plea of insanity. Given media perceptions of mental illness being used as an 'excuse' for some crimes, it provides a timely reminder that few people escape conviction for a violent offence simply because of their clinical condition. Experiences discussed in the book include providing clinical evidence to courts and tribunals. Not all his patients were offenders, however, and each of the people (suitably anonymised) and their conditions discussed helps to provide understanding of their presentation and the importance of 'fear' to many clinical conditions.

One of the 'cases' Cave discusses deals with the difficult subject of the person's ultimate suicide. Not an offender, not a patient, but a clinical colleague. A harrowing account that provides a useful reminder of our responsibility to listen to those around us and to give them the care and support they need when it is needed most. It is also a timely reminder of the thin line that may be drawn between those of us who are recognised as having a clinical mental disorder and those who live without the kind of help that may be provided by an appropriate diagnosis and treatment.

Highly readable and certainly more accessible than your average book about psychiatry, *What we fear most* is packed with anecdotes and little Quality-Street-wrapped excerpts from Cave's life and career as a psychiatrist.

PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

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The *Prison Service Journal* is a peer reviewed journal published by HM Prison Service of England and Wales. Its purpose is to promote discussion on issues related to the work of the Prison Service, the wider criminal justice system and associated fields. It aims to present reliable information and a range of views about these issues.

The editors are responsible for the style and content of each edition, and for managing production and the Journal's budget. The editors are supported by an editorial board — a body of volunteers, many of whom have worked for the Prison Service in various capacities, or who are academics in the field of criminal justice. The editorial board considers all articles submitted and decides the outline and composition of each edition, although the editors retains an over-riding discretion in deciding which articles are published and their precise length and language.

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